

Christianization and Conversion In The Danelaw

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In the ninth and tenth centuries on the isle of Britain there was a unique and short-lived experience of religious and cultural intermingling called the Danelaw. The Danelaw was not as cut and dry of a region in organization and leadership as Mercia or Wessex was in their day, but it did have its own geographical parameters and laws. The Danelaw is a term that was used legally in contemporary times and now is used by historians to talk about this cultural experience under Viking leadership. The actual word simply means, 'the law of the Danes'.¹ The first usage of the term was in legal records, within the law code VI Æthelred from 1008, but that is not when the region began to form.² The law of the Danes first came to England when the Great Heathen Army arrived from the peninsula that is now Denmark. These raiding Vikings came from the regions, which are now Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. They won many battles against the splintered English kingdoms and gained territory but there were many different goals in the Viking leadership on what to do next. The Viking army eventually split up, one group went north to farm, another to France and the last one to follow Guthrum against King Alfred in the south. In 886 King Alfred and Guthrum came to a peace treaty that solidified the borders where the army held power and of what is today called the Danelaw.³ The borders encompassed, "settlements in Northumbria, East Anglia, the Five Boroughs...and the south-east Midlands."⁴ This is a large portion of the middle of the east coast of England. It was not ruled by Guthrum alone and was by no means a country in definition, but these lands became united by the laws and culture of the "Danes", a Danelaw.⁵ Vikings and long-time

Englishmen working side-by-side, farming and living now occupied this newly legalized area. The full extent that they interacted with each other is not clear but there was enough contact to cause changes that can be seen in hindsight.

The Danelaw was unique in culture as well as organization and history. These few years created a mixing of peoples that affected the religion and culture of England forever. Christianity before the Danelaw's time had been solidified in people's lives for generations but that was not the case for the new settlers from Scandinavia. Living together side by side, suddenly, caused some unique interactions. The settlers had come from many different regions in Scandinavia to live and farm, but they shared a common Norse religion. Norse culture and English Christian culture were quite different from each other. The less established pagan religiosity that the settlers had come from in Scandinavia was in many ways a stark contrast to early Christianity with the pope, local religious leadership, and tradition rooted in daily activity and piety. Assimilation and conversion to Christianity did eventually occur for the pagan settlers, but how did this happen? Their own religion and culture had also been solidified by generations through their ancestry and it would not have easily disappeared from their hearts and minds just from a move. Thus, when trying to answer the question of Christianization and conversion in the Danelaw a complex series of events presents itself. Beginning with the conversion of the Scandinavian leaders for political purposes, then the creation of a positive view of Christianity for the common settlers due to religious parallels and finally acceptance of Christian practices, know as Christianization, occurred

all before the end of the Danelaw. Christianization is acceptance of the Christian way of living that occurs in the community that surrounds them. Conversion is an actual change in practices so that a person begins to follow the way of life that Christianization caused them to accept in others. The issue of the settler's story of assimilation into a Christian culture is that true conversion of the heart and daily practices could not occur until the institution of real Church authority in the Danelaw. The Scandinavians who stayed in England did accept Christian practices and their leaders did convert but conversion in the average settlers, rather than mere Christianization, could not occur until there was a powerful entity such as the Christian Church overseeing the practices of the people. The Danelaw became the perfect setting for Christianization, but not conversion.

The differences between conversion and Christianization are not as slight or unimportant as it could seem. When discussing people's identity and their religion, all the details are important, especially conversion versus Christianization. The introduction, "Networks of Conversion, Cultural Osmosis and Identities in the Viking Age," for a collection of papers titled *Conversion and Identity in the Viking Age*, points to the difficulty differentiating between converting to a religion spiritually and embracing the religion culturally.⁶ There is a similar idea when discussing the Danelaw itself in a paper by Lesley Abrams presented at the Thirteenth Viking Congress, a meeting of scholars to annually discuss new findings in the field. The paper, "The Conversion of the Danelaw," shows that without truly defining these two terms the point of the changes the Scandinavian settlers went through cannot be demonstrated fully.⁷ The difference is important because research seems to suggest that Christianization occurred while conversion needed a more centralized environment to happen. Christianization in the Danelaw was the "cultural osmosis" or religious syncretism of the pagan way of life with the English Christians.⁸ Conversion construed as being the actual practice of transitioning to being Christian in daily practice and identity. The clearest examples of conversion are the Viking leaders. They converted but it was for political and economic reasons, such as King Guthred's conversion.⁹ These types of conversions did not necessarily mean that the average pagan subject followed their leaders like sheep and converted, but it did set an example and even a precedent for future

