Introduction

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This book is a thank-offering from friends, former colleagues, and pupils of Professor Barbara Yorke. Since beginning her academic career at King Alfred's College (now the University of Winchester) in 1977, Barbara has had an enormous influence on the development of early medieval scholarship, particularly that relating to Anglo-Saxon England, and the papers in this book are intended as a tribute to her place in that scholarship.¹

Barbara Anne Elizabeth Troubridge was born in West Sussex in 1951. Attending Horsham High School for Girls, Barbara's interest in history was cultivated by the historical landscape of an area rich with Anglo-Saxon churches and medieval vernacular architecture. Barbara went to Exeter University in 1969 to read a degree in History and Archaeology. Archaeology was the poorer relation within a History department headed by the medieval historian Professor Frank Barlow. The small group of archaeology specialists, under the watchful eye of Lady Aileen Fox, then Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at Exeter, needed to be agile in their interdisciplinarity as this was a joint honours degree. Barbara was equally comfortable in each discipline. Medieval archaeology was then a comparatively new discipline which was coming of age in the 1960s and 70s, however, and it was that element of the degree which particularly captured Barbara's attention. The childhood fascination with the Sussex landscape bore fruit with an undergraduate archaeology project involving the investigation of a medieval peasant longhouse which lay next door to her grandparents' West Sussex home, while inspirational teaching by the archaeologist Ann Hamlin on the early Christian church across Britain and, especially, Ireland provided Barbara with a sense of the place of the Anglo-Saxons within a distinctly Insular world. Barbara's interest in the Anglo-Saxons particularly developed during her second year of studies, when she took a course on the Anglo-Saxon church taught by Mary Anne O'Donovan. A colleague and friend from those undergraduate days, Alison Merry, recalls that Barbara studied hard: course books did not just sit on her shelves but Barbara actually read them, lending her a confidence and calming influence among her contemporaries.

Barbara's appreciation for the deep history of the landscape is evident from those undergraduate days—"misty, damp days wandering on Dartmoor with

¹ We are grateful to David Bates, Alison Merry, Roger Richardson, and Robert Yorke for their help in writing this introduction.

Lady Fox, examining Bronze Age barrows," Alison recalls. As president of the Archaeology Society, Barbara hosted events "with great charm and quiet authority," ensuring that visiting speakers were wined and dined by the society. Exeter itself also had its charms, not least providing opportunities for tasting Devonshire cream teas and visiting teashops. With Alison, Barbara briefly harboured an ambition to open a teashop, and although those post-graduation plans never materialised, the love of the finer things in life has remained a lifelong passion: whether high tea in an English provincial town or *Kaffee und Kuchen* in a Vienna coffee house, the importance of taking time to stop to talk with old friends or new acquaintances has been an abiding feature of a scholar who has recognised the importance of sharing ideas and maintaining the human face of academic discourse.

Barbara graduated in 1972, and she spent a brief period at Liverpool University studying for a diploma in archive administration, during which time she met her husband, Robert Yorke, who himself became an expert on heralds' manuscripts at the College of Arms, London. Realising that a life in the archives wasn't for her, Barbara returned to Exeter in 1973, where, as the pupil of Professor Frank Barlow, she investigated early Anglo-Saxon kingship. This was then a topic which was deserving of serious historical attention in the light of new archaeological work but it is notable that in the writing up of her thesis, Barbara benefited from the guidance of an early modern historian, the then Head of History, Professor Ivan Roots. "Anglo-Saxon Kingship in Practice 400–899," submitted for a PhD in 1978 and examined by Henry Loyn, broke new ground in its consideration of the historical development of royal genealogies as well as opening up new lines of enquiry in the study of often fragmentary, laconic sources. Barbara published a number of important works on the presentation of kingship in early Anglo-Saxon sources during the 1980s, culminating in the first of a number of important books, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990). *Kings and Kingdoms* was a long way from a simple re-write of her thesis, linking Barbara's philosophy on the topic with the need to represent the histories of the kingdoms insofar as they might be reconstructed while recognising the limitations of the sources. The manner in which *Kings and Kingdoms* balanced the needs of the academic community with the clear presentation of a complicated early medieval history to both students and an interested public represents a hallmark of Barbara's approach to the early Middle Ages.

