

Keynote

Processes of Conversion: some archaeological inquiries

Martin Carver

Introduction

My paper concerns the most significant example of innovation and interaction experienced by the northern Europeans in the early Middle Ages, namely their conversion to Christianity. Conversion changed the ideology, the politics and the economics of communities, often permanently. It altered boundaries, burial rites and the relations between the sexes. It set the social pattern for the entire Middle Ages and beyond. In its day, Christian conversion had a greater impact on the stability of Europe and the everyday lives of its citizens than Fascism or Communism, with the obvious difference that it has endured.

Scholars in the countries which are the heirs to this experience are still asking many fundamental questions about the process: when did it happen, how did it happen, why did it happen and what were the consequences? What was lost and what was gained, in reality and how does that reality compare with the myths that we Europeans love to cultivate? Some answers are appearing as well; conversion was not as straightforward as it might seem. Ritual practices obviously changed. Economic patterns and alliances certainly changed. But in the earliest periods Christianity was not so much adopted as adapted into individual forms, reconciling the new ideology and its material advantages with the pre-existing cohesion of Pagan society. These versions of Christianity were not syncretic in the old sense of iconographic muddle and misunderstanding, but they were creative constructs which allowed the northern Europeans to try and build a future with the best of both their worlds. In this brief review I shall try and touch

on some of the theories about why peoples became Christian and the consequences of their conversion. My argument is 100% archaeological and I hope to persuade you that archaeology has much to offer in this field that is new and unexpected and helpful to history.

Personal Conviction and Public action

How much archaeology can really tell us about the conversion process is debatable, since “conversion” implies a change in the way people thought, and such a change of thinking may not have been expressed in material culture. Conversion however altered rather more than the mental furnishings of the next world; it altered behaviour in this one, and altered behaviour is archaeology’s speciality. My specific aim here is not so much to examine the intellectual shift experienced by individuals as the consequences of that shift on politics, economics and communal practice. As we shall see, political alignment was signalled by the style of artefacts both at a personal and a communal level. Economic agreements changed to favour the new alliances, so that exchange routes were altered to reflect the new friendships. Within society, the relations between families, landlords, warlords and folk leaders were reconstructed to the point at which power was exercised more rigorously and at much higher levels in Christian than in Pagan society. I propose to show how these innovations in societies and interactions with their neighbours can be discovered using a series of case studies. Within these case studies we shall see a number of new kinds of archaeology at

work, and before making our tour it might be worth saying a little about how this kind of archaeology functions and why I believe its interpretations. First let's consider the role of cemeteries and the artefacts that are found in them. It has become fashionable to exercise scepticism towards the interpretation of graves as vehicles of ideology, largely because a strict distinction between Pagan and Christian graves on the basis of orientation and grave-goods is difficult to sustain. But this is because the distinction between Christian and Pagan was not the only or principal message; it certainly does not mean that graves signified nothing. I see no reason to doubt that graves were major vehicles of ideology, but I do agree that our historical interpretations of them have been in rather basic terms (Carver 2000). I would like to offer examples which I think show some subtlety in the way that high status burial rites were used to show ideological allegiance or defiance.

Messages of Mounds

Sutton Hoo is an obvious place to start, if only because I have spent 15 years there and must have some sort of a tale to tell (Carver 1998a). In fact, as the final report went to press in early 2002, the new visitor centre was opened by Seamus Heaney, and all the old associations between Beowulf, gold, warriors and kings were reheated by the designers to attract the public. But some of the results of our research had also rubbed off: the Anglo-Saxons had not always had kings, any more than they had always been Christian. Kingship and Christianity were accepted not as permanent fixtures but as incidents in human history just like nuclear weapons and the United Nations. The Sutton Hoo cemetery was in use for less than a 100 years and contained burials of some variety: cremations in bronze bowls, horse burial, two ship burials and a woman's chamber grave. It seemed to have begun about 600, peaked with the ship burials around 625–35 and then petered out with poorly furnished graves in the later seventh. During these times, East Anglia was disputed territory, its indecision on the Christian alliance famously preserved in the story of Raedwald's erection of altars to Christ and Woden in the same temple, retailed by the Venerable Bede (HE II 15). In the 8th cen-

tury, the argument was resolved in favour of East Anglia's Christian kings, who converted the Sutton Hoo burial ground to a *cwealm-stow*, or place of execution. Thirty nine victims were executed on two gallows between the 8–11th century, an average of one every ten years. The infrequency of execution, the choice of the former Royal burial ground and the date are probably consistent with the idea that execution was reserved for dissidents against the newly installed Christian monarchy.

