

The Form, Aspect, and Definition of Anglo-Saxon Identity

A study of Medieval British words, deeds, and things

by

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## ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I argue that medieval peoples used a different style of identity from those applied to them by later scholarship and question the relevance of applying modern terms for identity groups (e.g., ethnicity or nationality) to the description of medieval social units. I propose we think of identity as a social construct comprised of three articulating facets, which I call: form, aspect, and definition. The form of identity is its manifestation in behavior and symbolic markers; its aspect is the perception of these forms by people; and its definition is the combination of these perceptions into a social category. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, I examine each facet individually before synthesizing the results. I study the form of identity through an analysis of styles in material culture using a consensus analysis to determine how well objects decorated with the same motif do communicating a shared idea to members of a social group. I explore the aspect of identity through a whole-corpus linguistics approach to Old English, in which I study the co-occurrence of words for “a people” and other semantic fields to refine our understanding of Old English perceptions of social identity. Finally, I investigate the definition of identity by comparing narrations of identity in Old English verse and prose in order to see how authors were able to use vocabulary and imagery to describe the identity of their subjects.

In my conclusion I demonstrate that the people of Medieval England had a concept of identity based on the metaphor of a village meeting or a feast, in which smaller, innate groups were thought to aggregate into new heterogeneous wholes. The nature and scale of these groups changed over the course of the Anglo-Saxon period but some of the names used to refer to these units remained constant. Thus, I suggest scholars need to apply a culturally relevant concept of identity when describing the people who lived in Medieval Britain, one that might not match contemporary models, and be cognizant of the fact that medieval groups were not the same as their modern descendants.

## DEDICATION

To Mom and Dad, for their never-ending encouragement and support

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

“Do you hear what this *people* say, seafarer? *They* wish to give their spears, deadly points, and old swords to you as tribute, the war gear that won't serve you in battle. Go back again, Viking messenger, and say to your *people* these much hated words. 'Here stands a fearless earl and his army, who will defend this homeland, the country of my lord Æthelred, his lands and *people*.' ”

- Earl Britnoth AD 991

“*We shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.*”

- Sir Winston Churchill, June 4, 1940

#### **The Problem of the Anglo-Saxon Ethnic Group**

The topic of this thesis is Anglo-Saxon identity. In the following pages I explore how the people who lived in medieval Britain collected themselves into a corporate social identity, a categorical group that could bear an “ethnic” or “racial” epithet. I begin by situating the research within our contemporary landscape, as prelude to the analyses. Although the effect of past identities on present concerns may not be intuitive, their effects on contemporary life are palpable and can be demonstrated.

I begin with the premise that history matters to modern identity. Wars are fought, people are united, and prejudices are formed through appeals to a shared sense of communal history. In the 2012 US Presidential election, for example, Governor Mitt Romney caused a stir by allegedly telling a reporter from the *Daily Telegraph* that he would improve relations between the United Kingdom and the United States because he possessed an “Anglo-Saxon heritage” President Barack Obama did not. Although the remarks are disputed, their effect was clear. People took offense to the notion that Romney believed his ancestry gave him special qualities that made him understand the British people better than his competitor. From an abstract viewpoint it might

seem absurd that a politician living almost a thousand years later than the last Anglo-Saxon king ruled, on a continent unknown to the Anglo-Saxon peoples, would rely on the existence of this cultural group to shore up his political capital (albeit in an attempt that failed), but this sort of rhetoric tends to appeal to the commonsense of people living in the English speaking world.

The quotations that lead off my argument prove to be shining examples of the effect communal identity can have on contemporary politics. Composed in Britain nearly 1000 years apart in different historical dialects of the same language, both represent a leader's rousing call on his people to unify themselves in the face of an external threat. Interestingly enough, neither quotation is particularly specific on who the people that need uniting are. Instead references are made to vague collectives (the "we" in Churchill; the "people [*fo/c*]" in Britnoth). But the resolve of these groups to never give up is clear.

In the case of Churchill it is not too hard to determine who he means, and how he used the past to unite this group of people in the face of the Third Reich, because a wealth of his speeches, opinions, and writings are available to us. In his first speech on the topic of World War II, for example, Churchill summoned the courage of his constituents by calling on them to live up to the pedigree of their ancestors (implying the Anglo-Saxons, naturally),<sup>1</sup> while in later speeches he describes all the individuals living in Britain's colonies as a single people who have "journeyed across centuries, oceans, and mountains"<sup>2</sup>as a united nation and race with the heart of a lion.<sup>3</sup> For Churchill, therefore, one can make a relatively easy case that he saw the people of Britain, and those who descended from this Motherland, as a group unified through their shared past and

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<sup>1</sup> "There is a generation of Britons here now ready to prove itself not unworthy of the days of yore and not unworthy of those great men, the fathers of our land, who laid the foundations of our laws and shaped the greatness of our country." War Speech (Churchill 1974, 6152).

<sup>2</sup> "We have not journeyed across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy." Some Chicken Some Neck (Churchill 1974, 6541).

<sup>3</sup> "I am very glad that Mr Attlee described my speeches in the war as expressing the will not only of Parliament but of the whole nation. Their will was resolute and remorseless and, as it proved, unconquerable. It fell to me to express it, and if I found the right words you must remember that I have always earned my living by my pen and by my tongue. It was the nation and race dwelling all round the globe that had the lion heart. I had the luck to be called upon to give the roar." Eighteenth Birthday (Churchill 1974, 8607).

the inherited qualities of character that accompany it, a viewpoint it seems that Governor Romney also shared.

In the case of Britnoth, on the other hand, although we can see the brave ancestors whose pedigree Churchill called upon to defend the Island against German invaders in the twentieth century we see little evidence of a communal bond based on descent. It is easy to assume the men in Britnoth's host were English, as he claims allegiance to Ethelred, a man we consider an English king, but the identities of the men under Britnoth's command are not straightforward. In the poem that records Britnoth's speech, his warriors do not identify themselves as English, nor do they use any explicit ethnic, national, or racial epithet. Instead when they call upon each other to die bravely in battle they identify themselves in relation to their lord, family, and the members of the communities whence they came. Thus, when motivating themselves these warriors do not rely on the notion of an English people, or Ethelred their king, but instead on their commander Britnoth and their relations in distant lands (Mercia and Northumbria are named, but the battle took place in Essex). Arguments can be made that they are English, Mercian, and Northumbrian, but these all result from trying to explain *their* identities using *our* conceptual categories. Indeed, this question of how to interpret the names of the ethnic or national groups of medieval Britain has been covered extensively by scholars since the Venerable Bede wrote his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* in the eighth century AD (see Chapter two), and debated ever since. In the rest of this thesis, I will argue that the tendency for contemporary scholars to look for their own type of identity in the past, rather than question what kinds of identity the people they study might have employed, is one reason for this ongoing debate. As a result, I will seek to understand not *who* the people of medieval Britain were, but *how* the individuals of medieval Britain created the concept of a unified people.

I approach the problem by arguing that the ways people create group identities and define individuals in relation to these social categories has changed over the time separating the modern English people from their Anglo-Saxon ancestors. We know from centuries of research that the people of medieval England employed different kinds of material culture, told stories with different literary conventions, and organized their political entities in ways entirely different from

our own. In the realms of art and literature these other ways of creating culture are described as “styles”, and the differences between these and contemporary approaches to the same material are well accepted. I will argue in what follows that along with the deployment of different styles of durable culture it is highly probable that the people of Anglo-Saxon England possessed a different style of identity from those contemporary scholars tend to apply to them.

The differences between medieval and modern styles of identity can be shown to have caused difficulty in the interpretation of group identities from the historical and material record, as the assumption that modern categories serve as adequate analogues to medieval practice may not be well founded. I will argue that it takes more than the study of the labels applied to different groups to understand the identities of its members. Following recent trends in literature I will show that identity is a complex social phenomenon in which people express identity choices, perceive these expressions in the actions of their peers, and combine these perceptions into self-definitions. The reconstruction of an applicable style of identity in the past requires an analyst to study each of these components on their own, and how they were articulated together.

I will accomplish my argument by taking a holistic and interdisciplinary approach to the problem of Anglo-Saxon identity, one that requires evidence, theories, and methods from several different scholarly traditions. Descriptions of what the people of medieval England called themselves are plentiful, and scholarly interpretations of these are numerous (see Chapter two). I contribute to this mountain of material by exploring specifically *how* the people of medieval England perceived the similarities they shared with their neighbors and used these perceptions to generate the groupings that create the notion of an identity. Using anthropological methods to pry apart medieval English concepts of identity, I will study how abstract concepts of identity are associated with concrete aspects of reality to see what sorts of relationships and similarities were most often used to bind groups of people together.

I provide the reader with a theoretical framework and several methods for the study of the past. In Chapter three I demonstrate how identities are composed of three articulating components. The first is form, or the way people express identity choices materially; the second is aspect, or the way a person perceives other people’s expressions; and the third is definition, or

the way people combine expressions and perceptions into categories that help guide the interpretation of group affiliation. Each of these components requires the use of a different line of evidence, and method of study. I study the form of Anglo-Saxon identity by examining similarities between artistic motifs that could have functioned to signal membership in a shared community. I explore its aspect by ascertaining how the choice of words in Old English was governed by underlying cultural categories that inform the perception of social reality. Finally, I investigate how form and aspect were articulated in practice by studying narrations of identity in Old English texts, to see how medieval authors defined their characters' identities to an audience.

At the conclusion of my thesis I will argue that the people of medieval England created social groups using a style of identity different from those we use today, and that this medieval style changed over the course of the first millennium AD. I show that people employed three primary categories of identity to which they applied different vocabulary terms and kinds of ethnic epithets. The first is based on generic physical similarity, the second on a shared sense of a place, and the third on the shared allegiances one has sworn. These categories belonged to a metaphoric complex in which smaller innate groups based on similarity and place would join together into new heterogeneous wholes in the context of feasts, assemblies, and eventually the authority of a royal court over a kingdom.

The difficulties this distinctly medieval style of identification has caused modern scholarship is then explored. I argue how the labels given to groups in the past will not line up neatly with our concepts of social collectives, especially given the fact that medieval authors likely used the same names to refer to different identity categories over the course of the first millennium AD. While we try to make sense of the group names described and recorded for us in sources like Bede, and the patterns of similar material culture we recover from the archaeological record, it is highly probable that these names and areas cannot be grasped using our concepts of identity, as the identity groups described in later historical records were likely inapplicable to the individuals who inhabited the different settlements of early medieval Britain.



## **Outline of Thesis**

I start my argument by reviewing what evidence about the identities the people of medieval Britain could possess is available for evaluation, and how its evaluation has taken place through many different contemporary lenses over the years. In Chapter two I take the reader through a variety of evidence we possess for determining the identities of the medieval English people, including historical accounts, linguistic studies, mundane and artistic material culture, and human genes. After presenting this evidence I discuss how interpretations of the material have changed over time in order to demonstrate both how scholars try to re-construct the identity of the medieval British people and the importance the Anglo-Saxon peoples have always played in the creation of English identity.

After demonstrating the importance of understanding the process of constructing identity, I will use Chapter three to lay out how we in the present can observe and understand the construction of identity in the past. At the core of this chapter, I will argue that identity is a product of human action composed of three distinct parts (form, aspect, and definition) whose articulation are liable to change. To understand what identity is, therefore, I will argue that we must recover the relationship between the abstract social construct of identity (its definition), the way it is manifest in social relationships and their markers (its form) and how people can perceive these manifestations and relate them back to the abstract social construct (its aspect). I will show that in order to understand who the Anglo-Saxons might have been, we need to address identity as all three facets in articulation, and not just attempt to understand each by itself.

In Chapters four and five I study identity in its form and aspect by focusing on how it could be manifest in things, and perceived through vocabulary terms that affect the way people can conceive of the world. I use different methods to transform the evidence we possess into data suitable for evaluating the style of Anglo-Saxon identity. In Chapter four, I use consensus analysis to determine how similar the morphological and semantic characteristics of an artistic motif were to each other in medieval Britain and surrounding territories of the North Sea, which I interpret as a proxy for the form of Anglo-Saxon identity. In Chapter five, keyword-in-context analyses, whole corpus linguistics, and cognitive domain analysis are employed to reveal cognitive categories that

affected the way speakers of Old English perceived the world, which I use to study the aspect of Anglo-Saxon identity. In Chapter six, I explore how narrations of identity in Old English texts demonstrate the articulation of the form and aspect of identity in practice, and how these definitions can be linked to different kinds of group identity.

In my concluding chapter I show that different categories were described in the changing social and political contexts that existed over the course of the first millennium AD and argue for new ways of thinking about the whole concept of Anglo-Saxon identity. We need to move away from models of scholarship based on trying to understand the identity of prehistoric and medieval Northern Europeans using the classical categories that preserve group names and the modern categories we use to interpret medieval evidence. We instead need to try and think about what categories/concepts mattered to people in the past, and how these were used in the creation of group identity. This perspective can give us a different way of thinking about their world, and ours, and can help us to understand better who the people were that we value so highly as the founding branch of our shared Anglo-Saxon heritage.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORY MATTERS: PRIOR THEORIES OF ANGLO-SAXON IDENTITY

The term “Anglo-Saxon” should be familiar to English speakers living in any part of the world today. In common speech, it refers to a suite of cultural characteristics possessed by the modern English people and their descendants, a binding force that unites the people within a certain geographical region (namely England) to each other and their diaspora, through a view of common descent, practice, and values. A simple search of newspaper articles indicates that this belief in a specific Anglo-Saxon worldview is alive and well, and has effects on issues as far ranging as Australian Aborigine law, French culture, the game of soccer, and even the management of financial markets and currencies.

This common worldview is ultimately thought to originate from one important moment in British history, the invasion of England in the fifth century AD by tribes of Germanic-speaking “folk”, who introduced new genes, language, and culture to Britain’s people. Indeed, on an island whose cultures and genetic stock were commonly changed by invasion and migration,<sup>4</sup> it is this one conquest, and one introduction, that reigns supreme and gives a defining identity to the contemporary English people and their descendants (see Geary 2002; Hills 2003 for a full discussion).

Although the public might be comfortable in perceiving the descent of a group with common values from a definite and discoverable “Anglo-Saxon” source, historians, archaeologists, and literary scholars all remain much less convinced. In the place of a real and definable group, scholars tend to argue that the term “Anglo-Saxon” is a later invention, one that likely had little to no relevance to the lives of the people who lived in Anglo-Saxon England (until at least the reign of Alfred in the late ninth century). The most extreme of them suggest that the very concept of “Anglo-Saxon” is a flawed construct of 19<sup>th</sup> century Romanticists who desired to find ancient equivalents to modern ideas of their ethnicity and territorial possessions (Brather

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<sup>4</sup>In the first millennium AD alone England was conquered and settled by at least Romans, Germans (including people from modern-day France, and the low countries), Scandinavians, and the Norman French, who all introduced important changes; and heavily influenced by the movements of Picts, Scots, Irish-gaels, and Christian monks.

2004; Goffart 2006; Harris 2007). While moderate scholars agree that the term “Anglo-Saxon” is more of a social construction than political reality, they at least allow that it might have existed at some point in the first millennium AD (Reynolds 1985; Stodnick 2006), or that the name may be anachronistic, but social processes that could have resulted in an Anglo-Saxon identity are certainly evidenced (Pohl 2005; Wolfram 1997).

At this point a disconnect should be evident between the views of scholars and the general public, one that cannot result from a general disinterest in the topic of Anglo-Saxon studies on the part of the public (see for example the publicity related to the recent discovery of the Staffordshire Hoard). What is needed, I will argue, is a way to interpret the medieval evidence we possess in a fashion that will be both applicable to the social dynamics of medieval society. I hope to provide the requisite mechanism for understanding how medieval British social identities can be perceived and interpreted by focusing on how the process of identity functions, what components it possesses, and how these components can be brought together in different ways to create coherent social groups in different historical contexts. To do so I will propose that identity is a social construct possessed of a style that changes over time. I will argue that the medieval and modern people of England used similar kinds of relationships to define their identity groups, but that the way they associated them with abstract categories of identity changed in the thousand years between medieval and modern England. Thus, although it is highly probable that the people of medieval England possessed concepts of group identity and used symbolic markers to represent them it is unlikely that they were precisely the same as the concepts and symbols employed by scholars in the last two hundred years. This difference between the styles of medieval and modern identity requires us as scholars to find new ways to think about and describe our ancestors and the effect the relationship between modern and medieval Briton has on the construction of our contemporary selves.

The study of medieval identity and how it functioned may not seem to be an issue of any great importance to our contemporary understanding of the Anglo-Saxon worldview mentioned above, especially since the changes I discuss occurred well over a millennium ago, and the records and evidence we have to perceive them are spotty at best. Yet it is these ancient people

who give the contemporary English and their descendants a shared sense of identity. In many ways it is the imagination of an Anglo-Saxon past that binds the speakers of English together, just as it might have bound people in the past. The following survey will also point out that the English people at various points in their history took great pains to imagine and re-imagine the settlement of England in the fifth and sixth century AD as a foundational event for contemporary history (Wormald 1994). Thus, for the English people, the relationship between historical and contemporary Britain has always had an impact on how they perceive themselves and conduct their social lives. To study the way the evidence of an Anglo-Saxon identity can be processed and interpreted, therefore, is of some relevance to understanding how we contemporary people use their perceptions of the past to define ourselves.

In this chapter I hope to accomplish three tasks. First, I will provide a sketch of the basic lines of evidence with which we can interpret the identities of the people who conquered Britain in the fifth century AD. Second, I describe the variety of interpretations that have been applied to these lines of evidence and how they have changed over time. Third, I contextualize these discussions and outline how I plan to contribute to this long-running debate by describing a uniquely Anglo-Saxon style of identity in order to show how it relates to and differs from our modern ways of creating social groups.

### **Evidence of Anglo-Saxons in British Society**

The proposition that an “Anglo-Saxon” social group existed, and provided a genetic and social basis for the modern English people, was not created in a vacuum. We have multiple lines of evidence that suggest important changes to British society were introduced by peoples who originated from the areas of the European mainland and Scandinavia that border the North and Baltic Seas (people I will call Settlers in this chapter, as a shorthand). These changes took place in the context of the collapse of the Roman Empire in the middle of the first millennium AD and the effective end of its economic, political, and military systems. Four primary lines of evidence are employed by contemporary scholars to interpret the effect these Settlers had on British society: material culture; linguistic analysis; the genetic or molecular makeup of individuals, and historical records. I will outline the hallmarks of each branch, so that the reader will have

something concrete to employ as I discuss the ways scholars have evaluated them. A topic this large cannot be covered in its entirety in one volume, let alone a section of a chapter, and I do not pretend that I am capable of achieving it. What I hope to focus on is the way evidence in Britain possesses both strong similarities and marked differences from contemporary material we recovered from Scandinavia and on the Continent.

### *Historical sources*

All discussions of the Anglo-Saxon identity must begin with the historical record that characterizes the changes made to British society in the fifth century AD as the result of a conquest and resettlement of the island by a specific set of peoples from modern day Germany and Denmark. Before discussing the “history” of the barbarian peoples of Europe, one must recall that no contemporary documents were written by the folk who lived to the north of the Roman *limes*. Instead we possess a record created for us either by Greek and Roman writers, or by later “Germanic descendants” of these peoples or tribes, the latter likely combining oral traditions with newly created origin myths, and the written sources of their Classical neighbors (Gillett 2002; Goffart 2006; Wells 1999; Heather 2008; Heather 2010). Thus, we must be wary before we assign too much precision to any history of the ancient Germanic peoples.

The earliest narrative of the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain is set down for us in a Latin document titled *On the Ruin of Britain*, by a monk named Gildas (1978). Although it can be shown that Gildas had clear motives for writing a polemic against the political climate of England in the sixth century AD, his knowledge of specific details of ancient practices employed by the people of northern Europe and Scandinavia suggests he possessed a real familiarity with the subjects of this study he names the “Saxons” (Higham 1994, 1:40–41).

Gildas’ sermon on the ruin of Britain serves as an important source for its detailed discussion of how the Saxons came to overthrow British rulers and claim control over the island. According to this version, under pressure from northern invaders, a British tyrant asked Saxon warriors to come to England to provide military aid. Gildas describes them as rapacious wolves who cannot wait to devour the sheep, and soon enough they observe the weakness of the British rulers, overthrow them, and take control of the island. Their control over the island is then

extended through the following fifty-some years, before the British make a remarkable (and divinely sanctioned) stand at Mount Badon, temporarily halting the Saxon conquest of Britain, at which point Gildas stops his account.

Though Gildas' sermon is full of chronological difficulties, the basic idea that Saxon warriors entered Britain by invitation and revolted against her leaders is also attested briefly in some contemporary Continental sources (Heather 2010, 277–280). And, by the beginning of the sixth century, when Gregory the Great sent his mission to the people of England, the sources suggest that the area of England is clearly under the control of a pagan Germanic group he names the “Angles/Angels” (*gens Anglorum*) in a literary play on words (Wood 1994).

What is most important to note about Gildas is his claim that a group of people who can be defined with one term (in this case “Saxon”) were responsible for the changes that occurred in Britain. Gildas is not the first writer to mention the Saxons as a group. They appear in writings from earlier periods and seem to have been mariners who lived along the North Sea littoral and raided the coasts of the Roman Empire. It is likely that their name is derived from a word used for a dagger in ancient Germanic (*seax* in Old English) (O. Robinson 1992, 100), which suggests that the Romans named them for their specific military character, rather than applying a purely ethnic term, and likely connotes a sense similar to the modern notion of “raiders” or “pirates”. Gildas is therefore recording a version of the *adventus Saxonum* that suits his personal political and literary goals of chastising the British and creating a group of model invaders whose duty it is to act as a scourge for the wicked. Although his narrative was likely embellished, its basic features are adopted by later writers. Indeed, it is commonly accepted that his account was known by the Venerable Bede, and incorporated into his influential *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentes Anglorum*.

It is Bede's ecclesiastical history of the people/race of the Angli (or perhaps English, see McKinney 2011) that forms the most influential and debated account of the transition from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England. Bede was a monk who composed his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentes Anglorum* (HEGA) in the early eighth century; it survives for us in remarkably pristine condition with likely as few transcription errors as a modern book (Bede 1992, xxxix). As a scholar Bede is given paramount status among all the historians of the origins of barbarian

peoples and their conversion to Christianity, and his discussion is sometimes taken at face value (Goffart 1988, 235).

His most important assertion, for my purposes, occurs in Book I Chapter XV, where he describes in detail the arrival of three powerful and distinct Germanic tribes who provided the stock population for groups known to Bede in the eighth century. These tribes are the Jutes, who are said to be the progenitors of the people living in Kent, the Isle of Wight, and a nation of Jutes living among the West Saxons; the Saxons from whom are descended the West, South and East Saxons; and the Angles who sired the East Angles, the Midland Angles, the Mercians, and all the people of Northumbria. Bede also provides homelands for each of these tribes, which are convenient cognates to the people who departed from them. Thus, the Saxons came from Old Saxony in modern Germany, the Angles from a place said to be named Angulus which is now shared by Germany and Denmark, and the Jutes from a Jutish province (potentially modern Jutland in Denmark) that borders Angulus. Although three distinct peoples are reported in I.XV, as the work progresses Bede begins to use the terms “Angle” and “Saxon” interchangeably. Furthermore, as Chadwick points out, when Bede refers to the groups together in later chapters of Book I the conjunctions he uses to connect them would be rendered in English as “or”, not “and,” implying that Bede himself did not draw as sharp a distinction between the groups as his account in I.XV suggests (Chadwick 1907: 59).

Bede provides us with an appealingly straightforward narrative that gives the impression of truthfulness. His description of the invasion makes intuitive sense to modern readers familiar with English geography, as most of Bede’s peoples are recalled by place-names still in use today (e.g., the West-Saxons are preserved in Wessex, the South Saxons in Sussex, the Angles in Anglia, etc.). Thus many scholars have taken Bede’s suggestions of three important seed nations to be essentially true. He also provides us with the names Hengest and Horsa, warrior brothers who are responsible for the original conquest of England.

A few basic caveats must be noted regarding the apparently simple interpretation of Bede. First, the words and concepts he uses are much more difficult to translate than they seem (especially his use of *gens* [for a full discussion see (Brooks 2003)]. Second, his connections



between place-names and people might only exist because Bede was working backwards from places and people known to him, rather than working forward from historical documents (e.g., Brink 2008; Stodnick 2006, 342–3). And third, some of the “facts” Bede reports (especially the Saxon leaders Hengest and Horsa) appear to result from a mythological trope common to all of the Germanic tribes of early medieval Europe, whereby two brothers, usually warrior heroes, found a new nation out of a process of migration from an ancestral homeland (Howe 1989; Wolfram 1994).

Two other prominent first millennium sources record a tale similar to the one preserved for us in Bede; these are the *Historia Brittonum* sometimes attributed to Nennius (Nennius 2005) and The *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* (Anonymous 1996). Both of these documents come from much later time periods (the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively) and have very specific agendas to promote. In the case of the *Historia*, which was written in the predominantly Celtic/Welsh parts of Britain (i.e., those areas the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes never conquered), it seeks to create an origin myth and national importance for the people of Britain who were not supposed to have descended from Germanic stock. The *Chronicle*, on the other hand, gives a year by year account of important events that transpired in English history throughout the first millennium AD and in doing so promotes the importance of the Germanic ancestors to the current Anglo-Saxon peoples (especially to King Alfred in whose court it was first compiled). Thus, it possesses a focus on political leaders and the important roles they played in the conquest, defense, and governance of Britain.

Like Bede, each of these documents records a more detailed description of Gildas’ tale of the migration of the Saxons to Britain. Though they both agree that the changes were initiated by warriors under Hengest and Horsa, they give the impression that these were not the only invaders to arrive from across the North Sea. In the *Historia*, while recounting the tale of Arthur, it is reported that his success led the Saxons to call over more and more of their kin until such a time as they controlled the entire island. The *Chronicle*, on the other hand, records the names of several warbands and the names and genealogies of their leaders. Both documents end their description of the migration at the mission of Augustine, by which time Britain is described as a

region with distinct peoples ruled over by kings of local stock, who become the main actors in British history.

The accuracy and historicity of both the *Historia* and the *Chronicle* are often called into question (Kleinschmidt 2001a). Apart from their obvious agendas that seek to glorify and justify later rulers and polities with historical antecedents, they are also thought to rely heavily on myth, legend, and the general inventiveness of their authors. These characteristics do not exclude them as potential sources, however, as evidence exists that they employed and preserve material from earlier sources that we no longer possess, but their specifics should only be referred to with a high degree of skepticism.

What we have in the historical record, it appears, is a story that has been embellished throughout successive iterations by later writers. The common wisdom presented by these sources is that at some point in the middle of the fifth century AD Germanic invaders started coming to Britain and continued to do so until the late sixth century, by which time petty kingdoms were established and encountered by Christian missionaries. It should also be noted that the historical record, though it emphasizes one initial incursion, suggests that multiple waves of migrants came to Britain and that they met with various degrees of success in conquering the native populations and settling their lands. As I have heretofore hinted, there are larger issues with the way these documents have been interpreted, many of which have ebbed and flowed with respect to the same pressures the documents are criticized for succumbing to: nationalistic sentiment, a desire to please a sitting ruler, and a need to justify the current political climate by appealing to a putative past society. I return to these issues below, once I have summarized other forms of evidence for the Anglo-Saxon migration.

#### *Material Evidence*

The second major form of evidence for the arrival of Germanic influence and the creation of an Anglo-Saxon identity in Britain comes from abundant material remains recovered from archaeological investigations over the last few centuries. The nature of the evidence, in general, is the appearance in Britain of new styles of material culture that share distinct similarities with the people who lived in the same general areas that the historical record suggests formed the

homeland of Bede's Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The predominant forms of evidence include new forms of architecture, settlement, and economic organization; mortuary rituals and their accompanying goods; and art and personal adornments.

#### Architecture

At the start of the fourth century AD a large portion of the British population lived in an urban network of sites with Roman style dwellings, participated in a market economy that spanned most of the European continent, and were protected from external threats by a centrally organized military. Their cities possessed Roman characteristics and were organized in a way that facilitated Roman civic life. By the middle of the fifth century the western portion of the Roman Empire had effectively collapsed as a functioning social, economic, and political entity, which had significant consequences for the urban character of Europe (H. Clarke and Ambrosiani 1991, chap. 1; Hodges 2000, 35–69). The quintessential features of Roman settlement (i.e., its towns and villas) appear to have been largely abandoned or reoccupied in new ways that took advantage of their standing structures but reimagined their functions (Hamerow 2005; Lewit 2005). Thus, while people continued to live in small settlements, these no longer show evidence for a Roman concern with public life and public spaces and by-and-large do not appear to have formal organization (Hamerow 2002; Powlesland 1991; Powlesland 1997; Powlesland 2003; West 1986).

Building techniques and architectural structures also underwent a significant shift. Instead of using material common to the Roman Empire (i.e., stone and concrete), the people of Britain largely used less durable materials such as wood and turf. Two new types of edifice appear in Britain in the fifth century that signal a connection between her people and those of the Continent. The first and likely earliest transmission was the Sunken-Featured-Building (hence SFB), which generally consisted of little rectilinear or oval hollows accompanied with between two and four post-holes (Chapelot 1980; Chapelot and Fossier 1985; Farnoux 1987; Tipper 2004). Their function remains under debate, as scholars cannot agree whether they served as specialized workspaces (Chapelot and Fossier 1985, 113–127; Hamerow 2002, 33–4), domestic quarters (Chapelot 1980) or cellars to above ground structures (Farnoux 1987; Tipper 2004; West 1986,

23), but they do represent an example of the movement of a new concept of architecture and space into Britain during the period of the Anglo-Saxon migration.

The second form of building is an above ground timber-hall, which belongs to a long tradition from central and northern Europe (but not the British Isles) for the creation of large rectilinear farmhouses as the focus of a domestic unit (e.g., Herschend 1993). These buildings are larger and more uniform in plan than the SFB, and although some regional variation can be seen, their most common model by far is the 'two-square house,' so called because their plans represent a rectangle easily divided into two equal square spaces (Addyman 1972; Hamerow 2002, 46–51; James, Marshall, and Millett 1984; Marshall and Marshall 1993).

Both types of building share forms similar to structures and settlements found across the North Sea, though the relationship between them remains under some debate. Some arguments suggest that they are similar enough to represent a regulated regional building practice or guild (Zimmerman 1988), while others argue they represent a completely different concept of space (Dixon 1982), and some see a hybrid of the two (Hamerow 2002, 48–51).

Apart from the changes to the character of settlements in Britain, the ways they were organized and dependent upon each other were altered in this period. Indeed, as part of a long-term process that saw a significant decline in and then re-emergence of market economies and long-distance trade in the latter half of the first millennium (Hodges 1982; Hodges 2000), the settlements of Anglo-Saxon England changed their relationships to each other in the transition from the Roman to the Anglo-Saxon period. During the transitional period between the withdrawal of Roman authority and the arrival of Augustine's mission it appears that the people from East Anglia altered their diets, reducing the amount of marine proteins they consumed and increasing their reliance on certain domesticates such as pig (Montgomery et al. 2005). Along with these shifts, Anglo-Saxon settlements became much more self-reliant and imported less food from non-local sources (Crabtree 1991; Crabtree 1996).

### Mortuary Remains

Cemeteries represent the most abundant and well discussed source of evidence we possess for understanding the transition from Roman to Anglo-Saxon England (for recent reviews

see Dickinson 2002b; Lucy 2000; Lucy and Reynolds 2002; Williams 2011). They form such an important component in any argument about the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England because they provide us with durable and easy to find remains (indeed the majority of the material culture discussed in Anglo-Saxon studies comes from burial contexts), they appear to show a clear and definite break in mortuary tradition with the preceding Roman period, and they show a clear pattern that could support the historical record.

As Dickinson (2011, 229) suggests, the Anglo-Saxon mortuary ritual of the fifth and sixth century is best described as 'accompanied burial' since the goods possessed by the deceased and the rituals used to process their remains may vary locally, but the overall practice of depositing a dressed corpse with accoutrements provides a common linking factor. This style of burial contrasts markedly with unfurnished Roman and Christian burials and is thought to derive from native northern European religious practices. In cemeteries from all over England individuals are found either cremated or inhumed and in possession of a reasonably standard suite of grave goods, such as beads, jewelry, horse gear, and buckets. What is most important about the burial rites for my purposes are the striking similarities evidenced between the English examples and those from the areas of the Continent from which the Anglo-Saxon Settlers are purported to have arrived (e.g., Härke 1990; Hills 1998), and the difference they exhibit from late Roman burials in Britain (Philpott 1991, 50–52). Similarities with continental practices are especially evident in the styles of burial urns and the ways they were decorated (Hills 1983; Myres 1969). Many reasons for these similarities have been proposed and will be discussed below.

Despite the broad similarities evidenced in fifth and sixth century burial rites, significant local variation is evident. Important for understanding how burials were originally used as evidence for Anglo-Saxon occupation is their broad clustering into three geographic regions, with similarities to different zones of the European mainland. These three zones are: 1) Kent and the Isle of Wight, which tied closely to the Jutland peninsula in Denmark; 2) East Anglia, which shows strong similarities to Schleswig Holstein in Germany; and 3) Wessex and Essex, which show closer ties to Frisia in the Netherlands, and Lower Saxony in Germany. Though much recent work

has been done to refine these patterns, in general it is still agreed that broad scale patterns can be observed and must be interpreted.

### The Arts

The collapse of the Roman Empire had its effects on the arts of the period as well. Along with the cessation of the Romanized town, villa, and house came the end of monumental art designed for its own sake. In the place of prominently displayed public and domestic art the craftsmen of Britain begin to decorate objects that served a variety of practical functional purposes (especially fastening clothes) and likely acted as symbols of status, rank, ethnic, and political affiliation. Such items were usually worn on the person or employed during communal meals and feasts. Dress-fasteners and various other forms of brooches became the premiere media for decoration, and though the forms are new, they are agreed to result from the adoption of provincial Roman fashions from the Danube and Rhine frontier zones (Haseloff 1981). Subsequently, however, the zone of greatest innovation in art and fasteners comes from Scandinavia, as smiths and their patrons in Norway and Denmark appear to have been especially influential in the spread of these styles (Hines 1984; Høilund Nielsen 2009; Høilund Nielsen and Kristofferson 2002). Decorated objects are most often found associated with women in burial assemblages (Fisher 1988; Hines 1997, chap. 7), though some examples occur on objects considered to be the property of men, especially weapons (Magnus 1999; Hedeager 2000; Dickinson 2005).

The smiths of the early medieval period decorated these personal adornments with complex designs that can be glossed as Germanic animal art, a style of decoration completely different from the Roman period but eerily similar to the arts of the preceding Iron Age from across Northern Europe (c. 500 BC – AD 1) (Jacobsthal 1944). The series of styles that make up Germanic animal art are thought to have developed in southern Scandinavia during the early fifth century AD and spread rapidly throughout the rest of Northern Europe shortly thereafter (Bakka 1959; Dickinson 1991; Kendrick 1934; Haseloff 1974; Haseloff 1981; Høilund Nielsen 2003, 194–7; Laing 2007).

The most popular subject matter of Germanic animal art is, not surprisingly, animals (Speake 1980; Hicks 1993), yet the human form, especially the face, is also commonly depicted. The subject matter of Germanic animal art is depicted in a highly schematic manner that has very little to do with how its subjects appear in nature (Dickinson 2002a). In fact, many depictions are more interested in hiding their subject matter within patterns of complex geometric motifs, so that the animals either have to be reassembled in the mind, or reveal themselves only when seen from one particular point of view (e.g., Leigh 1984; Kristofferson 1995). This preference for complex and mysterious designs has led to interpretations that the art was crafted to be deliberately hard to interpret and could possess different symbolic meanings, including magical protective functions (Dickinson 2005), representations of a particular political affiliation (Høilund Nielsen 1999), and/or the representation of a common worldview based on shamanic religious beliefs (Lindstrom and Kristofferson 2001; Magnus 1999; Hedeager 2007). In fact, the similarity between objects decorated in this form of art has even been held up as evidence of a long-held preference possessed by individuals living in Northern Europe for protecting knowledge in complex patterns and revealing it only to the initiated (what Jacobsthal [1941, 317–18] called the “Celtic-Soul”). Although a uniform phenomenon in terms of basic subject matter and artistic style, different regional traditions of Germanic animal art appear to exist.

#### Summary

With this all-too-brief presentation of the material evidence I hope to emphasize three factors that indicate the nature of the relationship between Britain and the Continent in the early Anglo-Saxon period. First, there is evidence for a significant break in the stylistic traditions of material culture between the fall of Rome in the fifth century and the emergence of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the sixth. Such a break suggests significant changes in the consumptive practices and overall tastes of people in Britain. Second, the nature of these changes was not uniform either in Britain or across the greater North Sea region. Instead of a large-scale uniform regional tradition, there appears to have been significant local input in the selection and consumption of material culture styles (which likely results in the patterns of regional variation and intra-regional

similarity discussed above). Third, these changes indicate significant amounts of contact between people who lived on all sides of the North Sea basin in the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

### *Language and linguistic evidence*

The next source of evidence for the importance of the changes the Settlers made to British society (one that should appear obvious to the speakers of English today) is the predominant use of a Germanic language (see 5.2.1 for a detailed discussion) on an island that only 1500 years ago was populated largely by Latin and Celtic speakers. Indeed, some of the mystique of the Anglo-Saxon migration must come from the fact that it was these Settlers who introduced a language to the island of Britain that not only stuck in the face of later Scandinavian and Norman conquests but also went on to spread across the world along with the Commonwealth. Two primary forms of evidence must be discussed in this regard, the introduction of the language itself, and its use to create place-names that still survive today.

Before proceeding, a distinction should be made clear to readers familiar with modern relationships between written and spoken language. During the first millennium AD the people of Britain, in all likelihood, were used to speaking one language and reading or writing another. During the Roman period, for instance, it is likely that a large portion of Britons would have spoken in dialects of both Brittonic and vernacular Latin, but would have written Latin in a style enforced by the constructs of Classical *paideia* (Schrijver 2007). Thus, when Germanic-speaking settlers arrived in England to introduce their language they likely encountered a population already familiar with multiple languages or dialects, and individuals of a learned class who were prepared to employ a different language known only to themselves and other elites (e.g., Gildas).

Three interesting factors must be discussed in regards to the introduction of the Anglo-Saxon language to what was to become England. First is the fact that it happened, which is significant for supporting the idea that Germanic-speaking settlers had an important impact on British society. Second is the Old English pattern of borrowing loan-words from the native dialects of Britain, and third is the interesting case of Old English's relative uniformity and its distinct differences from Middle English. The first point requires little further comment, apart from noting that English has not only survived, but also flourished in spite of the influx of new settlers and



languages to the island in the millennium and a half between its introduction and my use of it here, so I will proceed with the second.

As Richard Coates (2007) has argued, the way Old English borrowed very little vocabulary from the native tongues of the inhabitants of Britain is peculiar compared to most cases of colonial entanglement. Modern English has a tendency to borrow liberally from the people its speakers have conquered,<sup>5</sup> yet linguists who study Old English can find no more than 15 borrowings from Brittonic and most of these are disputed (Coates 2007, 177). Place-names tell a slightly different story (see below), but in general such limited borrowing of one language by another requires some degree of explanation and provides good evidence for the adoption of some kind of Germanic worldview, attached to Old English, in Britain.

The distribution and form of Old English shows a different picture from its lexical borrowings. Indeed, scholars generally agree that upon its introduction to Britain the dialect of Old English was highly varied and likely included speakers of many different Germanic dialects (Nielsen 1998). Evidence of this is neatly summarized by Trudgill (2010, 6–7), who points out that Old English preserves four variants of the word “first” (*ærest*, *fyrst*, *forma*, *foremesta*), two for the word “whether” (*hwæðer*, *hweder*), and that the verb “to be” is an amalgamation of two different verbal paradigms. Each of these situations can be explained by reference to cognates in different Germanic dialects, which in turn implies that the Settlers were likely not a linguistically uniform group.

In spite of this, the written form of Old English we possess remained relatively uniform for several hundred years and only lost its uniformity after the arrival of the Norman invaders in 1066 (Tristram 2007). To be clear, by using the term “uniformity” I do not deny the existence of dialectical variation in Old English; we know that different dialects were employed by and were influenced by different ruling groups and the scribes they employed from 600-1066 AD (Toon 2008). Instead, I use the term uniformity to describe a situation in which the syntax and vocabulary of *written* Old English remained stable for several hundred years before curiously

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<sup>5</sup> Modern English has borrowed thousands of words many of them quite common (e.g., “pajama”, “tomato”, “thug”, “kangaroo”).

adopting new syntactic and morphological features after the conquest of the island by the Normans in 1066 and the effective end to Anglo-Saxon hegemony it caused. After this time a few striking changes occurred in the English language, especially the simplification of its case-system and the appearance of new verbal means for expressing ongoing and completed action. These changes (along with others) signal the arrival of a new dialect (Middle English) that is significantly different from that introduced by Anglo-Saxon Settlers.

The significant difference between Old and Middle English is attributed by many scholars to instances of culture contact in the first millennium between individuals speaking West-Germanic (i.e., Anglo-Saxon) dialects in England, those speaking a dialect of Celtic (i.e., the Welsh), and those speaking a North-Germanic dialect (i.e., the Vikings who conquered a large portion of Northern England near the end of the first millennium (Lutz 2009; Tristram 2004; Tristram 2007; Trudgill 2010, 1–36; Schrijver 1999). The argument suggests that Middle English is both highly simplified from Old English and possesses relatively rare new verbal structures that are present in the tongue of their Welsh neighbors, because a set of people who were not writing down their spoken words likely had significant interactions with these speakers. In fact, based on other instances of linguistic contact, it can even be hypothesized that adult-learners caused this impact to be felt in English, since adults tend to have more difficulty adapting to the morphological operations of a language than children. Thus, in all probability it appears that a simpler form of Old English was spoken by non-elite individuals in the countryside, which began to be recorded more freely after the Norman Conquest introduced French into the courtly contexts of England as the language for the elite. Old English, as it is preserved for us, appears to result from elite contexts where strict control was enforced to maintain a social distance between the ruler and the ruled, and this is evidenced to some extent in the relationship between the distribution of the Old English dialects and the existence of powerful political centers (Toon 2008). Our written evidence (much like documents from earlier periods) results from a specialized dialect reserved for people with special knowledge (Tristram 2007, 201; Trudgill 2010, 15).

The second form of linguistic evidence that must be considered is preserved in the names of geographic and geological features of the English landscape. As with linguistics the

study of place names is an entire field in its own right, which I cannot fully summarize here (Cameron 1996; Gelling 1978; Gelling 1984; Mills 1998; Watts, Insley, and Gelling 2004). In brief, the names of many contemporary English places contain elements in them of an Anglo-Saxon origin. These are most commonly seen in the use of Germanic words for topographical or demographic features as suffixes in the place's name. Famous examples include *-ham* (homestead, farm), *-cester* (settlement of Roman descent), *-shire* (a regional land division) and *-bury* (fortified settlement). These suffixes provide evidence of Germanic-speakers because they allow the translation of our place-names, which function only as indicators of a location, into descriptive terms that obtained at some point in the past. For instance, Canterbury becomes the "Fortress of the Kent-Dwellers" when translated into Old English, in reference to the fact that it was the central fortified settlement in the area known (both then and now) as Kent. Although much can be learned from place-name evidence, only certain key features will be pointed out here.

First, as with the language of English, the fact that locations in Britain contain fossilized examples of a Germanic language spoken by the Settlers indicate not only their presence, but also their importance. The renaming of some localities by the incoming migrants speaks to a break in the social continuity of England, as place-names are often only changed when the old name is lost or a new group does not know it (Gelling 1978, 88). In contrast, the fact that certain features (especially important rivers, mountains, and forests) maintained their Celtic names tells us that the invaders could not have completely ignored or exterminated their neighbors, since it appears that the conventional names of famous locations were adopted by the incoming migrants, presumably to make sense of a landscape that was not a completely blank slate. London, for example, is a name with unknown roots, while the Thames (one of the largest rivers in Anglo-Saxon territory) preserves its Celtic name (Coates 1998).

Second, the record of place-names helps us to understand the relationship between people and the lands they inhabited. Germanic personal names were frequently employed in place-names, and it appears that often times certain locations took on the name of the people who settled them (Gelling 1978, 162–191). And third, place-names can record other details that

might be lost from people who kept no historic records, especially concepts of the landscape (Gelling 1984), the preservation of ancient ritual and cult activities (Gelling 1978, 130–162), and the indications of a social organization based on the importance of central gathering places that may aid our understanding of the social structure of Anglo-Saxon England (Meaney 1997; Pantos and Semple 2004).

The language used in early medieval Britain appears to have been introduced by speakers of many different kinds of Germanic dialects. The difference between these dialects is hard to detect as most were employed by people who either did not produce records, or whose records are no longer extant. The reasonably standard form of the language we possess came to be because it was written down by scribes who worked in tandem with important political centers that maintained a standardized written dialect separate from the tongues spoken by commoners in the countryside. Place-names reinforce for us the idea that the local population was not completely exterminated, but instead suggests that some degree of interaction between Germanic-speaking Settlers and Brittonic-speaking natives occurred, a notion that accords with the hypothetical existence of pidgin tongues in the countryside. Thus, the linguistic evidence for Britain suggests the arrival of a heterogeneous, socially powerful group, who were capable of enforcing change on British society.

#### *Genetic heritages*

The final line of evidence to be discussed is the presence of genetic markers in modern and ancient British populations. In brief it can be demonstrated through genetic markers that the populations of the southeastern portion of Britain (which is the area of heaviest Anglo-Saxon settlement) share a closer genetic makeup with individuals from the adjacent European Continent (especially in the modern Netherlands, or ancient Frisia), than they do with their neighbors in the north and west of Britain (i.e., her Celtic-speaking populations) (Capelli et al. 2003; Weale et al. 2002). The specific makeup of Y-chromosome genetic markers has also been taken to suggest that the population of incoming migrants in the period were largely male (Thomas, Stumpf, and Härke 2006), but the interpretations of this evidence remain inconclusive (Pattinson 2008; Thomas, Stumpf, and Härke 2008). There is a complicating factor that the people of Britain

appear to have been mingling their genetic stock with individuals from the Atlantic facade of Europe since the last glacial period (McEvoy et al. 2004; Töpfer et al. 2006). Still, it appears that some new genes were introduced to Britain from the areas from which the Settlers are purported to have originated.

The genetic data confirm that the demography of Britain was changed by the addition of at least *some* new people who happen to originate from the Northern coasts of the European mainland. Unfortunately, it can also be taken as “scientific” proof of ancient and medieval tales, which it most certainly is not. As Robert Hedges (2011) discusses, much work still needs to be done in order to tell the difference between migrants who came to Britain during the Anglo-Saxon period and those who came before or after. There is also the problem of assuming that the addition of genetic material is a proxy for the arrival of a social group or identity. Although there is support for the idea that genes, language and culture can and do move as a united front, this is not always the case, and sometimes changes in one can be unrelated to the preservation of the others (e.g., Ortman 2010; Ortman 2012). Thus, it cannot be assumed *a priori* that the arrival of new genes explains the arrival of an Anglo-Saxon identity in England. Instead it can only suggest that people of a different genetic makeup played a role in the process.

#### *Summary of the evidence*

As should be apparent by now, we possess a great deal of evidence to support the perception of a movement of people from the Continent to Britain in the wake of Rome’s withdrawal from the politics and society of the island. Multiple historical documents record the arrival of Germanic speaking warriors (and in some cases their families) from the northern reaches of the European Continent, who are reported to have overthrown British society and established a new order. Archaeological evidence provides a complementary picture as new styles of building, art, burials, and economic organization with marked similarities to traditions in other North Sea nations arrive in Britain at around the same time the historical record indicates Britain was conquered by Anglo-Saxons. Genetic markers indicate that the people of southeastern Britain interbred more often with people from the other side of the North Sea than their insular counterparts. And last, but not least, linguistic evidence suggests that a significant

shift in language occurred in the middle of the first millennium AD, where the native tongues in Britain were replaced by those spoken by peoples from the other side of the North Sea. The ways this evidence has been interpreted, or brought to bear, on the transmission and creation of an Anglo-Saxon identity in Britain is the next topic of discussion.

### **What We Have Thought: from Evidence to Argument**

In this section I hope to demonstrate how the evidence presented above has been incorporated into theoretical narratives that explain the past in a way that makes sense to the present. As most debates are built upon successive generations of scholarship I will present the common views of what “Anglo-Saxon” means and the effects this meaning had on contemporary British affairs in terms of the different scholarly generations that produced them, which I will contextualize within the broader academic, political, and social trends that may have influenced them.

*Inqyre for the olde way, for it may be more right*

The notion that the people who lived in Britain shared an identity, or a national character at the very least, which formed the basis for their descendants' approaches to life and society is as old as the scholarship on Anglo-Saxon material itself. Interest in the history and culture of the Anglo-Saxon period began in earnest in the sixteenth century, after the Reformation movements that split the Anglican Church off from Rome and Enlightenment interests in individual freedom and a liberal education began to develop (Flower 1935; Murphy 1982). In this era the churchmen and politicians of England wanted to explain why and how their views on governance and religion were different from (and, of course, superior to) those of their Continental neighbors. In general, it can be said that the primary goal of reading Anglo-Saxon documents was to retrieve a purer English past, one whose institutions were not sullied by the Norman-Yoke (Horsman 1976). This resulted in a scholarly focus on Anglo-Saxon materials that applied to contemporary social and political issues, such as their law codes, sermons, and vernacular renditions of scripture. The study of the literature and language had only a minor impact on English thought until approximately the end of the eighteenth century, in part because of a lack of interest in

understanding Anglo-Saxon poetics led to poor translations and appreciation of the poetry (Glass 1982; Payne 1982).

In the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon scholarship the issue of whether or not an Anglo-Saxon identity existed in England was not a question, but a well-accepted truth. The citizens of early modern England used their belief in a pure and distinct Anglo-Saxon past as a means to promote and guide the social changes they were conducting as they split from the Catholic Church and experimented with ideas of non-absolutist monarchies. Thus, they used a past perception of “Englishness” (that is the way of the people who lived *in England*) to guide the way they wanted to transform their society. But the question remains, what did they mean when they referred to an Anglo-Saxon past, and what characterized this identity and distinguished it from others?

At the risk of over-generalizing, this period was one in which the Romantic concept of the “free German” began, where the ancient Germanic peoples were praised for their maintenance of individual liberties and martial valor. These concepts of an idealized past before the Norman Conquest were not based entirely on what we would call the identity of the English people. The separation between English ideals and Continental ones seems to largely be a matter of geography rather than descent. In many ways it would be more correct to suggest that a specific character or behavior of the people living in England was at issue, not an inherent nature of the individual English psyche. Such a view follows the broader Enlightenment perception that all humankind was psychically linked through rationality, which in this period downplayed the significant difference between the civilized races of Europe (Shore 1998, 15–41). As a result of this broader concern with psychic unity, there seems to be less attention paid to the specifics of different group identities like Angle or Saxon than to the idea that something ineffable and important to the character of modern Britain came from the people who settled there in the fifth century.

