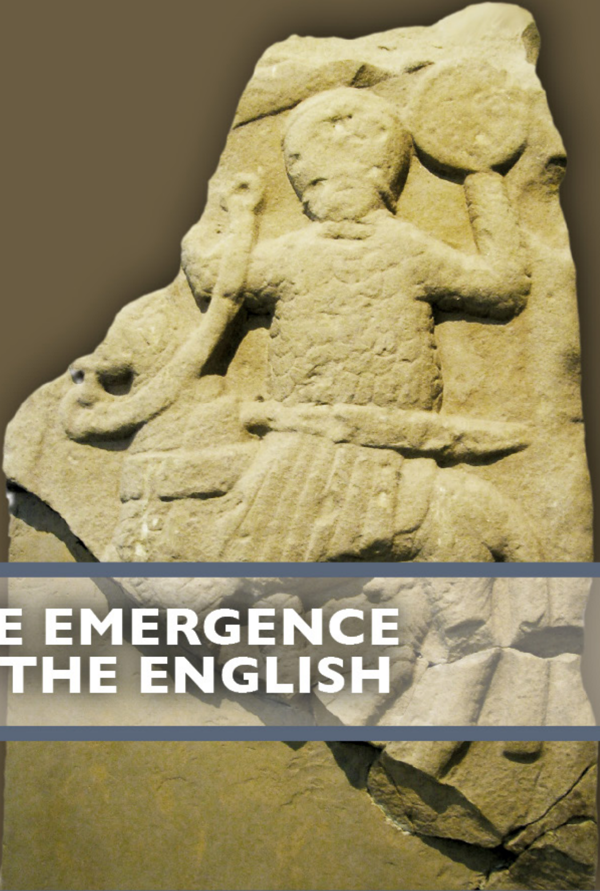

THE EMERGENCE OF THE ENGLISH

Susan Oosthuizen

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For Paul

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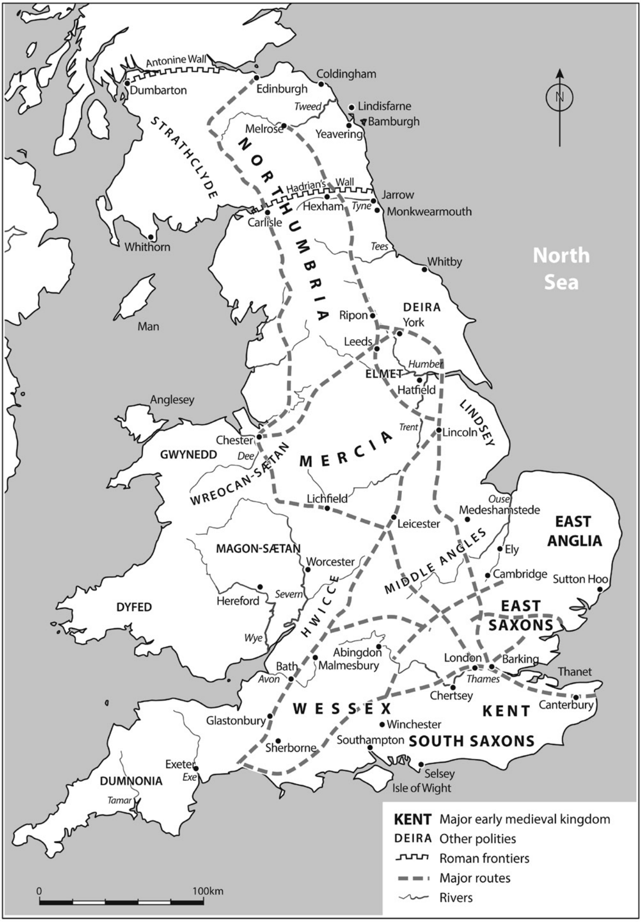
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KENT
Glastonbury
Winchester
Southampton
SOUTH SAXONS
Sherborne
Exeter
Exe
Selsey
DUMNONIA
Isle of Wight
Tamar
KENT Major early medieval kingdom
DEIRA Other polities
Roman frontiers
Major routes
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Figure 1. Major kingdoms and polities in England and Wales in the later seventh and early eighth centuries. Drawn from sources of different dates that were made for different purposes, such maps will always be approximate representing a period rather than a fixed date in time (© Susan Oosthuizen, 2018).