leaders and subjects. The leader's conversion gave a precursor to lower parts of society seeing Christianity in a better light, as the convert himself is the symbol of the region and he has the most weight with the people. The lowest parts of the Danelaw's society's process would take much longer with a Christianization of culture before true conversion could happen. Ildar Garipzanov illustrates the many steps for a large-scale conversion; leaders converting, then their subjects following with the Christianization of the original culture, which in this case was pagan.¹⁰ The settlers had to become comfortable with Christianity and a merging of traditions had to occur before they would uproot their own beliefs and practices of their ancestors. For this "cultural osmosis" to occur it required pagan practices to be melded with Christian ones, Viking leaders to convert to the Christian God, and an absence of strict doctrine through lack strong of overarching religious leadership in the Danelaw. These things occurring together in the Danelaw caused a "receptive environment for Christianity" and for conversion to later occur as well.¹¹

The Scandinavians who came over to settle in the Danelaw would have brought over their pagan religion with them. Christianity would not be practiced widely in their homelands until the end of the tenth century.¹² The pagan religion, generally called the Nordic religion, that they brought with them was polytheistic, communal, centered around rituals, supernatural, and hardly demanding in lifestyle.¹³ Some examples of their many gods are Thor, Odin, Frey, Bregi, Loki, etc. These gods were not unanimous or civil to each other in Nordic mythology. Worshipers followed those that related to them the best in their own lifestyle or within a specific moment of need.¹⁴ The gods were not meant to be worshiped equally or all at once or even mimicked. This religion was very localized with specific cults of ancestors, god worship and religious sites with local religious importance.¹⁵ Their practices were very communal; it brought everyone together for festivals and religious days. The local sites were important to a specific geographically close community and most of the people in it would all worship one locally revered god or ancestors. Worship was a joint effort centered on a day with certain activities such as; feasts, sacrifices, story telling, and calls for divine intervention for the community.¹⁶ Another aspect of Nordic religion is the level of supernatural beings in everyday life. These could be dead or living human or non-human types or even

just pieces of the land. The beings had to be contended with and always had a connection to daily human lives.¹⁷ Level of religious activity in a person was the doorway into affecting change or their own purpose on these beings, not a goal or requirement of society. Overall this was not a religion that required dogmatic theology, heartfelt devotion or even autonomy to only Nordic gods. It was more of a social entity that penetrated Scandinavian culture more than the soul.¹⁸ The shape of these practices, connection to community and land allowed for the Christianization of the immigrants in England. They were away from their local cult support that was left at home and this opened them to other religious culture.

The studies surrounding Viking religious culture and Christianization agree on the Nordic religion being a free religion that would have been flexible enough to accept Christian ideas and activities easily. In this research, time and again authors come to the see Christianization of the Scandinavians surrounded by Christianity as a probable conclusion caused by the open culture of the Nordic religion. The Christianization began in the Danelaw by leaving their roots back in Scandinavia. Picking up and leaving this entire foundation would have especially shook them as they settled in England, an identified and solid Christian community. They were away from their sites, festivals, and religious leaders. They did not have any doctrine or religious books to harden them against a different religion.¹⁹ In going against a very well defined religion such as Christianity, that has hard and fast doctrine, it is likely that early Nordic peoples in England would have tried to test God against Thor or Odin. These comparisons and challenges led to even more contact than living in the same community provides. Comparison causes discussion and interaction that can make waves in a once religiously united community. Even only a few years after the treaty between King Alfred and Guthrum there is a letter from the archbishop of Reims who is thanking King Alfred for his appointment of a bishop of Canterbury. Canterbury is in Wessex, at this time under King Alfred, but is close to the border to the Danelaw. In the letter the archbishop is clearly concerned about the pagan influence on the Christians to the point of citing new practices occurring that he deems contrary to the accepted theology.²⁰ Now that there was more knowledge passing between the two groups it allowed for similarities to become evident and syncretism to occur, "The very exclusivity of native religions