Where explicit discussions of the identities of ancient British people exist, they focus primarily on explaining the relationship between the ancient Britons and the different descendants of Adam listed in Genesis. These were traced using a variety of historic sources, especially Tacitus’ *Germania*, which possessed a long list of Germanic tribal names scholars wanted to

attach to modern and medieval groups (for a full discussion (and lampoon) of the process see Piggott 1989). Within this period, therefore, theories were being created to explain the emergence of different cultural groups in reference to biblical models, which led back to an original source. Although these theories of an “Anglo-Saxon” past were not yet fully racial in the sense that they connected the people of England by descent to a putative Germanic group in the past, they set a tone for how the achievements of the modern English state were in part to be explained by the planting of Germanic roots in a fertile British soil where they could grow undisturbed, an idea that bore ripe fruit in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (White 1971).

### *19<sup>th</sup> Century nationalism and the racialization of Anglo-Saxon identity*

The next dominant period in Anglo-Saxon scholarship occurred in conjunction with the emergence of powerful nationalist movements across the whole of Europe. As eloquently (if perhaps a little too invectively) summarized by Geary (2002, esp. 15–41) it was in the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the political climate of Europe changed the nature of European identity, and, arguably (see below), the way we are capable of perceiving it (for a more extensive discussion see Anderson 1991; Hobsbawm 1992). Of particular interest to this period was the development of scientific philology and its use for nationalistic goals.

Following important discoveries in the relationships between modern languages and those from the past, scholars developed new methods for systematically comparing and contrasting different linguistic groups and their features to each other (Renfrew 1990, 1–15). It is during this period that different language families were codified, and the way they diverged from each other was laid out. This discovery of language families made explicit the relationships among the languages spoken in Europe (and elsewhere), which in turn led people to connect the nations in which languages were spoken to the people who lived within their borders through an ethnic and racial bond (Harris 2007, 1–44; Melman 1991; White 1971). Following the work of Herder (Barnard 1965) scholars began to see art, language, history, and culture as a single package possessed by and related to newly codified racial groups.

These connections were adopted by nationalists who standardized the languages of different countries (in the process extinguishing what was formerly a linguistically plural European



landscape) and then worked to suggest these standardizations represented the spirit of a definite people that could be traced back in time (Anderson 1991, 37–46), in some cases all the way to one Indo-European homeland (e.g., Renfrew 1990). It is into this context that scholars of the history, archaeology, and literature of Anglo-Saxon England attempted to fit their perspectives on the evidence laid out above.

In this general intellectual climate historians did not question the veracity of their source material, but instead traced the descent of modern groups through a variety of ancient peoples, located these ancestral groups on maps, and, more importantly, sought to explain how the superior character of certain civilizations resulted from the historical trajectory their ancestors took across Europe and the Near East. Even J.M. Kemble (1849), who explicitly states he does not believe a word of the sources on the migration to Britain, suggests that the arrival of German stock, and their inherent character, onto the island is an irrefutable truth (just one that occurred well before the fifth century). The evidence for the Anglo-Saxon migration was thus studied through a lens that saw it to represent the manifestation of deeper, immutable, cultural preferences possessed by the different races and transmitted through descent. A survey of three influential studies, spaced out across roughly a century, shows that the predominant form of historical scholarship on the Anglo-Saxon period was to rationalize the accounts made by Gildas, Bede, Nennius, and the Chronicle, either as errors of omission, transmission, or simple misunderstanding.

Sharon Turner in his *History of Anglo Saxon England* (c. 1800) repeatedly finds reasons to question his sources, yet does little to engage with his findings. In his discussion of the origin of the Saxon nation he both touts their glory and suspects their existence, since the primary source for the tribal divisions of the Germanic peoples, Tacitus' *Germania*, makes no mention of a Saxon people (S. Turner 1852, 77 ff.). Because of this omission Turner does suggest the Saxons may be more of a confederacy than a race, but he continues to discuss them, and their descendants, in racial terms, and he describes a clear homeland whence they could have travelled to Britain. In a similar vein he notes that no standard orthography for the word "Jute" exists (Turner 1852, 130)

to reinforce the idea that the Jutes are a distinct people, yet he goes on to accept them as such and places them in his historical scheme.

Writing on *the Origin of the English Nation* a hundred years later H.M. Chadwick comes to essentially the same conclusions. In his discussion about the Jutes, he too notes that little if any direct evidence remains as a testimony to them, and that the evidence we do have is clouded by confusion (Chadwick 1907, 103–117). In spite of such confusion, Chadwick finds no cause to doubt Bede's assertion that they were one of the most powerful tribes in Germany and had a direct and important impact on British society. He admits only to a dispute about the nature of their origin. Instead he suggests that the sources are imperfect and that the references we would like to a Jutish people were lost.

Sir Frank Stenton's influential *Anglo Saxon England*, which was first published in 1943, employs a similar tendency to his forebears, where he instinctively trusts the historical record all the while decrying its inaccuracies. For Stenton, however, the fact that the medieval accounts do not seem to agree on most points is of little concern because he notes that the period in which the Anglo-Saxons arrived lacks suitable records to make any definite conclusions. He concludes that although most of the specific details (including the names of the groups) were lost, the general story recorded by Gildas, Bede, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle likely occurred, because it is reinforced in multiple contexts. For Stenton, the identity of the Anglo-Saxon people and their origins is much less an issue than tracing how the people who founded the early kingdoms of Britain instituted the changes that created the political society of Anglo-Saxon England, something that becomes easier for the later first millennium AD, where written sources are better preserved.

The second half of the nineteenth century also saw the material and literary remains of past cultures harnessed to nationalistic enterprises, used as a means to express ancient cultural glory, and adopted as justification for modern political and national claims (Dietler 1994; Dietler 1998). Although not the only nation to study archaeological remains as evidence of the movement of past groups (Trigger 1990, 155–186), it was German scholars who took on an especially influential role in the development of this thought (Curta 2007; Härke 2002). Following

Kossina's (1911) idea that, "sharply defined archaeological culture areas correspond unquestionably with the areas of particular peoples or tribes,"<sup>6</sup> German scholars took the boundaries of archaeological styles and connected them to historical accounts that narrated the locations of different ethnic or tribal groups at different points in time. This zeal in Germany was accompanied by a belief that what makes modern people German citizens was not their location of birth, but the language they spoke and how they traced their descent (Härke 1998, 21–22). Such an approach, unfortunately, was employed in the extreme nationalist tendencies of the Nazi party and others, who used their interpretations of the archaeological record as a justification to invade the lands supposedly possessed by their ancestors and to exterminate the "inferior races" who shared this territory (B. Arnold 1992; B. Arnold 1996). On the Continent, therefore, this was a period where the connections between identity and material culture were considered definitive, and scholars eagerly assigned names and distributions to geographical regions purported to be the homelands of ancient culture groups.

English archaeologists were less interested in connecting past identity groups directly to their current nationalist ambitions than their German counterparts (Härke 1998), again with the exception of J.M. Kemble (1863), but they were both influenced by Continental scholarship and interested in understanding what aspects of their past came from which of the groups that invaded their island. At the turn of the century almost all explanation of culture change resulted from groups arriving on, or departing from, English soil (e.g., Haverfield 1912), and the Anglo-Saxon peoples were no exception. The most influential Anglo-Saxon archaeologist of his generation was E.T. Leeds (1912; 1913), who found reason to disbelieve the historical accounts that predate Bede, yet still made sense of the archaeological patterning with special reference to Bede's division of Anglo-Saxon society into three distinct groups.

The idea that distinct cultural identities existed and explained the differences between patterns of material culture was clear to Leeds. Indeed, he presented differences between the Roman remains and those that immediately post-dated them as firm evidence for the existence of Anglo-Saxon groups, as well as the clear differences between the remains in the "Celtic" areas of

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<sup>6</sup> As translated by Florin Curta (2007: 161)

Britain to those found in England, which he interpreted as difference between Saxon and Celt. Like his contemporaries in the historical disciplines, Leeds trusted the accounts of his ancestors and used these to interpret the archaeological patterns he found as manifestations of Roman, Saxon, or Celtic peoples. At a finer level of analysis Leeds noticed that the way English burial patterning of the period could be differentiated into four regions, three corresponding reasonably well with Bede's description of how England was divided up by the dominant tribes, and a fourth area that appeared to blend of two of them (an Anglo-Saxon zone). Leeds made this division based primarily on the types and decoration of jewelry across England, each of which he was able to connect to a corresponding region on the Continent.

The only difficulty he had in his interpretation (as with the historians) was locating the Jutes and their homelands. In the traditionally Jutish area of Kent, Leeds observed that the people of the period tended to be significantly wealthier than most of their counterparts, had wheel-thrown pottery of a different fabric more akin to their Roman predecessors, and had tight contacts with the areas of the continent directly across the channel from them (in lands believed to be Frankish). More difficult for Leeds was the idea that some of the jewelry worn by Jutish women looked like styles from the north of Denmark, while others had a closer resemblance to areas along the Rhine river in Germany. To make sense of the differences between Bede's tale and the archaeological record, Leeds suggested that the Jutes as a people must have started in Denmark where they acquired Danish preferences, moved to the Rhine area of the Continent where they altered them, and then moved to Britain bringing all of these influences in tow. What is especially interesting about this account is how Leeds' logic on the mixing of groups proceeded. He was willing to allow that the Angles and the Saxons blended together in an Anglo-Saxon zone, but he seems unwilling to consider the possibility that similarities between the Romano-British people of Kent and the Jutes would be caused by a mixture of their populations, or that the Celts played any significant part in the transformation of Britain, an unwillingness that lead other scholars to criticize his views (Jackson and Chadwick 1963).

Thus, Leeds, like other historians of his time, worked to rationalize the evidence he had rather than contradict it, even when it seemed incorrect or implausible, and he focused on the

idea that distinct cultural or racial identities were the cause for patterns in material culture. Shifts in these patterns were thought to result from the movement, or perhaps the intermingling, of related groups, though groups from different language families were not thought to affect one another. Although the most prominent of his contemporaries, Leeds was not the only archaeologist or art historian of the Anglo-Saxons to suggest that the patterns of the archaeological record were best interpreted as the remains of Bede's cultural groups and their movements from the Continent (e.g., Åberg 1926; Collingwood and Myres 1937; Kendrick 1972). Indeed, his views were not only broadly shared by his peers, they were not seriously challenged until the late 1960's.

The study of the arts in this period also saw very explicit attempts to connect masterpieces and their styles to the identities of different people. In this period the Old English poem *Beowulf* was thought to represent the distinct national spirits (and the accompanying languages) of people living in England, Scandinavia, or the greater North Sea Region depending on the scholar who argued for the connection (Bjork 1997; Shippey and Haarder 2008). Much scholarship from this period focused on using the tale as a symbol for ancient Germanic greatness and harnessing this greatness to national sentiment, something that still lives on strong amidst the general public today (Nokes 2008). This is also the period when the different nationalities began to assert their cohesion through the composition of new epics based on old mythologies or their popularization, including the Finnish *Kalevala* and Wagner's Ring Cycle.

Herder's ideas on the unity of art, culture, race and language would find eloquent and influential expression in the writings of nineteenth century Continental (especially German or German speaking) art historians. Though not focused explicitly on Anglo-Saxon identity, this work deserves brief mention here, both because it was influential (Zerner 1976) and because it provides explicit theoretical mechanisms for explaining why scholars believed there to be a link between culture, art, and style.

Three prominent art historians working within this period all made arguments that different characteristics of artistic forms were connected to deeper cultural concerns. Aby Warburg (1997; see also Gombrich and Saxl 1986) argued that different cultures possessed

forms of knowledge (*kulturwissenschaft*) that manifested deeper cultural and psychological concerns in the repeated use of specific forms, most famously his *pathos formula*, which was argued to connect people as disparate as the ancient Greeks and Modern Puebloans. Alois Riegl (Riegl and Winkes 1985), suggested that an artistic desire (*kunstwollen*) existed that drove people to express in art the way they were conditioned to see the world, which he demonstrated in the changes observed between Classical realism and Medieval symbolism, a change he interpreted to result from an increasing focus on the world we live in (i.e., reality) to the eternal world of Heaven/ New Jerusalem (i.e., a symbolic conception of a perfect world). Finally, Heinrich Wölfflin (1950) argued that fundamental means of representation existed (the linear and the painterly), which occur in a repeating historical cycle (from primitive to civilized to decadent), and reflect distinct cultural preferences, such as those seen between the German and Italian Renaissances (Wölfflin 1950, 235–7).

Art historians, therefore, directly connected the actions and perceptions of different cultures to the way they ordered and consumed their arts, and distinct styles became indicators of the essential principles held by different groups. Though the theorists discussed here were not Anglo-Saxonists, their viewpoints are evident in the discussion of ancient British (and Saxon) art in this period. Paul Jacobsthal (1941) quite explicitly connected the complex swirling motifs of Celtic and Saxon art to a “Celtic Soul” (1941, 317) that went dormant when the Romans invaded but re-emerged after they left. Such logic expresses the idea that the internal characteristics of an individual are governed by durable principles that are passed along in linguistic and racial groups, characteristics so powerful that a four-hundred-year hiatus in the face of an invading art style could not extinguish them. While Jacobsthal was the most explicit, he was certainly not the only student of Anglo-Saxon art to suggest that the similarity between objects in different media were likely due to greater cultural concerns (Leeds 1936; Kendrick 1972).

Scholarship from this period clearly connected the term Anglo-Saxon to an identity group, one that possessed definite markers and was transmitted through descent. This essentialist model of identity has been likened to a billiard ball, where the borders of different groups are impermeable to external action (apart from movement when they encounter each other), but can

be subdivided within their finite boundaries (Wolf 1982, 6). Relationships between such groups were explained based on migratory trajectories. The Settlers of Anglo-Saxon England picked up cultural traditions similar to their Continental counterparts by moving into new areas where their cultures were changed (Anthony 1990; Härke 1998; Hamerow 1994).]

What is especially important about this period, and what later scholars react to most vehemently, is the connection made between medieval identity groups and modern political goals. Within this period, the term “Anglo-Saxon” came to represent a group with a national character of individual freedoms and martial valor, distinct language, and culture that is visible in its literary and artistic legacy and forms the basis of modern racial groups. Indeed, it is this proud war-like group Churchill exhorted to defend Britain from her invaders in World War II. The extent to which these connections pollute our potential to understand identity in the past in general, and the Anglo Saxon period specifically, forms a large part of the later debates, to which I now turn.

*Constructed, imagined or non-existent identity*

The events of World War II had a rapid and profound effect on how identity, nationalism, and scholarship intertwined (see for example Chadwick 1945), and it is not hyperbole to state that the nationalistic scholarship from the prior generation came to an abrupt end in Hitler’s death camps (Heather 2008, 18–19). The consequences of nationalist endeavors, as proven by the war, led scholars to question many aspects not only of nationalistic sentiment, but also of the Enlightenment scholarship that formed its foundation. Several intellectual trends had a significant impact on the interpretation of Anglo-Saxon identity. First was the emergence of explicit debates on the nature of ethnic, social, and national identity, as well as the introduction of ideas that they were not stable and straightforward but constructed, capable of change, and situational. Second is a general theoretical focus on the importance of process and context in the interpretation of historical evidence. And third is the explicit rejection of the nationalist agenda and modernist thought, which was manifested most prominently in a variety of intellectual movements that described themselves as either “new” or “post” old forms of scholarship (e.g., New Historicism, Postmodernism).

Arguably the most important intellectual trend arising from post-war scholarship on identity and politics affecting Anglo-Saxon scholarship was a philosophical shift from an essentialist perspective to a constructivist one. As a part of this trend scholars began to question whether the categories we perceive are closed off and essential and instead argued that a variety of different practices and processes led individuals to construct reality rather than perceive it. Assumptions regarding the essential and finite nature of many of the hallmark topics in scholarship began to be re-evaluated, including whether or not authors existed or were the products of larger forces (Barthes 1977; Foucault 1998); how texts were the products of infinite intertextual relationships over which authors had no control (Derrida 1997; Kristeva 1980; Kristeva 1984); how classes might not actually exist (Bourdieu 1985); and the importance of history for understanding any particular cultural expression or movement (Foucault 1972; Greenblatt 1982).

Studies of identity were not immune to these trends. Following the work of Leach (1970) and Barth (1969), the idea that a person's identity (especially his or her ethnic identity) was a static and eternal component of his or her being was replaced with the notion that the identities are situational products of individual behavior, a trend found in non-ethnic based studies of identity as well (Butler 1993; A. P. Cohen 1985; Jenkins 2008). Nationalism itself was subject to such revisions and redefined as an imagined, or invented phenomenon (Anderson 1991; Hobsbawm 1992; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; A. D. Smith 1994). As Peter Heather suggests (2008, 21), these new approaches to identity were essentially a Copernican revolution where the materials previously interpreted as reflections of an essential identity were now thought to produce it. The literature on identity since the 1960's is legion, and good summaries are abundant (e.g., Heather 2008; Jones 1997; Pitts 2007; Polletta and Jasper 2001; A. D. Smith 1994), so I will not discuss the broader trends any further and instead will move on to discuss how these trends impact the way we conceive of the term Anglo-Saxon.

Constructivist trends in interpretation are evidenced in German scholarship on the early medieval period as early as the 1960's with Reinhard Wenskus' (1961) *Stammesbildung und Verfassung das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes*, which is considered the foundational



(although not the most influential) text of the Vienna school of thought on Germanic tribal identity. Wenskus argued that the reason groups seem to appear and disappear from the historical records (consider in this case the Jutes) is because they did not exist as *a priori* categories. He countered that they were more likely the product of ethnogenesis, wherein new ethnic groups were created out of a tribally plural collection of individuals united around a mythological ancestry they projected back into the past. The group names recorded in historical documents were thought to be more akin to armies on the move, who were motivated to remain together by crafty leaders that proposed a distinct group similarity, which, if the leader was successful enough, came to be what we would consider an ethnic identity. Thus, in this interpretation the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, were not distinct peoples but the result of kernels of tradition (*Traditionskern*) that bound together the soldiers invading England in a symbolic community. Following this logic, the Jutes disappear from history because the ethnic and socially plural group that composed them adopted another kernel to create their mutual identity (in this case it would likely be the kernel related to Old English terms like *Centware* or *Centingas* [Kent-dweller]).

Wenskus' ideas were refined and popularized by two generations of scholars trained in Vienna, who gave this school of thought its name. The most influential scholar of this tradition is Herwig Wolfram (1997; 1994), who sought to create a history of modern Germans that accepted the fact they descended from a larger collection of different peoples who eventually coalesced following the actions of their leaders, in contrast to the view that they were an "essential" group with a definite origin. For Wolfram the importance of charismatic individuals and their ability to bring a group together was paramount, as was the matter of their descent from other purportedly important or charismatic leaders and the nature of their actions and migrations across the landscape (see also Howe 1989). Germanic tribes were thus thought to be held together by their kings through military success, mythology, and the giving of gifts. Thus, if a king failed, the members of his tribe might disperse or adopt the qualities and name of another group with a more successful leader. Other scholars in this vein suggest that the focus on leaders in documents like the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle exists precisely because they form the basis of tribal social groups

and thus are more important to the story than the people who follow them (Kleinschmidt 2001a; Kleinschmidt 2001b)

Walter Pohl (e.g., 2005; 2002; 1998a; 1998b; 1997; 1994) takes the ideas of Wenskus and Wolfram even farther, provides a theoretical explanation of the process of ethnogenesis, and justifies its importance for understanding the concept of Anglo-Saxon identity. Pohl suggests that focusing on the integration of peoples under a leader is only half the story. Instead he argues that ethnogenesis “had a double function of *integration* and *distinction*” (Pohl 1998b, 5, my emphasis), by which he means that the process through which different Germanic peoples became identifiable ethnic groups involved leaders playing a complex game of asserting enough similarity between themselves to draw new members into their fledgling group, all the while stressing their important distinction from other groups and how their particular tribe is superior. His understanding of ancient Germanic ethnicity draws heavily upon Bourdieu’s ideas of social distinction and the way it is used to understand the formation of social groups (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu 1985).

Although German scholars receive much of the credit for a model of early medieval ethnogenesis, those working in the English language had similar insights, which they expressed slightly differently. Patrick Geary (1988; 1983) argued in the same period that the identities of medieval peoples were not finite, and that to understand them we must consider how people would have expressed different aspects of their identity in different situations. Patrick Amory (1993), working on legal documents, noted that the usage of ethnic terms showed no consistency, and he concluded this meant that such groups must not have had much salience. Prominent English language syntheses of the Migration Age both questioned the uniformity of the ancient Germanic peoples and suggested it was instead created in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe to explain their origins (Keynes 1995; King 1988). A host of scholars in other fields also described the larger phenomenon of Anglo-Saxon England to result from the careful actions of later kings and churchmen who sought to create a symbolic bond between the people of England (Foot 1996; Reynolds 1985; Wormald 1994), something I will return to below.

A second historical school of thought on how identity functioned in the Anglo-Saxon period was founded by Walter Goffart and is given the shorthand the 'Toronto School' (Gillett 2002; Goffart 2006). Scholars in this tradition seem to agree in principle with the idea that a plurality of tribes existed in the Migration Period and that these entities were named without any real degree of accuracy, but they disagree with the Vienna School's practice of uniting this plurality into one social and historical movement. Goffart (2006, 7) especially has taken it upon himself to dispel several core myths about the period. In particular he argues that there was no visible unity to the peoples we call Germanic, and that what unity we do perceive results from the actions of Byzantine historians and German Romanticists to invent the notion of a people. He is especially troubled by the connections between a modern Germany and an ancient Germanic group, a connection he argues grossly over-simplifies the numerous complex processes and influences that took place in the thousand or so years between Rome's fall and the Romantic discovery of the barbarian Germanic *Volk*.

Goffart's two main issues are 1) the Vienna school's attempt to find a cultural unity amongst a plurality of distinct groups, and 2) the fact that these are lodged in attempts to create a homogenous German people in the past by scholars since the Renaissance. These concerns are echoed by other scholars who show either that the concept of a Germanic people tends to obscure the fact that the peoples living outside of Rome's borders shared many influences with the empire (Halsall 2007; Wells 1999) and the fact that these Romantic perceptions of ancient identities can have damaging effects on the way colonial powers perceive their tribal neighbors (Etherington 2011; Geary 2002). In a similar vein, literary scholars began to argue that the very notion of Anglo-Saxon English is erroneous and imposes on the past a view of homogeneity based on our perceptions of the English people today (Frantzen 1990; Harris 2007). Although these criticisms are valid, they tend to be overstated, and likely result from a larger intellectual climate of rejecting Modern scholarship and a particular way of interpreting the concept of an imagined community, a point I will return to after describing the archaeological approach to similar issues.

Archaeologists studying what the Anglo-Saxon period meant for England followed a different conceptual track than scholars working with documentary evidence, but had much the same intellectual trajectory. Rather than comparing and discussing how the social groups that might have created Anglo-Saxon society existed in relation to each other, or might have named themselves, archaeologists focused on how the landscape and material culture of Roman Britain was transformed into Anglo-Saxon England (and non-Anglo Saxon Celtic kingdoms). The primary focus of these scholars was the way Anglo-Saxon peoples brought influence to the island of Britain and incorporated themselves into British society. Thus, for archaeologists the issue has been more about migration than identity (Burmeister 2000; Hamerow 1994; Hamerow 1997; Härke 1998; Higham 2007).

Starting in the 1960's archaeologists began to react against the earlier ideas that archaeological cultures represented social groups and that change in the archaeological record reflected their movement (Trigger 1990). General explanatory focus turned towards social processes, and patterns in the material record were seen as the result of different functions rather than different peoples (e.g., Binford 1962; Binford 1965; D. L. Clarke 1968), a trend that eschewed migration as a satisfactory explanatory device since it lacked a processual theory (Anthony 1990). The major impact of these views on Anglo-Saxon archaeology was the emergence of the "elite replacement hypothesis" in the 1980s (C. J. Arnold 1984; Higham 1992; Hodges 1989). This idea, championed most eloquently by Nicholas Higham (1992), proposed that the changes we observe in fifth and sixth century England were the result of a small warrior elite who came to Britain and established a new high status caste that spread influence across the island. This theory put the focus on native Britons adopting an "Anglo-Saxon" identity, based on new social models and material culture that arrived along with Germanic invaders to fill a vacuum left by the disintegration of the Romano-British social system. It was also in this period that archaeologists began to discuss more fully the influences on Anglo-Saxon material culture from regions outside of the traditional Anglo-Saxon homelands in Northern Germany and found striking similarities between the material culture of northern Scandinavia (e.g., Hines 1984) and the survival of Romano-Celtic preferences (Laing 2007).

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, interpretations of the material record have shifted towards even more complex models. Stefan Burmeister (2000) suggests that to understand Anglo-Saxon England we must contextualize it within a long-term migration process that follows rules similar to those proposed by Anthony (1990). Thomson and others (2006), using archaeological and genetic data, suggest that men with genetic material different from native Britons set up an apartheid-like system where they successfully outbred the locals. Other scholars argue that the situation was likely so complex and localized that no one overarching model of migration or culture change can fully explain the transition (Hills 2011; Hills 2003). Archaeologists, therefore, favor the notion that what we term “Anglo-Saxon” is the result of a complex social phenomenon that must be addressed with multiple lines of evidence and understood with sophisticated theoretical models that can incorporate local reactions to global processes.

This is not to say the topic of identity in Anglo-Saxon England has been dropped by scholars of material culture in the last generation. Following broader theoretical trends that saw an individual’s identity as composed of multiple different facets (Jones 1997), archaeologists explored aspects of Anglo-Saxon England not related to the ethnic or national characteristics of its people. Indeed many productive studies have been done on different facets of identity that likely existed in the period, most notably religious or ideological identities (e.g., Carver 2003; Dickinson 2005; Hauck 1985; Hedeager 2007), gender roles (Brush 1988; Lucy 1997; Stoodley 1999) , and status (Fisher 1988; Härke 1990; Lucy 2000; Stoodley 2000).

The overall picture archaeologists have presented is one of a complex landscape inhabited by people with connections to others in Britain, to zones all around the North Sea, and to their Roman and Celtic Iron Age predecessors. As is suggested by Higham, Hills, and others, we are almost certainly faced with a situation in which a heterogeneous mix of persons could easily have seen themselves as distinct from or related to a variety of people with whom they interacted. Such a picture presents a situation that inevitably must be hard to grasp. Yet within this plurality (as was noted above) there is evidence for the importance of a broader regional tradition that links together people living in Scandinavia, Britain, and the European mainland, evidenced in aspects as distinct as cognitive preferences in their art styles (Lindstrom and

Kristofferson 2001), the way they chose to build houses and organize their space (Zimmerman 1988), or the way they buried their dead (Dickinson 2011). We are left with a situation, therefore, in which we must not only explain the differences between the peoples of medieval Europe, but also their similarity, and I will propose that we need to think in terms of different kinds of identity that might have perceived similarity and difference in ways foreign to our own. In order to make a contribution to the above interpretations I need now to reconcile the contributions of the Vienna School and address Goffart's methodological critique in order to show the utility and applicability that a constructivist notion has for understanding Anglo-Saxon identity.

### **Old Stones in New Towers, re-Discovering the Anglo-Saxon People**

As mentioned above, Goffart appears to have one particular conception of what an "imagined" or "invented" community means –namely that such concepts are somehow less real than those codified in modern nation states. Thus, it troubles Goffart that we take past constructions such as the Goths as facts, when they could result from the political machinations of others. Such a view is problematic because it leads to the idea that what humans imagine can have less impact on their lives than things they experience. In taking this view Goffart appears to be adopting the more nihilistic side of the postmodern critique (e.g., Baudrillard 1986; Jameson 1991), which suggests that constructed phenomena can possess so many meanings and so few restrictions on their interpretations that they are essentially meaningless. To say a community is constructed does not mean it does not exist but that it has a specific kind of effect on its members (Anderson 1991; A. D. Smith 1994). In effect, Goffart is arguing that because we cannot study the on-the-ground perceptions of ancient Northern Europeans, we cannot understand who they were, or how they fit into the larger political and social framework of Europe, by using foreign records or modern ideas. While it is certainly fair to suggest the Roman Empire might have oversimplified the identities of its neighbors and that these simplifications have been given too much weight as historical truths since the Enlightenment, it strikes me as implausible that all of the evidence we possess for some of these groups is entirely fictitious.

In fact, if one follows the arguments of Patrick Wormald (1994), this view can obscure an important facet of English society and its Anglo-Saxon roots. England is unique amongst the

other European states (in Goffart's defense it is not England or English history he focused on in his critiques) for maintaining essentially the same political, ethnic, and national shape for over a thousand years. Indeed, it is Wormald's argument that the reason England has for so long maintained its character is precisely because its leaders and people could grasp onto an "English" community as first imagined in the seventh century and set down by Bede in his history.

The importance of imagined communities to the process of identification, and to understanding why the issue of Anglo-Saxon identity matters, forms the basis of my second criticism of Goffart. This has to do with his strong reaction to the uses of imagined pasts in nationalist agendas. In this vein Goffart, again like many other scholars from the postmodern turn, rejects the scholarship of his predecessors as irrevocably tainted with a nationalist brush. It is his argument, as mentioned above, that we "Modern" individuals are incapable of perceiving the real nature of early medieval group identities; thus we must stop trying to justify and rationalize the old narrative of migrating social groups and replace them with more local and specific views of historical processes. Goffart is right to point this out (see also Conkey and Williams 1991), but he goes too far by suggesting that we must abandon all studies of the process of ethnogenesis or the active manipulation of imagined communities in this period. In fact, the process of imagining communities, nations, or ethnic groups appears to be fundamental to English social life, and thus, in order to better understand what it means to be English today, we must understand how it was meant in the past.

When contextualized within the historiography of Anglo-Saxon studies, however, Goffart's critique does have some weight and becomes a particularly insightful way to move forward with understanding what Anglo-Saxon might have meant in the early medieval period. As mentioned above, although his argument contains polemics I can dismiss, his criticism of the Vienna School is also based on methodological concerns, especially in regards to the game of distinction that ancient Germanic leaders supposedly played. He does not disagree with the idea that different groups in the early medieval period existed and could potentially have coalesced, but he does disagree with the idea that they were *German(ic)*, or to put it another way, that they all shared some form of binding group identity. Goffart has pointed out that Pohl and the rest of the Vienna

School assume a connection between the groups of Northern Europe based on the idea that the same kernel of tradition that unites these people together today did so in the past. This assumption, and Goffart's critique of it, when taken together show the inherent problem with discussing an Anglo-Saxon identity through any interpretations of the evidence mentioned above. Namely, that if Anglo-Saxon identities were imagined in the past, and are imagined today, our notions of what this identity might mean are liable to shift along with the perspectives of those who study them.

This cycle of imagination should be apparent from the discussion presented above, and the potential impact of early medieval identity on contemporary life should be clear. The very question, 'What is an "Anglo-Saxon"?' is tied into a cycle of nationalistic imagination stretching back beyond the keeping of records in English. It can be argued that Bede was not trying to record ethnic identities in his writings, but to justify a national (or at least nationally ecclesiastical) identity that could unite the disparate tribes or kingdoms established within the territories of England in his day (Brooks 2003). A few centuries later Alfred takes up the cause and creates a new myth of the *Angelcynn*, which he uses to unite the people of England against invaders of Scandinavian origin (Foot 1996; Reynolds 1985; Stodnick 2006), a myth that survives the Norman invasion and allows English culture to survive the dominance of a French political elite in the High Middle Ages. The notion of a distinctly English people with an English way of being is revisited again when the monarch and church need a common ground to separate themselves and their people from the rest of Christendom during the Reformation (Flower 1935) and then linked directly to English nationalistic visions of themselves in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Frantzen 1990; Harris 2007). I also note that these concepts are alive and well today (Geary 2002; Nokes 2008).

It should be apparent by now that the entire trajectory of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, from Bede to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, has focused on understanding what we mean by Anglo-Saxon (or any other label given to the groups migrating in the middle of the first millennium AD), not what *they* meant through their deployment of similar styles in material culture, migration myths, social organization, and language. Goffart's critique, therefore, can be seen as one of circularity, of the fact that we keep trying to take the evidence we possess and understand it in relation to modern



categories, which is not inherently helpful (Conkey and Williams 1991; Wylie 2002). Indeed, it is this use of circular logic that appears to have clouded the debate on who the Anglo-Saxons were and how they changed British society so thoroughly; once modern issues (especially nationalism) infiltrate the debate, they take over its tone and shift its focus. Such approaches to evidence are tantamount to taking the pieces of a puzzle and trying to put them together according to the picture in our minds, rather than the one on the box.

Thus I propose, much like Tolkien (1936, 246) did in his famous address to the British Academy, that instead of knocking over a ruined building to study its stones and rearrange them into a what we think they should be, we ought to take the evidence we have to understand what the makers of the building intended it to be, and once this picture is clear, then we can decide whether it was a simple farmhouse, or a tower for watching the sea.

To achieve such a task, we need to be able to use the components of the ruin and the way they are positioned relative to one another in order to understand what the ruin might have been, or what the concept of identity was to the people we call “Anglo-Saxon”. The current interpretive problems that prevent us from easily accomplishing this task stem from a series of sources. Scholars are working with an incomplete record, imperfect evidence, and disparate intellectual viewpoints on how to define a community and its members.

What is missing at this point is a satisfactory means of understanding how imagined communities were produced in this period and how they can be compared to the contemporary groups who define themselves with the same name. I propose to make my contribution to this debate by examining the means available to medieval English people for expressing the relationships they shared with each other, how they used these expressions to delimit social groups, and how they assigned these groups the names we think of as a social identity. Thus, instead of searching for an Anglo-Saxon group, I will ask, “how did the people who lived in what is today England imagine themselves in relation to each other and to their neighbors in the middle of the first millennium AD?”

It will be the goal of this dissertation to contribute an understanding of the style of identity that existed in Anglo-Saxon England. In the next chapter I will show how the discussion of identity

in the past must account for its form, aspect, and definition, or the way it is manifest, perceived, and defined by the people who created the groups that produced an identity. I will argue that before we can look for (and argue about) the presence of different ethnic groups in the early medieval period we must first study how the people of Northern Europe created categories of identity appropriate to their own social situations and what sorts of bonds were shared to keep these groups together. Thus, rather than looking for past tribes, ethnic groups, or nations, I hope to see how the people of England created a concept of identity and how similar or distinct this was from their neighbors'.

## CHAPTER 3

### MEDIEVAL IDENTITIES: THEIR FORM, ASPECT, AND DEFINITION

The idea that contemporary identity categories might not have pertained to a medieval person is the central premise of this thesis. The implication of this premise is a need to describe and analyze medieval identity without a reliance on modern definitions of the concept. So far I have used the phrase “styles of identity” to suggest that the difference between modern and medieval identity can be thought of as akin to the changes in art and material culture and the ways they are analyzed by archaeologists (e.g., Hegmon 1992; Carr and Neitzel 1995) and art historians (e.g., Lang 1987; Neer 2005). I propose in this chapter that we need to think of identity as a concept constructed of actions (and their results), perceptions, and definitions, all of which are liable to shift over time. I will describe identity as a process that consists of social categories (or *definitions*), their manifestation in behavior or objects (or *form*), and their perception by people (or *aspect*). I then argue that each component must be studied relative to the others in order to explore the nature of identity in any period.

Three perspectives are commonly invoked in the study of identity. First is an essentialist (or primordialist) perspective that sees identity as an external category people use to define themselves and each other. I will argue that this perspective addresses the *definition* of identity, or how people join groups by assigning meaning to the relationships they share with one another. Second is the concept of performed identity in which the self-presentations, actions, and interactions of individuals are argued to produce the relationships that constitute an identity. I will argue that this school places focus on the *form* of identity, or how people manifest the characteristics they wish to use as the basis of a group. Third is the notion of cognitive identity, in which it is argued that the perception of symbols and actions are used to create and define the identities of group members. This school, it will be argued, places focus on the *aspect* of identity, or how people perceive similarities between each other and use these perceptions as the basis of a social group. It is the goal of this chapter to demonstrate how these three viewpoints place analytical focus on different components of the same social phenomenon. I will conclude with the

suggestion that if we want to talk about identity as a whole we need to combine these components into a single unit of analysis through a focus on their articulation in practice.

Using concepts derived from post-structural sociology and actor-network-theory, I will describe this articulation as a recursive interaction between 1) the actions people perform (and the material or symbolic results that mark these actions), 2) the way these actions and their results are perceived, and 3) the way these perceptions are combined to create the social categories we call identity groups (form, aspect, and definition respectively). This concept can then be shown to be useful for analyzing a foreign style of identity because – rather than emphasizing only one component – it focuses on understanding how the three components relate to one another in the production of a group identity.

As argued in Chapter two, a common thread in scholarship on the identity of the Anglo-Saxon peoples is a tendency to employ categories and definitions whose suitability to contemporary issues is unquestioned but whose applicability to the past is suspect. Thus, in conclusion I will explore the applicability of this analytical approach to some identity categories recorded in Old English before moving on to discuss how I will structure the remainder of this thesis.

### **The Form, Aspect, and Definition of Identity: an Analytical Framework**

The idea that identity should be understood using concepts foreign to our own sensibilities presents several epistemological problems. Indeed, recent trends in humanistic and social science literature have come to question the existence of rational individuals and concrete social phenomena, which inevitably causes difficulty for understanding how people defined themselves and created social groups. In this section, I will explore how we can study identities in the past that might be very different from those we have come to expect based on our contemporary experiences. I first discuss the theoretical underpinnings of constructed and changing identities before moving on to review what social phenomena can constitute an identity and how they have been approached by scholars of medieval and modern ethnic groups.

*Identity as a stylistic construct: theoretical foundations*

The notion of constructed and situational identities developed out of an intellectual trend in the latter half of the twentieth century that questioned the underlying assumptions of Enlightenment thought. In this period, scholars increasingly came to reject the opposition of essential categories, arguing instead that the perception and classification of the world was a complex and interrelated phenomenon. The classic organizing dichotomies of Enlightenment thought came under scrutiny, including those between subjects/objects (Bourdieu 1990), nature/culture (Ingold 2004); human/non-human (Fowler 2004; Gooding 2005), and reality/perception (Heidegger 1962). Based on the advancement of semiotics (e.g., Saussure 1916; Peirce 1958; for overviews of the topic see Preucel 2006, 21–89; Bal and Bryson 1991; Silverman 1983, 3–43), and its adoption into the linguistic turn of the social sciences and humanities, scholars began to argue that human beings are more like interconnected sites-of-action than singular entities capable of pure and rational thought. Action and thought are now considered to be conditioned as much by the relationships we (have) share(d), as by the power of our minds. The tagline of this new philosophy would be *ago ergo sum* (I act therefore I am) rather than Descartes' *cogito ergo sum*. Thus, to study humans and their actions within this new framework, theorists have begun to posit that we need to think in terms of the structures that guide action and the ability of people to change them by acting (what is called structure-and-agency in sociology), much as texts are decoded through the analysis of their discourse (or *langue-et-parole*).

In sociology, this thought is represented by the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1998; 1993; 1990; 1984), Anthony Giddens (1986), and others (e.g., Laclau and Mouffe 2001), who argue that individual action both constitutes and is constituted by social rules and the relationships an actor possesses. More recently, Bruno Latour (2005) and others (e.g., Deleuze 1983) argue that even these views are too dependent on Enlightenment concepts of the individual subject. In their place, these scholars propose an actor-network-theory, where the self and the external world are seen as part of the same relational whole. Reality (containing both human and non-human things) is thus a network of connections that can be read like a map.

In other disciplines, the idea that human beings and their actions must be understood through the relationships they share with each other and other things (defined very broadly) in the world can be glossed with the term “posthuman.” Posthumanism suggests that machines, objects, and animals all mediate and participate in our relationships with each other, and in so doing become a constitutive element of ourselves (Haraway 1991; Hayles 1999; Hoskins 1998; Wiener 1964). This school of thought provides a way to question the supremacy and special position that has been given to a purely rational subject in modern philosophy (Haraway 1988). Anthropologists who follow these trends generally express them through studies of how objects are involved in the constitution of the self and society as well as how they act along with the people who use them (Gell 1998; Gosden 2005; Meskell et al. 2008; Nanoglou 2009; Schiffer 1999). In Medieval Studies, questions have been raised about the nature of the medieval individual, whether or not people distinguished themselves from each other as finite subjects or part of a larger collective (J. J. Cohen 2003), and how issues such as disability altered the nature of the self through relationships with objects (Burkitt 2011; Fudge 2002; Harbus 2002; Steel 2008). For the early medieval period, this school of thought has been employed to suggest that ancient Scandinavian people thought of themselves as composites of human and animal traits rather than individuals with finite boundaries and a clearly defined human subjective presence (Hedeager 2007).

Although these theories are all quite different in their specifics, they share one important commonality, namely the idea that human beings are inherently linked to each other and the world in which they live through interaction and the things that facilitate it. In such a scheme, identities are neither essential nor located within a single individual. Instead, they are considered to be distributed throughout a network of shared relationships and constructed out of the way relationships are activated by people in different social contexts. Thus, in order to study identity within this intellectual framework, it must be understood as a relational whole composed of different parts. In the section that follows I survey recent literature on the topic of social identity and argue that three components must be considered in articulation when the concept is studied.

*Analyzing identity: three intellectual foci*

The study of identity has proliferated in the last fifty years to the point that it is now considered to be a cornerstone of many disciplines, one with a scope so vast that no one can claim full competence on the topic in its entirety (Brubaker 2009). In the section that follows, I focus on the social phenomena commonly argued to be a part of identity, and on how scholars have approached the analysis of the topic through its various manifestations. Three prominent kinds of social phenomena have served as the focus of identity studies over the years. These are 1) the existence of symbolic groups that impose meanings on their members, 2) the importance of interactions and the performance of social roles in the creation of identity, and 3) the role the perception of social symbols plays in the definition of the self.

Prior to the 1960s most intellectual approaches to identity saw it as an essential category that had a profound psychological effect on the character of people (e.g., Geertz 1963), a view that still permeates contemporary studies (e.g., Calhoun 1993, 211). Scholars of this approach tend to use identity as a point of departure, a real phenomenon to be explained and explored. The goal of much early scholarship in this perspective, therefore, was to discover how essential groups were defined (e.g., the Nuer [Evans-Pritchard 1940]), what effects they had on the people who belong to them (e.g., the Protestant work ethic [Weber 2002]), and how historical forces altered them (e.g., the historical trajectory of the proletariat [Marx 1972]). As discussed at length in Chapter two, this viewpoint led scholars to search for groups in the past, investigate how these groups came to be, and discuss how they differed from other named entities. Thus, examinations of medieval Britain sought to understand who the Anglo-Saxons were, how they differed from their Roman (and Celtic) predecessors, and how their national character is preserved in the behaviors of the modern English people.

Although such approaches have been subjected to heavy criticism in the past fifty years, the tendency to approach identity groups as definite entities has not disappeared. Indeed, while the static and essential nature of identity has been questioned, some scholarship still assumes that substantive groups produce identities. In a more cynical opinion, Pitts even suggests that the jargon has changed but the analyses remain the same (2007). Brubaker in particular has argued

that recent sociological work on the nation and other social movements focuses too much on the presence of real groups as the definers of identity, and that scholars need to move beyond this groupism to focus on other ways of analyzing national or ethnic units (2004; 2009). Such intellectual critiques of the analysis of identity parallel Goffart's (2006) methodological critique of the Vienna School (e.g., Pohl and Reimitz 1998), for being an approach that does not recover a historically constructed pan-Germanic identity but instead assumes its existence and rationalizes its recovery from the historical record.

Other recent research into nationalism and New Social Movements still values the analysis of external categorical identities but challenges their primacy in the production of social groups (e.g., Calhoun 1993; Calhoun 1998; Polletta and Jasper 2001). Scholars employing this perspective see external categories as tools used by humans (usually the elite) for the creation and differentiation of groups. In a similar vein, anthropologists have demonstrated the way invented traditions can come to possess more weight in the creation of identities than the contemporary behaviors people share within and across cultural barriers (e.g., Handler et al. 1984; Hanson 1989). Indeed, the discussion in Chapter two displays some of this school of thought, as it can be argued that the idea of an English People as a reified group with a definite past, present, and future provides the people living in Britain with a sociological underpinning many of their European counterparts lack (e.g., Brooks 2003; Wormald 1994).

What these studies have in common, therefore, appears to be a focus on the effect an existing category can have on the creation of an identity. I argue that this perspective places analytical focus on the *definition* of identity, or how a preexisting social construct affects one's ability to define oneself and seek out group membership. This perspective requires an analyst to account for the interactions people can have with existing symbolic categories, and the difficulties that present themselves when orthodox views are resisted.

Two other trends exist in the study of identity, both of which see it as a process of a dynamic, fluid, and situational construction (Cerulo 1997). Following Brubaker (2009, 29–34), I separate the study of constructed identities into two approaches: one with a focus on the performance of identity, and the other with an emphasis on the perception of identity in the mind



of a viewer. I do not mean to suggest that scholars of these two approaches would disregard the importance of either performance or perception. Rather I hope to point out that many studies select one or the other as their primary unit of analysis, which emphasizes the importance of including both facets in the study of identity as a whole.

Adherents to the former perspective include scholars such as Barth (1969), Butler (1993), and others who focus on the importance the activation of social roles in context plays in the creation of identity (e.g., A. P. Cohen 1985; Jenkins 2008; Jones 1997). Butler, for example, showed that gender groups are assigned as much by the behaviors people adopt as by the biological characteristics with which they are born. More concretely, Butler's theory suggests that actions like wearing a dress, or cutting one's hair, do not reflect a pre-existing gender category to which one belongs. Instead, these actions are thought to declare the existence of a category and assign an individual to it through their performance of the constitutive actions (see also Bourdieu 1979). For Barth, the processes important to the construction of ethnic identity are argued to occur primarily at the borders of groups where individuals must constantly signal and contest their group membership. Recent approaches to ethnic violence (e.g., Horowitz 2001) and segregation (e.g., Fossett 2006) also place the onus on action in the explanation of identity where the act of segregating oneself in distinct neighborhoods, or the performance of violence as (or against) a group are argued to be central to the process of identity construction. As discussed in Chapter two, these views are shared by scholars of the medieval period, especially those who argue the ethnic identities we read in historical documents are the result of the active promotion of the military and political prowess of specific groups (e.g., Geary 1983; Pohl 1998b).

Scholars of this perspective direct their focus to the manifestation of identity in practice. They select as units of analysis the markers people use to distinguish themselves from one another, markers that include symbols, behaviors, and actions. I suggest that this perspective places an analytical focus on the *form* of identity, the way in which identity is given shape in the social world. Forms of identity arguably are those characteristics of social behavior people employ to signal their affiliation with different groups, including certain kinds of emblematic objects (Wiessner [1983] calls this emblematic style). Thus, based on the insights of this school,

the expression of identity in practice must be considered in the study of group affiliation in both past and present.

The latter perspective on constructed identity involves a cognitive approach to its study. As Brubaker (2009, 32) suggests it is not “about things *in* the world, but perspectives *on* the world” and the effects they have on people’s expressions and behaviors (e.g., Stryker 2008). Scholars that use this perspective suggest that the collective perception of categories is an important component of identity’s construction (Tajfel 1981; J. C. Turner 1981). A variety of cognitive phenomena are analyzed to recover the perception of identity including cognitive metaphors (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980), cultural schemata (e.g., Strauss and Quinn 1997), and different systems of classification (Lakoff 1987). The importance the selection of words can have on the definition of identity has been demonstrated by studies that show that contemporary perspectives on race are informed by the vocabulary used to describe a person’s viewpoints (e.g., Bowker 1999; Larkey, Hecht, and Martin 1993), especially in instances of inter-group conflict (e.g., Longman 2001).

Scholars adopting this perspective demonstrate the importance different perceptions of similar expressions can have in the generation of identity groups. I argue that this perspective places a focus on the *aspect* of identity or the way identity’s components are given an individual spin through perception. Aspects of identity are perceptible in the way they color word choice in discussions of identity or the definition of one’s social group. Thus, the selection of words in certain contexts can be argued to reflect predispositions that govern the way one is capable of viewing the world (see Chapter five). Several studies have demonstrated the effect vocabulary terms (especially racial slurs) can have on self-esteem (e.g., Simons et al. 2002) and one’s ability to succeed (e.g., Lipsitz 2006), through the creation of structural poverty or social disadvantage.

In sum, identity is conceived of as involving three different social phenomena: the existence of a category, its manifestation in practice, and its perception in the human mind. All affect the ability of people to assign themselves to different social groups. In the section that follows, I will demonstrate how these phenomena are intertwined in their practical articulation and demonstrate how each is necessary to the study of a foreign concept of identity.

### **Constructed Identity in Practice: the Articulation of Form, Aspect, and Definition**

The importance the form, aspect, and definition of social categories each have on the creation of a group identity can be demonstrated by theoretically linking them in the practice of identity construction. Following recent intellectual trends, I will argue that the human mind acts as a filament that connects a series of different social contexts in which people have interacted with human and non-human entities (Bourdieu 1998; Bourdieu 1993; Laclau and Mouffe 2001).

Humans act in each new context by drawing information from their perceptions of past experiences that took place in past contexts, which they then use as a guide for contemporary action. Each new action places a slightly different set of constraints on the way a person is able to process and express the information gathered in past contexts (which could have been organized by other sets of constraints). Thus, action is a composite, a relationship between past information and the forces that limit the way it can be perceived and expressed by an individual in the present (Bourdieu 1990; Bourdieu 1984). In terms of identity, this theory suggests that the construction of social groups is a process through which people perceive definitions, alter these perceptions in accordance with social expectations, and manifest their own understanding of the category in practice. The result of this process of construction transforms a person from an entity capable of infinite action to a subject of ideological structures that limit what he or she can do or conceive of doing.

Louis Althusser (1971) called this process the “interpellation of the subject” and theorized that it allowed the means of production to reproduce themselves by making some members of society take up the socially disadvantageous roles that ensure society’s functioning as a whole. He argued that individuals were subjected to a system of rules that forced them to act in a certain way through encounters with ideological state apparatuses (ISA). ISAs can therefore be thought of as a semiotic social structure, a way to help a person interpret their social context and act in an appropriate manner. Althusser saw ISAs as any state sanctioned institutions – ranging from the concept of marriage to the concrete inculcation of children in a schoolroom – that were capable of guiding human action and thought. The final result of such interpellation is the transformation of a person from a blank slate to an identifiable subject. This process of interpellation, I suggest, is a

theoretical description of the definition of identity, or the effect external categories have in the way people can perceive and act in the world.

The essentialist nature of Althusser's theory, and especially the emphasis it puts on binding structures, has been justly criticized by a variety of thinkers (e.g., DiTomaso 1982). However, the basic core of his argument remains a compelling means of describing the construction of identity in a social setting. What Althusser calls interpellation appears to be a process by which an individual is guided to act by external mechanisms. Alfred Gell (1998) has made a similar argument that human beings are capable of crafting objects that force the people who use or observe them to think about them in accordance with their makers' wishes, a process he calls secondary (or abducted) agency. What these thinkers are capturing is the idea that human beings distribute aspects of themselves throughout their things and their institutions, which are then perceived by other humans and used to guide their actions. It follows, therefore, that if identity creation is a human action, it will be guided by the way people have structured the contexts in which they live and the objects with which they interact, and that the action facilitates transforming individual perceptions into a group definition.

