REBEL ANGELS: POLITICAL THEOLOGY AND THE FALL OF THE ANGELS TRADITION IN OLD ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

"Rebel Angels: Political Theology and the Fall of the Angels Tradition in Old English Literature" argues that the story of the fall of the rebel angels provided Anglo-Saxon authors with a rich discursive field in which to ground earthly business – political power, legal order, communal identity, and the cultural logic of rebellion and reform – in unearthly authority. This extra-biblical narrative shaped prevailing attitudes towards lordship and dissent and underwrote protocols for counteracting crises such as ecclesiastical corruption, external invasion, and social disobedience. This study traces the fall of the angels narrative through diverse Latin and vernacular genres including royal charters of the Benedictine Reform era (*c*. 964-984), vernacular homilies written during the Viking raids (*c*. 1002-1023), verse saints' lives by Cynewulf, the anonymous poems *Andreas* and *Guthlac A*, and the Old English biblical poetry of the Junius Manuscript (*Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, and *Christ and Satan*). This project demonstrates how Anglo-Saxon authors appropriated the fall of the rebel angels narrative in moments of historical crisis and upheaval. Frequently casting their adversaries in the role of the fallen angels, Anglo-Saxon authors correlated this narrative with the exegetical "doctrine of replacement" – according to which faithful Christians would inherit the heavenly territories forfeited by the rebellious angels – as a way to articulate their national identity as a converted people.

For my parents

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ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
CH	*Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, ed. Peter Clemoes and Malcolm Godden, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979-2000).
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ACMRS	Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-1953).
Bosworth-Toller	Joseph Bosworth, T. Northcote Toller, and Alistair Campbell, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882-1898, 1908-1921, 1972).
CCCC	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-).
CMRS	Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: Hölder-Pitchler-Tempsky, 1866-).
CPG	*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols. ed. Mauritius Geerard (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974-1987).
CPL	*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. Eligius Dekkers and Aemilius Garr (Steenbrugge: Turnhout, 1995).
DOE	*Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online*, ed. Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, Antonette diPaolo Healey, et. al. (Toronto: 2007).
EETS	Early English Texts Society
o.s.	Original Series (London: EETS, 1864-).
s.s.	Supplementary Series (London: EETS, 1970-).

HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society (London: 1891-).
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
LSE	*Leeds Studies in English*
MÆ	*Medium Ævum*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MP	*Modern Philology*
Neophil	*Neophilologus*
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
OE	Old English
ON	Old Norse
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris: n.p. 1857-1903).
PIMS	Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies
PL	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: n.p. 1844-).
PMCASS	Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
SASLC	*Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs, et al. (in progress).
SEEL	Studies in Early English Literature
SEEH	Studies in Early English History
SEMA	Studies in the Early Middle Ages
SP	*Studies in Philology*

INTRODUCTION

In the eighth century, a student named Sigewulf asked his teacher Alcuin about the Bible's silence regarding the well-known story of the fall of the angels. Two centuries later, Ælfric of Eynsham translated Sigewulf's question: 'Why was the sin of the angels passed over in the book of Genesis, and that of mankind told?' (*Hwi wæs þære engla syn forsuwod on þære bec Genesis, and þæs mannes swa gesæd*?). Ælfric also rendered Alcuin's straightforward response in Old English: 'Because God determined that he would heal the sin of man, not the devil's' (*Forþan þe God gemynte þæt he wolde þæs mannes synne gehælan, na þæs deofles*).[1] Indeed, no traces of the overreaching pride of Lucifer, the war in heaven, or the fall of the rebel angels are to be found in Genesis, although certain verses in other biblical books were thought to allude to it.[2]

The earliest attempts to supply this apparent lacuna appear in Jewish apocalyptic traditions such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*,[3] and later in the biblical and exegetical commentaries of the Church fathers.[4] Believing that the fall of Adam and Eve was only half the story, Anglo-Saxon authors eagerly adopted both apocryphal and patristic ideas surrounding the

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[1] Text from "A Critical Edition of Ælfric's Translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbiteri* and of the Related Texts *De creatore et creatura* and *De sex etatibus huius seculi*" W. Stoneman (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1983), 85; see also G. MacLean, "Ælfric's Version of *Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesin*," *Anglia* 6 (1883): 425-473; 7 (1884): 1-59. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[2] Old Testament references to the fall of the angels appear in Ezra 28:12-17 and Isaiah 14:13-15. In the New Testament, allusions appear in Luke 10:18 and 15:9-9, the Epistle of Jude 6, John 8:44, and Revelation 12:9.

[3] Written *c*. 70 AD, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* suggests that corruption on earth is the work of fallen angels. See *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch: A New English Translation with Commentary and Textual Notes*, ed. and trans. Matthew Black (Leiden: Brill, 1985). See also *SASLC: The Apocrypha*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs, Instrumenta Anglistica Mediaevalia 1 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007).

[4] The two major patristic authorities concerned with the fall of the angels were Augustine of Hippo and Pope Gregory the Great. Augustine details angelic creation and the angelic rebellion in the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 62 (*CCSL* 46.82), *De Genesi ad Litteram* 11.24 (*CSEL* 28.1), and *De Civitate Dei* 22.1 (*CCSL* 48.807); Gregory's writings on the fall of the angels can be found in his *Homiliarum in Evangelia* 34 (*CCSL* 141A.6) and throughout his *Moralia in Iob* (*PL* 76; especially 477ff). Anglo-Saxons enthusiastically adapted these Christian Latin doctrines to fit their own cultural interests. Bede, for instance, discusses the rebel angels in Homily II, 3 (*CCSL* 122.205), *In Lucae Euangelium Expositio* (*CCSL* 120A.285ff), his Commentary on the Epistle of Jude 6 (*CCSL* 121A), as well as his commentaries on Ezra 6:14-15 (*CCSL* 119A), and Tobias (*CCSL* 119B).

angelic rebellion and the primal conflict which *must* have set things in motion. The story of the fall of the angels is therefore widely attested from the time of Bede all the way to the eve of the Norman Conquest, from the riddles of Aldhelm[5] to early cosmographies such as those written by Aethicus Ister[6] to late medieval Arthurian texts.[7]

Scholars have been interested in how Anglo-Saxon authors understood and appropriated the story of the fall of the angels for well over a century. In the Anglo-Saxon period, the narrative can be traced through a wide range of genres, from sermons to saints' lives to royal charters to riddles[8] to devotional and wisdom poetry,[9] each of these genres offering a window into this narrative's place within the Anglo-Saxon cultural imaginary. C. Abbetmeyer's *Old*

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[5] *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, trans. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1985). In his riddle, *De Lucifero*, Aldhelm plays on Lucifer's identity as the "morning star" or "light-bearer" (derived from Isaiah 14:12 and Luke 10:18). Here, Lucifer expresses nostalgia for the protection of God's law exclaiming, 'How happy I once was when God's law was being obeyed!' (88). Aldhelm depicts the perils of vanity in his account of the fall of Lucifer in *Carmen de Virginitate*: 'the angelic leader and the first shining light of heaven eagerly desired to promote his own greatness from the north and in his wickedness vowed to be like the Lord. Then bedecked with the lovely shape of nine gem-stones he began, in vain, to swell up against the Creator, as he pondered a horrendous crime in his dark breast' (163).

[6] *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, ed. Michael W. Herren, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 8ff.

[7] The fall of the angels is the subject of a riddling contest between Parzival and Trevrizent in Book IX of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*; see *Parzival*, ed. Wolfgang Spiewok, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: 1981).

[8] *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, ed. and trans. Daniel Anlezark, Anglo-Saxon Texts 7 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), ll. 265-297. Anlezark argues that *Solomon and Saturn II* was influenced by various apocrypha including *Enoch*. See "The Fall of the Angels in *Solomon and Saturn II*," in *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Kathryn Powell and Donald G. Scragg (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003): 121-133. Saturn poses the following question to Solomon: 'why does Fate the mighty accuse us, the beginning of all torments, mother of all hostility, root of woe, source of weeping, father and mother of each ancient wickedness?' (ll. 265-268). Solomon's answer describes how a 'proud one' (*ofermodan*) once boasted of his desire to 'completely ravage the kingdom of the heavens and to occupy half himself, and procreate himself with the tenth part' (ll. 276-277a).

[9] The fall of the angels appears in the penitential poem *Resignation* in *The Exeter Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, ASPR III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). It reads, 'Do not thou permit yet the devil to lead thy limbs on the hateful journey, lest they might rejoice in that original presumption in which they, the proud angels, seemed better to themselves than eternal Christ' (ll. 52b-56). A similar attempt to inspire obedience can be seen in *Vainglory*, where the fall is a self-contained 'song' (*gyd*) sung by a 'prophet' (*witga*): 'Whoever sets himself up through pride in his time of cruelty, and raises himself up arrogantly, will have to be humbled miserably after his death-journey, brought down to live in fixed torments, surrounded by thronging worms. It was long ago in the kingdom of God that arrogance arose among the angels, a famous struggle; they instigated the quarrel, started a violent attack; they polluted heaven and despised their creator, when they meant, as was not right, to turn traitor and deprive the noble and mighty king of his lordly throne, and the live in the joyful land of glory. The father of creation denied them that by force; the fight turned out too grim for them' (ll. 52-66).

English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin (1903)[10] offered an initial overview of the Old English and Anglo-Latin texts that incorporate the theme of the fall of the angels as well as its patristic backgrounds. Following Abbetmeyer's work there was a concentrated interest in exploring the appearance of rebel angels in the Old English poetic corpus and its connection to patristic writings,[11] but prose writings (by both anonymous and known authors) and other sources of Anglo-Saxon literary culture such as charters and grants have been relatively neglected.[12] Source analysis has yielded invaluable insights into the transmission and appropriation of this narrative throughout Anglo-Saxon England,[13] and scholars such as Renée R. Trilling have recently begun to apply contemporary theoretical approaches to reveal the broader cultural implications of translation within biblical and heroic narrative poetry.[14]

Biblical poetry undoubtedly offered Anglo-Saxon poets a rich discursive and conceptual field in which to uncover the points of contact and also the tensions between their inherited Christian and native Germanic worldviews. As Malcom Godden observes, Anglo-Saxons of all stripes found the Bible

> an ever-useful storehouse of information and inspiration … Old Testament narratives were infinitely more compatible with the traditional Germanic heroic ethos than were their New Testament counterparts. Their emphasis upon glory in war, fealty to one's lord, and the importance of a unified and strong nation was easily converted and translated into compelling heroic poetry.[15]

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[10] C. Abbetmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1903), 17-18.
[11] See Bernard F. Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1959).
[12] See Michael Fox, "Ælfric on the Creation and Fall of the Angels," *ASE* 31 (2002): 175-200 and Charles D. Wright, "More Old English Poetry in Vercelli Homily XXI," in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe: ACMRS, 2002), 245-262.
[13] See for instance, J. M. Evans, "*Genesis B* and Its Background," *RES* 14 (1963): 1-16 and J. M. Evans, "*Genesis B* and Its Background," *RES* 14 (1963): 113-123; Thomas D. Hill, "The Fall of Angels and Man in the Old English *Genesis B*," in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation, For John C. McGalliard*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores Warwick Frese (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), 279-290.
[14] Renée R. Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia: Historical Representation in Old English Verse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
[15] Malcolm Godden, "Literature and the Old Testament," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 206-226 (206).

Scholars of Old English biblical poetry have been fascinated with these issues and the way that Anglo-Saxon poets infuse Christian narratives with the Germanic heroic ethos.[16] In fall of the angels narratives, this is frequently accomplished by Anglo-Saxon authors casting the figure of Satan as a nobleman or retainer who betrays his lord's munificence and is banished from his *gedryht*, doomed to wander in exile.[17] In this way, the adaptation of biblical stories for Anglo-Saxon readers presents us with significant political and cultural implications.[18] As Hugh Magennis observes, Satan's "treachery represents the reverse of the great Anglo-Saxon ideal of loyalty."[19] Owing to this direct intersection of Anglo-Saxon considerations of social obligation and religious obedience, we can uncover how accounts of the angelic rebellion shaped and were shaped by prevailing Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards lordship and law, ritual and reform, and crime and punishment.

The narrative's intrinsic connection to notions of lordship and its subversion is significant and raises important questions about the Anglo-Saxon legal order and developing theory of kingship, particularly since Anglo-Saxon kings were regarded as the primary source of legal authority.[20] According to Thomas Bisson, medieval "Lordship matters because the human realities of power – command, allegiance, accountability, coercion, and violence – were bound

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[16] See Alvin A. Lee, *The Guest-hall of Eden: Four Essays on the Design of Old English Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).
[17] See Michael Cherniss, "Heroic Ideals and the Moral Climate of *Genesis B*," *Modern Language Quarterly* 30 (1969): 479-497.
[18] Samantha Zacher, *Rewriting the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon Verse: Becoming the Chosen People* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 18.
[19] Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 15.
[20] For debates surrounding Anglo-Saxon kingship, see Patrick Wormald, "*Lex scripta* and *verbum regis*: Legislation and Germanic Kingship from Euric to Cnut," in *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image, and Experience* (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), 1-48 (38). For a useful assessment of the Anglo-Saxon legal consciousness, see Andrew Rabin, "Witnessing Kingship: Royal Power and the Legal Subject in the Old English Laws," in *Kingship, Legislation and Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Gale Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013), 219-236.

up with it."[21] Although Anglo-Saxon notions of kingship and authority are notoriously slippery, we can venture some hypotheses about how these early Christians articulated conceptions of political power. While Anglo-Saxon rulers and writers alike looked to biblical figures for their models of kingship, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has argued that obedience to sovereign authority underwent a distinct process of internalization as "compensation for wrongdoing [shifted] from an external, and in some ways, communal, responsibility satisfiable by compurgation and fine … to an internal guilt in the eleventh century codes (in a mutilation which forever forces the body to confess to its guilt as a part of the process of salvation."[22] In other words, sovereign authority has both a corporate and an individual dimension in the Middle Ages. In Anglo-Saxon England, we find expressions of sovereign authority that emanate from the top down (as seen in royal charters which license the banishment of individuals from communities) and also expressions that percolate up in the performativity of communal rituals of demarcation (as with Rogationtide perambulations).

These varying models of sovereignty, as I will demonstrate, are borne out in Anglo-Saxon fall of the angels traditions. Throughout the chapters of this dissertation, my readings of these narratives contribute to critical dialogues regarding the themes of obedience, kingship, rebellion, legal authority, space, and common Anglo-Saxon myths of origin.[23]

I. The Fall of the Angels and the Doctrine of Replacement

This dissertation is, in many ways, a study of two prominent narratives in the Anglo-Saxon literary and cultural imagination. Authors from Bede to Ælfric often correlate the narrative of the

[21] Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 31-68 (34).
[22] Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *ASE* 27 (1998): 209-232 (217).
[23] On the concept of the "nation" in the Middle Ages, see Kathy Lavezzo, "Nation," in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. Marion Turner (Boston: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 363-378.

fall of the rebel angels with the so-called "doctrine of replacement," according to which faithful Christians would inherit the heavenly territories forfeited by the rebellious angels. Explications of the doctrine of replacement can be found in Augustine's *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 62 and 29 (*CCSL* 46.82; *CCSL* 46.65) and *De Civitate Dei* 22.1 (*CCSL* 48.807), which describes how God intends to 'fill and repair' (*suppleat et instauret*) the blank left by the rebels angels, and Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelia* 34 (*CCSL* 141A), which explicates Luke 15:1-10.[24] In the early Middle Ages, the fall of the angels was intimately tied to this doctrine and, for Anglo-Saxons, it served as a way to articulate their national identity as a converted people. It is my contention that Anglo-Saxon Christians self-identified as the rightful heirs to the territories forfeited by the rebel angels and were thus profoundly invested in envisioning their Christian community's inclusion in the spaces of heaven via replacement.

Scholars frequently trace the source of this replacement ideology back to Gregory the Great's missionary endeavors beginning in 597 AD, especially to an anecdote that can be found in early texts recounting the life of the Pope and his first purported encounter with men from England. The story famously goes that Gregory observed young Anglo-Saxon slaves or boys in Rome and, upon learning that they were pagans from "Anglia," declared it fitting that they become coheirs of the *angeli* in heaven and spend eternity among the angelic host.[25] This story is attested (with some slight variations) in three different versions: an early *Life of Gregory the*

[24] Augustine was interested in numerological perfection in his rendering of the doctrine of replacement. In *De Civitate Dei*, he demonstrates how the number of the elect will equal the number of fallen angels. Gregory, however, suggests in his *Homiliae in Evangelia* that the number of elect will equal the number of *un*fallen angels.
[25] The allusion to 'coheirs' is from the Epistle of Saint Paul to the Colossians 1:12, which reads 'Giving thanks to God the Father, who hath made us worthy to be partakers of the lot of the saints in light' (*gratias agentes Deo Patri, qui dignos nos fecit in partem sortis sanctorum in lumine*).

Great written by an anonymous monk at Whitby,[26] Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.1,[27] and an Old English retelling of Bede which was translated during the reign of Alfred the Great.[28]

In the anonymous Whitby *Life*, Gregory asks the boys who they are and where they come from. They answer, 'The people we belong to are called Angles' ('*Anguli dicuntur, ille de quibus sumus*'), and Gregory exclaims, 'Angels of God' ('*Angeli Dei*')! In Bede's account, Gregory sees the two boys for sale in the Roman marketplace. They are described as having 'fair complexions, handsome faces, and lovely hair' (*candidi corporis ac uenusti uultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia*). According to Stephen J. Harris, "Bede's description of the boys as slaves or chattel implies … that Gregory is delivering the Angles from bondage,"[29] and adds that, in their appearance, "the Angles show they are already predisposed to receiving salvation."[30] When Gregory asks about the race of the boys he learns that they are from the 'island of Britain' ('*Brittania insula*'), and he is told 'that they were called Angli' ('*est quod Angli uocarentur*'). 'Good!' ('*Bene*!'), Gregory responds, adding, 'they have the faces of angels, and such men should be coheirs of the angels in heaven' ('*angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes*'). In the Old English version, the story similarly reads that the 'youths' (*cneohtas*) were 'men of fair complexion and handsome appearance with beautiful hair' ('*hwites lichoman 7 færon ondwlitan men 7 æðellice gefeaxe*'). Gregory learns that they are 'called Angles' ('*Ongle nemde*') and replies that 'their form is peerless, and thus it is right that

[26] *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 90-91.
[27] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 132-135.
[28] *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Thomas Miller, EETS o.s. 95 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890; reprint, 1997), 96-97. See also Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: The Geography of English Identity from Ælfric to Chaucer* (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1999).
[29] Stephen J. Harris, "Bede and Gregory's Allusive Angles," *Criticism* 44.3 (2002): 271-289 (273).
[30] Ibid., 277.

they should be coheirs with the angels in heaven' ('*heo ænlice onsyne habbað, 7 eac swylce gedafonað, þæt heo engla æfenerfeweardas in heofonum sy*').

In his commentary "On Tobias" (*CCSL* 119B), Bede writes, 'Having been led to the heavenly homeland, humanity's [elect] will be welcomed by God … and also by the angels whose number they will complete.' This sense that Anglo-Saxons are preordained to become *coheredes* or *æfenerfeweardas* (from *efenyrfeweard*) or 'coheirs,' I argue, fundamentally informs conceptions of early English Christian identity and the Anglo-Saxons' understanding of their unique part to play in salvation history. As I will show, this linking of the replacement doctrine to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, initiated by Gregory and reasserted through Bede, is taken very much to heart by authors from Æthelwold to Cynewulf to Wulfstan. With this simple pun on "Angles" and "angels," the salvific destiny of the Anglo-Saxons is inscribed in their very name.

I.1 The Fall of the Angels and Political Theology

I approach the fall of the angels in Anglo-Saxon sources from both medieval and modern perspectives. This project theorizes that Anglo-Saxon authors appropriated the fall of the angels narrative and its core repertoire of themes to legitimize structures of secular and ecclesiastical power. I draw on the contemporary framework of "political theology," the basic premise of which is that theological concepts underwrite political, social, and cultural discourses. Political theology was first articulated by Carl Schmitt (1888-1985), a German legal theorist of the Weimar Republic and World War II periods.[31] Schmitt's fundamental insight is that sovereign power is legitimated through its prerogative to decide what constitutes an emergency, and that

[31] For a lucid assessment of Schmitt's politics see Michael Hollerich, "Carl Schmitt," in *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, ed. Peter Scott and William T. Cavanaugh (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 7-122.

this prerogative is linked to the sovereign authority of God. Schmitt argues that sovereignty ultimately derives from theological concepts of creation:

> All significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts not only because of their historical development – in which they were transferred from theology to the theory of the state, whereby, for example, the omnipotent God became the omnipotent lawgiver – but also because of their systematic structure, the recognition of which is necessary for a sociological consideration of these subjects. The exception in jurisprudence is analogous to the miracle in theology.[32]

In this way, Schmitt sees overlap in ideas such as "divine covenant" and "social contract" and claims that modern political paradigms can be traced back to theological principles. Schmitt thereby challenges the ideas of modern political theorists such as Locke, Hume, Smith, and Hobbes, who all assert that the secular world is inexorably severed from the sacred.[33]

In his 1923 monograph, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, Schmitt famously proposed that "the sovereign is he who decides on the exception."[34] In moments of political crisis – or a "state of emergency" – the sovereign may assume this level of authority and institute what Schmitt calls an "exception" or "state of exception." This "exception" (*Ausnahmezustand* or *die Aus-nahme* from which we get 'that which is *taken outside*' (*ex-capere*))[35] is unquestionably Schmitt's most influential idea. To elaborate, the "exception," according to Schmitt, is "not codified in the existing legal order, [and] can at best be characterized as a case of extreme peril, a danger to the existence of the state, or the like. But it cannot be circumscribed factually and made to conform to a preformed law."[36] Closely related to the exception is the idea of a "state of emergency," or the crisis which

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[32] Carl Schmitt, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 37. Schmitt's subsequent work, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), is primarily about "friend" and "enemy" distinctions.
[33] Paul W. Kahn, *Political Theology: Four New Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 1.
[34] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 5.
[35] Zacher, *Rewriting the Old Testament*, 18.
[36] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 6.

precedes and precipitates an exception. By enacting an exception, a sovereign may suppress and preclude the state of emergency, the precise details of which "cannot be anticipated, nor can one spell out what may take place in such a case, especially when it is truly a matter of an extreme emergency and of how it is to be eliminated."[37]

But who or what authorizes this kind of extraordinary power? For Schmitt and others, the authority to identify the "event" that constitutes the threat (real or imagined), and to enact that which exists outside the normal legal order, legitimates sovereign power. I argue that for Anglo-Saxon authors the fall of the angels serves as the archetypal exception, with the rebellion constituting the first state of emergency and God's decision to expel the rebel angels mirroring a state of exception. To that moment, the possibility of a threat to heavenly peace and perfection had not been imaginable and therefore no formal laws or sanctions had been devised. Anglo-Saxon authors frequently depict how, at the time of angelic creation, there are no preexisting legal orders in place, only systems of obligation and reciprocity owing to God's gifts of 'beauty and joy' (*gleam and dream* [*Genesis A*, l. 12b]) and 'intelligence' (*gewit* [*Genesis B*, l. 250b]); moreover, authors also describe how the angels 'knew not of sin' (*Synna ne cuþon* [l. 18b]). The angelic rebellion requires a divine exception to mitigate the violation of these putative systems of exchange. Crucially, for Anglo-Saxons, out of this originary exception emerges the ambit of earthly creation, formal commandments and laws, and also new subjects – humankind – created with the express purpose of repairing the loss incurred at the primal emergency.

To sum up, the state of exception refers to a response to an event which falls outside of the purview of the pre-established social order. Owing to such an event, a sovereign can either work beyond or suspend an existing system to create a new order and reestablish a sense of normality within a given community. In addition to confirming sovereignty, the exception also

[37] Ibid., 6-7.

has implications for the shape of the legal order that emerges in the wake of a state of emergency, the space that has been redefined by the exception.[38] While the concept of the sovereign exception can aid in explaining some of the broader ecclesiastical and national implications of the fall of the angels narrative, I think it can also explain how Anglo-Saxons defined spaces where political order, laws, and norms might be created and legitimized. As William T. Cavanaugh and Peter Scott explain, "what distinguishes political theology from other types of theology or political discourses is the explicit attempt to relate discourse about God to the organization of bodies in space and time."[39]

The exception can also illuminate the operations of free choice within these spaces. Paul W. Kahn extends Schmitt's thesis to account for the philosophical implications of free choice, suggesting that every era has a common way of thinking about order which connects the political to the metaphysical.[40] Kahn observes, "Sovereignty is not the alternative to law, but the point at which law and exception intersect – at stake in both is the free act."[41] He continues, "A free order … is one in which the exception is possible. The exception represents the possibility of choice, and choice requires a subject."[42] This has important implications for our understanding of Anglo-Saxon subjectivity and the first radical act of free choice carried out by the rebel angels. Ælfric and Wulfstan, for example, in their iterations of the angelic rebellion both articulate the theological problem of 'free choice' (*agen cyre*) in relation to God's desires for his subjects.

The logic of the exception can also illuminate how Anglo-Saxons structured their narratives of the fall of the angels in ways that diverge from their Irish counterparts, who drew

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[38] Steven DeCaroli, "Boundary Stones: Giorgio Agamben and the Field of Sovereignty," in *Giorgio Agamben: Sovereignty and Life*, ed. Matthew Calarco and Steven DeCaroli (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 43-69.
[39] Scott and Cavanaugh, *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, 1.
[40] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 91.
[41] Ibid., 34.
[42] Ibid., 35.

upon apocryphal texts like the *Vita Adae et Evae* ('The Life of Adam and Eve').[43] In Irish accounts, Lucifer rebels after the creation of Adam, when God commands that all heavenly creation worship the new being made in his own image. While Lucifer presumably exercises free choice in this scenario, it is in response to a variety of legalistic commands that have been previously articulated by God. On the contrary, in *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*, God invokes an exception in reaction to the state of emergency instigated by the unexpected rebellion of Lucifer, who had not been subject to prior constraints. In *Genesis B*, the simple fact that Satan maintains from hell that he broke no law suggests that God identified an extreme peril to heavenly stability, and that the primal emergency was unanticipated.[44] Ultimately, the fall of the angels serves as the event that establishes precedents for the kind of relationship God desires from his human subjects. I argue that God's decision to banish the rebel angels and to create humanity informed a converted Christian nation's understanding of their own legal and theological order and their crucial role to play in the heavenly kingdom's ultimate return to peace and perfection.

What I am most interested in here is, on the one hand, how the authority of an earthly sovereign is likened to the jurisdiction of God himself and, on the other, how sovereignty becomes associated with a point of origin. Schmitt elsewhere writes, "The sovereign decision is the absolute beginning, and the beginning … is nothing else than a sovereign decision."[45] What emerges from this exceptional foundation is what Schmitt refers to as the *Grenzbegriff*, which is a "limiting" or "border concept" in the sense that sovereignty draws the line between what is acceptable and what is exceptional within a community. As Samantha Zacher puts it, sovereignty

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[43] *Vita Latina Adae et Evae* 12-16, ed. Jean Pierre Pettorelli, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, et al., 2 vols. CCSA 18-19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 1:304-14.

[44] See Robert Mills, "Sovereignty," in *A Handbook of Middle English Studies*, ed. Marion Turner (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 269-284. On this episode, see Thomas D. Hill, "Satan's Injured Innocence in *Genesis B*, 360-2; 390-2: A Gregorian Source," *English Studies* 65 (1984): 289-290.

[45] Carl Schmitt, *Über die drei Arten des rechtswissenschaftlichen Denkens*, 2d ed. Schriften der Akademie für Deutsches Recht 3 (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, 1993), 23-24. Translation from Andrew Norris, "Sovereignty, Exception, and Norm," *Journal of Law and Society* 34 (2007): 31-45.

thus "looks in two directions, marking the line between that which is subject to law – where sovereignty reigns – and that which is not – potentially the space of the exception."[46] In this way, the original state of exception reveals borders and limits (through the varying catalysts leading to the fall of the angels) for Anglo-Saxons Christians to observe.

Schmitt's work and his influential definition of the state of exception has been developed and reevaluated by such critics as Walter Benjamin (who examined "the relationship between law and violence"[47]), Paul W. Kahn, Giorgio Agamben, and Steven DeCaroli.[48] Agamben's reassessment of Schmitt (1995) is particularly useful in that it considers how the exception creates and defines "the very space in which the juridico-political order can have validity."[49] Agamben writes that "the state of exception opens the space in which the determination of a certain juridical order and a particular territory first becomes possible."[50] For Agamben, "the sovereign decision on the exception is the originary juridico-political structure on the basis of which what is included in the juridical order and what is excluded from it acquire their meaning."[51] This perspective, as I will argue in Chapter Five, can illuminate how Anglo-Saxons understood and performed inclusion within earthly and imagined heavenly territories through annual liturgical practices.

Schmitt continues to be a controversial figure.[52] Many scholars think it impossible to separate his ideas about sovereignty and emergencies from his support for National Socialism. My concern, however, is not with Schmitt's use of political theology in his own time but with the

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[46] Zacher, *Rewriting the Old Testament*, 19.
[47] Mills, "Sovereignty," 271.
[48] DeCaroli, "Boundary Stones," 43-69.
[49] Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 19.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] For the most comprehensive overview of critical responses to Schmitt and his beliefs see Peter C. Caldwell, "Controversies over Carl Schmitt: A Review of Recent Literature," *The Journal of Modern History* 77.2 (2005): 357-387.

medieval roots of his ideas and their relevance to Anglo-Saxon iterations of sovereign exercise and foundational violence. To arrive at a more precise usage of political theology, as well as its discourse and praxis in the Middle Ages, we must be aware of certain distinctions between modern and medieval models of sovereignty, particularly differing attitudes towards power and hierarchies in the medieval imagination. For present-day Americans, presidential acts of state which suspend laws, such as the suspension of *habeus corpus* by Presidents Lincoln (1861) and Bush (2001), might be viewed with extreme suspicion and outrage. However, for Anglo-Saxons, the logic of the exception often signals a reestablishment of order, a repair to the fabric that binds society together and knits intimate webs and networks between a lord and his subjects, which ultimately mirror reciprocal relationships between God and his subjects.

In order to demonstrate the practical textual application of political theology, I would like to illustrate the state of exception through an episode in *Beowulf*.[53] Here, Hrothgar hands control of the hall Heorot over to Beowulf to mitigate the state of emergency brought on by Grendel's nighttime raids:

> … Werod eall aras.[54]
> Gegrette þa guma oþerne,
> Hroðgar Beowulf, ond him hæl abead,
> winærnes geweald, ond þæt word acwæð:
> 'Næfre ic ænegum men ær alyfde,
> siþðan ic hond ond rond hebban mihte,
> ðryþærn Dena buton þe nu ða.
> Hafa nu ond geheald husa selest,
> gemyne mærþo, mægenellen cyð,
> waca wiþ wraþum! Ne bið þe wilna gad,
> gif þu þæt ellenweorc aldre gedigest.'
> Ða him Hroðgar gewar mid his hæleþa gedryht,
> eodur Scyldinga ut of healle;
> wolde wigfruma Wealhþeo secan,

[53] All quotations from *Beowulf* are taken from *Klaeber's Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 4th ed. Ed. R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, John D. Niles (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
[54] This phrase can also be found in *Exodus* (l. 299b) after Moses makes his speech to the troop of Israelites encouraging them to go forth into the parted Red Sea.

cwen to gebeddan. Hæfde Kyningwuldor
Grendle togeanes, swa guman gefrungon,
seleweard aseted; sundornytte beheold
ymb aldor Dena, eotonweard abead. (*Beowulf*, ll. 651b-668).

(… The troop all arose. Then the man Hrothgar addressed the other one, Beowulf, wished good luck to him, control of the wine-hall, and spoke these words: 'Never before have I entrusted the hall of the Danes, since I could lift a shield by hand, to any other except now to you. Now hold and guard this best of houses, be mindful of fame, know great strength, watch for the enemy! There will be no unsatisfied desire for you, if you through a work of courage come through alive.' Then Hrothgar departed out of the hall with his band of warriors, the Scylding king; the great man wished to seek Wealhtheow, to sleep with his queen. The most glorious of kings had set a hall guardian against Grendel, so men might know; he held sole possession for the lord of the Danes, offered to act as a guard against giants.)[55]

In touching upon themes of guardianship, obligation, and strength, Hrothgar's speech encourages Beowulf's 'sole possession' (*sundornytte*) over the Danes and the physical space of the hall in response to Grendel's violation of its protected boundaries. John M. Hill and David Day[56] have both considered the jural contexts of this episode. Day suggests that Hrothgar is conferring "legal control"[57] to Beowulf by invoking the concept of the *mund* (meaning 'hand,' or 'right of protection'), a remnant from early Germanic law.[58] Hill finds less overt legality here, and suggests that instead we see "mythological sanctions for [Beowulf's] apparent role as the strong hand of law, and the special guardianship Hrothgar grants."[59]

Such associations may resonate with theological questions of creation and protection. As Alvin Lee observes, "Heorot is on some level symbolic of the ordered world itself; the creation of the hall and the scop's song of creation which follows … link the creative act of Hrothgar with

[55] Cherniss notes the similarities between Hrothgar's promise and God's promise to Adam and Eve in *Genesis B* ("Heroic Ideals," 484).
[56] See David D. Day, "Hands across the Hall: The Legalities of Beowulf's Fight with Grendel," *JEGP* 98.3 (1999): 313-324.
[57] Ibid., 313.
[58] Ibid., 320.
[59] John M. Hill, *The Cultural World in Beowulf*, Anthropological Horizons (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 7.

the Creation itself."[60] While Hrothgar may affirm Beowulf's legal authority to temporarily act as protector of the hall, it is the suspension of his own lordship that constitutes the exception. This, as Hrothgar says, has 'never' (*Næfre*) happened 'before' (*ær*) under his rule. In defining Grendel's reign of terror as an extreme emergency in conjunction with the limit of his own power, Hrothgar also articulates the *Grenzbegriff*, thereby reaffirming "the very idea of security and civil community, delimited and separated from the chaos and darkness outside by physical, conceptual, and legal barriers that the great hall represents."[61]

While political theology can serve as a useful tool for analysis, this modern theory poses some challenges to the medieval model presented here in that the medieval exception is frequently figured as a positive development, a way to restore order and pull Heorot (or heaven) back from the brink of chaos. In articulating that he has reached the limit of his personal capacity to protect the hall and the Danish people, Hrothgar reveals his willingness to relinquish control of his hall in an unprecedented act of fidelity between himself and Beowulf, thus allowing Heorot to be cleansed.

Beowulf can illuminate our understanding of Anglo-Saxon fall of the angels narratives in several productive ways. One might argue that both *Beowulf* and *Genesis A* open in states of emergency. Both the *Beowulf* and the *Genesis A* poets also signal the arrival of the emergency with similar cue-words both meaning 'until' (*ær ðon*; *oþþæt*).[62] Whereas in *Genesis A* the poet describes how heaven was a place of joy and abundance *ær ðon* 'until' a part of the angels

[60] Ibid., 321; see also Lee, *Guest-Hall*, 178-180.
[61] Ibid., 321.
[62] For more on the uses of 'until' in *Beowulf*, see Edward B. Irving Jr., "The Pattern of 'Until'," in *A Reading of Beowulf* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 30-41. Irving notes thirty-six occurrences of this term in *Beowulf* and points out that there are occasionally spatial and temporal implications for its use within the narrative; he also points out that there are ten instances where "bad follows good" in which the poet emphasizes "tragic unawareness and unpreparedness" (33). Finally, Irving notes several instances in which 'until' suggests mythic patterns of order moving to chaos "where time, change, and disaster operate outside man's powers of control" (26).

became arrogant, in *Beowulf*, *oþþæt* marks the poet's introduction of Grendel (ll. 100b-101) and Hrothgar's sermonizing upon how pride corrupts (ll. 1740-1741a). In both poems, this term indicates a stark narrative break, effectively signaling the arrival of the state of exception. Uncovering these connections allows us to recover a system of associations for these poets, what I call a "syntax of emergency," a system whereby Anglo-Saxon poets signal an overriding shift in the narrative trajectory and destiny of a revered space. After the rebellion of the angels, the *Genesis A* poet strikingly describes heaven as 'idle and unused' (*idel ond unnyt* [l. l. 106a]). The phrase *idel ond unnyt* may have been formulaic, but the *Genesis A* poet would probably have known it from *Beowulf* (l. 413a)[63] where it describes the condition of the Heorot after the ravages of Grendel. In both poems, the phrase describes how an emergency reduces a place of prosperity and joy to conditions of ineffectuality and vacuity.

I.2 Political Theology in Medieval Studies

I am beginning to suggest that although there are some inherent challenges posed by the application of modern political theology to the medieval literary landscape, there is also much to be gained in thinking through its medieval roots and, particularly, the significance of the early medieval period as a transitional moment for discourses of the sacred and the secular. Political theology, with its interest in how secular power becomes infused with sacral authority, may appear to be an exclusively modern preoccupation. Yet I will argue that in order to better understand the early intersections of politics and theology, we must consider how (and why) early Christians initiated these connections.

[63] Scholars have noted significant overlap between these two poems. See, for instance, Frederick Klaeber, "Die Ältere *Genesis* und der *Beowulf*," *Englische Studien* 42 (1910): 321-338.

The way towards a politico-theological understanding of the Middle Ages was, of course, paved by Ernst Kantorowicz.[64] Kantorowicz argued that we begin to see a foreshadowing of the theory of the "King's Two Bodies" in Anglo-Saxon England with a "Christ-imitating king" who serves as "mediator" between heaven and earth.[65] However, as Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht puts it, "political theology in the Middle Ages" is, in some ways, "anachronistic … [it] would have been tautological in medieval eyes because politics without divine orientation, as an independent public use of power, was not supposed to be a practical or cosmological possibility."[66] I think it possible, however, to modify some modern precepts in an attempt to recover distinctively Anglo-Saxon models of sovereignty. If we take a step back from the modern-medieval divide, the central concern at stake, Zacher writes, "is the contractual relationship between God and his people, which is articulated by means of covenant and law that bind the individual and community to God's ordinances … God is imagined as the absolute sovereign who establishes both the law and its limits or exceptions."[67] In other words, not only can modern questions surrounding sovereignty and emergencies inform the Middle Ages but, more significantly, the Middle Ages can inform our questions about the sources of these debates.

Robert Sturges, in a collection of essays entitled *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages* (2011),[68] poses the crucial question for medievalists in his Introduction: "can there be

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[64] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Political Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
[65] Ibid., 88. Interestingly, Kantorowicz observes that political authority is oftentimes secured through angelic bodies. He writes that the medieval "political and legal world of thought" came "to be populated by immaterial angelic bodies, large and small: they were invisible, ageless, sempiternal, immortal, and sometimes even ubiquitous" (283). In her discussion of the king's two bodies during the Benedictine Reform period, Catherine E. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2004), argues that Anglo-Saxon iconography depicts the two kingly bodies through the "corporate body of the reformed church" and the "ecclesiastical body" (240-241).
[66] Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "Introduction: The Long Shadow of Political Theology," *MLN* 126 (2011): 2-11.
[67] Zacher, *Rewriting the Old Testament*, 18.
[68] *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Robert S. Sturges, ASMAR 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011).

sovereignty before the emergence of the modern nation-state?"[69] For Lee Manion, the answer lies in the notion that "theories of sovereignty today divide the world into political bodies through the geographical borders of national governments, yet both the term and its modern usage derive from the controversies of the late Middle Ages over the proper relationship among emperors, popes, and kings in Christendom as a whole."[70]

Following Agamben, Robert Mills has addressed the issue of "sovereignty" in the later Middle Ages by considering how this concept offers "a means of structuring hierarchical relationships through the legitimate exercise of power … [in] personal as well as political relationships."[71] Mills cites Chaucer's Wife of Bath as an example of how *sovereyntee* operates on a personal level and influences gender hierarchies. Mills makes a strong case for politico-theological approaches to medieval texts, arguing that "the separation of history into religious and secular phases itself requires a decision on what to include and exclude. The sacred is constructed as possessing a clear historical referent – medieval – from which secular modernity has categorically escaped."[72] Furthermore, he states, "ideas of a clean break with the past disguise the continuing reliance of more recent political creeds on those older forms."[73] Samantha Zacher's recent application of political theology to Old English biblical verse, though focused primarily on the Anglo-Saxon's self-identification with the Jews, provides a useful model for examining the kinds of theological narratives that informed Anglo-Saxon identity and subjectivity.

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[69] Ibid., xiii.
[70] See Lee Manion, "Sovereign Recognition: Contesting Political Claims in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* and *The Awntyrs off Arthur*," in *Law and Sovereignty in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Robert S. Sturges, ASMAR 28 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 69-91.
[71] Mills, "Sovereignty," 269.
[72] Ibid., 280.
[73] Ibid., 281.

Drawing upon these perspectives, I use the concept of political theology to investigate literary representations of emergencies and exceptions as structural and temporal moments which reorder and resignify the relationships between sovereigns and subjects. I wish to uncover how Anglo-Saxon authors understood God's determination of the "limit" or "borderline" at the rebellion of the angels and how this determination resignifies notions of legality, obedience, the miraculous, and both heavenly and earthly space for Anglo-Saxon Christians.

I.3 Overview of Chapters

The sheer number of fall of the angels narratives in the Anglo-Saxon record makes it necessary to impose some limits upon this project. My first two chapters focus on Anglo-Latin charters and vernacular homilies that express the angelic rebellion in relation to two major historical states of emergency: the Benedictine Reform (*c*. 964-984) and the Viking raids (*c*. 1002-1023). The following three chapters show how major Old English hagiographical and biblical poems articulate issues of lordship, sainthood, law, and community in relation to the fall of the rebel angels tradition.

Charters and grants, the subject of my first chapter, afford a legal perspective on the narrative of lord-betrayal in Anglo-Saxon England. It is not uncommon for charters and grants to invoke the fall of the angels. For instance, in S 853, a charter written at Winchester (*c*. 984), King Æthelred II invokes the fall of the angels as a way to establish a kind of narrative order and stability before bequeathing three hides at Brighthampton, two hides at Aston Bampton, and one hide at Lew, Oxfordshire to his scriptor, Ælfwine.[74] The grant reads:

[74] *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, ed. C. R. Hart, vol. 6, SEEH (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1975), 187; *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble, 6 vols. (London: 1839-1848); proems containing the fall of the angels also appear in S 880 (*d*. 994) and S 954 (*d*. 1019).

> Regnante d[omi]no n[ost]ro Ih[e]su Chr[ist]o in p[er]petuu[m]. Qui ante mu[n]di co[n]stitucionem decem ang[e]lor[um] agmina mirifice collocauit. decemaq[ue] post p[er] sup[er]biam cu[m] suo lucifero in barathrum boraginis elapsis. nouem in sua stabilitate misericorditer co[n]seruauit. quique decimam adimplere cupiens postquam celum terramque conderet. ho[m]i[n]em ex limo terre formauit.

(By our Lord Jesus Christ, perpetually ruling. He before the creation of the world wondrously established ten multitudes of angels and when the tenth had afterwards fallen through pride from the north into hell with Lucifer, He mercifully conserved nine in their stability. And desiring to replenish the tenth order, He afterwards created heaven and earth, [and] he formed man from the slime of the earth.)

This model connecting replacement and inheritance, as David F. Johnson observes, can also be found in the so-called Peniarth Cartulary, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Peniarth MS 390.[75] Proems evoking the fall of the angels reach an apex of expression in King Edgar's 'New Minster Charter,' a textual forerunner to the Benedictine Reform. A defining document of late Anglo-Saxon history, the New Minster Charter served as the official royal and monastic response to the ecclesiastical state of emergency of the 960s. In Chapter One, I demonstrate how the literary and theological content of this charter, which begins by rehearsing the fall of the rebel angels, had significant cultural and political consequences. The charter's author portrays the secular clerics at Winchester as a subversive threat to English ecclesiastical unity by tendentiously aligning their allegedly sinful behavior with that of the 'most proud rebel angel' (*angelus praeuaricator superbissimus*). In the New Minster Charter, King Edgar repairs the crisis within the English church through a sovereign exception, decreeing that the "rebel clerics" who refused to take monastic vows would be expelled from religious houses and dispossessed of their lands. The charter thereby legitimates the exclusion of "fallen" and "rebellious" bodies in the nation and redefines the authority of King Edgar, a now theocratic sovereign.

[75] For more on charters connected to fallen angels and to hell, see Petra Hofmann, "Infernal Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Charters" (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Andrews, 2008) and David F. Johnson, "Studies in the Literary Career of the Fallen Angels: The Devil and his Body in Old English Literature" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1993).

Chapter Two turns to the narrative's expression in homiletic accounts of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, focusing on versions of the angelic rebellion by Ælfric of Eynsham and Archbishop Wulfstan of York. Ælfric explores the complex relationship between sovereigns and disobedient subjects, imagining the angelic fall as a crisis of individual agency and a consequence of 'free choice' (*agen cyre*). Wulfstan adopts Ælfric's approach in the wake of the Viking invasions, yet reveals the flexibility of the doctrine of replacement by characterizing the disorder in the Anglo-Saxon body politic as a recapitulation of the angelic fall on a national scale. Whereas previous scholars have read Wulfstan's representation of the Vikings in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as the stereotypical "immoral" and "demonic" enemies of the English, I suggest that Wulfstan aligns morally depraved Anglo-Saxon Christians with the rebel order of angels (with the Vikings as their potential replacements), just as the originally pagan Anglo-Saxons had been replacements for the sinful Christian Britons. He therefore urges Anglo-Saxon Christians not to cede to the Vikings their providential role in salvation history.

Chapter Three examines accounts of the angelic rebellion in four hagiographical poems in which saints use the story of the angelic fall as a perlocutionary charm against demons. Just as Anglo-Saxon charms master something threatening by defining and reciting its name, properties, and origins, so too, in *Elene* and *Juliana*, do Cynewulf's saintly protagonists Judas Cyriacus and Juliana master their demonic tempters by identifying them and recounting their originary sin. Similarly, *Guthlac A* relates how Guthlac disarms his demonic tormentors by recounting the story of their fall and by expressing his faithful expectation that he will be one of their replacements in heaven. While in these poems the etiological narrative is itself apotropaic, in *Andreas* the fall of the angels narrative is linked to the protective power of the baptismal seal (*sphragis*) that safeguards Christians against the devil. In its manifestation of extraordinary

intervention, the Christian miracle, according to Schmitt, is a type of "exception" that links sacred and secular time. Through their ability to expel demonic adversaries who threaten their sanctity, these holy men and women typologically reiterate the exception that originally expelled the devil.

In Chapter Four, I juxtapose legalistic interpretations of the fall of the angels in Irish and Anglo-Saxon narratives. While both traditions represent the fall as a judicial dispute, they reflect different assumptions specific to each culture's legal system. Drawing on apocryphal sources, Irish authors consistently understand the narrative in relation to issues of wealth, birthright, and the rivalry between Lucifer and Adam. In *Saltair na Rann*, for instance, after he initially agrees to God's command to share wealth and governance with Adam, Lucifer goes back on his word declaring that since he is 'older' (*siniu*) it would be insulting for him to submit to his 'junior' (*sósur*). Conversely, the Old English poems *Genesis A* and *Genesis B* represent Lucifer's rebellion as occurring prior to the creation of Adam and Eve and hence to the explicit articulation of God's commands. In *Genesis A*, the poet describes how the rebel angels stray from the desire to do good, resulting in permanent exile from the heavenly 'homeland' (*eðel*). Similarly, in *Genesis B*, the crisis in heaven results from Satan's refusal to accept gifts and offer loyalty to his Lord. God's response to the rebellion is therefore represented as an exception, a reaction to a crisis for which no precedent exists. These Anglo-Saxon poets thus find an etiology for their own social order in the fall of the angels and a precedent for native Germanic legal practices of compensation in the doctrine of replacement.

Just as the saints' lives I discuss in Chapter Three deal with the reenactment of the narrative by individuals, Anglo-Saxon communities were known to reenact and perform the expulsion of the rebel angels within the yearly liturgical cycle. My final chapter turns to the

political implications of the angelic fall at the level of community in *Christ and Satan*. Linking the fall of the angels with Judgment Day, the poet portrays Satan's attempts to disrupt Christ's authority in both heavenly and earthly territories. Agamben defines the exception as a dialectic of inclusion and exclusion.[76] In the same way that the New Minster Charter legitimized the rescinding of clerical lands and the exclusion of the clerics from religious communities, Satan's fitting punishments include forfeiture of his territories, expulsion from heaven, and exile to the chaotic spaces of hell. I approach the poem through the liturgical traditions of the Rogationtide festival, when Anglo-Saxons participated in three days of "perambulations" meant to demarcate communal boundaries. At once designed to purify both space and the self, this feast symbolically reenacted the original exclusion of the rebel angels from heaven and also foreshadowed the final inclusions and exclusions at the Last Judgment. The poem's eccentric chronology and bizarre conclusion – in which Christ forces Satan to measure the 'circuit' (*ymbhwyrft*) of hell – can be understood as an inversion of Rogation rituals whereby Satan performs and embodies his own exclusion and condition of lordlessness while succinctly replicating his original expulsion from heaven. By invoking these rituals, the poet challenges his audience to be worthy of inclusion within the heavenly community by "beating the bounds" in this earthly life so that they will not wander lordless after Judgment Day.

This dissertation is ultimately concerned with how Anglo-Saxons authors understood and appropriated the extra-biblical story of the fall of the angels to work through contemporary challenges and to serve as a foundational Christian myth of origin. According to Nicholas Howe,

> Even a startling shift in a people's destiny – a migration or a revolution – can be set within [a] mythic pattern. Indeed, if a myth cannot absorb such a shift, it is likely to be cast off as the dead hand of the past. When an origin myth is deeply registered in a culture, it may become difficult to interpret the present except as it accords with the pattern of the past … An origin myth becomes an account of that

[76] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 19.

> ancestral past which, despite any evidence to the contrary, gives a group its irreducible common identity.[77]

For these early Christians, what went on in the wee hours of angelic creation shaped prevailing attitudes about their status as an emergent Christian community and their understanding of earthly authority. Far from seeing the textual absence of the fall of the angels in Genesis as a constraint, Anglo-Saxon authors viewed it as an opportunity to write the beginning of their story as a converted Christian nation destined to replace the fallen angels after Judgment Day, when they would become heirs to the idle and unused thrones and territories the rebels left behind.

[77] Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989; reprint, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 4-5.

CHAPTER 1

REBEL ANGELS AND THE BENEDICTINE REFORM: POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITY IN TENTH-CENTURY WINCHESTER

This chapter examines Anglo-Saxon charters from the earliest years of the Benedictine Reform movement, specifically several texts that overtly characterize individuals perceived as threats to the church as "rebel angels." I focus on the city of Winchester, where secular canons who refused to take monastic vows were systematically expelled under King Edgar (941-975) beginning in 964. The charters from this era recall Edgar's expulsion of the canons as the event which cleared the way for the redefinition of rules for religious communities and the relationship between the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon church and state. The charters, BL, Cotton MS Vesp. A. viii, fols. 2^{v}-33^{v} known as the 'Refoundation of the New Minster, 966' (or, as it is sometimes referred to, 'Edgar's Privilege to New Minster') and BL, Add. MS 15350, fols. 9^{r}-13^{v} called the 'Confirmation of Endowment of the Old Minster, (*c*. 964-975) are classified by Peter Sawyer as S 745 and S 821 respectively.[1] For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to S 745 as the 'New Minster Charter' and S 821 (and the accompanying Old English translation, S 817) as the 'Old Minster Charter.'

Both the Old and New Minster Charters contain extended accounts of the extra-biblical story of the fall of the rebel angels and both charters explicitly link the behavior of the 'most proud rebel angel' (*angelus praeuaricator superbissimus*) to the secular canons of Winchester.

[1] P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, 1968), now available in electronic form as *The Electronic Sawyer* through the 'Kemble' website at http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer2.html.

Ostensibly written by Bishop Æthelwold in 966, one of the primary engineers of the Reform movement, the New Minster Charter has received a good deal of critical attention. The scholarship frequently explores the charter's iconography, its use of hermeneutic Latin, its legality, and its theological claims. The key to understanding these documents within the context of the nascent stages of the Benedictine Reform, when conspicuous lines were drawn between political and religious spheres of authority, lies in the interpretive framework offered by the extended narrative each of these texts engages with: the fall of the rebel angels.

This chapter suggests that the fall of the angels served as a vehicle for narrating different categories of political and ecclesiastical authority in Anglo-Saxon England. I argue, first, that Æthelwold's use of the fall of the angels motif in the New Minster Charter shares hitherto unnoticed similarities with Bede's Commentary on the Epistle of Jude and the anonymous vernacular homily Blickling IV. Second, I will demonstrate how the practical dimensions behind these charters – the expulsion of the canons, the installation of the monks at Winchester, and the transfer of endowments throughout the heart of Wessex – is legitimized through the Augustinian and Gregorian doctrine of replacement. By encoding the legal framework of the Benedictine Reform within the terminology of the angelic fall and Christian fulfillment, Edgar and the leaders of the reform situate the refoundation of the minsters and estates of Winchester within the narrative context of salvation history which, as we shall see, would have struck an important nerve in Anglo-Saxon England.

Introduction

The Winchester charters have presented special problems for critics. Eric John once observed that Edgar's charters are among "the most enigmatic in Anglo-Saxon history."[2] Francis Wormald rightly asked why such a high-profile document like the New Minster Charter would be "concocted in this strange form?"[3] Dorothy Whitelock nearly put the matter to bed when she asserted that the New Minster Charter was "not really a charter" at all.[4] The critical questions only accumulate when one considers Anglo-Saxon charters more broadly. Simon Keynes defines a charter in this way:

> a short and self-contained text written in Latin on a single sheet of parchment, recording a grant of land or privileges by the king to a particular person or to a religious house, drawn up in accordance with prevailing (but changing) conventions and invested with all the force and formality of a legal instrument.[5]

While Keynes's definition is tidy and straightforward, scholars have debated whether or not charters can be best understood as ecclesiastical instruments. Because the trespassing of sanctions is threatened with punishments of a religious nature, Pierre Chaplais once characterized both the form and function of Anglo-Saxon charters as "purely religious."[6] Yet Keynes finds this delineation somewhat restrictive, arguing that while "the penalties imposed on those who contravened [sanctions] were ecclesiastical"[7] we ought to remember that "the

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[2] Eric John, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies*, SEEL 4 (London: Leicester University Press, 1966), 175.
[3] Francis Wormald, "Late Anglo-Saxon Art: Some Questions and Suggestions," in *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. M. Meiss and I. E. Rubin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 19-26 (24).
[4] *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church Volume I A.D. 871-1204*, part 1, *871-1066*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett, Christopher N. L. Brook (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 131.
[5] Simon Keynes, "Charters and Writs," in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), 99.
[6] Pierre Chaplais, "The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1965): 48-61 (36).
[7] Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016: A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 29.

diploma, though written by the Church, was nevertheless presented as an act of the king"[8] and they must therefore be understood first and foremost as secular documents. Charles Insley carries this valuation further and observes that charters, like the law-codes, "had a very real role in the development and dissemination of English royal political and ideological agendas."[9] Insley poses the question: "are the elaborate and often baroque proems of charters from the period c. 930-990 simply the academic exercises of clever monastic scribes or did they have a more important function?"[10] He also stresses that charters have a deeper ideological dimension, reinforcing the image of the "English as an elect people" to articulate warnings "about the dire consequences of straying from this path."[11] This chapter will pick up this thread and suggest that the Winchester charters with their lengthy accounts of the fall of the angels represent an on-going dialectic between "the king and his elite negotiating the limits of royal power."[12] I intend to suggest that these charters serve as expressions of the "sovereign exception"[13] and of newly minted monastic authority legitimized by the narrative of the fall of the rebel angels.

In his 1923 monograph, *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, Carl Schmitt proposes that sovereignty ultimately derives from theological concepts of creation and that in moments of political crisis – what he calls the "state of emergency" – the sovereign may choose to assume the authority to institute a "state of exception." "The exception," says Schmitt, "is not codified in the existing legal order" and can be characterized as a response to "a case of extreme peril, a danger to the existence of the state, or the like."[14] Schmitt goes on to say that by enacting an exception the figure of the sovereign may thereby

[8] Ibid., 30.
[9] Charles Insley, "Where Did All the Charters Go? Anglo-Saxon Charters and the New Politics of the Eleventh Century," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 24 (2002): 109-127 (112).
[10] Ibid., 109.
[11] Ibid., 116.
[12] Ibid., 114.
[13] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 36.
[14] Ibid., 6.

stave off the state of emergency, the precise details of which "cannot be anticipated."[15] Through the exception, the sovereign can counteract the crisis, and enable a return to stability. Schmitt understands this authority to identify the "event" that constitutes the threat (real or imagined), and enact that which exists outside the normal legal order, as the force which legitimates sovereign power.

Political theology can further our understanding of how theological concepts became a theory of the state in Anglo-Saxon England. What we see during the late tenth century in England is the Anglo-Saxon sovereign figurehead, Edgar, and his reformers identifying a crisis and instituting a state of exception by seizing control of cathedrals and properties owned by canons. According to Sarah Foot, who has written extensively about Anglo-Saxon monastic culture, "The monastic irregularities that so perturbed Dunstan, Æthelwold and their contemporaries did not result from misfortunes suffered by the English church during the Viking wars, or reflect a decline in the spiritual fervor of the Anglo-Saxon laity or even the avarice of rapacious strangers."[16] In what follows, I will suggest that the Winchester charters construct a distinct understanding of sovereignty through their depiction of the "threat" to the existence of the English Christian community in the form of the secular canons through the "event" of the fall of the rebel angels.

1.1 The Benedictine Reform and the Expulsion of the Secular Clergy

In the late seventh and early eighth centuries, monasteries were the most powerful intellectual and cultural centers in the British Isles. When Edgar came of age in the mid-tenth century, monasticism was at a low ebb in England and the days of Aldhelm and Bede were remembered

[15] Ibid., 6-7.
[16] Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 346

with nostalgia as the "golden age" of Anglo-Saxon monastic life.[17] The last bastions of monasticism were Abingdon and Glastonbury. The original aim of the reformers Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald was, in part, to rekindle this former age by regulating belief and practice for monks and nuns in England, reprogramming their daily life and behavior to a specific interpretation of the monastic *Rule of St. Benedict*.[18]

By the time the reform came to fruition, however, reformist ideology penetrated not only Christian belief and tradition, but also wider secular culture impacting everything from politics and customs to lands and laws. Through the study of charters and rules, the central documents of the Benedictine Reform, we can date, with reasonable precision, when the first rumblings of reform began in England. The *Regularis Concordia* was "drawn up as the standard reform consuetudinary in a council held at Winchester" under the supervision of King Edgar sometime between 970 and 973.[19] Afterwards, the reformist trifecta was established in key positions throughout England. Dunstan went to the metropolitan see in Canterbury, Æthelwold to the royal city of Winchester, and Oswald to Worcester, which at that time may have been the richest see in Mercia.[20]

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[17] Simon Coates characterizes Edgar's reign as "perceived to mark the recovery of a golden age in ecclesiastical life which had existed in the seventh and eighth centuries. The reformers did not see their insistence on the imposition of the *Rule of St Benedict* as innovatory but rather as an act of restoration" (62). See "Perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement," in *The Church Retrospective: Papers Read at the 1995 Summer Meeting and the 1996 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Published for The Ecclesiastical History Society, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997).

[18] For the most comprehensive account of the monastic revival under Edgar, particularly the role of the trifecta Dunstan of Canterbury (959-988), Æthelwold, and Oswald of Worchester and also archbishop of York (971-992), see Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 943-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950).

[19] Joyce Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2008), 151-168 (153).

[20] Ibid.

The *Regularis Concordia* provided a universalized liturgy for all the monasteries in England,[21] stipulating that men and women who refused to follow the *Rule* would be considered sinful.[22] The preface of the *Regularis Concordia* recalls Edgar's decision to drive out the canons whose behavior was incompatible with the *Rule*:

> Comperto etenim quod sacra cenobia diuersis sui regiminis locis diruta ac paene Domini nostri Ihesu Christi seruito destitute neglegenter tabescerent, Domini compunctus gratia, cum magna animi alacritate festinando ubicumque locorum decentissime restaurauit; eiectisque neglegentium clericorum spurcitiis non solum monachos uerum etiam sanctimoniales, patribus matribusque constitutes, ad Dei famulatum ubique per tantam sui regni amplitudinem deuotissime constituit, bonisque omnibus locupletans gratulabundus ditauit.[23]

(When therefore he learned that the holy houses in all quarters of his kingdom, brought low, and almost wholly lacking in service of our Lord Jesus Christ, destitute diminished by neglect, moved by the grace of the Lord he most gladly set himself to restore them everywhere to their former good estate. Wherefore he drove out the negligent clerks with their abominations, placing in their stead for the service of God, throughout the length and breadth of his dominations, not only monks but also nuns, under abbots and abbesses; and these, out of gratitude to God, he enriched with all good things.)

In these opening lines we learn about the neglect of the monasteries, Edgar's decision to restore them by driving out the 'negligent clerks with their abominations,' and his resolution to suspend their landed rights. Just as Anglo-Saxon poets frequently describe revered locations which suffer depravities as 'idle and unused' (*idel ond unnyt*),[24] the *Rule* characterizes the monasteries as 'holy houses' (*sacra cenobia*) which have been 'diminished by neglect' (*neglegenter tabescerent*). This passage also stresses the 'length and breadth of [Edgar's] dominations' delineating the reach of Edgar's authority as sovereign. The preface not only reminds us that the

[21] Chapter 7 of the *Rule* includes a "twelve-step" program on combating the dangers of pride; the proem to the *Regularis Concordia* states 'Lest they should be seduced by the pride of arrogance, [let them] commit an oath to the rule.' See *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. Dom Thomas Symons (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953).
[22] For an important discussion of the role of gender in Winchester religious communities, see Helen Foxhall Forbes, "Squabbling Siblings: Gender and Monastic Life in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *Gender & History* 23.3 (2011): 653-684.
[23] *Regularis Concordia*, 1-2.
[24] See my discussion of *idel ond unnyt* in my Introduction (17) and Chapter Four (191ff).

reform ushered in serious changes for the English "establishment," both lay and clerical, but also that it initiated a prolonged struggle between the clergy and the monastic reformers who envisioned a new kind of church for Anglo-Saxon England.

The *Regularlis Concordia* was initially drafted and circulated in Latin. Mechthild Gretsch has examined a vernacular version likely drafted by Æthelwold. A short treatise appended to the Old English translation of the *Rule* is known as 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' and, to the same effect, recounts Edgar's decision to expel the secular clergy:

> He þearle swiþe wearþ gegladod þurh þæt gastlice munyca angina … Halige stowa he geclænsode fram ealra manna fulnessum, no þæt an on Wesseaxna rice, ac eacswylce on Myrcena lande. Witodlice he adref canonicas þe on þæm foresædum gyltum oferflede genihtsumedon, 7 on þam fyrmestum stowum ealles his andwealdes munecas gestaþelode to weorþfulre þenuge Hælendes Cristes.[25]

(Edgar was greatly gladdened by that spiritual beginning with the monks … He cleansed holy places from all men's foulness, not only in the kingdom of the West Saxons, but in the land of the Mercians also. Assuredly he drove out canons who abounded beyond measure in the aforesaid sins, and he established monks in the foremost places of all his dominion for the glorious service of the Saviour Christ.)

Here, we see the extent of Edgar's sovereignty, beginning in the West Saxon kingdom and extending to Mercia. The picture that emerges is that one of the key motivations behind the reform was the ousting of the 'canons' (*canonicas*) whose reported licentiousness, landed privileges, and ability to hand down estates were cause for concern.[26]

There is some evidence that a few decades prior to the expulsion of the canons and the drafting of the *Regularis Concordia*, another document may have been used to achieve some of the goals for reform. Joyce Hill has remarked that well before the reform took hold there was a long tradition of distinction between the monks who followed the *Rule of Saint Benedict* and the secular clergy who "if they lived a communal and regulated life, did so according to other

[25] *Councils and Synods*, 149-150.
[26] For a useful discussion of some of the conditions that facilitated clerical corruption, see P. G. Caraman, "The Character of the Late Saxon Clergy," *The Downside Review* (1945): 171-189.

regimes, such as the Rule of Chrodegang."[27] Both Dunstan and Æthelwold may have overseen the compilation of *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*,[28] which was intended for the explicit use of priests rather than monks.[29] Whatever part *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* may have played in the Benedictine Reform, as Hill observes, "there has rarely been such a conspicuous blending of royal and religious interests" as we see in the *Regularis Concordia*.[30] In major monastic communities such as Winchester, where royal power was consolidated, the story of the fall of the angels was used as part of the play of power to legitimize this overriding of secular authority.[31]

Before turning to the role of the fall of the angels, an assessment of what we know about the expulsion of the canons and a brief conspectus of our sources attesting to this event will be useful. For Eric John, the "origin" of the reform is not the drafting of the *Rule* at all. John locates the beginning of the reform with Edgar's decision to expel the canons and his quest for legal means to secure this expulsion.[32] Other documents from this period speak to the suspension of traditional laws and landed customs. According to Nicholas Brooks, "the political needs of the kingdom seem to have overridden the traditions of the provincial organization of the English

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[27] J. Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," 152.

[28] *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang together with the Latin Original; An Old English Version of the Capitula of Theodulf together with the Latin Original; An Interlinear Old English Rendering of the Epitome of Benedict of Aniane*, ed. A. S. Napier (London: K. Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1916; reprint, New York: Kraus, 1971).

[29] Michael D. C. Drout has recently argued that this *Rule* should be re-dated from the eleventh century to sometime around the 940s or 950s, which would make it just a decade or so shy of the period when the monastic reform was gathering steam. Drout suggests that this document could have been used to show Edgar that his secular canons were not behaving according to the rules established by Bishop Chrodegang of Metz in his *Regula Canonicorum*. This theory is interesting, yet more analysis needs to be carried out in order to date the document with better accuracy. See *How Tradition Works: A Meme-Based Cultural Poetics of the Anglo-Saxon Tenth-Century* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2006), 187.

[30] J. Hill, "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," 154.

[31] For an account of the relations between the nobility and reformers, see Janet M. Pope, "Monks and Nobles in the Anglo-Saxon Monastic Reform," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 17 (1995): 165-179.

[32] John goes so far as to suggest that the expulsion of the canons was the aim from the start (*Orbis Britanniae*, 250).

church."[33] The A-text *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (sometimes called the 'Parker Chronicle' or the 'Winchester Manuscript') only offers a brief snippet concerning the expulsion.[34] The entry for 963 reads: 'In this same year Abbot Æthelwold succeeded to the bishopric for Winchester; and he was consecrated on the vigil of St Andrew; the day was a Sunday.' The entry for 964, the following year, reads:

> Her dræfde Eadgar cyng þa preostas on Ceastre of Ealdanmynstre 7 of Niwanmynstre 7 of Ceortesige 7 of Middeltune 7 sette hy mid munecan; 7 he sette Æþelgar abbod to Niwanmynstre to abode 7 Ordbirht to Ceortesige 7 Cyneweard to Middeltune.[35]

(Here King Edgar drove out the priests in the city from the Old Minster and from the New Minster, and from Chertsey and from Milton, and set monks in them; and he set Abbot Æthelgar as abbot for New Minster, and Ordberht for Chertsey, and Cyneweard for Milton.)

This record, written with very little flourish, stands in stark contrast to the narratives in the *Vitae* of the major reformers. Accounts of the expulsion of the clerics feature prominently in two out of three *Vitae*. Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita S. Oswaldi* suggests that the clerics were, by and large, well-born married men, and that the treasures of the church went straight to their wives and families.[36] The narrative of the expulsion also receives discussion over the course of Chapters 26-28 in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*. Wulfstan paints an especially vivid picture of priestly depravity:

> Erant autem tunc in Veteri Monasterio, ubi cathedra pontificalis habetur, canonici nefandis scelerum moribus implicati, elatione et insolentia atque luxuria praeuenti, adeo ut nonnulli illorum dedignarentur missas suo ordine celebrare, repudiantes uxores quas inlicite duxerant et alias accipientes, gulae et ebrietati iugiter dediti. (Chapter XVI)

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[33] Nicholas Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church 400-1066* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998; reprint, London: Hambledon Continuum, 2003), 131.
[34] Trilling notes that the A-text is especially concerned with abuses of power and the interests of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities (*The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 177-179).
[35] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS A.*, ed. Janet Bately, A Collaborative Edition no. 3, ed. David Dumville and Simon Keynes (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986).
[36] Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St. Æthelwold*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 35.

(Now at that time there were in the Old Minster, where the bishop's throne is situated, cathedral canons involved in wicked and scandalous behavior, victims of pride, insolence, and riotous living to such a degree that some of them did not think fit to celebrate mass in due order. They married wives illicitly, divorced them, and took others; they were constantly given to gourmandizing and drunkenness.)

The *Vita* goes on to describe how this led the monks to become counted among the king's *witan* appearing regularly at *witenagemotan*, and how the royal reeve Wulfstan of Dalham was invested 'with royal authority' (*regia auctoritate*) to strong-arm the clergy out of Winchester, stating that, 'Stricken with terror, and detesting the monastic life, they left as soon as the monks entered' (*At illi, nimio pauore conterriti et uitam execrantes monasticam, intrantibus monachis ilico exierunt* [Chapter 16]). An even more cinematic version of events can be found in Ælfric's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*. This *Vita* describes how, upon his election as bishop, Æthelwold barged into the Minster with monks and royal officials during mass and ordered the clerks to submit to the monastic life or get out.[37] These characterizations of the canons, like the portrait we see in the *Regularis Concordia*, were constructed by their enemies. While these *Vitae* provide the most detailed accounts of the expulsion, both Michael Lapidge and Simon Coates have called attention to its noticeable absence from the *Vita S. Dunstani* by the author known simply as "B." Lapidge has compellingly suggested that B may have been among the ranks of the dispossessed class of canons and would have therefore been reluctant to talk about these events.[38]

There is also papal correspondence which attests to the expulsion. Sometime around 963, a young Pope John XII (955-964) appears to have written to an equally young twenty-year-old Edgar authorizing him to unseat the secular canons. Pope John's letter suggests that the

[37] *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. Michael Winterbottom (Toronto: PIMS, 1973), 17-29.
[38] For more on "B," see Lapidge "B. and the *Vita Dunstani*," in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, part 2 (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 279-291 and *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012).

continued residence of the canons would mean extreme peril for the city of Winchester and the whole of England:

> authoritate apostolica sancientes ut de monasterio in Wintonia ciuitate in honorem sanctæ Trinitatis et beatissimorum apostolorum Petri et Paulo constructo, quod Uetus differentia Noui illius quod iuxta est Coenobii cognominatur, canonici, Domino et episcopo suo, omnibus catholicæ fidei cultoribus ex patentibus culparum suarum turpitudinibus odibiles, et in eisdem secundum impoenitens cor eorum inuerecunde perdurantes, cum suo præposito, utpote uasa diaboli, eiiciantur.[39]

(decreeing with apostolic authority that the canons, with their prior, the vessel of the Devil indeed, should be thrown out from the monastery in the city of Winchester built in honor of the Holy Trinity and of the most blessed apostles Peter and Paul, which is called the Old Minster in contrast to the New one which is adjacent, [each of them] being hateful to the Lord and His bishop and to all cultivators of the true faith because of the open foulness of their crimes and persisting shamelessly in the same according to his impenitent heart.)