Chapter 1

Introduction

One of the great puzzles of British cultural history concerns the emergence of the people who by 600 at the latest referred to themselves and their language as "English." The Greek historian Procopius, whose knowledge of late antique Britain appears to have been more than a little garbled, nonetheless knew as early as 552/3 that it was inhabited, among others, by people called *Angli*, the English.[1] In the late sixth century Pope Gregory (ca. 540–604) consistently referred to *Angli* in his letters, seemingly regarded the name as referring to the inhabitants of England as a whole since he described Æthelberht of Kent as *rex Anglorum*, "King of the English" (Figure 1).[2]

The earliest surviving documentary evidence of Old English as an active vernacular language is Æthelberht's law code written in 600.[3] *Englisc* (the English) were also mentioned in the late seventh-century laws of king Ine of Wessex (which also survive only in a ninth-century copy);[4] and the venerable Bede took both usages for granted in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, written a generation or so later in about 731.[5]

Conventional interpretations of the emergence of the English and the cultural transformations of post-Roman Britain place migration into England from north-west Europe at their centre. It would be surprising had there not been migration into Britain in this period, since there has been a constant flow of people into and out of the islands since the last

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Ice Age. What is less certain is what, and to what extent, that movement affected the cultural, social, and political transformations of the fifth to eighth centuries. Brugmann has neatly skewered the problem by asking, “How many migrants are needed to explain the fifth-century cultural changes generally understood as marking the transition from Late Roman Britain to Early Anglo-Saxon England?”[6]

This book explores such interpretations of the history of post-Roman Britain, the strengths and weaknesses of their supporting evidence, and an alternative model. Chapter 1 sets the scene with an overview of the prevailing historiography, necessarily limited by space. Chapter 2 distinguishes between what can reliably be known and assumed about the period, and what is more conjectural. It seeks, too, to identify flawed premises and arguments to enable the avoidance of known pitfalls and the removal of unnecessary boundaries to the kinds of questions that might be asked, despite the inevitability of making new mistakes and falling into new misconceptions. Chapter 3 takes a critical approach to ethnicity as a premise for a narrative explaining the emergence of the English, and the models based on that assumption. Chapter 4 proposes alternative, more holistic, historical models, for example, those proposed by Braudel, Bourdieu, Östrom, and Holling, and refined by others. It explores their potential through the proposition that some long-term traditions, particularly those rooted in the property rights that underpinned agricultural livelihoods, persisted into late antique and early medieval England. Those continuities, it argues, provided a strong, flexible framework that supported the gradual evolution of Romano-British into English communities between the fifth century and the early eighth century as post-imperial culture, traditions, and social relations were re-set within an international context focused on the North Sea world rather than the Mediterranean, a process in which the place of migration remains unknown. It concludes that the emergence of the English should be seen as a predominantly insular process.

Debates about the role of migration in social and cultural transformation are more than simply a pre-occupation of early medievalists, historians, or archaeologists with an interest in late antique Britain. Questions about the influence of population movement and ethnicity in stimulating and/or driving social and cultural change have an international relevance to social and political scientists both within and beyond the academy. A few years ago these appeared to be arcane problems, relegated to the dusty corners of barely attended seminars in almost-forgotten rooms. Today they are central to all aspects of public policy across the globe. They underpin discussions of social justice, of relationships within communities and between nation states, and of the courses taken by governments in steering between universal values and the narrower pressures of nationalism and populism.

