

**The relationship between the earthly world, heaven and hell  
in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 11**

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## **Abstract**

The main goal of this thesis is to analyse how the relationship between the earthly world and the supernatural world (heaven and hell) are represented in Oxford Bodleian Library Junius 11 in text and image, and on this basis to trace how the Anglo-Saxons understood and located the place of the human in the Universe. Junius 11 is one of the major Anglo-Saxon poetic manuscripts, and has remained relatively complete until today, containing the four biblical poems: Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, Christ and Satan. It is also the only illuminated manuscript of Anglo-Saxon poetry to survive, with drawings completed through part of the poem Genesis. In chapter 01 I will explain in detail the aims of this thesis, the manuscript features and story (possible year of production, and provenance), and the general methodology about the approach towards text and pictures in manuscripts and medieval art in general. In chapter 02 I will analyse the function of the architectural elements especially in the images of heaven and their function as representation of power, both political and religious, not simply as ornamentation in the manuscript. In chapter 3 I will focus on the images and text of hell in Junius11 and how it is pictured as a chthonic psychological space, the place of the uncanny, through three main features: anti-hall, tomb and hellmouth, and womb (the feminine body). In chapter 4 the main focus will be the space of the earth, earthly paradise and the idea of earth as an island, I also added a section about the funerary practices in late Anglo-Saxon England. In conclusion, this thesis will demonstrate how the different spheres, heaven, hell and earth were depicted in Junius 11, how their relationship works and possible connections with the daily live, political power, attitudes about gender, funerary practices and conceptions about their place in the earthly world and in the supernatural world, that is life after death.

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Table of Contents .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>Preface .....</b>	<b>xvi</b>
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Aims .....	2
1.2 The Manuscript.....	5
1.3 Methodologies .....	12
<b>Chapter 2 The temple of the king: architecture in Junius 11 .....</b>	<b>24</b>
2.1 Origins of architectural heaven in image and text .....	28
2.2 Buildings and walls in Anglo Saxon England .....	38
2.3 Architecture as a symbol of political power in Junius 11 .....	54
2.4. Conclusions .....	86
<b>Chapter 3 No man's land: hell as anti-hall in Junius 11.....</b>	<b>88</b>
3.1. Hell-hall: hell as anti-hall.....	90
3.2. Hellmouth: hell as tomb and mouth .....	104
3.3. Hell-womb: hell as the female body.....	138
3.4. Conclusions .....	167
<b>Chapter 4 Middle-earth: the island and Junius 11 .....</b>	<b>171</b>
4.1. Creation and recreation .....	174
4.2. Drifting in the ocean: the promised island.....	186
4.3. Passage to heaven or hell: tombs and kings .....	217
4.4. Conclusions Chapter 4.....	230
<b>General Conclusions.....</b>	<b>232</b>
<b>Table : Anglo-Saxon King Burials.....</b>	<b>237</b>
<b>List of References .....</b>	<b>239</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>244</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations .....</b>	<b>262</b>
<b>Appendix A Figures .....</b>	<b>264</b>
A. MS Oxford Bodleian Junius 11.....	264
B. Other images .....	312

## List of Figures

Every effort has been made to clarify and clear copyright permissions for all images included in this thesis, which is intended for academic use only.

A.Images from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11:

All Junius 11 images are taken from: MS. Junius 11, Summary Catalogue n<sup>o</sup> 5123, Bodleian Library, and University of Oxford, UK.

<<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msjunius11/>>  
[accessed 29 October 2011].

Figure A1: God in Majesty, MS Junius 11, page ii.

Figure A2: God enthroned and an angel, Junius 11, page 2.

Figure A3: Rebellion and fall of rebel angels and hellmouth, MS Junius 11, page 3.

Figure A4: Creation, MS Junius 11, page 6.

Figure A5: Creation, MS Junius 11, page 7.

Figure A6: Creation of Eve, Junius 11, page 9.

Figure A7: Adam and Eve before God, Junius 11, page 10.

Figure A8: Adam and Eve in Paradise with God in majesty, page 11.

Figure A9: Adam and Eve in Paradise, Junius 11, page 13.

Figure A10: Fall of Rebel angels and hellmouth, Junius 11, page 16.

Figure A11: Satan in hell, Junius 11, page 17

Figure A12: Satan's messenger leaves hell, Junius 11, page 20.

Figure A13: Temptation of Adam, Junius 11, page 24.

Figure A14: Temptation of Eve, Junius 11, page 28.

Figure A15: Eve tempts Adam, Junius 11, page 31.

Figure A16: Adam and Eve knowing nakedness, Junius 11, page 34.

Figure A18: Messenger returns to hell, Junius 11, page 36.

Figure A19: Adam and Eve's remorse, Junius 11, page 39.

Figure A20: Judgment of God of God on Adam and Eve, Junius 11, page 41.

Figure A21: Judgement of God on Adam and Eve, Junius 11, page 44.

Figure A22: Expulsion, Junius 11, page 45.

Figure A23: Expulsion of Earthly Paradise, MS Junius 11, Junius 11, page 46.

Figure A24: Birth of Abel, Junius 11, page 47.

Figure A25: Cain and Abel, Junius 11, page 49.

Figure A26: Cain cursed by God, Junius 11, page 51.

Figure A27: Descent from Cain, Junius 11, page 53.

Figure A28: Jared, Jubal and Tubal-Cain, Junius 11, page 54.

Figure A29: Seth, Junius 11, page 56.

Figure A30: Cainan, Junius 11, page 57.

Figure A31: Malaleel, Junius 11, page 58.

Figure A32: Death of Maleleel, Junius 11, and page 59.

Figure A33: Enoch, Junius 11, page 60.

Figure A34: Ascension of Enoch, Junius 11, page 61.

Figure A35: Mathusel and Lamech, Junius 11, page 62.

Figure A34: Noah and sons, Junius 11, page 63.

Figure A35: Noah commanded to build ark, Junius 11, page 65.

Figure A36: Embarkation, Junius 11, page 66.

Figure A37: Ark on the waters, Junius 11, page 68.

Figure A38: Disembarkation, Junius 11, page 73.

Figure A39: Noah offers sacrifice, Junius 11, page 74.

Figure A40: Covenant with Noah, Junius 11, page 76.

Figure A41: Noah ploughing, Junius 11, page 77.

Figure A42: Drunkenness of Noah, Junius 11, page 78.

Figure A43: Nimrod, Junius 11, page 81.

Figure A44: Tower of Babel, Junius 11, page 82.

Figure A45: Abraham with God, Junius 11, page 84.

Figure A46: Abraham builds altar, Junius 11, page 87.

Figure A47: Abraham's approach to Egypt, Junius 11, page 88.

## B. Other images

Figure B1: Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Barberini lat. 2154, Calendar of 354, folio 7r, Natales Caesarum. (Birthdays of Caesars).  
<[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.2154.pt.B/](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.2154.pt.B/)> [accessed 29 October 2018].

Figure B2: Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Barberini lat. 2154, Calendar of 354, folio 13r, Emperor Constantius II.  
<[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.2154.pt.B/](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.2154.pt.B/)> [accessed 29 October 2018].

Figure B3: Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Barberini lat. 2154, Calendar of 354, folio 14r, Emperor Gallus.  
<[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.2154.pt.B/](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.2154.pt.B/)> [accessed 29 October 2018].

Figure B4: Vatican Vergil, Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, folio 39v, Dido in her watchtower sees Aeneas sail away. <[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3225](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3225)> [accessed 29 October 2018].

Figure B5: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. theol. lat. fol. 48, folio 2r from the Quedlinburg Itala fragment, Samuel 1. <<https://www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj00023031,T,002,T,001,T>> [accessed 09 August 2017].

Figure B6: BL Cotton MS Otho B VI (Cotton Genesis), folio 28r, Angels speaking with Lot. K. Weitzmann & H. L. Kessler, H. L., 1941. The Cotton Genesis: BL, Codex Cotton Otho B VI. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986), page VIII .

Figure B7: BL Cotton MS Otho B VI (Cotton Genesis), folio 26v, Abraham and two angels. <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-cotton-genesis>> [accessed 09 August 2017].

Figure B8: BL Add MS 10546, fol.5, Frankish Genesis, Tournon Bible. <<https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-cotton-genesis>> [accessed 06 June 2015].

Figure B9: Purpureus Rossanensis (Rossano Gospels Folio 9, Circular Canon tables with four Evangelists. <http://www.calabria.org.uk/calabria/arte-cultura/CodexPurpureusRossanensis/CodexPurpureusRossanensis.htm>> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B10: Purpureus Rossanensis (Rossano Gospels Folio 121r, Saint Mark Evangelist and Saint Sophia. <<http://www.calabria.org.uk/calabria/arte-cultura/CodexPurpureusRossanensis/CodexPurpureusRossanensis.htm>> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B11: BL Cotton Claudius B.iv folio 4v, God in Majesty. <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton\\_MS\\_Claudius\\_B\\_IV](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Claudius_B_IV)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B12: BL, MS Cotton Claudius B. iv, folio 2r, Fall of the Rebel Angels. <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton\\_MS\\_Claudius\\_B\\_IV](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Claudius_B_IV)> [accessed 09 August 2017].

Figure B13: Expulsion of Earthly Paradise, Cotton Claudius B.V, fol. 4v.

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton\\_MS\\_Claudius\\_B\\_V](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Claudius_B_V)> [accessed 09 August 2017].

Figure B14: The City of God St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, Florence (MS laur. Plut.12.17, fol 2v), Biblioteca Medicea Aluenziana Canterbury (1201 - 1210) .

<<http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOHy566l1A4r7GxMB3L&c=D.%20Augustini%20De%20civitate%20Dei#/oro/10>> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B15: King Edgar with SS. Dunstan and Æthelwood, Regularis Concordia, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 2v.

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_tiberius\\_a\\_iii\\_f002v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_a_iii_f002v)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B16: Refoundation charter of the New Minster, Winchester Miniature of King Edgar with the Virgin Mary, St Peter, Christ in Majesty, and angels, Cotton Vespasian A. viii, f. 2v.

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_vespasian\\_a\\_viii\\_f002v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_vespasian_a_viii_f002v)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B17: Add MS 49598, f. 2v, The Benedictional of St Æthelwold (963-984), Full-page miniature of three Apostles; above are three angels and the buildings of the 'Heavenly Jerusalem'.

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_49598\\_fs002v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49598_fs002v)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B18: Add MS 49598, f. 3r , The Benedictional of St Æthelwold (963-984), Full-page miniature of three Apostles; above are three angels and the buildings of the Heavenly Jerusalem'.

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_49598\\_fs003r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49598_fs003r)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B19: Add MS 49598, f. 24v, The Benedictional of St Æthelwold (963-984), Full-page miniature of the Adoration of the Magi.

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_49598\\_f024v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49598_f024v)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B20: Book of Kells, fol 5r. Canon tables.

<[https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS\\_ID=MS58\\_005r](https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/home/index.php?DRIS_ID=MS58_005r)> [accessed 09 August 2018].



Figure B21: BL Add MS 5111 f. 10v , Greek Canon table dating from the 6th or seventh century.

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_5111!1\\_f010v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_5111!1_f010v)>  
[accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B22: Ms. 229. Etchmiadzin Gospels f. 2r. Canon table, Armenian Gospel from sixth and early seventh century.

<[http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/iaa\\_miniatures/manuscript.aspx?ms=M2374G](http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/iaa_miniatures/manuscript.aspx?ms=M2374G)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B23: Ms. 229. Etchmiadzin Gospels f. 6r, Armenian Gospel from sixth or early seventh century, Christ, beardless, enthroned between two standing Figures (Evangelists, maybe Peter and Paul) holding the Gospels.

<[http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/iaa\\_miniatures/manuscript.aspx?ms=M2374G](http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/iaa_miniatures/manuscript.aspx?ms=M2374G)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B24: Vatican Vergil, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, folio 47v, Aeneas and the Sibyl enter the underworld.

<[https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3225](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3225)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B25: Canon tables, Barberini Gospels, Bar.lat.570, folio 1r. Biblia, N.T. Evangelia Latino, Hiberno-Saxon, eighth century.

<[http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.570](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.570)> [accessed 09 August 2018].

Figure B26: Psalm 102, Utrecht Psalter, 59r.

<<http://psalter.library.uu.nl/page?p=124&res=1&x=0&y=0>> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B28: BL, Harley 603,4v. (detail).

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley\\_MS\\_603](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_603)>  
[accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B29: BL, Harley 603, 5r (detail)

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley\\_MS\\_603](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_603)>  
[accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B30: Liber vitae, 'The New Minster Liber Vitae', Stowe 944 folio 7r. (1031)

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=stowe\\_ms\\_944\\_f006r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=stowe_ms_944_f006r)>  
[accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B31: `The Quinity` (Kantorowicz) / `The Trinity with Mary` (Karkov), Cotton MS Titus D XXVI, 75 v (circa 1020)  
<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_titus\\_d\\_xxvii\\_fs001ar](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_titus_d_xxvii_fs001ar)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B32: Ms Cotton Galba A.XVIII, fol. 2v.  
<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_galba\\_a\\_xviii\\_f002v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_galba_a_xviii_f002v)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B33: Ms Cotton Galba A.XVIII, fol. 21r.  
<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_galba\\_a\\_xviii\\_f021r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_galba_a_xviii_f021r)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B34: Rothbury 1cD\_1224, Copyright: Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham, Photographer: Tom Middlemass. Men eaten by serpents, Rothbury Cross detail (second half of eighth century)  
<[http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/corpus\\_images.php?set=407&pageNum=17](http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/corpus_images.php?set=407&pageNum=17)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B35: Franks Casket, Left panel, Romulus, Remus and the mother wolf.  
<[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=35982001&objectid=92560](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=35982001&objectid=92560)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B36: Ascension of Enoch. The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, BL Cotton Claudius B.IV, 11v.  
<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_claudius\\_b\\_iv\\_f011v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_claudius_b_iv_f011v)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B37: Ascension of Christ, The Tiberius Psalter, BL, Cotton Tiberius C.vi, folio 15r.  
<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_tiberius\\_c\\_vi\\_f015r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_c_vi_f015r)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B38: Anglo-Saxon Mappa Mundi, 1025-1050, Cotton MS Tiberius B.V. 56v.  
<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_tiberius\\_b\\_v!1\\_f056v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_b_v!1_f056v)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B39: BL Cotton Clause b.iv folio 14v.

<[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_tiberius\\_b\\_iv\\_f014v](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_b_iv_f014v)> [accessed 09 August 2018]

Figure B40: Hand of God Blessing, Winchester New Minster 1A Plate: 657,  
Copyright: Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham:  
P. M. J. Crook, Late tenth century or beginning of eleventh century.

<[http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/catvol\\_search\\_results.php?id=1270](http://www.ascorpus.ac.uk/catvol_search_results.php?id=1270)> [accessed 28 November 18)

## Preface

They say that life's a carousel  
Spinning fast, you've got to ride it well  
The world is full of Kings and Queens  
Who blind your eyes then steal your dreams  
It's Heaven and Hell, oh well!

(Ronnie James Dio [et al.], `Heaven and Hell', Black Sabbath,  
*Heaven and Hell [album]*, Vertigo Warner Bros.UK, 1980)

What is death but a traversing of eternities and a crossing of cosmic oceans?

(Robert E. Howard, `Kull: Exile of Atlantis', Robert E.  
Howard [and J. Sweet], *Kull: Exile of Atlantis*, Burton: Subterranean, 2006 [original 1967], p.168.)

Ói, olhe o céu, já não é o mesmo céu que você conheceu, não é mais  
Vê, ói que céu, é um céu carregado e rajado, suspenso no ar  
Vê, é o sinal, é o sinal das trombetas, dos anjos e dos guardiões  
Ói, lá vem Deus, deslizando no céu entre brumas de mil megatons  
Ói, olhe o mal, vem de braços e abraços com o bem num romance astral...  
Trem...Amen...

(Raul Seixas, `O trem das 7', *Gita [album]*, Brazil: Philips Records, 1974)

Look, look at the sky, It is not the one sky that you knew, can't you fathom the why?  
Look, see the sky, see the clouds that are blowing and glowing, can't you hear the  
sign?

Listen! Here's the sign as it grows into trumpets, beasts and strumpets, come, try!  
God in the sky, steering clouds off the atom, of danger and atom, oh my!  
Look at the evil kissing the good and both bowing and sewing their way for the  
train...

Train...Amen....

(Raul Seixas, `Morning Train', *Morning Train [single]*, Brazil: Philips Records, 1998)

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Here it is necessary to leave all hesitation

All cowardice must be dead here.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter I will present three fundamental elements for the analysis that will be done in the following chapters: aims, the manuscript, and, methodologies.

The first section (1.1. Aims) shows the goals of the thesis, that are to provide a new approach to Junius 11 manuscript art, and how the art (and the text) describes the relationship between heaven, hell and earth. In the second section (1.2. The Manuscript) I will explore the features of the source - the Junius 11 Manuscript, including dating, provenance, physical features, artistic features and techniques. I will also explain how this thesis explores new approaches in the manuscript dating. In the section, 1.3. methodology, I will present the main base of the methodologies. There are also different methodological questions that will appear throughout the other chapters - which arise from the subdivided subjects focused in every section from this thesis. Nevertheless this thesis is primarily focused on the images and art, it will also cover methodological issues about manuscripts, digitalization, text and image, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> “Qui si conven lasciare ogni sospetto; / ogni viltà conven che qui sia morta” ~~qui~~ -~~Our~~  
~~T~~ranslation from: Dante Alighieri, *La divina commedia* (Torino: Loescher; Accademia della Crusca, 2012), Inferno, Canto III, lines 14-15.

## 1.1 Aims

This thesis seeks to provide a fresh perspective about Junius 11 miniatures and text, focusing on how the manuscript describe the relationship between heaven, earth and hell. The codex is an excellent window on Anglo-Saxon views of the world because the texts do not simply translate their biblical or apocryphal sources, they are poetic paraphrases that can be shown to reflect specifically Anglo-Saxon concerns. Comprehending how the Anglo-Saxons understood their world can also help us to understand the multiple functions of, and relationships between, text and image in Anglo Saxon England. Junius 11 is an admirable subject for such an analysis because of its depictions of distinctively Anglo-Saxon material culture and practices. There are a variety of studies about Junius 11 illustrations and text, however in general they all prioritized the iconography, not going beyond the iconography and iconology<sup>2</sup> related to text. Some illustrations do not have any parallel in the iconography of Western medieval Europe and they do not follow exactly the poems within them. In addition, there are spaces left blank for drawings through *Exodus* and *Daniel*, and there may have been a now lost section of images before *Christ and Satan*. In this thesis I aim to go beyond, aiming to reach the “scent of human flesh”<sup>3</sup> like as said by March Bloch. The very first inquiry that occurred to me when I started this research was logically simple, although very hard to verify in a holistic way. My question was: where did an Anglo-Saxon from the tenth century believe the souls of the dead go? I am sure that question is impossible to answer comprehensively, however we can have a glimpse of a partial answer through a very narrow door, that is Junius 11, as there is in the manuscript plenty of pictures of earth (and earthly paradise), heaven and hell and textual descriptions as well. Then, I might not answer here all the beliefs of the Anglo-Saxons across space and time, an impossible task, however that

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<sup>2</sup> E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 51-81.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, translated by P. Putnam (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 26.

initial question can be answered in part, as the Junius 11 manuscript shows in text and image how was created heaven, hell, and the earthly world and how they are related to each other. Thus, expanding that simple question to Junius 11, this thesis addresses the following questions:

(A) How are heaven, hell and the earthly world represented in Junius 11?

(B) How were the exegesis of biblical (and apocryphal) texts made through text and image in Junius 11?

(C) What do the Junius 11 portrayals of heaven, hell and earthly world reveal about the Anglo-Saxon culture, politics and society of its period of production?

(D) The relationship between heaven, hell and the earthly world in the manuscript can disclose some of the intricate ways the Anglo-Saxons (or part of them) understood their function within the cosmos and within their society.

These questions can help us to understand how the Anglo Saxons incorporated biblical and Christian views as a means of defining their own place in the Christian world, and how they incorporated Hebraic and Christian creation narratives into their own poetic vision.

Few studies have treated the Junius 11 manuscript in its totality: text, image, decorated initials, palaeography, punctuation marks, glosses and, marginal “doodles”. So far, the most comprehensive work is that of Catherine E. Karkov.<sup>4</sup> Even less work has been done on how men and women in early medieval England portrayed heaven and hell in relation to their own world of inhabited cities and landscapes, and Karkov’s book touched only tangentially on this topic. Beliefs about the division of afterlife have been studied by

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<sup>4</sup> C.E. Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: narrative strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Jacques Le Goff<sup>5</sup> and more specifically by scholars such as Ananya J. Kabir<sup>6</sup> and Helen Foxhall-Forbes.<sup>7</sup> In this respect, the project also has implications for the development of notions of the human, self and identity in the early medieval period. The manuscript's texts and images can be used by the researcher in order to comprehend what it was also expressed about Anglo Saxon beliefs about the afterlife, and the attitudes towards burials, crimes, power, gender, use and reuse of the landscape.

In chapter 1- Introduction I will explain the aims of this thesis, the manuscript features and story (possible year of production, and provenance), and the general methodology about the approach towards text and picture in manuscripts and medieval art in general. In chapter 2 I will propose an analysis of function of the architectural elements especially in the images of heaven and their function as representation of power political and religious, and not simply ornamentation in the manuscript. In chapter 3 I will focus on the images and text of hell in Junius 11 and how it is pictured as a chthonic psychological space, the place of the uncanny, through three main features: anti-hall, tomb and hellmouth, and womb (the feminine body). On the chapter 4 the main focus will be the space of the earth, earthly paradise and the idea of earth as an island, I also added a section about the funerary practices in late Anglo-Saxon England. In conclusion, this thesis will show how the different spheres, heaven, hell and earth were depicted in Junius 11, how their relationship works and the possible connections with the daily life, political views about the power, attitudes about gender, funerary practices and conceptions about their place in the earthly world and in the afterlife, heaven and hell.

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<sup>5</sup> J. Le Goff, *The birth of purgatory* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> A.J. Kabir, *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001).

<sup>7</sup> H. Foxhall-Forbes, *Heaven and earth in Anglo-Saxon England: theology and society in an age of faith* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).



## 1.2 The Manuscript

In this section I will present the main subject of this thesis, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11.<sup>8</sup> It is not my intention to exhaust all of the studies about its materiality and texts. It is to show the main, controversial or more cemented arguments about its production in general.

The manuscript now called Junius 11, currently in the hands of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, was once erroneously called the 'Caedmon Manuscript' by Franciscus Junius.<sup>9</sup> It is mainly known because its text, written in the late tenth or early eleventh century according to the main contemporary studies<sup>10</sup>. The story of Cædmon, a late seventh-century cowherd in the monastery of Whitby, suddenly and miraculously beginning to sing about Creation is recorded in Book 4 of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>11</sup> Later studies largely defend attribution to Cædmon doubtful. All the poems are in Old English and are paraphrases of biblical or apocryphal texts. Since Francis Junius times there is a general consensus about the division in two books:

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<sup>8</sup> MS Junius 11, *Summary Catalogue n° 5123*, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK. Scanned images and other information about the Manuscript are available at: <<http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msjunius11/>> [accessed 29 October 2011].

<sup>9</sup> The manuscript was given in 1651 to the scholar Franciscus Junius by the Irish Archbishop James Ussher of Armagh (1581 – 1656). All the poems of Junius 11 had been edited and published for the first time in 1665 by Franciscus Junius, *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica Genesios ac praecipuarum sacrae paginae historiarum, abhinc annos M.LXX. Anglo-Saxonice conscripta, &, et nunc primum edita* [1665] ed. by Peter J. Lucas (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> About dating Junius 11 see: L. Lockett, 'An Integrated Re-Examination of the Dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 31 (2002), 141–73.

<sup>11</sup> B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, ed., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 416–7.

Liber I: *Genesis* (problematically often subdivided into *Genesis A and B*)<sup>12</sup>, *Exodus*, *Daniel*;

Liber II: *Christ and Satan*.

In the end of *Christ and Satan* in page 229 there is the message “*Finit Liber II. Amen*”. The final folio of *Daniel* is lost, making it impossible to know if there was an Explicit to Liber I.<sup>13</sup> *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel* were written by the first scribe between pages 01 to 212, the LIBER I). The poem *Christ and Satan*, the LIBER II, was written by three different scribes: second scribe (pages 213 to 215); third scribe (page 216 to 228); fourth scribe (only page 229).

The manuscript contains a total of 116 leaves, with the size of 324 mm x 180 mm, with a writing area of 225mm x 130 mm approximately. The manuscript contains forty-eight drawings in the first 88 pages, 16 of those images are full page size. The illustrations are the work of two artists, all located in the beginning of the *Genesis* poem, with 98 spaces left blank up to page 212, end of *Daniel*. There are thirteen spaces for drawings in *Exodus* and thirty-three in *Daniel*. No space was left for drawings in *Christ and Satan*, though some think that it might have been prefaced by a section of drawings.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See e.g. C.L. Wrenn, *A Study of Old English Literature* (New York: Norton, 1967), p. 99; and P. S. Lucas. ‘Some Aspects of ‘Genesis B’ as Old English Verse’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, vol. 88C (1988), 143–78.

<sup>13</sup> J.R. Hall, ‘The Old English Epic of Redemption: the Theological Unity of MS Junius 11’, in *The poems of MS Junius 11: basic readings*, ed. by R. Liuzza (London: Routledge, 2002), 20-52 (p. 21). Originally published as J. R. Hall, ‘The Old English Epic of Redemption: the Theological Unity of MS Junius 11’, *Traditio*, 32 (1976), 185–208.

<sup>14</sup> First suggested by I. Gollancz (edited by), *The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon biblical Poetry: Junius XI in the Bodleian Library* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), cv. See Catherine. E. Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England*:

The Junius 11 manuscript is the only Anglo-Saxon poetic manuscript to have been illuminated with narrative images. It is also the oldest Anglo-Saxon manuscript to provide evidence of systematic punctuation.<sup>15</sup> Junius 11 is one of the most important and comprehensive sources for the vernacular language and culture of Anglo-Saxon England. It is the oldest poetic volume to combine image and text in a unified manner in Old English, and it is one of only two illustrated vernacular biblical paraphrases from the Anglo-Saxon period that survive today. Junius 11 is written in the second phase of Anglo-Saxon minuscule, the so-called square Anglo-Saxon minuscule that was popular c.920 to 1020. The development of Anglo-Saxon minuscule from “pointed” to “square” may reflect, according to Jane Roberts, the results of King Alfred’s reforms in the late ninth century, which promoted the production, and translation of texts in the vernacular language.<sup>16</sup>

It was also at this time that drawing appeared as a major art form, and that decorated initials in the outline drawing technique gained prominence. Most scholars have tended to focus their research on the text rather than the drawings, however as it will be shown in the next chapters, the images are not mere illustrations to the text. They are narrative themselves, connected with the text, adding new elements with different functions. Sometimes they tell us things that are not in the text, sometimes they disagree with the text, and sometimes they amplify something that is subtle within the text. An Anglo-Saxon drawing can be seen by some as simple or sketchy in comparison with late medieval Gothic illuminated manuscripts or even with the fully painted miniatures under continental influence (i.e. Old English Hexateuch - Cotton MS Claudius B IV). Nevertheless, the art of drawing was highly developed in

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*narrative strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), p. 206 for a discussion of the different opinions.

<sup>15</sup> K.O. O’Keeffe, *Visible song: Transitional literacy in Old English verse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>16</sup> J. Roberts, *Scripts Used in English writings up to 1500* (London: The British Library, 2008), p. 39.

the Anglo Saxon England between the eighth and eleventh centuries, where the technique called “coloured outline” emerged in Anglo-Saxons manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> The use of colour is also something to be highlighted, even though in this thesis I am not going to approach that subject in depth:

Artists in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries produced highly unusual drawings in different colours, green red, blue, violet, and yellow being the most common. They use these not just for a single figure, but for different parts of a figure, or of a building or a landscape. (...) The Anglo-Saxon monks evidently used colours as conscious aesthetic choice to enliven the monochrome originals. The result is an all-over vibrancy and sparkle.<sup>18</sup>

The Anglo-Saxons had a different practice of poetic and visual composition than the Western European art and Junius 11 is the material proof of that fact. In Anglo-Saxon England was developed a local variation of a technique called “the shadowed outline” which was combined with “coloured outline” drawing towards the end of the tenth century. Fully painted drawings were the rule only for the grandest late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Junius 11 is still a very impressive exemplar. The initials break the limit between what is art and text. And the use of outline drawing in Junius 11 creates a closer visual unity of text and image in comparison to manuscripts with fully painted art, as the images are constructed using the same method as the text. The same strokes of the pen used by the scribes to write the texts of the poems were used by the artists to create the images. The decorated initials, which are simultaneously both text and image, can provide us with new ways of understanding Anglo-Saxon conceptions of the relation between image and text.

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<sup>17</sup> S. Dormer, *Drawings in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*. Transcription of a lecture given at 16/05/2012, Museum of London., <<https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/drawings-in-anglo-saxon-manuscripts>> [Accessed at 12/07/2018].

<sup>18</sup> J.J.G. Alexander, ‘Drawings in the Middle Ages’, *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. CLI, n. 1278 (2009), 641-3 (p.643).

The time and the place of production of Junius 11 is still a matter of debate and in the following lines I am going to summarize the main points of the works that I have had access to. Gollancz defended in 1927 that the time of production of Junius 11 was about the year 1000, based on the Old English text, and the Ælfwine name written in the medallion on the inferior part of page 2 (Figure A2):

It is true that Ælfwine is a fairly common Anglo-Saxon name, but it seems to me difficult to ignore the strong probability that the Ælfwine of our artist is to be identified with the famous Ælfwine who became abbot of Newminster in 1035. (...) It would indeed be a remarkable coincidence if at about the same time there were two patrons bearing the name of Ælfwine; and there is nothing, it seems to me against our manuscript being an example of Winchester work, though much finer work is extant belonging to Newminster. It is of course difficult to understand why, if the work originated at Newminster, the illustrations were not carried out.<sup>19</sup>

Barbara Raw in 1976 disagreed with that explaining that the style of the illustrations of Junius 11 is notably different from the ones in the manuscripts produced in Winchester at that time and the Ælfwine in the medallion on page 2 is a layman:

He has no tonsure and wears a cloak not monastic dress. Moreover, the style of the drawings in Junius 11 are quite different from that of known Winchester manuscript of the second quarter of the eleventh century such as the two Titus manuscripts or the Register of the New Minster, London BL, Stowe 944).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Gollancz, (*Caedmon manuscript*, 1927), p. xxxv.

<sup>20</sup> B. Raw, 'The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius 11 from an Illustrated Old Saxon Genesis', *Anglo Saxon England*, vol. 5 (1976), 133-48 (pp.135).

In fact, BL Stowe 944 has a slightly different style, it is not so different from Junius 11. Although some of the themes are similar as we can see on folio 7r (figure B30).<sup>21</sup>

She claims as time of production of Junius 11 the second quarter of the eleventh century due the Scandinavian influences, probably associating them with the Normans.<sup>22</sup> However the Scandinavian influence was felt in Anglo Saxon England through the Danelaw even before the beginning of the tenth and King Cnut court after 1016, then this argument is very weak.

On 1983, Herbert Broderick just mentioned the probable production date as around the year 1000. He preferred not to go further, focusing on the relationship between text and image, without going further than an iconological illustration of the text.<sup>23</sup>

Using codicological evidence, Leslie Lockett claims the period between 960-990 as the most credible dating of Junius 11 manuscript, even though some features might indicate before or after this period.<sup>24</sup> Peter Lucas claims Malmesbury as the place of production and a dating around the year 1000.<sup>25</sup> John Lowden in a paper published in 1992 followed previous studies and assumed around the year 1000 as the production date of Junius 11 and described the possibilities of usage of the manuscript in the liturgy three themes

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<sup>21</sup> I am going to compare between some images of BL Stowe 944 and some image of Junius 11 in chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>22</sup> Raw, 'The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius II from an Illustrated Old Saxon "Genesis"', p.134.

<sup>23</sup> H.R. Broderick, 'Observations on the method of illustration in MS Junius 11 and the relationship of the drawings to the text'. In: *Scriptorium*, Tome 37 n°2 (1983), 161-77.

<sup>24</sup> L. Lockett, 'An integrated re-examination of the dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 31 (2002), 141-73.

<sup>25</sup> P. S. Lucas, 'MS Junius 11 and Malmesbury', *Scriptorium*, 34 (2), (1980). 197-220.

of salvation, or as an *exemplum* of the struggle of Good against Evil, particularly Evil given the prominence of the character Satan. Nevertheless, he concludes not accepting any of those possibilities as totally true:

Certainly, the poems collected in Junius 11 originally had their own individual purposes and messages. But the decision to bring them together in the same volume, around the year 1000, with an overall plan for their illustration, was surely the result of some new overall expectation. This might have lead in turn to a somewhat different understanding of the constituent texts. (...) The numerous illustrations, the book's scale (31.8 x 19.5 cm), its broad margins and clear calligraphy script, all show Junius 11 to have a major commission. It is not possible therefore to establish whether it was employed for private study and meditation, or for instruction, or for some public liturgical function, or indeed for any combination of these uses.<sup>26</sup>

The only fact widely accepted is its date of production around the year 1000, in the temporal space of one century before or after. The place is also debatable. In this thesis I will suggest the Kingdom of Edgar as the political, religious and historical moment when the main subjects present in Junius 11 were highlighted by conflicts present in Anglo Saxon society as well. And the possibility that the place of creation is also Winchester are great as I will demonstrate.

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<sup>26</sup> J. Lowden, 'Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis', in *Gesta*, The University of Chicago Press on behalf of the International Center of Medieval Art, vol. 31, No. 1 (1992), 40-53 (p. 46).

### 1.3 Methodologies

In this section I discuss some general methodological approaches to medieval art, especially art made in manuscripts. The question of the relationship between image and text is fundamental to the understanding of medieval Christendom in general, because it reflects the early medieval heritage based on the Biblical text. The early medieval western European societies bear some features that came from a mix of previous societies, Greek-Latin: like philosophy, art, economy (coinage) and the language of church and law (Latin), Hebraic: monotheism, political models, and Old Testament societal rules, Germanic: language, art, politics, laws and Celtic: art, religion, traditions.<sup>27</sup> Those elements came themselves with a lot of contradictory portions, as all mythologies. Anglo-Saxon art and texts, as part of this western tradition, have the same elements, with a lot of local additions. Then, Anglo Saxon artists chose elements among this Christian repertoire in order to highlight local elements, or add some clear and new elements, different from other Christian medieval societies according to their own societies' *agendas*. The Early Middle Ages is a period of "rebuilding" in Western Europe. Germanic people, after the fall of the Roman Empire and after having been converted to Christian religion became the inheritors of the Roman Empire and started gradually build small local kingdoms. The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in Britain followed the same idea of rebuilding societies using the Roman Empire as a model, of course, through the lenses and values of Christendom. Even they have had access to Greek-Roman political tradition, their model of state and kingship was mostly inspired by the models from the Old Testament, the Jewish kings in the Bible.<sup>28</sup> This has been proven by the fact that in the preface of Alfred laws there is a reference to Moses and the law: "The Lord was speaking these words to Moses and spoke thus: "I am the Lord your God. I

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<sup>27</sup> P. Anderson, *Passages from antiquity to feudalism* (London: NLB, 1974).

<sup>28</sup> A. Vauchez, *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: The Eighth to the Twelfth Century* [1975], translated by C.C. Friedlander (Collegeville: Cistercian Publications, 1993).



led you out of the land of the Egyptians and their subjection.”<sup>29</sup> That means the King, Alfred will be the new Moses, will lead the West Saxon and all the Anglo-Saxon to their promised land (or drive anything to stop them to become the chosen ones to God like the Jewish people).

The biblical exegesis along with iconography are the base to understand Junius 11. However Junius 11 is far from being a simple copy of biblical models or traditional iconographies, the narratives, including apocryphal episodes were chosen as a reflection of contemporary religious and political concerns.

Several of the traditional studies of medieval art still adhere to the idea that medieval art was merely a bible of the illiterate. This is an old concept, still persistent, and based on a faulty historical interpretation of a well-known passage from Pope Gregory the Great:

For it is one thing to venerate a picture, and another to learn the story it depicts, which is to be venerated. The picture is for simple men what writing is for those who can read, because those who cannot read see and learn from the picture the model which they should follow. Thus pictures are above all for the instruction of the people.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> “Dryhten wæs sprecende ðas word to Moyse and þus cwæð: Ic eom dryhten ðin God. Ic ðe utegelædde of Egipta londe and of hiora ðeowdome”. Transcription made by R. J. E. Dammary, *Law-code of King Alfred the Great*, (Doctoral thesis Cambridge, 1991), p. 15. For more about the connection between Alfred’s law and the Mosaic laws: M. Treschow, ‘*The Prologue to Alfred’s Law Code: Instruction in the Spirit of Mercy*’, IN: *Florilegium* 13, 1994, 79-110.

<sup>30</sup> “Alliud est enim picturam adorare, alliud per picturae historiam, quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident, quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt”. Unde et precipue gestibus pro lectione picture est. Pope Gregory I (540 – 604). ‘Epistula ad Serenum’, *Monumenta Germaniae Historia*, Epistolae II, pp. 270-71. English translation by W. Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics, II Medieval Aesthetics* (The Hague: Warsaw, 1970), p.104. See also D.L. Norberg. *Critical and Exegetical*

However, as Jérôme Baschet reminds us, this comment was made on a specific occasion in medieval history and to use it as a rule for all medieval art is a reductionism.<sup>31</sup> Of course, there are connections between texts and images, especially when the two are united in a manuscript such as Junius 11; however, this does not mean that images are simple translations of the textual narrative. Even in Junius 11, the texts, the poems, do not have just one literal meaning. Poetry and art function on many different levels of human perception, and are not always created with the same intentions, meanings and techniques. Searching for concepts of heaven, hell and earthly world in this manuscript will necessitate a thorough comprehension of how poetry works, how the images work, and how the two work together. It will also be necessary to understand questions of audience and interpretation. For instance, iconographic analysis is the dominant methodological tool used in almost all previous studies of the drawings in Junius 11. As Michael Camille has stated, iconography is fundamental, nevertheless, 'medieval pictures cannot be separated from what is a total experience of communication involving sight, sound, action, and physical expression'.<sup>32</sup> It has long been recognised that Christians developed a visual exegesis similar to the textual exegesis, although using the visual tools, as explained, for example, by Robin M. Jensen:

Since the artistic themes are mostly drawn from biblical stories, we must assume that they serve an exegetical function - that is, they are commentaries on the texts as well as references to them. (...) This guiding methodology often reasoned that scripture was not meant to be understood purely on a literal or historical level, but that

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*Notes on the Letters of St. Gregory the Great.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell international, 1982.

<sup>31</sup> J. Baschet, 'Introduction: l'image-objet', in *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. by Jean-Claude Schmitt and Jérôme Baschet, (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1996), 7-26 (p. 8).

<sup>32</sup> M. Camille, 'Seeing and reading: some visual implications of medieval literacy and illiteracy. *Art History*, 8 (1985), 26-49 (p. 43).

its true, or higher, meaning was imparted symbolically or metaphorically. Seeking this secondary level of meaning often meant finding the figures or types in the text - symbols that referred to something hidden at the obvious or literal level. (...) The paintings in the catacombs must have functioned as visual rather than verbal typologies and allegories and conveyed messages hidden behind the literal or illustrative level. This explains why certain subjects were so often portrayed in abbreviated or unexpected ways. The viewer had already moved beyond the literal meaning of the narrative to its deeper messages. Christians would see for themselves, in a pictorial form, the interpretations or symbolic associations they were regularly hearing in their weekly homilies and their baptismal catechesis.<sup>33</sup>

Late classical imagery is recast and resignified to the Christendom thorough complex programs that can make the audience keep looking at all the possible information transmitted from the same image, as with the text. In another paper Jensen highlights the role of the memory in the artist and his or her audience in the transmission of information in art, comparing again with the text:

Aside from the problems of approach and method, any study that attempts to integrate text and image must confront an essential difficulty— that the spoken or written word undeniably has a different character than the visual image. The two modes are experienced and comprehended in distinct ways. Verbal communication takes place over time. A story, an argument, or an explanation must unfold. Memory plays an important part in following a discourse from beginning to end, and the imagination supplies internal, invisible images that are not externally prescribed. A visual image, by contrast, has an immediacy and concreteness. It is taken in more or less at once and presents only a fragment of a story. The memory and imagination work together to supply the description, explanation, or narrative that the image lacks, and this likewise— and necessarily— varies from viewer to viewer and from time to time. However, that variance is probably no more than that of readers and hearers. Even though verbal forms differ in nature

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<sup>33</sup> M.R. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 77-9.

from images, their meanings are no more or less transparent or obvious.<sup>34</sup>

Even using different tools and techniques, text and picture work with a lot of links of knowledge, signs and information that are not given in the literal or iconographical appearance of the art.

Highlighting the methodologic problem in working with the image in Junius 11 and connecting it with its age and geographical space of production. This means that, instead of dealing only with the iconography of the art, it is part of this thesis goals to find more meaning and connections within the society that created this manuscript. For that, part of our methodology will be based on the new questions posed about History and History of art made by Georges Didi-Huberman. And even, images are not dreams, they work as dream, in a psychoanalytic perspective<sup>35</sup>, they are produced in a similar way, by forgetting, assimilation, paradoxes, opposition, contradiction, repression, and trauma. Images also can express those elements by symptoms that can be identified and studied not wholly, only in parts.<sup>36</sup> Then when the historian or historian of art studies how images represent historical sociological and anthropological elements, sometimes in a straight way, sometimes in an inverted way or even in a paradox with their contraries, it explains the mechanism of art production.

Most researchers have tended to miss the manuscript's thematic unity because they have seen the drawings as simply derivative of earlier illustrated

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<sup>34</sup> M.R. Jensen, 'Early Christian Images and Exegesis', in *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*, edited by Jeffrey Spier (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 65–85 (p. 69).

<sup>35</sup> S. Freud, *The interpretation of Dreams*, edited with introduction and notes by R. Robertson, translated by J. Crick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>36</sup> G. Didi-Huberman, *Confronting images: Questioning the ends of a certain history of art*, translated by J. Goodman (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), pp. 144-62.

Genesis cycles (such as that of the Cotton Genesis, London, BL, MS Cotton Otho B VI, a fourth or fifth century Greek illustrated copy of Book of Genesis)<sup>37</sup> and as a literal interpretation of the poetry they accompany. It is true that sections of the poems and images are missing, and that there are discrepancies in places between what is written and what is drawn. Catherine E. Karkov, nevertheless, defends the apparent discrepancies between text and picture as a means of creating a new narrative altogether.<sup>38</sup> In other words, the manuscript with its text and drawings was intended as a unified production in all its dimensions. The drawings of Junius 11 might be thought of as a kind of 'translation' of the text, which they accompany, acting perhaps as a visual gloss or exegesis of the text, not just an illustration.

The relation between images and text developed by Meyer Schapiro in his work on the social history of art highlight how it works this relationship:

Besides the differences between text and picture arising from the conciseness or generality of the word and from the resources peculiar to verbal and visual art there are historical factors to consider: (a) the changes in meaning of the text for successive illustrators, though the words remain the same, and (b) the changes in style of representation, which affect the choice of details and their expressive import.<sup>39</sup>

Both artists interpret the text and apply different or the same style to represent in image the same biblical episodes in Junius 11. Then, the goal of understanding how the artist or the responsible for the illustration project did read the text is a huge task. The manuscript could be the result of a project as the text should first be written and afterwards in the blank spaces the artists

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<sup>37</sup> See K. Weitzmann and H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

<sup>38</sup> Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England* (2001), p. 33.

<sup>39</sup> M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures. On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text. Approaches to Semiotics*, series 11, edited by T.A. Sebeok (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1973), p. 13.

should draw the images as the spaces left without pictures reveal. The art collectively projected or made individually by the two artists is always a space for reading and recasting of uncountable ideas and influences. The artist needed to choose how to depict an episode. Both artists have had access to a group of models about those episodes learned from reading other manuscript, from art in sculptures, churches and their own accumulate knowledge. They had a wide range of models to choose and they choose one model instead another one for reasons that lay not only in creativity. It means: the same text could be read in another time and space in different ways and the illustrations for sure would be different for a lot of reasons beyond the mere creativity of the artist or group of artists. The time, space and society influence the artist not only to create new elements, more than this, to choose the previous pictorial models that they have learned from other sources.

Then, after assessing the different natures of text and image, as they function in the Junius 11 manuscript, the second step will be to illuminate the connections between conceptions of the supernatural and earthly worlds by considering how both poems and images reflect social history, liturgical practice and popular belief on such things as landscape and environment, the location of hell, fertile versus barren locations, architectural form and space. Anglo-Saxon art was not created intending to be realistic in the manner of a Renaissance painting. Renaissance art has a theatrical conception, an avenue constructed by the artist to direct the eye of the viewer.

Traditional Art History frequently describes ornamental elements as mere accessories, external to the art itself. Following the Kantian tradition, preferring to focus instead on the main theme of the art object, which are generally believed to have greater meaning. As said by Kant:

What is called *ornamentation* is what is only an adjunct, and not an intrinsic constituent in the complete representation of the object, in augmenting the delight of taste does so only mean of its form. Thus

the frame of pictures or the drapery on statues, or the colonnades of palaces.<sup>40</sup>

Nevertheless, even when an element is predominantly ornamental, it can play a role greater than mere accessory. Otto Pächt<sup>41</sup> put focus on the manuscript miniatures and indirectly on the ornamental when he studied manuscript illumination. When he studied the whole book as an object to be studied in its complexity, his works reflect a concern in the art in manuscript studied merely accessory to the text. Consequently, text, images and ornaments were not part of his main concern.

Often ornamental elements have a grammatical or syntactical function, they work to amplify some elements and guide the eye of the viewer and quoting Louis Marin:

So, I propose to rescue three mechanisms for presenting representation in painting from their oblivion or misrecognition and bring them back into the foreground of theoretical attention and of the descriptive gaze: the background, the plane, and the frame.<sup>42</sup>

The ornamental is more than an adjunct element and it can provide connections and present ideas. It has a variety of appearances, appeals, meanings and functions. The ornamental is not a motif, it is a “modus operandi whose structuring function is likely to navigate through all the genres” and it is an active agent to make the viewer apprehend the motif of the picture.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> I. Kant, ‘§ 14’, *The Critique of Judgement* [1892], translated by J.C. Meredith, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 57.

<sup>41</sup> O. Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1987). Volume resulting from lectures that the author gave at the University of Vienna in 1967-68. It was first published in German in 1984, edited by D. Thoss and U. Jenni.

<sup>42</sup> L. Marin, ‘The frame of representation and some of its figures’, *On Representation*, edited by L. Marin (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 352-72 (p. 353).

<sup>43</sup> “Modus operandi dont la fonction structurante est susceptible de traverser tous les genres.” (the translation to English is ours), J.C. Bonne, ‘De l’ornemental dans l’art

The development of new technologies, such as the scanning of manuscripts, which used to be accessible only *in loco*, provides a new and vital area of research for medieval studies. Anglo-Saxon Studies has been near the cutting edge of the practice and critique of the digital, with the production of pioneering electronic facsimiles such as those from the Junius 11 and the Beowulf manuscript<sup>44</sup>.

The authors of the following paper, part of an interdisciplinary group aiming to developing software to scan not only manuscripts, also in 3D artefacts, claim that this type of technologies only brings benefits to the related areas of imagery studies:

Ancient artifacts reveal social structure, the way people normally lived, fashion and entertainment, as well as the technological level of the times. The same modern technologies used by medicine, intelligence, forensics, and space programs will bring greater access to the cultural heritages of all times. While other researchers deal with text and multilingual approaches, our focus on digital imagery does not neglect the beauty and cultural significance of the scripts of other cultures. (...) Cultural materials are nonviolent, unbiased, cultural ambassadors. Modern digital technologies have made it a reality to exhibit large collections of works from multiple cultures. Since an enormous amount of historical and cultural materials have been created, both storage and distribution raise many challenges. Further advancing digital technologies for archiving and distributing these materials is of great importance. <sup>45</sup>

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médiéval (Vlle-Xlle siècle). Le modèle insulaire'. In: *L'image. Fonctions et usages des images dans l'Occident médiéval*, Org. by J-C. Schimitt et J. Baschet (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1996), pp. 207-49 ( pp. 213 – 14).

<sup>44</sup> K. Kiernan, *The Electronic Beowulf* (London: British Library, 2011, third ed. by); B. Muir, *A Digital Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11*, software by N. Kennedy. (Oxford: Bodleian Library / Bodleian Library Digital Texts. CD-ROM, 2004).

<sup>45</sup> C. Chen, H. D. Wactlar, J. Z. Wang, K. Kiernan. 'Digital Imagery for significant cultural and historical materials – An emerging research field bridging people, culture and technologies', published online: 22 July 2005, Springer-Verlag 2005, In *DELOS/NSF*



However, digitisation also brings us new obstacles and methodological problems, especially concerning the materiality of our manuscripts. Digital high-resolution images can show new details never seen before in the manuscripts. The ability given to every researcher of medieval manuscripts to see minor details of his or her subjects clearly, even at the microscopic level, creates new possibilities many of which are just beginning to be explored. New questions and approaches to the study of medieval manuscripts can evolve and contribute to enrich this field as if an entire unknown library has been discovered, untouched by previous generations of researchers. Digitisation provides preservation and makes the object accessible to researchers around the world; however, it is no substitute for contact with the manuscript itself. The electronic copy cannot give any sense of the materials or materiality of the original book—for example, its weight, what it is like to hold in your hands, or how it might differ to a lone reader vs. a group to whom it is being read. The appropriation, recast and scanning of the images and text of Junius 11 through CD-ROM, internet site, books and even academic studies are all another retelling of the narrative from the manuscript, as the retelling of the poem through images in the manuscript in its own contemporary times for the Anglo-Saxon audience. Besides, digital high-resolution images can show some new details never seen before in these manuscripts. However, we cannot forget the importance of the direct contact with the manuscript itself. Although, neutral, aseptic artefact is an illusion, for multiple meshes internal and external mediation that involve it. The pure or purified object, the real thing can truly exist, only plenty of a feature that is also a non-real subject: *hyperreality*. Quoting Italian semiotician Umberto Eco, about the contemporary society relation with the cultural objects like the movies, books, or museum artifacts or even a medieval manuscript: “*imagination demands the real thing and, to attain it, must fabricate the absolute fake*”.<sup>46</sup> The researcher always reads the

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*Working Group on Digital Imagery for Significant Cultural and Historical Materials*, 275-86.

<sup>46</sup> U. Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality: Essays*, translated by W. Weaver (San Diego, New York, and London: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1986), pp. 7-8.

manuscript according to our own ways to see the word. When the researcher is studying the scanned images, it is forgotten that this image it is not the real manuscript. Photographs are never the reality. It is just a simulacrum of the real thing. It is necessary to remember the original source of the scanned images. It is very hard to the modern researcher decipher all the meanings of an old piece of visual art. The values and symbolisms from a society from another time are cast from a previous repertoire, and they might be unknown to a modern viewer. Ivan Gaskell, studying a Johannes Vermeer painting (*A Young Woman standing at a Virginal*, about 1670-2), claims that: 'the argument here is that no interpretation that fails to take account of the unique qualities of the painting as an object can fully satisfy critical scrutiny.'<sup>47</sup> Applying the same principle to Junius 11 manuscript and adapting it because the manuscript is not a painting made to be exhibited on a wall any interpretation of the art and text of this manuscript that do not contemplate the manuscript as an object, a book will not fully satisfy a critical scrutiny. And any image took of the series of images, the text and the whole materiality of the manuscript might make de researcher go to a wrong interpretation of this picture. The connection between text, materiality and imagery in medieval manuscripts cannot stay separated in new studies anymore. Besides, the relation between these dimensions must be checked constantly by researchers. Students and scholars alike must make do on the whole with the Muir digital facsimile<sup>48</sup>, or with the high-resolution images of the manuscript available from the Bodleian Library, and the way in which each presents the manuscript and its individual poems and images is very different.

The main goal of this thesis is to elucidate the way in which the Junius 11 manuscript, especially the Genesis visual narrative functions as a coherent book that unites textual and visual biblical narratives. It is also important to assess its relationship to other contemporary texts and pictures, as well as

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<sup>47</sup> I. Gaskell, *Vermeer's Wager: speculations on art history, theory, and art museums* (London: Reaktion, 2000), p. 15.

<sup>48</sup> B. Muir, *A digital facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11* (2004).

earlier sources, and the ways in which text and image functioned within them more generally.

## Chapter 2

### The temple of the king: architecture in Junius 11

And when Almighty God brings you to our most reverend brother and bishop Augustine, tell him that for a long while I have been considering the case of the Angles. It is clear that the shrines of idols in that land should not be destroyed, but rather that the idols that are in them should be. Let holy water be prepared and sprinkled in these shrines, and altars constructed, and relics deposited, because, as long as these shrines are well built, it is necessary that they should be transformed from the cult of demons to the service of the true God.<sup>49</sup>

As well studied by Ernst Kantorowicz, the veil of the tabernacle works allegorically as the sky separating earth from heaven. This spatial division explains how the king can have a “political” body as earthly ruler, and a mystical or spiritual body as someone who represents the will of God on earth.<sup>50</sup> Following the Exodus from the Canonical Vulgate: And you shall hang the veil from the clasps, and bring the ark of the testimony in thither within the veil; and the veil shall separate for you the holy place from the most holy.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> “Cum vero Deus omnipotens vos ad reverentissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi, videlicet quid fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente, minime debeant, sed ipso, quae in eis sunt, idola destruantur. aqua benedicta fi at, in eisdem fanis aspargatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur, quid, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio veri dei debeant commutari”: Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum* (CCL 140–140A); 11.56. Translated by G. Demacopoulos. ‘Gregory the Great and the Pagan Shrines of Kent’, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1, no. 2 (2008), 353-369.

<sup>50</sup> E. Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies a study in mediaeval political theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 66-68.