Here, Pope John invokes the history of the Old Minster, which was first dedicated to Saints Peter and Paul by Cenwalh of Wessex in 648.[40] The language used by Pope John here shares valences with the characterization of the canons found in the Winchester charters. Here, they are described as having the same 'impenitent heart' (*impoenitens cor*) as the devil. Pope John goes on to authorize Edgar with 'apostolic authority' (*authoritate apostolica*) to decree 'that no one from the order of clerks should be promoted to rule this church, but that rather a monk who is worthy should be found from some other monastery, adopted, and put in charge' (*ut nemo ex clericorum ordine ad huius regimen ecclesiæ promoueatur, sed potius ex alia qualibet congregatione qui dignus inuentus fuerit monachus assumatur et … præficiatur*).[41] Although Julia Barrow has

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[39] *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, ed. Alexander Rumble, Winchester Studies 4 Part 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 236. Rumble notes that the most complete version of this letter exists in Matthew Parker's printed edition of *De antiquitate Britannicæ ecclesiæ* (1572) although several "less satisfactory" early drafts can be found (234). I have used Rumble's translation (236).

[40] Martin Biddle, "*Felix Urbs Winthonia*: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform," in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), 125.

[41] *Property and Piety*, 237.

argued that this document is spurious,[42] other scholars such as Charles D. Wright have argued in favor of its authenticity.[43] And while these texts present us with differing interpretations regarding the expulsion, what they do tell us is that the characterization of the canons was crucial to the forward momentum of the reform.

What is at stake in a crisis, says Paul W. Kahn, is "the imagination of the threat, not the facts of the matter."[44] In each of these texts, Edgar's sovereign exception and Æthelwold's backing are represented as the necessary means for grappling with the state of emergency and the re-emergence of a normal order in the English Christian community. The language used to describe the canons, in each of these texts, attests to the construction of their identity as an "existential threat to the state," the very mechanism behind Schmitt's exception. We are relatively sure that the removal of the canons took place in 964 with the approval of the king's *witan*, first in Winchester and then elsewhere, and that a Synod was held at Easter enacting a general policy of rescinding the ecclesiastical endowments held by the canons.[45] At this Synod, allegiance to the *Rule of Saint Benedict* became the *sine qua non* for a title to endowments.[46] Two years later, the reformers appropriated a literary and theological dimension for these events with the help of the narrative of the fall of the angels.

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[42] Julia Barrow, "English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 25-39.

[43] Charles D. Wright, "Vercelli Homily XV and *The Apocalypse of Thomas*," in *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, ed. Samantha Zacher and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 150-184. Wright dates Vercelli Homily XV to sometime very approximate to the expulsion in 964 and goes on to suggest that the manuscript may have been intended for clerical readership because it defines their "opponents" (i.e. the Benedictine reformers) as rife with "iniquity, malice, and envy" (178). Wright's argument for the authenticity of the Letter of John XII to King Edgar is in his Appendix (182-184); it lays out the possibility that the letter is a "post-facto confirmation (represented as prior approval)" (183) or that it is "based upon a genuine original" (184).

[44] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 45.

[45] John proposes that the actual date of the expulsion was 20 February 964 (*Orbis Britanniae*, 163). He also proposes that there may have been a Christmas *witenagemot* (963) when the fates of contesting sides were considered (*Orbis Britanniae*, 250-251).

[46] Ibid., 264.

John suggests that the "reformers promoted a 'political theology' of an extreme kind."[47] This section has explored the relationship between sovereignty and the production of history, and how royal backing was deemed necessary to eradicate the deeply-rooted tradition of local hereditary lands controlled by the secular clerics. The section that follows offers a reading of texts which inform our understanding of the charters through an analysis of the theological and literary tradition Æthelwold evokes in the New Minster Charter. Kahn observes that exceptions, rather than manifesting themselves as radical forces outside the law, are most effective if represented as complementary to it.[48] From here, I intend to examine the tension between the abrupt changes brought on by Edgar's sovereign exception and the reformist desire to represent continuity in the midst of it.

1.2 A Literary Context and the Motif of the 'Rebel Cleric'

The Winchester charters can be interpreted in a literary context. The New Minster Charter's proem recounts the fall of the angels within the hexameral tradition.[49] The proem reads:

> Male pro dolor libero utens arbitrio . contumaci arrogans fastu . creatori uniuersitatis famulari dedignans . semetipsum creatori equiperans . aeternis baratri incendiis cum suis complicibus demersus . iugi merito cruciatur miseria . Hoc itaque themate totius sceleris peccatum exorsum est.[50]

(Alas, making bad use of its free will, assuming with stubborn arrogance, disdaining to serve the Creator of the Universe, placing itself equal to the Creator, it plunged into the eternal fires of the Abyss with its confederates, and is deservedly tormented with perpetual misery. At this theme all sin sprang up.)

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[47] Ibid., 177.
[48] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 42.
[49] "Hexaemeral" refers to an exegetical or homiletic account of creation according to a six-day-scheme. See Frank Egleston Robbins, *Hexaemeral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912).
[50] *Property and Piety*, 74-75.

For Edgar and the reformers, the abuse of free will and the failure to recognize God's sovereign authority justify exceptional measures. Here, we get a glimpse of the consequences of the angelic rebellion. The charter characterizes the sinfulness of the rebel angels as four-fold: bad use of free will, stubborn arrogance, failure to properly serve, and a misguided sense of equality with the Creator. By Chapter 7, the charter fully discloses the actions of the rebel angels as parallel to those of the secular canons. The implication running throughout this opening sequence is that the secular canons were behaving badly and, moreover, neglecting their sacred duty toward the authority of their sovereign in the form of both God and king.

The transparent propaganda invites us to look below the surface, at the level of Christian doctrine and salvation history, to understand the full significance of the text. This kind of analysis has been made possible by the work of Patrick Wormald[51] on the legal and literary quality of Anglo-Saxon law-codes, as well as subsequent studies by Johnson. In his dissertation chapter on the New Minster Charter, Johnson makes an overwhelmingly convincing case for the shared strains in representation between the fall of the angels in the charter and the poem *Genesis A* (ll. 1-101) from MS Junius 11.[52] In a follow-up article, Johnson persuasively suggests that both the New Minster Charter and *Genesis A* derive material from the Origenist tradition in that the two accounts depict a synchronized view of the earliest moments of creation.[53] Johnson also considers the role of the replacement doctrine, an issue I will return to, and observes that the New Minster Charter and *Genesis A* are "implicitly [accounts] of the human condition … God created the world so that men might live there who could eventually become worthy to inherit

[51] Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century. Vol. 1 Legislation and Its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 416-476.
[52] Johnson, "Studies in the Literary Career of the Fallen Angels," 13ff.
[53] David F. Johnson, "The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A* and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters," *JEGP* 97:4 (1998): 500-521.

the places in heaven vacated by the fallen angels."[54] Johnson's provocative and, in my view, correct assessment is that these texts present creation as contingent upon Lucifer's rebellion and locate the whole of creation as the theological means to restoring order to the chaos brought on by the fall of the angels.[55] Building on Johnson's work, and using source material to better understand the literary and theological milieu in which these charters were produced, I hope to elucidate the prevalence of the motif at the very center of Æthelwold's text, which I have termed the motif of the "rebel cleric."

As far as I can discover, the motif of the rebel cleric makes its first appearance in the British Isles in Bede's Commentary on the Epistle of Jude (*CCSL* 121A).[56] Surprisingly, Bede says next to nothing about the fall of the angels throughout his surviving works,[57] which makes his brief commentary on the rebel angels here all the more striking. Bede is very clear in his commentary that leadership within the church is charged with the task of repopulating the seats of heaven and forecasts God's judgment upon that leadership, in the event of their failure, as all the more severe:

> Deinde inferendum quod qui angelis peccantibus non pepercit, nec hominibus parcit superbientibus sed hos quoque, cum suum principatum non seruauerint illum uidelicet quo per gratiam adoptionis filii Dei effecti sunt, sed dereliquerunt suum domicilium, id est ecclesiae unitatem in qua Deo renati sunt uel certe sedes regni caelestis quas accepturi erant si fidem seruarent, et ante judicium grauiter et grauius in iudicio uniuersali damnabit. (*CCSL* 121A)

(Then, there must be brought in the fact that he who did not spare the angels when they sinned does not spare proud human beings, but will condemn them also both severely before the judgment and more severely in the universal judgment when they have not served their place of leadership, namely, that by which they were made the sons of God through the grace of adoption,

[54] Ibid., 516.
[55] Ibid., 518.
[56] Although Bede makes use of some Irish material in his commentary on the epistles (*CCSL* 108B), his source text does not comment on this particular passage of Jude; see *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores*, part 1, ed. Robert E. McNally (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973).
[57] It is interesting to note that Bede, who was preeminently concerned with issues of time, does not follow Augustine in his interest concerning the timing of the angelic creation and fall. My humble suspicion is that he had enough on his plate regarding the dating of Easter.

but have abandoned their dwelling place, that is, the unity of the Church in which they were reborn to God, or at least their seats in the heavenly kingdom which they would have received if they kept their faith.)[58]

There are several vital points of contact to be found here between Bede and the imagery in the Winchester charters. Bede first draws a parallel between proud angels and 'proud' (*superbientes*) human beings. In addressing the relationship between the particular and the universal, he typologically ties the unity of the church with the unity of the heavenly kingdom. The point is to demonstrate how the unified church on earth resembles the future unification of heaven. In his discussion of the exception and its analogous connection to the "miracle," Kahn enumerates Schmitt's understanding of how the exception "sets forth a relationship between the particular and the universal, between sacred and secular time, and between the infinite and the finite … it reorders history and space. It can be beginning and end."[59] By evoking the integrity of the unified church on earth, Bede maintains that individuals who compromise this unity thereby abandon the 'seats' (*sedes*) in heaven which would have been theirs through faith.

Bede may be drawing his material in his commentary from two different fronts. One remote possibility may be John Chrysostom's *De sacerdotio* ('On the Priesthood') (*CPG* 4316). *De sacerdotio* is a dialogue on the priesthood and the duties of priests. According to Lapidge's *Anglo-Saxon Library*, a Latin translation of this text circulated in the Anglo-Saxon period and ended up in Peterborough. This text, however, appears to postdate Bede.[60] Rosalind Love conjectures that Bede would have been familiar with Chrysostom in other contexts since several works of the church fathers that Bede is known to have had in his collection contain references to

[58] *The Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles of Bede the Venerable*, trans. David Hurst, Cistercian Studies Series 82 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1985), 244.
[59] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 109.
[60] Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 144-145; 317.

Chrysostom's eminence and to *De sacerdotio*.[61] Chrysostom's treatise *Quod nemo laeditur nisi a semetipso* may even be a direct source for Bede's Commentary on the Epistle of Peter.[62] Gerhart B. Ladner suggests that, in Chrysostom's view, "the priest's soul, just because he lives and works in the midst of the world's storms and dangers, must be stronger and purer even than the monk's, who stays as it were in a safe port."[63] Similarly, in his discussion of St. Odo of Cluny, Jean Leclercq observes, "It is for monks to go out of this sinful world, to be strangers to it, as it were outside it, *extra mundum fieri*, and to become, as far as is possible to human frailty, dwellers in paradise … they must live as the angels, joining with them in the eternal praise of God."[64]

Ladner notes that Chrysostom likens the priesthood to the "pure ministry of the angels; for, the priest's throne is set up in heaven and stands on a higher place than all human rulership."[65] Moreover, it is important to note that Bede does not differentiate between kinds of church leadership, namely monks or priests, but speaks of ecclesiastical 'leadership' (*principatum*) as a broader category in his commentary. Given the anonymity of the kind of church leadership Bede describes, it is more likely that he derives his ideas from Augustine here. In his *De Genesi ad Litteram* ('Literal Interpretation of Genesis') (Book 11 Chapter 24), Augustine also addresses the connection between the angelic rebellion and the integrity of the church. He suggests that the body of Christ is similar to the church and then discusses the body of the devil:

> Eo modo etiam corpus diaboli, cui caput est diabolus, id est ipsa impiorum multitudo, maximeque eorum qui a Christo vel de Ecclesia sicut de coelo

[61] Rosalind Love, "Bede and John Chrysostom," in *The Journal of Medieval Latin 17: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress for Medieval Latin Studies*, Toronto 2006 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2008), 73.
[62] Ibid., 75.
[63] Gerhart B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 126.
[64] Jean Leclercq, et. al., *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (New York: 1968), 107.
[65] Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, 126.

> decidunt, dicitur diabolus, et in ipsum corpus figurate multa dicuntur, quae non tam capiti quam corpori membrisque conveniant. Itaque Lucifer qui mane oriebatur et cecidit, potest intelligi apostatarum genus vel ab Christo vela b Ecclesia; quod ita convertitur ad tenebras amissa luce, quam portabat, quemadmodum qui convertuntur ad Deum, a tenebris ad lucem transeunt, id est, qui fuerunt tenebrae lux fiunt. (*CSEL* 28.1)

(In a similar manner, the body of the Devil is called the Devil, for he is the head of the body, that is, of the multitude of the wicked, especially of those who fall from heaven, inasmuch as they fall away from Christ and the Church. Hence it is that many statements are made figuratively, referring to the body, statements which are not applicable not so much to the head as to the body and its members. Lucifer, then, who rose at dawn and fell, can be understood as the brood of apostates from Christ and the Church, a race that turned towards darkness on losing the light which it bore, just as those who turn towards God pass from darkness to light, that is, those who were darkness become light.)[66]

Bede shared this notion that fallen church leadership resembled the first fall from heaven. It is likely that Bede attempts to warn those in roles of ecclesiastical leadership. If they fail, through the devastating logic of his analogy, they will be of the same ilk as the angels who first sinned against God and will receive the same punishment.

Æthelwold, by invoking this analogy, typologically frames the program of reform not as something radically new but as the renewal of a venerable monastic tradition harkening back to the age of Bede. Furthermore, Æthelwold carefully establishes a binary between "monastic humility" and "clerical pride" and thereby supplies fallen leadership in his text with a distinctly clerical identity. That Æthelwold also represents abuses within the church as specifically clerical and characterizes their failings as forfeitures of seats in heaven supports Barbara Yorke's argument that he was attempting to "recover the high standards of monasticism which could be found in Bedan England."[67] Foot notes that the rhetoric used by Æthelwold in reform documents is, at times, "reminiscent of both Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and of the letter that Bede wrote to Bishop Ecgbert of York in 734, in which he complained about declining religious standards in

[66] Translation from *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. John Hammond Taylor, S. J. (New York: Newman Press, 1982), 156.
[67] *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), 5.

his own day."[68] Æthelwold merely updated Bede's analogy comparing "fallen" leadership within the church to the fall of the angels by applying it to the behavior of the secular clergy of his own time.

A later example of the motif of the "rebel cleric" in Blickling Homily IV bears an even more striking resemblance to the depiction of the secular canons in the Winchester charters. Blickling Homily IV was intended for the Third Sunday in Lent,[69] and is precisely the kind of "unreliable" vernacular homily that might have infuriated the later Benedictine homilist Ælfric of Eynsham. Here, the homilist draws upon material from the *Visio Pauli*, specifically an episode where Saint Paul witnesses bishops and priests suffering torments in hell. The homily first describes how, in death, those who were proud and failed in their ecclesiastical duties hang in trees before the gates of paradise.[70] In his vision of hell, the homilist describes how Paul witnesses a gruesome spectacle involving a sinful bishop:

> he gesawe naht feor from þæs mæsse-preostes sidan, þe we ær bufan emb spræcon, þæt he wære getogen mid þon isnan hoce on þære picenan ea, oþerne ealdne man; & þone læddon feower awyrgde englas mid mycelre reþnesse, & hine besencton on þa fyrenan ea æt his cneowa; & hie hine hæfdon geþreatodne mid fyrenum racentum þæt he ne moste gecweþan, 'Miltsa me, God.' Þa cwæþ se æþela lareow to þæm engle þe hine lædde, 'Hwæt is þes ealda man?' Se engel him to cwæþ, 'Hit is an biscop se dyde mare yfel þonne god; he onfeng for worlde mycelne noman, & þæt eal forheold, & his Scyppend þe him þone noman forgeaf.'[71]

(he saw not far from the side of the priest, of whom we have said above that he was drawn by the iron hook into the pitchy river, another old man, whom four accursed angels led, with great cruelty, and sank him into the fiery water up to his knees; and they had bound him with fiery chains, so that he could not say, 'God have mercy upon me!' Then said the noble teacher to the angel that led him, 'Who is this old man?' The angel said to him, 'He is a bishop who did more evil than good. Before the world he received a great name, and forsook it all, and his Creator, who had given him that name.')

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[68] Foot, *Monastic Life*, 17.
[69] *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, EETS s.s. 58, 63, 73 (London: Oxford UP, 1874-1880; reprint, 1967).
[70] For more on this motif and the insular transmission of the *Visio Pauli*, see Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, CSASE 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 115-137.
[71] *The Blickling Homilies*, 43.

This passage contains all the classic imagery found in redactions of the *Visio Pauli* including sinners on 'iron hooks' (*isnan hoce*) above a 'fiery river' (*fyrenan ea*) and people bound with 'fiery chains' (*fyrenum racentum*). In this sequence, Paul does not recognize that the man is a bishop at first glance. He only sees an 'old man' (*ealdne man*). What is interesting about the angel's response to Paul's query about the identity of the man is that the bishop who neglected his duties is described as once having a great name given to him by the world and God. The implication is that this name, his identity, is now utterly lost, cancelled out by sinfulness.

Immediately following this part of the vision, the homily compares the sinful behavior of priests to that of the rebel angels and cautions against failures to properly serve the church:

> gif se Godes þeow nelle þære cyrican on riht þeowian, þæt he þonne mid læwedum mannum onfo þæs heardestan þeowdomes; & þis sceal se mæssepreost nede bebeodan, oþþe þæs Godes þeowes synna onfon, & he biþ þonne seoþþan þæm englum gelic, þe geo Gode wiþsocan, & wurdon on helle besencte.[72]

(If the servant of God will not rightly serve the church, then let him receive along with the laity the hardest service; and this the mass-priest must offer, or take upon him the sins of God's servant, then he shall be like the angels who formerly strove against God, and then were cast into hell.)

This passage echoes Bede's commentary to a certain degree. It contains the same rebuke against failures of church leadership but, more to the point, compares this kind of negligent behavior to the sin of the rebel angels who 'formerly strove against God' (*geo Gode wiþsocan*). The indictment claims that sinners will become 'like angels' (*englum gelic*). This valuation carries a bit of sardonic irony in this context. As Frederick Biggs has pointed out the phrase *englum gelic* typically evokes positive associations for human nature, specifically in the poem *Genesis A* (l. 185), where the poet likens Adam and Eve's pre-lapsarian state to angelic purity.[73] Biggs goes on

[72] *The Blickling Homilies*, 49.
[73] Frederick M. Biggs, "*Englum gelice*: *Elene* line1320 and *Genesis A* line 185," *NM* 86 (1985): 447-452. Biggs notes that this phrase is derived from Luke 20:36 rather than a parallel verse in Matthew 22:30. This passage

to note that in Cynewulf's *Elene* (l. 1320) this phrase is used as a positive reference for the purification of souls on Judgment Day. The Blickling homilist however, inverts the meaning altogether, turning any positive associations on their head, and reminding readers that angelic nature exists in both good and bad forms.

Although much of the homily is based on the *Visio Pauli*, the other known source for Blickling IV is Caesarius of Arles' Sermon 33 (*CCSL* 103A). *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* lists no known source for the "rebel cleric" passage quoted above, which suggests that the homilist has departed from both sources here, and intervened to emphasize the consequences that befall sinning priests.[74] That "rebel clerics" can be found in the Old English homiletic tradition squares nicely with Charles Insley's assertion that charters like the Winchester documents under consideration were "to some extent, quasi-liturgical documents … the whole tone of many charters gives them almost a homiletic aspect."[75] While I do not claim a direct connection between this homily, Winchester, and Æthelwold, the motif of the "rebel cleric" clearly had currency and resonance in tenth-century England, and its rhetorical function can enhance our understanding of the charters. Kahn observes that even amid reforms and revolutions there is more continuity than we imagine.[76] Because the concept of the exception promises an extension of the normal order, and thus offers a sense of continuity with the past, Æthelwold's reference to "rebel clerics" suggests that he was invoking a familiar tradition to legitimate the expulsion of those at Winchester.[77]

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suggests that the just in heaven will be *aequales enim angelis*. For more on issues of "likeness" and "unlikeness" in *Genesis B*, see Janet Schrunk Ericksen, "Lands of Unlikeness in *Genesis B*," *SP* 93.1 (1996): 1-20.

[74] See M. Atherton, "The Sources of Blickling Homily 4 (Cameron C.B.3.2.14)," 1997, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/, accessed March 2012.

[75] Insley, "Where Did All the Charters Go?" 119.

[76] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 18.

[77] The idea of criminal priests being forced to forfeit lands has a legal basis in the Laws of Cnut (I.II Cnut 41). This particular law suggests that criminal priests must give up 'together both rank and homeland' (*ægþer ge hades ge eðles*); interestingly, *eþel* ('homeland') is a term frequently found in Old English poetry to describe the 'heavenly

1.3 The City of Winchester, Edgar, and Æthelwold

"Sovereignty," according to Henri Lefebvre, "implies space."[78] Tenth-century Winchester offers scholars an interesting vantage point from which to view this exercise of sovereignty and refashioning of space. While John has characterized Winchester as a city with a "reforming conscience,"[79] my aim is to demonstrate that the documents which legitimized its transformation did so by citing biblical and exegetical precedents. The New Minster and Old Minster Charters constitute the only instance, as far as I can see, where the fall of the angels narrative is used as metaphorical grounds for legal sanctions regarding expulsions.[80] Through these sanctions, Winchester developed into a new center of power and became a burgeoning urban center.

By the tenth century, Winchester was a very old ecclesiastical center. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, the city of Winchester underwent various renewal projects, one of the most robust of which occurred in the ninth century during the reign of Alfred. This renewal was motivated, in part, out of necessity. At this time, Winchester was not only a center of royal power but a position of strategic importance as part of the Alfredian network of fortifications meant to protect against renewed Viking incursions.[81] While the technical status of Winchester as "capital" has long been debated, it is possible that the royal court was located there at the end of Alfred's reign and that it continued to be a center of growing national significance afterwards.

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homeland' which Satan forfeits in rebelling against God's authority. See *Die Gesetze der Anglesachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle, Niemeyer, 1903-1916; reprint, Aalen: Scientia, 1960).

[78] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 280.

[79] Eric John, "The Church of Winchester and the Tenth-Century Reformation," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 47 (1965): 404-429 (416).

[80] Interestingly, the motif of the fall of the angels seems to have had legal application in Ireland. This has been demonstrated by Damian Bracken in "The Fall and the Law in Early Ireland," in *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Transmission*, ed. Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter (Dublin: Four Courts, 2002): 146-169. His study illuminates how the works of Gregory found their way into Irish law and influenced the works of Banbán and the text of *Bretha Étgid*. For more on the fall in relation to legal language in Irish and Old English texts, see Janet Schrunk Ericksen, "Legalizing the Fall of Man," *MÆ* 74 (2005): 205-220.

[81] Winchester is mentioned in Alfred's *Burghal Hidage* as "a fortification rated at the highest assessment of 2400 hides" (*Property and Piety*, 30).

Charters from this period preceding the Benedictine Reform suggest that there was a growing connection between the purpose of the Minster and the spiritual well-being of the English royal house. Although it served as the principal burying place for the English royal house, Old Minster was small and crammed. New Minster was to be a massive and imposing structure. Mechthild Gretsch suggests that Grimbald, one of the key advisors in Alfred's international "think-tank," may have had a role in the foundation of the New Minster around 901.[82] Biddle concurs with this assessment, but suggests that Grimbald encouraged Edward to proceed between 899 and 901.[83]

The spiritual security of the West-Saxon kings was precisely the drive behind the construction of New Minster between 963-975[84] and the groundswell of change that took place in the precincts under Æthelwold and Edgar.[85] Edgar ordered that both Old Minster and New Minster be surrounded by bushes and hedges to keep the religious community separate from the citizens.[86] In addition to overseeing this physical manipulation of the grounds and construction of new edifications, the secular dwellings were removed for the construction of three new monastic precincts in the southeast quarter.[87] This action would have held symbolic significance for Anglo-Saxon Christians. According to Anglo-Saxon texts like Bede's account of Dryhthelm's vision, *Genesis B* (ll. 666-668), and *Christ III* (ll. 899-902) the traditional location of hell is the north (in the *Visio Pauli*, Paul is led to the 'northwest'). The southeast was thought to be the location of heaven, God's throne, and the direction from whence Christ would come on

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[82] Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 76.
[83] Biddle, "*Felix Urbs Winthonia*," 128.
[84] Ibid., 139.
[85] *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Sean Miller, Anglo-Saxon Charters 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), xxvi.
[86] For information on how Edgar's reign forever changed the topography of Winchester, see Alexander Rumble, "The Laity and the Monastic Reform," in *Edgar, King of the English 959-975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg, Publications of the MCASS 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 242-251.
[87] See Thomas D. Hill, "Some Remarks on 'The Site of Lucifer's Throne'," *Anglia* 87 (1969): 303-311 (305).

Judgment Day. Edgar's state of exception, in other words, establishes and redefines the physical space in which his new regulated order can have validity. Thus, the exception, in many ways, restructures Winchester in terms of divine spatiality.

To the house of the West Saxon kings "Winchester remained for one reason or another," says T. A. Shippey, "somewhere special."[88] When one considers the history of the city where his royal power was consolidated, and its long-time function as a source of heavenly security for the royal family, one cannot help but view Edgar's renovation of the city, with the express goals of protecting and ensuring salvation for the souls of the royals, as a nostalgic and conservative impulse.

We know little about Edgar's childhood. Byrhtferth, Oswald's biographer, says that when Edgar came to the throne there were no monks in England, only 'high-born clerics' (*dignissimi clerici*).[89] This is obviously a slight exaggeration, but some scholars are convinced that Edgar managed to garner the favor of the few monks who did exist; meanwhile, his brother, Eadwig, never managed to do so.[90] Edgar was also brought up in a monastic setting, Æthelwold being his former tutor. By the time he was sixteen, Edgar was *rex Merciorum*, a title which he held from 957-959; he was *rex Anglorum* from 959-975. When he was consecrated in 973, he had been king of Mercia for seventeen years and of Wessex for fourteen.

Edgar's career is both expansive and impressive. While discussion of much of his time in power lies beyond the scope of this project, a few important features of his reign are worthy of

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[88] T. A. Shippey, "Winchester in the Anglo-Saxon Period and After," in *Winchester: History and Literature: The Proceedings of a Conference in Celebration of the 150th Anniversary of the Founding of King Alfred's College Held on 16th March 1991*, ed. Simon Barker and Colin Haydon (York: King Alfred's College, 1992), 1-21 (1).
[89] D. J. V. Fisher, "The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10:3 (1952): 254-270 (264).
[90] For a recent account of Edgar's succession following the death of his uncle in 959, and the short-lived "joint kingship" with his brother Eadwig (955-959), see Frederick M. Biggs, "Edgar's Path to the Throne," in *Edgar, King of the English 959-975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg, Publications of the MCASS 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 124-139.

note owing to Edgar's relationship to the charters under consideration. For Edgar, monasticism offered a means of unifying the realm, with authority deriving from the king,[91] and he may have acted upon an opportunity to counteract the growing spheres of influence and power held by the tenth-century nobility.[92] In his charters, Æthelwold makes ample use of imperial titles such as *imago Christi* to establish and enrich Edgar's portrait as sovereign.[93] With Edgar, we also see the first application of the terms *totius Albionis basileus*, *Vicarius Dei*, and *Vicarius Christi* in the British Isles.[94] These expressions of kingship directly relate to our charters and Edgar's iconographic representation therein. Catherine Karkov suggests that under Alfred the "Christological dimensions of Anglo-Saxon kingship were first established … and that Æthelwold's portrayal of Edgar as a Christ-like ruler was in many ways a simple development of an association already firmly in place."[95] Brian Ó Broin has discussed the Ascension iconography on the frontispiece of the New Minster Charter and its use of continental precedents, stating that it "flags" Christ's last acts on earth as the foundation of his church, and suggesting that Edgar's reign is "the culmination of a long process by which Christ and mankind are eventually glorified."[96]

The picture of Æthelwold that comes down to us is of a figure with seemingly inexhaustible energy for the church. His return to Winchester as bishop in 963 would have

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[91] For a comprehensive account of the charters issued under Edgar, see Simon Keynes, "A Conspectus of the Charters of King Edgar, 957-75," in *Edgar, King of the English 959-975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg, Publications of the MCASS 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), 60-80.
[92] John, *Orbis Britanniae*, 158-159.
[93] Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 310.
[94] Adrienne Jones, "The Significance of the Regal Consecration of Edgar in 973," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33:3 (1982): 375-390.
[95] For a comprehensive iconographic account of the New Minster Charter, specifically the depiction of Edgar as *Anglorum basileus*, see Catherine E. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Suffolk: Boydell, 2004). Karkov suggests that the charter's frontispiece attempts to represent the (eventual) Ascension of Edgar, who is flanked by Mary and Peter, and the purification of the Minster (88). She also notes that "there is no single manuscript surviving from Anglo-Saxon England that is as grandly and as carefully conceived [and none with a] more detailed and coherent a statement of kingship in all its forms" (93).
[96] Brian Éanna Ó Broin, "*Rex Christus Ascendens*: The Christological Cult of the Ascension in Anglo-Saxon England" (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2002), 266-294 (293).

constituted something of a homecoming. Æthelwold was consecrated bishop on 29 November 963; he wasted no time in placing the Minsters under new management, expelling the clerics from Old Minster within a few short months, and from New Minster in that same year. Nunnaminster was also converted into a Benedictine house that same year although there are no records of ejected nuns, only the establishment of a new "flock" according to Æthelwold's wishes.[97] The new flock throughout Winchester consisted of monks from Æthelwold's home parish at Abingdon.[98] Foot observes that before "the reform of the male community at Abingdon in the 960s," Æthelwold appears to have believed that "there were only a few monks in a few places in so large a kingdom who lived by the right rule."[99] Indeed, he oversaw a complete overhaul of the religious population of Winchester; in essence, he orchestrated a total *décapité* of the established ecclesiastical hierarchy. Wormald suggests that Æthelwold was less forgiving in his "severity towards the clerks of Old Minster" owing to "the strength of his local connections, and at least one of the clerks was apparently related to him."[100] And, according to John, the spheres of Æthelwold's influence extended from Abingdon to Peterborough where monasticism was firmly entrenched by 966, and then outwards to Ely (970), Thorney (972), Crowland (966), St. Neot's (974) and St. Albans (969).

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[97] Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 235; Wulfstan, *Æthelwoldi*, Chapter 22. Thomas N. Hall has proposed that Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 451, which contains a Christmas Sermon 'De natale Domini' (fols. 95^{r}-96^{v}) invoking the replacement doctrine, may have been intended for a twelfth-century Nunnaminster audience. See Thomas N. Hall, "Preaching at Winchester in the Early Twelfth Century," *JEGP* 104 (2005): 189-218. The relevant portion of the sermon reads 'Truly the devil is ever envious of us like a roaring lion, lest we should occupy those ancient seats from which he fell through pride along with his band of retainers' (*Diabolus scilicet semper nobis inuidet ut leo rugiens, ne succedamus pristinis sedibus unde ille cum satellitum turba cecidit per superbiam* [214-215; 217]).
[98] We know this from Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (32-33), and the A-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 75.
[99] Foot, *Monastic Life*, 13; *Councils and Synods*, 148-149.
[100] Patrick Wormald, "Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast," in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), 87. J. Hill also describes how he "[enhanced] the prestige of the Old Minster by increasing its endowments, rebuilding the cathedral on a scale which was grand even by European standards, and raising the status of St. Swithun, the relatively insignificant local saint, by means of a splendid translation to a new shrine" ("The Benedictine Reform and Beyond," 156).

Critics have traced Æthelwold's paper trail in order to establish his role in the production and authorship of some of the key documents of the Benedictine Reform. Whitelock and Gretsch argue that his writings betray an intense desire to keep monastic property out of secular hands. The case for Æthelwold's authorship of the New Minster Charter and additional documents relating to the establishment of the monasteries has been asserted upon the grounds of both form and style. Æthelwold's authorship of the New Minster Charter has also been asserted by F. M. Stenton, Dorothy Whitelock, Francis Wormald, Mechthild Gretsch, and Alexander Rumble and the case for authorship has been made on the grounds of style by Michael Lapdige and Gretsch who have both called attention to the way in which it is imitative of Aldhelm.[101] Gretsch suggests that Æthelwold's "sense of style had been imbued with Aldhelmian diction."[102]

Dorothy Whitelock has convincingly argued for Æthelwold's authorship of the tract in BL, Cotton Faustina A. x, fols. 148^{r}-151^{v}, which I mentioned earlier, and which is appended to his Old English translation of the *Rule*. Whitelock accounts for the verbal links between 'Edgar's Reestablishment of Monasteries' and several passages found in the New Minster Charter. She notes that this text "records the ousting by the king of the canons from New Minster, and their replacement under Bishop Æthelwold by Benedictine monks."[103] Gretsch has carried the conversation further, and noted that the 'Reestablishment of the Monasteries' praises Edgar's expulsion of the debauched canons throughout the 'holy places' (*haliga stowa*) in England and offers "a glowing account of the early stages of the Benedictine reform and a long panegyric on

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[101] For more on this aspect of the authorship debate, see Lapdige, "Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher," in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, part 2 (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 189-211. For a comprehensive account of the hermeneutic style of Æthelwold, see Lapdige, "The Hermeneutic Style," in *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, part 2 (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 123-128. Lapidge has also proposed that Æthelwold may have been familiar with Odo of Cluny's hermeneutic poem *Occupatio* (*c*. 925), which gives an account of salvation history and contains an account of Satan's rebellion ("The Hermeneutic Style," 110).
[102] Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 127.
[103] Dorothy Whitelock, "The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries," in *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), 125-136 (131).

the pivotal role played by King Edgar in the success story of that reform."[104] Gretsch also observes that in this document the newly installed monks and nuns are given the special duty of ensuring the protection and salvation of Edgar and his queen, Ælfthryth. In his preface to the Old English *Rule*, Æthelwold evokes the intimate relationship England shares with Rome by referencing Bede's account of Gregory's mission to convert the English. He writes:

> 7 se mæra Wyrhta þe rihsigende wylt 7 gemetegaþ eal þæt he geworhte, no be þem anum lætan wolde, ac eornostlice ofer þone garsecg þone ylecan leoman þæs fullan geleafan aspringan let, 7 fornean þæt ytemeste iglond ealles middangeardes, mid Ongolcynne genihtsumlice gefylled, wundorfullice anlyhte 7 mærsode. Soðlice þæt ylece iglond, on ærum tydum mid æþengilde[105] afylled, þearle swiþe beswicyn, deofolgilde þeowede; þeahhwæþere þurh fultum þære þancweorþan Cristes gyfe 7 þurh sanctum Gregorium, þæs Romanisces setles bisceop, fram þæm þystrum heora geleafleaste wearþ genered.[106]

(And the glorious Creator who reigning controls and moderates all that he made, was not willing to stop at that alone, but earnestly allowed the same light of the full faith to spring up over the ocean, and about the outermost island of the whole world, abundantly filled with the English race, wondrously illuminated and glorified. Truly that same island, filled in former times with heathen worshipers, very grievously deceived, served devil-idols; nevertheless, by the help of the thankworthy grace of Christ and by St. Gregory, the bishop of the seat of Roman, it was saved from the darkness of their unbelief.)

According to Gretsch, Æthelwold "took great care to point out that Pope Gregory, having been prevented from coming to England himself, remained, nevertheless, closely involved in the progress of the English mission."[107] To my mind, there is room to carry the issue of the conversion of the 'island' (*iglond*) and Æthelwold's use of Gregory further to situate the reform within the context of the replacement doctrine. If Gregory's conversion first enabled the potential for Anglo-Saxon Christians to repopulate the seats of heaven, then the reformers, by reiterating the fall of the rebel angels in their own time, reaffirm the Christian community's ability to maintain their role as replacements in the future heavenly kingdom.

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[104] Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 122; 230-233.
[105] That is, *hæþengilde* meaning "heathen worshiper."
[106] *Councils and Synods*, 143-144.
[107] Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 291.

The text of the New Minster Charter was written as if spoken by the king himself, but Æthelwold crafted the voice of kingship, meaning that there is a complicated relationship between authority and authorship. Political theology calls attention to how political institutions and representatives obtain the capacity to speak on behalf of the voice of the sovereign.[108] Æthelwold's text can be seen as a document which speaks on behalf of the sovereign. Yet the "course of the revival" as Eric John put it, "hung on the king's nod."[109]

1.4 The Fall of the Angels and the New Minster Charter

What do we stand to gain by examining the expulsion of the secular canons and construction of sovereignty alongside the narrative of the fall of the angels? According to Paul Kahn, the "sovereign decision for the exception is the big-bang that contains the entire order of the universe in its potential form."[110] Because the angelic rebellion was, for Anglo-Saxons, the "big-bang" that brought into being the theological order and also provided a template for lordship, I argue that this tradition was understood as the originary crisis resolved by God's sovereign exception, and was therefore foundational to Anglo-Saxon beliefs about kingship, rebellion, and the radical restructuring of the rules of God and man. This narrative is therefore crucial for a more complete understanding of the Winchester charters.

Before turning to the text, it is worth mentioning that, as noted by Dorothy Whitelock, the charter is "preceded by a full-page picture showing Edgar, flanked by the Virgin and St. Peter, holding up the charter towards Christ seated in glory, surrounded by angels … Nothing has been spared to make it a magnificent object for display, presumably on the altar."[111] We can be sure

[108] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 9.
[109] John, *Orbis Britanniae*, 162.
[110] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 50.
[111] *Councils and Synods*, 199.

that this document had some kind of a public presence and, in addition to being kept on the altar, may have been read to the community throughout the year so that its contents would be familiar to all the monks of New Minster.[112] As I mentioned in my Introduction, although there are a handful of additional charters that share the motif of the fall of the angels, New Minster stands above the rest.[113]

The main text of the charter consists of twenty-two short chapters. The first six are a "longer version of the religious proem of a normal charter."[114] This proem introduces the story of the fall of the angels culminating in a note stating that Edgar strives to do Christ's bidding on earth. According to Johnson, Æthelwold's word choice is deliberate in the proem "striving not only for the characteristic bombast and ostentation of the hermeneutic style in which he wrote, but selecting as well a version of the Creation myth that had particularly apt resonances for the political context in which the document was composed."[115] In other words, Æthelwold's appropriation of a specific model for the fulfillment of Christian history, the hexameral tradition, is crucial for his argument. I have already suggested that Æthelwold was evoking and updating the literary topos of the "rebel cleric." In the proem to the New Minster Charter he draws upon a homiletic technique known as "catechetical *narratio*," intended to provide "an outline of Christian cosmology and Christian history."[116] In her article "The Influence of the Catechetical *narratio* on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature," Virginia Day suggests that the fall of the angels was a popular motif among Anglo-Saxon homilies that incorporate such a

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[112] Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 92.
[113] See Petra Hofmann's superb study, which shows that a number of charters employed motifs traditionally associated with hell. Hofmann focuses on the sanctions which contain infernal imagery, and significantly identifies the pastoral function associated with Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Hofmann also helpfully lays out the organization, component parts, and corresponding functions of different parts of the charter. She notes that 63% of the sanctions of authentic tenth-century charters contain infernal imagery ("Infernal Imagery," 17).
[114] *Charters of the New Minster*, 106.
[115] Johnson, "Studies in the Literary Career," 77.
[116] Virginia Day, "The Influence of the Catechetical *narratio* on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature," *ASE* 3 (1974): 51-61 (51).

narratio because it offered a "framework for the unlettered, placing each particular point of Christian doctrine in relation to the pattern of the whole."[117] The *narratio* in the charter's proem uses the fall of the angels to announce the very mythology of the Benedictine Reform and connects Edgar's reform with heavenly politics.

Citing biblical motifs and themes in proems and anathemas meant that charters took on a distinct theological dimension. As Smith notes, "the maintenance of the documentary provisions consequently all [become] figuratively charged as matters of salvation and damnation."[118] Such a text becomes, in Smith's words, "talismanic" in the sense that it "[signifies] both the idea of eternal possession and the promise of salvation."[119] From the New Minster Charter's opening, we see that politics, even in heaven, are less than perfect. The posturing done in the proem is the fullest presentation of syncretism between biblical legend and an historical act of state, and sets the stage for the depiction of Winchester's state of emergency. According to Miller, "the movements of the proem suggest that the redemptive capabilities for humanity brought on by Christ are a reflection of the monastic movement in England, which had fallen into secular hands."[120] The charter goes on to describe the emptied thrones of heaven and the 'filth of torrid arrogance being eliminated' (*eliminata tumidi fastus spurcitia*). This means that the thrones now stand in 'idleness without a user' (*sine cultore passus torpere*), 'idleness' being a common descriptor for the heavenly territories after the fall of the angels:

> Cui uniuersa totius cosmi superficie condita subiciens . seipsum suosque posteros sibi subiecit . quatenus eius exsecutura posteritas angelorum suppleret numerum celorum sedibus superbia turgente detrusum. (Chapter I)

[117] Ibid., 59.
[118] Smith, *Land and Book*, 27.
[119] Ibid., 232.
[120] *Charters of the New Minster*, 107.

(Subjecting all created things on the surface of the whole universe to Man, He subjected Man and his progeny to Himself, in order that his posterity, which was to follow, should complete the number of the heavenly angels driven out, by swelling pride, from the thrones of heaven.)

Here, we get a clear picture of God's desire to replace the contingent of fallen angels and once again fill the empty seats of heaven.[121] Johnson has called attention to the New Minster Charter's engagement with the doctrine of replacement in this opening sequence. I hope to carry Johnson's suggestion further by considering how Æthelwold links conceptions of "replacement" and "reform" through his use of the term *cuneus*.

As I noted in my Introduction,[122] the doctrine of replacement was derived from Augustine's *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 62 and 29 (*CCSL* 46.82; *CCSL* 46.65) and *De Civitate Dei* 22.1 (*CCSL* 48.807) which states that God means to 'fill the place of the fallen angels and restore their number' (*inde suppleat et instauret partem, quae lapsa est angelorum*). Augustine's notion of the doctrine of replacement is inextricably linked with his conception of reform in *De Civitate Dei*.[123] According to Ladner, everything about reform, for Augustine, is expressed in terms of rectifying the loss of the rebel angels through continually perfecting the church on earth. In his *Enchiridion*, Augustine suggests that the church must be filled with "men capable of reform" who will ultimately restore the kingdom of heaven, "in the sense that they will replenish the angelic host whose number was depleted by the fall of the rebel angels."[124]

Gregory the Great's *Homiliae in Evangelium* 34 offers an exegesis of Luke 15:8 (the parable of the ten drachmas) which further enumerates the doctrine of replacement. Gregory the Great is the first, according to Dorothy Haines, to situate "the doctrine of replacement within

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[121] Miller observes, "It seems very likely that some of the reformers would have made the parallel between those empty thrones in the heavens and the choir stalls vacated by the secular clerics of the Old Minster at Winchester as Æthelwold's monks trooped in" (*Charters of the New Minster*, 108).
[122] See pages 5-8.
[123] For more on how Augustine's conception of replacement is linked with "reform," see Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, 240-241.
[124] Ibid., 277.

new contexts and [endow it with] new associations."[125] Here, Gregory characterizes the angelic parties in heaven as 'orders,' explaining how the original ten turned to nine after the fall of the rebellious lot:

> Angelorum quippe et hominum naturam ad cognoscendum se Dominus condidit, quam dum consistere ad aeternitatem uoluit, eam procul dubio ad suam similitudinem creauit. Decem uero drachmas habuit mulier, quia nouem sund ordines angelorum. Sed ut compleretur electorum numerous, homo decimus est creatus, qui a conditore suo nec post culpam periit, quia hunc aeterna sapientia per carnem miraculis coruscans ex lumine testae reparauit. (*CCSL* 141A.6)

(The Lord created the essential nature of angels and humans so that they might come to know himself. Since he intended it to last forever, beyond any doubt he created it in his own likeness. The woman had ten silver coins since there are nine ranks of angels, but that the number of the elect might be complete humanity was created as a tenth. Humanity was not lost by its Creator after its sin, because eternal Wisdom, shining by his physical miracles with the light of the clay vessel, restored it.)[126]

The popularity of Gregory's metric in early medieval England cannot be overstated. It is, in fact, the version that Bede copies *In Lucae Euangelium Expositio* (*CCSL* 120A.285ff).[127] His conception of replacement signals a spiritual potentiality within humanity by suggesting that humans have the capacity to fill this void.[128] In other words, it was always God's intent to restore heaven to perfection by bringing humanity back into the fold as the new and improved order.

Immediately following the proem, the New Minster Charter moves further into this familiar territory and describes the thrones of heaven, which will stand idle until God 'should make good the number of angels driven out, full of pride, from the dwellings of Heaven.'[129] Chapter 7 turns to Edgar's design for salvation, and specifies the king's desire for efficacious prayers, suggesting that those of the *cunei canonicorum* were worthless on his behalf. It reads, 'I,

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[125] For an account of occurrences where "replacement doctrine" ideology can be found in the Anglo-Saxon corpus, see Dorothy Haines, "The Vacancies in Heaven: The Doctrine of Replacement and *Genesis A*," *N&Q* 44:2 (1997): 150-154. Haines notes that Blickling Homily XI also contains an account of this doctrine (153).
[126] *Forty Gospel Homilies: Gregory the Great*, trans. David Hurst, Cistercian Studies Series 123 (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1990), 285.
[127] Haines, "The Vacanies in Heaven," 152.
[128] Johnson, "The Fall of Lucifer," 516.
[129] *Property and Piety*, 75.

the vicar of Christ, have expelled the depraved *troop of canons* from the various monasteries of our kingdom' ('uitiosorum *cuneos canonicorum* . e diuersis nostri regiminis coenobiis Christi uicarius eliminaui' [*emphasis added*]).[130] Here, the sovereign decision is articulated. I would like to focus on Æthelwold's use of the technical term for the angelic orders here, *cuneus*, which refers to the 'rank,' 'order,' or 'troop' of expelled canons. Commonly found in the early medieval poetry and prose of authors like Aldhelm, Alcuin, Fortunatus, and Prudentius, *cuneus* is often used as a metaphor for Christian souls engaged in spiritual combat for Christ. For instance, Prudentius uses *cuneus* to refer to 'legions' fighting a spiritual combat in *Peristephanon* (*CCSL* 126A). Its use in the charter evokes these martial associations and places Edgar's conflict with the canons on both a spiritual and militaristic plane.

The term *cuneus* is, in fact, used twice in the New Minster Charter. The second time *cuneus* appears in context with the duty of the new abbot and the monks to protect the king and snatch him from the temptations of devils:

> Abbas autem armis succinctus . spiritalibus . *monachorum cuneo* hinc inde uallatus . carismatum celestium rore perfusus . aerias demonum expugnans uersutias . regem omnemque sui regiminis clerum . Christo cuius uirtute dimicant iuuante . a rabida hostium persecutione inuisibilium . sollerter spiritus gladio defendens . fidei scuto subtili protegens tutamine . robusto prelians triumpho miles eripiat inperterritus. (Chapter XV)

(Moreover, let the abbot, girded with spiritual arms, defended on all sides by a *troop of monks*, drenched with the dew of celestial gifts, conquering the phantom-like tricks of devils, skillfully defending with a sword of the spirit, protecting with the subtle shield of faith as a defense, fighting in hardy triumph as an undaunted soldier, snatch the king and all the clergy of his kingdom from the rabid persecution of invisible enemies, with the help of Christ, through whose power they contend. [*emphasis added*])

The language of this passage is overtly militaristic, and situates the crisis within the context of a military strategy for the kingdom. We are presented with a clear portrait of the *Abbas* as *miles Christi* girded with the 'sword of the spirit' (*spiritus gladio*). By employing the precise

[130] Ibid., 81

terminology he used to refer to the now dispossessed 'troop of canons,' Æthelwold effectively translates and transforms its signification from the old 'order' to the new, compelling readers to consider how these concepts are tied together, and how the act of replacement is now complete, seamless, final, and also essential for the divine protection of the realm.[131]

When Edgar says he has restored the 'New Minster of the church of Winchester' (*Uuintaniensis ecclesiae Noui Monasterii*), his sovereign exception puts the nation on pace towards once again becoming replacements for the fallen order:

> rebelliones omnipotentis uoluntati obuiantes possessionem Domini usurpare non sustinens clericos lasciuientes repuli . ac ueros Dei cultores monachico gradu fungentes . qui pro nostris nostrorumque inibi quiescentium excessibus sedulo intercederent seruitio . quo eorum intercessionibus nostri regminis status uigeret munitus . abbatem Christo cooperante eligens altithrono subiectus illic deuote ordinaui. (Chapter VIII)

(not supporting rebels who oppose the will of the Almighty in usurping the Lord's property, I have driven away the wayward clerks, and I, subject to the High-throned One, choosing an abbot with Christ's help, have faithfully appointed thither true worshippers of God, observing the monkish degree [of humility], who might intercede for our sins, and for those of our people lying at rest there, by zealous service, [so that], fortified by their intercessions, the condition of our kingdom might thrive.)

I would argue that this rendition of the doctrine of replacement, which imagines the city of Winchester – a city that was once fortified against the Viking menace – as recently under siege with 'rebels' (*rebelliones*) but now duly 'fortified anew' (*reminis … munitus*) stands in for the security of the entire kingdom. In effect, the reform and Edgar's sovereign decision has stemmed the tide of England's state of emergency. The rhetoric is highly tenurial as it focuses on Edgar's exclusion of the wrongful residents of the 'Lord's property' (*possessionem Domini*) and his safeguarding of a space in which the kingdom might thrive under new tenants. His policies reallocate the boundaries for a new Christian community at Winchester by establishing a newly

[131] Catherine Karkov remarks that in the frontispiece, "Angels are replaced by Angles … It was God who oversaw the former event, and Edgar who oversaw the latter" (*Ruler Portraits*, 90).

ordained physical space for the monks, offering a means of recuperating the kingdom. The reestablishment of the monastery is "not thus a random act of generosity but the fulfillment of Christian history in England in Edgar's reign."[132] Edgar's coronation verse from 973 contains valences of his part in England's salvation history, where he is described as 'ruler of the English' (*Engla waldend* [l. 1b]) or alternatively 'ruler of Angles,' and in his commemorative verse there is an emphasis on both his spiritual and militaristic glory.[133] In a similar way, Æthelwold's discursive maneuvers in the New Minster Charter, which are frequently suggestive of Gregory's *Angli*/*Angeli* pun, imply that only through the Benedictines and Edgar can Anglo-Saxons become the replacements for the fallen angels. The event which triggered this potential is figured as Edgar's sovereign decision to expel the rebels, an act which put the English people on track towards repopulating the seats of the fallen order.[134]

1.5 The Fall of the Angels and the Old Minster Charter

Both the New Minster Charter and the Old Minster Charter advance arguments for the suspension of the rights and lands of the secular clergy by outlining their follies and fates as coterminous with the rebel angels. The Old Minster Charter, unlike the lavish New Minster Charter, only exists as a twelfth-century cartulary copy within the *Codex Wintoniensis* and has, consequently, received less critical attention. According to Rumble, it contains provisions about

[132] Johnson, "The Fall of Lucifer," 520.
[133] For a succinct reading and account of the Chronicle poems, see Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 214-252. For another good account, see Mercedes Salvador-Bello "The Edgar Panegyrics in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*," in *Edgar, King of the English 959-975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg, Publications of the MCASS 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008).
[134] The remainder of the charter bears an anathema against those who plot against the monks squarely aimed at the 'cast-down canons' (*deiecti canonici*) followed by an explication of the monks who are allowed to dwell in the monastery. The charter ends with a curse for those who would tamper with monastic property and a witness list which includes the Benedictine trifecta: Dunstan, Oswald, and Æthelwold, the king's sons Edmund and Edward, Edgar's third wife Ælfthryth, as well as six ealdormen including Beorhtnoth of Essex, and eight thanes including Wulfstan of Dalham who supervised the expulsion of the canons as we saw in Chapter 18 of the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*.

the Benedictine Reform and the important and ancient estate of Chilcomb.[135] Yet this provision seems to have been so significant that it is accompanied by an Old English vernacular translation.[136]

Although one could argue that the prime concern of the Old Minster Charter is not justification for the sovereign exception or the reform movement, I suggest that it can be read as the continuation of the normal order established by the New Minster Charter through its illustration of the repartition of endowments and familiar casting of the likely suspects as rebellious angels.[137] In reference to Chilcomb, Edgar writes 'in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in accordance with the decrees of former kings' whom he cites as Cynegisl, Cenwealh, Ecbeorht, Æthelwulf, Alfred, Edward, and Bishop Birinus of the *Uuest Seaxan* lands, that 'no bishop … should dare to transfer that land from that monastery, nor presume to give it to any secular person for any type of reward' (Chapter II). In these passages, Edgar has not only cited the historical precedent of the West Saxon line, but declares all secular claims to the lands as null and void. The *Freolsboc to Ciltancvmbe* (S 817), the Old English vernacular version, conveys roughly the same idea as the Latin account:

> 7 he bead þurh Godes ælmichtiges myclan mægenþrymm þæt nan his bearna ne nan heora æftergengcana þæt menster æfre leng mid preostan gesette . ac þæt hit efre mid munecan stode . swa swa he hit mid Godes ælmihtiges fultume gesette . þa þa he hit þa modigan preostas for heora mandædon þanan ut adrefde . 7 þerinne munecas gelogode þæt hi Godes þeowedom æfter sancte Benedictes tæcinge . 7 dæghwamlice to Gode cleopodon for ealles Cristenes folces alidsednesse. (Chapter III)

(And he commanded through the great power of Almighty God that none of his sons nor any of their successors should ever settle that minster with priests, but that it should stand ever

[135] Keynes classifies this as one of Edgar's "problematic" charters and questions its authenticity. He states that it seems to have been written up as part of an effort to cement a reputation for Edgar after his death; he dates this charter *c*. 1150 ("A Conspectus of the Charters of King Edgar," 75-79).
[136] *Property and Piety*, 99.
[137] Some of the other estates which the Old Minster Charter contains provisions for include Hants, Somerset, Surrey, and Wilts.

afterwards with monks, just as he established it with the help of Almighty God, when he drove the proud priests out because of their sins, and lodged therein the monks so that they might do God's service according to the teaching of Saint Benedict, and daily call upon God for the salvation of all Christian people.)

Not only does this provision forbid the resettlement of the minster with secular priests, it establishes the lands for the monks in perpetuity. In these charters we see a highly controlled continuation of biblical legend to support and sustain Edgar's historical act of state.

According to René Girard, "if there is a normal order in societies, it must be the fruit of an anterior crisis."[138] The Old Minster Charter suggests that Anglo-Saxon authors understood their own social order of lordship as the fruit of the crisis instigated by the rebel angels. By exchanging the 'arrogant priests' (*modigan preostas*)[139] with the monks, this charter affirms the claim in the New Minster Charter that Edgar 'as a diligent ploughman has inserted seeds of virtues.'[140] Here, as with the story of the fall of the angels, the originary crisis provides what will be a template for the normal order to follow.

Conclusion

Although they are charters by form, the Winchester charters contain rich literary and homiletic registers. They provide us with a striking image of the way kingship in the tenth century was facilitated and engineered, in part, by the Benedictine Reform movement. These documents are preoccupied with the well-being of the king, church, and English body politic. Alexander Rumble rightly speculates that the Winchester charters are the products of "fear" over an uprising against the monks.[141] Thus, they also speak to an Anglo-Saxon Christian identity that

[138] René Girard, *Quand ces choses commenceront* (Paris: Arléa, 1996), 29.
[139] Gretsch notes that the adjective for 'pride' (*modig*) was favored translation for the concept of *superbia* in the Winchester vocabulary (*Ideological Foundations*, 95). As we see here, the Old Minster Charter supports this theory.
[140] *Property and Piety*, 80.
[141] Ibid., 65.

(whether rightly or wrongly) perceived and represented itself in the midst of a state of emergency.

In closing, what we see in these texts is an English community clearly invested in the theology of the fall of the angels, an investment extending well beyond a brief moment during the tenth century. While Gregory situated the English within a matrix whereby they might become the *cuneus* to replace the fallen ranks of angels, it is significant that the Benedictine Reform eschewed any break with this narrative of replacement, but claimed authority for its safe-keeping and perpetuation.

Julia Barrow has recently asked if "reform" is the correct term to apply the efforts undertaken by the Benedictines and Edgar during this era, arguing that what "Æthelwold and his colleagues were doing might be better summed up in their own words as 'cleansing' or 'exorcising', or more neutrally, as 'monasticizing' or 'regularizing'."[142] Æthelwold's stylistic and ideological maneuvers in the New Minster Charter, as I have shown, do not concern themselves with reimagining Christianity in England, but fall very much in line with Augustine's thinking about reform in the church: that it is always tied to the idea of repairing the loss in heaven. The core of the reform movement seems to have had a keen eye towards this original crisis starting with Edgar's 'spiritual beginning with the monks' (*gastlice munyca angin*)[143] and ending with the ushering out of one *cuneus* and the installation of a new order. It makes sense, then, that what we see in these charters is that the sovereign exception need only come into play when there is a prodigious threat to the salvation narrative of the nation.[144] What these reform

[142] Julia Barrow, "The Ideology of the Tenth-Century English Benedictine 'Reform,'" in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner, SEMA (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 153.
[143] *Councils and Synods*, 149.
[144] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 35.

period pieces demonstrate, through their dynamic use of this narrative, is that rebel angels were also foundational to the tenth-century narrative of English nationhood.

CHAPTER 2

RULES OF GOD AND MAN:

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS AND WULFSTAN OF YORK'S *SERMO* VI AND *SERMO LUPI AD ANGLOS*

In the decades following the first generation of the Benedictine Reform, wherein emerged what David Dumville calls "a socio-ecclesiastical polity,"[1] there was an increase in Viking incursions and external threats to the stability of England. In my previous chapter, I considered how the fall of the angels narrative was used by Anglo-Saxon authors to explain a crisis within the ecclesiastical hierarchy and legitimate the expulsion of secular canons residing in the city of Winchester. Drawing upon Augustinian and Bedan analogies for "fallen" clerical identity, King Edgar's reign overcame a perceived threat to Christianity in England by associating the conduct of the secular clerics with the 'most proud rebel angel' (*angelus praeuaricator superbissimus*) in Anglo-Latin charters. In this chapter, my focus turns to the fall of the angels narrative in the era succeeding the initial stages of the Benedictine Reform and the expulsion of the canons. While Edgar and the reformers manufactured a state of emergency necessitating a sovereign exception to overhaul and restore the polity, Archbishop Wulfstan of York faced an authentic crisis of sovereignty and state of emergency brought on by renewed Viking attacks which threatened to displace Anglo-Saxon Christendom. Viewed within this historical context, the evidence suggests a paradigm shift in the use of this narrative in vernacular homilies of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

[1] David N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 3 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), 145.

Introduction

The axial figure in this chapter is Wulfstan of York, whose views on the creation and fall of the angels have been overshadowed by critical interest in his numerous eschatological homilies and vivid accounts of Antichrist. Wulfstan was just one of the homilists of the Benedictine Reform period who, unlike Æthelwold or Abbo of Fleury, avoids direct comparisons between the sins of the rebel angels and imagined threats to the nation. Rather than locate the source of evil as external to the ideal Christian self and thereby promote Anglo-Saxon spiritual identity against a rebellious "other," Wulfstan and other second-generation homilists, I argue, treat the disloyalty and pride of the rebel angels as potential sins within any English Christian. In Wulfstan's *Sermo* VI we are given a rare glimpse of the archbishop's conception of events surrounding both angelic and earthly creation as well as the sin that sets history in motion. I would like to examine how Wulfstan and other Old English homilists adapted the fall of the rebel angels narrative for pastoral contexts, and how Wulfstan shaped this narrative to elaborate upon the responsibilities of priests in *Sermo* VI. In all likelihood, Wulfstan wrote *Sermo* VI around the turn of the eleventh century, and I suggest that he evokes and expands upon the core concerns of the narrative of the rebel angels roughly a decade later in his famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as a way to address renewed Viking attacks and the assimilation of the Danes into the English polity in order to frame a crisis of identity for English Christians.

One of the chief concerns of Wulfstan's career was promoting proper relations to rules and authority among Anglo-Saxon Christians in both sacred and secular spheres. His engagement with this subject is clear in his presentation of the fall of the angels in *Sermo* VI and his admonition against the English people in *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*. I argue that his representation of the fall of the angels in *Sermo* VI shares a connection to his later elaboration

upon the depravities of the English nation in *Sermo Lupi*. In this homily, Wulfstan not only evokes the idea that the English nation is teetering on the verge of a fall of biblical proportions, but also that they will lose their divinely sanctioned role in the salvation narrative of the nation. First, I will examine how Wulfstan's account of the fall of the angels in *Sermo* VI differs from other homiletic accounts in circulation during this period. By doing so, I intend to point to his unique doctrinal and ideological preoccupations surrounding the fall of the angels at the start of his career. I submit that we can find evidence of a shift in his engagement with the narrative on a more topical albeit implicit level in *Sermo Lupi*. This development – concentrating on the problems of disloyalty, betrayal, pride, and the abuse of free choice – suggests a rich intertextual and sociopolitical engagement with Ælfric of Eynsham's more comprehensive treatment of the fall of the angels narrative. Moreover, it would suggest that the logic of sovereign and subject relations so integral to this originary biblical event began to influence Wulfstan's conceptions of secular and ecclesiastical authority as his career progressed and the sense of crisis in England worsened.[2]

Second, I will argue that in *Sermo Lupi*, Wulfstan's litany of civil disorders, evokes the sin of the rebel angels and registers anxieties over the Christian nation's ability and worthiness to fulfill its role in the paradigm of the doctrine of replacement as reflected in his citation of Gildas.[3] During the reign of King Edgar, Benedictine reformers such as Æthelwold appealed to this doctrine to position the secular clergy as a rebellious 'order' (*cuneus*) incapable of ensuring

[2] For a list of homilies containing material on the fall of the angels see Robert DiNapoli, *An Index of Theme and Image to the Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: Comprising the Homilies of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blickling and Vercelli Codices* (Hockwold cum Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1995). DiNapoli flags the following: "narrations and general expositions, CHI 1.10-12, CHI 36.538-40, Supp 11a.28-43, V 19.12-23 (Vs 19.10-18), W 6.21-33; humankind created to replace the fallen angels, B 11.121, CHI 1.12, CHI 2.32, CHI 13.192, CHI 14.214, CHI 15.222, CHI 24.342-44, CHI 15.183-94, W 6.34-39; caused by pride, B 13.159, CHI pref.6, CHI 1.10, 14, CHI 9.138, CHI 11.170-72, LS 16.306-11, Supp 11a.32-33, V 3.23-24 (Vs 3.25-27), V 21.139-49 (Vs 21.107-14); caused by contempt for God, LS 13.182-83" (41). He does not list the anonymous homilies in the Napier collection.
[3] See my discussion in Chapter One regarding the role of the doctrine of replacement in relation to the Benedictine Reform (58-62).

that English Christians would realize their place in salvation history. By rehearsing the doctrine of replacement in texts like the New Minster Charter, and removing the secular canons from the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the early reformers promoted the idea that through the Benedictine Reform movement, the doctrine of replacement had been renewed and the way to heaven reopened under the spiritual protection of a reformed monasticism which saw the task of preparing Christian souls for salvation as their special duty.

I find reason to believe that Wulfstan evokes the doctrine of replacement in *Sermo Lupi* and reimagines the pattern of rebellion, collapse, and reform as active in his own time. However, while Wulfstan continues to see the role of the church as important in securing the English as "replacements," he turns the Æthelwoldian figuration of this doctrine on its head. Instead of envisioning the English as replacements, as seen in the New Minster Charter, Wulfstan suggests that Anglo-Saxon Christians have come to resemble the prideful and rebellious order that may be subjected to a fall rather than salvation through replacement. Wulfstan sees English Christianity as mired within a state of emergency resulting from a collective failure on the part of Christians to recognize the proper sovereign status of the throne, the altar and, by extension, God. Wulfstan locates the source of this emergency not with the Viking menace nor within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but within English Christendom at large.

In order to illuminate how the fall of the angels and the replacement narrative appear to be foundational to Wulfstan's perception of his personal role in constructing the perfect Christian society, I engage with Schmitt and Kahn's theoretical explication of the exception, or the sovereign decision to act in the face of an existential threat to the nation. Rather than advocating a suspension of the law, or investing a sovereign with emergency powers (as the Benedictine reformers did under the aegis of Edgar), Wulfstan and Ælfric argue that Christian subjects are

responsible for bringing themselves back from the brink of exception, or accepting the consequences of their disobedience. Wulfstan thinks the English are beginning to exclude themselves from heavenly salvation in a recapitulation of God's first exception. Yet he sees such an event as avoidable and, in reenvisioning the role of churchmen like himself, Wulfstan proposes that the clergy must act as advisers to both the king and body politic and encourage proper obedience to the law. As his era was one of ill-defined and, at times, ineffectual sovereignty, Wulfstan appeals to God's law as the ultimate source of sovereign authority and encourages secular and ecclesiastical leadership to do the same in order to restructure the polity and, more importantly, avert the possibility of English Christendom's own exclusion as rebels in God's eyes.

In situating kings, the clergy, and bishops as responsible for ensuring the salvation of the English Christian community and their role within the schematics of replacement,[4] Wulfstan demonstrates a marked interest in elaborating upon the place of obedient thought and action within the law.[5] In my discussion of Wulfstan's political theology, I will be offering a new interpretation for the Viking invaders in *Sermo Lupi*, whom scholars often read as heralds of Antichrist.[6] Integrating Wulfstan's views on theological matters and political events suggests that he feared the English had lost sight of God's ultimate sovereignty, and that their place within salvation history could only be recovered through adherence to the rules of God and man.

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[4] Renée R. Trilling, "Sovereignty and Social Order: Archbishop Wulfstan and the *Institutes of Polity*," in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 58-85 (69).
[5] Ibid., 71.
[6] Among the critics who have taken up this question are Stephanie Hollis, "The Thematic Structure of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*," *ASE* 6 (1977): 175-195 and Joyce Tally Lionarons, *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan: A Critical Study* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2010); for an alternative to reading the Vikings as figures associated with Antichrist see Malcolm R. Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England," in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 130-162.

2.1 Wulfstan, Ælfric, and the Continuation of the Benedictine Reform

Writing after the death of Edgar and the "anti-monastic reaction,"[7] both Ælfric of Eynsham and Wulfstan of York differ from their predecessors in their respective treatments of the fall of the angels. Both tend to emphasize Lucifer's interiority and agency in the lead-up to the fall. For Ælfric, the fall of the angels seems to have been an issue he wrestled with time and again in his writing. Despite his allegiance to scriptural authority and concession in his 'Preface to *Genesis*' that the Bible 'does not say anything about the creation of the angels' (*ne sprycð na be þærra engla gesceapenisse*),[8] Ælfric examines the fall of the angels as a crucial link in the chain of events within creation in no fewer than six of his major works. The narrative features in his translations of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbiteri*,[9] the *Exameron Anglice*,[10] as well as several of his *Catholic Homilies* including *CH* I.1 *De Initio Creaturae*.[11] He also mentions the fall in his correspondence such as his *Letter to Sigeweard*[12] and *Letter to Wulfgeat of Ylmandun*.[13]

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[7] Fisher, "The Anti-Monastic Reaction," 254-270.
[8] *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. Samuel J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 160 (London: Milford, 1922; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).
[9] See Stoneman, "A Critical Edition of Ælfric's Translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbiter*" and MacLean, "Ælfric's Version of *Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi in Genesin*."
[10] *Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron*, ed. Samuel J. Crawford, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 10 (Hamburg: Grand, 1921).
[11] *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series. Text*, ed. Peter Clemoes, EETS s.s. 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[12] *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de Vetri Testamento Novo*, ed. Richard Marsden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[13] *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, ed. Bruno Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 3 (Kassel: 1889; reprint, ed. Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt: 1964), 1-12.

Ælfric's interest in the fall of the angels has received a fair amount of critical discussion, most recently by Michael Fox. Using as a point of departure Paul Szarmach's observations about Ælfric's tendency to establish a "narrative impulse,"[14] Fox explains,

> Fusing the broad outline of the fall from the Christian tradition with details he finds in various sources, [Ælfric] places his distinctive narrative account of angelic history at the appropriate point in his discussions of creation and then proceeds to establish its relevance to the material which follows.[15]

While perhaps not as invested as Ælfric in developing a "narrative impulse" in his discussion of the fall of the angels, Wulfstan also understands this event didactically and as a critically important moment in the narrative of his Christian nation. His engagement with the fall of the angels has received considerably less attention, although, as I intend to demonstrate, he appears to have come into contact with and been influenced by one or more of Ælfric's renditions of the event sometime prior to his composition of *Sermo Lupi*.

We know very little about Wulfstan's early years. A "fenlander" by origin,[16] Wulfstan rose to the status of Archbishop of London (996-1002), then York (1002-1023), and concurrently Worcester (1002-1016).[17] He was a public figure in England during one of the most tumultuous eras in its history. By the time of his death in 1023 Wulfstan had served under several powerful

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[14] Paul Szarmach, "Ælfric as Exegete: Approaches and Examples in the Study of the *Sermones Catholici*," in *Hermeneutics and Medieval Culture*, ed. P. Gallacher and H. Damico (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1989), 237-247 (241).

[15] Fox, "Ælfric on the Creation and Fall of the Angels," 176.

[16] Patrick Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-Builder," in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 9-27 (12); Simon Keynes, "An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids of 1006-7 and 1009-12," *ASE* 36 (2007): 151-220 (170).