The Phrase "Anglo-Saxon"

The people who occupied much of England between 400 and 1100, their culture, and the period, are conventionally described as "Anglo-Saxon." The phrase was first coined by eighth-century Carolingian writers in order to distinguish between the country of the *Angli*, in which Old English was rapidly becoming the dominant (though not sole) language, from areas on the European mainland in which other Germanic languages were most commonly spoken.[7] The term is used in the conventional division in modern scholarship of the centuries between 400 and 1066 into three general phases largely based on changing political organization: the early (ca. 400–650) Anglo-Saxon period for which there is very little documentary evidence and before the emergence of the seven major kingdoms, the middle (ca. 650–850) Anglo-Saxon period when England was dominated by those kingdoms, and the late (ca. 850–1100) Anglo-Saxon period during which England was unified within a single kingdom, notwithstanding the Viking occupation of some eastern parts of the island in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. The shorthand of the phrase makes sense: it is brief, to the point, and everyone knows what it means.

The terminology "Anglo-Saxon" is, however, beset with difficulties. The first is that it lumps together individuals whose

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origins lay across a wide geographic region and across at least two centuries—people who arrived between about 400 and 600 from Francia, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and what is now Germany, north and west Africa, southern Europe, and the eastern Mediterranean. They came from within and beyond the Roman empire, spoke a range of different languages, and had diverse cultural backgrounds.[8] Even where people came from the same region, those who arrived later cannot be assumed to share a common culture or language with the descendants of earlier settlers in Britain: there are significant differences in language and culture, for instance, between modern British immigrants to the United States and the descendants of settlers who arrived there from Britain in the later eighteenth century. The implications within the phrase that fifth- and sixth-century immigrants, whatever their number, were predominantly Germanic in origin and were not assimilated into the general population is also becoming increasingly controversial, as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 below. The apparent clarity, cohesiveness, and implied cultural identity of the phrase "Anglo-Saxon" is a chimera that shimmers into invisibility as one approaches it.

A second problem is that the phrase makes no allowance for the majority of the post-Roman population whose origins could be traced back into the prehistoric and Romano-British past and who continued to occupy landscapes familiar to their ancestors. The academic literature tends to refer to such groups as "sub Roman," "late Romano-British," or "late British" even though the period in which they lived is described as "early Anglo-Saxon." Those groups are as invisible in material culture (the things people used in everyday life) that is called "Anglo-Saxon," although they were the major users of those objects. They are invisible, too, in the name of the English language which most of them spoke by the early eighth century at the latest.

A third difficulty with an expression that construes everything in terms of being "Anglo-Saxon" is that the supposed ethnicity implicit in the phrase itself places strict limits on interpretations of the period. In taking for granted the influence of Germanic immigration on historical change it inhibits the development of other models to explain how longstanding communities adapted to post-imperial conditions, and the question of the importance of immigration in that evolution.

To avoid these problems, the period between 400 and 600 (conventionally called "early Anglo-Saxon") is generally referred to in the pages below as "late antique"; the period between 600 and 850 as "early medieval" (rather than "middle Anglo-Saxon"); and the centuries between 850 and 1066 (often rounded up to 1100), currently called "late Anglo-Saxon," as "pre-Conquest." These alternative nomenclatures are by no means perfect since they bring together two overlapping, but not coincident, frameworks for thinking of the six or so centuries after the fall of Rome.

Their strengths are that "late antique" and "early medieval" are commonly used to discuss the post-Roman development of those other parts of western Europe with which Britain remained in especially close contact after 400, in particular the areas now represented by modern Ireland, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries. Their use properly places the history of Britain within the context of its wider world rather than treating it as an aberration.