Althusser's argument downplays the importance of identity's form and aspect and the roles they play in the creation of social groups. But later theories can be used to refine Althusser's essentialist approach and demonstrate the importance of all three perspectives in the analysis of identity as a concept. In particular, Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical project with its analytical focus on the recursive relationship between social action and individual perception can explain how identity categories are simultaneously external entities and internal constructions.

Bourdieu's most famous contribution to the theoretical lexicon is arguably the idea of the *habitus*, the "systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures [that are] predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1977, 72). This concept can be understood as linking the thinking subject and the external world in a recursive relationship in which objective reality conditions subjective perception while subjective perception affects the apprehension of objective reality. Thus *habitus* functions *simultaneously* as a means of interpreting the world around us and as a source for these interpretations to draw upon. It serves

to demonstrate how a category's existence is dependent on its expression and perception by other people. Importantly, it allows for change as new actions are incorporated into social contexts.

Unlike Althusser's concept of society, in which individuals are forced to reproduce the means of production by repressive external ideological apparatuses, Bourdieu's concept of society sees the individual as a potentially active participant in the construction of the external factors that in turn produce the subject. For Bourdieu, therefore, it is the relationship between people and their surroundings that guides action and enables change. These relationships and the effects they have on action and the *habitus* are mapped out according to Bourdieu's idea of *prise-de-positions* (position taking), a means of explaining action based on the social positions people can attain in different contexts (Bourdieu 1998). In Bourdieu's theory, what Althusser called interpellation can be seen as the way humans perceive the relationships that exist in a given social context and act within these parameters to define their place in a society composed of many contexts, each with their own series of relationships and positions. Thus, unlike in Althusser's theory where primacy is given to external symbolic structures, Bourdieu's theory displays the importance of actions and their perception in the definition of the self. Bourdieu's *prise-de-positions*, therefore, can be seen as a means of describing a relational approach to interpellation, one that requires an analyst to account for the effect of pre-existing definitions, the way they are generated in practice, and the effects different perceptions of the definitions have on the act of expression.

This body of theory can be used to explain how the three facets of identity outlined above – form, aspect, and definition – share a recursive relationship. Identity is a social action. As an action, it must consist of 1) manifestations that can be perceived (form), 2) perceptions of these manifestations (aspect), and 3) the use of these perceptions to create a definition that will guide future manifestations. Thus, to understand an identity in the past we must study how it was expressed, perceived, and defined by people in the period.

I study each facet with a different methodological approach. First, I explore material culture style and argue that it has the potential to teach us about the *form* of identity in the early

medieval period. Second, I study the *aspect* of identity by analyzing the use of vocabulary to express concepts in the corpus of Old English texts. Third, I explore how identity was *defined* using manifest forms and their perceptions in Old English narratives. The specific methods required for each phase of the analysis will be discussed in their respective chapters.

### **The Applicability of "Styles of Identity" to Anglo-Saxon England**

As discussed in Chapter one, a major problem with both modern and medieval discussions of Anglo-Saxon identity is their attempt to work backwards from contemporary notions to ancient practice. Thus, it would not be prudent for me to apply my approach to analyzing identity without first testing its applicability to evidence from the period.

The importance of identity definitions to the people of medieval England can be demonstrated through the many instances of group names in documents from the period. As discussed at length in Chapter two, scholars do not doubt the existence of groups in the past but instead tend to debate their nature and the utility they might have as analytical constructs. Thus, it seems safe to suggest that identity in the medieval period was defined in ways that could affect a person's actions and their membership in a social group.

The idea that the definitions concerned are produced in a recursive relationship with the manifestation and perception of identity is not as commonly discussed, but a case can be made that Anglo-Saxon identities were defined along such lines. In *Beowulf* (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008, l. 2830), for example, there is an instance where a sword is described as "*homera lafe*," which translates roughly as the "leavings of hammers." In other words, in Anglo-Saxon poetic vocabulary, swords are not conceived of as finite "things" but as the products of hammering, or the remnants of a smith's action (see Hodder 2011 for a similar discussion). The allegory of "leavings" links objects like swords to the act of their making and to the people who have made and possessed them. Elsewhere in *Beowulf* objects are referred to as "*gomelra lafe*" (line 2036) or "*ealde lafes*" (line 794), both roughly translatable as the leavings of the ancestors or as the work left behind by important individuals like the great smith Weland [line 452]). The concept of "leavings" can even be extended to humans. For example, in the Old English *Genesis*, (Doane 1978) Lot is described as "*gara laf*" (line 2018) indicating that he is the remnant of spears, or the

survivor of a battle. This reckoning implies that the present self must be defined with reference to the actions that allowed one to participate in a new context, be it surviving a battle or forging a weapon.

The importance of past action in the presentation of contemporary things is most clearly displayed in the elegiac ideas of the “paths of exile” along which the miserable travel in the *Seafarer* and *Wanderer* (I. L. Gordon 1954; Klinck 1992). As argued by Antonia Harbus (2002, 90) these tales can be seen as an explicit example of how a narrator in the present employs the past to create a new construction of the self. A character in these elegies becomes an exile (a wretch in Old English) by travelling along the paths of exile. The action of travelling in these paths, therefore, transforms them from a functioning member of society into a wretch.

Theoretically, the transformation of metal struck by a hammer into a sword, or a citizen into a wretch, is the process of people becoming subjects, or things becoming objects, through the imposition of forces that act upon them and their attempts to resist these actions or lament their power. In other words, identity is imposed by the physical and metaphysical relationships that allow a being to come into existence (Heidegger 1962). Exiles come into being by sharing relationships with the things that accord with being an exile, most notably by travelling in the tracks (or leavings) of other exiles as they wander the lands of the North Sea in search of a new lord. Swords come into being as they are hammered out of blank pieces of metal to take the shape and social definition of a weapon.

The benefit of this approach can be demonstrated by revisiting Governor Romney’s (alleged) gaffe that I described at the beginning of my thesis. If we set aside the debate on its veracity and examine it as a narrative, the need to study all three components of identity becomes clear. In using the phrase “Anglo-Saxon heritage” Governor Romney employed a specific form of identity, one he assumed would be perceived and defined in a way quite different from the rancor it stirred up. Romney’s use of the term “Anglo-Saxon” could be perceived in reference to the cultural similarities that exist between citizens of the United States (particularly those in New England, where Romney gained fame as governor) and members of the British Commonwealth, but an equally valid perception is that he suggested his race gave him a better

connection with the British people. In this example the same form can be shown to have two drastically different aspects, one of which has a stark undertone that recalls the long tradition of racism in the political history of the USA. The question becomes "How do we use the form and aspect of identity to define Governor Romney as an "Anglo-Saxon?", and the immediate denial and/or retraction of the statement suggests that the latter aspect might carry more weight.

Within the lens of history this narrative can become much more problematic. As discussed above we have plenty of instances where people describe themselves as Angles, or Saxons, but we are not sure how these forms were perceived or used to define the people to whom they were applied. Based on the above example it does not seem wise to use the form of identity, its aspect, or its definition alone to describe an individual's group membership. Instead it requires reference to all three components to answer the question "What makes a person Anglo-Saxon?"

In the rest of this thesis I hope to demonstrate how we can recover each component of identity from different lines of evidence and the benefits of doing so for our understanding of the period. First, I examine the form of identity, by studying the ability people had to make reliable social signals with artistic objects. Second, I look at the vocabulary of the Old English language to try and determine what aspects different forms can take, and how they were applied to various forms in social life. Third, I study narrations in which characters describe their identities, or have them described by the narrator, to see how medieval authors articulated the form and aspect of identity into different definitions.



## CHAPTER 4

### THINGS: A FORM OF ANGLO-SAXON IDENTITY

This chapter focuses on how medieval British people expressed their membership in identity groups, what I am calling the form of Anglo-Saxon identity. It is widely agreed that several new styles of material culture appeared on British soil at roughly the same time legend suggests Germanic settlers entered British society, styles that originated in the same lands the historical record suggests gave rise to the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain. Consequently, a causal connection has often been assumed between the stories of migration and the appearance of these styles of material culture on the British Isles. What exactly the appearance of these styles reveals about the identities of Britain's inhabitants and the relationships they shared with their North Sea neighbors, however, remains an area of significant debate. The road from style to identity is a rocky one, and I impress upon the reader that I have no intention of using the former as direct evidence of the latter. Rather, based on my discussion in Chapter three, I propose to use style in material culture as a medium for the study of identity's form, or the way medieval people might have manifested their identity performances in the material world.

In this chapter, I will explore a decoration commonly employed in the early medieval period of Northern Europe –namely the Animal-Head-Motif often found on the terminals of brooches used to fasten cloaks– to determine if it functioned as a medium for the expression of a reliable interpretive choice. One component of identity, as argued in Chapter three, is an expression of affiliation through similarities in material culture or behavior. Thus, the goal of this chapter is to explore if people could have worn brooches decorated with an animal's head to express a link between themselves, or an affiliation in a social group, that could be reliably interpreted by people living on either coast of the North Sea basin in the early medieval period.

Butler (1993) argues that identity performances are comprised of points of reference that enable one person to express identity choices to other people in their social situations (see also Wobst 1977). The expression of meaning relies on both its creation by an author and its reception by a viewer. Many studies of the process of interpreting art have stressed the difficulties authors have in reliably communicating the messages they intend their works to embody to viewers who

are free to apply their own interpretations (e.g., Barthes 1977; Benjamin 1968; Derrida 1987; Eco 1990). For identity to possess a form, therefore, material manifestations of a reliable meaning must be employed by members of a social group. I will argue that reliable meanings come into existence through the consistent repetition of similar characteristics in similar contexts. This consistency serves to create an interpretive norm that allows authors and viewers to reliably express and interpret similar meanings from material culture. If different manifestations of the same form in material culture can be shown to reliably reproduce a similar expression, then the existence of these similarities can be argued to represent an interpretive norm shared by the possessors of the material culture. Such a norm, in turn, can function as a proxy for a group in which people can manifest their identity in the physical world and have these manifestations meaningfully interpreted by other members living in different geographic or temporal contexts.

I tested the ability of different examples of the Animal-Head-Motifs to produce reliable expressions through the method of consensus analysis. First, I recorded similarities different animal heads might share (the form each object could take; see Focillon 1964) and then measured how often similar features co-occurred together on different pieces. Consensus analysis was used to determine how frequently and consistently different characteristics co-occurred, and these results are interpreted to suggest whether the people of medieval Britain employed a similar interpretive strategy to their neighbors.

At the conclusion of the chapter, I will show that the depiction of animal heads on jewelry occurred in a consistent fashion throughout the greater North Sea region in the fifth century, before undergoing a shift whereby English material was differentiated from its Scandinavian counterparts by the addition of new features on the animal's face. I argue this is evidence that the form of identity employed by medieval Britons shifted between the fifth and sixth centuries AD, as communities in England likely began to distinguish themselves from their North Sea neighbors.

### **From Theory to Method: Citation and Consensus Analysis**

In this chapter I am studying the potential form(s) Anglo-Saxon identity could have taken in early medieval Britain. To recap, I define “form” as the manifestation of identity in the material world. Such manifestations represent individual expressions that people hope will convey their

identity in social situations. In Chapter three I discussed how this perspective on identity focuses on its performance, the way people use symbols and behaviors to communicate their group affiliations. Judith Butler (1993; and others e.g., Hebdige 1981) argues that identities are performed, in part, through a process of citation that embeds signals in behavior and material culture that people can perceive, interpret, and use to understand group affiliation. For identities to be manifest, therefore, people must be able to reliably signal their intended identity choices to an observer. Here, I discuss how citation allows analysts to use forms of material culture as a proxy for past forms of identity and the suitability of consensus analysis as a means for observing the process of citation in static objects of material culture.

*Running horses: citation and the expression of reliable meaning*

According to the concept of citation, symbols are designed to indicate specific things outside of themselves (e.g., Gell 1998; Joyce 2000; Meskell et al. 2008; Nanoglou 2009; Panofsky 1972), often through the physical manifestation of similarities between art and reality (Heidegger 1993). Artistic objects express an author's understanding of the physical universe in media using culturally sensitive conceptions of reality (Berger 1972; Gombrich 1960; Kubler 1970; Pasztor 2005). Even the most naturalistic depictions and photographs exhibit culturally derived conventions for representing reality in different media (e.g., Dippie 1992; Kemp 1998). A horse, for example, is commonly represented by mimicking the features we observe on the animal in nature, using pigments, stone, photons, or other media; these help a person connect a static representation to a creature they know from experience in the world (or with other media). The depiction of horses running, however, can be shown to be a socially constructed affect (Goldberg 1991, 29–32), one that demonstrates the utility of citation as a means for recovering the form of identity in the past.

In the Western tradition of naturalistic depiction, running horses are commonly shown with outstretched legs that convey a sense of motion. A major goal of naturalistic movements is the representation of action as close to reality as possible. Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century the depiction of a horse with splayed limbs was thought to be anatomically accurate. However, the advent of stop-motion photography in the 19<sup>th</sup> century revealed that running horses do not actually extend

their legs, and artists interested in replicating nature as faithfully as possible attempted to incorporate this finding into their naturalistic works. These new anatomically accurate depictions of running horses were not successful at communicating the concept of motion, since the depictions defied long-held interpretive expectations of audiences familiar with the artistic convention of outstretched legs, and relied on observations of horses at gallop that people are not generally able to make, unless they possess stop motion cameras. Naturalistic artists chose to abandon veristic depictions of horses running, and instead elected to use tradition of outstretched legs in order to reliably convey a sense of motion to the audience. This move away from the goal of perfect realism in naturalistic painting, and its failure to resonate with audiences, can demonstrate how reliable meanings result from prior interpretive norms.

The motion of a horse in a painting is not a reflection of nature. Instead it is a point of reference, a *citation* between a depiction and other aspects of experience. When painters referenced real experience they were unable to communicate the meaning they intended their creations to convey, likely because humans cannot connect a depiction of a running horse's legs to personal experience, since the motion is too fast for the human eye to perceive. When they referenced a long-held tradition associated with the depiction of motion in a static medium, however, they were able to convey the sense they desired to the audience. Citations can take on many forms, and artists must be careful to use those appropriate for conveying their intended sense. When this process of selection is repeated in practice as artistic traditions continually depict the same subject matter in a similar fashion, these repetitions reinforce an interpretive norm in the minds of the people who see them (Gosden 2005; Olsen 2003; Schiffer 1999; A. T. Smith 2001). This in turn affects the way people expect to perceive artistic representations and the world around them (Joyce 2003; Kubler 1970; Pasztory 1991).

One facet of constructed identities is their expression in material form. For a meaning to be expressed reliably authors and viewers must share an interpretive norm, otherwise viewers could misinterpret an author's intent. Continual misinterpretation would render the expression of identity quite difficult. In general, authors are aware of a need to struggle against the interpretive freedoms of their audiences (Tolkien 1994) and they curb a viewer's freedom of interpretation by

employing citations from a broader tradition that serve to guide a viewer to reliably connect the author's actual expression with its intended meaning. The expression of an identity, therefore, relies upon people sharing an interpretive norm that facilitates their ability to recognize the expressions made by their peers.

Thus, I argue that to study the form of identity in the past an analyst must demonstrate the existence of an interpretive norm that would facilitate a reliable process of expression and interpretation. Reliability can be demonstrated by studying a corpus of artistic objects to see if they employ points of reference between themselves that would function to create an interpretive norm. If a pattern of reliable citations can be demonstrated in a corpus of material expressions, it follows that people in possession of objects designed according to the norm shared ideas on how to view the world, ideas that could function as citations in the production of identity. The extent to which different objects were designed to include a reliable pattern of citations can be tested with cultural consensus analysis, and the results of this analysis can be interpreted to suggest whether or not patterns of citation would support the same interpretive notion (or scheme). This method, therefore, can inform us regarding the form(s) of identity employed by the people who used them in the medieval period.

*Consensus analysis: measuring the reliability of expression*

Cultural consensus analysis (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986; see also Borgatti and Halgin 2011; Weller 2007) is both a cognitive theory and a mathematical method of testing whether or not people in a culture group agree on the same basic principles. It assumes that individuals in a social group have access to a shared pool of information, or more specifically, that there is a direct correspondence between the way two respondents answer a question and a cognitive domain that guides their reasoning (Romney, Weller, and Batchelder 1986, 316). I use the method to determine if the motifs on different cruciform brooches indicate that authors and consumers in different regions around the North Sea consistently used the same cognitive domain to guide their interpretations of the Animal-Head-Motif, which I will argue represents a shared interpretive norm that could represent a potential form of shared identity.

For this analysis I employed the formal consensus model, whose mathematical operations are well described elsewhere (Borgatti and Halgin 2011; Weller 2007). The formal method involves performing a factor analysis, using a generalized minimum residual least squares extraction, to measure the covariance of matching responses to different questions and correcting for the inclusion of erroneous answers by comparing the likelihood that several people would select the same wrong answers to chance. The results of this analysis are a series of principal axes that describe the covariance of the coefficients, which essentially indicate the level to which different individuals agree upon the response. In order to be confident that an underlying cultural principle is guiding the respondents' answers, one factor should explain much more variance than any of the others (usually by a ratio of at least 3:1 [Weller 2007, 346]), and the mean competence of each respondent at reproducing the answer key should be above 50%. It might not be intuitive at first, but cultural consensus analysis can act as a means of detecting if two people in the past possessed similar interpretive norms governing the apprehension of subject matter from art.

Conceptually, the method functions like a reverse examination, whereby the investigator gives a series of respondents a test in order to determine what the answers might be, and the results of the analysis can therefore be thought of as an "answer key" (Batchelder and Romney 1988; Hruschka et al. 2008). Importantly, the method allows an investigator to tell both if a shared answer key exists, and how well it is reproduced by each respondent. Investigators determine the former by comparing how well the co-variance of responses is explained by different factors in the analysis. If the co-variance of several individuals' responses is best explained using the first factor in the analysis (in other words if there is a high ratio between the eigenvalues generated by the analysis), then it can be argued that the test has a definitive answer key or that the people who took it share a way of perceiving and explaining worldly phenomena in the same way.

The latter is determined by calculating a competency score between each respondent. Competency scores should fall between 0-1<sup>7</sup> and this number describes how well each person

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<sup>7</sup> Negative scores are possible but they indicate that an object does not share the cognitive domain and should be removed from the analysis.

who took the test reproduced the culturally shared answer key. The idea of competency can be explained again with reference to the metaphor of an examination. Exams are designed to test the ability of a respondent to reproduce material they have been taught, and variation will occur in the ability of different respondents to do so accurately. To account for this variation tests are graded, and respondents who more closely agree with the answer key to the test are awarded a higher grade or validated as more competent with regard to the subject matter of the test. This agreement between the key and a respondent's answers is determined in a consensus analysis by weighing the difference between expert and inexpert opinions on the test and comparing how closely each individual comes to reproducing the co-variation represented in the first factor in eigenspace (Borgatti and Halgin 2011). The closer one comes to matching the first factor, the nearer to 1 he or she will be in the competency score.

I employ consensus analysis to determine if objects possessing the Animal-Head-Motif can be argued to manifest the same expression in different examples, and how accurately they manage to do so. Although not an examination per se, the creation of an artistic motif is a rule-based system whose deployment on different objects suits the underlying assumptions of the formal consensus model. Instead of responses to a test, I analyze how frequently formal features of the Animal-Head-Motif co-occurred on the same objects. I argue that if the co-variance of these features can best be explained with reference to the first factor in the analysis, and the mean competency score for these objects is over .5, they represent a shared category of material culture that could be reliably interpreted by both an author and a viewer. Conversely, if a small ratio exists between factors and the mean competency scores are low, then although some similarities exist between different depictions they do not emphasize one suite of connections between different objects and thus might be similar but do not express the same ideas. The presence of a shared category of representation will then be argued to represent the sharing of an interpretive norm, which would be necessary for medieval people to manifest (or perform) a reliable identity. The geography and timing of pieces designed in accordance with this norm can then be further explored to understand its distribution across the North Sea basin in the first millennium AD.

## The Cruciform Brooch as a Medium for Expression

The study of identity's form requires the use of a material expression of a shared ideal that can be subjected to consensus analysis. I have selected the depiction of animal heads on the terminals of cruciform brooches as a medium for study because it was widely used in the early medieval period, it is well represented in contemporary literature, and it belongs to a long tradition of accessorizing clothing with ornate fasteners that is often argued to relate to the expression of identity.



Figure 4.1. Examples of cruciform brooches by period. Images courtesy of Portable Antiquities Scheme

The cruciform brooch belongs to a larger category of clothing fasteners, which have as their common feature a rising bridge (or bow) between their head and foot plates. This class of fastener is thought to descend from provincial Roman fashions (Kühn 1965), and as a type it runs the gamut from simple bow-shaped brooches an inch in length, to the spectacular Great-Square-Headed brooches that can be upwards of a foot long and elaborately decorated (Haseloff 1981; Hines 1997; Leigh 1980). Cruciform brooches tend to be 3-4 inches long and have a basic cross-



like shape, with a tripartite head-plate and single foot that are connected by an arch (their bow). The foot, or terminus, of the brooch is often, but not always, decorated with a single animal head. Based on mortuary contexts it appears that they were most commonly used by wealthier adult women to fasten a cloak over one shoulder (Fisher 1988; Flowers 2012; Hines 1997, chap. 7; Magnus 1999; Martin 2011, Appendix 1).

The use of decorated metal pins to fasten clothing has a long tradition in prehistoric, Roman, and medieval Europe (Alexander and Hopkin 1982; Owen-Crocker 1986; Wild 1968). Brooches worn in Northern Europe throughout many periods appear to have been produced so that each individual example remains unique even though the methods of their manufacture would lend themselves to replication. A hugely diverse number of types were employed, and the variation in their styles has often been argued to relate to the identities of their consumers (e.g., Dickinson 1991; Flowers 2012; Høilund Nielsen 1999; Johns 1996; Martin 2011; Swift 2000; Webb 2011; Wells 1998). The tendency to produce similar but only rarely identical pieces has been taken to suggest that their consumption was related to personal identity choices, rather than larger categorical ones in the Iron Age (Wells 1998), Roman (Swift 2000), and early medieval (Brownsword and Hines 1993; Dickinson 1982) periods. Studies of one brooch type from early medieval Kent even suggest that although only seven tools were employed in their construction, likely in the same workshop, identical copies of particular examples are not in evidence (Leigh 1990).

Cruciform brooches are one of the best studied types of objects recovered from the early medieval period (Åberg 1926; Leeds and Pocock 1972; Mortimer 1990; Reichstein 1975; Shetelig 1906). Recent work has refined the typology and potential chronology of the pieces (Bode 1998; Bos and Brouwer 2005; Martin 2011), largely by grouping the head-plates, bows, and footplates of each brooch into different types and analyzing their co-variance. Formal analyses suggest that the selection of different types of feet, bows, and head-plates varied between Scandinavia on the one hand; and England, the Netherlands, and northern Germany on the other, suggesting that two different formal traditions in the use of the cruciform brooch existed (Bode 1998, 78:22–70).

A basic chronology for cruciform brooches was achieved by comparing them to other objects found in Anglo-Saxon burials (Høilund Nielsen 1997, fig. 28), and the chronology has been confirmed with quantitative typological seriations (Bode 1998; Martin 2011). The basic chronology can be divided into three major periods. The earliest type, which was popular in the second half of the fifth century AD, is characterized by smaller cruciform brooches with limited decorations (Martin's Phases A and B1). The second period, which spans the first half of the sixth century, is defined by larger and more elaborate brooches that show noticeable differences between English examples and those found in other regions around the North Sea (Martin's Phase B2). In the latter half of the sixth century AD (the third period) cruciform brooches enter a Baroque phase and are characterized with such large and elaborately decorated examples that they are defined as a new type in England (the Florid Cruciform Brooch [Leeds and Pocock 1972]) that was not analyzed in this study (Martin's Phase C). Martin emphasizes that although this chronology represents a general guideline, cruciform brooches varied considerably in their stylistic makeup, and old forms were likely produced alongside innovations throughout much of the period.

### *The Animal-Head-Motif*

As mentioned above, the depiction of an animal's head is frequently found on the terminal of cruciform brooches in this period. This tendency to decorate objects of personal adornment with depictions of animals has a long tradition in prehistoric and medieval Europe, and the motif I examine here belongs to the Northern European tradition of sculpting animals in relief on metal objects in the first millennium AD that can be glossed with the term Germanic animal art. A great deal of literature has been produced on this artistic tradition that proposes typologies, assigns chronologies, and argues for the origins and spread of its styles, which I summarized briefly in Chapter two.

The depiction of subject matter in Germanic animal art is best described as schematic or abstract, as the artists who created it rejected the naturalism favored by the Roman artisans of the Late Antique period. The choice to depict abstract subject matter resulted in a complex and difficult to interpret corpus of artistic motifs and this complexity is only increased by the fact that artists often

embedded their abstract subject matter in fields of geometric motifs that served to alter its interpretation depending on the angle with which they are viewed (Leigh 1984; Kristofferson 1995). By the middle of the fifth century, when the Animal-Head-Motif begins to be produced, clear and recognizable figures are not typically depicted in the broader corpus of animal art. Roughly contemporary to the time the ancient Germanic peoples were supposed to have been settling in Britain a new style of Germanic animal art (Salin's Style I) spread rapidly throughout the regions that surround the North Sea basin in which animals and humans are generally portrayed as a combination of elements, sometimes in ways that are abbreviated to a few basic attributes (Dickinson 2002). By the time the people of the North Sea largely stopped employing the cruciform brooch new styles of animal art (Salin's Style II) came into vogue that depict animals so abstractly they are reduced to intertwining lines or ribbons that no longer bear any resemblance to reality (Kendrick 1934).

Esther Pasztory (1991) has argued the use of abstraction signals a different interpretive strategy than the choice to depict subject matter naturalistically. She suggests that abstract symbols often possess small features that communicate powerful meanings viewers trained in a naturalistic tradition of seeing might ignore, but those familiar with the code of abstraction would immediately perceive. This view of abstraction is particularly applicable to the arts of early medieval Europe. The poetry of the early Germanic peoples employed highly compact forms of verse and frequently includes abstract metaphoric concepts in the allusive references they make, a tendency that allows for a completely different style of interpretation to exist between the audience and the poet (Foley 2002). More specifically, speakers of Germanic languages in the first millennium AD enjoyed the use of riddles, kennings, and other means of obliquely referring to reality within the realm of poetry. This preference for what Foley calls "Immanent Art" supports Pasztory's view of the social function of abstract art. The use of highly compact, abstract, and mysterious points of reference in both the plastic and spoken arts suggests that we must be careful in our attempts to make connections between the pieces as subtle similarities might contain purposive meanings. Attention must be paid to formal variations that might seem trivial (such as the shape of the eye or the inclusion of geometric shapes) as these could have

resonated with clear meanings among the people who created and used the objects. Kubler (1967; 1969; 1970) has shown that by cataloging the appearance of these features and recording how often they relate to one another we can grasp the meaning of complex and abstract visual vocabularies. It is with this idea in mind that I turn to the method I employed to study the consistency of relationships the Animal-Head-Motif shared in its semantic styles in the early medieval period.

### **Measuring Consensus: the Analytical Procedure**

For this analysis 382 images of animal heads were selected out of a wider corpus of objects recovered from six modern nation-states (Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom). In order to lessen nationalistic bias, artefacts groups were determined by clustering their latitude and longitude points (Map 4.1), which created four broad groupings. Group One is found along the eastern shore of the island of Britain within the current territory of England. The second is largely found along the coast of southern Norway and portions of Sweden that border the Skagerrak strait. A third group includes examples from modern Denmark, the Netherlands, Northern Germany, and central Sweden. Group Four was determined to exist along the coast of northern Norway and the Bothnian bay of Sweden. Objects found in the east of Sweden along the Bothnian bay are small in number and did not classify easily. They were left in this group, but it might be better to consider them to be outliers.

A team of three research assistants and the investigator took sub-samples from the master dataset and used these to develop a codebook of attributes that could potentially occur within each motif. After several rounds of refinement the animal's head was divided into six potential attributes (Figure 4.2) that could have upwards of five different states as well as a series of potential decorative shapes that could occur on the face of the creature (Table 4.1). Variations that could not be accounted for by this coding scheme were very rare, suggesting that a relatively standard suite of characteristics were employed by the artists who fashioned the Animal-Head-Motif.

The six attributes with potentially meaningful variation are the animal's brow, eyes, snout, nostrils, lips, and protrusions. Nostrils are shapes that only occur on the end of the snout, while

protrusions are any shape that attaches to the side of the animal's face above the end of the snout. Codes were first generated in a matrix where the presence of an attribute was recorded as a 1, and its absence a 0. This matrix was employed for initial analyses of the motif to determine how often the attributes co-varied in each example. For the consensus analysis this table was reduced to a categorical matrix in which the attributes could possess only one potential state. The consensus analysis was performed in UCInet 6.415 (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002), with a correction for multiple choice options.

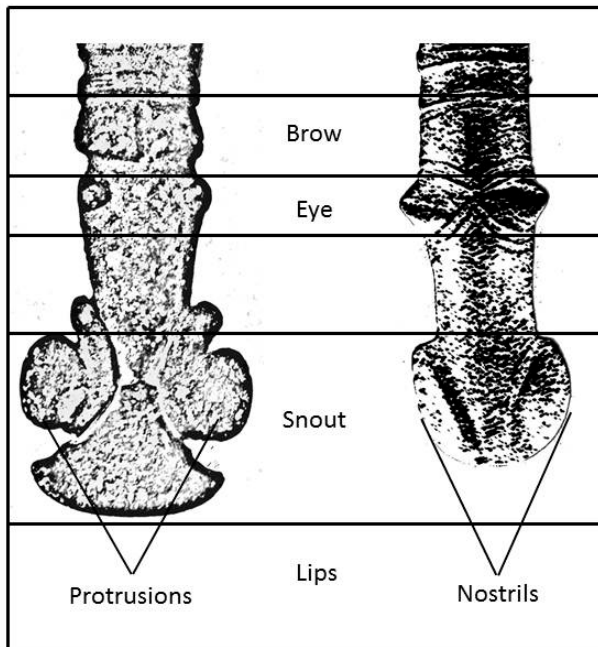
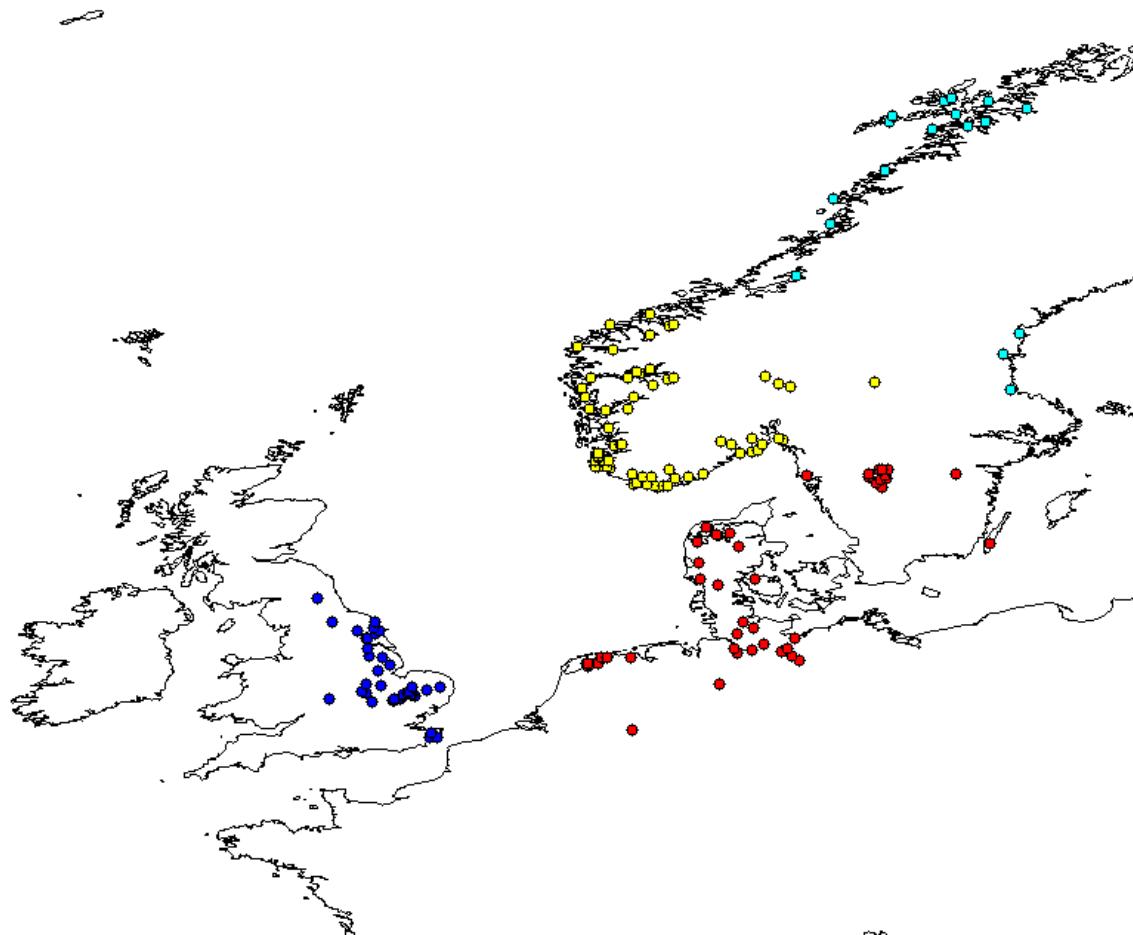


Figure 4.2. Diagram of the Animal-Head-Motif divided into attributes.



Map 4.1. Distribution of objects with the Animal-Head-Motif. Colors represent different geographical units determined by clustering the coordinates of each object. Blue = Group 1; Yellow = Group 2; Red = Group 3; Powder Blue = Group 4.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Brow	Brow	Helmet				
Eye	Round	Pointed	Bug	Subtle		
Snout	Round	Flat	Pointed	Shovel- Shaped		
Nostrils	Round	Wedge	Swirl	Football		
Lips	Plain	Puckered				
Protrusions	Round	Scroll	Football	Animal- Head	X	
Decoration	V	Chevron	Horizontal Lines	Bullseye	Nostril Slits	Ears

Table 4.1. List of attributes that occur in the Animal-Head-Motif and their states

### Results

When the entire dataset was run through a consensus analysis the results revealed a weak ratio between the two largest eigenvalues (Table 4.2). The frequency of objects with different points of competency also revealed a non-normal distribution suggesting that the distribution of objects along the first factor can be divided into multiple groups. These results suggest that more than one expression is manifest across the objects selected for analysis.

No. of negative competencies:	0
Largest eigenvalue:	112.076
2nd largest eigenvalue:	53.874
Ratio of largest to next:	2.080
Mean Competence:	0.53

Table 4.2. Consensus analysis of every object

Objects with the lowest competency scores (below 40%) are decorated with protrusions, while those with higher scores tend to have nostrils. If objects bearing protrusions and nostrils are

considered different groups and analyzed in the consensus analysis separately, however, a different pattern of results emerges in which each group had a high ratio between the first two eigenvalues (Table 4.3) and a mean competency over 60%. These results indicate that two distinct styles of Animal-Head-Motif were employed in the early medieval period divided primarily by the choice to include either nostrils or protrusions on the piece, which I will term Motif 1, and Motif 2. Although examples exist which possess both, they are rare and may represent a hybridization of the style.

	Motif 1	Motif 2
Largest eigenvalue:	42.799	98.673
2nd largest eigenvalue:	9.239	21.270
Ratio of largest to next:	4.632	4.639
Mean Competence:	0.61	0.61
Negative Competencies:	0	0

Table 4.3. Consensus analysis results for Motif 1 and 2.

The frequency of objects with different levels of competency for Motif 1 and Motif 2 suggest that there was some variation in the way artists elected to represent the shared cognitive domain. Objects decorated with Motif 1 (Figure 4.3) can be divided into those with high overall competency scores (~80% and above) and those with very low scores (~40% and below), while those decorated with Motif 2, on the other hand, appear to fall into three groups centered around .4, .6, and .8 on the first factor (Figure 4.4). When these variations in competency are considered in context, they reveal a great deal about how people could draw connections between themselves using objects of material culture, and how these relationships changed over time.



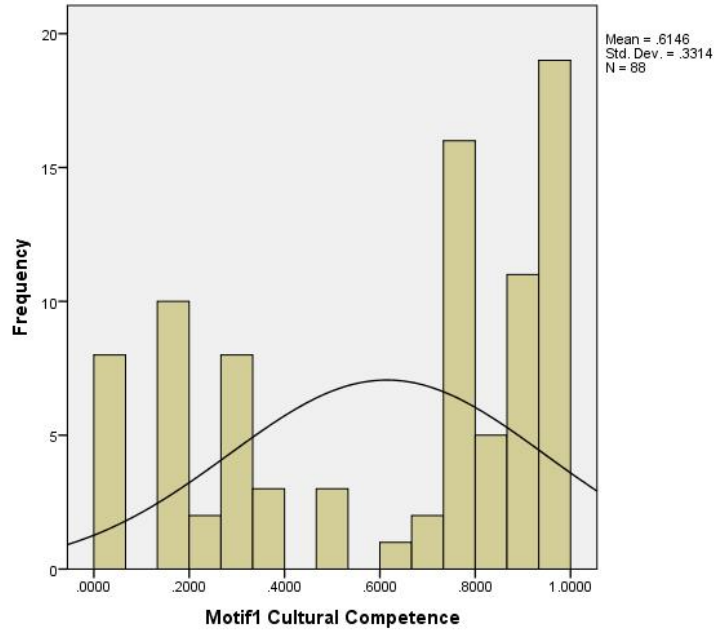


Figure 4.3. Frequency of objects decorated in Motif 1 by competence.

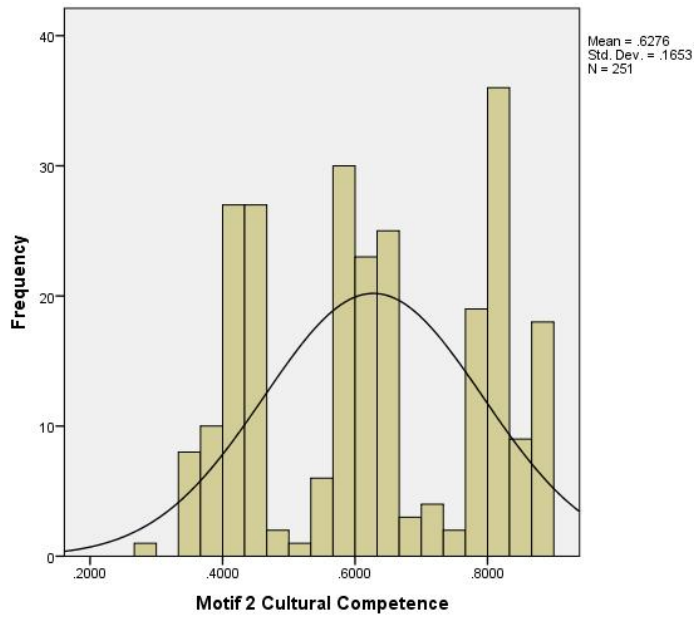


Figure 4.4. Frequency of objects decorated in Motif 2 by competence.

Based on the use of protrusions and nostrils to differentiate between the two motifs, it is likely that the difference in style between them results from a selection of different subject matter

on the part of the artists. Indeed, it is highly probable that the two motifs represent types of animal popularly discussed in ancient Germanic myth, the boar and the horse (Figure 4.5). Motif 1, with its common possession of beady eyes and scrolling tusks is likely a representation of a boar's head, while the elongated snout and nostrils of Motif 2 reproduce the general shape of a horse's head (although some are clearly phallic [Martin 2012: 366]). Thus it appears that consensus analysis identified a culturally correct way of seeing and depicting two domains from the natural world (e.g., Berger 1972; Kubler 1970; Pasztory 1991; 2005). The geographic and temporal distribution of these different animals can now be explored to see how they facilitate the creation of relationships between the people who used them in the early medieval period.



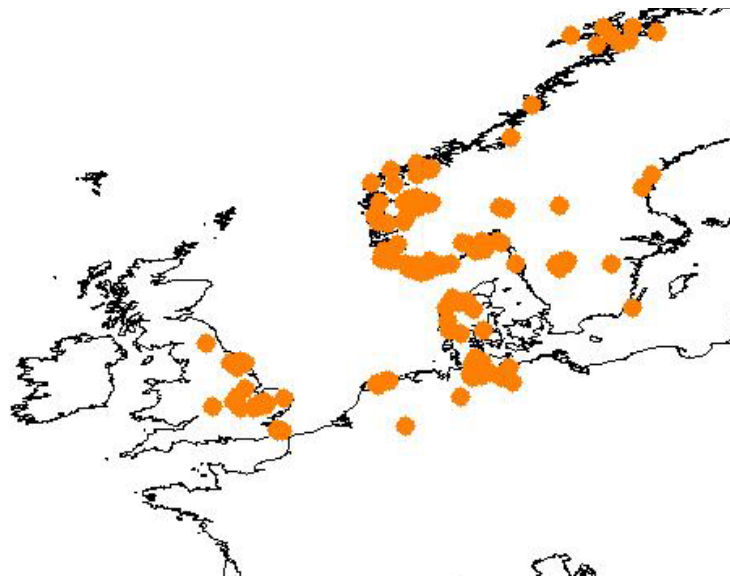
Figure 4.5. Motifs compared to reality. Objects from Figure 4.1 compared to the animals they likely represent. Photos from Lakshami Mahajan and [www.ScottPassmore.co.uk](http://www.ScottPassmore.co.uk)

## Discussion

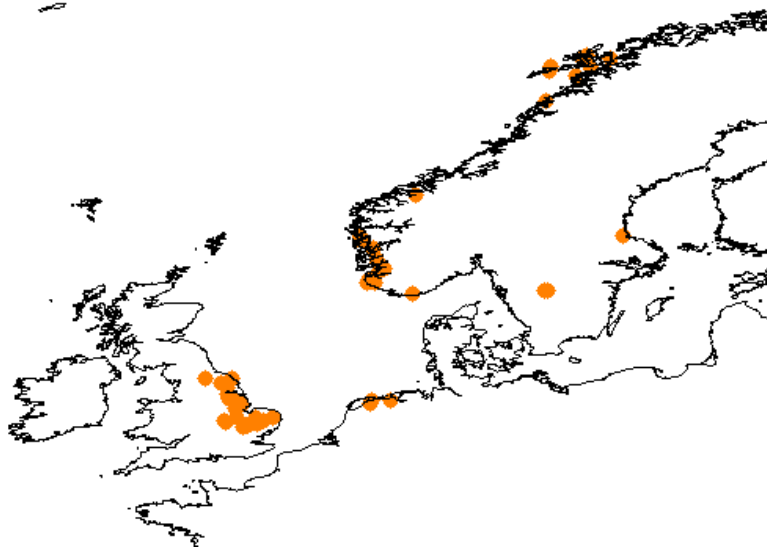
The results indicate that the people who decorated cruciform brooches were selecting from two different styles of subject matter when they did so, which they did in a consistent

fashion. What remains now is to determine what the distribution of these styles can tell us about the way individuals were fostering connections between themselves along the North Sea littoral in the early medieval period, and what the temporal and geographical extent of this shared expression was. The extent of the distribution of the objects can be examined in order to determine if geographic or temporal patterns exist that would foster the use of these styles as a vector for the construction of an identity.

Objects decorated with Motif 2 fall within the earliest chronological phase of cruciform brooch production (~ AD 450-500) and had a wide distribution across the greater North Sea region (Map 4.2). Objects decorated with Motif 1, on the other hand, tend to come from the early sixth century AD (Martin's phase B2) and have a distribution that is much more focused on the eastern coastline of Britain, with a few examples appearing in modern Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands (Map 4.3). Thus we can observe a correlation between subject matter, time, and space.



Map 4.2. Distribution of objects decorated with Motif 2 (the horse-head).



Map 4.3. Distribution of objects decorated with Motif 1 (the boar-head).

The distribution of objects that had similar competency scores in Motif 1 compared to Motif 2 suggests that the ability of these objects to function as a means of creating relationships between the individuals who used them changed around the year AD 500. If the frequency of objects that fall along different points of the competency continuum in each of the four geographical regions defined above are plotted in a histogram the distribution of competency scores reveals a great deal about how Motif 1 and 2 could have functioned differently as means of creating relationships.

Above, Figure 4.4 showed that objects decorated with Motif 2 tend to peak at three different levels of competency (~.4, ~.6, ~.8), suggesting that three variations of how to depict a horse's head were popular in the latter half of the fifth century AD. Compellingly, when this distribution is compared across different geographic regions the same three peaks are evident, suggesting that people who lived in all the regions in which the cruciform brooch is found emphasised similar combinations of traits in the design of their objects (Figure 4.6).

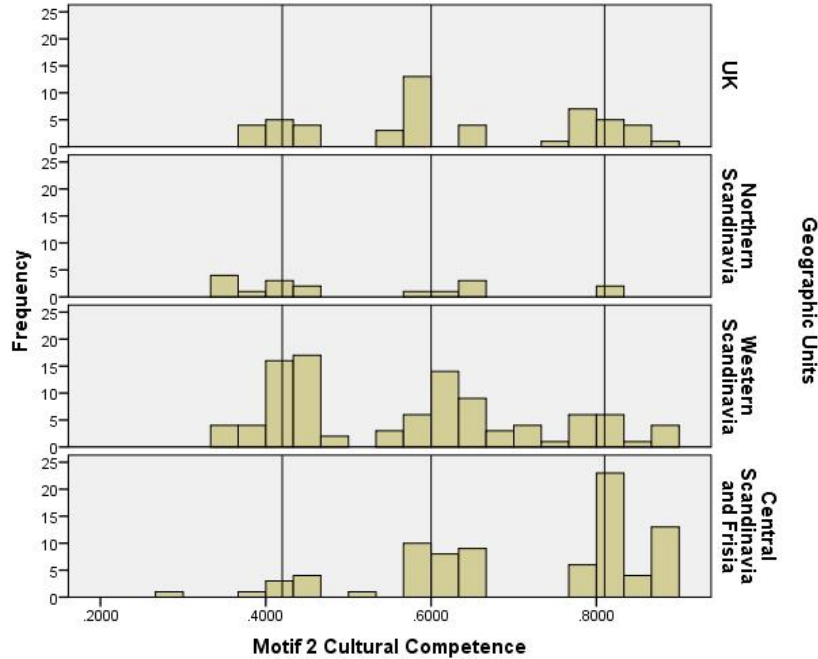


Figure 4.6. Histogram Motif 2's competency scores by region. The black lines show peaks in competency scores shared across different regions

The distribution of competency scores for Motif 1 (Figure 4.6), on the other hand, is bimodal with objects possessing either a high (above .7) or low score (below .4), and these two modes correspond to geographical regions. As Figure 4.7 shows highly competent objects decorated with Motif 1 tend to appear much more frequently in the United Kingdom than in any other region while the competence of objects from Northern and Western Scandinavia peak at different points, suggesting three different ways of depicting Motif 1 were employed in different regions.

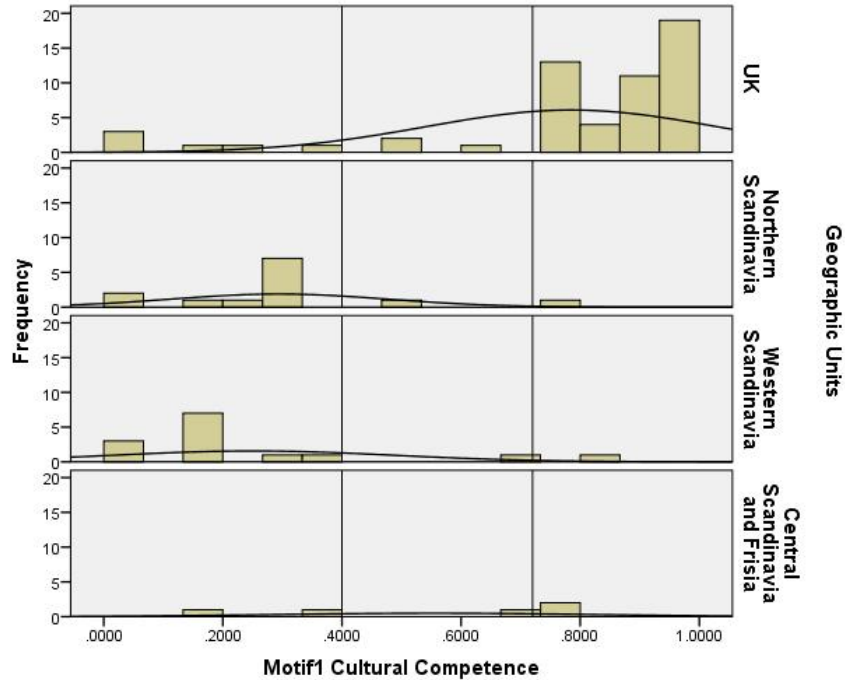


Figure 4.7. Histogram Motif 1's competency scores by region. The black lines represent cut-off points between the highly competent objects and those with low scores

This change in the way the two styles are distributed reveals substantial differences in the way medieval individuals shared interpretive norms between the fifth and sixth centuries. In the earliest period of their construction they shared a consistent style used by people from all over the North Sea region with similar ideas on how to decorate these objects of personal adornment. Sometime in the early sixth century, however, the people who lived in modern England began to diverge from the overall pattern and created objects that, although similar in many formal and functional characteristics, possessed a new style of semantic content (Motif 1) that was not widely shared with people living off of the island of Britain. The development of a new material expression unique to England can be taken to suggest the creation of a social context replete with people who were no longer forging links to the people on the other side of the North Sea from their island. Although not the focus of this analysis the stylistic preferences seen in sixth century British cruciform brooches appear to carry over into the later sixth century Florid and Anglian Great-Square-Headed brooches that include animal heads on their terminals. These motifs are much more complex visually (thus more research is needed), but a general trend can

be seen where animals with scrolling protrusions out the side of their face are found in the corpus of Anglian examples (e.g., Hines 1997, fig. 31b, 47a), but not in the corpora of Scandinavian (Haseloff 1981) or Kentish examples (Leigh 1980) (Fig. 4.8). Formal analyses of the entire tradition would be required to confirm this notion but it is interesting to note the presence of animal faces that could be representing Motif 1 exist in different media and are limited in geographic scope to the area in which Motif 1 is found.

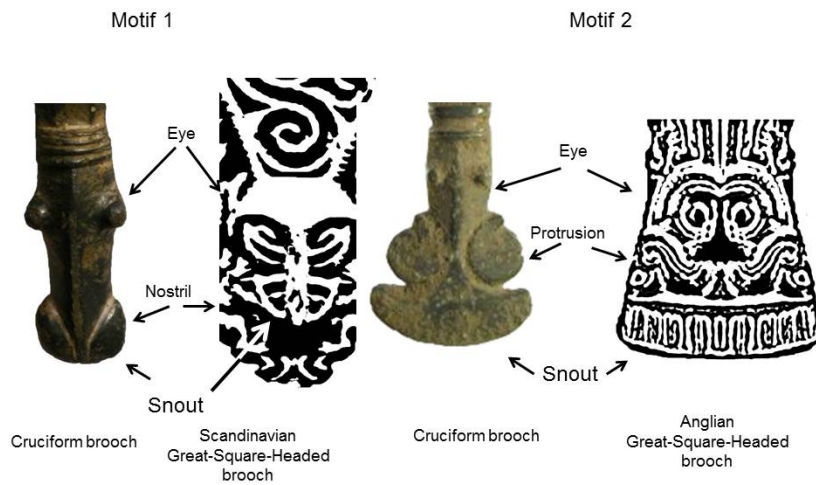


Figure 4.8. Examples of Motifs 1 and 2 across media.