[17] Jonathan Wilcox, "The Wolf on Shepherds: Wulfstan, Bishops, and the Context of the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*," in *Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 5 (New York: Garland, 2000), 395. According to Dorothy Bethurum, "Wulfstan," in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1966), 210-244, Wulfstan's "plurality, though uncanonical, was practiced probably because York had been so impoverished by the ninth-century Danish depredations that it needed the support of Worcester if archiepiscopal functions were to be carried on" (212).

kings including Æthelred II (978-1013; 1014-1016) and Cnut (1016-1035).[18] Scholars such as Dorothy Whitelock and Patrick Wormald have characterized Wulfstan as a dynamic eleventh-century state-builder.[19] Wormald has gone so far as to argue that Wulfstan, more than Alfred and even Bede, might be called the architect of the "world's most enduring polity."[20] According to Simon Keynes, the attacks of Thorkell's army from 1009-1012 in the last decade of Æthelred's reign "reached unprecedented levels of ferocity."[21] It was about this time that Wulfstan's political influence was peaking, and Keynes suggests that *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* springs from this historical milieu.

From this historical perspective, we see a politically-minded figure addressing a national catastrophe during a time of unstable sovereignty. As Dorothy Bethurum explains,

> Wulfstan acted as adviser to two kings when England's dangers were greatest … [moreover] for the first part of his career there was no secular leader, king or earl, to put into practice the moral reforms he advocated.[22]

The first king that Wulfstan worked under was Æthelred II, who went into exile under the protection of the church. Swein Forkbeard,[23] the King of Denmark, assumed dominance over England in 1013 through an allegiance brokered with the traditional Danelaw regions. With Swein's unexpected death in 1014 there followed an uneasy tension over whether or not Cnut

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[18] Andy Orchard, "Wulfstan as Reader, Writer, and Rewriter," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron J. Kleist, SEMA 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 311.
[19] Dorothy Whitelock, "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 24 (1942): 24-45; Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan," 9-27.
[20] Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan," 25.
[21] Keynes, "An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids," 154.
[22] Bethurum, "Wulfstan," 210-211.
[23] Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989). Stafford observes that "'Danish England' has no political identity in the tenth century. The Viking settlements were now remote in time and little suggests that they imparted an ethnic unity to these areas even at an earlier date" (65). On the motives of King Swein, Stafford suggests that he "aimed at a conquest of the English kingdom from the North, not merely a revival of the Viking kingdom of York" and he "may have known of the disaffection of many nobles in the North East Midlands … Thus in 1013 Swegn may have hoped to revive residual Viking identity in his support" (66).

would ascend to the throne or if Æthelred would return.[24] Jonathan Wilcox proposes that a gathering of the nation's councilors at York in February 1014, soon after the death of Forkbeard but before Æthelred's return from Normandy, is the most likely time and place for the public performance of Wulfstan's most famous sermon.[25] Ultimately, Æthelred did regain his position as king, but this was short-lived. We have evidence that Wulfstan continued to write and revise *Sermo Lupi* throughout this period of unstable kingship at least up to the fall of Æthelred and the ascendancy of Cnut in 1016.[26]

In addition to Wulfstan's involvement in early English statecraft, Joyce Hill stresses the importance of seeing Wulfstan in his theological context as a prominent player in the Benedictine Reform movement.[27] Although Wulfstan's letters are no longer extant, we know that Ælfric and Wulfstan corresponded frequently, and that Wulfstan appears to have viewed Ælfric as the voice of authority on a range of theological matters.[28] The level of intertextuality between the writings of the monk and the politically-minded bishop is crucial. It suggests that they had shared concerns regarding the function of ecclesiastical authority and the instruction of the laity in Anglo-Saxon England. Their correspondence has been examined by critics such as Hill and Godden and provides evidence of Wulfstan's sustained interest in nuancing his understanding of issues ranging from ecclesiastical practice associated with the mass to the extent of authority

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[24] Ibid., 379.

[25] Jonathan Wilcox, "Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond," in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 373-396 (378).

[26] Stafford observes that "Æthelred returned in 1014, on terms … It is a measure of the crisis of 1013-16 and the effects of conquest and exile that for the first time in the tenth or eleventh centuries a violent succession struggle preceded the death of a king" (*Unification and Conquest*, 67-68).

[27] Joyce Hill, "Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?" in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 309-324. J. Hill notes that Wulfstan occasionally demonstrates his nostalgia for the initial period of the reform under the leadership of King Edgar (313).

[28] These letters have been edited in *Councils and Synods* (242-302). I can find no extant evidence that Ælfric and Wulfstan corresponded about the concept of *agen cyre* or the events surrounding the fall of the angels, but it is safe to assume that Wulfstan had access to the *Catholic Homilies*.

assigned to bishops.[29] Although not all of their correspondence is extant today, it is possible that they discussed a range of issues and that their homilies, sociopolitical works, and even Wulfstan's law-codes could have easily passed back and forth between the two and deeply impacted their thinking on contemporary topics.

Despite the connections and open lines of communication, in a larger sense, Wulfstan lived worlds away from Ælfric. Writing in the troubled north, Wulfstan was an eye witness to threats to the stability of the English nation posed by the Danish invaders. The invasions made Wulfstan highly conscious of both sacred and secular institutions, and he viewed himself as duly responsible for maintaining them. As Trilling observes,

> Wulfstan combined the religious authority of the bishop with the secular authority of the royal adviser, and he played an active role in the administration of both secular and ecclesiastical society; [his] homilies and law codes … attest to the considerable overlap in the archbishop's perception of his duties.[30]

During this period of turmoil, English Christians were forced to safeguard their legal institutions and their church, and Wulfstan was at the forefront of engaging with these challenges, particularly in 1017 at the ascendancy of Cnut. In this year, Wulfstan resigned from the see of Worcester to devote all of his energies to the north. Joyce Tally Lionarons suggests that, for Wulfstan, the coming of "Cnut signaled a reprieve and a chance to rebuild the English nation into Wulfstan's vision of a holy society."[31]

Like Ælfric, Wulfstan demonstrates a highly-developed sense of authorship, inscribing many of his diverse works with the pen-name *Lupus*. While my interest in this chapter lies in

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[29] J. Hill, "Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?" 313-14; Malcolm Godden, "The Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric: A Reassessment" in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 353-374.
[30] Trilling, "Sovereignty and Social Order," 59.
[31] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 163. Bethurum observes that the "year after Wulfstan resigned Worcester Cnut became king, and from his accession in 1017 until Wulfstan's death in 1023 Wulfstan was apparently very much occupied with problems attendant upon the victory of the Danes" such as "stamping out elements of paganism … and, more important, the tutoring of Cnut and assisting in his transformation from a Viking war-lord to a model Christian king" (*Continuations and Beginnings*, 214).

Wulfstan's homiletic corpus, it is important to note that he also wrote numerous legal tracts, law-codes,[32] social prescriptions, a commonplace book, and paraliturgical material.[33] Scholars have often noted that there is considerable overlap between his works in these different genres.[34] According to Christopher A. Jones, Wulfstan "is one of the few early medieval figures … for whom the sources reveal the deep affinities between liturgy, law, and preaching as media to proclaim the ordinances of God and, simultaneously, the authority of his pontifical messengers."[35]

The monumental task of reconstructing Wulfstan's canon has been underway for well over a century. Arthur S. Napier's 1883 edition, *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit* identified sixty-two Wulfstan homilies based on texts that had been listed by Humphrey Wanley in 1705.[36] Napier's edition included four homilies which contained accounts of the fall of the rebel angels (Napier II, Napier XXIX, Napier XXX, and Napier LVIII). Following Karl Jost's *Wulfstanstudien* (1950), and subsequent editions of Wulfstan's homilies by Dorothy Whitelock (1937) and Dorothy Bethurum (1957), we

[32] Stafford notes that Wulfstan "played a role in the last four law codes of Æthelred and the codifications of Cnut" (*Unification and Conquest*, 13). For an overview of Wulfstan's works, see Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1986). Greenfield and Calder discuss the *Canons of Edgar*, "a document designed to combat the immorality and laziness of the secular clergy and to give them practical guidance on the carrying out of their duties," and suggest that "Wulfstan's inspiration for the Canons may well have come from Ælfric's *Pastoral Letters*, though he relied on several continental texts as well" (90). They also point to his *Institutes of Polity* as "the most complete vernacular statement on the organization of Christian society to his time … By defining the limits of power, Wulfstan tries to clarify the interrelationship of the Church and the secular state" (95).
[33] For a helpful outline and chronology of Wulfstan's corpus see Wormald's Appendix, "Archbishop Wulfstan," 26-27.
[34] Orchard, "Wulfstan as Reader," 319.
[35] Christopher A. Jones, "Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests," in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 325-352 (350).
[36] Patrick Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society," in *Anglo-Saxon History: Basic Readings*, ed. David A. E. Pelteret (New York: Garland, 2000), 191-224 (191).

know that only one of these four is authentic (Napier II; Bethurum VI),[37] which Bethurum characterized as a work on "The Christian Faith."

The "pseudo-Wulfstan" homily, Napier XXX,[38] also warrants our consideration. A variety of authoritative and apocryphal homiletic models for the fall of the angels circulated during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, and analyzing variant treatments of the subject can illuminate the doctrinal interests, exegetical attitudes and, most importantly, the ideological preoccupations of different Anglo-Saxon homilists. In the section that follows, I will compare the contents and handling of the motif of the rebel angels in several of these homilies against *Sermo* VI and the works of Ælfric to highlight their particular theological and pastoral concerns surrounding this extra-biblical event. *Sermo* VI and Napier XXX present two different renditions of the fall, and these can shed light on the concerns of their respective authors. By isolating the details each of these authors incorporates or suppresses, we can gain a clearer understanding of how both Wulfstan and his contemporaries understood the first sin in heaven, God's sovereign exception in response to it, and subsequent motivation for the creation of humankind.

2.2 Angelic Fall as Homiletic Theme: Napier XXX, Vercelli XXI, *CH* I.1, and *Sermo* VI

Pseudo-Wulfstan's account of the fall of the angels has, somewhat surprisingly, occasioned more comment than genuine Wulfstan's. Napier XXX (*Be rihtan cristendome*) has been studied in detail by Richard Becher, Karl Jost, Angus McIntosh, Leslie Whitbread, Donald G. Scragg, and

[37] For more on the editing and prospects of re-editing Wulfstan, see Andy Orchard, "Re-editing Wulfstan: Where's the Point?" in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 63-91 and Andy Orchard, "On Editing Wulfstan," in *Early Medieval Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser (Tempe: ACMRS, 2003), 311-340. Orchard notes that Bethurum accepted Napier XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXIX, L, LI, LII, LIX, and LXI as authentic although she did not print them in her edition. Orchard says that this has left these Napier homilies in a kind of "limbo" ("Re-editing," 318).

[38] There are three extant manuscripts containing Napier XXX: Cambridge, University Library, Ii.4.6; London, BL, Cotton Otho B.X; Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 113.

Charles D. Wright.[39] The text calls on Christians to hold fast to God and the church and, since it contains certain passages with highly poetic qualities, special attention has been devoted to its metrical nature. McIntosh referred to Napier XXX a "curiously complicated pastiche" and suggested that it had a "Wulfstan ring to it."[40] The portion of Napier XXX which discusses the fall of the angels stresses the importance of rejecting pride:

> Þurh ða ofermodignesse mære englas on heofonum wurdon geo forsceapene to atelicum deoflum 7 besceofene on helle grund, þære hi sceolon ecelice witu þolian, for ðam þe hi forhogedon þone ecan drihten 7 him sylfum þær rice mynton. Ac him se ræd ne geþeah, ac se stiðmoda cyning, drihten ælmihtig, awearp of ðam setle þone modigan feond 7 of ðam wuldre eac þæs heofonlican rices. 7 ealle þa ðe mid him æt ðam ræde wæron, hi wiston þe geornor, witum besette on þære byrnendan helle, wið hwæne hi winnon ongunnon.[41]

(Through that pride the mighty angels in heaven were once transformed into terrible devils and shoved into the abyss of hell, where they must suffer torments eternally, because they despised their eternal Lord and intended to make for themselves a kingdom there. But the plan did not succeed for them, for the resolute king, the mighty Lord, cast the proud demon from his seat and likewise from the glories of the kingdom of heaven. And also those who were in league with him, they knew all the more surely, placed in torments in burning hell, against whom they had set out to fight.)

Scragg compiled parallels between Napier XXX and passages from Vercelli Homily IV, Homily IX, and Homily XXI. The above-quoted passage is a near word-for-word rendition of the episode that occurs in the Rogationtide homily, Vercelli XXI.[42] This connection has been most thoroughly examined by Wright, who argues that the passage in Vercelli XXI is a (defective) quotation from a lost Old English poem. Although Napier XXX is a close transcription, pseudo-

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[39] Richard Becher, *Wulfstans Homilien* (Leipzig: Sturm & Koppe, 1910); Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, Swiss Studies in English 23 (Bern: Francke, 1950); Angus McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 35 (1949), 109-142; reprint, in *British Academy Papers on Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. E. G. Stanley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 111-144; Leslie Whitbread, "Wulfstan's Homilies XXIX, XXX, and Some Related Texts," *Anglia* 81 (1963): 347-364; Donald G. Scragg, "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX: Its Sources, its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and its Style," *ASE* 6 (1977): 197-211; Wright, "More Old English Poetry," 245-262.
[40] McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," 143 (n. 29).
[41] *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, EETS o.s. 300, ed. D. G. Scragg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Appendix (397.54-62).
[42] Scragg, "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily," 198. On the generally accepted date for the Vercelli collection, see Greenfield and Calder, who suggest that the Vercelli codex is likely from the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries (*A New Critical History*, 71).

Wulfstan "further dilutes [the] metrical and alliterative form"[43] found in Vercelli XXI. Vercelli XXI reads as follows:

> Þurh oferhygednesse englas wurdon iu forsceapene to deoflum 7 bescofene eac on helle grund, þær hie sceolon on worulda woruld witu þolian, for ðam þe hie forhogedon heofona wealdend 7 sigora syllend, 7 him sylfum þær rice mynton. Ac him se ræd ne geþah, ac se stiðmoda cyning, dryhten ælmihtig, awearp of ðam setle þone modigan feond 7 of ðam wuldre eac þæs heofonlican rices ealle þa þe mid him æt ðam ræde wæron. Hie wiston þe geornor, witum besette on þære byrnendan helle, wið hwæne hie winnan ongunnon.[44]

(Through pride angels were once transformed into devils and also shoved into the abyss of hell, where they must forever suffer torments, because they despised the ruler of the heavens, giver of victories, and intended to make for themselves a kingdom there. But that plan did not succeed for them, for the resolute king, the mighty Lord, cast the proud demon from his seat and likewise from the glory of the kingdom of heaven all those who were in league with him. Placed into torments in burning hell, they knew the more surely against whom they had set out to fight.)

With just a few slight variations, these two texts contain many of the familiar aspects of the narrative of the fall of the angels such as Satan's contempt for God, desire to create a kingdom for himself, his bad 'counsel' (*ræd*) given to the other angels, the subsequent banishment from the 'seat' (*setle*) of heaven, and a visual of how the rebel angels were 'shoved' (*bescofene*) by God into hell, an image which is also reproduced in Vercelli XIX and the Guthlac homily (Vercelli XXIII).[45]

Although there is clear evidence that Vercelli Homily XXI influenced Napier XXX, Wulfstan's influence has also been documented by Scragg,[46] who found that the homily incorporates passages from Wulfstan's *Sermo* X, the *Institutes of Polity* XXV, the law tract *Grið*

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[43] Wright, "More Old English Poetry," 258.
[44] *The Vercelli Homilies*, 357.141-149.
[45] In addition to suggesting that God 'shoved' (316.21) Satan into hell, Vercelli XIX also provides an additional apocryphal image, suggesting that God 'with his breath blew' (*mid his oroðe utableow*) Satan out of heaven (316.15). For further discussion see Thomas D. Hill, "When God Blew Satan out of Heaven: The Motif of Exsufflation in *Vercelli Homily XIX* and Later English Literature," *LSE* 16 (1985): 132-141; see also my discussion in Chapter Three (125; 144-145).
[46] Scragg suggests that Napier XXX may have been made in Canterbury and the author may have had access to the same exemplars as the Vercelli compiler. He suggests that it is a product of the eleventh century before 1020 ("Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily," 210).

and, as Jost had already noted, an excerpt from *Sermo* VI on the birth of Christ.[47] The variety of material that appears to have been available to the compiler of Napier XXX presents us with an important opportunity for source analysis. While the author of Napier XXX demonstrates a liking in places for Wulfstan's style, notably his use of intensifiers, and also substituted Wulfstan's word for 'pride' (*ofermodignys*) for the Vercelli homilist's *oferhygednesse*, little else in *Sermo* VI appears to have interested him. Although pseudo-Wulfstan was probably drawn to the poetic form of Vercelli XXI, it is curious that he "diluted" certain aspects of it. In turning to Wulfstan's *Sermo* VI, we might ask why pseudo-Wulfstan opted for the content and form of Vercelli XXI as his model for the fall of the angels, when he had a perfectly good one from Wulfstan at his disposal.

Sermo VI is, strictly speaking, more doctrinal and less vivid than the anonymous homilies in its representation of the fall of the angels. It is contained in five manuscripts.[48] Bethurum suggests that Wulfstan composed this homily in the "period before 1008" and Patrick Wormald has narrowed that window proposing that it was written in 1002, shortly after he became Archbishop of York.[49] Thomas N. Hall characterizes *Sermo* VI as "an outline of Christian history addressed to priests which … warns that on Judgment Day they will be held personally responsible for the souls of wicked men" whom they failed to save.[50] Wulfstan opens with a direct address to his audience stating,

> Gyf ðu þonne þæt ne dest forsuwast hit 7 nelt folce his þearfe gecyðan, þonne scealt þu ealra þæra sawla on domesdæg gescead agyldan þe þurh þæt losiað, þe hy nabbað þa lare 7 ða mynegunge þe hy beðorfton.[51]

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[47] Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, 208-219.
[48] These manuscripts are (B) CCCC, 419 (S 14) (134-61); (C) CCCC, 201 (S 18) (10-15); (E) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 ff. 4-10^{v}; (H) Bodleian Library, 343 (2406) 144^{v}-146^{v}; (M) ll. 1-44 BL, Cotton Otho B X f. 23.
[49] Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan," 26.
[50] Thomas N. Hall, "Wulfstan's Latin Sermons," in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 93-139 (102).
[51] Wulfstan, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 142.10-14.

(If you do not do this but pass over it in silence and fail to alert the people to His necessity, then you will be forced to render an account to God on Doomsday for all those souls who are lost because they have not received the instruction and warning they require.)

Next, Wulfstan says that he has a good deal of biblical history to cover, and will therefore be discussing everything 'briefly' (*scortlice*).[52] Following a discussion of creation, the fall of Lucifer, and creation and fall of man, the homily touches on Cain and Abel, Noah and the Flood, Abraham, Mosaic Law, King David, the Babylonian Captivity and fall of Babylon, Christ's birth, death, and resurrection, concluding with Ascension, Antichrist, and Last Judgment.[53] Wulfstan's overview of salvation history has invited comparisons between *Sermo De Initio Creaturae* (Ælfric's *CH* I.1) and even the extended biblical verse epic MS Junius 11.[54] However, such comparisons must be carefully qualified. If *CH* I.1 was Wulfstan's primary influence, it is clear that Wulfstan was highly selective in his borrowing, since Ælfric's account of the fall of Satan is anything but *scort*. It is no exaggeration to say the *CH* I.1 dwarfs *Sermo* VI. Lionarons has pointed out that Wulfstan's discussion of creation is cut in half, and that his fall of the angels sequence is reduced to one paragraph.[55] Jost suggested that an alternative source for Wulfstan was the so-called *Scarapsus* of Abbot Pirmin of Reichenau.[56] On the fall of the angels material, the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* database suggests that Wulfstan used Pirmin for lines 24-27, *CH* I.1 for lines 29-30, Pirmin for lines 30-32 and, finally, *CH* I.1 for 32-33.[57] While Wulfstan was familiar with these works and almost certainly the anonymous homilies I discussed above, I hope

[52] Ibid., 143.24.
[53] For more on how this homily fits with the technique of *Catechetical narratio*, see Day, "The Influence of the Catechetical *narratio*," 51-61.
[54] J. R. Hall, "The Old English Epic of Redemption: The Theological Unity of MS Junius 11," *Tradio* 32 (1976): 185-208; reprint, in *MS Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R. M. Liuzza, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 20-52. See also J. R. Hall, "'The Old English Epic of Redemption': Twenty-Five-Year Retrospective," in *MS Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R. M. Liuzza, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 53-68.
[55] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 83.
[56] Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, 55-61. Lionarons notes that the Pirmin tract is a collection of excerpts from sermons by Caesarius of Arles, Martin of Braga's *De correctione rusticorum*, and the Benedictine Rule (*Homiletic Writings* 93).
[57] See S. J. Hollis, "The Sources of Wulfstan of York Homily 6 (Cameron C.B.2.2.1)," 2002, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Web Register*, http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/, accessed May 2012.

to demonstrate that his representation of the *principium* of salvation history is fundamentally different from the Vercelli and Napier homilies and more in line with Ælfric. Wulfstan describes the creation and fall of the angels in the following way:

> An is ece God þe gesceop heofonas 7 eorðan ealle gesceafta, 7 on fruman he gelogode on þære heofonlican gesceafte, þæt is, on heofona rice, engla weredu mycle 7 mære. Ða wearð þær an þæra engla swa scinende 7 swa beorht 7 swa wlitig þæt se wæs Lucifer genemned. Þa þuhte him þæt he mihte beon þæs efengelica ðe hine gescop 7 geworhte; and sona swa he þurh ofermodignysse þæt geðohte, þa hreas he of heofonum 7 eall þæt him hyrde, 7 hy gewurdan of englum to deoflum gewordene, 7 heom wearð hyll gegearwod, 7 hi ðær wuniað on ecan forwyrde.[58]

(Singular is eternal God who shaped the heavens and all creation upon earth, and in the beginning he ordered heavenly creation there, that is, in the kingdom of heaven, a troop of angels mighty and splendid. Then arose one of those angels who was so shiny and so bright and so fair that he was called Lucifer. Then he thought to himself that he might be equal to him who created and made him; and as soon as he thought this through pride, then he and all who obeyed him fell out of heaven, and they became changed from angels to devils, and hell was made ready for them, and they dwelled there in eternal ruin.)

In this passage, we see several hallmarks of Wulfstan's style. There is a repetition of *an*, first in reference to 'eternal God' (*ece God*) and then in reference to 'one of those angels' (*þæra engla*). We see Wulfstanian alliterative trademarks such as *mycle 7 mære* and *gewurdan*, *gewordene*, and *gegearwod*. Yet Wulfstan passes over many of the essential elements of the narrative that are given prominence in the other homilies. Unlike pseudo-Wulfstan, he omits Lucifer's contempt for God, his desire for a kingdom all his own, and the implication that he gave 'advice' (*ræde*) the soon-to-be fallen angels.[59]

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[58] Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 143-144.24-33; *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. Arthur S. Napier (Berlin: 1883; reprint, Dublin and Zürich: 1967).

[59] The M version of Bethurum VI (BL, Cotton Otho B X) incorporates 'wolde dalan rice wið God ælmihtigne' and 'þa worhte Crist helle him on to wuniene 7 eallum þam oðrum englum þe mid him æt þam ræde.' This could suggest that a homily like Ælfric's influenced Wulfstan's account as different versions of the sermon emerged. Only one anonymous homily, Napier LVIII (*Sermo Bone Praedicatio*, ll. 5-20; 22-31), uses Wulfstan's fall of the angels as a model. As noted by Jonathan Wilcox, Napier LVIII adds a significant detail in lines 26-27 which illustrates how Lucifer 'desired to divide the kingdom with Almighty God' (*wolde dælan rice wið god ælmihtigne*); see "The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: The Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching," in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Carola Hicks, Harlaxton

Ælfric, Pirmin, pseudo-Wulfstan, and the Vercelli homilist incorporate even more details into their respective accounts, describing everything right down to the sinful thoughts, words, and deeds of Lucifer. Wulfstan ideologically grounds his narrative by reducing Lucifer's sin to a singular prideful breach centered on the failed recognition of God as sovereign Lord through his desire to invert the natural hierarchy of heaven encompassing not only God, but also Christ and the Holy Spirit. The creation sequence in the *Dicta abbatis Pirmi* can further illustrate the divide between Wulfstan and potentially available sources:

> Sed simile se illi dixit, et pro hac superbia cum aliis pluribus angelis, qui illi consenserunt, de illa caelesti sede in aere isto, qui est sub caelo, deiectus est … factus est diabulus. Similiter et illi angeli, qui consentientes illi fuerunt, cum ipso de caelo proiecti sunt, perdito splendore suo, facti sunt demones.
>
> Post ista ruina angelorum formavit deus hominem de limo terre, ut, si preceptum domini servasset, in loco illo caelesti sine morte succederet, unde angeli illi refugii ceciderunt; si autem preterisset dei preceptum, mortem morietur. Videns ergo diabolus, quia propterea factus fuerat homo, ut in loco illius, unde ipse cecidit, in regno dei succederet, invidia ductus, suasit hominem, ut mandata dei transiret.[60]

(But he said he was equal to him, and for this pride, with many other angels, who consented to him, from that celestial throne in this sky, which is under heaven, he was thrown down, and he became the devil. In the same way, those angels, who were in cahoots, were cast down from heaven with him, losing their splendor, and have been made demons.

After the fall of the angels God formed man of the dust of the earth, so that, if he kept the precepts of our Lord, in that heavenly place he could step without death, from which the angels fell, place of refuge; but if he broke the command of God, he shall die. The devil, seeing,

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Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), 199-217 (209). Napier LVIII reads, 'Singular is eternal almighty God who shaped heaven and earth and all creation. In the beginning he ordered in the heavenly kingdom a troop of angels mighty and splendid. Then arose one of those angels who was so bright and so fair that he was called Lightbearer. Then he thought to himself, that he might be the equal of God, who shaped and made him, and he intended to share the kingdom with God almighty. Immediately just as he thought this through pride, then Christ made Hell for him in which to dwell and all the other angels, who were with him through his advice' (*an is ece ælmihtig god, þe gesceop heofonas and eorðan and ealle gesceafta. On frumon he gelogode on heofena rice engla weredu micele and mære. Þa wearð þær an þæra engla swa beorht and swa wlitig, þæt se wæs Leohtberend nemned. Þa ðuhte him, þæt he mihte beon godes euengelica, þe hine gesceop and geworhte, and wolde dælan rice wið god ælmihtigne. Sona swa he þæt þohte þurh ofermodignysse, þa worhte Crist helle him on to wunienne and eallum ðam oðrum englum, þe mid him æt þam ræde*) (306.20-30). Arthur Napier notes that several leaves are lost beyond this point (n. 306).

[60] Gall Jecker, *Die Heimat des Hl. Pirmin des Apostels der Alamannen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, Heft 13 (Munich: Aschendorff, 1927).

therefore, that man had been created for this reason, that he should succeed to the kingdom of God, the place from which he himself had fallen, led by envy, he persuaded man to transgress the commandments of God.)

Whereas Pirmin uses *simile* to describe how Lucifer conceives of himself in relation to God, and Ælfric will use *gelic*,[61] Wulfstan suggests that Lucifer's driving impulse behind his sin is that he wanted to be 'co-equal' (*efengelica*). For Wulfstan's clerical audience, *efengelica* would have had distinctly Trinitarian connotations as it was commonly used to gloss *aequalis* and *coaequalis* in texts such as the Cambridge Psalter, the Vitellius Psalter, and the Gospel of Matthew.[62] Finally, Wulfstan offers his own personal touch on how Lucifer comes to fall out of heaven. Rather than God forcibly removing Lucifer (as seen in Napier XXX, Vercelli XIX, and Vercelli XXI), instigating a sovereign exception with action that eliminates the threat, or following prideful speeches as in Pirmin and Ælfric, the mere 'thought' (*geðohte*) of Lucifer's 'co-equality' instantaneously causes him and his obedient retinue to fall out of heaven. Ælfric's dramatic version of events in *CH* I.1 can illuminate this further:

> Þæt teoðe werod abreað 7 awende on yfel; god hi gesceop ealle gode. 7 let hi habban agenne cyre. Swa hi heora scyppende lufedon 7 filidon. swa hi hine forleton; þa wæs teoðan weredes ealdor swiðe fæger 7 wlitig gesceapen. swa þæt he wæs gehaten leohtberend. Þa began he to modigeanne for ðære fægernysse. Þe he hæfde. 7 cwæð on his heortan. þæt he wolde 7 eaðe mihte beon his scyppend gelic. 7 sittan on ðam norðdæle heofonan rices. 7 habban anweald 7 rice ongean gode ælmihtigum; Þa gefæstnode he þisne ræd wið ðam werode þe he bewiste. 7 hi ealle to ðam ræde gebugon; Þa ða hi ealle hædon þisne ræd betwux him gefæsnod. Þa becom godes grama ofer him eallum. 7 hi ealle wurdon awende of ðam fægeran hiwe þe hi on gescapene wæron. To laðlicum deoflum; And swiðe rihtlice him swa getimode. Þa ða he wolde mid modinysse beon betera þonne he gesceapen wæ. 7 cwæð þæt he mihte beon þam ælmihtigum gode gelic. Þa wearð he 7 ealle his geferan. Forcuþran 7 wyrsan þonne ænig oðer gesceaft. 7 þa hwile þe he smeade hu he mihte dælan rice wið god. Þa hwile gearcode se ælmihtiga scyppend him 7 his geferan hellewite. 7 hi ealle adræfde of heofonan rices

[61] For more on the association between angels and the adjective *gelic*, see Biggs, "*Englum gelice*," 447-452.
[62] Wulfstan also uses the term *efengelica* in *Sermo* IX to contrast the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit with the "bad gifts" of the devil. He says that accepting the "bad gifts" results in mankind's inability to recognize the arrogance of the devil and his former desire to be co-equal to God (l. 96).

> myrihðe. 7 let befeallan on þæt ece fyr þe him gegearcod wæs for heora ofermettum.[63]

(Then the tenth host rebelled and turned to evil. God created them all good, and let them have their own choice, whether they would love and follow their creator, or would forsake him. Now the prince of the tenth host was formed very fair and beauteous, so that he was called Light-bearer. Then he began to grow proud because of his fairness. He said in his heart that he might easily be equal to his creator and sit in the northern part of heaven's kingdom, and have power and command over God Almighty. Then he confirmed this resolve with the host over which he ruled, and they all submitted to that advice. When they all had confirmed this resolve among themselves, God's anger came over all of them, and they were changed to devils. And very rightly it befell him, when he would in pride be better than he was created, and said that he might be equal to Almighty God. Then became he and his troop more wicked and worse than any other creatures and while he meditated on how he might share power with God, the Almighty creator prepared hell-torments for him and his troop, and drove them from all the joy of heaven's kingdom, and caused them to fall into the eternal fire that was prepared for them through their pride.)

Here, Ælfric explicitly identifies the location for Lucifer's desired kingdom as the 'northern part' (*norðdæle*). He calls attention to the themes of pride, the desire for dominance, and disobedience to the will of God. Ælfric incorporates a slightly different term for 'pride' with *ofermettum* or *modinysse* whereas Wulfstan uses *ofermodignysse*.[64] Yet Wulfstan and Ælfric agree on one essential feature of the narrative: the decision to upend the hierarchy of heaven (rather than mere contempt for God) terminates the possibility of proper subjectivity towards the sovereign and results in expulsion. Following discussion of the rebellion, with an image strikingly reminiscent of a monk's constant contemplation of his obedience to God, Ælfric describes how the remaining angels 'are ever meditating only about how they may obey God and be acceptable to him' (*æfre*

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[63] *CH* I.1.26-45.

[64] For more on these modifications, see Scragg, "Napier's 'Wulfstan' Homily XXX," 208. For more on the Old English word-field for "pride" see W. Hofsetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch: Untersuchungen zur geographischen und zeitlichen Verbreitung altenglischer Synonyme* Münchener Universitäts-Schriften 14 (Munich: Fink, 1987) and "Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary," *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 139-161. On the "Winchester vocabulary," see Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, 93ff. For more on the use of "superbia" in Anglo-Saxon England, see H. Schabram, *Superbia: Studienzum altenglischen Wortschatz*, vol. 1, Die dialektale und zeitliche Verbreitung des Wortguts (Munich: Fink, 1965). Schabram notes that Wulfstan expresses concepts associated with Latin 'pride'(*superbia*) with the nouns *ofermetto* and *ofermodignes* rather than *modignes*, the Winchester-preference used by Ælfric. For a recent study on Wulfstan's vocabulary, see Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *Norse-Derived Vocabulary in Late Old English Texts: Wulfstan's Works, a Case Study* (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2007).

beoð ymbe þæt an, hu hi magon Gode gehyrsumian, and him gecweman [l. 50]). He next describes how nine orders remain before turning to God's reaction:

> Swa mihton eac þa oðre þe ðær feollon. dón gif hi woldon. for ði þe god hi geworhte to wlitegum engla gecynde. 7 let hi habban agenne cyre 7 hi næfre ne gebigde ne ne nydde mid nanum þingum to ðam yfelan ræde. ne næfre se yfela ræd ne com of godes geþance. ac com of ðæs deofles. swa swa we ær cwædon; Nu þencð mænig man 7 smeað hwanon deoful come; þonne wite he þæt god gesceop to mæran engle þone þe nu is deoful. ac god ne sceop hine na to deofle. ac þa ða he wæs mid ealle fordón 7 forscyldgod þurh ða miclan upahefednysse 7 wiðerweardnysse þa wearð he to deofle awend. se ðe ær wæs mære engel geworht.[65]

(So might also the others who fell have done if they had been willing, because God had made them in the beautiful nature of angels, and let them have their own choice and would never have inclined nor forced them in any way to that evil counsel. Nor did the evil counsel ever come from God's conception, but came from the devil's as we said before. Now many men will think and inquire from whence the devil came; now let him understand that God created as a great angel the one who is now the devil, but God did not create him as the devil. But when he was wholly corrupted and guilty towards God, through his arrogance and rebelliousness, then he who was before created as a great angel became changed into a devil.)

For the second time Ælfric uses the phrase 'and let them have their *own choice*' (7 let hi habban *agenne cyre* [*emphasis added*]) in his discussion of angelic free will. Both Ælfric and Wulfstan appear to see eye-to-eye on the fact that the fall was not overtly enforced by God *per se*, with the event hinging upon the issue of 'choice' (*cyre*).[66]

In *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency in Later Anglo-Saxon England*, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe explores how Ælfric differentiates between *agen cyre* or 'free choice' (*liberum arbitrium*) and *agen willa* or 'free will' (*libera uoluntas*). With *agen* carrying behind it the force of 'self,' O'Brien O'Keeffe argues that "Ælfric is considerably more interested in the

[65] *CH* I.1.51-61.

[66] This phrase appears with disproportionate frequency in the works of Ælfric. For a recent and compelling discussion of how the concept of *agen cyre* establishes agency in Anglo-Saxon England, see Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012). O'Brien O'Keeffe masterfully discusses the distinction between 'free will' and 'free choice' in Ælfric and Benedictine communities (9-54).

pragmatics of choice than in the metaphysics of free will."[67] She observes that Ælfric, breaking from traditional Augustinian modes of interpretation, valuates the *cyre* given by God as the "capacity by which man is responsible for his every behavior, behavior that is judged by the degree to which man is obedient to God."[68] In this particular episode in *CH* I.1, O'Brien O'Keeffe asserts that humans and angels alike are created with *agen cyre*. She explains,

> The cause of the fall of the angels is their disobedience (that is, improper choice), which was not compelled by God, and the point of his excursus on the angelic behavior is the defense of human freedom to choose.[69]

Whereas Ælfric demonstrates a keen interest in locating the fall within the domain of action, Wulfstan appears content to locate the decisive moment of rebellion within Lucifer's thought process. Although he does not foreclose upon the possibility of free choice at work in his sermon, Wulfstan suggests that the very thought of upending sovereign and subject relations translates into disarray within the heavenly order. Moreover, Ælfric's repetition of the idea of *agen cyre* stresses the fact that the angels violated or squandered God's gift of their 'own choice.' For Wulfstan, there is no mediated presence of a gift expressed between the subject and God's sovereignty. The bonds of loyalty are left more implicit in Wulfstan's heavenly polity, making Lucifer's violation of those bonds a more direct offence against his Lord, and his conduct altogether more furtive.[70]

Although not explicitly invested in the operations of *agen cyre*, Ælfric takes up another important issue surrounding the fall of the angels in his *Letter to Sigeweard*, namely, the

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[67] Ibid., 15.
[68] Ibid., 21.
[69] Ibid., 22.
[70] For discussions of how this phrase was used in legal theory in reference to the complete submission to a king, see Karl Jost, "The Legal Maxim in Ælfric's Homilies," *English Studies* 36 (1955): 204-205; Malcolm Godden, "Ælfric and Anglo-Saxon Kingship," *The English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 911-915.

question of whether or not angels have bodies.[71] I find Michael Fox's suggestion that the *Letter to Sigeweard* appears "less elaborate,"[72] when compared to Ælfric's other versions of the fall of the angels, rather unconvincing. On the contrary, Ælfric's *Libellus* is complex and vivid. In the *Libellus*, Ælfric states that God's newly-created angels are 'entirely bodiless' (*ealle lichamlease*),[73] and he calls attention to their inexpressible beauty. They are 'so beautiful of kind that we might not be able to say' (*swa wlitiges gecindes swa we secgan ne magon* [ll. 60-61]), as Ælfric puts it.

Ælfric turns to Lucifer's personal recognition of his singular beauty, stating 'one angel, who was the most peerless there, considered himself, how beautiful he himself was and how shining in glory, and knew his power that he was made mighty, and his magnificence pleased him very much' (*gesceawode se an engel, þe þær ænlicost wæs, hu fæger he silf wæs and hu scinende on wuldre, and cunnode his mihte þæt he mihtig wæs gesceapen, and him wel gelicode his wurðfulniss þa* [ll. 65-68]). Beyond emphasizing Lucifer's fixation on his outward appearance and beauty with terms like 'most splendid' (*ænlicost*), 'singular' (*ænlic*), 'fair' (*fæger*), and 'beautiful' (*wlitig*),[74] Ælfric begins to mobilize a constellation of psychological motivations surrounding Lucifer's fall in this context, including the angel's fascination with his own power:

> Ða þuhte him to huxlic þæt he hiran sceolde ænigum hlaforde, þa he swa ænlic wæs, and nolde wurðian þone þe hine geworhte and him þancian æfre ðæs þe he him forgeaf, and beon him underðeodd þæs ðe swiþor geornlice for þære micclan mærðe þe he hine gemæðegode. He nolde þa habban his scippend him to hlaforde,

[71] In his *Natale Omnium Sanctorum*, Ælfric states 'angels are spirits without bodies' (*englas sind gastas buton lichama* [36.17-17]).
[72] Fox, "Ælfric on the Fall of the Angels," 177.
[73] *Ælfric's Libellus*, l. 59.
[74] Fox has noted that this version of events appears to be derived from Martin of Braga's description of Lucifer's self-recognition ("Ælfric on the Fall of the Angels," 185); see *Martin von Bracara's Schrift De correctione rusticorum*, ed. Carl Paul Caspari (Oslo: Gedruckt in der Mallingschen Buchdruckerei, 1883) which reads 'Ex quibus unus, qui primus omnium archangelus fuerat factus, uidens se in tanta gloria praefulgentem, non dedit honorem Deo creatori suo.'

> ne þurhwunian on ðære soþfæstnisse ðæs soðfæstan Godes sunu, þe gesceop fægerne, ac wolde mid riccetere him rice gewinnan and þurh modignisse hine macian to Gode.[75]

(Then it seemed to him too shameful that he should obey any lord, since he was so singular, and did not desire to worship the one who made him nor would he thank him ever for what he had given him, nor would he be subject to him more eagerly for the mighty splendor with which he had honored him. He did not desire to have his maker as his lord, nor to be steadfast in truthfulness to the true son of God, who made him so fair, but he desired to win a kingdom for himself by force and through pride make himself into a god.)

Here, we get a glimpse of Lucifer's delight in his own beauty and his perception that his status as subject is 'shameful' (*huxlic*). These feelings culminate in his radically heretical and profane desire to 'make' (*macian*) himself into a god. Fox suggests that in this episode Ælfric "concatenates each new development in a manner which denotes both causality and speed."[76] In what could be described as perhaps the most cinematic account of Lucifer's fall, Ælfric draws on Augustine's allegorical tradition of the "foot of the soul" or the "foot of love," ("Enarratio in Psalmum 9:15" *PL* 36.124; "Enarratio in Psalmum 120:5" *PL* 37.1608),[77] which describes how the soul (or foot) can either advance and ascend towards love of God or descend towards a fall. In this case, Ælfric literalizes the tradition as he depicts Satan as losing his "footing" in heaven:[78]

> Ða næfde he nan setl hwær he sittan mihte, for ðan ðe nan heofon nolde hine aberan ne nan rice næs þe his mihte beon ongean Godes willan, þe geworhte ealle ðinc. Ða afunde se modiga hwilce his mihta wæron, þa þa his fet ne mihton furðon ahwar standan, ac he feoll ða adun.[79]

(Then he had no throne upon which he might sit, because no heaven would bear him, nor was there any kingdom which might be his against the will of God, who created all things. Then the

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[75] *Ælfric's Libellus*, ll. 69-77.
[76] Fox, "Ælfric on the Fall of the Angels," 189.
[77] On this point, see Thomas D. Hill, "Satan's Pratfall and the Foot of Love: Some Pedal Images in *Piers Plowman* A, B, C," *Yearbook of Langland Studies* 14 (2000): 157-158. T. Hill briefly mentions the *Libellus* in his discussion of Langland.
[78] Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "The Book of Genesis in Anglo-Saxon England" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1975) has argued that Ælfric is not working within the *narratio* tradition in the strictest sense. She suggests rather that despite the similarities, Ælfric's style is still freer and marked by expansions, interruptions, and idiosyncrasies.
[79] *Ælfric's Libellus*, ll. 78-82.

proud one found out what his powers might be, when his feet might not even stand anywhere, but then he fell downward.)

By depicting Lucifer's construction of the self and his embodiment as simultaneous, Ælfric is able to imagine heaven as unable to support his weight, literalizing the image Lucifer's disappearing throne and his fall; his depiction is almost comical. By contrast, Wulfstan does not predicate the fall on Lucifer's recognition of his own beauty, identity, or bodily status, nor does he infuse it with humor. Yet, in both Wulfstan and Ælfric's versions, Lucifer's sin causes its own punishment; the fall of the angels is a personal undoing of angelic identity.

For both homilists, God's sovereign exception is borne out through the agency of his created beings. He has no need to forcibly or aggressively intervene; their imagined heavenly polities simply cannot sustain the behavior of the rebellious angel. Moreover, Wulfstan's sermon more fully arrests the sin of Lucifer as a disruption of sovereign and subject relations. His suppression of the poetic aspects of the anonymous homilies and the numerous details found in Ælfric's *Libellus* and *CH* I.1 (ll. 61-66) means that Wulfstan reduces Lucifer's sin to a singular inclination, thereby magnifying its exceptionalism and offering a framework for the narrative structure of the homily with its themes centering on the recognition of God as sovereign Lord.

Wulfstan and Ælfric have similar accounts of the next event in creation history. In the *Libellus*, Ælfric briefly touches upon replacement, stating that Adam and Eve 'should have, and their offspring with them, that fair dwelling place that the enemy lost, if they obeyed their creator rightly' (*sceoldon habban, and heora ofspring mid him, þa fægeran wununge þe se feond forleas, gif hi gehirsumedon heora scippende on riht* [ll. 86-87]). Wulfstan, with more poetic flourish, notes God's intent for humankind to 'fill up and multiply' (*gefyllan 7 gemænigfyldan*) 'what was diminished in the heavens' (*þæt on heofonum gewanad wæs*). The initial doublet serves as a

dramatic indicator for the doctrine of replacement. The entirety of Wulfstan's discussion reads as follows:

> And to ðam hy gesceop God ælmihtig, þæt hy 7 heora ofspring scoldan gefyllan 7 gemænigfyldan þæt on heofonum gewanad wæs; þæt wæs ungerim þæt ðænon þurh deofles ofermodignesse into helle behreas. Ac sona swa deofol ongeat þæt mann to ðam gescapen wæs, þæt he scolde 7 his cynn gefyllan on heofonum þæt se deofol forworhte ðurh his ofermodignesse, þa wæs him þæt on myclan andan, ongann þa beswican 7 gelæran þæt se man abræc Godes bebod.[80]

(And God almighty created them so that they and their offspring should fill up and multiply what was diminished in the heavens; that was a countless number which fell from thence into hell through the pride of the devil. But as soon as the devil learned that man had been made for that purpose, that he and his kin were to replenish in heaven that which the devil destroyed through his pride, who was against him in great malice, then began to deceive and teach man how to break God's commands.)

Wulfstan describes the loss to the heavenly inventory of angels as 'innumerable' (*ungerim*). After this, he states that the devil is antagonistic to God's law from then on, and that his personal mission is to cause mankind to transgress and 'break the laws of God' (*abreac Godes bebod*). Wulfstan's objective here, like so many other medieval authors, is to illustrate how humankind was created to rectify the loss incurred in heaven, a doctrinal tradition noticeably absent from Napier XXX and Vercelli XXI but incorporated into each of Ælfric's versions of earthly creation.

In *Sermo* VI, then, we see Wulfstan engaging with the consequences of failing to recognize the proper sovereignty of God paired with his anxiety over the failure of churchmen to adequately convey this relationship to Christians and thus regain souls on Judgment Day. Lionarons suggests that in this opening sequence of *Sermo* VI "Wulfstan's God is portrayed as punishing the disobedient without remorse … [using] the alternation of sin and punishment to transform his homily into a vehicle for moral exhortation."[81] She adds that this structure suggests

[80] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 144-145.36-43.
[81] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 85.

that "Wulfstan was already thinking of the English in terms of both the Old and New Testament paradigms that he uses to much greater rhetorical effect in *Sermo Lupi*."[82]

I think it is fair to say that Ælfric's construction of the fall in *CH* I.1 with his insertion of 'free choice' into the emergent space he imagines for God's sovereignty is more developed than Wulfstan's *Sermo*. Yet I would suggest that both Ælfric and Wulfstan are working through the idea of an exception, or a sovereign response to an unforeseeable crisis,[83] in the heavenly polity in their iterations of the fall of the angels. Kahn elaborates, "Sovereignty is not the alternative to law, but the point at which law and exception intersect – at stake in both is the free act."[84] He continues, "A free order … is one in which the exception is possible. The exception represents the possibility of choice, and choice requires a subject."[85] Although both homilists are attempting to understand the connection between sovereign and subject relations through the narrative of the original crisis in heaven, to my mind, Wulfstan's *Sermo* perhaps represents only his earliest thinking on the subject. I suggest that he will begin to pick up on the thread of the 'free act' and exception by way of Ælfric to a far greater extent as his career as a bishop and statesman keen on addressing the nature of sovereignty and the law progresses.[86] Already, we see Wulfstan calling attention to the basic tenets of proper sovereign-subject relations. While he does not necessarily exclude the possibility of free choice, he does not dwell on *agen cyre*, that Lucifer 'forsook' (*forleton*) his sovereign, or his 'rebelliousness' (*wiðerweardnysse*) in any meaningful way, as Ælfric does.

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 6.
[84] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 34.
[85] Ibid., 35.
[86] For more on Wulfstan's style and self-fashioning as a "fiery preacher" of the Old Testament, see Andy Orchard, "Crying Wolf: Oral Style and the *Sermones Lupi*," *ASE* 21 (1992): 239-264.

If we are to discover Wulfstan's fullest articulation of the role of 'free choice' explicitly linked to the nature of sovereignty and the state we must turn to *Sermo Lupi*, where the homilist makes overtures in connecting the themes of pride, disloyalty, and replacement while calling upon the necessity for choice, action, responsibility and, finally, obedience in a very overt way. O'Brien O'Keeffe argues that the concept of 'free choice' in Anglo-Saxon England involves "an explicit form of self-fashioning, inward looking, yet institutionally framed" process, which ultimately locates "freedom in obedience."[87] O'Brien O'Keeffe rightly, in my view, suggests that for Anglo-Saxon Christians the highest attainment of freedom accords perfectly with obedience to the will of God. In the section that follows, I will demonstrate how Wulfstan reveals his perception of his own role in bringing these very monastic ideals into secular Anglo-Saxon England by incorporating the narrative of replacement within the network of sovereign-subject relations.

As this survey demonstrates, Ælfric and Wulfstan show a strong and evolving interest in the subject of the fall of the angels as an unforeseeable crisis resolved through free choice wherein subjects with free choice and the capacity for free thinking bring exceptions about through their own agency when they choose themselves over obedience to God's laws. In what follows, I argue that Wulfstan's understanding of the originary sin in salvation history extends to his most historically-oriented homily, and can inform our understanding of *Sermo Lupi*.[88] By recounting the widespread perversions of hierarchical relations and also qualifying the English downfall as one freely brought upon themselves, Wulfstan implicitly envisions the Vikings as possible "replacements" for the English, signaling the potential loss of their privileged place in

[87] O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience*, 14.
[88] For a recent discussion of how Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi* may have informed Icelandic polemics written by the early eleventh-century poet Sigvatr Þórðarson, see Russell Poole, "*Cyningas sigefæste þurh God*: Contributions from Anglo-Saxon England to Early Advocacy for Óláfr Haraldsson," in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2012), 266-291.

salvation history. Unlike the early Benedictine reformers who reaffirm the place of the English as "replacements" within the doctrine, Wulfstan alters the playing field in his homiletic context in such a way as to triangulate the English as the subjects who thwart sovereign authority thereby situating them squarely within the domain of the rebel 'troop' (*weredu*) that falls from God's grace.

2.3 An Historical and Theological Context for *Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos*

In the previous section, I considered Wulfstan's presentation of the fall of the angels in *Sermo* VI, and began to suggest that this early view of the narrative gains complexity and a greater sociopolitical character through the archbishop's sustained engagement with the issues of loyalty and adherence to the law made clear by *Sermo Lupi*. Following Wilcox's observation that Wulfstan "could return later in his career to certain fundamental preoccupations,"[89] I would now like to explore how Wulfstan places the eleventh-century plight of the English nation within a biblical framework initiated in *Sermo* VI. By identifying the English nation as fallen, recounting the failures of priests in this process, illustrating widespread inversions of proper sovereign and subject relations, and qualifying the English downfall as self-inflicted, Wulfstan posits, in grim parody, the Vikings as potential "replacements" for the English. Lionarons observes that in several of his homilies, including *Sermo* VI, it is clear that "Wulfstan was thinking of Old Testament parallels to the English situation well before writing *Sermo Lupi*."[90] *Sermo Lupi* is Wulfstan's most well-known homily, primarily because scholars have been drawn to its alignment of legal and theological discourses.[91] Moreover, at the time of *Sermo Lupi*'s

[89] Jonathan Wilcox, "Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance," n. 390.
[90] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 157.
[91] According to Wilcox, the sermon begins with a reference to Ezekiel 34 and uses the image of a lax cleric as a bad shepherd ("The Wolf on Shepherds," 399).

composition, three decades of Viking attacks in the form of seasonal raids had developed into an invasion and conquest.[92] Scholars find much to talk about in this text owing to Wulfstan's desire to weigh in on the historical events of his day. As Keynes explains, Wulfstan shows a clear interest in understanding the causes behind the crises his nation has sustained, and articulating an "approved response to emergencies in general."[93]

Sermo Lupi (Bethurum XX; Napier XXXIII) exists in five manuscripts in three different versions.[94] Versions E and I begin with the Latin rubric *Quando Dani Maxime Persecuti Sunt Eos Quod Fuit Anno Millesimo XIIII* ('When the Danes greatly persecuted them which was in the year 1014'). This has led many scholars to assume that these two represent the final installment of Wulfstan's revisions. These versions include passages referring to the Danish attacks.[95] Version C also comments upon these attacks,[96] while the two other versions do not.[97]

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[92] Keynes notes that a great act of penance was ordered among English people in response to the raids in 1009 (documented in VII Æthelred) during a three-day rogation period ("An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids," 181). Keynes suggests that the people "would have processed together, barefoot, preceded by someone bearing a cross, and accompanied by the priest, with whatever holy relics he could muster before returning to church for confession" (186-187). For more on the Rogationtide festival, see my discussion in Chapter Five (244-255). In 978, the year of Æthelred's accession, the raids resumed after a century of relative peace and quiet. Stafford suggests that this led to a "raised historical consciousness of how this intellectual revival coincided with the renewal of Viking attacks on England: the old stimulus to the writing of contemporary history had returned" (*Unification and Conquest*, 11).

[93] Keynes, "An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids," 189.

[94] The shortest versions are (B) CCCC 419 (S 14) (95-112) and (H) Bodleian, 343 (2406) ff. 143^{v}-144^{v} which consists of 131 lines. Beginning with the rubric, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos Quando Dani Maxime Persecuti Sunt Eos, Quod Fuit Anno Millesimo. VIIII. Ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Iesu Cristi*, (C) CCCC, 201 (S 18) (82-86) is slightly longer at 178 lines. The two longest versions can be found in (E) Bodleian, Hatton 113 (Formerly Junius 99; Summary Catalogue 5210) ff. 84b-90b and (I) BL, Cotton Nero A I ff. 110-115 clocking-in at 202 lines. For useful accounts of the scholarship surrounding the Manuscripts, see Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion," 144-162; Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 43-74; and Andrew Rabin, "The Wolf's Testimony to the English: Law and the Witness in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*," *JEGP* 105.3 (2006): 388-414, which includes a discussion of the shortest version found in (B) CCCC 419 and (H) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (H). Keynes observes that *Sermo Lupi* was first printed in 1701 with a Latin translation; it then later appeared in George Hickes *Thesaurus* (1703); Humphrey Wanley discussed the text in his catalogue and identified its author as "Wulfstan of York" (Keynes, "An Abbot, and Archbishop, and the Viking Raids," 203).

[95] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 271.100-128;

[96] Ibid., 263.97-126.

[97] Hollis, "Thematic Structure," 176.

Versions E and I also contain unique references to Gildas's *De Excidio Brittanniae*[98] that Wulfstan translated by way of Alcuin, which I discuss below.

Since we have several versions of *Sermo Lupi* which vary in length, there has been debate about whether the sermon underwent a process of 'abbreviation' or 'expansion.' Among the critics who have examined the trajectory of the three versions are Stephanie Dien, Godden, Wilcox, Keynes, and Lionarons.[99] While some suggest that the E and I versions represent Wulfstan's final stage of revision, others argue that it must be the other way around and that Wulfstan must have derived his shorter versions from these longer renditions. Overall, critical interest tends to cluster around versions E and I because of the augmented material. While it is not my intent to make an argument about Wulfstan's timeline or order of composition, I will focus on the longer E and I versions because, as Joyce Hill has noted, they suggest the homilist's heightened interest in setting his homily within "the wider framework for God's plan for the whole of mankind."[100]

According to Stephanie Hollis, "The central theme of the sermon can be summarized as the nation's progression to disaster."[101] Wulfstan opens his sermon with the following outlook:

> Forþam her syn on lande ungetrywþa micle for Gode 7 for worolde, 7 eac her syn on earde on mistlice wisan hlafordswican manege. And ealra mæst hlafordswice se bið on worolde þæt man his hlafordes saule beswice; 7 ful micel hlafordswice eac bið on worolde þæt man his hlaford of life forræde oððon of lande lifiendne drife.[102]

(For there are here in the land great disloyalties towards God and towards the state, and there are also many here in the country who are betrayers of their lords in various ways. And the greatest betrayal of one's lord in the world is that a man betray his lord's soul; and it is also a very great

[98] Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works*, ed. and trans. Michael Winterbottom (Sussex: Phillimore, 1978).
[99] Stephanie Dien, "*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*: The Order and Date of the Three Versions," *NM* 76 (1975): 561-570; Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion," 130-162; Wilcox, "*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as Political Performance," 375-396; Keynes, "An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids," 151-220; Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 43-74.
[100] J. Hill, "Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?" 234.
[101] Hollis, "Thematic Structure," 177.
[102] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 270.71-75.

betrayal of one's lord in the world, that a man should plot against his lord's life or drive him from the land while he is alive.)

Here, Wulfstan describes how 'disloyalty' (*ungetrywþa*) has permeated the nation. He focuses on 'lord betrayal' (*hlafordswice*) in both the earthly and spiritual realm by creating a parallel between God and one's secular *hlaford* with his discussion of 'great disloyalties towards God and the state' (*ungetrywþa micle for Gode 7 for worolde*). Wulfstan evokes the betrayal of bonds stemming from the legal order as well as the more intangible bonds of loyalty that exist outside it. If we can understand Wulfstan's observations about the crisis in England as the declaration of a state of emergency, an explanation of the exception can illuminate this further. For Kahn, the exception establishes a 'limit' (what Schmitt refers to as a *Grenzbegriff*):[103]

> [the exception] appears whenever the existence of the state as an organized, historical presence is threatened. It is the crisis triggered by the threatened collapse of those institutions that sustain the borders. Those borders are both literal, as when the state suffers an invasion, and metaphorical as when the threat to the ordinary order arises from within. Internal threats leading to the decision for the exception can arise from political violence … natural disturbances … and social crisis.[104]

Such an explanation has resonance with Wulfstan, who distinguishes between the kind of behavior that God favors and the kind of behavior that pushes against or exceeds the limits of God's mercy. According to Raachel Jurovics, Wulfstan is most dismayed by the failures of faith between men that "have allowed them to betray their kinsmen, their kings, their fellow Christians."[105] The worry that "men have broken faith with God as well as their fellow men,"[106]

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[103] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 12.
[104] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 44.
[105] Raachel Jurovics, "*Sermo Lupi* and the Moral Purpose of Rhetoric," in *The Old English Homily and Its Background*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard F. Huppé (Albany, NY: University of New York Press, 1978), 203-220 (213).
[106] Rabin, "The Wolf's Testimony," 400.

according to Nicholas Howe, is made clear in Wulfstan's description of how structures of loyalty are dissolving,[107] which forecasts the collapse of social order he describes later on:

> And eac syndan wide, swa we ær cwædan, þurh aðbricas 7 þurh wedbrycas 7 þurh mistlice leasunga forloren 7 forlogen ma þonne scolde7 freolsbricas 7 fæsten brycas wide geworhte oft 7 gelome. And eac her syn on earde apostatan abroþene 7 cyrichatan hetole 7 leodhatan grimme ealles to manege, 7 oferhogan wide godcundra rightlaga 7 cristenra þeawa, 7 hocorwyrde dysige æghwær on þeode oftost on þa þing þe Godes bodan beodaþ 7 swyþst on þa þing þe æfre to Godes lage gebyriað mid rihte.[108]

(And commonly also, as we said before, more than should be are ruined and perjured through the breaking of oaths and through the breaking of pledges and through various lies. And failure to observe festivals and the breaking of fasts occurs commonly over and over again. And here in the land also there are all too many degenerate apostates and hostile enemies of the Church and too many grim tyrants, and those who scorn divine laws and Christian customs are widespread, and everywhere in the nation are those who foolishly mock most often those things which the messengers of God command, and especially things which always pertain to God's law by right.)

Wulfstan describes how the English have neglected their Christian 'festivals' (*freolsbricas*) and 'fasts' (*fæsten*) (possibly a reference to the Rogationtide festival). This failure to observe ritualized aspects of Christian spiritual life suggests that, for Wulfstan, the fundamental borders of Christian obligation are breaking down. Here, Wulfstan constructs the sin of the nation as not only the failure to uphold proper social relations, but the active inversion of them, one that occurs on both spiritual and secular levels.[109] Lionarons observes that in his enumeration of sins Wulfstan returns "repeatedly to two particularly invidious categories of sin: inversions of the

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[107] Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 4ff.
[108] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 272.138-146.
[109] On the issue of rebellion during the eleventh-century, Stafford notes that "Rebellion was unacceptable, a duly consecrated king must be obeyed – the people might not shake off his yoke" (*Unification and Conquest*, 14). In Wulfstan, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (London: Methuen, 1939), the editor notes "the frequency of references to treachery is one of the most striking features of the records of this period … there is mention of an Essex conspiracy, as early as 994, to accept Swegn as king … and in 1006 the Berkshire estates of a king's thegn, Wulfgeat, were forfeited because he leagued with the king's enemies. In 1009 Wulfnoth the South Saxon is in open rebellion and before 1012 a certain Leofric, in Wiltshire, had forfeited his lands for rebelling against the king's troops. Treachery towards one's lord incurs the death penalty in the laws: (Af 4, II As 4, III Edg 7.3, II Cn 57, 64, 77); V Atr (28-31)," 55-56 (n. 73).

proper order of society and the world, and treachery against lords, family, and nation."[110] While she ultimately reads the function of these many "inversions" as emblematic of Antichrist, "the reversal of good and evil,"[111] I want to offer a different possibility and suggest that Wulfstan's inversions can be traced back to *Sermo* VI, where Wulfstan represented rebellion as the disloyal act of one among God's troop of angels and his self-wounding through pride. On the subject of loyalty in Anglo-Saxon England, Fred Robinson succinctly observes,

> … loyalty in pre-Conquest society was the *sine qua non*, and its absence marked the difference between civilization and primeval disorder. The concept in this enlarged sense was extended by poets even into the theological realm … Satan emerges in the Anglo-Saxon view as an unworthy thane whose disloyalty to God introduced disorder and evil into the world. To Christians elsewhere, the primal sin of Lucifer was pride; to the Christian Anglo-Saxon it seems more often to have been disloyalty.[112]

Robinson explains further: "More than a mere tribal custom, the interlocking bonds of loyalty were the principle on which Anglo-Saxon civilization rested, the only bulwark against primitive chaos and anarchy. Wulfstan's most famous sermon is in large part a catalogue of the horrors that befall a people once the principle of loyalty is forgotten."[113] This characterization has resonance with the Vikings, who become the benefactors of English disloyalty and are made 'so strong through God's consent' (*swa strange þurh Godes þafunge*).[114] The significance of the Vikings in *Sermo Lupi* has been a long-standing topic of debate among scholars. Moreover, Wulfstan's focus on the inversion of subject and sovereign relations exhibits his perception that a state of emergency is prevailing and must be addressed by authorities capable of elaborating upon the law of God in the secular sphere.

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[110] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 159.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Fred Robinson, "God, Death, and Loyalty in *The Battle of Maldon*," in *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1993), 105-121 (119-120).
[113] Ibid., 119.
[114] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 271.111-112.

2.4 The Fall of the Britons, Fall of the Angels, and Viking Replacements

During the period immediately following Æthelred's exile, the Danes would assume political control for the first, but not the last time in England. Like Alcuin before him, Wulfstan attempts to place the Viking onslaughts of his own day within God's design for the Anglo-Saxons. Speaking of Wulfstan's characterization of the Vikings, Godden observes that the "failure of the English to recognize the rights of social hierarchy and law finds its echo in the overturning of social hierarchies of the Vikings."[115] Hollis has characterized the Vikings as heralds of the Antichrist and thus the apocalypse, suggesting that the "imminent historical event is the conquest of England by the Vikings, which for Wulfstan coalesces with the eschatological event."[116] Although Hollis argues that the Vikings are not only "precursors to the advent of Antichrist, but [rendered] 'antichrists' themselves," Lionarons has recently pointed out that "Wulfstan never explicitly identifies the Vikings with Antichrist (or as 'antichrists') nor does he mention Antichrist again in the sermon."[117] Nevertheless, the conflation of Vikings with Antichrist has been an important critical topic in Wulfstan studies, and I want to question some firmly entrenched assumptions about this viewpoint and propose an alternative reading for how Anglo-Saxons might have conceived of "divine punishment" for their sins.

Had Wulfstan wished to conflate Viking identity with either Satan or Antichrist, there was good precedent. Wulfstan might, for example, have drawn upon Abbo of Fleury's reflections

[115] Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion," 149. Godden also notes the presence of anxiety over lord betrayal even in the versions B and H, which do not hint at the Viking invasions (145).
[116] Hollis, "Thematic Structure," 185. More recently Alice Cowen has taken up this thread suggesting that the Vikings are meant to be understood as instruments of "divine punishment" in "*Byrstas* and *bysmeras*: The Wounds of Sin in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*," in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, SEMA 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 398.
[117] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 157.

on the Viking incursions in his *Passio S. Eadmundi*.[118] Abbo was a continental writer, but taught at Ramsey from 985-987 before returning to Fleury in 988 where he wrote down his reflections on the martyrdom of Edmund. According to James Earl,[119] "The monks at Ramsey urged Abbo of Fleury to produce his *Passio S. Eadmundi*, on Edmund, king of the East Angles, killed by the Danes in 869."[120]

There are several degrees of separation between Abbo and his source. The account apparently originated "from Archbishop Dunstan, who heard it from Edmund's own sword-bearer, who heard it from a soldier who saw it with his own eyes from a nearby hiding-place."[121] Drawing upon imagery from the Book of Jeremiah 1:14, Isidore's *Etymologies* (9.2.132) and Revelation 20:4, Abbo equates the Viking homeland with the northern seat of Lucifer's kingdom and implies that their coming signals the Last Judgment. Jeremiah 1:14 reads 'And the Lord said to me: from the north shall an evil break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land' (*et dixit Dominus ad me ab aquiline pandetur malum super omnes habitatores terrae*). In his description of the arrival of the Vikings, Abbo writes,

> Nec mirum, cum uenerint indurati frigore suae malitiae ab illo terrae uertice quo sedem suam posuit qui per elationem Altissimo similis esse concupiuit. Denique constat iuxta prophetae uaticinium quod ab aquilone uenit omne malum, sicut plus aequo didicere, perperam passi aduersos iactus cadentis tesserae, qui aquilonalium gentium experti sunt seuitiam.[122]

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[118] James Earl, "Violence and Non-Violence in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric's 'Passion of St. Edmund'," *PQ* 78 (1999): 125-149. On the cult of Edmund in tenth-century England, see Susan Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Ridyard notes that Edmund's cult flourished because it symbolized "the ultimate victory of Christian over pagans" (226).

[119] For more on the differences between Ælfric's and Abbo's account of St. Edmund, see Earl who notes that Ælfric omits the "blood-eagle" episode whereas Abbo includes a passage that could allude to it although he does not seem to understand it entirely. On the issue of how Ælfric and Wulfstan view the Vikings differently, Earl writes, "Wulfstan saw the Vikings as punishment for the nation's sins, but Ælfric saw them as an occasion for virtuous suffering" ("Violence and Non-Violence," 132).

[120] Ibid., 128.

[121] Ibid., 129.

[122] Abbo of Fleury, *Life of St. Edmund*, in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. Michael Winterbottom (Toronto: PIMS, 1972), 71.8-14.

(It is no surprise, that they have come hardened by cold with their malice from the polar region above, from where he who desired through pride to be like the Most High placed his seat. At length it says in the foretelling of the prophet that from the north comes all evil, as those who have experienced the savagery of the northern peoples, experts in cruelty, who incorrectly threw their lot in with the enemy, have learned too well.)

Abbo's audience in the early tenth century faced a comparable national enemy in the Scandinavians hailing from the far side of the North Sea, yet his response differs radically from Wulfstan's. While Patrick Wormald has noted that both Abbo and Wulfstan "shared the view that the emergencies of the time demanded more concentrated attention to the Law of God and His Church,"[123] and while Abbo's residency on the continent may have led him to have a similarly vexed relationship with Scandinavia, Wulfstan nonetheless eschews characterization of the Vikings as agents of the devil,[124] instead casting the English as the prime agents of their own undoing. When Wulfstan presents us with images of the Vikings, his purpose is to demonstrate how the English go about subverting the natural order of things:

> An la, hu mæg mare scamu þurh Godes yrre mannum gelimpan þonne us deð gelome for agenum gewyrhtum? Ðeah þræla hwylc hlaforde æleape 7 of cristendome to wicinge weorþe, 7 hit æfter þam eft geweorþe þæt wæpengewrixl weorðe gemæne þegene 7 þræle, gif þræl þænne þegen fullice afylle, licge ægylde ealre his mægðe.[125]

(And, alas, how can more shame befall men through the wrath of God than frequently does us on account of our own deeds? If any thrall escape from his lord and leaving Christendom becomes a Viking, and after that it happens that an exchange of weapons occurs between the thane and his thrall, if the thrall should slay the thane outright he will lie without payment to any of his family.)

It is significant here that Wulfstan calls attention to men's 'own deeds' (*agenum gewyrhtum*) as the greatest source of their disorder and 'shame' (*scamu*) in society. This emphasizes his sense that agency, as we saw with Ælfric in his representation of the fall, rests with the individual.

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[123] Wormald, "Archbishop Wulfstan," 17.
[124] Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion," 152.
[125] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 271.100-105.

There is reason to believe that Wulfstan may have wished to characterize the Vikings more neutrally than Abbo. Earl explains:

> For two and a half centuries the Vikings shared more than just the slaughter-field with the Anglo-Saxons. They also shared, increasingly from the ninth-century on, a national culture with them, culminating in the Anglo-Danish kingship of Cnut.[126]

Earl suggests that there was perhaps more assimilation and understanding between the two cultures than we might initially expect. I would put forward that Wulfstan's role in the court of Cnut and his part in formulating the king's law-codes serves as case in point. As Godden notes, we get a much more nuanced view of the Vikings in Wulfstan, wherein "Anti-Christ and the Vikings seem in fact to be very differently presented in Wulfstan's thought."[127] Godden finds that Wulfstan's homily deliberately avoids registering apocalyptic or eschatological undertones where the Vikings are concerned and that the very notion of the apocalypse seems to give "way to a sense of the longer and continuing movement of history."[128] Godden ultimately finds that Wulfstan differentiates between "divine anger [which] is directed against a particular nation for particular sins" and apocalypse, which involves the whole world.[129] Godden's analysis of Wulfstan's views regarding the Vikings and history is illuminating, as is his suggestion elsewhere that Wulfstan's *Sermo* VI was indeed influenced by *CH* I.1's rendition of the events surrounding creation.[130] Such a characterization bears on our understanding of the Gildas material.