In 1977, while writing up her PhD, Barbara successfully applied for a lectureship at King Alfred's College, Winchester. This higher education institution, which had established its reputation for teacher training, had just begun to offer undergraduate degrees, initially through the auspices of the Council for

National Academic Awards. The new degree programme in History and Archaeology reflected the combined honours approach of Barbara's alma mater. Her then head of department, Roger Richardson, recalls that her appointment was a unanimous choice because of her "quiet confidence and mastery of her field—as well as for being so personable." It was comparatively uncommon for a history programme in the new sector of what would later become known as "post-1992" institutions to offer studies in the early Middle Ages, often perceived as a luxury that a small department would have to do without. Barbara's understanding of the developments in archaeology in Britain, Ireland and more widely in Europe put her in good stead for the interdisciplinary aspects of early medieval studies, and she has always been a staunch defender of the importance of investigating what might appear to many to be an obscure and difficult-to-grasp subject area. There are generations of Winchester students who came to know and love the waves of 'Egg-kings', guided through the topic by Barbara's understated yet deeply-founded command of the period.

Barbara's second monograph, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), established her mastery of the history and archaeology of a region which has played such a significant part in Barbara's career. Although Barbara has always maintained that she is interested in more than Wessex, and the books and papers she has published since then have broadly reflected this, her standing as a scholar of the West Saxon kingdom has been instrumental in ensuring the survival of early medieval studies in an institution which has gone through some turbulent times over the last forty years. Barbara was promoted to a readership in 1993 and became Professor of Early Medieval History at what was still King Alfred's College in 2001—a time when only 1,700 of 11,000 UK professors were women.² Barbara has been generous with her time, lending her expertise to a number of groups and projects which reflect the esteem in which she is held in Britain, Ireland, and beyond. She is currently a Vice-President of the Royal Archaeological Institute and has served on the Board of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, and on the Council of the Society of Antiquaries. She has been a member of the Fabric Advisory Committee to Winchester Cathedral, as well as advising various academic projects, Beyond the Tribal Hidge, Anglo-Saxon Assemblies, Staffordshire Hoard, Travel and Communication in Anglo-Saxon England and The Rendlesham Project. The conferral of

2 The gender balance of the professoriate at King Alfred's College's in 2001 and University of Winchester for 2017/18 is more favourable in general than the national picture, though full equality among the UK's professoriate and in Winchester is yet to be achieved. National statistics are available from the Higher Education Statistics Agency, <<https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis/staff>>.

an honorary professorship in early medieval archaeology by University College London in 2012, in recognition of her work on three of the projects with UCL, amounts to what is essentially a double professorship and is an endorsement of the interdisciplinary nature of medieval studies seen at the beginning of Barbara's academic career at Exeter in 1969. Thus we offer this book, with its recognition of the idea of networks of shared identity, as a tribute to what Barbara has achieved, and continues to achieve.

“Ealle Angelcynnes Lond”

The first part of the title of this volume, *The Land of the English Kin*, is an apposite phrase for a volume dedicated to Barbara Yorke, relating to her collegiate and professional support fostered amongst a community of academics. The title is taken from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's* reference to “angelcynnes lond.” Variations on this term, sometimes referring to “all” the *angelcyn*, sometimes not, feature regularly as the chroniclers' means by which to identify a ‘land’ that is more or less coterminous with the England of today. Arguably, the most famous use of the term comes from the extract dated to 787 [recte 789] in which the chronicle informs us in retrospective fashion, of “the first ships of the Danish men which sought out the land of all the *Angelcyn* [*ealle angelcynnes lond*].” Whilst “English race” appears to be the accepted translation of *Angelcyn* in M.J. Swanton's comparatively recent edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, *cyn* is used elsewhere in Old English texts to imply ‘nation’ and ‘people.’³ Although perhaps a little archaic, ‘kin’ is almost certainly a more accurate translation and one that avoids the obvious pitfalls of ‘race’—the post-modern back-projection of which is now problematic, to say the least.