Helen Geake has shown how the Sutton Hoo burials fit into a more general narrative of the use of grave goods during the conversion period, which in England was 597–c. 750 (Geake 1999). If at first there were rich graves resplendent with Germanic metal work in the graves of the east coast of southern Britain, during the seventh century grave goods emulated Roman or Byzantine objects, uniformly distributed around the English areas of settlement, which Geake sees as a pre-emptive expression of the 'English nation' that was to form such a major part of Bede's mission. Women were especially to the fore in the use of the 'Classical' grave goods, and elsewhere Geake has shown that they were likely to have been the principal agents of control in the use of burial grounds and by extension of ideological decisions in general (Geake, forthcoming). Such an image certainly fits Raedwald's wife, who was a key consultant on the conversion question, advising Raedwald to stay Pagan (HE II 15). By force of argument she also saved the life of Edwin, the future king of Northumbria, when Raedwald was bribed to kill him (HE II 12). She is as near as we get to a balanced view in the options open to the seventh century East Anglian politician.

The use of monumental burial mounds in England was not confined to Sutton Hoo, but it does seem to be confined to the later 6th or 7th century – that is coincident with the documented conversion of the English by Augustine. This has led to the interpretation of the mounds as 'defiant', or reacting against the perceived threat of Christianity (Carver 1992, 365). I also read Wolfgang Böhme's tracking of burial mounds along the Rhine in a similar way. His work showed that the monumental mounds were first erected at the west end near the mouth of the Rhine in the 6th century and travelled eastwards to towards its source during the seventh and into the eighth

(Böhme 1993, Abb. 101). A second equally meticulous study showed that the rich burials in churches followed a similar trajectory at a similar date. In other words investment in churches followed and superceded investment in barrows (Böhme 1993, Abb. 99). This may imply that the phenomenon travelling up the Rhine in the seventh century was the onset of aristocracy, but this does not seem very likely. An alternative explanation is that the threat of Christianization provoked reactive investment in large mound burials, shortly to be replaced by burial in churches as Christianity took hold. This idea has been extended by van de Noort and Lutovsky, who have constructed general maps of northern European barrows (van de Noort 1993; Lutovsky 1996). Not all of these however could have been provoked by Christianity. To cite only one example, the early sixth century mound at Högom containing a rich bed burial (Ramqvist 1992) is too early and too far away to be a credible reaction to a Christian threat. Nevertheless, Per Ramqvist makes a good case for Högom as a central place signalling a hierarchical community, and an ideological threat of some kind could be the explanation for why this monumental mound, as others, appeared only there and only then (Carver 2001). Mounds like this were not customary, but singular; they therefore require explanations that are historical rather than anthropological.

Shared Landscapes

A second area of archaeological enquiry into the conversion process concerns the study of landscapes, particularly the way that monuments are placed in the landscape and the way that this distribution changes as society changes. Burial mounds, sculpture and early churches can illustrate both changes in social organisation and conflicts between neighbours. An example is given by the mapping of monuments of the region of the Firth of Forth by the late Ian Smith (1996). Here typically Pagan Pictish monuments – square ditched barrows and symbol stones (Class I) – are confronted in the seventh century with long-cist cemeteries and eccles placenames which argue for Christian activity. The two sets of contemporary monuments show a society divided in its views but nonetheless in equilibrium.

The symbol stones of Pictland in the seventh century were distributed broadly on the edges of the excellent arable land of eastern Scotland (Alcock 1989) – a multitude of small polities which used a common symbolic language. From the early eighth century the symbol stones were trimmed and squared and carried a cross; they now concentrated on the two areas otherwise known to represent the heartlands of the aristocracy and the named kings – the Moray Firth and Tayside. However nowhere in Pictland has yet produced a church or a sign of a Pictish ecclesiastical authority. These stones have all the signs of local invention mixed with sophisticated Christian knowledge, and perhaps suggest a more secular, less regulated, church.