Most scholars would agree that because they include additional material, versions E and I are more invested in Old Testament paradigms. Lionarons suggests that the Gildas passage, in

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[126] Earl, "Violence and Non-Violence," 126.
[127] Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion," 153.
[128] Ibid., 152.
[129] Ibid., 154.
[130] Godden, *Relations of Wulfstan and Ælfric*, 374.

fact, recalls *Sermo* VI demonstrating "a continuing cycle of sin, punishment, atonement, and redemption … [as] he compares the conquest of the Britons" by the English, made possible by the sins of the Britons, "to the impending conquest of the English by the Danes."[131] Howe characterizes events in a similar way. He writes, "the English are about to follow the British into the margin of history."[132] Wulfstan makes use of the event Howe terms the Anglo-Saxon "migration myth," that is, "the idea that God has guided the Israelites to the promised land, so he guided the Anglo-Saxons to the promised land of Britain."[133] I agree with Howe's thesis, but would extend its implications and suggest that the replacement doctrine and migration myth operate as two sides of the same coin in the Anglo-Saxon imagination. Wulfstan evokes the after-effects of the "migration myth" as well, namely, the conversion of the English and their consequent role in the doctrine of replacement as Christian souls destined to repopulate the heavenly kingdom as elucidated in *Sermo* VI.

In the *Epistula Albini leuitae ad Aeðelhardum archiepiscopum* (II 10.107-17), Alcuin addresses Æthelhard, Archbishop of Canterbury (792-805), in response to the Viking raid upon Lindisfarne in 793:

> Hoc dico propter flagellum quod nuper accidit partibus insule nostrae que prope trecentis XL annis a parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildi, Britonum sapientissimi, quod idem ipsi Britones propter rapinas et auaritiam principum, propter iniquitatem et iniustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam et pigritiam predicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi patriam perdiderunt. Caueamus hec eadem nostris temporibus uitia inolescere quatenus benedictio diuina nobis patriam conseruet in prosperitate bona quam nobis in sua misericordia perdonare dignata est.[134]

[131] Lionarons, *Homiletic Writings*, 157. Bethurum notes an interesting structural similarity between these two homilies in that Wulfstan's homiletic climaxes typically take the form of a rhetorical question. She points out that both *Sermo* VI and *Sermo Lupi* arrive at such a climax ("Wulfstan," 234).
[132] Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 18.
[133] Ibid., 16.
[134] *Two Alcuin Letter-Books*, ed. Colin Chase, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 5 (Toronto: PIMS, 1975), 74.107-117.

(I say this because of the scourge that has recently happened in parts of our island which was almost three hundred and forty years inhabited by our parents. We read in the book of Gildas, the wisest of Britons, that because of the excess and greed of princes, because of the violence and injustice of judges, on account of indolence and laziness of preachers and bishops, on account of the extravagances and bad customs of the people, those same Britons. Let us take care that these same vices do not grow up in our times, that the divine blessings should keep our country in the good prosperity which he has deigned to grant us in his mercy.)

Turning to older patterns to make sense of his contemporary one, Wulfstan draws upon Alcuin's reference to Gildas' *De Excidio Britanniae* and writes:

> An þeodwita wæs on Brytta tidum Gildas hatte. Se awrat be heora misdædum hu hy mid heora synnum swa oferlice swyþe God gegræmedan þæt he let æt nyhstan Engla here heora eard gewinnan 7 Brytta dugeþe fordon mid ealle.[135]

(There was a historian in the time of the Britons called Gildas. He wrote about their misdeeds how by their sins they angered God so very excessively that finally he let the host of the English conquer their land and destroy the nobility of the Britons altogether.)

There are several striking aspects of this passage that parallel Anglo-Saxon ideas surrounding falls and replacements. The way in which Wulfstan describes this conquest is reminiscent of his description of the Babylonian Captivity in *Sermo* VI, in which 'God decided that he would let the heathen army go forth and destroy that land' (*God forworht þæt he let faran hæþenne here 7 forhergian eall þæt land*). Here, as well, God simply 'let' (*let*) the heathen 'army' (*here*) take over.[136] Moreover, as I demonstrated, in sermons by both Ælfric and Wulfstan we see the alignment in these two Benedictine reformers' thinking about how Lucifer's crime results in a fall because God simply allows it to unfold. In other words, the agent who has free choice essentially remedies the crisis situation within God's heavenly as well as earthly polities.

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[135] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 274.176-179.

[136] Ibid., 149.116-117. Godden has argued that Wulfstan was doing more than just tinkering with his text but rather rewriting it "in radical ways" ("Apocalypse and Invasion," 153). He sees this paradigm as suggesting a shift in Wulfstan's thinking about history observing that "text originated as a short apocalyptic sermon, but twice within the next two years, probably within the same year, Wulfstan expanded it to take account of the Viking attacks … Emphasis gradually shifted from the apocalyptic crisis to the national one" ("Apocalypse and Invasion," 154).

As outlined in Chapter One, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons first enabled the Christian nation to see its potential role in repopulating the seats of heaven and become replacements for the fallen angels. Wulfstan's rendition of the doctrine in *Sermo* VI most closely resembles Augustine's views from the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 62 and 29 (*CCSL* 46.82; *CCSL* 46.65) and *De Civitate Dei* 22.1 (*CCSL* 48.807). In the former, Augustine writes:

> Et utique nouerunt angeli sancti, docti de deo cuius ueritatis aeterna contemplatione beati sunt, quanti numeri supplementum de genere humano integritas illius ciuitatis exspectat. Propter hoc ait apostolus instaurari 'omnia in Christo, quae in caelis sunt et quae in teries in ipso' [Eph. 1:10]. Instaurantur quippe quae in caelis sunt, cum id quod inde in angelis lapsum est ex hominibus redditur; instaurantur autem quae in terris sunt, cum ipsi homines qui praedestinati sunt in aeternam uitam a corruptionis uetustate renouantur.

(And certainly, the holy angels, taught by God, who are blessed in the eternal contemplation of truth, know how great a number the completeness of that city requires as supplement from the human race. Therefore the apostle says that 'all things are gathered together in one in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth' [Eph. 1:10]. For the things which are in heaven are restored when what was lost there from angels is returned from among men; but the things on earth are restored, when those who are predestined to eternal life are renewed from their old corruption.)

Augustine expresses how the loss from angels is rectified 'from among men' whom he calls those who are 'predestined' (*praedestinati*). He describes things similarly in *De Civitate D*ei:

> [Q]ui de mortali progenie merito iusteque damnata tantum populum gratia sua colligit, ut inde suppleat et instauret partem, quae lapsum est angelorum, ac sic illa dilecta et superna ciuitas non fraudentur suorum numero ciuium, quin etiam fortassis et uberiore laetetur.

(For out of this mortal progeny, so rightly and justly condemned, God by his grace is gathering a people so great that from them he may fill the place of the fallen angels and restore their number. And thus that beloved Heavenly City will not be deprived of its full number of citizens; it may perhaps rejoice in a still more abundant population.)[137]

Wulfstan summons this complex religious and doctrinal parallel with the final passages of the E and I versions of his homily. In light of the doctrine of replacement, Wulfstan's comparison of the national crisis of the English to that of the Britons might have suggested, not that the Vikings

[137] Translation from *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin, 2003), 1023.

were forerunners of Antichrist, but that their descendants could replace the English as the rightful Christian rulers of their "promised land," just as the Christian English were descended from pagan ancestors who had supplanted the Christian Britons. The still unconverted English were, in Gregory's famous conceit, like angels destined to become members of the community of elect who would restore the loss incurred at the fall of the rebel angels. Read in this way, *Sermo Lupi* represents not just a view of conquest, but of an impending fall of a Christian people and their replacement by heathen conquerors destined for the heavenly seats the English had forfeited. Thus, the Vikings could become the *praedestinati*.

As Augustine's notion of the doctrine of replacement is inextricably linked with his conception of reform in *De Civitate Dei* and elsewhere, it makes sense that Wulfstan includes a reproach against lazy priests in versions E and I.[138] One of Wulfstan's favorite topoi, his admonishment reads,[139]

> And þæt wæs geworden þæs þe he sæde, þurh ricra reaflac 7 þurh gitsunge wohgestreona, ðurh leode unlaga 7 þurh wohdomas, ðurh biscopa asolcennesse 7 þurh lyðra yrhðe Godes bydela þe soþes geswugedan ealles to gelome 7 clumedan mid ceaflum þær hy sceoldan clypian. Þurh fulne eac folces gælsan 7 þurh oferfylla 7 mænigfealde synna heora eard hy forworhtan 7 selfe hy forwurdan.[140]

(And as [Gildas] said that came about through theft by the powerful and through coveting of wrongful gains, through the lawlessness of a nation and through unjust judgments, through the laziness of bishops and through the base cowardice of God's heralds who all too frequently refrained from telling the truth and mumbled with their jaws where they should have cried out. Likewise through the foul pride of the people and through excess and manifold sins they

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[138] For more on how Augustine's conception of replacement is linked with "reform," see Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, 240-241; see also my discussion of replacement and reform in Chapter One (42ff; 58; 65-66).

[139] For more on this topoi and, in particular, the image of priests who 'mumbled with their jaws,' see Wilcox, "The Wolf on Shepherds," 395-418. Wilcox suggests that Wulfstan develops this image of the pastor as shepherd from Ezekiel 34, but that the phrasing and expansion is the bishop's own (399). The idea of "mumbling" is attested in four of Wulfstan's works: *Sermo* XVIb (ll. 20-22) as 'clummiað mid cleaflum' and in *Sermo* XVII (l. 41) and the "Ermahnung an die Bischöfe," ed. Karl Jost, *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, Swiss Studies in English 47 (Bern: A Francke AG Verlag, 1957) as 'clumiað mid ceaflum.' Jost lists this phrase as "source unknown," suggesting that Wulfstan personally crafted this concatenation (*Wulftanstudien*, 66 n.6).

[140] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 274.180-186.

destroyed their country and they themselves perished.)

I would suggest that the inclusion of this passage, too, is tied to Wulfstan's interest in the role of the clergy in the schematics of replacement. According to Ladner, Augustine's view is that clergy are responsible for "[replenishing] the angelic host whose number was depleted by the fall of the rebel angels."[141] This passage registers the same concerns Wulfstan outlined at the start of *Sermo* VI when he said that priests would be held accountable and 'forced to render an account to God on Doomsday for all those souls who are lost' (*ealra þæra sawla on domesdæg gescead aguldan þe þurh þæt losiað*).[142] Thus, Wulfstan characterizes the clergy as duly responsible for replenishment and accountable for loss. Significantly, instead of the English 'filling and multiplying' (*gefyllan 7 gemænigfealde*) heaven, as Wulfstan describes in *Sermo* VI, in the Gildas passage Wulfstan ominously echoes and inverts the positive valences of this phrase suggesting that, like the Britons, they are actively undoing this potential through sins of an 'excess and multiple' nature (*oferfylla 7 mænigfealde*).[143] Their role as replacements was a defining feature of English Christian identity from Gregory's pun on *Angli* right down to Wulfstan's *Anglos*.[144] I would suggest that Wulfstan relies on the long-standing intertextual

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[141] Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, 277. Moreover, Ælfric opts for the Gregorian metric in *CH* I.1 where one tenth of the heavenly host fall from heaven. For more on the doctrine of replacement in Anglo-Saxon England, see Haines, "The Vacancies," 150-154.

[142] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 142-143.11-13.

[143] Wulfstan uses the term *gælsan* to describe the sins of the Britons. This term has a range of possible meanings from "gluttony" to "excess." The term and its variants are widely attested, and *gal* and *galscipe* are used in *Genesis B* (l. 327a; 341a) in reference to the sin of the rebel angels, most likely with the force of "luxuria," "wantonness," "lust," or "lechery." According to A. N. Doane this term's connection to *superbia*, has no support in Old English sources. Doane disagrees with Schabram who argues in "Die Bedeutung von *gal* und *galscipe* in der ae. *Genesis B*," in (*Pauls und Braunes*) *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (Halle: 1874-1979; Tübigen: 1955-), 265ff and in *Superbia* (128 n. 25) that "pride" in *Genesis B* is a "loan translation" from Old Saxon, in which he maintains, *gel*, **gelskipi* means "pride." For more on this debate see A. N. Doane, *The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), n. 267.

[144] Howe suggests that Gildas, Bede, Alcuin, and Wulfstan were some of the central figures in the "process of mythmaking" for the English nation (*Migration and Mythmaking*, 2).

nature of the fall of the Britons tradition from Gildas to Bede to Alcuin, which enables him to leave his rehearsal of the replacement doctrine and the fall of the angels implicit in his homily.

Wulfstan reinforces the idea that English history is filled with rebellion against both divine and temporal authority. According to Trilling, the Gildas passage would later be appropriated by Bede "as a source for the history of pre-Conversion England."[145] Trilling observes that whereas "Gildas sees such developments as God's punishment of the Britons … Bede turns the model on its head and interprets them instead as God's sanction of the Anglo-Saxons as replacements for the dissolute Britons." She adds that this maneuver allows Bede to "reconstrue the *adventus Saxonum* as God's designation of a chosen people."[146] I would submit that the key concept for this progression, and for Wulfstan's figuration of the Vikings not as Antichrists, but as possible Christians, lies in his observance of the replacement doctrine. As Howe puts it, from Gildas to Wulfstan, "history repeats itself – or threatens to repeat itself – because God works through the same pattern: the island must be cleansed of its sinful inhabitants by heathen outsiders."[147] As we saw, for Abbo, the Vikings were proud, violent, rebellious, and demonic. But for Wulfstan, matters were not so cut-and-dried. On the subject of Viking and Anglo-Saxon relations, Earl observes, "The Vikings were too much a part of Anglo-Saxon culture to be conveniently demonized … The two groups evolved an awkward, intimate antagonism. North and south defined themselves partly in relation to each other, as they still do."[148]

By sidestepping direct comparisons between the invaders as blood-thirsty barbarians, heathen-worshipers, and wolf-like marauders, Wulfstan's characterization of the Vikings defies

[145] Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 136.
[146] Ibid., 138.
[147] Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking*, 12.
[148] Earl, "Violence and Non-Violence," 142.

conventional literary expectations in certain respects. In "The (Sub-) Genre of *The Battle of Maldon*," Szarmach suggests that in the long tradition of early medieval literature that focuses on Christian-Viking conflict, the Vikings often become a psychological mirror to hold up to a country's own moral corruption.[149] Szarmach suggests that medieval literature which deals with this "conflict operates within a set of narrative expectations" which "exist within a definable yet unfixed horizon."[150] I would suggest that Wulfstan situates *Sermo Lupi* firmly within this "(Sub-) Genre" yet works to disrupt and reappropriate expectations about the Vikings through invoking the well-known matrix for the conversion of the English, the migration myth and, here, the specter of the replacement doctrine.

Moreover, I would submit that Wulfstan rewrites the "horizon of expectations" for the topos of the fall of the angels. Edgar and Æthelwold linked the concept of the rebel angels with the secular canons at Winchester at the start of the Benedictine Reform but Wulfstan, along with Ælfric and the anonymous homilists discussed at the start of this chapter, suspend this expectation. In their writings, the rebel angel becomes a significant construct for English Christian identity at large and an image of what will happen if the English relinquish their divinely envisioned position within salvation history. Once used to characterize secular clerics such as himself, Wulfstan resituates the narrative onto the body politic, calling upon the English not to lose their role as replacements in his own historical moment. According to Trilling, "Wulfstan offers a path to salvation in place of the expected apocalypse – especially in light of the coming millennium. His rhetorical stance reinscribes England, on the verge of conquest, into the larger identity of Christendom, and thus preserves a sense of England's integrity at a moment

[149] Paul Szarmach, "The (Sub-) Genre of *The Battle of Maldon*," in *The Battle of Maldon Fact and Fiction*, ed. Janet Cooper (London and Rio Grande, OH: The Hambledon Press, 1993), 43-61; Szarmach suggests that the attacking Vikings provide a pagan "other" to support the self-identification of Christians both in individual polities and as part of a larger Christendom (44).
[150] Ibid., 61.

of crisis."[151] In this way, *Sermo Lupi* is not only a warning regarding a specific crisis, but also a reminder of the originary sin the English as converted Christians are meant to rectify through their faith and obedience to God.

Wulfstan's inclusion of the narrative of the fall of the Britons into his sermon during a period of unstable and ill-defined sovereignty, whether around 1013-1014 or perhaps several years later as the case may be, warns the English that their disloyalty and disorder threatens them with the same fate, but also offers them a chance to reaffirm loyalty to God's sovereignty. Godden is right, I believe, when he suggests that the Gildas passage troubles an apocalyptic reading of *Sermo Lupi*. He states that through the inclusion of this passage "[Wulfstan] was turning to a story which allowed for eventual acceptance of the invaders within the fold of religion and civilization."[152] Wulfstan was heir to two centuries of Viking devastation, yet he calls upon the English to reaffirm their role as replacements in the final lines of *Sermo Lupi*:

> And utan word 7 weorc rihtlice fadian 7 ure ingeþanc clænsian georne 7 að 7 wed wærelice healdan 7 sume getrywða habban us betweonan butan uncræftan.[153]

(And let us order words and works aright, and earnestly cleanse our conscience, and carefully keep oath and pledge, and have some loyalty between us without deceit.)

Here, Wulfstan explains that his preeminent concern lies with the overlap between personal obedience, loyalty, social order, and divine order. Drawing heavily on Old Testament parallels and Christian doctrine which Wulfstan ruminated over earlier in his career, *Sermo Lupi* illustrates how these issues have now been fused with narratives of agency involving choice and its direct bearing on the role of the individual within the state and the narrative of salvation. At the end of the homily, Wulfstan indexes verbs denoting penance in thought and action, calling upon the English to 'think' (*beþencan*), 'do' (*don*), 'bow to right' (*gebugan to rihte*),

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[151] Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 149.
[152] Godden, "Apocalypse and Invasion," 156.
[153] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, 275.195-197.

‘compensate’ (*betan*), ‘love God’ (*God lufian*), ‘follow God’s laws’ (*Godes lagum fylgean*), ‘practice’ (*gelæstan*), ‘order words and deeds’ (*word 7 weorc rihtlice fadian*), ‘cleanse conscience’ (*ingeþanc clænsian*), ‘keep oath and pledge’ (*að 7 wed wærlice healdan*), ‘have loyalty’ (*getrywða habban*) and, lastly, ‘earn’ (*geearnian*) their place in the kingdom of heaven. According to Kahn, for free, thinking subjects, “The distance between the free act and free thought turns out to be no distance at all … practice is itself a form of symbolic expression.”[154] Critics have often characterized Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lup*i as the rendition of a “divine punishment.” Yet Wulfstan’s comprehension of the most severe punishment for the English aligns with the grim reenactment of a “divine replacement.” In the section that follows, I hope to theorize the important role of the narrative of replacement within the Anglo-Saxon polity, and further develop Wulfstan’s prescriptions for repairing his Christian society.

2.5 Wulfstan of York and Political Theology

“Homilies,” as Andrew Rabin puts it, provide a model for ordering “social relations.” He goes on to say that Wulfstan’s discussion of the fall of the Britons “produces the self-reflection necessary to re-internalize the rule of God.”[155] Wulfstan’s interest in the law and its role in the lives of Anglo-Saxon Christians was a career-long preoccupation, and while we see Wulfstan working through issues of how a Christian nation might resolve a state of emergency, what emerges is a distinctly Anglo-Saxon way of imagining the return to order through adherence to the law and the sacred. Unlike the emergency which Edgar and the Benedictine reformers conceived of in the tenth century, which relied on a sovereign exception and re-codification of the rules for religious communities, the England Wulfstan describes in *Sermo Lupi* is mired squarely within what Kahn

[154] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 102.
[155] Rabin, “The Wolf’s Testimony to the English,” 408.

might refer to as a threat wherein "the narrative of a polity disappears."[156] In *Sermo Lupi*, Wulfstan describes a scenario wherein God's laws and divine authority have been neglected, and he advocates a return to normalcy in the temporal world to ensure salvation at Last Judgment.[157] According to Hollis, Wulfstan suggests that "repentance must take the form of the restoration of *lagu* and *riht*. The swift onward movement to destruction can be turned back only by a reversal of the course of action which, he states early in the sermon the nation is currently pursuing."[158] We saw in Ælfric's *CH* I.1, the monk's particular interest in exploring the idea of *agen cyre* or 'free choice' as he developed his narrative of the fall of the angels and situated the originary threat within the heavenly polity as the failed recognition of obedience to God. Wulfstan begins to demonstrate the place of free thinking in *Sermo* VI and does so to a greater extent in *Sermo Lupi*. In the latter, he connects these theological concepts to the polity and represents the nation's fate as dependent upon the choices of individuals. Like angelic creation, he maintains that individuals are capable of undoing themselves through improper recognition of sovereign authority.

The concept of the "free act" can illuminate this further. While perhaps not as invested in the doctrinal place of 'choice' (*cyre*) as Ælfric, Wulfstan nevertheless seems interested in concretizing its role in society in *Sermo Lupi*. I would put forward that as an Anglo-Saxon author and a religious writer who was deeply connected to political spheres, Wulfstan is attempting to

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[156] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 108.

[157] In Trilling's study of the *Institutes of Polity* she finds that "The text itself clearly privileges religious power, even in the temporal world, over the secular; by making the king subordinate to the bishop in taking Christian instruction, *Polity* disrupts its own hierarchy and affirms the bishop as the guarantor of unity and peace in a Christian kingdom. The bishop thus supplants the king as the de facto head of the Christian state, contravening the text's repeated insistence on the king's supremacy. *Polity*'s emphasis on the bishop as the bridge between secular and ecclesiastical authorities undercuts its attempts to create a strict and clearly-defined hierarchy, and the text itself plays out the very disjunction it wants to overcome" ("Sovereignty and Social Order," 84). Moreover, she touches on the role of political theology in the Middle Ages suggesting that God, not the king, was seen as the ultimate source for temporal authority; she says "For Wulfstan, as for other contemporary political theorists, temporal authority is grounded in divine authority" ("Sovereignty and Social Order," 68).

[158] Hollis, "Thematic Structure," 181.

understand how God's sovereign authority maintains itself through the exception, and the adherence to or suspension of the law. For Ælfric and Wulfstan, a free order is one in which the idea of the exception is concomitant with the possibility of choice. We see this playing out in their homilies wherein decisions that resist obedience to God result in exclusion that is self-inflicted. According to Kahn, Schmitt's elaboration of the exception does not always point to the suspension of the law in the hope of "self-preservation,"[159] nor the "sacral-power to act outside of law," but a "process of the specification and elaboration of law."[160] The "elaboration of law" was indeed what Wulfstan understood as his highest purpose and responsibility in creating a holy Christian England. While reinforcing the ideas of free acts in his own time, Wulfstan affirms his accountability for the elaboration upon God's law and the law of the land.[161] The bottom line, as Trilling points out, is that for Wulfstan, "obedience to God and king are guarantors of salvation, both in this world and the next."[162]

Kahn proposes that the "free act" is something closely related to a community's conception of its origins. He suggests that the "free act appears at the moment of origin and again at the moment of threat: it is implicitly present at every moment" when the natural order is vulnerable.[163] If we can read Lucifer's desire to be *efengelica* in *Sermo* VI as related to Wulfstan's distress over his nation's disobedience in *Sermo Lupi*, it would suggest that in Wulfstan's texts there is often slippage between the originary moment of disobedience and the nature of threats he describes in his contemporary world. I have argued for the importance of recognizing the place of the narrative of replacement in *Sermo Lupi*, and Wulfstan's sense that

[159] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 12.
[160] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 42.
[161] According to Trilling, Wulfstan's "*Polity*, places the king under the bishop's divine authority; while the king may be responsible for ensuring that justice is carried out in his kingdom, the bishop is ultimately responsible for making sure that the king knows what justice is" ("Sovereignty and Social Order," 77).
[162] Ibid., 60.
[163] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 52.

the English are actively erasing their place within it. A political and theological narrative "[frames] the community's life as the product of a free act," Kahn explains. The preservation of a relationship to the originary free act, he argues, is essential: "when the narrative of a polity disappears, when all that we have left are broken remains of buildings and shards of artifacts, the human is reduced to the material."[164] In this light, we might think of the bleak and foreboding landscapes in *The Wanderer* and *The Ruin* as what Wulfstan fears will be the fate of his polity if English Christians lose their connection to God's sovereignty and the sacred. Wulfstan sees the careful maintenance of his community's dominant narrative, the English as proper replacements intended to *gefyllan 7 gemænigfealde* the thrones of heaven, as part of his role as statesman, legal thinker, and theologian. In expounding how the English can reorder their present society, Wulfstan demonstrates an awareness that the power to authorize an exception lies beyond the power of any earthly ruler, and that the responsibility for the care and maintenance of the replacement narrative should fall at the foot of the altar.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the points of contact between the collective sin of the English body politic as represented in *Sermo Lupi* and the mechanisms which caused the fall of the angels. For Wulfstan, as I have argued, the idea of conquest might be more adequately thought of as a fall and replacement. According to Rabin, "In thus testifying to the Viking invasions as a divine punishment specifically directed at the fallen English, Wulfstan asserts the authority of a divine sovereign to order the lives of his subjects."[165] Unlike Ælfric, who wrote extensively about the creation and fall of the angels, as far as we know, Wulfstan wrote one homily dealing explicitly

[164] Ibid., 108.
[165] Rabin, "The Wolf's Testimony to the English," 398.

with the narrative. However, there appears to be considerable overlap in their thinking about the operations of rebellion when God gives Christian subjects the free choice to obey him. While other Anglo-Saxon homilies provide a range of vivid accounts of the fall of the rebel angels, Wulfstan isolated aspects of the story that informed his thinking about the fate of his nation late in his career at a time of crisis involving disloyalty, pride, ruin, and a precarious replacement.

We see Wulfstan engaging with conceptions of political theology and the Christian doctrine of replacement in order to frame his argument that the English could be on their way out just as the Vikings are on their way in as the beneficiaries of salvation in the heavenly kingdom. Such a complex deployment of doctrinal and theological concepts leads me to disagree with Greenfield and Calder when they state that "[Wulfstan's] approach is hortatory and topical, and his sermons minimize doctrinal and intellectual concerns."[166] Old English texts from *Maxims* to the *Elegies* to *Beowulf* betray a curious taste for dramatic reversals of fortune. The fall of the angels was perhaps the original and, one could argue, the most popular in the Anglo-Saxon imagination.[167] Wulfstan exploits this taste to the fullest measure, challenging the nation not to let their own reversal come full circle.

[166] Greenfield and Calder, *A New Critical History*, 89.
[167] On the prevalence of the "reversal of expectations" motif in Old English, see Wright, "More Old English Poetry," 245-262.

CHAPTER 3

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS AS APOTROPAIC WEAPON IN OLD ENGLISH VERSE SAINTS' LIVES

This chapter examines accounts of the angelic rebellion in four hagiographical poems. Two of the poems under discussion are from the Exeter Book[1] (*Juliana* and *Guthlac A*) and two are from the Vercelli Book[2] (*Elene* and *Andreas*). Veering away from the role of the fall of the angels narrative within specific Anglo-Saxon historical and cultural moments, this chapter focuses on the uses of the fall of the angels narrative within the context of hagiographical poetry in relation to issues of martyrdom, conversion, apostleship, and ultimate salvation.

I argue that the saints in these poems use the story of the angelic fall as a protective charm against demons. Just as Anglo-Saxon charms master something threatening by reciting its name, properties, and origins, so too, in *Elene* and *Juliana*, do Cynewulf's saintly protagonists Judas Cyriacus and Juliana master their demonic tempters by identifying them and recounting their originary sin. While in these poems the etiological narrative is itself apotropaic, in *Andreas* the fall of the angels is linked to the protective power of the baptismal seal (*sphragis*) that safeguards Christians against the devil. Similarly, *Guthlac A* relates how Guthlac disarms his demonic tormentors by recounting the story of their fall and by expressing his faithful expectation that he will be one of their replacements in heaven.

While I have started to trace how the fall of the angels narrative functioned on political, ecclesiastical, and ideological levels in Anglo-Saxon England, in this chapter I want to explore

[1] Quotations from *Juliana* and *Guthlac A* are from *The Exeter Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, ASPR III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936). See also *Juliana*, ed. Rosemary Woolf, Methuen's Old English Library (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966) and *The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book*, ed. Jane Roberts (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

[2] Quotations from *Elene* and *Andreas* are from *The Vercelli Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp, ASPR II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). See also *Cynewulf's Elene*, ed. P. O. E. Gradon (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1977) and *Andreas and The Fates of the Apostles*, ed. Kenneth R. Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

how a saint's rehearsal of the angelic rebellion might operate at the level of the "charm" invested with talismanic and miraculous properties. Karen Jolly's important work on charms greatly informs our understanding of how popular folkloristic rituals and beliefs became infused with Christian significance in Anglo-Saxon England. Jolly writes that in charms "we find elements of Christianity and survivals of paganism, miracle and magic, and liturgy and folklore, all united through a holistic view of the world in which physical and spiritual realities were intertwined and interdependent."[3] In the hagiographical narratives I discuss below, we see saints performing a popular, ritualized method for defeating evil spirits within a fully Christianized context.

In addition to charms representing a nexus of beliefs and practices in Anglo-Saxon England, Jolly usefully argues that charms serve a highly performative function wherein the "assumption behind [a charm's] performance was that action and words combined have the power to change things."[4] As this chapter will demonstrate, when a saint reiterates the story of the fall of the angels in the presence of a demon it has both a performative and perlocutionary force. This perlocutionary act has psychological consequences in that it forces the demon to recall something from his dark past; this act also has physical consequences in that through the vocalized revelation of the demon's origin as a former angel expelled from heaven, the saint effectively banishes the demon again. In this way, the saint's perlocutionary act has a miraculous component which forces the demon to fall again and frees the saint from its malevolent presence.

We can connect this idea concerning the miraculous powers of speech to political theology and the exception. Schmitt sees an analogy between the Christian miracle and the exception. He writes,

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[3] Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 97.
[4] Ibid., 99.

> All significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts not only because of their historical development – in which they were transferred from theology to the theory of the state, whereby, for example, the omnipotent God became the omnipotent lawgiver – but also because of their systematic structure, the recognition of which is necessary for a sociological consideration of these subjects. The exception in jurisprudence is analogous to the miracle in theology.[5]

Schmitt finds that both exceptions and miracles emanate from similar kinds of sources within their respective spheres (jurisprudence and theology). In Schmitt's view, the exceptional decision also legitimates and defines sovereign power and the sovereign figure. We might extend this analogy to sainthood and say that the performance of a miracle, similarly, legitimates and confirms sainthood in hagiographical narratives. Kahn can illuminate these analogies further:

> The miracle in theology sets forth a relationship between the particular and the universal, between sacred and secular time, and between the infinite and the finite. It suggests an extraordinary intervention – a presence and a willful decision – by a power other than those that operate in our ordinary lives. It has a spatial and a temporal dimension that represent points of intersection between the sacred and the profane. Establishing a site of sacred appearance, it reorders history and space … It can set a community's narrative in a new direction.[6]

While there is much to be gained by examining how Anglo-Saxons imagined the fall of the angels narrative within sacred time, my focus in this chapter is with how the Anglo-Saxons viewed the fall of the angels narrative as playing out in historical time in which the devil is figured as a concrete participant.[7] The poems I examine below reveal that the fall of the angels operates as a "site of sacred appearance" in Old English hagiographical poems; when saints recite the fall of the angels narrative, it acquires a powerful talismanic and "apotropaic" status,[8] affirming a relationship between "the infinite and the finite." Like the state of exception, the

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[5] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 36.
[6] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 109.
[7] According to Peter Dendle, Origen established Satan as a proud, rebel figure "in contrast to the image of a lustful 'watcher angel' more popular in earlier sources … with Origen the fall of the angels is distinguished once and for all from the fall of humankind" (10); see *Satan Unbound: The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).
[8] The standard definition of this term is "having or reputed to have the power of averting evil influence or ill luck" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "apotropaic").

miracle "suggests an extraordinary intervention," and through their ability to expel demonic adversaries who threaten their sanctity, Anglo-Saxon holy men and women typologically reiterate the exception that originally expelled the devil.

Introduction

According to Rosemary Woolf, "the commonest patristic definition of martyrdom was that of a conquest of the devil."[9] Stories of saints who encountered demons were highly popular in the long tradition of hagiography. A fair number of Anglo-Saxon texts represent saintly encounters with the devil some of which derive from the *Vitae Patrum*. In the fourth-century *Vita Antonii* of Athanasius (*PG* 26), Anthony's encounter with the devil is fundamental to the process of sanctification.[10] As Peter Dendle observes, "demons frequently serve a critical structural function in tracing the development of the saint's progress. Saints are loners, and the devil often winds up as their oldest and most consistent acquaintance."[11] Close encounters with the devil are equally significant in Anglo-Saxon stories recounting the perfecting of a saint.[12] Whether it is their first interaction with the devil or one of many (as with Guthlac), "a common instinct of the saints,"[13]

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[9] Rosemary Woolf, "Saints' Lives," in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1966), 37-66 (42).

[10] Athanasius' work was known in Anglo-Saxon England through Evagrius's Latin translation, *Vita Beati Antonii Abbatis* (*PL* 73, cols. 125-169). We know that this text influenced Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* and perhaps the *Two Lives of Cuthbert* where the saint battles with demons for possession of Farne Island; see *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 96-97; 214-215. Also popular was the 'devil and the anchorite' also known as the 'Theban legend' or the 'devil's account of the next world.' For more on this topoi, see Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 174ff (and for more on the function of prayer in Irish charms see 238-240). According to Dendle, "the close relationship between the devil and the saint … implies their mutual dependence on one another for orientation and audience … as it turns out [the devil] makes quite a good homilist: the anchorite learns factual and moral truths from him" (*Satan Unbound*, 41).

[11] Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, 42.

[12] Ibid., 50.

[13] C. Grant Loomis, *White Magic: An Introduction to the Folklore of Christian Legend* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1948), 74.

as C. Grant Loomis has noted, is the saint's ability to identify or clearly recognize the devil even when others cannot.

In both Old English prose and poetry, saints appear specially armed with the capacity to identify the devil and recount his originary sin.[14] These powers of identification can be seen in the prose lives of Saint Margaret[15] and Saint Nicholas.[16] In an episode bearing striking similarities to Juliana's tussle with the devil, the author of the Life of Margaret describes how '[she] grabbed the devil by the hair and threw him to the ground and she put out his right eye and shattered all his bones and she set her right foot over his neck and said to him, "Leave my virginity alone! Christ is helping me, for his name shines in eternity".'[17] When a dove tells Margaret to 'ask him [the devil] whom you have under your feet about his deeds,' Margaret demands to know, 'what is your name, you unclean spirit?'[18] While the CCCC redactor of the Life of Margaret also shows an interest in Margaret's quest to know the former deeds of the devil, details about such are not fully borne out in either version of the text. In both Lives of Margaret, the devil successfully evades Margaret's questions by turning the questions back on

[14] Ælfric's *Sermo De Memoria Sanctorum* and *De Oratione Moysi*, briefly mentions the fall of the angels in his catalogues of the eight chief sins and following God's speech to Moses in the wilderness; see Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, EETS o.s. 76, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1881; reprint, 1966), 16.306-311; 13.182-183.
[15] Margaret's *passio* is contained in two Old English texts: Cotton Tiberius A. iii and CCCC 303 (which also contains the *Life of Nicholas*).
[16] In the *Life of Nicholas*, the devil (disguised as the goddess Diana) appears to a group of pilgrims sailing to offer alms to Nicholas. The devil asks the pilgrims to deliver a deadly phial to Nicholas and then vanishes. Nicholas appears to the crew and instructs them to throw the phial into the sea, revealing the deadly hoax. See E. M. Treharne, *The Old English Life of St Nicholas with the Old English Life of St Giles*, Leeds Texts and Monographs New Series 15 (Otley, West Yorkshire: Smith Settle, 1997). Treharne notes that there was a Nicholas cult in Normandy from "second half of the eleventh-century on," owing to his "patronage of sailors and merchants" (37).
[17] Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, CSASE 9 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 125.
[18] Ibid., 127.

her and interrogating her faith.[19] Ultimately, she simply silences the devil and forces him to retreat to hell: 'be silent now, for I do not want to hear one more word from your mouth.'[20]

In martyrdoms (a *passiones*) and *vitae*,[21] the notion that the devil must be identified in order to be silenced and dispelled is crucial.[22] Whereas the saintly protagonists of the prose Lives of both Margaret and Nicholas successfully identify the devil, there is little discussion about his origins and past crimes. It is my contention that Old English poets betray a curious interest in having their saints identify not only their demons but, more significantly, their original sins. This revelation is typically accomplished through an elaborate display of what folklorists call 'wisdom questions,'[23] which I argue have a perlocutionary or apotropaic force in the Old English verse saints' lives I am about to consider.

I would first like to demonstrate this perlocutionary function by way of an episode from *Solomon and Saturn I* in which the anatomized *Pater Noster* physically overcomes the devil. The power of words is literalized in this poem as the fully embodied prayer acquires an imposing physical presence and shakes the 'fiend by the hair' (*feond be ðam feaxe*) [l. 100a]), strews his 'teeth throughout the crowd of hell' (*toðas / geond helle heap*) [ll. 114b-115a]),[24] all to the benefit of *Cristes cempan* ('Christ's warrior' [l. 139a]). In this poem, we learn that,

Mæg simle se Godes cwide gumena gehwylcum

[19] Here, the devil only confesses that he was expelled from Paradise (*Lives of St. Margaret*, 167), which accords with the Latin *Passio S. Margaretae* (*Lives of St. Margaret*, 208-209).
[20] Margaret's command 'Vade ex me' (*Go away from me*) sends the devil back to hell (*Lives of St. Margaret*, 210-211); this echoes Christ's defeat of Satan in the wilderness. According to Magennis, "The *St Margaret* text introduces an emphasis on the deceptions and betrayals of the devil, unparalleled in the analogues" (*Lives of St. Margaret*, 27).
[21] Rolf H. Bremmer Jr., "Changing Perspectives on a Saint's Life: *Juliana*," in *Companion to Old English* Poetry, ed. Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 201-216 (201).
[22] See Donald G. Bzdyl, "*Juliana*: Cynewulf's Dispeller of Delusion," *NM* 86 (1985): 165-175.
[23] See Charles D. Wright, "From Monks' Jokes to Sages' Wisdom: *The Joca monachorum* Tradition and the Irish *Imacallam in dá Thúarad*," in *Spoken and Written Language: Relations between Latin and the Vernacular in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Garrison and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 199-225 (210).
[24] Interestingly, the injuries Juliana inflicts are similar to what we see in *Solomon and Saturn I* (and the Life of Saint Margaret). Additionally, in both *Juliana* and *Solomon and Saturn I*, the devil's 'sword' is similarly described as cursed with 'harmful letters' (*bealwe bocstafas* [l. 162a]).

ealra feonda gehwane fleondne gebrengan
ðurh mannes muð, manfulra heap,
sweartne geswencan, næfre hie ðæs syllice
bleoum bregdað.[25] (*Solomon and Saturn I*, ll. 146-150a)[26]

(The utterance of God can always for everyone put each and every fiend to flight through the mouth of man, the host of wicked ones, can vex the black ones, even if they change their hues ever so strangely.)

If an 'utterance' (*cwide*) from the 'mouth of man' (*ðurh mannes muð*) like the *Pater Noster* can serve an apotropaic function and defeat the devil, it is my contention that the utterance of a devil's crimes might serve a similar talismanic function in the symbolic world of Anglo-Saxon saints' lives. The *Solomon and Saturn* poet continues:

… Forðon nænig man scile
oft orðances ut abredan
wæpnes ecgge, ðeah ðe him se wlite cweme –
ac symle he sceal singan. (*Solomon and Saturn I*, ll. 163b-166a)

(… Therefore no man must draw out the weapon's edge without forethought, though its appearance is pleasing to him. But ever must he sing.)

The idea presented here is that the best protection against the devil is 'singing.' This connects with Jolly's characterization of charms as a kind of "song … or incantation … in the way a healer [might] sing a psalm or prayer."[27] According to Jolly, the very word for 'charm' (*galdor*) comes from *galan* "to sing or chant" and implies a kind of ritualized or formal performance.[28]

Scholars have discussed non-verbal "weapons" against demons in Anglo-Saxon texts. Several studies have, for instance, noted the protective properties of crosses and the baptismal *sphragis* wherein the body is literally 'sealed' (Greek *sphragis*; Latin *signum*) by the sign of the

[25] This echoes the devil's description of his ability to disguise himself in *Juliana*: 'Thus I through various colors pervert the mind of men steadfast in truth' (*Þus ic soðfæstum þurh mislic bleo mod oncyrre* [ll. 362a-363]).
[26] "Solomon and Saturn I," in *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, ed. and trans. Daniel Anlezark, Anglo-Saxon Texts 7 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009).
[27] Ibid., 98-99.
[28] Jolly notes that *galdor* typically glosses the Latin terms *carmen*, *cantio*, or *incantation* (*Popular Religion*, 99).

Cross.[29] Also connected to the sacrament of baptism, Thomas D. Hill has discussed the apotropaic effects of "exsufflation," or sacred breath.[30] According to David F. Johnson, saints use the *sphragis* "for protective purposes, sometimes to guard themselves against danger, sometimes to protect others."[31] In perhaps its most well-known poetic appearance, Saint Andrew is "protected by the mark … a token which protects not only Andreas but baptized Christians everywhere."[32] In his survey of the *crux usualis*, Johnson also notes that "the efficacy of the [cross] may be … wielded by the ordinary believer."[33] From material objects to signs to performative gestures, Anglo-Saxons possessed a host of demon repellants, "protective shield[s]" or "offensive weapon[s],"[34] to defend against spiritual enemies.

In this chapter, I argue that we can add a further weapon against the devil to the Anglo-Saxon arsenal: the perlocutionary force of the narration of the angelic rebellion. In the sections that follow, I will examine the apotropaic reflexes of the fall of the angels narrative which, when uttered by a holy man or woman, literally disarms and expels the devil, serving as a guard against the physical presence of the demon and suppressing the emergency their presence brings about within the narrative. Possessing knowledge and control over the fall of the angels narrative also acts as a signifier of sainthood in the symbolic world of hagiography.[35] Just as the exception legitimizes sovereign authority, the recapitulation of the original exception in these saints' lives confirms the very sanctity of the men and women who speak it.

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[29] David F. Johnson, "The *Crux Usualis* as Apotropaic Weapon in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Sarah Larratt Keefer, and Karen Louise Jolly (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006), 80-95 (82); see also an essay by Charles D. Wright, "Jewish Magic and Christian Miracle in *Andreas*," in *Imagining the Jew in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Samantha Zacher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), forthcoming.
[30] See Thomas D. Hill, "The Sphragis as Apotropaic Sign: *Andreas* 1334-44," *Anglia* 101 (1983): 147-151 and "When God Blew Satan out of Heaven," 132-141.
[31] Johnson, "The *Crux Usualis*," 85. In *Juliana*, the devil describes how he has slain many who were "unmarked" by the sign of God. The devil says something to this effect in the Life of Agnes as well.
[32] T. Hill, "The Sphragis," 150.
[33] Johnson, "The *Crux Usualis*," 84.
[34] Ibid., 82.
[35] Ibid., 92.

3.1 *Ealne from orde*: Uncovering Origins in *Juliana*

Two of Cynewulf's signed poems contain stories of saints who face off against demons.[36] Both *Juliana* and *Elene* are set during the reign of Maximian (286-305) and his son-in-law Constantine the Great (306-337). *Juliana* is the only known Old English text "that renders into poetry the *passio* of a female saint."[37] The *passio* of Juliana was widely known in Anglo-Saxon England. Bede mentions Juliana in his *Martyrologium* (*PL* 94, cols. 843-844) and her martyrdom is also narrated in the *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*.[38] Michael Lapidge suggests that interest in Juliana came from "the *Passio S. Iulianae*, a text which was arguably composed in Naples or its vicinity, perhaps in the later sixth century, or even in the seventh."[39] Lapidge is credited with discovering the redaction of the *Passio S. Iulianae* which may have been used by Cynewulf in an early ninth-century Latin passional written at Canterbury and now preserved in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 10861 (fols. 113^{v}-121^{r}).[40]

Cynewulf's *Juliana* describes the young woman's vexed relationship with her father, Heliseus, and would-be suitor, Affricanus. When Juliana refuses to marry Affricanus, she

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[36] On the dating of Cynewulf, see R. D. Fulk, "Cynewulf: Canon, Dialect, and Date," in *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, ed. Robert E. Bjork, (New York and London: Psychology Press, 1996), 3-21; Fulk proposes that *Elene* cannot be earlier than 750 if it is Mercian and not earlier than 850 if it is of Northumbrian origin. See also Patrick W. Conner, "On Dating Cynewulf," in *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, ed. Robert E. Bjork, (New York and London: Psychology Press, 1996), 23-55. Conner sees Cynewulf's work as the product of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform arguing for the poet's use of an augmented recension of the *Martyrologium* of Usuardus (*c*. 875); this has since been refuted by John M. McCulloh, "Did Cynewulf Use a Martyrology? Reconsidering the Sources of *The Fates of the Apostles*," *ASE*, 29 (2000): 67-83.

[37] Jill Frederick, "Warring With Words: Cynewulf's *Juliana*," in *Readings in Medieval Texts: Interpreting Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. David F. Johnson and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 60-74 (61). According to legend, Saint Juliana was martyred in Nicodemia in 303; the cult of Juliana developed in sixth-century Naples; for more, see Michael Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving Jr.*, ed. Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2003), 147-171 (147-148).

[38] Michael Lapidge, "The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 243-263 (260).

[39] Lapidge, "Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae*," 149.

[40] Ibid., 147.

endures four tortures: she is beaten with a rod, hanged by her hair, tied to a fiery wheel, and dipped into molten lead. When these tortures prove ineffective Juliana is imprisoned; while in prison she is visited by a demon in 'the form of an angel' (*engles hiw* [l. 244b]).[41] Juliana immediately suspects he is 'a monster' (*se aglæca* [l. 246b]) and an 'adversary of glory' (*wuldres wiþerbreca* [l. 269a]). In the *Acta*, after making the sign of the Cross, Juliana seizes the demon and demands to know, 'who sent you to me?'[42] As with Saint Margaret, in Cynewulf's version a heavenly voice instructs Juliana to

> 'Forfoh þone frætgan ond fæste geheald,
> oþþæt he his siðfæt secge mid ryhte,
> ealne from orde, hwæt his æþelu syn.' (*Juliana*, ll. 284-286)

('Seize the perverse one and hold him fast, until he tells you his journey rightly, entirely from the beginning, what his origins are.')

This command to uncover the devil's origins does not appear in the *Passio S. Iulianae* or the *Acta*.[43] Cynewulf's modification makes Juliana's endeavor to expose the demon's 'origins' (*æþelu*) a divinely sanctioned act of recovery and part of the process of expelling the demon from her presence.

Scholars have observed that this episode modulates between a variety of genres ranging from penitentials to fairy-tales. Owing to the way in which Juliana pressures the devil into articulating his own crimes, Allen Frantzen has argued that the poem imitates the process of confession wherein "the demon impersonates a penitent who has been forced to confess."[44]

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[41] In the *Acta*, the demon is similarly disguised as an angel. Woolf sees this as reminiscent of the hagiographical motif of the 'angel of light' popularized by the *Moralia* of Gregory the Great ("Saints' Lives," 44). In many ways, this episode stands juxtaposed to Cynewulf's representation of an authentic messenger from God in *Elene*. See my article, "*Angelus Pacis*: A Liturgical Model for the Masculine 'fæle friðowebba' in Cynewulf's *Elene*," *MÆ* (2014), forthcoming.
[42] Michael J. B. Allen and Daniel Calder, *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: The Major Latin Texts in Translation*, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1976), 126.
[43] A leaf is missing in *Juliana* where the devil recites some of his later history.
[44] Allen J. Frantzen, "Drama and Dialogue in Old English Poetry: The Scene of Cynewulf's *Juliana*," *Theatre Survey* 48 (2007): 99-119 (110).

Although the demon is eventually forthcoming about his past, his confession is neither apologetic nor sincere. As Frantzen observes, "The demon's performance … offered Anglo-Saxon Christians a glimpse of the theatricality of their spiritual lives: using language and words prescribed by the penitentials, he demonstrates both insincere confession and feigned sorrow for sins."[45] In this way, Juliana is not only in control of the devil, but in command of the genre as well.

Although focusing primarily on how this episode resonates with the structure of fairy-tales, Rolf Bremmer Jr. mentions the similarities between this scene and the homiletic topos known as 'The Devil's Account' in which the devil confesses "all the havoc he has wrought in the course of history" to an anchorite.[46] John P. Hermann once briefly observed that this sequence had a distinct 'question-and-answer' mode recalling texts such as *Adrian and Ritheus*, *Solomon and Saturn*, and the *Joca Monachorum*.[47] Hermann, however, does not pursue his point about the 'wisdom questions' he sees as operative within this episode. I would like to consider how the verbal confrontation Cynewulf represents echoes the 'wisdom question' genre and also how Juliana, through her knowledge of the devil's identity and crimes, gains the upper hand and brings about another fall for this particular devil.

Juliana begins questioning the devil in a direct manner with the command 'Say' (*Saga*). This resembles the performative aspect of the question-and-answer dialogues we see in *Solomon and Saturn*. Indeed, a riddle from *Solomon and Saturn II* begins with Saturn saying, 'Tell me …'

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[45] Ibid., 113.
[46] Bremmer, "Changing Perspectives," 210. Bremmer suggests that this is characteristic of the fairy-tale structure of the poem where Juliana "enters into direct battle with the villain, is able to pull his trick and conquers him, thereby eliminating the original misfortune and unhappiness" (209). See also Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 175ff.
[47] John P. Hermann, *Allegories of War: Language and Violence in Old English Poetry*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 168. Hermann notes that, for Foucault, "the power to command the revelation of another's misdeeds, whether actual or merely mental, is central to the power of the priesthood" (169).

(*Saga ðu me* …) and ends with Solomon's extended account of the fall of the angels (ll. 273-297). Juliana's entire demand reads,

> 'Saga, earmsceapen, unclæne gæst,
> hu þu þec geþyde, þystra stihtend
> on clænra gemong? Þu wið Criste geo
> wærleas wunne ond gewin tuge,
> hogdes wiþ halgum. Þe wearð helle seað
> niþer gedolfen, þær þu nydbysig
> fore oferhygdum eard gesohtes.
> Wende ic þæt þu þy wærra weorþan sceolde
> wið soðfæstum swylces gemotes
> ond þy unbealdra, þe þe oft wiðstod
> þurh wuldorcyning willan þines.' (*Juliana*, ll. 418-428)

('Say, wretched one, unclean spirit, how you associated yourself, a ruler of darkness, among a clean company? You formerly strove faithless against Christ and brought about strife, conspired against the holy ones. For you a hell pit was dug up below, where harassed by misery because of your pride you found this dwelling. I expected that you might have been more wary and less bold over such an encounter with one so steadfast, who often withstood you through the king of glory.')

While Cynewulf has already established for his readers that the devil is the 'author of ancient sins' (*fyrnsynna fruman* [l. 347]),[48] in articulating her knowledge that the demon 'formerly strove faithless against Christ' (*wið Criste geo wærleas wunne*), Juliana reveals her familiarity with the demon's ultimate origin, the war in heaven, and the litany of punishments the rebel angels received.

The devil averts Juliana's question, however, and (as in the story of Saint Margaret) tries to turn the questions back on her with 'you tell me first' (*þu me ærest saga* [l. 430b]). Marie Nelson points out that the devil makes demands "when he is not in a position to do so."[49] Juliana remains persistent until the demon is forced to acknowledge her as the "victor." He concedes that

[48] See John P. Hermann, "Language and Spirituality in Cynewulf's *Juliana*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 26 (1984): 263-268; Hermann writes, "They are 'ancient,' or 'former' because they stem from a conflict between God and Satan, who is the *hostis antiquus*, and sinned before the creation and the fall of man" (267).
[49] Marie Nelson, "*The Battle of Maldon* and *Juliana*: the Language of Confrontation," in *Modes of Interpretation in Old English Literature: Essays in Honour of Stanley B. Greenfield*, ed. Phyllis Rugg Brown, Georgia Ronan Crampton, and Fred C. Robinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 137-150 (147).

‘Now I hear through your eloquence, that I out of necessity, constrained by afflictions, must declare my mind, just as you bid me, and suffer punishing affliction’ (*Nu ic þæt gehyre þurh þinne heloþorcwide, þæt ic nyde sceal niþa gebæded mod meldian, swa þu me beodest, þreaned þolian* [ll. 461-464a]). The flyting between the saint and devil reveals Juliana’s mastery over her adversary through the perlocutionary force which accompanies the fall of the angels narrative.

This particular demon certainly ‘declares his mind’ (*mod meldian*) to her.[50] In an impressive expansion of his Latin source, Cynewulf’s demon recounts his deeds from the temptation of Adam and Eve (l. 500), to the beheading of John the Baptist (l. 293), to the betrayal and crucifixion of Christ (ll. 289-306), and the deaths of Peter, Paul, and Andrew (ll. 302-311).[51] Amid his catalogue of persecutions, we learn that Juliana’s demon is, like the demon who tempts Adam and Eve in *Genesis B*, a mere subordinate sent from hell by ‘my father’ (*mine fæder* [l. 321a]) whom he describes as ‘king of the inhabitants of hell’ (*hellwarena cyning* [l. 322a]). This idea of the “stay-at-home king” who sends his ‘thanes’ (*þegnas* [l. 333a]) into the world, according to Jill Frederick, would have struck Anglo-Saxons in a particularly negative way: “Rather than accompanying his warriors into the fray, he sends them out on their own … They do not receive treasure for their efforts: instead they receive violent punishment.”[52] By reflecting on Satan as a kind of absentee king, the devil reminds us, as Dendle observes, that “There is a physical entity chained in hell called Satan, a silent and distant prop serving only as a mute memorial to a failed rebellion long ago.”[53] Unlike some of the other saints’ lives I examine

[50] Critics often point to Cynewulf’s amplification of the demon’s speeches and highly stylized rhetoric. See Antonina Harbus, “Articulate Contact in *Juliana*,” in *Verbal Encounters: Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Studies for Roberta Frank*, ed. Antonina Harbus and Russell Poole, Toronto Old English Series (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 183-200.
[51] Robert E. Bjork, *The Old English Verse Saints’ Lives: A Study in Direct Discourse and the Iconography of Style*, McMaster Old English Studies and Texts 4 (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1985). Bjork notes that the catalogue is an “important addition to the Latin source” (45).
[52] Frederick, “Warring With Words,” 69.
[53] Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, 102.

in this chapter, where the saint displays his personal knowledge of the fall of the angels, here Juliana coaxes the story out of the demon himself who describes how he has wrought treachery 'since the heavens were first lifted up' (*siþþan furþum wæs / rodor arœred* [ll. 497b-498a]):

> '… Hwæt sceal ic ma riman
> yfel endeleas? Ice all gebær,
> wraþe wrohtas geond werþeode,
> þa þe gewurdun widan feore
> from fruman worulde fira cynne,
> eorlum on eorþan. Ne wæs ænig þara
> þæt me þus þriste, swa þu nu þa,
> halig mid hondum,[54] hrinan dorste,
> næs ænig þæs modig mon ofer eorþan
> þurh halge meaht, heahfædra nan
> ne witgena. Þeah þe him weoruda god
> onwrige, wuldres cyning, wisdomes gæst,
> giefe unmæte, hwæþre ic gong to þam
> agan moste. Næs ænig þara
> þæt mec þus bealdlice bennum bilegde,
> þream forþrycte, ær þu nu þa
> þa miclan meaht mine oferswiðdest,
> fæste forfenge, þe me fæder sealde,
> feond moncynnes, þe he mec feran het,
> þeoden of þystrum, þæt ic þe sceolde
> synne swetan. Þær mec sorge bicwom,
> hefig hondgewinn.' (*Juliana*, ll. 504b-526a)

('… Why must I recount more of my endless evil? I brought forth it all, wrath among nations of people, which have befallen mankind forever, people on earth, since the creation of the world. There were none who dared to touch me with hands, just as you do now, holy one, nor any so courageous over the earth through holy might, neither the patriarchs nor the prophets. Although the God of hosts, the king of glory, revealed the spirit of wisdom to them and innumerable graces, still I might possess access to them. No one of them who has so boldly surrounded me with shackles as this, overwhelmed with punishments, before you now through great power overcame me, clung fast, to the strength my father gave me, the enemy of mankind, who commanded me out of darkness so that I might make sins sweet to you. This has become a great sorrow to me, a grievous struggle.')

In rehearsing his crimes, the devil comes to embody his sins through his claim that he is the source who 'brought forth it all' (*Ic all gebær* [l. 506b]). Once the devil has revealed his true

[54] See my discussion in Chapter Five of how it was believed that the devil could be cast out through the laying on of hands (263-264).

self, Cynewulf includes a striking detail suggesting that he undergoes a second fall as he loses his light and Juliana allows him to 'seek the darkness, the black depths' (*þystra neosan / in sweartne grund* [ll. 555b-556a]). This demon effectively rehearses own banishment in the presence of the saint. Juliana reappropriates the shrewd speech of the devil as her own protective weapon,[55] and reveals that she cannot be charmed by the devil, but has mastery over him through her knowledge of his origins.

Cynewulf also introduces the idea of the devil turned 'informant, betrayer' (*melda*) against his fellow demons, a concept he also brings up in *Elene*. Shortly before Juliana is to be executed, the demon returns and exclaims, 'Repay her now with earnest, that she despised the might of our gods, and grievously degraded me, such that I became an informer' (*Gyldað nu mid gyrne, þæt heo goda ussa meaht forhogde, ond mec swiþast geminsade, þæt ic to meldan wearð*' [ll. 619-621]). In becoming a *melda*, the demon has exposed more than his past crimes. In addition to revealing his methods of concealment and arts of temptation, he has also revealed how saintly men and women might legitimate their sanctity in the presence of their own demons. As Hermann notes, "the saintly is itself founded upon the prior exclusion of the diabolical."[56]

In rehearsing this demon's ultimate origin, Juliana reveals that speech and knowledge are sufficient weapons for combating spiritual enemies when one has no material objects or signs at one's disposal. In this way, historical insight can prevail against threatening adversaries. Juliana's demon effectively disarms and curses himself, revealing that demons are poised to fall more than once. As Raymond C. St-Jacques notes, "Though the devil himself bears witness to the spread of evil from the very beginning of creation and all men … [but] there remains hope in final victory for the individual, a hope strengthened by Juliana, who resists the devil's onslaughts

[55] Harbus, "Articulate Contact," 193.
[56] Hermann, "Language and Spirituality," 274.

and is a gage of God's triumph on Judgment Day."[57] In the wisdom contest between the saint and demon, the devil becomes nothing more than a *melda*, an informant who betrays how saints might shield themselves against their demonic adversaries.

3.2 The Devil's Cut: Plunder and Conversion in *Elene*

I am beginning to suggest that the fall of the angels as utterance served as a prominent hagiographical motif for Anglo-Saxon poets. While some scholars question its status as a *vita*,[58] *Elene* affords an opportunity to extend this argument. Cynewulf's poem recounts the famous angelic vision granted to the Emperor Constantine and his subsequent victory over the armies of Maxentius (312). The poem then follows Constantine's triumphant return to Rome and his attempt to discover the meaning behind the 'token' (*tacen*) that led him to victory. Most of the poem, however, focuses on Elene, Constantine's mother, and the apocryphal story of her 'discovery' (*inventio*) of Christ's Cross in the Holy Land.

The man whom Elene enlists to help her in her quest to find the Cross is Judas Cyriacus, a Jew whom Cynewulf describes as 'wise in lore' (*gidda gearosnotor* [l. 418a]) and 'skilled in words' (*wordes cræftige* [l. 419a]). When we first meet Judas, he and the other Jews are described as 'spiritually blind' (*modblinde* [l. 306a]). Cynewulf's poem traces the process of Judas' coerced conversion to the Christian faith. Throughout the early stages of the poem, Elene aggressively mines the depths of Judas' knowledge about the history and lore of the Cross. When he refuses to reveal his knowledge regarding the whereabouts of the Cross, Elene places Judas in an earthen pit and starves him. Suffering and hungry, Judas eventually agrees to help Elene. While in search of the buried Cross (the *goldhord*), Judas is seized upon by the devil. In order to

[57] Raymond C. St-Jacques, "The Cosmic Dimensions of Cynewulf's *Juliana*," *Neophil* 64 (1980): 134-139 (134).
[58] Bremmer, "Changing Perspectives," 205.

banish the devil, and disassociate himself from his former 'spiritual blindness,' Judas effectively utilizes the fall of the angels narrative as an apotropaic weapon; he both identifies the devil and banishes him in a verbalized sacral performance of his new Christian faith.

Elene is a poem about the recovery of knowledge with spiritual value.[59] This reclamation process is initiated by Elene, who attempts to extract wisdom from Judas in a manner that resembles Juliana's interrogation of the devil. On the issue of the location of the Cross, she goads Judas with, 'Say, if you can' (*Saga, gif ðu cunne* [l. 856b]) and 'tell me quickly' (*saga ricene me* [l. 623b]). According to John Damon, "Elene performs a role of domination and physical coercion often reserved in hagiography for the persecutors of martyrs."[60] Unlike Juliana, whose aim is the revelation of the devil's persecutions against mankind, Elene's 'wisdom questions' are aimed at uncovering the hidden knowledge and lore concealed by the Jews in the poem.

Judas actively suppresses his knowledge of the location of the Cross in the presence of Elene. Robert Bjork asserts that Judas "rhetorically and figuratively conceals the Cross."[61] Nathan Breen similarly points out that Judas desires to control "the narration of the history of the Jews" through this act of concealment.[62] In the presence of the Jewish council, Judas maintains that the Cross must stay hidden for the security of the Jewish nation:

> 'Þæt wæs þrealic geþoht! Nu is þearf mycel
> þæt we fæstlice ferhð staðelien,
> þæt we ðæs morðres meldan ne weorðen
> hwær þæt halige trio beheled wurde
> æfter wigþræce, þy læs toworpen sien
> frod fyrngewritu ond þa fæderlican
> lare forleten.' (*Elene*, ll. 426-432a)

[59] On this point, see Nathan Alan Breen, "The Voice of Evil: A Narratological Study of Demonic Characters in Old English Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2003); Breen argues that "the knowledge of Christ, whether partial or complete, creates a significant increase in worldly power" (57).
[60] Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors*, 95.
[61] Bjork, *Old English Verse Saints' Lives*, 80.
[62] Breen, "The Voice of Evil," 61.

(‘That [the crucifixion] was a bad idea! Now there is great need that we are steadfast in our spirits, that we do not become informants of that murder, or as to where that holy tree was hidden after the violence of war, in case that the old writings be overturned and the laws of our fathers forsaken.’)

As Andrew Scheil observes, Cynewulf works within a tradition which supposes that the Jews were responsible for Jesus’ death. He states that Judas is the “representative of the antagonistic Jew … [who] killed Christ because they did not recognize him as the son of God.”[63] Within this context, part of what the Jews suppress is the evidence of their culpability in the death of Christ. Judas insists that the Jews must not become ‘informants, betrayers’ (*meldan*) of their former crimes; the Cross must remain buried for the maintenance and continuance of the Jewish nation. Becoming a *melda* would not only mean personal shame, but also a betrayal of the Jewish people and the overturning of Jewish traditions embodied in the ‘old writings’ (*frod fyrngewritu*) and ‘laws of our fathers’ (*fæderlican lare*).

We find this manner of *melda* in *Beowulf* where the term refers to the ‘informer’ who passes treasure taken from the dragon’s hoard to Beowulf: ‘the precious vessel had come to him through the informer’s hands’ (*him to bearme cwom* / *maðþumfæt mære þurh ðæs meldan hond* [ll. 2404b-2405]).[64] In both cases, treasure hoarded ‘after the violence of war’ (*æfter wigþræce*), which passes through a *melda*, threatens cultural rupture or change. Judas treats his knowledge like treasure but, as Hill notes, it is the kind of treasure we see in *Beowulf* where a hoard becomes “a symbol of everything wrongly hidden away, possessed in darkness, spell-bound by

[63] Andrew P. Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 219.

[64] This probably refers to the thief’s lord, who is an “informer in the sense that by giving the cup to Beowulf he reveals the cause of the dragon’s ire” (*Klaeber’s Beowulf*, n. 2405b). See also E. R. Anderson, “Treasure Trove in *Beowulf*: A Legal View of the Dragon’s Hoard,” *Mediaevalia* 3 (1977): 141-164 who argues that the informer shames the thief for concealing treasure that should have belonged to the king (154ff).

evil thought."[65] Moreover, according to Scheil, "By hiding the location of the cross, the Jews are, in a sense, reenacting the crucifixion, extending their original crime."[66]

Cynewulf's *melda* in *Juliana* (the demon) openly claims responsibility for Christ's crucifixion (ll. 289-306). In evoking the idea of a *melda* in a slightly different context here, Cynewulf subtly associates the Jews not only with the crime of Christ's crucifixion, but also with the devil. He reinforces this by characterizing the Jews with phrases and formulae typically reserved for the rebel angels. He says that they have 'raised up enmity' (*nið ahofun* [l. 837a]) and, like the rebels angels, they 'listened' (*hyrdon*) to 'the author of sins' (*leahtra fruman* [l. 838]). Through their deliberate act of concealment, Cynewulf suggests that the Jews aid in the accumulation of the devil's own "plunder" in the form of un-Christianized souls.

With his imprisonment and starvation in the earthen pit, Judas' own body becomes an emblem for buried wisdom. Damon notes similarities between this sequence and the temptation of Juliana, stating that the women in both texts keep an "informant held captive until he will reveal the secrets he holds."[67] Judas gives into his hunger on the seventh day when he announces that he is prepared to reveal the secret location of the Cross. Upon his emergence from the pit, Judas says a prayer in *Ebrisc* ('Hebrew'). In this prayer, he begins to reveal his trove of spiritual knowledge beginning with a history of angelic creation. He praises God (l. 725), evokes both the

[65] J. Hill, *The Cultural World of Beowulf*, 137.
[66] Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel*, 226. Scheil adds that, "in his unbelief Judas lacks spiritual nourishment; he chooses to 'heed the bread' (i.e. remain a Jew), refuses the hard privation of stone (i.e. the Christian life), thinks too much of his body, makes his belly his god, and thus, like the gluttonous man of Vercelli 7, he sullies his body and spirit and requires purification and conversion in the pit. Like the cannibals and their victims in *Andreas*, when Judas 'rejects' (*wiðhyccge*, 618) the better thing, he shows us that he is not thinking correctly; his mind lacks the capacity to understand God, until his purging starvation" (*Footsteps of Israel*, 261).
[67] Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors*, 117.

good angels (ll. 734b-759) and the fallen angels (ll. 759b-771), and anticipates Christ's rule on earth through the power of the Cross:[68]

> '… Þæs ðu, god dryhten,
> wealdest widan fyrhð, ond þu womfulle
> scyldwyrcende sceaðan of radorum
> awurpe wonhydige. Þa sio werge sceolu
> under heolstorhofu hreosan sceolde
> in wita forwyrd, þær hie in wylme nu
> dreogaþ deaðcwale in dracan fæðme,
> þeostrum forþylmed. He þinum wiðsoc
> aldordome. Þæs he in ermðum sceal,
> ealra fula ful, fah þrowian,
> þeowned þolian. Þær he þin ne mæg
> word aweorpan, is in witum fæst,
> ealre synne fruma, susle gebunden.' (*Elene* ll. 759b-771)

('… This you, Lord God, will rule forever, and you the guilty sinful ones from heaven cast out the foolish ones. Then that cursed troop needed to fall down into hell into manifest punishments, where they now undergo agonies in that flood in the dragon's embrace, wrapped in darkness. He rebelled against your authority. For that, he must in misery, full of every foulness, suffer guilty, endure bondage. There he may not reject your word, bound fast in torment and punishment, the creator of all sin.')

Bjork characterizes the structure of Judas' speech as "linear, chronologically relating the events of salvation history from Creation to Doomsday."[69] In addition to his rhetoric undergoing a shift, this prayer also reveals that Judas' identity has changed; he is in a sense narrating a release from his own form of rebellion against the 'authority' (*aldordome*) of God.

Judas asks that the *goldhord* 'which has long been hidden from men' (*þæt yldum þæs lange heyded* [ll. 791-792a]) be made known to him by 'a rising smoke' (*rec astigan* [l. 794b]) 'from the spot' (*of ðam wangstede* [l. 793a]) where the Cross is buried. In associating Christ's Cross with a *goldhord*, Cynewulf invokes the idea that buried treasure, like spiritual knowledge, is being placed back into circulation. As Hill notes, "*buried* treasure elicits a sense of

[68] In the *Acta*, Judas says, "You cast the unbelieving angels into deep Tartarus and they dwell in the bottom of the abyss" (*Sources and Analogues*, 65).
[69] Bjork, *Old English Verse Saints' Lives*, 83.

uselessness."[70] Judas, on the one hand, becomes the *melda* who will snitch on his fellow Jews, but he also becomes the one who will make the hoard of Christ's spiritual riches open and available, of use to the Christian nations.

Scholars have detected distinct baptismal imagery in this episode as Judas begins to experience and enact his own conversion. Whereas before, Judas was *modblinde*, he is now described as overcoming blindness of spirit. Cynewulf may be drawing upon a Gallican baptismal prayer from the Stowe Missal recounting Mark 3:5 and Eph. 4:18, which says catechumens must expel 'blindness of heart' as they

> loose the bonds of Satan … Take from the devil all occasion of triumph … Be not deceived, Satan: punishment threatens thee, hell threatens thee, the day of judgment, the day of everlasting punishment … When everlasting destruction is prepared for thee and thine angels.[71]

Judas is, of course, about to accomplish these things in a literal sense. Following his prayer, 'steam rose up from the place just like smoke' (*of ðære stowe steam up aras swylce rec* [ll. 802-803a]). This image also connects to the baptismal language and imagery to be found in the Stowe Missal recounting John 4:14: "goeth down therein there may be a *well of water springing up unto eternal life*."[72] The rising steam prefigures Judas's full entrance into the church through baptism and his eventual salvation.

To become fully Christian, Judas must reveal sacred knowledge by opening the *goldhord*. Once the Cross has been recovered and authenticated through a miraculous sign (ll. 859-897), a devil appears to Judas: 'a demon leapt up there, hovering in the air' (*on lyft astah lacende feond* [l. 899]). The devil tells Judas that his hoard has been unjustly plundered and that he has been

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[70] J. Hill, *The Cultural World of Beowulf*, 122.
[71] *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, ed. E. C. Whitaker, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1970), 216.
[72] Ibid., 218.

robbed of his 'cut' (a reference to the "doctrine of the devil's rights").[73] Referencing Judas Iscariot and possibly Judas Cyriacus simultaneously, the devil describes how a 'Judas formerly' (*Iudas ær* [l. 921b]) brought him hope but now 'through a Judas' (*þurh Iudas* [l. 923b]) he has been 'deprived of goods' (*goda geasne* [l. 923a]). In becoming a *melda* for Christ, Judas has undone the devil's monopoly on souls (ll. 902-910) and transferred ownership of the *goldhord*.