In the fifth century, therefore, it appears a material manifestation that could be reliably interpreted on all sides of the North Sea is evidenced. If this style was used by people as a potential form for identity marker, then the group it indicates would have been spread across the entire North Sea littoral, not unlike our modern concept of the Viking peoples, who were spread across all of modern Scandinavia. Indeed, an ability to communicate via the North Sea may have been an important factor in the spread of this motif, and it may be more appropriate to refer to the peoples of this period as *brim-menn* (people of the sea, a kenning for Viking in Old English), rather than a distinct ethnic term.

In the sixth century, however, a correlation between one particular expression and a limited region of English soil is evidenced, one that occurs primarily in the Anglian landholdings

described by Bede in the seventh/eighth centuries. Cruciform brooches, and the motifs found on them, are found only rarely in Kent, and importantly have not yet been recovered from the territories traditionally assigned to the kings of Wessex (Welch 1983, 1:68). A striking absence in the age of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, which has drastically changed the known distributions of many British object types in the last twenty years (e.g., Dickinson 2010) but not that of the cruciform brooch in Wessex (Toby Martin personal communication 2012). Thus, in contrast with the earlier period it appears a distinct social context with limited interpretive norms can be perceived in the material culture of sixth century England, one whose extent is limited to English soil, and bounded by the presence of other political or social units to the south and west of it.

### **Conclusions – Identity and Shared Interpretive Norms**

Consensus analysis suggests the Animal-Head-Motif can be divided into two different reliable expressions, one likely representing a boar and the other a horse. Objects decorated with a horse's head are found distributed around most of the North Sea basin and appear to have been produced with similar reference points in the latter half of the fifth century. Decorations in the shape of a boar, on the other hand, appear to have been crafted later and in more restricted geographical regions. The majority of examples come from modern-day England in the sixth century, but some others are found in the far north of Norway, and near the border of Norway and Sweden. Although it can be argued that each region employed depictions of a boar, the citations present on the pieces suggest the depictions accord with three different styles. Thus, it appears that a broad interpretive norm was shared amongst many peoples living on the coasts of the North Sea in the fifth century, which was reduced into three smaller contexts in the sixth. This change in the scales at which the people of early medieval Britain shared an expression that could be reliably interpreted by their neighbors across the North Sea is striking. In the fifth century it appears that people from an area that now includes several modern nation-states and crosses a large body of water shared an interpretive norm that would allow them to reliably craft and interpret an artistic motif on objects of material culture. In the sixth century, on the other hand, it appears that this interpretive norm was reduced to a scale below that of a modern nation state.



This reduction in scale suggests that the people of England participated in a larger community in the fifth century, from which they removed themselves in the sixth when they began to focus on creating smaller more localized communities. In the context of this dissertation, this change can be taken as a shift in the form of Anglo-Saxon identity and how the people of medieval Britain compared themselves to those in the rest of Europe. It should also be noted that this period of stylistic innovation in material culture occurs in the gap between Gildas' and the Venerable Bede's accounts of the Anglo-Saxon migration and its effect on British society. Thus, it is possible that Gildas' definition of the Saxon invaders in the late fifth or early sixth century might have implied a scale of similarity much greater than the one implied by Bede who was familiar with the more limited social contexts of the seventh and eighth century.

Form is only one facet of identity and the evidence here only allows me to suggest that the people of early medieval Britain participated in a behavior that could have played a part in the construction of a pan-North Sea identity in the fifth century, which they abandoned in the sixth. How this identity was perceived and defined, however, cannot easily be grasped from the material record alone. Interpreting what these forms of identity might have meant to the people of early medieval Britain requires different methods and kinds of evidence. Thus, in order to discuss what this change in scale might have meant to the people who experienced it, the other components in the construction of social identity must be further explored.

## CHAPTER 5

### WORDS: THE ASPECT OF ANGLO SAXON IDENTITY

The next facet of identity to be explored is its aspect, the way people perceive its manifestations and definitions. As discussed in Chapter three, a common way of approaching the perception of identity is through the study of words used in a corpus of texts. General references to the relationships people use to form social groups can be found in the semantic sense of a variety of terms across different genres, but understanding how these implications were perceived can be difficult for a reader familiar with modern concepts of identity. In this chapter I will explore the extant vocabulary of the Old English language to determine what aspects of reality are bundled into the conceptual categories we can equate with the idea of “a people.” I focus on the proximity of words with different semantic content in sentences that include the notion of a corporate social identity, and use these to understand how medieval Britons could have perceived similarities between themselves and used these perceptions in the definition of group identities.

Our modern views on language, and the effects words can have on reality, would not be shared by a person speaking the West Germanic dialects we call Old English. For the Germanic speaking peoples of first millennium Europe, words carried a great deal more value than they do today (Bjork 1994). In fact, for Old English speakers an intimate relationship existed between the use of words and the act of creation, a belief we preserve in the modern English meaning of the Old English term *spell* (literally a story, saying, or news) as a combination of words that magically manipulate reality. Whereas we metaphorically talk about constructing identity with words, the speakers of ancient Germanic tongues could have taken the term literally (Bartlett 1993, 198–204). Thus, it is the goal of this chapter to explore the Old English words used to construct notions of identity in the latter half of the first millennium AD.

Medieval texts are rife with examples of what contemporary scholars take to be ethnic terms, or at the very least labels for some sort of social collective, including some that seem to describe extant ethnic groups (notably the English, Scottish, Welsh, French and Danish). It is generally agreed that later medieval authors had a concept of ethnic identity, in which shared

customs, practices, and language created the bonds of a social group; correlation between this concept, material culture patterns, and the labels for social collectives recorded in earlier texts is often assumed (Härke 1997; Härke 2002; Niles 2007, 59–119; Yorke 2003; Yorke 2006). Indeed, most studies on ethnic names or groups tend either to locate them through analyses of place names and material remains or to discuss how these names are later constructions used to project a sense of community from the High Middle Ages back into the past. Yet, as some authors have shown, the relationship between individuals and their recorded ethnic identities was very fluid, perhaps because individuals of Germanic cultural origin were fitting themselves into Classical categories that did not match their own conceptions of social collectives (Amory 1993; Geary 1983; Goffart 2006; Harris 2007).

I hope to make a contribution to understanding how the medieval Germanic mind would have defined social collectives by reversing the path of interrogation. That is, I ask what can the terms used to describe social collectives in the extant corpus of Old English prose and poetry tell us about the options available to the people of Medieval England for conceptualizing and expressing their categories of identity. Taking an approach grounded in discourse and metaphor analysis (Fernandez 1991; Krippendorff 2004; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Strauss and Quinn 1997), I will explore how different terms for “a people” were deployed in Old English sentences to refine our understanding of the aspect of medieval British identity.

The study of semantic fields is not uncommon among scholars of Old English (Frantzen 2012; Strite 1989). The specific relationships that define kinship, for example, are both frequently recorded and well discussed (Bullough 1969; Charles-Edwards 1972; Lancaster 1958a; Lancaster 1958b; Loyn 1974; Murray 1983). The study of how identity terms are deployed to construct a field of meaning, however, is relatively rare, and the terms that reference identity categories are generally assumed to be synonymous (Roberts, Kay, and Grundy 2000). Thus, I hope to understand the aspect of Anglo-Saxon identity by providing better definitions of the semantic content of five terms from Old English *cynn*, *þeod*, *folc*, *mægð*, and *leode*, seeing how they relate to other cognitive domains, and recording how they overlap with each other in recorded sentences of Old English.

## **Aspects of Identity in Old English: an Analysis of Anglo-Saxon Cultural Schemata**

The study of semantic fields has turned away from the idea that words represent precise concepts that can be identified by a few key features towards the notion that cultural meanings are created out of a series of cognitive models known as schema or “prototype worlds” (Fillmore 1975). Indeed, one of the more interesting and important features of language in general (and Old English in particular) is the way that words can overlap in their meaning, strain the boundaries of definition, and allow for new creative expressions to be made (Healey 2006). A variety of qualitative methods can be used to recover these schemata from texts (Ryan and Bernard 2005; Ryan and Bernard 2003), and it is important that researchers select those best suited to their specific question (Quinn 2005, 37). In this section I will outline the underlying assumptions of cultural schema analysis and the methods best suited to determining the schemata preserved for us in our limited sample of the Old English language.

The study of cultural schemata presupposes that a deeper categorization of the world (or cognitive domain) underlies the way we express our understandings of reality (Strauss and Quinn 1997). In other words, it assumes that living in a culture imbues individuals with a series of categories that govern the way they will perceive and describe the world and that researchers can use patterns in the way individuals of different cultures describe the world to find culturally relevant categories. For example, as Naomi Quinn (1987) has shown, Americans tend to define marriage using a series of metaphors that relate it to concepts of permanence and sharedness, which she identified by collecting verbal narrations of the concept of “marriage” and exploring what other words were frequently found in the descriptions. She discovered phrases like “long lasting,” “strong foundation,” and “well-made” tended to occur more often than one would expect in narratives of marriage and used these to argue that Americans think of marriage as a substantial metaphorical structure that needs to be built and maintained. Thus, rather than thinking of marriage in precise legal terms (e.g., as the union of two people) Quinn argues that most Americans tend to conceive of a marriage as a house that is shared, well built, and permanent.

The study of cultural schemata gives researchers the ability to explore the overlap of multiple concepts and how the same words can possess different meanings. Taking Quinn’s

example, the cultural schema for the American marriage includes a whole host of ideas including, notions of “sharedness,” “development,” “growth,” and “stability” that can be used to describe marriage and other features of American society (e.g., marriages and trucks are both frequently described as built tough and designed to last). Rather than seeking precise definitions, cultural schema analysis looks for relationships between terms in order to understand the concepts that underlie them. In this chapter I employ a modified Keyword-In-Context (KWIC) approach where I explore the frequencies with which different terms co-occurred in compounds and sentences in the extant corpus of Old English texts.

Before proceeding with a discussion of the precise methods that will be used to explore the distribution and overlaps between words in the Old English corpus, some notes on the nature of the language and how it must be prepared for a cultural schema analysis must be made.

### **What is Old English? A note on the language**

With the exception of some inscriptions in both the runic and Latin alphabets, the Old English language largely preserves in a series of hand-copied manuscripts composed under the patronage of different important personages. Thus, the sample of the language we possess is almost certainly skewed towards the interests and agendas of specific groups, especially royal patrons and powerful members of the clergy. Although skewed, this sample is robust as the corpus of Old English contains close to four million words organized into several thousand utterances (Healey 2011). This provides us with an opportunity to explore how at least a portion of the population of first millennium England was able to conceive of and express their relationships towards one another. Before doing so, however, a basic introduction to the topic is appropriate.

Old English, like its modern descendant, belongs to the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family (Bammesberger 2008). Its closest relatives were the dialects of Old Frisian spoken in the modern Netherlands in the first millennium AD, but it is highly likely that linguistic overlap existed between Old English and other West-Germanic dialects spoken in areas of modern Germany in the first millennium AD (O. Robinson 1992), and parallels can be seen between the terms I study here and cognates found in Old Saxon, Old Frisian, Old High German,

and Gothic (Orel 2003). The language is preserved for us in four traditional dialects (Kentish, Northumbrian, Mercian, and West-Saxon), each related to, and named after, a different political entity that held sway in England in the first millennium AD. Although these four dialects dominate the records we possess, they almost certainly gloss over the existence of others spoken by groups with less political influence who lacked the scriptoria and libraries necessary for their dialects to be preserved (Toon 2008).

Old English is a much more Germanic language than its modern counterpart (Kastovsky 2008), and a few of the features that make it so have consequences for this analysis. First, Old English is inflected, meaning its nouns take different forms depending on their syntactic and grammatical function. Inflection is best made clear to speakers of modern English by reference to its pronoun system, which is still inflected. The selection of a pronoun form (e.g., 'I', 'me', or 'my') in modern English is dependent on the grammatical function it must serve in a sentence (subject, object, or possessive, respectively). Thus, although a pronoun always refers to the same domain in reality ("I" "me" and "my" all refer to the speaker of the sentence) the choice of which of the three words to use is determined by what the speaker hopes to say. The existence of inflected nouns requires an analyst to consider what a "word" is in Old English and which formal variants must be combined together into lexemes for KWIC analyses (Kastovsky 2008). Thus, in modern English if we wanted to study how personal pronouns are employed as a lexeme we would have to make a choice on whether or not to group "I," "me," and "my" together for the purpose of analysis or leave them separate.

The existence of inflected nouns can affect the semantic sense of some terms in Old English. As Stodnick (2006, 348–57) notes regarding group names, the relationship between different noun forms and prepositions has an important bearing on the way we can translate Old English documents that is often overlooked. In prose texts social collectives often take the form of a dative plural to give a sense that an individual took power over a people or lived among them (e.g., *feng to rice on Westsaxum* [took power over the West-Saxons] or *he com of Eastenglum* [he came from the East-Angles]), which are often translated to denote a connection to territory that is not explicit in the Old English texts ("he established a kingdom in Wessex," or "he came

from East Anglia”). In Old English poetry, however, social collectives are often rendered using partitive genitives suggesting that a person is a part of a larger collective (e.g., *geata leod* [man of the Geats]), a tendency largely missing in Old English prose (Kjellmer 2001). For the purpose of this analysis, I elected to group together all cases of a term into a single lexeme. In studying themes and cognitive domains the syntactic purpose of a term is less important than the occurrence of its semantic sense. Although syntactic relationships can nuance the interpretation of a term they do not have much effect on the collocation of concepts, and in the next chapter, I will explore how syntactic relationships nuance meaning when I explore the use of these words in utterances.

Inflected languages also differ from non-inflected ones in the way words create semantic relationships between each other in compositions. In modern English the function and relationship between words is determined by the structure of a sentence and the proximity they share with one another within an utterance. Contemporary speakers of English put the subject of the sentence first to indicate its syntactic purpose (e.g., “Jane walks the dog” has a different sense from “The dog walks Jane”) whereas the composers of Old English could place words of different cases in any part of the sentence while retaining their syntactic sense (in other words, in Old English the location of “Jane” and “dog” in a sentence has no formal bearing on its meaning). For inflected languages the case of a noun not only determines its function in a sentence, but it also creates relationships between words in the same case, which can result in adjectives that share a case with the noun they modify being separated by a large number of intervening terms of another case. This feature of the language renders the use of direct proximity (i.e., within a window of *n* words) as a means of studying the collocation of keywords inappropriate, since terms that are directly related syntactically might not be proximate. For the KWIC analyses run here the sentence (i.e., the collection of words between two full-stops in a text) was selected for analysis.

Old English also contrasts with its modern counterpart in the effects relationships between words have on the creation of meaning. Unlike modern English, Old English is an associative language with very few loanwords (Kastovsky 2008, 294). An associative language is characterized by its use of vocabulary terms that are morphologically and semantically linked,

which has three consequences for its interpretation. First, it results in the existence of a series of metonyms where the semantic meaning of one term is an offshoot of the other. For example, Old English words for leaders (e.g., *cyning*, *þeoden*, and *dryhten*) are often morphologically similar to the words for the groups they lead (e.g., *cynn*, *þeod*, *dryht*), which serves to reinforce the semantic connection between a leader and the people they lead (the connection in modern English between “king” and “kingdom” preserves this relationship). This facet of the language requires the careful selection of examples for study, as most headword searches for an identity term will bring up metonyms not strictly related to the idea of a social collective. How these metonyms were culled is discussed below.

Second, it allows for the translation of foreign terms into native concepts using their literal semantic senses. An example of this process is the Latin term *praepositio* (modern English preposition, literally “positioned before”), which is rendered in Old English as *forsetnys* (literally ‘set in front of’) to preserve the sense that a preposition is a word *placed before* another term (Kastovsky 2008). This combination of the semantic senses of words in the act of translation allows for the ready creation of compound terms whose meanings are equivalent to the sum of their parts (much like modern German). This tendency of Old English leads to the frequent creation of *kennningar*, or compound words that poetically refer to different semantic units. Thus, if one wanted to study the different ways to refer to a king one would not only have to account for terms that directly refer to kings (i.e., *cyning*), but also compounds that reference the ideal actions a king should perform (e.g., as a redistributor of treasure [*sinces brytta*], or a protector of the people [*helm scyldinga*]). For the study of concepts this tendency of the language has the consequence that the semantic sense of terms can be found bundled together in compound words, which requires a special analytical step not commonly found in analyses of modern English. As a result I analyzed the collocation of terms both at the level of the sentence and at the level of the compound to determine how often different semantic senses are related by the speakers of Old English.

One final difference between Old and Modern English that bears pointing out to contemporary readers is the high degree of variation in spelling and grammar recorded in the



different Old English manuscripts. Unlike most modern European languages, which underwent extensive programs of standardization in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Barbour and Carmichael 2000), Old English was written down by scribes who were flexible in their choice of orthography and free to omit punctuation from the documents they created. Furthermore, because manuscripts were all created by hand, scribal error or intentional scribal changes had the effect of creating multiple versions of the same word (or text). Thus, in Old English the word we translate and “Angle” is rendered variously as *angel*, *angol*, *ongol*, *engla*, or *engel*, depending on how the scribe tried to best reproduce the sound of the spoken word. This lack of standardization has important effects on our ability to sample Old English lexemes, as it can require some imagination to collect all the written examples of the same term together into a semantic category. I employed a substitution dictionary (that can be examined in detail in Appendix B), which normalized the spelling and cases of different Old English nouns for the purpose of analysis. The lack of standardized punctuation can also affect the unit of analysis, as the definition of a sentence can be called into question. I rely on the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*' definitions of a sentence for the creation of my units.

Before describing the analyses one final methodological issue must be addressed – namely I must outline how I sampled the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* in a way that is analytically appropriate.

### **Sampling identity Terms from the Old English Corpus**

In contemporary cultural schema analyses the researcher has the option either of creating narratives suitable for the study of cognitive domains (i.e., they ask people to define the schema they wish to study and analyze the responses [Quinn 1987]), or of using specialized documents with specific purposes (e.g., CEO memos [Jang and Barnett 1994]) which limit the semantic content of the utterances. Neither of these approaches is suitable for the study of a dead language. Instead, I take a whole corpus linguistic approach to get as broad a sense of the semantic fields of identity as possible.

With advancements in computing power it is now possible to search, retrieve, and analyze millions of words from a corpus within a matter of minutes. As a result of this capability, computer

assisted analyses of large bodies of texts (corpus or corpora studies) has moved increasingly to prominence in linguistic analyses since the 1980's (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2006; McEnery, Xiao, and Tono 2006). In modern corpus studies analysts share a great deal of concern for the representativeness and balance of their corpora as they have the option of selecting documents to include within their databases (McEnery, Xiao, and Tono 2006, 13–21). In the case of Old English we cannot improve the representative quality of our sample as no further examples of the language are preserved. Thus, in order to place the appropriate limitations on what we can reasonably determine from the corpus we possess, the structure of the sample I took and the nature of the corpus from which I took it will be described.

The corpus of Old English varies from modern examples in terms of the chronological variation and the material it contains. The language itself is generally thought to have been spoken for a span of about 600 years between the fall of Rome and the establishment of the Norman hegemony in the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, but scholars are by and large unable to situate the texts we possess to precise points in time during this continuum, especially those composed in verse (Fulk and Cain 2003, 36). The surest aspect of chronology we possess is an agreement that the bulk of compositions in Old English prose were produced in Wessex from the reign of Alfred the Great (c. 871-899) through the Norman Conquest of 1066, but this still covers a period of over 100 years. This range in time need not negatively affect the analysis as cultural schemas and metaphors are often quite long-lived and resistant to change (Lele 2006), but it should be recalled that a long period of linguistic usage is recorded in the corpus and some variation in the way terms are used should be expected, particularly when we compare poetic compositions to prose examples.

The extant Old English corpus will have some issues with balance as it suffers from a bias towards liturgical texts, and chronicle entries focused on the deeds and histories of kings and their genealogies. Despite this skew, many different genres of text are preserved for us including charters, laws, heroic poems, riddles, charms, homilies, and translations of Biblical texts and Latin writings, but the different genres are not proportionally represented (Fulk and Cain 2003). Thus, in terms of balance we should be prepared to expect an emphasis on terms that relate to

the church and state to be represented more commonly than one might expect from chance (e.g., in the random sample I took, words for “God” appear about as frequently as the verb “to be” or the prepositions “in” and “of”). Such an imbalance is not necessarily problematic for a study of identity. Indeed, since political power, territorial boundaries, and religious affiliation are often connected to the way individuals are capable of imagining their relationships towards one another (Anderson 1991), this bias would likely be reproduced by a sampling strategy that focused on narratives of social identity. But to ensure a more representative and balanced sample, I analyzed both the corpus as a whole and the more limited sample of texts in verse that have a broader range of subject matter represented to see if bias is represented.

#### *Units of analysis*

The recovery of concepts of identity from the Old English corpus required narrowing the sample of language to instances in which the identity of different individuals or groups is described or mentioned in extant texts. Since I am not able to ask speakers of Old English to define their terms, I sampled sentences in which one of the terms occurred to explore what relationships are common to the entire corpus as a whole (Stubbs 2001, 35–7). In order to ensure that these sentences preserve meaningful lexical relationships I also collected one comprehensive sample of the language (using the two letters “ge,” which are exceedingly common in Old English) for the purpose of comparing the frequency of terms found in each of my samples to the frequency of their appearance in a balanced and random sample of the corpus as a whole. In the following section I will introduce each of the terms I investigate and outline how the sample of sentences containing examples of the lexeme was selected from the corpus as a whole. The definitions of the terms come from Bosworth and Toller’s (1898) and J Clark Hall’s (1960) Old English dictionaries. In alphabetical order the sampled terms include *cynn*, *folc*, *leode*, *mægð*, and *þeod*.

**Cynn.** The Old English word *cynn* (pronounced something like **raccoon**) is primarily defined as a kindred or kind in both Bosworth and Toller and Clark Hall’s dictionaries, and it is this sense of the term that has survived into the modern English terms “kin” or “kind.” In both dictionaries it takes on several other connotations, most notably “race,” “generation,” or “people.”

Morphologically it is related to a number of different terms including nouns for origin (*cynd*), adjectives that mean innate, natural, or from birth (*cynde*), and the verb *cennan* (to procreate or create by birth). It also is related to the Old English word for king (*cyning*) through the notion that a king springs from, and is an extension of, other people of his kind (Bosworth and Toller 1898).

Multiple compounds that include the term “*cynn*” are recorded and one must be careful to differentiate examples of compounds containing the semantic sense of people or kindred (e.g., *monncynn* [humankind]) from those that have a regal connotation (e.g., *cynestol* [the king’s seat]) (Barney 1985, 9). In the majority of instances where *cynn* comes before another noun a royal sense is implied. When *cynn* comes after a noun, however, it tends to imply a connection based on shared descent or perceived similarity. Thus it is not uncommon for Old English scribes to write about *wyrmcynn* [dragon-kind], *fugelcynn* [bird-kind], *treowcynn* [tree-kind], or *gimcynn* [gem-kind], giving the term a strong affinity with our biological notion of species and the idea that a shared descent creates a real similarity between beings (Frantzen 2012, 220–224). To sample the sense of this word that aligns with a social collective, all words containing the letters “*cyn*” were retrieved from the corpus, and this sample was culled to remove sentences that did not possess at least one example of the word *cynn* or a compound that preserves the term’s sense of a kindred nature. After combining variant spellings and declensions into one lexeme, a sample of 2287 occurrences of this term was retrieved.

**Folc.** The Old English term *folc* (modern English “folk”) is the most commonly used, easiest to define, and easiest to sample of the terms analyzed here. It is a collective noun referring to a group of individuals, often taken as a nation or a tribe, but sometimes used to imply a troop or army. It has preserved its sense into modern English where we use the term in similar fashion as a collection of individuals, with the slight exception that in popular definition “folk” now has a rustic quality that would not be implied in the Old English. Other morphologically similar words do not exist in Old English (Barney 1985, 32), and although it participates in a number of compounds it maintains the same semantic function as a social collective in all cases. This word was sampled by searching for all examples of its headword *folc*, which collected both the term by itself and its compound phrases into a single list of 2619 examples.

**Leod/Leode.** The next lexeme (pronounced lay-ode) does not preserve into modern English, although it did appear in Middle English and survives in modern German as *Leute*, a collective term meaning “people.” It can change its meaning based on the gender it takes, and it has a rare form of declension. In the masculine it takes on the meaning of a single male individual or a collection of men in the plural, while in the feminine it takes on a collective sense of “a people” (contra Earle 1892, 107). *Leode* appears much more frequently in verse than in prose, suggesting either that it is an older term for a social collective than the others analyzed here, or that it functions as an archaism (Kjellmer 2001). Both forms belong to a rare grouping of nouns known as I-stem feminines that preserve a Primitive Germanic inflection from a period before Old English split off from its Continental West Germanic relatives (Hasenfratz 2005, 322; Ross 1963). Interestingly, the preservation of this declension primarily occurred in terms that relate to groupings of people, including group names, suffixes that indicate communal residence, and the term *peod* discussed below (A. Hall 2007, 62).

Its sense has been related to Old English terms for language and could be a collective noun based on speakers of the same language (Barney 1985, 16–17), but it is more likely related to the Old English verb *leodan* (to grow or spring from [Bosworth and Toller 1898]), which would suggest it developed to describe a group that sprang up out of some other condition, likely a common ancestry or perhaps an autochthonous territory. The latter theory could find some support in the rare way the terms are declined. Verbal nouns that are formed out of present participles (e.g., *feond*) decline with the same basic paradigm as I-Stem feminines. Thus, it is possible that *leode* could have a meaning similar to that of modern English “offspring.” The term *leode* also occurs in several compounds where it preserves its sense as a “people,” and these compounds were included in the analysis. A headword search for *leod* produced sentences with terms containing the combination of letters *leod* that are unrelated to the lexeme *leode*, and these were culled from my analysis. The singular lexeme appeared 205 times, while the plural form appears 234 times in the whole corpus. This term is not found in glossary entries but only comes from verse and prose.

**ƿeod.** The Old English term *ƿeod* or *ðeod* (pronounced they-ode) is generally defined as a “people” in each of the dictionaries. It appears to come from a widely shared Indo-European root, and the borrowing of this term into Latin and Greek may have been responsible for the terms “Teuton” and “German” (Barney 1985, 21), as Mediterranean writers applied the generic word for people as an ethnic term. Like the term *leode*, it is an I-stem feminine noun with no cognates in modern English that has been related to a noun for “language” (*geƿeod*) and a verb (in this case *ƿeodan* [“to join”]). Based on its inflection a similar argument can be made that it was the verbal noun of *ƿeodan* with the sense of one who joined something. If the term is related to the concept of joining it gives *ƿeod* an active sense in that it is a group people join, not one that people spring from or are innate to. Like *cynn* the term also has a metonymic cognate for the leader of the group (*ƿeoden*) and in the study of compounds, terms that combine the sense of *ƿeoden* must be culled from analysis. In order to get all the terms with both *eths* and *thorns* a Boolean search of the corpus was performed for the terms “ƿeod” OR “ðeod” and words in which these letter combinations occurred that do not contain the sense of a people were removed from the analysis. 1860 examples of the lexeme were recovered.

**Mægþ.** Unlike the other words sampled for this analysis the term “mægþ” has a number of homonyms unrelated to the sense of social identity. As a social unit it is defined by Bosworth and Toller as a collection of “mægþas” or kin relations, and by Clark Hall as a family, clan, tribe, or stock. The same term can also mean “maiden” or “ambition,” and on occasions it is used as a gloss for the Latin term *provincia*. The polysemous nature of this term required the sample to be very selectively culled to ensure that only the lexeme for social identity be preserved. *Mægþ* belongs to a substratum of Indo-European found in Northern European languages (e.g., Germanic, Celtic, and Slavic), which all share a complex of relationship terms based on the root *mag-*. It is highly probable that *mægþ* had the original meaning of the relatives one possessed on the mother’s side of the family outside of the Indo-European patriline (Boutkan 2003, 14–7), although it is not clear that this sense is preserved into Old English. The sample of utterances that contain the word *mægþ* was collected using a Boolean search of the corpus for “mægþ” OR “mægþ̄,” and these results were culled by hand to remove instances where the sense of “maiden”

or “ambition” was implied. After combining variant spellings and declensions, 465 occurrences of this lexeme were retrieved for analysis.

### **Analysis and Results**

Analysis of the identity lexemes took three different steps. First, the way different lexemes were compounded together into new terms was explored. Second, the frequency of terms used in the same sentence as the identity lexemes was calculated for the whole corpus to see what other concepts were employed alongside the notion of identity. Third, to try to rectify the potential biases towards tenth-century ecclesiastical English, I studied Old English verse compositions on their own under the assumption that they possess more chronological and topical breadth than does prose. I will discuss each step and present the results separately below and provide some synthesis and discussion in the following section.

Each analysis was accomplished by inputting the samples taken of the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* into Provalis Software’s *WordStat* analysis software, which parsed each sentence into the words it contained and counted the number of times different terms occurred in the sample. A substitution dictionary was employed that combined inflected forms of nouns, verbal conjugations, and proper names for ethnic groups, individuals, or places into conceptual lexemes. An exclusion dictionary was also employed that removed articles, pronouns, conjunctions, and other highly common words whose numerical frequency would not be expected to relate to the semantic content of different sentences (Krippendorff 2004). Copies of these dictionaries are provided in Appendix B.

Languages are semantically rich and varied, and it would be impossible to capture the relationships between the nuances and connotations of every word with which identity terms co-occur in a complete language corpus. In order to cope with this variance, thematic categories were created to facilitate analysis. Taking an inductive approach, the categories were developed by examining the frequency lists developed in each step of the analysis for terms that refer to similar social and physical phenomena, which were then combined into broad groups. Common categories, unsurprisingly, are those we would expect to relate to a social or national identity, including senses of place or territory; power or authority; and shared descent or kinship (e.g,

Anderson's [1991] definitions of a national identity). But other concepts (e.g., fighting) that are specific to the medieval mind were also evidenced (Table 5.1). It is hoped that by comparing these categories to the deployment of different identity lexemes that a more emic concept of identity can be achieved.

*Lexeme analysis step I: Identity in compound terms*

As a consequence of the associative nature of Old English its lexemes can co-occur within the same term or be compounded together into new words. In this section I analyze how frequently each identity lexeme was compounded with a term for another semantic phenomenon or joined with a suffix or preposition that served to change its meaning. For this analysis every example of a compound term was gathered from the corpus, and the term with which the identity lexeme co-occurred was coded according to the semantic categories described in Table 5.1. The number of times each category occurred with each identity lexeme was then determined.

Speakers of Old English did not compound their identity terms equally. Compounds of the term *mægð* rarely occur at all (n =42), and although *folc* is the most common collective term in the corpus with over 2600 examples only 233 compounds exist, suggesting that these two terms were not particularly suitable for compounding. This pattern contrasts starkly with the collectives *leode* and *peod*, which tend to occur in compounds almost as frequently as they do by themselves and *cynn* compounds, which occur about half as frequently as the noun itself.

Compounds of *mægþ* and *folc* also show less standardization than the other forms, suggesting that there were fewer common usages of these terms. Examining Figures 5.1-5 it can be seen that a reasonably even distribution of other semantic categories are combined with these two terms, while the others were used in a more limited fashion. Indeed, both *cynn* and *peod* are commonly compounded with only one other semantic field (beings and categories respectively), *leode* is most commonly deployed with three (place, categories, and authority), while the other terms are related to at least five different conceptual categories.



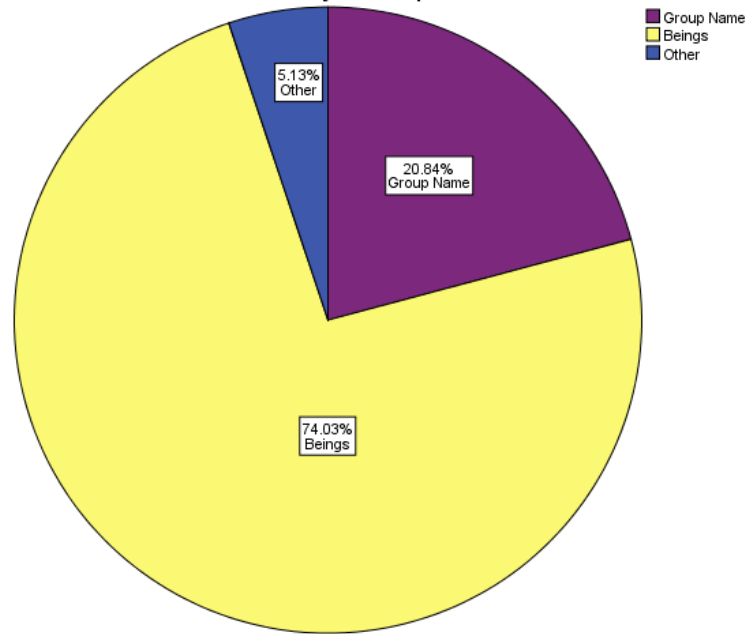


Figure 5.1. Categories compounded with the lexeme *cynn*. n=1190.

*Cynn* (Figure 5.1) has a standard deployment in compounds. Far and away (almost 95%) it was most commonly used as a suffix to give the sense of a kindred, a usage we have preserved in modern English (e.g., human***kind***). The compounding of *cynn* to another term appears to have functioned to transform an entity into a category based on physical similarities. In most cases the similarity between beings is only at a broad level, with the notable exception of the *Angelcynn*, in which it connotes a specific group of people and thus had a nationalistic and/or ethnic sense.

Category	Definition	Old English Examples	Modern English Examples
Authority	Person or group in possession of more power or prestige than other people	<i>cyning, biscop, preost, -toga, eorl, fruma, hlaford</i>	King, bishop, priest, lord, earl
Bad	Words associated with negative situations, crimes, and enemies	<i>feond, lað, earm, sar</i>	villain, hatred, wretchedness, sorrow
Being	Entities in the natural or supernatural world	<i>deor, fisc, fugel, wurm, engel, mann, wer, wif</i>	deer, fish, bird, dragon, angel, man, woman
Category	The attachment of a prefix or suffix to an identity lexeme that gives it the sense of a category	<i>elþeodig, þeodscip, leodscip</i>	foreignness, Englishness, friendship
Collective	Words for groups capable of collective action	<i>Dugupa, fyrd, gesið, werod</i>	Companions, troop, company
Fight	Words associated with combat	<i>feohtan, feollon, ofslog, guð</i>	fight, die, kill, war, slay, battle
Good	Words associated with peace, glory, blessing, or love	<i>Eadig, freond, frið, sige, wuldor, lof</i>	Glory, friend, love, peace, harmony, blessed
Kin	Words that express kinship relationships	<i>bearn, broðor, dohtor, sunu, wine</i>	child, brother, daughter, son, kinsman
Know	Words for knowledge or words	<i>boc, lareow, læran, word, lar</i>	book, teach, word, lore
Man	Generic words for man/woman	<i>Mann</i>	One
Ethnic Group	Recorded names for social groups and societies	<i>Ebrea, Angelcynn,</i>	Hebrews, English, French, Dane
Place	Terms for places or territories	<i>eard, burg, beorg, dune, land, epel, weg, stan, ham, hus, rice</i>	land, yard, city, mountain, road, stone, home, kingdom
Religion	Words associated with Christianity or religion	<i>God, deofol, halig, heofon, sawl, syn</i>	God, devil, holy, soul, sin, heaven
Rule	Words for protection	<i>anweald, helm, hyrde, wealdan</i>	wield, protector, shepherd
Material Culture	Words for objects and property	<i>gold, horde, fea, yrfewardnesse</i>	Gold, hoard, property, seat

Table 5.1. Thematic categories used in the analysis

It is far more common to find the term used to imply a generic superficial similarity between creatures based on whether they swim (*fiscycynn* [fish]), fly (*fugelcynn* [bird]), or glitter (*gimcynn* [gem]). Although it does compound with other senses it does so only rarely, suggesting these terms were not in common usage.

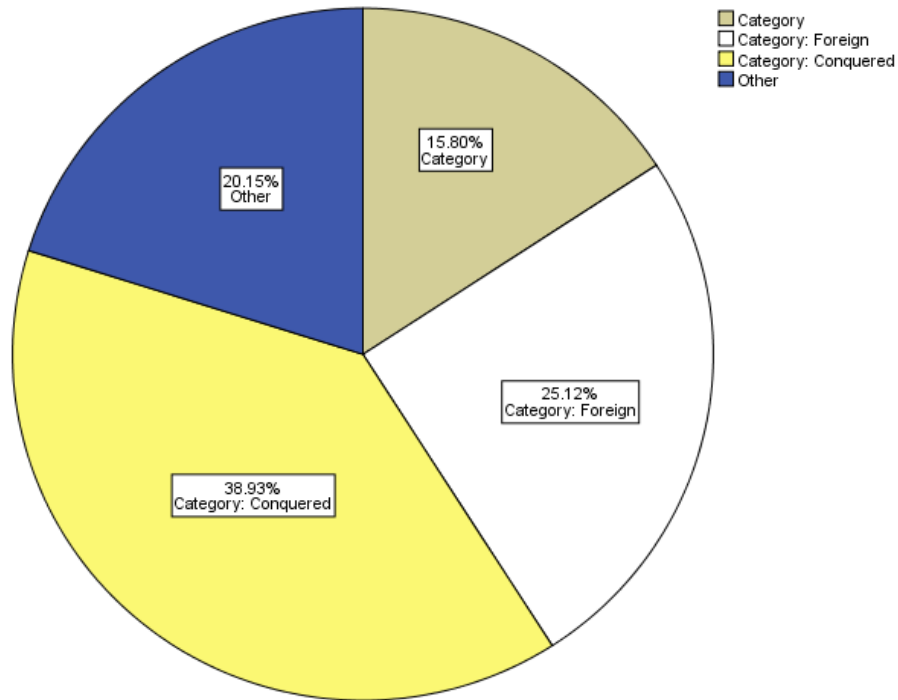


Figure 5.2. Categories compounded with the lexeme *peod*. n=2009

*peod* (Figure 5.2) has the second most standardized usage in compound terms. Almost 80% of the time that it occurs it does so with terms that emphasize its categorical nature. This grouping can be divided into terms compounded with the preposition “under” which connote a category of subjugation, those combined with the prefix “el-” that connote a sense of foreign-ness (i.e., the opposite of a *peod*), and those with the suffixes “-nesse” or “-scip” attached, which connote the quality of being a *peod*. Each of these compounds suggest that the term *peod* represents some kind of abstract condition that people can possess (the suffixes *-nesse* and *-scip*), lack (the prefix *el-*), or lose (the prefix *under-*). In less abstract terms it appears that when

the term *þeod* is compounded with another sense it is done to connote that one can belong to a people, be foreign to them, or be subjugated by them. Since it appears that the condition of a *þeod* can be gained or lost, then it seems reasonable to suggest that it represents some kind of categorical identity people take on throughout the course of their lives (Calhoun 1998, 29–48). Furthermore, it appears to have a political connotation as its condition can be subjugated, suggesting the group possesses some kind of communal holding or customs that another group can seize or alter.

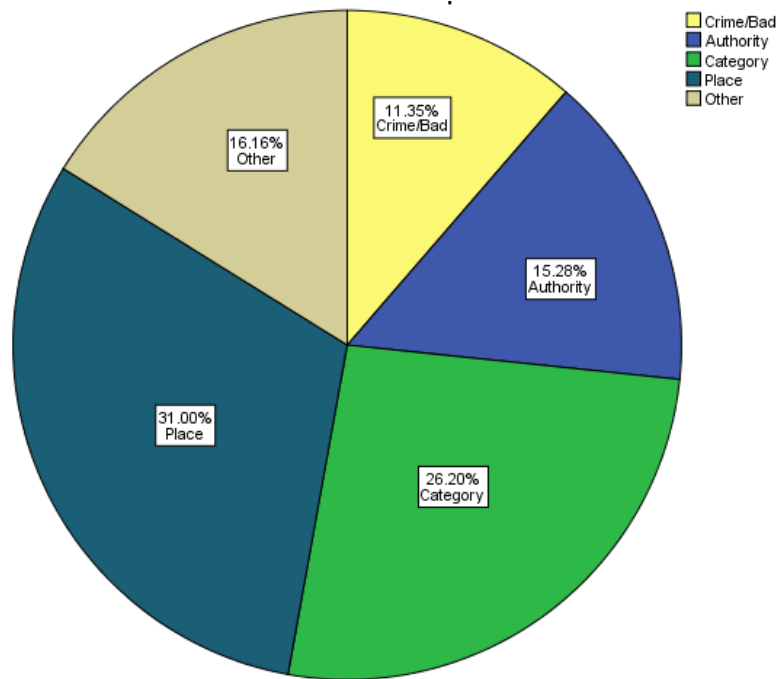


Figure 5.3. Categories compounded with lexeme *leode*. n=229.

*Leode* (Figure 5.3) possesses a more varied series of compounds than the prior two, but in general its compounds repeat predictably. It is most commonly associated with two concepts of place, namely the word “land” or variants of the Old English term for a fortified settlement (*burh*). It is also frequently compounded with suffixes that give the term a categorical sense. Finally, in a

smaller group two terms for authority are typically found in conjunction with *leod*, the word for “bishop” and the Old English term *fruma*, which translates as the originating member and/or leader of a group (Bosworth and Toller 1898). Other connotations are found but they tend to be rare. At the level of compounding, therefore, this lexeme, like *beod*, appears to be a category of people, but the nature of this category is not immediately clear. The relationships between *leode*, land, *burh*, and bishops might suggest that a *leod* is a group with a territory, one supported by a bishop and headquartered in a fortress, and the association with the concept of an ancestral leader could suggest a shared concept of descent, but the numbers for this lexeme are small and conclusions are thus only preliminary.

The compounding of *folc* (Figure 5.4) with other terms is not as fruitful a ground for analysis as the prior three lexemes. Not only are compounds that include the term *folc* relatively rare compared to the term itself, but they also tend to be semantically varied and joined with generic terms. For example, compounds that include terms for place and authority are frequently found, but the terms selected for compounding are vague referents to undefined spaces (*land* and *stede*) or group leaders (*toga*), leaving an analyst with little grist for the mill. The tendency to compound *folc* with terms for “law,” “right,” and “knowledge” proves more interesting, as it suggests a relationship with the English concept of the commons or a generic sense of a collective that possesses rights, but this notion requires further confirmation as it is based on a small sample. It is interesting to note that *folc* tends not to compound with suffixes that give it the sense of being a quality or condition, suggesting it might be better to think of the term as a situational collective rather than an inherent category. Some support could be found for this notion in the way compounds exist that seem to imply a *folc* can be a collective of collectives (e.g., *dryhtfolc* or *folcmægþ*), but again the samples are so small this notion would be hard to prove. The safest conclusion to draw from the way *folc* co-occurs in compound terms is that it connotes a generic quality of a group, but this notion is not that helpful to interpreting identity categories in the past.

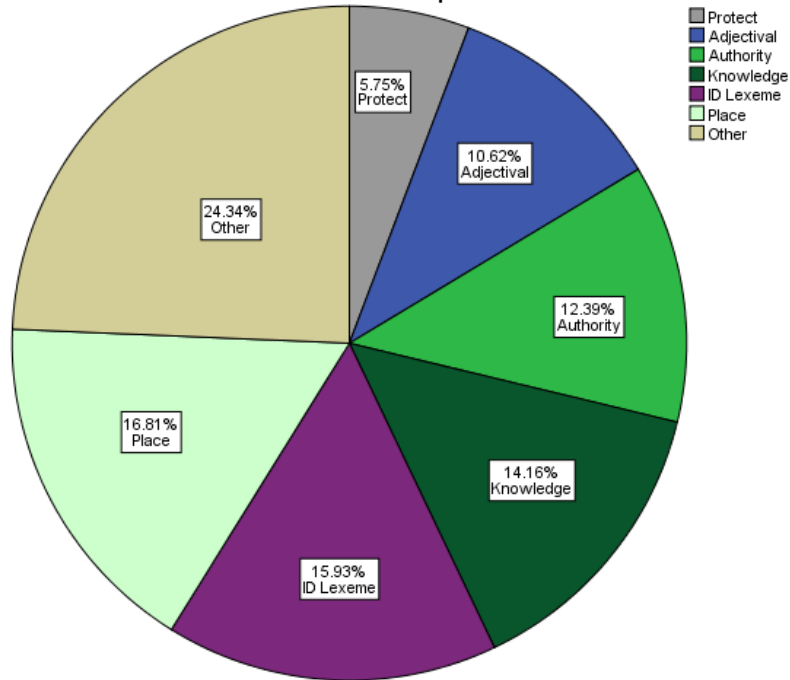


Figure 5.4. Categories compounded with the lexeme *folc*. n=233.

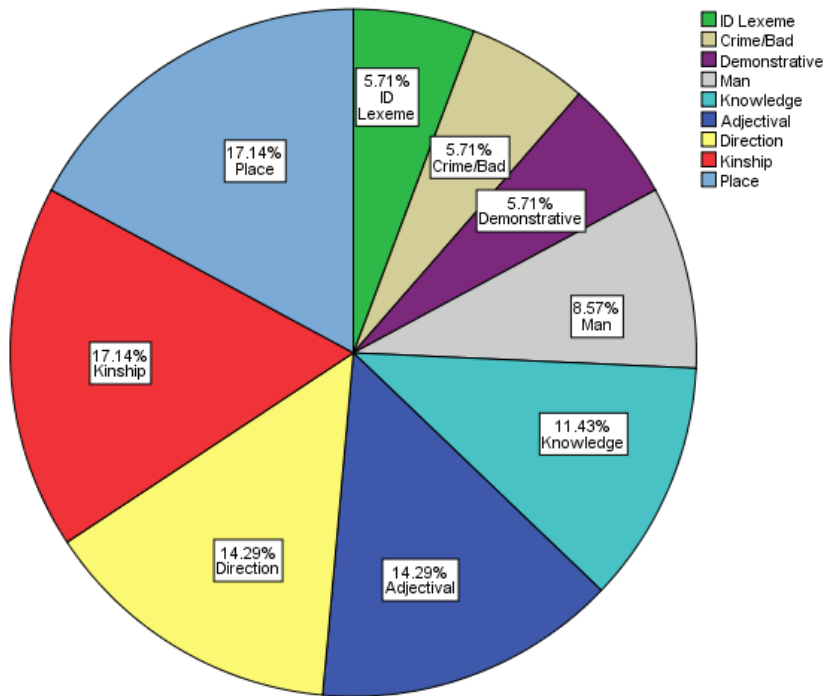


Figure 5.5. Categories compounded with the lexeme *mægbp*. n=42

The lexeme *mægð* was left for last as it does not seem to compound in a standardized way. Although groupings can be made by aggregating compounds with a similar sense, each group is formed out of terms that occur only once or twice in the whole corpus. Thus, a general argument can be made that *mægð* occurs in compounds more often with words for place, kinship, direction, and law than other terms, but these groupings are based on such a small sample they could well be spurious. Basic interpretations can be made that a link exists between these domains and *mægð* but little in depth discussion can be had.

*Lexeme analysis step II: Co-occurrence within sentences*

The next step in analysis is to determine what words were used frequently in sentences alongside those that reference the concept of “a people.” Thousands of different words are found in each sample, and those that did not occur at least ten times were not considered. To make the results more intuitive the number of times words from each analytical category appear was compared to the number of times the headword used to derive the sample from the corpus appeared. For example, in the sample of *leode* the headword “*leod*” occurred 440 times, while words that describe authority figures occurred 371 times, which can be restated to say that scribes who wrote down sentences with mention of the lexeme *leode* included references to authority 85% as often as they used the lexeme itself. In language there is always the chance that words could co-occur in a sentence without a direct semantic relationship between them. The distribution of the terms in each sample was compared to their distribution across the corpus as a whole and how often each term was expected to occur by chance was calculated in order to argue that the co-occurrence of terms in a sentence was intentional. Significant deviations from normal were determined using a p value of .005, and those that met this threshold are recorded in Tables 5.3-6.

Based on an abstract analysis of how frequently different terms co-occur in samples of the Old English corpus containing references to the concept of identity (Table 5.2), it appears that a great deal of semantic overlap existed in the way speakers of Old English could select a term for a social identity with a few key differences. As tabular data can be hard to interpret with the naked eye I employed correspondence analysis to visually summarize the co-occurrence of the

identity lexemes with different semantic categories at the level of the sentence (Figure 5.6). Correspondence analysis summarizes numerical data as spatial distance, which allows for an intuitive understanding of tabular data (e.g., Greenacre 2007; Hoffman and Franke 1986), by using physical proximity to represent the complex relationships recorded in tabular data. Intuitively the different items found in the space of the graph can be thought to pull things more similar to themselves into different zones of the space. Conversely, items that appear near the middle of the graph are those that have an equal pull on all the items. The distance between words on the graph serves as way of understanding how strong the relationships between some terms are and for understanding which items have the greatest pull on their counterparts.



Cultural Category	Folc	<i>peod</i>	Cynn	Leode	Mægþ
AUTHORITY	772.00	644.00	792.00	371.00	214.00
BAD	62.00	48.00	86.00	27.00	8.00
BEING	558.00	380.00	1837.00	142.00	135.00
CATEGORY	21.00	112.00	25.00	71.00	1.00
FIGHT	297.00	105.00	212.00	49.00	17.00
GOOD	130.00	132.00	128.00	52.00	19.00
COLLECTIVE	67.00	64.00	43.00	14.00	5.00
KIN	286.00	217.00	572.00	76.00	156.00
KNOW	466.00	254.00	349.00	100.00	38.00
MAN	130.00	66.00	188.00	49.00	36.00
ETHNIC	503.00	328.00	490.00	157.00	112.00
PLACE	1203.00	777.00	1057.00	420.00	266.00
RELIGION	229.00	105.00	93.00	83.00	14.00
RULE	326.00	205.00	227.00	84.00	40.00
MATERIAL CULTURE	86.00	118.00	141.00	38.00	25.00

Table 5.2. Co-occurrence of identity lexemes and other semantic fields.