A closer look at the entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 789, which details the arrival of three ships (perhaps from Norway)⁴ provides some parallel with Alcuin, whose sense of the terrors of the *pagana gente* arriving storm-like at the island monastery of Lindisfarne in 793, is juxtaposed with the definition of the arrival of the English. Alcuin relates a timescale to “nearly 350 years that we and our fathers have inhabited this most lovely land [*pulcherrime patrie*].”⁵ A moment of the definition of the English people is provided at a

3 *Dictionary of Old English: A to H* (Toronto, 2016), <<https://www.doe.utoronto.ca/pages/index.html>>, s.vv.

4 The reference may well be late. David N. Dumville, “Vikings in Insular Chronicling,” in *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink with Neil Price (London, 2008), p. 356.

5 *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, 2, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH *Epistolae* 4 (Berlin, 1895), no. 16, p. 42; trans. *EHD* 1, p. 842.

time of threat and crisis, while overlooking—perhaps deliberately—the fact that among those who arrived in a distant past actually included what is now Scandinavia, i.e. those attacking the ‘land of the English’. In the arrival of three ships of Vikings in Portland, Dorset, the West Saxons were experiencing their Alcuinian moment of self-definition. Here identity could be defined as affiliation, a sense of declaration.

That sense of the identity as affiliation is something to be drawn on in this book, which offers Englishness not as something exclusive and defined by othering, but as something which is inclusive. In interpretations from the 21st century, determined by biological interpretations stemming from the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as in new genetic research, ‘kin’ has more than a whiff of the biological to it. It wasn’t always so. In relating to another 8th-century stand-off, the *Chronicle*’s entry for 755 refers to a declaration by surrounded rebels that “no kinsman [*mæg*] was dearer to them than their lord.” It is worth pondering whether by 789 (or the later 9th century, when the entry was presumably written), the lordship that the *Chronicle* extolled might encompass a sense of shared ‘kinship’ of sorts too, taking those within beyond *mæg* into *cyn*. It is in this spirit that *The Land of the English Kin* is offered. It rolls together people and place into one short, succinct, and innovative rubric. It draws archaic language back into the discussion of the discipline and the subject matter. It also reflects an underlying tenet of the book which is about people but people in a place with a sense of shared identity. It considers the perspective of ‘dwelling’—that is, the perspectives of people from within the period. It is an early medieval idea for an early medieval world. Crucially, that shared identity and ‘kinship’, as well as the inclusivity of ‘land’, is one that stems from an intellectual dedication to this book’s honorand.⁶

The sections of the book are organised in accordance with the principle interests and influences of Barbara’s scholarship. The first section is on the links between the Roman and post-Roman world on ‘Anglo-Saxon’ settlement and the perception of that settlement.⁷ The section opens with Winchester: Tony King provides an extensive assessment of the place-name evidence regarding Roman Winchester, and is followed by Martin Biddle who discusses the topography of the Roman city and the development of scholarship on the topic.

6 Barbara comments on the inclusivity of the history of the Anglo-Saxons in England in her short introduction to the topic, *The Anglo-Saxons* (Stroud, 1999), pp. 1–2.

7 See “Fact or Fiction? The Written Evidence for the Fifth and Sixth Centuries AD,” *ASSAH* 6 (1993), 45–50; “The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: The Contribution of Written Sources,” *ASSAH* 10 (1999), 25–30; “Anglo-Saxon Origin Legends,” in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters. Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 15–30.