Elene overhears Judas sparring with the 'originator of sins' (*ealre synne fruma*) (ll. 952b-961a). According to Breen, the devil is a formidable figure because he "possesses a wealth of knowledge as a result of his history as a witness to human activity"[74] and even the "time before the birth of Christ."[75] The devil asks Judas who has 'increased old strife, by plundering my possessions?' ('*iceð ealdne nið, æhta strudeð*' [l. 904]).[76] Judas, however, is becoming a formidable figure in his own right because he is imbued with wisdom from the Holy Spirit.[77] In the *Acta*, Judas says, "May Christ who raised the dead damn you to the abyss of everlasting fire."[78] Yet Cynewulf amplifies this to demonstrate Judas' knowledge of the fall of the angels:

> 'Ne þearft ðu swa swiðe, synna gemyndig,
> sar niwigan ond sæce ræran,
> morðres manfrea,[79] þæt þe se mihtiga cyning
> in neolnesse nyðer bescufeð,
> synwyrcende, in susla grund
> domes leasne, se ðe deadra feala
> worde awehte. Wite ðu þe gearwor
> þæt ðu unsnyttrum anforlete

[73] According to the doctrine of the devil's rights, Satan controlled the destiny of mankind after the fall of Adam and Eve until Christ's sacrifice. For a helpful synopsis, see David F. Johnson, "Hagiographical Demon or Liturgical Devil? Demonology and Baptismal Imagery in Cynewulf's *Elene*," in *Essays for Joyce Hill on Her Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Mary Swan, *LSE* 37 (Leeds: University of Leeds, 2006), 9-29 (12ff). See also Robert Boenig, *Saint and Hero: 'Andreas' and Medieval Doctrine*, (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1991), who address the doctrine of the devil's rights and also the 'Diabolus-model of Atonement' in which the "action of Christ on the cross in some way saves man and defeats Satan" (82).
[74] Breen, "The Voice of Evil," 58.
[75] Ibid., 80.
[76] Bjork argues that "The devil's discourse closely resembles Judas' personal style and thus becomes emblematic of the capacity for evil that Judas had within him before his conversion" (*Old English Verse Saints' Lives*, 88).
[77] Ibid., 81.
[78] Allen and Calder, *Sources and Analogues*, 66.
[79] This phrase also occurs in *Andreas* (l. 1313).

leohte beorhtost ond lufan dryhtnes,
þone fægran gefean, ond on fyrbæðe
suslum beþrungen syððan wunodest,
ade onæled, ond þær awa scealt,
wiðerhycgende,[80] wergðu dreogan,
yrmðu butan ende.' (*Elene*, ll. 939-951)

('You need not, mindful of sins, so strongly renew sorrow and raise strife, wicked ruler of sin, because the mighty king shoved you down into the abyss, working sin, upon a ground of torments, lacking of glory, he who by his word raises the dead. Know you more clearly that you through folly forsook the fairest light and the love of the Lord, that beautiful joy, and ever since have dwelled on a fire-bath bound with torments, a burning pyre, and there in your rebel-mindedness, you shall suffer damnation and misery without end.')

I would argue that, as with *Juliana*, Cynewulf is here channeling the perlocutionary and performative potential of the fall of the angels. Here, Judas is able to clearly identify both the devil and his originary status as an angel.[81] As Dendle notes a demon must be "crystallized into a single entity before it may be confronted and controlled."[82] As with Juliana, Judas' utterances are highly ritualized and sacral in that he successfully banishes the devil by echoing the renunciation of Satan found in the baptismal liturgy. Having been recently raised from his own abyss, 'a ground of torments lacking of glory' (*in susla grund / domes leasne*), Judas succinctly separates his identity from that of the devil who dwells below the earth, affirming his sanctity through revealed knowledge and by articulating the same terms of faith spoken by catechumens at baptism.

Numerous scholars have considered how this episode resonates with the baptismal liturgy. Catherine A. Regan's study stresses the symbolic level of Judas's torture and conversion,

[80] This formulaic phrase can be found in both *Andreas* (l. 1072; l. 1172) and *Guthlac A* (l. 663).
[81] For more on gender relations in *Elene*, see Joyce Tally Lionarons, "Cultural Syncretism and the Construction of Gender in Cynewulf's *Elene*," *Exemplaria* 10 (1998): 51-78; Lionarons argues that Judas has relinquished "(feminized, Jewish) discourse … The change is underscored by his post-conversion flyting with the devil, in which Judas' newly-minted open and truthful speech is juxtaposed sharply to the closed and deceptive talk of the demon" (63). She reads Judas as undergoing a masculine re-birth with his languishing "in the pit as a kind of spiritual gestation, and his emergence from the pit as the birth of the new man, who will be called Cyriacus" (65).
[82] Dendle sees parallels in Elene's singling out of Judas from 3000, 1000, 500 Jews. Just as Elene could identify the wisest of the Jews, now Judas can identify true spiritual opponents (*Satan Unbound*, 97).

proposing that Cynewulf dramatizes the relationship between the church and the soul of a catechumen in preparation for baptism (ll. 1032b-1035a; 1043-1046a).[83] Since baptism was seen as a symbolic reenactment of Christ's temptation, she likens Judas' fasting in the pit to Christ's fasting in the wilderness.[84] Regan suggests Judas' utterance serves as a kind of verbal commitment and that he "is prepared now to enter the Christian community through the sacrament."[85] Building on Regan's conclusions, Johnson convincingly identifies Judas' demon as a liturgical devil (in contrast to the 'subordinate' demon that appears to Juliana).[86] This distinction, Johnson argues, links "the episode to the liturgy of Baptism and [foregrounds] the figurative, symbolic dimension of the narrative's meaning."[87] Just as the liturgy exists within a temporal borderline, Cynewulf links the original exception of the fall of the angels to the miraculous expulsion Judas performs on the sacred site of Christ's death, thereby bridging the events of sacred and secular time.

While these critics address the crucial symbolic level of *Elene*, others such as John P. Hermann rightly caution against readings which privilege the symbolic level of the narrative over the fundamentally violent nature of the torture which brings about Judas' conversion.

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[83] Catharine A. Regan, "Evangelicalism as the Informing Principle of Cynewulf's *Elene*," *Traditio* 29 (1973): 27-52 (33ff).

[84] During one of Judas's first encounters with Elene, he evokes (without knowing it) Christ's Temptation in the wilderness: 'How might someone be in the wasteland, trudge the moors weary and without food, obsessed with hunger, and loaf and stone together come into his sight, one hard one soft, how might it be that he pick up the stone for relief of his hunger?' (ll. 611-616a); Regan discusses the importance of fasting in "freeing the Catechumen from the bonds of Satan" ("Evangelicalism," 44). See also Thomas Hill, "Sapiential Structure and Figural Narrative in the Old English *Elene*," in *Cynewulf: Basic Readings*, ed. Robert E. Bjork, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 4 (New York and London: Garland, 1996), 207-228. This article first appeared in *Traditio* 27 (1971): 159-177 and was revised in 1995.

[85] Regan, "Evangelicalism," 52.

[86] Johnson, "Hagiographical Demon," 9.

[87] Ibid., 16. Johnson suggests that Judas' confession of faith resembles the Gelasian sacramentary ("Hagiographical Demon," 19), but I would put forward Gallic influence because the Stowe Missal specifically evokes the idea of 'spiritual blindness' and the well-spring delivering the 'mercy of baptism through this sign of the cross, which sign do thou O devil never dare to cross out' (*Baptismal Documents*, 214).

Referring to Judas' enclosure in the pit as an "inverted passion,"[88] Hermann argues that "torture cannot simply be read as emblematic of the relationship between the church and the soul of a catechumen since torture in the name of a Higher Truth is not the same as fasting voluntarily chosen."[89] Hermann argues that the poem is concerned with torturing the Jews into submission so that the Cross may become "a weapon for advancing the reign of Christianity."[90] Hermann convincingly problematizes *Elene* as "a poetic celebration of forced cultural change … Victimization is transformed into spiritual insight, oppression into inspiration."[91] Although Judas' knowledge of Jewish lore guides him to the hoard and affords him the ability to harness the apotropaic potential of the fall of the angels, there remains an undeniable element of violence inherent in this episode which recalls the originary violence that accompanies the fall of the angels narrative in other Anglo-Saxon texts. The objects taken from a *goldhord*, although they may serve as a positive reminder of past victories and of productive future distributions, can also serve as visible reminders of past (and potentially future) violence.

Whereas the devil's speech to Judas is a complaint about his lost monopoly on souls (ll. 902-919a), Judas' apotropaic articulation of the fall of the angels is a reminder of the original exchange which caused the devil's most significant loss. In becoming a *melda* for Christ, Judas increases the spiritual capital of Constantine's burgeoning Christian empire in that more souls will reap future heavenly rewards through newly circulating knowledge of Christ.

[88] Hermann, *Allegories of War*, 106.
[89] Ibid., 108.
[90] Ibid., 111.
[91] Ibid., 115.

3.3 The Angel's Share: Protective Narrative in *Andreas*

The Old English *Andreas* traces Saint Andrew's mission to rescue Matthew from the cannibals of Mermedonia. The story of Andrew and his apostolic exploits derives from a Greek source known as the *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos* ('The Acts of Andrew and Matthew in the Land of the Cannibals'),[92] which is often referred to as the *Πράξεις* (*Praxeis*). This Greek tradition influenced numerous Latin accounts including the *Recensio Casanatensis* and *Recensio Vaticana*.[93] The *Praxeis* remains the closest approximation to the Old English poem although the poet probably used a lost Latin redaction as his source.

The story of Andrew among the cannibals was popular and widespread in Anglo-Saxon England. Two Old English prose pieces recount the story of his adventures and his encounter with the devil. Blickling Homily XIX contains a fragment of the story of Andrew and a longer version is contained in CCCC 198.[94] The prose version describes how the devil disguises himself in the 'likeness of a youth' (*cnihtes onlicnysse*).[95] Andrew recognizes him and rebukes him saying, 'O you shaft hardened to all wickedness; you that ever fights against mankind! My Lord Savior Christ hath trodden you down to hell' ('*Ana þu heardeste strœl to æghwilcre unrihtnesse; þu þe simle fihtest wið manna cyn. Min Drihten Hœlend Crist þe gehnœde in helle*').[96] Andrew obliquely evokes the fall of the angels when he states that Christ 'hath trodden thee down to hell'

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[92] Daniel Anlezark, *Water and Fire: The Myth of the Flood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 211.
[93] The *Recensio Casanatensis* is printed by Franz Blatt, along with the Greek edited by M. Bonnet in the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II, 1 (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1898), 65-116; the poetic *Recensio Vaticana* can be found in "Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentiliche Wissenschaft*, vol. 12 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1930), 32-148.
[94] Morris supplies the missing portions of the homily in his edition (*Blickling Homilies*, 236-249).
[95] In the *Casanatensis* the devil appears as an 'old man'; Andrew's speech that causes the devil to depart reads, 'Even if you kill me now, I'll not do your will, but the will of my Father and Lord who is in heaven, Jesus Christ. However, at the time it pleases my Lord to visit this city I will impose on you the sort of punishment He demands' (*Sources and Analogues*, 30). Wright notes that Saint Adomnán vanquishes the devil who appears disguised as a young man in the Middle-Irish *Betha Adamnáin* (*The Irish Tradition*, 213).
[96] *Blickling Homilies*, 241.

(*þe gehnæde in helle*). This utterance, however, has no clear apotropaic effect. The devil later returns (with back up) to torment Andrew further:

> Þæt deofol þa genam mid him oþre seofon deoflo, þa þe [se] haliga Andreas þanon afliemde, and ingangende on þæt carcern hie gestodon on gesihþe þæs eadigan Andreas, and hine bismriende mid myclere bismre, and hie cwædon, 'Hwæt is þæt þu her gemetest? Hwilc gefreolseð þe nu of urum gewealde? Hwær is þin gilp and þin hiht?' Þæt deofol þa cwæð to þam oðrum deoflum, 'Mine bearn, acwellað hine, forþon he us gescende and ure weorc.' Þa deofla þa blæstan hie ofer þone halgan Andreas, and hie gesawon Cristes rodetacen on his onsiene; hi ne dorston hine genealæcan, ac hraðe hie on weg flugon.[97]

(Then took the devil with him seven other devils,[98] which the holy Andrew had put to flight from thence, and they stalking into the prison stood in the sight of the blessed Andrew, and besmirching him with great besmirches they said, 'What is it you have found here? Who shall deliver you now from our power? Where is your boasting and your trust?' Then said the devil to the other devils, 'My children, slay him, for he has shamed us and our deed.' Then the devils blew upon the holy Andrew, and they saw the sign of Christ's cross upon his countenance; they dared not approach him, but they quickly fled away.)

As with *Juliana*, there is a parental dynamic at work between this devil and his seven subordinate demons who he refers to as his 'children' (*bearn*). Interestingly, these devils 'blew upon' (*blæstan ... ofer*) Andrew, as if to mock him. This gesture, and its connection to the baptismal practice of 'exsufflation,'[99] as I mentioned earlier, has an apotropaic register.[100] In this episode, the devils' breath upon Andrew manifests his counter-attack in the form of the *sphragis*, or the 'baptismal seal' upon his 'countenance' (*onsiene*). In this case, the devils initiate the apotropaic response which confounds them and causes them to flee.

Although we see the baptismal seal performing its apotropaic function, it is important to note that Andrew is essentially silent in this episode. The 'famous token' (*mære tacen* [l. 1338b])

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[97] Ibid., 243.
[98] For more on the significance of 'seven devils,' see my discussion below (147-148).
[99] See, for instance, the Letter of John the Deacon: 'He receives therefore exsufflation and exorcism, in order that the devil may be put to flight and an entrance prepared for Christ our God: so that being delivered from the power of darkness he may be translated to the kingdom [col. I.13] of the glory of the love of God: so that a man who till recently had been a vessel of Satan becomes now a dwelling of the Saviour. And so he receives exsufflation, because the old deceiver merits such ignominy.' Text from *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, 155.
[100] A very rare verb, s.v. *blæstan*: "to blow" (Bosworth-Toller).

of 'Christ's rood on his face' (*Cristes rode on his mægwlite* [ll. 1337a-1338b]) is enough to drive his demons away. On the contrary, in *Andreas*, the devil flees when Andrew reminds him of the fall of the angels and how he 'formerly perpetrated a grim feud with God' (*fæhðo iu wið god geara grimme gefremede*). The *sphragis* similarly appears in the Old English poem, but I will argue that Andrew's utterance of the narrative of the fall of the angels is the catalyst for the devil's flight. In a poem concerned with the place of magic, miracles, and signs with talismanic properties,[101] *Andreas* reveals that knowledge of origins has a perlocutionary and protective force.

The *Andreas* poet does not appear to have known or used either of the Old English prose pieces as sources.[102] Boenig notes that in both the *Praxeis* and the two Old English prose versions "the Devil appears four times, but in *Andreas*, that number is reduced."[103] Upon Andrew's arrival in Mermedonia, the apostle (who is miraculously made invisible) successfully frees the imprisoned Matthew, upsetting the dinner plans of the hungry Mermedonians.[104] As in the prose Andrew, the devil appears to the Mermedonians disguised as a young man.[105] The poet describes how 'The dispenser of evil, the cripple of hell, began to inform against the holy man with hostile intent' (*Ongan þa meldigan morþres brytta, hellehinca,*[106] *þone halgan wer wiðerhycgende* [ll. 1170-1172a]).[107] The devil begins to 'inform against' (*meldigan*) Andrew, making the apostle's presence public knowledge.

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[101] Wright, "Jewish Magic and Christian Miracle."
[102] Brooke, *Andreas*, xvi.
[103] Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, 95.
[104] On the "reversal of expectations" formula in Old English, see Wright, "More Old English Poetry," 245-262.
[105] Boenig suggests this makes him more threatening (*Saint and Hero*, 87).
[106] According to Brooks, this reference to the 'cripple of hell' suggests that perhaps Satan's fall was confused with Vulcan's limp as a result of his fall from Olympus (*Andreas*, n. 103). See also T. Hill "Satan's Pratfall," 157-158; the poet of *Guthlac A* also refers to demons as crippled with 'lame ones from hell' (*adloman* [l. 912]).
[107] The devil in *Elene* (l. 951a) is similarly referred to as 'perverse of mind' (*wiðerhycgende*). In *Juliana*, the saint's father refers to her in this way (l. 196). The *Andreas* poet also uses this term to describe the Mermedonians (l. 1072b).

The Mermedonians discover and seize Andrew and, at the urgings of the devil,[108] proceed to torture him in a way that emulates Christ's passion.[109] However, his punishments also come to resemble those suffered by the devil after his fall from heaven. According to Breen, "the punishment and suffering that the Devil advocates for Andrew is eerily similar to the punishment that Satan himself faced after rebelling against God."[110] Breen continues, "Satan attempts to recreate his own punishment for striving against God, which stands as a revelation of himself and his own history."[111] As with the prose account of Andrew, the devil's actions initiate the process of revealing both the visible and psychological reminders of his own status as fallen and damned. The devil's verbalized rehearsal of a fall for Andrew will refract back upon himself. Merging the events of sacred and non-sacred time, the devil will experience a second fall through the miraculous sign inscribed upon Andrew's body.[112] After the devil reveals Andrew's presence and identity, Andrew does the same and succinctly identifies the devil:

> 'Hwæt, ðu þristlice þeode lærest,
> bældest to beadowe! Wæst þe bæles cwealm,
> hatne in helle, ond þu here fysest,
> feðan to gefeohte. Earmðu fag wið god,
> dugoða demend. Hwæt, ðu deofles stræl,
> icest þine yrmðo. Ðe se ælmihtiga
> heanne gehnægde,[113] ond on heolstor besceaf,
> þær þe cynings cining clamme belegde,
> ond þe syððan a Satan nemdon,
> ða ðe dryhtnes a deman cuðon.' (*Andreas*, ll. 1185-1195)

[108] Scheil likens this to the "satanic urgings" in Anti-Juadic traditions in which the Jews put Christ to death because of the promptings of the devil (*Footsteps of Israel*, 228).
[109] Frederick M. Biggs, "The Passion of Andreas: *Andreas* 1398-1491," *SP* 85 (1988): 413-427 (417). According to Biggs, "In describing Andreas's suffering, the poet preserves the narrative sequence of the legend – Andreas endures three days of torture, witnesses a miracle, and is restored to bodily health before in invokes the flood that leads to the conversion of his captors – but he explicitly develops the idea, which is latent in his source, that Andreas's suffering is an imitation of Christ's passion" (414).
[110] Breen, "The Voice of Evil," 194.
[111] Ibid., 195.
[112] Hermann, *Allegories of War*, 134.
[113] Breen focuses on this verb *gehnægan* ('humiliated') and suggests that Andrew reappropriates the devil's own words: "the verbal echo serves to reframe Satan's speech, to turn it back upon him, his past, and his state of damnation in a way that trivializes his character" ("The Voice of Evil," 191).

(‘Listen! You rashly urge the people and incite them to battle! You yourself know of the torment of flames, the hotness in hell, and you compel a troop, a company to fight. You are hostile against God, ruler of the experienced warriors. Listen, you devil’s dart, you increase your own misery. The Almighty one humiliated you, and shoved you into darkness, where the king of kings fettered you with a chain and ever since those who knew the law of God have called you Satan.’)

Andrew names his adversary in the process of recounting the devil’s origins. The devil recedes, but Andrew still contends with the hungry Mermedonians who beat him and leave him out in the cold. Andrew prays to God, asking him for protection against ‘the slayer of mankind, the first-born of evil’ (‘*banan manncynnes, facnes frumbearn*’ [ll. 1291a-1292b]). Andrew is again imprisoned by the Mermedonians and visited by the ‘oathbreaker’ (*wærloga* [l. 1297a]):[114]

> Þa come seofona sum to sele geongan,
> atol æglæca[115] yfela gemyndig,
> morðres manfrea myrce gescyred,
> deoful deaðreow duguðum bereafod. (*Andreas*, ll. 1311-1314)

(Then the terrible adversary, as one among seven came stalking into the hall, mindful of evil, wicked ruler of sin shrouded in darkness, murderously cruel bereaved of the experienced warriors.)

In a manner reminiscent of Grendel’s approach to Heorot, the devil, ‘mindful of evil’ (*yfela gemyndig*), finds Andrew at his most vulnerable.[116] As with the prose version, ‘seven’ (*seofona*) demons come to persecute him. The significance of seven could, on the one hand, be meant as an inversion of the ‘seven gifts of the Holy Spirit’ or a reference to the seven deadly sins. There is also a tradition of “sin demons” which can be found in Aldhelm’s *De laudibus virginitatis*. Morton Bloomfield proposes that “attacking demons were conceived as sins.”[117] I would suggest

[114] Jewish elders in *Elene* are also called ‘oath-breakers’ (*wærlogan* [l. 613a]).
[115] This same formula is used to describe the devil in *Elene* (l. 898a).
[116] The devil in *Elene* is also described as *yfela gemyndig* (l. 901).
[117] Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1962), 108. Although Bloomfield notes that the prose *Andreas* contains a reference to the devil among seven subordinates (347), he does not discuss the appearance of this numeration in the poem. Bloomfield states, “These seven may not be the cardinal sins, but it is possible that they are” (111). Evagrius “believed in sin demons” although his lists of capital sins are

that this image of the seven demons could possibly come from Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, which refers to the "Seven heathen nations that help Satan in his battle,"[118] making these demons reflective of heathen Mermedonia itself.

On the close association between the *sphragis* and "the renunciation of Satan," Jean Daniélou writes that "one of the points most frequently brought out by the Fathers of the Church concerning the sphragis is that it makes the Christian fearful to demons."[119] Scholars such as Thomas D. Hill have pointed out the liturgical echoes running through this sequence. Hill suggests that since a candidate who receives the *sphragis* obtains the power to combat Satan "Andreas's *mægwlite* … is by itself enough to defeat the devil and his hosts."[120] Hill observes that the Gregorian Sacramentary contains a prayer over males at baptism in which "the priest again invokes Satan and tells him that he has again been defeated, commanding him to depart and never trouble the candidate."[121] Hill's study is convincing and the power of the *sphragis* in this episode is compelling. However, I think it is worth noting the role of speech in the Gregorian Sacramentary which Hill references. Here, Satan is verbally and performatively banished again. The *Andreas* poet suggests that Satan's band of 'warriors' (*dugoða*) are inexperienced, and this leads them to flee their lord in battle when they perceive 'Christ's cross on his countenance, the famous sign' (*Cristes rode on his mægwlite, mære tacen* [ll. 1337b-1338]).[122] Once abandoned

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"unattached to demons or to an eschatological belief" (59). Bloomfield also notes that "St Furseus, the Irish visionary is assailed by demons seven times" (347).

[118] Ibid., 64.

[119] Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), 59; on the *sphragis*, see 54ff.

[120] Thomas D. Hill, "The Sphragis as Apotropaic Sign: *Andreas* 1334-44," *Anglia* 101 (1983): 147-151.

[121] Ibid., 148-149.

[122] Ibid., 149. T. Hill argues, "The sign of God's power clearly has baptismal resonances, and it is preceded by a sign of God's power which recalls the imposition of the sphragis just as the imposition of the sphragis itself precedes baptism in the Order of Baptism" ("The Sphragis," 150).

by his troop, Satan, like Grendel, 'sings a song of sorrows' (*hearmleoð galan* [l. 1342b]).[123] The role of utterance in conjunction with this baptismal imagery has implications for our understanding of this episode since it is Andrew's speech which then causes the devil to depart:

> 'Hwæt, me eaðe ælmihtig god,
> niða neregend, se ðe in niedum iu
> gefæstnode fyrnum clommum!
> Þær ðu syððan a, susle gebunden,
> in wræc wunne, wuldres blunne,
> syððan ðu forhogedes heofoncyninges word.
> Þær wæs yfles or, ende næfre
> þines wræces weorðeð. Ðu scealt widan feorh
> ecan þine yrmðu. Þe bið a symble
> of dæge on dæg drohtaþ strengra.'
> Ða wearð on fleame se ðe ða fæhðo iu
> wið god geara grimme gefremede. (*Andreas* ll. 1376-1387)

('Listen, Almighty God can free me, the savior of men, he who formerly fastened you in fiery chains! Where ever since, you have dwelled in exile, bound with torments, forfeit of glory, since you despised the word of God. That was the origin of evil, there will never be an end to your exile. You shall widen your misery eternally. Your way of life will always be more severe day by day.' Then he fled, the one who formerly perpetrated the grim feud with God.)

The perlocutionary effect of Andrew's recitation of the original fall of Satan is both typologically and literally enacted.[124] As with the saints' lives we have seen up to this point, the saint must properly render events in salvation history.[125] The order of salvation history has been restored through Andrew and his sanctity is written upon his very face.

Andrew's sanctity has, in fact, already been confirmed by a dream-vision experienced by his disciples during the sea voyage.[126] His companions describe how eagles 'plucked out our

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[123] The *Beowulf* poet notes that 'the enemy of God sang a terrible song, sang victory' (*gryreleoð galan Godes andsacan sigeleasne sang* [ll. 786-787a]); the devil in *Juliana* also 'sings of misery' (*hearm galan* [l. 629]).
[124] The *Casanatensis* incorporates more imagery pertaining to the fall of the angels and draws upon *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* stating that 'you entered the hearts of God's sons, made them lie with women; and their sons were made into giants on the earth. In anger the Lord brought a flood upon them and destroyed all their sins and then saved Noah' (*Sources and Analogues*, 26). Unfortunately, a lacuna in *Andreas* means that we cannot know if the Old English contained this allusion.
[125] Ibid., 197.
[126] This episode appears briefly in the *Casanatensis* and the *Praxeis* (Chapter 17); according to Brooke, one Latin fragment of the Andreas legend in an eleventh-century palimpsest corresponds to lines 843-954 which contains an

souls' (*sawle abrugdon*) as they slept allowing them to witness 'a shining throng of celestial hosts' (*wlitig weoroda heap*):

> Utan ymbe æðelne englas stodon,
> þegnas ymb þeoden, þusendmælum,
> heredon on hehðo halgan stefne
> drytna dryhten. Dream wæs on hyhte.
> We ðær heahfæderas halige oncneowon
> ond martyra mægen unlytel,
> sugon sigedryhtne soðfæstlic lof,
> dugoð domgeorne. Þær wæs Dauid mid,
> eadig oretta, Essages sunu,
> for Crist cumen, cining Israhela.
> Swylce we gesegon for suna meotudes,
> æðelum ecne, eowic standan,
> twelfe getealde, tireadige hæleð.
> Eow þegnodon þrymsittende,
> halige heahenglas. Ðam bið hæleða well
> þe þara blissa brucan moton.
> Þær wæs wuldres wynn, wigendra þrym,
> æðelic onginn, næs þær ænigum gewinn.
> Þam bið wræcsið witod, wite geopenad,
> þe þara gefeana sceal fremde worðan,
> hean hwearfian, þonne heonon gengaþ.' (*Andreas*, ll. 871-891)

('Round about the prince of angels were standing, thanes around their Lord, in their thousands, with holy voice they praised him in the heights, the Lord of lords. The joy was exultant. There we recognized the holy patriarchs and a not so small army of martyrs, a company eager for renown, they sang praise firm founded in truth to the victorious Lord. David was there among them, the blessed champion, Jesse's son, king of the Israelites, come into the presence of Christ. Also in the presence of the Lord's Son, we saw you standing, richly endowed with noble virtues, twelve all told, men blessed with glory. Holy archangels dwelling in majesty ministered to you. It will be well for the men who are allowed to enjoy those delights. The joy of heaven was there, the splendor and noble feeling of the warriors, there was no dissension. Banishment will be ordained and torment opened up, for those who shall become foreign from those pleasures, and depart in misery, when they go hence.')

Andrew's companions describe those encircled around Christ as 'thanes around their Lord' (*þegnas ymb þeoden*) as well as the 'great army of martyrs' (*martyra mægen unlytel*) among the

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account of a vision in heaven had by Andrew's disciples. He notes "this detail occurs in Andreas 866-91, but is absent from the Old English Prose" (*Andreas*, xvi).

‘company eager for glory (*dugoð domgeorne*).[127] They describe how ‘we saw … you standing’ (*we gesegon … eowic standan*) with ‘holy archangels dwelling in majesty’ (*þrymsittende, halige heahenglas*). According to Magennis, hagiography often seeks to portray the saint as poised between an earthly and heavenly community. He writes that in “the saint the sublimity of heavenly community can be seen extending into the world.”[128]

At the close of the vision, the poet utilizes internal rhyme as he describes the joys awaiting Andrew and all those who will one day share in ‘those delights’ (*þara blissa*). On the one hand, this vision prefigures the Last Judgment when Andrew and the *dugoð* will become replacements to the angels who forfeited their place at the table. In collapsing sacred and earthly temporalities, the vision also prefigures events within the narrative itself by anticipating Andrew’s ‘banishment’ (*wræcsið*) of the devil which leads him to ‘depart in misery’ (*hean hwearfian*) following the visual and verbal manifestations of the protective talismans which keep the devil at bay.

3.4 *Idel gylp*: Replacement Doctrine as Apotropaic Weapon in *Guthlac A*

Unlike the saints’ lives I have discussed so far in this chapter, in which holy men and women are visited by a single enigmatic devil or seven devils as the case may be Guthlac’s story is unique in that he is assailed by a troop of demons. In accounts of desert fathers and hermits meeting devils, the saint’s success at banishing them often hinges upon his or her ability to speak. According to Joyce Hill, in one account of the Life of Anthony “there is one exceptional physical incident when the saint is so violently assaulted that he is left unable to speak.”[129] Similarly, in the

[127] This is somewhat reminiscent of *Beowulf*, who is described as ‘most eager for fame’ or ‘praise’ (*lofgeornost* [l. 3182b]).
[128] Magennis, *Images of Community*, 10.
[129] Joyce Hill, “The Soldier of Christ in Old English Prose and Poetry,” *LSE* n.s. 12 (1981): 57-80 (63).

Dialogues, Benedict spars with 'the old fiend' (*se ealda feond*). Here, Hill notes, "the conflict is verbal," but Benedict comes to find that the devil "can be overcome by prayers."[130] *Guthlac A* is similarly concerned with utterances and, as I will show, the apotropaic potential of the originary sin of the fallen angels in conjunction with the perlocutionary force of the doctrine of replacement.

Guthlac A focuses on issues of angelology and salvation. Laurence K. Shook observes that the opening of the poem is primarily concerned with "the function of angels in the salvation of man's soul."[131] Upon Guthlac's eremitic retreat into the fens, the poet describes how Guthlac "Christianizes the landscape"[132] through a series of apotropaic gestures; he blesses his 'space' (*wong* [l. 178b]) and raises 'Christ's cross' (*Cristes rode* [l. 180a]). These gestures and materials are Guthlac's 'spiritual weapons' (*gæstlicum wæpnum* [l. 177b-178a]). According to Hill, "like Beowulf, [who] renounces the use of the sword in his fight against his foes" Guthlac does not need swords because he believes God will protect him."[133] I argue that Guthlac's arsenal of spiritual weapons proliferates as he is accosted by the demons. He uses both his knowledge of the fall of the angels and his understanding of the replacement doctrine to defend himself. Guthlac demonstrates that the 'idle speech' (*idel gylp* [l. 662]) of devils can be overpowered and undone through an expression of his faithful expectation that he will be one of their replacements in heaven.

The story of Saint Guthlac's life in the Crowland fens appears in several Anglo-Saxon texts.[134] Felix's eighth-century Latin *Vita Guthlaci* (*c*. 730-749)[135] was written for Ælfwald, king

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[130] Ibid., 63.
[131] Laurence K. Shook, "The Prologue of the Old-English *Guthlac A*," *Mediaeval Studies* 23 (1961): 294-304 (295).
[132] Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 31.
[133] J. Hill, "The Soldier of Christ," 68.
[134] Smith, *Land and Book*, 192.
[135] For a discussion of "warfare between saints and demons" in Felix, see Thomas D. Hill, "Drawing the Demon's Sting: A Note on a Traditional Motif in Felix's 'Vita Sancti Guthlaci'," *N&Q* n.s. 23 (1976): 388-390. T. Hill

of East Anglia.[136] In the *Vita*, Felix recounts the life of Guthlac (*c*. 674-714), a Mercian warrior[137] turned hermit. Felix's *Vita* is loosely derived from Evagrius' Life of Saint Anthony.[138] Finding that these demons operate at an allegorical or psychological level, Kurtz describes how they reflect the "principal faults against which the monk had to struggle."[139] According to Woolf, Anglo-Saxon authors engaging with the Guthlac tradition appear less interested "in the psychological struggles of ascetic life, and therefore presented the devil as an external persecutor, not as an internal tempter."[140] The *Guthlac A* poet demonstrates a marked interest in the physicality of Guthlac's battle with the demons as well as their infringement upon his sacred territory. Anglo-Saxon Christian charms such as the "Field Remedy," which perform a purgative function similar to Rogationtide perambulations, were aimed at cleansing land which was thought to be possessed by demons. According to Jolly, "the ritual allowed the participants to connect with [the] spiritual realm through the material reality" of the land and "the potency of the mysteriously spoken words."[141] I will argue that Guthlac's highly ritualized verbal performance resembles a charm in that his utterances allow him to connect his geographic surroundings with the spiritual realm and obtain bodily protection through his rehearsal of the doctrine of replacement.

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focuses on what makes the demons powerless against Guthlac. He notes "Origen's exegetical writing, in which he makes the surprising claim that a holy man who resists demons not merely defends his own soul, but at the same time limits or even utterly defeats the power of the demon who tempted him" (389).

[136] Alaric Hall, "Constructing Anglo-Saxon Sanctity: Tradition, Innovation and Saint Guthlac," in *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Higgs Strickland, Visualising the Middle Ages 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 207-235 (208).

[137] On Guthlac's earlier career as a warrior and how this is synthesized into his career as a saint, see John Edward Damon, *Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors: Warfare and Sanctity in the Literature of Early England* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2004); Damon argues that "Anglo-Saxons synthesized radically different approaches to the relationship between warfare and the sacred: in one model warfare and holiness represented separate and inimical fields of action while, in the other, war became a concrete manifestation of the spiritual struggle" (60).

[138] Benjamin Kurtz traces the parallels between Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* and the Latin *Antonius* of Evagrius, bishop of Antioch. See Benjamin P. Kurtz, "From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac: A Study in Biography," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 12 (1926): 103-146.

[139] Ibid., 109.

[140] Woolf, "Saints' Lives," 55.

[141] See Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 23ff.

Prose accounts of Guthlac reveal similar interest in the defeat of demons through perlocution. An early eleventh-century translation of Felix found in MS Cotton Vespasian D xxi recounts how Guthlac verbally outmaneuvers 'Welsh' (*bryttisc*) speaking demons.[142] An excerpt of the prose life was copied into the Vercelli Book and appears as the last homily (XXIII) in the collection.[143] In Vercelli XXIII, the demons 'slide' (*slidan*) out of the sky towards Guthlac:

> hie hine læddon in þam andrysenlicum fiðerum betuh ða caldan facu þære lyfte. Þa he ða wæs on þære heannesse þære lyfte up gelæded, þa geseah he ealne norðdæl heofones swylce he wære þam sweartestum wolcnum afylled swiðra genipa.[144]

(they carried him on terrible wings among the cold divisions of the air. When he was then carried up into the highness of the air, then he saw all the north part of heaven as if it were filled with the darkest clouds of immense darkness.)

Guthlac sees the 'northern part of heaven' (*norðdæl heofones*), the traditional site of the rival kingdom of the rebel angels. Guthlac, accordingly, rebukes the demons' temptations by identifying this geographical site which cradled the angelic rebellion:

> 'Us is miht seald þe to scufanne on ðas witu þysse neowolnesse, 7 her is þæt fyr þæt ðu sylfa in þe bærndest, 7 for þinum synnum helle duru ongen þe openað.'[145]

('To us is given the power to thrust you into the torments of this abyss, and here is the fire that you yourself kindled within you, and for your sins the hell-doors will open toward you.')

Here, the fires of hell are figured as part of the internal make-up of the bodies of demons, and Guthlac's words suggest that humankind possesses the capacity 'to thrust' (*to scufanne*) demons back into that hellfire.[146]

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[142] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), no. 5. This was edited by Paul Alfred Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac*, Anglistische Forschungen 27 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1909) who presents the two prose texts (the other one found in the Vercelli Book) side by side to demonstrate their derivation from a common source. In the prose *Guthlac*, the demons famously speak 'Welsh': *þa gehyrde he mycel werod þara awyrgedra gasta on bryttisc sprecende* (6.8); this derives from Felix, who says that the demons, *verba loquentis vulgi Brittanicaque* (34.110).
[143] Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, no. 29.
[144] *The Vercelli Homilies*, 390.115-118.
[145] Ibid., 391.132-134.

The branch of the Guthlac legend I wish to turn to can be found in the Exeter Book,[147] which contains the poems known as *Guthlac A* and *B*. *Guthlac A* mainly comprises the saint's temptation, whereas *Guthlac B* offers an account of his death. The *Guthlac A* poet does, of course, riff on several themes stemming from Felix and the Evagrian tradition. Of particular importance to the poet are the 'former seats' (*sedibus*) of the fallen angels, which Evagrius describes as having been forfeited through 'their [the demons'] own choice' (*ex proprio mentis arbitrio*). *Guthlac A*'s opening prologue discusses heaven (ll. 1-29), earth (ll. 30-59), mankind (ll. 60-80), and the life of the ascetic (ll. 81-92). The poem begins with a meeting between an angel and a soul (l. 2a) and discusses "five prominent virtues" as identified by Bjork: angels, souls, light, homelands, and obedience.[148] We learn that Guthlac is imbued with the gift of 'angelic grace' (*engelcunde* [l. 101a]) and that God has sent a 'guardian' (*weard* [l. 105b]) to protect him. God reveals a home to Guthlac, a *beorg*, which is described as a space awaiting a proper resident. We also learn that Guthlac is 'mindful of the home in heaven' (*upp gemunde ham in heofonum* [l. 97b-98a]). Soon after his arrival at the *beorg*, Guthlac is beset by 'old fiends' (*ealdfeondas*), who the poet describes as 'slander-smiths' (*teonsmiðas* [l. 205a]).

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[146] Jane Roberts, "The Old English Prose Translation of Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci*," in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 363-379 (374). The Guthlac Homily follows *Elene* in the Vercelli Book and forms a "homogenous block or 'booklet'" according to Éamonn Ó Carragáin, "How did the Vercelli Collector Interpret *The Dream of the Rood*?" in *Studies in English Language and Early Literature in Honour of Paul Christophersen*, ed. P. M. Tilling, Occasional Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching 8 (Colerain: The University of Ulster, 1981), 63-104 (75-78).

[147] Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe: ACMRS, 2001), no. 257; and N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, no. 116; both date the Exeter Book to the second half of the tenth century. Roberts suggests an earlier dating (*Guthlac Poems*, 48-63; 70), which is supported by R. D. Fulk, *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 400. Conner proposes a date closer to *c*. 960-970; see Patrick W. Conner, "Source Studies, the Old English *Guthlac A* and the English Benedictine Reformation," *Revue Bénédictine* 103 (1993): 380-413 (409-410).

[148] Bjork, *Old English Verse Saints' Lives*, 32.

The assault on Guthlac, his homeland, and his claim to sanctity are central to the poem.[149] The theme of Guthlac's homeland (both earthly and heavenly) is an issue which numerous scholars have addressed. Smith calls attention to the ways in which the land becomes a metaphor for salvation and inheritance in the heavenly kingdom.[150] Smith observes that the fens serve as a vacation destination for the demons, who are described as having 'no rest for their limbs' (ll. 221-222).[151] In this same vein, Johnson notes that Guthlac's rightful possession of the land signals "the heavenly homeland towards which Guthlac is proceeding."[152] Patrick W. Conner also suggests that Guthlac's *beorg* "signifies the fundamental trope of Christianity, the heavenly *burh*, the eternal Jerusalem."[153] The assaults of the demons threaten the very geography of the land Guthlac attempts to sanctify for God.

The demons also assault Guthlac's body and spirit. By calling him 'proud' (*oferhygdu*) they try to reveal Guthlac's own capacity for sinfulness. Instead of showing Guthlac the site of their northern throne (as in Vercelli XXIII), these demons reveal a very local and domestic site of rebellion for Guthlac by showing him the prideful corruption to be found in English religious houses.[154] In a scene which resembles Christ's Temptation from *Christ and Satan*, wherein Satan

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[149] For studies on the *beorg*, see Manish Sharma, "A Reconsideration of the Structure of *Guthlac A*: The Extremes of Saintliness," *JEGP* (2002): 185-200. Sharma argues that the poem is about seeking the threshold of heaven by considering the technical-legal dimension of *edergong* 'thresholds'; Stephanie Clark, "A More Permanent Homeland: Land Tenure in *Guthlac A*," *ASE* 40 (2012): 75-102; Laurence K. Shook, "The Burial Mound in *Guthlac A*," *MP* 58 (1960), 1-10; Karl P. Wentersdorf, "*Guthlac A*: The Battle for the *Beorg*," *Neophil* 62 (1978), 135-142; Alfred K. Siewers, "Landscapes of Conversion: Guthlac's Mound and Grendel's Mere as Expressions of Anglo-Saxon Nation-Building," *Viator* 34 (2003): 1-39; for more studies on the East Anglian setting of *Guthlac*, see Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Guthlac's Crossing," *Quaestio* 2 (2001): 1-26.

[150] Smith, *Land and Book*, 198ff.

[151] On the "respite of the damned" motif, see Clark who writes "That God *does* grant the otherwise-damned a place outside of hell as a temporary relief from torments can be documented in other texts" ("A More Permanent Homeland," 86).

[152] David F. Johnson, "Spiritual Combat and the Land of Canaan in *Guthlac A*," in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck (Tempe and Turnhout: ACMRS with Brepols, 2009), 307-318. Johnson considers why Guthlac's demonic opponents desire this particular piece of land, and in what sense it was ever theirs (307).

[153] Conner, "Source Studies," 403.

[154] In "The Middle Way: *idel-wuldor* and *egesa* in the Old English *Guthlac A*," *RES* n.s. 30 (1979): 182-187, Thomas D. Hill argues that Guthlac is tempted to *idel wuldor* meaning "to exult in his own austere virtue, and to

bears Christ aloft and tempts him with land, these demons similarly lift up Guthlac to show him a rebellious minster.[155]

> Hy hine þa hofun on þa hean lyft,
> sealdon him meahte ofer monna cynn
> þæt he fore eagum eall sceawode
> under haligra hyrda gewealdum
> in mynsterum monna gebæru
> þara þe hyra lifes þurh lust brucan
> idlum æhtum 7 oferwlencum,
> gierelum gieplicum: swa bið geoguðe þeaw
> þær þæs ealdres egsa ne styreð. (*Guthlac A*, ll. 412-422)

(Then they lifted him high in the air, and gave him might over all of mankind so that before his eyes he beheld all the actions of men in the minster under the rule of holy pastors, those who enjoyed their lives according to lusts and idle possessions and pride, and ostentatious clothing: just as in the customs of inexperienced youth when fear of the Lord is not a guide.)

The *Guthlac A* poet modifies the destination of the demons in Vercelli XXIII so that the demons reveal a more contemporary and domestic site of rebellion to Guthlac. Here, the demons want Guthlac to 'behold' (*sceawode*) the 'idle possessions and pride' (*idlum æhtum 7 oferwlencum*) of 'men in the minster' (*in mynsterum monna*) so that he may visualize his own capacity for laxity. This scene has occasioned much debate.[156] Patrick Conner finds there to be no close analogue for this scene in any of the Guthlac materials that have come down to us. Noting the similarities between this episode and the preface to the *Rule of Saint Benedict*, Conner argues that Guthlac's

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judge others" through his 'vain glory' (184). On the issue of Guthlac's temptations, see Charles D. Wright, "The Three Temptations and the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit in *Guthlac A*, 160b-169," *Traditio* 38 (1982): 341-343, who notes that Guthlac's temptations (ll. 160b-169) derive from 1 John 1:16 (341). Wright notes that "The juxtaposition of these biblical motifs, furthermore, creates a parallel with the life of Christ, for the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and the three temptations were traditionally associated with His baptism and temptation in the wilderness" (342-343). See also Clark, "A More Permanent Homeland," who argues that "Just as in the initial land-dispute, in both of these cases the devils tempt Guthlac to become, in some sense, like themselves" (92).

[155] See my discussion of Christ's Temptation in the wilderness in Chapter Five (255-259).

[156] This has been primarily carried out by Conner, who argues that the poem can be read as a kind of manual for the training of the monastic soul ("Source Studies," 386). See also Thomas D. Hill, "The Age of Man and the World in the Old English *Guthlac A*," *JEGP* 80 (1981): 13-21; here, Hill discusses an anonymous Irish text from 630-650 in relation to this (*De duodecim abusiuis saeculi*) which emphasizes the importance of leaders within monastic settings in relation to the young monks whose sins arise 'where the fear of an elder does not rule' (17).

vision suggests that the poem may have had a place within the Benedictine Reform period since the reform was especially concerned with the "problem of forming young monks."[157]

While the Benedictine Reformers were certainly interested in reforming corrupt religious houses such as the minster Guthlac witnesses, what is more compelling is the connection the poet may be attempting to draw between the reformist interest in associating religious men who have fallen astray and given in to 'idle possessions and pride' (*idlum æhtum 7 oferwlencum*) with rebel angels.[158] In showing Guthlac the lax monks, the demons try to lure Guthlac into an association with a community of "rebels." It seems possible that the demons want Guthlac to make this metaphorical connection between sinful men and condemn them as rebels, yet Guthlac actively resists seeing the men living by lax rules' (*rume regulas* [l. 489]) as evil. As Stephanie Clark notes, "the monks are not in active rebellion against God, and they do have a hope of salvation … [there is] hope that these same young men will achieve sanctity as they grow in the wisdom of age."[159] If the poem did have a place within the Benedictine milieu it nevertheless demonstrates a clear resistance to the narrative of "rebel clerics."

Building on Conner's work, Christopher A. Jones considers how the poet represents Guthlac's vocation.[160] Jones asks why the life of a solitary hermit might appeal to later Anglo-Saxon readers during an era when communal lifestyles (the *vita communis*, or *cenobium*) were becoming increasingly popular.[161] He contends that the poet's concern with vainglory and other common monastic sins suggests that "the monastic spirituality of *Guthlac A* belongs more

[157] Conner, "Source Studies," 407.
[158] This is a connection I discuss in Chapter One (34-40).
[159] Clark, "A More Permanent Homeland," 101.
[160] Christopher A. Jones, "Envisioning the *cenobium* in *Guthlac A*," *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995): 259-291 (260).
[161] Ibid., 263. Jones, agreeing with Conner about the date and milieu of the poem, provides links between "the poem's themes and the reforming ideals of those responsible for its being copied *ca*. 970 for inclusion in the Exeter Book" (264).

properly to the *cenobium* than to the hermitage."[162] In this way, he argues, the *beorg* becomes a nexus for ideas of *cenobium* and heavenly community. The poet's choice of words to describe Guthlac's sacred land supports this assertion. Guthlac's home is set upon a 'foundation' (*getimbru* [l. 18; 584]), a term typically reserved for heavenly foundations. The poet also employs common imagery used to describe the heavenly thrones and territories which await human occupants at the Last Judgment. The *beorg* is thus a 'homeland' (*eðel* [l. 67; 656; 801])[163] and a 'seat' (*setl* [l. 244; 278; 383; 785]). There is a typological resonance between Guthlac's *eorðlic eþel* (l. 261) and the 'seat in heaven' (*setl on swegle* [l. 785a]) that Guthlac will eventually inherit. In this way, the terminology used to describe Guthlac's home bridges earthly and divine categories which will be reinforced by his oral performance and his knowledge of the arc of rebel angelology.

Guthlac maintains that he needs no material weapons in his fight against the demons (ll. 302-304). In her discussion of the *miles Christi*, Hill notes that for saints like Guthlac, "the weapons to be used are the arms of obedience."[164] When Guthlac begins his apotropaic narration, he imagines himself as angelic:

> 'Þæt is in gewealdum wuldorcyninges
> se eow gehynde 7 in hæft bidraf
> under nearone clom, nergende Crist.
> Eom ic eaðmod, his ombiehthera,
> þeow geþyldig. Ic geþafian sceal
> æghwær ealles his anne dom
> 7 him geornlice gæst gemyndum
> wille wideferh wesan underþyded,
> hyran holdlice minum hælende

[162] Ibid., 264.
[163] Clark notes that "*eþel* connotes the emotional idea of home, family, security, belonging, and an amorphous set of rights to protection and sustenance" ("A More Permanent Homeland," 83 n. 34). A. Hall also notes that *Guthlac A* is about a "divinely directed programme for extending Christian territory into a region which is 'eþelriehte feor' (far from the law of hereditary land)" and considers Scandinavian and specifically Icelandic parallels about driving monsters from the land in support of his case ("Constructing Anglo-Saxon Sanctity," 216ff).
[164] J. Hill, "The Soldier of Christ," 59; for more on monasticism and the idea of the *Miles Christi* see Chapter One (60-62).

þeawum 7 geþyncðum 7 him þoncian
ealra þara giefena þe God gescop
englum ærest 7 eorðwarum,
7 ic bletsige bliðe mode
lifes leohtfrum 7 him lof singe
þurh gedefne dom dæges 7 nihtes,
herge in heortan heofonrices weard.
Þæt eow æfre ne bið ufan alyfed
leohtes lissum þæt ge lof moten
dryhtne secgan ac ge deaðe sceolon
weallendne wean wope besingan,
heaf in helle, nales herenisse
halge habban heofoncyninges.' (*Guthlac A*, ll. 596-617)

('That is under the control of the king of heaven, the savior Christ, who condemned you and drove you into captivity under a narrow fetter. I am his humble and dutiful servant, his obedient one. I shall submit to each of his own judgments and eagerly will be subservient in my inmost thought, and loyally obey my Lord in custom and appearance and thank him for all the gifts which God created first in angels and earth-dwellers, and I will bless him happy in heart, the author of light and praise him lovingly through fitting glory day and night, and acclaim in my heart the ruler of the heavenly kingdom. Never from above will you be given the grace of light that you might speak praise of the Lord but you shall sing weeping in the surging torment, you will have mourning in hell, not at all will you have praise for the holy king of heaven.')

In denouncing the demons, Guthlac constructs his own identity against their own. He suggests that they were once disloyal, but he remains Christ's 'obedient one' (*ombiehthera*). Whereas the fallen angels rejected the gifts of God, Guthlac describes how he is mindful to 'thank him for all the gifts' (*him þoncian ealra þara giefena*). Like the 'singing devil' Andrew banishes, Guthlac reminds these demons that throughout eternity they will 'sing weeping' (*wope besingan*) in hell. Guthlac then begins to directly relate the story of their downfall:

'Sindon ge wærlogan: swa ge in wræcsiðe
longe lifdon, lege biscencte,
swearte beswicene, swegle benumene,
dreame bidrorene, deaðe bifolene,
firenum bifongne, feores orwenan,
þæt ge blindnesse bote fundon.
Ge þa fægran gesceaft in fyrndagum,
gæstlicne goddream, gearo forsegon,
þa ge wiðhogdum halgum dryhtne.
Ne mostun ge a wunian in wyndagum

ac mid scome scyldum scofene wurdon
fore oferhygdum in ece fýr
ðær ge sceolon dreagan deað 7 þystro,
wóp to widan ealdre – næfre ge þæs wyrpe gebidað – ' (*Guthlac A*, ll. 623-636)

('You are oath-breakers: just as you have lived long in exile, sunk in the fire, miserably deceived, removed from happiness, deprived of joys, consigned to death, surrounded by sins, without hope of life, that you would find a remedy for blindness. In former days you renounced fair creation, and spiritual godly joys, when you formerly scorned and set yourself against the holy Lord. Now you must not dwell in days of gladness but in shame because you were guiltily shoved into eternal fire because of your pride where you must suffer death and darkness, weep into wide eternity – never will you experience relief – ')

Here, Guthlac catalogues the punishments of the 'oath-breakers' (*wærlogan*) with a great deal of alliterative and rhythmical flourish.[165] They are *biscencte* ('sunk'), *beswicene* ('deceived'), *benumene* ('removed'), *bidrorene* ('deprived'), *bifolene* ('consigned'), and *bifongne* ('surrounded') by sins without hope of finding a *bote* ('remedy'). Smith, in his provocative study, argues that "the saint's own entitlement is achieved through [the fallen angels'] deprivation" of land and title.[166] Just as Edgar revoked the landed privileges of the secular clerics during the Benedictine Reform, Smith proposes that the demons in the poem serve as a parallel to any sovereign's "dual power to entitle or deprive" land (a concept I would link with the sovereign exception) just as "God punishes the rebel angels by casting them out of their seats in heaven."[167] Guthlac's charm-like iteration of the demons' dispossession seals and protects both the borders of the *beorg* itself and Guthlac's status as an inheritor of the demon's forfeiture in the heavenly 'homeland' (*eðel*):

'ðær eow næfre fore nergende
leohtes leoma ne lifes hyht
in Godes rice agiefen weorþeð
for þam oferhygdum þe eow in mod astag
þurh idel gylp ealles to swiðe.
Wendum ge 7 woldum wiðerhycgende

[165] For an assessment of the complex line-rhyme at work in this passage, see Smith, *Land and Book*, 204.
[166] Ibid., 192.
[167] Ibid., 194.

þæt ge scyppende sceoldan gelice
wesan in wuldre. Eow þær wyrs gelomp[168]
ða eow se waldend wraðe bisencte
in þæt swearte susl þær eow siððan wæs
ád inæled attre geblonden
þurh deopne dom, dream afyrred
engla gemana. Swa nu awa sceal
wesan wideferh þæt ge wærnysse
brynewylm hæbben, nales bletsunga;
ne þurfun ge wenan wuldre biscyrede
þæt ge mec sunfulle mid searocræftum
under scæd sconde scufan motan
ne in bælblæsan bregdon on hinder,
in helle hus, þær eow is hám sceapen,
sweart sinnehte, sacu butan ende,
grim gæstcwalu, þær ge gnornende
deað sceolon dreogan 7 ic dreama wyn
agan mid englum in þam uplican
rodera rice þær is ryht cyning,
help 7 hælu hæleþa cynne,
duguð 7 drohtað.'[169] (*Guthlac A* ll. 658-684a)

('there before the savior you will never experience the radiance of light nor of grace of life in God's kingdom be granted to you because of your pride which you in mind often raised through idle speech. You rebel-mindedly thought and desired that you would be like the creator in glory. It turned out worse for you when the ruler wrathfully plunged you into that dark torment where a pyre was formerly prepared for you mingled with venom through the deep judgment, expelled from the joy and the companionship of angels. Now and always it will be so that you have the burning flood of damnation, not at all blessings; you need not imagine, deprived of glory, that your sinful selves might through skillful cunning shove me guiltily under the shade nor into the blazing fire hither into the hell house, where your home is made for you, dark unending night, pain without end, grim death of the soul, where you mournfully must suffer death and I will possess joys of bliss among the angels in the kingdom of heaven above where the true king is, help and healing, the salvation of mankind, company and fellowship.')

Guthlac creates a clear contrast between the 'idle speech' (*idel gylp*) of the demons, who 'rebel-mindedly' (*wiðerhycgende*) desired a god-like status, and his own efficacious protective rhetoric. He notes how Christ once 'in shame guiltily shoved' (*scome scyldum scofene*) the demons into darkness, and maintains that they cannot 'shove me shamefully under the shade' (*under scæd*

[168] This phrase appears to be a variation on the common formula 'but it turned out worse' (*Ac hit him wyrse gelomp*) in *Christ and Satan* (l. 24b; l. 174, l. 246) and 'but he turned it into a worse thing for himself' (*Ac he awende hit him to wyrsan þinge*) in *Genesis B* (l. 259a).
[169] Lines 667-684a each feature double-alliteration.

sconde scufan). Whereas the demons desired to be 'like' (*gelice*) God, in gesturing towards his eventual status as their heavenly replacement, Guthlac articulates his desire to be 'among the angels' (*mid englum*). Guthlac's speech legitimizes and affirms his saintly status. Arthur Groos[170] observes that the *Guthlac A* poet is concerned with typologically linking the beginning and end of salvation history:[171]

> … the poem thus establishes a typological connection between the beginning of salvation history and the end of Guthlac's life, evoking the primal crisis of Lucifer's presumed superiority over the first man, and reminding us of the fateful course of events that have made it necessary for men to re-establish their equality with the remaining older angels, those faithful guardians whose depleted ranks saints such as Guthlac are now destined to fill.[172]

The devils are ultimately driven away from the land they had hoped to possess, and Clark has convincingly argued that the *beorg* dispute replicates the devils' loss of their heavenly seats.[173] In this way, Guthlac's rehearsal of the fall of the angels and the doctrine of replacement secures and protects both his earthly and heavenly 'seat' (*setl*). According to Hall, Guthlac becomes "a paradigm for reaching heaven, and implicitly a psychopomp able to extend the chain reaction of salvation to *Guthlac A*'s listeners."[174] Unlike the other saints I have examined in this chapter, who dipped deep into the past and used the narrative of the angelic rebellion as a protective charm against their demons, Guthlac's charm is an expression of his future destination among the 'company and fellowship' (*duguð 7 drohtað*) of angels.

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[170] Arthur Groos, "The 'Elder' Angel in *Guthlac A*," *Anglia* 101 (1983): 141-146 (142); Groos notes that "The Bible does not specify the moment of angelic creation, but early exegetes infer it either from the creation of heaven (i.e. angels) and earth in Genesis 1.1 or from the creation of light (i.e. angels) in Genesis 1.3" (142).
[171] Ibid., 143. Groos and others connect the significance of Guthlac as *tidfara*; Conner connects this idea to "Smaragdus's expectation that the perfected soul must travel the axes of creation around which time itself was thought to revolve … Thus, he is of necessity a traveler through time and tides by moving from the physical dimension to the spiritual dimension" ("Source Studies," 401).
[172] Groos, "The 'Elder'," 146.
[173] Clark, "A More Permanent Homeland," 76.
[174] A. Hall, "Constructing Anglo-Saxon Sanctity," 207. He notes that although Felix makes the demons more corporeal he "nonetheless makes them an accidental outcome of Guthlac's search for a hermitage in the wilderness" ("Constructing Anglo-Saxon Sanctity," 223).

3.5 The Fall of the Angels in the Context of Christian Charms

It would appear that Anglo-Saxon authors understood the fall of the angels as having a variety of narrative applications beyond simply its capacity to inspire Christian obedience. In the saints' lives I have examined here, the process of articulating the fall of the angels becomes a kind of oral performance which inspires martyrdom, conversion, and the edification of the Christian self while affording the speaker protection against evil spirits. The prevalence of this motif within these saints' lives is suggestive of the popularity of the fall of the angels as a kind of speech act in Anglo-Saxon texts.

If we can view the fall of the angels within the context of *galdra* ('charms') infused with both apotropaic and religious significance, we can see how a popular literary tradition might cross the boundary between formal religion, doctrine, and the liturgy to intersect with folklore and belief.[175] Significantly, Jolly notes that *galdra* in Anglo-Saxon England were often associated "with demonic or evil practices."[176] There was even a sense that charms were originally evil spells that came from the devil.[177] She writes that religious leaders, "both clerical and secular, clearly condemned *galdra*, but not because of their inconsistency with scientific laws – a modern objection – but because of their unnatural, hence evil, use of God's creation."[178] If the hagiographical texts I have examined existed within a milieu where this mindset persisted, what we see are saints reappropriating the devil's monopoly upon utterances and spells via the narrative of the angelic rebellion and mankind's salvation, firmly situating spells within the context of God's creative acts.

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[175] Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 96ff.
[176] Ibid., 101.
[177] Ibid., 75. Jolly notes that Ælfric seems to have approved of "the use of the sign of the cross and Christian prayers in order to" banish demons (*Popular Religion*, 88-89); see also Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 240 (n. 103).
[178] Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 102.

Jolly considers the fluid boundaries between charms, magic, and Christian miracle which she defines as the use of rituals and relics. For Augustine, she writes, "the possibility of miracles was inherent in nature. A miracle was in this view a drawing out of the virtues hidden by God within a cosmos that was potentially miraculous."[179] Such a view can illuminate our understanding of what the saints in these stories accomplish through their words and deeds which "[present] miracles as the shining example of Christian truth."[180] Conversely, Jolly defines "magic" as the use of charms in association with pagan words, but argues that if charms are meant to be corrective or remedy-driven then the charm is "pulled away from the magic end of the spectrum towards the miracle end."[181] The middle ground Jolly describes is the borderline where charms converge with Christian words and rituals.[182] This, I would argue, is the liminal category in which these verse saints' lives operate. The fall of the angels narrative, in acquiring a perlocutionary force through the mouths of holy men and women, exists somewhere in between charm and Christian miracle. It is both a talismanic weapon against demons and representative of a miracle, a moment in which the archetypal sovereign exception momentarily reverberates within earthly time.[183]

Conclusion

The saints' lives I have examined in this chapter suggest that the story angelic of the rebellion was thought of as a kind of cohesive utterance in Anglo-Saxon England. The narrative was, moreover, seen as a sufficient tool for combating spiritual enemies when one possessed neither material objects nor miraculous signs at one's disposal. The fall of the angels thus becomes a

[179] Ibid., 82.
[180] Ibid.
[181] Ibid., 102.
[182] Ibid., 89.
[183] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 36; Kahn, *Political Theology*, 109.

kind of stand-in for the miraculous. In these saints' lives, the fall of the angels is not strictly a cosmological event, but infringes upon the earthly narrative in liturgical, hagiographical, and spiritual planes. As saints' lives are meant to demonstrate ideals of Christian behavior, these poems offer an arresting glimpse into how Christians might be encouraged to consider their own sanctity and knowledge of origins. That the fall of the angels narrative is used as a protective utterance in each of the extant vernacular verse saints' lives suggests that there was perhaps a wider tradition of seeing the fall of the angels narrative as verbal ritual, a powerful and performative manifesto of Anglo-Saxon Christian belief.

CHAPTER 4

INGLORIOUS REVOLUTION:

THE DIVINE "EXCEPTION" IN *GENESIS A* AND *B*

The Junius Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11) is one of the four major Anglo-Saxon poetic codices, and the only one with illustrations.[1] Once known as the "Cædmon Manuscript," Junius 11 contains a diverse collection of Old English poems known as *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, and *Christ and Satan*. The poems recount major biblical events beginning with God's creation of heaven and earth, the story of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah and the flood, Abraham and the sacrifice of Isaac, Moses and the Red Sea, and the Babylonian Captivity, ending with several episodes from the New Testament including Christ's Temptation in the wilderness. Three of the five poems in Junius 11 – *Genesis A*, *Genesis B*, and *Christ and Satan* – contain extended narratives devoted to the story of the fall of the rebel angels. These narratives represent the most comprehensive and dynamic treatments of the angelic rebellion in the Old English corpus.

For Anglo-Saxon authors, the story of the fall of the angels anticipates the fall of Adam and Eve and determines humanity's place within salvation history. Owing to this connection, this chapter considers how both the *Genesis A* and *Genesis B* poets represent the angelic rebellion as

[1] The first edition of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 was completed by its first owner, the Dutch scholar Franciscus Junius (1591-1677). His edition, *Caedmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesios ac praecipuarum sacrae pagina historiarum* (Amsterdam: 1655; reprint, ed. Peter J. Lucas (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000). A subsequent edition was completed by Sir Israel Gollancz titled, *The Cædmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodleian Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927). Following Gollancz's edition, the manuscript ceased to be associated with the figure "Cædmon" and was affixed with the name "Junius" after its first owner and editor. The manuscript is edited in its entirety in *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. George Philip Krapp, ASPR I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931). For studies on the illustrations and iconography of Junius 11, see Thomas Ohlgren, "The Illustrations of the Cædmonian Genesis: Literary Criticism Through Art," *Mediaevalia et Humanistica* n.s. 3 (1972): 199-212; Catherine E. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius Manuscript*, CSASE 31 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Two illuminations – page 3and page 16 – contain images which specifically capture the fall of the rebel angels (in Karkov, Plates IIb and VIII). A digitized version of the manuscript can be viewed in color online at the Bodleian Library's website, http://image.ox.ac.uk.

the first state of emergency that threatens the integrity of creation. These poets frame their narratives of the angelic rebellion and earthly creation in a manner that highlights the "exceptional" origin of the Anglo-Saxon theological and political order. The "exception," which "is not codified in the existing legal order," can be characterized as a "political decision" in "a case of extreme peril, a danger to the existence of the state, or the like."[2] For the Anglo-Saxons, God's decision to expel the rebel angels and to create humanity informed a converted Christian nation's understanding of their own legal order and their crucial role in the heavenly kingdom's ultimate return to peace and perfection.

In what follows, I argue that *Genesis A* and *B* are concerned with the operations of sovereignty (or, lordship)[3] and the rationales for (and origins of) legal prohibitions and sanctions. Comparison with early Irish accounts of the fall of the rebel angels reveals how the legal orders of early medieval Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England generated very distinct and culturally specific versions of the tradition. Yet even the two conflated Genesis poems in the Junius Manuscript frame the legal implications of the fall of the angels differently. *Genesis A* dramatizes Anglo-Saxon legal practices of compensation in its depiction of the doctrine of replacement, the Augustinian and Gregorian tradition stating that faithful Christians will repopulate the heavenly thrones and territories forfeited by the rebellious order of angels, while *Genesis B* demonstrates the dangers of structuring Christian subjectivity without reference to rules.[4] By exploring how the themes of lordship and rebellion find their expression in these

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[2] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 6.

[3] For an account of lordship in early medieval Europe, particularly where "power was defined by its breach," see Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, 43. Bisson notes that "power" in all its medieval forms "drew on a cluster of familiar ideas, a field of moral discourses derived from the biblical-patristic inheritance" (*The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, 10). For kingship in Anglo-Saxon England and, in particular, tenth-century kingship as 'theocracy' and 'pastoral kingship,' see Stafford (*Unification and Conquest*, 137-138).

[4] For studies on Anglo-Saxon subjectivity and conceptions of the self, see the collection *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 2000) and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience*.

poems, I will suggest that the originary revolution in heaven, while it speaks to the distinctive taste for dramatic reversals of fortune in the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination, also has broader implications for our understanding of how extra-biblical excursus shaped and was shaped by socio-political structures in the early medieval world. My analysis illuminates how the origin myth of the fall of the angels had direct consequences for the Anglo-Saxon historical narrative, as the emergency out of which their own story as a Christian nation emerges.

Introduction

Insular narratives devoted to the extra-biblical story of the fall of the angels afford a way to gauge how Irish and Anglo-Saxon authors refashioned an inherited tradition to accommodate contemporary legal discourses in very distinct and culturally specific ways. A variety of liturgical, exegetical, and even versified angelic fall narratives might have been accessible to the *Genesis A* and *B* poets.[5] Aspects of the *Genesis A* poet's portrayal of creation have been traced back to hexameral commentaries,[6] or interpretive accounts of the creation of the world organized into six-day schemes. According to Michael J. Allen and Daniel Calder, the conceivable hexameral influences on *Genesis A* include the writings of Ambrose, Basil of Caesarea, Isidore

[5] For a useful study concerning the *Vetus Latina* or Old Latin-Vulgate bible as an influential source for *Genesis A*, see Paul G. Remley, "The Latin Textual Basis of *Genesis A*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 17 (1988): 163-189. While Remley's study greatly informs our understanding of the Latin scriptural tradition and some of the noncanonical details found in *Genesis A*, it cannot necessarily improve our understanding of the fall of the angels sequence since it is extra-scriptural. See also Remley's monograph, *Old English Biblical Verse: Studies in Genesis, Exodus and Daniel*, CSASE 16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). For more on the source tradition of Genesis see J. M. Evans, *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

[6] Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram* was important for hexameral interpretation; see Robbins, *Hexaemeral Literature*, and Bernard F. Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry*, 132-134. See also Allen and Calder, *Sources and Analogues*. For more on the hexameral traditions possibly used by the poet, see Johnson, "The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A*," 500-521 and Johnson's dissertation, "Studies in the Literary Career of the Fallen Angels." In the former, Johnson suggests that the events narrated in *Genesis A* perhaps most closely resemble the "Origenist tradition" but cautions that there is no reason to believe the works of Origen may have been in Anglo-Saxon England. His alternative suggestion is that the poet "may have devised it himself" and Johnson cites the "New Minster Charter" (*c*. 966) and "Peniarth Diploma" (*c*. 987) suggesting that these documents contain similar accounts of creation ("The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A*," 512).

of Seville, Bede, Alcuin, and Rabanus Maurus.[7] Despite some similarities with these sources, they rightly caution that "while the *Genesis A* poet may well have been aware of and even utilized materials from the hexameral tradition, there [are] neither formal nor material analogues for the poem as a whole."[8] *Genesis B* presents a similar set of challenges for critics interested in tracing the poet's sources. The works of Juvencus, Cyprianus Gallus, Caelius Sedulius, Arator, and Prudentius have all been put forward as likely influences for particular episodes in the poem.[9] Scholars frequently point to the *Poematum De Mosaicae Historiae Gestis Libri Quinque* ('Five Books of Poetry on the Events in Moses's History') by Avitus of Vienne as a plausible source. On the fall of Satan, Avitus writes:

> Angelus hic dudum fuerat, sed crimine postquam
> Succensus proprio, tumidos exarsit in ausus,
> Se semet fecisse putans, suus ipse Creator
> Quod fuerit, rabido concepit corde furorem,
> Auctoremque negans, 'Divinum consequar,' inquit,
> 'Nomen, et aeternam ponam super aethera sedem,
> Excelso similis, summis nec viribus impar.'
> Talia iactantem praecelsa potentia coelo
> Iecit, et eiectum prisco spoliavit honore. (*PL* 59 col. 331A-331B)

(The enemy was once an angel, but then he became inflamed with his own evil and burned to attempt arrogant deed. Thinking he had made himself and was his own creator, as it were, he went mad in his fierce heart, denied his creator and said, 'I will acquire God's name and build an eternal throne above the sky like the most high, with my vast power I shall be a match for him.' While he thus boasted, the supreme power hurled him from heaven, and as he fell stripped him of his former honor.)