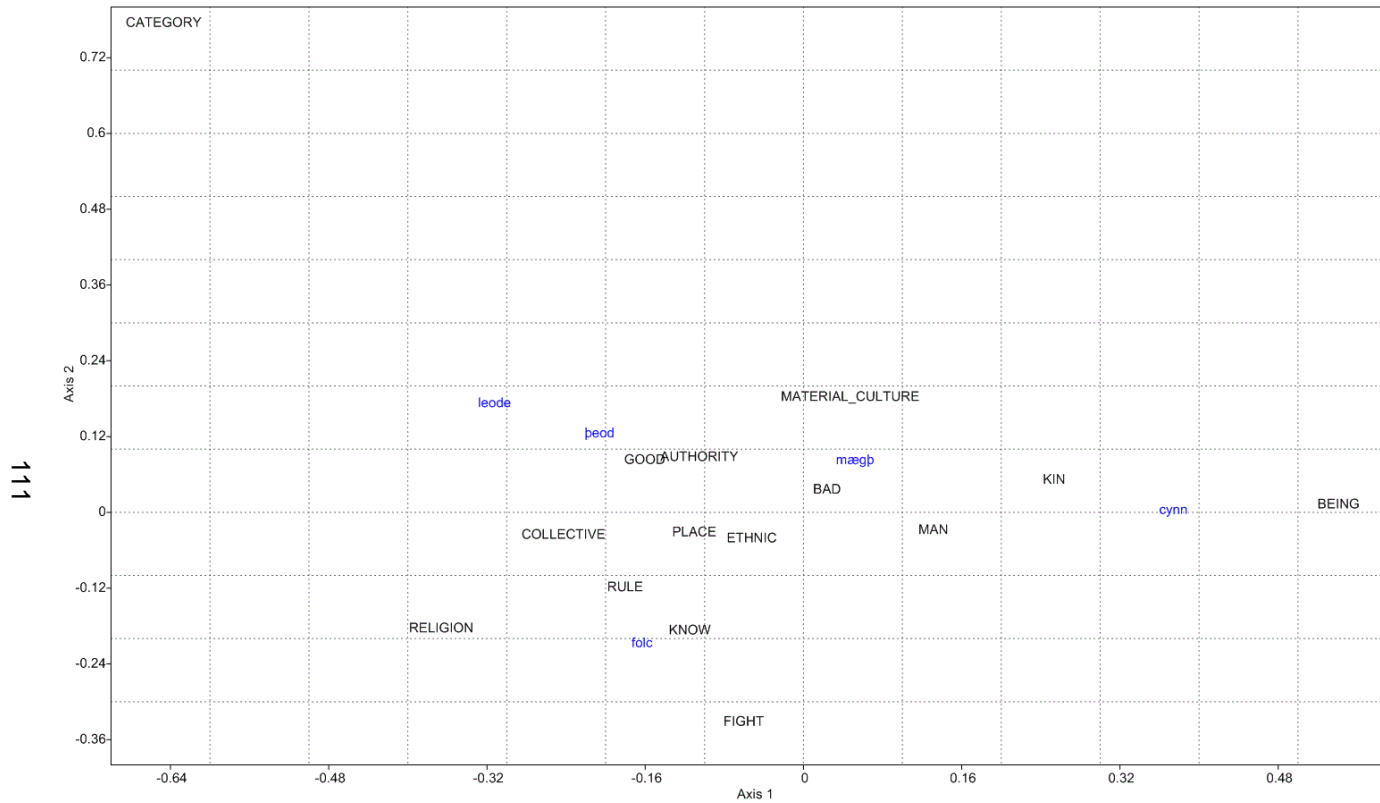


Figure 5.6. Correspondence analysis of Table 5.2. This plot represents the relationships between the identity lexemes and other conceptual categories in the same two-dimensional space. The more often terms co-occur the more proximate they will be to each other in the space of the plot. Identity lexemes are rendered in blue while conceptual categories are in black.

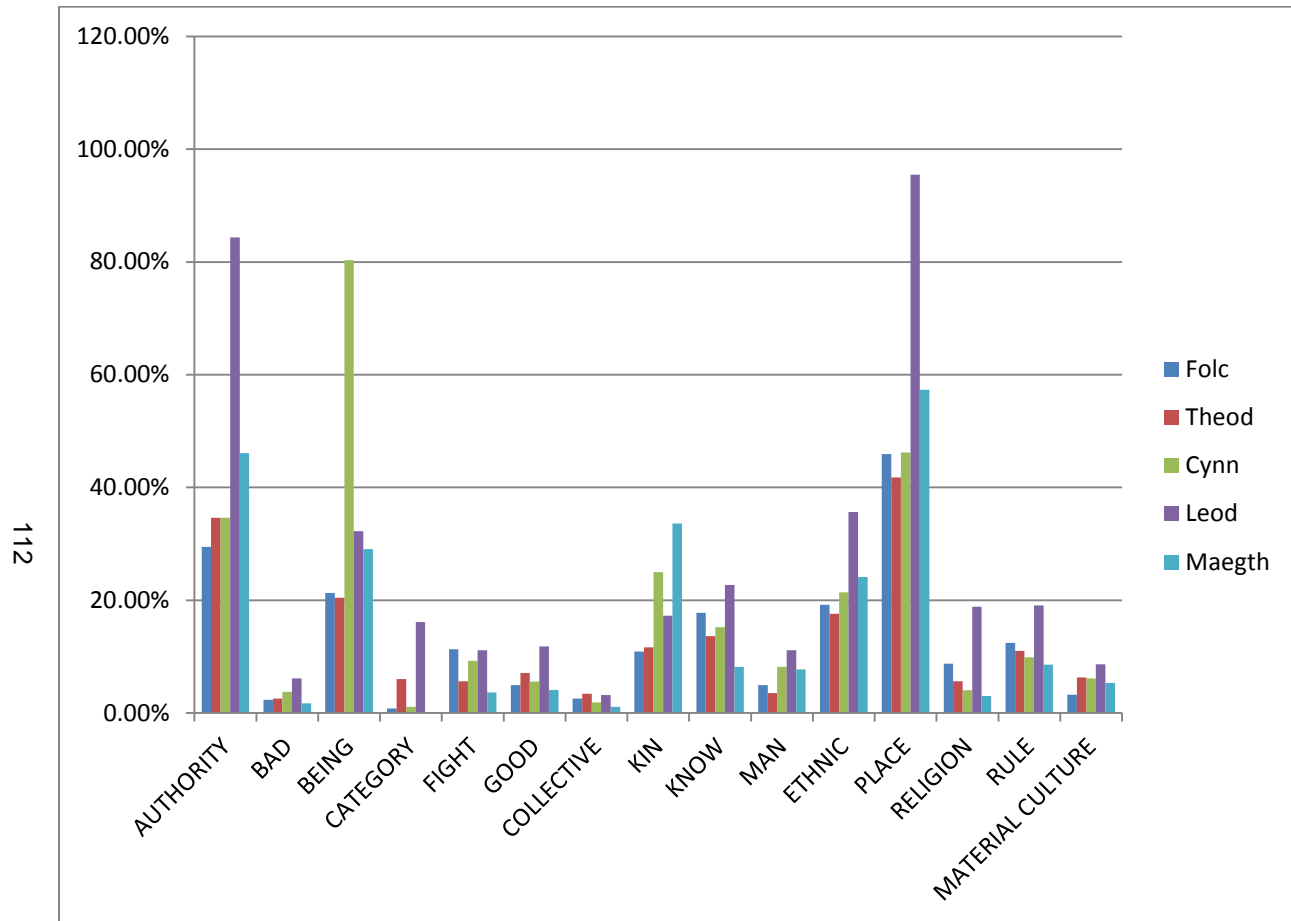


Figure 5.7. Relative frequency of conceptual categories in identity lexeme samples.

The first axis of the correspondence analysis suggests there are important differences between the categories that co-occur with *folc*, *leode*, and *þeod* and those more often found in proximity to *mægð* and *cynn*. The former three are found on the negative end of the first axis (or the left-hand side of the graph) with concepts often associated with modern definitions of identity (e.g., place of origin, authority figures, ethnic epithets), while the latter are found on the positive end of the first axis in relation to terms for beings, kinship, and man. Thus, it appears that two different types of social collectives were referenced in the Old English corpus, one based on social relationships, and one based on physical or familial similarity.

The terms that occur near to the edge of the graph appear to be driving the differences between the five identity lexemes and these results make intuitive sense in two cases. Although they are physically distant in the graph the unique positioning of CATEGORY, FIGHT, and BEINGS likely are the primary causes of separation between the different lexemes. *Cynn*'s distant position from the other lexemes, and its relative proximity to the BEINGS category, mirror how it was selected for compounding. In Figure 5.7 the frequency with which terms that describe different kinds of beings can be seen to occur over 80% as often in the *cynn* sample as the word *cynn* itself, and this frequency is almost three times greater than in any other sample. Furthermore words for “beings” occur significantly more often in the *cynn* sample than one would expect based on chance (see Table 5.4 below), reinforcing the idea a relationship existed in the Old English mind between the concept of a *cynn* and a generic similarity. *Leode* and *þeod* appear near to each other in the upper left quadrant of the graph, likely as a result of their relationship with the concept of “category,” suggesting that they share a unique relationship with the concept of a social collective itself and likely functioned as indicators of a type of corporate group. *Folc* could be differentiated from the other terms by its proximity to the concepts of fighting and knowledge, but these differences are not intuitive in the frequency distribution and are likely subtle. *Mægð* is the most central of the terms, suggesting that it has the least unique associations with other categories and only a minimal effect on the positioning of the different categories in the space of the graph.

The frequency with which these terms co-occurred with different semantic categories in the whole corpus suggests that two general groups existed for the concept of identity, one based on physical similarities (*cynn*, *mægð*), and one based on social similarities (*folc*, *leode*, *þeod*). Differences between the members of the former group are clearer than the latter, as other categories on the positive end of axis one share a linear relationship that likely differentiate the terms. Thus, *cynn* is differentiated from the other terms by its relationship with beings and kinship, while *mægð* is related only to concepts of kin. The differentiation between the other three lexemes is more difficult to discern as they share similar relationships with at least seven conceptual categories. This pattern contrasts with the way the terms were selected for compounding, which does suggest a speaker of Old English made some clearer distinctions between the terms, and the likely explanation for the difference in their distributions would either be a bias in the sample or a change in the semantic content of the terms over time. As mentioned above, prose texts are more abundant later, and less varied in terms of subject matter than their verse counterparts. In order to see if this bias affected the way identity terms were selected for use in Old English sentences or if their meanings changed over time I will analyze texts composed in verse on their own in order to determine potential relationships.

#### *Old English identity in verse*

When examples from Old English Verse are analyzed separately and compared to the results of the corpus as a whole, the subtle differences between the different identity lexemes become clear. In the case of *mægð* it appears that few significant relationships can be found between the lexeme and other conceptual categories, likely explaining its central position in the correspondence analysis, as the terms with the fewest unique associations will be found closer to the center of the space. *Mægð*'s only significant relationships are shared with general terms for "man," "collective," and "ruler" (Table 5.3), and these occur relatively rarely in the corpus (never more than thirty times). Although it does differ significantly from the category of religion, as mentioned above the frequency of religious terms are as common as prepositions, and this difference is likely due to a bias in the corpus as a whole.

	Number of actual occurrences in sample	Number of expected occurrences in the	Deviation of actual from expected	Z	P (2-tails)
BEING\HUMAN	29	11.7	148.40%	4.94	0
FOLC	9	3.7	144.60%	2.52	0.012
AUTHORITY\GENERIC	14	7.2	95.80%	2.38	0.017
RELIGION	19	45.7	-58.40%	-3.92	0

Table 5.3. Co-occurrence of *mægb* with other categories in Old English Verse.

	Number of actual occurrences in sample	Number of expected occurrences in the sample	Deviation of actual from expected	Z	P (2-tails)
BEING	95	16.3	482.20%	19.38	0
PLACE\TERRITORY	9	4	126.40%	2.27	0.023
KINSHIP	107	50.8	110.60%	7.84	0
PEOD	12	5.9	103.90%	2.31	0.021
BEING\HUMAN	98	49.3	98.70%	6.88	0
WARRIOR	51	30.8	65.50%	3.55	0

Table 5.4. Co-occurrence of *cynn* with other categories in Old English Verse

*Cynn*'s patterning in verse matches that of its compounding and in its use throughout the corpus as a whole. It is found significantly more often than one would expect by chance with three categories for beings (BEINGS, HUMANS, WARRIOR [which are synonyms for "man"]) and kinship, implying that it refers to a generic similarity based either on physical appearance or common descent. Although it does share a significant relationship with the concept of territory it does so rarely and only with two particular lands, Caldea and Egypt, likely in relation to the migration of the Children of Israel. The relationship between this term and ethnic names is reduced to a few examples, which do not occur significantly. Interestingly, of these examples the

named groups are by and large the Israelites and Judeans, two biblical groups that have the connotation of a family unit (e.g., modern English's phrase the Children of Israel).

	Number of actual occurrences in sample	Number of expected occurrences in the sample	Deviation of actual from expected	Z	P (2-tails)
RELIGION\CHRISTIAN	4	0.7	466.50%	3.33	0.001
THEOD	20	8	148.50%	4.04	0
MAEGTH	9	3.8	136.10%	2.4	0.016
LEODE	29	12.5	132.10%	4.53	0
PLACE\TERRITORY	12	5.4	120.70%	2.6	0.009
PLACE\CITY	8	3.7	113.80%	1.94	0.052
CYNN	29	14.8	95.60%	3.55	0
AUTHORITY\REGIONAL	37	19.8	87.20%	3.77	0
PLACE\SETTLEMENT	31	18.1	71.50%	2.92	0.003
AUTHORITY\GENERIC	69	41.3	67.10%	4.24	0
PLACE\RICE	20	12.4	60.90%	2.01	0.045
RELIGION	208	263.7	-21.10%	-3.44	0.001
PLACE\HOUSE	4	10.9	-63.20%	-1.93	0.053

Table 5.5. Co-occurrence of *folc* with other categories in Old English Verse.

In the other group a clearer relationship exists between concepts of place, authority, and ethnic names, but the specifics of these relationships reveal semantic differences. Although *folc* shares no unique relationships with the other semantic categories examined here, it does share significant relationships with the other identity lexemes themselves. Likely, this is the result of *folc* having a generic sense of a group of individuals that can be used to refer to any sort of social collective. This relationship between *folc* and all the other lexemes would cause it to appear frequently in the same sentences as the other lexemes and share relationships with the same semantic categories, suggesting it possesses a situational nature defined by the context of different utterances. *Folc* also appears to refer to a group of a larger scale as it occurs less frequently than one would expect with small local contexts, suggesting that members of more than one household are required to form a collective with this name.

Both *leode* (Table 5.6) and *þeod* (Table 5.7) show significant relationships to terms that define them as a category in verse (e.g., *leodscipe þeodscipe*), confirming the results of the correspondence analysis, and both show significant relationships with concepts of place and authority. When subcategories of place and authority are considered, however, *leode* shares significant relationships only with generic forms of small scale leadership

	Number of actual occurrences in sample	Number of expected occurrences in the sample	Deviation of actual from expected	Z	P (2-tails)
CATEGORIZATION	11	1.3	723.30%	7.93	0
GROUPNAME	61	21.8	179.40%	8.29	0
AUTHORITYREGIONAL	27	11.7	131.00%	4.34	0
AUTHORITYGENERIC	52	24.4	112.90%	5.49	0
PLACE	33	15.7	110.20%	4.25	0
FOLC	26	12.6	106.90%	3.65	0
PLACE\SETTLEMENT	22	10.7	105.80%	3.31	0.001
RELIGION	99	155.9	-36.50%	-4.58	0

Table 5.6. Co-occurrence of *leode* with other categories in Old English Verse.

	Number of actual occurrences in sample	Number of expected occurrences in the sample	Deviation of actual from expected	Z	P (2-tails)
CATEGORIZATION	11	1.1	943.90%	9.2	0
CUSTOMS	7	1	633.00%	5.67	0
FOLC	20	9.9	101.80%	3.05	0.002
AUTHORITYULTIMATE	32	18.1	76.40%	3.14	0.002
PLACE\RICE	13	5.8	124.30%	2.79	0.005
MAEGTH	6	1.8	237.40%	2.79	0.005
AUTHORITYREGIONAL	18	9.2	95.20%	2.73	0.006
AUTHORITYGENERIC	31	19.3	60.90%	2.57	0.01
PLACE\SETTLEMENT	1	8.4	-88.10%	-2.39	0.017
RELIGION	97	123	-21.10%	-2.33	0.02

Table 5.7. Co-occurrence of *þeod* with other categories in Old English Verse.



(e.g., “lord”) and place (e.g., “land,” “place,” “town”), while *þeod* is more often related to larger-scale territories (e.g., “kingdom”) and the people who rule them (“e.g., “king”). Although regional level authorities (i.e., bishops and aldormen/earls) are associated with both lexemes this appears to be coincidental as the majority of the sentences in which these terms occur possess examples of both lexemes. In these contexts, the semantic association of *leode* with regional authority occurs more often than *þeod*, suggesting it shares the closer link.

Two differences are noticeable in the relationships shared by these lexemes. Alone among all the lexemes examined, *þeod* shares a significant relationship with the word “custom” (albeit one that occurs rarely), suggesting a link between this group and modern views on identity. Although it does share one commonality with modern definitions it should also be noted that in verse it does not co-occur significantly with ethnic epithets, suggesting that it was not often used to describe named corporate groups. This is contrasted with *leode*, which shares a strong relationship with group names in Old English verse. In later prose, on the other hand, the pattern reverses itself and *þeod* is used more often in relation to ethnic epithets than *leode*, suggesting the way these words were used in relation to corporate group identities might have changed over time.

When the specific relationships between the lexemes and group names are examined in greater detail it appears that *leode* was used to describe a limited number of group names mentioned by the *Beowulf* poet, and the composers of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Andreas* while *þeod* was more often used in the Ælfric’s compositions and the translation of Bede’s work into Old English that both occurred in the tenth century. The difference between these groups might mirror the difference between the scales of authority and place seen in Tables 5.9 and 5.10, as the majority of group names employed in prose are on the size of a kingdom (e.g., Mercian; West Saxon) or Empire (e.g., Egyptian, Roman, Angelcynn), an observation to which I will return in the next chapter.

### *Summary of results*

Two different concepts of identity can be found at each level of analysis, one based on physical or generic similarities and one based on social categories, suggesting that a separation was made between social bonds and family ties. A great deal of overlap in semantic categories can also be found, especially in prose and glossary definitions of the identity lexemes. The first concept is denoted with the lexeme *cynn*, which appears to connote a basic physical similarity between things (one that is often the result of common descent) and the lexeme *mægð* that relates the idea of family or familial descent. The second group consists of the terms *leode* and *þeod*, each of which can take on the sense of a category and are frequently related to social concepts like place, authority and collective names. The fifth lexeme, *folc*, appears not to have an innately narrow semantic sense, and it tends to co-occur with the other identity lexemes. This suggests that *folc* literally refers to a collective rather than a people. Thus, *folc* can take on the social connotation of an ethnic people in conjunction with other terms, but it does not refer to any one type of collective in particular.

### **Conclusions – The Perception and Expression of Identity**

Anglo-Saxon identity appears to have two major aspects, one based on physical similarities and the other on social relationships. The first can likely be further divided into two kinds of relationships based on either physical appearance (*cynn*) or familial connections (*mægð*). The terms used to express the second aspect of Anglo-Saxon identity are more difficult to sub-divide in the abstract, especially given the fact that they seem to change in their usage between texts composed in verse and those written in prose. However, in general it can be shown that the sharing of land, loyalty, and a formal sense of category are important in the construction of a group identity.

These findings have some implications for the way we interpret historical records, especially when we try to reconstruct ethnic groups from medieval texts. The term *cynn* only appears to take on an ethnic sense in prose texts from the end of the first millennium AD. Texts, it must be recalled, that were written almost entirely in a limited political and chronological context

in which active campaigns were being made to promote a unified concept of the *Angelcynn* (or English people [Foot 1996]), based on biblical models of migrating tribes (Howe 1989). In Old English verse *cynn* only occurs commonly with three groups, the Angelcynn, Israelites, and Judeans, and two of these have the connotation of an extended family unit. The term is not often used with an ethnic sense but instead connotes the idea of a generic physical similarity, and it is this sense that is found in other medieval Germanic languages.<sup>8</sup> Thus, *cynn* likely had a different sense before it was related to the idea of a unified English people in tenth century Wessex, one based on a physical similarity related to shared descent.

The lexemes *leode* and *þeod*, on the other hand, are commonly used to refer to ethnic groups, but the kinds of groups indicated by these terms might have changed over the course of the first millennium. *Leode* appears to have originally connoted a smaller group tied to an abstract sense of place and generic leadership, while *þeod* appears to have connoted a group under the power of a larger authority in control of a named territory. The pattern is also seen in the relationships between these two lexemes and ethnic group names. In verse *leode* is commonly associated with ethnic group names, while in prose texts the association is rarer, and the opposite is true for *þeod*. Furthermore the sorts of ethnic groups referred to by the two terms are different, as those linked in later prose to a *þeod* are on the scale of a state-level society (e.g., English, Roman, Byzantine), while those described by *leode* appear more like smaller chiefly principalities (e.g., the communities described in *Beowulf* or *Genesis*). If we consider the associative relationship between these nouns and the verbs *leodan* (to grow from) and *þeodan* (to join), it is possible these terms referred to different kinds of social groups, one innate and composed of individuals who are sprung from a common source and one situational and made up of those who are joined together. In fact, it can be suggested that these two notions might explain the difficulties we have in understanding early medieval social groups, as early Germanic peoples

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<sup>8</sup> In Wulfila's Gothic gospels *cynn*'s cognate is used in a similar way as examples from Old English verse (Ulfilas 1920), and the Old Norse and Old High German cognates for *cynn* are better defined as kin than race (Köbler 1986; Orel 2003).

could have applied two different concepts of identity to groups that bear the same name, which have since been conflated in historical documents.

I have now discussed potential forms and aspects of Anglo-Saxon identity. In the next chapter I explore the identity of early medieval peoples in practice in hopes of understanding how the components of identity described here and in Chapter four were used to define group identities in medieval Britain.

## CHAPTER 6

### DEEDS: ANGLO-SAXON IDENTITY DEFINED IN PRACTICE

I have so far discussed potential forms and aspects of Anglo-Saxon identity. Here, I study how they were used in practice to create definitions. No people who practice a medieval Anglo-Saxon identity are observable today. In their stead, I will use narratives that record the performance of identity in the Old English language to see how authors articulated the manifestation of identity and its perception through vocabulary terms. In so doing I hope to approach Anglo-Saxon identity in its entirety by studying how form and aspect articulate in practice and serve to define a person as the subject of a group identity.

I take two different approaches in my exploration. First, I look at detailed descriptions of two characters' specific identities in heroic poetry to see how medieval poets described their subjects to the audience and how, in so doing, they defined their identities. Second, I will explore how definitions of identity might be implied in contexts where explicit descriptions are lacking to see if they are guiding the use of specific vocabulary or metaphors in the depiction of an identity group. I start with the explicit declarations of identity given by characters in *Beowulf* and *the Battle of Maldon*, which provide the most detailed self-presentations extant in Old English, before expanding my analysis to see if concepts of land, lineage, politics, and things are emphasized in the same contexts across the Old English corpus as a whole.

#### **Heroic Identities, Thorough Performances**

It may be cliché to speak of deeds worthy of song, but the desire to be remembered through the performance of great feats is a theme common to many European traditions of heroic poetry that is clearly evidenced in Old English. Thus, it should be no surprise that the most explicit descriptions of a character's identity are found in this genre, as one of its functions is to preserve the memory of its subjects for posterity. I have selected two poems for further examination, *Beowulf* and *the Battle of Maldon* (hence *Maldon*) because they contain long depictions of characters performing identities and because they almost bookend the period in which poets composed Old English verse with the former being considered early, and the latter

quite late. In the interest of chronology I will look to the earlier, and more detailed, performance of identity recorded in *Beowulf* first.

### *Who is Beowulf?*

Arguably the most famous, and best discussed, piece of Old English literature is the approximately 3200 line heroic epic devoted to the trials and triumphs of Beowulf in the lands of the Danes and the Geats. The poem, which is set in a mythological past common to several Germanic cultural traditions, is concerned primarily with its central character's struggles against three monstrous antagonists. Although these deeds might be the focus of the plot, the actions Beowulf undertakes take up a considerably fewer lines than their anticipation and aftermath. Indeed, most of the composed lines are devoted to describing the effects his deeds have on the politics and diplomacy of the wider world, the relationships between kings and their ancestors, the nature of feuds, and the proper way to be a ruler and guardian of the people (what John Hill [1995] calls "the cultural world"). In some ways it can be argued that the poem is about defining the identity of its main protagonist as a hero and eventual king by showing how an ideal person should act and the consequences of deviating from this path. Importantly, this poem not only presents a clear and vivid description of the ancestral past from which the people of medieval England thought they emerged, it also contains detailed and explicit descriptions of the protagonist's identity made both by the characters in the poem and the narrator of the action.

The beginning of the poem is largely concerned with defining the identities of its central actors. The first 200 lines provide a description of the Scylding dynasty, who are purported to rule the land of the Danes. This description terminates with Hrothgar, the current prince (*þeoden*), and builder of Heorot, a splendid hall that is under threat from Grendel, a monstrous antagonist. Just before line 200 the action moves suddenly to the home of Beowulf, who upon hearing of Hrothgar's troubles proposes to seek out the famous ruler and lend a hand. From lines 200-500 Beowulf and his companions sail to the land of the Danes and meet with a coastguard who questions their identity. After providing a satisfactory answer, the Geats proceed to Hrothgar's settlement where they again have their identity questioned by a representative of the king at the

doors to Heorot. After again having passed muster they are allowed into the hall where they introduce themselves to Hrothgar himself and are welcomed formally. Once the Geats are incorporated into the company in Heorot the action of the poem moves away from a concern with Beowulf's social identity and focuses on defining his heroic worth or nobility (Russom 1978), before moving on to Beowulf's three great struggles. In this lengthy introduction (over one tenth of the poem is devoted to Beowulf's presentation alone) we have the most detailed description of a character's social identity in all of Old English literature. This presentation allows us to see how one medieval poet defined the identity of a character and which relationships were emphasized in the depiction.

Lines 194-233: a Thane in his home

The central character of *Beowulf* is not named by the poet during the audience's first encounter with him. Rather, he is introduced as the Thane of Hygelac and a brave man amid the Geats who is at home. He is further described as the strongest human being alive and the chosen champion of the people of the Geats. After his initial introduction, he gathers a company of fifteen men who sail from their home to a plain on a sea-coast watched over by a guard of the Scyldings and thane to Hrothgar, at which point they are described by the narrator as men of the Weders. In this brief passage we are provided with four different pieces of information that reveal Beowulf's identity. First, we are given a fealty relationship he shares with a man later described as a prince of the Geatish people (Hygelac). Second, we are given a means of locating Beowulf physically at home (*fram ham*). Third, we are given generic descriptions of Beowulf's strength and status as a champion of the people of the Geats that differentiate him from a generalized collection of men. Fourth, we are given two different corporate names to which he is assigned by the narrator of the poem, "Geat" and "Weder."

The curious fact that Beowulf is not named during his introduction has been previously noted (Klaeber 1936) and is interpreted either as a way to insert an unknown folk-hero into a well-known historical context (Storms 1959), or a rhetorical strategy that focuses attention on the character's heroic status (Irving 1968) and the familial/feudal relationships he possesses (Biggs

2001; Biggs 2003). No matter the motivation of the poet, it is noteworthy that the central character of the story is introduced first by the relationships he possesses rather than through the symbol of his name. These relationships include: a place of origin, political lord, and a contrasting generic likeness between the hero (*goda*) and (hu)man-kind (*mon-cynnes*) to whom he is superior; all of which were discerned as being related to the perception of identity in Chapter five.

Lines 234-319 Ecgtheow's son and Hygelac's hearthmate

The next series of introductions we get to Beowulf come from the character's mouth as he responds to direct questions from the Scylding's Coastguard. During his interrogation of the Geats/Weders, the Coastguard requests three kinds of information from his visitors, to which Beowulf offers four responses. Specifically the Coastguard asks: 1) who (or what [*hwætf*]) are you; 2) to know the *frumcynn* of his guests; and 3) to know where his guests come from (*hwanan ēowre cyme syndon*). Beowulf replies (in narrative order): we are *gumcynnes* [of man-kind]; we are *Geata leode* [people of the Geats]; we are Hygelac's hearthmates; and my father's name was Ecgtheow.

The first request is highly general, and it is probable that all of Beowulf's responses relate back to this query. The second question, although it contains the difficult to translate compound word *frumcynn*, (literally *fruma* origin, first, or chief + *cynn* likeness, kin ), appears to ask for Beowulf's lineage, something he answers directly by naming his father and indirectly by naming Hygelac as a hearthmate, since we will learn (and traditional listeners might have already known [Foley 2002]) they are related through Beowulf's mother (J. M. Hill 1999).

The third question, where does Beowulf come from, is answered obliquely but sensibly, if we consider oral poetry to create meaning through implied allusions rather than direct statements (Amodio 2004; Foley 2002). Indeed, as Cempak (1996) argues, place is rarely described forthrightly in Old English poetry. Instead poems tend to provide clues that reveal the location the poet wishes to describe, a tendency found in *Beowulf* (Niles 2007, 133). The hero might not provide a named settlement or geographic locale but he does offer two other pieces of information that allow a listener to infer where he is from –namely that he is “of the Geats” and a



hearthmate to Hygelac. As mentioned in Chapter five, locations in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are often given using plural group names instead of singular categorical nouns (Stodnick 2006), a relationship that could be evidenced between the concept of place and the term *leode* discussed above. Furthermore, the audience has already been told that when Beowulf is at home he is amid the Geats, reinforcing a notion that he is from an unnamed location populated by one specific group. Beowulf's description of himself as a man of the Geats, therefore, can function as a way of answering the Coastguard's question of where his party originated as can a reference to Hygelac's hearth, which can metonymically stand for the settlement in which it is found. Beowulf's definition of himself as the hearthmate of Hygelac, in fact, pertains to all of the questions asked by the Coastguard and reinforces the political relationship between Beowulf and Hygelac already offered to the audience in his initial introduction (but not directly requested by the coastguard).

Here, as in his first presentation, Beowulf is again defined in relation to his place, his political affiliation, and a general likeness he shares (this time to other *gumena*, "men"). New information is offered to the audience as well, which allows him to be defined in reference to his lineage and kin. Each aspect I have described in prior chapters has been deployed in this definition of Beowulf's identity, with the exception of the use of material culture to create a form. Before concluding the description of Beowulf's social identity with his second interrogation and introduction to Hrothgar, his self-presentation as *gumcynnes*, must be explored further as its use is somewhat odd in the context and can be read in a way that explains the role of medieval material culture in expressing the form of medieval identity.

Worthy weapons worthier face: Beowulf as Guma

The first explicit description Beowulf provides of himself is "*we synt gumcynnes*" literally, "we are of the kindred of *guma* [men]". As mentioned above the Coastguard does not ask for Beowulf's gender nor for his affiliation with any other specific group (or species), and this raises the question of why Beowulf first describes himself as a member of either the male gender or the human race when defining himself to the Coastguard. The answer to this lies, I suggest, not in the Coastguard's direct questions, but in his chiding of Beowulf for being more than he seems.

A good portion of the exchange between the Coastguard and Beowulf is used to provide praise for Beowulf's physical qualities and to describe him as a singular individual, likely as a trope that sets the hero apart from common folk through his physiological superiority (Storms 1959). This praise can also be used as a way to understand why Beowulf elects to present himself first as a *guma*, because the term could refer to a special class of men, those capable of wielding weapons, participating in the joys of the hall, and potentially becoming a king or prince. During his interrogation of Beowulf's party the Coastguard makes the following statement (In 247-51):

Næfre ic māran geseah  
eorla ofer eorþan ðonne is ēower sum,  
secg on searwum; nis þæt seldguma,  
wæpnum ġeweorðad, næfne him his wlite lēoge,  
ænlic ansȳn.

The sense of this passage is commonly rendered into modern English as the following (the translation is mine following Fulk et al 2010, notes 249 & 250):

"Never have I seen a greater Earl on the earth, than is one of your company, a warrior in armor, that is not [a mere] hall-retainer, made worthy by weapons, nevertheless his brilliant countenance, his unique appearance, betrays him."

The sense of this translation takes the Old English as a comment on Beowulf's status that differentiates him from other noble warriors as someone worthy of eventual kingship, but these translations rely on a specific interpretation of "*seldguma*," a term that does not occur again in the entire Old English corpus, as an individual who is noble but less important than a king (Bugge 1899).

The interpretation and translation of a *hapax legomena*, like *seldguma*, is a difficult task, as its semantic sense cannot be compared between contexts. If we set aside the translation of this term, however, leave out the addition of modern English "mere," and translate some words more literally the passage can plausibly be translated as this:

"Never have I seen a greater brave-man on the earth, than is one of your company, a man in cunning[ly made things], that *seldguma* is not made worthy by weapons, nevertheless his shining countenance, his unique appearance, betrays him."

And its sense provides a meaning to interpret Beowulf's status through objects of material culture, the weapons he possesses (Bazelmans 1999). As Thomas Hill (1990) has pointed out, the idea that Beowulf's countenance gives away his noble status has never been questioned, but the nature of this status has (Fulk, Bjork, and Niles 2008, 133). If we consider this to be a comment on how Beowulf's appearance is so noble he could never pass for a lesser fighting-man, we get a better sense of how items of material culture can be used to symbolize the status of an early medieval person.

In the ideal medieval community a warrior-aristocrat should carry a sword and possess golden rings that distinguish him from his more plebian counterparts who would be identified by their armor, spears, and shields, although as some laws suggest this was not always the case (T. D. Hill 1990). In the early descriptions of Beowulf no explicit mention of these items is made. Indeed, Beowulf famously makes much of his desire to fight without a sword (line 437; 675ff.), and when he asks Hrothgar to return his possessions to his lord should he die, he asks specifically for his armor to be returned and makes no mention of his weapons (line 452 ff.). He does possess a sword during the swimming contest with Breca (line 567), but this contest occurs in flashback, and he does surrender a sword to a thane in his preparation to fight Grendel (line 672), but this particular weapon is not mentioned before or after this point in the poem and could have been inserted along with a formula related to preparing for battle. Later in the poem, when swords are brought up in the land of the Danes it is when they are given to Beowulf as a recompense, along with golden treasure, for his heroic deeds by Hrothgar (line 1023), or in the case of Hrunting, as a help to Beowulf in need (implying that he does not have one [line 1455-6]).

Although swords are not explicitly described during Beowulf's introduction, armor, shields, and spears are. Indeed, when Wulfgar meets Beowulf he comments on the armor and "heap" of spears the company carries (line 335 ff.), items that worthy the men as an *irenþreat* (iron-troop), another difficult to translate word for a group of warriors. Thus, at this point Beowulf is not only associated with the weapons of the common class, but with the baser metal of iron as well. *Gumena*, on the other hand, are not commonly associated with iron, but rather with gold

(something else Beowulf is not mentioned as possessing until after he has won glory at Heorot) likely as both a comment on their status and because it provides a convenient alliteration to medieval poets. At this early point in the poem, therefore, it appears Beowulf is described as having iron weapons, the symbols of a common soldier, rather than the material a handsome warrior aristocrat should possess. It is likely a contradiction between his membership in a troop of soldiers – indicated by a lack of the symbolic capital needed to be defined as a nobleman – and his clearly noble appearance the Coastguard is addressing in his remarks when he suggests the beauty of his face betrays him.

The idea that Beowulf is clarifying this contradiction helps to explain why the hero would define himself first as *gumcynnes*, as he would need to dispel a misunderstanding that he might be a common vagabond and establish his right as a nobleman to attend Hrothgar in his hall (*sele*). The specific term the Coastguard uses to describe Beowulf (*seldguma*) is a unique nominal compound that combines the terms “hall” and “guma” into a single lexeme. The Beowulf Poet employs an unusually frequent number of such compounds likely as examples of high poetic diction (e.g., Brady 1982). This particular compound belongs to an alliterative phrase that semantically links a description of Beowulf with the words *secg* (man) and *searwum* (in smart[ly made armor]) employed in the prior half-line, a relationship often used in Old English poetics to reinforce the semantic relationship between the terms contained in separate half-lines (Reinhard 1976, 8–9, 214). In this particular case, an argument can be made that the poet used alliteration to contrast the concept of a man in armor in the first half-line, with the idea of a *seldguma* in the second (Reinhard 1976, 185–260) as a reminder that although all who are worthy should fight, not all who fight are worthy.

The Coastguard's chide can be read as a comment that although Beowulf is common in his possessions, he is impressive in his appearance, implying that material culture is a common indicator of status. Indeed, when Beowulf returns to Hygelac (line 2180 ff.) the poet suggests he receives the markers and status and rewards due a hero for the first time, which could suggest that the audience is meant to think of Beowulf as unaccomplished prior to his contests in Heorot.

Beowulf dispels this issue by declaring to the Coastguard that he is kindred to the *guma* and retainer to the lord of the Geats. This depiction of Beowulf reinforces the poet's initial introduction of him as the strongest of all men, as it appears to be contrasting Beowulf not only with lesser mortals, but with the lower classes of men by the possession of unique physical attributes. Thus, it appears that material culture does play a role in the definition of Beowulf, but that it does so obliquely and serves to define him as a man of rank, not as a member of a social identity, a definition that can affect our interpretations of patterning in material culture.

!! AM! BEOWULF! lines 335-414

Beowulf's extensive exchange with the Coastguard does not end his introduction to the Danes (nor to the audience to whom it is told). After the Coastguard allows Beowulf to continue into the land of the Danes his identity is again requested by Hrothgar's ombudsman Wulfgar, who poses the question, "From where do you bring your ornamented shields, grey mail, grim helmets, and heap of spears?" (line 335 ff.). Beowulf's response is, "we are Hygelac's table-mates; my name is Beowulf." After this declaration an interlude (and a likely gap in the text) occurs in which Wulfgar relays Beowulf's credentials as a great man of the Geats (something not directly mentioned by Beowulf but already known by the audience at this point in the poem) to Hrothgar, and the two discuss Beowulf's lineage and prior relationships to Hrothgar and his court. Once Hrothgar is satisfied with Beowulf's credentials he grants the hero an audience where Beowulf presents himself as Hygelac's kinsman (*mæg*) and young-thane (lines 405-409), who has come from his homeland (*epeltryf*) to aid Hrothgar in his time of need.

At this point in the introduction of Beowulf, references to his identity are compact, yet they can be read as refinements to all the prior information the audience has received on the relationships that provide Beowulf with his identity. Again, the question of where have you come from is answered with proximity to Hygelac, but in this case new details are provided as Beowulf specifies to Wulfgar that he is close enough to Hygelac to share his table and tells Hrothgar that they are blood relatives. In so doing Beowulf is both reinforcing all the prior relationships he has already given us, including his homeland and prince, while providing new details that establish

precisely how these relationships function. His familial connections are also elaborated when Hrothgar discusses the relationships Beowulf's father had, which serves to reinforce and refine his identity through his lineage.

Who is Beowulf? Notes on a definition

In the extensive introduction the poet provides for Beowulf, it appears that concepts of place, lineage, loyalty, and material culture are bundled together and employed in the definition of the hero's identity, though they are not all stressed to the same degree. The effect of Beowulf's possession of insufficient material culture in relation to his status is only mentioned once, while the other categories are stressed on at least two occasions. The desire to make Beowulf like other great men and unlike common-folk is found repeatedly, but this is to be expected in the definition of a hero. His lineage, too, appears to be less important to the character's identity than his place or his lord, concepts that become increasingly entwined as the poet refines his character.

Beowulf's political relationship and place are not only stressed in each definition the audience is given, but they become increasingly interconnected as Beowulf's identity is refined by a greater proximity to Hygelac in each mention he makes. Place is always referred to metonymically, but the area in which we can find the hero becomes smaller and smaller in each reference. First, we are told Beowulf is home amid the Geats, implying he is in a settlement with other people of the same *leode*, where he serves Hygelac. We are then told he can be found in Hygelac's hall through a metonymic relationship between the building and the hearth that heats it. Finally, we are told that Beowulf is not only in the same hall as Hygelac, but that they share a table and are kin refining Beowulf's physical location to being within a few feet of the prince. In *Beowulf*, therefore, the hero's identity is defined using his lineage, lord, place, and status, but special references are given to the place from which he comes and the lord whom he serves, as these are the relationships the poet continues to refine for the audience.

This depiction of Beowulf's identity as tightly interconnected to his lord and prince is likely idealized and was created to show a society in which a good man is totally defined by and

devoted to his lord. Similar notions on how important a good and honorable lord is to defining a retainer and making him happy are also found in the elegies *the Seafarer* and the *Wanderer*. I will discuss the implications of this idealization below. Before doing so, the use of these vectors in other contexts must be discussed to determine the applicability of this portrait of identity to characters who are not Beowulf, specifically to the more historical characters involved in the late tenth century battle that occurred near the township of Maldon in Essex.

#### *Exhortations of identity in The Battle of Maldon*

In early August 991 an army of Scandinavian invaders landed on the eastern coast of Britain near the town of Maldon where they were met in force by a host under the command of Britnoth, the Earl of Essex. Militarily the results of the battle were disastrous for the defenders as Britnoth, in an act of prideful exuberance, reputedly gave up a significant strategic advantage and suffered a horrific defeat. Poetically, however, the battle was a spectacular success, as Britnoth's choice to fight the enemy on open ground and his men's election to remain in a hopeless situation and die with their lord, became a great symbol of honor, courage, and loyalty to later generations of English noblemen. Importantly, the poem contains several explicit declarations of identity as the men of Britnoth's host bolster their courage by describing themselves and recording their good faith and courage in refusing to flee and choosing instead to die faithfully by the side of their lord.

The poetic description we possess of the event only survives as a fragment of a manuscript that was severely damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 1731 (E. V. Gordon 1976). The extant fragment consists of 325 lines of verse in which the fortunes of Britnoth's men are overturned as a result of their lord's "pride" (*ofermod*) and desire for a fair fight (Battaglia 1965; Gneuss 1976; T. D. Hill 1970). The action starts as Britnoth arranges his host and refuses a Viking peace-settlement. In the ensuing battle his host holds the Viking invaders at bay through their possession of a narrow piece of land that bridges an inlet on which the Viking army landed from the main coast of Essex. Although they possess an excellent military position Britnoth's *ofermod* causes him to abandon the bridge and invite the Viking army onto British soil, a move

that ends in his death and the rout of his men. The conclusion of the fragment recounts the death of Britnoth, the chastisement of the cowards who flee, and the resolve of his loyal retainers to die alongside their lord.

Scholarly discussions of *Maldon* are often focused on determining the date of the poem and the ratio of historical veracity to artistic fancy used in its composition (Cooper 1993). For my purposes, however, I would like to explore what this particular presentation of medieval English identity can tell us about how the people living at the end of the first millennium AD might have bundled the relationships they shared into different categories and articulated them into an identity similar to the presentation made in *Beowulf*.

#### Ælfwine at Maldon: a familiar formula

Unlike in *Beowulf*, where the poet provides extensive descriptions of the protagonist's identity both from the character's mouth and in the words of the narrator, in *Maldon* the majority of the definitions the poet provides us with are short and focused on the relationship between a father and son (Stafford 1993). For one participant in the battle (Ælfwine) we do get a detailed description of his identity (from two points of view) that fit nicely with the identity categories presented by *Beowulf*. Ælfwine's role in the poem is an important one, as he ignites the resolve of his companions to behave like ideal Germanic warriors and die by the side of the fallen lord. When he is first introduced the narrator briefly calls him a young man and the son of Ælfric. When he introduces himself, however, he states (ln 216-225):

Ic wylle mine æþelo      eallum gecyþan,  
þæt ic wæs on Myrcon      miccles cynnes;  
wæs min ealda fæder      Ealhelm haten,  
wis ealdorman,      woruldgesælig.

Ne sceolon me on þære þeode      þegenas ætwitan  
þæt ic of ðisse fyrde      feran wille,  
eard gesecan,      nu min ealdor ligeð  
forheawen æt hilde.      Me is þæt hearma mæst;  
he wæs ægðer min mæg      and min hlaford.

(I wish to make my homeland [and/or nobility] known to all, that I am of a great kind in Mercia, my grandfather was called Ealhelm, the wise aldorman [who was] happy in the world. No thanes in that people shall reproach me. [Shall be able to say] that I wanted to leave this army to seek my yard now that my elder lies hewn apart from war. To me that is the greatest of harms; [for] he was both my kinsman and my lord.)



The specific vocabulary is different from what the *Beowulf* poet employed, but the relationships used to define the warrior remain the same. *Ælfwine* provides us with his place of origin in Mercia,<sup>9</sup> two kinship relations, and his political allegiance to his lord Britnoth. The choice of the specific place mentioned, and the fact that the only two people who identify their homelands come from kingdoms that had to bend the knee to the House of Wessex (Kirby 2000), might result from a careful attempt on behalf of the poet to depict a united people living harmoniously under Ethelred's protection (see below), but the need to define an individual in reference to where he is from accords well with *Beowulf's* depiction of himself. The description of familial links, especially the use of a father's name to define oneself, further mirrors *Beowulf's* self-depiction. Stafford (1993) argues this may be anachronistic as a focus on family is not recorded in Anglo-Saxon charters, and it might result from a more heroic and archaic style being employed in the poems composition, but overall it does align well with the formula present in *Beowulf*.

*Ælfwine's* inclusion of the phrase, "*miccles cynnes on Myrcon*" in his self-definition does not directly accord with the categories of identity I have discussed this far. This phrase is often taken as a reference to a larger familial group, something not stressed in *Beowulf*, where lineages are carefully laid out through specific kinship relations, likely as a means to keep straight one's duties in a culture based on feuding (J. M. Hill 1999). Before assuming that this represents a new form or aspect of identity, however, it is important to consider the exact sense of the term "*cynn*" in *Ælfwine's* speech, as it could refer to a generic similarity rather than a familial one. As in *Beowulf*, the majority of familial relationships in *Maldon* are made with direct kinship terms (e.g., "father," "son," or "child"), instead of the names of great families. The term often translated as family or kin (*cynn*), on the other hand, only occurs three times in the poem, and on all three occasions it is modified by an adjective describing a martial trait. It is first used to describe

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<sup>9</sup> The term *æþelo* is almost certainly a play on words, as it is a homonym that can mean both "homeland" and "nobility". Both meanings are appropriate in this context as the term can reference Mercia as a homeland, or "*miccles cynnes*" as a noble community, depending on how the reader elects to define the term.

Wulfstan as “nimble among his kin [cafne mid his cynne]” (ln 76),<sup>10</sup> while the next two occurrences are used to imply that Ælfwine is of a “great” or “powerful” kin in Mercia (ln 217) and Æscferð is of a “tough kin in Northumbria” ([*he wæs on Norðhymbron heardes cynnes*] ln 266). The consistent semantic agreement between *cynn* and terms for martial prowess need not be coincidental. In fact, it can be suggested that the term *cynn* does not function in this poem to define a family unit, but instead that it calls up a generic collection of wellborn fighting men, something reminiscent of Beowulf’s presentation of himself as a *guma*.

Wulfstan’s role in the poem is to hold the bridge against the invaders, and a description of his fighting abilities in this context is highly appropriate. Indeed, the notion that he is of a valiant sort when he holds the bridge might make more sense if the comparison is being made to his companions in arms, rather than his kin at home. By the time Wulfstan is described as quick amid his *cynn* his father’s name has already been introduced, something paralleled in the other two appearances of the term *cynn*. Indeed, familial connections beyond the father’s (or another relation’s) name are not emphasized by the poet for other characters in the poem, and this raises the question of why these three men’s larger family units are important enough to require mention when those of the other fighters are not. If we take a literal meaning for *cynn* – a generic kindred of similar individuals – rather than a kin-group joined by blood, however, the selection of these three individuals for special praise can be explained.

In the case of Wulfstan, it should be noted that he is described as nimble *amid* his kindred. Syntactically this gives the reader the sense that he is quick in reference to his immediate surroundings or the warriors holding the bridge. In the other two uses of the term the syntax suggests we are supposed to compare the characters to a larger group in two far-off locales, Mercia and Northumbria, former Anglo-Saxon kingdoms whose political fortunes have waned as those of Wessex have waxed, whose mention in the poem likely served a political purpose (Kightley 2010; Niles 1994; Tyler 2006). Kightley (2010) argues cleverly that the poet is

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<sup>10</sup> Nimble is Bosworth and Toller’s translation. Gordon and others have taken the term to mean “bold” or “active”. In all cases it appears to be a reference to a quality a fighting man would aspire to.

careful to include descriptions of people from different classes, statuses, and places in his description of the English host likely to emphasize the unity of all of Anglo-Saxon society under the Kings of Wessex. Robinson (1979) made a similar suggestion that the poet used the battle line as a symbol of order both in war and in society, which promoted the idea that only when all parts of society function together as one can they overcome the Scandinavian foe. In light of the political context of the time, this stress on the unity of Britnoth's host, and its failure to hold fast when it breaks into disparate units, can be taken as a comment that all the former kingdoms of medieval England, and all the different classes of men, need to come together under the rule of Ethelred, the King of Wessex, in order to face the Scandinavian lords who had designs on the English Kingdom.

Read in this context, the use of only two geographic references makes interpretation of the term *cynn* as a kindred rather than a kin, more appealing and insightful. As discussed above the *Beowulf* poet made reference to place by assuming that listeners would know where to locate Beowulf's home in reference to Hygelac and the Geats. In *Maldon*, however, the poet makes explicit reference to two named territories, not oblique references to a home occupied by a named corporate group (i.e., references to place are not constructed as a *cynn among* the Mercians or Northumbrians, but as a *cynn* in Mercia or Northumbria). Thus, unlike in *Beowulf* where places are named in reference to people, in *Maldon*, it appears the poet names people in reference to place, and this shift in reference suggesting a change in the way identities were defined in Britain at the end of the first millennium.

If we take *cynn* to suggest a likeness instead of a family unit, we can read the mention of Mercia and Northumbria as political references that both praise the men from those territories and remind them of their rightful place as servants to the crown of Wessex, the rulers of the united *Angelcynn* (Foot 1996). The two men, who are mentioned as coming from brave *cynn* abroad are described favorably by the poet. They perform admirable deeds in battle, act in accordance with an idealized code of warrior conduct, and die rather than betray the loyalty owed to their lord. If the sense of *cynn* is left generalized, then the description of these two men as belonging to a

great sort in other lands allows them to stand in symbolically for the groups from which they come and portray an idealized society united under one king. Instead of taking *cynn* as a means to describe Ælfwine and Æscferð in relation to their families, we can suggest the opposite, that these great men, who are loyal to a servant of the King of Wessex, are used to describe the quality of a kindred of men in the territories of Mercia and Northumbria. In Ælfwine's case this might explain the choice of a homonym that means "home" and "nobility" depending on the context as it allows a reader to recall that there is a great kindred of nobles in Mercia, who know how to do their duty. Thus, it is plausible to suggest not only that *cynn* refers to a generic similarity, but also that it creates the idea of a similarity between men based on their loyalty, good-birth, and ability to fight, a similarity that recalls Beowulf's inclusion of himself in the *gumcynn*.

*Contrasts and changes: from Heorot to Maldon*

Some differences can be discerned between the descriptions of identity found in *Beowulf* and those recorded in *Maldon*. One notable contrast is a lack of the kinds of corporate group names so prevalent in *Beowulf* in the presentations of the characters in *Maldon*. Corporate groups from Britain can be read in references to the territories of Mercia and Northumbria, but these are oblique and are only offered in two instances. The few times corporate names are explicitly used in *Maldon* they take on a pejorative sense (e.g., Viking [*Wicinga*]) and are applied only to the invading people(s), never the native host. In *Beowulf*, on the other hand, corporate names are frequently mentioned for many of the characters, and these names often stand in for the locations from which people come. Indeed, the relationship between people and place seems to have been inverted in the two poems, with place defined by people in *Beowulf* and people by place in *Maldon*. This shift has implications for understanding changes in the style of identity between earlier and later Anglo-Saxon England, which I will discuss below, after discussing further instances of the relationship from the Old English corpus.