Biddle's discussion includes an extensive appendix providing an invaluable collation of the evidence for the topography of the later Anglo-Saxon city built over the Roman streets. Jillian Hawkins discusses the Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Solent and its toponymic memory, Nick Stoodley on the identities expressed through costume groups, and Sue Harrington on female identity/status and the development of an early community on the Isle of Wight. The relationship between settlement and written sources is a theme in this section, a particular area of interest to Barbara Yorke, whose work addressed the ways in which the definition of early Anglo-Saxon historical memory was very much defined by 8th- and 9th-century interests. John Baker and Jayne Kershaw's paper on the memory of names is a tour de force of toponymic study, highlighting what is essentially a folk memory of ethnonyms in the landscape, while Courtnay Konshuh's chapter on the formulation of Roman and early Anglo-Saxon history in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (or *Chronicles* as Konshuh would have it), is in the tradition of Barbara Yorke's work on this topic.

The second section of the book, "Rulers and their Territories," is on the formation of early kingdoms running through to the nature of the development of later kingdoms.⁸ The section begins with a cluster of papers by Julia Barrow, Nick Higham and David Pelteret, on two of Bede's Northumbrian kings: Barrow on Oswald, and Higham and Pelteret taking different perspectives on Ecgrith's overlordship. As with Konshuh's reading of *Chronicle* identity, these three papers follow Barbara Yorke's methodology of what might be described as interstitiality, addressing the gaps between what the sources say and what they don't say, sometimes bringing in what they ought to say for good measure. Other papers in this section look further south and move across the 'Conversion Period' and Viking Age. Helena Hamerow and Andrew Reynolds address aspects of continuity in the landscape in Mercia and Wessex respectively, while papers by Stuart Brookes, Alex Langlands, Ryan Lavelle, and David

8 For Barbara's interest in this topic, see (in addition to her 1990 *Kings and Kingdoms* book and overlap with works cited in n. 7) see her papers "The Jutes of Southern Hampshire and Wight and the origins of Wessex," in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 84–96; "Anglo-Saxon gentes and regna," in *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Hans-Werner. Goetz, Jörg Jarnut, and Walter Pohl (Leiden, 2003), pp. 383–407; "The Bretwaldas and the Origins of Overlordship in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter et al. (Farnham, 2009), pp. 81–96. Barbara's contextual contributions to reports on recent major archaeological finds, L. Blackmore et al., eds., *The Prittlewell Princely Burial: Excavations at Priory Crescent, Southend-on-Sea, Essex, 2003*, MOLA Monograph Ser. (London, 2019), and T. Dickinson, C. Fern, and L. Webster, eds., *The Staffordshire Hoard*, Society of Antiquaries monograph (London, 2019) are testament to the value of her approach to early kings and kingdoms.

McDermott focus on institutions of the West Saxon kingdom, particularly with reference to the landscapes of that kingdom. In the wider landscape of Wessex, Brookes and Langlands take institutional approaches, with Langlands taking a clear route of populating those institutions, attempting to find the links between institutions and the people to whom they related, while Brookes addresses the organisation of the landscape. Lavelle and McDermott attempt to address higher-ranking individuals—in Lavelle's case, Alfred and his biographer Asser, and for McDermott, Edmund Ironside—and the direct shaping of their experiences and careers by the landscapes they encountered.

The religious affiliations of the kingdoms, a topic which was particularly highlighted in Barbara's work on nunneries and royal familial religious interests,⁹ are the focus for the third section of the book, which includes three papers, by Steven Bassett, John Blair, and Jonathan Pitt, on the influence of minster communities in different parts of England in the 7th and 8th centuries, in the West Midlands, northern Wessex (Wiltshire) and Lincolnshire respectively. Each paper represents a different approach, with Bassett rethinking early Worcester charters, Blair addressing with particular aplomb the systematic analysis of recent and not-so-recent archaeological finds, and Pitt taking the post-medieval customs and institutional memories to look for the imprints of earlier minsters. The significance of one church is a focus of Michael Hare's piece on the former church of St Helen's Malmesbury, which draws out the way in which one institution might have a bearing on the surrounding community in northern Wiltshire, while Bob Higham's piece on the Godwine family's religious interests draws both on Barbara's Exeter connections and the ways in which patronage could be used to draw out political networks, a theme which is relevant to the connections described in Alan Thacker's paper from his research into the cult of St Wærburh, a saint whose different identities were relevant in different milieux. That theme of networks figures in Jinty Nelson's