Their weaknesses in relation to insular history and archaeology are immediately obvious: both those terms conventionally represent quite different chronological ranges than the three into which the evolution of Britain between 400 and 1100 is usually divided: early, middle, and late Anglo-Saxon. "Late antiquity" is usually used to denote the transition from the dominance of the Roman empire to the emergence between about 250 and 800 CE of medieval kingdoms in regions previously controlled by Rome.[9] Its use to describe a similar transition in Britain is thus appropriate for the beginning (but not for the end) of what is currently called the "early Anglo-Saxon" period, given the growing understanding of the blurring between fourth- and fifth-century Britain—for example, in the decline of villas and towns which began well before 400 in many places. "Early medieval" generally refers to the centuries between 500 and 1000 in which the origins

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of the Middle Ages across western Europe can first clearly be discerned; it overlaps with usages of “late antiquity.” While “early medieval” may be useful for describing what is currently called the “middle Anglo-Saxon” period in England, it obviously does not conform to that wider usage. The periods into which the history of England between 400 and 1100 are currently divided make sense and they are not challenged here. At this stage a proposal to change the nomenclature itself will be controversial enough. The degree to which those terms can be refined to meet the English context is already debated; they may well be replaced by others. In that process, the periods they describe may also be redefined. How that happens will not matter so long as we can find new discourses for the history and archaeology of England between 400 and 1100 that move beyond simply discussing them in terms of the degree to which they were, or were not, “Anglo-Saxon.”

Historiography

Historians and archaeologists construct explanatory models from fragmentary, more or less opaque evidence refracted through the complexities of time, place, and process. The conventional narrative for the emergence of the English that has emerged from this process subsumes so many unexplored preconceptions, premises, and arguments that it has become a paradigm: a comprehensive discourse for explaining the past whose assumptions are no longer questioned. That is in part because it has a particularly long history and because, throughout its evolution, its central conclusion has largely been predicated on its principal premise: that incoming north-west European immigrants and/or their descendants played a defining role in the almost complete disappearance of Romano-British culture, including its agricultural landscapes, and its replacement by Germanic institutions, artifacts, landscapes, and traditions.

The bare bones of the story of the origins of the English are so well known as to appear incontrovertible. They are backlit by the preceding four hundred years during which Britain was a part of the Roman empire. The Roman conquest of Britain in 43 CE had been followed by a generally peaceful period under imperial administration. The introduction of a monetized market economy was supported by improvements in transport infrastructure, the establishment of urbanized commercial and administrative centres, and an expansion in specialized production, especially of arable crops, in a largely agricultural economy. Conditions were sufficiently stable for the country's population to have grown to around three million by the early fifth century.[10] Most lived in rural settlements—often nucleated, never defended—that were closely distributed across the landscape.[11] Soon after 400, the empire, having ruled Britain for just under four centuries, withdrew its armies and civil administration from the island. Raids and other attacks mostly by Picts (from Scotland) and Scots (from Ireland) but also by Saxons (anyone from beyond Rome's north-west European frontier) that had begun in the late fourth century continued into the fifth. By the early fifth century, immigrants from north-west Europe had begun to settle in eastern and south-eastern England in a population movement that continued until the end of the sixth century.[12] As towns dwindled in size and Roman coins ceased to be imported, urban markets for surplus and specialized goods disappeared and households were forced to adopt a more localized, subsistence strategy that included growing fewer crops and focusing more on pastoral husbandry. So influential was Germanic immigrant culture, however, that almost all aspects of daily life had been transformed in its image by about 450, especially the architecture and layout of dwellings and farmsteads, and the characteristic objects used in everyday life—from personal items like weaponry or jewellery to more generic household wares. By 600 new social hierarchies had emerged, led by an "Anglo-Saxon" warrior elite who rapidly replaced the local aristocrats who had previously led the administration of late Roman Britain. And the territorial polities into which post-Roman Britain had fragmented, many previously structured as subdivisions of Roman provincial government, had coalesced by the early seventh century into seven kingdoms that domi-

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nated England until they in turn were unified under the kingdom of Wessex in the early tenth century.