<sup>51</sup> “Inseretur autem velum per circulos, intra quod pones arcam testimonii, quo et sanctuarium, et sanctuarii sanctuaria dividuntur”. (Exodus 26:33, Vulgate)

To Kantorowicz the double nature of the body of king himself is represented and delimited by the veil, an object that connects heaven and earth. Bede claims the sky curtain was hung before four pillars as the four corners of the world and it is the mediator between God and mankind, heaven and earth. The curtain is Christ. According to Bede:

Now the ark of the covenant was placed within this curtain of the temple because after his passion and resurrection from the dead, the Mediator between God and humankind, the man Christ Jesus, who alone is privy to the secrets of the Father, has ascended above the highest heaven and sits at the right hand of the Father. The sanctuary and the holy of holies are divided by this curtain because the Church, which consists of the holy angels as well as human beings, partly still sojourns below and partly reigns in the eternal homeland above, as its citizens are still separated from another by the dividing curtain of heaven. And you shall put the propitiatory on the ark of the covenant in the holy of holies. Aptly is the propitiatory said to have been put on the ark, because it was given in particular to the Mediator between God and humankind himself by God the Father that he should be the propitiation for our sins. For this reason, Paul also says: Jesus Christ who died, yes, who rose again, and who is at the right hand of God, who also intercedes for us.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> “Intra hoc velum templi posita est arca testamenti; quia mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, qui solus paternorum est conscius arc norum, post passionem tuam resurrectionemque a mortuis, super cælos cælorum ascendens, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Hoc velo sanctuarium et sanctuarii santuaria dividuntur; quoniam Ecclesia, quæ ex angelicis sanctis et hominibus constat, partim ad hoc peregrinatur in infimis, partim in æterna patria regnat in supernis, ad huc cives suos dirimente velo coeli habet ab invicem segregatos. Pones et propitiatorium super arcam testimonii, etc. Apte propitiatorium super arcam positam esse dicitur; quia ipse mediator Dei et hominum specialiter a Deo Patre donatus est, ut esset propitiatio pro peccatis nostris. Unde etiam Paulus dicit: Jesu Christus, qui mortuus est imo qui et resurrexit, qui est ad dexteram Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro nobis” (Liber II Caput XVIII)., Latin original text from: Beda Venerabilis, *De tabernaculo* etc. Bede, Bede, David Hurst, Bede, and Bede. *Beda Venerabilis Opera: Opera Exegetica. 2a: De Tabernaculo. De Templo. in Ezram Et Neemiam* (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii), 1969. Translation to

Bede's focus is explaining the role of the Church in the cosmic Christian vision.<sup>53</sup> Although, as well explained by Kantorowicz that line of thinking ends creating the basis for a political theology for the power of the king. Christ is the veil that connect heaven (and, by extension, God) and earth. And the king represents Christ as chosen by God to be a ruler in earth and keeper of the spiritual laws of God. While the Anglo-Saxon Christian is Christ by extension the church and the hall of the king both can be representative of the power of God on earth. The mixing between stone and wood, Roman church and the hall of the king show how the paradoxical double meaning of the king's body and the building where the king performs his role. The building (hall or church) is the main stage where the king plays his social role as Christ on earth. Then, it is not random how the building is omnipresent in Junius 11 visual narrative. The extensive presence of architectural elements in Junius 11 is how this omnipresence is pictured in image. One of the most impressive features of the art in the Junius 11 manuscript is how the first artist shows a preference for architectural frames and ornaments, in a more naturalistic way between the figures and their architectural settings, compared to the second artist. 'He [first artist] also shows a marked preference for exaggerated gestures, twisting poses, and architectural frames and settings'.<sup>54</sup> Both artists give prominence to the architectural elements in the majority of images. Another important feature about the first artist is how he (or she) uses the architecture to express concepts rather than a scenery of the main stage in the images of heaven in Junius 11. Some concepts are not included in the text, they go beyond the poem. In this chapter, after a survey of the development of an architectural imagery of heaven I will focus on the possible meanings behind the various forms. I start with the possible origin models of this iconography. Then I

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English by Arthur G. Holder. *Bede, On the Tabernacle* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1994), p. 155.

<sup>53</sup> T. Morrison, 'Bede's De Tabernaculo and De Templo, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association*, vol. 3 (2007), 243-57.

<sup>54</sup> Karkov, *Text and Picture* (2001), p. 33.

conclude by demonstrating the role of architecture as representation of the power of god and as the model for political power in defining the relationship between heaven/paradise, earth and hell.

## 2.1 Origins of architectural heaven in image and text

In this section I will explore the possible models of this iconography of Heaven as an architectural place, and how this could have influenced the first artist of Junius 11 to create the images with buildings and towers as we see in the images in Genesis poem. The iconography of Genesis in early Biblical manuscripts is an intricate subject that I am not proposing to exhaust here. However I intended to check some possible models of this architectural iconography since the first Christian bibles until some possible parallel models known in Anglo Saxon England, without enumerating the whole biblical inspired art that came before Junius 11. The artists of Junius 11 could have access directly or indirectly from some of these models and I will try to show some similarities and differences that may justify the choices made by the artist or the project of making this manuscript. It is important to trace these influences aiming to understanding how the artists of Anglo-Saxon England read those iconographic motifs. The roots of medieval book art in Anglo-Saxon England are originally from Late Antique books, even of course, through the Roman Church's influence on the British Isles. Remembering Panofsky: 'for the medieval mind, classical antiquity was too far removed and at the same time too strongly present to be conceived as a historical phenomenon'.<sup>55</sup>

One of the first known illustrated books that used the architectural elements as part of its iconography is the *Roman Calendar of 354* (Cod. Barberini lat.2154). The original manuscript was destroyed, however there are copies of the images, that seem to be very accurate.<sup>56</sup> The architectural motifs are

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<sup>55</sup> E. Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology: An introduction to the study of Renaissance Art', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Handsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 51-81 (p. 77).

<sup>56</sup> M. Schapiro, 'The Carolingian Copy of the Calendar of 354' (1940). Meyer Schapiro, *Late Antique, early Christian and mediaeval art: selected papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), pp. 143-148. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1980). Reprinted by permission of the College Art Association of America, originally published from: 'The



used as monumental frames for cherubs and personified seasons. Cities like Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria and Trier are also personified.<sup>57</sup> Although the most dignified of all are the birthdays of the emperors (fig. B1) and the image of Emperor Constantius II (fig. B2) and Emperor Gallus (fig. B3).<sup>58</sup> The glorious Roman architecture with ornamented columns and arcs are not only frames, they are used to glorify the figures of the emperors. And they mean the power of the emperor over the Roman Empire itself. The Christian Bibles use the same architectural elements to glorify and show how the biblical books are all under God's plans. Another important function is how they are all especially in the Gospels or the canon tables to show the concord among the biblical books. For example in a non-Christian book, in the *Vatican Virgil* (Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225), made in Rome around 400<sup>59</sup>, the illustrations even have landscapes and buildings, do not use the architectural elements as seen in the Roman Calendar<sup>354</sup> as the illustrations tend to focus on the human characters and the textual narrative. The architectural elements are part of the narrative and are not used as frame (figure B4).

The first known illustrated biblical book is The Quedlinburg Itala, produced in the middle of fifth century in Rome, only presenting images of Samuel 1 from Historical Books and not from Genesis. It is also very much like the Vatican

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Carolingian copy of Calendar of 354', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. XXII, n° 4 (1940), 232-245.

<sup>57</sup> R.L.P. Milburn, *Early Christian art and architecture* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1988), pp. 294-295.

<sup>58</sup> M.R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: the codex-calendar of 354 and the rhythms of urban life in late antiquity* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

<sup>59</sup> D.H. Wright, *The Vatican Vergil, a Masterpiece of Late Antique Art* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993).

Virgil as the architectural images are not used as frames.<sup>60</sup> The frames, when they are used only as ornamental frames, without any architectural element like *Roman Calendar*<sup>354</sup> as we can see in the image on the bottom left (figure B5).

The first known illustrated book of the genesis is BL MS Cotton Otho B VI. Cotton Genesis is a fourth or fifth century Greek Illuminated manuscript copy of the Book of Genesis (figures B6 e B7). The manuscript is very fragmented, due to the terrible fire, which destroyed part of Cottonian collection on 23 October 1731. However, it is possible to analyse the way in which architecture is used in those miniatures that have counterparts in the Junius 11 manuscript. Thus it is possible to trace what may be an inheritance from the early Christian tradition and thereby identify which elements can be original to the Anglo-Saxon manuscript. The Cotton Genesis has been cited as a source for images in later Genesis cycles, specifically those of the Junius 11 and Cotton Claudius B.iv manuscripts—along with later Italian cycles.<sup>61</sup> In the Cotton Genesis, it is clear that scenery is not as important to the artist, as it is in the Junius 11 manuscript. Comparing this Greek Genesis with the Carolingian Tournai Bible, made about 830-840, BL Add MS 10546 (figure B8) there is a continuity in the almost complete absence of architectural elements, as the first fully page illustrated. The Frankish Kingdom had a major influence on and was in turn influenced by Anglo Saxon England, not only in Alcuin's time, also going back to the earliest Anglo-Saxon missionaries and continuing through to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. The artist of the Cottonian manuscript may not

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<sup>60</sup> J. Williams, *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 2002).

<sup>61</sup> See H.R. Broderick III, 'Metatextuality, sexuality and intervisuality in MS Junius 11', in *Word & Image*, 25:4 (2009), 384-401; K. Weitzmann and H.L. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis. British Library Codex Cotton Otho B. VI* (Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, vol. i), (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), p. 24-25; G. Henderson, 'Late-Antique Influences in Some English Mediaeval Illustrations of Genesis', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25(3/4) (1962), p. 172-98.

have had as much scope for creativity compared with his Anglo-Saxon successors. The images here are more formulaic, consisting of fixed and repeated ideas which closely resemble the content of the Vulgate text. Both the Cottonian and Tournon manuscripts place the emphasis on the human, and the scenery is not important to the visual narrative. There are a few places in which buildings that seems essential to the narrative, such as the Tower of Babel, Noah's Ark, or the Egyptian pyramids in the story of Joseph are depicted. However they are not inventions of the artists, they are straightforward visual translations of Biblical or related apocryphal texts.

In the Cotton Genesis, we see only a few very simple columns depicted behind personages. Then, there is not much difference between the role of architectural elements in the Cotton Genesis and the Tournon Bible. They have some differences, for instance, the Tournon Bible just have images about events after Creation, without the episode of the Fall of the Rebel Angels. However both present a lack of architectural details prior to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise, differently from Junius 11.

Rossano Gospel (6th-century in the byzantine Italy) only has images of the Gospels. Its canon table has a circular pattern different from the ones found in later biblical books (figure B9). It is pretty much the same pattern in Vienna Genesis and Sinope Gospels in the Greek Byzantine cultural area.<sup>62</sup> And only in the Saint Mark image there is an architectural frame that seems to be there in the same way as in Roman Calendar 354, recast to dignify the Evangelist (figure B10).

Claudius B.IV or the Old English Hexateuch is an Anglo Saxon manuscript written in the late tenth or early eleventh century possibly in Canterbury and is thought to reflect the concerns of the tenth-century Benedictine reform.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> R. Milburn, *Early Christian art and architecture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 301.

<sup>63</sup> B.C. Withers, 'A "Secret and Feverish Genesis": The Prefaces of the Old English Hexateuch', *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 1 (1999), 53-71 (pp.53-56).

Images are fully painted and thus more in the style of Continental books even though it was not limited manuscripts directly connected to the reform. Claudius B.iv is important because it can help us to measure how original the images in Junius 11 are, as it is the only other surviving illuminated Old Testament narrative MS from Anglo-Saxon England and was produced at around the same time as Junius 11. Although it is also important to highlight how different they are from each other, not only in the style of their art. The two manuscripts are discussed and compared in many studies, although they have more differences than similarities, and were produced for different audiences. Junius 11 is a paraphrase from biblical books, and The Hexateuch is a literal paraphrase from the Latin Vulgate than Junius 11. Probably the Hexateuch was created for a lay man due to the extension of its illustrations.<sup>64</sup> Junius 11 does not have a strict compromise to follow the original text of the Bible as it does not follow strictly the Vulgate. It seems to be connected with other themes that are not central in the canonical bible. The extensive use of apocryphal elements gives Junius 11 a freedom of creativity using and casting some iconographic motifs elements that are also present in The Old English Hexateuch. It seems the artists in Junius 11 had more freedom to cast and recast elements from this iconography and to invent new ways to represent some episodes. One of the main similarities is that the relationship between text and image are the same: in both manuscripts the images create new elements in the biblical narrative that are not present in the text aside. Comparing both manuscripts it is clear that some images are alike as 'God in majesty' in folio 4v in Cotton Claudius B.iv (figure B11) and in Junius 11, page ii (fig.A1). However the role of architectural elements is different when comparing both books. The frame in Old English Hexateuch is not architectural as the demiurge God of Junius 11 Genesis. The fully architectural heaven does not exist in Cotton Claudius B.iv as it appears in Junius 11. Also God's throne is not as clearly architectural in Cotton Claudius B.V as in Junius 11. There are no architectural elements in the fall of the rebel angels full page

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<sup>64</sup> C.R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, 'Cotton Claudius B. IV. Manuscript', in *The Old English illustrated Hexateuch: British museum Cotton Claudius B. IV* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1974), pp. 118-120.

on the Old English Hexateuch, folio 2r (figure B12), very different from Junius full page of the same episode (figure A3). In Cotton Claudius B.iv architectural features only happens in folio 9r (figure B13), after Adam and Eve's expulsion from Earthly paradise.

The architectural elements in Old English Hexateuch apparently do not have the same function as in Junius 11. I will show in the following sections (especially in section 2.3) that in Junius 11 the architectural elements are more than frames, they connect heaven, earth and hell, and they are present in the manuscript even before the creation.

According to Caviness the source of the iconography of architectural heaven is directly connected with early manuscripts of the City of God and the Heavenly Jerusalem<sup>65</sup>. Caviness only includes as an example of the earliest manuscript to display that depiction of heaven as architectural in the *Civitate Dei* produced in Canterbury in the thirteenth century (1201-1210) manuscript (Figure B14), later than Junius 11. Although, she does not mention Junius 11, the author comments about a different Anglo Saxon Manuscript, MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii (Figure B15) an image of King Edgar. There are arcs and columns in the back of the Figures of King Edgar in the centre and Saint Dunstan and Æthelwold as very simple and disconnected to this new tradition brought by the *Civitate Dei*, when comparing it to the late medieval examples.<sup>66</sup>

In the Cotton Vespasian A.vii, the Refoundation Charter of the New Minster, Winchester, there is no architectural heaven, only the mandorla outside the figure of Christ in majesty (figure B16). The Junius 11 manuscript is apparently the unique manuscript that has survived from this time that shows heaven as an architectural space in an original way. The Benedictional of St Æthelwold, produced between 963-984 in Winchester, very close to the moment and

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<sup>65</sup> M. Caviness, 'Images of Divine Order and the Third Mode of Seeing', *Gesta*, XXII, 2, 1983, 99-120 (p. 100).

<sup>66</sup> Caviness, *Image of Divine Order* (1983), p. 113.

space when and where Junius 11 was written is another manuscript worthy to compare with Junius 11. There are two pages folios 2v and 3r (Figure B17 and B18) showing the apostles where in the superior part of the image, the Heavenly Jerusalem shows these angels inside a triangle shaped bordered space. Outside this painted golden triangular border in both sides left and right there are two small walled cities (or castles). Contrary to Junius 11, it is remarkable how this celestial Jerusalem has these complex architectural elements, and it might be connected with the moment of production of Junius 11.

There is a long tradition since Antiquity to have the canon tables at the beginning of the gospels. Canon tables are not only a summary, they show how the Gospels are connected. According to Nordenfalk the iconographic tradition of the architectural structure as a frame to the Canon of the Gospels, created by Eusebius of Caesarea as we can see in the Book of Kells (figure B20) is present since the first examples of those canon tables. They were probably simpler and were developed by the following artists who copied those canon tables. The Canon tables iconography surrounded by architectural structure survived in two earliest copies of its original manuscripts, four pages of a Greek Gospel (London Canon Tables) from sixth or seventh century (figure B21) and another Armenian Gospel (figure B22 and B23). This iconographic motif of arcades and columns is ornamental, they are not only frames. Their meaning is to show the importance of the Gospels, the solidity of God's plans and the connection of the Word of God. These connections and stability are not only textual; they are presented in a visual way by pictures.<sup>67</sup> Architectural canon tables are present in the tradition of the gospels since Antiquity. They were certainly known in the Anglo Saxon

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<sup>67</sup> M. C. C. L. Pereira, 'As Tábuas de Cânones em manuscritos iluminados do Ocidente cristão', In: *VII Encontro Regional da ANPUH – ES* (Anais eletrônicos do VII Encontro Regional da ANPUH – ES, Brazil, vol. 1 (2008).

England as many gospels produced during this period there depicts them.<sup>68</sup> Otto Pächt did not mention Junius 11 as a manuscript lavish architecturally decorated Anglo-Saxon example:

Occasionally architectural structures also had been used in Anglo-Saxon illumination, not only for the Canon Tables (a task for which they were suited), but for example for framing the Evangelist portraits. But nowhere was the framing arch ever burdened to such an extent with domes as it is in the massive upper structures of Norman miniatures around the year 1100.<sup>69</sup>

However as the canon tables, the frames of the Evangelist portraits represent the stability of God's power and the harmony of the 4 gospels. Although the art of Junius 11 did not envisage the gospels directly, God is illustrated as Christ, and the stability of God's power is present as well, which will be further explained in the following chapter. The architectural elements in Junius 11 are not used occasionally or just as frame. They are a symbol of stability and power of God.

The architectural elements started as a representation of the Roman Empire as the Universe and they were inherited by Christendom as a symbol of the political power and the Christian power, God's power. I am not denying that in some manuscripts the architectural elements are used as frames, scenarios or decoration for simple tradition. However as shown by the genealogy of this motif, most of the cases the architectural ornament has more than one meaning. Its rhetoric usage as symbol of power echoes throughout the Middle Ages and for sure it was part of the "repertoire" of the Anglo-Saxon artists who painted Junius 11 illustrations. Architectural elements play an essential role in

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<sup>68</sup> C. A. J. Nordenfalk, 'The beginning of book decoration' In: Goetz, Oswald (Ed. by). *Essays in honor of Georg Swarzenski* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951), p. 9-20.

<sup>69</sup> O. Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages* (London, Harvey Miller Publishers; New York, Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 191. Volume resulting from lectures that the author gave at the University of Vienna in 1967-68. It was first published in German in 1984, edited by D. Thoss and U. Jenni.

the Junius 11 manuscript being part of the visual narrative rather than mere background scenery or a simple framing device. The mnemonic craft was not simply to copy things but to reorganize the elements, recreating subjects while associating different parts to create new combinations. As said by Mary Carruthers about this technique in the Middle Ages:

Thus hermeneutics, constant reinterpretation and constant re-telling continuing over time, is assumed in this model of mnemonic craft. This is a crucial aspect of mnemonic technique to which many influential scholars have not given sufficient emphasis. Modern psychology has associated conscious, crafted memory only with rote, the ability to repeat exactly. Modern scholars who operate within this assumption have critically misrepresented the inventive power of crafted mnemonics.<sup>70</sup>

Architectural elements in Junius 11 were recast, reformulated and used as fundamental parts of the visual narrative, as the mnemonic memory palace technique.<sup>71</sup> Therefore likely to be original Anglo Saxon artistic contributions to the illuminated Genesis tradition. Moreover, in Junius 11, the focus of Genesis is not just on the original sin of Adam and Eve, also on the rebellion of Lucifer and his followers. Thus the power materialized as architectural buildings, thrones and other elements are fundamental to understanding this narrative, as text. I will explain in the next section how the architecture in heaven is a figural representation of the idea of power, God's power, and by extension the power of the king (the hall) and the power of the Christian church (the minster). The tenth century is the historical moment where those two institutions Anglo Saxon England Kingdom was being built thought the House

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<sup>70</sup> M. Carruthers, 'The Poet as Master Builder: Composition and Locational Memory in the Middle Ages', *New Literary History*, vol. 24.4 (1993), 881–904 (p. 892).

<sup>71</sup> About the 'mnemonic memory palace' use in medieval times see : M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). See also: M. Carruthers and J. M. Ziolkowski. (edited by), *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).



of Wessex and the Catholic Church being rebuilt as institution in Britain by Benedictine reform. The art in Junius 11 might reflect both of these transformations.

## 2.2 Buildings and walls in Anglo Saxon England

This section aims to provide some information about the history of the buildings and its social and symbolic relationship with the Anglo-Saxon Society. There were Roman buildings and walls prior to the Anglo-Saxon migrations to the British Isles and also after the conversion to the Christian faith. Those stone walls and buildings could be also the source of models for the architectural elements in the art in Junius 11. I intend to show some aspects from the real buildings present in Anglo-Saxon England and the symbolic meaning of those constructions. More than just present a historical sequence of the styles, buildings and archaeological discoveries, this section seeks to provide elements that are going to be fundamental to the analysis in the following section as comparison between Anglo Saxon society of the tenth century and Junius 11, during the ninth century and close to the year 1000.

Firstly, in order to understand the symbolic meaning of the actual buildings and churches to the Western Christendom of the early middle ages, it is necessary to return to the relationship between the Gospels and the Roman Empire. The Biblical text is fundamental to the Christian process of cast and recast and add new meanings to symbology of the Roman Imperial Buildings. It is taken from the St Matthew Gospel the biblical passage used as the theological reason for the existence of the material church representing the spiritual heaven. The name Peter, originally Petrus in the Latin Vulgate means stone, rock:

And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. Then he strictly charged the disciples to tell no one that he was the Christ.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> “Et ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversum eam. et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum et quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in caelis et quodcumque solveris super

The Church as a building itself is a tradition which originated from the fusion of the Roman State building with the Jewish synagogue. Since the early Christian churches, Western Christendom saw the Church as a fortress in a turbulent world against the pagans or against the heretics. Flora Spiegel claims, based on archaeological and textual evidence, that the Gregorian mission planned to convert and align Anglo-Saxons with Jews. The instruction given by the Pope to make them a new type of Tabernacle aiming to reach Christendom, as the Jewish faith was a mid-way to reach the true faith, the Christian faith:

However, the typological correspondence between the Anglo-Saxons and the Jews was not simply an exegetical conceit constructed from patristic sources by historiographers such as the Venerable Bede, but an idea which began circulating in England several generations before Bede as the central tenet of the conversion strategy employed by Gregory the Great's missionaries. From the earliest stages of the conversion period, Roman missionaries explicitly encouraged the Anglo-Saxons to identify with the Jews of the Old Testament. This approach to conversion found its most tangible expression in Gregory's suggestion that the newly Christianized inhabitants of England should be encouraged to build tabernacles, small hut structures probably inspired by the ritual booths constructed by medieval Jews during their celebration of the autumn Feast of Tabernacles.<sup>73</sup>

Then, the church building is fundamental to spread Christendom among the pagans. In some ways this is an inheritance from the Roman process of spreading the Roman *Civitas*, while spreading Roman buildings throughout the empire. Pope Gregory suggests how the building of the church is central to conversion of the pagans in the case of the pagan Anglo-Saxons advises

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terram erit solum in caelis. tunc praecepit discipulis suis ut nemini dicerent quia ipse esset Iesus Christus". (Matthew 16; 18-20, Vulgate).

<sup>73</sup> F. Spiegel, 'Tabernacula' of Gregory the Great and the conversion of Anglo-Saxon-England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 36 (2007), 1-13 (p.2).

not to destroy the pagan temples, rebuild them as Christian Churches while abolishing the pagan sacrifices:

Almighty God shall bring you unto our most reverend brother Augustine, bishop, tell him what I have long time devised with myself of the cause of the English: that is, to wit, that the temples of the idols in the said country ought not to be broken; but the idols alone which be in them; that holy water be made and sprinkled about the same temples, altars builded, relics placed: for if the said temples be well built, it is needful that they be altered from the worshipping of devils into the service of the true God; that whiles the people doth not see these their said temples spoilt, they may forsake their error of heart and be moved with more readiness to haunt their wonted place to the knowledge and honour of the true God.<sup>74</sup>

The buildings made of stone like the churches show the power of God on Earth. The symbolic power from the Roman buildings and architecture in every corner of the Empire was a materialization process of the power of the Roman Emperor and the Empire itself.<sup>75</sup> When the Roman Empire turns into a Christian Empire, these elements were recast in order to become symbols of the power of Christ (and God), the Church and the Christian Kings. The

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<sup>74</sup> “Cum ergo Deus omnipotens vos ad reverentissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei, quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi: videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quae consuevit, familiarius concurrat”. CHAPTER XXX, The copy of a letter which he [Gregory the Great] sent to Mellitus the abbot going to Britain. (601 A.D). Bede. *Ecclesiastical History, vol. I: Books 1-3*, translated by J. E. King, *Loeb Classical Library 246* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 1930.

<sup>75</sup> R. Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture: University, Diversity and Empire* (London: Routledge, 2005), pp.72-90.

Roman *Civitas* changed to Christian *Civitas*. Roman architecture is now representative of God's authority over the earth and the Christian religion as the heir of Roman sovereignty over the globe. Then, the power of the Christian God over the landscape is manifested by the Roman building. About this technology and its relationship with the Roman Church:

Latin Christianity reintroduced stone building. It is a technology that Church was developer and consumer. The cost and complexity of stone building was justified for one just purpose: reverence of God. Those all the stone buildings that we know of are churches.<sup>76</sup>

However, the Church's building was symbolic of a fortress in this frontier world of Anglo-Saxon England<sup>77</sup>, in the spiritual and material war against the other. The other can be the "pagan" as the epitome of the other, the enemy of God, Satan. The Christian temple works as a wall, as a 'fortification' against non-Christians. In the poem *Advent I* from The Exeter Book, there is the mention of Christ as the cornerstone of a building that is itself the symbol of the creation and the foundation of the Christian faith:

(...) to the king. / You are the wall- stone the workers rejected, / The rock of strength they once cast away. / Now you are the fitting and firm foundation, / Cornerstone of the great and glorious hall, / Unbroken flint securely joined, / So that those with eyes to see your glory / Throughout the cities may marvel forever / And know the miracle of your mighty work. / Lord of victory and truth triumphant, / Let everyone gaze on the beautiful form, / The breadth and binding, of your great work, / The brawn of standing wall against wall, / Strength and support, buttress and beauty. / But we live in a world of rubble and wreckage. / Now we need our Creator, our Craft sman and King, / To reshape the structure and restore the hall, / Rebuild the ruin and reclaim the rooms / Beneath the roof. He built the first man, / Created the body, the limbs of clay. / Now may the Lord of

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<sup>76</sup> N. Kerr, & M. Kerr, *Anglo Saxon Architecture* (Haverfordwest: Shire Publications, 1983), p. 05.

<sup>77</sup> E. Treharne, 'Borders', in *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies*, ed. by J. Stodnick and R.R. Trilling (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2012), pp. 09-22.

life rescue the weary, / Release the multitude from life's misery, /  
Free the wretched from torment and woe, / Redeem the ruin as he  
has so oft en done.<sup>78</sup>

The buildings and walls that remained from the Roman times were visible everywhere throughout Anglo Saxon England. Visible were the Roman or pre-historic remaining buildings and fortifications, castra, ruins but still subject to the imagination like the poem *The Ruin*, or the poem *Widsith* where the Roman and German past were mixed:

Conscious as they certainly were of their Germanic past , and its European background, Anglo-Saxon knew that they lived in the shadow of Rome. They were both heirs of the Romans who had preceded them, and - from the beginning of the seventh century - followers of Christianity, which had its focus in the eternal city of Rome.<sup>79</sup>

In the historiography about this period, there is a general consensus about how the Roman buildings were abandoned at the first centuries of Anglo-saxon colonization, and afterwards those ruins were used again to build or rebuild churches:

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<sup>78</sup> "(...) cyninge. / ðu eart se weallstan þe ða wyrhtan iu / wiðwurpon to weorce. Wel þe geriseð / þæt þu heafod sie healle mærrer, / ond gesomnige side weallas / fæste gefoge, flint unbræcne, / þæt geond eorðb... ...geall eagna gesihþe / wundrien to worlde wuldres ealdor. / Gesweotula nu þurh searocræft þin sylfes weorc, / soðfæst, sigorbeorht, ond sona forlæt / weall wið wealle. Nu is þam weorce þearf / þæt se cræftga cume ond se cyning sylfa, / ond þonne gebete, nu gebrosnad is, / hus under hrofe. He þæt hra gescop, / leomo læmena; nu sceal liffrea / þone wergan heap wrapum ahreddan, / earme from egsan, swa he oft dyde. / Eala þu reccend ond þu riht cyning, / se þe locan healdeð, lif ontyneð, / eadga... upwegas, oþrum forwyrneð / wlitigan wilsipes, gif his weorc ne deag. / Huru we for þearfe þas word sprecað, / ond m... ...giað þone þe mon gescop / þæt he ne ...ete... / ...ceose weorðan". 'The ruin' (verses 01-24), *The Complete Old English Poems*, translated by C. Williamson, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), pp. 304-05.

<sup>79</sup> L. Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (London: The British Museum Press, 2012), p. 43.

Although there is some archaeological evidence for casual Anglo-Saxon activity in Roman towns such as Canterbury and York, the fifth century incomers, with their agrarian culture, had little use for urban structures, living instead in farmstead communities which made good use the Romano-British rural landscape and its resources. The Roman inheritance was still tangible all around them: over 150 years later, when Pope Gregory's Christian missions introduced a new vision of Rome and what it was to be a member of the Roman Church, Anglo-Saxons readily acknowledged this Roman past, and its highly visible monuments. The Anonymous life of St. Cuthbert describes how, in the later seventh century, the saint was taken round the Roman town of Carlisle by a local official and shown a fine fountain in the centre. This was a city that still had meaning for the local people nearly three hundred years after the formal withdrawal of Roman rule in Britannia, a meaning which also had profound resonance for the Christian missionaries and saints who preached in these places.<sup>80</sup>

The fortification or the walled city were visible since the arrival of Germanic people in Britain.<sup>81</sup> Some scholars like Fernie<sup>82</sup> and Speed claim a maintenance of Roman urbanization in the early Anglo Saxon times, the archaeological evidence is not clear about that and it is still a matter of interpretation. G. Speed defends this point of view using the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for year 577 as evidence for this urban life, "sub-Roman urbanism". He also contests the concept of town as place delimited by walls in the early Anglo-Saxon Period.<sup>83</sup> However, as well explained by P. Sims-

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<sup>80</sup> L. Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (2012), p. 43.

<sup>81</sup> R. Gem and J. Henriët, 'L'architecture pré-romane et romane en Angleterre. Problèmes d'origine et de chronologie', *Bulletin Monumental*, Société Française d'Archéologie, vol. 142, no. 3 (1984), 233–72.

<sup>82</sup> E. Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1983).

<sup>83</sup> G. Speed, *Towns in the Dark? Urban Transformations from Late Roman to Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014).

Williams the entry for the year 577 in the Anglo Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was created much later by the West Saxons to claim power over the Mercian territory.<sup>84</sup>

Hadrian's Wall is a very important Roman construction that might have been seen by the late Anglo-saxons as example (not as model for the walls in Junius 11). And can be also a model for a limit, frontier between two different spaces, us and them, the familiar and the foreigner. After the end of the Roman empire in Britain, Collins exemplifies by the archaeological records by what means Hadrian's wall was still used as landscape reference by the Anglians in the north of Anglo-saxon England and beyond that as fort:

[On the fifth and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries] Hadrian's Wall was no longer a monument with any political significance in the Early medieval period. However, the Wall was not without purpose. Many of the known Anglo-Saxon artifacts in the frontier. The date from the 6<sup>th</sup>-ninth century, with the 6<sup>th</sup> century material almost entirely eat of the Pennine. The preference to settle at Roman Forts may be for the convenience of location in relation to the road network, but it may also have been due to the fact that forts were the seats of the elite. This seems likely when Anglo-Sxon artifacts and distributions are considered along the wall in contrast to other parts of the frontier.<sup>85</sup>

He explains also, beyond the real wall, how Hadrian's wall was still used as a frontier between Northumbria and the kingdom of the Picts in the north:

The Roman frontier of northern Britain did not collapse – it survived Britian separation from the Roman empire. The frontier almost certainly fragmented through the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, but it only became reduntant when new olitical units

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<sup>84</sup> P. Sims-Williams, 'The settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol.12 (1983), 01–41.

<sup>85</sup> R. Collins, 'The Frontier at the End of Empire: Decline, Collapse or Transformation?', in *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: the Roman Frontier in the fourth and fifth Centuries* (London:Routledge, 2012), p. 167.



emerge; the process was completed through the rise and eventual hegemony of Anglian Northumbria – a kingdom that straddled the Wall, encompassing much the same region that was the former frontier of Rome.<sup>86</sup>

The Anglian Northumbrian hegemony in the earlier period of Anglo Saxon England is deeply connected with the Roman Frontier space in the North as this kingdom is the heir of the far North frontier of the Roman Empire. After the conversion to Christianity Northumbria is a special area of western Christendom with influence and connections with the Frankish Empire, proven by Alcuin and other spheres of influences. Bede is influential into the Anglo-Saxon period even after the fall of Northumbria as centre of power in Anglo-Saxon England. Northumbrian culture is the base of Wessex power and hegemony in the tenth century. Then, it is not difficult to claim how the cultural environment of Northumbria helped to build up part of the foundation of the Alfredian Renaissance. And the writings of two important sources on Roman Britain and Hadrian's Wall are Bede and Gildas:

The writings of Gildas and Bede indicate that during the centuries following the ending of Roman rule at least some educated people in Lowland Britain retained an impression of the origin and history of the Wall. Bede's and Gildas's accounts are important in themselves, since they provide significant interpretations of the Wall, but also they had a sustained impact on later work.<sup>87</sup>

The writings and ideas of Bede and Gildas about the Wall may have reached tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England. According to Paul Bidwell, the landscape of Roman ruins close to the Hadrian's Wall was essential to build the churches in the region during the seventh and eighth centuries. The Anglians reused

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<sup>86</sup> R. Collins, 'The Frontier at the End of Empire: Decline, Collapse or Transformation?' (2012), pp. 168-169.

<sup>87</sup> R. Hingley, *Hadrian's Wall: a Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.37

stonework to build churches, as proven by the The Anglo-Saxon crypt at Hexham.<sup>88</sup>

The existence of visible Roman buildings, walls and more architectonic structures until the present day proves the power of the Roman past over the imagination of English people in the tenth century as they are still powerful in the English landscape. Going beyond the actual buildings visible in the English landscape at this time, in a symbolic way, to build or reform a new building is always a return to the Creation of the World, to the time of Christ, and to the first Christians. Close to the year 1000 a lot of churches were built and rebuilt in western Europe, like Reims, Tours, Orleans.<sup>89</sup> As I explain better in the last chapter, the tenth century in Anglo-Saxon England is also time for renovation in the Church spiritually materialized in its buildings, specially Winchester New Minster.

The act of creating poetry is connected with the act of building. It is never creating something new, as God is the only one who really has the power to create. The other creatures only mimic the original creation. In Anglo-Saxon poetry creation is many times metaphorized by the construction of a building. The creation as construction of a building is present in Anglo Saxon literature. For example in Beowulf when is narrated the building of the mead hall as a fortress and central place for social life:

Then came to his mind [King Hrothgar] /a palace of power where  
he would rule - / The Great mead-hall built by men. / Where the men

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<sup>88</sup> P. Bidwell, 'A survey of the Anglo-Saxon crypt at Hexham and its reused Roman stonework', *Archaeologia Aeliana Series 5*, Vol 39 ( 2010), 53-145 (pp. 131-4).

<sup>89</sup> G. Duby, *L'an mil* (Paris: Julliard, 1967), pp. 187-92.

inside always would hear / There together, all would congregate /  
from young to old, as God granted.<sup>90</sup>

The narrative of Beowulf put side by side as parallel the constructions of Hrothgar's mead hall with the creation of the whole world by God as parallel. As in the Letter of Alexander and Wonders of the East from the MS Cotton Vitellius A XV, Alexander commanded that buildings would be built in the East. Those buildings (and cities) were originally `colonizing` structures, they were resignified as symbol of Christendom in the non-Christian countries:

The third model of creation brings together the genesis of a new world and the construction of a new building. Vernacular poets often use scenes recounting the setting up of an edifice to signal the coming into being of an original space. The association between building imagery and the creation of the world is omnipresent in the Old English.<sup>91</sup>

The artistic creation of a poem carries in itself the connection with creating a hall, and mimics the creation of the earth by God.<sup>92</sup> The bard (scop) in Beowulf sings a story is similar to the Creation made by God himself in the book of Genesis. The word `woruldhord` appears several times in Old English literature, and means the bard treasure of word that makes possible to produce the poetry, i. e. twice in the poem *Andreas*, and once in *Widsith*, in *Beowulf*, and in *The Metres of Boethius*. Beyond this connection between God's Creation, poetry creation and the Construction of a building, there is an enclosed space as always constructed and reconstructed reveals an

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<sup>90</sup> "him on mód beam / þæt healreced hātan wolde medoæm micel / men gewyrcean  
pone ylde beam aefre gefrūnon / ond þaēr on innan eall gedaēlan / geongum ond  
ealdum swylc him god sealed". (Beowulf, verses 53-72).

<sup>91</sup> F. L. Michelet, *Creation, migration, and conquest: imaginary geography and sense of space in Old English literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.52.

<sup>92</sup> Michelet, *Creation, migration, and conquest* (2006), p.55.

insecurity with frontiers and the danger that foreigners can bring to the society of the hall. According to Fabienne Michelet:

The original space of creation is enclosed, properly filled, and settled. But this arrangement is constantly challenged and is never allowed to endure. The sense of space that can be reconstructed from creation scenes as narrated in Old English verse suggests an insecurity about boundaries, a constant fear of the outside (considered as a threat), and an anxiety to secure everything in its proper place. For, when enclosures and limits weaken, chaos prevails and the world is eventually destroyed invaded from the outside or dissolving as a result of internal antagonism.<sup>93</sup>

Anglo-Saxons are surrounded by Celtic people, ethnically different from them, they experienced the results of the Nordic pagan invasions several times. They see themselves as keepers and heirs of the Roman Empire and the influence of Rome as the centre of Christian civilization was still present in late Anglo-Saxon England<sup>94</sup>. At the same time, the Anglo-Saxons knew they came from the north of Europe to The British Isles, every construction would act as a way to calm the anxiety about feeling of living in a land seen as a periphery of Christendom, and separated from the continental Christian Europe. Heaven is an ideal version of earthly world, even from a theological point of view, earth is an imperfect copy of Heaven. Heaven is an architectural structure like the Church on earth, the Minster mirrors the architectural heaven. Cædmon's Hymn, one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon poems, describes God in its very first line as *`heofonrices uard`*, the guardian of the kingdom of heaven) and God created for the sons of men a *`heben til hrofe`*, heaven as a roof. If heaven is a kingdom and the roof for the sons of men in the poetic tradition it is not strange to make it architectural, as those elements of heaven as a building

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<sup>93</sup> Michelet, *Creation, migration, and conquest* (2006), pp.64-65.

<sup>94</sup> N.J. Howe, 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol.34.1 (2004), 147-72.

are embedded in the language itself about the heaven. As we can see in Cædmon's Hymn:

Now let me praise the keeper of Heaven's kingdom, / the might of the Creator, and his thought, the work of the Father of glory, how each of wonders the Eternal Lord established in the beginning. He first created for the sons of men heaven as a roof, the holy Creator, then Middle-earth the keeper of mankind, the Eternal Lord, afterwards made, the earth for men, the Almighty Lord. In the beginning Cædmon sang this poem.<sup>95</sup>

The church is the connection between earth and heaven, between humankind and heaven. Then, the church building itself is the place to access God, the highest ruler of the universe, higher than the king and the pope themselves. The Hall of the king is part of the ideas of heaven as the hall and church. Then, as I am going to detail, heaven mirrors the concept of a walled city as Winchester:

Old English poets, traditionally used to treating secular authority based their system for this world's workings of the divine spirit on a conception of God as the supreme ruler of both heaven and earth. Epithets acknowledging this lordship form by far the largest category of their appellations of deity, and the items in this 'ruler' group which they used especially were for the most part adaptations of existing secular social terms. (...) But God's authority was by no means identical to its worldly counterpart. His power, at the heart of an infinite spiritual domain embracing all eternity, emitted from

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<sup>95</sup> "Nu scylun hergan hefaenricaes uard / metudæs maecti end his modgidanc / uerc uuldurfadur sue he uundra gihuaes / eci dryctin or astelidæ / he aerist scop aelda barnum / heben til hrofe haleg scepen. / tha middungeard moncynnæs uard / eci dryctin æfter tiadæ / firum foldu frea allmectig / primo cantauit Cædmon istud carmen". E. Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Manuscripts of Cædmon's Hymn and Bede's Death Song* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 13 & p. 17.

beyond temporal existence. This world's blend of spiritual and the material was dependent on a purely spiritual external might.<sup>96</sup>

Building is a church, and the church is not only a spiritual bastion, it is a military stronghold. Then Heaven is the model of a military walled fortification. Hell is not simply the forest or the vast unknown wild, Hell is the dungeon of this walled world, where the bestial nature of the demons are contained by walls, even the mouth of hell is inside these twisted walls.

At first it seems that Anglo Saxon art and architecture were originally "Germanic" in its origins if we compare Anglo-Saxons to Franks in the same period. However there are a lot of influences of Roman times in the Anglo-Saxon England. Those influences came to Anglo Saxon society via the Roman elements already present in Roman Britain. When the Germanic people moved to Britain the Roman buildings were there. Some elements frequently labelled as "barbarian" were in fact originally Roman-British *'such as a liking for feasting, the building of halls, hunting and the maintenance of war-bands, have all been recently demonstrated as present in late Roman times'*.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore the technique of building churches after the conversion to Christianity is always connected with this recurrent idea of returning to the glorious times of the Roman. The Frankish influence was important, the Mediterranean influence was originally higher than the influence coming from Gaul, the Anglo-Saxon England already had examples of Roman buildings that survived until that time.<sup>98</sup> Then Frankish Architecture is also a stimulus to revival of the Roman Architecture. However there are various possible Carolingian or Continental that were sought out and copied by Anglo-Saxons artists.

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<sup>96</sup> P. Clemoes, *Interactions of thought and language in Old English poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 438.

<sup>97</sup> L. Laing, *Early English art and architecture: archaeology and society* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Pub., 1996), p. 03.

<sup>98</sup> Laing, *Early English art and architecture* (1996), pp. 86-8.

The transformation of the landscape after the withdrawal of Roman Authority involved the arrival of settlers from Scandinavia and northern Germany, who established their homes alongside Romanized British populations, some of whom were displaced and themselves migrated west and south-west, and others who retained claims to their territory and landscape's (...). The palimpsest of prehistoric and more recent Roman monuments provided a rich canvas on which to construct new identities and claims. The English data set thus offers an opportunity to explore process that were at play more widely across Western Europe. New evidence of regional choices and preferences are offered here, taking our understanding of funerary reuse to deeper level.<sup>99</sup>

The building as a symbol of power was something that the Anglo-Saxons acknowledged since early times. This is true not only about the hall, also about the old Roman buildings, columns and walls in the British Isles. After the conversion to Christianity, the Church as a building incorporated that connection with the power of the Christian God, and the afterlife.

Focusing on late Anglo-Saxon times, close to the production of Junius 11 manuscript, only after King Alfred is known that an ambitious project of building a great church was successful in Anglo-Saxon England. However, in this section I will highlight the importance of this monumental church in the late Anglo-Saxon times. It is the New Minster in Winchester, consecrated in 903 and erected under the kingship of Edward the Elder, son of Alfred:

In order to help him re-establish the monastic life in England, around the year 886 Alfred invited the monk Grimbold to his court from Flanders. Between Alfred's death in 899 and Grimbold's in 901 Edward the Elder, probably at Grimbold's behest, founded a new monastery at Winchester alongside the old or cathedral minster. This New Minster was consecrated in 903 and became the burial place of King Alfred. Sufficient remains have been excavated to show that it was an impressive structure consisting of a nave and aisles with the surprising width of 68ft (20.75m), and in all likelihood

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<sup>99</sup> S. Semple, *Perceptions of the prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England: Religion, ritual, and rulership in the landscape* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 14-5.

a transept. The contrast with the Old Minster, lacking both aisles and transept must have been marked. The obvious parallels are with ninth –century transseptal basilicas in the Carolingian Empire such as those at Steinbach or Seligenstadt, but the link provided by Grimbold suggest that the immediate source might be in the Low Countries.<sup>100</sup>

The New Minster in Winchester can provide some insight into how those elements were connected in the motivations of the nobility. There are two fundamental moments, as we are going to see, The Endowment (by Edward the Elder) and Refoundation (by Edgar, The Peaceful) of New Minster in Winchester. These two periods show the importance and symbolism of the buildings and their architecture in the time prior to the production of Junius 11. However, the New Minster was not a unique moment. A huge investment in monumentality can be traced through the whole Anglo-Saxon England during the late Anglo-Saxon period:

By the late Anglo-Saxon period, investment in new forms of monumentality related to the structure and layout of elite settlements is in evidence. Planning and structured layouts and large enclosures with elaborate gateways are features present at Cheddar, Goltho, Steyning, and Little Paxton. The visual approach to such structures is suggested to have been an important factor in their design: the entrances and enclosures used as a means of framing the buildings.<sup>101</sup>

The tenth century shows then a passage from buildings made of wood and the hall itself for more ambitious stone buildings like the New Minster In Winchester, all of the using the elements to reinforce the authority of the noble class over the land, particularly the king himself. The wooden hall of the king was alongside the Roman Church made of stone an example as centre of

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<sup>100</sup> Fernie suggests in the note number 6 that : “It is possible that this plan is the result of a result of a rebuilding of the 950s, or even of the when a dramatic new tower was built”. Fernie, *The architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*.(1983)., p.93 (note number 6 p. 184).

<sup>101</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p. 211-2.



power, and for that, representation of heaven and the power of God manifested on earth.

## **2.3 Architecture as a symbol of political power in Junius 11**

This section intends to provide a new approach to the architectural elements in the illustrations in Junius 11, interacting with the iconographic narrative of this motif (as presented in section 2.1) and the attitudes of Anglo-Saxon society about buildings (explained in section 2.2). As we have architectural elements in some images that are not necessarily heaven, throughout the other chapters there will be a mention of this chapter as base for the following analysis of this apparently marginal subject.

Architecture in Junius 11 is unique among not only Anglo-Saxon art, also among art from the early middle ages. Though we can trace some possible influences, some elements are cast and recast in different ways, showing some degree of liberty in the original project of creation of Junius 11. After the opening image of God enthroned on page ii in Junius 11 (fig. 13), the rebellion and fall of the rebel angels full-page image appears on page 3 (fig. 15). This is not a random choice. The narrative of the fall of Lucifer narrated mainly through the images on pages 2, 3, and 16 (figs. 2, 3, 4) of Junius 11, maps his metamorphosis from angel to demon. His body is transformed from Lucifer, the brightest of the angels, to Satan, from a winged angel to a devil with human attributes and weaknesses. Satan becomes more human in hell, and this has a thematic importance because it mirrors and affects the fall of mankind itself. Lucifer and God are the central figures in these images. However, the surrounding spatial features are important in building a visual scenario in which the action takes place. In what follows I will try to show how these surrounding architectural features have been interpreted by earlier scholars of the Junius 11 manuscript. At the same time I will propose a new analysis that shifts the focus from the figural to the ornamental supporting features, such as the architectural elements, and demonstrates the way in which they too carry the visual narrative.

In 1927, Sir Israel Gollancz (1863-1930), a scholar of Medieval English and Shakespearian literature, edited a monumental facsimile edition of the manuscript: *The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry: Junius*

*XI in the Bodleian Library*<sup>102</sup>. His edition is important not just because it is one of the first substantial studies of the manuscript, also due to its value as an attempt to understand the manuscript as a whole. However, Gollancz was a man of his time, the turn of the last century, and his positivistic approaches to the origins of the manuscript compromise the usefulness of his analyses. In addition, the drawings are discussed only in a very descriptive way, as an accessory to the texts without any function or meaning other than as illustrations of the poetry. For example, for the pages that form the centre of my analysis here, pages 3 and 16 and 17, Gollancz tells us only that:

Page 3. Full page, with three divisions:

(a)The rebel angel, crowned and bearing a sceptre, with his adherents, pointing to a citadel containing a cushioned throne. He has evidently risen from a raised seat. Four of the angels are offering him crowns; the different shapes of which should be noted. At the top of the page is an inscription, partly cut off by the binder "hu s[e] engyl ongon ofermod wesan", 'how the angel began to be presumptuous'.

(b)Satan triumphant, receiving from vassal angels palms of victory.

(c)The upper part represents the wrathful Deity, attended by angels, holding three javelins with which He strikes downward. The lower part shows Satan falling headlong, with fragments of the throne which he had prepared for himself, the roof as well as the cushion being depicted. He is further shown lying fettered hand, foot and neck, in the jaws of hell, which is shown as a huge head with open mouth. The chains pass round the teeth of the monster. The teeth of hell have a theological significance, as in *Patience* where Jonah 'wythouten towche of any to the...tult in his prote'. The marginal description on the right hand reads '*her se haelend gesce [óp] helle heom to wite*', i.e. 'here the Savior created hell as a punishment for them'. There is an unfinished inscription in the space dividing heaven from hell, 'HER SE'. A late hand has written 'infern' in the

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<sup>102</sup> Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript* (1927).

lower part of this picture, the last two letters seeming to be altered from something different.<sup>103</sup>

Page 16 Half page. In the upper part of the picture the Deity (beardless and carrying a book), accompanied by His host, addressing the rebellious angels on the left; the first of them bears a crown and carries a palm. In the lower part of the picture, the angels are being hurled from heaven into hell-mouth, and transformed into devils with tails, are suffering torture. The figure of Satan at the bottom, manacled hand and foot, harassed by a fiend bearing a flail, should be compared with that on p.3.

Page 17. Half page. The Deity enthroned (beardless with pen book), attended by cherubim. Satan, as monarch in hell, chained and fettered, with the fallen angels, some to bearing flails. Chains seem also to be on two fiends near Satan. Two appear to be holding a symbol of sovereignty over his head, and all seem to be doing obeisance to their monarch. The picture is set in an architectural frame, as though in the upper part we had the citadel of heaven, and below the dungeon of hell.<sup>104</sup>

Though Gollancz focuses on the centrality of the text and gives little importance to the images,, such as the architectural and spatial elements within the images, most likely because he saw them as irrelevant to understanding the origins of the manuscript.

Barbara Raw was the first to focus specifically on the manuscript's images. Her articles *The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis* (1976) and *The construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11* (1984) remain important references.<sup>105</sup> I will focus on the earlier article in this section because it is the one that has the most significance for understanding the relationship between the images and the

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<sup>103</sup> Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript* (1927), p. xxxvix (39).

<sup>104</sup> Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript* (1927), p. xli (41).

<sup>105</sup> Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis' (1984), pp. 187-207.

text, as well as the architectural elements in Junius 11. Nevertheless, in her second article, in which she compared Junius 11 page 3 with images in other manuscripts, she defended a possible Carolingian origin for some aspects of the drawings. She suggested, for example, that the crown and sceptre of Lucifer on page 3 were based on images of Charles the Bald. In looking towards the continent she may have tacitly accepted the bias of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century art historians towards seeing continental, especially Carolingian manuscripts, as the most probable source of Anglo-Saxon images and motifs. In addition, she followed many earlier, and even some later scholars in seeing the ultimate origins of all early medieval illustrated Genesis cycles in the late antique Cotton Genesis.<sup>106</sup> Other elements, like the jaws of hell, she argued were probably English features as they had no identifiable earlier models. She highlighted the fact that the images here in the Genesis A portion of the poem were more appropriate to the second episode of the fall of the rebel angels as related later in the poem in *Genesis B*:

The drawing on p. 3 again is much closer in detail to the B text than to the A. Whereas the Satan of Genesis A simply wishes to possess '*ham and heahsetl*', the Satan of Genesis B sets out to establish a building and a throne which will be *strenglicran*, *heahran* and *godlecran*, terms well symbolized by the splendid palace and throne in the top register... God hurls Satan from his high throne (300); in the drawing, the cushion of the throne and the roof of the palace are shown falling with Satan.<sup>107</sup>

Raw paid close attention to the manuscript's codicology and palaeography, and her conclusions about the manuscript's construction and script are still valid. However, she tended to view the images as 'accessory' elements to support her arguments, her interpretation of the drawings was limited to the

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<sup>106</sup> Weitzmann and Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (1986).

<sup>107</sup> Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis' (1984), pp. 143–4.

iconographic form of analysis developed by Panofsky,<sup>108</sup> an approach that remains very influential amongst historians of art to the present day. For example, Herbert Broderick argues that all theoretical approaches to art are simply iconography under another name.<sup>109</sup> In the end, Raw's articles are still most useful for understanding binding, and explaining the missing leaves in the manuscript.

George Henderson was most concerned with how the images had been incorporated into the Junius 11 manuscript. He supported the belief that the drawings on pages 13 through 40, which are in the *Genesis B* section, were copied from a manuscript of continental origin. However he also claimed that the artists might have found certain sections of the poem difficult to illustrate.

It is reasonable to suppose that the nature of this poem might raise problems for an illustrator, since it contains long sequences of rhetoric by Satan and imaginative passages not substantiated in the canon of scripture and therefore not familiar in picture form. When Satan is overthrown on page 16 the illustrator provides a suitable illustration, awkward only in that it must repeat visual effects already made in the earlier illustrations to *Genesis A*'s account of Satan's fall. The drawing at the bottom of page 17 fulfils the immediately preceding text in contrasting the discomforts of Hell with the happiness in heaven of the faithful angels. Pages 18 and 19 contain text only, being the lament of the fallen Satan, difficult to illustrate except by a repetition of the already often displayed manacled demon lying in Hell.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> E. Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology: an introduction to the study of Renaissance Art', in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 51–81.

<sup>109</sup> H.R. Broderick, 'Metatextuality, sexuality and intervisuality in MS Junius 11', In *Word & Image* 25.4 (2009), pp. 384–401.

<sup>110</sup> G. Henderson, 'The Programme of Illustrations in Bodleian MS Junius XI', in *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice*, ed. by G. Robertson and G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), 113-45 (p. 123). Reprinted in G. Henderson, *Studies in English Bible Illustration*, 2 vols. vol. I (London: Harvey Miller, 1985), pp. 138-83.

As was the case with Raw, Henderson's approach to the images was still the iconographic approach of Panofsky. He was most interested in the genealogy of the motifs and themes of the drawings, tracing the similarities between the Junius 11 images and those of continental manuscripts. He was also interested only in the religious meaning of the images, and the way in which they illustrated the biblical narrative. At the same time, however, Henderson presented some good new insights into the creativity of the artists.

The text on page 5 says that God thought to fill up the gap made in heaven by the rebel angels. He would make an earth, with a firmament above, and wide water, planted with creatures. Thus God has already envisaged his creation, perhaps as a whole. But there was still only darkness and a wide abyss. God then made heaven and earth. Dark water covered everything His spirit was borne over the deep. God bade light come forth. God divided light from darkness, shadow from brightness, then gave names to each. 'Light was first through God's word named Day'<sup>111</sup>

The sequence of illustrations for this section of the poem Henderson saw as original interpretations of the poetic material and not merely illustrations of it.

Thomas Ohlgren, an expert in medieval English literature, was the first to shift the primary focus of study away from the poems and onto the art, which he saw as a form of 'literary criticism'.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, his primary publications maintained the focus on description and iconographic analysis. However, he produced the 2 catalogues aiming to convince non-art historians the importance of the images, and to make them available to scholars. This means that the reader is told things about the drawings that we can see perfectly well for ourselves. For example, about the opening images of God and Lucifer we learn only:

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<sup>111</sup> Henderson, 'The Programme of Illustrations in Bodleian MS Junius 11' (1975), p. 141.