However at Portmahomack in northern Pictland a site is currently under investigation which may throw new light in the way the Picts adopted or adapted Christianity (Tartat Bulletin). This site lies at the end of Tartat Ness in the Moray Firth, where the old church of St Colman stands in an D-shaped enclosure. Excavations have turned up a burial ground which begins in the 6th century, sculpted stone grave markers from about 600 to 800 AD, and a sequence of stone churches beginning in the eighth century. Outside the church lies a workshop area, where metal objects – probably liturgical in the main such as chalices and reliquaries were being made; a mill and an agricultural area. The date makes it possible that this was a monastery founded by or on behalf of St Columba who made his celebrated missionary journey into northern Pictland in 565 AD. The final phase of early Christianity on the Tartat peninsula was particularly glorious with the erection of four magnificent stone cross-slabs 3 m high looking out to sea. These are the territorial markers of a monastery which was to the north east end of the Great Glen what Iona was to the west.

The material culture at Portmahomack, the 'port of Colman', suggests that this was not so much a Pictish monastery as an Irish monastery in Pictland, and provides us with an example of that equilibrium between different ideas in the same territory which we are learning to accept was a feature of early Medieval Europe. Stig Welinder has found it between converted Swedes and unconverted Lapps in Jämtland (Welinder, forthcoming); James Barrett has found it between converted and unconverted

settlers in ninth-century Norse Orkney (Barrett, forthcoming). Columba's headquarters was at Iona, where the monastery stands also in a D-shaped enclosure with many very similar grave markers. To see how an Irish monastery used the landscape we need to go to Ireland itself and to the south west where Tomás Ó Carragáin of the University of Cork has been at work (forthcoming). He shows how during the eighth century and into the ninth, monasteries were becoming powerful estates, competing with each other for territory. The borders of such estates were ringed with crosses. Not all the ecclesiastical estates were monastic however; some spoke their own liturgical language, such as the estate defined in the northern part of the Iveragh peninsula which was marked with shrines, rather than crosses.

Another example of a conversion story read from sculpture in the landscape is offered by ninth-century Yorkshire, where the conversion was of an individual kind: a conversion from one kind of Christianity to another. At the time of Bede, in the eighth century, sculptured grave markers carried well-executed, plain, insular crosses and inscriptions in Latin or in runes. These were distributed in sites known to be monastic. After eastern Yorkshire became an Anglo-Scandinavian enclave in the ninth century, the monumental landscape changed. Numerous crosses with local and individual iconographies were distributed at a large number of sites, very few being those of former monasteries (Lang 1991). This transformation can be read as a "dissolution of the monasteries" (Carver 1998b, 26). The Viking settlers were not anti-Christian, but they were anti-centralisation and against the over-regulation of belief. Conversion is therefore less an irreversible revelation of the truth than the continuation of a debate about how people should live and relate to the hereafter. In this debate it was not yet to be assumed that one earthly authority held all the answers.

Brands of Christianity

A third type of archaeological project investigates the relationship between cultural areas in an even wider theatre. In a recent compilation Michael Müller-Wille and several colleagues have mapped the incidence of objects carrying the cross, and shown that the heterogeneous character of early Christianity char-

acterises much of northern Europe during the whole of the conversion period (Müller-Wille, forthcoming). Volker Bierbrauer finds women wearing cross-shaped brooches in Lombardia in the 5th century, and supposes their owners to be leading a religious movement. On the other side of the Alps the cross-wearing habit appears in a number of different guises which are, however, regional. For example, the wearing of cross-shaped brooches on female dress is confined to a narrow area between the Rhine and the Mosel, while the Alamans took to a very specific custom: gold foil crosses sewn on to the tunics of the dead (Bierbrauer, forthcoming). The cross-wearers of the Alamanic area are particularly interesting in that they do not seem to have had churches or monasteries (Müller-Wille 1998). Compare contemporary Geneva where the finest example of a fully fledged episcopal centre has been excavated by Charles Bonnet (Bonnet 1993). In other words, the Alamans are not weak Christians or inadequate Christians but people who are choosing their own Christian prescription and branding it.