(Christianity) could spawn interest in comparing neighboring cults. That such awareness of other religions eventually led to a convergence of religious outlook."²¹ Similarities begin to take shape and over time the differences seem less important to the less indoctrinated pagans. Seeing the religions as not being that different from each other bridges the gap between them causing acceptance, causing Christianization and an easier step to take to conversion.

Some of the religious similarities are even simple enough for modern Christians to grasp. On top of these similarities there were natural proclivities of the Nordic religious culture that lent themselves to acceptance of Christian culture as Thomas A. DuBois says in his book, "similarities may emerge between religious polities that appear at first mutually exclusive or even openly antagonistic toward one another."²² In his book, *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*, he goes into a list of examples of parallels between the two religions and how Christian culture could have been easily accepted because of them. One of the first things that opened them up initially was the overall Nordic acceptance of other faiths.²³ Many even accepted the Christian God as another god to add to their own and switched around loyalties just as they did with their own gods, "a tradition of comparison, in which the Christian Lord appears at first as just one deity of the sky, vying with others for the best."²⁴ Another example is the Nordic belief in the abilities of spirits and ancestors, which lends to an acceptance of Christian guardian angles. There also was an easy comparison to the cult of the saints that spoke to the loss of their ancestors when they moved away.²⁵ The cult of saints' traditions were so similar to different pagan practices that there was little change through assimilation. Both have ties to relic like objects and have local groups with special followings. DuBois illustrates the connection of this to the larger point of Christianization and not conversion in the Danelaw, "the unofficial assimilation of native cults into the community of saints may have eased the process of Christianization for many."²⁶ Joining this with their local loyalty proclivities would have created a plausible need to be a part of the English local traditions or at least seeing the good in them. Another easy acceptance would have been the idea of Christ rising from the dead because in Nordic religious legends rising from the dead occurs often. Having the similarities would have led to comfort with Christianity and even merging of religious ideas for

the Nordic settlers, drawing back to Garipzanov, “The package of religious ideas transmitted in this way must have been eclectic to say the least, and it could easily have been blended with local religious ideas.”²⁷ This mixing is evidenced by a lot of unique material pieces showing both religious traditions from the Danelaw period.

The architectural and artistic evidence left behind on stone crosses, churches, and material evidence shows the syncretism of religious ideas; pagan myths are mixed in Christian art, Christ is shown next to Thor, the hammer next to the cross. The Middleton Cross is an example of this merging. The Middleton Cross, a stone sculpture found in Yorkshire, England is a Christian cross with the Scandinavian knot design, a warrior with Viking garb and a beast on the back in a similar Scandinavian design. Just as there are parallels in Nordic religion and Christianity and comparisons occurred, the stone sculptures in the Danelaw show that these things were actually used for Christianization. Hadley describes Richard Bailey arguing for Christianization evidence through the pagan scenes on stone sculpture, “could be interpreted as Christian teaching and art ‘being presented in Scandinavian terms,’ in which parallels were drawn between Christian themes and Scandinavian mythology and pagan beliefs.” Even in jewelry and clothing there is evidence of cultural mixing. In Gabor Thomas’ analysis of the metalwork from the Danelaw he concludes that it, “may represent a case of the selective use of material culture to facilitate the process of cultural ingratiation.” The things that were left behind indicate that the process of Christianization was occurring in the Danelaw. The leadership converting also used these pieces of art and sculpture, if only for political reasons it still affected the Danelaw’s ecclesiastical position and their cultural setup which all spurred the Christianization of the pagan people.