<sup>112</sup> T.H. Ohlgren, 'The illustrations of the Cædmonian Genesis: literary criticism through art', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 3 (1972), pp. 199–212.

Page 2: God: confronting Lucifer. God, bearded and cross-nimbed, holding tubular sceptre or roll, seated on a cushioned throne and flanked by two Seraphim, addresses a small, haloed Lucifer. St Michael stands on the upper left.

Page 3. Angel: Lucifer. Lucifer, crowned and holding a sceptre, standing on a pedestal or dais, points to a two –storied palace containing a throne: three groups of angels, one group of which offers him crowns and other symbols of authority. In the second register, Lucifer triumphant, wearing victory wreath, receives palms of victory from angels on either side. In the third register, God, bearded and cross nimbed, holding tubular sceptre or roll, attended by five angels, hurls spears downwards. In the fourth register, fall of the rebel angels into a Hell-mouth: Lucifer, his allies, and the broken remains of his throne are cast into Hell: Satan, with flaming hair and taloned hands and feet, lies bound in the jaws of Hell.<sup>113</sup>

Although, Ohlgren began to see more originality in the drawings, and to focus more closely on the manuscript searching for meanings beyond the reductive illustration function. About pages 16 (fig. 4) and 17 (fig.5) he wrote:

Page 16. Angel: Fall. Above, God cross-nimbed, beardless, and holding book, accompanied by angles, addresses the rebel Angels, one of whom holds palm branch. The semi-circular arc of heaven contains stars. Below, the rebel Angels, one with male genitals, fall into a hell-mouth. Satan, represented as a human being but with clawed feet and tail, bound hand and foot, is harassed by a fiend with a flail.

Page 17. Angel: Fall. Above, God, beardless, enthroned in decorated mandorla, flanked by two Seraphs with fillets. Bellow, Satan as monarch of Hell, chained and fettered, and surrounded by the fallen angels, some of whom carry flails, one with male genitals. Hell is enclosed within a walled and crenelated structure.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> T.H. Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated manuscripts: an iconographic catalogue c.A.D. 625 to 1110* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1986), p.141.

<sup>114</sup> Ohlgren, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated manuscripts* (1986), p. 143.



Even though this is a catalogue description, he observes some peculiar features within the imagery. Hell is not just set 'within an architectural frame', or described as a featureless dungeon, as Gollancz described it, it is 'enclosed within a walled and crenelated structure'. This has its source in neither the text of the poem, nor in earlier depictions of hell—though Ohlgren did not go on to develop the possible meanings of his observations.

Herbert Broderick, another art historian, contributed significantly to our understanding of the role of the frame, and consequently of the 'ornamental visual elements', of Junius 11. To him, Junius 11 illustrations had an originality and vitality that was unique among Western art and at the same time characteristic of Anglo-Saxon art in general.

Where the Hiberno-Saxon artist rejected the essential illusionist role of the frame in classical art, the later Anglo-Saxon artist often went to the opposite extreme of endowing the frame with a tangible, objective life of its own.<sup>115</sup>

At the same time, however, he maintained a conventional sense of the borders of the page as a frame rather than seeing how many of the architectural elements are at the same time frame and fundamental to the meaning of the images. Moreover, his work is flawed by subjective value judgments. For example, frames could unite separate images, or help to move the eye through a section of images, they were also 'bizarre, ill-fitting and lamely drawn' and 'haphazard' compilations:

As a convenient method of separating events in time, the frame has often played an important role in narrative illustration. In the so-called "Caedmon" manuscript at Oxford, frames often play a significant role in uniting pictorial material excerpted from fuller cycles by indicating in many such cases the direction the narrative is to take. (...) The architectural and decorative elements are bizarre, ill-fitting, and lamely drawn. The role of the frame as a narrative and expressive force can be seen as well on page 51 of

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<sup>115</sup> H.R. Broderick, 'Some Attitudes toward the Frame in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 3, No. 5 (1982), 31-42 (p. 41).

the Junius manuscript. Composed of a series of figural and architectural fragments derived from a variety of sources, the assembly as a whole is held together and visually motivated by its seemingly haphazard framing elements. (...) Despite the indebtedness of the Junius illustrations to Early Christian and Carolingian iconographic traditions, there are other such references to indigenous predilections in the framing device chosen by the artists.<sup>116</sup>

As the above excerpt indicates, methodologically Broderick was still rooted in the practice of iconographic source hunting. Nevertheless, his work remains valuable both for his acknowledgment of the importance of the frame in its own right, and in relation to the larger visual narrative, and to his interest in the relationship between the frame and the material it frames. Violation of the frame had been noted before in Anglo-Saxon art, however Broderick was among the first to consider its iconographic significance.

From the Hiberno-Saxon realm later Anglo-Saxon artists retained certain idiosyncratic attitudes toward the frame, among which we have isolated the following: first, a sense of the equivalency of figure and frame, with forms in the field often touching or crossing the frame; and second, specific systems of aesthetic ordering within the frame itself, such as a predilection for chiasmic relationships of color and ornament. It is in the "violation" of the frame's assumed intangibility, however, that Anglo-Saxon artists of the tenth and eleventh centuries achieved some of their most astonishing and innovative effects. We have brought forward several examples where figures actually grasp the frame from within its confines, thus re-asserting in a playful and unexpected manner the "objective" reality of the frame as it is normally perceived in classic art. Like the "dis-appearing" Christ motif studied in detail by Meyer Schapiro, where in several Anglo-Saxon examples the figure of the ascending Christ in this visual synecdoche "disappears" beyond the limits of the frame leaving only his feet to be seen at the top of the page, the "inverse tangible" frame in Anglo-Saxon art reflects a distinctive

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<sup>116</sup> Broderick, 'Some Attitudes toward the Frame in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries'(1982), p. 38.

phenomenological attitude toward older conventions of pictorialization.<sup>117</sup>

His observations, however, were never extended to the larger cultural context as possible manifestations of the way in which Anglo-Saxons thought about themselves in the spatial order of the universe.

Catherine Karkov was the first to present a unified reading of text and image for the whole of the manuscript. Her book *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, was the first substantial study dedicated to understanding the entire manuscript in its all dimensions, especially that of image and text. While maintaining something of the iconographic analysis of images characteristic of earlier studies, she was also interested in the ways in which the manuscript reflected Anglo-Saxon society, and not just its relationship to continental parallels or exemplars. She defends comprehending the images as creative narratives in their own right, not simply as illustrations of the text. Rather, she sees them as working jointly with the text.

Together, poems and drawings create a new and unique version of biblical history and suggest ways in which biblical history relates to Anglo-Saxon history, as well as to the manuscript's Anglo-Saxon audience – a process which theoretically extends to include contemporary history and the contemporary reader. We can thus identify a metonymic compilation of text and illustrations which creates a dialogue that echoes back and forth throughout the manuscript, while also making reference to a series of other related texts and images that would have been familiar to an Anglo-Saxon reader.<sup>118</sup>

In her discussion of the similarities and differences between heaven and hell, Karkov highlights the role of the light and darkness between these two

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<sup>117</sup> Broderick, 'Some Attitudes toward the Frame in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries' (1982), p.40.

<sup>118</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England* (2001), p. 17.

supernatural spaces, especially with regard to the fall of Lucifer and the way in which the movement from the light of heaven into the darkness of hell is illustrated on page 3 (fig. 3).<sup>119</sup> This was achieved largely through an analysis of the bodily transformation of Lucifer into Satan. However, here she considered the content of the images only in relation to the content of the *Genesis* poem.

The unusual focus on light in these drawings of Junius 11 is, however, more likely due to the contrast between the light of heaven and divine Creation and the darkness of hell and damnation in the poem that they accompany.<sup>120</sup>

The architectural features were not her focus even though the contrast between light and darkness and the location of bodies are starting points for thinking about the contrasting spatial elements of the representations of heaven, the earthly world and hell. Here my analysis differs significantly from hers in that I focus on the significance of architectural motifs, which she saw merely as accessory details, to the content and movement of the visual narrative. I believe that focusing on the ways in which the mechanisms of the imagery work on the human mind is important to understanding how narrative elements have a visual impact on the eyes of the viewer. Considering the difference in time and society between our era and that of the Anglo Saxon viewers (or audience), more anthropological studies of forms and structures might prove helpful in understanding the manuscript.<sup>121</sup>

Based on Karkov's original ideas, Asa Mittman and Susan Kim have recently attempted to understand how an Anglo Saxon viewer might have understood

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<sup>119</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England* (2001), p. 49.

<sup>120</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England* (2001), p. 52.

<sup>121</sup> See, for example, T. Ingold, *Being alive: essays on movement, knowledge and description* (London: Routledge, 2011); J. Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: a political ecology of things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); V. Kirby, *Quantum anthropologies: life at large* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

the falling body of Lucifer by comparing the reaction of modern viewers to Richard Drew's famous picture of New York's World Trade Center tragedy, called *Falling Man*. They begin by thinking about the importance of the Old English words '*her se*' ('here the' or 'here that'), usually dismissed like architecture as having no real narrative meaning, actually help to establish a relationship between the viewer and this specific image.

The viewer may "close" the gap between Lucifer and Satan through active and conscious participation in the image and text, through acts of viewing and reading. One figure is transformed into the other. The poet and illuminator, however, has allowed—even required—that this transformation occur not in a static image but through the act of reading and viewing. The same segmentalization via textual formulae that enables the reading of the image as a meaningful sequence also ensures that in the act of reading and viewing we ourselves supply the transformations between segments. "Her," here, is the discursive world of images and texts that we are engaged in creating and in which, like us and with us, Satan is becoming.<sup>122</sup>

It is possible to criticize their article for its anachronistic comparison of images because part of the impact of *Falling Man* is the figure's anonymity, while the body falling in Junius 11 is not an anonymous body. It is a very precisely identified body within a Christian view of the world: Lucifer/Satan. On the other hand, their observation that the words within the image, '*her se*' provides a specific localization in space and time, temporarily and geographically defined. Location and time for the viewer the transformation of Lucifer into Satan is important. '*Her se*' is the introduction of every fact by year narrated by historical documents like the Anglo Saxon Chronicle. As they note, all the annotations which use the formula "*her se*" present a being with a human appearance and will as a human subject. The pronoun "*se*" in Old English is generally used for beings and not for abstract actions. The world '*Her*' (here) locate a place in time and space in the present. Then when the reader is

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<sup>122</sup> A.S. Mittman, 'Locating the Devil "Her" in Ms Junius 11', in *Gesta*, 54.1 (2015), 3-25 (p. 25).

reading the Anglo Saxon Chronicle is like the events happening there are happening in the present time.

The first two drawings which represent God enthroned (figs. 1 and 2) provide a preamble or preface to the subsequent story, and display a throne with columns. The throne of God itself rests in columnar legs, especially in drawing 2, on page ii. An architectural frame in page ii surrounds the throne of God. For example, the small angel in front of God resembles another image in an Anglo-Saxon book, in *Ælfwine Prayer book* (Cotton MS Titus D XXVI, f. 19v)<sup>123</sup>, Saint Peter is in a throne with a monk smaller in scale showing his humble and submissive attitude towards the man who is the stone foundation of the church. The monk is abbot *Ælfwine* himself. The composition of the image is similar to page 2 of Junius 11 using the hierarchical proportion. The throne is clearly a symbol of power as in both the vassal character is smaller to the main figure sitting on the throne. This is a conventional formula from classical art for depicting a hierarchy of authority, while adopting a non-realistic scale to show the hierarchy of proportion:

The idea that some objects in icons are represented as larger in size even though they are further away from the viewer is due not to the divergence of parallel lines(..) but to the practice of depicting hierarchically more important figures as larger in size than less important ones<sup>124</sup>.

Ben Reinhard has an interesting point of view about the architectural elements' origins in the Junius 11 opening image and its relationship with the text of Isaiah. At the same time it is presented as both structural and riding on personifications of the winds. It is both solid architecture and ephemeral vision.

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<sup>123</sup> <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton\\_ms\\_titus\\_d\\_xxvii\\_fs001ar/](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_titus_d_xxvii_fs001ar/)> [accessed 26 September 2018].

<sup>124</sup> C. Antonova, 'On the Problem of 'Reverse Perspective': Definitions East and West', *Leonardo*, vol. 43, no. 5 (2010), 464–9 (p. 465).

It is a riddle to be solved by the reader, and one which provides a clue to the reading of the rest of the poem:

Given that God's throne is quite literally riding on the wings of the wind, the most observant and best informed readers (those familiar with a particular *jocum monachorum*) would be alerted to precisely how the Junius manuscript would proceed in its mission: by expounding on the creation of the world. Wrapped in its layers of meaning, the image is itself a riddle, an invitation to look more closely at the intersection of text and illustration.<sup>125</sup>

The details of Reinhard's claims are controversial; however his reading establishes the drawing not just as a simple translation of the text, and furthermore it is a way of communication with its own techniques. The contrast between a throne that can move, that has movement around the universe contrasts with the grounding nature of human thrones and for our focus here, the static architectural frame around this opening image. It seems this contradictory concept of the power of God, something as solid as strong columns and at the same time free to fly through time and space, offers a real representation of omnipotence, omniscience and omnipresence. The opening image of the throne is crucial because in the subsequent lines and images, the tragedy ensues because Lucifer fights against God to have his equivalent throne in heaven like the Creator. According to the poem Christ and Satan:

Let us go to where he himself, the ruler of Victories, the savior Lord,  
sits in that dear home and around that high throne stand radiant  
bands of angels and of the blessed; the holy heaven bands praise  
the Lord in their words and deeds. Their beauty shines with the king  
of glory, world without end.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> B. Reinhard, 'The opening image of MS Junius 11,' *Old English Newsletter*, 42.3 (2011), 15-25 (p. 21).

<sup>126</sup> "Uta cerran þider / þær he sylfa sit, sigora waldend, / drihten hælend, in ðæm deoran ham, / and ymb þæt heh-setl hwite standað / engla feðan and eadigra; / halige heofen-preatas herigað Drihten / wordum and weorcum. Heora wlite scineð / geond ealra

The image of the throne becomes a theme that links the sequence of drawings on pages ii, 2 and 3 (figs. 1A, 2A, 3A). The centrality of the throne is emphasized by the inscription within the left side of the drawing on page 2, “*hælendes hehseld*”, which means ‘high throne of the Saviour’. The word *hælendes* is applied mostly for the second person of the Trinity, that is, Jesus Christ. God is already Christ even before the creation. ‘*Hehseld*’ is made by two parts: high and sit. The emphasis is on the altitude, how high is the throne.<sup>127</sup> This image connects the opening image of God on his throne with the Fall of the Rebel Angels in page 3. The position of God on his throne, solid yet floating represents a materialization of his presence and his power. The architectural structure of the throne turns the symbolic power of the Ruler of all rulers into something that the artist can represent in an image. On page ii (fig 1A), God is floating, even his throne has wings on its feet, however at the same time, his throne is architectural, as is the structure of the frame of the page. The frame on page ii does not contain the power of God, because the power of God is uncontainable. The frame works here to amplify to the visionary nature and function of the opening image, like a trumpet announcing the entrance of the most important character. The image shows to the reader this position of God as Ruler of rulers, above all other things, is stable. The frame does not contain God, it serves to glorify him.

The contrast between the images on pages 2 and 3 begins at the level of the size of the image. Benjamin Withers has observed that full-page miniatures in the Old English Hexateuch, a manuscript relatively contemporary with Junius II, ‘emphasize and privilege the stories they illustrate; in terms of reception, they also have the effect of pausing the narrative, demanding that the reader stop, look, and linger, carefully contemplating what the larger significance of

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worulda woruld mid wuldor-cyninge. / ða get ic furðor gefregen feond ondetan”. (Christ and Satan lines 215b-223b).

<sup>127</sup> See section 4.2 where I discuss the thrones of Adam's descendants. Remembering that first king English to be pictured in a throne was Edgar in the British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 2v (figure B15),



the scene might be'.<sup>128</sup> Withers observations about the size of images in the Old English Hexateuch can be applied to those in Junius 11. The image on page 3 is intended clearly to make the reader stop reading and look carefully at this particular image. This is the most important moment for the rest of the narrative, because it provides the motivation for the rebellion and fall of the angels, the creation of humankind to take their place, the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve, and ultimately the earthly thrones their descendants will occupy. The text on page 2 ends precisely after Lucifer makes known his intention of having his own throne and kingdom in heaven:

A sorrow befell them there, the envy and the arrogance and the mind of the angel who first began to fabricate, weave and awaken the deceit –when he spoke in a word, thirsted for hatred – that he would possess a home and a throne in the northern part of the kingdom of heaven. Then God became angry and furious with the troop that he had honoured with beauty and splendour. He formed a home in banishment for that traitor as a reward for his work, the howls of hell, hard tortures.<sup>129</sup>

The fall of the rebel angels before the human original sin is not only present in Junius 11. However the greed of Lucifer towards God's throne is central to Junius 11 pictorial and textual narrative. The throne represents the political power, the disputes for political power through the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The tendency of political centralization in the hands of the West Saxon Kings is the background that creates the interest in the first “political treason” of the Christian cosmology. Even though it is not canonical, the episode of The

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<sup>128</sup> B.C. Withers, *The illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B.iv: the frontier of seeing and reading in Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 32.

<sup>129</sup> “Him þær sar gelamp, æfst and oferhygd, / and þæs engles mod þe þone unræd ongan ærest fremman, / wefan and weccan, þa he worde cwæð, / nipes ofþyrsted, þæt he on norðdæle ham and heahsetl / heofena rices agan wolde. þa wearð yrre god / and þam werode wrað þe he ær wurðode wite and wuldre. / Sceop þam werlogan wræcligne ham weorce to leane, / helleheafas, hearde niðas. / Heht þæt witehus wræcna bidan”. (Gen. Lines 28a-38b).

Rebellion and Fall of the rebel angels appears in text and art in Anglo-Saxon England in other historical records. According to Michael Fox we have two types of approach about this episode:

Ælfric's treatments of the angelic creation and fall are remarkable for both their form and content. When authorities such as Augustine, Gregory, Bede and Alcuin probe the question of the angels, they avoid formulating a narrative. In other words, they are primarily concerned with exegesis and analysis. Ælfric, on the other hand, beginning with *De initio creaturae*, constructs an elaborate narrative which, though grounded in various verses of scripture, is based only loosely upon hexameral exegesis.<sup>130</sup>

Bede did not want to create a narrative as for him the narrative of creation was an *exemplum* to mankind: Therefore he was determined and utterly silent about the fall of the apostate angel and his allies, because this certainly pertained to the condition of the invisible.<sup>131</sup> Then, to him the facts that happened in heaven were spiritual and invisible to mankind, the opposite of the narrative that appear on Ælfric's texts and in Junius 11. The angelical court of God is the exemplar hall, and the punishment against the rebel angels is also an example, a warning against a possible claimant to the throne. The theme of a theological theory of power and treason (The fall of the rebel angels) erupts in the tenth century in Junius 11, in Ælfric's The Old English Hexameron and The New Minster Charter Winchester (c. 966 BL, Cotton Vespasian A. viii) and even Beowulf. All those texts were compiled or created in this moment of concern about building the union of all Anglo-Saxons under the same king. This project started by Alfred rulership in Wessex. Only later on the whole Anglo-Saxons kingdoms actually united politically. For that

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<sup>130</sup> M. Fox, 'Ælfric on the creation and fall of the angels', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 31 (2002), pp. 175–200 (p. 193).

<sup>131</sup> "Vnde etiam consulte de casu praeuicatoris angeli et sociorum eius penitus reticuit, quia hoc nimirum ad statum inuisibilis illius ac spiritalis creaturae pertinebat" (Libri quatuor in principium). Bede, *Genesis*, edited by C. Jones, CCSL 118A (Turnholt: Brepols, 1967), pp.137–49.

treason against the divine ruler is the worst sin that a faithful Christian could commit. In Ælfric's *The Old English Hexameron*, there is a narrative about it at the same time he highlighted the treason as the worst sin:

X. On the same day our Lord would make a man out of the same earthy for, at this time, the devil fell from the lofty heaven, with his associates, on account of his pride (lifting up) into the punishment of hell. Our Lord said concerning him, in His holy gospel, In veritate non stetit, quia veritas non est in eo. 'He abided not in the truth, for the truth is not in any wise in him.' God wrought him wondrous and fair, then it was his duty, if he had (only) willed it, to worship, with great humility, his Creator, who had created him so exalted, but he did not so, but with a presumptuous pride (moodiness) he said, that he would make his throne above the stars of God, over the height of the clouds, in the "north part, and be like unto God. Then he forsook the Almighty, who is all justice, and would not have His lordship, but would be himself under his own jurisdiction. Then He had not any foundation, but fell quickly down together with all the angels that were in his council, and they were turned into accursed devils. Concerning them the Saviour, whilst here in this life said: 'I saw the deceiver, as a shining light, falling down sorrowfully from heaven' in that fell down impetuously.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> "X. On ðam ylcan dæge ure drihten wolde mannan gewyrcan of ðære ylcan eorðan. forðam ðe on ðysum fyrste afeoll se deofoll of ðære bealican heofonan mid hið gegadum for his npahæfednysse into helle wite. Ure drihten cwæð be him on hið halgan godspelle In veritate non istetit, quia veritas non est in eo. "He ne wunode na on soðfæstnysse. forðam ðe seo soðfæstnyss. his nates hwon on him." God hine geworhte wundorlicne and fægern. ða sceolde he. gif he wolde. wurðian his scyppend mid micelre eaðmodnysse ðe hine swa mærne gesceop. ac he ne dyde na swa. ac mid dyrstigre modignyssee cwæð ðæt he wolde wyrcean hið cyne setl bufan Godes tunglum ofer ðæra wolcna 'heannysse on ðonne norð dæle and beon Gode gelic. Ða forlet he ðone ælmihtigan ðe is eall soðfæstnyss. and nolde habban hið hlaforðscipe, ac wolde beon him sylf on his sylfes anwealde. Ða næfde he nane fæstnunge. ac feoll sona adun mid eallum ðam englum ðe æt his ræde wæron. and hi wurdon awende to awyrigedum deoflum. Be ðam cwæð se hælend her on ðysnm life. "Ic geseah ðone sceoccan swa scinende liget feallende adun dreorig of heofonum." foirðam ðe he ahreas ungerydelice". Ælfric of Eynsham, 'Ælfric's Exameron Anglice', In H. M. Norman & Basil, *The Anglo-Saxon version of the Hexameron of St. Basil, or, Be Godes six daga*

This part is clearly another version of the same fall of the rebel angels of Junius 11 Genesis poem, even the North part of the kingdom of heaven as mainly goal of Lucifer is the same. In another text, Ælfric's *De initio Creature*, the tragedy of Lucifer is told by him as well, highlighting how Lucifer was the greatest angel in heaven. However he chose treason against God:

One angel, who was the most excellent there, considered himself, how beautiful he himself was and how shining in glory; he recognized his strength, that he was created mighty, and his magnificence pleased him very much: he was called "Lucifer", that is, "Light-bearing", on account of the great brightness of his glorious appearance.<sup>133</sup>

Michael Fox summarises very well how the disobedience connects both sins, the sin of Lucifer and the sin of Adam and Eve. This narrative connects with Christ as he will win against Satan in the end and he will do the redemption of the souls of the sinners:

In his fullest work, *De initio creaturae*, he demonstrates how the issue of obedience and disobedience is central to Christianity, while at the same time neatly connecting the first sin with the fall of man and the redemption: Lucifer falls and Adam and Eve fall; Christ defeats Lucifer and Adam and Eve are released from hell.<sup>134</sup>

In the drawing, (figure A3) Lucifer is pointing to a throne, which we presume shows his desire to take for himself the power of God. Thinking about the role

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*weorcum. And the Anglo-Saxon remains of St. Basil's Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, (London: J.R. Smith, 1849), pp.17-18.

<sup>133</sup> "Geðceawode ðe an engel þe þær ænlicoðt wæð, hu fæger he ðilf wæð and hu ðcinende on wuldre, and cunnode hið mihte, þæt he mihtig wæð geðceapen, and him wel gelicode hið wurpfulniðð þa: ðe hatte 'Lucifer', þæt yð, 'Leohtberend', for þære miclan beorhtniððe hið mæran hiwæð". Original Ælfric of Eynsham. Ælfric of Eynsham. (Ælfric's Exameron Anglice). H. W. Norman, & Basil. *The Anglo-Saxon version of the Hexameron of St. Basil, or, Be Godes six daga weorcum. And the Anglo-Saxon remains of St. Basil's Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, (London, J.R. Smith, 1849), pp. 25.

<sup>134</sup> M. Fox, 'Ælfric on the creation and fall of the angels' (2002), p.200.

of gesture in early medieval art (primarily Romanesque art), Aby Warburg argued that one of the main goals of art was to be able to catch life in its movement, to be able to capture movement.<sup>135</sup> This idea of contrast between the Apollonian (rational, balanced, geometric calculated) versus Dionysian (Irrational, unbalanced, emotional) came into art analysis primarily through Nietzsche<sup>136</sup> and had spread from him to the studies of Western art and literature as two always obligatory boxes where pieces of art can be placed.<sup>137</sup> Beyond this dual scheme, Meyer Schapiro highlighted the power of human postures in medieval art to work in expressive and communicative forms. The “imperial” pose, and symbols of political power like the throne, the crown, the cushion, and the sceptre might come from the Byzantine models, passing to Italy and entering into the Carolingian art, according to Schapiro.<sup>138</sup> Their ability to do so, even at an early date, is clearly conveyed in the expressive gesture of Lucifer towards the throne. It also can be an influence from Roman stage as well.<sup>139</sup> Or maybe both. It is not simply that he wants to build a new throne for himself as the poetry declares above. His desire would have dramatic and far-reaching consequences. The juxtaposition of this throne with that of God’s throne on page 2 (figure A2) shows that this new throne for Lucifer is a symptom of his desire to take the greatest throne of all, the throne

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<sup>135</sup> A. Warburg, *The renewal of pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the cultural history of the European Renaissance* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 1999), p. 141.

<sup>136</sup> F.W. Nietzsche, *The birth of tragedy*, Translated with an introduction and notes by D. Smith. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>137</sup> A. Del Caro, ‘Dionysian Classicism, or Nietzsche’s Appropriation of an Aesthetic Norm’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50. 4 (1989), 589-605.

<sup>138</sup> M. Schapiro, ‘The Frescoes of Castelseprio’ (pp. 67-114). In: *Late Antique, early Christian and mediaeval art: selected papers* (New York: George Braziller, 1980), pp. 105-106. Reprinted by permission of the College Art Association of America., originally from: ‘The Frescoes of Castelseprio’, (pp. 147-163)..

<sup>139</sup> C.R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon gestures and the Roman stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.101-104.

of God. God's throne is the focus of both the textual and pictorial narratives, because it is the focus of Lucifer's greed. It is likely that the little angel in front of God and page 2 is meant to be Lucifer as he has a halo and is thus distinguished from the other angels.

There is a similar architectural throne in another Anglo-Saxon manuscript from the same late Anglo-Saxon times: The Benedictional of St Æthelwold - produced between 963-984 in Winchester. The image is the Adoration of the Magi, Mary is sitting in an architectural throne with baby Jesus in her lap (figure B19). The throne where Mary is sitting is very similar to Lucifer throne in page 03, like a small castle, with windows and towers. Mary's throne is Ecclesia, the Church - the temporal power of the God, the manifestation of God's power on earth. Lucifer's throne being a small building is not random, it means the divine power corrupted. Lucifer's throne is a twisted version of the manifestation of God's power (Figure A3).

On page 3 (figure A3), the throne has lost its floating, visionary elements, and now has an exclusively architectural appearance. It is a huge and more detailed structure, an object of human desire. Lucifer is crowned and clearly wants this throne and he gathered together his army aiming to take its territorial power. In the text of the poem, Lucifer wants to establish his own throne and kingdom in the northern part of the kingdom of heaven, a foreshadowing of the location of hell in the north that was a standard part of Anglo-Saxon popular belief.

Trying to take the throne from a legitimate king was one of the worst crimes of the early middle ages, and here Lucifer's rebellion against God's authority is the direct antecedent for the original sin of Adam and Eve. Satan's motivation for the temptation is his jealousy at their having come to occupy the favoured position that he once held. This hierarchy of sins shows how terrible in Anglo Saxon England a rebellion against the earthly leader, the king, had come to be considered by this time. This is demonstrated by, for instance, the murder of Edward the Martyr by supporters of his half-brother Æthelred II. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:

'979. This year was King Edward slain at even-tide, at Corfe-gate, on the fifteenth before the kalends of April, and then was he buried at Wareham, without any kind of kingly honours. There has not been 'mid Angles a worse deed done than this was, since they first Britain-land sought. Men to him murdered, but God him glorified. He was in life an earthly king; he is now after death a heavenly saint. Him would not his earthly kinsmen avenge, but him hath his heavenly Father greatly avenged. The earthly murderers would his memory on earth blot out, but the lofty Avenger hath his memory in the heavens and on earth wide-spread. They who would not erewhile to his living body bow down, they now humbly on knees bend to his dead bones. Now we may understand that men's wisdom and their devices, and their councils, are like nought against God's resolves. This year Ethelred succeeded to the kingdom; and he was very quickly after that, with much joy of the English witan, consecrated king at Kingston.<sup>140</sup>

Nicole Marafioti has recently discussed how the nature of this sort of crime more generally was considered to be so horrific that it often led to the condemnation not only of the murders, also of the rulers who took the dead king's throne.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> "979. Her wæs Eadweard cyning ofslægen on æfentide æt Corfes geate on .xv. Kalentas Aprilis, 7 hine mon þa gebyrigde on Werhamme, butan ælcum cynelicum wursscipe. Ne wears Angelcynne nan wyrse dead gedon, þonne þeos wæs, sybþan hi ærest Britenland gesohton. Menn hine ofmyrpredon, ac God hine mærsode. He wæs on life eorslic cyning, he is nu æfter dease heofonlic sanct. Hyne noldon his eorslican magas wrecan, ac hine hafas his heofonlic fæder swyse gewrecan. Þa eorslican banan woldon his gemynd on eorsan adilgian, ac se uplica wrecend hafas his gemynd on heofonum 7 on eorþan tobræd. Þa se noldon ær to his libbendan lichaman onbugan, þa nu eadmodlice on cneowum gebugas to his deada banum. Nu we magan ongytan sæt manna wisdom, 7 heora smeagunga, 7 heora rædas syndon nahtlice ongear Godes geseht. Her feng æþelred to rice, 7 he wæs æfter þæm swyse hrædlice mid micclum gefean Angelcynnes witan gehalgod to cyninge æt Cyngestune". M. Swanton (edited by), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London: Dent, 1997), p. 123, Ms. E, s.a. 979.

<sup>141</sup> N. Marafioti, *The King's Body: Burial and Succession in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

The throne represents the power of the building where it is, the hall of the Anglo-Saxon King. The Anglo-Saxon laws reveal the importance of the hall as centre and model of Anglo-Saxon Social life. According to Alfred's law: `4.2. *If anyone fight in the king's hall, or draw his weapon, and he be taken; be it in the king's doom, either death, or life, as he may be willing to grant him.*`<sup>142</sup>

Thus, more than only protect the life of the king himself, the hall is an extension of his power, of his own sacred body. The hall itself was protected by the law. The obedience to the king, the laws and the hierarchy was represented in the micro world of the hall that was the earthly *exemplum* of the heavenly "hall", as explained in the previous chapter. In Alfred's laws the punishment was not made only to revenge the person injured individually by the criminal. After Alfred's laws when someone violates the law against only one person, the crime was symbolic against the whole Anglo-Saxons, the entire community. Alfred's law had a purpose: to create a unity among Anglo-Saxons, to create "England". And maybe in Edgar this project of a united Anglo-Saxon England could be put in reality. King Edgar supposedly every winter and spring travelled throughout all the English provinces, to check if the law and justice were observed. Even this might be exaggerated, it is symptomatic how King Edgar *`was above all renowned for his strong peace, and the very uneventfulness of whose rule vindicated this image`*.<sup>143</sup>

The Anglo-Saxon king represents god on Earth, or better, According to Junius 11 text and poetry god is a King in heaven like the king on earth as we can see in the first images, on pages ii (figure A1) and, page 2 (figure A2).

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<sup>142</sup> "4.2. Gif hwa in cyninges healle gefeohte osse his wæpn gebrede, ond hine mon gefo, sie sæt on cyninges dome, swa deas swa lif, swa he him forgifan wille." R. J .E. Dammary, *The Law Code Of King Alfred the Great*. A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Trinity College - University of Cambridge, 1990), Vol. 2, p. 61. For more about Alfred's law see F. Liebermann, 'King Alfred and Mosaic Law,, *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 6, (1908).

<sup>143</sup> P. Wormald, *The making of English law: King Alfred to the twelfth century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), p. 313.



Then, in Junius 11 text and art, the desire to take God's supremacy will lead humankind to the sin of Adam and Eve, because they are tempted to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil by the first sinner of Creation, Satan. The insubordination of Adam and Eve is the second rebellion against God and echoes the first one. There is a huge visual contrast between God's throne and the mouth of hell on page 3 (figure A3). The architecture of the divine throne is the rational, with clear geometric planes, reflecting the organization and divine harmony of a well-established monarchy. Heaven is the treasured filled heaven.<sup>144</sup> In contrast, hell is depicted as the open mouth of a wild beast, which represents the chaos and animalistic character of hellish space. More than this, hell has no solid floor. Hell is a space without defined and rational form, a paradoxical space that can be an infinite space of torture and an oppressively closed and compressive place. Hell is here like the flames that are burning the fallen angels. It is a space of eternal falling. Satan is not a king, he is a prisoner. There is no solid structure to hell, just a mouth open to an eternity of endless suffering. There is a stark contrast between the solidity and stability of heaven and the amorphousness of hell. Heaven is like the material world, the earthly world. In the poem *The Wanderer*, a similar image of heaven as a place of stability and security occurs: *'It will be well for him who seeks grace solace from the Father in heaven, where security waits entirely for us.'*<sup>145</sup> In the images the stability of Heaven that appear in words is depicted by the artist through the architecture

The solidity and stability of heaven is noteworthy comparing it to hell. There was an idea of Anglo-Saxons as angels who had undergone a different sort of fall, and whose land was itself a sort of interim paradise. In both the *Anonymous Life of Gregory the Great*, written by a nun or monk of Whitby,

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<sup>144</sup> Kabir, *Paradise, death, and doomsday in anglo-saxon literature* (2001), pp.147-152.

<sup>145</sup> "Wel bið þam þe him ær seceð, frofre to Fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð." *The wanderer* (Lines 114-115). J. Allard, P. Gillies, P. and R, *Longam Anthology of Old English, Old Icelandic, and Anglo-Norman Literatures* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

and in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, we read of Pope Gregory the Great's encounter with a group of English boys in the market in Rome. Through a series of translations and wordplay between the pope's Latin and the boys' English the *Angli* become *angeli*, their home territory, *Deira*, becomes Latinized to *De ira* (the wrath of God), and their King Ælle (or Ælli), the Anglian king who conquered the territory in 581, becomes an abbreviated form of the Latin *Alleluia* (the praise of God).<sup>146</sup>

Page 16 (figure A10) returns to the topic of the fall of the rebel angels, which is told for a second time in the *Genesis B* portion of the poem. Here again we see the fall of Lucifer, however it is told and depicted in a very different manner. This image is close to the description of the fall of Lucifer in the poem:

So does each person who begins to struggle with sin against this ruler, against the famous Lord. Then the mighty one, the highest ruler of the heavens, was enraged, threw him off the high throne. He had won hate from his master, had lost his favour the good one had become hostile toward him in his mind. Therefore he had to seek the abyss of hard hell-punishments, because he contented with heaven's ruler.' <sup>147</sup>

The visual emphasis of the drawing is focused on the relationship between heaven and hell. The transition between the two, the space that would come to be occupied by the earthly world, is here only a narrow strip between heaven and hell. This no doubt reflects the concept of the earth as *middangeard* ('middle-earth'), as found, for example in the poem *Christ I*, which includes the lines: 'Hail day-star! Brightest angel sent to man over

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<sup>146</sup> B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (edited by). *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (1969), pp.132–134.

<sup>147</sup> "Swa deð monna gehwīlc / þe wið his waldend winnan ongyrneð / mid mane wið þone mæran drihten. þa wearð se mihtiga gebolgen, / hehsta heofones waldend, wearp hine of þan hean stole. / Hete hæfde he æt his hearran gewunnen, hylde 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." (Gen. lines 297b-303b).

middle-earth and your steadfast splendour of the sun, bright above the stars!  
Ever you illumine with your light the time of every season'.<sup>148</sup>

In the drawing on page 16, heaven is a half-circle that expands itself above hell in an inverted arc. Now hell has the shape of a building—a walled city. This makes sense due to the paradoxical nature of hell with its irrational combination of architectural and organic components. The visual narratives on pages 3 and 16 focus on the falling of the rebel angels and show what happens to Lucifer as his rebellion against God brings about his punishment and transformation into Satan. As noted by Karkov, '*tacen* [sign] is ... the word used by Satan to describe his Fall from heaven in *Christ and Satan* (line 89), an event that most certainly left a mark on his body in his change from Lucifer to Satan, angel to devil, bodilessness to embodied form'.<sup>149</sup> However, that sign is evident not just on and in the bodies of Satan and his demons, also in the spaces they now inhabit, and their contrast with those that they left behind. Both heaven and hell are defined by columns that link the two together in some way. The columns work as frames for the picture and at the same time they suggest a connection between the two spaces that are so very separate. They help to convey the idea that God's plan contains all world inside its dominions. Even if hell is an immeasurable place, it does have limits, and it is part of God's creation. Like heaven, hell has its place within God's *logos* (divine reason), even if that place is not to be grasped or measured with mind or hands.

At the time of the fall of the rebel angels, the space of earth was naturally not yet central to the visual narrative of the manuscript. However, in the larger context of the eternal battle between good and evil, heaven and hell would eventually work to mirror two different concepts of human and social spaces

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<sup>148</sup> "Eala earendel, engla beorhtast, / ofer middangeard monnum sended, / ond sosfæsta sunnan leoma, / torht ofer tunglas, þu tida gehwane / of sylfum þe symle inlihtes!." (Lines 104–108) Christ I. C. W. Kennedy (translated by), *Christ I.* (Cambridge, Ontario: In Parenthesis Publications, 2000).

<sup>149</sup> Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England* (2001), p. 132.

and behaviours. The subtle battle between the places of rational and ordered spatial features like those of heaven, with its functional and harmonious elements, against the chaotic mouth of a beast that even with walls is not a safe place will be played out in different form in the world inhabited by humankind. Thus, we have here a narrative that involves the power of God, as he is in figure 1, materialized on his throne. Following this image of an initial state, we encounter the disturbance in the rational order of heaven caused by Lucifer attempting to create his own throne, in envy of the power of God. As a result, Lucifer becomes more human or un-angelic falling into an inverted place where chaos is the law. Lucifer loses his crown and royal seat and becomes the imprisoned king of the damned in hell. He becomes Satan, the opponent of God. Heaven is rational and has buildings and thrones that have both order and purpose, contrasting with the chaotic beast mouth that dominates hell's circumscription. However, the prominent columns that surround the depictions of this entire episode demonstrate that even the chaotic hell is contained within a larger plan.

Architecture in the Junius 11 manuscript shows above all the stability of God's power. At the beginning of Genesis, Lucifer tries and fails to emulate God's power. We see this in the depiction of God's throne as a small building, and Lucifer's throne as similar to it. God's throne, on the other hand is more like an ancient, Greek or Roman building with large, sturdy columns. These columns are the evidence that everything, even Rebellion of the Rebel Angels and Fall of Lucifer are contained entirely inside God's plane. We see this on page 3 (figure A3), where all of the three scenes which make up the depiction of the Fall of Lucifer are framed by columns on both sides of the image. At first sight they look like just a frame for the image, however they operate as link connecting different times and spaces of Lucifer's fall. They indicate that God's power is above all things. Even Lucifer's rebellion takes place within God's plan. Buildings and columns work here like God's Plan. The hall represents that the human life in earth itself. And the building constructed by God is the way of life of the people. The building made of stone is the Roman heritage, as social model, and as religious building, the Christian church itself. The hall made of wood carries the values and laws in a pagan Germanic origin

as well. A human being is alive if he or she lives in the society of hall, following the rules of this society. According to Kopar:

The house thus becomes a unit of time and space—a microcosmic world with spatial and temporal existence. This leads us back to Bede's reference to the hall as a metaphor for human life, that is, for a particular temporal unit with a God-given beginning and end. As the etymologies and lexical analyses of the three Old English time words have shown, Bede's metaphor is rooted in an earlier, pre-Christian understanding of time and space, and offers a new, Christian reinterpretation thereof—cleverly applied in a conversion situation to bridge the two traditions.<sup>150</sup>

Lucifer's throne on page 3 is architectural, with legs that look like towers, and a doorway beneath its cushioned seat. The roof tops are very detailed. The care taken in drawing this image is revealed in the skilful depiction of its many small details: tiled roof tops, columns with capitals, towers, windows, a decorated arch above the cushion. This is not random, or just features exaggerated by the artist's imagination. The throne itself represents the political power coveted by Lucifer, and by extension, everyone who wishes to take it, desiring the power of the king and his position. The wings of the angels are the only elements that violate the columnar frames of the page and the vertical borders that separate its registers. As messenger of God or of Lucifer as we are going to see later, the angels are the messengers between heaven, earth and hell. As Mercury (or Hermes the messenger of Gods), the angels in the Christian supernatural hierarchy have access between the different boundaries of the Universe. Those wings show how angels can fly and travel among different spaces, as messengers of God. The page is divided into four registers and the columns in the borders suggest that these are conceived as architecturally enclosed and related spaces.

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<sup>150</sup> L. Kopar, 'Spatial Understanding of Time in Early Germanic Culture: The Evidence of Old English Time Words and Norse Mythology', in *Interfaces between Language and Culture in Medieval England: A Festschrift for Matti Kilpiö*, ed. by A. Hall, O. Timofeva, A. Kiricsi and B. Fox (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 219.

Obviously, the details of these constructions are not taken from the text itself, because in the poem they are not described. The poem says about Lucifer and the rebel angels' greed. How Lucifer divided the celestial kingdom building a stronger throne and a home for himself in the northern (and western) part of the heaven. :

The angel of insolence spoke many words. He planned how he would create a stronger throne for himself through his unique power, higher in the heavens; he said that his mind urged him that he should begin to create, west and north an edifice; he said that it seemed doubtful that he would continue to be an underling for God.<sup>151</sup>

The word for what Anzelm translated as 'an edifice' is *getimbro* on line 276. It means: an edifice, a building, structure; *ædificium*, *structūra*. Lucifer wants to create a hall for himself, the building means the political power. This is confirmed by the next lines when is Lucifer himself talks about how he can create a *godlecran stol*, *hearran on heofne* (lines 281b-282a) which means: a better seat (throne), higher in heaven. Lucifer claims that he has strong *geneatas* (line 284a) that means: companion, associate, vassal. His authority as a leader was accepted by this group of rebel angels. Those features are fully connected with the spatial idea that came with a throne: power over a city, over the humankind, anticipating the future when some humans will suffer the temptation by Lucifer to commit sins, like the envy of the power of the rightful kings and noblemen. The goal of the greed of Lucifer is not only a space and a throne, it is power over a "burg", a city, which means the kingdom of people, his supporters.

In the image Lucifer's throne is destroyed, contrary to what the poem tells the reader. In the poem the empty thrones are kept after the fall of the rebel

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<sup>151</sup> "Feala worda gespæc / se engel ofermodes. Ðohte þurh his anes cræft / hu he him strenglicran stol geworhte, / heahran on heofonum; cwæð þæt hine his hige speone / þæt he west and norð wyrcean ongunne, / trymede getimbro; cwæð him tweo þuhte / þæt he Gode wolde geongra weorðan". (Gen. lines 271-277).

angels. The thrones left empty by Lucifer and his follower's rebel angels are described in the following verses:

In their wake stood thrones, bountifully prosperous, abroad in God's kingdom, gracefully flourishing, bright and thriving without occupants after the accursed spirits travelled abjectly to exile in their prison.<sup>152</sup>

A clear proof that the art does not follow exactly the poem. The visual narrative makes clear that not only Lucifer and the rebel angels can be punished. The visual narrative conduct the reader to feel empathy towards Lucifer and the rebel angels. The image is telling the viewer that Lucifer's throne was destroyed and fell down into the flames of hell. The throne is the materialized symbol of his greed for power.

Immediately after this destruction, the moment of reconstruction comes out in the poem. From the void, the vast abyss, God built again his realm. Now, he creates a new space, earth. The contrast between hell as the space of destruction, and earth as space of rebuilding:

Then was nothing yet here except darkness, but this vast abyss stood deep and dark, alien to the Lord, idle and useless. The resolute king looked upon it with his eyes, and beheld the place, without joys, saw the dark mist hanging in perpetual night, black under the skies, gloomy and void, until this created world came into existence by the word of the king of glory. The eternal Lord, protector of all things, first created here heaven and earth, raised up the sky, and the Lord almighty established this spacious land by his strong powers. The surface was not green with grass; dark perpetual night oppressed the ocean far and wide, the gloomy waves.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> "Him on laste setl, / Wuldor-spedum welig, wide stoda / gifum growende on Godes rice, / beorht and geblædfæst, buendra leas, / siððan wræc-stowe werige gastas / under hearm-loca heane geforan". (Gen. lines 86b-91b).

<sup>153</sup> "Ne wæs her þa giet nympe heolster-sceado / wiht geworden, ac þes wida grund / stod deop and dim, Drihtne fremde, / idel and unnyt. On þone eagum wlat / sti-frihþ cining,

After the rebellion of the rebel angels, God created earth as a renewing act, the humankind was created to substitute the rebel angels. Then, God's new attempt to forge a new group as his new subordinates happened immediately after these lines about the creation of the new home of Adam and Eve. After the fall of the rebel angels, the creation of earth and subsequently the mankind is an attempt to correct the fall of the rebel angels.

To conclude this section, I was able to show how in Junius 11 the architectural elements, especially in heaven were able to express the power, divine power and political power, seen as the same in Anglo Saxon England. As I am going to show further, this is not only in heaven, it is in the whole manuscript. The visual was not only an accessory or an illustration, there was deeper connections and the techniques used for the architectural ornamentation of heaven show those possibilities. The boundaries between the arts of writing, illustration, sculpture, architecture, were very difficult to be distinguished and often they were blurred:

To a certain extent we have come to expect the interaction of text and image in illuminated manuscripts as both words and images are integral to this type of book, but the Anglo-Saxons extended the relationship between script and image to other types of objects, even architecture.<sup>154</sup>

The connection between the architectural elements and the church/hall were not only given in a psychological way. Through the tenth century there is the process of centralization and building of the English Kingdom ruled by the house of Wessex, by the descendants of Alfred, and what was a plan for Alfred

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and þa stowe beheold, / dreama lease, geseah deorc gesweorc / semian sin-nihte sweart under roderum, / wonn and weste, oðpæt þeos woruldgesceaft / þurh word gewearð wuldor-cyniges. / Her ærest gesceop ece Drihten, / helm eall-wihta, heofon and eorðan, / rodor arærde, and þis rume land / gestapelode strangum mihtum, / Frea ælmihtig. Folde wæs þa gyta / græs ungrene; gar-secg þeahte / sweart syn-nihte, side and wide, / wonne wægás". (Gen. lines 103a-119a).

<sup>154</sup> C.E. Karkov, 'The Arts of Writing: Voice, Image, Object', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by C.A. Lees (Cambridge, 2013), 73–98 (p. 73).



has become reality through his inheritors. The importance of the church building can be exemplified by the building of the New Minster by Edward the Elder, and especially by the Refoundation of the same building throughout Edgar kingship as I am going to show in the next chapters.

## 2.4. Conclusions

In the section 2.1, I compared the architectural elements in the opening images of the Junius 11, Cotton Genesis, Claudius B.iv manuscripts and the Gospel canon tables aiming to trace a genealogy to this type of iconography. That comparison made it clear that the depiction of architecture is much richer in the Junius 11 manuscript and must thus be important to the manuscript's narrative.

In the section 2.3 I showed how the architecture works in the manuscript images of heaven and its links and differences to the poems within the image in the manuscript, in other words in its relationships with the texts of Junius 11. Not only as an element accessory to the images, it has its own meaning and functions in the narrative, and it might be highlighted as a fundamental element of the narrative, as can provide not only guidance for the eyes of the reader. It also can transmit ideas and concepts about religion and political views. Heaven is the origin and model of the architectural elements. As an ideal place, architecture in celestial heaven is more than only an ornamental element, it reveals the power of God above everything.

In the section 2.3 I showed how the architecture functioned as a symbol of power not only in Anglo-Saxon England. It is a result of a long chain of influences. We mapped here the Greek Roman origins of both the real buildings itself and the iconography about buildings. The Hall as Anglo-Saxon model of society is another influence that was shown here. And in a more specific episode, the Refoundation of Winchester by Edgar event happened at the same period of time of Junius 11 might be the perfect trigger for the production of this manuscript. And the use of the Minster as a mausoleum is a proof of how the political power and the usage of the building of the church, the architectonic element as symbol of power not only on the mundane world, beyond, in the realm of death.

The architectural heaven bears the symbolic political stability, and the power of God throughout mankind. It is the elements of order inherited from the Classical civilizations, the laws, the state, the king, the protection against

"nature" and its evildoers, against even the animalistic in man itself. The architectural features reveal concepts about buildings in late Anglo Saxon England. And those concepts are product of this long chain of influences recreated and recast according to Anglo-Saxon concerns about frontiers and safety.

### Chapter 3

#### No man's land: hell as anti-hall in Junius 11

To be buried while alive is, beyond question, the most terrific of these extremes which has ever fallen to the lot of mere mortality. That it has frequently, very frequently, so fallen will scarcely be denied by those who think. The boundaries which divide Life from Death, are at best shadowy and vague.<sup>155</sup>

In the Junius 11 manuscript hell is presented in three moments. In *Genesis* hell is both described in the text and depicted in the images. In the last poem of the manuscript, *Christ and Satan*, it is described only in the text of the poem. The *Genesis* poem tells us about how God made a home for the rebel angels in hell and commanded them to inhabit it. The rebel angels were thrown into hell, the structure of which is again depicted, though not described in detail in the poem. The illustration of hell is repeated throughout the pages of Junius 11 several times. It appears three times as hellmouth. However, in some moments hell is shown differently rather than the hellmouth, there is a multiplicity of types of hell in every image. In section 3.1, I examine how hell is presented in both image and picture as the opposite of the hall, in contrast with heaven, that is the ideal hall, the ideal building.

In section 3.2, intrigued by the presence of hell mouth and other bestial features, I examine the possible origins of this iconography in order to show why the artist decided to use that iconography to represent hell as something connected with nature, the forest, the opposite of life in the city, or in the hall.

In section 3.3, hell is analysed as the feminine. I choose as main topics in the previous 2 sections, hell as the uncanny, as hell is the anti-example, obviously as a subject of aesthetic pleasure giving the audience at the same time attraction and repulsion.

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<sup>155</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, 'The Premature Burial', in *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, edited by T.O. Mabbott third edition (Cambridge: Belkapp Press, 1978), p. 955.

In this chapter I aim to show how hell can relate to the opposite of the ideal features of the Anglo-Saxon society, represented by the two centres where the rules, hierarchies and political power play their roles: king's hall and the church. Those two architectonical and symbolical places are the stage where Anglo-Saxon society plays the theatre of order and law. The king himself is the personification of Jesus Christ on Earth, as I discussed in the second chapter, then, as the political power happens in the space of the hall and the church, hell is the opposite of both.

### 3.1. Hell-hall: hell as anti-hall

This section aims to claim that hell in Junius 11 it is not just a place of suffering, it is the non-place, as it is made by the imaginary or psychological process of reuniting the Christian hell, originally a mix of the Hebraic Sheol with the Greek and Roman underworld, and in the process of combining the two, individual elements of both places were emphasized. According to Jacques Le Goff, the genesis of the supernatural western medieval geography was created by mixing ancient Greek and Roman conceptions with Hebraic conceptions of the afterlife. Medieval Western Christendom inherited those ideas, and increased the contrast between heaven and hell. Alois Riegel and his famous essay about *kunstwollen* ("will of art")<sup>156</sup> is still a seminal text for all medieval art studies. He studied how the philosophical ideas of Augustine of Hippo influenced the whole theological philosophy of Western Christendom and reached the art of Middle ages. The *kunstwollen* from Augustine to Riegl is the concept of *evil* as the absence of *good* and it is part of Universe created by God. Augustine describe evil as part of the big picture of the Universe created by God:

"And God saw everything that He had made, and, behold, it was very good." Was it not obviously meant to be understood that there was no other cause of the world's creation than that good creatures should be made by a good God? In this creation, had no one sinned, the world would have been filled and beautified with natures good without exception; and though there is sin, all things are not therefore full of sin, for the great majority of the heavenly inhabitants preserve their nature's integrity. And the sinful will, though it violated the order of its own nature, did not on that account escape the laws of God, who justly orders all things for good. For as the beauty of a picture is increased by well-managed shadows, so, to the eye that has skill to discern it, the universe is beautified even by sinners,

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<sup>156</sup> A. Riegl, 'The Main Characteristics of the Late Antique *Kunstwollen*', in *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s*, ed. by C. S. Wood (New York: Zone Books, 2000), pp. 87–104.

though, considered by themselves, their deformity is a sad blemish.<sup>157</sup>

There is a long theological discussion about the origins of the evil in the Universe as we are going to see for example in Augustine. However, beyond the definition of evil, there is a wider variety of influences which contributed to the concept's development of medieval hell. One of those influences, for instance, the "Inferus" (the Greek-roman hell) was not always a place for the evil or punishment. The chthonic definition of Roman Greek Inferus or Infemus and the Jewish Sheol originally reached Anglo-Saxon England not only through canonical books, also through the apocryphal books. This is proven by the fact the part of the last poem in the Junius 11 manuscript, Christ and Satan, is clearly based on the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Moreover, the episode of the Fall of Lucifer and the angels, which is told and illustrated multiple times in the manuscript, is not present in the canonical book of Genesis. In Christianity, the infernal world contrasts with the celestial heaven, as much the Uranian (or Olympian) skies or high heights and the chthonic world under the Earth. The only difference is that Greek Hades was not exactly a place of punishment, it was a place to rest the souls of the dead. Among Celtic and Germanic "pagans" this opposition was also not so evident and operated on different levels. As explained in the chapter on heaven, the hall is the ideal model of the Anglo-Saxon society. It appears as the centre of

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<sup>157</sup> "Et uidit Deus, quia bonum est, completisque omnibus inferens: Et uidit Deus omnia, quae fecit, et ecce bona ualde, nullam aliam causam faciendi mundi intellegi uoluit, nisi ut bona fierent a bono Deo. Vbi si nemo peccasset, tantummodo naturis bonis esset mundus ornatus et plenus; et quia peccatum est, non ideo cuncta sunt impleta peccatis, cum bonorum longe maior numerus in caelestibus suae naturae ordinem seruaret; nec mala uoluntas, quia naturae ordinem seruare noluit, ideo iusti Dei leges omnia bene ordinantis effugit; quoniam sicut pictura cum colore nigro loco suo posito, ita uniuersitas rerum, si quis possit intueri, etiam cum peccatoribus pulchra est, quamuis per se ipsos consideratos sua deformitas turpet". (Augustine of Hippo, *De civita Dei*, 11.23), in *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*, translated by H. Bettenson and J. J. O'Meara (London: Penguin Books, 1984).

power and it is full of order, richness, gold, joy, food, drink, and music in contrast with the chaos of the world of nature outside the hall.