Looking at Europe on this scale, we can also see how objects which are less specific in their symbolism can nevertheless shed light on the conversion process by showing a change in the axis of contacts. For example glass claw beakers and reticella glass enjoys a sixth-century distribution as Ulf Näsman has shown which is shared between English and Scandinavian communities (Näsman 1984). However by the eighth century this exchange area has been radically revised. England and northern Scandinavia are no longer talking. Instead England shares with the Rhineland a distribution of sceattas which indicates who its new friends and trading partners are to be. It was this marginalisation of northern Scandinavia as well as their distaste for centralised systems of ideology that no doubt partly inspired the reaction that we know as the Viking Age.

Core and Periphery and Peer Polity Interaction

These examples show that the processes of conversion on the ground were complex and varied and quite different in reality to the simple conversion stories recorded by Bede and other early commentators where the chief protagonist was the missionary and the princi-

pal instrument his intellectual conviction. The archaeologist tells us little about the missionary, but a great deal about the missionary's target audience, the people whose way of life was to be changed, and whose leaders had hard decisions to make. In this matter there is still much important history to discover, history which will help explain tensions that have endured until the present day.

Perhaps I might single out three areas where current archaeological research promises some exciting new insights into the understanding of northern Europe in the early Middle Ages. First it can be remarked how many of examples show the importance of women in political and ideological decision-making. They are leading the symbolic initiative in Lombardia, central Europe and Scandinavia. They are in charge of cemeteries and arguably function as the spiritual authorities in Anglo-Saxon England, Denmark and Sweden through-out the conversion process (Geake, forthcoming; Staecker, forthcoming; Gräslund, forthcoming). Anne-Sofie Gräslund argues that it is only in the 12th century that women lose status in the eyes of the church; it is not Christianity as such which puts women at a social disadvantage but the institutionalisation of the church (Gräslund, forthcoming).

Next, we may be struck by the large number of ideological and political experiments that were being tried. It will be hard from now on to refer to a society as Pagan or Christian as though that stated their position sufficiently. Maybe that became true in the later Middle Ages when orthodoxy mattered more, but in our period, if we are reading the signals correctly, there were as many political constructs as there were kingdoms (cf Wormald 1978). The East Angles tried to create a kingdom outside the Christian alliance, maintaining its ancestral links and inventing the trappings of kingship in a Pagan mode. In Jämtland, German and Lapp interests reacted to Christianization with different strategies. In Ireland, investment in monastic estates created a separate intellectual power network which greatly influence the structure of politics on the Continent. The Irish monastery was also an intellectual instrument in Scotland, as at Iona, and in Pictland as the Portmahomack excavations are showing. But here across the mountains, the standing stone cross-slab was adopted as the main sign of Christianity, implying a more se-

cular prescription. Later communities like the Vikings of Yorkshire, changed the Christian infrastructure from a more monastic to a more secular arrangement, thus returning power to a lower level of administration. Certainly episcopal centres of the southern European model, even if claimed in texts, are elusive on the ground in northern Europe.

Such examples show that the old models of a trajectory from tribe to chiefdom to state are as crude a description of early medieval change as the model of Pagan to Christian. In general both transitions occurred, but in detail on the ground there were sophisticated experimental polities in which aristocrats and merchants ruled without overlords, and Christians worshipped without bishops. We can note that a people did not so much follow an evolutionary model from tribe to chiefdom, as choose different levels at which to exercise power. In Scandinavia where the archaeological landscape is arguably clearest, scholars such as Charlotte Fabech have modelled a society in which people relate to different zones of obligation (1999). They relate first to the territory or zone of the extended family which may in turn relate to natural ecological niches such as a valley or forest clearing. These interrelate to provide larger aristocratic networks of influence. At a higher level still, believers are linked by an ideological network marked out by devotional objects, such as bracteates and *guld-gubbe*. Although there is much coincidence here, for example geographical areas might predispose their residents to belong to communities of belief, it is possible for this system to undergo partial changes as well as wholesale reconfigurations. The mood of the early middle ages seems to be not so much a change in the community from a tribe to a chiefdom, as the move in the level of effective power from a local to a regional, and finally to an international level, while leaving most of the old structures in place (Carver, forthcoming). It is therefore possible for an early medieval person to belong to a folk, a kingdom and a former Pagan belief-zone and be a Christian all at the same time. The archaeology we have briefly visited here seems to be regularly reporting this kind of complexity.