The first modern exponent of that interpretation of the history of post-Roman Britain was Edward Gibbon.[13] Building heavily on the few British and continental historical sources for the fifth and sixth centuries, the outline of his story remains familiar today: Saxon auxiliary units were raised for the defence of Britain in 449, and were soon followed by five thousand warriors in three fleets who "openly aspired to the conquest of Britain."[14] Fierce British resistance initially confined them to Kent, but was unable to contain them as further groups of colonists arrived, whose varying size and status reflected that of the "intrepid chieftain" by which each was led.[15] Over the following century the Saxons inexorably overcame the resistance of the late Roman elite and gradually extended their control across lowlands of southern, eastern, and central England. The vanquished peasantry "were reduced to servitude, and governed by the traditionary customs of the shepherds and pirates of Germany."[16] In the process "the arts and religion, the laws and language, which the Romans had so carefully planted in Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous successors."[17] By the seventh century, seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms stood on the ruins of the Roman past.

Successive generations of historians accepted this underlying narrative which gradually evolved in the light of new evidence and theoretical advances. In 1849 Edwin Guest portrayed a predominantly wooded landscape across southern England, interpreting Wansdyke and other similar earthworks as successive frontiers between Saxons and Britons that record the latter's gradual retreat westwards in the face of overwhelming Anglo-Saxon military superiority.[18] (In Maitland's imaginative description half a century later: "the German invaders must have been numerous. The Britons were no cowards. They contested the soil inch by inch.")[19] In areas of open country, especially along the major Roman roads, the conquerors found "a scene of desolation" and were immediately able to found their own farms and settlement, although "scattered here and there must have been towns, *castella* and forests in which the wretched [late Roman] inhabitants had taken refuge, and where they still maintained themselves."[20] The consequences for all aspects of Romano-British culture were devastating as successful Saxon conquerors eliminated all physical and cultural trace of their predecessors either because they had cleared the countryside, or because they had reduced the surviving late Romano-British population to a hopeless servitude.[21] Vinogradoff explained that "the formation of intermixed holdings and open-field customs in the case of settlements and plots gradually develop[ed] out of more or less complete isolation" in what he called the "tribal period."[22] T. A. M. Bishop added colour to the thesis in 1935, making a strong case for the evolution of open-fields as settlements gradually expanded into the wilderness.[23] The distribution of individual holdings across open-field furlongs at Leighton Bromswold (Huntingdonshire) were still explained in those terms in 1989: the smallest, oldest furlongs were divided between a few, original holdings; larger, later furlongs resulted from colonization of the remaining waste as the numbers of cultivators in the community rose.[24] A belief in the Germanic origins of the medieval landscape has persisted. In 1953 Homans wrote that "the customs of countrymen [...] are primary and early, probably as old as the Anglo-Saxon invasions."[25] Hoskins, whose seminal book on *The Making of the English Landscape* has not been out of print since it was first published in 1955, was similarly sure that "compact villages, of all sizes, are to be found in all counties, dating for the most part since Anglo-Saxon times. Everywhere they were accompanied originally by the open-field system."[26] Stenton considered that fifth-century colonization was "on a scale which can have left little room for British survival"[27]; by the sixth century, he declared, groups and individuals drawn from "a group of closely related Germanic nations" had extended their control across "the great plain of central England," destroying all trace of Romano-British society and culture.[28] Some recent research continues to make the same judgement: that late Roman property rights were

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entirely extinguished in the fifth and sixth centuries, so that "the question is not of the presence of manors or estates in earlier Anglo-Saxon times, but of the *emergence* of rights in land and rights over land."[29]