When Lesley Abrams remarks about the impact of leadership conversion on the people she grasps the importance and connection, “conversion involved leaders, while Christianization was about the people they led.”²⁸ To even create the Danelaw a conversion of leadership had to occur. In 878 after being defeated by King Alfred, King Guthrum had to receive baptism as a Christian with a new name. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recounts the event, “After three weeks came Godrum (Guthrum), one of thirty of the most worthy men, and the king received him at baptism there.”²⁹ His baptism

not only meant that the Danelaw was literally solidified legally with a conversion but that Guthrum and his men set a precedent that other pagan leaders like him could use Christianity for political purposes. In a way it also meant that a pagan or Christian identity did not define this new region under the law of the Danes. Converted members of the Danelaw with political position used their conversion to grasp the Church’s influence in England, which allowed for the Church to gain its own power back as well. A perfect example of a leader conversion coupled with the Church’s influence on political power within the Danelaw is Guthred. As it is cited in *The History of St. Cuthbert*, Guthred is chosen by God as a slave in the army of the Danes and is crowned and “redeemed” by an abbot after following Cuthbert’s orders from beyond the grave.³⁰ While the circumstances seem unlikely there was a King Guthred ruling over the Northumbria region of the Danelaw and he did give rights and land to the Church during his reign, specifically to St. Cuthbert’s followers. His own crowning has a mixture of Christian and pagan elements of kingship garments involved. Everything about Guthred suggests him playing both sides. Many suggest that he did this to gain political authority and authenticity in English society.³¹ The Church would have supported the pagan leadership, using them and converting them only on the surface because this way the bishops could get back into the Danelaw region. This relationship was supported on both sides as Julia Barrow says in her paper “Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw”,

“They (bishops) were politically and ecclesiastically influential only where they held estates. The archbishops of York needed the support of Scandinavian political leaders to obtain or preserve endowments; in return, presumably, they offered to urge their flock to accept the new political framework.”³²

This mutually beneficial transaction between cultures would not have existed under the same society as what was previously in Mercia or Wessex. The pagan outlook and fractured leadership led to changes in the ecclesiastical makeup and a breakdown of society within the Danelaw. All of this created an environment that caused Christianization to flourish for the pagan settlers as their leaders utilized the tool of Church authority in English lands.

Before Church authority was shaken by the Viking attacks and subsequent possession of English land there was a complete hierarchy of archbishops,

bishops and their jurisdictions. A lot of the time there was a struggle for power between the Archbishoprics of York and Canterbury. Each one vying for the right to oversee more Christian souls, money and land than the other in England's eastern kingdoms. The way to gain authority was from royal appointment of lands and money, known as patronage. Just before and during the wars prior to the creation of the Danelaw, the English kings were trying to lessen the power of the Church in their kingdoms and to take back territory. There was less patronage from the Christian born English kings than might be expected. Politically it was about the power and money, not the religious fervor. This power struggle easily continued into the Danelaw period under pagan rule. It is generally seen as a sort of tug of war between keeping the Church's power in check while trying to also use their pull with the people to the leader's benefit. As discussed earlier Scandinavian leadership used conversion and the pull of the Church to enhance their own authority and solidify their position with the Christian population so they gave patronage, often more than the English kings did, and their own conversion for support but it came with a price. Gale Owens discusses the limitations on Church law that would likely have occurred under Scandinavian leadership, even if they converted, "They would accept baptism, Christian funerals and religious art; but where ecclesiastical law forbade them to marry a kinswoman or demanded dues they were unwilling to pay, some doubtless ignored it."³³ On a more specific organizational level within the Church there was also an amount of disruption alongside the political disruptions. The changes in organization were important to the new pagan population's assimilation. Lesley Abrams draws attention to the need of understanding the changes, "the acceptance of baptism was at least intended to impose requirements and prohibitions even on new converts and to constitute a more substantial change...it follows that conversion should have required the support of clergy."³⁴ If people do not know how to actually become an active converted Christian due to a lack of clergy or organization of churchmen then pagans would have a hard time doing more than Christianizing before the institutionalized religion returned.