A second contrast between the two poems is a strengthened focus on a patrilineal descent line in *Maldon*, when compared to *Beowulf*. Characters in *Beowulf* are defined in

reference to their lineage (often their father), but the large number of references to patrilineal descent suggest that a new stress has been placed on defining a son in relation to his father. Indeed, these references are often the only identifying characteristic apart from a name most characters in *Maldon* receive. This emphasis has been noted by scholars who argue convincingly that it is likely the result of a shift in the importance of the nuclear family in maintaining one's property in the later Anglo-Saxon period; one that led to a change in the style of identity between early and later Anglo-Saxon peoples (Wareham 2001).

In the most detailed description of the poem, however, the character's identity is defined using the same basic relationships we would expect to find in *Beowulf*. In fact, Ælfwine's self-description ends with the exact same relationships that terminate Beowulf's presentation of himself. Unlike Beowulf, who increasingly intertwines these relationships in his proximity to Hygelac, however, Ælfwine's concepts of place, lineage, and lordship do not overlap on the same person. Indeed, although the same basic relationships are used, the way in which they are deployed has changed, as it appears that place, people, and lordship are no longer united by co-habitation, and the relationship between place and corporate groups changed in the later first millennium AD.

#### *Performed through time: a summary*

In general the explicit performances described above create definitions of identity remarkably similar to each other and to our modern definitions of ethnic or national identity. Each character describes himself in reference to his family members, both mention his political allegiance, and both make reference to a place from which they consider themselves to be. The stress placed on these relationships is different in each case. Beowulf defines himself over and over again in reference to his political lord Hygelac, with whom he shares a place and familial connections. A greater stress is placed on Ælfwine's patriline, as his father and grandfather are both mentioned, and his place and lord are only mentioned once each.

Unfortunately, detailed descriptions of identity are not often provided in non-heroic poetry, and systematic comparison of these examples to definitions composed in other genres is not

possible. Some Saints' lives do introduce their subjects (or their antagonists) with similar information including city or country of birth, the ruler of said city (and often the current Roman emperor), and the father of the character, but many do not (Herzfeld 1900), and it is difficult to determine how these mentions would be bundled in the explicit performance of a character's identity. In the poem *Widsith* (Malone 1962) the reader is offered information that allows different vectors to be inferred from the introduction of its titular poet (namely we are given a *leode* and a list of lords he has served), but the necessary context to compare these references to the men of *Beowulf* and *Maldon* is lacking.

In order to continue the discussion of how one can define Anglo-Saxon identity and how these definitions might have changed I will now leave direct descriptions of identity behind to explore whether or not the relationships discussed above formed conceptual categories that guide less explicit references to social identity found sprinkled throughout the Old English corpus.

#### **A Dream of Men: Metonymic Identities in Anglo-Saxon England**

The contrast of different identity terms in the same Old English utterances implies an underlying metaphor of a society in which individual groups of people come together in the creation of a larger unit. This metaphor is best explained as the Dream of Men, a peaceful gathering of people under the auspices of an authority figure, where the sharing of food, drink, and gifts results in a time of communal joy. I hope to show how this concept can be found in the use of identity lexemes, the descriptions of legal assemblies, and the use of formal speech in instances where "foreigners" meet and must communicate. I will argue that this construct of a situational and heterogeneous whole composed of smaller innate units underlies the way the people of medieval Britain would conceive of their social identities. I will also show how the innate unit of identity shifted through time by comparing the legendary settings of *Beowulf*, *Genesis*, and *Andreas*, where innate units were linked to the place a person lived, to the more contemporary settings of historical Britain where political relationships overtook place as the markers of the innate identities that were aggregated under the increasing power of the English Kings of the later first millennium.

I make my argument by first discussing the co-occurrence of identity lexemes in the same semantic context to show that the direct contrast of these terms is often used to differentiate between smaller homogeneous groups and larger heterogeneous wholes before moving on to discuss the sorts of contexts in which these heterogeneous groups are thought to have formed. I will show that such contexts possessed their own kind of language, a formalized dialect that appears to have facilitated communication between people of different innate groups. Such a concept of identity has long been proposed to have been at work in the tribal structure of the ancient Germans who harassed the Roman Empire (e.g., Pohl 2005; Wolfram 1997), and the idea could help us improve interpretations of ethnic epithets in Old English documents.

*Leode and þeod in context: bunches of people joined together*

The different lexemes that describe corporate groups are not often used in the same utterances in Old English. In the few instances where authors do employ them together, however, each term describes a different kind of people. When an author describes one group as a *þeod* and another as a *leode* in the same sentence the contrast between the terms connotes the sense of a larger whole (*þeod*) composed of smaller parts (*leode*). Ælfric uses the terms in this manner to differentiate the apostles who preached to specific groups of people (*leodscipe*) in limited territories from Paul the teacher of all peoples (*lareow þeoda*) in the whole world (Ælfric 1979, l. 43.183), to contrast all the peoples (*eallum leodum*) of Israel from the People of Israel (*israhela ðeode*) as a whole (Ælfric 1979, l. 12.398), and to imply smaller groups in various locations create a united English People, in the statement that King Edgar “raised up the love of God everywhere in his people, fastest of all kings over the English People [*arærde Godes lof on his leode gehwær, ealra cininga swiðost ofer Engla ðeode*]” (Ælfric 1969, l. Epilogue 82).

A similar relationship can be found between *þeod* and *mægð*, although comprehending the meaning of these terms is complicated by the fact that *mægð* appears to be highly polysemous and is occasionally used interchangeably with terms other than a people in the translation of Latin originals (e.g., Chad 1953, 124–125). In a few instances, however, where each term is used to describe a social collective in the same sentence, a similar relationship can

be seen where a *þeod* is a unit composed of several *mægð*. In Ælfric (1979, l. 4.48; 122.439) these terms are contrasted to emphasize the difference between the twelve tribes (*mægþum*) of Israel and the People (*þeoda*) of Israel. While the Old English translation of Bede possesses several examples where a *þeode* (or its king) incorporates the *mægþum* of other places (e.g., Whitelock 1963, l. 1.152.11; 17.302.4; 16.300.18; 22.478.20; 22.250.1).

The differentiation in sense between a *þeod* and smaller groups can also be observed in contexts where the terms do not co-occur by considering the composition of the groups to which they refer. In *Beowulf*, for example, the poet only uses *þeod* a handful of times, each in reference to the mingling of people from different *leode*. Four of the five times *þeod* occurs it is used to describe the men of the Geats and the Danes together (ln 642, 1228, 1246, 1703), while the fifth reference (ln 1687) applies to a broader notion of the human race in relation to Noah's flood, which mirrors the most common usage of the term in *Genesis* to define the human race as descendants from Adam or Noah's sons (Doane 1978). This limited deployment of *þeod* in *Beowulf* contrasts markedly from the poet's use of the term *leode*, which is found 80 odd times, often in conjunction with a corporate group name (e.g., Geat, Weder, Dane).

In *Elene*, Cynewulf also uses *þeod* in a specific way that differentiates it from *leode*. Indeed, in the few times it occurs *þeod* is only used in a specific sense to describe the larger collection of individuals Helena has summoned to interrogate about the True Cross (Cynewulf 1958, l. 536) and in a general sense referring either to a larger collection of all the *Ebrea* (Cynewulf 1958, l. 448, 468) or the broader human race over whom Christ is King (Cynewulf 1958, l. 181; 417; 655; 772). This limited usage again contrasts with his deployment of *leode* to describe the individualized groups summoned from across Judea to take part in Helena's *mepel* (ln 202, 284) and the collection of onlookers who are saved through Helena's works (ln 1100 ff.). This difference is also found in the poem *Andreas* (Andrew and Brooks 1961, ln 1090 ff.), where the poet switches vocabulary to describe a gathering of several *leode* at an assembly as a *þeod*, suggesting again a *þeod* is formed when several smaller groups meet up.



This distinction between the use of *þeod* and *leode* can also be found in their limited deployment across Old English laws. As with most of the compositions discussed above the term *þeod* is frequently used to describe the people of Christendom, united under Christ, a metaphor which sees all the different people of Christendom coming together under One Lord. In the few instances where we can compare *þeod* to other lexemes in the laws, this metaphor of an assembly of *leode* joined together under a king can again be perceived. Indeed, when the laws record a king and his assembly they do so with language that suggests he calls all of his individualized groups of people (*eallum leodescipe*) together with various officers for establishing laws. Once these people are gathered together the assembled group is referred to as a *þeod*, suggesting it is a heterogeneous composite of smaller units. In a law of King Edgar, for instance, he refers individually to, “all his people, whether Angles, Danes, or Brits, in each end of my power [eallum **leod**scipe, ægðer ge Anglum ge Denum ge Bryttum, on ælcum ende mines anwealdes]” using the term *leodescipe*. When this same collective is mentioned in the later laws of Cnut, who vows to uphold the prior rights granted by Edgar, the individual groups are not named but a larger collective (*þeodscip*) over which Edgar wielded power is referenced. Other laws preserve this sense, too, where kings differentiate between the people who are in the assembly (*leode*) and the assemblies of people over whom they issue edicts (*þeod*), providing evidence that poetic convention alone, or the need for synonyms in long compositions, cannot explain the contrast between the identity lexemes perceptible in the Old English corpus.

By contrasting the use of the identity lexemes in context it appears that they belong to a metaphorical complex in which smaller homogeneous groups join together in special circumstances to become a larger heterogeneous whole. I will now explore the nature of these contexts; both to show the ideal times a *þeod* is thought to have formed and to point out that these contexts appear to be conceived of as times in which people used a specialized type of speech that might have fostered dialogue between individuals of different communities.

*The context of the þeod*

The specific contexts in which the laws, Cynewulf, the Beowulf Poet, and the composer of *Andreas* employ the term “*þeod*” are not identical, but they do share some features that suggest a cultural metaphor might underlie the original meaning of the term. In *Beowulf* the poet only used the term in a specific sense to refer to Geats and Danes brought together in Heorot under the auspices of Hrothgar, a context referred to explicitly as a feast in which communal joy is shared between the men who partake. Thus, in *Beowulf* the formation of a heterogeneous people occurs only within a specific ceremonial context of a feast in the hall that creates the idealized community often discussed in Old English poetry (Magennis 1996), one whose peace is protected by the earliest Old English laws (Liebermann 1960, 3), which impose fines upon those who break the peace of a feast attended by the king.

Cynewulf, on the other hand, uses the term *þeod* to describe those who partake in the assembly (*mepel*) called by Helena to discuss the whereabouts of the True Cross, a context similar to those implied in *Andreas* when the poet describes the group of people at the *þingstede* (assembly place) as a *þeod*. In these situations the term *þeod* is applied in a different kind of formalized context with similar parameters –namely an assembly of men where peace was enforced through fines, laws were established, and feuds were settled. These contexts of a meeting between different peoples at a formal assembly are also implied in the Anglo-Saxon laws discussed above, as they are the context in which the king is described as establishing the laws with the blessing of his people, officers, and the consent of the church.

Such assemblies were an important component in the governance of many medieval Germanic societies, and this practice survives to some extent today in the context of the Icelandic parliament, which is still called the Althing [*Alþingi Íslendinga*], after the medieval assembly on which it is based. In Anglo-Saxon England such meetings occurred at various scales and were defined with a variety of terms both of local origin (e.g., *gemot*, *mepel*, *hundred*) and borrowed (*geþinge*, *wæpen-getæc*) from other Scandinavian traditions (Pantos 2004). They are best known to us from the tenth century where records indicate a hierarchy of meetings occurred, from local assemblies that judged minor crimes to national assemblies of the king and his court (Loyn 1984;

Kirby 2000, 14–22). Although direct historical evidence is lacking of such meetings in the middle of the first millennium AD, evidence from place-names that indicate the location of a meeting spot and the special positioning of cremation cemeteries suggest that such meetings helped to organized British society going back at least as far as the fifth century AD (Meaney 1995; Williams 2004).

These meetings also possess one other formal characteristic that is of interest for determining the relationship between social groups, the use of a formalized speech distinct from words used in everyday conversation. The former type, called *mepelwordum* in *Beowulf*, and referred to elsewhere by the verbs *mapelian* and *gemælan* were supposed to have been used in public or formal occasions. Exactly what kind of speech these terms denote cannot fully be grasped, but it is clear that they were used to mark off special communications from more mundane examples (Pantos 2004, 184). The limited use of the verb *mapelian* (to speak using *mepelwordum*) has drawn the interest of prior critics who describe various ways it might have been used to give extra force to the words used during a formal assembly (Cook 1926; Bjork 1994, 1001–3; Rissanen 1998; F. C. Robinson 1985, 66–7), but another thread is common to the rare deployment of the term in the Old English corpus, namely its frequent usage on occasions when people from different backgrounds must communicate with each other.

In *Elene*, although the term is always used to describe speeches that take place in the formal setting of the meeting (literally a *mepel*) Helena has called, it also is only used in a setting that involves a discussion between the Roman Helena and the multitude of Hebrews she interrogates. This picture contrasts with Cynewulf's telling of Juliana's refusal of Eleusis' proposal, which occurs publicly in a multitude of men (*on wera mengu*) but is done by speaking words [*word acwæð*] (Cynewulf 1977, l. 45), and her private combat with the supernatural devil to whom she "formally-speaks" [*mæalde*] words (Cynewulf 1977, l. 350, 454, 536).

In *Beowulf*, terms describing formal speech are used primarily in instances where characters from different places must speak with each other, including one private context where the use of public speech is technically inappropriate (Bjork 1994, 1001). With the lone exception

of Beowulf's address to Hygelac and his court on line 1999, the poet seems to have reserved the use of this word to describe communication between people of different *leode*. The Coastguard initiates his long interrogation by asking his Geatish visitors questions with *mepelwordum*, in which it can be assumed Beowulf answers, while the verb *mabelian* is used in other contexts where characters the poet describes as coming from different *leode* must communicate with each other. Such instances include Beowulf's second address of the Coastguard, several of his exchanges with Wulfgar (the Wendel), Wiglaf (the Scylfing), and Hrothgar (the Scylding/Dane); Hrothgar's address of Wulfgar; and Wealtheow's exhortations to the assembled company of Danes, Geats, and at least one Wendel. Indeed, even when the terms are used in *Maldon* it is between people from different locations in Britain (at least Mercia, Northumbria, and Essex), and notably the term is used in both instances of communication between the Viking Messenger and Britnoth, who presumably speak different native tongues. Thus, whatever other purposes it might serve, it appears the word was employed on occasions where it could facilitate discussion between people born in different places and allow people speaking different dialects of the same language family to communicate effectively.

Based on the limited evidence we possess, a case can thus be made that the mustering and governance of larger groups was organized through a system in which individuals and smaller groups could join together in larger collectives under certain circumstances. The specific deployment of Old English vocabulary suggests that such collectives were considered their own category, as groups of people who are joined by the contexts of meetings, feasts, and the authority figures who preside over them. Such contexts are frequently described as times when a special form of speech was employed, potentially to facilitate inter-dialectical communication. What remains is to discuss how this metaphor would affect the way a person from medieval Britain would be able to conceive of and describe his or her identity and how these conceptions changed over time.

*Metonyms in context: a problem of scale and bias*

As discussed in Chapter five the lexemes *þeod* and *leode* are differentiated from one another in the Old English corpus by characteristics other than a part-whole relationship. In particular, it appears the definition of a group as a *leode* or a *þeod* might have been governed by the scale an author wished to denote. I have already discussed in general how *þeod* is the preferred term to describe collections of peoples on the scale of humankind or Christendom, while *leode* tends to be reserved for smaller groups linked to individual settlements who are brought together in the contexts of assemblies. This distinction in scale appears to have been maintained in the specific context of medieval Britain, where *þeod* was reserved for describing collections of individuals on the scale of the modern nations that comprise the United Kingdom (e.g. Wales, England, Scotland), or of all the people who occupy one of the larger kingdoms of the latter first millennium (e.g., Mercia, Wessex, Kent, Northumbria), while *leode* is used only in reference to groups who occupy cities (e.g., Winchester, Dorchester) or the unnamed territories that comprise a bishopric. The unit described by *leode* also differs from a *þeod* in the scale of authority figures who govern them, again suggesting that the former is a much smaller collective than the latter. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter five, *leode* are most often described as governed by either bishops or generic “lords”, while *þeod* are governed by kings, popes, and God. In the context of Old English laws and the Chronicle this distinction is found in the contrast between *leodbiscopas* and *arcebiscopas*, suggesting a link between an ecclesiastical see and the *leode*, which are united under the authority of an archiepiscopal see in Britain and in the close relationship between terms for kings and a *þeode* composed of *eallum leode* described above.

In the context of medieval Britain, therefore, it appears that *þeod* and *leode* (or *mægð*) were used to connote groups of different scale, the former for the larger groups ruled over by kings and the latter for the smaller groups who occupied the various territories kings ruled. This deployment was not reserved for English society, however, as examples can be found in other documents where larger powers (e.g., Egypt, India, Rome, Greece) are all described with the term *þeod*, and their component parts are described with *leode* or *mægð*. India, for instance, is

described as both a conglomeration of several *leodscipas* (Ælfric 1997, l. 439.1) or *mægð* (Herzfeld 1900, l. De21.A.6) in some contexts, and as a united Indian *þeod* or *þeodscipe* in others (Orosius 6.25.8; Alex 1.1; 2.3; 29.1). In the case of English history, therefore, this suggests that different scales of identity would have existed, scales that are not equally represented in the extant records we possess in the Old English corpus.

The majority of texts we possess from first millennium Britain are concerned with larger scales of identity. Bede and the Chronicle, for instance, rarely discuss units of people smaller than a kingdom and tend to focus more heavily on ecclesiastical or political matters on the “national” stage. When they do so, they use the specific lexeme *þeod* or the more general collective terms *folc* and *cynn*, each of which can take on a scale relative to the group it defines. The terms *leode* and *mægð* on the other hand are reserved for smaller components of larger political units, units that are not often discussed in documents that focus on the deeds of kings and the Church.

Evidence of smaller units can be found in the Tribal Hidage, a tax assessment of all the lands south of the Humber river taken at some point in the first millennium (Corbett 1900; Dumville 1989; Davies and Vierck 1974; Hart 1971) that records 34 different group names as holding land and owing taxes. Interpretation of this document is notoriously difficult, as it contains only a list of names, many of which are corrupted and not recorded elsewhere, and hidage assessments that do not add up (as a result of the difficulties in handling large sums prior to the introduction of Arabic numerals), yet it provides compelling evidence regarding the different scales of groups that likely existed in medieval Britain. When one compares the difference in scale between groups commonly attested in historical sources to those found only in place-names or found through much scholarly work (Figure 6.1) a noticeable pattern emerges in which the groups discussed by Bede and the Chronicle have assessments on average ten times greater than the groups who are not mentioned in the sources. The existence of this bias in medieval authors might color the way we are able to perceive medieval British identity, as their focus on the

larger groups might have caused prior scholars to overlook the way people defined themselves in relation to the smaller units that are less often described.

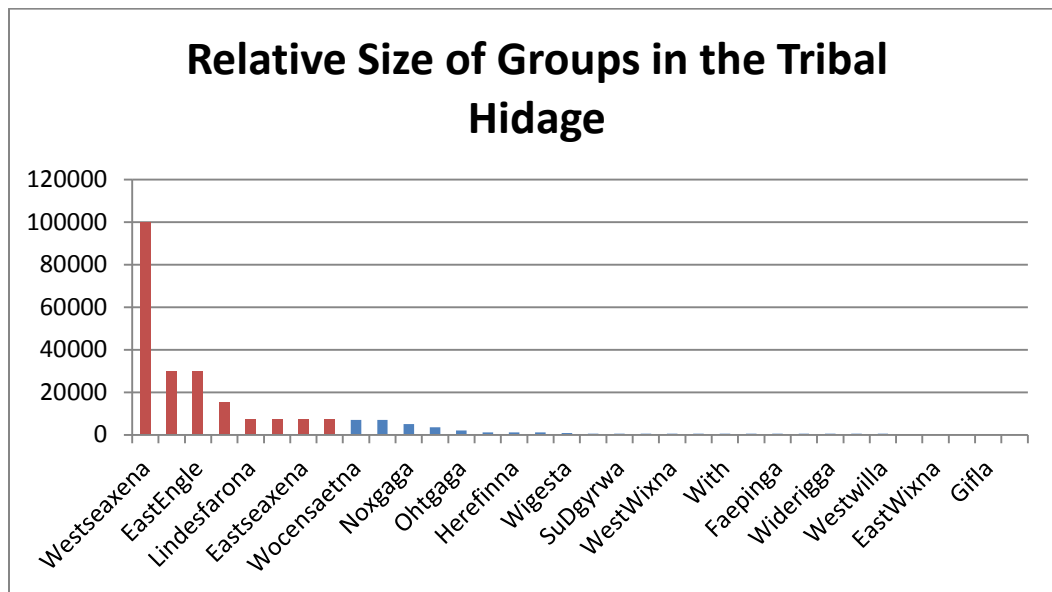


Figure 6.1. Relative size of groups recorded in the Tribal Hidage. Groups historically attested in other documents are in red.

### From Assembly to Nation: Medieval British Identity Through Time

Before proceeding with a discussion of how medieval Britons might have articulated group identities, some issues that modern scholars consider important but that do not seem to affect these definitions of self should be discussed. In the contexts described above it appears that familial relationships and objects of material culture were not considered important indicators of group identity. Objects of material culture are rarely described in relation to social identity in Old English documents from the first millennium AD, and group customs are only rarely used in relation to the lexeme *þeod*. An argument can be made using the relationship between weapons, gold, and people of consequence that material culture was used to mark status, but its possession is rarely used to define or single out members of different corporate groups in texts that describe life in the first millennium AD. Furthermore, the decoration of objects, while

frequently mentioned, is not used as a way people can differentiate between themselves and their guests.

In the case of lineage it, too, appears that the relationships one shared with kin was an important marker of identity at an individual level, but there is little compelling evidence to demonstrate that one's affinal relationships affected one's placement in a corporate social group. This disconnect is particularly clear in *Beowulf* where the *leode* of his father Ecgtheow is never mentioned, and Beowulf's relationship with this man grants him privileges among both the Geats and the Danes. In *Maldon*, although it is more difficult to detect, a similar disconnect between family and group affiliation is present in Ælfwine's loyalty to the Earl of Essex, and his descent from a Great Lord in Mercia. Thus although characters will define themselves in relation to their lineage the effect these relationships have on their social identity remains unclear.

References to place and political allegiances are used to define corporate identities in multiple instances throughout the Old English corpus but not in a manner consistent with our own. Unlike our modern views of group identity, it appears that the medieval British mind conceived of its groups as conglomerations of smaller innate parts whose membership was not governed by one's blood relatives nor indicated by styles of material culture. Instead it appears that people had a metonymic concept of corporate identity where smaller innate parts came together into heterogeneous wholes that would be foreign to our modern styles of identity. By considering how this part-whole relationship differs from our own and how it changed through time it will be possible to better understand medieval British identity in context.

The use of authority figures and/or place as descriptors of group identity is found in most instances where a corporate group is discussed in the Old English corpus, but distinct differences can be discerned in the way they are used through time. It is highly probable that the metaphor of an assembly or great feast underlies the way medieval Britons conceived of the creation of larger social groups. Indeed, it appears that they held two distinct concepts for groups, one that is small, innate, and based on place, and another that is larger, heterogeneous, and based on special circumstances. These concepts are found in the terms used to describe the different units as



smaller groups thought to spring either from the ground like plants (*leode*) or from a kin group (*mægð*) while the larger groups are considered to be accumulations of these units joined together by particular contexts (*þeod*). The scale of these groups appears to have changed over time, as the referents associated with each of these terms took on a greater scale and altered the conceptualization of innate identity.

In the legendary past of *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, and *Genesis*, corporate identity is most often described as a *leode*, and these groups are depicted as being small, having one ruler, and living in a location that took on a name and affiliation with the group. The few times a larger group is mentioned it occurs in a context when men from different settlements are depicted together enjoying festivities or holding formal meetings. Such groups are not named. Indeed, they are highly situational and occur only when guests and hosts are forced to come together under threat from an external force. This situation contrasts markedly with the written history of Britain that deals almost exclusively with groups who control larger areas, usually several settlements, and are ruled over by kings. Corporate groups smaller than the size of a kingdom are rarely mentioned in the written histories, but their presence can be detected in both the Tribal Hidage and in place-name evidence that suggests areas of Britain were occupied by groups capable of giving their names to different territories. Furthermore, we know that kings governed through a hierarchical series of meetings that organized the populace into increasingly smaller groups, suggesting that a corporate group on a scale smaller than modern nation states likely existed in the period. When the larger political groups of historic Britain are described it is most often with the collective term *þeod* or the generic lexemes *cynn* and *folc* and rarely the terms *mægð* or *leode*. Thus, in the written records it appears that the corporate social identity of medieval Britain underwent a shift in scale, from one based on limited territories with local potentates to a collection of these people joined under (literally *underþeodan* in Old English) the power of a great prince or king.

When the metonymic identities of *Beowulf* and *Ælfwine* are compared some differences present themselves that indicate a shift in scale occurred to the innate identities people could

have possessed in the first millennium AD. In *Beowulf* innate corporate identities are presented explicitly at a small scale, one tightly bound to the lord and land of the person being described. In *Maldon*, on the other hand, corporate identities are only mentioned implicitly in reference to larger places and the powerful earls and kings who rule them. It is highly probable that this shift in the presentation of innate identities reflects a shift in the way people perceived their membership in a larger corporate group. In earlier periods it is likely that men and women saw themselves as members of smaller units that controlled the limited territories in which they lived and came together in the contexts of assemblies or other opportunities for alliance. As time progressed and these smaller groups were collected together under the increasing authority of the Anglo-Saxon kings, whose power was represented by a metaphorical court to which all the people (*eallum leode*) belonged. These larger groups, including the Mercians, Angles, Saxons, Cantwarena, etc. are referred to in historical documents as *peod*, as the collections of *leode* and *mægð* under the new context of political authority. By the end of the first millennium these new groups were no longer perceived as heterogeneous units composed of smaller homogeneous wholes. Instead the scale shifted and focus turned to uniting the greater kindred of Angles under the command of one ruler in the face of the other *peode* of Britain (the Welsh and Scots) and the military threats coming from Scandinavia and her descendants in Normandy.

#### *Identity in Context: Some Conclusions*

The potential links that individuals used to construct their identities in medieval Britain were not unlike those employed by people today. Men and women defined themselves based on their blood relations, the places they lived, and the lords they served. What is different is how these relationships were bundled together into a coherent whole. Over the course of the first millennium it appears that the people of medieval Britain shared a metonymic concept of identity in which smaller innate parts were combined together to make larger heterogeneous wholes. This concept is likely based on the idea of a meeting or a feast, where people from different settlements, regions, or nations, would be united in a time of enforced peace under the authority of a potentate. Innate units could have been constructed based on shared senses of place,

kinship, or lordship, and they appear to have been smaller in general than their heterogeneous counterparts. Over time it is likely that the scale of this metaphor shifts from the concept of a feast or local meeting to that of a national assembly, as the power of leaders grew and the establishment of formal kingdoms took place. In depictions of legendary contexts it appears that the smaller and more innate unit was the focus for identity creation, as these units were given names and special reference in texts. In depictions of later historical occasions, on the other hand, it appears that larger heterogeneous units were the focus of identity, as people are defined in reference to named kingdoms that are thought to be composed of smaller unnamed units. What remains is to discuss how the articulation of these relationships in practice affects the way we can conceive or describe medieval Britons as Anglo-Saxon peoples. This is the topic of my final chapter.

## CHAPTER 7

### CONCLUSION: ANGLO-SAXON MEANINGS BOTH MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Up to this point, I have addressed the form of identity in the early medieval period, its aspect across the later first millennium, and a few instances in which these were bundled into definitions in Old English narratives. What remains to be done is to explore how their study allows the observation of an Anglo-Saxon style of identity and the evaluation of its similarity or distinctiveness from our own. Here, in an attempt at conclusion, I approach the question of who were the Anglo-Saxons and ask how a new perspective on the specific ways they constructed their group identities can help us better describe and discuss the nature of identity in the past and the effects it has on our perceptions today.

#### **Articulating Components: What Have We Learned about Anglo-Saxon Identity?**

In the preceding three chapters I approached the form, aspect, and definition of Anglo-Saxon identity as independent topics of discussion. Here, I hope to combine these components in an attempt to refine our understanding of medieval concepts of identity. Before undertaking such a discussion, however, a brief review of my findings is appropriate.

In Chapter four, I concluded based on my analysis of the Animal-Head-Motif that the form of Anglo-Saxon identity underwent a drastic reduction in scale between its introduction into Britain and mention in later historical documents. Consensus analysis indicated that the Animal-Head-Motif is actually comprised of different subject matter (which I termed Motifs 1 and 2). In the fifth century a tradition of decoration existed that favored the representation of a horse's head (Motif 2) in a style that was both reasonably standardized and widely shared across the Greater North Sea area. In the sixth century, although the horse-head tradition might have continued (Martin 2011), three separate styles of depicting a boar's head (Motif 1) with much smaller regional boundaries came into vogue. The largest of these contexts, and the one from which the most examples were recovered, is found within the borders of modern-day England, while the other two contexts, each with far fewer decorated objects, are found in contemporary Norway. The desire to depict a boar's head was preserved in the English context (albeit in a different style) for

a much longer period than the other two regions. Thus, it can be argued that the people of Britain participated in a social context that spanned the Greater North Sea during the emergence of an Anglo-Saxon identity, from which they removed themselves in the sixth century as they began to focus on creating their own insular communities. The traditional narrative explaining this process is the arrival of different tribes (i.e., Angles, Saxons, Jutes) who in time became the founding stock of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Such interpretations rely on moving directly from the form of identity to its definition (and vice versa). Based on my studies of its aspect, however, a different way of thinking about the identities of the residents of medieval Britain can be proposed.

In Chapter five, my study of the aspect of Anglo-Saxon identity suggested that two primary perceptions of similarity were used to define group affiliation, one based on physical similarity and the other on social relationships. The category of social similarities can be further subdivided into groups based on shared concepts of place, and those joined together by shared allegiances to the same lords. There is also a sense that the speakers of Old English conceived of groups at different scales, with one being localized around a settlement (*leode*), and the other spread across the reaches of a kingdom or empire (*beod*). Ethnic epithets are found applied to both of these concepts at the level of the corpus, although some patterning suggests that they could relate to different scales of identity (e.g., Roman vs. Geat). These results problematize the interpretation of the form of identity discussed above. If different scales and ways of reckoning affiliation existed, which do we apply to the interpretation of the material record? Were the contexts observed in the fifth century perceived in the same way as those that came to be in the sixth? Are the Angles, Saxons and Jutes representative of one kind of identity, and the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of another?

In Chapter six I examined the definition of identity, or how the form and aspect articulated together in practice. At its conclusion I identified a metaphor for society as an assembly in which people from different innate groups are joined together to become a new and different kind of social collective. This metaphor, I argued, is present across the latter half of the first millennium AD, but the nature of its component parts, and the ways they were related to the definition of

identity changed through time. By comparing the definitions of Beowulf and Ælfwine it appears that although both warriors used similar presentations in their self-definition the way they combined them together, and stressed different relationships, showed that the concept of identity they employed had changed. In other words, it is likely that identities in medieval Britain employed similar forms and aspects across the course of the first millennium, but it changed the way they were interpreted into a definition in the time separating the contexts described by the authors. Thus, it appears that we might have a case where the names applied to similar groups in the early and later middle ages (e.g., Angle, Saxon, or Dane) might have actually referred to very different kinds of social collectives. These findings on each individual component of identity can be used to aid in the interpretation of the nature of identity groups in medieval Britain.

### **Anglo-Saxon Identity through time: New Interpretations**

My analyses suggest that three major categories for the perception of similarity between individuals existed in the minds of the people who used the Old English language, which I will refer to as: 1) generic, 2) indigenous, and 3) incorporated. The first category, generic, denoted by the lexemes *cynn* and *mægð*, appears to group individuals (and many other things) into a collective based on a perceived empirical similarity between them. In the abstract it is overwhelmingly associated with lay categories we would use scientific nomenclature to subdivide in the modern era (e.g., fish, human, bird) and occasionally associated with human groups who share lines of descent (e.g., Israelites, Levites), a relationship often perceived to create an empirical similarity between family members.

The second category, indigenous, is denoted by the lexeme *leode*, and it reckons a social similarity based on a shared place of inhabitation or origin. The concept of place implied by *leode* does not appear to be permanent, and the modern sense of indigenous as coming from one land would be a misnomer. Indeed, when people are described as moving in *Genesis*, they do not leave homelands behind; they re-establish them in the lands they settle (Doane 1978, l. 925, 2674, 2751). This concept of a homeland is quite different from the notion of the *Urheimat* often sought by nineteenth-century scholars of Germanic antiquity; in the medieval concept the tight

link between land and people allowed homelands to move along with the people who defined them. The power of this link is seen in *Beowulf*, where the hero repeatedly defines his identity in reference to an unnamed parcel of land and the houses where his lord and fellow people live. In more historical descriptions of a *leode*, this relationship between people and place might have changed, as the term is most frequently associated with settlements, cities, and the bishops who dwell within them. This later connection between bishops, permanent settlements, and *leode* might have served to establish more permanent concepts of place as mobile groups began to associate themselves with the local centers and bishoprics that were established from AD 600 onwards.

The category I term “incorporated” appears to define a social similarity based on the joining of smaller groups into a new whole in the contexts of assemblies, feasts, and the courts of the politically (or ecclesiastically) powerful. Such contexts involved the gatherings of distinct peoples where peace and good behavior were enforced by both custom and law. This category is denoted by the lexeme *þeod* and its various categorical compounds, which are used to imply the presence, lack or subjugation of one corporate group to another (or its leader). In Old English verse, this category of identity is most closely related to contexts of assembly and the authority figures who preside over them, or as a general reference to all humans or the angels in heaven. In prose, the term is most often found in association with leaders who are described as wielding power over, or establishing laws in front of, a *þeod*. This category is also related significantly (but not frequently) with the Old English word for customs, suggesting that a *þeod* could be identified on the basis of its behavior, appearance, or material culture, but the exact semantic content of the Old English word for custom (*þeaw*) is never precisely described, and it could refer to any number of actual phenomena. The use of hair and dress to distinguish members of corporate groups are mentioned explicitly once in the Old English corpus in Ælfric’s *Letter to Brother Edward*, where an Anglo-Saxon man is chastised for cutting his hair in the Norman fashion, and examples of Anglo-Saxon people (e.g., Alcuin) making similar references in Latin to distinguish pagan practices (and

occasionally the people who employ them) from Christian ones are known (Clayton 2007, 33–36); however, whether these are the customs that denote a *beod* cannot be ascertained.

Differences in scale, as well as kind, separate out the categories of evidence described in the Old English corpus. Indeed, based on the way the lexemes are used in the same utterances it appears the first two were conceived of as small innate groups that could be joined together into a new incorporated whole. This relationship between smaller parts and larger wholes is preserved throughout the Old English corpus, but the nature of the parts and wholes changes over time, revealing a shift in the way we can define the identities of medieval Britain.

In Chapter four, I described a change in the scale of the distribution of coherent styles in material culture, from a region larger than the North Sea Basin in the fifth century, to one smaller than the current territory of England in the sixth. In Chapters five and six, on the other hand, I noted an increase in the scale of corporate social groups that can be detected by comparing verse compositions of legendary times to documents that describe the historical contexts of medieval Britain. This shift in scale reverses the trend seen in material culture, where legendary contexts appear to have been occupied by small groups tied to limited territories around one settlement, while historical documents tend to discuss groups the size of medieval kingdoms, the Roman Empire, or modern nation states. The change in scale observed in linguistic records can be interpreted by examining how and when these groups were thought of as distinct and given formal names.

### **Categorical Groups: British Identity through Time**

Medieval British scribes appear to have associated the three categories of identity – generic, indigenous, and incorporated – with different collections of corporate names in the Old English corpus, and a comparison of their scales can reveal much about how we should think about the construction of identity in medieval Britain. These results were glossed over in Chapter five as a result of the method I employed, which treated all group names as the same conceptual domain. When each group is considered as its own category, however, a clearer means of



understanding medieval ethnic epithets can be found, in which different names were used for each of the categories of identity, with little overlap.

With a few exceptions (e.g., the Franks and the Frisians mentioned in *Beowulf*), named groups described at the level of the *þeod* are generally larger and more politically potent than those defined as a *leode* (Table 7.1). This relationship could result from bias, as we know the documents we possess favour the powerful kingdoms of the latter half of the first millennium over the smaller groups inferred from place names and the Tribal Hidage. However, the choice to apply certain names to *leode* and others to *þeod* can also be interpreted in relation to time. The naming of groups at the scale of a *leode* occurs much more often in the context of Old English verse than prose, and the opposite is true for the application of epithets to the lexeme *þeod*. Although the dating of Old English poetry is quite difficult, a consensus exists that most verse compositions pre-date their prose counterparts and employ a more archaic or formal style of diction. Along with an earlier period of composition the contexts described in Old English verse are generally earlier than those described in prose documents, as verse compositions often portray distant legendary contexts, while prose compositions render British society after AD 600. Thus, it is possible that in the earlier portion of the settlement of Britain the most applicable concept of corporate identity existed at a small scale that does not readily preserve in the historical record.

This tendency to name indigenous groups in documents set in legendary times and incorporated ones in more contemporary historical documents might suggest that the preferred unit of corporate social identity underwent a scale shift (sensu Tilly 2001, 26) in the latter half of the first millennium AD, one visible in Alfred's active promotion of a united *Angelcynn* in the face of foreign invaders (Foot 1996; Reynolds 1985). Returning to Table 7.1 it is noteworthy that the groups described as a *þeod* are not only larger and more powerful than those defined by the other terms, but they also are later and historically attested. The historical groups who are described as controlling the territories of the United Kingdom, in fact, are almost universally

described with the term *peod* at both the scale of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms (e.g., Mercia and Wessex), or the peoples of Britain (e.g., Scot, Pict, Angle, Welsh).

Considered in historical contexts this consistent use of vocabulary and the scale of groups described with ethnic epithets demonstrate how the aspects individuals could have used to construct their identities remained similar over the course of the first millennium, but the way these aspects were articulated into definitions and the expression of these definitions in physical form did not. In all periods, similar perceptions of the means for constructing identity can be detected and applied to corporate entities, but the election to name only some categories in reference to social collectives reveals a change in emphasis in how people were defined over time. As discussed in Chapter six, Stafford (1993) argues that a new focus on the family was beginning to develop at the end of the first millennium AD, a shift in importance that eventually led to the adoption of family names or the emphasis of one's kin group in the definition of identity (Wareham 2001). The choice to name indigenous units in earlier compositions and incorporated ones in later documents arguably demonstrates a similar shift in emphasis on the relationships that were considered most important to the definition of the self. This shift did not affect the metaphors and concepts that underlie the definition of identity but instead increased the scale at which an individual identified with an innate corporate group, from a small collective that shared one's land to a large group that shared one's kingdom.

	Clan	City	Kingdom	Nation/World
<i>Cynn</i>	Israelites Levites		Angel	Human-race
<i>Mægð</i>	Levites Elamites “tribes in Mercia”		Mercia	
<i>Leode</i>	Scylding Waegmunding	Dene, Geat, Wendel, Sweona Hebrew Frank		Heathen
<i>þeod</i>			East-Saxon West-Saxon Mercian Angel Cantwarena Dane Northumbrian Northman Egyptian	Christian Heathen Roman Byzantine Indian English Scottish Welsh Human-race

Table 7.1. Group names associated with different lexemes by scale.

### Implications for Archaeology and History

The concept of medieval British identity proposed above has implications for the interpretation of the historical and material record of the first millennium AD. First, the existence of different definitions of identity to which ethnic epithets are applied suggests we need to stop thinking of the groups referred to by ethnic epithets as comprising one united conceptual phenomenon. Instead, it appears that corporate groups of different kinds and scales existed in different times and places according to the Medieval British mind. This observation has particular consequences for considering the “historical” groups that occur in mythological poems like *Beowulf* or *Widsith* as they may not refer to the same kinds of collectives described by Bede or the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Although it is tempting to think of the *Deniga leode* of *Beowulf* as the same group the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* calls *Deniscan*, it is much more likely that the composers of each text applied the same form to different styles of identity in the two cases. Indeed, although Roman and

early medieval documents indicate the presence of ancient groups who share names that are morphologically and phonetically similar to ones attested in later medieval (or modern) documents, it is highly probable that the epithets were not applied to groups of the same composition, scale, or kind in the different periods. This does not mean that we cannot look for the origin of certain medieval groups in ancient documents, but it does mean that scholars who do so should consider the nature of the groups for which they search and include discussion of how they might have shifted in scale and composition in the intervening years.

In a larger context my observation of different aspects for early medieval British identity, and the use of an underlying metaphor of the many becoming one in the definition of identity, could have implications for understanding how scholars can describe a greater Germanic antiquity. Further research is required, but if the conceptual categories I discussed here can be identified in other medieval Germanic languages, and a similar shift in scale can be shown, it might be possible to come up with an improved understanding of how similar or different the groups we think of as the ancient Germans were to each other prior to the periods in which they produced their own histories. If a concept of many smaller units becoming one can be shown to obtain in the oral traditions and written documents recorded in other medieval dialects, we might be able to improve our understanding of how the groups that inhabited the small settlements found across Northern Europe in the first millennium AD would have reckoned themselves in relation to their neighbors. Indeed, the demonstration of an underlying metaphor of a *þeod* that could join together people capable of speaking *mepelwordum* from different Germanic dialects would provide support for the argument that the ancient Germans could have seen themselves as a similar people (as suggested by the Vienna School), and its absence would suggest it could be a tautology created by the modern divisions of Europe (as suggested by the Toronto School).

In terms of material culture, this thesis has some implications for how we can interpret similar styles from an emic medieval perspective. In literary accounts material culture is only related explicitly with incorporated identities, suggesting that it was used at a larger scale, and for more heterogeneous groups than most traditional archaeological accounts suggest. The best

evidence we possess to suggest that material culture indicated a corporate social identity relates it to Christian and pagan practices in the first millennium AD (Clayton 2007) and the detailed account we possess of how hairstyles and customs differentiated “ethnic” groups comes from the later 11<sup>th</sup> century (Stafford 2005). Little evidence exists to corroborate the idea that material culture was associated with the kinds of innate identity that could be described as a *leode* in Old English, and given an ethnic sense in Modern English.

These ideas can be applied to my own research. In Chapter four I argued that a reliable expression in material culture could indicate a form of identity that existed at different scales between the fifth and sixth centuries AD, but I did not draw conclusions regarding how this form was articulated into a style of identity. Based on both the relationship between customs and *þeod* and the large scale at which the style I analyzed was initially employed, it is highly probable that the similarities in the material record indicated a larger, heterogeneous social group spread out across the Greater North Sea region. Thus, the aspect of this tradition was akin to a *þeod*, a large and heterogeneous unit people could join if they knew the proper words and customs.

If the trend to name only indigenous groups in *Beowulf* is at all applicable to the period between the fall of Rome and the rise of the early medieval kingdoms, it is likely that this stylistically homogeneous group would have possessed neither a name nor an inherent categorical sense. Instead, similarities in style likely indicate the presence of an unnamed incorporated identity group that shared broad cultural similarities. Such a group would be akin to the *gumcynn* Beowulf considers himself a member of, a group that can be joined by anyone capable of possessing the material and behavioral markers that indicate it. In a period of migration these similarities might serve to mark off people with whom one would expect to share basic customs and beliefs (i.e., northern Europeans) from those who are completely foreign (i.e., Roman or Byzantine traders). Thus, the use of material culture in this context might serve more as a shibboleth than as a marker of innate identity. It would function to indicate people who knew the proper customs of hospitality and common law depicted in the feasts of *Beowulf* and the assembly in *Elene*, the kinds of people one would expect to meet at a gathering held by a

potentate. In light of this interpretation, the change in distribution between horse-head motifs and boar's head motifs might indicate a period in which the people of Britain began to sever themselves from the broader cultural community of the Greater North Sea and establish new social networks using their insular and Continental, and Christian relations, but more research would have to be done on the specific distribution of other styles of material culture from later periods to confirm this hypothesis.

Finally, this thesis has an implication regarding the appropriateness of the term "Anglo-Saxon" for describing the people who produced the historical and material records of the late first millennium AD. As discussed in Chapter two, the term "Anglo-Saxon" is largely an anachronism applied as a *portmanteau* to cover the peoples who are known to have lived in different kingdoms in medieval England, and it is likely that this meaning is an appropriate usage of the term. Although it would be difficult to argue for or against the idea that the people of medieval Britain thought of themselves as a unified nation or race under the term Anglo-Saxon, it should be apparent that the term is applied to a heterogeneous group, who can be brought together under the authority of different monarchs, a group that would be considered a *þeod* in Old English. Thus, our use of the term Anglo-Saxon as a collective for all the people of medieval England accords with an emic category of medieval identity and can be thought of as an appropriate way to describe the period.

### **The Implications of Medieval Styles of Identity for Modern Anglo-Saxons**

I began this thesis with a discussion of the effects modern definitions of ancient ancestors can have on contemporary affairs. Here I come full circle with a brief discussion of the implications of my analyses for the general usage of the term "Anglo-Saxon". As discussed in Chapter two, many cautions have been issued against misapplying the term Anglo-Saxon to connote the sense of a racially united homogeneous group that comprise the ancestors of the contemporary English peoples (e.g., Frantzen 1990; Geary 2002). Here, I explore the consequences of my analyses for understanding how we can incorporate discussions of our medieval predecessors into our contemporary views on society.

Although little evidence can be found to suggest that the people of medieval Britain would have thought of themselves in strictly racial or ethnic terms, I can demonstrate that they did possess a concept of a larger pluralistic group to which they could potentially belong in the appropriate social or political circumstances, and this is actually the most common way the term “Anglo-Saxon” is applied in today’s descriptions of the group. Indeed, when it is used in news reports, it takes on one of two primary meanings. First, it is commonly applied to describe archaeological finds from all over England from the Anglo-Saxon period, and second it is used to refer to a collection of modern nation states (most often Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States, or the “five fingers of the Anglo-Saxon hand”). From a literal standpoint, these uses of term accord well with the styles of identity employed by the people to whom it is applied. In the first case, as discussed above, it is used to indicate a larger grouping of all the people (*ealra ðeoda*) of Britain, while in the second it is an abstract collection of disparate nations who come together under certain circumstances (usually international policy discussions) to create a heterogeneous whole. Both descriptions are valid aspects of a *þeod* and as long as we think of the groups denoted by Anglo-Saxon in such a fashion we are likely using the term appropriately. The problems with the use of the term arise when it is used in an explicitly racial sense as little evidence can be found that such a sense was applicable in the period. It is this sense that arguably caused the furore around Governor Romney’s comments in the 2012 election, since it was taken to mean he possessed racial affiliations with the United Kingdom that Barack Obama did not, as both candidates are members of a reputedly “Anglo-Saxon” nation in the mind of the wider global community.

Thus, a final implication of this study is how the consideration of other styles of identity can help us better understand ourselves and improve our relationships with individuals who have different ways of defining themselves. If we think of contemporary Anglo-Saxon nations as those most similar in terms of policy and action, rather than the ones composed of the highest percentage of descendants with “Anglo-Saxon” genetic material or cultural heritage, we can come up with different ways of forging connections between modern social groups. Indeed, in the case

of the European Union such a perspective might help bridge the gaps between member nations who focus on the differences implied by their histories rather than their similarities. By asking what kinds of identities were employed in the past and how they actually relate to those found in contemporary society, we might be able to rethink the relationships shared with our “foreign” neighbors, and in so doing re-conceive of ourselves in new and exciting ways.



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APPENDIX A  
CRUCIFORM BROOCH MATRIX

In this appendix I present the categorical data matrix used for all analyses in Chapter four. Objects are labeled either by their museum catalog number, or by the number in a published work that refers to an image of the piece. The following abbreviations are used: BM= British Museum, London, United Kingdom; CM= Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology, Cambridge, United Kingdom; FM= Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, the Netherlands; HDLM Niedersächsischen Landesmuseums Hannover, Hannover, Germany; RM= *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, Leiden, the Netherlands; PAS=the Portable Antiquities Scheme, United Kingdom; R= Plate number of object in Reichstein 1975; bordes = Grave and object number in (Saggau 1981); Issen= Grave and object number in (Martin Weber 2004).