While Avitus's poem parallels many of the basic elements surrounding the fall in *Genesis B*, it hardly accounts for the lengthy and vivid stylization of events in Junius 11. How and (perhaps more crucially) *why* did the *Genesis B* poet transform Avitus's nine lines recounting the fall of the angels into over two-hundred lines of Old English poetry? Further problematizing the poet's

[7] Allen and Calder, *Sources and Analogues*, 2.
[8] Ibid., 3.
[9] For a recent overview of *Genesis A*, see *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2012), 10-11.

sources are J. M. Evans and Rosemary Woolf, who have both observed that several conspicuous later episodes in *Genesis B* – the devil's subordinate and his angelic disguise,[10] the failed temptation of Adam,[11] his demand for a 'token' (*tacen*),[12] the tempter's encounter with Eve,[13] her unusual vision,[14] the final temptation,[15] and the poet's ostensible exoneration of the couple[16] – have no close antecedents.[17]

An immediate problem facing the Anglo-Saxon poets who paraphrased Genesis is that both the creation and fall of the angels are absent from the biblical narrative. A. N. Doane, the most recent editor of *Genesis A* and *B*, notes that the creation of the angels derives from a long tradition of "Jewish attempts to reconcile various Old Testament mentions of angels," observing that the most conventional "traditions tended to treat the Fall as part of the angelic creation itself."[18] A survey of scriptural commentaries available in the British Isles,[19] ranging from Bede

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[10] On the tempter's disguise, see Rosemary Woolf, "The Fall of Man in *Genesis B* and *The Mystère d'Adam*," in *Studies in Old English Literature in Honor of Arthur G. Brodeur*, ed. Stanley B. Greenfield (New York: Russell and Russell, 1973), 187-199 and Evans, "*Genesis B* and Its Background," 1-16; 113-123.

[11] On the tempter, see Eric Jager, "Tempter as Rhetoric Teacher: The Fall of Language in the Old English *Genesis B*," *Neophil* 72 (1988): 434-448; John Vickrey, "Adam, Eve, and the *tacen* in *Genesis B*," *PQ* 72 (1993): 1-14; John Vickrey, "On *Genesis* 623-5," *English Studies* 70 (1989): 97-106; John Vickrey, "Some Further Remarks on *selfsceaft*," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 110 (1981): 1-14;

[12] On the function of the *tacen*, see Ericksen, "Legalizing the Fall," 205-220.

[13] See Jager, "Tempter as Rhetoric Teacher," 442-443; On Eve's temptation, see Gillian R. Overing, "On Reading Eve: *Genesis B* and the Readers' Desire," in *Speaking Two Languages: Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 35-63; see also Andrew Cole, "Jewish Apocrypha and Christian Epistemologies of the Fall: The *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great and the Old Saxon Genesis," in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer, Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson (Paris: Peeters, 2001), 157-188 who suggests that Adam displays "the same self-willed turn from God that made Satan Satan" (182).

[14] On the sources of this vision, see Thomas D. Hill, "Pilate's Visionary Wife and the Innocence of Eve: An Old Saxon Source for the Old English Poem *Genesis B*," *JEGP* 101 (2002): 170-184; John Vickrey, "The Vision of Eve in *Genesis B*," *Speculum* 44 (1969): 86-102.

[15] Woolf maintains that there must be a lost apocryphal source for this sequence ("*Genesis B* and *The Mystere D'Adam*," 187-199); Evans, "*Genesis B* and Its Background," 4; Evans, "*Genesis B* and Its Background," 113-123.

[16] On this point, see Woolf, who argues the question of culpability boils down to whether or not the tempter's disguise is penetrable, making Eve either the object of pity or contempt ("*Genesis B* and *The Mystere D'Adam*," 187-199).

[17] Evans, "*Genesis B* and Its Background," 10-11.

[18] A. N. Doane, *Genesis A: New Edition* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 227; see Doane's newly released *Genesis A: A New Edition, Revised*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 435 (Tempe: ACMRS, 2013).

[19] See also Fox, "Ælfric on the Creation and Fall of the Angels," 175-200.

to Alcuin,[20] reveals major discrepancies among the varying explanations for this conspicuous absence. According to Evans, the fact that many medieval authors would have approached the narrative of angelic creation with uncertainty could perhaps account for the "problems and peculiarities of *Genesis B*."[21] He suggests that the poem may therefore owe more to esoteric and apocryphal writings such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* and *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, as well as to less widely circulated works such as Bede's Commentary on the Epistle of Jude 6.[22] Even so, our lack of definitive sources might suggest that we are looking at a uniquely Anglo-Saxon poetic treatment of the rebel angels in *Genesis A* and *B*.

In my previous chapters, I have argued that the narrative of the fall of the rebel angels was appropriated by Anglo-Saxon authors during two distinct upheavals in early English political history as an originary narrative with topical application. In Chapter One, I demonstrated how the Benedictine reformers deployed the narrative in royal charters to legitimate the expulsion of secular clergymen from English religious houses by categorizing them as "prideful," "rebellious," and "fallen" with respect to God and his church on earth. In Chapter Two, I proposed that Wulfstan of York's vernacular homilies align the sins of the English body politic with the depravities of the rebel angels during a period of brutal Viking invasions. These chapters have shown that the narrative had special significance in Anglo-Saxon England because it provided a model for emergent categories of authority and protocols for confronting and countermanding crises such as ecclesiastical corruption and external invasion.

In this chapter, I turn to the Old English poetic adaptations of the narrative in relation to popular Irish traditions. A comparative approach highlights the doctrinal and exegetical interests and, most importantly, the ideological preoccupations of early medieval authors. Whereas in the

[20] Evans, "*Genesis B* and Its Background," 1.
[21] Ibid., 4.
[22] Ibid., 6.

Irish tradition God clearly lays out rules within the heavenly polity and limits the authority of his angels, in *Genesis A* and *B* God invokes a "sovereign exception" in reaction to the "state of emergency" instigated by the rebellion of Lucifer, who had not been subject to any prior constraints. For Anglo-Saxon authors, as I will show, the first rebellion occurs before the expression of God's laws and, of equal importance, antedates God's intention to create humankind; the rebels' fall thereby necessitates the creation of a legal order and of beings who will henceforth be subject to it.

4.1 The Anxiety of Inheritance: Irish Accounts of the Fall of the Angels

Various apocryphal elaborations purported to supply the story of the fall of the rebel angels missing from the Bible; the most influential of these was the widely disseminated *Vita Adae et Evae* ('The Life of Adam and Eve').[23] In this account, Lucifer rebels after the creation of Adam, when God commands that all heavenly creation worship the new being made in his own image. Since he was created before Adam, Lucifer believes that he should therefore enjoy superior status and privileges. Two Middle Irish texts, the *Saltair na Rann*[24] ('The Psalter of the

[23] *Vita Latina Adae et Evae*, 1:304-14. Evidence for the knowledge of the *Vita Adae* in Anglo-Saxon England is circumstantial; see Frederick M. Biggs, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *SASLC: The Apocrypha*, Instrumenta Anglistica Medievalia 1 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), 3-4; the more concrete evidence for Ireland is summarized by Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975; reprint, 1984), 23-24; see also Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 130-133.

[24] For a partial edition and translation, see *The Irish Adam and Eve Story from Saltair na Rann*, ed. and trans. David Greene and Fergus Kelly, 2 vols. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976). Greene's unfinished typescript edition and translation of the entire poem are available online at the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies *Institiúid Ard-Léinn Bhaile Átha Cliath*: www.dias.ie/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=4742%Asaltair-na-rann%catid=27&Itemid=224&lang=en. An older complete edition (without translation) is Whitley Stokes, *Saltair na Rann: A Collection of Early Irish Poems*, Anecdota Oxoniensa, Mediaeval and Modern Series, vol. 1 (Oxford: 1883), which can be accessed online from *Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies:* http://dias.ie/images/stories/celitics/pubs/saltairnarann/canto001-010.pdf. On the dating of *Saltair na Rann*, see Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha*, 14-16. McNamara proposes 988 as a date, but this has been questioned by G. Mac Eoin, "The Date and Authorship of *Saltair na Rann*," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 28 (1960): 51-67 and "Observations on *Saltair na Rann*," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 39 (1982): 1-27. See also James Carney, "The Dating of Early Irish Verse Texts, 500-1100," *Éigse* 19 (1983): 177-216 (178; 207-216), who suggests *c*. 870.

Quatrains') and *Lebor Gabála Érenn*[25] ('The Book of the Taking of Ireland' or 'The Book of Invasions'), contain versions of the fall of the rebel angels that draw on the *Vita Adae*. In these Irish traditions, the creation of Adam precipitates the rebellion of Lucifer.[26] Following a detailed angelology, the late tenth-century *Saltair na Rann* opens with God informing his head angel, Lucifer, that his first order of business as commander of archangels is to ensure the worship of the soon-to-be created Adam:

> Mo rí rígda ōs cach thur
> ro rāide fri Luciphur;
> 'bíait fót, feib do changen ngel,
> Airbri imdae archangel.
>
> Tabair úait airmitiu iar sreith
> do Ādom, dom chomdelbaid;
> na noí ngrād coibli gléir glain
> bíait foimti frit airitein.' (*Saltair na Rann*, ll. 833-840)

(My royal king above every host said to Lucifer: 'There shall be many bands of archangels under you by virtue of your bright tasks. Give reverence accordingly to Adam, to the one shaped like me; the nine modest excellent pure orders will be in readiness to receive you.')

Refusing this command, Lucifer proclaims that he will not bow to anyone created after him.[27] Instead, he expresses his desire for domination, boasting that he will become a king served by angels and people alike:

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[25] *Leabhar Gabhála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, Part I, ed. and trans. R. A. S. Macalister, Early Irish Texts Society 34 (Dublin: Educational Company of Ireland, 1938), 26-27. There are three clear Old Irish redactions in all, but only two discuss the fall of the angels; the first is contained in *The Book of Leinster* (T.C.D. Library, H.2.18) and the second is in the Stowe Collection (R.I.A. Library). While Macalister suggests the material is eleventh century, there is compelling evidence in the text suggesting connections to material dating from as far back as the ninth (3). For a recent account of the manuscripts, dates, and redactions, see R. Mark Scowcroft "*Leabhar Gabhála* Part I: The Growth of the Text," *Ériu* 38 (1987): 79-140 and R. Mark Scowcroft "*Leabhar Gabhála* Part II: The Growth of the Tradition," *Ériu* 39 (1988): 1-66 and John Carey, *A New Introduction to Lebor Gabála Érenn*, Subsidiary Publication Series No. 1 (Dublin, Irish Texts Society, 1993).

[26] This has been noted by Charles D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 165.

[27] For more on the transmission of this tradition in Ireland, see J. D. Seymour, "The Book of Adam and Eve in Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 36 (1921-1924): 121-133 and "Notes on Apocrypha in Ireland," in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 37 (1926): 107-117. Brian Murdoch cites a difficulty in the chronology of "the angelic fall" in *Saltair* claiming that the fall results "from a refusal to worship Adam," although this "comes before the narrative of man's creation" (*The Irish Adam and Eve Story*, 44). A similar chronology can be found in St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 908; see Charles D. Wright, "Apocryphal Lore and Insular Tradition in St. Gall

‘Airmitiu d’Ādam, nī chél,
ar im siniu, nī thibēr,
ar bad airnel fiad cach thur
dianam thairber fon sósur.’

Ro rāidi fris rí na rind,
a Fíadu fīrēn fīrfind;
‘nocot bía airmitiu glan
uar nā tabrai rēir d’Ādam.’

Ro rāidi Lucifur lēir
a aithesc ndīumosach ndrochcēil:
‘bam rī rēil ōs cach caingin,
fom-gnīfet ind ilaingil.

Betit in angeil fom thrāig,
do-gén féin mo chomthocbāil,
biam tigerna ōs cech drung,
ni bía rí aile húasum.’

Lucifer co līn a grāid
ro tascair a chomthocbāil,
ro tairinn a dīummus tind,
do-rimmart dochum n-Iffirn. (*Saltair na Rann*, ll. 841-857)

(‘I will not give reverence to Adam, I will not conceal it, since I am older, for it would be a snare, in the presence of every host, if I should submit myself to the junior.’ The king of the heavenly bodies, his righteous truly pure Lord, said to him: ‘you shall not have pure reverence, since you do not submit to Adam.’ Earnest Lucifer said a vain speech with evil intent: ‘I will be a bright king above every dispute, the many angels will serve me. The angels will be subdued by me, I will myself make my opposition, I will be a king over every people, there will be no other king above me.’ His opposition overthrew Lucifer with all his order, it subdued his sore pride.)

The conflict arises from the issue of birthright. Lucifer maintains that since he is ‘older’ (*siniu*) it would be insulting for him to submit to one who is his ‘junior’ (*sósur*), Adam.[28] Like the *Vita Adae*, he asserts that Adam is both younger and inferior. Lucifer’s perception that his seniority

Stiftsbibliothek 908,” in *Irland und Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission*, ed. Próinsías Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987), 124-145 (130).

[28] The notion of seniority appears in *Christ and Satan* with *duguð* and *geoguþe* (l. 19) although there is critical dispute over who the text presents as younger and older. For more on the doctrinal implications of Adam being created before Satan, see James K. Morey, “Adam and Judas in the Old English *Christ and Satan*,” *SP* 87 (1990): 397-409.

has been bypassed by God in favor of Adam suggests that he expected to be recognized as next in line to rule the kingdom of heaven or some portion of it. In Ireland, competition among kinsmen over inheritance was common and bitter disputes between brothers became a popular literary theme, often turning on the relative claims of merit and seniority. This derived, in part, from the somewhat unusual practice wherein a king appointed a *tánaiste*,[29] or 'expected one,' designated within a ruler's lifetime who need not be eldest born. Bart Jaski argues that, in these types of succession disputes, dignity and worth typically won out over seniority. A legal maxim from *Bretha Nemed*[30] captures this idea; it states, "excellence is more venerable than age, and youth takes precedence over the dotage of old age."[31] But Lucifer's expectation that there would be an order of succession in heaven is ultimately at the heart of the problem, since it signals his fundamental misunderstanding of divine authority within the heavenly polity.

A similar treatment of the fall of the angels which dramatizes a heavenly rivalry can be found in the popular eleventh-century "synthetic history," *Lebor Gabála Érenn*. The popular second recension presents conflicts between Lucifer and Adam arising not simply from his opposition to the exaltation of the man, but also in response to the division of wealth and the partitioning out of authority and inheritance. The text opens with a discussion of angelic and earthly creation and the struggle that breaks out in heaven. Whereas in *Saltair na Rann* Lucifer violates a specific command to worship Adam, in *Lebor Gabála*, Lucifer's revolt is stimulated by his 'pride and haughtiness' and is a response to the juridical boundaries of his kingdom and Adam's 'governance' of earth:

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[29] See *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Seán Duffy (New York: Routledge, 2005), s.v. "Tánaiste."
[30] Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, Early Irish Law Series 3 (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988) notes that there are two tracts (the first is dated to 721-742; the last is Old Irish, but Kelly does not specify a date [268-269]).
[31] Bart Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 124ff.

> Dobert Dīa airchindeacht Nime do Luicifiur, con nāe ngrādiab aingel imbe. Dobert īarsain airchindeacht talman do Adam 7 do Eua, cona chlainn. Ro immarbsaigestar Lucifuir for Ni mar ūail 7 dīumus fri Dīa, co ro hindarbadh I cinaigh in dīumsa sin do Neimi, co triun slūig aingeal laiss, in nIffrin. Conid andsin asbert Dīa fri muintir Nime: 'Ro dīumsaich intī Lucsifiur:' et dixit, 'uenite ut uideamus 7 confundamus consilium eius, tāit co ro fēgum 7 co ro melachtnaigium comairle indī Lucifiur.' Issī cēt breth rucad rīam sin.[32]

(God gave the leadership of Heaven to Lucifer, with nine orders of Angels about him. Thereafter He gave the leadership of Earth to Adam and to Eve with his progeny. Lucifer then made an assault upon Heaven, by reason of pride and haughtiness against God, so that he was expelled for that crime, out from Heaven, with a third of the host of angels in his company, into Hell. So that then God said unto the Folk of Heaven: 'Over-haughty is this Lucifer: come and let us see and put to shame the counsel of this Lucifer.' That is the first judgment which was ever pronounced.)

Lucifer upsets clearly defined spaces and limits set by God regarding his 'governance' (*airchindeacht*), which is restricted to heaven alone. In both Irish texts the figure of Adam (whether present conceptually or concretely) also factors into Lucifer's disorderly conduct. Here, however, the rebellion is carried out not simply in opposition to the exaltation of Adam, but in response to the division of wealth and the partitioning out of authority and inheritance.

It makes sense that Irish versions of the fall would be more congenial to a story about apportioning wealth and governance owing to the system of partible inheritance that was common practice in early medieval Ireland.[33] The author stresses this idea of 'governance' or 'leadership' with the repetition of the term *airchindeacht*[34] (a variant of *airchinnech*), which is widely attested from the seventh to the twelfth centuries.[35] This term, which glosses Latin *princeps* which denoted a 'governor,'[36] 'nobleman,' or even the 'head' of a religious house, has received a fair amount of critical attention; some scholars think of it in relation to the authority

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[32] *Leabhar Gabhála Érenn*, 26-27.
[33] *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Society, Functioning of Anglo-Norman."
[34] For more on inheritance in early Ireland, see D. A. Binchy, "Some Celtic Legal Terms," *Celtica* 3 (1956): 221-213; Katherine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987); Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, 102-104.
[35] For a concise account of *airchinnech*, see Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, A.D. 650-1000* (Maynooth: Laigin Publications, 1999), 63ff.
[36] Ibid., 26.

held by abbots who enjoyed the "same status as a tribal king and similar duties."[37] Jean-Michel Picard notes that a *princeps* would have "the highest social responsibilities, with the charge of supervising the administration of the land, [and] legal and diplomatic functions."[38] In addition to being charged with the care and maintenance of land, Colmán Etchingham likewise observes that in an ecclesiastical context, an *airchinnech* would have had a role in enforcing judgments.[39] Furthermore, he notes that "failure on the part of the *airchinnech* to provide for a pastoral ministry invites loss of entitlement to compensation and authority."[40]

The question of how individuals acquired this title (whether through merit or filiation) is a problematic one, but it is believed that they "saw their powers in much the same light as secular powers"[41] and early attitudes toward *principes* suggest that they were often seen as local noblemen. A seventh-century Hiberno-Latin text cataloging 'the twelve abuses' can perhaps tell us more. The sixth abuse, which later became a popular way of elaborating upon the category of *unrædlice* leadership ('without good counsel') in Anglo-Saxon England, states that the unworthy *princeps* who does not fulfill his duties brings about "social and economic ruin and, eventually, the loss of sovereignty."[42] Mary Clayton observes that despite their powers of punishment and involvement in "the administration of justice" the *principes* "had to regard themselves and their power as entirely dependent on God."[43] Read in this way, Lucifer's offense in *Lebor Gabála* is

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[37] Jean-Michel Picard, "*Princeps* and *principatus* in the Early Irish Church," in *Seanchas: Studies in Early Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne*, ed. Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts, 2000), 146-160 (155).
[38] Ibid., 153.
[39] Etchingham, *Church Organisation*, 82.
[40] Ibid., 72.
[41] Wendy Davies, "Clerics as Rulers: Some Implications of the Terminology of Ecclesiastical Authority in Early Medieval Ireland," in *Latin and the Vernacular in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1982), 81-97 (85).
[42] Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland," in *Historical Studies XI: Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence (Papers Read before the Conference Held at Trinity College, Dublin, 26-31 May 1975)*, ed. T. W. Moody (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), 1-35 (16).
[43] Mary Clayton, "*De Duodecim Abusiuis*, Lordship and Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Saints and Scholars: New Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture*, ed. Stuart McWilliams (Cambridge: D. S.

presumption and pride but, more pointedly, a failure to govern properly and see his authority as connected to God. God's divine judgment in this case is a repeal of Lucifer's authority to administer his own justice.

In addition to Irish fall of the angels narratives speaking to tensions surrounding pastoral and local authority, the fall of both Lucifer and humankind permeated Irish contract law, as Damien Bracken[44] has argued. This is evidenced by the text of an Old Irish law from an eighth-century collection known as *Di Astud Chor* ('On the Securing of Contracts'). Item §13 states:

> Cor sochuinn ní tathluither
> Fri íarngáeso íar-cuimni,
> Cid sochonn do-gné.
> Ro-íadad im Lusifer
> A dochor doer doairle
> Dona derla díl.[45]

(The contract of a competent person is not released on account of reflecting with belated wisdom, if it be a competent person who acts. There has been fastened around Lucifer his ill-advised base disadvantageous contract for which he cannot discharge payment.)

Bracken's study suggests that scriptural exegesis was routinely consulted by Irish lawyers and clerics to resolve legal disputes pertaining to contractual exchanges. These practices bring the angelic fall down to earth, so to speak, directly linking the events with human action in the present. According to Bracken, in adopting this "legalistic approach" to understanding the fall, the Irish viewed Lucifer's fall as "irreversible," his crime was accordingly cited "in defence of the principle that contracts are indissoluble,"[46] whereas the crime of Adam and Eve came to be characterized as one of 'negligence' (*étged*).[47] Since theirs was not the direct result of malicious

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Brewer, 2012), 141-163 (159). See also *Two Ælfric Texts: The Twelve Abuses and the Vices and Virtues*, ed. and trans. Mary Clayton (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2013).

[44] Bracken, "The Fall and the Law in Early Ireland," 146-169. For specific references to the texts under consideration above, see 165-168.

[45] Neil McLeod, *Early Irish Contract Law*, Sydney Series in Celtic Studies I (Sydney: University of Sydney, 1992).

[46] Bracken, "The Fall and the Law," 147.

[47] Ibid., 157.

intent, the fall of humankind was considered "redeemable."[48] Janet Ericksen[49] has convincingly argued that we see traces of Irish contractual discourse in *Genesis B* in the exchange between Adam and the devilish 'messenger' (*boda*), the fruit serving as a 'token' (*tacen*) or the sign of the contract.[50] However, the Anglo-Saxon poets do not ultimately interpret the fall of the rebel angels within the same discursive mode of contract or prohibition wherein God's rules and policies existed from the dawn of heavenly creation. Although Anglo-Saxons similarly code the fall of the angels as a legal dispute, no account of the fall of the angels in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, as far as I can discover, renders the fall of Lucifer in ways approximating the Irish formulation wherein Lucifer breaks clearly delineated commands from God or objects to the perception of Adam as a rival.

In the early Insular tradition, therefore, we encounter divergent models of the fall of the angels. In one version of events, Lucifer's disobedience is depicted as a rejection of God's commands and a refusal to recognize the status of Adam; in the other, a system of obligation is understood in heaven, but God has not yet made manifest laws for Lucifer to break, and his rebellion has no exterior motivation. Since medieval authors were undoubtedly scrupulous in their attention to the motivations, sequence of events, and consequences surrounding the fall, we

[48] Another example of Lucifer's sin occurring within a legal sphere can be found in a late mid-thirteenth century prose piece written in Norway. The ON treatise known as *Konungs Skuggsjá* (a *Speculum Regale* or 'Mirror for Kings') is stylized as a question-and-answer session between a father and son containing lessons from biblical stories. Like the Irish texts, the version of the fall of the angels found in the *Skuggsjá* depicts Lucifer and the rebel angels originally consenting to God's laws only to later default on their oaths. Unsatisfied with the limitations of their 'kingdom' (*ríkis*), the angels knowingly break God's 'law' (*lögbrot*) and engage in a 'rebellion' (*uppreist*) against heaven. *Konungs skuggsiá*, ed. Ludvig Holm-Olsen, Gammelnorske tekster 1 (Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldskrift-Institutt, 1945; reprint, 1983); *The King's Mirror (Speculum Regale—Konungs skuggsjá)*, trans. Laurence Marcellus Larson (New York: Trayne, 1917).
[49] Ericksen, "Legalizing the Fall of Man," 205-220.
[50] Ibid., 209.

should therefore consider why the Anglo-Saxon poets structure their fall narratives in such a radically different manner than their Irish counterparts.[51]

To do so I turn to the concept of the sovereign exception, or that which precedes and exists outside the law in order to mitigate and suppress a state of emergency. In *Genesis A* and *Genesis B* God invokes an exception in reaction to the emergency instigated by the rebellion of Lucifer, who had not been subject to prior constraints. This theoretical model offers a site from which to explore how, in the Anglo-Saxon cultural imagination, the fall of the angels serves as the *Grenzbegriff*, or the borderline that establishes precedents for the kind of relationship God desires from his subjects. Political theology suggests that every era has a common way of thinking about order, which connects the political to the metaphysical.[52] For Anglo-Saxons, God's decision to banish the rebel angels and to create humanity informed a converted Christian nation's understanding of their own legal order and their crucial role to play in the heavenly kingdom's ultimate return to peace and perfection.

After providing a brief account of the relationship between *Genesis A* and *B* within its manuscript context, I will turn to how the *Genesis A* poet conceptualizes the doctrine of replacement as an act of legality in the aftermath of the rebellion. Next, I will discuss the interpolation of *Genesis B*, which contains a "flashback" recounting the fall of the rebel angels at the precise moment when God utters his prohibition to Adam and Eve. At the point where the relationship between sovereign and human subject is defined, the narrative's abrupt return to the fallen angels directly links them with human history and offers a framework for understanding

[51] A. N. Doane, *The Saxon Genesis, An Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991). Doane suggests that similarities between the *Genesis B* fall of the angels and the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* may have "come through Irish sources" (98); Ericksen also notes that "such a connection rests on the presence of Irish material on the Continent, either directly [influencing the text] or mediated by Anglo-Saxon texts" ("Legalizing the Fall of Man," 206).
[52] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 91.

the experience of sovereignty and rebellion within the changing political theology of Anglo-Saxon England.

4.2 The Relationship between *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*

Although co-existing in a single manuscript, *Genesis A* (ll. 1-234; 852-2936) and *Genesis B* (ll. 235-851) derive from disparate traditions.[53] Nevertheless, the poets similarly explicate the fall of the angels by presenting the rebellion as an etiology for law, lordship, and the normal order of society for Anglo-Saxon culture. Eduard Sievers first reported that the Old English *Genesis* contained a metrically and lexically unique section which resembled the Old Saxon *Heliand*.[54] As Andrew Cole observes "Sievers named this material *Genesis B* as a means to distinguish it from the surrounding poetry, which he termed *Genesis A*."[55] On philological grounds alone, Sievers concluded that *Genesis B* was derived from an Old Saxon original.[56] Remarkably, Sievers's hypothesis was later confirmed when Karl Zangemeister discovered several fragments of Old Saxon biblical poems, none other than *Genesis* and the *Heliand*, at the Vatican Library. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Palatinus Latinus 1447[57] contained 337 lines of verse, twenty-six lines of which were virtually identical to the Old English *Genesis B*.[58] Such strong

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[53] As early as 1809, John Josias Conybeare postulated that there was interpolated material in the Old English *Genesis* poem found in Junius 11; John Josias Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. William Daniel Conybeare (London: Hardin and Lepard, 1826), 190-197.
[54] Eduard Sievers, *Der Heliand und die angelsächsiche Genesis* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1875).
[55] Cole, "Jewish Apocrypha and Christian Epistemologies," 155.
[56] For more on the relationship between *Genesis B* and the Old Saxon *Genesis* and the latter's dating see Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 43-55 and R. Derolez, "*Genesis*: Old Saxon and Old English," *English Studies* 76 (1995): 409-423. See also Bernhard Bischoff, "Paläographische Fragen deutschen Denkmäler der Karolingerzeit," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 5 (1971): 101-134 who dates the fragments to the third quarter of the ninth century.
[57] Karl Zangemeister and Wilhelm Braune, "Bruchstücke der altsächsichen Bibeldichtung aus der Bibliotheca Palatina," *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 4 (1894): 205-294. Zangemeister found these fragments in 1894; they had been languishing at the Vatican Library since 1623.
[58] This word-for-word overlap occurs at the beginning of Pal. Lat. 1447 (ll. 1-26a) and the concluding episode of *Genesis B* in which Adam blames Eve for their fall (ll. 790-817a).

correspondence suggests that these poems share a common source or lost exemplar that was perhaps much longer than either extant *Genesis*.

According to best estimates, the Old Saxon *Genesis* was composed *c*. 850. The original text then circulated within Carolingian households and extracts were eventually copied at Mainz on the Rhine *c*. 875. In all probability, the extant Old Saxon and Old English *Genesis* texts are separated by roughly one century. A copy was conceivably in England *c*. 850-900, but perhaps not transcribed into the West Saxon dialect until slightly later.

The unconventional arrangement of Junius 11 raises some important questions about textual transmission in the early medieval world. Why was an Old Saxon text brought to England? Why was it translated into Old English and later sandwiched into the narrative of *Genesis A*? Finally, why did an Anglo-Saxon compiler feel it necessary to include the story of the fall of the rebel angels once in *Genesis A* and then once more in *Genesis B*? Arguments addressing these issues were first put forth by Alois Brandl in 1908,[59] and have proven to be enduring questions. Both Robert Priebsch[60] and C. L. Wrenn[61] have suggested that the interpolation was made to aesthetically "enhance" the *Genesis A* narrative. Scholarship implying that *Genesis B* was interpolated because it was of "a much better quality than *Genesis A*"[62] has been generally dismissed, particularly since Barbara Raw's codicological discovery that *Genesis*

[59] Alois Brandl, *Die Angelsächsische Literatur*, in *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, ed. Hermann Paul, 3 vols. (Strassburg: Trübner, 1901-1909), 1090; for a further account of this see B. J. Timmer, *The Later Genesis* (Oxford: Scrivner, 1948), 15.
[60] Robert Priebsch. *The Heliand Manuscript Cotton Caligula A VII in the British Museum: A Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925).
[61] C. L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (London: Harrap, 1967).
[62] Peter J. Lucas, "Loyalty and Obedience in the Old English *Genesis* and the Interpolation of *Genesis B* into *Genesis A*," *Neophil* 76 (1992): 121-135 (123).

B was not initially adjoined within *Genesis A*, but was inserted into the codex during a repair to make up for the loss of some of *Genesis A*'s pages over time.[63]

Aside from the codicological questions surrounding the interpolation, which as Renée R. Trilling points out "are quite likely due to the vicissitudes of textual transmission rather than to the plan of a knowing author,"[64] there remains the curious fact that the story of the fall of the angels is a twice-told tale and that, in its second telling, it is the product of a narrative digression or flashback. While the dates of composition of both *Genesis A* and *Genesis B* remain unknown, Leslie Lockett's recent comprehensive re-dating of Junius 11 to the period *c*. 960-990[65] means that its production coincided with the Benedictine Reform (*c*. 964-984), an historical moment which saw a revived interest in the narrative of the fall of the rebel angels as well as a re-imagination of the idea of kingship in Anglo-Saxon England under the aegis of King Edgar. As I have shown in Chapter One, Edgar dealt with a state of emergency within the ecclesiastical hierarchy through a sovereign exception; appealing to God's expulsion of the angels as his precedent, Edgar revoked lands and privileges of clerics who were themselves cast as "rebels" driven only by desires and appetites that opposed the will of God.[66] In a period that saw a revitalized commitment to conforming to rules in priestly, monastic, and public circles, Anglo-

[63] Barbara Raw, "The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Junius 11," *ASE* 13 (1984): 133-148; see also Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 30-34.
[64] Trilling, *Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 70.
[65] Leslie Lockett, "An Integrated Re-examination of the Dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11," *ASE* 31 (2002): 141-173.
[66] The Benedictine reformers were interested in capturing past principles of behavior to combat negligence and clerical abuse within communities and English Christianity more broadly. The Carolingian concept of *norma rectitudinis* or a 'standard of righteousness' or 'rule of uprightness' became an ideal for clerics in particular. On this concept in Carolingian thought, see Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Bildungsreform Karls des Grossen als Verwirklichung der Norma Rectitudinis* (Freiburg im Breisgau: E. Albert, 1953), 7-23. See also M. A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Saxon authors found a compelling precedent for their existence in the construct of the rebel angel as developed in texts like *Genesis A* and *B*.[67]

4.3 *Idel and unnyt*: The Aftermath of Rebellion in *Genesis A*

In *Genesis A* we see a dispute resulting in the forfeiture of heavenly territories.[68] The poem opens with the angels dwelling in peace and contentment (ll. 1-20a). Predictably, this is short-lived. The rebellion begins at line 20a, followed by God's construction of hell (ll. 34b-46b), the exile of the rebels (ll. 47-77b), the return of peace (ll. 78-91b), and ending with God's desires for humanity (ll. 95b-101). As I have observed, no source text follows this organization exactly. As Doane observes, "the arrangement and narrative movement are the poet's."[69] In this opening sequence, we see how one of God's angels creates discord where there is none:

> … elles ne ongunnon
> ræran on roderum nymþe riht and soþ
> ær ðon engla wearð for oferhygde
> dæl on gedwilde. noldan dreogan leng
> heora selfra ræd ac hie of siblufan
> godes ahwurfon. hæfdon gielp micel
> þæt hie wið drihtne dælan meahton
> wuldorfæstan wic werodes þrymme,
> sid and swegltorht. him þær sar gelamp,
> æfst and oferhygd and þæs engles mod
> þe þone unræd ongan ærest fremman,
> wefan and weccean. þa he worde cwæð,
> niþes ofþyrsted, þæt he on norðdæle
> ham and heahsetl heofena rices

[67] The nature of God's law was highly debated in the Middle Ages. Theologians frequently differentiated between natural law (*ius naturale*) and positive law (*ius positivum*). The former was believed to have been God's law as it was enjoyed and intuited through human reason before the fall of Adam and Eve. In the postlapsarian world, it was believed that it was no longer possible for humankind to fully apprehend or experience natural law and thus salvation without the gift of grace and the guidance of divine law through sovereigns. Kings were therefore charged with mediating natural law and positive law, or the specific application and creation of the law. For more on the distinction between these two modes, see Lewis Ewart, *Medieval Political Ideas*, vol. 1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), 1-87.

[68] For an astute reading of the opening sequence of *Genesis A* as suggestive of tenth- and eleventh-century tenurial discourse, see Scott T. Smith, "Faith and Forfeiture in the Old English *Genesis A*," *MP* 111 (2014), forthcoming.

[69] Doane, *Genesis A, Revised*, 227. See Doane's argument on the language and date of the text (25-37).

agan wolde. (*Genesis A*, ll. 20b-34a)

(… They strove to exalt nothing else in heaven except for right and truth until a part of the angels was in error through arrogance. They no longer desired to live for their own good, but they turned away from God's intimacy. They made a great boast that they might partition with the Lord the wondrous dwelling the glory of the host, wide and shiny. Sorrow occurred to them there, envy and pride and the mind of the angel who first began to frame folly, weave and work the treachery. Then he spoke words, thirsted for enmity, that he would possess a home and a throne in the northern part of the kingdom of heaven.)

The poet depicts the angels as a collective unit referring to them with third-person plural pronouns (*heora, hie, him*) until the 'troop' (*werod*) acts out of 'arrogance' (*oferhygd*). We see a syntax of emergency: there was unchanging joy and bliss in heaven 'until' (*ær ðon*) a portion of angels chose to pursue their own desires. Here, *ær ðon* functions much like 'until' (*oþþæt*)[70] elsewhere in the Old English corpus – the most famous example of course being the *Beowulf* poet's introduction of Grendel – by indicating a narrative break, effectively signaling the arrival of a state of emergency. At the end of the passage, the poet locates the source of this emergency in the 'mind' (*mod*) of a singular angel who 'thirsted for enmity' (*niþes ofþyrsted*) and a 'throne' (*heahsetl*) for himself.

That a narrative concerned with rebellion in an Anglo-Saxon text is heavily inflected with heroic ideas surrounding a retainer's duty to obey his lord is hardly surprising. As Milton Gatch explains, "Society – whether in the world or in Christ's kingdom – is a matter of corporate relationships; and the individual defines, understands, identifies himself in terms of his obligations to a lord."[71] The rhetoric used to express the angel's will for domination traverses both heroic and religious discourses, and one can detect traces of the traditional Germanic

[70] This passage reads: 'until one began to do evil, a fiend from hell' (*oð ðæt ān ongan / fyrene fremman fēond on helle* [ll. 100b-101]). The poet also incorporates this syntax of emergency during Hrothgar's so-called sermon (ll. 1735-1741a) which suggests that 'until' can refer to an internalized change caused by pride. Hrothgar describes how the thoughts of man are focused on the joys in life 'until within him an enourmous pride grows and puts forth shoots' ('*oðþæt him on innan oferhygda dæl / weaxeð ond wridað*' [ll. 1740-1741a]).]

[71] Milton McCormick Gatch, *Loyalties and Traditions: Man and his World in Old English Literature* (New York: Pegasus, 1971), 144.

concept of the *comitatus*[72]as well as the "heroic substratum which transforms the poetry at every level."[73] Yet for all its heroic diction and martial imagery, the poet also represents rebellion as highly personal, a rejection of intimate kinship with God. The change in angelic priorities from their desire to exalt 'right and truth' (*riht and soþ*) to their desire to 'turn away' (*ahwurfon*) from God's 'intimacy' (*siblufu*) is represented as almost instantaneous. We see this change occurring independently of prohibitions from God.[74] Unlike the Irish texts, these angels did not retaliate against a particular mandate or sanction from God, but rather 'strayed' (*dwæl*) from the desire to do 'their own good' (*heora selfra ræd*).[75]

Learning about their conduct, God builds hell as a punishment for the 'pledge-breaker' (*werloga*), which implies that there was some form of mutual 'compact' or 'covenant' (*wær*) in heaven that has been betrayed (-*loga*). In becoming rebels against God's authority by violating

[72] For more on the role of loyalty specifically derived from the Germanic *comitatus* code, see Lucas, "Loyalty and Obedience," 121-135. Lucas argues that this concept acts as part of the interlocking scheme between *Genesis A* and *B* (121-122). According to Tacitus: 'to defend and protect him [the chief], to devote one's own feats even to his glorification, this is the core of their allegiance: the chief fights for victory, but the retainers for the chief' (*illum principem defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est: principes pro victoria pugnant, comites pro principe*). Text from Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. XIV, § I; quoted from *Germania*, trans. M. Hutton, 5 vols., Loeb Library 35 (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1970).
[73] Doane, *Genesis A, Revised*, 40.
[74] Reference discussion of free will in Chapter Two (87ff).
[75] The ON cognates *sjálf-ráð* ('self-counsel' or 'one's own accord') and *sjalf-ræði* ('self-rule') denote the capacity for independent action and free will (Cleasby-Vigfusson, s.v. *sjálf-ráð* and *sjalf-ræði*). It is difficult to say whether OE *selfra ræd* is semantically equivalent to the ON cognates and serves as an indicator of free will since, in this context, the phrase suggests the angels' desire to reject God's offer to do good freely. However, the idea of favoring one's own will over that of God's is clearly present. In other OE contexts this phrase typically carries connotations of being "headstrong" with a willful disregard of one's best interests. In Blickling Homily VIII, for instance, *sylfra ræd*, is used to indicate the manner of disregard for God's will: 'No man then need visit the deep abyss of the hot and the severe flame except those, who of their own accord, heedlessly forsake God's behests' (*Nis þæt þonne nænig man þæt þurfe þone deopan grund þæs hatan leges and þæs heardan leges gesecean, buton þa þe heora sylfra ræd on ofergeotolnesse Godes beboda forlætað*). In *Juliana*, Eleusius admonishes his daughter for ignoring his advice to marry: 'Too vehemently you refuse out of your own devising the bridegroom, who is better than you, of nobler birth in the world, more prosperous in riches' (*Wiðsæcest þu to swiþe sylfre rædes þinum brydguman, se is betra þonne þu, æþelra for eorþan, æhtspedigra feohgestreon*a [ll. 99-100]).

the reciprocal bonds of fealty, they commit 'folly' (*unræd*)[76] and diminish their own 'benefit' (*ræd*):

> … Hæfdon hie wrohtgeteme[77]
> grimme wið god gesomnod; him þæs grim lean becom!
> Cwædon þæt heo rice, reðemode,
> agan woldan, and swa eaðe meahtan.
> Him seo wen geleah, siððan waldend his,
> heofona heahcining, honda arærde,
> hehste wið þam herge. Ne mihton hygelease
> mæne wið metode, mægyn bryttigan,
> ac him se mæra mod getwæfde,
> bælc forbidge. Þa he gebolgen wearð,
> besloh synsceaþan sigore and gewealde,
> dome and dugeðe, and dream benam
> his feond, friðo and gefean ealle,
> torhte tire, and his torn gewræc
> on gesacum swiðe selfes mihtum
> strengum stiepe. Hæfde styrne mod,
> gegremed grymme, grap on wraðe
> faum folmum, and him on fæðm gebræc
> yrre on mode; æðele bescyrede
> his wiðerbrecan wuldorgestealdum. (*Genesis A*, ll. 45b-64)

(… They had grimly gathered a crime-troop against God; a grim reward befell them for that! The hostile-minded ones said that they would possess a kingdom, and might do so easily. Their expectation deceived them, after the ruler, the high-king of heaven, raised His hands, the most high against that army. The thoughtless ones might not share power with the measurer, but the mighty one took away their courage, suppressed their arrogance. When He became angry, He struck down the evildoers of triumph and rule, glory and nobility, and took joy from his enemy, peace and all delight, splendid honor, and in His anger wrought vengeance on His adversaries with a violent downward motion in His own might. He had a stern mind, grimly aggrieved, gripped them in rage with hostile hands and broke them in His embrace, angry in mind; He deprived his foes of the native land with wondrous dwellings.)

Here, the poet's choice to represent the rebel angels as a confederation whose 'expectation deceived them' (*Him seo wen geleah*)[78] rhetorically highlights God's singularity as sovereign

[76] Smith notes that in charters which reference treason against a king, *unræd* takes on the valence of "treason" ("Faith and Forfeiture").

[77] There has been some dispute over the *hapax legomenon*, *wrohtgeteme*, which Bosworth-Toller glosses as "series of crimes." Karin Olsen, "OE *wrohtgeteme*: 'crime troop', Not 'series of crimes'," *N&Q* 38 (1991): 438-442 rightfully asks "what are the many sins which the rebel angels committed against God? Their rebellion is the first and only sin, and it alone causes God's grim reward, the fall of the angels" (440). From philological grounds, Olsen suggests a better translation here is "crime-troop," which I have accepted.

and constructs this first conflict as a state of emergency that elicits God's sovereign exception. In addition to being stripped of joys, splendor, and honor, they are also 'deprived … of the native land with wondrous dwellings' (*æðele bescyrede … wuldorgestealdum* [ll. 63b, 64b]), an image of their home in the heavenly kingdom and a particularly tangible deprivation.

Heaven now holds the good angels who remained loyal, and the 'seats' permanently vacated by the rebels; it is to the reunification of heaven that the poet turns next. The details of this opening sequence provide a narrative structure for *Genesis A* by introducing one of its guiding themes of obedience.[79] To these elements, the *Genesis A* poet conceptualizes permanent exclusion from heaven as 'a long journey' (*on langne sið*) 'in exile' (*on wrace*):

> Sceop þa and scyrede scyppend ure
> oferhidig cyn engla of heofnum,
> wærleas werod. waldend sende
> laðwendne here on langne sið,
> geomre gastas. wæs him gylp forod,
> beot forborsten and forbiged þrym,
> wlite gewemmed. heo on wrace syððan
> seomodon swearte, siðe ne þorfton
> hlude hlihhan ac heo helltregum
> werige wunodon and wean cuðon,
> sar and sorge, susl þrowedon
> þystrum beþeahte, þearl æfterlean
> þæs þe heo ongunnon wið gode winnan. (*Genesis A*, ll. 65-77)

(Our creator then adjudged and separated that arrogant race of angels from heaven, faithless troop. The ruler sent the hostile army on a long journey, more sad spirits. Their speeches were useless, their boasts broken and triumph brought low, beauty defiled. After they lingered darkly in exile, they had no need to laugh loudly but they wearily dwelled in hell-torments and knew

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[78] This phrase also occurs in *Genesis A* (l. 1446) in reference to Noah's expectation of finding land after the flood and *Andreas* (l. 1074b). In the latter context it is used to describe the cannibalistic Mermedonians' disappointment in discovering that their "dinner" has escaped. On the "reversal of expectations" formula in Old English, see Wright, "More Old English Poetry," 245-262.

[79] Constance B. Hieatt, "Divisions: Theme and Structure of *Genesis A*," *NM* 81 (1980): 243-251. Hieatt argues that the poet introduces the theme of "divisions" in this opening sequence beginning with the rebel angel's desire to 'partition' (*dælon*) out the kingdom, which she suggests prefigures the "first division" of the heavenly kingdom (243). More recently, see Charles D. Wright, "*Genesis A* ad Litteram," in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2012), 121-171 (153). See also Lucas, "Loyalty and Obedience," 121-135.

wounds of woe and sorrows, endured punishment choked in darkness, a cruel reward because they decided to strive against God.)

The rebel angels are a defeated army. All the qualities which characterized their former ambitions such as 'boasts' (*beot*), the desire for 'triumph' (*þrym*), and their 'beauty' (*wlite*) have been undone in their condition of exile:

> Wæron þa gesome, þa þe swegl buað,
> wuldres eðel. Wroht wæs asprungen,
> oht mid englum and orlegnið
> siððan herewosan heofon ofgæfon,
> leohte belorene. him on laste setl
> wuldorspedum welig wide stodan
> gifum growende on godes rice,
> beorht and geblædfæst, buendra leas,
> siððan wræcstowe werige gastas
> under hearmlocan heane geforan.
> þa þeahtode þeoden ure
> modgeþonce hu he þa mæran gesceafte,
> eðelstaðolas, eft gesette,
> swegltorhtan seld selran werode
> þa hie gielpsceaþan ofgifen hæfdon
> heah on heofenum. forþam halig god
> under roderas feng ricum mihtum
> wolde þæt him eorðe and uproder
> and sidwæter geseted wurde,
> woruldgesceafte on wraða gield
> þara þe, forhealdene, of hleo sende.
> Ne wæs her þa giet nymþe heolstersceado
> wiht geworden ac þes wida grund
> stod deop and dim, drihtne fremde,
> idel and unnyt. (*Genesis A*, ll. 83b-106a)

(They became united, those who inhabit the sky, the homeland of glory. Wrath was fallen out, fear among the angels and hostility after the warlike ones abandoned heaven, deprived of light. In their absence stood widely broad thrones rich in glorious wealth, growing with gifts in God's kingdom, bright and teeming, deprived of inhabitants, after the accursed, humbled spirits went forth in confinement to the place of exile. Then our prince considered in His thought how He might settle the mighty creation of the native-seats afterwards, the radiant thrones with a better troop that the boasting adversaries had given up high in the heavens. Therefore holy God took control under the firmament of the heavens with mighty powers desired that the earth and sky and wide water become settled, as a created world in compensation for the more hateful ones those whom, failed in purity, He sent from His protection. There was nothing yet except for dark

shadows, nothing at all dwelling but the wide ground that stood deep and dim, foreign to the Lord, idle and unused.)

With this imagery, the poet introduces the doctrine of replacement, an exegetical tradition suggesting that humanity has the potential to repopulate the vacated thrones of heaven.[80] As I have argued in Chapter Two, the Anglo-Saxons were invested in the narrative of the rebel angels because it adumbrated their own role as "replacements," both for the sinful Britons as a nation and for the rebel angels as individual Christians. Once the 'homeland' (*eðel*) is purged of the warlike band that threatened its security, the poet describes how the 'broad thrones' (*setl … wide*) of heaven have been left 'uninhabited' (*buendra leas*). One can go further, however, and say that the poet's choice to call attention to the idea of replacement, with the creation of humankind presented as *ad hoc*, underscores the role of causation in this opening sequence of *Genesis A*. Somewhat surprisingly, the narrative posits God as subject to change as the chronology of human history comes into focus. After the fall of the angels, the poet offers an arresting image of God's private contemplation of the beginning of the replacement process, a step in the creation cycle that is absent in Irish accounts in which God is depicted as possessing an *a priori* idea of earth (and indeed of Adam).

Before God begins creation proper the land is described as 'idle and unused' (*idel and unnyt*),[81] mirroring the poet's depiction of the recently emptied thrones in the heavenly kingdom.

[80] For more on the doctrinal and textual background of the doctrine of replacement and its influence in Anglo-Saxon England, see Chapters One and Two. See also Judith N. Garde, *Old English Poetry in Medieval Christian Perspective: A Doctrinal Approach* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991) and Haines, "The Vacancies in Heaven," 150-154. See also Johnson, who convincingly argues that the poet's rendition is more radical than Augustine's. Johnson writes, for the *Genesis A* poet, "it is not simply man who was created to fill the void occasioned by the primal lapse of the rebel angels, but the whole of physical creation which was called into being for this purpose" ("The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A*," 517).

[81] Doane notes that *idel and unnyt* frequently glosses Latin *inanis et vacua* (*Genesis A, Revised*, 367).

The phrase *idel and unnyt* has formulaic status in Old English texts,[82] and is used by Beowulf to describe Heorot in the wake of Grendel's rampages:

> '… Me wearð Grendles þing
> on minre eþeltyrf undyrne cuð;
> secgað sæliðend þæt þæs sele stande,
> reced selesta rinca gehwylcum
> idel ond unnyt, siððan æfenleoht
> under heofenes haðor beholen weorþeð.' (*Beowulf*, ll. 409a-414)

('… This business with Grendel was made known to me in my native land; seafarers say that this building, most excellent of halls, stands idle and unused, for every man, after evening's light is hidden under heaven's gleaming roof.')

Both the *Beowulf* poet and the *Genesis A* poet employ the same terminology in their descriptions of idealized locations being reduced to a state of disorder and uselessness.[83] Kahn suggests that sovereign authority "operates beyond law to create and to protect law."[84] In other words, the exception, a decision which stands outside rules and unforeseen contingencies, legitimates and influences the space and legal order that emerges after the crisis has been allayed. Jennifer Neville notes that "an *idel ond unnyt* natural world can become valuable only by divine or human effort; it is meaningless, even horrible, without reference to or contact with humanity."[85] Just as Heorot is described as not fulfilling its true purpose as a place of joy and abundance, and must be reclaimed for human inhabitants, so, too, do the emptiness of chaos and the vacant thrones of

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[82] This formulaic phrase also appears in homilies and other prose pieces. It appears in Ælfric's *Grammar*, as a gloss for *superuacuus*, and the following anonymous homilies: Cotton Faustina A.IX for the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany (l. 80), Napier Homily IL for Tuesday in Rogationtide (l. 207), Vercelli Homily X (l. 175), and Vercelli Homily XVIII (l. 185). It also occurs in *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, the Old English Version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (6.400.3), and a feudal document from King William I to Abbot Baldwin and the Monks of St. Edmund's Bury (*c*. 1081), which suggests that this phrase may have eventually been used to describe fallow land. Finally, it can be found twice in the Psalms from the Lambeth Psalter (30.7, glossing *supervacue*) and (126.2, glossing *vanum*).

[83] Magennis suggests that the emphasis on "uselessness" indicates "divine antipathy" to such a condition (*Images of Community*, 150).

[84] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 53.

[85] Jennifer Neville, *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 30.

heaven in *Genesis A* require a world inhabited by humanity to restore the heavenly homeland in the aftermath of the rebellion.

Scholars such as Bennett A. Brockman,[86] Nina Boyd,[87] Thomas D. Hill, J. R. Hall, A. N Doane, and Charles D. Wright have all considered whether *Genesis A* is first and foremost a poem which operates on a level highly invested in scriptural interpretations or whether the poet places greater emphasis on relating the events of scripture as history. While approaches that stress allegorical, figural, and typological readings have no doubt enlarged our understanding of the theological mode of the poet, Hill argues that the Old English *Genesis* is "before all else a historical poem."[88] Hall similarly situates the Junius collection, describing it as an "Epic of Redemption,"[89] and privileging a more catechetical understanding of the poem and finding its contents more in line with texts such as Augustine's *De Catechizandis Rudibus* and Wulfstan's *Sermo* VI. Wright argues that *Genesis A* lends itself more readily to the "Universal History" or "World Chronicle" genre.[90] He draws attention to the poet's concern with the literal events of the narrative, concluding "the poet's fundamentally historical approach to the biblical narrative rendered both allegory and typology peripheral to his concerns" and "as a rule, [he does not] prompt meditation on extra-literal meanings."[91] In representing God's desire to see earth (and eventually heaven) populated, the poet eschews certain doctrinal expectations pertaining to replacement. As the poet describes God's intention to resettle the 'native seats' (*eðelstaðolas*)

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[86] Bennett A. Brockman, "'Heroic' and 'Christian' in *Genesis A*: The Evidence of the Cain and Abel Episode," *Modern Language Quarterly* 35 (1974): 115-128.
[87] Nina Boyd, "Doctrine and Criticism: A Revaluation of 'Genesis A'," *NM* 83 (1982): 230-238.
[88] Thomas D. Hill, "The 'Variegated Obit' as an Historiographic Motif in Old English Poetry and Anglo-Latin Historical Literature," *Traditio* 44 (1988): 101-124 (101).
[89] J. R. Hall, "The Old English Epic of Redemption, 20-52; J. R. Hall, "The Old English Epic of Redemption: Retrospective," 53-68.
[90] Wright, "*Genesis A* ad Litteram," 127.
[91] Ibid., 123.

with a better troop in humankind he characterizes God's decision as a 'compensation' (*gield*),[92] a term which would have had concrete legal associations for an Anglo-Saxon audience. The term *gield* (like Old English *bot*) has a wide range of meanings, but in prose and in legal contexts it generally has the force of "a payment exacted by law as compensation, payment for loss or injury"[93] and can be found in the law codes of Ine, Alfred, and II Æthelstan. An example can be found in both Ine and Alfred's code (36.1) with 'If one is stabbed before his eyes, he [the offender] will compensate that man' (*Gif beforen eagum asnase, gielde þone wer*).[94] Elsewhere, in perhaps its most well-known form in the compound *wergild*, it means "the compensation paid for the death of a person."[95]

In religious contexts, the term can also refer to "what is offered" or "sacrificed." The *gield* as a "compensation" or "replacement" becomes a very suitable Germanic image for the theological doctrine it signifies. It is worth noting that cases of treachery against an earthly lord were often considered too grievous for compensation. This can be seen in S 362 which recalls Wulfhere's betrayal of King Alfred and the subsequent forfeiture of his lands. As Hugh Magennis observes, "King Alfred leads the way for later legislators in declaring that treachery to one's lord is the only crime which cannot be compensated for."[96] Within the context of the poem, God cannot allow Satan to recover his former place in the heavenly homeland. The forfeiture

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[92] *DOE* s.v. *gyld*, sense B.1: "recompense, return reward," sense B.2 "replacement, exchange," and sense C.1.a "sacrifice, offering." The term is used six times in *Genesis A*: in line 977a in reference to Abel's favored "offering," in lines 1109a and 1104b both in reference to the birth of Seth as "compensation" to Adam and Eve for the loss of Abel; in lines 1501a and 1506a in reference to Noah's "offering" to God, and in line 2843b in reference to Abraham's "offering" to God in Beer-sheba following the covenant and banishment of Ishmael.
[93] *DOE* s.v. *gyld*, sense A.3.
[94] *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 68-69.
[95] *DOE* s.v. *gyld*, sense A.3.a.
[96] Magennis, *Images of Community*, 15. The law reads, "that secular lords might with their permission receive without sin compensation in money for almost every misdeed at the first offence, which compensation they then fixed; only for treachery to a lord they dared not declare any mercy, because Almighty God adjudged none for those who scorned him, nor did Christ, the Son of God, adjudge any for him who gave him over to death; he charged [everyone] to love his lord as himself " (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 44-46; Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 408).

remains final. As in the Irish contract laws, Satan cannot compensate, he cannot discharge payment. As Hill notes, when compensation cannot be made by the guilty party, "the payment burden falls … upon the perpetrator's … paternal kindred in greater proportion."[97] Through compensation, God is the higher authority who can repair the loss by reassigning possession of the seats vacated by the rebel angels. The poet thus establishes the promise of salvation through a familiar, though deferred, legal practice.

As a legal sanction, the *gield* implies that, from God's perspective, the violation of an existing order of obligations has occurred and the rule of law has emerged in its place. The poet thereby signals the arrival of a new legal dimension in salvation history, the final compensation to be exacted at Judgment Day with the ultimate beneficiary to be the restored heavenly polity through the participation of humanity. As Kahn notes, the exception is "always subject to normalization: law will seek to extend to the exceptional decision."[98] This means that the "exceptional decision" reveals the limit and thereby becomes a new standard that the "law" must subsequently preserve and maintain. If we return to the poet's marked interest in depicting how the rebellion in heaven occurred outside of the enumeration of rules or law-codes imposed upon the angels, the *gield* signals the arrival of order and a state of normalcy in the wake of the emergency within the heavenly polity.

Although the *Genesis A* poet was likely familiar with alternative narratives of the fall of the angels which situate the event within created time where laws and commands take precedence and supersede other modes of obligation, he has chosen instead to explain the origin of the law and to justify the doctrine of replacement through the principle of compensation. Since Satan's crime is represented as a violation committed not only against God but also against

[97] J. Hill, *The Cultural World in Beowulf*, 17.
[98] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 34.

heavenly society at large, the compensation becomes a way to restore value to heaven. This coheres with metaphors of heavenly exchange found elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon prose corpus. Samantha Zacher's study of Vercelli XI details how the Anglo-Saxon homilist departs from his source text, Caesarius of Arles's *Sermo* 215, to emphasize the workings of spiritual compensation and exchange. She observes that in both Vercelli Homily XI and XII the audience is asked to "consider that they are spiritual merchants," or *gastlice cypemen*, "who must buy heavenly hoards with earthly goods, and eternal happiness with transitory belonging" in the final exchange on Judgment Day.[99] God's decision echoes both legal and commercial transactions suggesting that the arrival of a lawful and exchange-bound consciousness comes into being through humanity; through them, the crisis is redeemable. Referring to *Guthlac A*, Smith observes, "through dispute contested land is made new again."[100]

That God's response to the crisis in heaven results in a *gield*, a notion that for Anglo-Saxons would have been concomitant with the most basic theory of legal behavior, suggests that the exception brings about binding notions of order in the universe. The poet chooses to cast God's first action following the rebellion as something that Anglo-Saxons would have understood as the performance of a rational legal deed. By rendering complex doctrine as a familiar legal procedure, the poet appeals to an audience invested in understanding the event as having consequence for their own social order. In illustrating how God secures and renews territories through familiar customs of compensation, the poet communicates humanity's potential to become the 'better troop' who will be active participants in the restoration of the heavenly realm.

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[99] See Samantha Zacher, *Preaching the Converted: The Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Book Homilies* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 202ff.
[100] Smith, *Land and Book*, 213.

4.4 *Ac he awende hit*: Rebellion Redux in *Genesis B*

While *Genesis A* considers the state of the heavenly and earthly polities after the fall, *Genesis B* more closely concerns the role of subjectivity in the act of rebellion. Instead of focusing on the corporate identity of the rebel angels, the *Genesis B* poet imagines the process of rebellion against God as a psychological drama that begins *in medias res*. *Genesis B* opens directly after God's spoken prohibition to Adam and Eve and the command to 'guard yourselves both against that fruit' (*wariað inc wið þone wæstm* [ll. 236a]). God's pre-existing prohibition and promise to the human couple, phrased in highly formulaic language that can be found in *Beowulf*, states that if they obey this rule 'there will be no unsatisfied desire for you two' (*ne wyrð inc wilna gæd* [l. 2365b]). The poet's reflection upon this command is to the point, stating that 'they were loved by God while they desired to keep his holy word' (*heo wæron leof gode ðenden heo his halige word healdan woldon* [ll. 244a-245]).[101] Following this, God surveys his creation one last time and affirms his wish for Adam and Eve to dwell in happiness. In a manner reminiscent of the *Vita Adae*, in which the fall of the angels is narrated retrospectively by Satan while Adam interrogates him,[102] the forward progress of *Genesis B* is interrupted at this moment and the poet evokes the primal lapse of the rebel angels in line 246:

> Hæfde se alwalda engelcynna
> þurh handmægen, halig drihten,
> tene trimede, þæm he getruwode wel

[101] Michael Cherniss, "Heroic Ideals and the Moral Climate of *Genesis B*," *Modern Language Quarterly* 30 (1969): 479-497 observes the similarities between God's promise in this transitional moment to Hrothgar's promise to Beowulf on the eve of his fight with Grendel (l. 660). Cherniss states that in both instances we see "a Germanic lord promising rewards for loyal service" ("Heroic Ideals," 484).

[102] In this episode, Satan tells Adam that he was cast out of heaven on the day he (Adam) was made. He recalls how the archangel Michael called together all the orders of angels to worship Adam. Michael tells Lucifer to 'Bow down to the image of the Lord' (*Adora imaginem dei*), but he responds 'I will not bow down to Adam' (*Ego non adorabo Adam*) (*Vita Latina Adae et Evae*, 309). Satan recalls his announcement that 'I was made first above all. Before he himself was: he should bow to me, not I to him' (*Prior enim omnium factus sum. Antequam ipse fieret ego iam eram: ille me debet adorare, non ego illum*) (*Vita Latina Adae et Evae*, 311).

> þæt hie his giongorscipe fyligan wolden,
> wyrcean his willan, forþon he him gewit forgeaf
> and mid his handum gesceop, halig driften.
> Gesett hæfde he hie swa gesæliglice, ænne hæfde he swa swiðe geworhtne,
> swa mihtigne on his modgeþohte, he let hine swa micles wealdan,
> hehstne to him on heofona rice, hæfdehe hine swa hwite geworhtne,
> swa wynlice wæs his wæstm on heofonum þæt him com from weroda drihtne,
> gelic wæs he þam leohtum steorrum. (*Genesis B*, ll. 246-256a)

(The ruler of all, the holy Lord, had arranged ten orders of angels, through the might of His hands, whom He confidently trusted that they would follow in His obedience, work His will, because He gave them intelligence and the holy Lord shaped them with His hands. He had established them so blessedly, one He had made so strong, so mighty in his intellect, He let him rule so much, next to Him in the kingdom of heaven, He had made him so radiant, so splendid was his stature in heaven that came to him from the Lord of hosts, he was like the shining stars.)

This flashback closely resembles chronological "interruptions" that can be found elsewhere in the Junius Manuscript with the so-called "Patriarchal digressions" in *Exodus* recounting Noah (ll. 362-376) and Abraham (ll. 377-446).[103] Elsewhere in the Old English poetic corpus we can see echoes of this narrative practice in the digressions of *Beowulf*.[104] The purpose of the sudden retrospection in *Genesis B* is to reveal how inescapable consequences of a past event are about to resurface in the present.[105]

Hill trenchantly flags *Genesis B* as one of the "most puzzling poems in the corpus of Old English poetry."[106] This retrospective account of the fall of the angels only adds to the list of items in *Genesis B* that scholars find troubling. On the whole, the poet's adaptation of the fall of

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[103] For more on the "Patriarchal Digressions," see Stanley R. Hauer, "The Patriarchal Digression in the Old English *Exodus*, Lines 362-446," *Eight Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. Joseph Wittig (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 77-90; Phyllis Portnoy, "Ring Composition and the Digressions of *Exodus*: The 'Legacy' of the 'Remnant'," *English Studies* 82 (2001): 289-307; Daniel Anlezark, "Connecting the Patriarchs: Noah and Abraham in the Old English *Exodus*," *JEGP* 104 (2005): 171-188; Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, 168-230.

[104] There are approximately twenty-eight digressions in *Beowulf*. For a conspectus on the scholarship surrounding various episodes and their role within the poem, see Robert E. Bjork, "Digressions and Episodes," in *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 193-212.

[105] For more on the aesthetic effect of such flashbacks, see Roberta Frank, "The *Beowulf* Poet's Sense of History," in *The Wisdom of Poetry: Essays in Early English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*, Medieval Institute Publications, ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried Wenzel (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 1982), 53-85.

[106] T. Hill, "The Fall of Angels and Man in the Old English *Genesis B*," 279.

angels has been overshadowed by critical interest in his vivid representation of the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve. Nevertheless, attempts to understand the thematic significance of this opening sequence have resulted in several perceptive re-evaluations of this liminal moment in the narrative. In considering the role of authority and aesthetic mediation in biblical poetry, Trilling concedes that the poet's recapitulation of the creation of the angels is "disruptive,"[107] as it introduces a "simultaneity of narrative."[108] Trilling's argument suggesting that the fall of the angels and humankind share a "narrative space"[109] is convincing, as are her observations regarding the relationships between this passage and Augustine's exegetical commentary on angelic creation. She proposes that the fall of the angels "establishes temporality in the poem; it is the foundation not only of the narrative, but of time itself."[110] Trilling's theory helps reconcile some of the perceived incongruities of the poem. If Anglo-Saxon authors understood the fall of the angels as the event that inaugurates time and sets the narrative of salvation history in motion, we might consider how early medieval authors may have been inclined to see precedents in other spheres through this narrative.

In the previous section, I began to suggest that the poet of *Genesis A* rendered the fall of the angels as anterior to the establishment of laws and commandments in order to simultaneously legitimate them as well as sovereign action in their absence. *Genesis B* affords an opportunity to extend this argument. Scholars such as Kathleen Dubs, Paul Remley, Doane, and Ericksen have all considered the influence that Irish texts may have had on *Genesis B*, noting that it was perhaps better poised than *Genesis A* to intercept these lines of transmission. According to Michael Fox and Manish Sharma, it has become almost axiomatic that *Genesis B* bears "some

[107] Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 91.
[108] Ibid., 92.
[109] Ibid., 95.
[110] Ibid., 86; Doane has also considered the issue of time, stating "The fall, a falling down into the realm of time, is therefore conceived in terms of what Satan strived for, highness and eternity" (*The Saxon Genesis*, 127).

relationship to exotic apocryphal and exegetical works on the fall, perhaps associated with a continental centre that was a destination for Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionary activity."[111] Despite the fact that *Genesis B* may have come into contact with miscellaneous sources, I would suggest that when it comes to the narrative sequencing of the fall of the angels, the poet falls in line with many of the patterns promoted by the *Genesis A* poet, namely, that Satan falls prior to the clear articulation of rules and clears the way for God's creation of humankind. Following his prohibition to the human couple, God expects obedience because his commands articulate a clear *Grenzbegriff* or 'border concept,' which was revealed by the state of exception enacted at the fall of the angels.

Although *Genesis A* and *B* are closely aligned in their depiction of the heavenly polity, there are significant disparities in narrative perspective which have been noted by scholars.[112] The *Genesis B* poet accomplishes a kind of telescoping of events surrounding the fall of the angels by offering a very immediate portrait of Satan. Whereas the *Genesis A* poet tells us that haughty boasts and speeches were overheard by God, those speeches are only referenced indirectly. The *Genesis B* poet, however, foregrounds his narrative with the rebel angel giving him approximately 132 lines of direct speech (out of 851 lines in *Genesis B*). This technique affords readers the opportunity to experience the fall of the angels from the perspective of the rebellious subject.

Genesis B follows the creation of the angels (ll. 246-260), Satan's thoughts and behavior (ll. 261-277), the expulsion of the proud angels (ll. 292-306a), the fall to hell (ll. 306b-320a), the confirmation of the good angels (ll. 320a-321), the first lament of Satan (ll. 322-389), and his last

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[111] Fox and Sharma, *Old English Literature*, 12. See also Kathleen E. Dubs, "*Genesis B*: a Study in Grace," *American Benedictine Review* 33 (1982): 47-64; Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 98-107; Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, 165-167.

[112] Janet A. S. Ericksen, "Narration and Vision in the Old English *Genesis B*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1994); See also Breen, "The Voice of Evil."

lament (ll. 390-441).[113] As in *Genesis A*, Lucifer is not explicitly named by the poet, but here referred to simply as 'one' (*ænne*). In concretizing Lucifer's qualities, the poet transitions to hypermetric lines, a method used by Old English poets for "signaling an important point."[114] The poet underscores the superlativeness of God's higher-ranking retainer who is 'so strong' (*swa swiðe*), 'so mighty' (*swa mihtigne*), 'so splendid' (*swa wynlice*), and 'made so radiant' (*swa hwite geworhtne*). It is significant that in the middle of his enumeration of these qualities, the poet tells us that God does not define limits for him, but 'lets him rule so much' (*let hine swa micles wealdan*) in the heavenly kingdom. This means that, for Satan, there is no clear 'border concept' (or *Grenzbegriff*) and he perceives his powers and territories as limitless.

As in *Genesis A*, the angels are not constrained by a legal order. Yet the poet still stresses the need for obedience within this heavenly economy. Doane notes that "obedience is expected" because the angels have been endowed with 'knowledge' (*gewit*) by God, "a gift which not only confers an obligation but gives the power of understanding what is owed."[115] Ideally, the gifts given by God, if properly used and reciprocated, should maintain a perfect order. As Doane explains, "Unlike Adam and Eve in the Prohibition section, bound to God by an oath like lay persons having a sworn duty to an unseen world, [the angels] are not bound by oath but by immediate intuition and understanding."[116] In other words, the angels are indebted to God's sovereignty by the conferral of gifts, rather than the clear expression of laws and sanctions as in the Irish traditions. As for the "one" God chooses to exalt, Doane notes that as "his rank is

[113] Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 116-117.
[114] Hieatt, "Divisions," 245. For more on Old English hypermetric verse, see Thomas A. Bredehoft, *Early English Meter* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 57ff.
[115] Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 117.
[116] Ibid.

greater, so are the gifts, and the sanctity of the obligation."[117] Satan's rebellion is therefore represented as a rejection of the gifts and glorified status bestowed on him by God:

> Ac he awende hit him to wyrsan þinge,[118] ongan him winn up ahebban
> wið þone hehstan heofnes waldend, þe siteð on þam halgan stole.
> Deore wæs he drihtne urum; ne mihte him bedyrned weorðan
> þæt his engyl ongan ofermod[119] wesan,
> ahof hine wið his hearran, sohte hetespræce,
> gylpword ongean, nolde gode þeowian,
> cwæð þæt his lic wære leoht and scene,
> hwit and hiowbeohrt. Ne meahte he æt his hige findan
> þæt he gode wolde geongerdome,
> þeodne þeowian. Þuhte him sylfum
> þæt he mægyn and cræft maran hæfde
> þonne se halga god habban mihte
> folcgestælna. Feala worda gespæc
> se engel ofermodes. Þohte þurh his anes cræft
> hu he him strenglicran stol geworhte,
> heahran on heofonum; cwæð þæt hine his hige speone
> þæt he west and norð[120] wyrcean ongunne,
> trymede getimbro; cwæð him tweo þuhte
> þæt he gode wolde geongra weorðan. (*Genesis B*, ll. 259-277)

(But he overturned it for a worse thing for himself, began to raise up strife against the highest ruler of heaven, who sits on the holy throne. He was dear to our Lord; it might not be concealed from Him that his angel began to become proud, lift himself up against his Lord, sought hateful speech, defiant words against Him, would not serve God, he said that his body was bright and shiny, beautiful and radiant. He might not find it in his heart that he desired discipleship toward God, to serve the prince. It seemed to him that he himself had greater power and skill, might have more soldiers than holy God. The angel of arrogance spoke many words. He conceived of

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[117] Ibid., 118.