In 886 the Danelaw's ecclesiastical sanctioned areas were the dioceses of York, Lindsey, Leicester, Elmham, and *Dummoc*, also parts of London and Linchfield.³⁵ The largest disruption from the change of power was the movement of jurisdiction to a smaller

number of dioceses. This was caused by less initial endowments to the Church and less students of the Church in these areas. With less money and students there were less bishops and priests being trained so there were less men to oversee churches or dioceses which caused less dioceses over much bigger regions, such as York.³⁶ York was especially connected to the new leadership as evidenced by the minting of coins there with the names of saints during the Danelaw period.³⁷ The remaining dioceses did enjoy this time since there was more power, wealth and land for the few bishops left in the Danelaw, but this meant that those that stayed mainly stayed for land. Julia Barrow concludes this in her discussion of the changes that occurred in the Church during this time, "Overall, it is evident that in the tenth century the major preoccupation of bishops in the Danelaw area was the acquisition of land."³⁸ The bishops needed Scandinavian support to get what they wanted so this created a Church atmosphere of using the new leadership and the lack of bishops to increase jurisdiction for themselves. This just caused larger dioceses over more land and less control over the churches within it. A far away bishop or archbishop does not understand or concern themselves with the affairs of smaller unknown churches with pagan settlers to convert.

Other issues occurred with the new system of ecclesiastical institutions in the Danelaw. D.M. Hadley in *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure c. 800-1100*, she claims that these larger institutions would become socially irrelevant to their wide geography of authority, thus becoming not able to connect to the churches who need them the most for converting. The smaller churches call for conversion of the pagans would have fallen on deaf ears with bishops who were far away and only cared about land. New churches and new priests to fill the empty bishoprics where not created for these new populations, this was not the concern, power was. Hadley remarks on how empty positions would have caused a large issue with conversion, "it makes it difficult to envisage how the church managed to deal with the Scandinavian settlers and their paganism, since both the bishops and religious communities...were responsible for both providing pastoral care and training new recruits to the religious life." The lack of bishops and its effects on the conversion of the new settlers was even noticed by the pope himself. A letter written from Pope Formosus to the bishops of England a few years

after the creation of the Danelaw illustrates this, “As soon as the death of the brother is announced to him, who, bearing the rule of the chief see, is set over the rest of the bishops among you, a canonical election is to be made and another to be consecrated and to succeed.” In the beginning of the letter Formosus also mentions the issue of pagan rites proliferating areas of England without much reaction, much like what the Archbishop of Reims was concerned about in his letter in 890. Another part of the Formosus’ letter is the proclamation of the dioceses of Canterbury as the head of English Church authority over York. This part of the letter could have been later altered by bishops in Canterbury trying to claim rights over York or it could signify Rome’s observance of the Danelaw’s bishops becoming too involved in Scandinavian affairs and seeking power. Either way, the pope is clearly concerned about how the lack of bishops is resulting in a lack of leadership throughout the Danelaw causing pagan settlers to not come into the Christian fold while under their jurisdiction.

Many see the ecclesiastical activity within the Danelaw to be next to nothing due to primary source evidence. Due to the disruption of the Great Heathen Army there were many Christian patrons and priests who left their parishes and many bishops in the cities who were killed or ran away to be a bishop without a bishopric. Those priests that stayed in their parishes were disconnected from the Church authority and had no one to help them with pagans and how to convert them. On a local level the priests would have had little guidance so that there was no united front of Christian leadership to convert the new pagan masses. Instead the average local Christians could Christianize the pagan settlers without dogmatic theological rules, which were generally supported by the Church authority, to get in the way. Comparisons, familiarity and acceptance of ideas and culture could occur among the settlers because there was no authority forcing them to do anything they did not want to do. This allowed for the settlers to ease into acceptance of the religion that was new to them. A strong centralized Church forcing their hand on a hardheaded culture such as the Vikings so would have slowed down initial Christianization, a lack of this strong Church authority really helped Christianization and later conversion. The conclusion to be made of Church authority in the Danelaw was that there was a connection to the new leadership with wider reaching dioceses but less bishops which

all caused a limited impact on actual conversion of the pagans but allowed for a flexibility that caused Christianization instead.