The hall as a small realm of protection and warmth, within an encircling waste of winter, rain and cold, figures human life within the unknown that encompasses it, and life in its brevity is like a sparrow's flight through the hall. Bede attributes to the pagan party a use of the hall as a positive existential metaphor; it represents to them the best that life has had to offer man, at least until the coming of Christianity. More common in vernacular poetry is the use of the ruined hall to signify the transience of the social structures which gave men their chance of earthly security and happiness.<sup>158</sup>

In Junius 11 while hell is the place for punishment of the rebel angels it is specifically so for Lucifer, the one who defied the power of the king of heaven, God. When Satan laments his penalty in Genesis line 408 as a prisoner on “pyssum fæstum clomme”, that means these stiff chains.

The accompanying illustration on folio 16 of the Junius Manuscript aptly depicts his helpless captivity. The metaphor is applied to human souls in the Exeter Book's *The Descent into Hell*, where the Old Testament patriarchs await Christ's Harrowing to free them from the fortified city-prison (burg) that is hell. Such images of spiritual captivity, scriptural shorthand for an inability to live righteously, resonated with Anglo-Saxon audiences. Being delivered from such a state is, in Anglo-Saxon religious thought, a metaphor for liberation from sin, and freedom to live righteously.<sup>159</sup>

Hell, then, is the place for everyone who does not respect the hierarchy of the hall. Hell, in the Junius 11 manuscript, is more than just a physical place. Hell

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<sup>158</sup> K. Hume, 'The Concept of the Hall in Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 03 (1974), 63-74 (p.69).

<sup>159</sup> S.C.E. Hopkins, 'Snared by the Beasts of Battle: Fear as Hermeneutic Guide in the Old English Exodus.(Critical Essay)', *Philological Quarterly*, 97.1 (2018), 1–25 (p. 15).



is materialised in the text through the sensations and feelings of its inhabitants. It is a place of suffering and eternal falling.

Hell, in Junius 11, is a place of threatening sensations and a place with a tangible though illogical geography. It is remarkable how vividly the artist was able to create an image of hell as a place of sensations, confinement, and indefinable space as described by Genesis. The artist might have used other images as models, even in the act of choosing elements from those models, he (or she) created an original interpretation. For human perception space is a mental category, and hell is more than just the place below the earth where sinners go in the afterlife. In the Genesis poem, it seems more important than locating hell geographically, is conveying how it feels to be in hell. While hell has multiple meanings, it sometimes seems to be more important as a psychological space than a physical space, yet as is the case with Anglo-Saxon art and poetry in general, every element of the Junius 11 manuscript carries multiple, sometimes paradoxical, even contradictory, meanings. In Anglo Saxon art and literature a subject could have multiple meanings, without loss to any single one of those meanings. For example, Satan is a prisoner in Hell and at the same time he can make his power felt throughout the earth. At other times, and more abstractly, Satan is inside the human mind, acting as a temptation for sin.

Hell in the texts of the poems is often evoked and described in terms of sensations or feelings. Mind as an enclosure space is something common in Old English lexicon, at the same time full of things, mostly good ones, as the production of art and the faith: 'Another closely related poetic compound, wordhord, deserves consideration with respect to the metaphoric system that figures the mind as an enclosure for valuable mental objects'.<sup>160</sup>

For Anglo-Saxons, the mind was something different from the modern concept. According to Leslie Lockett, the *breostsefa*, the hydraulic model of

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<sup>160</sup> B. Maze, 'The Representation of the Mind as an Enclosure in Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 35 (2006), 57–90 (p.69).

the mind originated by the Augustine interpretation of the Platonic model of the world, and the idea of the soul (anima) as something immaterial, like the angels and God himself. For the author even the hydraulic model (cardiocentrism) was the model for the idea of mind (and soul).<sup>161</sup> Ælfric's battle against the materialism of the soul is a reaction against that point of view which were prominent in Anglo-Saxon homilies:

Narratives of the soul's activities in the afterlife, however, are prominent in Old English and Latin homilies and hagiography, and these narratives conform and reinforce a materialist understanding of the soul by underscoring its bodily shape, spatial dimensions and material substance. What is more, the rhetorical impact of numerous homilies actually depends upon the vivid corporealization of the soul, which strengthens the reality of the terrible punishments awaiting in the souls of sinners in the afterworld. First of all, homiletic portrayals of hell capitalize on the audience's fear of bodily pains.<sup>162</sup>

To the early Christian theologians hell was a physical space with material torments, and also the suffering caused by those who had committed sins:

While the mind must remain a secure container for some kinds of mental possessions because of their potential to cause harm or shame in the public world, it is also (and much more often) a vault in which valuables are safely kept because of their great worth.<sup>163</sup>

I want to highlight here that mind is an enclosure of the thoughts as it is the soul in the cardiocentric model. Those can be not only good thoughts. They also can be evil. The thoughts are a sin and consequently can cause

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<sup>161</sup> Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Tradition* (2011), pp. 54-7.

<sup>162</sup> Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Tradition* (2011), p. 383.

<sup>163</sup> Maze, 'The Representation of the Mind as an Enclosure in Old English Poetry' (2006), p.74.

psychological torments . Those torments materialize by physical punishments of hell. Then, it is possible to see pain in the face of Satan on page 20 (figure A12), for example. Given that, it is remarkable how the artist could create a visual version of the feeling of physical suffering. hell is also an enclosed space, full of things, like an infinite contained space. The first artist chose some iconographic models and changed them, recast them to recreate his version of hell that often does not follow strictly the poem. I am going to trace how this process happened, considering each element and how it is connected with ideas or structures present in Anglo-Saxon society. Some of these are iconographic elements that are part of traditional hell imagery, while some are specific to this manuscript. The traditional elements were not chosen randomly, and there is a visual narrative that surpasses or amplifies the textual one.

The first word used to describe hell in *Genesis* is *ham*, in line 37a. While the word has multiple meanings, such as “village, hamlet, manor, estate, home, dwelling, house, region, country”<sup>164</sup>, those incorporate the idea of home at a certain level, and the central idea presented in *Genesis* is that hell is a home, built by God, for Satan and the fallen angels. This home is not just the physical home, it is how the human feels to be at home, a place of safety, like a stable kingdom. Hell is unique space compared to heaven: This unique space is very unlike the other home that we knew before<sup>165</sup>, It means it does not have the possibility of freedom, as he is a prisoner there.

In *Christ and Satan* line 25b hell is also *ham*, home. The text describes how the place causes pain through both its flames and its darkness, there is no celestial light like in heaven. Again in line 38a hell is *ðeostræ ham*, which means gloomy, dark, without light. The feeling of being deprived of light is part of the description of this house. It is a house though it feels as if it is not a

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<sup>164</sup> ASD.

<sup>165</sup> “Is þæs ænga styde ungelic swiðe / þam oðrum ham þe we ær cuðon”. (Gen. lines 356-7).

home. In lines 36–50, the demons lament the loss of their old home, missing the light and joy of being close to the *hehselda*, the throne of God. In the poem Satan himself tells us how hell is a *fyr-locan*, fiery prison, in line 78. Between lines 95-96, hell is *atola ham fyre onæled*, a terrible home on burning fire. There are eternally *dracan* (dragons) with flames in their breasts in the *helle duru* (hell's doors). He tells us between lines 100-112, how the place has no light and no shadows to hide from the evildoers, serpents and fiends. In verse 99, hell is home again, *walica ham*, woeful or miserable home. In verse 130a, hell is described as *sidan sele*: wide hall, house or dwelling. In Christ and Satan line 192: in *þæt hate hof þam is hel nama*, in that (over) heated house, called hell.

In *Genesis* line 38a the word *helle-heafas* occurs, which means the lamentation, mourning, weeping or wailing of hell. Here it is the sensation of being confined in that place, and hearing those awful songs that evokes the space of hell. It is not a spatial description per se, it is an evocation of a human experience of space. In line 39 the term used for hell is *wite-hus* (house of punishment, or torture chamber), which evokes the idea of both a space and the human experience that takes place within that space. Even though the basic concept of “house” is as a place, the poem provides no description of the architectural structure of the house itself. Rather, the text develops specifically how it feels to be confined in hell.

The next term used to describe hell occurs in line 40, *dreama-leas* (deprived of joy). Here again the place is defined by sensation, rather than the description of a material structure or physical space. Finally, in line 42, those in hell are *syn-nihte beseald* (surrounded by torment) which again tells the audience about what it is like to be in hell, rather than describing the physical space in which that torment is endured.

On page 3, the first depiction of hell in the manuscript shows that hell has walls and is a self-contained building as we can see the columns on both sides of the image. The columns, as said in the previous chapter are not only frame to the picture, they are a part of the image itself, connecting heaven and hell. Yet, as opposed to heaven, hell is this place made of a mix of architecture and

a living creature, a kind of “bionic” nature. Instead of showing only the beast’s mouth that links hell with the natural world, hell in this image defies categorisation, being both architecture and animal. On pages 16 and 17 the walls are visibly better detailed than on page 3. Again the focus is on hell. Like a twisted version of other well-known pictures, like the opening image on the New Minster Charter (Cotton Vespasian A. viii, f. 2v - fig. 04). On page 3 Christ is inside a mandorla like the one in the New Minster Charter. Instead of King Edgar prostrating in front of Christ, we have Satan and the devils suffering in hell. The similarity is not merely random while the vertical composition is putting God in the upper part of the page, and the servant in the end. There is no power higher than God. In the pages of both manuscripts there are two opposite types of retainers: the good and the bad one. King Edgar is the example of a good servant of good and this is why it makes sense to follow him, as he represents God on earth. On the opposite, Lucifer is the anti-example, even though he is still under God’s power, he chose the path of rebellion against the ruler of all creation. Lucifer is a servant and subject of punishment in hell.

There are not only columns working as frames in page 17, there are buildings on the right and the left sides of the frames. Hell, below, is surrounded by a structure easily distinguishable as a fortified wall, a wall that we are seeing from above. The poem, however, is more concerned with what happens within hell than explaining hell’s spatial structure:

The other enemies lay in the fire ...They suffer torture, the hot hostile surge in the midst of hell, conflagration and broad flames, so also the bitter fumes, smoke and darkness, because they rejected God’s service.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> “Lagon þa osre fynd on þam fyre, þe ær swa feala hæfdon / gewinnes wis heora waldend. Wite þolias, / hatne heasowelm helle tomiddes, / brand and brade ligas, swilce eac þa biteran recas, / þrosm and þystro, forþon hie þegnscipe / godes forgymdon”. (Gen. Lines 322 -327a).

This passage is similar to Gildas text about the Britons who abandoned God to worship Satan, who preferred the night, the falsehood and destroyed everything good in the island, like Lucifer and rebel angels in their rebellion against God:

But besides this vice, there arose also every other, to which human nature is liable, and in particular that hatred of truth, together with her supporters, which still at present destroys everything good in the island; the love of falsehood, together with its inventors, the reception of crime in the place of virtue, the respect shown to wickedness rather than goodness, the love of darkness instead of the sun, the admission of Satan as an angel of light. Kings were anointed, not according to God's ordinance, but such as showed themselves more cruel than the rest; and soon after, they were put to death by those who had elected them, without any inquiry into their merits, but because others still more cruel were chosen to succeed them. If any one of these was of a milder nature than the rest, or in any way more regardful of the truth, he was looked upon as the ruiner of the country, every body cast a dart at him, and they valued things alike whether pleasing or displeasing to God, unless it so happened that what displeased him was pleasing to themselves.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> "Moris namque continui erat genti, sicut et nunc est, ut infirma esset ad retundenda hostium tela et fortis esset ad ciuilia bella et peccatorum onera sustinenda, infirma, inquam, ad exequanda pacis ac ueritatis insignia et fortis ad scelera et mendacia. reuertuntur ergo impudentes grassatores hiberni domos, post non longum temporis reuersuri. picti in extrema parte insulae tunc primum et deinceps requieuerunt, praedas et contritiones nonnumquam facientes. in talibus itaque indutiis desolato populo saeua cicatric obducitur, fame alia uirulentiore tacitus pullulante. quiescente autem uastitate tantis abundantiarum copiis insula affluebat ut nulla habere tales retro aetas meminisset, cum quibus omnimodis et luxuria crescit. creuit etenim germine praepollenti, ita ut competentur eodem tempore diceretur: 'omnino talis auditur fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes.' non solum uer hoc uitium, set et omnia quae humanae naturae accidere solent, et praecipue, quod et nunc quoque in ea totius boni euertit statum, odium ueritatis cum assertoribus amorque mendacii cum suis fabricatoribus, susceptio mali pro bono, ueneratio nequitiae pro benignitate, cupido tenebrarum pro sole, exceptio satanae pro angelo lucis." H. Williams (edited and translated by), *The ruin of Britain, fragments from lost letters, the penitential, together*

On page 17 (figure A11) the towers are bigger than on the previous page, and work at the same time as frame for the image. Here we can see the devils in hell, and Lucifer himself, chained as we saw in the two previous images. On page 17 (figure A11) there is no beast mouth, only the walls. In this image the walls are chaotic, though look like real walls with bricks and an apparently rational appearance. On page 20 (figure A12) the walls change again and no longer look like real walls. The overall evolution of hell is to become a more and more 'organic' shape. On pages 20 (figure A12) and 36 (figure A18), hell is completely organic without any architectural elements to it. It is a womb-like space on page 36 (figure A18). In both aspects, when hell has walls and when hell is more 'organic' with its beast mouth or in the shape of a womb, it is clearly an anti-hall, the opposite of the hierarchical and well-organized hall that is heaven. More than that hell is ruin, is the abandoned building, like the roman pagan building part of the past, dilapidated of its own function as described in the Ruin poem:

Bright were the city buildings, many bathing-halls, / an abundance  
of high gables, much martial noise, / many mead hall full of human  
joys, / until fate the mighty changed that. / Slaughtered men widely  
fell dead, days of pestilence came, / death took away all of the  
valiant men; / their bastions became waste places, / the city  
decayed. The rebuilders, the armies, / fell dead on the ground.  
Therefore these buildings grow / desolate, and the red curved roof  
above the vault / sheds its tiles. The ruin fell to the plain / broken  
into mounds of stone where long ago many a man / happy and gold  
bright, proud and flushed with wine, / adorned with splendour, /  
proud and flushed with wine shone in war-trappings; / looked at  
treasure, at silver, at precious stones, shone in his war gear; / he  
gazed on treasure, on silver, on jewels, on wealth, on property, on  
precious stones, / on this bright city of the spacious kingdom.<sup>168</sup>

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*with the Lorica of Gildas* (London: the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1899),  
21: 1-3.

<sup>168</sup> "Beorht wæron burgræced, burnsele monige, / heah horngestreon, heresweg micel, /  
meodoheall monig mondreama full, / oppæt pæt onwende wyrd seo swipe. / Crungon  
walo wide, cwoman woldagas, / swylt eall fornom secgrofra wera; / wurdon hyra

The connection between decay, sin and an abandoned building can be found in Genesis poem in the Babel tower episode:

They were not able to advance the building of the stone wall any farther, but they wretchedly divided into groups, separated by their languages; each tribe had become foreign to the other, after the creator split the languages of human beings by might ability. The disunited sons of princes scattered into four directions in search of land. In their wake stood both the erect stone tower and the lofty city, partly finished together at Shinar.<sup>169</sup>

Both episodes are equivalent to the hubris of Lucifer (and his companion angels) when he built his throne and challenged the power of God. And Lucifer's throne is a building itself. As the Romans and the people in Genesis, Lucifer and his rebel angels twisted the reason for a building to be made. They had as result only decay, the same description as hell, a decaying building.

Returning to the natural aspect of the anti-hall, the similarities between hell and the swamp where Beowulf's monsters live are very well presented by Geoffrey Russom. He criticizes the erroneous translation of the word *firgenstrēam*. Literally *firgenstrēam* means 'mountain-stream'. According to Russom it might be translated 'stream that flows from uplands'. Based on examples from different sources, like Blickling Homily and Plato's *Phaedo*, Old Norse literature, and *Christ and Satan* (lines 30a-31b) the author remarks the

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wigsteal westen staþolas, / brosnade burgsteall. Betend crungon / hergas to hrusan. Forþon þas hofu dreorgiað, / ond þæs teaforgeapa tigelum sceadeð / hrostbeages hrof. Hryre wong gecrong / gebrocen to beorgum, þær iu beorn monig / glædmod ond goldbeorht gleoma gefrætwed, / wlanc ond wingal wighyrstum scan; / seah on sinc, on sylfor, on searogimmas, / on ead, on æht, on eorcanstan, / on þas beorhtan burg bradan rices". Translated by R.E. Bjork, *Old English Shorter Poems, Volume II - Wisdom and lyric* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 120-1.

<sup>169</sup> "Ne meahte hie gewurðan weall stænenne / up forð timbran, ac hie earmlice / heapum tohlocon, hleoðrum gedælde; / wæs oðerre æghwilec worden / mægburh fremde, siððan metod tobræd / þurh his mihta sped monna spræce. / Toforan þa on feower wegas / æðelinga beam ungeþeode / on landsocne. Him on laste bu / stiðlic stantor and seo steape burh / samod samworht on Sennar stod". (Gen. 1697a-1771b).



hellish aspect of Grendel's home. The place is illuminated by hellfire, and there is a lot of chthonic references to the foundation of the earth.<sup>170</sup> Consequently, the connection between hell and the chaotic and unclean aspect of nature in opposition of the idealization of the hall is not an exclusive feature of Junius 11 art and text in Anglo-Saxon England

Criticizing the old views about Junius 11 as book about redemption, Anzelark proposes an alternative, not exclusive emphasis of Junius 11 as a type of *specula principum* (Mirrors for princes), like a manual for a lay reader about political power. The author defends that Christ and Satan is about the power of Christ, except for the episode of the Harrowing of Hell. Christ and Satan is not a New Testament episode, as the first section core is about the demonstration of the power of God and the fallen angels lament after they rebellion and expulsion from heaven.<sup>171</sup>

In both text and image with heaven, hell in Junius more than a place of punishment. Moreover, hell is the opposite of the Anglo-Saxon ideal society: hell is the opposite of the perfect hall, the opposite of heaven. Hell is the anti-hall and, as such, it is a space outside the hall, for those banished to live again in the chaotic nature of figures like Grendel and his mother in the *Beowulf* poem, or like their ancestor Cain.

The importance of the relationship between human house and human life can be found in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, when King Edwin of Northumbria is receiving advice from his counsel about whether or not to convert the new Christian faith:

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<sup>170</sup> G. Russom, 'At the Center of *Beowulf*', in *Myth in Early Northwest Europe*, 21, edited by S.O. Glosecki (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2007), pp. 225-40.

<sup>171</sup> D. Anzelark, 'Lay Reading, Patronage, and Power in Bodleian Library Junius II', in *Ambition and Anxiety; Courts and Courtly Discourse, c. 700 – 1600*, edited by G.E.M. Gasper and J. McKinnell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 76-97 (pp. 86-8).

Another of the king's chief men, approving of his words and exhortations, presently added: "The present life of man, O king, seems to me, in comparison of that time which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a sparrow through the room wherein you sit at supper in winter, with your commanders and ministers, and a good fire in the midst, whilst the storms of rain and snow prevail abroad; the sparrow, I say, flying in at one door, and immediately out at another, whilst he, is within, is safe from the wintry storm; but after a short space of fair weather, he immediately vanishes out of your sight, into the dark winter from which he had emerged. So this life of man appears for a short space, but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are utterly ignorant. If, therefore, this new doctrine contains something more certain, it seems justly to deserve to be followed. <sup>172</sup>

This passage shows how important it was to live in the human habitation compared to living in the wilderness. According to Stephen Pollington, this Bede's passage exemplifies attitude towards nature that it can be found in Old English literature in general:

Whether this image is Bede's own, or whether it really was used by a seventh century Northumbrian leader in his deliberations on the possible advantages to be gained from the new faith, is unimportant. The central theme of the simile –the warmth and comfort of our time within these walls, the cold and discomfort of what lies outside - is one that recurs throughout Anglo-Saxon

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<sup>172</sup> "Þæs wordum oper cyninges wita and ealdormann gepafunge sealde, and to þære spræce feng and þus cwæp:" þyslic me is gesewen, þu cyning, þis andwearde lif manna on eorþan to wiþmetenesse þære tide, þe us uncup is, swylc swa þu æt swæsendum sitte mid þinum ealdormannum and þegnum on wintertide, and sie fyr onælæd and þin heall gewyrmed, and hit rine and sniwe and styrme ute; cume an spearwa and hrædlice þæt hus þurhfleo, cume þurh opre duru in þurh opre ut gewite. Hwæt he on þa tid, þe he inne biþ, ne biþ hrinen mid þy storme þæs wintres; ac þæt biþ an eagan bryhtm and þæt læsste fæc, ac he sona of wintra on þone winter eft cymeþ. Swa þonne þis monna lif to medmiclum fæce ætywep hwæt þær foregange, oppe hwæt þær æfterfylige, we ne cunnun. Forþon gif þeos lar owiht cuplicre and gerisenlicre bringe, þæs weorþe is þæt we þære fylgen". Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (London: J.M. Dent, 1910), p.84.

literature. Indeed, the sparrow's origin and destination, the unknown, the unstructured wilderness, was to be feared. Where there is no feasting, in the dark gloomy caverns of the wasteland where goblins and trolls live, the antithetical imagery is introduced of alienation, isolation, exclusion: the misery of being an outcast.<sup>173</sup>

Helen Damico suggests a connection between Grendel's attacks against Hrothgar's Hall and the Nordic raids attacking England in the early eleventh century.<sup>174</sup> Even though it is unlikely to say it precisely, the idea of Grendel as agent of chaos coming from the swamp (nature) versus the established nobility and the King's Palace echoes the same idea we have in Junius 11 about this chaotic aspect of nature versus the stability of the heavenly, godly power. Grendel's swamp is like hell presented in Junius 11, chaotic and twisted, although it is under God's power. The hall in Beowulf is a fallen earthly reflection of the heavenly order threatened by the monsters who come from the chaotic natural world depicted as the swamp and the cave beneath the earth against the hall. A similar opposition between chaotic hell and the orderly heaven present in Junius 11 images. Hell is not only the opposite of Anglo-Saxon hall and the architectural heaven, and the Christian Church. Hell is twisted, inverted and perverted version of those symbolic places of power.

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<sup>173</sup> S. Pollington, *The mead hall: The feasting tradition in Anglo-Saxon England* (Norfolk, England: Anglo-Saxon Books, 2003), pp. 21-2.

<sup>174</sup> H. Damico, 'Grendel's Reign of Terror: From History to Vernacular Epic', in *Myths, legends, and heroes: essays on Old Norse and Old English literature in honour of John McKinnell*, ed. by D. Anlezark (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pp. 148-66.

### 3.2. Hellmouth: hell as tomb and mouth

In the previous section about the I presented Junius 11 hell as a collective social and psychological space focused on its anti-hall features. This section seeks to provide another psychological approach, highlighting the chthonic nature of hell and explaining the iconography chosen by the first artist to depict hell: the hellmouth.

Hell in Junius 11 carries a lot of chthonic references provided by the Christian concept of place of punishment of damned souls. However, using some elements from the chthonic and conceptions of the afterlife in Anglo-Saxon society. The focus on this section is about hell as a grave in Junius 11, and the opposite to heaven, eternal life beside God. A real grave as a place where the body is destroyed, where the dreadful process of rotting cannot be stopped, hell brings the fear of rotting eternally.

The corpse (or *cadaver*, *cadere*, to fall), that which has irremediably come a cropper, is a cesspool, and death; it upsets even more violently the one who confronts it as fragile and fallacious chance. (...) In true theater, without makeup or masks, refuse and corpses show me what I permanently thrust aside in order to live. These body fluids, this defilement, this shit are what life withstands, hardly and with difficulty, on the part of death. There, I am at the border of my condition as a living being. My body extricates itself, as being alive, from that border. Such wastes drop so that I might live, until, from loss to loss, nothing remains in me and my entire body falls beyond the limit – *cadere*, *cadaver*.<sup>175</sup>

The fear of the corpse is connected with the uncanny feeling towards the dead bodies. The corpse gives to any human being the same feelings: curiosity (and attraction) and repulsion. When confronted with a human corpse a human being will see his or her own future body, realise the scatological in his or her

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<sup>175</sup> J. Kristeva, *Powers of horror: an essay on abjection*, translated by L. S. Rondiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p.3.

own body. This is mainly instinctive, as we will see later, while discussing how hell brings the fear of being rotten or feeling the human body being destroyed eternally. In the poem *Soul and Body I*, the flesh being rotten is shown by contrast with the soul suffering in hell, and at the same time the soul blames the body by the sins that caused its torments in hell, similar to the way that hell is described in Junius 11 poems:

Truly every man needs to see and understand/ The state of his soul,  
the fate of its journey,/ How dark it will be when grim death comes /  
Those separate those kinsmen, body and soul, / Who were so long  
together, joined as one./ Long afterwards the soul shall receive/  
God's just reward, either grief or glory,/ Torment or true bliss,  
depending on what / the body has earned of tit , the world walker/  
Dust-dweller, in their days on earth. /The soul shall come every  
seventh night/ for three hundred years moaning in misery,/ seeking  
the body, the carrion coat / It wore before, that unthriving flesh,/  
Unless almighty God, the Lord of hosts,/Determines the soul shall  
speak, discourse with dust, / Crying out its case in the coolest  
words: / "You cruel, bloody clod, what have you done? / Why did  
you torment me, filth of flesh, Wasting world-rot, food for worms, /  
Effigy of earth? You gave little thought / To the state of your soul  
and how it might suffer / After leaving your clutch, lifted from flesh,  
/ Or how long you might moulder and spoil. Are you blaming me,  
you wicked wretch? / Little did you think that lusting for pleasure /  
Might be craving for terror, that gorging on life / Might leave you  
lifeless, a banquet for worms. / God in goodness gave you a spirit.  
/ The Lord in his great power and glory / Sent you by an angel from  
his home in heaven / The gift of a soul from his own hand. / Then  
he redeemed you with his holy blood, / His sacred suffering, his  
blessed sacrifice, / Yet you bound me with hard hunger / And cruel  
thirst. You tied me to torments / In hell's dark home, made me a  
slave,/ I lived inside you, encompassed by flesh, / Trapped in my  
torment, your sinful desires, / Your lusty pleasures. I couldn't  
escape. / Your evil pressed upon me so strongly/ That it sometimes  
seemed that I might have to wait / Thirty thousand years till the day  
you died.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> "Huru, ðæs behofað hæleða æghwylc / þæt he his sawle sið sylfa gepence, / hu þæt  
bið deoplic þonne se deað cymeð, / asyndreð þa sybbe þe ær samod wæron, / lic ond

Returning to the art, the chthonic nature of hell is depicted in its position in the vertical composition, in that, hell is always visualised at the bottom. Furthermore, in medieval art, a vertical composition of space was traditionally used to convey hierarchies as 'in the medieval picture of the world, the top and the bottom, the higher and the lower, have an absolute meaning both in the sense of space and values'.<sup>177</sup> At the same time, though hell was usually identified as a place underneath the earth, Satan, devils and even hell itself could move and appear in other geographical places in Old English texts. Devils and Satan after the fall could be found in the air, in the earth and in

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sawle! Lang bið syððan / þæt se gast nimeð æt gode sylfum / swa wite swa wuldor,  
swa him on worulde ær / efne þæt eorðfæt ær geworhte. / Sceal se gast cuman  
geohðum hremig, / symble ymbe seofon niht sawle findan / þone lichoman þe hie ær  
lange wæg, / þreo hund wintra, butan ær þeodcyning, / ælmihtig god, ende worulde /  
wyrcean wille, weoruda dryhten. / Cleopað þonne swa cearful cealdan reorde, / spreceð  
grimlice se gast to þam duste: / "Hwæt, druhten ðu dreorega, to hwan drehtest ðu me, /  
eorðan fulnes eal forwisnad, / lames gelicnes! Lyt ðu gemundest / to hwan þinre sawle  
þing siððan wurde, / syððan of lichoman læded wære! / Hwæt, wite ðu me, weriga!  
Hwæt, ðu huru wyrma gyf / lyt gepohtest, þa ðu lustgryrum eallum / ful geeodest, hu  
ðu on eorðan scealt / wrymum to wiste! Hwæt, ðu on worulde ær / lyt gepohtest hu þis  
is þus lang hider! / Hwæt, þe la engel ufan of roderum / sawle onsende þurh his sylfes  
hand, / meotod ælmihtig, of his mægenþrymme, / ond þe gebohte blode þy halgan, /  
ond þu me mid þy heardan hungre gebunde / ond gehæftnedest helle witum! /  
Eardode ic þe on innan. Ne meahte ic ðe of cuman, / flæsce befangen, ond me  
fyrenlustas / þine geþrungon. þæt me þuhte ful oft / þæt hit wære XXX þusend wintra  
/ to þinum deaðdæge. A ic uncres gedales onbad / earfoðlice. Nis nu huru se ende to  
god! / Wære þu þe wiste wlanc ond wines sæd, / þrymful þunedest, ond ic ofþyrsted  
wæs / godes lichoman, gastes dryncas. / Forðan þu ne hogodest her on life, / syððan  
ic ðe on worulde wunian sceolde, / þæt ðu wære þurh flæsc ond þurh fyrenlustas".  
Original in Old English from D. Moffat, *The Old English Soul and Body* (Wolfeboro:  
Boydell & Brewer, 1990), Soul and Body I, vv. 01 – 44. Translated by C. Williamson,  
*The Complete Old English Poems* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,  
2017), pp. 244-245.

<sup>177</sup> M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, translated by H. Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 401.

hell.<sup>178</sup> In Anglo-Saxon England, the chthonic nature of Christian hell was amplified by its similarity to specifically Anglo-Saxon landscapes or landscape elements such as the fen, burial mound, or subterranean anti-hall. Hell as a devouring beast mouth makes sense given that chthonic origin of hell as earth devours the corpses. The word sarcophagus came from Greek σάρξ (sarx), "flesh", and φαγεῖν (phagein), "to eat", then sarcophagus means flesh-eater.<sup>179</sup>

The descent into hell, according to Pike, has its roots in Homer and Vergil. However in the Christian context after Augustine it took on a more recognizable shape as an allegory of conversion in his *Confessions*, as he felt deep down in the sins of the world before becoming a Christian.<sup>180</sup> Nevertheless there are plenty of previous traditional influences on the medieval travel to chthonic world. The first known instance is a novel in the Greek (Hellenistic) tradition, in *True History* of Lucian of Samosata from 200 AD that can be one of the roots of this *topos* of being swallowed by a giant beast as a passage to the underworld like Jonah in the Old Testament, as we are going to see next. As it is told in the beginning in the text, the narrative is a fantasy (as he said, "a lie"), though based on Homer and Herodotus. The novel is a first-person narrative about his adventures beyond the Pillars of Hercules. He and his companion reach several fantastic places, like an island where the river is wine instead of water, a whirlwind took them to the moon. In the moon, he finds a war raging for the right to colonize the morning star, between the King of the moon and the king of the sun. Both people are fantastic hybrids very much alike to the tradition about faraway lands. The people from the Sun won the war and find an agreement of peace with the

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<sup>178</sup> P. Dendle, *Satan Unbound, The Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2001), pp. 62–103.

<sup>179</sup> <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/sarcophagus> [accessed on 06/08/2019 at 21:34]

<sup>180</sup> D. L. Pike, *Passage through Hell* (Ithaca: Cornell University Express, 1997), p.20.

Selenites, the narrator and his companions are dragged back to earth where they were swallowed by a giant whale. :

We had but two days' delightful sail, and by the rising sun of the third we beheld a crowd of whales and marine monsters, and among them one far larger than the rest — some two hundred miles in length. It came on open-mouthed, agitating the sea far in front, bathed in foam, and exhibiting teeth whose length much surpassed the height of our great phallic images, all pointed like sharp stakes and white as elephants' tusks. We gave each other a last greeting, took a last embrace, and so awaited our doom. The monster was upon us; it sucked us in; it swallowed ship and crew entire. We escaped being ground by its teeth, the ship gliding in through the interstices. Inside, all was darkness at first, in which we could distinguish nothing; but when it next opened its mouth, an enormous cavern was revealed, of great extent and height; a city of ten thousand inhabitants might have had room in it. Strewn about were small fish, the disjecta membra of many kinds of animals, ships' masts and anchors, human bones, and merchandise; in the centre was land with hillocks upon it, the alluvial deposit, I supposed, from what the whale swallowed. This was wooded with trees of all kinds, and vegetables were growing with all the appearance of cultivation. The coast might have measured thirty miles round. Sea-birds, such as gulls and halcyons, nested on the trees.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> “ἔοικε δὲ ἀρχὴ κακῶν μειζόνων γίνεσθαι πολλάκις ἢ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολή: καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς δύο μόνας ἡμέρας ἐν εὐδίᾳ πλεύσαντες, τῆς τρίτης ὑποφαινούσης πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα τὸν ἥλιον ἄφνω ὀρώμεν θηρία καὶ κήτη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, ἐν δὲ μέγιστον ἀπάντων ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων τὸ μέγεθος: ἐπήγει δὲ κεχηγὸς καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ τaráττον τὴν θάλατταν ἀφρῶ τε περικλυζόμενον καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἐκφαῖνον πολὺ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν φαλλῶν ὑψηλοτέρους, ὀξεῖς δὲ πάντας ὥσπερ σκόλοπας καὶ λευκοὺς ὥσπερ ἑλεφαντίνους. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τὸ ὕστατον ἀλλήλους προσειπόντες καὶ περιβαλόντες ἐμένομεν τὸ [page 286] δὲ ἤδη παρῆν καὶ ἀναρροφήσαν ἡμᾶς αὐτῇ νηὶ κατέπιεν. οὐ μέντοι ἔφθη συναράξαι τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀραιωμάτων ἢ ναῦς ἐς τὸ ἔσω διεξέπεσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνδον ἦμεν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον σκότος ἦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐωρῶμεν, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀναχανόντος εἶδομεν κύτος μέγα καὶ πάντη πλατὺ καὶ ὑψηλόν, ἱκανὸν μυριάδῳ πόλει ἐνοικεῖν. ἔκειντο δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ἰχθύες καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ θηρία συγκεκομμένα, καὶ πλοίων ἱστία καὶ ἄγκυραι, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὅστέα



After this, the narrator and his comrades visited many different and fantastical places like an ocean made of milk, an island made of cheese, the Fortunate Islands in the Atlantic Ocean and a whole new land. Indirectly, then the tradition of a city inside the mouth of a giant animal is a long tradition before the middle ages, and probably influenced Rabelais in his *Gargantua and Pantagruel* in the later middle ages.<sup>182</sup>

About the iconography, in the late classical tradition, there is in Vergil *Vaticanus* (Bibliotheca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225), made around the year 400 in Rome, images of Aeneas going to the underworld. To enter there, Aeneas need to fight his way through the cave of monsters until he reaches the entrance to the underworld. The image of Cerberus in the entrance of the cave that is the door to the underworld, shows some elements that are in the roots of the creation of hell as a mouth beast. (Figure 05). The text within says that:

No sooner landed, in his Den they found /the triple Porter of the  
Stygian Sound: / Grim Cerberus; who soon began to rear /His  
crested Snakes, and arm'd his bristling Hair. /The Prudent Sibul  
had before prepar'd /A Sop, in Honey steep'd, to charm the Guard:  
/Which , mix'd with pow'ful Drugs, she cast before /His greedy  
grinning Jaws, just op'd to roar: /With three enormous mouths he  
gapes; and straight, / With Hunger prest, devours the pleasing Bait.  
/ Long draughts of Sleep his monstrous Limbs enslave; / He reels  
and falling, fills the spacious Cave. / The keeper charm'd, the  
Chiefe without Delay / Pass'd on, and took th` irremediable way. /  
Before the Gates, the Cries of Babes new born, / Whom Fate had

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καίφορτία, κατὰ μέσον δὲ καὶ γῆ καὶ λόφοι ἦσαν, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐκ τῆς ἰλύος ἣν κατέπινε  
συνιζάνουσα. ὕλη γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῆς καὶ δένδρα παντοῖα ἐπεφύκει καὶ λάχανα  
ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ἐώκει πάντα ἐξεργασμένοις: περίμετρον δὲ τῆς γῆς στάδιοι διακόσιοι  
καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν καὶ ὄρνεα θαλάττια, λάρους καὶ ἀλκυόνας, ἐπὶ  
τῶν δένδρων νεοπτεύοντα". Translated by A.M. Harmon, *True History of Lucian of Samosata*, Works (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913), sections 30-31.

<sup>182</sup> E. Auerbach, *Mimesis: the representation of reality in Western literature, original from 1945*, translated by W.R. Trask (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 269.

from their tender Mothers torn, / Assault his Ears: then those, whom  
Form of laws / Condemn'd to die, when traitors judg'd their Cause.  
/ Nor want they Lots, nor Judges to review / The wrongful Sentence,  
and award a new, / Minos, the strict Inquisitor, appears; / And Lives  
and Crimes, with his Assessors, hears. / Round, in his Urn, the  
blended Balls he rowls; / Absolves the Just, and dooms the Guilty  
Souls. (Aeneid, 6417-6430). <sup>183</sup>

The text talks about how Sibyl was able to pacify Cerberus by giving him something to eat, a drugged cake. The entrance to the underworld with a devouring beast in the entrance, the act of eating, the judgement of the souls and condemnation will be recast even in this Iconography the beast is very small and it is not the entrance to hell.(figure 21).

On the other hand in the Christian-Jewish tradition, we will have the episode of Jonah being swallowed by a sea-monster creature. The way Jonah asks for help from God resembles the way Lucifer cries about his fate of being condemned in hell. Nevertheless, Jonah has faith and praise to God, Lucifer merely laments his unfortunate position:

Now the Lord provided a huge fish to swallow Jonah, and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights. From inside the fish Jonah prayed to the Lord his God. He said: "In my distress I called to the Lord, and he answered me. From deep in the realm of the dead I called for help, and you listened to my cry. You hurled me into the depths, into the very heart of the seas, and the currents

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<sup>183</sup> "Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci / personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro. / cui vates, horrere videns iam colla colubris, / melle soporata et medicatis frugibus offam / obicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens / corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit / fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro. / Occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto, / evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae. / Continuo auditae voces, vagitus et ingens, / infantumque animae flentes in limine primo, / quos dulcis vitae exsortes et ab ubere raptos / abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo; / hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis. / Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes: / quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum / conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit". From D. H Wright (translated by), *The Vatican Vergil: A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp 50-2.

swirled about me; all your waves and breakers swept over me. I said, 'I have been banished from your sight; yet I will look again toward your holy temple.' The engulfing waters threatened me, the deep surrounded me; seaweed was wrapped around my head. To the roots of the mountains I sank down; the earth beneath barred me in forever. But you, Lord my God, brought my life up from the pit. "When my life was ebbing away, I remembered you, Lord, and my prayer rose to you, to your holy temple. "Those who cling to worthless idols turn away from God's love for them. But I, with shouts of grateful praise, will sacrifice to you. What I have vowed I will make good. I will say, 'Salvation comes from the Lord.'" And the Lord commanded the fish, and it vomited Jonah onto dry land.

184

Christ narrative follows the same topos of being like Jonah inside the whale stomach. Both of them stayed `dead` for three days, Christ in the Holy Sepulchre and Jonah inside the whale body. Three days of death before the rebirth, the resurrection. Then, this idea of entering the mouth of a giant beast is a metaphor of being out of the world of living, remembered in the Gospels by Christ himself:

But he replied to them, "An evil and adulterous generation craves a sign. Yet no sign will be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah, because just as Jonah was in the stomach of the sea

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184 "Et praeeparavit Dominus piscem grandem ut deglutiret Jonam: et erat Jonas in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus. Et oravit Jonas ad Dominum Deum suum de ventre piscis, et dixit: Clamavi de tribulatione mea ad Dominum, et exaudivit me; de ventre inferi clamavi, et exaudisti vocem meam. Et projecisti me in profundum in corde maris, et flumen circumdedit me: omnes gurgites tui, et fluctus tui super me transierunt. Et ego dixi: Abiectus sum a conspectu oculorum tuorum; verumtamen rursus videbo templum sanctum tuum. Circumdederunt me aquae usque ad animam: abyssus vallavit me, pelagus operuit caput meum. Ad extrema montium descendi; terrae vectes concluderunt me in aeternum: et sublevabis de corruptione vitam meam, Domine Deus meus. Cum angustiaretur in me anima mea, Domini recordatus sum: ut veniat ad te oratio mea, ad templum sanctum tuum. Qui custodiunt vanitates frustra, misericordiam suam derelinquunt. Ego autem in vocelaudis immolabo tibi: quaecumque vovi, reddam pro salute Domino. Et dixit Dominus pisci, et evomuit Jonam in aridam". (Jonah 1:17, 2:1-17. Vulgate).

creature for three days and three nights, so the Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights. The men of Nineveh will stand up at the judgment and condemn the people living today, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah. But look - something greater than Jonah is here.<sup>185</sup>

The story of Jonah inside the whale was recognized universally as a prefiguring of Christ entombment and resurrection. The scatological action of being swallowed by a giant mouth of a beast symbolizes the travelling to the world of the dead, travel to the life after death and reborn again after being vomited.<sup>186</sup> This tradition came from Classical (Greek-Roman) and Jewish influenced for sure this *topos* of an underworld, a hidden under earth space as a stomach of a giant animal.

In Junius 11, the poem Genesis locates the torment not only around, it is inside that place: it is *susle geinnod* (filled with torment, 42). This is followed by adjectives describing hell that express extreme temperatures, paradoxically both very cold and hot, because it has flames, *geondfole fyre* (filled throughout fire, line 43), while it has *fær-cyle* (intense cold, line 43), *rece* (fumes, line 44), and *reade lege* (red flame, line 45). Those words have another thing in common: they could describe what it is like to be in a chaotic place, the opposite of living in the society of a hall. In fact extreme temperatures probably happened twice in the tenth century, according to studies of History of weather in Northern Europe:

The variations shown by the more than one-thousand-years'-long record of the tree rings in European oaks from the lowlands of

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<sup>185</sup> "Qui respondens ait illis: Generatio mala et adultera signum quaerit: et signum non dabitur ei, nisi signum Jonae prophetae. Sicut enim fuit Jonas in ventre ceti tribus diebus, et tribus noctibus, sic erit Filius hominis in corde terrae tribus diebus et tribus noctibus. Viri Ninivitae surgent in iudicio cum generatione ista, et condemnabunt eam: quia poenitentiam egerunt in praedicatione Jonae, et ecce plus quam Jonas hic". (Matthaeus 12:39-41. Vulgate).

<sup>186</sup> There is a deeper explanation about the act of being vomited as a symbol of rebirth in the next section, 3.3. Hell as a woman- hell womb of this chapter.

Germany are harder to interpret climatically, because both temperature and rainfall come into it. The records from different areas agree in producing the extreme narrowest and the extreme widest ring series both within the times covered by this chapter. The extremely narrow rings prevailing in the tenth century, especially between about 910 and 930 and again in the 990s, must surely indicate prolonged and repeated drought. One cannot suggest that any general coolness of the summers was responsible; the sparse documentary records point more to some of the summers being notably hot. The impression on present data is rather that the tenth century saw a remarkable amount of anticyclonic weather over Britain, Germany and southern Scandinavia, giving low rainfall, rather warm summers and rather cold winters. The latter point seems to be confirmed by the numerous bone skates revealed by the archaeological investigations in York from the Anglo-Scandinavian period in that city.<sup>187</sup>

Then, the experience of living in nature without the protection of a roof, a house, which symbolizes life in society, felt in both extreme temperatures. The extreme warm time and extreme opposite, the cold winter or night. Both of them represents something experienced by the Anglo-Saxons in the tenth century. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions the winters. Though nothing about other climate changes directly is mentioned, sometimes famine or poor harvests. This happened because apart political and religious events, only astrological perturbations were recorded.

In Junius 11, the connection between nature and hell might explain why in the drawings, such as those on pages 3 and 16, though hell has towers and walls it also contains plenty of organic like shapes, like a decayed or twisted house that cannot protect its inhabitants. The buildings and walls in hell are twisted and do not have a concrete architectural function other than to work as a delimitation of the hellish space, like a confined space. The mouth of the beast

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<sup>187</sup> H. H. Lamb, *Climate, history and the modern world*. Second edition. (London: Routledge, 1995), pp.156-157.

conveys the idea of an abandoned place without rules full of chaos and destruction.

It is an intricate process to identify what was nature to the Anglo Saxons from the tenth century. To Oggins, nature in the Middle ages had not only one concept, it had multiple meanings. This depends on the group of people and the societal way of communication that it was discussed or applied it as a subject:

‘In the middle ages there was no single conception of the natural world. ‘Nature,’ then as today, represented different things to different groups of people ... Nature in the Middle Ages, then can be considered from practical, artistic, or conceptual points of view’.<sup>188</sup>

Specifically about the most probable space and time of production of Junius 11, close to the end of the tenth century, Jennifer Neville that the Anglo-Saxons did not have a specific word for the “nature” as this is a concept of the twentieth century:

On a basic level the Anglo-Saxons did not have a word or expression for the modern conception of the natural world because they did not conceive of an entity defined by the exclusion of the supernatural. (...) Things that modern critics would collectively call the ‘Other’.<sup>189</sup>

For Neville what is called today as “nature” for an Anglo-Saxon would include supernatural and some human elements, everything that is not ‘us’, that is, ‘the Other’. Alaric Hall questions this view and claims that did not work as the

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<sup>188</sup> R.S. Oggins, ‘Falconry and medieval views of nature’, in *The Medieval World of Nature: a Book of Essays*, ed. by J.E. Salisbury, ninth edition (New York: Garland, 1993), p. 47.

<sup>189</sup> J. Neville, *Representations of the natural world in Old English poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 2-3.

Neville herself ended up using the category of supernatural especially while analysing Beowulf. Hall prefer to use the term supernatural, that is:

(...) what seems to me its usual modern English usage: to denote phenomena viewed as transcending (or transgressing) normal (or natural) existence, as defined by the subject's observation of everyday life, and of what is possible in it.<sup>190</sup>

Heide Estes demonstrates how the boundaries between what is animal, and environment (objects and hyper objects) in the poetry and texts shows a great variety of meanings and relationships. However, the attribute that unifies those various ways where the 'non-human' subjects, that we call nature today, were faced in those texts reflects points of view towards human elements, as foreigners, gender etc.<sup>191</sup> For Tolkien's concept of 'supernatural' would include everything that is superlatively not human, far more natural than the human.<sup>192</sup> Aiming to avoid the anachronism, it is necessary to bear in mind that the concept of "nature" as environment is a modern concept. Even with some evident points of contact with its modern concept, nature to the Anglo-Saxons of the tenth century and the middle ages is a mutable concept and sometimes includes what modern science would call fantastic, the non-human to the people of that age. Then here, when I use nature has the same meaning as modern English. The concept of Supernatural, following Alaric Hall is everything in everyday life that is not the usual or scientifically proven. The focus of this thesis is to understand the relationship between what was seen as the "real daily world" of the Anglo-Saxons and the supernatural world. Then, the concept of supernatural of Alaric Hall suits more in order to understand the afterlife in Junius 11. However, these supernatural spaces are also a

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<sup>190</sup> A. Hall, *Elves in Anglo-Saxon England: Matters of belief, health, gender and identity* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 20.

<sup>191</sup> H. Estes, *Anglo-Saxon literary landscapes: Ecotheory and the environmental imagination* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp.119- 175.

<sup>192</sup> J.R.R. Tolkien, 'On Fairy-Stories', in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, edited by C. Tolkien (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 109–61 (p.110).

reflection of aspects of the daily lives of the Anglo-saxons. In contrast heaven and earth are “civilized” places, with rulers and buildings and an organized and hierarchical society, as we have seen in the previous chapter about heaven and as we will see in the next chapter about earth. Hell reunites a lot of places felt as inhospitable or opposite to everything that heaven means.

The Anglo-Saxons, like other medieval cultures, understood hollows in the earth, such as caves or prehistoric barrow burials, as entrances to the world of death. As Sarah Semple has pointed out, ‘openings in the earth and rock were dangerous places in the minds of late Saxon communities (...) that fitted their conceptions of hell as a form of living death, trapped within the fissures and cracks of the hellish underworld’.<sup>193</sup> Important to this understanding of hell is the idea of the ground as a border or a frontier, a limit between the world of the living and the dead. Ditches and dykes were often used as boundaries, physical and visual divisions. Their use as places of execution in Anglo-Saxon England demonstrates how deeply ingrained these ideas of punishment visible in a landscape beyond civilised, and natural features as boundaries between life and death were. The bodies of dead criminals were often left to rot publicly before being buried in or around ancient barrows or similar features. The torments of hell ensured that the punishment of sinners continued in the grave.<sup>194</sup> Then, as an *exemplum*, hell as this place of eternal consumption of the body is part of that fear of no longer being human, of turning into the monstrosity of the corpse as rotten matter. In line 342b of *Genesis*, hell is a *mord̥er*, a word which means violent death, destruction. *Nið-bedd* is the word used for hell in line 343 and its meaning is corpse’s bed, creating an identification between hell and the decaying of the human body. The body rotting is realised as a suffering body, described in several ways, for example, in *Genesis* lines 38-46, 71-77, 313-434, and *Christ and Satan* lines 35-50, there is no light, and Satan is tied with iron fetters, he is a suffering

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<sup>193</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), pp.71-2 and p. 205.

<sup>194</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), pp. 197-206.



prisoner. There are iron fetters used to a prisoner in *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, in Latin composed between 709 and 720, in the chapter suggestively called *De eo quod vincula de se cadebant* (How the chains fell off him):

When the king [Ecgrith of Northumbria] heard this message he angrily ordered the holy bishop [Wilfrid] to be sent to his town of Dunbar, to the reeve named Tydlin, whom he considered to be a more cruel man: he ordered that he should be kept, though so good a man and so great a bishop, bound hands and feet with fetters, in solitary confinement. So in accordance with the king's command the reeve ordered the smiths to make iron fetters. The smiths, though they had no reason for doing so, entered upon their task with energy, measuring the limbs of our holy confessor. But God was opposing them. For the chains were always too small and narrow to go around his limbs or else they were so wide and loose that they felt free from the feet of the evangelist, the hands of the baptist. They were so terrified that they left the man of God unbound.<sup>195</sup>

The archaeological record shows until now something in the usage of shackles or iron fetters according to Andrew Reynolds only in the late Anglo-Saxon period, in Winchester:

A recent survey of Iron Age and Roman shackles included a consideration of post-Roman examples, with Winchester producing the only known finds of Anglo-Saxon date. Late tenth-to late eleventh-century levels at the Old Minster produced two pairs of shackles and one single example, whereas eleventh-century levels associated with Houses IX and X at Lower Brook Street produced

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<sup>195</sup> “Quo audito, rex iratus iussit duci in urbem suam Dynbaer ad praefectum nomine Tydlin quasi ferociorem, praeciensque ei ut hunc talem virum et tantum pontificem, in compedibus et manicis alligatum, seorsum ab hominibus separatum custodiret. Ille vero, praecepto regis coactus, vincula ferrea fabros facere iussit, qui sine causa opus diligenter membra sancti confessoris nostri metientes facere inchoabant, Deo enim resistente. Nam semper aut coangusta et anxiosa vincula circumamplectere membra non poterant aut tam dilata et laxata, ut de pedibus evangelizantis et de manibus baptizantis resoluta cadebant; et ideo timidi facti, sine vinculis hominem Dei”. From: B. Colgrave (edited and translated by), *The Life of Bishop Wilfred by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), Chapter XXXVIII, pp. 76 - 7.

a single find. The context of the Old Minster finds is difficult to explain, although the structure would have been visited by those undergoing judicial ordeal.<sup>196</sup>

As opposed to Andrew Reynolds<sup>197</sup> analysis of Junius 11 images of Satan imprisoned, and Talbot Rice<sup>198</sup> the illustrations on page 3 (Figure A3) does not show exactly Satan tied by rope. The tools used to bind Satan's body seems to be made of iron as said by the poem. They are very similar to the subsequent pages where it is possible to distinguish the iron fetters. The artist exaggerated in the interlace to make it similar to a phytomorphic decoration like the trees from the earthly paradise on page 9 (figure A6), page 11 (figure A8), page 13 (figure A9), page 20 (figure A12), page 24 (figure A13), page 31 (figure A15), page 34 (figure A16), page 39 (figure A19), page 44 (figure A21). On page 41 (figure A20) the column on the left has the same phytomorphic interlaced pattern as the trees below. The same pattern is present on page 56 (figure A29), in the arcade on the top of the image and on page 57 (figure A30) on the decorations of capital columns. All of the initials between pages 01 and 79, likely made by the first artist, have the same phytomorphic pattern. Then, it seems more designed to be stylistic and not a picture of Satan tied by ropes. The fetters can be made from iron, even though on page 16 (figure A10) they are not as intricately detailed as those on page 3 (figure A3). On page 17 (figure A11) Satan is clearly bound by iron fetters, as it is possible to distinguish the metal chains. On page 20 (figure A12) and page 36 (figure A18), the fetters are not that well detailed as page 3 (figure A3) and page 17 (figure A11). At the same time they are not as simple as page 16 (Figure A10) and it is possible to recognize the phytomorphic interlaced pattern. The connection between the interlaced phytomorphic pattern as the chaos of

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<sup>196</sup> A. Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp.16-7.

<sup>197</sup> A. Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (2009), p. 17.

<sup>198</sup> D. Talbot-Rice, *English Art 871–1100*, The Oxford History of English Art, II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 68.

nature and the situation as prisoner of Satan, and the hellish space is also symptomatic as connection between Satan's corporeal punishment materialized by the iron fetters and nature in the shape of vegetal interlaced pattern. His body returned to nature to rot as the body under the soil where the roots of plants and its chaotic tendrils can grow feeding on his corpse.