#### Legend

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Brow	Brow	Helmet				
Eye	Round	Pointed	Bug	Subtle		
Snout	Round	Flat	Pointed	Shovel-Shaped		
Nostrils	Round	Wedge	Swirl	Football		
Lips	Plain	Puckered				
Protrusions	Round	Scroll	Football	Animal-Head	X	
Decoration	V	Chevron	Horizontal Lines	Bullseye	Nostril Slits	Ears

Object	Brows	EYE	SNOUT	LIPS	NOS	PRO	Site	Region	Country
BM1811.1214.1	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Asgarby	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1811.1214.2	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Asgarby	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1852.0626	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Icklingham	Suffolk	United Kingdom
BM1853.0815.48	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Northwold	Norfolk	United Kingdom
BM1870.1105.12	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Brooke Cemetery	Norfolk	United Kingdom
BM1870.1105.13	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Brooke Cemetery	Norfolk	United Kingdom
BM1870.1105.14	1.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Brooke Cemetery	Norfolk	United Kingdom
BM1870.1105.15	1.00	1.00	3.00	2.00	5.00	3.00	Brooke Cemetery	Norfolk	United Kingdom
BM1873.0602.108	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Peterborough	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
BM1873.0602.109	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Peterborough	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
BM1873.0718.2	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Soham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
BM1874.0326.1	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Haslingfield	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
BM1874.0326.2	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Haslingfield	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
BM1874.0326.3	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Haslingfield	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
BM1874.0326.4	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Haslingfield	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
BM1876.0212.11	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	South Willingham	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1876.0212.4	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Ganton Wold	Yorkshire	United Kingdom
BM1876.0212.68	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Rudston	East Riding of Yorkshire	United Kingdom
BM1876.0212.8	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Rudston	East Riding of Yorkshire	United Kingdom

BM1876.0212.9	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Rudston	East Riding of Yorkshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.0401.321	1.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.0401.433	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.119	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.140	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.143	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.227	3.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.327	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.36	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.386	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.433	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.434	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	4.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.513	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.525	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.401.85	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Sleaford	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
BM1883.702.7	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Kenninghall	Norfolk	United Kingdom
BM1891.0319.16	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Barton Seagrave	Northamptonshire	United Kingdom
BM1891.0624.213	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Kempston	Bedfordshire	United Kingdom
BM1995.0102.533	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Buckland	Kent	United Kingdom
BMWG.1976	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Goodmanham E Riding	Yorkshire	United Kingdom
BMWG.1977	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Bulmer	North Yorkshire	United Kingdom
BMWG.1978	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Bulmer	North Yorkshire	United Kingdom
bordes1021a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1062a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany



bordes1074a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1131a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1244a	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1259a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1267a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1267b	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1289a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1290a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes1869a	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes2207a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes2833a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes3009a	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes3048a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes3118a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes3147a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes3151a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes384a	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes384b	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes397a	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes4397a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes665a	1.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes754a	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
bordes954a	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
CM1883.518	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Trumpington	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1883.519	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Trumpington	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom

CM1888.30.60A	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1888.30.67A	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1888.30.67B	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1888.30.68	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1888.30.71	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1888.30.93	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1888.30.94	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1894.107A	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Tuddenham	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1894.13	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Tuddenham	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1899.88	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Lakenheath	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1899.90	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Lakenheath	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1899.93	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Lakenheath	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1899.94A	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	6.00	Lakenheath	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1904.446	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Exning	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1904.447	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Exning	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1904.448	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Exning	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CM1904.534A	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1904.534B	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	4.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1918.208.17A	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Rothwell	Northamptonshire	United Kingdom
CM1927.680A	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Tuddenham	Suffolk	United Kingdom

CM1936.358	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1948.1321	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Little Wilbraham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1948.1350	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Little Wilbraham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1948.1377B	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Little Wilbraham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1948.1426A	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Little Wilbraham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1948.1426B	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Little Wilbraham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1948.1452	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Little Wilbraham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CM1974.28	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CMD1964.3	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Cambridge	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CMZ16178A	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Rothwell	Northamptonshire	United Kingdom
CMZ16180A	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	Soham	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CMZ16265	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Lakenheath	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ20454	1.00	4.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	West Stow	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ21358	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Lakenheath	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ3408	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Haslingfield	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CMZ42832	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	St. John's College	Cambridgeshire	United Kingdom
CMZ7111	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7116A	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7128A	1.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7128B	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7128C	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7128D	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7136A	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7142G69	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom

CMZ7145	3.00	2.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7145C	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7158A	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
CMZ7158B	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
FM101-426	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Ferwerd	Friesland	Netherlands
FM101023	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Ferwerd	Friesland	Netherlands
FM131-133	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Witmarsum, Wunseradiel	Friesland	Netherlands
FM28-375D	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Ferwerd	Friesland	Netherlands
FM28-481	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Hogebeintum, Ferwerd	Friesland	Netherlands
FM28-700	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Hogebeintum, Ferwerd	Friesland	Netherlands
FM28.61.62	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Oosterbeintum, Ferwerd	Friesland	Netherlands
FM3214	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Hiaure, Dongeradeel	Friesland	Netherlands
FM69A45	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Midlum, Harlingen	Friesland	Netherlands
FM69A45b	3.00	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	Midlum, Harlingen	Friesland	Netherlands
FM74B-8	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Achlum, Franekeradeel	Friesland	Netherlands
FM74C223	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Ludinga, Harlingen	Friesland	Netherlands
HDLM3540.1	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Issendorf	Niedersachsen	Germany
HDLM3540.2	3.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Issendorf	Niedersachsen	Germany
HDLMN71A2	3.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	6.00	Liebнау	Niedersachsen	Germany

Issendorf128.1	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Issendorf	Niedersachsen	Germany
Issendorf172.1	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Issendorf	Niedersachsen	Germany
Issendorf216.1	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Issendorf	Niedersachsen	Germany
PAS_DUR-12BE53	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Hambleton	Yorkshire	United Kingdom
PAS_LIN_49F558	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Lindsey	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
PAS_LIN-DE1450	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Lindsey	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
PAS_LIN-DE43D7	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Lindsey	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
PAS_NCL-688A81	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Lindsey	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
PAS_NCL-A6B8D8	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Hambleton	Yorkshire	United Kingdom
PAS_WMID-190684	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	North Lincolnshire	Lincolnshire	United Kingdom
PAS_YORYM-3D963	3.00	1.00	5.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	East Riding	Yorkshire	United Kingdom
PAS_YORYM-A3D9A	3.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	East Riding	Yorkshire	United Kingdom
R10.1	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Homegard, Holme	Vest-Agder	Norway
R101.11	3.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	6.00	Gjerla, Stokke	Vestfold	Norway
R101.5	1.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Lyming	Kent	United Kingdom
R101.6	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Mage, Ullensvang	Hordaland	Norway
R101.7	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Mage, Ullensvang	Hordaland	Norway
R102.1	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	Bifrons	Kent	United Kingdom
R102.2	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Bifrons	Kent	United Kingdom
R11.7	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Veiberg, Norddal pgd	Møre og Romsdal	Norway

R11.8	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Veiberg, Norddal pgd	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R110.1	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Holywell Row	Suffolk	United Kingdom
R113.2	1.00	3.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	nd, Grytten	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R113.4	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Algard, Gjesdal	Rogaland	Norway
R113.7	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Hasle, Rygge	Østfold	Norway
R113.8	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Saugstadviken, Ringsaker	Hedmark	Norway
R114.2	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Eidbukten, Meloy, Helgeland	Nordland	Norway
R114.8	1.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Bø, Hå pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R116.6	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Bø, Hå pgd	Vestfold	Norway
R116.7	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Bø, Hå pgd	Vestfold	Norway
R12.1	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Fuskeland, Holme pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R12.4	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Viblemo, Undals	Vest-Agder	Norway
R12.5	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Loland, Nord Audnetal	Vest-Agder	Norway
R12.7	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Stormyr, Vinje pgd	Telemark	Norway
R13.1	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Hoyland, Nodre Undal	Vest-Agder	Norway
R13.3	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Vemstad, Lyngdal	Vest-Agder	Norway
R13.4	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Mæla Nordre, Gjerpen pgd	Telemark	Norway
R13.5	1.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Døso, Os pgd	Hordaland	Norway
R138.4	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Eide, Tjolling	Vestfold	Norway

R14.6	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Birkeland, Birkenes pgd	Aust-Agder	Norway
R140.7	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Olnes, Sogndal	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R15.1	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	6.00	Hvale, Brunlanes	Vestfold	Norway
R15.4	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Kvalen, Nordre Fron pgd	Oppland	Norway
R15.5	1.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Øvre Mele, Hjelmeland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R15.7	1.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Øvre Mele, Hjelmeland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R16.1	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Nygaard, Hafslo	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R16.7	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Emlheim, Borgund	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R16.8	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Emlheim, Borgund pgd	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R16.9	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Emlheim, Borgund pgd	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R17.1	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Åk, Grytten	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R17.2	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Åk, Grytten	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R17.3	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Gjervik, Hamre pgd	Hordaland	Norway
R17.4	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Gjervik, Hamre pgd	Hordaland	Norway
R17.5	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Gjesfjorden, Herøy pgd	Nordland	Norway
R17.6	1.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Steine, Leka pgd	Nord-Trøndelag	Norway
R17.7	3.00	3.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	1.00	Bremnes, Sortland pgd	Nordland	Norway

R17.8	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Bremnes, Sortland pgd	Nordland	Norway
R18.1	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Rossoy, Steigen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R18.7	1.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Rossoy, Steigen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R18.8	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Rossoy, Steigen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R18.9	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Rossoy, Steigen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R19.2	3.00	4.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	Veremoen, Lista pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R19.7	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Stoveland, Holme pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R20.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Lunde, Spansklottet, Vanse	Vest-Agder	Norway
R21.6	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Søndre Gammelsrød, Råde pgd	Østfold	Norway
R22.1	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Valandsmoen, Holme pgd,	Vest-Agder	Norway
R22.3	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Valandsmoen, Holme pgd,	Vest-Agder	Norway
R22.7	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Øvre Stoveland, Holme pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R23.1	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Bergli und Nedenes, Øyestad pgd	Aust-Agder	Norway
R23.5	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Tveitane, Froland	Aust-Agder	Norway



R25.2	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Versland, Helleland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R25.5	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Foldvik, Brunlanes pgd	Vestfold	Norway
R26.1	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Ersteid, Søndre Undal, pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R26.2	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Skeipstad, Helleland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R27.3	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Stokke, Hoyland	Rogaland	Norway
R27.7	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Slimestad, Kvinesdal	Vest-Agder	Norway
R27.8	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Slimestad, Kvinesdal	Vest-Agder	Norway
R28.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Tu Klepp	Rogaland	Norway
R28.4	1.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Tu Klepp	Rogaland	Norway
R29.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	1.00	Tu Klepp	Rogaland	Norway
R29.4	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	Brusand	Rogaland	Norway
R30.2	3.00	4.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Mundheim	Hordaland	Norway
R30.3	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	Mundheim	Hordaland	Norway
R31.11	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Hole Grytten	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R32.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Ådland, Bakke pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R32.2	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Ådland, Bakke pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R32.4	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Hen Grytten	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R32.6	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Hen Grytten	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R33.7	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	Riskedal, Årdal pgd	Rogaland	Norway

R34.2	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Krageland	Rogaland	Norway
R34.4	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Krageland	Rogaland	Norway
R35.4	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Varhaug, Hå pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R35.5	1.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	Nøding, Holme pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R35.6	2.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Nøding, Holme pgd	Vest-Agder	Norway
R38.4T	2.00	2.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Byrkje, Hjelmeland	Rogaland	Norway
R38.5	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Byrkje, Hjelmeland	Rogaland	Norway
R39.5	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Hol, Inderøy pgd	Nord-Trøndelag	Norway
R42.7	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Dirdal, Høle pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R42.8	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	1.00	Sandnes, Håland?	Rogaland	Norway
R42.9	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Sandnes, Håland?	Rogaland	Norway
R43.7	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	5.00	Grindheim, Etne pgd	Hordaland	Norway
R43.8	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Steinsåker, Gloppen pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R44.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Orre, Klepp	Rogaland	Norway
R44.2	1.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Kleiveland, Hjelmeland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R44.3	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Indre, Oppedal Lavik pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R45.1	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Bø, Hå pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R45.2	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Skeie, Klepp	Rogaland	Norway

							pgd		
R45.3	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Hopperstad, Vik pdg	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R45.4	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Bråstein, Høyland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R45.5	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Bråstein, Høyland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R45.6	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Bråstein, Høyland pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R45.7	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Varhaug, Hå pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R46.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Øksnevad, Klepp pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R46.2	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Øksnevad, Klepp pgd	Rogaland	Norway
R47.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Kannvik bei Stavanger	Rogaland	Norway
R47.3	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Harr, Ha	Rogaland	Norway
R48.2	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Øvre Mjelde, Haus pgd	Hordaland	Norway
R49.2	2.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Fedje, Leikanger pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R49.4	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Skjervum, Vik pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R50.2	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Kirkevik, Øksnes pgd, Lofoten Vesterålen	Nordland	Norway
R51.1	2.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Nordre Birkeland, Kvam pgd	Hordaland	Norway
R51.8	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Njøs, Leikanger pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway

R51.9	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Njøs, Leikanger pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R53.2	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Rongve, Haus pgd	Hordaland	Norway
R54.2	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Mo, Førde pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R54.3	2.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Henjum (Hølseng), Leikanger pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R54.4	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Henjum (Hølseng), Leikanger pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R55.6	2.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Skaim, Aurland pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R55.7	1.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Skaim, Aurland pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R55.8	3.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Skaim, Aurland pgd	Sogn og Fjordane	Norway
R56.1	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Hillingan, Hamaroy, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R56.3	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Staurnes (Giskegjerde), Borund pgd	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R56.5	3.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Staurnes (Giskegjerde), Borund pgd	Møre og Romsdal	Norway
R57.4	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Offersoy fra Vestoy, Lodingen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R57.6	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	Offersoy fra Vestoy,	Nordland	Norway

							Lodingen, Salten		
R58.4	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	Volstad, Sandtorg pgd, Sor Troms	Nordland	Norway
R58.5	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Volstad, Sandtorg pgd, Sor Troms	Nordland	Norway
R58.6	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Volstad, Sandtorg pgd, Sor Troms	Nordland	Norway
R59.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Skogoya, Steigen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R59.3	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Skogoya, Steigen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R59.4	1.00	4.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Skogoya, Steigen, Salten	Nordland	Norway
R60.4	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Edland, Gjesdal	Rogaland	Norway
R60.5	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Edland, Gjesdal	Rogaland	Norway
R61.2	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Leirvik, Naeroy pgd	Nord-Trøndelag	Norway
R61.3	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	Ramberg, Buoya, Bo pgd, Lofoten Vesteralen	Nordland	Norway
R61.4	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Jarmunnen, Vik, Somna pgd, Helgeland	Nordland	Norway
R62.1	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	Stamnes, Alstahaug pgd,	Nordland	Norway

							Helgeland		
R63.2	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	Ramberg, Buoya, Bo pgd, Lofoten Vesteralen	Nordland	Norway
R63.5	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	5.00	Ramberg, Buoya, Bo pgd, Lofoten Vesteralen	Nordland	Norway
R63.6	1.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	Ramberg, Buoya, Bo pgd, Lofoten Vesteralen	Nordland	Norway
R63.7	1.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	2.00	Ramberg, Buoya, Bo pgd, Lofoten Vesteralen	Nordland	Norway
R64.10	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Lunde, Spansklottet, Vanse	Vest-Agder	Norway
R64.3	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Lunde, Spansklottet, Vanse	Vest-Agder	Norway
R64.8	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Lunde, Spansklottet, Vanse	Vest-Agder	Norway
R64.9	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Lunde, Spansklottet, Vanse	Vest-Agder	Norway
R67.4	3.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Häller, Brastad	Bornholm	Sweden
R67.5	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	no findspot	Västergötland	Sweden

							Gökhem		
R67.7	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Nygaard, Varnhem	Västergötland	Sweden
R68.1	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	6.00	Mammen, Mammen	Viborg	Denmark
R68.2	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Sodra, Kvinneby, Stenasa	Västergötland	Sweden
R68.3	1.00	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	6.00	Stentorp, Stentorp	Västergötland	Sweden
R69.3	2.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Sodra Abyggeby, Hille	Gävleborg	Sweden
R70.4	3.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Hälljum, Njurunda	Västernorrland	Sweden
R71.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	5.00	Sörhoga, Forsa	Gävleborg	Sweden
R71.6	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	5.00	1.00	Tisjon, Lima,	Dalarna	Sweden
R72.1	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Westerwijtwerd, Oosterambt, Middelso	Groningen	Netherlands
R72.10	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Vestervig, Vestervik, Thisted	Nordjylland	Denmark
R72.5	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Skjern, Skjern, Middelsom	Viborg	Denmark
R72.6	1.00	2.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	6.00	Farso, Farso, Gislum, Alborg	Nordjylland	Denmark
R72.7	3.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Tansgards mose, Gudum, Skodberg,	Ringkøbing	Denmark

R72.8	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Krejberg, Krejberg, Rodding	Viborg	Denmark
R72.9	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Oster-Assels, Oster-Assels, Morso Sonder, Thisted	Nordjylland	Denmark
R73.1	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	6.00	Jattene Bosgarden, Gudhem	Västergötland	Sweden
R73.4	1.00	1.00	4.00	3.00	5.00	4.00	Jattene Bosgarden, Gudhem	Västergötland	Sweden
R73.6	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Gotene	Västergötland	Sweden
R73.7	3.00	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	6.00	Stommen, Bredared, Asarp	Västergötland	Sweden
R74.1	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	nd Holmestad	Västergötland	Sweden
R74.2	3.00	1.00	1.00	2.00	4.00	6.00	Melldala, Berg	Västergötland	Sweden
R74.4	3.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Bruarebacken, Ottum	Västergötland	Sweden
R74.6	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Stångebro, St. Lars	Östergötland	Sweden
R77.20	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Peissen, Kr. Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R79.7	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Peissen, Kr. Steinburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R8.5	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Eine, Vang pgd. Hedmark	Hedmark	Norway
R8.7	1.00	3.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Eine, Vang pgd. Hedmark	Hedmark	Norway



R80.10	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Lassahn, Kr. Hzt. Lauenburg	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R80.11	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Perdohl, Kr. Hagenow	Mecklenburg- Vorpommern	Germany
R80.7	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Hammoor, Kr. Stormarn	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R80.9	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Hammoor, Kr. Stormarn	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R81.1	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Pritzier, Kr. Hagenow	Mecklenburg- Vorpommern	Germany
R81.10	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Borgstedt, Kr. Eckernforde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R81.4	1.00	4.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Ejlskov, Harslev, Skovby	Odense, Funen	Denmark
R81.7	3.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	6.00	Hammoor, Kr. Stormarn	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R81.8	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Borgstedt, Kr. Eckernforde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R81.9	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Borgstedt, Kr. Eckernforde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R82.1	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Pritzier, Kr Hagenow	Mecklenburg- Vorpommern	Germany
R82.10	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Borgstedt, Kr. Eckernforde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R82.11	3.00	3.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Borgstedt, Kr. Eckernforde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany

R82.2	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Gross Siemss, Kr. Grevesmuhlen	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Germany
R82.5	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Bliedersdorf, Kr. Stade	Niedersachsen	Germany
R82.8	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	4.00	6.00	Glaston	Rutland	United Kingdom
R82.9	3.00	3.00	2.00	1.00	5.00	6.00	Borgstedt, Kr. Eckernforde	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R83.6	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Hamburg	Niedersachsen	Germany
R83.7	3.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Gallin, Kr Hagenow	Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Germany
R84.1	1.00	4.00	2.00	3.00	4.00	6.00	Yttrup, Holmgård, yberg	Viborg	Denmark
R84.6	3.00	1.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Hammoor, Kr. Stormarn	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany
R89.4	3.00	1.00	2.00	1.00	3.00	6.00	Tude mark, Norra Skast, Skast	Ribe	Denmark
R89.7	3.00	4.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Achlum, Franekeradeel	Franekaredaal	Netherlands
R89.9	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Krefeld Gellep II, Stadtkr. Krefeld	Nordrhein-Westfalen	Germany
R9.6	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	6.00	Lunde, Lunde	Telemark	Norway
R9.9	3.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	1.00	6.00	Lunde, Lunde	Telemark	Norway
R90.3	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Stratford on Avon	Warwickshire	United Kingdom
R90.5	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Stratford on Avon	Warwickshire	United Kingdom
R91.7	3.00	3.00	2.00	2.00	2.00	6.00	Bordesholm	Schleswig-Holstein	Germany

R95.1	3.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	3.00	6.00	Corbridge, Northumberland	Northumberland	United Kingdom
R95.2	1.00	2.00	2.00	3.00	2.00	6.00	Corbridge, Northumberland	Northumberland	United Kingdom
R98.8	2.00	1.00	2.00	3.00	5.00	1.00	Blomsgarden, Skallmeja	Västergötland	Sweden
R99.4	3.00	1.00	3.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Soham	Suffolk	United Kingdom
RMa 1912/2.77	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	Menaldumadeel Ritsumazijl terp	Friesland	Netherlands

APPENDIX B

DICTONARIES USED FOR KWIC AND COGNITIVE SCHEMA ANALYSES

### **Substitution Dictionary**

Here I present the substitution dictionary I used to normalize variant spellings of Old English lexemes. This dictionary was also used to create lexemes out of proper names for people, places, and things. It is organized in alphabetical order based on the words that occur in the Old English Corpus.

In the leftmost column actual Old English terms appear, while the right column displays the lexeme under which they were analysed.

AARON	INDNAME
AARONE	INDNAME
AARONES	INDNAME
AARONYS	INDNAME
ABAT	ABBOT
ABAUDITU	ABBOT
ABBAS	ABBOT
ABBATE	ABBOT
ABBATISSA	ABBOT
ABBOD	ABBOT
ABBODA	ABBOT
ABBODAN	ABBOT
ABBODAS	ABBOT
ABBODE	ABBOT
ABBODES	ABBOT
ABBODESSE	ABBOT
ABBOTAS	ABBOT
ABBOTE	ABBOT
ABBOTES	ABBOT
ABBUD	ABBOT
ABIMELECH	INDNAME
ABRÆC	ABRECAN
ABRÆCON	ABRECAN
ABRAHAM	INDNAME
ABRAHAME	INDNAME
ABRAHAMES	INDNAME
ABRAM	INDNAME
ABRECE	ABRECAN
ABROCEN	ABRECAN
ACENÐ	ACENNAN
ACENDE	ACENNAN
ACENNED	ACENNAN
ACENNEDAN	ACENNAN
ACENNEDE	ACENNAN
ACENNEDNE	ACENNAN
ACENNEDNESSE	ACENNAN
ACENNEDNYS	ACENNAN
ACENNEDNYSSE	ARISAN
ACENNISSE	ARISAN

ACEORFAN	ACEORF
ACHILEUS	INDNAME
ACHILLES	INDNAME
ACWEALDE	ACWEALD
ACWEALDON	ACWEALD
ADAM	INDNAME
ADAMES	INDNAME
ÆDELWOLD	INDNAME
ADRÆFDE	ADRIFEN
ADRAF	ADRIFAN
ADRIANUS	INDNAME
ADRIATICUM	TERRITORY
ADUERSUM	ADUERSUS
ÆDELBALD	INDNAME
ÆDELBERHT	INDNAME
ÆDELBYRHT	INDNAME
ÆDELFRID	INDNAME
ÆDELINGA	ÆDELING
ÆDELINGAS	ÆDELING
ÆDELINGE	ÆDELING
ÆDELINGES	ÆDELING
ÆDELNOÐ	INDNAME
ÆDELRED	INDNAME
ÆDELREDES	INDNAME
ÆDELSTAN	INDNAME
ÆDELWULF	INDNAME
ÆGYPTI	TERRITORY
ÆGYPTO	TERRITORY
ÆGƿER	ÆGÐER
ÆHOMM	ÆHOM
ÆLCE	ÆLC
ÆLCERE	ÆLC
ÆLCES	ÆLC
ÆLCNE	ÆLC
ÆLCRE	ÆLC
ÆLCUM	ÆLC
ÆLDƿEODIG	ELƿEOD
ÆLDƿEODIGE	ELƿEOD
ÆLFGAR	INDNAME

ÆLFRED	INDNAME
ÆLFREDE	INDNAME
ÆLFREDES	INDNAME
ÆLFRIC	INDNAME
ÆLFWINE	INDNAME
ÆLMIHTIGA	ÆLMIHTIG
ÆLMIHTIGAN	ÆLMIHTIG
ÆLMIHTIGE	ÆLMIHTIG
ÆLMIHTIGES	ÆLMIHTIG
ÆLMIHTIGNE	ÆLMIHTIG
ÆLMIHTIGUM	ÆLMIHTIG
ÆLPEODI	ELPEODIG
ÆLPEODIG	ELPEODIG
ÆLPEODIGAN	ELPEODIG
ÆLPEODIGE	ELPEODIG
ÆLPEODIGNE	ELPEODIG
ÆLPEODIGUM	ELPEODIG
ÆNGEL	ETHNOS
ÆNGLA	ETHNOS
ÆNGLAS	ETHNOS
ÆNGLE	ETHNOS
ÆNGLES	ETHNOS
ÆNGLISC	ISC-GROUP
ÆNGLUM	ETHNOS
ÆRCEBISCOP	ARCEBISCOP
ÆRCEBISCOPE	ARCEBISCOP
ÆSCE	ÆESC
ÆSCESDUNE	TERRITORY
ÆTBREDE	ÆTBREDAN
AETERNAM	AETERNUM
ÆPELBALD	INDNAME
ÆPELING	ÆÐELING
ÆPELINGA	ÆÐELING
ÆPELINGES	ÆÐELING
ÆPELRED	INDNAME
ÆPELREDES	INDNAME
ÆPELRIC	INDNAME
ÆPELSTAN	INDNAME
ÆPELWULF	INDNAME

ÆPERED	INDNAME
AFYRHT	AFYRHTE
AGENE	AGEN
AGENES	AGEN
AGENNE	AGEN
AGENRE	AGEN
AGENUM	AGEN
AGUSTINUS	INDNAME
AGUSTUSE	INDNAME
AGYLDE	AGYLDAN
AHTE	AGAN
AHTON	AGAN
ALCHIMUS	INDNAME
ALDERMEN	ALDORMAN
ALDHELM	INDNAME
ALDHELMING	ING-GROUP
ALDORMEN	ALDORMAN
ALDORMENN	ALDORMAN
ALDORMON	ALDORMAN
ALDORMONN	ALDORMAN
ALDORMONNA	ALDORMAN
ALDORMONNES	ALDORMAN
ALDORMONNUM	ALDORMAN
ALEX	INDNAME
ALEXANDER	INDNAME
ALEXANDRE	INDNAME
ALEXANDRES	INDNAME
ALEXANDRIA	TERRITORY
ALFRIC	INDNAME
ALFWOLD	INDNAME
ALTARE	ALT
ALTERA	ALT
ALTISSIMI	ALT
AMALECH	INDNAME
ANDETNYSSSE	ANDETNESSE
ANDREAS	INDNAME
ANDSWARE	ANDSWARODE
ANGELCYN	ETHNOS
ANGELCYNN	ETHNOS

ANGELCYNNE	ETHNOS
ANGELCYNNES	ETHNOS
ANGELDEODE	ETHNOS
ANGELFOLCUM	FOLK
ANGELI	ETHNOS
ANGELIS	ETHNOS
ANGELLDEOD	ETHNOS
ANGELLDEODUM	ETHNOS
ANGELLPEODE	ETHNOS
ANGLUM	ETHNOS
ANGOLCYNNE	ETHNOS
ANGOLCYNNES	ETHNOS
ANIMAM	ANIMA
ANIMAS	ANIMA
ANIMÉ	ANIMA
ANIME	ANIMA
ANLICNESSE	ANLICNYSSE
ANSELM	INDNAME
ANSINE	ANSYNE
ANTECRISTES	INDNAME
ANTIGONE	INDNAME
ANTIGONES	INDNAME
ANTIOCHUS	INDNAME
ANWALD	ANWEALD
ANWALDE	ANWEALD
ANWEALDE	ANWEALD
APOSTOLA	APOSTOL
APOSTOLAS	APOSTOL
APOSTOLES	APOSTOL
APOSTOLI	APOSTOL
APOSTOLICAN	APOSTOL
APOSTOLORUM	APOSTOL
APOSTOLUM	APOSTOL
ARÆRDE	ARÆRAN
ARÆRED	ARÆRAN
ARCEBISCEOP	ARCEBISCOP
ARCEBISCEOPE	ARCEBISCOP
ARCEBISCEOPES	ARCEBISCOP
ARCEBISCOPAS	ARCEBISCOP

ARCEBISCOPE	ARCEBISCOP
ARCEBISCOPE	ARCEBISCOP
ARFÆSTA	ARFÆST
ARFÆSTAN	ARFÆST
ARFÆSTE	ARFÆST
ARFÆSTNESSE	ARFÆSTNYS
ARFÆSTNISSE	ARFÆSTNIS
ARFÆSTNYS	ARFÆSTNIS
ARFÆSTNYSS	ARFÆSTNIS
ARFÆSTNYSSE	ARFÆSTNIS
ARFÆSTUM	ARFÆST
ARGENTI	ARGENT
ARGENTO	ARGENT
ARGENTUM	ARGENT
ARIS	ARISAN
ARISA	ARISAN
ARISAD	ARISAN
ARISAP	ARISAN
ARISE	ARISAN
ARISED	ARISAN
ARISEN	ARISAN
ARISENDE	ARISAN
ARISENDUM	ARISAN
ARISENNE	ARISAN
ARISES	ARISAN
ARISEP	ARISAN
ARISON	ARISAN
ARIST	ARISAN
ARLEASA	ARLEAS
ARLEASAN	ARLEAS
ARLEASE	ARLEAS
ARLEASRA	ARLEAS
ARLEASUM	ARLEAS
ARMENIA	TERRITORY
ARSCYLDINGUM	ING-GROUP
ARWURÐA	AWEORÐAN
ARWURÐAN	AWEORÐAN
ARWURÐNYSSE	AWEORÐAN
ARWYRÐA	AWEORÐAN



ARWYRÐAN	AWEORÐAN
ASENDE	ASEND
ASIAM	TERRITORY
ASTAG	ASTIGAN
ASTAH	APOSTOL
ASTIGE	ASTIGAN
ASTIGENDE	ASTIGAN
AUGUSTINE	INDNAME
AUGUSTINUS	INDNAME
AWEND	AWENDAN
AWENDE	AWENDAN
AWRAT	AWRITAN
AWRITEN	AWRITAN
AWRITENE	AWRITEN
AÐAS	AÐAS
AÐELWOLD	INDNAME
AÐELWULF	INDNAME
BAAL	INDNAME
BABILONE	CITY
BABILONIS	CITY
BABILONISCA	ISC-GROUP
BABYLONIA	TERRITORY
BÆD	BIDAN
BÆDON	BIDAN
BALDOR	INDNAME
BARTHOLOMEI	INDNAME
BARTHOLOMEUS	INDNAME
BEAGAS	BEAG
BEAGE	BEAG
BEAGES	BEAG
BEAMAS	BEAM
BEAMUM	BEAM
BEARNA	BEARN
BEARNE	BEARN
BEARNUM	BEARN
BEATA	BEATUS
BEATI	BEATUS
BEBOD	BEBEAD
BEBODA	BEBEAD

BEBODEN	BEBEAD
BEBODU	BEBEAD
BECOM	BECUMAN
BECOME	BECUMAN
BECOMON	BECUMAN
BECUMAÐ	BECUMAN
BECUMAN	BECUMAN
BECUMAP	BECUMAN
BECUME	BECUMAN
BECUMEN	BECUMAN
BECUMENE	BECUMAN
BECWOM	BECUMAN
BECYMÐ	BECUMAN
BEDE	INDNAME
BEGEOT	BEGEAT
BEHEALD	BEHOLDAN
BEHEOLD	BEHOLDAN
BENEDIC	BENEDICTUS
BENEDICAM	BENEDICTUS
BENEDICAT	BENEDICTUS
BENEDICITE	BENEDICTUS
BENEDICTE	BENEDICTUS
BENEDICTES	BENEDICTUS
BENEDITIONE	BENEDICTUS
BENEDITIONEM	BENEDICTUS
BENEDICTUS	BENEDICTUS
BEOD	TO_BE
BEON	TO_BE
BEORGAS	BEORG
BEORGE	BEORG
BEORGES	BEORG
BEORGUM	BEORG
BEORHTE	BEORHT
BEORHTWALD	INDNAME
BEORNA	BEARN
BEORNICEA	INDNAME
BEORNULF	INDNAME
BEOWULF	INDNAME
BEOWULFE	INDNAME

BEOP	BEOD
BERHTWALDES	INDNAME
BESEOH	BESEAH
BESWAC	BESWICAN
BESWICEN	BESWICAN
BETSTA	BETST
BETSTE	BETST
BETWEOX	BETWUX
BICUOMEN	BECUMAN
BIDDAÐ	BIDDAN
BIDDAN	BIDAN
BIDDAƆ	BIDDAN
BIDDE	BIDDAN
BIDDENDE	BIDDAN
BINNON	BINNAN
BIOÐ	TO-BE
BION	TO_BE
BISCCOP	BISCOP
BISCEOP	BISCOP
BISCEOPA	BISCOP
BISCEOPAS	BISCOP
BISCEOPE	BISCOP
BISCEOPES	BISCOP
BISCEOPUM	BISCOP
BISCEP	BISCOP
BISCEPAS	BISCOP
BISCOPA	BISCOP
BISCOPAS	BISCOP
BISCOPE	BISCOP
BISCOPEES	BISCOP
BISCOPHADE	BISCOPHAD
BISCOPSTOLE	BISCOPSTOL
BISCOPUM	BISCOP
BISCPAS	BISCOP
BISCPE	BISCOP
BISSCOP	BISCOP
BISSCOPEES	BISCOP
BIZANTIUM	TERRITORY
BIP	TO_BE

BLODES	BLOD
BOCA	BOC
BOCAN	BOC
BOCERAS	BOC
BOCUM	BOC
BODIAÐ	BODIAN
BONEFACIUS	INDNAME
BRENTFORDA	TERRITORY
BREOSTE	BREOST
BREOSTUM	BREOST
BREOTAN	TERRITORY
BREOTENE	TERRITORY
BREOTONE	TERRITORY
BRETENE	TERRITORY
BRETONE	TERRITORY
BRETTA	ETHNOS
BRINGAÐ	BRINGAN
BRITENE	TERRITORY
BRITTANICE	TERRITORY
BRITTENE	TERRITORY
BRITTISC	ISC-GROUP
BRITTISCES	ISC-GROUP
BROÐER	BROÐOR
BROÐRA	BROÐOR
BROÐRO	BROÐOR
BROÐRU	BROÐOR
BROÐRUM	BROÐOR
BROÐUR	BROÐOR
BROHTE	BRINGAN
BROHTON	BRINGAN
BROÐER	BROÐOR
BROÐOR	BROÐOR
BROÐRUM	BROÐOR
BROÐUR	BROÐOR
BRUCAÐ	BRUCAN
BRUCAN	BRUCAN
BRUCAƆ	BRUCAN
BRUCE	BRUCAN
BRUCENDE	BRUCAN

BRUCENNE	BRUCAN
BRUCON	BRUCAN
BRUCONNE	BRUCAN
BRYCGE	BRUCAN
BRYDGUMAN	BRYDGUMA
BRYTENE	TERRITORY
BRYTLANDE	TERRITORY
BRYTLANDES	TERRITORY
BRYTTAS	ETHNOS
BRYTTWALAS	ETHNOS
BRYTWALAS	ETHNOS
BUCCINGAHAMSC	TERRITORY
BUCINGHAMSCIR	TERRITORY
BULGARISC	ISC-GROUP
BURGA	BURG
BURGE	BURG
BURGEN	BURG
BURGH	BURG
BURGLEODA	BURGLEOD
BURGLEODE	BURGLEOD
BURGUM	BURG
BURH	BURG
BURHHLEOÐU	BURGLEOD
BURHLEOD	BURGLEOD
BURHLEODA	BURGLEOD
BURHLEODAN	BURGLEOD
BURHLEODE	BURGLEOD
BURHLEODUM	BURGLEOD
BURHWARE	BURGWARA
BURHWARU	BURGWARA
BURIG	BURG
BURUHLEOD	BURGLEOD
BURUHLEODA	BURGLEOD
BYÐ	BYÐ
BYRIG	BURG
BYSCEOP	BISCOP
BYSCEOPAS	BISCOP
BYSCEOPE	BISCOP
BYSCEOPUM	BISCOP

BYSSCOPE	BISCOP
CAELI	CAELO
CAELIS	CAELO
CAELO	CAELO
CAELORUM	CAELO
CAELUM	CAELO
CÆSTRE	CEASTER
CALDEA	TERRITORY
CANTOREBIRI	TERRITORY
CANTRAREBERIG	TERRITORY
CANTUARABYRG	TERRITORY
CANTUARE	WARA
CANTUAREBERI	TERRITORY
CANTUAREBURH	TERRITORY
CANTUAREBYRI	TERRITORY
CANTUARIAM	WARA
CANTUARIE	WARA
CANTUARIENSI	WARA
CANTUJAREBYRI	TERRITORY
CANTUWARABYRI	TERRITORY
CANTWÆREBYRI	TERRITORY
CANTWARA	WARA
CANTWARABIRIG	TERRITORY
CANTWARABIRIS	TERRITORY
CANTWARABURG	TERRITORY
CANTWARABURH	TERRITORY
CANTWARABYRG	TERRITORY
CANTWARABYRI	TERRITORY
CANTWARABYRIG	TERRITORY
CANTWARÆ	WARA
CANTWARÆBURH	TERRITORY
CANTWARAN	WARA
CANTWARBERI	TERRITORY
CANTWARBYRIG	TERRITORY
CANTWARE	WARA
CANTWAREBERIG	TERRITORY
CANTWAREBURGE	TERRITORY
CANTWAREBURH	TERRITORY
CANTWAREBURUH	TERRITORY

CANTWAREBYRI	TERRITORY
CANTWAREBYRIG	TERRITORY
CANTWARENA	WARA
CANTWARUM	WARA
CAPADOTIA	TERRITORY
CAPHARNONBYRI	TERRITORY
CASERE	INDNAME
CASERES	INDNAME
CASTELAS	CASTEL
CASTELE	CASTEL
CEADWALA	INDNAME
CEADWEALLA	INDNAME
CEASTERA	CEASTER
CEASTERGEWARA	WARA
CEASTERGEWARA	WARA
CEASTERGEWARE	WARA
CEASTERGEWARU	WARA
CEASTERGEWARU	WARA
CEASTERWARA	WARA
CEASTERWERAS	WARA
CEASTORWARENA	WARA
CEASTRA	CEASTER
CEASTRÆ	CEASTER
CEASTRANA	CEASTER
CEASTRAS	CEASTER
CEASTRE	CEASTER
CEASTREGEWARU	WARA
CEASTRES	CEASTER
CEASTREWARENA	WARA
CEASTRO	CEASTER
CEASTRU	CEASTER
CEASTRUM	CEASTER
CÊLI	CAELO
CÊLO	CAELO
CÊLUM	CAELO
CENT	TERRITORY
CENTRICE	TERRITORY
CEOLULF	INDNAME
CEOLWALD	INDNAME

CEOLWALDING	ING-GROUP
CEOLWULF	INDNAME
CEORLE	CEORL
CEORLES	CEORL
CEORLUM	CEORL
CERDIC	INDNAME
CERDICE	INDNAME
CHALDEA	TERRITORY
CHALDEISCAN	ISC-GROUP
CHANANEISCAN	ISC-GROUP
CILDE	CILD
CILDES	CILD
CILDUM	CILD
CINCG	CYNING
CING	CYNING
CINGC	CYNING
CINGE	CYNING
CINGES	CYNING
CINIGAS	CYNING
CINING	CYNING
CININGA	CYNING
CININGAS	CYNING
CININGE	CYNING
CIRCA	CYRCAN
CIRCAN	CYRCAN
CIRICAN	CYRCAN
CIRICEAN	CYRCAN
CIUITATE	CIVITAS
CIUITATEM	CIVITAS
CLÆNAN	CLÆN
CLÆNE	CLÆN
CLÆNLICE	CLÆN
CLÆNNESSE	CLÆN
CLÆNNYSSE	CLÆN
CLÆNUM	CLÆN
CLAUDIUS	INDNAME
CLEOPODE	CLYPIAN
CLYPAÐ	CLYPIAN
CLYPIGE	CLYPIAN

CLYPODE	CLYPIAN
CLYPODON	CLYPIAN
CNAPAN	CNAPA
CNEORISSUM	CNEORISSE
CNIHTAS	CNIHT
CNIHTE	CNIHT
CNIHTES	CNIHT
CNIHTUM	CNIHT
CNUT	INDNAME
CNUTE	INDNAME
CNUTES	INDNAME
COLNECEASTRE	TERRITORY
COM	CUMAN
COMAN	CUMAN
COME	CUMAN
COMEN	CUMAN
COMON	CUMAN
CONSTANTINOPO	TERRITORY
CONSULAS	CONSUL
CONSULE	CONSUL
CONSULUM	CONSUL
CONTWARA	WARA
CORAM	COR
CORDA	CORDE
CORDIBUS	CORDE
CORDIS	CORDE
CORINTHUM	CITY
CORNU	CORN
CORPORE	CORPUS
CORPORIS	CORPUS
COSTNUNGE	COSTUNGE
CRÆFTA	CRÆFT
CRÆFTAS	CRÆFT
CRÆFTE	CRÆFT
CRÆFTES	CRÆFTUM
CRÆFTUM	CRÆFT
CRECA	TERRITORY
CRIST	CRIST
CRISTE	CRIST

CRISTENAN	CRISTEN
CRISTENDOME	CRISTENDOM
CRISTENDOMES	CRISTENDOM
CRISTENE	CRISTEN
CRISTENES	CRISTEN
CRISTENRA	CRISTEN
CRISTENUM	CRISTEN
CRISTES	CRIST
CUÆÐ	CWEDAN
CUÐE	CUÐ
CUÐON	CUÐ
CUM	CUMAN
CUMA	CUMAN
CUMAÐ	CUMAN
CUMAP	CUMAN
CUME	CUMAN
CUMEN	CUMAN
CUMENDE	CUMAN
CUNNE	CUNNAN
CUNNON	CUNNAN
CUOED	CWED
CUP	CUÐ
CUPE	CUÐ
CWÆÐ	CWEDAN
CWÆDON	CWEDAN
CWÆP	CWEDAN
CWED	CWEDAN
CWEDAÐ	CWEDAN
CWEDAN	CWEDAN
CWEÐE	CWEDAN
CWEÐENDE	CWEDAN
CWENE	CWEN
CWEPAÐ	CWEDAN
CWEPEÐENDE	CWEDAN
CWOM	CUMAN
CWYDE	CWIDE
CYÐ	CYÐAN
CYÐAÐ	CYÐAN
CYÐAN	CYÐAN

CYÐDE	CYÐAN
CYÐE	CYÐAN
CYMD	CUMAN
CYMED	CUMAN
CYMEP	CUMAN
CYMP	CUMAN
CYNCG	CYNING
CYNCGE	CYNING
CYNCGES	CYNING
CYNECYNNES	ETHNOS
CYNEDOME	CYNEDOM
CYNEDOMES	CYNEDOM
CYNEGAS	CYNING
CYNEGUM	CYNING
CYNEHELMAS	CYNEHELM
CYNEHLAFORDE	CYNEHLAFOR
CYNELICAN	CYNELIC
CYNELICE	CYNELIC
CYNELICUM	CYNELIC
CYNERICES	CYNERICE
CYNESETLE	CYNESETL
CYNESTOLE	CYNESTOL
CYNEWULF	INDNAME
CYNG	CYNING
CYNGC	CYNING
CYNGCES	CYNING
CYNGE	CYNING
CYNGES	CYNING
CYNIG	CYNING
CYNIGE	CYNING
CYNIGES	CYNING
CYNINC	CYNING
CYNINCG	CYNING
CYNINCGE	CYNING
CYNINCGES	CYNING
CYNINGA	CYNING
CYNINGAS	CYNING
CYNINGC	CYNING
CYNINGCES	CYNING

CYNINGE	CYNING
CYNINGES	CYNING
CYNINGUM	CYNING
CYNN	CYN
CYNNA	CYN
CYNNE	CYN
CYNNES	CYN
CYNNO	CYN
CYNNUM	CYN
CYNRENA	CYNREN
CYNRENE	CYNREN
CYNRENNE	CYNREN
CYNRENUM	CYNREN
CYNRIC	INDNAME
CYNRICING	ING-GROUP
CYNRINE	CYNREN
CYNRYN	CYNREN
CYNRYNE	CYNREN
CYNRYNUM	CYNREN
CYRCEAN	CYRCAN
CYRICAN	CYRCAN
CYRICEAN	CYRCAN
CYPE	CYÐAN
DÆDA	DÆD
DÆDE	DÆD
DÆDUM	DÆD
DÆG	DAGA
DÆGE	DAGA
DÆGES	DÆG
DÆLAN	DÆL
DÆLAS	DÆL
DÆLDE	DÆL
DÆLE	DÆL
DÆLUM	DÆL
DÆNISCAN	ISC-GROUP
DAGAS	DAGA
DAGUM	DAGA
DANIEL	INDNAME
DANIHEL	INDNAME

DANIHELES	INDNAME
DAUID	INDNAME
DAUIDE	INDNAME
DAUIDES	INDNAME
DAUIDES	INDNAME
DAVID	INDNAME
DEAÐE	DEAÐ
DEAÐES	DEAÐ
ÐEAWAS	ÐEAW
ÐEAWE	ÐEAW
ÐEAWUM	ÐEAW
DEAƿ	DEAÐ
DEAƿE	DEAÐ
DEAƿES	DEAÐ
ÐEGENAS	THANE
ÐEGN	THANE
ÐEGNA	THANE
ÐEGNAS	THANE
ÐEGNE	THANE
ÐEGNUM	THANE
DENA	ETHNOS
DENIGA	ETHNOS
DENIGEA	ETHNOS
DENISC	ISC-GROUP
DENISCA	ISC-GROUP
DENISCAN	ISC-GROUP
DENISCE	ISC-GROUP
DENISCNE	ISC-GROUP
DENISCRA	ISC-GROUP
DENISCUM	ISC-GROUP
DENMARCON	TERRITORY
DENUM	ETHNOS
DEO	DEI
ÐEOD	THEOD
ÐEODA	THEOD
ÐEODE	THEOD
ÐEODEN	THEODEN
ÐEODRIC	INDNAME
ÐEODSCIP	THEODSCIP

ÐEODSCIPAS	THEODSCIP
ÐEODSCIPE	þEODSCIP
ÐEODSCIPES	THEODSCIP
ÐEODSCYPE	THEODSCIP
ÐEODUM	THEOD
DEOFLA	DEOFOL
DEOFLE	DEOFOL
DEOFLES	DEOFOL
DEOFLU	DEOFOL
DEOFLUM	DEOFOL
DEOFOL	DEOFOL
DEOFUL	DEOFOL
DEOPE	DEOP
DEORUM	DEOR
ÐEOW	þEOW
ÐEOWA	þEOW
ÐEOWAN	þEOW
DEUM	DEI
DEUS	DEI
DEƿ	DEÐ
DICAM	DICERE
DICANT	DICERE
DICAT	DICERE
DICEBANT	DICERE
DICEBAT	DICERE
DICENS	DICERE
DICENT	DICERE
DICENTES	DICERE
DICIT	DICERE
DICITE	DICERE
DICITIS	DICERE
DICITUR	DICERE
DICTUM	DICERE
DICUNT	DICERE
DIEBUS	DIE
DIEI	DIE
DIEM	DIE
DIERUM	DIE
DIES	DIE

ÐINGUM	ÐING
DIACLITIANUS	INDNAME
DIOCLYTIANUS	INDNAME
DIONISII	INDNAME
DIONISIUS	INDNAME
DISCIPULIS	DISCIPULI
DISCIPULOS	DISCIPULI
DISCIPULUM	DISCIPULI
DO	DON
DOHTER	DOHTOR
DOHTRA	DOHTOR
DOLOREM	DOLOR
DOM	DOM
DOMAS	DOM
DOME	DOM
DOMES	DOM
DOMESDÆGE	DOMESDÆG
DOMINE	DOMINUS
DOMINI	DOMINUS
DOMINO	DOMINUS
DOMINUM	DOMINUS
DOMO	DOMUS
DOMUM	DOM
DORKECEASTRE	TERRITORY
DRENCE	DRENC
DRIHTEN	DRYHTEN
DRIHTENE	DRYHTEN
DRIHTNE	DRYHTEN
DRIHTNES	DRYHTEN
DRIHTYN	DRYHTEN
DRINCE	DRINCAN
DRUGON	DRYHTEN
DRYHTEN	DRYHTEN
DRYHTNE	DRYHTEN
DRYHTNES	DRYHTEN
DUN	DUNE
DUNSTAN	INDNAME
DYDE	DON
DYDEST	DON

DYDON	DON
EADBALD	INDNAME
EADGAR	INDNAME
EADGARE	INDNAME
EADGARES	INDNAME
EADGE	EADIG
EADGES	EADIG
EADIGA	EADIG
EADIGAN	EADIG
EADIGE	EADIG
EADIGRA	EADIG
EADMODNESSE	EADMODNYSS
EADMUND	INDNAME
EADRED	INDNAME
EADRIC	INDNAME
EADWARD	INDNAME
EADWEARD	INDNAME
EADWEARDE	INDNAME
EADWEARDES	INDNAME
EADWINE	INDNAME
EADWORD	INDNAME
EAFERA	EOFOR
EAFERUM	EOFOR
EAFORA	EOFOR
EAFORAN	EOFOR
EAFORUM	EOFOR
EAGAN	EAGE
EAGENA	EAGE
EAGON	EAGE
EAGUM	EAGE
EALANDUM	TERRITORY
EALDA	EALD
EALDAN	EALD
EALDE	EALD
EALDERMAN	ALDORMAN
EALDERMEN	ALDORMAN
EALDNE	EALD
EALDOR	ALDOR
EALDORMAN	ALDORMAN



EALDORMANN	ALDORMAN
EALDORMANNA	ALDORMAN
EALDORMANNES	ALDORMAN
EALDORMANNUM	ALDORMAN
EALDORMEN	ALDORMAN
EALDORMENN	ALDORMAN
EALDORMON	ALDORMAN
EALDORMONNES	ALDORMAN
EALDORMONNUM	ALDORMAN
EALDRAS	ALDOR
EALDRUM	ALDOR
EALDUM	EALD
EALOND	TERRITORY
EARDE	EARD
EARDES	EARD
EARMAN	EARM
EARME	EARM
EARMUM	EARM
EART	TO_BE
EASTDENA	ETHNOS
EASTDENUM	ETHNOS
EASTENGAL	ETHNOS
EASTENGLA	ETHNOS
EASTENGLÆ	ETHNOS
EASTENGLAN	ETHNOS
EASTENGLE	ETHNOS
EASTENGLUM	ETHNOS
EASTLEODA	LEOD
EASTRAN	EASTRON
EASTSEAX	ETHNOS
EASTSEAXAN	ETHNOS
EASTSEAXE	ETHNOS
EASTSEAXENA	ETHNOS
EASTSEAXNA	ETHNOS
EASTSEAXON	ETHNOS
EASTSEAXUM	ETHNOS
EASTSEXA	ETHNOS
EASTSEXAN	ETHNOS
EASTSEXANA	ETHNOS

EASTSEXE	ETHNOS
EASTSEXENA	ETHNOS
EASTSEXON	ETHNOS
EASTSEXUM	ETHNOS
EBREA	ETHNOS
EBREI	ETHNOS
EBREISC	ISC-GROUP
EBREISCUM	ISC-GROUP
EBREUM	ETHNOS
EBRISCAN	ISC-GROUP
ECGBERHT	INDNAME
ECGBRIHT	INDNAME
ECGBRYHT	INDNAME
ECGWALD	INDNAME
ECGWALDING	ING-GROUP
ECNYSSE	ECNESSE
EÐEL	EPEL
ÊÐELRED	INDNAME
EÐLE	EPEL
EFENCEASTERWA	WARA
EGIPTA	TERRITORY
EGYPTA	TERRITORY
EGYPTE	TERRITORY
EGYPTI	TERRITORY
EGYPTISCAN	ISC-GROUP
ELAMITARNA	ETHNOS
ELÐEODA	ELPEOD
ELÐEODGE	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIES	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIG	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIG	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIGE	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIGNE	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIGNYS	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIGRA	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODIGUM	ELPEODIG
ELÐEODISCE	ELPEODIG
ELÐIODE	ELPEOD
ELÐIODGE	ELPEODIG

ELÐIODIG	ELPEODIG
ELÐIODIGE	ELPEODIG
ÊLFRED	INDNAME
ELLÐEODIGRA	ELPEODIG
ELLÐEODINESS	ELPEODIG
ELLÐIODEGDE	ELPEODIG
ELLÐIODIG	ELPEODIG
ELLÐIODIGDE	ELPEODIG
ELLÐIODIGRA	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODE	ELPEOD
ELLPEODGE	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODIG	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODIGES	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODIGNE	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODIGNES	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODIGRA	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODIGUM	ELPEODIG
ELLPEODUM	ELPEOD
ELPEOD	ELPEOD
ELPEODA	ELPEOD
ELPEODE	ELPEOD
ELPEODEGUM	ELPEODIG
ELPEODIGNE	ELPEODIG
ELPEODIGNISS	ELPEODIG
ELPEODIGNYSS	ELPEODIG
ELPEODIGRA	ELPEODIG
ELPEODIGUM	ELPEODIG
ELPEODINESSE	ELPEODIG
ELPEODINYSSE	ELPEODIG
ELPEODISCE	ELPEODIG
ELPEODUM	ELPEOD
ELPIODIGE	ELPEODIG
ENGELCYNNA	ETHNOS
ENGELICUM	ETHNOS
ENGLALAND	TERRITORY
ENGLALANDE	TERRITORY
ENGLALANDES	ENGLAND
ENGLAS	ETHNOS
ENGLELAND	ENGLAND