9 Significant works are "Sisters under the Skin"? Anglo-Saxon Nuns and Nunneries in Southern England," *Reading Medieval Studies* (1995), 95–117; "The Bonifacian Mission and Female Religious in Wessex," *EME* 7 (1998), 145–72; *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003); "Queen Balthild's 'Monastic Policy' and the Origins of Female Religious Houses in Southern England," in *Early Medieval Monasticism in the North Sea Zone*, ed. Gabor Thomas and Alexandra Knox (Oxford, 2017), pp. 7–16. For a study of the place of early Anglo-Saxon religion in Insular context, see also Barbara's *The Conversion of Britain 600–800* (London, 2006), while Barbara's papers "The Foundation of the Old Minister, Winchester, and the Early West Saxons Kings," *PHFCAS* 38 (1983), 75–84, "The Bishops of Winchester, the Kings of Wessex and the Development of Winchester," *PHFCAS* 40 (1984), 61–70, and "Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century," her contribution to her edited volume, *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 65–88, are important considerations of the political significance of Winchester's religious communities.

offering, on the connections between Alcuin and his Anglo-Saxon female correspondents. If many of the papers on ecclesiastical institutions in this section are focused on the significance of religion 'on the ground', this latter paper highlights an interest by Barbara—a theme of no little importance in a Festschrift volume—in the personal connections which could be drawn across great distances through networks of learning and patronage, which often included women connected to the royal kin.

The final theme is the reception of the Anglo-Saxon past in the centuries after 1066, a topic of great importance to Barbara, who has reminded many to look at previous generations' conceptions of the past in order to understand how we receive it ourselves.¹⁰ David Bates's paper does not edge far beyond 1066 but in a perfect companion piece to his recent biography of William the Conqueror, he shows how the not-so-recent Anglo-Saxon past came to shape the Conqueror's conception of his new West Saxon possessions. Roffey and Weikert take the discussion into the 12th century—in Roffey's case in Winchester, in Weikert's in East Anglia, where the Anglo-Saxon heroes of the past were used to define a community. Michael Hicks adopts a similar approach, and indeed there is much in common with Bob Higham's paper, in his consideration of how pre-Conquest saints were used in the centuries after 1066. Hicks edges past the other 'great disaster' moment for Anglo-Saxon history, that of the English Reformation, a moment which provides a starting point for a more focused study of pre-Conquest sainthood by Karl Alvestad, who concentrates on the adoption in England of the cult of King Olaf (or Olave) II of Norway (d.1030). Both authors show how those 'Anglo-Saxon' saints and the universal saints of Anglo-Saxon foundations had a long afterlife and continue to influence the perception of Anglo-Saxon England today. Roger Richardson's paper continues this theme of the reception of the pre-Conquest past, finishing the volume with a consideration of how another Exeter scholar, W.G. Hoskins, addressed Anglo-Saxon settlement in his broader studies of the English landscape. While Richardson does not labour the parallels between Barbara Yorke and Hoskins, concluding the volume with this is a useful reflection on how a scholar's endeavours influence the shape of a field.