Death for a sinner is identified with two things: a return to earth through the rotting and the pain caused by this process. In opposition to this, Adam is created by God from earth, and Eve is created by God without pain. In line 365 of *Genesis*, the poet writes *þæt Adam (...) þe wæs of eorðan geworht* - which means 'Adam who was made of earth', and lines 179b to 180a that Eve's creation, *earfoða dæl, ne þær ænig com blod of benne*, which means that she had 'no share of pain, nor did any blood come from the wound'. The opposite of this divine way of being born is the return brought about by the Fall, to die and return to earth and suffer pain. Hell is the place in which death happens eternally as punishment to the sinner. As Adam expelled from Paradise will cry be thrown into the nature, hell anticipates that as an amplified and dangerous world of "nature":

How show we two now live or be in this land, if a wind comes here, from west or east, south or north? A cloud will rise up, a shower of hail will come pressing from the sky, will come mingled with frost, which will be sinfully cold. At times the bright sun will shine, blaze hot for heavens, and we two will stand here naked, unprotected by clothes. There is nothing at all covering us two as a protection against the storm, nor any good at all planned as our food, but rather mighty God, the ruler, is furious with the two of us now? Now I can regret that I asked the God of heaven, the good ruler, that made you here for me from my limbs, now that you have misguided me into master's hate. So now I can regret forever that I laid eyes on you.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> "Hu sculon wit nu libban osse on þys lande wesana, / gif her wind cyma, westan osse eastan, / susan osse norsa? Gesweorc up færes, / cymes hægles scur hefone getenge, / færes forst on gemang, se bys fyrum ceald. / Hwylum of heofnum hate scines, / blics þeos beorhte sunne, and wit her baru standas, / unwered wædo. Nys

After Eve asks to be punished by Adam for her sin, this passage finishes with Adam saying they shouldn't be naked there, that they should go to the forest to look for protection: But there is no other no way we two can be naked together; let us go inside this forest, under the protection of this wood.<sup>200</sup> The protection against the "natural" danger it is not exclusively physical, it is also spiritual, as God's protection is the protection against the insecure state of humanity in this world.<sup>201</sup> About the fear in Exodus poem, walking towards a wild place, while emphasizes the sound of birds screeching and the wolves howling:

Instead of mimicking the sound of carnage present, Exodus employs sound to anticipate fears, inviting audiences to inhabit a virtual fate that has yet to unfold. The emotional impact of the birds' screeching and the wolves' howling here is sprung by poetic imitation of embodied phenomena: the uncanny state that comes from feeling danger before fully grasping it, and attendant feelings of helplessness. In that instant, one's mind races through a host of fears, and Exodus puts its audience's mind into the Israelites', which surges with panic at a lack of control in this moment. The poem thus gives Anglo-Saxon audiences a visceral entry point from which they can sympathize in dread.<sup>202</sup>

The same concept of wolves as the wild beast and nature as the opposite of being in God's grace is also present in the *Regularis concordia*, Æthelwold writing:

Carrying out the royal office thus, just like the Shepherd of Shepherds, by God's generous grace did he gather once more with

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unc wuht beforan / to scursceade, ne sceattes wiht / to mete gemearcod, ac unc is mihtig god, / waldend wrasmod. To hwon sculon wit weorsan nu". (Gen. lines 805-815).

<sup>200</sup> "Ac wit þus baru ne magon bu tu ætsomne / wesan to wuhte". (Gen. lines 838-840a).

<sup>201</sup> Neville, *Representations of the natural world in Old English poetry* (1999), pp.24-25.

<sup>202</sup> S.C.E. Hopkins, 'Snared by the Beasts of Battle: Fear as Hermeneutic Guide in the Old English Exodus', *Philological Quarterly* 97.1 (2018), 1–25 (p.8).

concern the very sheep he had once collected with care, thereby defending [them] from the rabid jaws of the wicked, like yawning maws of wolves.<sup>203</sup>

The jaws of the wicked are highlighted as the yawning maws of wolves, both images very alike to the illustrations of the mouth of hell. The possibility of going to hell or to have the human body devoured by nature as devoured by a beast are the opposite of Christian eternal life. Death reminds to the humans their materiality, their destruction, and, incorporation with the *Other* - the chthonic death. The Hell mouth is this anxiety turned into this place reserved for the ones who do not accept the rules of living in society: `but they, tortures of hell, miserably dwelled and knew about woe, sore and sorrowful endured torment, into the darkness consumed (swallowed)`.<sup>204</sup> In Ælfric's *Exameron Anglice* is narrated the Genesis creation of animals and wild beast beasts in general on the sixth day. The relationship between some beasts and the wilderness, the wild beasts, is also highlighted here.<sup>205</sup> There is also a distinction between wild and domestic animal, predator and prey in the creation:

IX. On the sixth day our Lord said, "Let the earth now bring forth living creatures after their generations, and creeping worms, and all sorts of wild beast after their kind." Moreover, then, God made, through His wondrous might, all kinds of creatures after their kind, and the wild beasts that have their dwelling in the woods, and all that is four-footed from the aforesaid earth, and all kinds of worms

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<sup>203</sup> "Regali utique functus officio ueluti Pastorum Pastor sollicitus a rabidis perfidorum rictibus, uti hiantibus luporum faucibus, oues quas Domini largiente gratia studiosus collegerat muniendo eripuit". T. Symons (edited and translated by), *Regularis Concordia: Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque* (Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1953), p.2.

<sup>204</sup> "Ac hell-tregum werige / werige wunodon and wean cuson, /sar and sorge, susl prowedon / pystrum bepeahte". (Gen. lines 74b- 76a)

<sup>205</sup> A. Meaney, 'The hunted and the hunters: British mammals in Old English poetry', *Anglo Saxon studies in Archaeology and History*, vol. 11 (2000).

that are creeping; and the savage lions, which are not here in the land, and the swift tigers, and the wondrous leopards, and the terrible bears, and the immense elephants, which are not produced in the country of the English, and many other kinds, of all of which ye know not. Those animals are longnecked that live by grass, as does the camel, and the ass, the horse, and the oxen, the stag and the roe-deer, and every other such as these; and each is fit for the toil of its life. Wolves and lions, and indeed bears have a strong neck, and partly shorter, and greater tusks for the preparing of their food, because these spend their life in rapine, as do all other wild beasts, that injure the others. The elephants are as great as some mountains, and they can live three hundred years, and mankind can accustom them to warfare by skill, so that men make a tower upon them, on high, and from it, fight in their expeditions; then flieth each horse affrighted through the elephants, and if any withstand them it is soon trodden down. But we are unwilling now to speak further about this (subject.)<sup>206</sup>

The identification between the wilderness and the predator animals is something well known in Anglo-Saxon England. In the same day God would make the man from earth, and the fall of angels is told in the next section:

. On the same day our Lord would make a man out of the same earth, for, at this time, the devil fell from the lofty heaven, with his associates, on account of his pride (lifting up) into the punishment of hell. Our Lord said concerning him, in His holy gospel, *gIn veritate non stetit, quia Veritas non est in eo*. "He abided not in the truth, for the truth is not in any wise in him." God wrought him wondrous and fair, then it was his duty, if he had (only) willed it, to worship, with great humility, his Creator, who had created him so exalted, but he did not so, but with a presumptuous pride (moodiness) he said, 'that he would make his throne above the stars of God, over the height of the clouds, in the k north part, and be like unto God. Then he forsook the Almighty, who is all justice, and would not have His lordship, but would be himself under his own jurisdiction. Then he had not any foundation, but fell quickly down together with all the

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<sup>206</sup> Ælfric of Eynsham, *Ælfric's Exameron Anglice*, translated by H.W. Norman (Oxford: Shrimpton, 1849), pp. 14-7.

angels that were in his council, and they were turned into accursed devils. Concerning them the Saviour, whilst here in this life, said, "I saw the deceiver, as a shining light, falling down sorrowfully (drearly) from heaven," in that he fell down impetuously.<sup>207</sup>

The feast (*symbol*) was part of the ceremonies made in the hall. Hell as an anti-hall presents a twisted version of the Anglo Saxon feast. The symbol was a combination of social and religious event. Political and festive at once. There was strong drink, speech making and the act of ring giving.<sup>208</sup> The association between the feast and the funeral is especially noteworthy not only in the king's hall, it is also in the monastic communities.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> "IX. On sam syxtan dæge ure drihten gecwæs "Acenne seo eorse nu cuce nytena on heora cynryne and sa creopendan wyrmas. and eall deorcynn on heora cynrynum." Hwæt sa God geworhte surh his wunderlican mihte eall nyten-cynn on heora cynrynum. and sa wildan deor se on wudum eardias. and eall saet fiserfote bys of sære foresædan eorsan. and eall wyrmcynn sa se creopende beos. and sa resan leon. se her on lande ne beos. and sa swifan tigres. and sa syllican pardes. and sa egeslican beran. and sa ormætan ylpas. sa se on Engla seode acennede ne beos. and feala osre cynn se ge ealle ne cunnon. Sa beos lang-swyrede se lybbas be gærse. swa olfend. and assa hors. and hryseru. headeor. and rahdeor. and gehwylce osre. and aelc bys gelimplic to his lifes tilunge. Wulfas and leon. and witodlice beran habbas strangne swuran. and sceortran be dæle. and maran tuxas to heora metes tilunge. forsam se hi lybbas heora lif be reaflice swa gehwylce osre deor se derias Sam osrum. Sa ylpas beos swa mycele swylce osre muntas. and hi magon lybban sreo hund geara. and man mæg hi wenian to wige mid craefte. swa saet menn wyrkas wighus him on uppan. and of sam feohtas on heora fyrdinge. sonne flihs aelc hors afæred surh sa ylpas. and gif him hwa wisstent. he bys sona oftreden. Ac we nellas na swisor nu embe sis spreca". Ælfric of Eynsham, H. W. Norman (translated by), *Ælfric's Exameron Anglice* (1849), pp. 14-18.

<sup>208</sup> About the *symbol* and the hall see: H. Magennis, *Images of community in Old English poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 35-82; P. Bauchatz, *The Well and the Tree: World and Time in Early Germanic Culture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1982), pp. 72-83.

<sup>209</sup> C. Lee, *Feasting the Dead: Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon Burial Rituals* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 112-25.

The eating festival (the feast) in a psychological and anthropological<sup>210</sup> re close linked what is allowed and what is not allowed on that society. And at the same time creates and makes it be remembered as a restriction, the banquet remembers the inaugural crime, like the Saturn or Chronos myth. According to Freud:

One day the brothers who had been driven out came together, killed and devoured their father and made an end of the patriarchal horde. United, they had the courage to do and succeeded in doing what would have been impossible for them individually. (Some cultural advance, perhaps command over some new weapon, had given them a sense of superior strength.) Cannibal savages as they were, it goes without saying that they devoured their victim as well as killing him. The violent primal father had doubtless been the feared and envied model of each one of the company of brothers and in the act of devouring him they accomplished their identification with him, and each one acquired a portion of his strength. The totem meal, which is perhaps mankind's earliest festival, would thus be a repetition and commemoration of this memorable and criminal deed, which was the beginning of so many things – of social organisation, of moral restriction and of religion.<sup>211</sup>

According to Freud, this inaugural crime is the act of killing the father and eating the patriarch. The cannibalistic act against an ancestral figure of power is lived again and again by the festivities in a symbolic way. Something organic, bestial is turned in a social accepted act. Then, the routine habit of eating in society, brings back some part of guilt and fear of this original trauma. The mouth, the act of eating is connected with a memorable crime according

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<sup>210</sup> I do not intend to make here a complete psychoanalysis, but use as tool some of the categories from Freud's studies that are still valid as basic ideas to think the symbolic in an anthropological point of view, even some of them are challenged. by About the use of Freudian studies in Anthropology see R. A. Paul, 'Did the Primal Crime Take Place?' *Ethos*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1976, pp. 311–352.

<sup>211</sup> S. Freud, 'Totem and Taboo' (1913), In *The Pelican Freud Library*, translated by J. Strachey, A. Strachey and A. Tyson; edited by J. Strachey, A. Richards, A. Tyson and A. Dickson, vol. 13 (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1973-86), p. 203.



to Freud. The Freudian theories both in Psychoanalysis and in Anthropology are not taken as totally right, as this debate has developed a lot, specially about the Middle Ages. Recent work on the myth of the cannibal has added a lot of complexity to this subject as have the post humanist new theories. The connections between fasting, feasting, animal meat consumption and the own human flesh are far more complex in the medieval times.

Karl Steel, criticizing the old Freudian theories about the subject, prefers to call the eating of human flesh as anthropophagy instead of the colonist "cannibalism". And for him, the meat-eating among Christians, specially in the middle ages should be thought of in the matters of fasting, feasting. The act of eating the animal meat is not terrible, but sometimes is prohibited in scale of values. But for the author the conscience that human body is also meat as the animals is present in the medieval sources. Then, the hellmouth eating the "human body" of Lucifer can be listed as the category of anthropophagy:

The special horror of anthropophagy derives primarily from its violation of codes, not of polity or faith, nor even of species, but of privilege. Anthropophagy confounds the distinction between human and other animal lives, between what can be murdered and what can only be slaughtered, by digesting what the regime of the human demands be interred within a grave. The special horror of anthropophagy is therefore its impossibility: a human who has been slaughtered and eaten, who has lost the exemption from being eaten through which it defines itself as not animal, may have ceased to be recognizable as an *anthropos*. The prohibition of anthropophagy serves therefore as a defense not of humans, but of the human itself: hence the severity of both custom and legislation against it.<sup>212</sup>

When in hell the flesh of the fallen angels is eaten by the hellmouth shows how not human (or angelical) they are once they fell. Focusing on hell, hell is the place where the human is not human anymore. Hell is where the human

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<sup>212</sup> K. Steel, *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011), p. 124.

(and angelical) bodies are turned in animal meat. Then also the hellmouth works as part of the guilt of abjection of eating animal meat and the conscious that the human body is also meat. Another factor is how the eating is also a bodily function, but allowed to happen in the public. The hellmouth also brings terror while perverting something usual as the act of eating.<sup>213</sup>

Lucifer and the rebel angels even sometimes identified as a mirror anticipating the fall of mankind, is a war that happened before mankind. Then, the act of an animalistic being as hellmouth, eating a body of an ancestral divine character as Lucifer carries much of this ancestral taboo. Lucifer and the angel are the first sons of God. The first ones in the celestial court (hall) to go against the first one Patriarch, God. The rebel angels' rebellion against the sovereignty of God, is a type of foreword with the act of eating the forbidden fruit by Adam and Eve. The feast in Anglo-Saxon society works as a moment to reaffirm the authority of the king at the same time remembers the treason against the primordial father. Then the feast remembers the restrictions the society the built up, the Anglo Saxon society in that case, and contributes to tone down all the social power tensions. Hell essentially is the place where goes the one who disobeyed the restrictions, the rules of this society. The uncanny association of a city of flesh-eaters as a twisted version of the hall itself it is present in Andreas, about the Mermedonian city:

All that province, that dwelling place of men, that inhabited country, was enmeshed with evil, in evil devilish deceit. The people in that place had no bread to nourish them nor water to drink, but all that nation consumed blood and skin, the corpses of men, of people from afar. Such was their custom that they took as food for the

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<sup>213</sup> About fasting, feasting and meat consumption in the Middle Ages see also: V. Grimm, *From Feasting To Fasting, The Evolution of a Sin: Attitudes to Food in Late Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); B. Effros, *Creating Community with Food and Drink in Merovingian Gaul* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); J. Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); C.W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

hungry each of the foreigners who sought out that island from outside; such was the hostile mark of that people from afar..<sup>214</sup>

As we are going to see in chapter 4, the idea of the body of a male leader being buried, eaten by earth was a matter of political concern. The nobility tombs were very important to the kings of the tenth century to build their sovereignty as Anglo-Saxon kings. However, the idea of being swallowed up by, and losing one's form within the earth as a form of punishment was central to Anglo-Saxon burial beliefs and practices. The cannibalistic iconography of a hellmouth devouring the body of Satan himself, unifying all those elements (sacrifice of the ancestral figure of power or the negative portions of this figure, the feast, the funeral of the ancestral king, the wild irrational element present in the wilderness and its beasts, and the fear of death and consequently have the human body consumed by earth) in a very paradoxical way. Schmidt traced the origin of the iconography of the mouth of hell and how four elements were recast to create this image: hell, as a tomb into which the unbelievers fall, Satan as a roaring lion devouring human souls, Satan as a dragon vomiting flames, and Leviathan the sea beast present in the Old testament.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> "Eal wæs þæt mearcland morsre bewunden, / feondes facne, folcstede gumena, / hælesa esel. Næs þær hlafes wist / werum on þam wonge, ne wæteres drync / to bruconne, ah hie blod ond fel, / fira flæschoman, feorrancumenra, / segon geond þa peode. Swelc wæs þeaw hira / þæt hie æghwylcne ellseodigra / dydan him to mose metepearfendum, / þara þe þæt ealand utan sohte. / Swylc wæs þæs folces freosoleas tacen, / unlædra eafos, þæt hie eagenas gesihs, / hettend heorogrimme, heafodgimmas / agetton gealemode gara ordum. / Syssan him geblendan bitere tosomne, / dryas þurh dwolcræft, drync unheorne, / se onwende gewit, wera ingeþanc, / heortan on hresre, (hyge wæs oncyrrred), / þæt hie ne murdan æfter mandream, / hæleþ heorogrædige, ac hie hig ond gærs / for meteleaste mese gedrehte". (Andreas 21- 39).

<sup>215</sup> Notably in Vulgate Isaiah 27:1, Job 41:1, Psalm 74:14, Psalm 104:26 and etc.

In this way, hell is not personalised, it is animated and identified with destruction - the opposite of creation.<sup>216</sup>

The door to hell as a beast mouth started as a simple iconography until it eventually became more and more elaborated. It preserved in that process only the iconographic motif of a bodiless beast which is visible only by its huge jaws and eyes.<sup>217</sup> It is remarkable how successfully this image would become as a model, emphasizing one of the primordial ideas about hell: the tomb, as the place where the damned will lose their bodies, where flesh and bones will rot eternally in torment. Hell turned itself into a bodiless beast.

Gary Schmidt's work has focused on the leonine shape of mouth of hell. He notes that after the Monastic reform, the lion became the iconographic model for the mouth of hell. Concerning Junius 11, he highlights the claims that the Junius 11 hellmouth is a lion devouring his prey:

In Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11, produced at Canterbury around 1000, the leonine hell mouth appears twice, at pages 3 and 16, both times dealing with the fall of the rebel angels. Both images show angels toppling from the bliss of heaven, separated from the lower panels by stark boundaries, and falling into the opened jaws of hell. The foreshortened snout, ears and even manes of the images suggest a strong connection with the image of a lion swallowing its prey – here its rightful prey. <sup>218</sup>

It is debatable whether the mouth is actually meant to be that of a dragon or simply that of a generic fantastic beast. Raw claims the beast jaws are also

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<sup>216</sup> G. Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell – Eighth century Britain to the Fifteenth century* (London: Selinsgrove, 1995), pp.32-3.

<sup>217</sup> P. Sheingorn, "Who can open the doors of his face?' The Iconography of Hell Mouth', in *The Iconography of Hell*, ed. by C. Davidson and T.H. Seiler (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), pp.1-19 (p. 7).

<sup>218</sup> Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell* (1995), p. 38.

an English feature.<sup>219</sup> Pluskowski, following the connection between the hunting animal and its prey, claims that the hellmouth is a Christian development from the pagan apocalyptic Germanic wolf (Fenrir) iconography. He asserts that the hellmouth iconography derived from Anglo-Scandinavian cosmology and consequently art: ‘The development of the bestial hellmouth in late Anglo-Saxon England may have echoed the use of the motif of bestial devouring in pagan Anglo-Scandinavian cosmology.’<sup>220</sup> Pluskowski also gives some examples of possible Scandinavian art that could have provided the original motif for the hellmouth’s iconography in this intersection between Christian and pagan pre-Christian: “For example, the Gosforth cross in Cumbria is decorated with three scenes which arguably represent apocalyptic lupines”.<sup>221</sup> However, this argument is debatable as the supposed hellmouth’s predecessors pointed by him are later than Junius 11 and other Anglo Saxon manuscripts like Stowe 944 folio 7r from 1031 (Figure B23) and Cotton MS Titus D XXVI, 75v, produced approximately in 1020 (Figure B24). He admits based on Schmidt that: “With the exception of an ivory panel, probably constructed in Canterbury in the tenth century, there is no evidence for the use of hellmouth in a public context until the mid-eleventh century”<sup>222</sup>. He goes ahead in the comparison between Odin and Christ; “in contrast, Anglo-Scandinavian predatory motifs were intended for public display – most probably as an expression of religious conversion. This notion is supported by their associated iconography. Óðinn is represented as the prey of the wolf, consistently with his multifaceted cosmological role, where

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<sup>219</sup> Raw, ‘The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis’ (1984), p. 144.

<sup>220</sup> A. Pluskowski, *Wolves and the wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), p. 14.

<sup>221</sup> Pluskowski, *Wolves and the wilderness in the Middle Ages* (2006), p.161.

<sup>222</sup> A. Pluskowski, ‘Lupine Apocalypse: The Wolf in pagan And Christian Cosmology in Medieval Britain and Scandinavia’, in *Cosmos*, Traditional Cosmology Society, vol. 17, Number 1(2004), 113-32 (p. 119).

Christ is represented in the same context, resurrection, and the presence of snakes beneath reinforcing Christ's above." <sup>223</sup>

Even the pagan motif of man against the wild beast of nature is there, the iconography is more than a confrontation with the beast, than a punishment like the Christian hellmouth with Satan, demons and later the damned souls falling into their penalty and pain. It seems similar; however it is likely that the hellmouth did not originate from there. It seems more plausible that the hellmouth is a mix of eclectic origins. In the bottom of the Rothbury Cross, from the second half of the eighth century, there is a scene where men are trapped in hell and being eaten by serpents (figure B34).

According to Jane Hawkes the mouth is a reptile – a typical animal of hell. Also it is an iconography element original from British Isles:

“While all biblical texts, including the apocryphal books, describe Hell as a place both of fire and of alternating heat and cold, the insular accounts regularly describe serpents and snakes devouring the Damned. Indeed, Anglo-Saxon literature abounds with descriptions of Hell as a place filled with serpents and dragons which are a constant source of torment for the naked and deformed souls of the Damned. <sup>224</sup>

In the Barberini Gospel (Figure B25) there are two human figures being eaten in the middle of the canon tables. At the top there is a man's face being bitten by two types of serpent animals. In the middle there is a full masculine body where we can see even his genitals being bitten by four beasts, with a bird's body and a serpent head.

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<sup>223</sup> Pluskowski, *Wolves and the wilderness in the Middle Ages* (2006), p. 161.

<sup>224</sup> J. Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross: An Iconographic Bricolage', *Gesta*, Vol. 35, Number 1 (1996), 77-94 (p. 90).

However, the first known manuscript to depict hell as a mouth is the Utrecht Psalter: (figure B26).<sup>225</sup> The Utrecht Psalter is important to the development of Anglo-Saxon art in the late tenth century, as the artistic style of its artwork seems to have been drawn on and adapted by Anglo-Saxon artists of this time.<sup>226</sup> Although it is hardly likely that this single manuscript was solely responsible for beginning an entire new phase, the style which developed from it is sometimes known as the 'Utrecht' style of outline drawing, and survived almost unchanged into the 1020s<sup>227</sup>. We know the iconographic motifs of Utrecht Psalter were known in the British Isles because there is an equivalent made around the same time in Anglo Saxon England. Meyer Schapiro dated the Psalter as from ninth century and highlighted it is noteworthy in medieval art as representative of:

...the habit of representing the metaphors in the text as if they were simply descriptive terms. (...) The Freedom of interpretation in the Utrecht Psalter, with the frequent shift from the literal to the symbolic, while the style of drawing remains the same, is a characteristic feature of this remarkable book .<sup>228</sup>

BL, Harley 603, folios 4v (figure B28) and 5r (Figure B29) is the earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon 'copy' of the Utrecht Psalter. However, in the damned in hell we have the same idea the punishment associated with mouth, not a big one. It is four serpents with mouths of beast biting the damned while the demons attack them with long spears. Two demons have human faces and the other two have bestial faces, similar to the snakes down below. In the Utrecht Psalter on folio 67r there is another picture of Death, similar to a giant

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<sup>225</sup> Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell* (1995).

<sup>226</sup> O. Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages* (1986), p.172.

<sup>227</sup> F. Wormald, *English drawings of the tenth and eleventh centuries* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

<sup>228</sup> M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures. On the Literal and the Symbolic in the illustrations of a Text* (The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 1973), p. 14.

coming from the soil and sucking the damned inside his chest while there is a walled city on the side:

He does not form a hell mouth, is not an entry into hell, but a denizen of that place. Psalm 114. 3 is illustrated by victims being clasped to the breast of the giant.<sup>12</sup> This would seem to indicate that the fiery pit is hell and therefore the head or giant must be Death. (...) Nevertheless it is important to remember that in none of these cases does Death roam abroad seeking victims. Indeed his victims, in most cases, are delivered to him, driven by angels or demons. The demons are not found in hell: they drive or drag the unrighteous or they prevent their escape, holding them in the pit by means of spears or lances.<sup>229</sup>

This image also can be considered as part of the elements that might have been included to create the mouth of hell, as personification of Death.

There are also another hellmouth with similarities and differences in late Anglo-Saxon times. These manuscripts are produced around the year 1000 and middle of the eleventh century. The great number of `hellmouths` might be a symptom of an anxiety about the punishment in the afterlife. Or maybe at the same time the late Anglo-Saxons were living a huge social conflict while building literally and symbolically a new state that can really unify Anglo-Saxon England. As the consequence from this new social order, harder rules and punishments came from within. On the other hand buildings and urban life created a dichotomy between the city and the forest, the wilderness.

The New Minster Liber Vitae, Stowe 944 fol. 7r, has one image of hell with a mouth of hell (figure B30), contrasting with the destiny of the benefactors of the New Minster. The angels are fighting for the soul of the ones in the middle. The contrast between the ones who were the benefactors of the New Minster and possibly the ones who were opposed to that is clear. The women and the

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<sup>229</sup> J. Bradley, 'The Changing Face of Death: The Iconography of the Personification of Death in the Early Middle Ages', in *On Old Age*, ed. by C. Krötzl and K. Mustakallio y (2011), 57-87 (p. 63).



men are pushed by Satan to the mouth of hell while an angel, probably Michael, is closing another exterior door with a key. This angel resembles Saint Peter's key that opens the doors to heaven to the benefactor of the New Minster. Satan is bestial like the mouth and the demon who took the couple from Saint Peter in the second section of the page.

In Ælfwine Prayer book (Cotton MS Titus D XXVI, folio 75v) the image called 'The Quinity' (Kantorowicz)<sup>230</sup> or 'The Trinity with Mary' (Karkov)<sup>231</sup> (figure B31), produced around circa 1020 in Winchester present another hell mouth in the bottom of the page. Judas and heresiarch Arius are falling on both sides of the hellmouth and chained. Satan is falling directly inside the hellmouth while in the centre, Christ is stepping on him. Like in Junius 11, rebellion of Lucifer, treason of Judas against Christ and the heresy of Arius are both equivalent and they deserve being punished by falling into the hellmouth. According to Phelpstead, the relationship between 'nature' and the divine is presented by the dove the Holy Spirit, and hellmouth that is also an animal shape<sup>232</sup>. Then, nature was an important subject to this period of building and rebuilding society, the later Anglo Saxon period, present not only in Junius 11.

The chthonic feature of hell, the idea of being consumed by what is underneath the earth linked since prehistoric times to the act of being eaten by a wild beast (the nature). The act of eating as an organic function connects humankind with the materiality of its own body. Then, the identification with the mouth and the fall into the hellmouth is not random. This connection between the mouth and the fall is given by the original sin. The consumption

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<sup>230</sup> E.H. Kantorowicz, 'The Quinity of Winchester', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 29, number 2 (1947), pp. 73–85.

<sup>231</sup> C.E. Karkov, 'Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross', in *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. by S.L. Keefer, K.L. Jolly, and, C.E. Karkov (Morgantown: West Virginia UP, 2010), pp.105-32 (p. 105).

<sup>232</sup> C. Phelpstead; 'Beyond Ecocriticism: A Cosmocritical Reading of Ælfwine's Prayerbook', *The Review of English Studies*, vol. 69, Issue 291 (2018), 613–31 (pp.16-7).

of Satan's temptation is symbolized by the act of Adam and Eve eating the forbidden fruit, repeated several times in the following verbs. On line 470 *onbat* (*onbitan*: to bite), in line 483 there is *gebyrrgde* (*byrgan*: to taste), on line 500 has the verb *æte* (*etan*: to eat), There are two verbs on line 519 , *bit his and byrige*, translation: bite it and taste it (*bitan* and *byrgan*: to bite and to taste), and, on line 564 there is *æt pisses ofetes!*, which means *eat of this fruit!* (*etan*: to eat) again). Furthermore in line 564 is particularly interesting how the opposition the poem operates the opposition between the power of the throne of God and the act of biting the fruit. The poem states:

Consider in your heart how both of you two together can ward off punishment, as I suggest. Eat of this fruit! Then your eyes will become so enlightened that you will be able to see afterward very widely across the whole world, and the throne of your master himself, and henceforth have his favour. You will be able afterwards to move Adam, if you have his desire and he trusts in your words. If you truly tell him what proof you have in your own breast, because you have fulfilled God's command his instruction, he will desist from the hateful contentiousness, the evil answer in his mind, if we two both speak skilfully to him.<sup>233</sup>

In the text, after Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit, there is the episode when God curses the serpent punishing the animal for its bad deeds. To be close to earth and eat dirt:

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<sup>233</sup> "Gehyge on þinum breostum þæt þu inc bam twam meaht / wite bewarigan, swa ic þe wisie. / æt pisses ofetes! þonne wursas þin eagan swa leoht / þæt þu meaht swa wide ofer woruld ealle / geseon sissan, and selfes stol / herran þines, and habban his hyldo fors. / Meaht þu Adame eft gestyran, / gif þu his willan hæfst and he þinum wordum getryws. / Gif þu him to sosesægst hwylce þu selfa hæfst / bisne on breostum, þæs þu gebod godes / lare læstes, he þone lasan stris, / yfel andwyrde an forlætes / on breostcofan, swa wit him bu tu". (Gen. lines 562-567).

Accursed, you shall always walk in the bosom of the broad earth on your belly, go footless while life dwells in you, the spirit within. In your life days you shall eat dirt.<sup>234</sup>

In the picture on page 41 (figure A20), there is a full page image, and then an important image, the depiction of the punishment of the serpent. There is a complex game between the image of the serpent, the tree of the forbidden fruit, the architecture (columns and arches) and the figure of God. The architecture come out from Christ (God) mandorla in the top and rest in two columns on both sides of the page, as frames. On the right side the column is very clean, straight and without any break goes from the top to the bottom of the page. The only element disturbing the harmony of this column are some branches of the tree below. On the right side the column just goes to the half of the page, and its function as frame is completed by a tree. This Column has as a capital a beast similar as the mouth of hell. However, from the mouth of this beast there is a lot of vegetal ornamentation coming from inside. The column is clearly connected with the serpent body as the branches look alike with the body and tail of the serpent. Like a movie in action, the serpent is in an erected position human alike, with flames coming out of its mouth. And next to this image, closer to the ornamented column, the serpent is crawling in the ground, close to the column. Its tail has now two curled elements, similar to the vegetal ornamentation in the column and on the trees below. The dangerous mouths are in the centre of the stage in the hellish manifestations on earth mirroring the great hellmouth itself. It is thus as important a mirror of earthly spaces as is heaven. It is perhaps for this reason that hell has some of the same elements as heaven, twisted like the signs marked on its body.

On the images of Cain and Abel in Anglo-Saxon England, Schapiro highlighted how in Anglo-Saxon England, the club that Cain used to kill Abel turned itself into a jawbone of an ass. An iconography not present directly in

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<sup>234</sup> "Ðu scealt wideferhs werig þinum / breostum bearm tredan bradre eorsan, / faran feseleas, þenden þe feorh wunas, / gast on innan. þu scealt greot etan / þine lifdagas". (Gen. lines 906-910).

Junius 11 page 49 (Figure A25), only present in other Anglo-Saxon sources.<sup>235</sup> Even though, the negative aspect of that might be expressed in the ornaments on page 51 (figure A26), as I am going to explain better in section 4.2.

The initials in Genesis book, as zoophytomorphic figures, also carries the menace, the dangerous feature of the mouth of hell in Genesis text. Catherine Karkov claims that they are pretty much like hell and moreover a twisted language:

They often seem to threaten the text, but their teeth have no actual bite, except on themselves. (...) They are a living world caught up within the book, creation within the word, a sign of the living nature and ecology of the book, but they are also ultimately kept neatly in the marginal areas, outside the borders of the text and image (...) Nevertheless, their snapping and snarling mouths suggest that they do remain a threat. What would happen were they to break free, slip out of the knots and mouth that bind them and into the writing they seem eager to devour? What would happen if speech, flawed and fallen as it is, broke free from the secondary control of language?<sup>236</sup>

On page 3 (figure A3), the limits between heaven and hell are made by the architectural structure as different floors of the same building. On page 16 (Figure A10) the boundaries between earth and heaven are given by a stripe that is probably the earth, with mountains and stars. There is a space like the void where the angels are still falling, however they are not passing through the earth strip. It is like heaven and hell can connect between them without passing through earth to hell. However, the limits what seems to be hell are given by the jaws of the beast and the walls that contains hell, like an opening on the ground, or in a wall. On page 17 (figure A11), there is no clear element

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<sup>235</sup> M. Schapiro, "Cain's Jaw-Bone that did the First Murder", *The Art Bulletin*, 24:3 (1942), 205-12.

<sup>236</sup> C.E. Karkov, 'Tangled voices: writing, drawing and the Anglo-saxon decorated initial', In M. P. Brown, I. H. Garipzanov and B. C. Tilghman (edited by), *Graphic Device and Early decorated book* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp.45-62 (p.55).

that it can be recognized as earth. The limits between heaven and hell are given by the walls that comprise hell, like in a dungeon in the underground floor. The columns on both sides can be part of the heavenly architecture that contains hell, the symbol of God's power as commented in section 2.3. On page 20 (figure A12), the demon messenger is passing through a narrow structure painted in a strong dark colour. It seems unintentional as the dark colour draws the attention of the viewer to the idea of passage from one space to another. The original architectural elements of heaven are twisted in hell, just as the angelic bodies are twisted, corrupted in hell, a process shown explicitly in their transformation in the images on pages 3 and 16.

In line 68 *Genesis* tells us that the angels falling from heaven to hell are: *on longne sið* on line 68, which means 'on a long journey'. This, and the fact that the fall of the angels is told three times in the text, *Genesis* on lines 1-102 and 235-441, and Christ and Satan lines and three times in the images (pages 3, 16, and 17) in the Junius 11 manuscript, suggests that even the journey to hell is in some sense an eternal falling. It also conveys just how far this hell is from heaven. Here, again, time and space are conveyed more through sensation than through measurable distance. However, the only thing for certain in both text and image are able to express clearly is the fact that hell is always down below, is always underneath heaven, or earth, or both. The chthonic fundamental feature of hell is present as though it developed in a complex web of symbolism and connections with other elements of the system of beliefs about the afterlife.

### 3.3. Hell-womb: hell as the female body

In this section I will deal with some aspects of in the art and text that provide the reader some aspects of hell as female womb. Without denying aspects I worked on the previous sections - on the opposite, reinforcing them as both the tomb and the anti-hall can be related to the female element of power – this section is based methodologically on psychological and gender studies about the feminine. It is not my aim to exhaust all the theoretical aspects of the subject, it is to bring into my analysis some of major ideas about the connection between hell and the female and at the same time compared with some attitudes towards the feminine in Anglo-Saxon England, that is also a universe to be studied.

Mainly in interactions depicted between hell and earth, hell tends to be shown as a real cave underneath the ground. Though hell has some features connected with the appearance of a place for birth or rebirth - opposite to hell as the grave, the burial as seen in the previous section. Rather than being a place of destruction or the place of decay and death, hell is shown as a place of (re)creation, a twisted place of creation. The biological place where physically humans originated from in their individual existence is the female body. In order to understand how this connection between the female body and hell works it is necessary to approach the subject with the help of two methodological tools, psychoanalysis and gender studies.

In a male power oriented society such as Anglo Saxon England, the feminine body as a vehicle of birth links the subject of desire of the masculine (and the opposite to the masculine) with death. The masculine is the social pattern of everything, art, theology, political power. Even though masculinity is associated with power, good, beauty, there is a recurrent fear of the feminine power according to Nicholas Royle, 'The death drive has to do with the figure of woman'.<sup>237</sup> Since its beginning this connection was studied by Psychology. The connection between death and women's bodies can be found in a

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<sup>237</sup> N. Royle, *The uncanny* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p. 88.

marginal way in Freud's writings. He mentioned briefly , that returning to the womb is interconnected with the death drive:

Everything take place as if Freud could not bear the importance of his discovery concerning the death drive and as if "The uncanny" with its successive invalidations, it is tortuous procedure, is a last effort to conceal `the return of the repressed` which emerges in the theory: an effort which once again proves the unacceptable nature of the theory of the death instincts.<sup>238</sup>

Then, souls (especially from men) come to the earth through the feminine body. Hell is death and it is also returning to the origins of mankind, to the birth of mankind and origin of sin. Death and feminine, as to die can be seen as a return to the primordial nature of humankind, to the womb, to the "Mother Nature". Feminine is chthonic in the original Bible, according to Paglia:

The Bible has come under fire for making woman the fall guy in man's cosmic drama. But in casting a male conspirator, the serpent, as God's enemy, Genesis hedges and does not take its misogyny far enough. The Bible defensively swerves from God's true opponent, chthonian nature. The serpent is not outside Eve but in her. She is the garden and the serpent. (...) The Devil is a woman.<sup>239</sup>

The women are seen throughout the last centuries as not emotionally stable as the men. Then as hell does not show stability or rationality as heaven, the connection between hell and the female world materialize in the image of the immense mouth that is the *vagina dentata* (Latin for toothed vagina), a devouring vagina:

The positive femininity of the womb appears as a mouth; that is why "lips" are attributed to the female genitals, and on the basis of this

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<sup>238</sup> S. Kofman, *Freud and Fiction*, translated by S. Wykes (Cambridge Polity Press, 1991) pp.160-1.

<sup>239</sup> C. Paglia, *Sexual personae: Art and decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 11.

positive symbolic equation the mouth, as "upper womb," is the birthplace of the breath and the word, the Logos. Similarly, the destructive side of the Feminine, the destructive and deathly womb, appears most frequently in the archetypal form of a mouth bristling with teeth.<sup>240</sup>

The hellmouth is the deathly womb and consequently the vagina dentata:

Hell and the underworld as vessels of death are forms of the negative death-bringing belly-vessel, corresponding exactly to its life-bringing side. The opening of the vessel of doom is the womb, the gate, the gullet, which actively swallows, devours, rends, and kills. Its sucking power is mythologically symbolized by its lure and attraction for man, for life and consciousness and the individual male, who can evade it only if he is a hero, and even then not always.<sup>241</sup>

The hellmouth is the negative side of the femininity as "the toothed vagina is no sexist hallucination: every penis is made less in every vagina, just as mankind, male and female, is devoured by mother nature".<sup>242</sup> It is the womb that brings death. And it is a representation of the nature as a force of destruction in Nature is the feminine as culture (civilization) is masculine:

The binary relation between culture and nature promotes a relationship of hierarchy in which culture freely "imposes" meaning on nature, and hence renders it into an "Other" to be appropriated to its limitless uses, safeguarding the ideality of the signifier and the structure of signification on the model of domination. (...) As the existential dialect of misogyny, this is yet another instance in which reason and mind are associated with masculinity and agency, while the body and nature are considered to be the mute facticity of the

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<sup>240</sup> E. Neumann, *The Great Mother* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 168.

<sup>241</sup> E. Neumann, *The Great Mother* (1955), p. 171.

<sup>242</sup> C. Paglia, *Sexual personae* (1990), p. 47.



feminine, awaiting signification from an opposing masculine subject.<sup>243</sup>

In the light of Butler's theory of gender as performance, the hall as a stage for masculinity to be played, as an opposition of the society of hall as I showed in the section 3.2, the feminine is also the anti-hall. While hell is the anti-hall, hall is a place where the womb (death) nature is in control, anti-feminine. Hell is the anti-masculine, is the denial of the hall masculine hierarchy.<sup>244</sup>

And moving to a psychoanalytic approach, explaining how Anglo-Saxon England put its own fear in hell, it would not be surprising that hell in Genesis bears some anxieties about the female element. This uncanny feeling, attraction and repulsion towards the unknown and at the same time known feminine body it is the root of the feelings about the punishment of hell itself, the fear to be punished to go out of the masculine world of the hall:

It often happens that male patients declare that they feel there is something uncanny about the female genital organs. This *unheimlich* place, however, is the entrance to the former *heim* [home] of all human beings, to the place where everyone dwelt once upon a time and in the beginning. There is a humorous saying: "Love is home-sickness"; and whenever a man dreams of a place or a country and says to himself, still in the dream, "this place is familiar to me, I have been there before," we may interpret the place as being his mother's genitals or her body. In this case, too, the

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<sup>243</sup> J.P. Butler, *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*, tenth anniversary edition (New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 48.

<sup>244</sup> About gender in Anglo-Saxon England see: C.A. Lees and G.R. Overing, *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2009), p.190.

*unheimlich* is what was once heimisch, homelike, familiar; the prefix “un” is the token of repression.<sup>245</sup>

However, hell is also the primary frontier, the unknown place beyond civilization. Borders are the place for the liminality and the repetition, as they are also the part of psychological experience towards the act of being born. The images and the poem repeat the fall of Lucifer and highlights the contrast between heaven and hell. At the same time the image of the fall of Lucifer repeating itself in the manuscript as a prefiguration of Fall of mankind as well, it is part of this experience of cross a border to the underworld, as the repetition is uncanny itself and give the idea of birth and rebirth, repetition of the whole life time existence:

The uncanny has to do with a strangeness of framing and borders, an experience of liminality. It may be that the uncanny is a feeling that happens only to oneself, within oneself, but it is never one's own: its meaning or significance may have to do, most of all, with what is not oneself, with others, with the world `itself`. It may thus be construed as a foreign body, within oneself, even the experience of oneself as a foreign body, the very estrangement of inner silence and solitude. It would appear to be indissociably bound up with a sense of repetition or `coming back` - the return of the repressed, the constant or eternal recurrence of the same thing, a compulsion to repeat.<sup>246</sup>

In the images on pages 03 and 16 repeats and the motif of Lucifer in hell again in the illustration as in the text, hell itself is repeated again in different ways. The fall of the rebel angels carries the idea of repetition and beginning, as it is not only repeated throughout the manuscripts, it is a prequel of the fall of humankind in Adam and Eve. The relevant aspect of Junius 11 is that like later poems, Genesis and Junius 11 in general uses repetition as a means of reprising its own beginning at points that are constitutively new

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<sup>245</sup> S. Freud, 'The Uncanny [1919]', In *Sigmund Freud, Collected Papers, Vol. 4*, translation on by A. Strachey (New York: Basic Books, 1959), p.15.

<sup>246</sup> N. Royle, *The uncanny* (2002), p. 2.

beginnings'.<sup>247</sup> The aspect I want to highlight here is the membranous limit between hell and earth or hell and heaven. The fall of Lucifer is happening in the eternal time, as an eternal repetition and it is also the beginning of the human tragedy, the birth of the sin is also the birth of human tragedy in the world, as is the cause of the sin of Adam and Eve.

The Fall of Lucifer and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise are the traumatic birth of mankind according to the Christian tradition. Hell as the "nature" is also the womb of the mankind. In Junius 11 the rebel angels are born again as demons in hell as Lucifer was turned into Satan by God. Their bodies' changed and they became more animalistic with long animal claws, naked bodies, tails and darker hair on pages 03 and 16, figures A3 and A10. We can see the male genitals of one angel in the page 16 (figure A10) and the male genitals of two demons on page 17 (figure A11). Adam does not appear with the masculine genitals as the angels in the Earthly Paradise images on pages 9, 10, 11, 13, 20, 24, 28, 31, 34, 36 (Figures A6, A7, A8, A9, A12, A13, A14, A15, A16), even his genitals are drawn differently from Eve, Adam and Eve would not be shown with genitals before the Fall, because there is no sexual difference, Adam and Eve seem to be very androgynous as the angels before their own fall. The angel's bodily transformation into something more animal and or human in an organic way shows the fear of returning to nature, to origins, to the maternal womb, to be the other. Apart from some demons in hell, male genitals are illustrated only in Noah drunkenness episode, on page 78 (figure A42), in the second artist part. The sexual difference is part of the dynamic between good and evil, life and death, goodness and sin, redemption and punishment. Like Adam and Eve cannot see themselves naked in the earthly Paradise, the audience also need not see the genitals of Adam and Eve before they eat the forbidden fruit. The nakedness is invisible to Adam and Eve and to the eyes of the viewer. Although the genitals are not shown when Adam and Eve lose their innocence after eating the fruit, they are conscious and ashamed of their nakedness. The

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<sup>247</sup> See D. Vance, *The Book of the Incipit: Beginnings in the Fourteenth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

visible male genitals in the drawings of both artists appear in a negative way. In the episodes of fall of Lucifer highlight the non-angelic feature of the demons, turned from angel to hellish creatures. In the visual narrative it is only after the creation of Adam and Eve that the demons get genitalia on page 16 (figure A10) and on page 17 (figure A11). The same happens in the pictures on page 16 (figure A10). This fact clearly connects the faith of the angels with the newly created humanity. They now have genitals, claws, hair made of fire, and they are naked. Hell is the organic, hell is the end of life and at the same time place of the origin and carries connections with sexuality and gender and reproduction and maternity.

In Gen. lines 71-72, we read about how the bodies of the angels are transformed during their passage from heaven into hell: *‘Heo on wrace syððan seomodan swearte’*, which means ‘they [the rebel angels] turned black [while] departed on’. The passage is telling the reader what is happening in the picture on page 3. The poem shows a connection between God’s creation of the world and hell as a space of re-creation or rebirth. Before the creation of the world there was only emptiness, a dark, immeasurable emptiness or abyss that is similar to hell itself. This darkness and void in the beginning are very similar to how hell is described in lines 103-104: ‘Then there was here yet except concealing shade anything to take place, but this wide abyss (ground) stood deep and gloomy, strange to the Lord, idle and useless’.<sup>248</sup> Hell works as the female body because it is where the rebel angels were born again as demons at the end of the episode of the fall. Then the association with feminine and hell is not only caused by Eve in the beginning of Genesis. In the drawing on page 20 (figure A12), even though the top of the page is devoted to Adam and Eve, hell is the source of the most important part of the narrative. Hell is a walled place with an entrance through which a demon passes, as if he is being born (or reborn) into the world from hell. Satan bound in hell laments his destiny in the poem, while in the image his mouth is open, the messenger's mouth is also open and the materialized serpent at the top.

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<sup>248</sup> “Ne wæs her þa giet nympe heolter-sceado / wiht geworden, ac þes wida grund / stod deop and dim, Drihtne fremde, / idel and unnyt”. (Gen. lines 103–4).

Like a game of mirrors, Satan can speak through his messenger aiming to convince Adam and Eve to Sin. The mouth as I said in the previous section it can be the place of evil, as evil words like a spell can come from Satan's mouth. The punishment that came from the same hellmouth that is the womb of the evil.

A great fire is here, above and below, I never saw a more loathsome landscape. Great grids of hard iron forged in heat surround me. The flame does not fail. Hot across hell. Linked chains, a bitterly cruel halter has marred my movement, cut off my passage; my feet are bound, hands tied. The roads through these hell-gates are blocked, so that there is no other way I can escape from these bonds. Great grids of hard iron forged in heat surround me. With these God has tethered me by the neck, so I know he reads my mind; and he also knows this, the Lord of hosts, that between me and Adam things would turn evil concerning the kingdom of heaven, if I had power over my hands.<sup>249</sup>

It is noteworthy how God can “read” Satan's mind, something that proves how everything is under God's plan, even the fall, the treason and second attempt against the recently created humankind.

Between page 24 and 28, Satan's temptation of Adam and Eve, the poem tells us how the messenger of Satan turned himself into an angel again to tempt Adam. However, Adam says he doesn't look like an angel,, the messenger tries again make himself look more angelic, as he used to be as Lucifer. Satan returns to his angelic form as Lucifer before the fall. In addition, we can see the decoration of the ceiling with vegetable motifs and part of column's

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<sup>249</sup> “Her is fyr micel, / ufan and neoðone. Ic a ne geseah / laðran landscipe. Lig ne aswamað, hat ofer helle. / Me habbað hringa gespong, sliðhearda sal siðes amyrrred, / afyrrred me min feðe; fet synt gebundene, / handa gehæfte. Synt þissa heldora / wegas forworhte, swa ic mid wihte ne mæg / of þissum lioðobendum. Licgað me ymbe / heardes irenes hate geslægene // grindlas greate. Mid þy me god hafað / gehæfted be þam healse, swa ic wat he minne hige cuðe; / and þæt wiste eac weroda drihten, / þæt sceolde unc Adame yfele gewurðan / ymb þæt heofonrice, þær ic ahte minra handa geweald.” (Gen., line 374-388).

capitals. On page 28 (Figure A14) the hidden “darkness” of the hell messenger is projected into the architectural arcade above him, Even now he looks like an angel, he cannot hide totally his hellish darkness, projecting in the architecture behind.

England can be the new promised land also can be the hell where the “Angles” (angels) fell down. They are human beings fighting with nature, with this new house. The idea is to make the reader empathetic of the situation of the rebel angels, put themselves in their place and don’t make the same mistakes. This view implies a certain germinal nature for hell as a place of origin and alterity and links hell with the features that will reappear in Christ and Satan: ‘The dark deformed demons wandered about; the evildoers, miserable warriors, roamed throughout that terrible pit because of the arrogance with which they had formerly acted’.<sup>250</sup>

The body transformation of the former angels is part of this process of being born in hell, present in the images and in the poems, not only in Genesis, also in Christ and Satan. In Christ and Satan line 129, hell is a *‘atole scræf’*, that means, cave, hollow on earth. The chthonic and the idea of a constricted space, as to be in the maternal womb, the non-existence as a man. In the *Wife’s lament*, the speaker lamented to be, after a secret plot, to be a prisoner in an ‘earth cave’, like Satan in hell:

My husband ordered me anchored in a woody grove, under an oak-tree within this earthen cave. Ancient is the earth-hall: I am entirely longing — Dark are the valleys, the mountains so lofty, bitter these hovels, overgrown with thorns. Shelters without joy. So many times here the disappearance of my husband seizes me with a stewing.

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<sup>250</sup> “Blace hworfon / scinnan forscēpene, sceaðan hwearfedon, / earme æglecan, geond  
pæt atole scref, / for ðam anmedlan þe hie ær drugon”. (Christ and Satan, lines 71b -  
74b).

<sup>251</sup> “Heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe, / under actreo in þam eorðscræfe. / Eald is  
þes eorðsele, eal ic eom of longad, / sindon dena dimme, duna uphea, / bitre burgtunas,

In *Genesis* poem hell as a `niobedd`, which literally means corpse's bed, a tomb which Lucifer has been thrown into. Even as the tomb is a place of decay, it is at the same time the return of the human body to nature, the rotten flesh is like the swamp, a place for growing "monsters". In the poem is told how Lucifer was given a (new) name: Satan. As quoted below:

He threw him right into that death, below into that tomb, and afterward created him a name, the most high said that from then on he should be called Satan, and commanded him to govern hell's dark abyss, in no way to struggle against God. <sup>252</sup>

The act of naming someone is like a new birth. When Lucifer, the "light bearer" is renamed as Satan, the opposite, the enemy - his celestial light, his angelic essence is also destroyed as the light inherent in his name is extinguished. Adam giving names to animals in paradise is a medieval topos, recurrent in sources about the Creation.<sup>253</sup> The act of giving names is an act of creation, as in a narrative something only exists after it is named. It is the act of giving birth to the new self. In Lucifer's case, now called as Satan, this was accompanied with a passage through the membranes, and a body modification. Then hell has a seminal nature, like the natural surroundings. Both have their generative potential as a place for creation. Hell is part of the cradle of creation, as heaven and paradise are in the Genesis. The connection between chthonic and birth can also be found in the *Lacnunga*.

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brerum beweaxe, / wic wynna leas". (27-33a) 'The Wife's Lament', In P.S. Baker, *Introduction to Old English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 207–210.

<sup>252</sup> "Wearp hine on þæt morðer innan, / niðer on þæt niobedd, and sceop him naman siððan, / cwæð se hehsta hatan sceolde / Satan siððan, het hine þære sweartan helle / grundes gyman, nalles wið god winnan. / Satan maðelode, sorgiende spræc, / se ðe helle forð healdan sceolde, / gieman þæs grundes". (Gen. lines 342-346).

<sup>253</sup> See S. Pelle, 'The Devil's Name in the Vernon Lyff of Adam and Eue and the Old English Prose Solomon and Saturn Pater Noster Dialogue', In *Notes and Queries*, Volume 62, Issue 3 (2015), 360–364; and J.E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994), pp.5-6.

Lacnunga ('Remedies') is a collection Anglo-Saxon medical texts. As quoted below in the part called 'For Delayed Birth':

Let that woman who cannot nourish her child walk to the grave of a departed person and then step three times over the burial, and then say these words three times: this as my remedy for the hateful late birth, this as my remedy for the oppressive heavy birth, this as my remedy for the hateful lame birth. And when that woman is with child and she goes to bed beside her husband, then she should say: I walk up, step over you, with a living child, in no way with a killing one, with a fully born one, in no way with a doomed one. And when that mother perceives that the child is alive, she must then walk to church and when she comes before the altar, she should then say: To Christ, I said, has this been made known! Let that woman who cannot nourish her child take in person part of her own child's grave, then wrap it in black wool, and sell it to merchants, and then say: May I trade it, may you trade it, this black wool and this seed of grief. Let that woman who cannot nourish her child then take the milk of a cow of one colour in her hands and then drink it with her mouth, and then walk to running water, and spit the milk into it, and then ladle a mouthful of that water with that same hand, and swallow it all. She should then say these words: Wherever I transported the noble powerful-bellied stomach with this noble powerful-bellied food; then I wish to have myself and to go home. Then she must walk to that brook when no-one can see her, nor [see her] when she returns from there, and then she must go into another house than the one she departed from and bury the food there.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>254</sup>

“Se wifman, se hire cild áfédan ne mæg, gange tó gewitenes mannes birgenne and stæppe þonne þríwa ofer þá byrgenne and cwepe þonne þríwa þás word: / þis mé tó bóte þære lápan lætbyrde, / þis mé tó bóte þære swæran swærbyrde, / þis mé tó bóte þære láðan lambyrde. / d þonne þæt wif séo mid bearne and héo tó hyre hláforde on reste gá, þonne cwepe héo: / Up ic gonge, ofer þé stæppe / mid cwican cilde, nalæs mid cwellendum, / mid fulborenum, nalæs mid fægan. / And þonne séo módor geféle þæt þæt beam sí cwic, gá þonne tó cyrican, and þonne héo tóforan þán wéofode cume, cwepe þonne: / Críste, ic sæde, þis gecýped! / Se wifmon, se hyre beam áfédan ne mæge, genime héo sylf hyre ágenes cildes gebyrgenne dæl, wrý æfter þonne on blace wulle and bebiçge tó cépemannum and cwepe þonne: / Ic hit bebiçge, gé hit bebiçgan, / þás sweartan wulle and þysse sorge corn. / Se wifman, se ne mæge beam áfédan,



The messenger demon returns to hell on page 36. The manuscript's depiction of hell in this page as an organic cave shape that as the ark can be associated with the womb.<sup>255</sup> It is very dark and organic, with dark flames enclosing its inhabitants and separating them from the earth above.<sup>256</sup> The enclosure space can lead to two different aspects, hell as a fertile island, and hell as the woman enclosed and also fertile, both of them interconnected with the idea of England or Britannia as the land, fertile and also an island. The idea about earth connected with concepts about the feminine nature of earth, as the Roman goddess Tellus and her equivalent, the Greek Gaia. The female body should

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nime þonne ánes bléos cú meoluc on hyre handæ and gesúpe þonne mid hyre múpe and gange þonne tó yrnendum wætere and spiwe þær in þá meolc and hlade þonne mid þære ylcan hand þæs wæteres múð fulne and forswelge. Cweþe þonne þás word: / Gehwér férde ic mé þone mæran magapihtan, / mid þysse mæran metepihtan; / þonne ic mé wille habban and hám gán. / Þonne héo tó þán bróce gá, þonne ne beséo héo, nó ne eft þonne héo þanan gá, and þonne gá héo in óþer hús óþer héo út oféode and þær gebyrge métes". Edited by E.V.K. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 123-24. See also: L.M.C. Weston, 'Women's Medicine, Women's Magic: The Old English Metrical Childbirth Charms', *Modern Philology*, 92 (1995), pp. 279-93.