[118] Doane notes a "tropological tension" between "what ought to be, and the mediation of that opposition by the rightly directed mind. With *Ac* (line 259) the historical narrative of what actually happened begins and with it the beginning of time and sin … This is the sentence governing the whole rebellion of the angels" (*The Saxon Genesis*, 119).

[119] For the most complete philological analysis of the term used to denote Satan's 'pride' (*ofermod*), arguably the most critically contentious word in the OE corpus, see Helmut Gneuss, "*The Battle of Maldon* 89: Byrtnoð's *ofermod* Once Again," *SP* 73 (1976): 117-137. On the issue of pride, see Rosemary Woolf, "The Devil in Old English Poetry," *RES* 4 (1953), 1-12. Woolf suggests that lord-retainer relationship in *Genesis B* helps the poet work through the issue of pride as being a source of evil for an Anglo-Saxon audience by transforming it into the violation of social hierarchy in the poem.

[120] Whereas the location of Lucifer's rival throne is typically "north," *Genesis B* suggests that Lucifer builds *west and norð* which resembles the direction that Paul is taken in to see hell in the *Visio Pauli*. For more on what Anglo-Saxon sources say about the locations of heaven and hell, see T. Hill, "Some Remarks on 'The Site of Lucifer's Throne'," 305; see also my discussion of the symbolic geography of Winchester in Chapter One (49), Abbo's use of the Book of Jeremiah in Chapter Two (102), and my discussion of Vercelli XXIII in Chapter Three (154) for more on the location of Lucifer's rebellion.

how through his own power he might create a stronger throne for himself, higher in the heavens; he said that his heart urged him to begin to build west and north, build up a foundation; he said that it seemed doubtful to him that he would continue to be a subject for God.)

Rebellion is represented as an interior conflict. The poet describes Lucifer's turning away from God with the verb *awende*, from *awendan* 'to alter, turn, move, translate, create a reversal of direction or fortune, convert, overturn, or overthrow.'[121] Thus, the angel's desire is embodied in a simultaneous turning from God and an ironic self-inflicted reversal of fortune. In the angel's first speech, we see the poet's portrayal of his self-absorption:

> 'Hwæt sceal ic winnan?' cwæð he. 'Nis me wihtæ þearf
> hearran to habbanne. Ic mæg mid handum swa fela
> wundra gewyrcean. Ic hæbbe geweald micel
> to gyrwanne godlecran stol,
> hearran on heofne. Hwy sceal ic æfter his hyldo ðeowian,
> bugan him swilces geongordomes? Ic mæg wesan god swa he.
> Bigstandað me strange geneatas, þa ne willað me æt þam striðe geswican,
> hæleþas hearrdmode. Hie habbað me to hearran gecorene,
> rofe rincas; mid swilcum mæg man ræd geþencean,
> fon mid swilcum folcgesteallan. Frynd synd hie mine georne,
> hold on hyra hygesceaftum. Ic mæg hyra hearra wesan,
> rædan on þis rice. Swa me þæt riht ne þinceð,
> þæt ic oleccan awiht þurfe
> gode æfter gode ænegum. Ne wille ic leng his geongra wurþan.' (*Genesis B*, ll. 278-291)

('Why should I toil?' he said. 'It is not at all necessary for me to have a master. I may work as many wonders with my own hands. I have great authority to make ready a more godly throne, higher in heaven. Why should I slave after His grace, bow to Him with such obedience? I might be a god as He is. Strong companions stand beside me, headstrong heroes who do not desire to abandon me in battle. They have chosen me as their master, brave soldiers; with such men one can devise counsel, and undertake it with such warriors. These are my eager friends, loyal in their hearts. I may become their lord, rule in this kingdom. So it does not seem right to me, that I need to embrace God at all for any good thing. I will no longer be His disciple.')

The angel is fixated upon his outward beauty and strength, and also his potential as a worker of 'wonders' (*wundra*). His wish to renounce his position as subject and 'disciple' (*geongra*) would mean to rise 'higher' (*hearran*) in heaven (echoed by his stated longing to become a 'lord'

[121] *DOE* s.v. *awendan*, sense I.

(*hearra*) above the other angels). Paradoxically, the angel evokes the concept of loyalty among companions just as he is in the process of dismantling the very structures of the lord-retainer system.

The poet intensifies the angel's conventional motive. Lucifer wishes not simply to be 'like' God but 'to be a god as He' (*wesan god swa he* [l. 283b]).[122] In narratives recounting the fall of the angels, medieval authors often introduce an impetus of desire, that is, how the proud angel conceives of himself in relation to God. This tradition is derived from Isaiah 14:12-15.[123] Normally, in their glossing of *similis*,[124] Anglo-Saxon authors suggest that Satan's sin is grounded in his ambition to be 'like' (*gelic*) God. Occasionally, authors will depart from this practice and offer their own personal touch to this desire.[125] In departing from the common scriptural expression, the poet produces a more radical expression of the angel's construction of self through his will to 'be' (*wesan*) God. Satan's desire unfolds more clearly in the context of his speeches in *Genesis B* but, at this point in the narrative, the poet firmly affixes his proper 'likeness' as part of God's circuit of creation. The angel's resolve to assume the stature of sovereignty reminds readers of the poet's earlier expression of what the angel is truly *gelic*: 'he

[122] The closest approximation to this desire can be found in Ælfric's treatment of Isaiah 14:13-14 in his *Letter to Sigeweard*, which reads 'but he desired to win a kingdom for himself by force and through pride make himself into a god' (*ac wolde mid riccetere him rice gewinnan and þurh modignisse hine macian to Gode*) (*The Old English Heptateuch,* ll. 66-83). Similarly, Ælfric's *Letter to Wulfgeat* reads 'he desired … to be a god himself' (*wolde … him sylf beon god*) (*Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, 1-12).

[123] For a helpful overview of patristic treatments of this desire, see Stella Purce Revard, *The War in Heaven: Paradise Lost and the Tradition of Satan's Rebellion* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980), 44-46.

[124] Using the narratological theory of "focalization" or limited narrative viewpoints, Ericksen states that "what the character can and cannot see or recognize defines his or her spiritual relation to God … when characters are disobedient to God, they are in the land of unlikeness and see and recognize ungodly things" ("Lands of Unlikeness," 2).

[125] Wulfstan, for instance, suggests that the angel attempted to insert himself into the Trinity by glossing *aequalis* and *coaequalis* or 'co-equal' with *efengelica*, a term which carried distinctly Trinitarian connotations; see my discussion in Chapter Two (85). Avitus, in his depiction of the fall, showcases the angel's resolve to obtain God's 'name' (*nomen*). See my discussion above (170).

was like the shining stars' (*gelic wæs he þam leohtum steorrum*).[126] By clearly establishing what this angel is *gelic*, a figure which ought to be always oriented towards the worship of God, the poet creates a tension between the angel's reality and his longing to undo his intended heavenly course around God.

Whereas in *Genesis A* the rebellion arose from a failure to continue acting upon an existing *ræd* that is self-actualizing but not self-interested, in *Genesis B* it arises from a decidedly egotistical desire for self-glorification, originating in the 'heart' or 'mind' (*hige*). The poet draws attention to the individualistic nature of sin while also locating its impetus in the self-consciousness of the body, concentrating on the mental change in the angel after he realizes 'his body was bright and shiny, beautiful and radiant' (*lic wære leoht and scene, hwit and hiowbeohrt* [ll. 255-256a]). Furthermore, by suppressing the alternative motivations such as prohibitions or rivalry towards Adam, both the *Genesis A* and *B* poets highlight the nature of the menace within the polity by filtering all angelic aggression in their narratives towards the very condition of lordship in the heavenly kingdom.

The poet's account of God's response to the heavenly crisis is qualified as retribution for the angels' refusal to offer God their loyalty:

> Þa hit se allwalda eall gehyrde,
> þæt his engyl ongan ofermede micel
> ahebban wið his hearran and spræc healic word
> dollice wið drihten sinne, sceolde he þa dæd ongyldan,
> worc þæs gewinnes gedælan, and sceolde his wite habban,
> ealra morðra mæst. Swa deð monna gehwilc
> þe wið his waldend winnan ongynneð
> mid mane wið þone mæran drihten. Þa wearð se mihtiga gebolgen,

[126] Doane proposes that the poet is establishing an allusion "to the prefallen angelic name Lucifer" derived from *luci-ferens* or "light-bearing" (*The Saxon Genesis*, 258-9 n. 456a). Perhaps more intriguing is that the poet avoids naming the prefallen angel until he resides in hell as "Satan." The illumination on page 16 of the manuscript depicts heaven and hell at the moment of the fall of the angels while the rest of angelic creation looking on from heaven. Interestingly, the illumination calls up specific imagery from the text with a ring of stars, acting as a barrier, separating heaven from the space where the angels fall.

hehsta heofones waldend, wearp hine of þan hean stole.
Hete hæfde he æt his hearran gewunnan, hyldo hæfde his ferlorene,
gram wearð him se goda on his mode. Forþon he sceolde grund gesecean
heardes hellewites, þæs þe he wann wið heofnes waldend.
Acwæð hine þa fram his hyldo and hine on helle wearp,
on þa deopan dala, þær he to deofle wearð,
se feond mid his geferum eallum Feollon þa ufon of heofnum
þurlonge swa þreo niht and dagas,[127]
þa englas of heofnum on helle, and heo ealle forsceop
drihten to deoflum. Forþon heo his dæd and word
noldon weorðian, forþon he heo on wyrse leoht
under eorðan neoðan, ællmihtig god,
sette sigelease on þa sweartan helle.
Þær hæbbað heo on æfyn ungemet lange,[128]
ealra feonda gehwilc, fyr edneowe,
þonne cymð on uhtan easterne wind,[129]
forst fyrnum cald. Symble fyr oððe gar,
sum heard geswinc habban sceoldon.
Worhte man hit him to wite, (hyra woruld wæs gehwyrfed),
forman siðe, fylde helle
mid þam andsacum. Heoldon englas forð
heofonrices hehðe, þe ær godes hyldo gelæston.[130]
Lagon þa oðre fynd on þam fyre, þe ær swa feala hæfdon
gewinnes wið heora waldend. Wite þoliað,
hatne heaðowealm helle tomiddes,
brand and brade ligas, swilce eac þa biteran recas,
þrosm and þystro, forþon hie þegnscipe
godes forgymdon. (*Genesis B*, ll. 292-327a)

(When the ruler of all heard all this, that His angel began to raise great strife against his Lord and spoke haughty words foolishly against his Lord, then he had to pay for the deed, share the pain in this struggle, and have his punishment, the greatest of all miseries. Just as any person does when he begins to strive against his ruler with sin against the great lord. Then the mighty one, the highest ruler of heaven, grew angry, and threw him off of the high throne. He had won hate from

[127] On the unusual detail about angels raining from heaven for three days, see Stephen Pelle, "*Ræd, Unræd*, and Raining Angels: Alterations to a Late Copy of Ælfric's *De Initio Creaturae*," *N&Q* 53 (2010): 295-301. Pelle notes a similar motif in a twelfth-century homily "On Creation" in MS Vespasian D xiv. See *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D. XIV*, ed. Rubie D-N. Warner, EETS o.s. 152 (London: Trübner and Oxford University Press, 1917), 2.

[128] The reference to an "immeasurably long evening" spent in hell may be an echo and a variation upon the 'single night in hell' topos in the Irish tradition. For more on this tradition, see Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 207.

[129] To my knowledge, no critic has called attention to the direction the winds blow in hell; no doubt this derives from the significance of the east in the Insular tradition. See my comments in Chapter One on the reconstruction of the eastern precincts in Winchester and the east's traditional association with the location of heaven and God's throne (49).

[130] Dubs notes the many occurrences of the term for 'grace' (*hyldo*) in this sequence and suggests that Satan's loss of grace is comparable to Eve's worries about her own forfeited grace and Adam's loss of it ("A Study in Grace," 60-62).

his Lord, he had lost favor, the good one had become enraged against him in His mind. Therefore he had to seek the abyss of hard hell-torments, because he fought against the ruler of heaven. He banished them from His favor and threw them into hell, into the deep chasm, where he became a devil, the enemy with all his companions. They fell out of heaven nonstop for three nights and days, the angels from heaven into hell, and they were all reshaped by the Lord into devils. Because they would not abide by His word and deed, therefore the almighty God set them in a worse light underneath the earth, placed victory-less in that dark hell. There they had an immeasurably long evening, each and every enemy, and an ever-new fire, when dawn comes up an eastern wind, a wickedly cold frost. Whether fire or cold, they must have a certain hard torture. It was made to torment them from their first journey, (their world was overturned). Hell was filled with those adversaries. The angels who held God's favor henceforth ruled the heights of the kingdom of heaven. The others lay in the fire, who earlier possessed such great strife against their ruler. They suffer torments, hot heat amid hell, fire and broad flames, so also bitter fumes, smoke and darkness, because they had forsaken God's thaneship.)

In narrating God's swift response to the angel's haughtiness, insolent words, and desire to establish a rival kingdom, the poet spotlights God's 'hate' (*hete*) in the exchange when Satan is thrown 'off the high throne' (*of þan hean stole*). Here, the poet interrupts the narrative at this critical moment to offer a meta-reflection on how contingencies in the heavenly kingdom are applicable to exceptional circumstances in the earthly kingdom. The poet states that the angel's malicious thoughts, words, and deeds caused him to receive his punishment 'Just as any person does when he begins to strive against his ruler with sin against the great lord' (*Swa deð monna gehwilc þe wið his waldend winnan ongynneð mid mane wið þone mæran drihten* [ll. 297b-299a]). The Old English terms 'ruler' (*waldend*) or 'lord' (*drihten*) can be used interchangeably to refer to a secular lord or God, meaning that the idea of lordship bridges the earthly and the divine, insinuating that an earthly, secular ruler has the authority to respond to crises just as God did in this case.

Satan's desire for his own measure of lordship results in a kingdom he *can* call his own. Whereas before he was described as an 'angel of pride' (*engel ofermodes* [l. 272a]), he is now described as a 'proud king' (*ofermoda cyning* [l. 348a]). In achieving this status, however, he has of course received an undesirable kingdom. As Doane points out, his new title of king is one of

"reproach" and "an inverted kingship, as his world is inverted."[131] With the understatement 'their world was overturned' (*hyra woruld wæs gehwyrfed* [l. 3318b]), the poet stresses the fact that their desire to reverse the hierarchy in heaven reverses everything right down to the identity of the former angels. Theirs is an utterly failed revolution. Instead of fomenting change, they have been subject to it.[132]

While recounting Satan's lament in hell, the poet emphasizes his deflated expectations and his astonishment at how different hell is from his former home in heaven.[133] From Satan's perspective, the poet demonstrates his knowledge that earth has since been peopled:

> 'Ac ðoliaþ we nu þrea on helle, (þæt syndon þystro and hæto),
> grimme, grundlease. Hafað us god sylfa
> forswapen on þas sweartan mistas; swa he us ne mæg ænige synne gestælan,
> þæt we him on þam lande lað gefremedon, he hæfð us þeah þæs leohtes bescryrede,
> beworpen on ealra wita mæste. Ne magon we þæs wrace gefremman,
> geleanian him mid laðes wihte þæt he us hafað þæs leohtes bescyrede.
> He hæfð nu gemearcod anne middangeard, þær he hæfð mon geworhtne
> æfter his onlicnesse. Mid þam he wile eft gesettan heofona rice mid hluttrum
> saulum.' (*Genesis B*, ll. 389-397)

('But we now suffer hardship in hell, (there is darkness and heat), grim, groundless. God Himself has swept us into these dark mists; although He could not accuse us of any sin, that we accomplished in anger against Him in that land, He has deprived us of light, cast us into the greatest of all punishments. We may not carry out revenge for this, repay Him with any kind of harm because He has deprived us of light. He has now established a middle-earth, where He has created humanity after His likeness. Through them He desires afterwards to settle the heavenly kingdom with pure souls.')

Satan's lamentations over his fate have puzzled critics. The most unusual feature is his allegation that God's actions against him were preemptive. The poet's subtle inclusion of Satan's self-

[131] Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 130.
[132] Ibid., 119.
[133] On this passage, see Ericksen's discussion of the theological idea of "regions of dissimilarity" developed by Augustine ("Lands of Unlikeness," 3). She argues that "focalization … positions the readers alongside Satan; because the narrative suddenly restricts information to no more of heaven than what Satan himself sees, the sense of loss is all the more palpable" ("Lands of Unlikeness," 8).

delusion and failure to recognize his ontological state of damnation here is telling.[134] It is troublesome that Satan believes in his own innocence, as Hill observes:

> These protestations are very odd … both in the larger context of the tradition of Christian elaborations of the fall narrative and in their immediate context in the poem. In the extra-Biblical traditions of the story of the fall of Satan and man … Satan often laments his fate; but as far as I am aware, he never protests his innocence.[135]

Satan appeals to the lack of formally demarcated rules in heaven thereby revealing that God operated above and beyond any prescribed laws or commandments. The reader is invited to consider whether or not "sin" existed at all prior to the angelic rebellion as this passage recalls the Pauline theme that "by the law is the knowledge of sin."[136] According to Schmitt, the nature of the exception is "unpredictable." He asserts that "the exception depends on a perception of a threat" regardless of whether it is real or imagined.[137] The point, then, is to stress the fact that God's sovereignty rests above ordinances and extends beyond fathomable limits.

While ruminating on his condemnation, Satan's thoughts quickly turn to his newly-created replacements, Adam and Eve, and his desire to incite rebellion from below. Because of his restraints, Satan must appeal to his demonic comrades for assistance in the ruin of Adam. Whereas the *Genesis A* poet elucidates the replacement doctrine through the viewpoint of God substantiating 'compensation' for the rebellion and loss in heaven, in *Genesis B* our clearest representation of newly-created humanity is focalized through Satan's unreliable narration and logic:

> … Nu hie drihtne synt
> wurðan micle, and moton him þone welan agan

[134] On the issue of exile, see Cherniss who suggests the "opposition which the poet sets up between Heaven and Hell is the same as the opposition which we find in secular heroic poetry between the hall and the lands of exile" ("Heroic Ideals," 487).
[135] T. Hill, "Satan's Injured Innocence in *Genesis B*," 289. Hill suggests an exegetical source for this tirade; Gregory states that "even after the fall Satan has no sense that he has done wrong" (290).
[136] The Epistle of Saint Paul to the Romans 3:20 reads: *per legem enim cognito peccati*.
[137] Schmitt, *Political Theology*, 45.

> þe we on heofonrice habban sceoldon,
> rice mid rihte; is se ræd gescryred
> monna cynne. Þæt me is on minum mod swa sar,
> on minum hyge hreoweð, þæt hie heofonrice
> agan to aldre.' (*Genesis B*, ll. 421b-427a)

('… Now they are more honored by the Lord, and might possess for themselves what we should have in the heavenly kingdom, the kingdom through right; the advantage is given to mankind. That to me is the greatest sorrow in my heart, grates on my mind, that they might possess the kingdom of heaven forever.')

Surveying his *own* loss, Satan describes how 'the advantage is given' (*is se ræd gescryred*) to Adam and Eve, that 'they might possess the heavenly kingdom' (*hie heofonrice agan*). Doane observes that replacement here "is seen not as doctrine but as an imperfectly grasped set of circumstances. Instead of an explanation of grace and predestination, the doctrine is expressed as an act of divine vengeance."[138] Doane is correct, to my mind, when he suggests that by incorporating the "teleology of replacement," the audience is called upon to "recognize the gap between true doctrine and what Satan says."[139] In order to account for the process of replacement in the narrative, it is here that we see the closest connection to the Irish material in terms of Satan's axis of anxiety. Only after he has fallen do we get a glimpse of Satan's belated concern over Adam as both "rival" and "inheritor."

As with historical poems like *The Battle of Maldon*, where the audience already knows that things will turn out badly in the end, the poet's recapitulation of the story of the fall of the angels in *Genesis B*, narrated at the precise moment of God's prohibition to Adam and Eve, heightens narrative tension surrounding what Anglo-Saxon readers presumably already know: there will be trouble in Paradise. By situating the flashback accordingly, the poet utilizes this device as a kind of legal precedent or exemplum, signaling to Anglo-Saxon readers that the

[138] Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 132.
[139] Ibid.

fraught construction of spiritual identity in the absence of prohibitions and rules should direct and inform their understanding of the elaboration of the crisis in heaven.

Undoubtedly, *Genesis A* and *B* are night and day in terms of their poetic style and content. Yet it remains that they reinforce one another in their explication of the consequences of the fall of the angels and present the rebellion as an etiology for law, lordship, and the normal order of society for Anglo-Saxon culture. Far from a mere digression, the fall of the angels in *Genesis B* serves as the focal point for the poet's elucidation of the uninhibited, revolutionary self. In accepting Lockett's re-dating of Junius 11, I would suggest that the central tension in these narratives would have registered in a real way with readership – monastic, clerical, or lay – during the Benedictine Reform, a period characterized by a heightened awareness about the place of rules (not simply obligation) in the structuring of individual Christian identity and communal religious life. This awareness was, by and large, the institutionalized response to a population of lax clerics living in Anglo-Saxon England who were seen as predisposed to rebellious behavior because they were not bound to obey monastic rules such as *The Rule of Saint Benedict*.[140] Recently, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has suggested that in homilies of the period "the pride that accompanied [Satan's] disobedience was understood as a reflex of self-will."[141] She goes on to say that in the authorized rules and customaries of this era, one can detect an "explicit form of self-fashioning" which is "self-conscious yet denying the self; using the will to deny the will."[142] If the poem did indeed have a place within this milieu, whether as a complaint against the growing emphasis upon the regulation of the self or an argument in its favor, the *Genesis B* poet

[140] The *Regularis Concordia* provided a universalized liturgy for all the monasteries in England and initiated a program designed to combat the dangers of pride; see *Regularis Concordia*, 1-2. For the complete text, see *Councils and Synods*, 149-150.
[141] O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience*, 27.
[142] Ibid., 14.

represents in dramatic fashion that a life measured by rules structures subjectivity in a fundamentally different way than a life without them.

4.5 Revolution, Revelation, and the Divine "Exception"

Much has been written on the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve in *Genesis B*. While it is not my intent here to investigate their story, nor the long-standing questions surrounding the poet's presentation of their fall, I would like to briefly consider how the poet connects the fall of humankind with the fall of the angels. Critics often divide into two camps when exploring the *Genesis B* poet's purpose in linking the two falls. On the one hand, the poet appears to forge close connections between the two events in order to establish them as equally egregious sins and, additionally, demonstrate the recursive cycle of sinfulness in creation. Focusing on the theme of loyalty in the poem, Michael Cherniss argues that "the description of the angels' failure to obey God, when seen in light of God's instructions to Adam and Eve, serves … to illuminate the parallel between the situations of the angels and Man before their respective falls."[143] Similarly suggesting that the first fall prefigures that of humankind, Doane asserts that the two are "causally and typologically linked. [They] are not merely contiguous but typologically woven."[144] However, as I have argued, both the *Genesis A* and *B* poets deviate not only from

[143] Cherniss, "Heroic Ideals," 484. Doane seconds these views noting that the "details of the psychological mechanisms by which Satan fell are relevant because they are recapitulated in all men's experience historically (typologically) and existentially (tropologically). All men since the Fall are the historical residue of Satan's fall … The fall is past, even an object of nostalgia" (*The Saxon Genesis*, 129).

[144] Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 116. Doane adds that it "was a theological truism that every sin is a replication of Satan's rebellion against God. The sins of Satan and of a man, the one so high and so long ago, yet present as a pattern, the other so intimate, always potential as well as actual in the mind of the guilty one, are connected by the pattern and by the grammar (ll. 197b-299a) (*The Saxon Genesis*, 125). A series of other structural considerations have been applied by critics such as the role of "envelope patterns." Here, see Adeline Bartlett, *The Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935); for how these types of patterns are incorporated into Junius 11, see Colette Stévanovitch, "Envelope Patterns in *Genesis A* and *B*," *Neophil* 80 (1996): 465-478. She notes the circular structure of Satan's speech from hell, which is symbolic of its logic (471). Figural interpretation or *figura* has also been considered. For more, see Erich Auerbach, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York: Meridian, 1959), 11-76.

certain exegetical expectations, but also from Irish traditions of the fall in order to imagine the earthly kingdom as transforming into a fundamentally different kind of polity wherein Adam and Eve have the capacity to construct themselves either according to desires or to the express commands of God. Hill finds there to be latent typological associations between the two falls but cautions against a strict typological reading. He instead argues for a more nuanced view, suggesting that the aesthetic technique of "interlace" is at work in the poem:

> The principle of interlace in both art and literature involves what might almost be described as a dialectical tension – the eye follows that pattern but the opposition between its various elements is not resolved. One could argue that the structure of *Genesis B* resembles in some ways [this] pattern.[145]

Hill ultimately proposes that the poet works to establish an uneasy tension between the falls by developing Eve's role in the poem. "Far from rebelling against the commands of God," Hill argues, "Eve believes she is fulfilling the will of God and saving Adam from God's wrath."[146] Following Hill, I would submit that the poets of *Genesis A* and *B* portray a discernible gap between "rebels" and "replacements" wherein humankind possesses the ability (and desire) to conform to God's rules in a uniquely new way. With God's simple command to Adam and Eve, the poet stresses the importance, not just of expectations derived from obligation, but of the internalization of rules. In illustrating how God brings about order through familiar customs of compensation with a *gield* that also signals the eventual sacrifice of Christ, the poet communicates humanity's potential to become the 'better troop' (*selran werode* [l. 95b]) who will be active participants in the restoration of the heavenly realm. By exploring the relationship between humanity and models of divine sovereignty, the poet also appeals to his audience's sense of everyday laws within their earthly Christian community. Written in a period when, as

[145] T. Hill, "The Fall of Angels and Man," 289. Hill's article is a response to Vickrey's reductive reading of Eve wherein she represents that traditional allegorical understanding of "sense" and Adam represents "reason." ("The Vision of Eve," 282).
[146] T. Hill, "The Fall of Angels and Man," 280.

Hugh Magennis notes, the "links between the church and secular authority had introduced new ideological dimensions to the exercise of power in England, as models of Christian kingship and legitimizations of secular rule were developed,"[147] the fall of the angels represents an ongoing dialectic between Christian sovereigns and subjects in an emerging Anglo-Saxon nation.

Conclusion

There is evidence to suggest that Insular authors chose to foreground aspects of the narrative that spoke to contemporary cultural and societal concerns in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England. In both traditions we see biblical history employed by authors as a way to understand contemporary issues and challenges and to establish common myths of origin. The still unconverted English were, in Gregory's famous conceit, *angeli* destined to become members of the community of elect who would restore the loss incurred at the fall of the rebel angels. Identifying Anglo-Saxon Christians as "replacements" for rebel angels was a way to associate their English Christian community with the heavenly community and to fashion a transcendent identity for a converted people. The Benedictine Reform and the coronation of King Edgar necessitated shifting conceptions of lordship and authority. Older ideas of Germanic-heroic lordship were in flux as power became concentrated in central locations such as Winchester and formerly competing kingdoms became tied to theocratic authority.[148] Kahn offers an analogy from physics to elucidate the nature of the exception, stating that "the sovereign decision for the exception is the big-bang that contains the entire order of the universe in its potential form. That singular moment

[147] Magennis, *Images of Community*, 14.
[148] For an assessment of kingship in Anglo-Saxon England, see William A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970). Chaney notes that "The mixed-character of the dooms and of the king's role in them has certainly emerged … The result is often a paralleling of divine and human rule" (192).

is uncaused; there is no time from which it is casually derived."[149] Schmitt, in a similar way, explains this idea from a theological standpoint, locating the originary sovereign decision in God's act of creation wherein

> one has a God's eye-view on creation. Seeing the darkness over the deep, one imagines the sovereign decision as uncaused and thus literally coming from nowhere. Creation ex nihilo is the pure moment of decision. There is nothing from which we can derive, measure, or predict creation in the Old Testament story.[150]

Both Schmitt and Kahn locate the sovereign impetus for action with earthly creation stating that it is "the pure moment of decision." Yet such a model must be challenged if we are to fully understand the foundation of the theological order in Anglo-Saxon England, as sovereign action in this case is anything but "uncaused" in these narratives. For Anglo-Saxons, the sovereign decision that brought into being the theological order and also provided a template for lordship was the angelic rebellion, the originary cosmic state of emergency resolved by God's sovereign exception that sets the narrative of replacement in motion; in the final exchange, humankind becomes the proper residents of the heavenly homeland.

As an extra-scriptural event, the fall of the angels stands outside of God's laws as encoded in the biblical narrative. Yet there need not be concrete material or textual evidence for a threat to be deemed "exceptional." According to Kahn, the exception is not "a situation that satisfies a definition or a set of conditions. It is an existential concept."[151] Thus, the mere imagination of an "event – from whatever source – that is a threat to the state" can be a powerful source of belief.[152] The exception resulting from the fall of the angels was also a crucial lynchpin in Anglo-Saxon imaginings of their mythic origin out of which Christian order and civilization

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[149] Text from Kahn, *Political Theology*, 50; Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, 26.
[150] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 50.
[151] Ibid., 45.
[152] Ibid., 11.

emerges. By identifying Anglo-Saxon Christians as "replacements" to a rebellion, these authors associate their early English Christian community with the heavenly community in a unique way and fashion a distinct Christian identity for a converted people. Since the fall of the angels was, according to David F. Johnson, an example of "the kind of subject for which no canonical or otherwise authoritative narrative account existed, no single text could be regarded by the Church Fathers – or Christian poets – as authoritative."[153] Far from seeing this as a theological problem, Anglo-Saxon poets viewed this as an opportunity to write the beginning of their story as a Christian nation. The foundational crisis in *Genesis A* results in a legal settlement, the resolution of a dispute, and the legitimation of the change in possession from the rebel angels to the 'better troop.' The "settlement" in *Genesis A* is thus manifold: it is at once legal in its dramatization of compensation practices and literal in the sense that humankind will inhabit the earth until they become heirs to the heavenly kingdom at the Day of Judgment.

[153] Johnson, "The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A*," 500.

CHAPTER 5

MEASURING HELL BY HAND:

RITUALS OF COMMUNITY IN *CHRIST AND SATAN*

At the conclusion of Chapter Four, I argued that Anglo-Saxon fall of the angels narratives, although they recount originary events, also serve a teleological function in that they routinely anticipate the eventual restoration of heaven through the fulfillment of the doctrine of replacement. While both *Genesis A* and *Genesis B* depict Satan's fall as a result of his desire to imitate and supersede God's sovereignty, *Christ and Satan*,[1] the final poem in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, tells a somewhat different story. Unlike many of the fall of the angels narratives I have explored in previous chapters, this poem eschews focus on a prelapsarian Satan and instead offers several retrospective accounts of the angelic rebellion *qua* historical event. While Anglo-Saxon authors typically depict Satan's fall as a result of his desire to imitate and supersede God's sovereignty, *Christ and Satan* incorporates a striking detail about the catalyst for Satan's fall: the poet suggests that the angelic revolt was directed against – and then put down by – Christ. Six hundred years before John Milton reveals Christ as the cause of Satan's revolt in Book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, an Anglo-Saxon poet identifies Christ as the source of cosmic tension by framing the angelic revolt as a conflict arising from issues of inheritance and succession. That the *Christ and Satan* poet decided to consider Christ (rather than God) as the champion of the war in heaven is interesting considering that the idea of a young prince (Christ) going into battle while the old king (God) stays home may not have sat well with an Anglo-

[1] An edition with notes and apparatus is *Christ and Satan: An Old English Poem Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary*, ed. Merrel Dare Clubb (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925). All citations of *Christ and Satan* in this chapter are taken from *The Junius Manuscript*, ed. George Philip Krapp, ASPR I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931). The most recent edition is *Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition*, ed. Robert Emmett Finnegan (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977).

Saxon audience; it is therefore important to consider why the poet chose to pursue this option. This detail occurs nowhere else in the Junius Manuscript and only receives nominal attention in other Anglo-Saxon texts.

This version of events concerned with the relationship between Christ and angelic creation can be found in a variety of Anglo-Saxon texts. In Vercelli Homily X for Tuesday in Rogationtide, Samantha Zacher observes that "Christ speaks in poetry to Satan in the moment that he casts the angels from heaven into his hellish exile."[2] This "embedded poem" reads:

> Hwæt, we nu gehyrdon secgan, men ða leofestan, hu bealdlice spreceð þæt dioful to þam hælende, 7 þa misdæda stæleð on þa gæstas. He þonne ofer eaxle besyhð, se soðfæsta dema 7 se rihtwisa, to ðam [forworhtum 7 to ðam] scyldegum, 7 þus cwið worda grimmost: 'Nelle ic eow habban on minre geferrædenne, ac ge fram me gewitað, wuldres bedælede, freondum afyrde, feondum betæhte, [in þam] hatan wylme helle fyres, þær ge awirgedan sculon sincan 7 swincan in þam hellebrogan 7 in þam witum wunigan a butan ende.' Þænne bið dryhtnes word hraþe gehyred þam synfullan strengest; bið se dema þearl.[3]

(Lo, we now have heard said, dearest men, how boldly that devil will speak to the Savior, and impute those misdeeds to those souls. He then, the true and righteous Judge, will look over his shoulder to the damned and to the guilty ones, and say the grimmest of words, thus: 'I wish not to have you in my company, but you will depart from me, deprived of glory, withdrawn from friends, delivered to fiends in the hot surge of hell-fire where you, condemned, must sink and toil in hell-terrors and dwell in those torments forever without end.' Then is the Lord's word immediately heard by the sinful to be most powerful: the Judge is harsh.)

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[2] For analysis of the alliterative structure see Samantha Zacher, "Sin, Syntax, and Synonyms: Rhetorical Style and Structure in Vercelli Homily X," *JEGP* 103 (2004), 53-76 (56) who notes that the content of Vercelli Homily X (ll. 58-104) on the Last Judgement derives from Paulinus of Aquileia *Liber exhortationis ad Henricum* (*PL* 99.271-272). This passage (ll. 104-110) marks an addition "not found in the source" yet these lines are also adapted in CCCC 302 (221-230) and CCCC 421 (170-208). Bazire and Cross 11 contains a similar topos. Zacher suggests that these lines expand upon Matthew 25:41 (*Discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum*) and 25:46 (*Et ibunt hi in supplicium aeternum*) and are echoed in *Christ and Satan* (ll. 625-626). Zacher also discusses these lines in *Preaching the Converted*, 185. Significantly, this passage represents one of two important moments in the Vercelli Book where a homily trends prosimetric, the other being about the fall of the angels. Wright demonstrates the slippage between prose and poetry in Vercelli XXI ("More Old English Poetry," 245-262). Both X and XXI reference typologically related events within Christian salvation history; this raises important questions about how Anglo-Saxons viewed the fall of the angels alongside creation and poetic creation.

[3] *The Vercelli Homilies*, 201-202.101-110. See also Joseph B. Trahern Jr., "An Old English Verse Paraphrase of Matthew 25:41," *Mediaevalia* 1 (1977): 109-114 who first noted the similarities between these lines and *Christ and Satan* (ll. 625-626) and also demonstrated the poetic arrangement of the lines against its variants.

Although Zacher does not discuss the connection between Christ and the 'devil' (*dioful*) further, or elaborate upon the context of the passage, I would propose that Christ's poetic utterance might be understood in connection with two typologically related events: the expulsion of the angels (as Zacher suggests), and as a speech appropriate for Judgment Day when unrepentant souls will be denied admission to the kingdom of heaven by Christ himself. Although the *gæstas* here refer to human 'souls,' their exclusion by Christ from his 'company' (*geferæden*) and their fate to be 'deprived of glory' (*wuldres bedælede*) and to 'sink and toil in hell-terrors' (*sincan 7 swincan in þam hellebrogan*) echoes the rebel angels' original expulsion from heaven and their punishment.

In this way, the fate of the rebel angels serves as a warning to the unrepentant sinner. As a homily intended for Rogationtide, Vercelli X engages with some of the primary themes of the feast; namely, the expulsion of demons and the dire need to purify one's soul before Last Judgment. The succeeding homily in the collection, Vercelli XI, is likewise rubricated for Rogationtide, and further explores the relationship between Christ and Satan. Vercelli XI is loosely based on Caesarius of Arles's Sermo 215,[4] which offers the following vision of the return of faithful souls to heaven:

> Suscipere uel uidere desiderant, ubi etiam ciues nostri angeli, et civitas illa caelestis Hierusalem, et rex ciuitatis ipsius Christus, expansis nos brachiis caritatis expectant, ut ad ipsos prostrato diabolo pleni bonis operibus feliciter redeamus.[5]

(They desire to receive and see, where our fellow citizens the angels, and the city of the heavenly Jerusalem, and Christ the king of the city itself, with the outstretched arms of charity await us, so that, filled with good works and having brought low the devil, we might happily return to them.)

Caesarius entreats his audience to recognize that Christ will reward those who aid in the defeat of the devil with inclusion among the angelic community in heaven. In his rendition of this passage

[4] *The Vercelli Homilies*, 223-4.59-62.
[5] Ibid., 223.46-62.

the Anglo-Saxon homilist diverts from Caesarius somewhat in order to elaborate upon the immediate nature of his audience's task:

> þær ure bidaþ ure ceasterliode, þæt syndon englas 7 heahenglas, 7 þær is sio wundorlice ceaster Hierusalem, þær ure bideð mid aþenedum earmum ure dryhten hælend Crist. Uton nu for þan efstan þæt we dioful oferwinnen.[6]

(There our townsmen wait for us, who are angels and archangels, and there is the glorious city of Jerusalem, where our Lord Savior Christ awaits us with outstretched arms. Let us now therefore hasten in order that we might overcome the devil.)

The homilist describes how 'angels and archangels' (*englas 7 heahenglas*), humanity's future 'townsmen' (*ceasterliode*), eagerly await righteous souls. He next calls upon his audience to 'hasten' (*efstan*) and 'overcome' (*oferwinnen*) the devil in the here and now, gesturing towards the Rogationtide ritual that the congregation will assist in as they exit the parish to process about the boundaries of their community. Through this adaptation, the homilist effectively signals that the act of expulsion – recalling the original purification of heaven – is to be remedied through the Rogationtide ritual of perambulation.

The poet portrays Satan's attempts to disrupt Christ's sovereignty in both heavenly and earthly territories before Satan receives his fitting punishment: forfeiture of his territories, exclusion from heaven, and exile to the chaotic spaces of hell. This intersection of sovereignty and space can be related to the concept of the state of exception. I have been arguing that the fall of the angels serves as the archetypal exception for Anglo-Saxon authors, with the rebellion constituting the first state of emergency and the decision to expel them mirroring a state of exception because the possibility of a threat to heavenly peace and perfection had to that moment not been imaginable. In my discussion of *Genesis A*, for instance, I considered how the Anglo-Saxon poet represents God's reaction to the rebellion as an exception or a reaction to a crisis for which no precedent exists. Crucially, out of this exception emerges the ambit of earthly creation,

[6] Ibid., 223-224.59-62.

commandments and laws, and also new subjects – humankind – created with the express purpose of repairing the loss incurred at the primal emergency. As I have shown, this idea had doctrinal status and was known as the doctrine of replacement. Anglo-Saxon Christians, who self-identified as the rightful heirs to the territories forfeited by the rebels, were profoundly invested in envisioning their Christian community's inclusion in the spaces of the heaven through replacement.

While the concept of the sovereign exception can aid in explaining some of the broader ecclesiastical and national implications of the fall of the angels narrative, I think it can also explain how Anglo-Saxons defined spaces where political order, laws, and norms might be created and legitimized. Rogationtide rituals reinforce the organization of spaces through the 'borderline concept' or *Grenzbegriff* (as Schmitt calls it) by defining where the community exists in a physical space while also establishing who lives by and enjoys the protection of the laws and customs of that community. Giorgio Agamben can help illuminate the matter further. He writes, "the state of exception opens the space in which the determination of a certain juridical order and a particular territory first becomes possible."[7] In other words, through the exception, spaces and the individuals who inhabit them are defined. Agamben continues, "The relation of exception thus simply expresses the originary formal structure of the juridical relation. In this sense, the sovereign decision on the exception is the originary juridico-political structure on the basis of which what is included in the juridical order and what is excluded from it acquire their meaning."[8] In a similar way, Nicholas Howe has addressed the idea of spaces, homelands, and "geographical specificity" in *Christ and Satan*, noting Satan's frequent musings on his lost homeland as well as his sense of physical displacement and Christ's role as "the guide to the

[7] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 19.
[8] Ibid.

homeland, a figure who fulfils but also completes Moses because he is allowed to finish his journey and that of his followers."[9] While the twin events of the fall of the angels and Judgment Day, owing to their typological connection, were in many ways fused in the Anglo-Saxon imagination, Judgment Day – the event where Christ decides who is to be "included" and "excluded" – is the clear extension of the "juridical order" in the heavenly "territory" that derives from the original "exception." The state of exception produced by the angelic rebellion, in other words, establishes abiding norms for Christians to follow and obey if they are to be included within heavenly structures in the next life.

Yet this singular and always future event was anticipated annually in the liturgy of Rogationtide, when membership in the community of the saved was physically enacted by circumambulation of the church precincts. In this way, it is natural that Last Judgment speeches such as in Vercelli X should resemble those that we see directed at the rebel angels in homilies and elsewhere. By Judgment Day, however, Christ's decisions for exclusion have been reconstituted as norms. The poet appeals to his readers' sense of both earthly and heavenly spaces in order to highlight that their eventual inheritance in heaven depends upon their adherence to the "juridical order" as faithful and penitent Christians. Anything existing outside this order is hell, a space also delineated by the exception. The poet describes how hell, Satan's "homeland," is, in a sense, portable and embodied as Satan carries it with him wherever he goes:

> '… fyr bið ymbutan
> on æghwylcum, þæh he uppe seo.
> Ne mot he þam sawlum þe ðær secað up,
> eadige of eorþan æfre gehrinan,
> ah ic be hondum mot hæþenre sceale

[9] For more on the condition of exile and expulsion in the Junius Manuscript, see Nicholas Howe, "Falling into Place: Dislocation in the Junius Book," in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.*, ed. Mark C. Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 14-37 (32). For Howe, exile is about continuous movement and the goal is to arrive at a place where one can stop moving. Satan is never able to accomplish this within the poem.

gripan to grunde, godes andsacan.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 263b-268)

('… fire surrounds each one, though he may be on high. One is never allowed to touch those blessed souls which seek upwards there, from the earth, but I am able with my hands to snatch the heathen ones into the abyss, God's adversaries.')

Like Rogation homilies, *Christ and Satan* is deeply concerned with the expulsion of demons, the fates of 'blessed souls' (*sawlum … eadige*) and 'God's adversaires' (*godes andsacan*), communal rituals of demarcation, and Christ's role as judge and arbitrator. Rogation and its spatial orientations thus offer us a useful framework for understanding how the poet imagines the territories of heaven and hell in connection with Christ's sovereign authority. By accomplishing this dialectical drama of "inclusion" and "exclusion" political theology is manifested spatially in early Rogationtide practices, through which Anglo-Saxon Christians experienced these conceptual markers in their most palpable forms.

A focus on both pre- and postlapsarian space and territory runs through the entirety of *Christ and Satan*. Christ's command that Satan measure the 'circuit' of hell, I will argue, can be productively understood as an inversion of the liturgical rituals associated with the Rogationtide festival. At once designed to purify both space and the self, this feast symbolically reenacted the original exclusion of the rebel angels from heaven and also foreshadowed the final inclusions and exclusions at the Last Judgment. I will demonstrate how Satan tours his self-prescribed boundaries in a demonic parody of the Rogation practice of the 'circuit' (*ymbgang* or *ymbhwyrft*),[10] which later came to be called "beating the bounds." In this way, Satan performs and embodies his own exclusion and condition of lordlessness while succinctly replicating his original expulsion from heaven.

[10] *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, ed. Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 73.124; 141.

By evoking the liturgical and performative rituals of Rogationtide, which foreshadow the cosmic inclusions and exclusions of Judgment Day, the end of *Christ and Satan* directly engages issues of communal identity, purification, and salvation. First, I will examine the *Christ and Satan* poet's eccentric adjustments of the fall of the angels narrative, which allow him to elaborate upon the relationship between Christ and Satan as antagonists and to highlight humanity's capacity for (dis)inheritance of heaven at Judgment Day. Second, I will discuss the traditions associated with the Rogationtide festival with special attention to its ritual functions in demarcating boundaries, inscribing inclusion and exclusion, and performing spatial purification. Finally, I will turn to the 'two hour challenge' at the end of *Christ and Satan* and suggest that the poet calls upon Anglo-Saxon readers to understand their own role in expelling demons from the community and the soul so that they will be able to take their places in the kingdom of heaven. Here, the poet ingeniously adapts the Rogation ritual as a way for his audience to understand the distinction between penance and punishment, inviting them to anticipate Christ's Ascension and their own advance to heaven at the end of the Junius codex.

Introduction

Christ and Satan's 728 lines rehearse some of the "greatest hits" in biblical history, from the expulsion of the angels and their confinement in hell (ll. 1-364) to Christ's Harrowing of Hell and Ascension, the coming of the Holy Spirit, and the Last Judgment (ll. 365-662). The poem then returns to Christ's Temptation in the wilderness (ll. 663-729), before arriving at its conclusion, "Finit Liber II. Amen."[11] The place of the poem within Junius 11 has been a topic of

[11] The poem acquired its title from Christian W. M. Grein, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie in kritisch bearbeiteten Texten und mit vollständigem Glossar herausgegeben*, vols. 1-2 (Göttingen: Georg H. Wigand, 1857; 1858). Unlike the other pages in the Junius Manuscript, *Christ and Satan* does not contain illustrations and there were no spaces left for them. Gollancz suggested that the design on 225 may have been a trial drawing for the cover

vigorous debate. In addition to there not being a corresponding rubric, "Liber I," *Christ and Satan*, unlike the poems which precede it, contains no illustrations and shows signs of heavy use and wear. These physical disparities, which include a conspicuous folding, have led scholars such as M. D. Clubb, Sir Israel Gollancz, and Peter Lucas to conclude that the poem was not originally meant for inclusion in Junius 11. Lucas, for instance, proposed that *Christ and Satan* circulated independently as a separate booklet, perhaps within a monastic milieu, before being bound in the manuscript.[12]

Barbara Raw argues instead that the poem was copied expressly for Junius 11 (rather than being interpolated), and that the folding occurred as a result of a later re-sewing effort after the quire had already been written and bound. Liber II's assembly was likely carried out by three separate scribes and a fourth participant known as the "Corrector."[13] Following Raw's seminal study, it is now generally agreed that *Christ and Satan* was simply "a fairly early afterthought" in the manuscript's assembly.[14] Even so, the poem's unusual structure, chronology, and interspersed homiletic passages[15] make *Christ and Satan* the odd one out following the paraphrases of individual Old Testament books in *Genesis A* and *B*, *Exodus*, and *Daniel*. Scholars have attempted to reconcile its non-linear chronology, which begins with heavenly

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page (*The Cædmon Manuscript*, xxxvi). On the language and date of the poem see Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 56-63; for date and dialect see Charles Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*, McMaster Old English Studies and Texts 3 (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 27-49.

[12] Peter J. Lucas, "On the Incomplete Ending of *Daniel* and the Addition of *Christ and Satan* to MS Junius 11," *Anglia* 97 (1979): 46-59.

[13] Johnson, "Studies in the Literary Career of the Fallen Angels," 167.

[14] Raw argues that the book was bound c. 1000 and a second time c. 1230 ("The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Junius 11," 191ff; 202-203); Lucas argues for a twelfth-century date in "MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury," *Scriptorium* 34 (1980): 197-220 (198ff).

[15] On the homiletic qualities of the poem, see Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 19-25.

creation and the complaints of the fallen angels,[16] proceeds through Christ's post-Passion career, and then returns to Temptation, an episode loosely derived from Matthew 4:3-11.[17]

How can we reconcile this non-linear chronology? Nineteenth-century scholars such as John Josias Conybeare, Benjamin Thorpe, and Bernhard ten Brink assumed that the poem was fragmentary and must have been arranged in a piecemeal or even arbitrary fashion.[18] Friedrich Groschopp likewise saw deeper structural flaws in the poem owing to its blending of narrative-dramatic and hortatory-homiletic elements.[19] These perceived incongruities were reiterated in the twentieth century by scholars like C. Abbetmeyer, who shared the generic concerns of the poem's earliest critics.[20]

Scholars such as Brandl, Gollancz, and Clubb[21] reacted against the theory of arbitrary arrangement and sought to find unifying principles within the poem. Huppé argued that the poem's trajectory was neither problematic nor capricious, suggesting that "Temptation ends the

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[16] Trilling notes that the poem covers the "epic sweep of biblical history and places [the events] side by side, and not necessarily in chronological order" (*The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 108); Trilling also notes that "The Fall of the Angels is retold no fewer than four times in the first four hundred lines, and it is referenced repeatedly as the proximate cause of the devils' current suffering" (*The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 108).

[17] Luke 4:1-13 also contains a Temptation in the desert, but the poet is more indebted to Matthew. For an account of other texts recounting the Temptation see Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 33; DiNapoli identifies the following Temptation homilies: "Blickling Homily 3 for the first Sunday of Lent, *CH* I.11 for the first Sunday of Lent, Supp 11a.128-132, Vercelli Homily 12 for the second day of Rogation" (*An Index of Theme and Image*, 78). See also Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*, 66-67. Ælfric's Temptation homily explains the purpose of the Lenten fast and, likewise, his devil also claims to be the ruler of the world. See Stephen Harris, "The Liturgical Context of Ælfric's Homilies for Rogation," in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. Aaron Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 143-169; for an important account of the occurrence and significance of various words from this episode in the corpus, see Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*, 71-111. In particular, Sleeth suggests that *eðel* carries connotations of 'birthright' and 'inheritance' (*Studies in Christ and Satan*, 100-104).

[18] Conybeare, *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*; Benjamin Thorpe, *Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures in Anglo-Saxon: with an English Translation, Notes, and Verbal Index* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1832); Bernhard ten Brink, *History of English Literature*, trans. Horace M. Kennedy, vol. 1 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1883).

[19] Friedrich Groschopp, "Das anelsächsische Gedicht *Christ und Satan*" (Ph.D. diss., Leipzig; Halle: E. Karras, 1883).

[20] For a full account of the debates surrounding the structure and unity of the poem, see Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*, 3ff.

[21] Alois Brandl, *Geschichte der Altenglischen Literatur* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1908); Clubb, *Crist and Satan*, xlviii-lv.

poem because it is tropologically the supreme drama in God's defeat of Satan."[22] Following Huppé's tropological reading, Neil D. Isaacs posited that the work was likewise unified by the "dramatic (and extra-chronological) arrangement of the material" with this episode as its culmination.[23] Yet scholars continue to puzzle over the narrative's sequence, frequently characterizing *Christ and Satan* as "disjointed" at worst and "meandering"[24] at best. Further complicating matters, following Christ's defeat of Satan, he commands Satan to measure the circuit of hell 'by hand' (*mid hondum*) before two hours have passed. No scriptural, apocryphal, or exegetical source has been identified for this bizarre episode.

The poem's most recent editor, Robert Emmett Finnegan, has rightly suggested that if we are to regard it as "one poem rather than a series of fragments, it should be possible to demonstrate a thematic progression that leads inevitably and necessarily"[25] through each of the sections. I will propose an explanation for the structural and thematic significance of the concluding episode by considering its liturgical resonance in relation to the poet's marked interest in defining space and territory as an expression of sovereign authority. From this liturgical and theoretical perspective, *Christ and Satan* not only coheres as a poem but also makes for a fitting conclusion to the Junius Manuscript. I thereby follow Joyce Hill's suggestion that,

> there was at least some moment in time, in the early eleventh century, when some Anglo-Saxons read these poems as an interlocking scheme, one which could be perceived morally (tracing patterns of disobedience and obedience which shape the sequence of fall and redemption), typologically (with the Old Testament material of the first book anticipating the more directly presented redemptive

[22] On the placement of the Temptation at the end of the poem, see Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry*, 227-231; Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 35-36; Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*, 24-26.
[23] Neil D. Isaacs, *Structural Principles in Old English Poetry* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1968), 127-144.
[24] Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, 5.
[25] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 17.

> patterns of the second), liturgically (in echo of Lenten, Passiontide and Easter texts), and as an epitome of Christian history.[26]

Whereas many of the Junius poems are concerned with Christian history, *Christ and Satan* is perhaps the most future-oriented in the set. It also self-consciously constructs audience in a more immediate way than the other poems. As Renée R. Trilling has noted, *Christ and Satan* incorporates numerous "direct address admonitions to the reader to *gehycgan* ('think about')" the contrasts it presents between Christ and Satan, punishment and penance, and heaven and hell so as to "guide [the reader toward] earning redemption and a place in the heavenly homeland."[27] As I will demonstrate, the poet evokes the Temptation and Rogationtide rituals to invite his readers to understand their individual and communal obligations in terms of two opposed models of wandering: one exemplified by Christ, whose wandering in the desert is ordered, spiritual, and defined by fasting; and one exemplified by Satan, whose wandering is depicted as aimless, disordered, exilic, and lordless. Like the exhortations in Vercelli Homily XI, which call upon readers to contemplate their role in performing the expulsion of demons in the present, the poem invites readers to understand their ongoing part in the purification of God's earthly kingdom and the purification of the self before Judgment Day.

5.1 *Christ heo afirde*: An Unconventional Fall of the Angels

Before turning to the Rogationtide ritual that provides the backdrop for this episode, I want to first contextualize the poem's inventive treatment of the fall of Satan. Gollancz was one of the first scholars to point out some of the doctrinal anomalies within the opening lines of *Christ and*

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[26] Joyce Hill, "Confronting *Germania Latina*: Changing Responses to Old English Biblical Verse," in *The Poems of Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R. M. Liuzza (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 1-19 (12); originally published in *Latin Culture and Medieval Germanic Europe: Proceedings of the First Germania Latina Conference held at the University of Groningen, 26 May 1989*, ed. Richard North and Tette Hofstra (Groningen: E. Forsten, 1992), 71-88.

[27] Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 109.

Satan,[28] and to discuss how the poet establishes a Christocentric focus.[29] Arriving at no definitive explanation for this distinctive opening, Gollancz states, "I have in vain sought for any piece of biblical literature as a direct source for this strangely unorthodox view of the fall of Satan, though some source must have existed."[30]

Gollancz's catalogue of anomalies included the poet's omission of Satan's name and his part in the fall of humankind. A further anomaly can be found in the poet's passing suggestion that Adam was created first (l. 20),[31] which can be seen in our initial introduction to the angels: 'He distributed joys, divided the young troop and the old, first Adam and that noble race, the chief of the angels who afterwards fell' (*Dreamas he gedealde, duguðe and geoguþe, / Adam ærest, and þæt æðele cyn, / Engla ordfruman, þæt þe eft forwarð* [ll. 19-21]). Although the manuscript reads *geþeode*, Finnegan proposes that it be emended to *geoguþe* owing to this phrase's formulaic status in Old English texts such as *Beowulf*. With this emendation, Finnegan suggests that the 'young troop' refers to Adam and the 'old' to Lucifer and his fellow angels.[32] At first glance, this sequence appears to equalize Adam and Satan, which in some ways corresponds to Irish versions of the fall in *Saltair na Rann* and *Lebor Gabála Érenn*.[33] However,

[28] Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, ciii. For an Old English prose account of how the rebellion was carried out against the Son, see Max Förster's edition of an Antichrist homily which states that the devil said 'that he might rule over heaven and be like God's son' (*þæt he mihte rixigen ofer heofones and beon gelic Godes sune*); "Kleinere mittelenglische Texte," *Anglia* 42 (1918): 145-224 (222).
[29] David F. Johnson, "Old English Religious Poetry: *Christ and Satan* and *The Dream of the Rood*," in a *Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. Henk Aersen and Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994), 159-187 (165); Thomas D. Hill, "The Fall of Satan in the Old English *Christ and Satan*," *JEGP* 76 (1977): 315-325; Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 37-42; Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*, 50-54.
[30] Gollancz, *The Cædmon Manuscript*, ciii.
[31] The syntax of this line has been the subject of much debate; see Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, ns. 92-93.
[32] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 92-93.
[33] See my discussion in Chapter Four on how in these versions the fall occur because of Satan's refusal to venerate and share governance with Adam (173ff). In texts where Adam is created first or shortly after Satan, the doctrine of replacement is typically not present and it is not as central in this poem as it is in *Genesis A* and *B*, for instance.

the poet goes one step further in suggesting that Adam ranks first although he is head of the *geoguð*.[34] According to David F. Johnson:

> Lucifer's crime of rebellion and presumptuous pride is rendered all the more perfidious because of his status as the leader of the tried and trusted veteran retainers of the Lord. Likewise, the magnitude of the blessing bestowed by God upon man – the untried *geoguðe* – is increased dramatically by this image, for it constitutes an oblique expression of what we may assume was the ultimate desire of every member of this latter group: to join the ranks of the *duguþe*.[35]

The poet only hints at the rebels' motivations for dissent at this point by stating that they thought 'they themselves might be the rulers of heaven, the lords of glory' (*hie weron seolfe swegles brytan, / wuldres waldend*" [ll. 23-24b]). While this opening might evoke some of the rivalry conflicts to be found in Irish versions of the fall, we learn the most about prelapsarian events from the complaints of the fallen angels in hell. The angels accuse Satan of betraying them with the lie that Christ was *his* son and not God the Father's (ll. 63-64),[36] illuminating the nature of his deception from their perspective:[37]

> 'Þu us gelærdæst ðurh lyge ðinne
> þæt we helende heran ne scealdon.
> Ðuhte þe anum þæt ðu ahtest alles gewald,
> heofnes and eorþan, wære halig god,
> scypend seolfa. Nu earttu sceaðana sum,
> in fyrlocan feste gebunden.
> Wendes ðu ðurh wuldor ðæt þu woruld ahtest,
> alra onwald, and we englas mid ðec.
> Atol is þin onseon! Habbað we alle swa
> for ðinum leasungum lyðre gefered.

[34] For more on the doctrinal implications of Adam being created before Satan see especially, Morey, "Adam and Judas," 397-409. Following Clubb, Morey does not accept Finnegan's proposed emendation instead suggesting that *duguð* be translated as 'select band' and *geþeode* be the 'nation' of wicked angels ("Adam and Judas," 401). Although Morey argues that the "fall is a consequence not only of Lucifer's pride but also of the show of favor to Adam" ("Adam and Judas," 404), he perhaps overstates his case since Satan's postlapsarian speeches are all about his rivalry with Christ. His study is nevertheless useful and reveals some points of contact between *Christ and Satan* and the Irish traditions I discussed in Chapter Four where age factors heavily as part of the dispute.
[35] Johnson, "Old English Religious Poetry," 167.
[36] T. Hill, "The Fall of Satan," 323-324. Hill suggests that Satan referring to Christ as his "son" may have connections to "Antichrist" traditions. This episode is perhaps drawing upon more apocryphal conventions (see my discussion in Chapter Four [173ff]) since in these traditions we see similar anxieties over birth-order in heaven.
[37] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 92-93

Segdest us to soðe þæt ðin sunu wære
meotod moncynnes; hafustu nu mare susel!' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 53-64)

('You persuaded us through your lies that we should not obey the savior. It seemed to you alone that you should possess authority over everything, heaven and earth, that you were holy God, the creator himself. Now you are just a criminal, bound fast in fiery chains. You expected that through your glory you would possess the world and rule all things, and we angels with you. Your sight is loathsome! We have all fared as wretchedly because of your lies. You said to us in truth that your son would be the measurer of mankind; now you receive more torment!')

We see that part of Satan's sin resides in how he implicated other angels. This raises the issue of coercion and individual accountability in a more apparent way than other rebel angel narratives. Instead of Satan desiring to be *similis*, the angels claim they were fooled into believing that Satan '[was] holy God' (*wære halig god*) and that Christ was his prince. As a result, the fallen angels feel no intimacy or kinship with Satan in hell. His betrayal (and punishment) is manifold in that he betrayed his fellow angels and conspired to betray Christ. Even in hell, Satan is viewed by the other fallen angels as their betrayer. The consequences of these actions are manifested in Satan's unstable embodiment in hell: he 'spits sparks' (*spearcade* [l. 78a]) when he speaks and is 'entirely … unlike' (*ealle … ungelice* [l. 149])[38] his former angelic self, who once possessed 'beauty and worth' (*wlite and weorðmynt* [l. 151a]). Through all this, a more complex picture emerges regarding the issues of paternity and pseudo sibling-rivalry that befell this heavenly soap opera.

It becomes clear as the narrative progresses that Satan's fall was a consequence of his aversion to worshipping not Adam, but Christ. According to Thomas D. Hill, "Satan's rebellion is described as being directed specifically against Christ the Son rather than against the Father … as in *Paradise Lost*."[39] We are told definitively in line 67b that angelic suppression was Christ's

[38] See my discussion of *englum gelic* in Chapter One (46-47), the idea being that in heaven humans will be *aequales enim angelis*; see also Biggs, "*Englum gelice*," 447-452 for a discussion of this phrase in its poetic contexts.
[39] T. Hill notes that in Book V of *Paradise Lost* the exaltation of the Son leads to the rebellion of Satan ("The Fall of Satan," 315). See also Albert C. Labriola, "The Begetting and Exaltation of the Son: The Junius Manuscript and

first triumph as he 'drove them out/exiled them' (*heo afirde*), and this is continually reaffirmed in the speeches made by Satan and the fallen angels from hell (ll. 81-87; ll. 168-175; 340-347). We hear the fullest articulation of details about the failed rebellion against the Son from the perspective of Satan, who fixates upon his defeat:

> Cleopað ðonne se alda ut of helle,
> wriceð wordcwedas weregan reorde,
> eisegan stefne:[40] 'Hwær com engla ðrym,
> þe we on heofum habban sceoldan?
> Þis is ðeostræ ham, ðearle gebunden
> fæstum fyrclommum; flor is on welme
> attre onæled. Nis nu ende feor
> þæt we sceolun ætsomne susel þrowian,
> wean and wegu, nalles wuldres blæd
> habban in heofnum, hehselda wyn.
> Hwæt, we for dryhtene iu dreamas hefdon,
> song on swegle selrum tidum,
> þær nu ymb ðone æcan æðele stondað,
> heleð ymb hehseld, herigað drihten
> wordum and wercum, and ic in wite sceal
> bidan in bendum, and me bættran ham
> for oferhygdum æfre ne wene.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 34-50)

(Then the old one cries out from hell, utters word-speeches, in a weary language, with a dreadful voice: 'What has become of the glory of angels, which we should have possessed in heaven? This is a dark home, tightly bound with firm fire-chains; the floor is flooded with burning venom. It is not now far off that we should suffer torments together, weak and weary, never to have joys in heaven, nor the joys of thrones. Listen! We once enjoyed pleasures from the Lord, singing in heaven in better times, where now noble ones stand around eternally, heroes around the thrones, to worship the Lord with words and deeds, and I in torment must wait in chains, and never know a better home for myself because of pride.')

Here, the poet deploys Germanic heroic imagery as Satan reminisces about the former 'glory of angels' (*engla ðrym*) and the pervading bonds of loyalty in heaven among the 'noble ones'

Milton's *Paradise Lost*," in *Milton's Legacy*, ed. Kristin A. Pruitt and Charles W. Durham (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2005), 22-32, who states that "Of all the Caedmonian poems, *Christ and Satan* most closely anticipates *Paradise Lost*" (26).

[40] For a provocative analysis of line 36a and a proposed emendation of the *hapax legomenon* (*eisegan*) to 'iron voice,' see Robert Hasenfratz, "'Eisegan stefne (*Christ and Satan* 36a),' the 'Visio Pauli,' and 'ferrea vox (*Aeneid* 6, 626)'," *MP* 86 (1989): 398-403.

(*æðele*), presumably the unfallen angels or possibly mankind,[41] who have inherited his former place at the heavenly table where 'heroes around the thrones' (*heleð ymb hehseld*) still stand. Satan's desire for rule and his prior aggression towards the Son is also made manifest:

> 'Ic wæs iu in heofnum halig ængel,
> dryhtene deore; hefde me dream mid gode,
> micelne for meotode, and ðeos menego swa some.
> Þa ic in mode minum hogade
> þæt ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman,
> bearn helendes, agan me burga gewald
> eall to æhte, and ðeos earme heap
> þe ic hebbe to helle ham geledde.
> Wene þæt tacen sutol þa ic aseald wes on wærgðu,
> niðer under nessas in ðone neowlan grund.
> Nu ic eow hebbe to hæftum ham gefærde
> alle of earde. Nis her eadiges tir,
> wloncra winsele, ne worulde dream,
> ne ængla ðreat, ne we upheofon
> agan moten.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 81-95a)

('I was once a holy angel in heaven, dear to the Lord; I had great joy with God, because of the creator, and this multitude did likewise. Then in my heart I thought, that I would overthrow the light of glory, the son of the savior, to have rule of the cities entirely unto myself, and this wretched troop which I have led home to hell. I believe that was a clear sign when I was sent into exile, deep under the chasms in this deep abyss. Now I have led you home as captives from the native seats. There is no triumph of the blessed here, wine-hall of proud men, nor joys of the world, nor troop of angels, nor might we possess the heavens.')

Satan identifies his banishment from heaven as a 'clear sign' (*tacen sutol*).[42] In the Old English poetic record 'clear signs' are typically material and tangible such as Grendel's arm (l. 833) in *Beowulf*. Like 'Grendel's claw' (*Grendles grape* [l. 836a]), which is disembodied and hung 'under the vaulted roof' (*under geapne hrof* [l. 836b]) for all to see, Satan's expulsion from heaven similarly signifies a severance both permanent and visible within the poem. To my

[41] On this point, see Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 94 (ns. 46-47) and Clubb, *Christ and Satan*, 58. Clubb suggests that these lines refer to both angels and men. Finnegan observes that to "have the souls of men in heaven at this point in the poem is to place Satan's first speech after the ascension of Christ, at which time heaven was thought to be opened to men. Surely this is to put an impossible burden on the lines" (*Christ and Satan*, 94).

[42] A 'clear sign' is a common formulaic phrase in Old English but, as far as I am aware, this is the only place where Satan notes a 'clear sign' in his expulsion from heaven. For the six other verse occurrences, see *Andreas* (l. 742), *Beowulf* (l. 141; 833b), *Daniel* (l. 486) in reference to Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and *The Paris Psalter* (73.8). In *Genesis B*, (ll. 886b-887a) Adam says after the fall that now he carries a 'clear sign' upon himself.

knowledge, Satan's *tacen sutol* is the only sign that denotes an action, which is duly figured here as the manifestation of the sovereign exception and Satan's physical displacement. At times, Satan's speech sounds like a quasi-confession of guilt when he states, 'I am guilty/hostile towards God' (*Ic eom fah wið God* [l. 96b]). Yet the dual signification of *fah* creates ambiguity; it could suggest that Satan recognizes his former guilt, or it could simply register his continued hostility. His desire to extend the parameters of his governance and 'to have rule of the cities entirely unto myself' (*agan me burga gewald eall to æhte*) reveals his aggression against the authority and possessions of 'the son of the Savior' (*bearn helendes*), whom he sought to 'overthrow' (*towerpan*). His crime, confined 'in the heart' (*in mode*), nevertheless disrupts the heavenly kingdom since he desired to have rule over what belonged to Christ. Steven DeCaroli, in an essay on "Agamben and the Field of Sovereignty," elaborates upon the relation of sovereign authority to territory:[43]

> When placed in crisis, either by dissent, violence, or even by those who possess too much influence, sovereign power responds with the law's suspension, because what is at stake, what is always at stake but remains hidden until moments of crisis, is the contingent connection that binds the sovereign right to rule and make laws, with the territory over which it exerts its power and on whose obedience it depends. When this "frame of life" is disrupted, be it by regicide or public dissent, or by economic instability or strong social influence, sovereignty risks losing its power precisely because the legitimacy of the bond between authority and territory risks being undone.[44]

By upsetting the boundaries of Christ's 'cities' (*burga*), Satan dissolves his connection to the heavenly homeland and Christ's protection. His dissent reveals the "contingent connection" between Christ, his "territory," and followers on "whose obedience" the sovereign depends. After attempting to disrupt the "bond between authority and territory" the rebel angels are bereft of both and find themselves in 'exile' (*wærgðu*). According to Johnson, "Unlike Christ, who

[43] DeCaroli, "Boundary Stones," 43-69 (67).
[44] Ibid., 64.

deals out gifts of love and salvation, Satan has nothing to offer his followers but the trials of exile and the absence of all joy."[45] The best Satan can do for his fellow angels is to give them a territory which necessitates permanent separation from God, a poor substitute for their former glories within the heavenly homeland.

It would appear that two separate traditions arose in Anglo-Saxon England regarding the impetus for Satan's rebellion: one that focused on Satan's presumptive desire to be like God (as evinced in texts like *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*), and one that recalibrated the story so as to include the Son. Rivalry with Christ as the overriding motivation for Satan's rebellion originates within the patristic period, but is quite rare. According to Hill, the only patristic text that suggests the rebellion is aimed at Christ is the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius (*CPL* 85).[46] Beyond this, the poet may have been influenced by Augustine's gloss on John 8:44 (which describes the devil as the 'father of lies'), later echoed by Alcuin in his own commentary, and then subsequently by Ælfric in his *Heptateuch*.[47] In a late seventh-century Ascension Day homily attributed (falsely) to Epiphanius of Salamis,[48] a fourth-century Greek author, Satan describes the 'Son of Mary' as his opponent stating, 'I seek to catch him, and see, as with a lead weight I am dragged down. I seek to seize him and by a strange force I am held back. What in my misery can I do? He has driven me out from every place. From the heaven he threw me down to earth like a little whirling stone' (*PG* 43, cols. 481-84).[49]

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[45] Johnson, "Old English Religious Poetry," 167.
[46] T. Hill, "The Fall of Satan," 317. See also Revard who proposes that there may be some additional influence of Anselm at work in this kind of formulation. Anselm proposes that the fall occurs after Satan's refusal to venerate the Son followed by envious imitation (*War in Heaven*, 60). See also Stephanie von Gajšek, *Milton und Cædmon* (Wien and Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1911) who suggests that the rebellion against Christ is derived from the Apocalypse.
[47] T. Hill, "The Fall of Satan," 319ff.
[48] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 41; see also Geoffrey Shepherd, "Scriptural Poetry," in *Continuations and Beginnings: Studies in Old English Literature*, ed. E. G. Stanley (London and Edinburgh: Nelson, 1966), 1-36 (26).
[49] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 40 (n. 18).