The growing contribution of archaeology to an understanding of the fifth and sixth centuries was constrained by the conviction that its role was largely to illustrate and add more detail to that early documentary evidence.[30] For many years, for example, archaeologists worked from the premise that the rapid adoption of apparently north-west European forms of pottery, jewellery, dress, and weaponry in the fifth and sixth centuries offered physical evidence for the Germanic migrants mentioned by Gildas in the early to mid-sixth century and Bede in the early eighth. New styles for everyday artifacts like ceramics, jewellery, and weaponry became widespread across eastern, southern, and central England in the early to middle fifth century. For some, the overwhelmingly Germanic character of the material culture revealed by archaeological excavation led to pessimistic conclusions about the survival of late Britons. Collingwood and Myers, for example, described how "the site of a new Saxon village" lay in "an occasional clearing in woodland, accessible by Roman road or navigable stream," in a largely unoccupied primal landscape, as "the whole structure of rural society was shattered and reformed" as late Britons were reduced to enforced servitude.[31] The distributions of these new forms of artifact were taken as the most visible markers of "Anglo-Saxon" culture, and the rapidity with which they became ubiquitous across England were interpreted as evidence of the settlers' dominance. It was on this basis, for example, that Fox concluded that Cambridgeshire south of the fens had "become Anglo-Saxon" by 450.[32] Attempts to chart the progress of the Anglo-Saxon conquest against late British survival took a range of forms. Differential distributions of Romano-British traditions of inhumation burials against the "Anglo-Saxon" practice of cremation were considered to provide "a welcome test of the areas in which a culturally negative British population was sufficiently numerous to record its otherwise invisible presence."[33] Early Anglo-Saxon domination of a "scanty and backward" population in Humberside and East Anglia was believed to be demonstrated by the introduction of cremation cemeteries in those areas; in Cambridge, by contrast, the large numbers of surviving late Britons, who continued to bury their dead, were, it was said, "sufficient to prevent an immediate adoption of more civilized habits."[34]

Leeds' analysis of the typology of early Anglo-Saxon brooches was especially influential. Believing that their distinctive styles represented immigrant groups from particular regions of north-west Europe, he proposed the coalescence of Germanic settlers into Anglian and Saxon cultural groupings after their arrival in England and felt able, on this basis, to suggest that the Angles mentioned by Bede had settled in east Anglia and along the north-east coast of England, and that Saxons had occupied the region further south along the Thames.[35] Although later work challenged Leeds's methods and his interpretations, his nomenclature persisted.[36] Maps showing the colonization of England by different Germanic groups, based on the distribution of different forms of early Anglo-Saxon artifact, were published as late as 2002.[37] In 2005 Arnold still felt able to say that "settlers predominantly from the Anglian area of Schleswig-Holstein and the island of Fyn were in mid, eastern and northern England from early in the fifth century along with some Saxons."[38] And Bartholomew remained certain that archaeology revealed "the mighty movement of peoples which took place in the early fifth century and which transformed the Britannia of the late Roman empire into the land of the Angles."[39] Even more recently, innovative research on the material culture of the period has concluded that "if the earliest cruciform brooches represent migrations, then they reconfirm an obvious concentration of newcomers in East Anglia."[40]

The consensus established by Gibbon, Guest, Maitland, and their successors has underpinned the dominant interpretations of the history of the period for over two hundred years. Artifacts, language, institutions, and the landscape

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were, the model suggests, aspects of a cultural package introduced by north-west European immigrants in the two centuries following the end of direct Roman administration of Britain. The earliest scholarship outlined above tended to describe it as so rapid that, by the end of the fifth century at the latest, Romano-Britons of all status were subordinate within a pervasive Germanic material culture, language, and identity deliberately imposed on them, and that stood in conscious opposition to those of late Roman Britain. More recent research tends to portray a more gradual shift from the fifth century when Britons were still unquestioningly regarded as Roman to the late sixth century when the distinctions between "Roman" Britons and "barbarians" were becoming increasingly blurred.[41]

There is a growing unease concerning the integrity of both the premises and that conventional narrative.[42] Yet there are few substantive challenges to the assumption that the cultural changes of the post-Roman centuries were, in one form or another, the consequence of immigration from north-west Europe; nor has a new explanatory model been developed. It is those *lacunae* to which this volume, necessarily restricted by its format, seeks to draw attention.