Around 918 King Edward the Elder brought much of Scandinavian owned lands under his rule.³⁹ Before his death he started the unification of England under one king which his son, Æthelstan later held as his title, King of the English. They began a line of Christian kings with one kingdom and one way of organizing the Church in England causing a push for everyone to be English and Christian identifiers. With better organization in the Church started by a Christian-born ruler with a connection to the pope, bishops could be trained, and positions filled, so pagan conversion could be focused on. Under the new rule everyone was to be English and Christian identifiers, not just sympathizers. King Æthelstan was a devout Christian who gave his sister in marriage to one of the last kings of York, Sihtric, who Æthelstan would have made receive baptism.⁴⁰ Unified rule under a Christian who sought out conversion, and not just Christianization of the pagans, would have caused true conversion of the common settlers. In *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely* there is a mention of a group of pagans who had not only converted and accepted baptism but also gave land to the Church in the late-tenth-century.⁴¹ This means that there were converts who were Christians and active in the church only a few decades after unification. Around the 950s there is even a mixed-race Danish and Anglo-Saxon, bishop with high royal favor, Archbishop of York Oscytel.⁴² This means that there was a mixed-race interaction to create a child that was legitimate enough and had enough wealth to be educated and was an active Christian enough that he became a clergy member and eventually an archbishop. A Christian king with power over these settlers, now children of the settlers, could push actual conversion to the people and not just the leadership or elite. Lesley Abrams has illustrated these points so profoundly in two different papers in two different books that her summation is perfect,

“We should at least consider whether the revival of ecclesiastical life in Danelaw kingdoms had to wait for the reassertion of the English rule; this might, in turn, suggest that much of the Scandinavian population within these kingdoms might not have been brought into the Christian fold until after they lost their political independence.”⁴³

Scandinavians coming over to England and creating such a large change in set-up and population diversity is something that can never be fully understood; however, the change of the settlers from pagan to Christian is one change that has shed some light on it from study and primary sources. Christianization of culture occurred first for the pagan population. They accepted the old society's ways that now surrounded them as their home and foundation of ancestral local communities were no longer beneath them. The parallels between the two religions and daily lives made this acceptance much easier and more likely. The conversion of leadership also allowed for a positive view of the religion, but the new organization of Church institutions did not facilitate true conversion into Christianity. The lack of bishops and clergy kept the pagans who were accepting Christian culture not in the church and still pagans in practice. Once unification of England and the Church was back under a Christian ruler then conversion became essential once again to bishops. The Vikings came and those who stayed accepted the English and Christian way of life as being culturally appropriate but did not convert until centralized rule forced the mass conversion which was helped on by the initial Christianization from the Danelaw's free culture of religious mixing.

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⁹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 96.

¹⁰ Garipzanov, "Introduction: Networks of Conversion," 8-9.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹² Christopher Abrams, "The Conversion and Christianization of Scandinavia: A critical review of recent scholarly writings," in *Conversion and Identity in the Viking Age*, ed. Ildar Garipzanov (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014), 66.

¹³ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Lost Beliefs of Northern Europe*, (London: Routledge, 1993), 142.

¹⁴ Thomas A. DuBois, *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 59.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 5, 42, 47, 59.

¹⁶ Davidson, *The Lost Beliefs*, 142.

¹⁷ DuBois, *Nordic Religions*, 31.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

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³⁰ *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of His Patrimony*, ed. Ted Johnson South, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 53.

³¹ Abrams, "The Conversion of the Danelaw," 37. D. M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c. 800-1100*, (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 312.

³² Julia Barrow, "Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw," in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2000), 161.

- ³³ Gale R. Owens, *Rites and Religions of the Anglo-Saxons*, (London: David & Charles, 1981), 176.
- ³⁴ Abrams, "Conversion and Assimilation," 139, 142.
- ³⁵ Barrow, "Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw," 156.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Ibid., 168.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 161.
- ³⁹ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 118-119.
- ⁴⁰ Abrams, "The Conversion of the Danelaw," 39.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., 38. *Liber Eliensis: a history of the Isle of Ely from the seventh century to the twelfth*, trans. Janet Fairweather, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 128.
- ⁴² Barrow, "Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw," 159.
- ⁴³ Abrams, "The Conversion of the Danelaw," 40.