<sup>255</sup> I saw the hypothesis about the womb sketch figure of the Noah's ark on page 70 of MS Junius 11 in the International Medieval Congress 2017 in a paper present by Alessandra Molinari. Molinari analysis of womb shaped images confirm how the female body and the power of giving birth is present in the illustrations of this manuscript. See paper 601-b: Alessandra Molinari. A 'Womb-Shaped' Sketch of Noah's Ark on Page 70 of MS Junius 11. When the last version of this thesis was delivered Alessandra Molinari was still writing her thesis and she have not yet written and published about her hypothesis. The paper title and abstract presented in IMC 2017 is available on-line at: [https://imc.leeds.ac.uk/dbsql02/AQueryServlet?\\*id=30&\\*formId=30&\\*context=IMC&conference=2017&sessionId=7237&chosenPaperId=&\\*servletURI=https://imc.leeds.ac.uk/dbsql02/AQueryServlet](https://imc.leeds.ac.uk/dbsql02/AQueryServlet?*id=30&*formId=30&*context=IMC&conference=2017&sessionId=7237&chosenPaperId=&*servletURI=https://imc.leeds.ac.uk/dbsql02/AQueryServlet) [accessed 20/05/2019 at 19h]

<sup>256</sup> About the Anglo-Saxon proven knowledge of female body, womb and pregnancy see: M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-saxon Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 174-84.

be protected from sex, described as virulent vice, as a horrendous monster with a “bestial mouth” with teeth, like the mouth of hell:

For that reason Virgins of Christ...must...fight with muscular energy against the horrendous monster of Pride and at the same time against those seven wild beasts of the virulent vices, who with rabid molars and venomous bicuspidis strive to mangle violently whoever is unarmed and despoiled of the breastplate of virginity and stripped of the shield of modesty; and they must struggle zealously with the arrow of spiritual armament and the iron-tipped spears of the virtue as if against the most ferocious armies of the barbarians, who do not desist from battering repeatedly the shield wall of the young soldiers of Christ with the catapult of perverse deceit.<sup>257</sup>

The feminine body is a sexual manifestation, it is the place of the monstrous, like hell. To Aldhelm, women's virginity should be protected like disputed land in a war. And more than this, the vice opposed to virginity is a monster of pride. His description is very intense about the monstrous physical features of this vice, in very creative and rich way, very similar with poetic descriptions of the monstrous features often present in some Anglo-Saxon poetry and art, like Junius 11: To Aldhelm, the female body can be the vessel that brings the sin to the world. Then, the fornication, the vice opposed to virginity is described as a beast, like the hellmouth present in Junius 11 on page 3 (Figure A3) and page 16 (Figure A10), with his description of the monster.

Another aspect that makes hell closer to the feminine, is hell as an island. As an island, there is this mixture, present mainly in Bede. It started with Gildas, that British Island as this enclosed space, invaded, England is the place for

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<sup>257</sup> “Idcirco virginibus Christi...contra horrendam rabidis molaribus et venenosis genuinuis inermes quosque ac virginitatis lorica spoliatos pudicitiaque parma exutos atrociter discerpere nituntur, lacertosis viribus dimicandum est et wuasi adversus ferocissimas barborum legions, quae manipulate tironem Christi testudinem fraudis ballista quatere non cessant.”. R. Ehwald (edited by), ‘Aldhelmi Opera’, In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctorum Antiquissimorum Vol. XV* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1961), 239-240. Translation from M. Lapdige and M. Herren, *Aldhelm: The Prose Works* (Cambridge and Totowa: Brewer/Rowman and Littlefield, 1979), p. 68.

rupture, and this creates a new world. The decadence of every civilization in the past created the fertile soil for the next one to flourish. At the same time, this fertile island can grow a new fresh civilization. Gildas described the Anglo-Saxons as (whelps and lions) and their motherland as “lioness”:

A multitude of whelps came forth from the lair of this barbaric lioness, in three curls, as they call them, that is, in their ships of war, with their sails wafted by the wind and with omens and prophecies favourable, for it was foretold by a certain soothsayer among them, that they should occupy the country to which they were sailing three hundred years, and half of that time, a hundred and fifty years, should plunder and despoil the same. They first landed on the eastern side of the island, by the invitation of the unlucky king, and there fixed their sharp talons, apparently to fight in favour of the island, but alas! More truly against it. Their mother-land, finding her first brood thus successful, sends forth a larger company of her wolfish offspring, which sailing over, join themselves to their bastard-born comrades. From that time the germ of iniquity and the root of contention planted their poison amongst us, as we deserved, and shot forth into leaves and branches. The barbarians being thus introduced as soldiers into the island, to encounter, as they falsely said, any dangers in defence of their hospitable entertainers, obtain an allowance of provisions, which, for some time being plentifully bestowed, stopped their doggish mouths. Yet they complain that their monthly supplies are not furnished in sufficient abundance, and they industriously aggravate each occasion of quarrel, saying that unless more liberality is shown them, they will break the treaty and plunder the whole island. In a short time, they follow up their threats with deeds.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> “Tum erumpens grex catulorum de cubili laeanae barbarae, tribus, ut lingua eius exprimitur, cyulis, nostra longis nauibus, secundis uelis omine auguriisque, quibus uaticinabatur, certo apud eum praesagio, quod ter centum annis patriam, cui proras librabat, insideret, centum uero quinquaginta, hoc est dimidio temporis, saepius uastaret, euectus, primum in orientali parte insulae iubente infausto tyranno terribiles infixit ungues, quasi pro patria pugnaturus sed eam certius impugnaturus. cui supradicta genetrix, comperiens primo agmini fuisse prosperatum, item mitit satellitum canumque prolixiolem catastam, quae ratibus aduecta adunatur cum manipularibus spuriis. inde germen iniquitatis, radix amritudinis, uirulenta plantatio nostris condigna

The description of the Anglo-Saxon people is full of bestial comparison or closely linked with nature, and with the feminine as they are product of the lair of a *`laeanae barbarae`*, barbaric lioness. Their land is also a *`genetrix`*, a mother, and its major attribute as a womb for the wild beast is highlighted in the whole passage, as she can spread the product of her body throughout the British isles, the *`germen iniquitatis`* - the germ of iniquity, the *`radix am[a]ritudinis`* - the root of bitterness, and those conquerors are *`manipularibus spuriis`*, bastard-born companions. They are *`ferocibus palmitibus pampinisque pullulat`* - spreading their leaves and branches like a plant growing throughout the land. The invaders also have *`canis faucem`* - doggish mouths, connecting it again with the mouth of hell and the nature. Anyway, as they are product of a monstrous mother they are also monsters.

Another author that connects the inhabitants of the British Isles with something monstrous is Nennius. As the Anglo-Saxons could see themselves as keepers of this legacy, the new owners of the Britannia, some connections between the British Isles as a monstrous ancestral mother would be possible when reading again those writings. According to the text attributed to Nennius, there is a connection of the genealogies of the Britons from Magog, and connecting with Roman legend about their connections with the Trojans, connecting them with the Greek-Roman gods:

The Britons were thus called from Brutus: Brutus was the son of Hisicion, Hisiicon, was the son of Alanus, Alanus was the son of Rhea Silvia, Rhea Silvia was the daughter of Huma Polpilius, Numa was the son of Ascanius, Ascanius of Enas of Anchises, Anchises

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meritis, in nostro cespite, ferocibus palmitibus pampinisque pullulat. igitur intromissi in insulam barbari, ueluti militibus et magna, ut mentiebantur, discrimina pro bonis hospitibus subituris, impetrant sibi annonas dari: quae multo tempore impertitae clausurunt, ut dicitur, canis faucem. item queruntur non affluenter sibi epimenia contribui, occasiones de industria colorantes, et ni profusior eis munificentia cumlaretur, testantur se cuncta insulae rupto foedere depopulatos. nec mora, minas effectibus prosequuntur". Gildas, 'De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae', In *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi*, edited by T. Mommsen, vol. 13, (Berlin, 1898), 23, 2-3.

of Troius, Troiud of Dardanus, Dardanus of Flisa, Flisa of Juuin of Japheth; but Japhet had seven sons; from the first Gome, descended the Galli; from the second, magog, the Scythi and Gothi; from the third, Madian, the Medi; from the fourth, Juuan, the Greeks; from the fifth, Tubal, arose the Hebrei, Hispani, and Itali; from the sixth, Mosoch, sprung the Cappadoces; and from the seventh, named Tiras, descended the Thraces: these are the sons of Japheth, the son of Noah, the son of Lamech.<sup>259</sup>

According to him the Britons came from Rheia Silvia, same name of the mother of Romulus and Remus. The nurturing step mother of Romulus and Remus is depicted in the Franks Casket, as the origins of Anglo-Saxons, likely mixing the genealogies of the Romans with the Anglo-Saxon, making Hengest and Horsa as Romulus and Remus<sup>260</sup>. The rune inscription in the Franks Casket shows the idea of a wild beast mother. The wolf mother is literally called *wylif* that means 'she-wolf': "Romulus and Remus, two brothers, a she-wolf nourished them in Rome, far from their native land".<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>259</sup> "Qui incolae in primo fuerunt Brittanniae Brittones a Bruto. Brutus filius Hisitionis, Hisition Alanei, Alaneus filius Reae Silviae, Rea Silvia filia Numa Pampilii, filii Ascanii; Ascanius filius Aeneae, filii Anchisae, filii Troi, filii Dardani, filii Flise, filii Iuvani, filii Iafeth. Iafeth vero habuit septem filios. primus Gomer, a quo Galli; secundus Magog, a quo Scythas et Gothos; tertius Madai, a quo Medos; quartus Iuvan, a quo Graeci; quintus Tubal, a quo Hiberei et Hispani et Itali; sextus Mosoch, a quo Cappadoces; septimus Tiras, a quo Traces. hi sunt filii Iafeth filii Noe filii Lamech". Nennius, 18, *Historia Brittonum*. Original text: edited by J.A. Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), volume 2, p. 148. Translated by D.N. Dumville, *The Historia Brittonum* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), p. 10.

<sup>260</sup> C.L.N. de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins: Romulus and Remus in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by J. Hawkes and S. Mills (Strand Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, Phoenix Mill Thrupp, 1999), pp. 256–67 (pp. 265–6).

<sup>261</sup> "Romwalus and Reumwalus, twøegen gibropær,/ afœddæ hiæ wylif in Romæcæstri, / oplæ unneg". Translated by C.L.N. de Vegvar, 'The Travelling Twins: Romulus and Remus in Anglo-Saxon England', (1999), pp. 256–67.

Originally, the feminine of wolf in Latin, *lupa*<sup>262</sup> can also mean prostitute. The birth mother of Romulus and Remus is also named Rhea Silvia, who was a fallen vestal virgin, so equated to the she-wolf stepmother and erroneous female sexuality. Rhea is also the name of the daughter of Gaia and Uranus, sister and wife of Cronus, and mother of Zeus and Hades, associated with the Earth Mother. She is associated to the hellmouth presented in section 3.2, the origins of both British, Roman and Anglo-Saxon have a bestial, wolf shape, predatory mother in their past, that symbolizes the connection with earth, the nature and the wild. There is some kind of connection between the chthonic and the mother, the land and the feminine. A pagan past connected with the fertility like a mother earth, the goddess from old pagan religions:

[Britain] It is fertilized by several rivers, which traverse it in all directions, to the east and west, to the south and north; but there are two pre-eminently distinguished among the rest, the Thames and the Severn, which formerly, like the two arms of Britain, bore the ships employed in the conveyance of riches acquired by commerce. The Britons were once very populous, and extensive dominion from sea to sea..<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Lupa : A. A prostitute, vile woman, Plaut. Ep. 3, 3, 22: "ille, qui semper secum scorta, sem per exoletos, semper lupas ducebat," Cic. Mil. 21, 55; Liv. 1, 4, 7: "quibus grata est pictā lupa barbara mitrā," Juv. 3, 66; Aur. Vict. Orig. Gent. Rom. 21, 1: "lupa, id est meretrix," Lact. 1, 19.—In a pun with the literal meaning, I. supra: "nam ovis illius hau longe absunt a lupis," Plaut. Truc. 3, 1, 12.—*A Latin Dictionary*. Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary, revised, enlarged, and in great part rewritten by. C. T. Lewis, and C. Short (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879).

<sup>263</sup> "Sunt in ea multa flumina, quae confluunt ad omnes partes, id est ad orientem, ad occidentem, ad meridiem, ad septentrionem, sed tamen duo flumina praeclariora ceteris fluminibus Tamesis ac Sabrinae quasi duo brachia Britanniae, per quae olim rates vehebantur ad portandas divitias pro causa negotiationis. Brittones olim implentes eam a mari usque ad mare iudicaverunt". Nennius, 9, Historia Brittonum. Original text ed. J. A. Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, vol. 2 (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), p. 317. Translated by D.N. Dumville, *The Historia Brittonum* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), p. 6.

The `demonic`, `satanic` paganism is in the origins of the Saxon people according to Nennius. Furthermore, for him the Anglo Saxons descended from supposedly pagan gods, like Woden (Odin). They were also worshippers of demons:

In the meantime, three vessels, exiled from Germany, arrived in Britain. They were commanded by Horsa and Hengist, brothers, and sons of Wihtgils. Wihtgils was the son of Witta; Witta of Wecta; Wecta of Woden; Woden of Frithowald; Frithowald of Frithwulf of Finn; Finn of Godwulf; Godwulf of Geat, who, as they say was the son of a god, not the omnipotent God and our Lord. <sup>264</sup>

This connection with land, monster, and this fertile land, the womb of monsters, with that wild land, and giving them this type of hellish origin. The “English” came from a type of hellish womb. They shared their origin with beasts and the chaos of nature: ‘cultural anxieties that revolve around monstrosity and hybridity.’<sup>265</sup> The connection between the demons and the `Angles` (angels), the fallen angels or the British people shows how is important to point to the mistakes of the past, aiming not to repeat them:

If Gildas establishes the analogy between Britain and the errant Israel and between himself and the prophets foretelling Israel’s doom, Bede chooses the broader perspective inherent in Orosius’s and Eusebius’s histories and produces a narrative that depicts rupture as the inevitable catalyst for growth. Like Gildas, Bede employs the term *Britannia*; however, he focuses on an area that is England. The geography for the ecclesiastical History of the

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<sup>264</sup> “Interea venerunt tres ciulae a Germania expulsae in exilio, in quibus erant Horsa et Hengist, qui et ipsi fratres erant, filii Guictglis, filii Guigta, filii SeGuectha, filii VVoden, filii Frealaf, filii Fredulf, filii Finn, filii Fodepald, filii Geta, qui fuit, ut aiunt, filius dei. non ipse est deus deorum, amen, deus exercituum, sed unus est ab idolis eorum, quod ipsi colebant”. Nennius, 9, *Historia Brittonum*. Original from: J. A. Giles. (ed. by) *Six Old English Chronicles*, vol. 2, (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848, p. 317. Translated by D. N. Dumville, *The Historia Brittonum* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985), p. 14.

<sup>265</sup> A. Mittman, *Maps and Monsters in Medieval England* (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp.14-15.

English People describing England as an insular *locus amoenus*, Bede at once nods to Gilda's earlier description of it as a fallen garden or bride, provides a new perspective on England's history, and sets the terms later chroniclers and monastic historians would use to describe England and its institutions. <sup>266</sup>

Hell is a seminal place. Hell is like the swamp in Beowulf. As Grendel's swamp is a place where monsters are created, hell in images from Genesis is a place where the demons are born (or reborn). Monstrosity is connected with the origins, with the feminine fertility:

The monster is difference made flesh, come to dwell among us. In its function as dialectical `Other or third-term supplement, the monster is an incorporation of the Outside, the Beyond—of all those *loci* that are rhetorically placed as distant and distinct but originate Within. Any kind of alterity can be inscribed across (constructed through) the monstrous body, but for the most part monstrous difference tends to be cultural, political, racial, economic, and sexual.<sup>267</sup>

As studied by Semple, this knowledge was not only lived through the literary readings of the past. It also survived through the attitudes and appropriation and recast in the social imaginary of the prehistoric and Roman sites still visible or clear in the British Isles:

It is suggested here that this conscious manipulation of the landscape and prehistoric, Roman, and pre-Christian `antiquity` was not merely a means of establishing authority over extensive kingdoms. It also served to create a grammar of power, symbolic of legitimate and ancient authority, shared and understood by pagan and Christian rulers across north-west Europe in the latter part of the first millennium. Hill forts, linear ditches, barrows, and even Stonehenge were utilized as locations for judicial killing, alongside

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<sup>266</sup> K. Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p.45.

<sup>267</sup> J.J. Cohen, *Monster Theory: Reading Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p.7.



river banks (perhaps rivers), crossroads, and major territorial boundaries.<sup>268</sup>

According to Shari Horner in the majority of the cases, women are always associated in Old English Literature with the enclosure, like the enclosure where the nuns should be, or the virginity. The feminine must be contained. Because in the moments the femininity is free, the monstrous and the boundaries will be disrespected. Grendel's mother is an example of the freedom of the female and it shows how hellish can be, it is shown as negative in the poem:

Grendel's Mother is physical not verbal, and she uses violence rather than language to achieve her goals. She is thus unenclosed both literally and figuratively; after Grendel's death, no "imprisoning" male relatives govern her actions. Her environment is not a male-controlled enclosure, such as Heorot, but a fluid, bloody, feminized space that suggests as well the mysteries of the female body and the (perceived) dangers that lurk therein. In his battle with Grendel's Mother, Beowulf dominates and destroys the feminine threat.<sup>269</sup>

Grendel's mother's cave is, like hell, an anti-hall; where the masculine has no power, full of body fluids and creatures unknown to the masculine hero. The dangerous supernatural women were present in the Anglo-Saxon culture since the early times, as extensively studied by Alaric Hall, even decreasing as a major subject in the later times in favour of the seductive elvish feminine features.<sup>270</sup> However, the monstrous women were still present in later times in Beowulf and in the art of hell in Junius 11, as the alterity of the hall. The

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<sup>268</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p. 195.

<sup>269</sup> S. Horner, *The discourse of enclosure: Representing women in Old English literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001), p. 84.

<sup>270</sup> A. Hall, 'Glosses, Gaps and Gender: the Rise of the Female Elves in Anglo-Saxon Culture', In *Change in Meaning and the Meaning of Change: Studies in Semantics and Grammar from old to present-Day English*, ed. by M. Rissanen (et al) (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2007), pp. 139-70 (pp.161-2).

powerful women manifested by the unruly bodies are the representation of the alterity to the masculine world of the mead-hall. The creation of identity is preceded by creating the other. The other is created in order to establish the differences between “us” and “them”: “Consequently, identity is not merely differentiated from alterity, the other, by singling itself out from a multiplicity of others; it is itself constituted in a dialectic process that interacts with the other”.<sup>271</sup> Hell is the place of extreme alterity in the Junius 11 manuscript, the place of extreme monstrosity, confined within the womb/tomb of the beast mouth. The feminine power is another type of denied alterity for the Anglo Saxon–England:

The monster is difference made flesh, come to dwell among us. In its function as dialectical Other or third-term supplement, the monster is an incorporation of the Outside, the Beyond—of all those *loci* that are rhetorically placed as distant and distinct but originate within. Any kind of alterity can be inscribed across (constructed through) the monstrous body, but for the most part monstrous difference tends to be cultural, political, racial, economic, and sexual.<sup>272</sup>

Satan is able several times speak for himself in Gen. lines 278-291, 356-373 and 389-441. He speaks about his suffering, he talks about how terrible is to be in hell. The narrative technique of giving him voice is not aiming to make him the hero of the poem. This technique creates an image of anti-example to Satan. And also induces the reader does not want to be like him place where he or she were tied and vulnerable, prisoner of this enclosed place. This also serves to humanise Lucifer and make the reader put himself in his place, to avoid repeating his behaviour and suffering the same consequences, do not betray your ruler. Like the maternal womb, the demons are condemned to the non-life, a type of life before life, as this happens in the times before the human

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<sup>271</sup> M. Fludemik, ‘Identity/alterity’, In *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, ed. by D. Herman (edited by) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 260-73 (p. 261).

<sup>272</sup> Cohen, *Monster Theory* (1996) p.7.

time. Then, hell can be a place of creation, using a kind of inversion of the hall. Making it opposed to heaven and yet connected to it and within God's creation. Like hell itself, this creation is animalistic and it is type of twisted creation. After the fall, the human womb became the origin of all humanity. However, earth as a womb is also a vital element of the creation of Adam. In a riddle found on folios 43rv in the eleventh-century Cotton Tiberius A.iii manuscript (a collection of glosses, prognostics, prayers, and homilies), Adam is buried into his mother's "womb", the earth:

Who was he, who in this world was not born, and nevertheless was made among men and lived long? And then again after his death, he was buried inside his mother's womb? And again after death, it occurred after many winters that he was baptised, and his body never fouled or decayed in the earth? ... that was Adam, the first man, that this happened to (...).<sup>273</sup>

Adam's body is buried in his mother *innoðe*, word that has a wide range of meaning, even if it is related to Mother, than makes sense being translated as womb. It can be womb, guts, inner part of the body, or even the emotions. The connection between centre of emotion and the guts, happens again here. Men are attached emotionally to their mothers and as a place of creation, the soil of earth is the feminine place of origin of humankind. Adam sleeps in his eternal life here and not rotten bring him a different destiny compared to normal men. In any case, as men are made from earth, return to earth, to the soil is return to the primordial womb.

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<sup>273</sup> "Hwæt wæs se on pissere worulde seðe acænned næs, and þeah hwæðere wæs to men geworden and lange lifde? and þa eft æfter his deaðe þæt he wæs bebyrged innon his modor innoðe ? and æfter þam deaðe eft þæt hit gelamp æfter manegum wintrum þæt he wæs gefullwad, and næfre his lichama ne folode ne ne brosnode innon þære eorðan? ... Þæt wæs Adam, se æresta mann þe þis bigelumpen wæs". Text and translation by H. Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes: Ecotheory and the Environmental Imagination* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 147–8.

In the Riddle 35, even the solution is the mail coat, the text of the riddle describe how the iron ore is “born”. It says: *Mec se wæta wong, wundrum frēorig, / of his innape ærist cende*, that means: the damp earth firstly produced me from her cold womb. The same word *innape* is used to refer to earth as the womb, as guts that produces life. As Riddle 10(43) where the answer is the body and soul:

I know a noble guest, dear to princes, whom grim hunger cannot harm, nor hot thirst, nor age nor illness. If kindly the servant always tend him, he who must go along on the journey; safe and certain they will find at home food and joy and countless kin; but sorrow if the servant obeys his lord badly, his master on their journey; nor will brother fear brother when unharmed they leave quickly the bosom of their kin, mother and sister. Let whoever will with fitting words name the guest or the servant I speak of here. Riddle 10(43).

274

While the guest is the soul, the servant and brother are the body. They will both be harmed when they leave the earth. The feminine figures, mother and sister are the earth. Adam came from earth, then, again the soil, the ground is the feminine figure. About the Riddles and gender Estes provides a linguistic connection between the feminine and the earth:

The description of things in many of the riddles, whether ‘natural’ objects or things made by humans of materials such as ore, trees, and the skins or feathers of animals, are deeply bound up with notions about gender and class. As noted above, *eorðe* is gendered feminine, and the ground and fields as a source of life are imagined

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274 “Ic wat indryhtne æpelum deorne / giest In geardum þam se grimma ne mæg / hungor scessan ne se hata þurst / ylðo ne adle gif him arlice / esne þenas se þe a gan sceal / on þam sisfate hy gesunde æt ham / findas witode him wiste and blisse / cnosles unrim care gif se esne / his hlaforde hyres yfle / frean on fore ne wile forht wesan / broþor oprum him þæt bam sceses / þōn hy from bearme begen hweorfas / anre magan ellorfuse moddor and sweostor mon se þe wille / cyþe cyneqordum hu se cuma hatte / esþa se esne þe ic her ymb sprice”. Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes* (2017), pp. 147–8.

as feminine even when masculine –gender words such as `wong` are used. <sup>275</sup>

The soil, or the place to be buried is the same soil where the agricultural subsistence comes from. What beneath underneath earth can be compared with the womb giving birth to the new born ones in the human society. There is an uncanny game connected with this wild mother that is the earth or beneath the earth. Even the soil is the place where the food comes from, where Adam came from, it is also the place where the dead are buried. The uncanny relationship with the feminine earth, is also shared with the uncanny feeling towards the death and the dead human body. Dead body is uncanny universally as a human instinct, all humans see the dead body as a person, and also as something that is no human anymore. The feeling of empathy towards the dead body brings to the human brain the ancestral fear of being buried alive. According to the, still valid with additions and reservations, classical Freudian approach the fear of being buried alive is the fear of returning to the womb, to the pre-birth state, the world of death, the afterlife. Christian Canonical Bible and its theology has vast examples of this idea of going to the afterlife and return, as being eaten and being regurgitated, born again as Christ or as converted to Christianity:

Just as most modern Christians understand that a single lamb with a cross is a symbol of Jesus and his sacrifice, so early Christians must have understood Jonah, thrown overboard and regurgitated, as an image of death and resurrection. <sup>276</sup>

Going beyond that, Freud highlighted how something that was underneath the earth, supposed dead and buried can come back to life, like archaeological excavation. However the past can return back to life. As the origins of mankind returns in a type of archaeology in Christianity. And precisely into the pages

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<sup>275</sup> Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes* (2017), pp. 163-4.

<sup>276</sup> M.R. Jensen (2000), p. 79.

of Genesis images. The poem *Genesis* and the illustrations work as new interpretation of stories already known, told and retold.

Then the act itself of reading the origins brings the idea of birth and rebirth, like Christ, like Jonah, as the rebel angels died and were reborn as demons or as the innocence of mankind died with the original sin, and they began a new life as humankind without the privileges and safety of being in Earthly Paradise.

Hell as the place of the wild, the beast and it is also the place of the origins, the womb, and the feminine body. The male genitalia in the demons falling into hell in Junius 11's images of hell show how human they turned into, or how not angelic they were transformed. As new born beings, those genitals highlight hell as the place of the feminine, the opposite of the hall. As the place from nature, death and feminine, hell reminds the reader of the uncanny feeling of what its own body is:

The body's inside, in that case, shows up in order to compensate for the collapse of the border between inside and outside. It is as if the skin, a fragile container, no longer guaranteed the integrity of one's "own and clean self" but scraped or transparent, invisible or taut, gave way before the dejection of its contents. Urine, blood, sperm, excrement then show up in order to reassure a subject that is lacking its "own and clean self". The abjection of those flows from within suddenly become the sole "object" of sexual desire – a true "ab-ject" where man, frightened, crosses over the horrors of maternal bowels and, in an immersion that enables him to avoid coming face to face with another, spares himself the risk of castration. But at the same time that immersion gives him the full power of possessing, if not being, the bad object that inhabits the maternal body. Abjection then takes the place of the other, to the extent of affording him jouissance, often the only one for the borderline patient who, on that account, transforms the abject into the site of the Other. <sup>277</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> J. Kristeva, *Powers of horror* (1982), pp. 53-54.

Then, hell as the horrible death become the place where the audience sees themselves as a simple body. This leads to the thought of death as return to the non-life, before the birth, back to the womb, inside the feminine body, again. Then, the fear of being buried alive, returning to the womb connects the uncanny feeling of returning to the maternal womb, the comfortable non-existence a kind of death before death, anticipating to be buried. The fear of losing control of their own body:

To many people the idea of being buried alive while appearing to be dead is the most uncanny thing of all. And yet psychoanalysis has taught us that this terrifying fantasy is only a transformation of another phantasy which had originally nothing terrifying about it at all, but was filled with a certain lustful pleasure—the fantasy, I mean, of intrauterine existence.<sup>278</sup>

This is one of the founding texts on religion and the uncanny. Reik worked with Freud, developing this idea of death as a womb. He went one step further and demonstrated how there is a symbolic connection between the womb and the vagina with hell, pointing out how in the Germanic mythology the Goddess of the underworld was a human, the Mother Earth. There is a connection between the chthonic death and the feminine womb and vagina:

The trait that in many myths, as in Orpheus's, the hero must ascend to the underworld to regain his beloved, suggests that the underworld was originally this lover himself (Mother Earth). The word hell is, as already mentioned, derived from the name of the goddess Hel. Descending to hell would mean an incestuous union with the mother. It seems to me to be connected with the intensifying severity of the prohibition of incest, when in such a way the most secret idea that of the mother's womb and vagina, turned into the most sinister, hell (...). It must be noted, incidentally, that the idea of heaven, the other side of the fantasy of survival after death, brings the state in the womb into idealization. For the interpretation of hell as a symbolic representation of the vagina, I only want to point out that the word Hölle according to Grimm (German Dictionary, pp. 1747fr.) was also used to designate a narrow, hot room. So hell often appears as a place name for a close, wild area. In some German countries hell refers to the

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<sup>278</sup> S. Freud, "The Uncanny[1919]", In *Sigmund Freud, Collected Papers*, translation by A. Strachey, vol. 4 (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 13-4

narrow space, between the stove and the wall. Tightness and heat are peculiar to the condition of the embryo in the abdomen as well as that of the dead man in hell.<sup>279</sup>

Going further, something that Freud or Reik did not work in depth, the association between hell and the womb, hell and the feminine is a product of the misogynistic societies.<sup>280</sup> The funeral brings the ones who are alive to the unconscious question; where will the soul of this person go, and by extension, where will my own soul go after death?

“What tops the lot when it comes to measuring maximum uncanniness is being committed to earth not because you are dead but because you appear to be dead. It is a matter of ostensibly or being seemingly dead [*scheintot*], as if in suspended animation.”<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> “Jeder zu erhalten, spricht dafür, daß die Unterwelt ursprünglich diese Geliebte selbst ist (Mutter Erde) Das Wort Hölle ist, wie bereits erwähnt wurde, aus der Bezeichnung der Göttin Hei abgeleitet. Das Hinabsteigen zur Hölle würde so eine inzestuöse Vereinigung mit der Mutter bedeuten. Es scheint mir mit der steigenden Schwere des Inzestverbotes in Verbindung zu stehen, wenn auf solche Art die heimlichste Vorstellung, die des Leibes und der Vagina der Mutter, sich in die unheimlichste, die Hölle, verkehrte (...). Es muß übrigens bemerkt werden, daß die Himmelsvorstellung, die andere Seite der Phantasie des Fortlebens nach dem Tode, den Zustand im Mutterleib in Idealisierung wiederbringt. Zur Deutung der Hölle als einer symbolischen Vertretung der Vagina will ich nur noch darauf hinweisen, daß das Wort Hölle nach Grimm (...) auch als Bezeichnung eines engen, heißen Raumes gebraucht wurde. So erscheint Hölle häufig als Ortsname für eine enge, wilde Gegend. In manchen deutschen Ländern bezeichnet Hölle den engen Raum zwischen dem Ofen und der Wand. Enge und Hitze sind dem Zustand des Embryos im Unterleib ebenso wie dem des Toten in der Hölle eigentümlich.” T. Reik, *Der eigene und der fremde Gott, Psychoanalyse der religiösen Entwicklung* (Leipzig: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer, 1923), p. 152.

<sup>280</sup> D. Jonte-Pace, *Speaking the Unspeakable: Religion, Misogyny and the Uncanny Mother in Freud's Cultural Texts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>281</sup> Royle, *The uncanny* (2002), p. 143.



The female body can be the island itself where those people are living as the female body is the homeland:

Ælfric makes explicit the connection between a woman's body and the landscape in his narratives of female saints when he compares Agatha and Lucy to components of the land – stones, rocks, and minerals<sup>282</sup>

It can be a clue that the word *hel* or *hell* in Old English has a feminine gender<sup>283</sup>. Gender in language can shape or be shaped by the views of the society who speaks or write that language. Furthermore, in the game of ambiguities, repulsion and attraction towards hell as a subject of art, in text and image, and its obsessive repetition in Junius 11, the female unconscious hidden meaning plays an important aesthetic aspect that transcends that simple iconographical meaning and shows the uncanny in action. The identification between hell and earth, as the angels with the Angles Saxon also can be made by Satan contrasting with the journey of the Israelites towards salvation, and Christ leading the patriarchs from hell to heaven.<sup>284</sup> Like the feminine body, the hellish space is familiar as the place where every human has been before and feel attracted because of that, however it can provoke repulsion as to be there is to be like in the burial. Hell in Junius 11 is the opposite of the ideal place of being alive in the Anglo-Saxon society: anti-hall, death (as punishment) and the opposite of the masculine world of the hall; the feminine. The feeling towards hell carries another part of fear and attraction to death: the uncanny feminine. Death, birth and rebirth are deeply linked with the mystery of life itself, and even in the Christian religious are plenty of different views about this subject. The death drive, the curiosity and repulsion that idea of dead body causes, especially in a male dominant idealized society

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<sup>282</sup> Estes, *Anglo-Saxon Literary Landscapes* (2017), p. 171.

<sup>283</sup> ASD.

<sup>284</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England*(2004),. p. 161.

as the society of hall, is connected with the repulsion and attraction caused by the feminine body.

### 3.4. Conclusions

Anglo-Saxon hell reveals itself in art in a diversity of forms. Those forms reveal a multiplicity of origins and influences. The first artist of Junius 11 had many possibilities of models and ideas to recreate hell in its visual narrative. A vast amount of influences came from Antiquity and were still part of the cultural repertoire at the end of the tenth century in Western Europe. Those elements contributed to the creation of the Christian hell when they reorganized and added particular and local cultural elements to earlier concepts of the chthonic world. The pictorial hell in Junius 11 was made by the first artist choosing some particularities of those ancient models and elements current in that society. Junius 11's hell carries those specificities that reflects Anglo-Saxon England in general. Beyond that it reveals particularly the political moment of the tenth century. This century is the moment of reorganization and affirmation of the West Saxon Kings as kings of all Anglo-Saxons. I selected three major aspects of hell that end up showing a strong connection with the political and social moment of the end of the tenth century: Hell as anti-hall, hell and return to nature through death and hell as the feminine. However, all the opposite elements that could jeopardize the unification of the Anglo-Saxon England are not exactly in accordance with each other. Then hell is paradoxically the union of all those anti-exempla.

In the section 3.1, hell in Junius 11 is a place completely at odds with the king's hall. The Anglo Saxon England from tenth century can be summarized by the process of turning into reality the Alfredian project of a unified England. All the social hierarchy and relationships in Anglo-Saxon England are based on the ideal King's hall microcosm, it is a civilizational model. The hell in Junius 11 reunites features of the psychological opposite of the hall. This opposite of hall, the antihall is the fear of the forest, or the place outside the security given by the life in society. Hell is likened to the forest with extreme temperatures, wild animals, supernatural beings and dangerous places and creatures. Hell is the opposite of the model of civilisation for the Anglo-Saxon. Furthermore, the hell of Junius 11 is not only wild landscape. The mouth of the beast ready to attack, kill and eat hell is also a twisted version of the hall itself. Then a very corruptly managed hall can be turned into a hell. The fear and anxieties

towards the changes provoked by the new unification of England under the house of Wessex might explain why a twisted England can turn into hell, like the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms suffering under the viking attacks or the Roman Britain suffering the invasion by the old and pagan Anglo-saxons. The Junius 11 hell as anti-hall is both: fear of nature (absence of hall) and fear of the perverted and twisted hall.

Section 3.2 started asking why the artist chose to represent as a hellmouth. This hellmouth multiplied and developed as a model of hell iconography through middle ages. The hellmouth motif reached all the Western Christendom art until the Renaissance. Shown in this section was what lies behind the choice of the huge jaw of a beast to represent hell in Junius 11. The physical or bodily death is transformed into the hellmouth through the long genealogy of the iconography which originated in the Greek-Roman and Hellenistic era. Death as the act of the corpse rotting adds another layer over the symbolic sense of hell as the domain of the wild, the bestial (something already present in the pre-Christian ideas about life after death) as demonstrated by the section 3.1. Then, the chthonic heritage from Antiquity plus the fear caused by intense usage of tombs and graves as social stage by nobility and the church increased a fear of punishment. As told before, the tenth century is a time of reform, building and rebuilding, everything that deviates from the right path it is seen as sinful, criminal. The punishment of the sinner in hell is to have his soul damned and tortured by demons. However, the art shows the human body and not the soul suffering and rotting eternally. Like someone lost in the wild, in danger of being eaten by a wild animal illustrated as a huge hellmouth in Junius 11.

Section 3.3 delves into the hell as the feminine and all of the consequent connections with the role of women in Anglo-Saxon England and anxieties towards gender in this period of building a new state and society. In the sections 3.1 and 3.2 hell is the anti-hall, the wild nature, and, the place of death. But in the section 3.3, hell is the fear of the feminine element in the Anglo-Saxon politics of tenth century Anglo-Saxon England. New rules, new rulers, new state, new church and new social arrangements might create the fear of a feminine power over the predominantly masculine and sexist Anglo-

Saxon society. The best evidence about this is the tension between Edward and Æthelflæd, son and daughter of Alfred, rulers of Wessex and Mercia in the beginning of the tenth century:

The activities of Edward and Æthelflæd were clearly complementary - establishing a line of fortified centres running from the south east to the north west of England – and it is likely that their actions were in some sense coordinated. Nevertheless, some rivalry existed. The Mercian Register is careful to present Æthelflæd as acting independently, receiving submissions directly from Danish armies, with no indication that such actions also implied submission to Edward; indeed, he is not mentioned until 921. By contrast the ‘A’ version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, probably being compiled at Winchester at this times, includes no mention of Æthelflæd until her death, with the focus exclusively on the activities of Edward. When Æthelflæd died in 918, Edward’s response was telling. He occupied Tamworth (Staffordshire), where she had died, and according to the main text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle ‘all the nation in the land of the Mercians, which had been subject to Æthelflæd, submitted to him’.<sup>285</sup>

There are some traces of conflicts against the feminine political power in Mercia also after Æthelflæd. Nevertheless, there is a consensus about the tension between the rulership of Æthelflæd and women in positions of rulership in the period. The patriarchal lineage was protected by the winners who built the unity of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms destroying any feminine claim to positions of power.<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>285</sup> M. J. Ryan. ‘Conquest, Reform and making of England’, in N. J. Higham and M. J. Ryan., *The Anglo-Saxon World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 284-322 (pp. 300-301).

<sup>286</sup> For more about Æthelflæd rulership, see P. Stafford, ‘Political Women in Mercia, Eight to Early Tenth Centuries’, in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. by M. Brown and C. Farr (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2005), 35-49. Also, P. Stafford, “‘The Annals of Æthelflæd’: Annals, History and Politics in Tenth-Century England’, In

Returning to the way this fear of the rise of feminine political power appears in Junius 11 as result of the Æthelflæd episode, this approach is justified by the words used for describing hell in the Genesis poem: full of sensations and feelings. As in a dream landscape some elements do not always make sense in the physical world, sometimes opposites become similar in a way that is inexplicable to the waking world. Everything in the text is focused on the sensations of the angels being punished for their defiance of God. The poetry describes hell in terms of the human senses, more so than heaven. The feminine is aligned with the uncanny. The uncanny explains the fear and attraction caused by the illustrations of hell in Junius 11. The anti-hall, the domain of nature, the hellmouth, life after death and the feminine body are all uncanny. Hell unites all fears spread in Anglo-Saxon England and reveals paradoxically how England could be heaven or hell as those elements were there as the heavenly elements shown in chapter 1. Hell in Junius 11 reunites paradoxically many elements within itself. Life and death can be summarized by two elements that were used by the House of Wessex to build the newly unified country: buildings and burials. Buildings like the New Minster Church that is going to be studied in detail in chapter 4, section 4.3.

## Chapter 4

### Middle-earth: the island and Junius 11

In the Moon, is a certain Island near by a mighty continent, which small island seems to have some affinity to England, & what is more extraordinary the people are so much alike & their language so much the same that you would think you was among your friends. In this Island dwells three Philosophers, Suction the Epicurean, Quid the Cynic, and Sipsop the Pythagorean. I call them by name of those sects are not ever mention'd there, as being quite out of date. However, the things still remain, and the vanities are the same. The three Philosophers sat together thinking of nothing. <sup>287</sup>

In this chapter, I will present two types of Anglo Saxon `earth`. The first one is the physical manifestation; the land, the soil, the island where the Anglo-Saxons lived and which they recognized as their own land, their earth, and by extension, the land of the Angles, England. The second one is the intangible idea of earth, present in Junius 11 and occasionally in other sources from the same time. Both aspects in relation to heaven and hell, and both of these "earths" are connected. The intangible concept of earth is shaped by the historical events happening in the real earth. I am not going to exhaust the subject of earth in Junius 11, as the aim of this thesis is to understand the relationship between the supernatural world and the human landscape through the images and text within Junius 11. The landscape of England which produced Junius 11 was the context of unification, the creation of England as a unified country, under the rulership of the house of Wessex and the Benedictine reform of the Church: a time of creation and recreation, foundation and refoundation, formation and reformation. As a modern artificial island, earth in Junius 11 is an illustrated image from the idealistic, mental isle.

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<sup>287</sup> William Blake, *An Island in the Moon*, [1784]. From John Sampson, *William Blake - Poetical works - a new and verbatim text from the manuscript engraved and letterpress originals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), p.92.

The first section, 4.1 (Creation, the emerging island) explores the creation of earth and how the artists were able to transmit into image a text so difficult to turn into illustration. The first artist needed to choose among a wide collection of possible models the ones that fits in the illustration project and their own concept. The artist's choices reveal what concepts of earth they had in their minds about its relationship with hell and heaven. This earth is the middle-earth, it is an island in the sea and at the same time, the intermediary space between heaven and hell. Earth's existence is a consequence of the war started by Lucifer, and the battle camp where demons and angels dispute the power through eternity until the Judgment Day.

In section 4.2, the Spiritual Island, the focus is about the earthly paradise. Paradise works as an intermediary space in relationship to earth and hell. Earthly paradise has also connections with hell. Earthly paradise is also a type of privileged space in the narrative, it is the supreme earth. Paradise is also a microcosmos which carries the symbology of middle earth, the island of the Anglo-saxons and it is not only a temporary space or membrane through heaven and hell. In some features, paradise is the childhood, the original nature not contaminated by sin. However, as a seminal space, is the ground where the first battle between ideal and chaos, heaven and hell, hall and anti-hall occurred.

In section 4.3, this thesis goes to the real world of the funerary tombs and burials to understand the symbolic connection between the world of the living and the world of the dead according to the views of that period. The views of the geography of afterlife materialized by the most well documented funerary practices of this time: the tomb of the kings and nobles. Then, the connection between the afterlife and political power complete the circle of our analysis. This section shows how the house of Wessex built up their sovereignty over England using not only the burial of the early kings, but also places that supposedly had connections with the afterlife. The model of nobility is given in Junius 11 by Adam's descendants, and the treason is shown as a sin akin to Lucifer's rebellion in the beginning. The Noah's Ark illustration is repeated 4 times in Junius 11 illustrations. It is very important as a symbol of rebirth,



and island, again, returning to the topos about earth in Junius 11. And summarizing it, earth is an island, the island of Anglo-saxons.

## 4.1. Creation and recreation

In this section, I will focus on the image and text about the creation part in Junius 11. This is an analysis of how the artist pictured the creation of the world (especially earth), highlighting the aspects that I worked on previously in chapters 2 and 3, that is architecture, relationship with nature, relationship with space, position and comparison with the other spheres. Importantly, this part of the poem and the visual narrative tells how every sphere (heaven, earth) is connected with each other. This connection is different from the extreme opposition between heaven and hell in the images of the fall of Lucifer. There are two important elements in the creation of the images that this analysis intends to highlight: the earth (middle-earth) as an island and the connections between heaven and earth.

The difference between how the Canonical Vulgate Bible and Junius 11 tells the creation of earth is the starting point. In Junius 11, the earth and the humans were created by God to compensate for the treason of the rebel angels. This passage does not exist in the Vulgate Bible. In the Genesis poem there is a passage (below) where the motivations behind God's creation of the humans are explained. The act is a result of the "failure" with Lucifer and the rebel angels:

Then our prince considered in his thought how he might settle with  
a better troop the great creations and the native-seats after that, the  
bright radiant throne, those which the boastful destroyers had given  
up, high in the heavens. Therefore holy God took control under the  
skies, with royal powers, intended that the earth and sky above and  
the broad water be established as a created world in compensation  
for the hateful, rebellious ones, whom he banished from his  
protection.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> "Þa þeāhtode þeoden ure / modgeþonce, hu he þa mæran gesceaft, / eðelstaðolas eft  
gesette, / swegltorhtan seld, selran werode, / þa hie gielpsceapan of gifen hæfdon, /  
heah on heofenum. Forþam halig god / under roderas feng, ricum mihtum, / wolde þæt

The word *gield* (line 97b) means: a payment of money, recompense, substitute, offering, worship, service, and, compensation. Then, it is not hidden that mankind was created by God to compensate for the rebellion and as a substitute for the rebel angels not only as the chosen ones, but also as the servants of God as a king. As a theory of sovereignty, the ruler creates the kingdom and even the body of the people he will rule. His power does not come from the people as the later medieval and renaissance theories about the justification of the king's power and their antique precursors.<sup>289</sup> By extension, the powers of the earthly kings are given by God, and mirror the power of God over humankind. In the image on page 16 compared to the image on page 3 (figure 03) there is a small strip through which the angels fell. The space between heaven and hell is the middle-earth. This section is the place that Adam and Eve and their descendants will inhabit as a space defined already in relation to heaven and hell, and the eternal battle between good and evil. The reason why God created Earth according to the poem is due to the fall of the rebel angels, to reaffirm God's power as the ruler of heaven. The poem Genesis tells between lines 92-102, how God, with *ricum mihtum* (powers over the kingdom) took control under *roderas feng* (under the skies) – and *wolde þæt him eorðe* (and intended that the earth) and *uproder* (and the firmament).

In order to create mankind in the Genesis narrative of Junius 11, God needs to create a place for mankind to inhabit. Compared with hell which was created by God to be the place of punishment for the rebel angels, this is a different type of creation. After the emphasis on hell on page 3, the images show how

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him eorðe and uproder / and sid wæter geseted wurde / woruldgesceafte on wraðra gield, / para þe forhealdene of hleo sende". (Gen. 92-102).

<sup>289</sup> About the concepts of sovereignty in the Early Western Middle Ages, especially the British Isles and the Frankish Empire, see: R. Meens, 'Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-being of the Realm', in *Early Medieval Europe* 7.3 (1998), 345–357.

God creates the world as it seems to be. There are two images on pages 06 (figure A4) and 07 (figure A5).

On page 06 (figure A4), on the right side there is a, [*Her He*] *g[e]syndrode w[æ]t[er] and eo[ð]an* ('[Here He] separated water and earth'), as an explanation of the image on the side. The highlighted dichotomy between water and earth is already in the Vulgate. The image is showing the first and second days of creation according to Vulgate: In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness [was] upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.<sup>290</sup> The poetry in the Old English poemtext is filled with details that the original in Latin did not specify. The sensorial description mostly agrees with the description about hell itself as I examined in the previous chapter. The description seems to be very close to what would be in the middle of a winter night out in the wild or in the sea:

There was nothing yet here except darkness, however this vast abyss stood deep and dark, alien to the Lord, idle and useless. The resolute king looked upon it with his eyes, and beheld the place, without joys, saw the dark mist hanging in perpetual night, black under the skies, gloomy and void, until this created world came into existence by the world of the king of glory. The eternal Lord, protector of all things, first created here heaven and earth, raised up the sky, and the Lord almighty established this spacious land by his strong powers. The surface was not yet green with grass; dark perpetual night oppressed the ocean far and wide, the gloomy waves.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> "In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi: et spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas". (Genesis 1: 1-2, Vulgate).

<sup>291</sup> "Ne wæs her þa giet nympe heolstersceado / wiht geworden, ac þes wida grund / stod deop and dim, drihtne fremde, / idel and unnyt. On þone eagum wlat / stiðfrihþ cining, and þa stowe beheold, / dreama lease, geseah deorc gesweorc / semian sinnihte sweart under roderum, / wonn and weste, oðþæt þeos woruldgesceaft / þurh word gewearð wuldorcyniges. / Her ærest gesceop ece drihten, / helm eallwihta, heofon

The opposition between water and earth is also important to a folk who knows that they moved through the waters in ships to their new world, an island, Great Britain. If apart from the sensorial description, gloomy, darkness, wasted etc., the Creation in Junius 11 is not only the making of earth, it is making heaven itself. How could God create heaven only now, if the war against the rebel angels had already happened? The answer is the same created by the question how God can already be Jesus Christ the saviour while he is creating the world. The divine time is eternal and it is always happening, as God is out of the time, as said by Augustine of Hippo:

In your Word all is uttered at one and the same time, yet eternally. If it were not so, your Word would be subject to time and change and therefore would be neither truly eternal nor truly immortal.<sup>292</sup>

In his comments about Genesis, Augustine again claims the eternity of God:

All this being so, God the Almighty, holding all things under his sway, always the same in his unchangeable eternity, truth and will, while unmoved himself either through time or space. By such movement he administers outwardly the natures which he set in place inwardly, doing this both through the will subject to him, which he moves through time, and through the bodies which are subject both to him and to these wills, and which he moves through time and space, the time and local space whose idea or formula is life in God himself without either time or place. <sup>293</sup>

Then, there is a different kind of logic operating here, in the poetic narrative and illustrations as well. God is here already what he will become in the future, as he is beyond any human comprehension and a linear storyline, visual or

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and eorðan, / rodor arærde, and þis rume land / gestapelode strangum mihtum, Frea ælmihtig". (Gen. 103-119).

<sup>292</sup> Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions of Augustine*, translated by R.S. Davies (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961), *Confessions*, 11. 7, p. 214.

<sup>293</sup> Augustine of Hippo, *On Genesis*, translated by E. Hill (Hyde Park: New City Press), 26,48, p.373

poetic.<sup>294</sup> The teleology is not only in the storyline but also in the characters themselves.

The sphere of sky in the superior part, above the sphere of earth that is only water. Again, the land is rising from the ocean of emptiness, like an island in an ocean, pretty much like the island of Great Britain. God is represented by Christ beardless, cross nimbed, sitting over the rim on the edge of the earth sphere. God is sitting over the edge of the earth sphere, there is a support base basin under his feet. God has the left hand as though magically directing it down, while pointing with the right. If we compare this image with another “creation”, page 3 (figure A3), where Lucifer also points towards his “creation”, the throne, here God is already sitting on his throne, that is the firmament itself, and is pointing his hand with a real power not an illegitimate power like Lucifer. There is an angel in the top holding a big object where rays of light are coming downwards. The object seems to be a big cup or inverted dome. The image is showing the creation of light. According to the poem:

The earth was not yet green with grass; the spear-waves were covered by the black endless night, broad and wide, the dark tides. Then was the Spirit Guarding Heaven, gloriously bright, borne over the waters with mighty speed The Maker of Angels, the Dispenser of Life ordered light to come forth across the spacious ground. Quickly the command of the High-King was fulfilled — His holy light waxed over the wasteland, just as the Workman required. <sup>295</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> About the Christian concept of divine eternity not only in Middle Ages see: K. A. Rogers, ‘Eternity Has No Duration’, in *Religious Studies* 30.1 (1994): 1–16, and E. Brunner, ‘The Christian Understanding of Time’, *Scottish Journal of Theology* 4.1 (1951), 1–12.

<sup>295</sup> “Folde wæs þa gyta / græs ungrene; garsecg þeahte / sweart synnihte, side and wide, / wonne wegas. þa wæs wuldortorht / heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren / miclum spedum. Metod engla heht, / lifes brytta, leoht forð cuman / ofer rumne grund. Ræpe wæs gefylled / heahcininges hæse; him wæs halig leoht / ofer westenne, swa se wyrhta bebedad”. (Gen. 116b-125).

On the bottom of the picture there are some stormy waters and over the waters another winged angel covers his eyes with a cloth. At first sight maybe the illustrated representation of “the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters” as said by the Vulgate (Genesis 1;12). For Henderson, this seems partially correct as this iconography came from late antique illustrations of darkness:

The Greek Octateuchs show the division of light from darkness in very similar form to the Junius MS, though only God's hand is shown. Light (Day) is a dancing figure with a torch, darkness (Night) a dark robed figure covering its face with a scarf.<sup>296</sup>

The Genesis poem clearly highlights the separation between the light of the day and the dark of the night, even giving some qualities to the light, *sceade wið sciman*, that means “Shadow against splendour(or gleaming)”:

Then the Victorious Sovereign sundered light from darkness across the water-flood, shadow against splendour. Life's Dispenser fashioned for both a name— light was first called “Day” through the Lord's word, a creation beauty-bright. It pleased the Lord well at the dawn of that forth-bringing moment. The very first day saw the dark and dismal shadow decreasing across the spacious earth.<sup>297</sup>

Even the angel over the waters could be the product of a misunderstanding or a mix of both ideas, God as a spirit over the waters does not fit the first option. The emphasis here is made by the sensorial contrast between light and darkness. The angel in the top is a personification of the light of the day (more than only the sun). The angel in the bottom is the personification of the darkness, as this angel is covering his eyes. The choice here is for a figure

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<sup>296</sup> Henderson, ‘The Programme of Illustrations in Bodleian MS Junius 11’ (1975), p.167.