Paradigms—like the conventional explanation outlined above for the origins of the English—gain traction when they offer useful interpretations of the available evidence. Their utility becomes problematic when new material can no longer be fitted into them, or when they become a straightjacket for rather than a facilitator of explanation. Those problems are exacerbated when they remain unchallenged for so long that we forget that they are simply hypotheses offering neither certain principles nor unchallengeable truths. Eventually, the strain on the relationship between evidence and interpretation becomes so severe that the paradigm can be supported only through explanations of such complexity that they border on fiction. Such propositions include, for instance, the proposal that Germanic culture became predominant at least in part through widespread, informal sexual relationships between Romano-British women and Anglo-Saxon men, the latter culturally more adept at maintaining good relationships with their subordinates. Both those women and their children by their masters adopted Germanic language and culture, eventually leading to its dominance. There is no evidence to support any aspect of these narratives. Their development points to the significant strain placed on interpretations of English history after 400 by a dependence on the central role played by "Anglo-Saxon" immigration and ethnicity. Sims-Williams pointed to problems with the paradigm thirty-five years ago, citing the words of John Kemble in 1849: "I confess that the more I examine this question, the more completely I am convinced that the received accounts of our migrations, our subsequent fortunes, and ultimate settlement, are devoid of historical truth in every detail."[43] Was he right? Chapters 2, 3, and 4 explore that question.

Notes

[1] Procopius, *History of the Wars: Books VII and VIII*, ed. H. B. Dewing (London: Heinemann, 1962), at VIII.xx.4–8; Avril Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 213–16; for a more recent evaluation of Procopius' reliability, see Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 78–80. While much of Procopius' information about Britain appears garbled, it seems possible that his knowledge of the *Angli* was based on good information, since a group of Angles had accompanied a Frankish embassy in about 553 to the Byzantine court, with which Procopius had close connections. Note, too, that all dates are current era unless otherwise noted.

[2] *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great, by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), chaps. 9 and 12, also at 144–45n42. For a discussion of Pope Gregory's references to *Angli*, see Patrick Wormald, "*Bede*, the Bretwaldas and the Origins of the Gens Anglorum," in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. Patrick Wormald (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 99–129.

[3] "From the Laws of Ethelbert, King of Kent (602–603?)," in *English Historical Documents c.500–1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (London: Routledge, 1979), 390–93. Although Æthelberht's Laws

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survive only in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century copy (*Textus Roffensis*, Rochester, Cathedral Library, A.3.5, fols 1r–3v), archaic terms embedded within the text suggest that the original was written in Old English.

[4] "The Laws of Ine (688–694)," in *English Historical Documents c.500–1042*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (London: Routledge, 1979), 398–407; *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann (Halle: Niemeyer, 1903), 88–123.

[5] Bede*, Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Leo Sherley-Price, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1995).

[6] Birte Brugmann, "Migration and Endogenous Change," in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, ed. David Hinton, Helena Hamerow, and Sally Crawford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 30–45, at 30.

[7] Edward James, *Europe's Barbarians AD 200–600* (London: Routledge, 2009), 123.

[8] See, for example, Walter Pohl, "Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: A Comparative Perspective," in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century. An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. John Hines (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), 7–40, at 25; see also Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 37; Walter Goffart, *Barbarian Tides: Migration Age and the Later Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 93; James Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain. An Archaeological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 180.

[9] The phrase was first used by Peter Brown in his *The World of Late Antiquity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971). For subsequent usage see, for example, Ken Dark, *Civitas to Kingdom. British Political Continuity 300–800* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994); Rob Collins and James Gerrard, *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD 300–700*, BAR British Series, 365 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2004); Fiona Haarer and Rob Collins, ed., *AD410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2014).

[10] Martin Millett, *The Romanization of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 181–86.

[11] Christopher Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (London: George Philip, 1983), 64.

[12] For example, Martin Welch, "The Archaeological Evidence for Federate Settlement in Britain Within the Fifth Century," in *L'Armeé*

Romaine et Les Barbares du IIIe au VIIe siècle, ed. F. Vallet and M. Kazanski, Mémoires, 5 (Paris: L'Association Française d'Archéologie Mérovingienne, 1993), 269–78.