If we can keep on the agenda this kind of investigation, this kind of deconstruction of the material culture of regions, it should be possible to write a detailed history of Europe's

many self-defining communities, some of which are emerging in the aftermath of *perestroika*: the Czech Republic, Croatia, Lithuania, Estonia, and others that remain dormant, such as the Picts or the Alamans. These communities were the basic building blocks of Europe and each of them had a history which began in the 5–8th century. History has for years given these territories a predominately ethnic identity, dangerous in itself to modern intellectual discourse (Olsen 2002), and misleading to the public. The real interest lies in the political strategies adopted by these communities in the 7th century, when they strove to adapt their individual cultures to the general creed of Christianity and came up with so many different ideas.

The differences caused tensions at the time, so archaeology tells us, since lost in a more orthodox uniform Europe. Here too our old models for relations between polities are under strain. 'Core and periphery' is a firm favourite among those who tend to see history as the story of the strong subduing the weak. In this interpretation, Christianity is a weapon in the hand of southern Europe which was eventually accepted by the centre and the north as the Roman conquests had been before it. But our findings suggest that although Europe became Christian in the end, it was not just a matter of conquest, intellectual or otherwise. It was rather one of negotiation, in which the Christianity of the Roman Empire was itself altered to suit the northern view on how life should be lived and people should relate to each other. It was an argument that was prosecuted first by one side and then the other all through the Middle Ages up to the Reformation and beyond. But the early Middle Ages, the 5–10th century, appears to have been a halcyon age for would-be politicians in which no-one in Europe had the power or authority to impose their views whol-

ly on everyone, a time in which ideas and argument could flourish.

This supposed equality in the balance of power gave at one time the palm of intellectual and artistic leadership to the tiny territory of Northumbria, and at another gave military ascendancy to the Vikings. It is a system better described by the successor model to Core and Periphery, Peer Polity Interaction. This allows us to see polities, of which we have a large number, as peers, or negotiators on equal terms, signalling emulation or defiance of each other by their investment in particular monuments or their use of certain symbolic language. There remain many difficulties in the correct interpretation of the interactions that took place. We are much less inclined now to favour invasion or migration as the principal way in which ideas were brought into one territory from another, but it must have occurred then, as it has of course since. We are readier to assume than we were that the North Sea was busy with maritime traffic before the Vikings, so that regular exchange of ideas, if not commodities was possible and likely. We could assume that visits between countries were no less frequent than they later became, but such visits were often, even mostly, spearheaded not by trade, which would have left a richer harvest of artefacts, but by more intellectual motives. Some were undoubtedly led by the most special kind of intellectual ambassador, the missionary. But for me this was but one player in a lively world. With its variety of belief, its complex power structures, its freedom of movement, its adventurous travel, its brilliant and heavily symbolic art on brooches, belts, stone carvings and codices, its ready supply of Roman building materials and forests of building timber, its oral poetry and its lack of tax, the seventh century was in my opinion a Key period in European history.