<sup>297</sup> “þa gesundrode sigora waldend / ofer laguflode leoht wið peostrum, / sceade wið sciman. Sceop þa bam naman, / lifes brytta. Leoht wæs ærest / þurh drihtnes word dæg genemned, / witebeorhte gesceaft. Wel licode / frean æt frymðe forþbæro tid, / dæg æresta; geseah deorc sceado / sweart swiðrian geond sidne grund“. (Gen. 126-34)

that represents the sensorial deprivation of light, as the darkness cannot be represented as a thing itself. That type of representation of a human sense of the world follows the description of hell in both image and text as said in the previous chapter.

On page 07 (figure A5) there is an illustration of the third to sixth days of creation<sup>298</sup>. It is composed of seven spheres directly above each other. On the right margin, there is *her he* (*he* - superscript) *dæg wið nihte*, ( 'here he separated day from night'). In the first circle, there is Christ (God), bearded, cross-nimbed inside of a mandorla. On the left side of the mandorla is written: "*saluator*" in Latin that means 'saviour'. Theologically the demiurge God, the God of the creation is already the God of salvation through his sacrifice as Christ. He carries a book in his left hand while blessing with his right hand. The extensions of his robes on both sides goes out of the frame of his mandorla. The second circle shows the plants and animals, in the centre there is a bird, and an acanthus small tree (with a cruciform centre) and a deer. This circle, like the previous one of the waters on the previous page, does not have a circle in its lower portion, however is made by a narrow line but horizontal in relationship with the whole picture, breaking the circular pattern of each circle. Then it is possible to see there is a visual game between similarity and difference, as the circle on page 6 is the waters and the second sphere on page 7 is the land. Sea and land are not circular in their each lowermost part, as below them is hell. Again, there is a kind of human and individual perception of the space, much like the images of hell.

In the third sphere on page 07, God the creator is similar to page 06. God is beardless, cross nimbed, with a book and doing a blessing gesture as he is doing in the First circle. There is a hierarchy of both the representations of God. The God on the top is the God in the sky, with his mandorla showing his omnipotence over the universe. The beardless God on both pages 06 and 7 means God as a spiritual presence on earth. When he is in heaven he is called

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<sup>298</sup> Genesis 1: 6-31. Vulgate.



Jehovah. Some authors defend that bearded god is the Father and the beardless is the son<sup>299</sup>.

About the separation between heaven and earth on the second day the poem says that material used by God to made heaven came originally from “earth”.

Then came the second day, light after darkness. Life's guardian then commanded the exultant heavenly material to arise in the midst of the sea-stream. Our ruler divided the seas and then made the heavens the firmament, which the powerful one, the Lord almighty, lifted up from the earth by his own word. <sup>300</sup>

This is not mentioned in the Vulgate. About the creation of Heavens in there are two passages. In Genesis 2:2: *‘Thus the heavens and the earth were completed in all their vast array.’*<sup>301</sup> *And also in Genesis 2:4: ‘This is the account of the heavens (skies) and the earth when they were created, when the Lord God made the earth and the heavens (skies).’*<sup>302</sup>

The word in Old English in the poem Genesis used is: *heofontimber* that is constructed by two words. Heofon means heaven (or the sky), not exactly the supernatural place, however the sky, like the equivalent *caelum* in Latin. The second word is timber, that means material or building, or house, building. Then, the idea of the whole universe as a building, with different floors and a roof, like the hall or the Christian church explain the choice of words and

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<sup>299</sup> See discussion in Henderson, ‘The Programme of Illustrations in Bodleian MS Junius 11’ (1975), pp. 140-143.

<sup>300</sup> ”ða com oðer dæg, / leoht æfter þeostrum. Heht þa lifes weard / on mereflode middum weorðan / hyhtlic heofontimber. Holmas dælde / waldend ure and geworhte þa / roderas fæsten; þæt se rica ahof / up from eorðan þurh his agen word, / frea ælmihtig. (Gen. 142b-150a).

<sup>301</sup> “Igitur perfecti sunt caeli et terra et omnis exercitus eorum” (Genesis 2:1, Vulgate).

<sup>302</sup> “Istae sunt generationes caeli et terrae, quando creata sunt. In die quo fecit Dominus Deus terram et caelum”. (Genesis 2:1, Vulgate).

images to picture heaven, earth (and hell) in that building structure as said in the section 2.3.

About the structure of pages 6 and 7 the images are arranged in pairs. Barbara Raw defends an origin from a triptych from images on pages 6 and 7:

These pictures give the impression of being derived from a triptych, possibly ivory, in which the two outer panels represented the separation of light from darkness, while the centre panel showed the creation of plants, birds and animals.<sup>303</sup>

The iconography could be derived from a triptych or another piece of art, however without a piece of material evidence it seems difficult to prove it. Even using some iconographic motifs from another source the visual narrative of creation of Junius 11 is very original. The image on page 6 is double, light and day. On the top of page 7 the pair in opposition is heaven (skies) and earth with the animals and plants. The opposite pair at the bottom of the page is made between skies (stars) and earth (land) with the visible vegetation. Heaven was created after the Rebel Angels fall, however the Genesis poem starts with a noteworthy theological statement:

There never was a beginning for him, nor an origin brought about, nor presently will come and end of the eternal Lord, however forever he will be sovereign over the thrones of heaven.<sup>304</sup>

Like the divine eternal time of Augustine of Hippo mentioned above, the Christian time is always happening because time always eternal for God. The sphere or circle are not a random representation of heaven and earth. Quoting an author from the Anglo-Saxon period, Bede tells about the meaning of

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<sup>303</sup> Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis' (1984), (pp. 136).

<sup>304</sup> "Næs him fruma æfre, / or geworden, ne nu ende cymþ / ecean drihtnes, ac he bið a rice / ofer heofenstolas". (Gen. 5b-8a).

circles as symbol of eternity, and also the connection between eternity and creation and end of times:

In Holy Scripture it is often customary to use rings [circles] to express eternity, because they appear to have neither beginning nor End. And aptly is the curtain by which heaven is figured said to have been hung up with rings, either because it was in the eternal counsel of the Divinity at the creation of the world, in which the nature of heaven has the first and most distinguishable place, or else the firmament of heaven was made in such a way that its fashioning could never be undone. For when the Lord says, `Heaven and earth shall pass away` [Matt 24:35], this is to be understood as referring to the atmospheric heaven concerning which Jeremiah says, `The kite in heaven has known its time` [Jer 8:7]. For that heaven which is to perish by fire at the [last] Judgement is that which is known to have been destroyed by the waters of the Flood, as Peter bears witness when he says: `By the world of God heavens existed in former times, and the earth was formed out of water and by means of water, through which the world was formed out of water and by means of water, through which the world of that time was deluged with water and perished, however by the same word the heavens which now exist have been reserved for fire, being kept until the Day of Judgment` .<sup>305</sup>

As told by Bede the rings [circles] used to express eternity by the first artist on page 7 (figure A4) and pages 7 (figure A5) express the eternity, infinity of God's work as the circle that never ends. The circular shape is not random or

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<sup>305</sup> "Circuli quia neque initium habere neque finem videntur non nunquam in scriptura sacra pro aeternitate poni solent. Et apte uelut in quo caelum figuratur per circulos suspensum esse perhibetur uel quia in aeterno erat consilio diuinitatis quando mundus crearetur in quo premium atque eximium locum habet natura caelestis uel quia ita factum est firmamentum caeli ut nunquam eius factura solueretur. Nam quod dominus ait, Caelum et terra transibunt, de caelo est aerio accipiendum de quo Hieremias, Miluus, inquit, in iudicio igne peritum est quod in diluuium contat aquis esse perditum Petro attestant qui ait: Caeli errant prius et terra de aqua et per aquam consistentis uerbo Dei per quae ille tunc mundus aqua inundatus perierat, caeli autem qui nunc sunt eodem uerbo repositi sunt seruati in diem iudicii". [2 Pet 3:5-7] Bede. *De Tabernaculo*. P. 79.

merely an artistic choice. It is a theological concept. The perfect circle might also represent the demiurge God<sup>306</sup> as the circle is made by a compass by the artist. As the architectural features present in the kingdom of heaven, studied in Chapter 1, earth is made by God as the architect. God as an architect was present in apocryphal Hellenistic writings.<sup>307</sup> There is evidence that apocryphal books reached western Christendom indirectly or directly or even orally.<sup>308</sup> Then, this demiurgic notion of God influenced the choices of the first artist as a repertoire about God and the creation of earth. Ultimately, the artist's act of drawing the circles with a compass mimics the work of God as an architect.

For Bede heaven is impossible to be destroyed. And he also tells how in the end of times earth will return to waters as it will be destroyed by flood,. The island will submerge as the air (heaven, not the kingdom of heaven, the sky) will be destroyed by fire.<sup>309</sup> The biblical text is full of links that present the connections between facts, character and symbolic relationship since its beginning. In the gospel of John, there are a similar concept of time:

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<sup>306</sup> About the origins of the hellenistic Demiurgic God, or God Architect see N. Powers, 'Plato's Demiurge as precursor to the stoic providential God', *The Classical Quarterly*, Cambridge University Press, 63(2), 2013, pp. 713–722. J. P. Kenney, 'Ancient Apophatic Theology', in *Gnosticism and Later Platonism: Themes, Figures, and Texts*, ed. by J. D. Turner and R. D., Majercik, (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), pp. 259-78.

<sup>307</sup> Demiurgic God or God as an architect is present for example in the Egyptian Hellenistic gnostic text from the third century: 'On the origin of the world' (11,5 AND XIII,2), translated by H.G. Bethge, B. Layton and Societas Coptica Hierosolymitana, in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. by M. Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 1977), pp. 170-89.

<sup>308</sup> K. Powell and D. G. Scragg, *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003).

<sup>309</sup> D. Anlezark, *Water and Fire: the Myth of the Flood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp.79-80.

In the beginning was the Word: and the Word was with God: and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him: and without him was made nothing that was made. In him was life: and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness: and the darkness did not comprehend it.<sup>310</sup>

The divine time is eternal and happening into eternity. Every sphere, heaven and earth have a complementary meaning while they are connected with each other. At the same time every sphere is a complementary mirror to the art and poem itself. This middle-earth is the earth created by God, a place between heaven and hell and also between the oceanic waters. Earth in Junius 11 is an island, that makes the connections between heaven and hell. While drawing in images of creation of earth, the artist could have been able to put in image the theological concept of eternal divine time, as since Augustine, this is a matter of philosophical discussion. Also present in Junius 11's art is the concept of earth as an Island, like the promised land of the Anglo-Saxons, the British Isles, the Land of the English people.

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<sup>310</sup> "In principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum hoc erat in principio apud Deum omnia per ipsum facta sunt et sine ipso factum est nihil quod factum est in ipso vita erat et vita erat lux hominum et lux in tenebris lucet et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt". (Vulgate, John 1; 1-5.).

## 4.2. Drifting in the ocean: the promised island

In this section I will focus mainly how earth and earthly paradise connect with heaven and hell in the Junius 11 illustrations and text. Earth is the space between heaven and hell through which one can pass from one sphere. But more than this, earth mirrors both spheres in some ways in the illustrations and poetry. The Genesis poem as a narrative of origins can provide how heaven or hell was imagined as interfering in the life of the people from late Anglo-Saxon England. Aside from other aspects of these illustrations, in Junius 11 there is a hierarchy of sins that can determine how bad the sin committed by the sinner is. Junius 11 placed the sin of Lucifer as the original cause of all others. The sin of Adam and Eve is caused by Satan interference through his messenger. The fall of Adam and Eve resembles the fall of the rebel angels, and explains why the earthly world, even is created by God, can be the land of evil. As part of earth however with the different element of the flood I am going to study the images of Noah's story in Junius 11. In this section I intend to map spatial connections and the supernatural world.

On page 09 (figure A6), there is an interesting connection between heaven and paradise. God is able to go to earth to create Eve from Adam and Eve using a ladder. In the top there is an inscription: *`Her drihten gewearp sclep on adam and genam him an rib of a sidan and gescop his wif of am ribbe`*, that means: 'Here the Lord cast sleep upon Adam and took a rib from his side and he created his wife from the rib'. Eve is identified by the scripting 'Eve'. Above God's head is written: *Her drihten gescop adames wif euam* ('Here the Lord created the wife of Adam, Eve').<sup>311</sup> The image of heaven is separated from earth by a stripe outlined by red, and painted inside with green. The same colours and techniques are used for the door frame of heaven where the

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<sup>311</sup> For a discussion about the influences on that see Henderson, 'The Programme of Illustrations in Bodleian MS Junius 11' (1975), (p. 169); and Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis' (1984), p. 140.

Archangel Michael is standing as a guardian. On the left side there is an angel with a key in his hand, like an angelic version of Saint Peter. Raw compares Saint Peter and the Archangel Michael with typical Last Judgment scenes, like BL Cotton MS Claudius B.IV (folio 43v) and Stowe MS 944, the New Minster Vitae (folios 6v and 7r). She concludes that the iconography was created as a product of mixing the sleeping Adam and the sleeping Jacob.<sup>312</sup> There again columns show how the heavens and the earthly paradise are connected by the stairway. The angel seems to be going up to heaven, and there is even a discussion about the influence of Jacob's Ladder in that depiction.<sup>313</sup> As said by Muir, the image of Jacob's Ladder often shows an angel descending. The inscription says on the right side of the ladder: *Her godes englas astigan of heouenan into paradisum* (Here the angels of God ascend from Heaven into Paradise). The phrase written within the art indicates that the angel is climbing even though in the illustration it seems he is descending. There is no mention about the ladder. The verb *astigan* can be translated to go, come, step, proceed, climb; (Latin: *ire, venire, gradi, procedere, scandere*).<sup>314</sup> This part of the image seems very important to the narrative as there is an explanation of what is happening in the illustration. Given the fact that the story of the creation of Adam and Eve is happening, that Angel descending can be the explanation of how God can go to the earthly Paradise, or the connection between the two spaces. Influenced or not by Jacob's Ladder, ascending or descending, the main goal of the angel in that stairway is to show the possible transit of the heavenly creatures to the earthly paradise, showing a stable connection

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<sup>312</sup> Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis' (1984), pp. 140-1.

<sup>313</sup> The source for this ladder is Jacob's vision as recounted in Gen. 28:12-14, though in his dream he saw angels both ascending and descending; it is probably significant for the scenes depicted here that the passage describing Jacob's vision concludes with God's promise that Jacob's 'seed' will be as ubiquitous (i.e. numerous) as the dust of the earth and that they shall have a homeland (the promised land). B. Muir, (2004), Cd-Rom, commentaries on page 09 of Junius 11.

<sup>314</sup> ASD.

between the two different spheres. The mixing with Jacob's Ladder is intentionally made to show this easier connection between God, heavens and the earthly paradise. On the folio 11v, in the old English Hexateuch, BL Cotton Claudius B.IV (figure B36), Enoch is going to heaven using a stairway, similar to the one in image. Elizabeth Coatsworth claims an influence from the apocryphal book of Enoch to justify this ladder and even the episode of the fall of the rebel angels.<sup>315</sup>

In the illustrations on pages 09 (figure A6), 10 (figure A7), 11 (figure A8), 13 (figure A9), 24 (figure A13), 28 (figure A14), 41 (figure A20), 45 (figure A22), 46 (Figure A23), the earthly Paradise is shown as a place dominated by nature, although this nature is contained by powerful walls, columns and fortification. However, some illustrations show the earthly paradise without any buildings or constructions<sup>316</sup>. With the only exception of page 44 (Figure A21) that has a very regular double frame, when God is present in the Earthly paradise image there are columns or walled structures, like frames of the whole image, surrounding the heaven or paradise itself. As said in section 2.3, there is in Junius 11 an effort to put the architectural frames not only as a frame, but as a symbol of God's presence and order.

On page 11 (figure A8), God is in the central portion in the walled superior part (heaven), depicted as one the most colourful human images of the whole manuscript. His clothes and even the book in his left hand is painted. On the bottom Adam and Eve are among trees and a lot of animals in a minor scale to show their submission to the first human beings. Focusing on the walled space on this page, like pages 16 (figure A10) and 17 (figure A1) there is a

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<sup>315</sup> E. Coatsworth, 'The Book of Enoch and the Anglo-Saxon Art', *Apocryphal texts and traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by K. Powell & D.G. Scragg (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), pp.135-50 (p.144).

<sup>316</sup> For a discussion about earthly paradise *locus amoenus* and also or the place of the *neorxnawang* (penumbra of greenness) see in A.J. Kabir, *Paradise, death, and doomsday in anglo-saxon literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 142-147.



complex game between heaven and earth space in this illustration. The artist tried to pass to the person who reads the book a view from above, in a very complicated perspective. The relationship between heaven and earth is not an accident or bad skills of the artist. The artist was not worried about realistic perspective, but focused on telling the reader a story with greater meaning. God is inside a walled pentangular fortress. The walls of heaven touch the top of two trees. In the space between the top of the left tree and the central one there is no wall. There is only a single line between heaven and earth like a door. Adam is looking directly up through this "door" in God's direction as he is raising his head. Eve is looking at god's feet and not making the same effort to see God as Adam. Heaven is like the hall of God, while earthly paradise is the yard or the farming area. At the same time the trees seem to be the connection between the earth and the heaven where is God in majesty. On both sides outside the walled heaven *castrum* there are towers and spires showing that outside of heaven the dominions of God are still under God's power. The hierarchy present here is not random and represents how the hall (or the church) is superior to the material daily lives of common people, food, animals and etc.

On page 13 (figure A9) in a similar way of page 11, earthly heaven is illustrated as Adam and Eve between two trees with smaller animals under their feet, however the picture is inside an architectural frame made by two arches in the top of the image. The illustration came from the lines 237-245, where starts the so called Genesis B part.

But enjoy all the others for yourselves, renounce that one tree, guard yourselves against the fruit. For you two there will be no unsatisfied desire." Then they eagerly bowed their heads toward heaven's king and said thanks for all things, for his creative skills and his teachings. He allowed them to occupy that land; then the holy Lord, the resolute king, turned toward the heavens. His handiwork stood together on the sand; they knew nothing at all about lamenting sorrows, however rather they should fulfil God's

desire for the longest time. They were beloved of God while they intended to keep his holy word..<sup>317</sup>

Adam and Eve looking to the trees, probably 'Tree of Life' (*lifes beam*, line. 468) and the 'Tree of Death' (*deaes beam*, l. 478). On the inferior part of the image in the centre, close to animals there is an inscription saying: *q[u]jodda(m) mare* ('a certain sea'). Putting the sea close to the Paradise, something that is not in the canonical Bible, as the water flows from the four mythical rivers reach paradise give the connection again between earthly paradise and the island type of paradise, that is the Britain Island<sup>318</sup>.

In the superior central part of the image there is an unbearded man inside a type of mandorla. The 'mandorla' with gleaming light is similar to the light dome from pages of 6 (figure A4) and 7 (figure A5) turned on its side like a half moon. It can be a representation of the sun, moon, and at the same time represents the journey of God toward the heavens, *hwærf him þa to heofenum* (line 240), that means: 'He (God) returns to heaven'. His absence gives them enough to leave space for the action of Lucifer's messenger temptation.

On page 41 (figure A20), God judging the serpent, the vegetation and the architecture are in different ways attached between themselves, forming a type of frame to the illustration. They are not working only as frame to the full page image, but they link everything and all the characters in this page. There is an interesting connection between column and plants. The architecture and

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<sup>317</sup> "Ac niotað inc þæs oðres ealles, forlætað þone ænne beam, / wariað inc wið þone wæstm. Ne wyrð inc wilna gæd. / Hnigon þa mid heafdum heofoncynige / georne togenes and sædon ealles þanc, / lista and para lara. He let heo þæt land buan, / hwærf him þa to heofenum halig drihten, / stiðferhð cyning. Stod his handgeweorc / somod on sande, nyston sorga wiht / to begromianne, howeveran heo godes willan / lengest læsten. Heo wæron leof gode / ðenden heo his halige word healdan woldon". (Gen. lines 237-245).

<sup>318</sup> See L. Staley, 'Writing in the Shadow of Bede: England and the Island Garden', in *The Island Garden: England's Language of Nation from Gildas to Marvell* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), pp.15-70.

plants connect with the figure on the top, and in the columns the vegetable motif resembles the serpent. The arcades on the top show the connection between God and heaven. The two arcades emerge out from God's cross nimbed head, but without touching it. This illustration is based on the lines 852-917, immediately after the end of Genesis B, and the returning to the text called Genesis A by some scholars. I am going to highlight here the following lines, about the spatial Paradise conception and how God can reach it:

Then after midday the Lord Almighty the famous prince, came to walk in paradise at his leisure; our savior, the merciful Father, wished to find out what his children might be doing; he knew that those to whom he had earlier given beauty were undone. Depressed, they went scurrying away under the shadows of trees, deprived of glory, they hid in the darkness, when they hear the Lord's holy words, and dreaded him. <sup>319</sup>

The Lord comes to walk in paradise and check on his "children", who hide under a tree from God, ashamed. The paradise as a type of garden where the children are playing is complemented by the disposition of the page, using the architecture to show the control of God over the Paradise as an adult, a father over his children. Then, even God was away, God can easily reach the paradise, as a king visiting his garden. Paradise is an intermediary space between heaven and earth, like a place for the childhood of mankind.

On page 44 (figure A21), based on lines 918-938: the judgment of Adam and Eve, God appears on the top of the central mountain. God is depicted as a Christ duplicated. The image has no architectural frame. The frame is really regular and symmetrical. The Christ on the left with red clothes is judging Eve, while the Christ on the right without any colour is judging Adam. The artist highlighted the judgment itself and added certain inequality between both

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<sup>319</sup> "þa com feran frea ælmihtig / ofer midne dæg, mære peoden, / on neorxna-wang neode sine; / wolde neosian nergend usser, / bilwit fæder, hwæt his bearn dyde; / wiste forworhte þam he ær wlite sealde. / Gewitan him þa gangan geomermode / under beamsceade blæde bereafod, / hyddon hie on heolstre, þa hie halig word / drihtnes gehyrdon, and ondredon him". (Gen. 852-861).

punishments. Probably Eve has the worse punishment as she is judged by God with the red clothes, as she will submit to the men and will give birth in pain. The connection between God and the earthly realm is made by the mount and the central tree. This page has a very regular frame compared to the chaotic frame on page 41. This frame transmits the idea that now is a moment of rearranging while God is correcting the mistakes and the irregular situation from page 41. At the same time it means that Adam and Eve are outside God's protection. They were already expelled from the innocent time of Paradise. Their destiny is recreating the fall of the rebel angels, and they are going to a place far from the connection with God. The spatial separation is noticeable in this passage when the poem tells how God said to Adam to find a new home:

The eternal Lord, source of light, also announced a hateful message to Adam; "You shall seek out another homeland, a less happy dwelling, and as a naked drifter you shall wander in exile, deprived of the benefits of paradise; the sundering of soul and body is ordained for you. Indeed, you hatefully initiated enmity; therefore you shall toil and provide your own nourishment on the earth, bear a sweaty brow, eat your own loaf, while you live here, until unpleasant illness, which earlier you yourself had swallowed in the apple, firmly grips you around the heart; for that reason you shall die."<sup>320</sup>

The world outside paradise has a lot of similarities to hell, it is also full of suffering. The punishment puts Adam close to nature as it is in the real world, not a nice garden as the paradise. The man works and the woman now is giving birth to the children in pain.

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<sup>320</sup> "Abead eac Adame ece drihten, / lifes leohtfruma, lað ærende: / "þu scealt oðerne eðel secean, / wynleasran wic, and on wræc hweorfan / nacod niedwædla, neorxnawanges/ dugeðum bedæled; þe is gedal witod / lices and sawle. Hwæt, þu laðlice / wrohte onstealdest; forþon þu winnan scealt / and on eorðan þe þine andlifne / selfa geræcan, wegan swatig hleor, / þinne hlaf etan, þenden þu her leofast, / oðþæt þe to heortan hearde gripeð / adl unliðe þe þu on æple ær / selfa forswulge; forþon þu sweltan scealt". (Gen. lines 918-937).

On page 45 (figure A22), the first image of Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, the architecture works as frame. It seems to be a vision from inside Earthly paradise. And it is possible to realize how the earthly paradise has walls and has a similar structure to heaven. Even if it is a Garden, it is not the real nature outside and dangerous, it is a controlled space. This image is still telling the part of the poem from the lines 918-944, however, especially about the clothes they should use from here to the future on lines 939-944:

Listen! We hear now where the sorrows and worldly misery cruelly  
awoke for us. The guardian of glory, our creator, then dressed them  
in garments; the Lord commanded them to turn away from paradise  
into a more limited life.<sup>321</sup>

In episode the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Earthly Paradise of page 45, there are frames as columns again in the right and left side. The superior frame is made of what it looks like a trapezoid arc above, however it can be the back wall of the contained space. There are small windows, and Christ head is surpassing it. Below, as a door, again two columns with capital as door frame.

The next part of the narrative of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise is told on page 46 (figure A23). Now they are outside the doors of earthly paradise. This image refers to the lines 945-64. The columns work as door frames. Above the columns there are towers and in the upper arcade there are windows. At the paradise door a guardian angel holds a sword in his right hand. He shows to Adam and Eve the way out, and guards the entrance as the poem says.

Behind them, at the lord's behest, a holy angel with a fiery sword  
closed the joy-filled home of leisure and pleasure; no wicked  
person, guilty of sin can journey there, however the warden has

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<sup>321</sup> "Hwæt, we nu gehyrað hwær us hearmstafas / wraðe onwocan and woruldymðo. / Hie þa wuldres weard wædum gyrede, / scyppend usser; het heora sceome þeccan / frea frumhrægle; het hie from hweorfan / neorxnawange on nearore lif". (Gen. lines 939-44).

might and strength, he who for the Lord guards that glorious life,  
desirable for its benefits.<sup>322</sup>

The poem says the warden angel with a sword has *`miht and strengðo`* (might and strength, line 950). His sword is not on flame in the image, as the poem says. Even though the guardian angel occupies all the door space, like blocking the way to anyone to enter paradise, his strength is projected in the powerful gate and the architectural frame. The artist used perspective to show the thickness of the door as the door does not fit in the frame.

The poem says how God in his mercy even though they have sinned gave the land to Adam and Eve and every species of the sea and land that bears fruit:

However, from the beginning the almighty Father did not at all wish to strip Adam and Eve of favours, though they had cheated on him, however for their comfort he nevertheless let the sky continue, decorated with the holy stars, and gave them the broad bountiful land; he commanded each fecund species of sea and earth to offer fruits to the married pair for their worldly needs. Then after the sin they settled the sorrowful land, a country and homeland less productive of every sustenance than the ancient seat had been which they were driven from after the deed. <sup>323</sup>

It is possible to distinguish the sky in the upper right side where Adam and Eve are, and below them, the plants represent the species of the sea and land, in the new homeland for the couple. The earth outside paradise has a circular

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<sup>322</sup> "Him on laste beleac liðsa and wynna / hihtfulne ham halig engel / be frean hæse fyrene sweorde; / ne mæg þær inwitfull ænig geferan / womscyldig mon, ac se weard hafað / miht and strengðo, se þæt mære lif / dugeðum deore drihtne healdeð". (Gen.lines 945-51)

<sup>323</sup> "No hwæðre ælmihtig ealra wolde / Adame and Euan ana ofteon, / fæder æt frymðe, peah þe hie him from swice, / ac he him to frofre let hwæðre forð wesan / hyrstedne hrof halgum tunglum / and him grundwelan ginne sealde; / het þam sinhiwum sæs and eorðan / tuddorteondra teohha gehwilcre / to woruldnytte wæstmas fedan. / Gesæton þa æfter synne sorgfulre land, / eard and eðyl unspedigran / fremena gehwilcre þonne se frumstol wæs / þe hie æfter dæde of adrifen wurdon". (Gen. lines 952-66).

shape at the top, probably following the pattern of the circles in the creation on pages 06 (figure A4) and 07 (figure A5), and representing the heavenly sphere.

On page 47 there is the illustration about the Birth of Abel, taken from lines 965-969a. The poem is not full of elements about this episode, giving space to the artist to create the scene:

At God's behest they then began to produce children, as the creator  
had commanded them. From Adam and Eve offspring were  
begotten, the first two noble children, Cain and Abel.<sup>324</sup>

The picture shows four columns with capitals in the background, however the two outer columns work as frame. There are again below the arches windows showing that paradise is an enclosed space resembling a cloister. In section 2.3 it was explained how the architectural heaven represented a space of political power like the Anglo Saxon hall and the Church. On page 47 Adam and Eve are living in a large house with columns, capitals and windows above the arches, like a grand building very different from what the Vulgate says about their lives after the expulsion from paradise. On the right side, it is important to note that Adam is sitting on a throne, very similar to Lucifer's throne on page 3. The architectural feature is presented by a small window and a door. The cushion where he is sitting has a similar pattern to Lucifer's throne. The throne is more humble compared to page 3 (figure A3), however it carries the meaning of political power as building itself.

In the Abel and Cain sequence, five scenes appear in the image on page 49 taken from lines 969b-1013a. There is no architectural frame and the element, in any case similar to a building" is the altar in this picture. On the right when the brothers are offering their sacrifice to God, there is the *manus Dei*<sup>325</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> "Ongunnon hie þa be godes hæse / bearn astrienan, swa him metod bebedad. / Adames and Euan aforan wæron / freolicu twa frumbearn cenned, / Cain and Abel". (Gen., lines 965-969a).

<sup>325</sup> About the hand of God's iconography, see: Meir Bar Ilan. 'The Hand of God: A Chapter in Rabbinic Anthropomorphism', in *Rashi 1040-1990 Hommage a Ephraïm E. Urbach*

extending down through clouds from heaven. There is a *manus Dei* that was found as part of a sculpture from the New Minster of Winchester (Figure B40). This sculpture cannot prove a directly influence between Junius 11 and the New Minster, but proves how this motif was known in the Wessex capital at this time. The *manus Dei* in Junius 11 also shows the distance of God from Earth.

The image represents again another seminal disobedience against God's rules when Cain slays Abel. After the Rebel angels and the sin of Adam and Eve, this is the third conflict with God told in Junius 11. The Cain and Abel episode represents a conflict between two ways of living nature as established by Augustine' of Hippo in his *City of God*: Abel is the shepherd and Cain is the farmer. God preferred the shepherd rather than the farmer, causing his hate against his brother, like the original version of the Vulgate. Augustine also links Cain with the Jews blaming them for Christ slain.

But Cain received that counsel of God in the spirit of one who did not wish to amend. In fact, the vice of envy grew stronger in him; and, having entrapped his brother, he slew him. Such was the founder of the earthly city. He was also a figure of the Jews who slew Christ the Shepherd of the flock of men, prefigured by Abel the shepherd of sheep (...).<sup>326</sup>

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ed. by Gabrielle Sed Rajna. (1993): 321–35 and R. Jensen, *Face to Face: Portraits of the Divine in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005).

<sup>326</sup> “Quod dictum est ad Cain de peccato uel de uitiosa carnis concupiscentia, hoc isto loco de peccatrice femina; ubi intellegendum est uirum ad regendam uxorem animo carnem regenti similem esse oportere. Propter quod dicit apostolus: Qui diligit uxorem suam, se ipsum diligit; nemo enim umquam carnem suam odio habuit. Sananda sunt enim haec sicut nostra, non sicut aliena damnanda. Sed illud Dei praeceptum Cain sicut praeuaricator accepit. Inualescente quippe inuidientiae uitio fratrem insidiatus occidit. Talis erat terrenae conditor ciuitatis. Quo modo autem significauerit etiam Iudaeos, a quibus Christus occisus est pastor ouium hominum, quem pastor ouium pecorum praefigurabat Abel(...)”. (Augustine of Hippo, *De ciuita Dei*, Liber 15.07), in H. Bettenson



In the inferior part, after Abel's killing, God appears in full body, not distant as the hand coming from a cloud. God as in the judgment of Adam and Eve in page 44 (figure A21) comes to earth in full showing the importance of this moment in the narrative and echoing Adam and Eve sin. God presence indicates the gravity of Cain's crime.

Now as Cain, signifying possession, the founder of the earthly city, and his son Enoch, meaning dedication, in whose name it was founded, indicate that this city is earthly both in its beginning and in its end, -a city in which nothing more is hoped for than can be seen in this world, - so Seth, meaning resurrection, and being the father of generations registered apart from the others, we must consider what this sacred history says of his son.<sup>327</sup>

However the different part in the poem is how it say the middle-earth absorbed Abel's blood and this caused the origin of all injuries:

The middle-earth swallowed up the gore of the killing, a man's blood. After the death blow woe was raised up, a progeny of injuries. Afterward, malignant and cruel fruit grew from that shoot – the longer the more vigorous. The branches of that enmity reached distantly throughout the nations of men, harmful offshoots struck the children of men sorely and hard – they still do – and from those fat fruits each and every blight began to sprout.<sup>328</sup>

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and J. J. O'Meara (translated by), *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*. (London: Penguin Books, 1984), p. 606.

<sup>327</sup> “Sicut autem Cain, quod interpretatur possessio, terrenae conditor ciuitatis, et filius eius, in cuius nomine condita est, Enoch, quod interpretatur dedicatio, indicat istam ciuitatem et initium et finem habere terrenum, ubi nihil speratur amplius, quam in hoc saeculo cerni potest: ita Seth, quod interpretatur resurrectio, cum sit generationum seorsus commemoratarum pater, quid de filio eius sacra haec historia dicat, intuendum est”. (Augustine of Hippo, *De civita Dei*, 15.17), In *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans* (1984), p. 628.

<sup>328</sup> “(...) æfter wælswege wea wæs aræred, / tregena tuddor. Of ðam twige siððan / ludon laðwende leng swa wiðor / reðe wæstmē. Ræhton wide / geond werpeoda wrohtes

This is a type of idea similar to Grendel and his mother as descending from Cain in Beowulf poem:

Thus the troopmen lived agreeably, at ease, until a certain one began to perpetrate crimes, a fellish foe; the unyielding demon was named Grendel, a well-known wanderer in the wastes, who ruled the heath, fen, and fastnesses; the ill-starred man had occupied for some time the habitat of monstrosities, after the Creator had cursed him among the race of Cain – the eternal Lord was avenging the murder after he killed Abel; he derived no satisfaction from that feud, but Providence banished him far away from humankind on account of that crime. Thence awoke all deformed races, ogres and elves and lumbering brutes, likewise giants, who struggled against God for a long while; he gave them their deserts for that. <sup>329</sup>

The uncanniness of the agriculture as a product from the killing of the innocent might suggest the connection between the political life of the city, despite the dependency from agriculture. This is the reason why Cain is able to build a city. This part of the poem connects the land itself with the idea of the place under the ground as the chthonic feminine womb where the evil can be born from, similarly to how hell was presented as womb in section 3.3.

On page 51 (figure A26) on the upper corners below the frames there are faces like the one on page 41 (figure A21). The image came from lines 1013b-1068. On the right side an edifice is supported by two columns with one capital each. This building resembles Lucifer's throne on page 3. The walled city built

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telgan, / hrinon hearmtanas hearde and sare / drihta bearnum, (doð gieta swa), / of þam brad blado bealwa gehwilces / sphytan ongunnon". (Gen. lines 987-955).

<sup>329</sup> "Swá ðá drihtguman dréamum lifdon / éadiglice oð ðæt án ongan / fyrene fremman féond on helle / wæs se grimma gaést Grendel háten / maére mearcstapa sé þe mórás héold / fen ond fæsten fifelcynnes eard / wonsaéli wer weardode hwile / siþðan him scyppend forscrifen hæfde / in Caines cynne þone cwealm gewræc / éce drihten þæs þe hé Ábel slóg· / ne gefeah hé þaére faéhðe ac hé hine feor forwræc / metod for þý máne mancynne fram· / þanon untýdras ealle onwócon / eotenas ond ylfe ond orcnéäs / swylce gíгантas þá wið gode wunnon / lange þrage hé him ðæs léan forgeald". (Beowulf, verses 99– 114),

by Cain occupies the same space of Hell on page 3. On page 51, where Cain is cursed by God and it seems a deliberate idea that this new city is not exactly the same as in Heaven, as they were built upon the sins of Cain. In both upper corners there are two bestial faces. On the Cain side, the beast is eating the frame, in the left side, the beast has a mouth shut and a bearded face, more human and more respectable. The lines separating God (Christ) and Cain is very clear. And those two beast faces show the difference between Christ and Cain. The beast on the left side, the side of Cain resembles the bestial face on page 41, in the serpent's side and it is also eating as the hellmouth on page 3 (figure A3), page 16 (figure A10), and the left frame on page 41 (figure A20). The frame images are present in the three seminal sins told by Junius 11 illustrations. First, the sin committed by Lucifer and his supporters, causing the fall of the rebel angels; the second one, caused by the temptation by the serpent, that made Adam and Eve eat the forbidden fruit and caused the fall of mankind and the expulsion from earthly paradise, mirroring the fall of the rebel angels. The third, when Cain killed his brother. All three sins have the chthonic, bestial and connected with the soil, the land highlighted, and the mouth is not random representing both of the three first sins.

On pages 53 (figure A26) based on lines 1066b-77a show us three moments. The three scenes have column as frames, with arches and capitals. The first arch has a roof aspect. The last group, in the lower part of the page, has four columns. According to Barbara Raw this proves how the artist was able to manage different sources and produce their own interpretation of Cain and Abel episode:

These pictures cannot be linked to any specific source, and the wide variety of arches, arcades and buildings which serve to frame them, and the haphazard nature of their composition, suggest that several models may have been used.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>330</sup> Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis' (1984), p. 137.

On page 54 (figure A26), which has the same structure as the previous page 53 (figure A26), there is a notheworthy difference: a man taking care of agriculture is outside the buildings with columns. The idea is to remember how Cain was a farmer as well, and how the human cities are products of Cain sin's and are connected with hell, as page 49 (figure A25).

On Pages 56 (Figure A29), 57 (figure A30), 58 (figure A31), 59 (figure A 32), the rich architectural elements just come to confirm the ideas already presented in chapter 2. They are associated with power in the figure of the patriarch of the family, the ruler, the king itself. On the page 57, based on the lines 1149-1150a and 1155-1166. Kainan, or Cainan, son of Enoch, is described as `aldor-dema, weard and wisa` (the senior ruler, the guardian and the guide, lines 1156b-1157a) in the poem. The architectural frame with the much elaborated capitals in both sides, with acanthus leaves show really a king portrait based on the long tradition of honouring the ruler, as said in chapter 2. And this "king" Kainan has also a throne. His throne is not architectural, it is connected with the wall by two ropes or chains. Kainan is making a gesture like commanding seven warriors, as said by the poem. The badly executed perspective again seems to make the background look like an arch over the two columns. This throne is different from the ones seen before. This one is not architectural itself like Lucifer on page 3 (figure A3), neither like God`s on pages ii (figure A1) and 2 (figure A2), page 47 (figure A24), page 53 (figure A27), page 62 (figure A35). Those thrones are a manner to depict the legitimacy of the ruler as the rulers of the Old Testament are one of the models of rulership for the Anglo-Saxon-Kings. Those figures as models for the Anglo-Saxons kings themselves. Especially, Edgar was represented in the image of the frontispiece of the new minster (figure B16) as new King David, as to him The Virgin mary is giving the Cross and Peter the Keys according with the ordo in 973.<sup>331</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Karkov, *Ruler Portraits* (2004), p. 86. And R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 197.

On pages 57 (figure A32), 58 (figure A33) and 59 (figure A34) we have the complete cycle of life of Mahalalel made by the first artist. On page 57 (figure A32) the character is a baby recently born and he is in the lap of his mother while his father Cainan is on the throne. The capitals of the columns are intricate and wild. They are almost alive trespassing the capital area itself like real plants. The second image of Mahalalel life's narrative page 58 (figure A33) he is adult already praying towards an altar. The arcade connects with the columns that ends in its pediment in the initial 'h' on the left side. The middle of the image seems to be very harmonious, but the outside of the image is very asymmetrical and exaggerated. On page 59 (Figure A34) is the image of his death. The first impressive feature is the faces showing their pain towards the dead body of Mahalalel. There is also the absence of the luxurious and exaggerated ornaments of the previous images. The only architectonic element is the building connected with his deathbed, suggesting his burial alongside of a church probably. In the poem there is no references to architectonic features. And his life seems to be very usual and easy to make the reader identify himself (if he is a man) with the character:

Afterward in his wake Mahalalel held the land and inheritance for many years. The chieftain had lived sixty-five years when he began to produce children with his wife. The bride brought a son, the woman to the human race. The Kinsman in his youth was called Jared, so I have heard. Then afterwards, Mahalalel lived for a long time, and enjoyed happiness here, human joys, worldly wealth. He lived for eight hundred and ninety-five years, then he passed on, left land and guardianship of the people to the heir. <sup>332</sup>

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<sup>332</sup> "Him on laste heold land and yrfe / Malalehel siððan missera worn. / Se frumgara fif and sixtig / wintra hæfde þa he be wife ongann / bearna strynan. Him bryd sunu / meowle to monnum brohte. Se maga wæs / on his mægðe, mine gefræge, / guma on geogoðe, lared haten. / Lifde siððan and lissa breac / Malalehel lange, mondreama her, woruldgestreona. Wintra hæfde / fif and hundnigontig, þa he forð gewat, / and eahtahund; eaforan læfde / land and leodweard. Longe siððan Geared gumum gold brittade". (Gen. lines 1167-1183).

Malalehel seems to have had a perfect life as a perfect Christian. Beyond that there is a dramatic character hidden in the shadows of the columns of his palace and the intricate ornament: death. When he and his father are alive the image shows the ornamentation rich, luxurious and asymmetric. After his death on page 59 (figure A34) there is no frame, and the only thing remained aside from the mourning of his people is the building, the church. This image cycle makes the readers remember their own death, a type of *memento mori* (remember that you will die)<sup>333</sup> as a factor of balance. Earth is the intermediary space between birth and death. This intermediary place, this middle-earth where the battle between good and evil happens, the battle between heaven and hell aiming to take the souls.

On page 62, Lamech's birth, on the left side there is a column, in the shape of a bird, and with the capital as a beast face, according to Ohlgreen: 'Column with winged mask-head and biting serpent'.<sup>334</sup> He also associates the bird body with the beast head, and describes the neck and head of the bird above the beast-mask as a serpent.<sup>335</sup> Muir claims comparing with page 36 and 41, that 'configuration is merely decorative'.<sup>336</sup> His hypothesis would be a plausible argument if all the capitals with beast heads were actually only ornamental, which does not seem correct. It does not explain the inconsistency in the use of the same beast head. One could say all the ornaments are merely decorative, when the previous chapters showed clearly how the ornaments are used. The big theme of this image is again birth, and the connection between the hellmouth, the womb and the birth of Lamech. In

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<sup>333</sup> R. Loverance, *Christian Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 61.

<sup>334</sup> T. Ohlgreen, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts: An iconography Catalogue c. A. D. 625 to 1100* (New York: Garland, 1986), p.146.

<sup>335</sup> T. Ohlgreen, (p. 95)

<sup>336</sup> B. Muir, (2004), Cd-Rom, on comments page 62 of Junius 11.

the Vulgate, Lamech has a story of “crime” and killing and maybe sin, the ‘song of sword’:

Lamech said to his wives, Adah and Zillah, listen to me; wives of Lamech, hear my words: I have killed a man for wounding me, a young man for injuring me. If Cain is avenged seven times, then Lamech seventy-seven times.<sup>337</sup>

There is nothing similar about it in the Junius 11 Genesis poem, as it is possible to read in the passage below only about how long he lived, about the time Lamech ruled the world, and his offspring:

His [of Methuselah] son Lamech held the guardianship of the people afterward, then for a long time he governed the world. He had lived one hundred and two years when the time came about that the man began to produce noble offspring, son and daughters. Afterward the lord of many enjoyed five hundred and ninety years under the clouds; he ruled the nation well, begot children, sons and ladies arose as heirs for him. <sup>338</sup>

Nevertheless there is another tradition, probably oral, from rabbinic origin, or even apocryphal that tells the story that Lamech might have killed Cain, this is why the original text says about the killing of a man and Cain will be avenged seven times and Lamech seventy-seven times.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> “Dixitque Lamech uxoribus suis Adae et Sellae: Audite vocem meam, uxores Lamech; auscultate sermonem meum: quoniam occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adolescentulum in livorem meum. Septuplum ultio dabitur de Cain: de Lamech vero septuagies septies”. (Vulgate. Genesis 4:23-24).

<sup>338</sup> “Sunu æfter heold, / Lamech leodgeard, lange siððan / woruld bryttade. Wintra hæfde / twa and hundteontig þa seo tid gewearð / þæt se eorl ongan æðele cennan, / sunu and dohtor. Siððan lifde / fif and hundnigontig, frea moniges breac / wintra under wolcnum, werodes aldor, / and V hund eac; heold þæt folc teala, / bearna strynde, him byras wocan, / eaforan and idesa”. (Gen. 1224b- 1234a).

<sup>339</sup> R.S. Hess, ‘Lamech in the Genealogies of Genesis’, *Bulletin for Biblical Research*, vol. 1 (1991), 21–5.

On Page 60 (Figure A33), based on lines 1197-1217a, tells how Enoch was chosen for his perfection to go to heaven without a normal death. God took his body intact. And this prefigures him as a species of Christ, as he is nimbed in the image. In the poem, this is specially highlighted on the following passage:

He [Enoch], enjoyed glory days, begot, children for three hundred years. The prince, the ruler of the skies, was gracious to him. The man Sought happiness elsewhere in his body, with the Lord's company, not all did he die a death in middle-earth –as people do here, young and old, when their God takes them always from possessions and earthly existence, from the treasure of the earth and their life as well –however rather from this borrowed life he went travelling while alive with the king of angels in the form which his spirit received before his mother bore him among people.<sup>340</sup>

In the image on page 60 Enoch talks with the God's messenger. The messenger is a winged angel, that is on the upper right corner. The angel is spatially separated from Enoch by some lines similar to clouds. Enoch is above a dragon. The dragon is the evil, the devil and the serpent, It is also death, like the mouth of hell from initial pages. Normal death is associated with evil, with pain. This image shows the triumph of Enoch, anticipating Christ himself, as a victory against the death.<sup>341</sup>

On Page 61, again based on 1197-1217a, the Ascension of Enoch, the illustration completes the action started on page 60. Again there is no architectonic frame, only regular double ones on both sides. The narrative starts from the bottom, where Enoch is between twelve men, probably his

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<sup>340</sup> (...) Him wæs peoden hold, /rodera waldend. Se rinc heonon / on lichoman lisse sohte, / drihtnes duguðe, nales deaðe swealt / middangeardes, swa her men doþ, / geonge and ealde, þonne him god heora / æhta and ætwist eorðan gestreona / on genimeð and heora aldor somed, / ac he cwic gewat mid cyning engla / of þyssum lænan life feran / on þam gearwum þe his gast onfeng / ær hine to monnum modor brohte. (Gen. 1202b-1213)

<sup>341</sup> Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England* (2001), pp. 87-8.



sons, however here put in that way to identify him with Christ. Enoch is borne by two angels to the sky. On the upper part of the image, half of his body is inside “heavens”, represented by clouds. Half of his body under his waist is out the entrance. The victory over death is given by his ascension to heaven<sup>342</sup>. The connection with Christ's resurrection can be seen in the folio 15r, Ascension of Christ, The Tiberius Psalter, BL, Cotton Tiberius C.vi (figure B37). On this image Christ is ascending through clouds to heaven in the same way as Enoch in page 60 ( Figure A33). Half of Christ body already disappeared and it is possible to see his body from the waist down.

Focusing on the access between hell and earthly paradise, the pages 20 (figure a12) and 36 (figure a, shows the messenger of hell coming out from hell, and page 20 (Figure A12), hell is clearly a contained space underneath the earth, and the messenger is coming to earth through a passage. The vertical composition exposes the inferior position of hell, and at the same time, how it is a type of cave place. Especially on page 36, hell is like a cave full of fire like studied before in section 3.3.

The hall is represented as given by God, showing him as a king with a hall. This model of kingship is transmitted from Adam to his descendants. Architecture and the throne are highlighted in the images of the Fall of the Rebel angels and apparitions of God as Christ. Those ornamental elements play an important role in earthly paradise and earth illustrations. They mean the presence of divine order, law and God on earth. But earth is also a place for the evil to play its role as well: `However, the ability of some devils to escape into the air and wreak havoc is clear from other illustrations in the book [Junius11], such as those of the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve (on pp. 20, 24, 28).<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> C. Farr, *The Book of Kells: Its Function and Audience* (London, 1997), pp. 114-15.

<sup>343</sup> H. Foxhall-Forbes, *Heaven and earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and society in an age of faith* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), p.70.

The images of the Noah story made by the first artist on pages 65 (A35), page 66 (figure A36), page 68 (figure A37) and also the images made by the second artist on page 73 (figure A38), 74 (Figure A39), page 76 (figure A40), page 77 (Figure A41), page 78 (Figure A422). It is important to go beyond the evident influence of indirectly Germanic or Nordic influence of the ship with the dragon prow. The focus here is the association with Christ's resurrection. In Junius 11, the ark carries two elements that I already have worked on in the previous chapter. This ship is a building, as the church or the Anglo-Saxon hall and it is also an island. At the same time, the ship is the beast mouth, is the tomb and womb. Finally, the ark is a place where life is buried and resurrect after the flood, as the Resurrected Christ.

On page 65 (A35), based on Genesis lines 1285-1326, the first artist has drawn God commanding Noah to build the ark. According to the poem Genesis, God announces that he will kill with a flood humanity and all living things. However, the description of the waters here is very similar to the waters described before the creation of earth that I studied in section 4.1, on page 6 (Figure A4) and Page 7 (Figure A5): 'You shall have security with your sons when the dark water, the gloomy slaughter-streams, swallow the multitudes, and destroy the culprits'.<sup>344</sup>

The idea of returning to the beginning, to the stage without the earth is clear while mentioning the dark waters, like the ones described before the creation. This description of the water of the flood is not present in the Vulgate. And the act of building the Ark is similar to building the house, the hall and church, and the earth itself. This can be seen by the words said by god as instructions to build the ark: *scip* (ship on line 1302), *mere-hus* (sea house on line 1303), *scip* again on line 1306, *fær* (a vehicle, vessel), *wudu-fæsten* (literally wooden firm place, however it means in a military sense, a strong place, one fitted to resist attack, a place of permanent residence), *earc*, that means 'chest'. In the Old English, the word *earc* straightforwardly means 'a box', a 'chest'. The artist A

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<sup>344</sup> "(...) þu scealt frið habban / mid sunum þinum, ðonne sweart wæter, / wonne wælstreamas werodum swelgað, / sceaðum scyldfullum". (Gen. 1209b-1301a).

could have drawn the ark as a chest or box, however the symbolism of the ark as a ship came from far beyond, not only iconographically however textually. In the Latin Vulgate the word used is *arca* which is what ark means in the Vulgate too<sup>345</sup>. Going further back in the origins, *arca* is the Latin translation of the Hebrew *teva* or *tebah*, again “chest or box” however the word was also used for the basket in which Moses (saved from the waters) was placed on the water so the idea of something that contains and floats was picked up<sup>346</sup>. There was a link of the ark with ships via the traditional typological association between the ark and the church; the church also being a ship of salvation is given also by Gregory the great. Pope Gregory the Great used that image to describe the Church of Rome as a rotten ship in a stormy sea, very much comparable to Noah`s ark, while writing about the Roman Church, and his position as Pope, in a letter to Leander of Seville (Isidore of Seville`s brother):

For, indeed, I am in this place tossed by such billows of this world that I am in no wise able to steer into port the old and rotten ship of which, in the hidden dispensation of God, I have assumed the guidance. Now in front the billows rush in, now at the side heaps of foamy sea swell up, now from behind the storm follows on. And, disquieted in the midst of all this, I am compelled sometimes to steer in the very face of the opposing waters; sometimes, turning the ship aside, to avoid the threats of the billows slantwise. I groan, because I feel that through my negligence the bilge water of vices increases, and, as the storm meets the vessel violently, the rotten planks already sound of shipwreck. With tears I remember how I have lost the placid shore of my rest, and with sighs I behold the land which still, with the winds of affairs blowing against me, I cannot reach. If, then, you love me, dearest brother, stretch out to me in the midst of these billows

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<sup>345</sup> “Dixit ad Noe finis universae carnis venit coram me repleta est terra iniquitate a facie eorum et ego disperdam eos cum terra fac tibi arcam de lignis levigatis mansiunculas inarca facies et bitumine linies intrinsecus et extrinsecus [15] et sic facies eam trecentorum cubitorum erit longitudo arcae quinquaginta cubitorum latitudo et triginta cubitorum altitudo illius”. (Genesis 6;13-15, Vulgate).

<sup>346</sup> *The Old Testament Hebrew lexicon*, Brown, Driver, Briggs, Gesenius Lexicon; this is keyed to the "Theological Word Book of the Old Testament".  
<https://www.biblestudytools.com/lexicons/hebrew/nas/tebah.html> [accessed 28/11/2018].

the hand of your prayer; that from helping me in my labours you may, in very return for the benefit, be the stronger in your own.<sup>347</sup>

Then again, the fact that this ark floats on a flood might also have suggested a ship. If you turn to Isidore, the ark is a box, however the word also gives rise to archives and mysteries, the arcane, so maybe no need to stick too closely with the idea of a box. Apart from the fact that Noah's Ark is a ship and not an actual building, or even looks like one, all the following images will show buildings with the same ideas. The things that are connected are highlighted below. Noah's Ark is itself another building with towers as a prefiguration of the Church. One of the most common *topoi* about the Church itself.

For late Anglo Saxon England the concept of earth is connected with their own land, which they knew to be an island, proven visually e.g. by the *Anglo-Saxon Mappa Mundi* made probably between 1025-1050 (figure B38).

I argue that, in case of English culture up to the early decades of the sixteenth century, not only geographic centers but also geographic margins had a certain social authority. (...) The power

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<sup>347</sup> "Tantis quippe in hoc loco huius Mundi fluctibus quatuor, ut vetustam ac putrescentem navem, quam regendam occulta Dei dispensatione suscepi ad portum dirigere nunc natus sum. Nunc ex adverso fluctus inruunt, nunc ex latere cumuli spumosi maris intumescunt, nunc a tergo tempestas insequitur, Interque haec omina turbatus cogo modo in ipsa clavum adversitate dirigere, modo, curvato navis latere, minas fluctuum ex obliquo declinare. Ingemisco, quia sentio quod neglegente me crescit sentina vitiorum, et tempestate fortiter obviante iamque putridade naufragium tabulae sonant. Flens reminiscor, quod peridi meae placidum litus quietis, et suspirando terram conspicio, quam tamen rerum ventis adversantibus tenere non possum. Si ergo me, frater karissime, diligis, tuae mihi orationis in his fluctibus manum tende; ut quo laborantem me adjuvas, ex ipsa vice mercedis in tuis quoque laboribus valentior existas". Translated by J. Barnaby, *Register of the Epistles of Saint Gregory the Great* (Nottingham: Aeterna, 2016), p.186; Latin original version from: Gregorius Leandro Episcopo de Spanis, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Epistolarum Tomus 1, Gregorii I Registri L, I- VIII, Berolini Apud Weidmannos, 1887, pp. 56-7.

of medieval English marginality paradoxically resembles the might of modern English centrality(...). <sup>348</sup>

The map shows the British Isles on the edge of the world. The margins are the place where the monsters, the sacred and the marvellous inhabit. See e.g. The Old English *Wonders of the East* and *Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle*. Both texts are in the Beowulf Manuscript.<sup>349</sup> Then, British Isles are exceptional as a Christian land on the opposite edge of the world. Noah's Ark in image and text in Junius 11 can tell us a lot about the spatiality and the place of Anglo-Saxon England in the world concerning the Anglo-Saxon consciousness of their country as an island.