ENGLELANDE	ENGLAND
ENGLISC	ISC-GROUP
ENGLISCAN	ISC-GROUP
ENGLISCE	ISC-GROUP
ENGLISCRA	ISC-GROUP
ENGLISCRE	ISC-GROUP
ENGLISCUM	ISC-GROUP
ENGLUM	ETHNOS
EODE	TO_GO
EODON	TO_GO
EOFERWICCEAST	TERRITORY
EOFORWICCÆST	TERRITORY
EOM	TO_BE
EORÐAN	EORÐ
EORÐE	EORÐ
EORL	EORL
EORLA	EORL
EORLAS	EORL
EORLE	EORL
EORLES	EORL
EORLUM	EORL
EORÐAN	EORÐAN
EORÐE	EORÐ
ERAT	TO_BE
ERCEBISCEOPAS	ARCEBISCOP
ERCEBISCOPA	ARCEBISCOP
ERIT	TO_BE
ES	TO_BE
ESCANCEASTER	TERRITORY
ESSE	TO_BE
ETHIOPIAN	ETHNOS
EXANCEASTRE	TERRITORY
EPELAS	EPEL
ÊPELWULF	INDNAME
FÆDERA	FÆDER
FÆDERAN	FÆDER
FÆDERAS	FÆDER
FÆDERES	FÆDER
FÆDERUM	FÆDER

FÆDRAS	FÆDRA
FÆDRES	FÆDRA
FÆDRUM	FÆDRA
FÆGERE	FÆGER
FÆGRE	FÆGER
FÆMNAN	FÆMNE
FÆESTE	FÆEST
FARAÐ	TO_GO
FARAN	TO_GO
FARE	TO_GO
FELDA	FELD
FENG	TO_TAKE
FEOHTENDE	FEOHTAN
FEONDA	FEOND
FEONDES	FEOND
FEONDUM	FEOND
FEORE	FEOR
FEORES	FEOR
FERDE	FERAN
FERDON	FERAN
FEREDON	FERAN
FILII	FILI
FILIIS	FILI
FILIO	FILI
FILIORUM	FILI
FILIOS	FILI
FILISTINA	ETHNOS
FILIUM	FILI
FILIUS	FILI
FIOND	FEOND
FIRDE	FYRDE
FISCA	FISC
FLÆSCE	FLÆSC
FLÆSCES	FLÆSC
FLEAME	FLEAM
FLODE	FLOD
FOLCA	FOLC
FOLCAS	FOLC
FOLCC	FOLC

FOLCCA	FOLC
FOLCCE	FOLC
FOLCCES	FOLC
FOLCCYNINGAS	FOLCCYNING
FOLCCYNINGE	FOLCCYNING
FOLCE	FOLC
FOLCES	FOLC
FOLCGEFEAhte	FOLCGEFeOH
FOLCGEFeOHte	FOLCGEFeOH
FOLCGEFeOHtum	FOLCGEFeOH
FOLCGEMOTA	FOLCGEMOT
FOLCGEMOTE	FOLCGEMOT
FOLCHE	FOLC
FOLCHES	FOLC
FOLCISCE	FOLCISC
FOLCISCNE	FOLCISC
FOLCISCRA	FOLCISC
FOLCISCUM	FOLCISC
FOLCLANDE	FOLCLAND
FOLCLICAN	FOLCLIC
FOLCLICE	FOLCLIC
FOLCLICRA	FOLCLIC
FOLCLICRE	FOLCLIC
FOLCLICUM	FOLCLIC
FOLCLOND	FOLCLAND
FOLCLONDES	FOLCLAND
FOLCRIHTA	FOLCRIHT
FOLCRIHTE	FOLCRIHT
FOLCRIHTES	FOLCRIHT
FOLCRYHT	FOLCRIHT
FOLCRYHTE	FOLCRIHT
FOLCRYHTRE	FOLCRIHT
FOLCSTYDE	FOLCSTEDE
FOLCTOGA	TOGA
FOLCTOGAN	TOGA
FOLCUM	FOLC
FOLCVM	FOLC
FOLCYS	FOLC
FORAN	TO_GO

FORÐAM	FORÐAM
FORÐFERDE	FORÐFERAN
FORÐFERED	FORÐFERAN
FORÐFORE	FORÐFERAN
FORDON	TO_GO
FORDYDE	FORDON
FORESPRECENA	FORESPRECA
FORESPRECENAN	FORESPRECA
FORGEAF	FORGIFAN
FORGEAFE	FORGIFAN
FORGIF	FORGIFAN
FORGIFÐ	FORGIFAN
FORGIFE	FORGIFAN
FORGIFEN	FORGIFAN
FORGYFE	FORGIFAN
FORGYFEN	FORGIFAN
FORHÆFEDNYSS	FORHÆFDNE
FORLÆT	FORLET
FORLÆTAD	FORLÆTEN
FORLÆTAN	FORLET
FORLÆTE	FORLET
FORLET	FORLÆTEN
FORLETE	FORLÆTEN
FORLETON	FORLET
FORON	TO_GO
FORWEARÐ	FORWEORÐA
FORWEORÐAÐ	FORWEORÐA
FORWEORÐAÐ	FORWEORÐA
FORWEORÐE	FORWEORÐA
FORWEORÐEÐ	FORWEORÐA
FORWEORÐEN	FORWEORÐA
FORWEORÐAÐ	FORWEORÐA
FORÐFERDE	FORÐFERAN
FOTA	FOT
FOTES	FOT
FOTUM	FOT
FRANCA	ETHNOS
FRANCAN	ETHNOS
FRANCENA	ETHNOS

FRANCLANDE	TERRITORY
FRANCNA	ETHNOS
FRANCNUM	ETHNOS
FRATRE	FRATER
FRATREM	FRATER
FRATRES	FRATER
FRATRI	FRATER
FRATRIBUS	FRATER
FRATRIS	FRATER
FRATRUM	FRATER
FREAN	FREA
FREMAD	FREMAN
FREMDE	FREMAN
FRENCISCE	ISC-GROUP
FREOLICE	FREOLIC
FREOLSA	FREOLS
FREOLSDÆGE	FREOLSDÆG
FREOLSE	FREOLS
FREONDA	FREOND
FREONDE	FREOND
FREONDES	FREOND
FREONDSCTYPE	FREONDSCHIP
FREONDUM	FREOND
FRIEND	FREOND
FRIGE	FRIG
FRISAN	ETHNOS
FRIP	FRID
FRIPÉ	FRID
FRIPES	FRID
FROFR	FROFOR
FROFRA	FROFOR
FROFRE	FROFOR
FROFRES	FROFOR
FRONC	ETHNOS
FRONCA	ETHNOS
FRONCNA	ETHNOS
FRONCNUM	ETHNOS
FRONCUM	ETHNOS
FRUMAN	FRUMA

FRYSA	ETHNOS
FRYSAN	ETHNOS
FRYSENA	ETHNOS
FRYSISC	ISC-GROUP
FRYSISCRA	ISC-GROUP
FUGELA	FUGEL
FUGELAS	FUGEL
FUGELE	FUGEL
FUGELES	FUGEL
FUGELUM	FUGEL
FUGLA	FUGEL
FUGLAS	FUGEL
FUGLES	FUGEL
FUGOL	FUGEL
FUIT	TO_BE
FULTOME	FULTUM
FULTUME	FULTUM
FULTUMES	FULTUM
FULWIHTE	FULWIHT
FULWIHTES	FULWIHT
FUNDAÐ	FINDAN
FUNDE	FINDAN
FUNDEN	FINDAN
FUNDENE	FINDAN
FUNDON	FINDAN
FYRDE	FYRD
FYRES	FYR
FYRSTE	FYRST
GAFOL	GASTLIC
GALILEA	TERRITORY
GALILEAM	TERRITORY
GALLIA	TERRITORY
GALLIE	TERRITORY
GALLIENUSE	TERRITORY
GAN	TO_GO
GANGAN	TO_GO
GASTAS	GAST
GASTE	GAST
GASTES	GAST

GASTLICAN	GASTLIC
GASTLICE	GASTLIC
GEAR	GEAR
GEARA	GEAR
GEARE	GEAR
GEARES	GEAR
GEARUM	GEAR
GEAT	ETHNOS
GEATA	ETHNOS
GEBÆD	GEBIDDAN
GEBED	GEBEDAN
GEBEDA	GEBEDAN
GEBEDE	GEBEDAN
GEBEDEN	GEBEDAN
GEBEDES	GEBEDAN
GEBEDUM	GEBEDAN
GEBIDDAÐ	GEBIDDAN
GEBIGDE	GEBIGAN
GEBLETSODE	GEBLETSOD
GEBOCADÉ	GEBOCIAN
GEBOCODE	GEBOCIAN
GEBROÐRA	BROÐOR
GEBROÐRU	BROÐOR
GEBROÐRUM	BROÐOR
GEBROHT	GEBRINGAN
GEBROHTE	GEBRINGAN
GEBROHTON	GEBRINGAN
GEBROÐRA	BROÐOR
GEBROÐRU	BROÐOR
GECORENAN	GECOREN
GECORENE	GECOREN
GECORENRA	GECOREN
GECORENUM	GECOREN
GECWÆÐ	CWÆÐAN
GECWÆDON	CWÆÐAN
GECWEDEN	CWÆÐAN
GECYÐAN	CYÐAN
GECYÐED	CYÐAN
GECYNDE	GECYND

GECYNDES	GECYND
GECYNDO	GECYND
GEDON	DON
GEEODE	TO_GO
GEEODON	TO_GO
GEFEAHT	GEFEOHTE
GEFEOHT	FEOHTAN
GEFEOHTE	FEOHTAN
GEFERAN	FERAN
GEFUHTON	FEOHTAN
GEHALGOD	GEHALGIAN
GEHALGODE	GEHALGIAN
GEHEALDEN	GEHEALDAN
GEHEOLD	GEHEALDAN
GEHYRAN	HYRAN
GEHYRDE	GEHYRDAN
GEHYRDON	GEHYRDAN
GELEOD	LEOD
GELICE	GELIC
GELYFAÐ	LYFAN
GELYFDE	LYFAN
GELYFDON	LYFAN
GEMÆRA	GEMÆRU
GEMÆRE	GEMÆRU
GEMÆRES	GEMÆRU
GEMÆRO	GEMÆRU
GEMÆRUM	GEMÆRU
GEMET	GEMETAN
GEMETAÐ	GEMETAN
GEMETE	GEMETAN
GEMETED	GEMETAN
GEMETTE	GEMETTON
GEMETTON	GEMETAN
GEMOTE	GEMOT
GEMYNDE	GEMYNDIG
GEMYNDIGE	GEMYNDIG
GENAM	GENAMON
GENEMNED	TO_TAKE
GENERATIONE	GENERATIO

GENERATIONEM	GENERATIO
GENERATIONES	GENERATIO
GENERIS	GENUS
GENTE	GENS
GENTEM	GENS
GENTES	GENS
GENTIBUS	GENS
GENTIS	GENS
GENTIUM	GENS
GEONGA	GEONG
GEONGE	GEONG
GEREFAN	GEREFA
GEREFENA	GEREFA
GEREFSCYPAS	GEREFA
GEREFUM	GEREFA
GERIHTA	GERIHTE
GESCEAFTA	GESCEAFT
GESCEAFTE	GESCEAFT
GESCYNDE	GESCYND
GESEAH	SEON
GESEALDE	GEDEALD
GESEON	SEON
GESET	GESETTE
GESIÐ	GESIÐ
GESIÐÐAS	GESIÐ
GESIÐÐE	GESIÐ
GESIÐÐUM	GESIÐ
GESIÐE	GESIÐ
GESIÐES	GESIÐ
GESIÐUM	GESIÐ
GESIÐPE	GESIÐ
GESIÐPUM	GESIÐ
GESIHÐ	GESIÐ
GESIHÐE	GESIÐ
GESIHPE	GESIÐ
GESIP	GESIÐ
GESIPA	GESIÐ
GESIPAN	GESIÐ
GESIPAS	GESIÐ

GESIPE	GESIÐ
GESOHTE	SOHTAN
GESYHÐ	GESIHÐ
GESYHÐE	GESIHÐ
GESYHPE	GESIHÐ
GETACNODE	GETACNOD
GETREOWE	TREOW
GEWEALDE	GEWEALD
GEWENDON	GEWENDE
GEWINN	GEWIN
GEWINNE	GEWIN
GEWORHTE	GEWORHT
GEWRITA	GEWRIT
GEWRITE	GEWRIT
GEWRITEN	GEWRIT
GEWRITU	GEWRIT
GEWRITUM	GEWRIT
GEWUNAN	GEWUNA
GEWYRHTUM	WYRT
GEƿANCE	GEƿANC
GEƿEAHT	GEƿOHT
GEƿEAHTE	GEƿOHT
GEƿENCAN	GEƿOHT
GEƿEODA	THEOD
GEƿEODD	THEOD
GEƿEODDE	GEƿEODAN
GEƿEODEÐ	GEƿEODAN
GEƿEODEƿ	GEƿEODAN
GEƿOHTAS	GEƿOHT
GEƿOHTE	GEƿOHT
GEƿOHTUM	GEƿOHT
GLEAWECEASTRE	CITY
GLORIAM	GLORIAM
GODA	GOD
GODAN	GOD
GODAS	GOD
GODCUNDAN	GODCUND
GODCUNDE	GODCUND
GODCUNDNESSE	GODCUNDNYS

GODCUNDRE	GODCUND
GODCUNDUM	GODCUND
GODE	GOD
GODES	GOD
GODSPELL	GODSPEL
GODSPELLE	GODSPEL
GODSPELLERE	GODSPEL
GODSPELLES	GODSPEL
GODUM	GOD
GOLDE	GOLD
GOLDES	GOLD
GOTAN	ETHNOS
GOTENA	ETHNOS
GRATIA	GRATIS
GRATIAM	GRATIS
GRATIAS	GRATIS
GREAS	ETHNOS
GRECISC	ISC-GROUP
GRETTE	GRETAN
GRUNDE	GRUND
GUMAN	GUMA
GUMENA	GUMA
GYLDE	GYLD
GYLTAS	GYLT
GYLTE	GYLT
GYLTUM	GYLT
HABBAÐ	HABBAN
HABBAP	HABBAN
HABBE	HABBAN
HABBEN	HABBAN
HABBON	HABBAN
HADE	HAD
HADES	HAD
HADUM	HAD
HÆBBE	HABBAN
HÆÐENAN	HÆÐEN
HÆÐENE	HÆÐEN
HÆÐENRA	HÆÐEN
HÆÐENUM	HÆÐEN

HÆDNAN	HÆÐEN
HÆFD	HABBAN
HÆFDON	HABBAN
HÆLE	HÆL
HÆLEÐA	HÆLEÐ
HÆLENDE	HÆLEND
HÆLENDES	HÆLEND
HÆLEPA	HÆLEÐ
HÆLO	HÆLU
HÆPENAN	HÆÐEN
HÆPENUM	HÆÐEN
HAFAD	HABBAN
HALGA	HALIG
HALGAN	HALGA
HALGE	HALIG
HALGENA	HALIG
HALGUM	HALGA
HALIGA	HALIG
HALIGAN	HALIG
HALIGE	HALIG
HALIGES	HALIG
HALIGNE	HALIG
HALIGNESSE	HALIG
HALIGRA	HALIG
HALIGRE	HALIG
HALIGUM	HALIG
HANDA	HAND
HANDE	HAND
HANDUM	HAND
HAROLD	INDNAME
HAROLDE	INDNAME
HATAÐ	HATAN
HATE	HATAN
HATEN	HATAN
HATTE	HATAN
HEADOSCILFIN	ING-GROUP
HEAFDA	HEAFOD
HEAFDE	HEAFOD
HEAFDES	HEAFOD

HEAFUD	HEAHFOD
HEALDAÐ	HEALDAN
HEALDAN	HEALDAN
HEALDE	HEALDAN
HEALDENNE	HEALDAN
HEALFDENES	INDNAME
HEALFE	HEALF
HEARDE	HEARD
HEARDUM	HEARD
HEFIGE	HEFIG
HEHT	HATAN
HEOFEN	HEOFON
HEOFENA	HEOFON
HEOFENAN	HEOFON
HEOFENAS	HEOFON
HEOFENE	HEOFON
HEOFENES	HEOFON
HEOFENLICAN	HEOFONLIC
HEOFENLICE	HEOFONLIC
HEOFENLICUM	HEOFONLIC
HEOFENUM	HEOFON
HEOFNUM	HEOFON
HEOFONA	HEOFON
HEOFONAN	HEOFON
HEOFONAS	HEOFON
HEOFONE	HEOFON
HEOFONES	HEOFON
HEOFONLICA	HEOFONLIC
HEOFONLICAN	HEOFONLIC
HEOFONLICE	HEOFONLIC
HEOFONLICUM	HEOFONLIC
HEOFONUM	HEOFON
HEOLD	HABBAN
HEOLDON	HEALDAN
HEOROT	TERRITORY
HEORTAN	HEORT
HEORTE	HEORT
HERETOGA	TOGA
HERETOGAN	TOGA



HERETOGEN	TOGA
HERIÐ	HERIAN
HERIGE	HERIAN
HERODES	INDNAME
HET	HATAN
HIBERNIA	TERRITORY
HIDA	HIDE
HIERUSALEM	TERRITORY
HIGELACES	INDNAME
HIREDE	HIRED
HIWE	HIW
HLAFAS	HLAF
HLAFE	HLAF
HLAFES	HLAF
HLAFORDA	HLAFORD
HLAFORDÆS	HLAFORD
HLAFORDE	HLAFORD
HLAFORDES	HLAFORD
HLAFORDUM	HLAFORD
HLEOBURH	TERRITORY
HLISAN	HLISA
HOLD	HEOLD
HOMINE	HOMO
HOMINEM	HOMO
HOMINES	HOMO
HOMINI	HOMO
HOMINIBUS	HOMO
HOMINIS	HOMO
HOMINUM	HOMO
HOMS	HOMO
HOMU	HOMO
HOND	HAND
HORDBURH	TERRITORY
HORSA	INDNAME
HORSE	HORS
HRÆGLE	HRÆGL
HRAPE	HRAÐE
HROFECEASTRE	TERRITORY
HUNDAS	HUND

HUNDE	HUND
HUNDES	HUND
HUNGOR	HUNGER
HUNGRE	HUNGER
HUNIGE	HUNIG
HUNIGES	HUNIG
HUSE	HUS
HWEARF	HWEORFAN
HYDA	HIDE
HYGELAC	INDNAME
HYHTE	HYHT
HYRDAS	HYRDE
HYRDE	HYRAN
IACOB	INDNAME
IACOBES	INDNAME
IACOBUS	INDNAME
IBERNIA	TERRITORY
IDELE	IDEL
IDUS	IDES
IERUSALEM	TERRITORY
IESU	INDNAME
IESUM	INDNAME
IESUS	INDNAME
IGLAND	TERRITORY
IGLOND	TERRITORY
INDIA	TERRITORY
IOHANNE	INDNAME
IOHANNEM	INDNAME
IOHANNES	INDNAME
IOHANNIS	INDNAME
IORDANE	TERRITORY
IORDANEN	TERRITORY
IOSEP	INDNAME
IOSEPH	INDNAME
IOSUE	INDNAME
ISAAC	INDNAME
ISAIAS	INDNAME
ISPANIAN	TERRITORY

ISRAELA	ETHNOS
ISRAHEL	ETHNOS
ISRAHELA	ETHNOS
ISRAHELE	ETHNOS
ISRAHELISCE	ISC-GROUP
ITALIA	TERRITORY
IU	ETHNOS
IUDAS	INDNAME
IUDEA	ETHNOS
IUDEAS	ETHNOS
IUDEISC	ISC-GROUP
IUDEISCAN	ISC-GROUP
IUDEISCE	ISC-GROUP
IUDEISCRA	ISC-GROUP
IUDEISCRE	ISC-GROUP
IUDEISCUM	ISC-GROUP
IUDEUM	TERRITORY
IUDICARE	ETHNOS
IULIANUS	INDNAME
IULIUS	INDNAME
KING	CYNING
KINGES	CYNING
KYNG	CYNING
KYNGC	CYNING
KYNGE	CYNING
KYNGES	CYNING
KYNINC	CYNING
KYNINCGA	CYNING
KYNINCGE	CYNING
KYNING	CYNING
KYNINGA	CYNING
KYNINGAS	CYNING
KYNINGE	CYNING
KYNINGES	CYNING
KYNN	CYN
KYNNIGES	CYNING
LACE	LAC
LAÐAN	LAÐ
LAÐE	LAÐ

LAÐES	LAÐ
LAÐRA	LAÐ
LAÐUM	LAÐ
LÆCEDEMONIA	TERRITORY
LÆCEDEMONIE	TERRITORY
LÆCEDOMAS	TERRITORY
LÆDDAN	LÆDAN
LÆDDE	LÆDAN
LÆDDON	LÆDAN
LÆRAD	LÆRAN
LÆRDE	LÆRAN
LÆRENDE	LÆRAN
LANDA	LAND
LANDE	LAND
LANDES	LAND
LANDGEMÆRA	LANDGEMÆR
LANDGEMÆRE	LANDGEMÆR
LANDGEMÆRO	LANDGEMÆR
LANDLEOD	LONLEOD
LANDLEODA	LANDLEOD
LANDLEODAN	LANDLEOD
LANDLEODE	LANDLEOD
LANDLEODUM	LANDLEOD
LANDUM	LAND
LANGBEARDE	ETHNOS
LANGBEARDNA	ETHNOS
LANGBEARDUM	ETHNOS
LANGE	LANG
LARE	LAR
LAREOWAS	LAREOW
LAREOWE	LAREOW
LAREOWES	LAREOW
LAREOWUM	LAREOW
LARUM	LAR
LATÐEOWAS	LATTEOW
LATTEOWE	LATTEOW
LATTIOW	LATTEOW
LAUDABILIS	LAUDARE
LAUDABO	LAUDARE

LAUDATE	LAUDARE
LAUDEM	LAUDARE
LAUDES	LAUDARE
LAUDIS	LAUDARE
LAURENTIUS	INDNAME
LEAFE	LEAF
LEASAN	LEAS
LEASE	LEAS
LEASUM	LEAS
LEASUNGA	LEASUNG
LEASUNGE	LEASUNG
LEODA	LEODPL
LEODBISCEOP	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCEOPAS	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCEOPE	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCEOPE	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCEOPES	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCOPA	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCOPAN	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCOPAS	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCOPE	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCOPE	LEODBISCOPI
LEODBISCOPE	LEODBISCOPI
LEODDEBEORGE	LEODBYRIG
LEODDEBYRGE	LEODBYRIG
LEODE	LEOD
LEODEBISCOPE	LEODBISCOPI
LEODEN	LEOD
LEODFRUMAN	LEODFRUMA
LEODGEBYRGA	LEODBYRIG
LEODGEBYRGEAN	LEODBYRIG
LEODHATA	LEODHETE
LEODHATAN	LEODHETE
LEODHETE	LEODHETE
LEODMÆGA	LEODMÆGEN
LEODMÆGEN	LEODMÆGEN
LEODMÆGNE	LEODMÆGEN
LEODMÆGNES	LEODMÆGEN
LEODSCIPAS	LEODSCIP
LEODSCIP	LEODSCIP
LEODSCIPUM	LEODSCIP

LEODSCYPE	LEODSCIP
LEODSCYPUM	LEODSCIP
LEODULF	INDNAME
LEODULFES	INDNAME
LEODUM	LEODPL
LEODWALD	INDNAME
LEODWALDING	ING-GROUP
LEOF	LOF
LEOFA	LEOF
LEOFAD	LEOF
LEOFAN	LEOF
LEOFE	LEOF
LEOFESTAN	LEOF
LEOFNE	LEOF
LEOFODE	LUFAN
LEOFRIC	INDNAME
LEOFUM	LEOF
LEOHT	LEOHT
LEOHTES	LEOHT
LEOMAN	LEOMA
LETE	LET
LICHAMA	LICHOMA
LICHAMAN	LICHOMA
LICHOMAN	LICHOMA
LIF	LIF
LIFE	LIF
LIFES	LIF
LIGE	LIG
LIGERACEASTRE	TERRITORY
LOFE	LOF
LOND	LAND
LONDE	LAND
LONDES	LAND
LONDLEOD	LANDLEOD
LONDLEODE	LANDLEOD
LOTH	INDNAME
LUFAD	LUFAN
LUFE	LUFAN
LUFIAN	LUFAN

LUFODE	LUFAN
LUNDENBYRIG	CITY
LUNDENE	TERRITORY
LUSTUM	LUST
LYFAN	LUFAN
LYTEL	LYTEL
LYTLAN	LYTEL
LYTLE	LYTEL
MÆCEDONIA	TERRITORY
MÆDENE	MÆDEN
MÆGÐ	MÆGÐ
MÆGÐA	MÆGÐ
MÆGÐE	MÆGÐ
MÆGÐHADE	MÆGÐHAD
MÆGÐHADES	MÆGÐHAD
MÆGÐUM	MÆGÐ
MÆGÐHAD	MÆGÐHAD
MÆRA	MÆR
MÆRAN	MÆR
MÆRE	MÆR
MÆSSEPREOSTA	MÆSSEPREOST
MÆSSEPREOSTE	MÆSSEPREOST
MÆSSEPREOSTE	MÆSSEPREOST
MÆSSEPREOSTU	MÆSSEPREOST
MÆSSEPRIOSTE	MÆSSEPREOST
MÆSTE	MÆST
MAMECEASTER	TERRITORY
MAN	MON
MANCYN	MANNCYNN
MANCYN	MANNCYNN
MANCYNNE	MANNCYNN
MANCYNNES	MANNCYNN
MANEGA	MONIG
MANEGE	MONIG
MANEGUM	MONIG
MANIGE	MONIG
MANNA	MANN
MANNACYNN	MANNCYNN
MANNACYNNE	MANNCYNN

MANNAKYNNES	MANNCYNN
MANNAN	MANN
MANNCINN	MANNCYNN
MANNCYN	MANNCYNN
MANNCYNN	MANNCYNN
MANNCYNNE	MANNCYNN
MANNCYNNES	MANNCYNN
MANNECYNNE	MANNCYNN
MANNES	MANN
MANNUM	MANN
MARC	INDNAME
MARIA	INDNAME
MARIAN	INDNAME
MARIUS	INDNAME
MARTINUS	INDNAME
MATRIS	MATER
MEAhte	MEAHT
MEARCUNGE	TERRITORY
MEN	MANN
MENN	MANN
MENNISCAN	MENNISC
MENNISCE	MENNISC
MENNISCES	MENNISC
MENNISCNESSE	MENNISCNYS
MENNISCUM	MENNISC
MENTE	MENS
MENTIS	MENS
MEOTOD	METHOD
MEOTUD	METHOD
MERCNA	TERRITORY
METODES	METHOD
MICCLAN	MICEL
MICCLE	MICEL
MICCLUM	MICEL
MICEL	MICEL
MICELE	MICEL
MICELNE	MICEL
MICELRE	MICEL
MICELUM	MICEL

MICHAEL	INDNAME
MICHAELES	INDNAME
MICLA	MICEL
MICLAN	MICEL
MICLE	MICEL
MICLUM	MICEL
MIDDANEARD	MIDDANGEARD
MIDDANEARDE	MIDDANGEARD
MIDDANEARDES	MIDDANGEARD
MIDDANGEARDE	MIDDANGEARD
MIDDANGEARDES	MIDDANGEARD
MIERCNA	TERRITORY
MIHTA	MIHT
MIHTE	MIHT
MILDHEORTNES	MILDHEORT
MILDHEORTNISS	MILDHEORT
MILDHEORTNYSS	MILDHEORT
MILDHEORTNYSS	MILDHEORT
MINES	MINE
MINNE	MINE
MINRE	MINE
MINUM	MINE
MISERICORDIA	MISERICORS
MISERICORDIAM	MISERICORS
MISERICORDIAS	MISERICORS
MISERICORDIË	MISERICORS
MODE	MOD
MODER	MODOR
MODES	MOD
MON	MANN
MONCYN	MANNCYNN
MONCYNN	MANNCYNN
MONCYNNE	MANNCYNN
MONCYNNES	MANNCYNN
MONEGUM	MONIG
MONIGE	MONIG
MONNA	MANN
MONNES	MANN
MONNUM	MANN

MORTE	MORS
MORTEM	MORS
MORTIS	MORS
MOSTE	MOTAN
MOSTON	MOTAN
MOTE	MOT
MOYSE	INDNAME
MOYSEN	INDNAME
MOYSES	INDNAME
MOYSI	INDNAME
MUÐE	MUÐ
MUÐES	MUÐ
MUNECAS	MUNECA
MUP	MUÐ
MUPE	MUÐ
MUPES	MUÐ
MYCCLAN	MICEL
MYCCLE	MICEL
MYCCLUM	MICEL
MYCEL	MICEL
MYCELE	MICEL
MYCELNE	MICEL
MYCELRE	MICEL
MYCLAN	MICEL
MYCLE	MICEL
MYCLUM	MICEL
MYNSTRE	MYNSTER
MYNSTRES	MYNSTER
MYRCENA	TERRITORY
MYRCENE	TERRITORY
MYRCNA	TERRITORY
NABOCHODONOSO	INDNAME
NABOCHODONOSS	INDNAME
NABUCHODONOSO	INDNAME
NÆDDRAN	NÆDER
NÆDRAN	NÆDER
NÆS	TO_BE
NAM	NAME
NAMA	NAME

NAMAN	NAMA
NATHAN	INDNAME
NEFAN	NEFA
NEMDE	NEMNAN
NEMNAÐ	NEMNAN
NEMNEÐ	NEMNAN
NIHTA	NIHT
NIHTE	NIHT
NIHTES	NIHT
NIHTUM	NIHT
NOLDE	NEWOLDAN
NOLDON	NEWOLDAN
NOMA	NAME
NOMAN	NAME
NOMEN	NAME
NOMINA	NOMEN
NORÐAN	NORÐ
NORÐANHIMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐANHUMBRE	TERRITORY
NORÐANHUMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐANHUMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐANHUMBRE	TERRITORY
NORÐANHUMBRO	TERRITORY
NORÐANHYMBRU	TERRITORY
NORÐHAMTUNES	TERRITORY
NORÐHAMTUNSC	TERRITORY
NORÐHEMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐHEMBRAM	TERRITORY
NORÐHEMBRAN	TERRITORY
NORÐHEMBRUM	TERRITORY
NORÐHUMBRUM	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRÆ	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRALA	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRALA	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRAN	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRE	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRENA	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRISC	ISC-GROUP

NORÐHYMBRO	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRON	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRUM	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMERA	TERRITORY
NORMANDIG	TERRITORY
NORMANDIGE	TERRITORY
NORTHUMBRIA	TERRITORY
NORÐANHYMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐANHYMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐANHYMBRA	TERRITORY
NORÐANHYMBRE	TERRITORY
NORÐANHYMBRU	TERRITORY
NORÐHYMBRALA	TERRITORY
OCULI	OCULUS
OCULIS	OCULUS
OCULORUM	OCULUS
OCULOS	OCULUS
OFFA	INDNAME
OFLSOG	OFSLOG
OFSLÆGEN	OFSLOG
OFSLAGEN	OFSLOG
OFSLAGENE	OFSLOG
OFSLEA	OFSLOG
OFSLEAN	OFLSOG
OFSLEGEN	OFSLOG
OFSLOG	OFSLOG
OFSLOGON	OFSLOG
OFSLOH	OFSLOG
ONFENGE	ONFENG
ONFENGON	ONFENG
ONFON	ONFENG
ONGANN	ONGAN
ONGELCYNNES	ETHNOS
ONGELPEOD	ETHNOS
ONGELPEODE	ETHNOS
ONGLA	ETHNOS
ONGLE	ETHNOS
ONGOLCYN	ETHNOS
ONGOLCYNNE	ETHNOS

ONGOLCYNNES	ETHNOS
ONGOLCYNNUM	ETHNOS
ONGOLÐEODE	ETHNOS
OSRIC	INDNAME
OSWALD	INDNAME
OSWOLD	INDNAME
PACE	PAX
PACEM	PAX
PACIS	PAX
PAPAN	PAPA
PATRE	PATER
PATREM	PATER
PATRES	PATER
PATRI	PATER
PATRIBUS	PATER
PATRIS	PATER
PATRUM	PATER
PAULE	INDNAME
PAULES	INDNAME
PAULINUS	INDNAME
PAULUS	INDNAME
PAUPEREM	PAUPER
PAUPERES	PAUPER
PAUPERUM	PAUPER
PERSA	ETHNOS
PETRA	INDNAME
PETRAM	INDNAME
PETRE	INDNAME
PETRES	INDNAME
PETRO	INDNAME
PETRUM	INDNAME
PETRUS	INDNAME
PHARAO	INDNAME
PHARAONE	INDNAME
PHARAONES	INDNAME
PHARISAEI	ETHNOS
PHILIPPUS	INDNAME
PILATE	INDNAME
PILATUS	INDNAME

PLEBE	PLEB
PLEBEM	PLEB
PLEBI	PLEB
PLEBIS	PLEB
PLEBS	PLEB
POPULE	POPULUS
POPULI	POPULUS
POPULIS	POPULUS
POPULO	POPULUS
POPULORUM	POPULUS
POPULOS	POPULUS
POPULUM	POPULUS
PREOSTA	PREOST
PREOSTAS	PREOST
PREOSTE	PREOST
PREOSTUM	PREOST
PRESTA	PREOST
PRINCIPES	PRINCEPS
PRINCIPIBUS	PRINCEPS
PROGENIES	PROGENIE
PYLATUS	INDNAME
RÆDAN	RÆD
REAFE	REAF
REGE	REX
REGEM	REX
REGES	REX
REGI	REX
REGIONIBUS	REGION
REGIS	REX
REGNO	REGNUM
RIC	RICE
RICES	RICE
RICSAD	RICSIAN
RICSADE	RICSIAN
RICSODE	RICSIAN
RICU	RICE
RICUM	RICE
RIHTAN	RIHT
RIHTE	RIHT

RIHTNE	RIHT
RIHTUM	RIHT
RIHTWISA	RIHTWIS
RIHTWISAN	RIHTWIS
RIHTWISE	RIHTWIS
RIHTWISRA	RIHTWIS
RIHTWISUM	RIHTWIS
RIXADE	RICSIAN
RIXODE	RICSIAN
ROD	RODE
RODBEARD	INDNAME
ROMANA	ETHNOS
ROMANE	ETHNOS
ROMANISCAN	ISC-GROUP
ROMANISCRE	ISC-GROUP
ROMANUM	ETHNOS
ROME	TERRITORY
ROMEBUG	TERRITORY
ROMWARA	WARA
ROTBERT	INDNAME
SACERDA	SACERD
SACERDAS	SACERD
SÆD	SECGAN
SÆDE	SPRECAN
SÆDON	SPRECAN
SÆGDE	SECGAN
SÆGDON	SPRECAN
SÆGEATAS	ETHNOS
SÆENDE	SENDAN
SALOMON	INDNAME
SALOMONES	INDNAME
SAMUEL	INDNAME
SANCTA	SANCTUS
SANCTE	SANCTUS
SANCTI	SANCTUS
SANCTIS	SANCTUS
SANCTO	SANCTUS
SANCTORUM	SANCTUS
SANCTOS	SANCTUS

SANCTUM	SANCTUS
SANDWIC	TERRITORY
SARE	SAR
SAUL	INDNAME
SAULE	SAWL
SAWLA	SAWL
SAWLE	SAWL
SAWLUM	SAWL
SAWUL	SAWL
SCEAL	SCYLDAN
SCEALT	SCYLDAN
SCEAPA	SCEAP
SCEAWODE	SCEAWIAN
SCEOLDE	SCYLDAN
SCEOLDON	SCYLDAN
SCILDINGAS	ING-GROUP
SCIPA	SCIP
SCIPE	SCIP
SCIPU	SCIP
SCIPUM	SCIP
SCOTLANDE	TERRITORY
SCOTLOND	TERRITORY
SCOTTA	ETHNOS
SCOTTAS	ETHNOS
SCOTTUM	ETHNOS
SCULAN	SCYLAN
SCULON	SCYLDAN
SCYLDINGA	ING-GROUP
SCYLE	SCYLDAN
SCYLON	SCYLAN
SCYPA	SCIP
SCYPPENDE	SCYPPEND
SCYPPENDES	SCYPPEND
SCYPU	SCYP
SCYPUM	SCYP
SEALDON	SEALDE
SEALFE	SELF
SEALMA	SEALM
SEALMAS	SEALM



SEALME	SEALM
SEAXAN	ETHNOS
SEAXNA	ETHNOS
SEAXUM	ETHNOS
SECGA	SECG
SECGAÐ	SECGAN
SECGAN	SECG
SECGE	SECG
SEGÐ	SECGAN
SELFE	SELF
SELFES	SELF
SELFNE	SELF
SELFUM	SELF
SEND	SENDAN
SENDE	SENDAN
SENDED	SENDAN
SENDON	SENDAN
SEOLFRE	SEOLFER
SEOLFRES	SEOLFER
SETLE	SETL
SETTE	SETTAN
SETTEST	SETTAN
SETTON	SETTAN
SIDE	SIÐ
SIE	TO_BE
SIMON	INDNAME
SINAI	TERRITORY
SIND	TO_BE
SINDON	TO_BE
SINGAÐ	SINGAN
SINGE	SINGAN
SINT	TO_BE
SIO	TO_BE
SITTE	SITTAN
SITTENDE	SITTAN
SIDE	SIÐ
SLÆPE	SLÆP
SLEGE	OFSLOG
SLOH	OFSLOG

SMEAGE	SMEAGAN
SMEAGENDE	SMEAGAN
SOÐA	SOÐ
SOÐAN	SOÐ
SOÐE	SOÐ
SOÐFÆSTNESS	SOÐFÆSTN
SOÐRE	SOÐ
SOÐUM	SOÐ
SOHTE	SOHTAN
SOHTON	SOHTAN
SOP	SOÐ
SOPAN	SOÐ
SOPPE	SOÐ
SOPPLICE	SOÐLICE
SOPRE	SOÐ
SPÆC	SPRECAN
SPÆCE	SPRECAN
SPIRITU	SPIRITUS
SPIRITUM	SPIRITUS
SPRÆC	SPRECAN
SPRÆCA	SPRECAN
SPRÆCE	SPRECAN
SPRÆCON	SPRECAN
SPREC	SPRECAN
SPRECAÐ	SPRECAN
SPRECÐ	SPRECAN
SPRECE	SPRECAN
SPRECENDE	SPRECAN
STANAS	STAN
STANDAÐ	STANDAN
STANDE	STANDAN
STANE	STAN
STEFN	STEFNE
STEFNUM	STEFNE
STEORE	STEOR
STEORRA	STEOR
STEORRAN	STEOR
STEPHANUS	INDNAME
STOD	STANDAN

STOWA	STOWE
STOWUM	STOWE
STRÆTE	STRÆT
STRANGE	STRANG
STREAME	STREAM
STREAMES	STREAM
SUÐAN	SUÐ
SUÐMERCNA	ETHNOS
SUÐSEAXNA	ETHNOS
SUÐSEAXUM	ETHNOS
SUNA	SUNU
SUNNAN	SUNU
SUNNANDÆGE	SUNNANDÆG
SUNT	TO_BE
SUNU	SUNU
SUNUM	SUNU
SUPAN	SUÐAN
SWEGE	SWEG
SWEGEN	SWEG
SWELTE	SWELTAN
SWEORAN	SWEOR
SWEORDE	SWEORD
SWEOSTER	SWEOSTOR
SWYÐOR	SWYÐOR
SWYÐRAN	SWYÐOR
SWYLCNE	SWYLCE
SWYLCUM	SWYLCE
SYLF	SELF
SYLFA	SYLF
SYLFAN	SYLF
SYLFE	SYLF
SYLFES	SYLF
SYLFNE	SYLF
SYLFUM	SYLF
SYMBEL	SYMBLE
SYND	TO_BE
SYNDAN	TO_BE
SYNDON	TO_BE
SYNFULLA	SYNFUL

SYNFULLAN	SYNFUL
SYNFULLE	SYNFUL
SYNFULLUM	SYNFUL
SYNFULRA	SYNFUL
SYNNA	SYN
SYNNE	SYN
SYNNUM	SYN
SYNT	TO_BE
TABERNACULA	TABERNACLE
TABERNACULIS	TABERNACLE
TABERNACULO	TABERNACLE
TABERNACULUM	TABERNACLE
TACNA	TACEN
TEMPEL	TEMPLE
TEMPL	TEMPLE
TEMPLES	TEMPLE
TEMPLO	TEMPLE
TEMPLUM	TEMPLE
TERRAE	TERRA
TERRAM	TERRA
TERRÊ	TERRA
TERRE	TERRA
TERRITORYA	TERRITORY
TERRITORYE	TERRITORY
TIDA	TID
TIDE	TID
TIDUM	TID
TIMORE	TIMOR
TOFECEASTRE	TERRITORY
TREO	TREOW
TREOW	TREOW
TREOWA	TREOW
TREOWE	TREOW
TREOWES	TREOW
TREOWUM	TREOW
TREOWWE	TREOW
TRIBUM	TRIBUS
TUNE	TUN
TYN	TUN

UNDERFENGON	UNDERFENG
UNDERPEODD	UNDERPEOD
UNDERPEODDE	UNDERPEOD
UNDERPEODDUM	UNDERPEOD
WÆPNEDCYNNES	WÆPNEDCYN
WÆRAN	TO_BE
WÆREN	TO_BE
WÆRUN	TO_BE
WÆTERE	WÆTER
WAS	TO_BE
WEALUM	ETHNOS
WEDER	ETHNOS
WEDERA	ETHNOS
WEDERGEATA	ETHNOS
WEDRA	ETHNOS
WEGAS	WEG
WEGE	WEG
WEGES	WEG
WELAN	INDNAME
WENDE	WEND
WENDON	WEND
WEORCA	WEORC
WEORCE	WEORC
WEORCES	WEORC
WEORCUM	WEORC
WERA	WER
WERAS	WER
WERE	WER
WERES	WER
WERODE	WEROD
WESAN	TO_BE
WESSEAXNA	ETHNOS
WESSEXENA	ETHNOS
WESTAN	WEST
WESTDENUM	ETHNOS
WESTMYNSTRE	CITY
WESTSÆXUM	ETHNOS
WESTSAXNA	ETHNOS
WESTSEAXA	ETHNOS

WESTSEAXAN	ETHNOS
WESTSEAXANA	ETHNOS
WESTSEAXE	ETHNOS
WESTSEAXENA	ETHNOS
WESTSEAXNA	ETHNOS
WESTSEAXON	ETHNOS
WESTSEAXUM	ETHNOS
WESTSEXA	ETHNOS
WESTSEXAN	ETHNOS
WESTSEXANA	ETHNOS
WESTSEXE	ETHNOS
WESTSEXENA	ETHNOS
WESTSEXNA	ETHNOS
WESTSEXON	ETHNOS
WESTSEXUM	ETHNOS
WICINGA	ING-GROUP
WIFA	WIF
WIFE	WIF
WIFES	WIF
WIFUM	WIF
WILDEORA	DEOR
WILLAÐ	WILLAN
WILLE	WILLAN
WILLELM	INDNAME
WINCEASTRE	CITY
WINCESTRE	CITY
WINNENDE	WINNAN
WINTANCEASTRE	CITY
WINTERSETL	CITY
WINTRA	WINTER
WINTRE	WINTER
WINTRUM	WINTER
WISDOME	WISDOM
WITEGAN	WITEGA
WOLDON	WILLAN
WORDE	WORD
WORDES	WORD
WORDUM	WORD
WORLD	WORULD

WORLDE	WORULD
WOROLDE	WORULD
WORULDA	WORULD
WORULDE	WORULD
WULDORCYNINGE	WULDORCYNING
WULDRE	WULDOR
WULDRES	WULDOR
WULDUR	WULDOR
WULFHHERE	INDNAME
WULFRIC	INDNAME
WULFSTAN	INDNAME
WUNDORLICE	WUNDORLIC
WUNDRRA	WUNDOR
WUNDRUM	WUNDOR
WYRMAS	WYRM
WYRTA	WYRT
WYRTE	WYRT
YFELA	YFEL
YFELAN	YFEL
YFELE	YFEL
YFELES	YFEL
YFELUM	YFEL
YLCA	YLC
YLCAN	YLC
YLCE	YLC
YLDE	EALD
YLDESTAN	EALD
YLDRAN	EALD
ZACHEUS	INDNAME
ƀEARFA	ƀEARF
ƀEARFAN	ƀEARF
ƀEARFE	ƀEARF
ƀEARFENA	ƀEARF
ƀEARFUM	ƀEARF
ƀEAWA	ƀEAW
ƀEAWAS	ƀEAW
ƀEAWE	ƀEAW
ƀEAWUM	ƀEAW
ƀEGENAS	THANE

ƀEGN	THANE
ƀEGNA	THANE
ƀEGNAS	THANE
ƀEGNE	THANE
ƀEGNUM	THANE
ƀEOD	THEOD
ƀEODA	THEOD
ƀEODÆ	THEOD
ƀEODAN	THEODEN
ƀEODE	THEOD
ƀEODEN	THEODEN
ƀEODORUS	INDNAME
ƀEODOSIUS	INDNAME
ƀEODRED	INDNAME
ƀEODSCIPE	ƀEODSCIP
ƀEODSCIPUM	ƀEODSCIP
ƀEODSCYPE	ƀEODSCIP
ƀEODUM	THEOD
ƀEOWA	ƀEOW
ƀEOWAN	ƀEOW
ƀEOWAS	ƀEOW
ƀEOWDOM	ƀEOW
ƀEOWDOME	ƀEOWDOM
ƀEOWDOMES	ƀEOWDOM
ƀEOWDON	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWE	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWEN	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWENA	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWENE	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWES	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWIAB	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWIAN	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWIAP	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWIENDE	ƀEOWIAN
ƀEOWUM	ƀEOW
ƀING	ƀING
ƀINGA	ƀING
ƀINGC	ƀING
ƀINGUM	ƀING

### **Categorization Dictionary**

Here I present the different categories used to simplify all the terms present in the Old English Corpus. Subcategories are nested under their appropriate parent category.

AUTHORITY

- LOCAL
  - CONSUL
  - MÆSEPREOST
  - PREOST
  - REAF
  - ABBOT
- REGIONAL
  - BISCOP
  - LEODBISCOP
  - ALDOR
  - ALDORMAN
  - EORL
- ULTIMATE
  - ARCEBISCOP
  - CWEN
  - CYNING
  - FOLCCYNING
  - PAPA
  - SOÐCYNING
  - WEALDEND
  - ÞEODCYNING
  - WALDEND
- GENERIC
  - FREA
  - FRUMA
  - HLAford
  - LEODFRUMA
  - THEODEN
  - THANE
  - ÆDELING
  - GRPTOGA
- COUNCIL
  - WITAN
  - WITEGA
  - WITON

WARRIOR

- CNIHT
- GUMA
- HÆLEÐ
- IDES
- LEORNINGCNIHT
- SECG
- SECGAN
- ÆPELE

MOTE

- GEMOT
- MOT

GROUPNAME

- ANGELCYNN
- ENGEL
- ENGLA
- ETHNOS
- ING
- ISC
- IUDICA

KNOWLEDGE

- BOC
- LAREOW
- LÆRAN
- WORD
- LAR

PROTECT

- AGAN
- ANWEALD
- GEHEALDAN
- GEWEALD
- HEALDAN
- GEHYRDAN
- HYRDE
- RICSIAN
- WEALDEÐ
- WEOLD

PLACE

- EARD
- EPEL
- LAND
- LANDFOLC
- LANDLEOD
- STOWE

▪ SETTLEMENT

- BEORG
- BURG
- BURGLEOD
- CEASTER
- DUNE
- FÆSTEN
- CITY

▪ HOUSE

- CYRCAN
- HAM
- HEOM
- HUS
- MYNSTER

- RICE
  - RICE
  - RICNE
  - RICENE
- TERRITORY
  - CRISTENDOM
  - TERRITORY
  - ÞEODLAND
- NATURALFEATURE
  - STAN
  - STANUM
  - WEG
  - WESTENE

#### BEING

- DEOR
- DEORCYNN
- DEORCYNNE
- FISC
- FUGELCYNN
- FUGELCYNNE
- GIMCYNNUM
- MANNCYNN
- NÆDDRENA
- NÆDER
- ORF
- TREOW
- MENNISCNYSSE
- WYRT
- WYRM
- YRFE
- WÆPNEDCYNN
- HUMAN
  - MANN
  - MYNECENE
  - WER
  - WIF

#### FIGHTDIEKILL

- ACWEALD
- FEOHTAN
- FEOLLON
- OFLSOG
- OFSLOG
- DEAD

#### KINSHIP

- ACENNAN
- BEARN
- BROÐOR
- CILD
- CNEORISSE
- CYNREN
- DOHTOR
- FIRA
- MODOR
- SUNU
- FÆDER
- WINE

#### CONQUERSURRENDER

- BOTE
- DÆDBOTE
- FORLET
- FORLÆTEN
- ÞEOW
- UNDERÞEOD
- ÞEOWIAN
- ÞEOWDOM

#### HATEBAD

- FEOND
- LAÐ
- EARM
- SAR

#### PEACEGOOD

- EADIG
- EADMODLICE
- FREOND
- FRID
- SIGE
- LOF
- WULDOR
- ÆÐELE

#### COLLECTIVE

- DUGUÐA
- FYRD
- FYRDE
- GESIHÐ
- GESIÐ
- WEORODA
- WEORUDA
- WERÞEODE
- WEROD

PROPERTY

- AGEN
- GOLD
- HEORDE
- SEOLFER
- SETL
- YRFEWEARDNESSE

CATEGORIZATION

- ELƿEODIG
- LEODSCIP
- ƿEODSCIP
- THEODSCIP
- ƿEODSCIPES

RELIGION

- APOSTOL
- CRIST
- DEOFOL
- GOD
- DRYHTEN
- GODSPEL
- HALIG
- HELLE
- HEOFON
- HEOFONLICE
- HÆLEND
- HALGA
- SACERD
- SANCTUS
- SAWL
- SYN
- ÆELMIHTIG
- TEMPLE

▪ HEATHEN

- HÆÐEN
- HÆÐENA
- HÆÐENDOM
- HÆÐENES
- HÆÐENRE
- HÆÐENSCIPE
- HÆÐNE
- HÆÐNUM
- HÆƿEN
- HÆƿENE
- HÆƿENNE
- HÆƿENRA
- HÆƿNAN
- HÆƿENRE

▪ CHRISTIAN

- CRISTEN
- CRISTNAN
- CRISTENRE