Bibliography

- Alcock 1989 E. Alcock, "Pictish stones class I: where and how?", in: *Glasgow Arch J*, 15, 1989.
- Barret, forthcoming J. Barrett, "Christian and Pagan Factions during the Conversion of Viking Age Orkney and Shetland", in: Carver (ed.), forthcoming.
- Bede H. E. Bede, *A History of the English Church and People*, transl.: Leo Sherley-Price.
- Bierbrauer, forthcoming V. Bierbrauer, "The Cross goes north: from Late Antiquity to Merovingian times south and north of the Alps", in: Carver (ed.), forthcoming.
- Böhme 1993 H. W. Böhme, "Adelsgräber im Frankenreich. Archäologische Zeugnisse zur Herausbildung einer Herrschicht unter dem merowingerischen Königen", in: *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 40, 1993, 397–534.
- Bonnet 1993 C. Bonnet, *Les fouilles en l'ancien groupe épiscopal de Genève (1976–1993)*, Geneva, 1993.
- Carver 1992 M. O. H. Carver, "The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sutton Hoo: an interim report", in: M. O. H. Carver (ed.), *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, 1992, Woodbridge, 343–372.
- Carver 1998a M. O. H. Carver, *Sutton Hoo. Burial Ground of Kings*, London, 1998.
- Carver 1998b M. O. H. Carver, "Conversion and politics on the eastern seaboard of Britain: some archaeological indicators", in: B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World*, St Andrews, 1998, 11–40.
- Carver 2000 M. O. H. Carver, "Burial As Poetry: The context of Treasure in Anglo-Saxon Graves", in: E. Tyler (ed.), *Treasure in the Medieval West*, York, 2000, 25–48.
- Carver 2001 M. O. H. Carver, "Why that? Why there? Why then? The Politics of early medieval monumentality", in: H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds.), *Image and Power in the archaeology of early medieval Britain. Essays in honour of Rosemary Cramp*, Oxford, 2001, 1–22.
- Carver, forthcoming a M. O. H. Carver, *Sutton Hoo. A seventh century princely burial ground and its context*, London, forthcoming.
- Carver, forthcoming b M. O. H. Carver (ed.), *The Cross goes North. Processes of conversion in northern Europe AD 300–1300*, York, forthcoming.
- Dickinson/Griffiths 1999 T. Dickinson/D. Griffiths (eds), *The making of Kingdoms* (= Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History 10), Oxford, 1999.
- Fabech 1999 C. Fabech, "Organising the landscape: a matter of production, power and religion", in: Dickinson and Griffiths (eds.), *The making of Kingdoms*, 1999, 27–48.
- Geake 1999 H. Geake, "Invisible kingdoms: the use of grave-goods in seventh-century England", in: Dickinson and Griffiths (eds.), *The making of Kingdoms*, 1999, 203–215.
- Geake, forthcoming H. Geake, "The control of Burial in early and middle Anglo-Saxon England", in: Carver, forthcoming.
- Grälsund, forthcoming A.-S. Gräslund, "The role of Scandinavian women in Christianisation – the neglected evidence", in: Carver, forthcoming.
- Lang 1991 J. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture 3: York and Eastern Yorkshire*, British Academy, 1991.
- Lutovsky 1996 M. Lutovsky, "Between Sutton Hoo and Chernaya Mogila: barrows in eastern and western early medieval Europe", in: *Antiquity* 70, 1996, 671–676.
- Müller-Wille 1998 M. Müller-Wille, "The cross as a symbol of personal Christian belief in a changing religious world. Examples from selected areas in Merovingian and Carolingian Europe", in: *KVHAA Konferenser* 40, 1998, 179–200.

- Müller-Wille, forthcoming M. Müller-Wille, "The Cross goes North: Carolingian times between Rhine and Elbe", in: Carver, forthcoming.
- Näsman 1986 U. Näsman, "Vendel period glass from Eketorp II, Öland, Sweden", in: *Acta Archaeologica* 55, 1986, 66–116.
- Ó Carragáin, forthcoming T. Ó Carragáin, "Archaeology and early church organisation on Iveragh and Dingle, Ireland", in: Carver, forthcoming.
- Olsen 2002 B. Olsen, "Excavating the other: European archaeology in the age of globalisation", in: Zbigniew Kobylizski (ed.), *Quo vadis archaeologia? Whither archaeology in the 21st century?*, Warsaw, 2002, 47–56.
- Ramqvist 1992 P. Ramqvist, *Högom. The excavations 1949-1984*, Umeå, 1992.
- Smith 1996 I. Smith, "The archaeology of the early Christian church in Scotland and Man AD 400–1200", in: Blair J and Pyrah C (eds.), *Church Archaeology: Research Directions for the Future*, York, 1996, 19–37.
- Staecker, forthcoming J. Staecker, "The Cross goes North: Christian symbols and Scandinavian women", in: Carver, forthcoming.
- Tarbat Bulletin *Bulletin of the Tarbat Discovery Programme* (M. Carver ed.), 1994. www.york.ac.uk/depts/arch/staff/sites/tarbat
- van de Noort 1993 R. van de Noort, "The context of early medieval barrows in Western Europe", in: *Antiquity* 67, 1993, 66–73.
- Welinder, forthcoming S. Welinder, "Christianity as Power, economy and ethnicity in early Medieval Jämtland, mid Sweden", in: Carver, forthcoming.
- Wormald 1978 P. Wormald, "Bede, 'Beowulf' and the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy", in: R. T. Farrell (ed.), *Bede and Anglo-Saxon England* (= BAR 46), 1978.

Address

Martin Carver
University of York, Dept. of Archaeology
The Kings Manor, GB-York YO1 2EP
moc1@york.ac.uk