A few Anglo-Saxon accounts support the idea that Christ was the enforcer of the expulsion of the rebel angels. In Felix's *Life of Saint Guthlac* (XXXVI), in an episode based on the *Life of Anthony* (VIII), Guthlac orders his tormenters to cease by reminding them that Christ expelled them from heaven:

> 'nonne nunc miserarum bestiarum hinnitus, grunnitus crocitusque imitaris, qui ante aeterno Deo te simulare temptasti? idcirco imperio tibi in nomine Iesu Christi, qui te de caelo damnavit, ut ab hoc tumulto desistas.' Nec mora, dicto citius universum fantasma vacuas in auras recessit.[50]

('for now do you not imitate the whinnying, the grunting and the croaking of miserable beasts, you who once attempted to liken yourself to eternal God? Therefore I command you in the name of Jesus Christ who banished you from heaven, to desist from this tumult.' Forthwith, quicker than words, the whole apparition vanished into the empty air.)

This establishes Christ as the one who pronounced judgment upon the rebel angels and, moreover, effectively ends the series of demonic attacks upon Guthlac.[51] Strikingly, verse references to the angelic rebellion occurring against the Son can be found in three poems all from the Exeter Book (*Juliana*, *Resignation*, and *Guthlac A*).[52] A final plausible source for this narrative's line of transmission is Bede's Commentary on Jude 6,[53] which I discussed in Chapter One. Bede hints at the idea that the angels were defeated by Christ the Son:

> Angelos uero qui non seruauerunt suum principatum sed dereliquerunt suum domicilium in iudicium magni diei uinculis aeternis sub caligine reseruauit. Et in hac sententia sicut in praecedente primo reminiscendum quia Iesu dominus noster praeuaricatores angelos puniuit. Qui enim homo in fine saeculorum ex uirgine natus Iesu nomen angelo dictante accepit ipse ante omnia saecula natus ex patre Deus omnem creaturam cum patre quando uoluit disposuit et a principio

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[50] *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 116-117.

[51] This piece is a good example of the apotropaic function seen with fall of the angels narratives in saints' lives. See my discussion in Chapter Three (151-164).

[52] See *Juliana* (ll. 420-424), which could be a reference to either the fall of the angels or the Temptation; *Guthlac A*, (ll. 596-598); and *Resignation* (ll. 52b-56). In his *Letter to Sigeweard*, Ælfric also suggests that the conflict in heaven originated between Satan and Christ. He states, 'nor continue in the truth of the true Son of God who made him so fair' (*ne he nolde þurhwunian on ðeare soþfastnisse ðæs soðfæstan Godes sunu, þe hine gesceop fægerne*) (*The Old English Heptateuch*, 203.74-75).

[53] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 40.

> superbientes angelos ita sub caligine aeris huius damnauit ut eosdem in die iudicii grauiores reseruet ad poenas. (*CCSL* 121.68)

(In fact, the angels who did not maintain their place of leadership but abandoned their dwelling place has he kept in eternal chains in darkness for the judgment of the great day. First, it must be remembered in this statement also, as in the preceding one, that Jesus our Lord punished the angels who transgressed. For he who was born of the virgin as a human being at the end of the ages received the name of Jesus at the message of an angel, that very God having been born from the Father before all ages, he with the Father provided for every created being when he willed, and from the beginning so condemned the proud angels in the darkness of this air that he might keep the same for greater punishment on the day of judgment.)[54]

Here, we find that Bede, like the *Christ and Satan* poet, sees a close connection between the 'beginning' (*principio*) and the 'Day of Judgment' (*die iudicii*). These references (although fleeting) serve as strong evidence of an Insular tradition suggesting that Christ was the one responsible for expelling Satan from heaven.

Discussion of Satan's power struggle with Christ is more than a mere postscript. Satan dwells on it in a manner strikingly reminiscent of elegaic poems recounting the pains of exile such as *The Wanderer* in passages such as this one:

> 'Eala drihtenes þrym! Eala duguða helm!
> Eala meotodes miht! Eala middaneard!
> Eala dæg leohta! Eala dream godes!
> Eala engla þreat! Eala upheofen!
> Eala þæt ic eam ealles leas ecan dreames,
> þæt ic mid handum ne mæg heofon geræcan,
> ne mid eagum ne mot up locian,
> ne huru mid earum ne sceal æfre geheran
> þære byrhtestan beman stefne!
> Ðæs ic wolde of selde sunu meotodes,
> drihten adrifan, and agan me þæs dreames gewald,
> wuldres and wynne, me þær wyrse gelamp
> þonne ic to hihte agan moste.
> Nu ic eom asceaden fram þære sciran driht,
> alæded fram leohte in þone laðan ham.
> Ne mæg ic þæt gehicgan hu ic in ðæm becwom,
> in þis neowle genip, niðsynnum fah,
> aworpen of worulde. Wat ic nu þa
> þæt bið alles leas ecan dreamas

[54] *The Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*, 243.

se ðe heofencyninge heran ne þenceð,
meotode cweman. Ic þæt morðer sceal,
wean and witu and wrace dreogan,
goda bedæled, iudædum fah,
þæs ðe ic geþohte adrifan drihten of selde,
weoroda waldend; sceal nu wreclastas
settan sorhgcearig, siðas wide.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 163-188)

('Alas, the power of the Lord! Alas, the protector of hosts! Alas, the might of the creator! Alas, middle-earth! Alas, the light of day! Alas, the joy of God! Alas, the throng of angels! Alas, the heavens! Alas, that I am entirely cut off from eternal joys, that I may not reach heaven with my hands, nor may I look upwards with my eyes, nor afterwards shall I even hear with my ears the sound of the clearest trumpet! Because I desired to drive the lord, the son of the creator, from his throne, and to possess for myself rule of that joy, of wonder and bliss, it turned out worse for me than I might have hoped. Now I am separated from the shining company, exiled from light in that loathly home. I cannot understand how I came into this place, into this narrow darkness, stained with grievous sins, cast out from the world. I now know that he who does not think to listen to the heavenly king and obey the creator will be entirely bereft of eternal joy. I shall endure torments and misery for that crime, deprived of good, guilty of former deeds, because I thought to drive the Lord from his throne, the ruler of hosts; I shall now travel sorrowfully on the ways of exile, the far journeys.')

The 'Alas!' ('*Eala*!') constructions abound in this speech; significantly, in one of them, Satan laments the loss of his dexterity (an issue I will return to later on) saying, 'I may not reach heaven with my hands' ('*ic mid handum ne mæg heofon geræcan*'). In enumerating his miseries, Satan repeats twice that he 'desired the throne of the son of the creator, to drive out the lord' (*wolde of selde sunu meotodes, drihten adrifan*) and 'thought to drive the Lord from his throne' (*geþohte adrifan drihten of selde*).[55] Satan's impulse to 'expel' or 'drive out' Christ suggests that his desire refracted upon himself. The poet's careful manipulation of Satan's enmity towards Christ amplifies the dynamic between the Son and his would-be usurper, allowing it to propel the drama within his narrative and reverberate with larger theological questions.

[55] Strictly speaking, *drihten* is ambiguous here and could refer to either the Father or the Son. See Wright for more on Anglo-Saxon authors' adoption of a unitary perspective on the Trinity wherein everything was attributed to one person with special focus on preincarnate Christ ("*Genesis A* ad Litteram," 148; 154). See also Rosemary Woolf, "Doctrinal Influences in the *Dream of the Rood*," in *Art and Doctrine: Essays on Medieval Literature*, ed. Heather O'Donoghue (London and Ronceverte: Hambledon, 1986), 29-48. Woolf discusses the 'communion of properties' (*communicatio idiomatum*) suggesting that "Christ's person was a unity" in both its human and divine natures (32).

Satan also recalls his public dissension against Christ. In 'days of old' (*on geardagum* [l. 367]), he had 'dislike' (*ofþuhte* [l. 245a]) for the Son who was 'strong and stern' (*strang and stiðmod* [l. 246a]). In addressing the rebels, he publicly opposed Christ:

> 'Ic can eow læran langsumne ræd,
> gif ge willað minre mihte gelefan.
> Uta oferhycgan helm þone micclan,
> weroda waldend, agan us þis wuldres leoht,
> eall to æhte.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 248-252a)

('I can instruct you with enduring counsel, if you will believe in my might. Let us renounce this great protector, the ruler of hosts, and possess for ourselves this glory of heaven, entirely as our own possession.')

Satan's former promise to provide 'enduring counsel' (*langsumne ræd*) to his fellow angels highlights the fact that he continues to provide false and unreliable counsel to them incessantly in hell. This speech also situates territory and Satan's desire for singular possession of heaven at the heart of the matter. Forms of possession necessarily carry obligations and, with his speech, Satan cancels the bonds of desirable reciprocity and equal share within the heavenly polity. According to Smith, in Anglo-Saxon England, landed possessions could easily "be revoked by the issuing authority."[56] In *Christ and Satan*, Christ's sovereign exception revolves in a conspicuous way around the dispossession of land and place. Ever present is the rebel angels' knowledge that through their actions they have lost their 'homeland' (*eard*) for good.

In a manuscript that is deeply concerned with how the soul can find a permanent place within the heavenly homeland,[57] the fate of the devils who have been exiled both spatially and spiritually reminds readers that not all forms of communities can provide the bonds that bring meaning to a collective and individual identity. A sense of community cannot be restored even among spirits who share a great deal in common in hell. Their sundering from the ordered spaces

[56] Smith, *Land and Book*, 233.
[57] On this point, see Howe, "Falling into Place," 14-37.

of heaven is literalized as the demons are described as 'wandering the paths of exile' (*wadan wræclastas*) and inclined to 'roam about' (*hweorfan*) in a disorderly and purposeless way:[58]

> 'Ne ðurfon we ðes wenan, þæt us wuldorcyning
> æfre wille eard alefan,
> æðel to æhte, swa he ær dyde,
> ecne onwald; ah him alles gewald,
> wuldres and wita, waldendes sunu.
> Forðon ic sceal hean and earm hweorfan ðy widor,
> wadan wræclastas, wuldre benemed,
> duguðum bedeled, nænigne dream agan
> uppe mid ænglum, þes ðe ic ær gecwæð
> þæt ic wære seolfa swægles brytta,
> wihta wealdend. Ac hit me wyrse gelomp!' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 114-124)

('We need not hope that the king of wonders will ever grant us a home, a homeland to possess, just as he did before, everlasting rule; rule over all belongs to him, both heavenly wonders and hell's torments, to the ruler's son. Therefore I shall miserable and wretched roam about more widely, wander the paths of exile, deprived of wonders, divided from the host, never again to possess any joy above with the angels, which I declared to you before that I myself was the lord of heaven, ruler of its creatures. But it turned out worse for me!')

Unlike the single-minded Satan we are presented with in *Genesis B*, who without a 'homeland to possess' (*æðel to æhte*) is bent on the ruin of Adam and Eve, this devil appears to have lost all focus and resolve, as his laments return again and again to his dispossession:

> 'Ne mot ic hihtlicran hames brucan,
> burga ne bolda, ne on þa beorhtan gescæft
> ne mot ic æfre ma eagum starian.
> Is me nu wyrsa þæt ic wuldres leoht
> uppe mid englum æfre cuðe,
> song on swegle, þær sunu meotodes
> habbað eadige bearn ealle ymbfangen
> seolfa mid sange.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 137-144a)

('I might not possess the more joyous of homes, nor city nor hall, nor might I ever stare with my eyes upon that bright creation. It is now worse for me that I ever knew that light of wonder above with angels, singing in the heavens, where the son of the creator had blessed kin surround himself entirely with singing.')

[58] See Stanley B. Greenfield, "The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of 'Exile' in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Speculum* 30 (1955): 200-206.

The imagery of kinship, love, and praise continues as he describes the former intimacy that he and the other angels once shared with Christ. Whereas the figure of Satan in *Genesis B* announces his contempt for God, here, Satan is represented as nostalgic for former times:

> 'Ealle we syndon ungelice
> þonne þe we iu in heofonum hæfdon ærror
> wlite and weorðmynt. Ful oft wuldres sweg
> brohton to bearme bearn hælendes,
> þær we ymb hine utan ealle hofan,
> leomu ymb leofne, lofsonga word,
> drihtne sædon.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 149-155a)

('We are entirely unlike that beauty and esteem which we formerly enjoyed in heaven. Often the sons of the savior brough the song of glory to his lap, when we entirely around him, limbs about the loved one, raised hymns of praise, spoken to the Lord.')

Satan's remembrance of his former proximity to Christ only underscores his current separation from him. In referencing the 'sons' (*bearn*) formerly encircled around the 'lap' (*bearme*) of the 'loved one' (*leofne*), the language subtly anticipates the 'broad stones' the devil will bring 'to the lap' (*to bearme*) of Christ in the final Temptation sequence. Despite the individual part he played in the rebellion, however, Satan is careful to remind his fellow demons that the decision to drive the 'king from his city' (*cyning of cestre*) was a communal one and that it is therefore fitting that the punishment befalls them all (*us*):[59]

> 'Ða gewearð usic þæt we woldon swa
> drihten adrifan of þam deoran ham,
> cyning of cestre. Cuð is wide
> þæt wreclastas wunian moton,
> grimme grundas. God seolfa him
> rice haldeð. He is ana cyning,
> þe us eorre gewearð, ece drihten,
> meotod mihtum swið.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 254-261a)

('Then it was agreed among us that we would drive the Lord out of that dear home, the king from his city. It is known widely that we must dwell on the paths of exile, the grim depths. God holds

[59] Sleeth notes that Satan bewails but does not repent "the pride and covetousness which led him to exalt himself and therefore be overthrown" (*Studies in Christ and Satan*, 69).

the kingdom for himself. He is a singular king, who became angry with us, the eternal Lord, the creator strong in might.')

It is telling that in their speeches the demons continually return to the sovereignty of the Son. Constance D. Harsh, in a perceptive study, notes that the demons reflect in a continuous loop upon "their former joys as angels, their sin, their present suffering, their lack of hope, and their assertion of continued hostility to Christ," reinforcing the idea that the future in hell is unknowable to them; "the only semblance of narrative chronology occurs in the devils' remembrance of their downfall."[60] Though they are mindful of events surrounding this fall, they "are unable to master time and events sufficiently to organize them into a narrative chronology."[61]

In failing to properly understand narrative time, Satan and the fallen angels also fail to understand the eschatological outcomes set in motion by their crimes. This finds its clearest expression in the poet's unconventional assertion that Satan and the fallen angels wonder if they can be redeemed one day:[62]

> 'Ic her geþolian sceal þinga æghwylces,
> bitres niðæs beala gnornian,
> sic and sorhful, þæs ic seolfa weold,
> þonne ic on heofonum ham staðelode,
> hwæðer us se eca æfre wille
> on heofona rice ham alefan,
> eðel to æhte, swa he ær dyde?' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 272-278)

[60] Constance D. Harsh, "*Christ and Satan*: The Measured Power of Christ," *NM* 90 (1989): 243-253 (246).
[61] Ibid; see also Breen for an analysis of the poet's depiction of time in *Christ and Satan*: "Time, for the devil, is not continuous; there is an abrupt rift in his narrative that separates his existence before his fall from heaven from everything that occurs afterwards" ("The Voice of Evil," 104).
[62] Shook notes that in *The Life of St. Brendan*, St. Brendan comes upon fallen angels who expect to reenter heaven one day. He writes that "These angels, however, are the so-called neutral angels who did not fall as deeply as the true devils who anticipate being restored to their primordial bliss at the end of time" ("The Burial Mound," 9 n. 72); see also Chapter Four (79-180; 194-6), where I discuss the theological question regarding humanity's capacity to be redeemed after their fall whereas the fall of the angels was regarded as permanent. See especially Bracken for an analysis of this theological question in early Irish sources ("The Fall and the Law in Early Ireland," 146-169).

('I, here, must forfeit each of things, bemoan bitter enmity and deceits, sick and sorrowful, which I myself possessed, when I held a home in heaven; will the eternal one ever grant us a home in the heavenly kingdom, the native-land to possess, just as he did before?')

Satan fails to recognize his proper fate; through his lament for a 'home' (*ham*) and 'native-land' (*eðel*) the poet reinforces the idea that eschatological time and the divine plan are both unknowable and inexpressible in hell. Satan and the fallen angels share a profound sense of their status as "exiled" and "banished," what DeCaroli characterizes as "a subtraction, and exclusion,"[63] and what Agamben refers to simply as "the ban." Agamben explains that what "has been banned is delivered over to its own separateness and, at the same time, consigned to the mercy of the one who abandons it – at once excluded and included, removed and at the same time captured … [signifying] expulsion from the community."[64] Just as their bodies are "captured" and their speeches from hell appear to be literally "captured" in a kind of endless circuit, the rebel angels can neither escape the memory of the sovereign they offended nor the homeland they forfeited eternally.

At times, in a homiletic mode, the poem's speaker steps outside of the narrative, calling upon readers to take the sins of the rebel angels as an 'example' (*bysne*) so as to avoid a similar doom:

> Forþan sceal gehycgan hæleða æghwylc
> þæt he ne abælige bearn waldendes.
> Læte him to bysne hu þa blacan feond
> for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon. (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 193-196)

(Therefore each of men shall think on how not to provoke the son of the ruler. Let it be an example to him how the black enemies were entirely overcome through pride.)

In thus adapting the fall of the angels in ways that emphasize the Christological implications of the defeat of Satan, which took place outside of time, the poet sets up Christ's temporal defeat of

[63] DeCaroli, "Boundary Stones," 255 (n. 19).
[64] Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 110-111.

Satan in the wilderness. He begins to chart two victories for Christ that, according to Hill, are both "types of the final defeat of Satan at the last Judgment."[65] Anglo-Saxon Rogationtide traditions, with their attendant dramatic and spatial practices provide the link between these imaginings of earthly and heavenly homelands.

5.2 A Liturgical Context for *Christ and Satan*

According to Hugh Magennis, "The great expression of religious community" in Anglo-Saxon England is to be found in "the liturgy itself. In shared worship the individual participates in a reflection of the heavenly community on earth.[66] Scholars have identified significant overlap between the poems in Junius 11 and the Anglo-Saxon liturgy.[67] Numerous studies have argued for the presence of liturgical resonances and verbal echoes throughout the manuscript. James W. Bright, for instance, pointed out just over a century ago that the biblical passages recounting the Crossing of the Red Sea in *Exodus* "are precisely those which formed the readings for Holy Saturday liturgy in pre-Gregorian sacramentaries."[68] In 1968, Geoffrey Shepherd proposed that Junius 11 had a unified liturgical framework, stating that there is "little doubt that MS Junius 11 is to be related to the lectionary of the Anglo-Saxon church."[69]

Bright's original thesis that the baptism of catechumens (which would have occurred following the Easter Vigil service)[70] was appropriate to the content of the "patriarchal

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[65] T. Hill, "The Fall of Satan," 323.
[66] Magennis, *Images of Community*, 10.
[67] On this impulse, see J. Hill, "Confronting *Germania Latina*," 9-10 (n. 32).
[68] James W. Bright, "The Relation of the Cædmonian *Exodus* to the Liturgy," *MLN* 27 (1912): 97-103; on the role of Nineveh in the Easter season, see Paul E. Szarmach, "Three Versions of the Jonah Story: An Investigation of Narrative Technique in Old English Homilies," *ASE* 1 (1972): 183-192; Szarmach looks at the treatment of the story of Jonah in Rogationtide homilies. See also Michael Lapidge, "Versifying the Bible in the Middle Ages," in *The Text in the Community: Essays on Medieval Works, Manuscripts, Authors, and Readers*, ed. Jill Mann and Maura Nolan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 11-40 (25).
[69] Shepherd, "Scriptural Poetry," 24.
[70] For references to the Temptation in *Elene* see Regan, "Evangelicalism," 27-52.

digressions" has more recently been reexamined and affirmed by Paul G. Remley, who outlined the congruities between *Exodus* and the "Gelasian" Easter Vigil lections.[71] In this same study, Remley also noted clear liturgical connections between the *Canticum trium puerorum* and *Daniel*.[72]

Several studies have also discussed the place of the liturgy within the New Testament-themed material to be found in *Christ and Satan*. Phyllis Portnoy has argued for the influence of Holy Saturday lections in relation to *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*,[73] and Judith N. Garde suggests that the codex and the final poem may itself serve as a kind of "pre-Easter lectionary."[74] Garde even goes so far as to say that the codex was "perhaps intended for sequential reading during Lent."[75] Catherine E. Karkov has considered the liturgical gesture of the 'sign of the cross' (*gesegnian*) to be performed with the hands in *Christ and Satan*, noting the occurrences of *gesegnian* in Christ's act of benediction during the Harrowing of Hell.[76] Nevertheless, liturgical readings of *Christ and Satan* tend to derail with Christ's 'two-hour' challenge at the end of the poem. And, to my knowledge, the Rogationtide liturgy has not previously been proposed as an influence on any of the poems in the Junius Manuscript. My aim here is not to venture an argument about the presence of textual liturgical echoes, but rather to suggest that an echo of Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice, namely that of the Rogationtide ritual and its performative basis, reverberates through hell in *Christ and Satan*. Such a reading extends liturgical influence through the close of the poem.

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[71] Remley, *Old English Biblical Verse*, 170-220.
[72] Ibid., 442.
[73] Phyllis Portnoy, "Remnant and Ritual: The Place of *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan* in the Junius Epic," *English Studies* 75 (1994): 408-422.
[74] Garde, *Old English Poetry in Medieval Christian Perspective*, 49ff.
[75] Ibid., 39.
[76] Catherine E. Karkov, "The Sign of the Cross: Poetic Performance and Liturgical Practice in the Junius 11 Manuscript," in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, HBS (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 245-265.

Recalling Agamben's explication of the exception, the symbolic terrain of Rogationtide, similarly, affirms "what is included" in the community "and what is excluded from it." Anglo-Saxon writings about Rogation give us a rich image of actual Anglo-Saxon life and habits. Milton McCormick Gatch rightly refers to Rogationtide as a "favorite season of Anglo-Saxon sermon writers."[77] Neil Ker's catalogue lists no fewer than twenty-four Rogation homilies.[78] The prevalence of Rogationtide material in the Anglo-Saxon corpus is considerable, particularly in several anonymous collections.[79] Not all Rogation homilies are anonymous, however. Stephen Harris's study, for instance, considers the nine Rogation homilies written by Ælfric of Eynsham.[80] So esteemed were the Rogation days in Anglo-Saxon England that Alfred the Great declared any crime committed on a feast day punishable at the level of a crime committed on Sunday or any other holy day.[81]

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[77] For an account of "preaching days," see Milton McCormick Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 201 (n. 37).

[78] For a list of homilies for Rogationtide, see Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 259; Ker designates pieces found in Oxford Bodleian MS 114 as LMiii, LM iv, LM v, T v, which are printed in Bazire and Cross as 8, 9, 10,11 (xix). For information on the remaining Rogation homilies, see Bazire and Cross (*Eleven Rogationtide Homilies*, xix-xx; 39-40). Not all Rogationtide homilies are clearly labeled although they would have been regarded as such.

[79] For instance, out of the twenty-nine prose pieces in the Vercelli Book, eight are arguably linked to Rogationtide making it the most represented feast in the codex. Vercelli Homilies XI, XII, XIII are explicitly rubricated for Rogationtide, and Homily X (discussed earlier), is likewise linked to this group thematically, though not explicitly rubricated for the festival. Its Blickling analogue (Homily IX) is a Rogation homily. There is also sufficient evidence to suggest that Vercelli Homilies XIX, XX, and XXI form a Rogation unit. On this point, see Michael Fox, "Vercelli Homilies XIX-XXI, the Ascension Day Homily in CCCC 162, and the Catechetical Tradition from Augustine to Wulfstan," in *New Readings in the Vercelli Book*, ed. Samantha Zacher and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 254-279; see also Donald G. Scragg, "An Old English Homilist of Archbishop Dunstan's Day," in *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Korhammer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 181-192. Vercelli Homily XIV has sources and analogues intended for Rogationtide making it fit for inclusion within the feast's corpus. See also Gordon B. Sellers, "The Old English Rogationtide Corpus: A Literary History" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University of Chicago, 1995), for a comprehensive overview.

[80] Harris, "The Liturgical Context of Ælfric's Homilies," 150.

[81] Ó Broin, "*Rex Christus Ascendens*," 169.

The origins of the season are traditionally traced back to Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, who, in AD 470 called for a three-day fast prior to Ascension Day.[82] In England, the Rogationtide feast became officially recognized in AD 747 at the Council of Cloveshoe. Canon 16 under *De diebus litaniarum* distinguishes between two festivals: one according to the rite of the Roman church referred to as *litania major* (on 25 April), and another was based upon 'the custom of our forefathers, three days before the Ascension of our Lord into the heavens.'[83]

From the Latin *rogare*, 'to ask,' these three days of Rogation were originally affixed with the designation the 'Minor Litanies' to differentiate them from the 'Greater Litany.'[84] Vernacular witnesses refer to the Rogation days as 'procession days' (*gangdagas*) or 'prayer days' (*gebeddagas*) which reflect the two central observances of the feast: perambulations (or processions) and stationed penitential prayer. We can say with certainty that Rogationtide practices were popular and became firmly entrenched in English Christian customs, particularly the 'circuit' made by the community of believers. This praxis of Rogationtide is referenced in the *Old English Martyrology* (drawing on Caesarius' Sermons 207 [828.56 and 830.17-21] and 208 [833.5-21 and 833.25-6])[85] and in the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Baedae*, which describes how

[82] The feast may have been related to the Roman festivals of the *Ambarvalia* and the 25 April feast of the *Robigalia*. As John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) observes "paradoxically, Christian rites and festivals can become the main vehicle for transmitting pre-Christian ones, and the converts most involved in them can also be those most strongly suspected of syncretism or deviance" (176).
[83] *Eleven Rogationtide Homilies*, xvi.
[84] Sometime around the ninth century, all Rogations in Anglo-Saxon England came to be called the 'Major Litanies,' and are referred to as the *litaniae mairores* in all Anglo-Saxon witnesses with Latin titles for the festival. For an explication of the Roman and Gallican traditions and the terminological distinctions between the "Minor Litany" and the "Major Litany" (April 25), see Joyce Hill, "The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia, and Anglo-Saxon England: Terminology, Texts, and Traditions," *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000): 211-246.
[85] See *The Old English Martyrology: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, ed. Christine Rauer, Anglo-Saxon Texts 10 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2013), no. 78 which reads that Christians 'shall leave behind their worldly occupation at the third hour of the day, that is at "undern," and process with the relics of the saints until the ninth hour, and that is "non",' (*sceolon alætan heora ða woroldlican weorc on ða þriddan tid dæges, ðæt is on undern, ond forð gongen mid þara haligra reliquium oð ða nigeðan tid, þæt is þonne non*) (94-97).

the monks briefly departed from the bedside of Bede (who died on Ascension Day) and 'went in procession' (*ambulauimus*) according to the rituals of the festival.[86]

We have comparatively little evidence for actual Rogationtide celebrations, though we can safely venture some general descriptions of the commonplace observances.[87] According to M. Bradford Bedingfield, Rogation rituals were conspicuously performative and involved fasting, vigils, prayers and, most significantly, processions both within the church and throughout the parochial countryside, "reflecting their original purpose, to show evidence of repentance and to pray that God will withhold the destruction that sinful people rightly deserve."[88] There are varying descriptions about how Rogation-goers might properly process year after year. Drawing upon Caesarius, Bazire and Cross Homily 1 states:

> Us is georne to witanne to gehlystenne for hwilcum þingum we þas gangdagas heoldon and barefote gangen þus on gearest fyrste … We hi sceolon healdan on micelre eadmodnysse and on micclum geþylde and on soðre lufe and on ealre clænnysse, lichaman and sawle, and on godum wæccum and nytweorðum and on fæstenum and on halgum gebedum and on ælmmysdædum and on ealre godnysse and on lufe Godes and manna … syndon synderlice on þysum dagum forbodene … idel spræca and tæflunga and gebeorscipas, and þæt him nan man blod ne forlæte, ne ne geþristlæce ænig man ætes oððe wætes to onbyrgenne ær þære nigoðan tide and ær he mæssan gehyred hæbbe, and barum fotum Cristes bec and his rode-tacna and oðre halige reliquias eadmodlice gegret hæbbe.[89]

(We ought truly to know and to hear for what reasons we keep these Rogation Days and go barefoot in this way every year … We ought to keep them in great humility and in great patience and in charity and in all purity of body and soul, and in good and useful vigils, and in fasts and in holy prayers and in almsdeeds and in all goodness and in love of God and men … There are

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[86] *Eleven Rogationtide Homilies*, xvi; for the complete text, see *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 584-585.

[87] Amity Reading, "Soul and Body: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Self through *The Vercelli Book*" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), 153.

[88] For the fullest accounts of Rogationtide, see M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), 191-209; Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 277-287. According to Hutton, the practices reached their performative zenith in the thirteenth century when Rogation became an "expression of parochial pride" (278).

[89] Cameron number 3.2.34; *Eleven Rogationtide Homilies*, xxii. Homily 1 (ll. 57-58; 61-64; 86-93). Bazire and Cross use CCCC, MS 162 (F) (403-412) *Feria II in letania maiore* as their base text; variants from CCCC, MS 303 (c) (215-19), BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra Bxiii (J), folios 44^{r}-55^{v}, and Vercelli Codex (V), folios 106^{v}-109^{v} also known as Vercelli Homily XIX.

forbidden on these days especially … idle speech, and gaming and revels and that any man should let blood, or any man presume to taste food or drink before the ninth hour and before he has heard mass, and barefoot has humbly revered Christ's books and his cross and other holy relics.)

From accounts such as this, we can deduce that the festivities were solemn occasions.[90] John Hunter Blair sums up the spiritual trappings of the feast in this way: "Late Anglo-Saxon homilists stressed the that Rogation Days were a time not only for severe penance, but also for soul-searching, listening to teachers, diligent church attendance, and visiting of relics."[91] Stephen Harris notes that the textual liturgy was in concert with these practices as it "serially invokes suffering, resignation, wisdom, and joy. A celebrant moves from place to place, moment to moment, prayer to prayer, in a constant ritual peregrination."[92]

At once a very formulaic tradition, Rogation was also a very pliable and adaptable one that accommodated and incorporated new emphases in the hands of different homilists. According to Bedingfield, it became a "polyvalent festival, and the multiple theories of origins reflect the multiple directions granted the liturgical forms and, especially, the preaching for the period."[93] Just as the popularity of Rogationtide practices grew, so too did the development of its attendant themes and purposes with the 'fitting procession' (*gedefelice gange*) being central to the symbolic geography of the feast. Vercelli XII exhorts participants to 'serve with our fitting

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[90] Reading describes how during the processions, "holy relics, crosses, and books of scripture would have been carried … in a procedure meant to symbolically demarcate territory as belonging to God. Participants were urged to complete the perambulations barefoot, in penitential supplication … God was called on to protect the countryside from harm, both earthly and diabolical" ("Soul and Body," 153).

[91] Blair, *The Church*, 486. According to Blair, we cannot know for sure if "late Anglo-Saxon Rogation procession already involved 'beating the bounds,' that is perambulating the hedges, ditches, rivers, and roads which marked parish boundaries. The original practice in early medieval Europe had been simply to walk around among the spring crops beseeching God's blessing, and this may still have been the form of English processions in the late eleventh century" (487); however, "estate" perambulations were known to have taken place owing to the "detailed boundary descriptions in charters" (488). This secular activity has also been explored in relation to *Christ and Satan* by Kevin Caliendo, "Land Grants in Old English Poetry: Beating the Boundaries of Hell in *Christ and Satan*," 125th MLA Annual Convention, Philadelphia, December 2009, who suggests that the measuring out of estate boundaries influenced the end of the poem.

[92] Harris, "The Liturgical Context of Ælfric's Homilies," 169.

[93] Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 207.

procession and with song' (*þiowigan mid usse gedefelice gange 7 mid sange*) while bearing 'our relics around our land' (*usse reliquias ymb ure land*).[94] The 'circuit' made by the community[95] became one of the most engrained cultural practices in medieval England. Referring to early modern understandings of the ritual, Alexandra Walsham argues for an internalized aspect at work since it was a "custom designed to imprint … geographical boundaries upon the mind" and reinforce and "rechart the map that divided neighboring communities."[96] Likewise, Stephen Hindle suggests that other kinds of boundaries are policed through Rogation wherein the feast was not "merely a ritual of incorporation [but] implied exclusion … a ritual of demarcation in which the identity of the parish was defined over and against its neighbors"[97] in which the processants become a "walking manifestation of spiritual community."[98] In this way, the circuit defines particular communities of the faithful by way of exclusion.

Although the Temptation was a standard reading for either the First Sunday in Lent or Palm Sunday, because Christ fasted in the wilderness (Matthew 4:1), it is also often invoked in Rogation homilies. Vercelli Homily XII (discussed above) contains admonitions about keeping fasts in its elaboration upon Christ's Temptation. In this homily, the idea of the fast becomes one of the principal determining factors in establishing one's ability to overcome the devil:

> Þurh þæt fæsten dryhten diofles miht abræc 7 his costunga oferswiðde 7 mancynne ecne sige forgeaf, þæt manna gehwylc mæg diofol oferswiðan, ge hean ge rice.[99]

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[94] *The Vercelli Homilies*, 228.14-16.
[95] Arnold Baines, "Beating the Bounds: Rogationtide at Waddesdon," *Records of Buckinghamshire* 41 (2001): 143-161 (146).
[96] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 256.
[97] Steve Hindle, "Beating the Bounds of the Parish: Order, Memory, and Identity in the English Local Imagination, c. 1500-1700," in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 205-227 (206).
[98] Ibid., 212.
[99] *The Vercelli Homilies*, 228.22-25.

(Through that fast the Lord broke the might of the devil and conquered his temptations, and gave to mankind eternal victory so that each of men may conquer the devil, both the low and the mighty.)

The seriousness with which the rituals of Rogation were undertaken is evident in the severity of the punishments associated with failure to participate in earnest. The anonymous Rogation Homily, Bazire and Cross Homily 4, explicates how failure to 'process' properly in life means that one will be excluded from heaven and forced to carry on manifold processions (eventually) in hell:

> And se man þe nele nu þas þry dagas mid Godes halgan reliquian bærfot gangan, þurh þa nigon helle he sceal ær domesdæge eal swa feola siðan swa he her fotspora gesceod eode ofer þæs prestes bebod.[100]

(And the man who will not now go barefoot with God's holy relics during these three days, must go through the nine hells before Doomsday just as many times as he here walked footpaces shod against the priest's command.)

The idea that a quasi-Rogation might also occur within the vast confines of hell is crucial. It suggests that one may choose to process either in life or as a form of punishment in eternity. Rogation thus demarcates the boundaries of not only a spiritual community but also a damned community, partitioning the faithful from the unfaithful, and reminding Christians who belongs to the church and who is an enemy worthy of exclusion from it. According to Harris, the "procession is meant to demonstrate the coordinated and directed advance of the Church (that is, of believers). In part, the procession is also a means of demonstrating the limits of the Church – who is and who is not a member."[101]

These themes of procession and fast, of inclusion and exclusion, and coming to know the limits and boundaries of one's community, I contend, all have bearing upon our understanding of *Christ and Satan*. In the following section, I will turn to one of the special purposes of the feast,

[100] MS CCCC 303 (223-226); *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies*, 62-63.38-40; see also their discussion (xxiii).
[101] Harris, "The Liturgical Context of Ælfric's Homilies," 156.

which aimed at re-sanctifying the earthly community by expelling demons. According to A. N. Doane, though the "Fall of the Angels took place once and for all, long ago the binding of Satan takes place again and again in the cycle of the Church year and in the sacraments … overlaid with a mystical-liturgical event."[102] In what follows, I argue that *Christ and Satan* is thematically linked to Rogation theology in that it re-dramatizes the original purification of heaven and looks forward to the repair of heaven by a community of faithful believers.

5.3 The Fall of the Angels as Rogation Theme

Membership in a community is always defined oppositionally. The ritual of baptism makes the candidate a member of the church in part by a formal renunciation of Satan. In the Old English Rogation liturgy the fall of the angels is linked with the expulsion of demons and the dramatic performativity of the processions. Rogationtide texts rehearse the significant events in Christian history, and constitute an important part of the yearly preaching cycle. Consequently, Rogationtide homilies often allude to the motif of the fall of the angels and the eventual reunification of heaven. Several homilies designated for Rogation directly engage with the fall of the angels, suggesting that it was a theme of recurring interest for Rogation sermon writers.[103] Not only is the fall of the angels invoked textually, but it is also recalled in the dramatic performativity of the processions. Of the common themes that appear in Rogation sermons, Bedingfield suggests that the most prominent are penance, care of the soul, and the incantatory

[102] Doane, *The Saxon Genesis*, 136.
[103] Bazire and Cross 10 talks about how fasting can drive out the devil and break his 'temptations' (*costunge*); it reads, 'Lo, those men who go about bitterly in this present world will earn for himself eternal punishment and a hard dwelling-place with devils in hell' (*Hwæt þam monnum þonne bið sarlice gegan þa ðe on þisse andweardan worulde him sylfum geearniað ece witu and ða heardan eardungstowe mid deoflum on helle*), 134.119-121. Both Bazire and Cross 10 and 11 end on imagery about inheriting the 'heavenly homeland' (*hefonlican eþle*), 135.129; 143.106.

casting-out of demons.[104] Eamon Duffy's authoritative work on early modern festivals suggests that material objects associated with Rogation were all directed at driving evil out of the community and the parish. He states, "It thus came as the culmination of the Rogationtide exorcism of the parish and community by beating the bounds, in which the demons which infested earth and air were banished."[105] These traditions, not surprisingly, extend all the way back to the Anglo-Saxon period, when the crosses and holy relics not only served an apotropaic function,[106] something I discussed in Chapter Three, but also marked off God's territory by, in Bedingfield's words, driving out "the presence of the devil and [unifying] the earthly places with God's divinity."[107] Rogationtide processions were meant to denote a 'sacred space' (*gemotstow*), or a "pocket of God's presence,"[108] by reenacting Christ's ascent from hell after the Harrowing, his eventual Ascension, and humanity's corollary elevation to heaven at Judgment Day. Supplicants engaging in Rogationtide perambulations would utter prayers in order to "[claim] territory" as sacred "by infusing it with God's presence."[109]

The connection between Rogation and Ascension has been explored by both Bedingfield and Brian Ó Broin. Bedingfield notes that the processions are meant to serve as "a preparatory approach to union with heaven on the feast of the Ascension,"[110] while Ó Broin offers an in-depth examination of the timing of Ascension, observing that it often became conflated with the

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[104] Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 191; see also a 1535 account from John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, which recalls how his parishioners would perambulate and carry the cross as a sign of Christ's triumph over the powers of evil. Whenever the devil sees the sign 'he flees, he byddes not, he strykes not, he cannot hurt' (Baines, "Beating the Bounds," 146).
[105] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 217. Duffy mentions that "All the church banners were carried through the parish, and the processional crosses, and a standard of a dragon, carried with a long cloth tail before the procession in the first two of these 'Cross-days' or 'gang days,' and carried shorn of its tail, after the procession on the last day, as a symbol of the Devil's overthrow" (279).
[106] See my discussion in Chapter Three (123-126).
[107] Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 200.
[108] Ibid., 201.
[109] Ibid., 200.
[110] Ibid., 191.

Harrowing of Hell.[111] Through this synthesis, ideas of ascent and descent became firmly fixed to one another.[112] Christ, in a sense, beats the bounds of his own territory, perambulating from the depths of hell to the heights of heaven. Rogation-goers perambulate horizontal boundaries all the while imagining a vertical dimension to their actions and contemplating their purification before the upcoming Ascension. In this way, the attainment of heaven or hell becomes central to the Rogation liturgy. Bedingfield puts it bluntly that Christians "must purify themselves before the upcoming Ascension, where they can either join Christ's elevation of humanity to heaven or fall under this divine punishment."[113]

Through their express purpose of expelling evil spirits from the community, Anglo-Saxons engage in the practice of defining themselves as a community of faithful Christians, perambulating and purifying the boundaries, while simultaneously reenacting heaven's original purification, recalling the expulsion of the sinful angels, and anticipating their eventual inclusion among the heavenly order. In *Christ and Satan*, the poet emphasizes unity with heaven in his depiction of Christ as judge to the 'welcome guests' (*wilcuman* [l. 616a]) commanded to 'go' (*gongan* [l. 613a]) into the heavenly 'city' (*burh* [l. 612b]) following the Harrowing (ll. 455-467)[114] and later Judgment Day (ll. 579-641). He also illustrates disunity in frank terms. The point is to remind the faithful that they must be on the 'right' side at the Last Judgment. At the

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[111] Ó Broin, "*Rex Christus Ascendens*," 17.
[112] Ó Broin suggests that "the association of Christ's departure from hell and his Ascension are more than simply an act of authorial imagination – the very constancy of their appearance together bespeaks a firm theological pattern" (18); this idea is elaborated upon by Cynewulf in *Christ II*.
[113] Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy*, 197. Bedingfield also notes that "Fire (usually hellfire) is frequently mentioned as a threat against contemporary participants, either for failing to follow in the rogations or for doing inappropriate things" (*The Dramatic Liturgy*, 199). He furthermore suggests that commentators and exegetes associated the Harrowing and Ascension both typologically and temporally. He observes that in some traditions the "Harrowing of Hell was followed by a victory procession into heaven" (*The Dramatic Liturgy*, 199).
[114] On Christ's post-Passion career and the Harrowing (derived from the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*), see J. A. MacCulloch, *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1930); Jackson J. Campbell, "To Hell and Back: Latin Tradition and Literary Uses of the 'Descensus ad infernos'," *Viator* 13 (1982): 107-158; Mary Clayton, "Delivering the Damned: A Motif in OE Homiletic Prose," *MÆ* 55 (1986): 92-102.

end of *Christ and Satan*, the poet also delineates a space defined by the absence of God by invoking (through inversion) elements of Rogation in the final act that Satan is called on to perform throughout his territories in hell. The poet reveals Satan to be "removed and at the same time captured" in his solitary rather than community-oriented perambulation. This final image thereby prompts the poem's readers to reflect on how they might repair the loss in heaven through piety and exorcising evil within the earthly community. In this way, *Christ and Satan* offers readers the opportunity to consider how the breach in the community of heaven, the space made possible for them by the exception, will be repaired by penitential souls on Judgment Day.

5.4 *Þa costode cyning*: The Wandering Christ

According to Ambrose's *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 4:7 (*CCSL* 14), Christ entered the wilderness to undo Adam's journey out of Paradise. At the end of *Christ and Satan*, the poet delineates a space defined by the absence of God: hell. Following the Judgment Day material in *Christ and Satan* (ll. 579-641), we have the abrupt time-warp to the Temptation which brings the action back from eternal time into earthly time.[115] Christ's wandering in the desert already begins to evoke some of the themes of Rogation through its expression of ordered spiritual wandering and fasting. These themes illustrate the contrast between Christ's disciplined, timed, and holy wandering and Satan's aimless, interminable wandering as a pariah.

Unlike the flashback to the fall of the angels in *Genesis B*, as I discussed in Chapter Four,[116] the retrospective return to the Temptation in *Christ and Satan* eases the tension by affirming the power of Christ and ensuring that faithful believers will ascend while Satan and his

[115] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 33.
[116] See especially 197-199.

unbelievers must descend.[117] The transition between Ascension and Temptation hinges on Christ's earthly actions in the span of 'forty days' (*feowertig daga*), which the poet briefly alludes to following the Resurrection:

> Þa wæs on eorðan ece drihten
> feowertig daga folgad folcum,
> gecyðed mancynne, ær he in þa mæran gesceaft,
> burhleoda fruma, bringan wolde
> haligne gast to heofonrice.
> Astah up on heofonum engla scyppend,
> weoroda waldend. (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 557-563a)

(When the eternal Lord was on earth for forty days he attended to the people, made known to mankind, before he desired to bring his holy spirit into the splendid creation, the prince of citizens, to the heavenly kingdom. He ascended up into heaven, the creator of angels, the ruler of men.)

After the Ascension, the poet discusses Christ's return and how he will separate righteous from wicked souls on Judgment Day, culminating in Christ's rebuke to sinners (reminiscent of Vercelli X) and his command that they return to their places in hell:[118] 'Descend now, cursed one, into that house of pain with great haste. Now I do not know you' ('*Astigað nu, awyrgde, in þæt witehus* / *ofostum miclum. Nu ic eow ne con* [ll. 626-627]).[119] The poet therefore offers a striking outlook on Judgment from the perspective of those who are excluded from heaven and then forgotten by Christ. Howe poignantly characterizes the significance of this moment from the human perspective stating that "From these judgments, there can be no further recourse, no further motion. Place is fixed within the eternal scheme of God's will; exile and displacement are

[117] Colette Stévanovitch, "Envelope Patterns and the Unity of the Old English *Christ and Satan*," *Archiv für das Studium der neuen Sprachen und Literaturen* 233 (1996): 260-270 claims that "last episode is a flashback in time; but sequentially is not a strong point of *Christ and Satan*" (261).

[118] That the demons are less concerned with the fires and hell and more with the memory of loss and exclusion from the beatific vision might suggest the influence of the *poena damni*; according to DeCaroli, from "the earliest times, Christianity has maintained that, for the souls of those who have been damned, punishment is not originally the fires of hell but the pain of loss … Damnation is a subtraction, and exclusion, an abandonment. No longer in the presence of God, and having been excluded from the protection of divine law, the damned seek in vain a place to rest" ("Boundary Stones," 255 n. 19).

[119] This phrase is similar to ones appearing in *Christ II* (ll. 1519-1523) and *Guthlac A* (ll. 1314-1316).

no longer."[120] For the devils, of course, this "final resolution of place" means that their geographic and salvific displacement is permanent. After providing several exhortations to right Christian living (ll. 642-664), the poet abruptly turns to Christ's forty days of fasting and wandering:[121]

> Swylce he fæste feowertig daga,
> metod mancynnes, þurh his mildsa sped.
> Þa gewearð þone weregan, þe ær aworpen wæs
> of heofonum þæt he in helle gedeaf,
> þa costode cyning alwihta.
> Brohte him to bearme brade stanas,
> bæd him for hungre hlafas wyrcan–
> 'gif þu swa micle mihte hæbbe.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 665-672)

(Similarly, he fasted for forty days, the creator of mankind, through the abundance of his mercy. Then the wretched one came to him, he who was cast out of heaven before so that he sank down into hell, then he tempted the almighty king. He brought to his lap broad stones, urged him because of his hunger to work them into loaves– 'if you possess so much power.')

The poet reminds readers of the devil's identity as 'he who was cast out of heaven before' (*þe ær aworpen wæs of heofonum*). Here, the poet reverses Satan's prior nostalgia for the 'lap' (*bearme*) of his Lord instead describing how he places 'broad stones' (*brade stanas*) upon Christ's lap as a sign of provocation. Visually, this is reminiscent of a performative gesture in *Beowulf* whereby Hunlaf's son challenges Hengest to avenge his lord by laying 'the finest of blades in his lap' (*billa selest on bearm* [ll. 1142-1144]). For an Anglo-Saxon audience, Satan's gesture is a symbolic threat to Christ's honor, just as the kinsman's gesture ties an intensely personal object to Hengest's sense of worth: an act of vengeance for a hero, the transfiguration of bread for Christ. Unlike Hengest, however, whose subsequent actions resurrect a feud, Christ does not give

[120] Howe, "Falling into Place," 33.
[121] Finnegan observes that, traditionally, the Temptation was an exemplum of how man should react to personal temptations with "manifest heroic patience" (*Christ and Satan*, 35).

into the pressure placed on him by Satan's provocation.[122] The poet then makes several dramatic modifications to the episode which, as Finnegan notes, all significantly "[magnify] Satan's offense." Satan lifts Christ up to a hill and offers his next temptation:[123]

> … Þa he mid hondum genom
> atol þurh edwit, and on esle ahof,
> herm bealowes gast, and on beorh astah,
> asette on dune drihtne hælend:
> 'Loca nu ful wide ofer londbuende.
> Ic þe geselle on þines seolfes dom
> folc and foldan. Foh hider to me
> burh and breotone bold to gewealde,
> rodora rices, gif þu seo riht cyning
> engla and monna, swa ðu ær myntest.'[124] (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 679b-688)

(… Then he, horrible in scorn, seized him with his hands, and heaved him upon his shoulder, the malicious spirit of evil, and ascended onto a barrow, set the savior and Lord down on a mountain: 'Look now widely over the inhabitants of earth. I will hand over the people and earth unto you into your own jurisdiction. Receive from me here the city and spacious palaces into your control, the kingdom of heaven, if you are a rightful king of angels and man, just as you thought before.')

Finnegan observes that there is "to be found no source for the grappling, [nor] Christ's violent response."[125] Here, we see Satan attempting to assume the role of a lord, assigning to Christ the status of retainer and would-be inheritor.[126] Satan's offer that Christ might inherit 'jurisdiction' (*dom*), a 'city' (*burh*), 'palaces' (*bold*), and eventually the 'kingdom of heaven' (*rodora rices*) replicates Satan's first failure in recognizing Christ's authority throughout his territories. What makes Satan's suggestion that Christ could inherit land so impudent is that it disrupts the

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[122] For a helpful discussion on Satan's binding in hell and inexplicable mobility in this poem, see Johnson, "Old English Religious Poetry," 162ff; Johnson, "Studies in the Literary Career of the Fallen Angels," 79ff.
[123] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 34.
[124] Clubb remarks that in these lines, Satan is attempting to articulate what he believes to be in the mind of Christ (*Christ and Satan*, 132).
[125] Finnegan, *Christ and Satan*, 35; Johnson discusses this sequence in terms of the "poet's inherited Germanic repertoire" stating that the "conceptualization of relationships – Christ and Lucifer, Christ and man, Christ and His apostles – in the heroic terms of a lord and his retainers resonates throughout *Christ and Satan*" ("Old English Religious Poetry," 88-90).
[126] Finnegan notes that this offer of lordship over earth is contingent "on condition that Christ accept this lordship from Satan as a vassal would accept a fief from his lord" (*Christ and Satan*, 65).

sovereignty of Christ's earthly territories in a manner analogous to Satan's originary violation of his heavenly territories. This both recapitulates and affirms Christ's original sovereign exception, and constitutes, in Sleeth's words, Satan's "final failure."[127]

According to DeCaroli, "boundaries represent a very literal disruption of the relation between authority and territory."[128] That the Temptation turns on ideas of sovereign and subject relations and the inheritance of space and territory is appropriate as it recalls and duplicates Satan's sin of desiring to consolidate possession of the heavenly homeland and surpass Christ's authority there in the first place. It brings his sin, which took place outside of time, into concert with historical time, just as this sequence brings the eschatological narrative back into the realm of earthly time. Like Rogationtide, which is anchored in earthly time yet always oriented towards the eternal, this episode exists within a temporal borderline. Harsh argues that this sequence is the culmination of the poem's exploration of the "incommensurate might of Christ" as Christ's power is repeatedly defined by his ability to count and specify.[129] She draws attention to Christ's clear trajectory from Creation to Doomsday and his "ability to comprehend by enumeration."[130] In what follows, we see Satan's failure to properly orient himself within time and space.

5.5 *Ymbhwyrft alne cunne*: The Wandering Satan, Rogation, and Expulsion

As I have discussed, the *Christ and Satan* poet makes considerable modifications to the Temptation in the wilderness by amplifying Christ's utterances and incorporating a unique

[127] Sleeth, *Studies in Christ and Satan*, 25.
[128] DeCaroli, "Boundary Stones," 65.
[129] Harsh, "The Measured Power of Christ," 243.
[130] Ibid., 245.

motif.[131] After Satan's temptation has quite literally been laid in the lap of his former Lord, the poet describes Christ's command that Satan measure hell:[132]

> … 'Cer ðe on bæcling!
> Wite þu eac, awyrgda, hu wid and sid
> helheoðo dreorig, and mid hondum amet.
> Grip wið þæs grundes; gang þonne swa
> oððat þu þone ymbhwyrft alne cunne,
> and ærest amet ufan to grunde,
> and hu sid seo se swarta eðm.
> Wast þu þonne þe geornor þæt þu wið god wunne,
> seoððan þu þonne hafast handum ametene
> hu heh and deop hell inneweard seo,
> grim græfhus. Gong ricene to,
> ær twa seondon tida agongene,
> þæt ðu merced hus ameten hæbbe.' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 696b-709)

('… Turn yourself backwards! Know you also, cursed one, how far and wide the dreary hell-cliff is, and measure it with your hands. Take hold of the abyss; go then so until you know the whole circuit, and first measure from top to bottom, and how wide the dark air is. You will know then the better that you fought with God, after you have measured with your hands how high and deep hell, the grim house of the dead, is inside. Go quickly to it, before two hours are gone, so that you have measured the appointed dwelling.')

Attempting to explicate this peculiar episode, Thomas Hill focuses on the concept of "measurement,"[133] observing that the Old English term 'measurer' (*metod*) is frequently synonymous with God and his act of "measuring" creation.[134] In this way, Satan parodies God's role since he wished to overthrow the position of the legitimate *metod* and is forced "to act as the

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[131] Hugh Keenan, "Some Vagaries of Old English Poetic Composition," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 5 (1975): 25-32. Keenan has also looked at the idea of measurement in Biblical passages and found that in Revelation 11:1-2; Ezekiel 40:3-49; 41;42; Zechariah 2:1-2; Numbers 35:4-5 the image of establishing boundaries for protection and safety within heaven is evoked as "an angel or man marks out the dimensions of the Holy City using a reed for a measuring stick" (32).

[132] In the Welsh *Taliesin* wisdom poems, *The First Address of Taliesin or 'Frif Gyfarch'* asks 'What is the measure of hell? / How thick its covering? / How wide its jaws? / How many its stones?' See *Taliesin: or, The Bards and Druids of Britain: A Translation of the Remains of the Earliest Welsh Bard and an Examination of the Bardic Mysteries*, D. W. Nash (London: John Russell Smith, 1858), 69. See also Janet Schrunk Ericksen, "The Wisdom Poem at the end of MS Junius 11," in *The Poems of Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R. M. Liuzza (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 302-326. Ericksen explores the numerological focus of the opening eighteen lines of the poem and considers possible scriptural influences along with texts such as the *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*, *Joca monachorum*, and the "lists of things revealed" topos (305ff).

[133] T. Hill lists Ezekiel 40:1, Apocalypse 21:15, and Matthew 7:2 ("The Measure of Hell," 410).

[134] Ibid., 411.

measurer of the only realm that is truly his."[135] Ruth Wehlau also suggests that by placing the Temptation at the end, the poet offers a "model that the human reader might be able to emulate" in Christ.[136] Noting the wordplay between *witan* ('to know') and *wite* ('punishment'), she focuses on the issue of identity construction and suggests that the measuring "functions as a graphic figuring of self-knowledge."[137]

Harsh's study, although primarily concerned with the laments of the fallen angels from hell, reveals how their obsession with "the chronology of their past crimes," means that they are unable "to move forward – their recounting of history serves no purpose for them. Theirs is an aimless, static existence, and the structure of their laments reflects this fact … They are doomed to mark out a circular path assigned to the impious by Psalm 11:9 (*In circuitu impii ambulant*)."[138] Harsh proposes that if he were truly equal to Christ, Satan "should be able to perform the godly function of counting and specifying."[139] Lastly, Janet Ericksen deftly sums up the poem's affinities with the genre of wisdom literature and the question-and-answer mode to be found in *Joca Monachorum* (or 'monk's jokes'), the *Collectanea psudo-Bedae*, and *Solomon and Saturn*, where riddles and *enigmata* activate a kind of rumination upon creation itself.[140] In

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[135] Ibid., 412.
[136] Ruth Wehlau, "The Power of Knowledge and the Location of the Reader in *Christ and Satan*," in *The Poems of Junius 11: Basic Readings*, ed. R. M. Liuzza (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 287-301 (291); originally published in *JEGP* 97 (1998): 1-12.
[137] Wehlau, "The Power of Knowledge," considers the image of "identity, measurement, and hubris" in Gregory's explication of 38:5 in the *Moralia in Iob*, and proposes that the "measuring of hell is thus a literalization of a patristic metaphor, a measuring out of his own limits" ("The Power of Knowledge," 292). She also notes that "Although hell is, in one sense, a fief given by Christ, it is Satan's own construction since it was what he earns through his own behavior" (290).
[138] Harsh, "The Measured Power of Christ," 247. For more on the connection between this psalm and *Christ and Satan* (l. 629) in reference to the damned who 'go turning' (*hwyrftum scriþað*) at Judgement Day and *Beowulf* (l. 163), see Thomas D. Hill, "'Hwyrftum scriþað': *Beowulf*, l. 163," *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971): 379-381; Stanley Greenfield, "Old English Words and Patristic Exegesis – *hwyrftum scriþað*: A Caveat," *MP* 75 (1977): 44-48; and "The Return of the Broken Butterfly: *Beowulf*, Line 163, Again," *Mediaevalia* 5 (1979): 271-281.
[139] Harsh, "The Measured Power of Christ," 251.
[140] Ericksen, "The Wisdom Poem at the end of MS Junius 11," 306.

elaborating upon "the gulf between human and divine knowledge,"[141] and finding Christ's impossible challenge and his command that Satan "complete the task in two hours"[142] reminiscent of this mode, Ericksen ultimately proposes that when Satan is asked to reckon hell in numerological terms, he "recognizes the vastness of the task and not the lesson."[143]

I would like to build upon these valuable studies and suggest that the spiritual drama of Rogationtide can further illuminate the poet's aims with this final sequence.[144] While the poet translates Christ's command *vade retro* 'Go back!'[145] with 'Turn yourself back!'('*Cer ðe on bæcling*'), the command to measure hell uses the imperative *gang*, 'Go!' from the verb *gangan* which is regularly used in descriptions of Rogationtide ceremonies to describe "processing about." According to the *DOE*, in homilies and elsewhere, *gange* can have the sense of a habitual going about in a "circuit, a tract, or expanse"[146] and even work figuratively "with reference to a person's steps on a spiritual path, the course one follows in life."[147]

Through his actions, Satan is asked to mark out the spatial boundaries of his homeland (which are ultimately unfathomable) in a manner analogous to what believers enact during

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[141] Ibid., 312.
[142] Ibid., 311.
[143] Ibid., 313.
[144] In Bede's *Ascension Day Hymn* (2:11) Christ is described as vanquishing Satan before ascending in the same way that the *Christ and Satan* poet draws an association between these events. See Allen and Calder, *Sources and Analogues*, 82 and *Bedae Venerabilis Liber Hymnorum* (*CCL* 122), ed. J. Fraipont (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), 419-423; Ó Broin, "*Rex Christus Ascendens*," 173.
[145] Although *Vade* is the standard exegetical rendering for Christ's dismissal, *Vade retro*, likely stemming from Jerome's commentary on Matthew and carrying the force of 'go back to hell,' became more common in Anglo-Saxon England and also appears in Ælfric, the Old English *Gospels*, Blickling Homily 3, Irvine 5, and the *Rushworth Gospels*; see T. Hill, "The Measure of Hell," 409. For more on the significance of this phrase, see Wolfgang Huber, *Heliand und Matthäusexegese: Quellenstudien insbesondere zu Sedulius Scottus*, Münchener Germanistische Beiträge herausgegeben von Werner Betz und Hermann Kunisch 3 (Munich: Max Hueber, 1969), 141-142 and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary, and Glossary*, EETS s.s. 18 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 84-94. Godden discusses the *vade retro* variant and how Jerome's commentary on Matthew and compares Christ's utterance to Satan with his utterance to Peter at Matthew 16:23 and Mark 8:33 (90). According to the *Vetus Latina* database common variants include *Redi post Satanas* and *Vade post me*. *Vade retro Satanas* was relatively widespread in the Old Latin Vulgate. Brepols lists 25 out of 52 overall for Mark 8:33 and 24 out of 160 for Matthew 16:23.
[146] *DOE* s.v., sense 8.
[147] *DOE* s.v., sense 1.a.v.a.

Rogationtide processions. He is ordered to know the 'circuit' (*ymbhwyrft*), as a Rogation processant would be asked to do. Yet Christ orders Satan to do this with his hands rather than his bare feet.[148] Reminding readers of his prior lamentation that he cannot reach heaven with his hands (l. 168), this detail means that Satan must be bent over to perform his task in a contorted, extreme penitential posture that denotes his perversion and the severity of his crimes as his chaotic movements take him in both horizontal and vertical dimensions throughout hell.

Hands served highly performative functions in Anglo-Saxon England. According to Allen J. Frantzen, Anglo-Saxons spoke the "language of hands."[149] In his analysis of the scene in *Juliana* in which the demon "impersonates a penitent who has been forced to confess,"[150] Frantzen argues that "it is not difficult to imagine that the Anglo-Saxons incorporated … gestures into performances of narrative poetry."[151] Christ's command that Satan 'measure woe and punishment with his hands' (*mid folmum mæt wean and witu*) recalls a brief episode from the Harrowing sequence where Eve is forced to confess before she can exit hell. Eve admits that she once 'angered' ('*abealh*' [l. 408a]) the Lord when she and Adam 'took with our hands' ('*namon mid handum*' [l. 415]) fruit from the forbidden tree.[152] After she has confessed, Eve's hands become her vehicle for forgiveness as she 'then reached out with her hands to the heavenly-king' (*Ræhte þa mid handum to heofencyninge* [l. 435]).[153] By contrast, Satan's hands can offer him no such expiation. In her discussion of Anglo-Saxon charms, Jolly describes how

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[148] Harsh suggests that "hands are instruments of effectuality, the means by which individuals attempt to take action" ("The Measured Power of Christ," 250).
[149] Frantzen, "Drama and Dialogue in Old English Poetry," 103.
[150] Ibid., 110.
[151] Ibid., 113.
[152] Interestingly, Eve utilizes the dual pronoun seven times thereby consistently implicating Adam in the same sin she is being forced to repent (ll. 408-434).
[153] For an assessment of medieval traditions recounting how the left hand is shorter than the right owing to Eve, who stretched out her left hand to reach the apple, see Charles D. Wright, "Why the Left Hand is Longer (or Shorter) than the Right: Some Irish Analogues for an Etiological Legend in the Homiliary of St. Père de Chartres," in *Intertexts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture, Presented to Paul E. Szarmach*, ed. Virginia Blanton and Helene Scheck, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 24 (Tempe: ACMRS, 2008), 161-168.

"the Devil [can] be cast out by the laying on of hands."[154] This would suggest that Satan's hands, in fact, formulaically accomplish his own expulsion.

Christ says that Satan has 'before two hours are gone' (*ær twa seondon tida agongene*) to measure his dwelling. I suggest that this has significant resonance with Rogationtide as the observance, too, is bound and ordered by the passing of time. In both the *Martyrology* and Bazire and Cross Homily 6, the perambulations are described as commencing at Terce:

> On þysum ðrym dagum cristene men sculon forlætan heora þa woruldlican weorc on þa ðriddan tid dæges, þæt is on undern sylfne, and forðgan mid þam halgum religuium oþ þa nigoðan tid, þæt is oð non.[155]
>
> (On these three days, Christians must forsake their worldly work on the third hour of the day, that is at Terce, and go forth with the holy relics until the ninth hour, that is until None.)

The homily suggests that the penitents go about their daily business during Matins and Lauds. At the start of the third hour, penitents either cease their work or directly exit the church to process until the ninth hour. Their Rogations are to be complete, measured, and bounded whereas Satan's are impossible.

Following Christ's command, Satan's enfeebled efforts at processing offer a final image reinforcing his failure:

> Þa þam werigan wearð wracu getenge.
> Satan seolua ran and on susle gefeol,
> earm æglece. Hwilum mid folmum mæt
> wean and witu. Hwilum se wonna læg
> læhte wið þes laþan. Hwilum he licgan geseah
> hæftas in hylle. Hwilum hream astag,
> ðonne he on þone atolan eagum gesawun. (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 710-716)

(Then misery descended upon the wretched one. Satan himself ran off and fell into torment, wretched fiend. At times with his hands he would measure the woe and punishment. At times the dark fire would spring against the loathsome one. At times he would gaze upon the captives

[154] Jolly, *Popular Religion*, 44. For exorcisms using the formula *et extinguatur per impositionem manuum nostrarum*, see *The Leofric Missal*, ed. W. L. Warren (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), 232-233.
[155] *Eleven Rogationtide Homilies*, 83.

lying in hell. At times a cry would go up, when they saw the terrible one with their eyes.)

The poet's repetition of 'at times' (*Hwilum*) indicates his disordered and peripatetic movements within time and space. We see Satan coming into contact with his community in hell yet, as with his fellow rebel angels, it is a community that wants nothing to do with him; they experience terror when they catch sight of him. That the 'dark fires' (*wonna læg*) occasionally 'spring against' (*læht wið*) him suggests that his own geography works against him as hell itself attempts to stymie Satan's dark procession. His fraught time management only underscores his inability to perambulate in as ordered and structured a manner as Christian petitioners. Instead of achieving a kind of penance through his procession, Satan only manages to obtain more punishment.

By the end of this sequence, the poet has presented readers with two contrasting models of wandering, in some ways analogous to the contrasting modes of wandering in *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*. In his elaboration upon the distinction between the speakers of these two poems, Johnson describes one as "the pious monk who has taken his vows and embarked upon a spiritual pilgrimage, the object of which is to be reunited with God," and the other as the Germanic exile whose wandering "is never voluntary" and who suffers "separation from one's native land and the protection of one's lord."[156] In *Christ and Satan*, we see both the wandering Christ who expels demons with his orderly spiritual peregrinations in the unwelcoming, inhospitable wilderness and the figure of Satan, whom Johnson calls "the active image of wandering the paths of exile."[157] In this way, the Temptation sequence is also a confrontation between modes of wandering and selfhood in the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination.

[156] Johnson, "Old English Religious Poetry," 168.
[157] Ibid.

At the end of the poem, Satan performs and embodies his own exclusion and condition of lordlessness, dramatizing his sinfulness through the logic of Rogation perambulation. With the final image, he reinscribes and patterns his original breach within the heavenly community:

> Þa him þuhte þæt þanon wære
> to helleduru hund þusenda
> mila gemearcodes, swa hine se mihtiga het
> þæt þurh sinne cræft susle amæte.
> Ða he gemunde þæt he on grunde stod.
> Locade leas wiht geond þæt laðe scræf,
> atol mid egum, oððæt egsan gryre
> deofla mænego þonne up astag.
> Wordum in witum ongunnon þa werigan gastas
> reordian and cweðan:
> 'La, þus beo nu on yfele! Noldæs ær teala!'
> Finit Liber II. Amen. (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 719-730)

(Then it seemed to him that from there to the door of hell was a hundred thousand miles in measure, just as the mighty one had commanded him that through his own power he might measure his torment. Then he was aware that he stood on the bottom. The perfidious creature looked, the hideous one, with eyes across the awful cavern, until an awful terror rose up with the multitude of devils. Speaking in their torments, the weary spirits began to cry out and say: 'Oh, thus be now in evil! You cared not righteously before!' Finit Liber II. Amen.)

The action recalls Matthew 7:2, one of the lections that preceded the Rogation liturgy, which reads: "for in the same way you judge others, you will be judged, and with the measure you use, it will be measured to you."[158] Harsh notes that Satan is shown to "inhabit a confused realm of indefinite description … duration" and measurements.[159] At the end of the poem, the only thing Satan becomes 'aware' (*gemunde*) of is that penance is not possible for him as all he measures out is his own 'torment' (*susle*).

That Satan is unable to 'measure' (*amet*) his ambit in hell recalls the inexpressibility topoi often employed to describe it. In Vercelli Homily IV, for instance, we hear that hell is 'immeasurable' (*ungemet*) (l. 51; l. 54) and in Vercelli Homily VIII it is likewise *unmætan* (l.

[158] See J. Hill, "The *Litaniae maiores*," 230-231.
[159] Harsh, "The Measured Power of Christ," 244.

83). In Vercelli IX,[160] the devil can neither expressly define nor describe hell. Satan's immeasurable space in his 'appointed dwelling' (*merced hus*) only evokes fear and anxiety. This contrasts sharply with the positive associations the poet ascribes to the limitless 'broad lands' (*brade lond* [l. 214b]) in the spaces of heaven and Christ's utter freedom to invoke the exception for its safekeeping. The *Christ and Satan* poet concretizes hell's inexpressibility and immeasurability for readers in the unambiguous failure of Satan and his inability to ascertain the boundaries of his self-constructed cosmos, making him a paradigm for that which is to be excluded (once by Christ in the beginning and once while he was on earth), an exclusion perennially reenacted by the communal rituals of Rogation to be performed by Anglo-Saxon Christians.

Conclusion

Christ and Satan offers us an important glimpse into the world of communal, performative, and spatial practices of Anglo-Saxon England. The poet demonstrates the contrast between heavenly spaces, defined by their stability and inheritability inaugurated at the exceptional event of the fall of the angels, and the chaotic spaces of hell which lack order and true sovereignty despite Satan's presence there. Ericksen suggests that *Christ and Satan*'s degraded physical appearance "indicates at worst wear associated with devaluation and at best an audience interested in updating, improving and reading *Christ and Satan*."[161] The poem is, in many ways, unlike the poems which precede it in the Junius Manuscript. In addition to its dissimilar appearance, its central themes and frequent diversions from biblical traditions and source material require that it

[160] Wright, *The Irish Tradition*, 180.
[161] Ericksen, "The Wisdom Poem," 318.

be read on its own terms with a careful attention to how it encourages Anglo-Saxon readers to know the *seolf* by way of its biblical and extra-biblical stories.[162]

The end of the Junius Manuscript reveals the true protagonist of the biblical story. Although the patriarchs (Noah and Abraham) and the prophets (Moses and Daniel) dominate the central portions of the manuscript, the final poem establishes Christ as the hero who frees these Old Testament figures from hell at the Harrowing. According to Kahn, "God's creative act fills all time," as Christ himself becomes a kind of exception, the "sacrifice that makes possible the norm."[163] While the poem presents Christ's conquests as over, the individual believer is called upon to continue. According to Trilling, for "[devils], the joy of heaven is always only in the past; for the poem's readers, however, it exists in the present and, they hope, in the future."[164]

As Keenan has shown, typologically, Satan fuses with the figures of the damned and other unrepentant souls on Judgment Day in the poem.[165] Just as Christ's speech in Vercelli Homily X duly signifies an admonishment against Satan at the moment of his expulsion from heaven and an utterance to humankind at the hour of Last Judgment so, too, does Christ's rebuke of the devil in the wilderness. By invoking these themes, the poet of *Christ and Satan* challenges his Anglo-Saxon audience to be worthy of inclusion within the heavenly community by "beating the bounds" in this earthly life so that they will not wander lordless after Judgment Day.

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[162] Wehlau notes that this term is used twenty-two times in the poem ("The Power of Knowledge," 288).
[163] Kahn, *Political Theology*, 51.
[164] Trilling, *The Aesthetics of Nostalgia*, 112.
[165] Keenan, "Some Vagaries," 25-32.

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