Although beginning at the beginning, as it were, with the Roman legacy, and ending in the later 20th century at a point when Barbara Yorke was establishing

10 *The Millenary Celebrations of King Alfred in Winchester 1901*. Hampshire Papers 17 (Winchester, 1999); "Alfredism: The Use and Abuse of King Alfred's Reputation in Later Centuries," in *Alfred the Great. Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. Timothy Reuter (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 361–80; "The 'Old North' From the Saxon South in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Anglo-Saxons and the North*, ed. Matti Kilpiö, Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Jane Roberts, and Olga Timofeeva (Tempe, AZ, 2009), pp. 131–50.

her academic career, chronology has not been the key focus in shaping the volume. Indeed, it should be admitted that the categorisation of the material within sections in this volume is, by its nature, somewhat artificial, and there are many contributions which might just as easily fit in one section as another. While female monasticism does not figure large in the papers (and indeed Nelson's paper is hedged by the question of just what religious status Alcuin's female correspondents might have been), the themes which underpinned Barbara's understanding of female monasticism, the links between different members of the family and the underlying influence of particular figures underpins Hamerow and Harrington's papers. Equally, where the discussion is on the nature of the relationship between rulers and minsters, a theme at the heart of three contributions to this volume, Blair, Bassett, and Pitt, Barbara's interest in the nature of the organisation of early kingdoms comes to the fore. A further theme is that of the West Saxon kingdom and the Wessex region, which has been a particular topic of interest to the dedicatee of this volume and forms a focus of a number of papers, from those of Hamerow, Harrington, Hawkins, Stoodley, whose papers deal with the early geographical area of Wessex (as many of those would argue, this was a long way from being a 'West Saxon kingdom' in the 5th and 6th centuries), to Konshuh (on the West Saxon kingdom's self-identity), Brookes, Reynolds, Langlands, Lavelle, McDermott, and Pitt. Edging into the decades after 1066, a period which was defined as much by the nature of an Anglo-Saxon kingdom as it was by the Norman institutions that came in,¹¹ David Bates's chapter on William the Conqueror and Wessex considers how the echoes of the former kingdom sustained a note that lasted well into the 12th century.

Barbara has never defined herself specifically as a student of landscape but she has emphasised its importance, and aspects of landscape and topography, particularly with regard to Wessex, figure strongly in many of these papers. Central to that definition of Wessex, at least in the 10th century and the modern imagination, is Winchester, Barbara's home since her appointment as Lecturer in History and Archaeology by King Alfred's College (the forerunner of the University of Winchester) since 1977. Winchester has loomed large in Barbara's studies of Anglo-Saxon England and it is appropriate that two of Barbara's colleagues have offered papers specifically on the city, bookending the Anglo-Saxon city with Roffey's reading of post-Conquest leprosy provision and Tony King's offering in the opening chapter on the definition of Winchester as *Venta Belgarum*. This may have been a term whose inherent history, King

11 Useful comments on this topic are made by Barbara in *Wessex*, pp. 325–26; *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 92–105.

argues, links with the memory of tribal groups in pre-Roman and Roman-era Winchester. Thus the history of the Anglo-Saxons is grounded in a much longer past. Martin Biddle's offering to this volume completes the Winchester narrative. Biddle's approach to the urban landscape of Winchester is a statement of current thoughts arising from his extensive work on Winchester's role in urban development.

In the range and expertise of the contributors brought together for this volume, there is no better demonstration of the truly interdisciplinary nature of early medieval scholarship. The study of Anglo-Saxon England and its neighbouring polities has developed to now incorporate a suite of modern concepts and perspectives, and in this volume more recent notions of memory, gender, identity, and space sit alongside traditional themes such as governance, power, and kingship. But, having taken the opportunity to move beyond the 'core' of the Wessex region which constituted the focus of many of the papers which were presented at a conference dedicated to Barbara Yorke, entitled *Saints, Rulers and Landscapes*, in 2014, this is now a volume that draws more widely on early medieval scholarship on England and Europe. It reflects the very latest in methodological approaches in not only the advanced syntheses between historical and archaeological evidence, but the increasingly productive integration of place-name and topographical data. Many of the papers presented in this volume also provide the most up-to-date perspectives on some of the key themes, people and places of the period. They provide a fitting tribute to Barbara's expansive sense of scholarship, on her ability to ask new questions of old sources and make the familiar seem unfamiliar, to draw together the sense of the past in a lived and living landscape. These are all issues which make this book meaningful to us in our roles as editors and authors, and to all those who have contributed to it.