[13] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Abridged in Two Volumes*, vol. 1, chap. 38, part 2 (London: Straham and Cadell, 1790), 563–67. A full historiography is not attempted here; more extensive surveys can be found in, for example, Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle," *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983): 1–11, at 1–5, and in Nicholas Higham, *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1–16.

[14] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 564.

[15] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 564.

[16] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 565.

[17] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, 565.

[18] Edwin Guest, *Origines Celticae (A Fragment) and Other Contributions to the History of Britain*, vol. 2, 147 (Port Washington: Kennikat, 1983), 156; see also 151–52.

[19] Frederic Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), 222.

[20] Guest, *Origines Celticae*, 255, my addition.

[21] Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 222.

[22] Paul Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), 277, 476, my addition.

[23] T. A. M. Bishop, "Assarting and the Growth of Open Fields," *Economic History Review* 6 (1935–36): 26–40.

[24] Brian Roberts, *The Making of the English Village* (London: Longman, 1989), 49–51.

[25] George C. Homans, "The Rural Sociology of Medieval England," *Past and Present* 4 (1953): 32–43, at 39, my amendment.

[26] W. G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Penguin, 1955; reprinted, with editions by Christopher Taylor, London: Guild, 1988), 45.

[27] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 18, see also 26.

[28] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 and 28 respectively.

[29] Brian Roberts, *Landscapes, Documents and Maps* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2008), 166, my emphasis. See also Helena Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe: 400–900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 129; Debby Banham and Rosamond Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

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[30] For an excellent detailed summary of the archaeological historiography, see C. J. Arnold, *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (London: Routledge, 2005), chap. 1; Barbara Yorke, "Anglo-Saxon Origin Legends," in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters*, ed. Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (London: Routledge, 2008), 15–30, at 20n32.

[31] R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myers, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1945), 452, 444; see also 447.

[32] Cyril Fox, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 27.

[33] Collingwood and Myers, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 449; see also E. T. Leeds, "The Distribution of the Angles and the Saxons Archaeologically Considered," *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 1–106.

[34] Collingwood and Myers, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 449.

[35] E. T. Leeds, "The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered," *Archaeologia* 91 (1945): 1–106, at 2, 3, and 77–85.

[36] Margaret Faull, "Roman and Anglian Settlement Patterns in Yorkshire," *Northern History* 9, 1 (1974): 1–25; Julian Richards, "Cottam: An Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds," *Archaeological Journal* 156, 1 (1999): 1–111; Brian Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell, *Region and Place* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2002), 72–77; Julian Richards, Steve Ashby, Tony Austin, et al., "Cottam, Cowlam and Environs: An Anglo-Saxon Estate on the Yorkshire Wolds," *Archaeological Journal* 170, 1 (2013): 201–71.

[37] Roberts and Wrathmell, *Region and Place*, at Figures 3.7, 3.8, 3.9.

[38] Arnold, *Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, 23.

[39] Philip Bartholomew, "Continental Connections: Angles, Saxons and Others in Bede and Procopius," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 13 (2005): 19–30, at 28.

[40] Toby Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2015), 178.

[41] See, for example, Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 226–38; James, *Europe's Barbarians*, at chap. 5.

[42] See, for example, Collins and Gerrard, *Debating Late Antiquity*; Haarer and Collins, *AD410: History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*; Rob Collins, *Hadrian's Wall. The End of Empire*

(London: Routledge, 2012); Rob Collins, "Decline, Collapse or Transformation? The Case for the Northern Boundary of *Britannia*," in *Social Dynamics in the Northwest Frontiers of the Late Roman Empire: Beyond Decline or Transformation*, ed. Nico Roymans, Stijn Heeren, and Wim de Clercq (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 203–20; Sam Lucy, *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire*, BAR British Series, 272 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1998), at chap. 2; *Walter Pohl, Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Walter Pohl, ed., *Strategies of Identification: Ethnicity and Religion in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013). I am much indebted to Professor Sarah Semple for her emphasis on their importance.

[43] Sims-Williams, "Settlement of England," at 1.

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