According to Barbara Raw, based on that Scandinavian design of Noah's ark on those pages, and the metalwork on page 225, it would be possible to date the Junius 11 manuscript as having been made in the second quarter of the eleventh century:

The manuscript probably dates from the second quarter of the eleventh century for there are a number of Scandinavian elements in the work of both artists, in particular the representations of the ark as a dragon ship on pp. 65, 66 and 68, and the *ringerike* ornament in the binding and metalwork designs on p. 225 and the verso of the last leaf. <sup>350</sup>

Henderson defends a connection between Junius 11 images of Noah's Ark and the Old English Hexateuch. George Henderson compares the ark images

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<sup>348</sup> K. Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p.07.

<sup>349</sup> A. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1995.

<sup>350</sup> Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis' (1984), p.134.

with the Cotton Genesis and some Italian cycles, defending the theory of a copy of that model, without going further into any symbolic interpretation.<sup>351</sup>

On page 65 (figure A35), in the bottom of this image Noah started to build the ark. On the next pages the ark is itself a building. One can see the connection between the buildings of this place connected with the creation of earth itself as we saw in chapter 4.1. However, more than this, the act of building of the ark of wood echoes also the building of the Anglo-Saxon hall, as studied in chapter 2. More than this on pages 66 (figure A36) and 68 (figure A37) the ark is actually a floating building. These two images seem not to follow the linear sequence of the poem or the Vulgate.

On Page 66 (Figure A36) at first sight the image shows the moment of the Embarkation, and some elements of the Disembarkation are present as well.

Then our savior said to Noah? "Most beloved of men, I give you my pledge of this, that you will get under way, and you must transport the beasts' offspring across deep water in the ship's bosom for a great many days. Lead under the deck of the ark, as I command you, your heirs, the three chieftains, and your four wives. And take into that sea-hall seven carefully counted of each species that should live as food for people, and two of each of the others."<sup>352</sup>

The two angels placed symmetrically on both sides of the Ark are similar to the angels from page 1 (figure A1) page 2 (figure A2), alongside God in majesty, as a new beginning, suggesting a cyclical reading. The ship has a

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<sup>351</sup> G. Henderson. "Late-antique influences in some English mediaeval illustrations of genesis." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25(3/4), 172-98 (pp. 183 - 90).

<sup>352</sup> "Ða to Noe cwæð nergend usser: / "Ic þe þæs mine, monna leofost, / wære gesylle, þæt þu weg nimest / and feora fæl þe þuferian scealt / geond deop wæter dæg-rimes worn / on lides bosme. Læd, swa ic þe hate, / under earce bord eaforan pine, / frum-garan þry, and eower feower wif./ Ond þu seofone genim on þæt sund-reced / tudra gehwilces geteled rimes, / þara þe to mete mannum lifige, / and þara oðerra ælcas twa". (Gen. lines 1327-1362).

fish tail stern full of small eye-shaped figures, similar to the ones that the serpent has on page 41 (figure A20). It can be a representation of scales of a reptilian beast. The animalistic reptilian feature can give another meaning to the ark as it has also a dragon head prow, another bestial feature. The ark is a building with arcades, towers and two weathercocks on top of its two towers. It is possible to see the beasts inside the ark, close to God in the centre. In the Augustinian exegetical tradition the ark is the church and Noah prefigures Christ, as Noah will be reborn after the flood like Christ after his burial. Augustine of Hippo in *City of God* says:

Moreover, in as much as God commanded Noah, a just man, and, as the truthful Scripture says, a man perfect in his generation, -not indeed with the perfection of the citizens of the city of God in that immortal condition in which they equal the angels, but in so far as they can be perfect in their sojourn in this world, -in as much as God commanded him, I say, to make an ark, in which he might be rescued from the destruction of the flood, along with his family, i.e., his wife, sons, and daughters-in-law, and along with the animals who, in obedience to God's command, came to him into the ark: this is certainly a figure of the city of God sojourning in this world; that is to say, of the church, which is rescued by the wood on which hung the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. For even its very dimensions, in length, breadth, and height, represent the human body in which He came, as it had been foretold.<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> "Iam uero quod Noe homini iusto et, sicut de illo scriptura ueridica loquitur, in sua generatione perfecto (non utique sicut perficiendi sunt ciues ciuitatis Dei in illa immortalitate, qua aequabuntur angelis Dei, sed sicut esse possunt in hac peregrinatione perfecti) imperat Deus, ut arcam faciat, in qua cum suis, id est uxore, filiis et nuribus, et cum animalibus, quae ad illum ex Dei praecepto in arcam ingressa sunt, liberaretur a diluuii uastitate: procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc saeculo ciuitatis Dei, hoc est ecclesiae, quae fit salua per lignum, in quo pependit mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus. Nam et mensurae ipsae longitudinis et altitudinis et latitudinis eius significant corpus humanum, in cuius ueritate ad homines praenuntiatus est uenturus et uenit". (Augustine of Hippo, *Civita Dei*, 15.26), In *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans* (1984), p. 956.

This illustration has also a mixing of features not informed by the Genesis poem and by the Vulgate, such as the dragon and fish exterior appearance of the ark, the building structure and the intricate architecture. There are also elements anticipating facts that happen afterwards, such as the Noah freeing a bird in the centre of the top floor, and also the vines planted on both sides and on the floor below. On the top floor there is another bird that seems to be feeding on the right hand vine under the arcade. On the top the image seems to more or less resume the main conflicts visually explored by the artist in one image. The waters on the bottom also recall the waters from which God made the earth emerge. The dragon head on the prow has a phytomorphic decoration coming out from its head similar to the initials of the text. The combination of building, ship and animal and plant is strongly marked. The red outline is used a lot here, showing that this image was important and the artist put into it a lot of effort, more than into the previous and following images of the ark. There is a combination of the elements from the heavenly architecture, already seen in the palaces of Adam's descendants with the animalistic features of hell and the serpent. Karkov claims a connection of this episode with the Creation and the Last Judgment.<sup>354</sup> This hypothesis is reasonable, however there is more than this. The actions are mixed in the logic sequence. There are hellish and heavenly features mixed. This church (ship) is going to fight against the turmoil of the waters of the flood. Like an island in a turbulent sea, the ark is the island of the Anglo-Saxons. A promised and spiritual 'island' is ready to fight in the storm of the waters of the flood and carries Noah's family and his micro-country to safety and to the future, with the blessing of God and his angels, into a new beginning for mankind.

On 68 (figure A37) the ark seem to be of a simplified type, as it has only two floors on the top of the ship. The ark on the top seems to be the depiction of the ark closed, fighting against the stormy waters of the flood. There is no human figure. There also can be two directions of reading, top to bottom or bottom to top. The action works from the bottom to the top as God, beardless and cross nimbed seems to bless the ark however actually is locking (or

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<sup>354</sup> C.E. Karkov, 2001. pp. 89-90.



closing) the door. As the cyclical and paradoxical sequence of events from the previous image, it is possible the confusion was meant to be there.

In *The comments about Genesis*, Bede develops in detail the medieval association with Noah's flood with the fire at the end of times.<sup>355</sup> Bede says how the waters will never reach paradise:

But the time will come, after this constant succession of passing events that goes on year by year has ceased, when the whole world with its living creatures will be destroyed by fire, as Peter attests when he says that the heavens were before, and the earth out of water, and through water, consisting by the word of God, whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of Judgement.<sup>356</sup>

This paradise as an island never reached by the waters of the flood is another aspect that makes Noah's ark symbolic to the Anglo-Saxons from the late tenth century to comprehend their place in the Cosmological Christian Geography. Another aspect is of the ark as a human body. According to the Augustinian tradition, the ark symbolizes the human body, or the body of Christ:

The actual measurements of the ark, its length, height and breadth, symbolize the human body, in the reality of which Christ was to

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<sup>355</sup> Anlezark, *Water and Fire* (2006), p. 78.

<sup>356</sup> "Nec tamen defuturum tempus quando cessante hac labentium rerum vicissitudine quae annuatim geritur, orbis universus cum animantibus sit igne periturus. Petro attestante qui ait: Quia cael erant prius, et terra, de aqua et per aquam conitens Dei Verbo, & c. (2 Pet.iii.5) Ubi notandum quia caelos quos vel aqua perditos vel igni perituros dicit, non alios quam turbulentum hunc aerem qui terrae proximus est accipere debemus, a quo 'volocres caeli' quod in eo volitent cognominantur. Non enim aetherei aut siderei caeli igne consumendi sunt sicut nec aqua consumpti sunt". Bede, Chapter IX, In *Genesim*, Latin text J.A. Giles, *The Complete Works of Venerable Bede* (London: Whittaker and Co, 1843), p. 121; Translation by Calvin B. Kendall, *Bede: On Genesis* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. 203.

come, and did come, to mankind. For the length of the human body from the top of the head to the sole of the foot is six times its breadth from side to side, and ten times its depth, measured on the side from back to belly... That is why the ark was made 300 cubits in length, fifty cubits in breadth, and thirty in height. And the door which it was given in its side surely represents the wound made when the side of the crucified was pierced with the spear. This, as we know, is the way of entrance for those who come to him, because from that wound flowed the sacraments with which believers are initiated. And the squared beams in the ark's construction refers symbolically to the life of the saints which is stable on every side; for in whatever direction you turn a squared object it will remain stable.<sup>357</sup>

Beyond all Christological discussion, there is an uncanny element as explained in section 3.3, about hell as womb that can connect the *dragon–fish bestial* appearance of this ark with the human body. Noah's family and the animals come out of the "womb" of the ark, reborn into a new life. Like those converted to the Christian religion. It is an inverted process of death and rebirth like the one in the hell womb of section 3.3:

The baptismal font was referred to as both a grave and a womb from which men and women would be reborn. In this context the iconography of either tub or sarcophagus would be appropriate. If

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<sup>357</sup> "Nam et mensurae ipsae longitudinis et altitudinis et latitudinis eius significant corpus humanum, in cuius ueritate ad homines praenuntiatus est uenturus et uenit. Humani quippe corporis longitudo a uertice usque ad uestigia sexiens tantum habet quam latitudo, quae est ab uno latere ad alterum latus, et deciens tantum quam altitudo, cuius altitudinis mensura est in latere a dorso ad uentrem; uelut si iacentem hominem metiaris supinum seu primum, sexiens tantum longus est a capite ad pedes, quam latus a dextra in sinistram uel a sinistra in dextram, et deciens, quam altus a terra. Vnde facta et arca trecentorum in longitudine cubitorum et quinquaginta in latitudine et triginta in altitudine. Et quod ostium in latere accepit, profecto illud est uulnus, quando latus crucifixi lancea perforatum est; hac quippe ad illum uenientes ingrediuntur, quia inde sacramenta manarunt, quibus credentes initiuntur. Et quod de lignis quadratis fieri iubetur, undique stabilem uitam sanctorum significat; quacumque enim uerteris quadratum, stabit; et cetera, quae in eiusdem arcae constructione dicuntur, ecclesiasticarum signa sunt rerum". Augustine, *Civita Dei*, 15.26, In *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans* (1984), pp. 643-4.

the first two depictions of the ark suggested the former pictorial tradition, it is possible that picture, and perhaps the incomplete illustration on page 70, suggest the latter. Like Christ resurrected from the tomb, or the dead rising from the graves at the last Judgment, Noah and his family emerge from the narrow confinement of their ship.<sup>358</sup>

This might explain the different shape of the ark in the page 73, made by the second artist after skipping the space for illustration on page 70<sup>359</sup>. This image can be seen as a type of view in a non-realistic zoom of the outside door of the ark or an `aerial vision` from the sky of the ark, given its shape. The fact that there is a new artist, thinking in a different way, might be the reason for this new style. At the same time there can be another possibility as the image could be seen as a vagina giving birth (or rebirth) to Noah's family, the animals and humankind. This second hypothesis is difficult to prove, however it could be a secondary explanation for the unconscious choice made by the second artist, as he changed the style of the ark, after so many pages repeating the design of the ship. If this is true, this might explain the sin of Cam against Noah, during Noah's drunkenness, on page 78 (Figure A42). The episode of the drunkenness of Noah is, again, shown as something not godly. When Cam laughs at his father's nudity, he is highlighting the non-angelic nature of his father: Noah is a man. That episode causes his doom even after Noah's sacrifice to God on page 74 (figure A39) and the images of trying to return to a normal life on pages 76 (figure A40) and 76 (A41). The second artist is following another programme not the illustrations while the text and image are not contained in their space like the one made by the first artist.

The images in these examples show the connections between earth and the other world. However the characters who pass from one sphere to another always carry a bigger meaning. These characters make connections with

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<sup>358</sup> C E. Karkov, 2001, p. 93.

<sup>359</sup> About the illustrations found on that page using modern technologies see T. Ohlgren, 'Five New Drawings in the MS Junius 11: Their Iconography and Thematic Significance'. *Speculum*, 47(2), 1972, pp. 227-233.

other biblical moments. They all show some concerns about life and death. The messenger born and then fallen again into the subterranean hell. Angels and God can descend to earth (and earthly paradise) and ascend back to heaven making a connection with Enoch. Adam and Eve “fall” from earthly paradise from a door to the earth like Lucifer and his rebel angels were expelled from heaven. Enoch anticipates Christ when he ascend to heavens like Him. In the middle of all the spheres is earth, the middle-earth. This middle-earth, it can be hell, it can be heaven according to the forces acting on its surface. There are also other features already studied that presents earth as a confined space. Those features reveal the nature of that space as an island, separated from the exterior world, however open to influences and actions from the other spheres of the world. In Junius 11 earth is a spiritual island, a space between heaven and hell and also a island in the middle of an ocean between the waters.

### 4.3. Passage to heaven or hell: tombs and kings

The aim of this section is to show some examples of the attitudes towards burials and the afterlife both in general and especially in the case of the nobles and the kings in the tenth century. One of the main questions this research seeks to answer is how Junius 11 can help bring understanding of the views held about the afterlife in late Anglo-Saxon England. Since there is more evidence of funerary evidence that survived until today from the aristocracy, especially the kings, the main examples of the tenth century are the kings' tombs, especially the house of Wessex and kings of Anglo-Saxon England. I am also going to present the argument about how his kingdom seems to be the most favourable to gather all the elements that contributed to create Junius 11. New Minster in Winchester refoundation seems to have connections with the main concerns in the text and image of Junius 11. The kings were on the top of the list of the privilege of *ad sanctos* based on the hierarchy of social status. The kings were mainly buried in the holy ground of the churches or monasteries. However, it is difficult to know exactly who decided where the dead kings would be buried.<sup>360</sup> However, as the tombs of the kings were used as place for coronation, ceremonies, probably peregrination and specific buildings were built to serve as mausoleum, it seems very probable that the king or the *witagemode* (witan, the king's council) were involved in that decision.

One question to mention is the idea of purgatory. Le Goff claimed that before the twelfth century there was no consistent belief in purgatory.<sup>361</sup> Le Goff's hypothesis was challenged for some authors while in Anglo Saxon England

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<sup>360</sup> H. Foxhall-Forbes, *Heaven and earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and society in an age of faith* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), p. 266.

<sup>361</sup> J. Le Goff, *The birth of purgatory* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1991).

there are some writers that mentioned about purgatory or something similar like an intermediary place after death : Bede, Boniface and Ælfric.<sup>362</sup>

There are also the two anonymous homilies: Oxford Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 and Oxford Bodleian library, Junius 85/86. Both mention two possible final destinies to the souls in the afterlife.<sup>363</sup> However, the focus of this section is to understand the attitudes towards the three spheres stated in Junius 11. Although, in Junius 11 there is no clear mention of purgatory, only heaven, hell and earth (including earthly paradise). It can be also a source about the relationship with the afterlife the rituals made for the sick people that aimed to help the soul of the person to go to the right sphere, to the heavens. Most of them found in the Anglo Saxon England from tenth and eleventh century, especially in the southern England<sup>364</sup>, where the centre of political power was being built by the House of Wessex in the tenth century.

Before going to the burials of the noble people, especially the kings, it is noteworthy the connection of the heathen burials, or prehistoric with the monstrous, initiated in the eighth century by the Christians and possible to trace in the writings. This explains the late Anglo-Saxon locations for death penalty of criminals on those monuments or historical ritual places.<sup>365</sup> Around the eighth century the Anglo-Saxons converted to Christianity began to use the Christian religion to establish an effective power over their territories. The

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<sup>362</sup> See about the divisions in Bede and Boniface in H. Foxhall-Forbes, 'Diuiduntur in Quattuor: The Interim and Judgement in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, Volume 61, Issue 2, 1 October 2010, Pages 659–684 and A. J. Kabir, *Paradise, death, and doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 87-110.

<sup>363</sup> A.J. Kabir, *Paradise*, (2001), p P.50.

<sup>364</sup> Foxhall-Forbes, *Heaven and earth in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p. 112.

<sup>365</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p. 206.

cemeteries prehistoric graves were chosen not only as burials, but also as settlements:

Prehistoric monuments and monument complexes were used not only for burial but sometimes as locations for settlement as well. (...) A changing style of hall also suggests an increased investment in elaborate, large buildings, and the introduction of restricted and bounded areas with fenced enclosures that, although not confined to these sites, served to demarcate and shape space perhaps even regulating access and movement. <sup>366</sup>

There was also an increase in the use of corporal punishment in the early tenth century, and a limitation of the possibility to appeals to the king, of appeal to the king's mercy in the tenth and eleventh-century law codes.<sup>367</sup> This might show how the house of Wessex progressively controlled the society and create the Alfredian project of a unified Anglo-Saxon England. About the afterlife, according to Peter Brown, Western Christianity left behind between seventh centuries a more physical notion of afterlife in favour of a new one more based on the soul's punishments. <sup>368</sup> The monumentality reflected the new era for the elite:

Planning and structured layouts and large enclosures with elaborate gateways are features present at Cheddar, Goltho, Steyning, and Little Paxton. The visual approach to such structures is suggested to have been an important factor in their design: the entrances and enclosures used as a means of framing the buildings. (...) Ritualized itineraries and more formalized royal activities of the tenth and eleventh centuries (see for example, the itineraries of Edgar, Edward and Æthelred). <sup>369</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p. 207

<sup>367</sup> Foxhall-Forbes, *Heaven and earth in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p. 150.

<sup>368</sup> P. Brown. *The ransom of the soul: Afterlife and wealth in early western Christianity*(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press 2015), p. 206.

<sup>369</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), pp. 211-2.

The tenth century is a moment of change of the Anglo-Saxon regions and landscapes reflect that. The old prehistoric sites will be reused by this elite while new buildings and burials will also be used as a tool to control not only the real life but the afterlife of the Anglo-Saxons. As architecture plays a very important role in miniatures of Junius 11. The Endowment and Reformation of New Minster of Winchester is a culmination of a process of tension where the West Saxon kings claimed to be the king of the Anglo-Saxons, and their most important tool was the church and all the imagery about kings brought up by the Christian Bible, especially the Old Testament. The sovereignty of the *Rex Anglo saxonicus* was assured and repeatedly proven by the support of the church and materialized by the construction of the New Minster in Winchester. The kings who were more inclined to pursue with more tenacity the project created by Alfred of a united Anglo-Saxon England were Edward the Elder, Æthelstan and Edgar. The Refoundation of the New Minster in Edgar times can provide access to the views about seminal and intrinsic nature of power and buildings in Anglo Saxon England. The New Minster was used as a tool to reassure their power as king:

Winchester was included in the Burghal Hidage (*temp.* Edward the Elder) as a fortification rated at the highest assessment of 2400 hides. It has been suggested that the royal court may have settled there towards the end of Alfred's reign. At least from this time, it probably took some political administrative and economic functions away from the exposed coastal lines trading-centre and royal villa of Southampton. Although the latter remained of importance both to the West Saxon economy and to shrieval government, Winchester began to advance to national significance. In this context, the foundation of the New Minster by King Edward the Elder and his advisers (...) may be seen as a political action, underlining the king's power in the refortified borough as against the bishop or some of the leading citizens may have been at times out of favour with the king, due to dynastic politics, the city remained of crucial



importance to the southern part of the kingdom, first of the Anglo-Saxons and later of England.<sup>370</sup>

It is not random how an episode of a plot against monks and the consequences inserted in the records of Refoundation of Winchester Minster in 996 is told mentioning the same 'story' about the fall of the rebel angels. It is remarkable how the highlighted aspects from the poetry and art are retold here. Apparently it seems unconnected, however the plot against those monks resembles the plot of Lucifer against God, and the object of desire of both are materialized in the right of the monks in their monastery.

ix. CONCERNING THE ANATHEMA ON THOSE WHO PLOT AGAINST THE MONKS. If moreover it should happen on any occasion, at the Devil's instigation, that, glorying in the arrogance of presumption. The cast-down canons should wish to plot to cast down the flock of monks which I have respectfully established with a shepherd in God's property, let it be done with them, and with everyone who might give them, and with everyone who might give them aid, blinded by some kind of bribe, as happened with proud angels and with the first man seduced by the Devil's trick, namely that, having been expelled from the bounds of Paradise and from the sublime seats of the kingdom of Heaven, they shall be thrust down into the fires of the Abyss with these [other] disdainful ones who have spurned the Lord's service, and be tormented with perpetual misery. Nor pulled out from there to boast that they have evaded the torments, however rather, they shall be joined together in the Underworld with Judas, the betrayer of Christ, and his confederates, shrieking with cold, scorched with heat, deprived of joy, troubled by lamentation, fettered by fiery shackles, smitten by dread of the attendants, perplexed by the memory of crimes, removed from recollection of all goodness, mourning, they shall be punished with eternal torment.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> A. R. Rumble, *Property and piety in early medieval Winchester: documents relating to the topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman city and its minsters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 30

<sup>371</sup> "VIII. DE ILLORUM ANATHEMATE QUI MONACHIS INSIDIANTUR. Si autem qualibet occasione diabolo instigante contigeret ut fastu superbientes arrogantie deiectione canonici

The identification of the traitors against the monks with the rebel angels shows how the narrative of the fall of Lucifer was deeply connected to this historical moment of rebuilding the Kingdom as England and the reformation itself. This episode might show the resistance of the ones who have not accepted the new spiritual and political directions of late Anglo Saxon England. This episode among the other new elements might have been the perfect cultural and social environment that motivated the artistic choices behind the project of Junius 11. Also, there is a connection between the Endowment of the New Minster in Winchester and the burials of the nobility and the kings from the house of Wessex as we can see in the table in the annex. Apparently there was a connection between times when the ruler compromised with the Alfredian idea of a unified Kingdom of England and the period of a fragmentation where Wessex and Mercian had some territorial conflicts and this idea of unified England was not put as a priority by the King and his court, kingdom of Eadmund I (939)-9946), Eadred (946-955) and Eadwig (955-959). Alfred brought the body of his father Æthelwulf to Winchester from Steyning in Sussex. And as said before the New Minster was part of his plans for Winchester. As we can see that all of the nobility during Edward the Elder (899-924) and Æthelstan (925-939) were buried in the New Minster.

Modes of royal burial varied with the political needs of each generation. The Tenth century was characterized by intradynastic,

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monachorum gregem quem ego uenerans cum pastore in Dei constitui possessione. deicere insidiando uoluerint . agatur de eis et the omnibus qui quolibet munene cecati iuuamen eis impenderint . quod actum est de angelis superbientibus et de protoplasto diaboli fraude seducto . ut paradisi uidelicet limitibus sublimnibus'que' regni celorum sedilibus eiecti . cum his qui Domini famulatum aspernantes contemserunt barathri incendiis detrusi iugi crucientur miseria . Nec inde euulsi se gloreientur euasisse tormenta sed cum Iuda Christi proditore eiuesque complicitibus Acharonte conglutinati . frigore stridentes . feruore perusti . letitia priuati . merore anxii . catenis igneis compediti . lictorum metu perculsi . sceletum memoria confusi, totius bonitatis recordatione semoti . eterno lugubres punientur cruciatu". Document IV, Refoundation of the New Minster, 966, In A. Rumble, *Property and piety in early medieval Winchester: documents relating to the topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman city and its minsters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp.083-084.

West Saxon succession. From 899 through 1013, every ruler of England was a patrilineal descendent of Alfred the Great, with each king succeeded by his brother, son or nephew.<sup>372</sup>

There is a pattern, when the ruler was someone who prioritized the Union of the Anglo-Saxons as England as a unified kingdom, the dead noble people were buried in the new Minster, that is under the rulership of Edward the elder (899-924), and Æthelstan (925-939). In the meantime, between 939-959, during the ruler ship of Eadmund I (939)-9946), Eadred (946-955) and Eadwig (955-959) as kings of Wessex, there were some troubles in Mercia to accept those kings as their ruler, and to them the idea of a unified England was not a priority as to their predecessors.

It is remarkable, given this context, that royal burial shifted away from Old Minster in the tenth century. This move was initiated by Edward the Elder (r.899-924), who opened his reign by building a large new church, known as New Minster, next door to Winchester's mother church. The king intended his foundation to supersede Old Minster as the kingdom's premier royal burial place, however the mausoleum faltered after Edward's own death; only one later Anglo-Saxon ruler, Eadwig (d. 959), would be entombed there.<sup>373</sup>

During Edgar's reign, both ideas of a unified England as one kingdom and the New Minster as important place as burial of the nobility and the kings came back to the centre of the stage. More than this, there is the idea of reformation of The New Minster as symbol of this moment. The New Minster as tool for Edward the Elder to assure his legitimacy as the new king of Anglo-Saxons:

Æthelwold's interest in his father's resting place might be attributed to coincidence, were it not for the fact that Edward began cultivating his own father's body at precisely the same time. Edward, however, pursued a more ambitious message than his cousin. While

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<sup>372</sup> N. Marafioti, *The king's body: Burial and succession in late Anglo-Saxon England*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p.19.

<sup>373</sup> N. Marafioti, *The king's Body*, 1990, pp.21-22.

Æthelwold could evoke his father's seniority as ruler of Wessex, Edward portrayed Alfred as the founder of an all-encompassing Anglo-Saxon kingdom, rendering Æthelred's superior position within the West Saxon royal family a moot point. The concept of a cohesive Anglo-Saxon nation was rooted in Alfred's own rhetoric – among other innovations, he was the first West Saxon ruler to be styled *rex Anglorum Saxonum* in his charters – however Edward's posthumous celebration of his father's body and memory helped cement this ideology.<sup>374</sup>

The management of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom in the tenth century was perfected for better control of the territory for such kings as Edward, Athelstan and Edgar:

The basic functions of the West Saxon Hundred unit can all be found as features of the landscape prior to the tenth century and it appears likely that earlier social and political institutions were re-shuffled at this time. It is evident that the entire administrative machine was tightened up and regularised from the reign of Alfred, however increasingly so during the tenth century reigns such as Edward the Elder (899-925), Æthelstan and Edgar.<sup>375</sup>

The ordinances of Edgar show the concerns about the administrative regional powers. This reveals an agenda aiming to uniformize the procedures throughout Anglo Saxon-England. That shows a new moment of the management of the kingdom: 'In the Danelaw areas the equivalent unit to the hundred was the wapentake. The word "wapentake" is derived from the Old Norse vapnatak, which refers to the brandishing of weapons in consent in an assembly'.<sup>376</sup> In the Anglo Saxon Chronicle in the entrance for the year 975, it is informed that Edgar was consecrated in Bath. And it mentions he was

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<sup>374</sup> N. Marafiotti. "Seeking Alfred's Body: Royal Tomb as Political Object in the Reign of Edward the Elder." *Early Medieval Europe* 23.2 (2015): 202–228. (pp. 211-212).

<sup>375</sup> A. Reynolds. *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life and Landscape*. (Stroud: Tempus, 1999): p.75

<sup>376</sup> A. Reynolds, (1999): p.76.

seeking to recall the Glories of the Roman Empire, and the possibility of being called King of the whole island.

A.D. 973. Here was Edgar, of Angles lord, with courtly pomp hallow'd to king at Akemancester, the ancient city; whose modern sons, dwelling therein, have named her Bath. Much bliss was there by all enjoyed on that happy day, named Pentecost by men below. A crowd of priests, a throng of monks, I understand, in counsel sage, were gather'd there. Then were agone ten hundred winters of number'd years from the birth of Christ, the lofty king, guardian of light, save that thereto there yet was left of winter-tale, as writings say, seven and twenty. So near had run of the lord of triumphs a thousand years, when this was done. Nine and twenty hard winters there of irksome deeds had Edmund's son seen in the world, when this took place, and on the thirtieth was hallow'd king. (43) Soon after this the king led all his marine force to Chester; and there came to meet him six kings; and they all covenanted with him, that they would be his allies by sea and by land.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>377</sup> "975 Her geendode eorðan dreamas Eadgar, Engla cyning, ceas him oðer leoht, wlitig 7 wynsum, 7 þis wace forlet, lif þis læne. Nemnað leoda bearn, men on moldan, þæne monað gehwær in ðisse eðeltyrf, þa þe ær wæran on rimcræfte rihte getogene, Iulius monoð, þæt se geonga gewat on þone eahteðan dæg Eadgar of life, beorna beahgyfa. feng his bearn syððan to cynerice, cild unweaxen, eorla ealdor, þam wæs Eadweard nama. 7 him tinfæst hæleð tyn nihtum ær of Brytene gewat, bisceop se goda, þurh gecyndne cræft, ðam wæs Cyneweard nama. Ða wæs on Myrceon, mine gefræge, wide 7 welhwær waldendes lof afylled on foldan. Fela wearð todræfedgleawra Godes ðeowa; þæt wæs gnornung micel þam þe on breostum wæg byrnende lufan metodes on mode. þa wæs mærdæ Fruma to swiðe forsewen, sigora waldend, rodera Rædend, þa man his riht tobræc. 7 þa wearð eac adræfed deormod hæleð, Oslac, of earde ofer yða gewealc, ofer ganotes bæð, gamolfeax hæleð, wis 7 wordsnotor, ofer wætera geðring, ofer hwæles eðel, hama bereafod. 7 þa wearð ætywed uppe on roderum steorra on staðole, þone stiðferhpe, hæleð higegleawe, hatað wide cometa be naman, cræftgleawe men, wise soðboran. Wæs geond werðeode Waldendes wracu wide gefrege, hungor ofer hrusan; þæt eft heofona Weard gebette, Brego engla, geaf eft blisse gehwæm egbuendra þurh eorðan westm". J. M. Batley, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A collaborative edition. vol.5, MS.a: A semi-diplomatic edition with introduction and indices.* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004); Translation by M. Swanton, *An*

After that Edgar travelled according to The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to Chester, another ancient Roman stronghold, symbolically building his supremacy over the whole Great Britain. The use of ship travel there brings the idea that Albion, Britannia is an Island. His travels by ship whether fact or fiction reveal that it is a conscious factor. He was not the first king or nobleman to use the ancient monuments as a frame for his royal activity and connect himself with the past of the Roman Empire. In Edgar's reign the theatrical reached the maximum peak until that moment:

There are implications here of far reaching vision in which the ancient, whether prehistoric or Roman, and perhaps the physical remnants and memories of the Pre-Christian Past, were being drawn upon in a variety of ways to create a network of theatres and arenas in which power and authority were articulated and enacted. (...) It is thus fitting to end with Edgar, a master of spectacle and theatricality. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that in 973 (ASC (A) Edgar, ruler of the English, was consecrated 'as king in a great assembly' at Bath.<sup>378</sup>

King Edgar had a great interest in the activities of Continental Europe. He also used historical sites and used them as symbolic place to perform rituals like his coronation etc.<sup>379</sup> Edgar was also a master of theatrical politics. His kingdom is the result of a process initiated with King Alfred, the ideal of only one nation of English people. The ritualization and symbolic new usage of the Roman past.

Cultural topography of emerging Angle-land was to be found in texts of Christian Anglo-Saxon culture, in allegorized form. The new literary monumentalizing in intent, seeking as it did to control the narrative of land, ancestry and identity through written text in which

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*Anglo-Saxon chronicle* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990). Available in <<http://asc.jebbo.co.uk/intro.html>> accessed in 06/6/2018.

<sup>378</sup> Semple, *Perceptions of the Prehistoric in Anglo-Saxon England* (2013), p 212.

<sup>379</sup> J. Barrow, 'Chester's earliest regatta? Edgar's Dee-rowing revisited', *Early medieval Europe*, number 10, 2001, pp. 81-93.

engagement with the physical land became increasingly symbolic  
and relative to a more transcendent spiritual cosmos and polity.<sup>380</sup>

The ancient monumentality of the Roman columns and the Roman portraits were reused in the Christian context as the establishment of power of God as king of heaven as shown in chapter 1. The same process had been made by the refoundation of the New Minster in 964, with the assistance of Æthelwold, the new bishop. This is why the architecture is so important in Junius 11. Monumental architecture is a symbol of power in the Christian Roman context, as the wooden hall is in the Germanic mores. In Junius 11 and Anglo-Saxon England both work as symbols of power. Religious and political power are mixed, in the body of the king and in the wooden halls and stone churches.

Edgar's predecessor was buried in the New Minster. Giving Edgar interest in renewing the New Minster, it is possible to believe that he decided to bury his brother there, Eadwig, aiming to reactivate the project of New Minster as a kingly mausoleum. In fact, in the new Minster refoundation charter, written in 966, the preface is very similar to the beginning of Genesis poem of Junius 11, as start with the fall of the rebel angels:

KING EDGAR PROMULGATED THIS PRIVILEGE FOR THE NEW  
MINSTER AND GRANTED IT TO THE Y LORD AND HIS MOTHER  
MARY, PRAISING THE GREAT WORKS. XP [Christ] THE  
ALMIGHTY CREATOR OF THE WHOLE SCHEME OF THINGS  
guides marvellous with ineffable love everything which He has  
created. He, through the co-eternal Word, so to speak, formed  
certain things `out of nothing` and like a fine craftsman, created  
certain other things out of the shapeless matter. An Angelic creation  
indeed, as shapeless matter given shape by divine influence when  
no [other] things existed, it was resplendent with a bright  
countenance. 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

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<sup>380</sup> A. K. Siewers. 'Landscapes of conversion: Guthlac's mound and Grendel's mere as Expressions of Anglo-Saxon Nation-building'. *Viator; Medieval and Renaissance studies* 34.7 : 1-39, 2003, p. 6.

eternal fire of the Abyss with its confederates, and is deservedly with perpetual misery. The sin of all wickedness also rose from this same theme.<sup>381</sup>

It starts very much alike to Genesis from Junius 11, and even the fall of Lucifer and his rebel angels. The text talks about how this sin leads to others worst sins, following the same narrative of Junius 11 in image and text.

The prominence of Edgar and the fact he is the first King to be pictured on a throne is further evidence of his agenda of this new control over the spaces of symbolic power. Edgar manipulated the memory of the afterlife of his own ancestors. King Edgar was able to spread his control over the church with the Benedictine Reform as well.<sup>382</sup> During the tenth century there was a long process of searching by the nobility to look for the monumentality, to the past of old or prehistoric burials aiming to claim sovereignty. The House of Wessex started this project with Alfred, however, only with Edgar this project reached its successful peak. Edgar used the theatrical power from the Christian recurrent elements also present in Junius 11. It is impossible to claim that

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<sup>381</sup> "EADGAR REX HOC PRIUILEGIIUM NOUO EDIDIT MONASTERIO AC OMNIPOTENTI DOMINO EIUQUE GENITRICI MARIE EIU LAUDANS MAGNALIA CONCESSIT. XP OMNIPOTENS TOTIUS MACHINAE CONDITOR inefabili pietat uniuersa mirifice moderator que condidit . Qui coaeterno uidelicet uerbo quaedam ex nichilo edidit quaedam ex informi subtilis artifex propagauit materia. Angelica quippe creatura ut informis materia nullis rebus existentibus diuinatus formata luculento resplenduit uultu. Male pro dolor libero utens arbitrio contumaci arrogans fastu creatori uniuersitatis famulari dedignans semetipsum creatori equiparans aeternis baratri incendiis cum suis complicitibus demersus iugi merito cruciatur miseria. Hoc itaque themate totius sceleris peccatum exorsum est". Refoundation of the New Minster 966-document IV, in A. R. Rumble, *Property and piety in early medieval Winchester: documents relating to the topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman city and its minsters*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 74-75.

<sup>382</sup> See C. E. Karkov, 'The frontispiece to the new Minster charter and the King's two bodies . In Scragg, Donald (ed. by). *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975: New Interpretations*. Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies. Manchester: Boydell Press, 2008.



Junius 11 was fully realised during Edgar`s kingdom (959-975) or during the Refoundation of the New Minster (964). After all the evidence here presented, I can claim that Junius 11 is a product of this ambiente, this circulation of ideas, questions and conflict of the tenth century. King Edgar's reign seems to be the most propitious moment for the production of Junius 11.

#### **4.4. Conclusions Chapter 4**

In this chapter I proposed to examine the earth, mainly the one present in Junius 11 in text and art and occasionally in other sources from the same time. In the second section of this chapter I proposed to analyse how the burials were used politically by the house of Wessex to build up England. Those two earths, the intangible idea of earth as a homeland as a symbol and the physical manifestations closes the argument of this thesis, showing how the art in Junius 11 contains many elements concerning the relationship between earth and the afterlife. Historically this allows to claim the kingdom of King Edgar (959-975) as the time of production of this manuscript.

In section 4.1 I analysed of the pages in Junius 11 about the creation. Earth is a place made to resemble heaven. Those images bring an idea of God as a demiurge, an architect, connecting earth with the architectural heaven from chapter 1. As the spheres of creation, the time of creation is cyclical, infinite, endless. Then, as Christ's sacrifice happens continuously, non-historically, the creation of earth, and biblical episodes happen in the cosmic eternal time. This anachronistic concept of historical line can also provides the confusion or mixing of times, making Anglo-Saxon England think themselves as an Island. In a moment of effort to unify all the Anglo-Saxons in one kingdom, it makes sense to put in evidence the earth as a confined space, an island. The art pictured earth as an island, as the promised land for the Anglo-Saxons is the British Isles. The earth is an island, a piece of land emerging from a turmoil sea the British Isles.

In section 4.2 there are two foci: how the movement between the world of the living and the world of the dead is performed by the art in Junius 1. The travel between earth to heaven or hell is not only a superficial passage. Earth as this intermediate space, confirms its role as explained in section 4.1, the island. Not only the mere island were the human beings are destined to live in, but the promised land, or the promised island to the English people unified and ruled by one king. As an island it is not random how the Noah's ark episode gathers too much attention from both artists. I have also studied how the

images of Noah`s ark evokes a lot of meanings: Christ, Moses, the church and the hall, the womb and the promised island.

In Section 4.3, I brought to the discussion some examples of usage of the tombs of previous kings and ancient sites by the nobility in the tenth century Kingdom of Wessex. The burial places were used as a symbolic affirmation of power for Anglo-Saxon kings in the tenth century. The process of using ancient burials as stage and symbolic prehistoric places helped the house of Wessex to build its sovereignty as King of all Anglo-Saxons, and how the New Minster as a burial was used by The Anglo-Saxon Kings to reaffirm their power over the Island. Especially Edgar who used some of the elements that Junius 11 also uses as a symbol of the political Christian power, the monumentality of the architecture, the control of the afterlife and punishment, the Great Britain as an island. From the analysis of the reality of Anglo-Saxon England, this chapter shows the connection between the symbolical features of Junius 11 studied in the previous chapters connected with the Anglo-Saxon society of the last half of the tenth century, specifically during the Kingship of Edgar (959-975).

## General Conclusions

For the enforced-walk none comes to be  
wise to malice more than him that must  
with mindfulness think back, before his going hence,  
on what his breath's good or evil,  
after death-day's pass away, on judgement comes to be.<sup>383</sup>

In the Exodus poem of Junius 11, when a voice comes from heaven to stop Abraham from sacrificing his own son Isaac, the poem explains in a very grandiloquent way about the 'geographical' size of God's word compared to heaven and earth:

Heaven and earth cannot overarch his glorious word, wider and  
broader than the surfaces of the earth could compass, the circuit of  
the earth and vault above, the abyss of the ocean and this gloomy  
sky.<sup>384</sup>

The characterization of each sphere is also immense. But as they only make sense in relationship with each other, the aiming of this thesis was to study the geography of supernatural with this perspective. This thesis aimed to examine how 'geography' of the world worked according to the art of Junius 11. The spaces and how the creatures can move between the spheres of creation. Those lines of poem Genesis reveal how paradoxical and different from modern or scientific concepts of space this geography of supernatural world was.

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<sup>383</sup> "For þam nedfere næni wyrþeþ / þances snotera, þonne him þearf sy / to gehicgenne ær his heonengange / hwæt his gaste godes opþe yfeles æfter deaþe heonon demed weorþe". Bede's death song, West Saxon version. From: D. G. Scragg, *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (1999), p.59.

<sup>384</sup> "Ne behwyfan mæg heofon and eorðe / his wuldres word, widdra and siddra / þonne befæðman mæge folda sceattas / eorðan ymbhyrft and up-rodor, / gar-secgas gin and þeos geomre lyft". (Exodus lines 427a-431b).

We are able to show how heaven above earth and hell below the earth is just the surface of the localization of those places. Heaven and hell are more than mythological spaces in Junius 11. They are psychological spaces. They mix the anxieties, traumas, fears, desires, gender, nature and political conflicts and accommodations.

In order to reach that goal, this thesis provided new approaches and methodologies in the studies about Junius 11 miniatures and text. Furthermore, this thesis sought to go beyond the simple enumeration of the iconography. In general, the previous studies prioritized the iconography, not going beyond the iconography and iconology related to text. I expanded my analysis, providing connections with Christian art and Anglo-Saxon society.

The first chapter introduced the aims of this research, the basic information and story about Junius 11 and methodological issues concerning the studies of art in manuscripts. Those following questions guided this research and they were answered properly throughout the thesis

(A) How are heaven, hell and the earthly world represented in Junius 11? The answer is in every illustration and textual analysis. It is multiple as those spaces are represented in a wide variety of ways, sometimes convergently with a general meaning, sometimes conflictively and paradoxically.

(B) How was the exegesis of biblical (and apocryphal) texts made through text and image in Junius 11? The answer is also a wide variety. However, I was able to show some general patterns through the topics and specific sections divided by subjects.

(C) What do the Junius 11 portrayals of heaven, hell and the earthly world reveal about Anglo-Saxon culture, politics and society of its period of production? It reveals attitudes towards anxieties, traumas, fears, desires, gender, nature and political conflicts and accommodations.

(D) The relationship between heaven, hell and the earthly world in the manuscript can reveal some of the intricate ways the Anglo-Saxons (or part of them) understood their function within the cosmos and within their society. This thesis compared this relationship with other sources, textual and

material. This operation was able to show a wide range of views of Anglo-Saxon England about itself and its place in the Universe.

The second section of chapter 1 was a descriptive section, introducing the main source of this thesis. Although it is not an analytical section, I began to present some problems about materiality and dating of Junius 11.

In chapter 1, section 3 the methodological questions brought within the proposal of working with a subject still not well studied such as the art in Junius 11. Traditional History of art is not enough to understand a non-classical art like the illustrations of Junius 11. Then, I looked for the newest studies in this field to support my analysis. Those new approaches can give support to use different disciplines, like studies of architecture symbology, anthropological psychoanalysis, gender studies, archaeology and so many others. In the end all those methodologies can be summarized by one guiding idea: it is necessary to think beyond modern patterns of rationality, science and religious thoughts to go further.

In the second chapter, I explained how the architectural elements play a fundamental role in the images of heaven. To prove my argument, I studied the architectural ornamental elements of Junius 11 Genesis illustrations, their symbolic meaning since the early medieval English and western Christian manuscripts. The relationship between the architectural ornamental in the miniatures and the symbolic meanings of real buildings as the churches and the Anglo-Saxon Hall. I was able to analyse the architectural features as symbols of divine and political power in Junius 11, connecting the focus on power and the political moment of production of Junius 11. The House's of Wessex affirmation of political power passed through the use of hall and Roman architecture as a symbol of the creation of a unified Anglo-Saxon England throughout the tenth century and reached its peak in Edgar's reign (959-975).

In the third chapter, divided into three sections, I dissected three categories of analysis of Hell in Junius 11 aiming to reach meanings beyond the traditional iconographical investigation. I began with the study of hell as an inversion of the idealised model of the Anglo-Saxon society, the hall. Hell in Junius 11 is

not only the nature's chaotic power, it is also a perverted and twisted version of the hall, an anti-hall. I studied hell as two complementary views, the place underneath the earth where the dead bodies suffer the process of rotting and the hellmouth, showing how both ideas are connected with the return to nature. Finally, another facet of Junius 11's is that of hell as the womb, as the place before life exists (the death) and as the body of the mother, a place that attracts and causes repulsion, the Freudian uncanny. Hell is the perfect example of the uncanny as it causes to the reader fear and repulsion and at the same time it attracts the curiosity to the art in the manuscript. The tenth century is a moment of slow unification of Anglo-Saxon England around the House of Wessex. All the elements associated with hell in Junius 11 are in some ways opposite to this ideal of unification, they are feared. The enemies of the unification are reunited in this hell. The concerns about life and death, law and punishment were present in this process of building a unified kingdom. And the peak of this process is again in Edgar's reign.

Chapter 4 is a collection of different aspects of the earthly world. In that chapter I investigated how the earth is depicted in relation to heaven and hell. The main points of this chapter are the concept of earth in Junius 11 as an intermediary sphere where the influences can manifest on its surface. Earth is the middle earth, not only the intermediary space, more than this, earth is the island. Earth is the promised island, the promised land for the English people. The burials and ancient places were used as doorways to hell or heaven. They were also used as a device in the hands of the kings and nobility of Wessex to ensure their political and spiritual power over all the Anglo-Saxons. The funerary places were helpful to the house of Wessex to build their sovereignty as kings of Anglo-Saxon England. Like no other ruler before him, King Edgar used the burials and ancient places as his stage of power, as proven by the connections between Edgar's reign and the moment of Endowment of the New Minster in Winchester as the time for production of the Junius 11 manuscript.

All the elements of the relationship between heaven, hell and earth in Junius 11 covered by this thesis connect Junius 11 with the major concerns that happened during the tenth century in Anglo-Saxon England. Putting together

all this evidence, the use of burials in the politics and the palaeographic evidences shown in the first chapter, it is possible to claim the period of Edgar's reign (959-975) as the most probable time of production of Junius 11.



**Table : Anglo-Saxon King Burials**

<b>Anglo-Saxon buried Kings between Alfred (899) and Edward the Confessor (1066)</b>				
<b>Died</b>	<b>Who was buried?</b>	<b>Who was the King in Wessex?</b>	<b>Period of ruler ship</b>	<b>Where</b>
26/10/899	Alfred	<b>Edward, the Elder</b>	899-924	New Minster (Old Minster, but later moved to there)
05/12/902	Ealhswith (Alfred's Queen wife)	<b>Edward, the Elder</b>	899-924	New Minster
16/10/922	Æthelweard (Youngest Alfred son)	<b>Edward, the Elder</b>	899-924	New Minster
911	Æthelred, Lord of the Mercians	Edward, the Elder	899-924	St Oswald's Priory
12/06/918	Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians	Edward, the Elder	899-924	St Oswald's Priory
?	Ælfwynn of Mercia (daughter of Æthelred and Æthelflæd)	?	?	?
17/07/924	Edward, The Elder	<b>Æthelstan</b>	925-939	New Minster
02/08/924	Ælfweard of Wessex, son of Edward	<b>Æthelstan</b>	925-939	New Minster
?	Ælfflæd (wife of Edward the Elder) and her two daughters (Eadflæd and Æthelhild)	?	?	Wilton Abbey
939	Æthelstan	Edmund I	939-946	Malmesbury
946	Edmund	Eadred	946-955	Glastonbury
955	Eadred	Eadwig	955-959	Old Minster
959	Eadwig	<b>Edgar I</b>	959-975	New Minster
08/07/975	Edgar I	Edward the Martyr	975-978	Glastonbury Abbey
18/03/978	Edward the Martyr	Æthelred the Unready	978-1013 and later 1014-1016)	Wareham, Wareham, Dorset; later Shaftesbury Abbey (979); later Woking
23/04/1016	Æthelred the Unready	Edmund Ironside	990-1016	Glastonbury Abbey
30/11/1016	Edmund Ironside	Cnut	23/04/1016 to 30/11/1016	Glastonbury Abbey
12/11/1035	Cnut	Harold Harefoot	1035-1040	Old Minster

17/03/1040	Harold Harefoot	Harthacnut	1040-1042	First in Westminster, but threw it in fen on river Tames, reburied later in Westminster, London
08/06/1042	Harthacnut	Edward the Confessor	1042-1066	Old Minster
06/03/1052	Emma of Normandy	Edward the Confessor	1042-1066	Old Minster
05/01/1066	Edward the Confessor	Harold Goodwison	05/01 to 14/10/1066	Westminster Abbey, London

Table based in:

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## List of Abbreviations

Andreas	All quotations from the Andreas poem are from: M. Clayton (edited and translated by), <i>Old English poems of Christ and his saints</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013)
ASD	Thomas N. Toller. <i>An Anglo-Saxon dictionary: based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth</i> . Supplement / by T. Northcote Toller, with revised and enlarged addenda by Alistair Campbell (Oxford University Press: London, 1972).
Beowulf	Beowulf poem taken from: R. D. Fulk, <i>The Beowulf Manuscript</i> (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).
BL	British Library
Christ and Satan	All quotations from the Christ and Satan poem are from: M. Clayton (edited and translated by), <i>Old English poems of Christ and his saints</i> . Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.
Gen.	Genesis, Junius 11. All quotations from the Genesis poem are from D. Anlezark, <i>Old Testament narratives</i> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
Junius 11	Oxford Bodleian Library Manuscript Junius 11. All Junius 11 images are taken from: MS. Junius 11, Summary Catalogue n° 5123, Bodleian Library, and University of Oxford, UK. < <a href="http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&amp;manuscript=msjunius11">http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&amp;manuscript=msjunius11</a> > [accessed 29 October 2011].

Vulgate            A. Colunga and L. Turrado. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. (LaEditorial Católica, Madrid, 1946) and includes consultations with the editions of C. Vercellone (Typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Rome, 1861) and M. Hetzenauer (Pustet & Co., 1994).

## Appendix A Figures

### A. MS Oxford Bodleian Junius 11

Figure A1: God in Majesty, Ms Junius 11, page ii.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, page ii

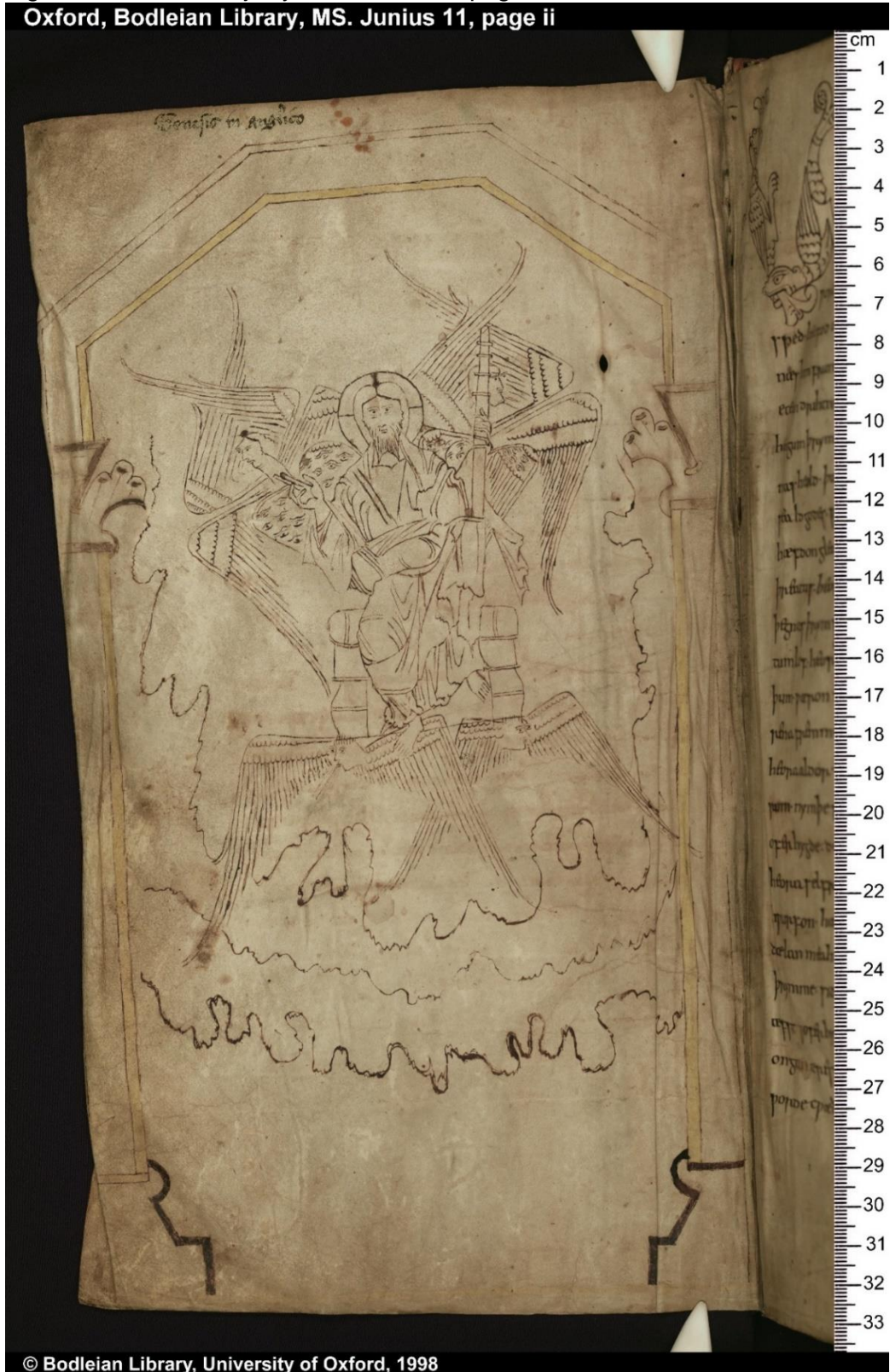




Figure A2: God enthroned and an angel, Junius 11, p. 2.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 2

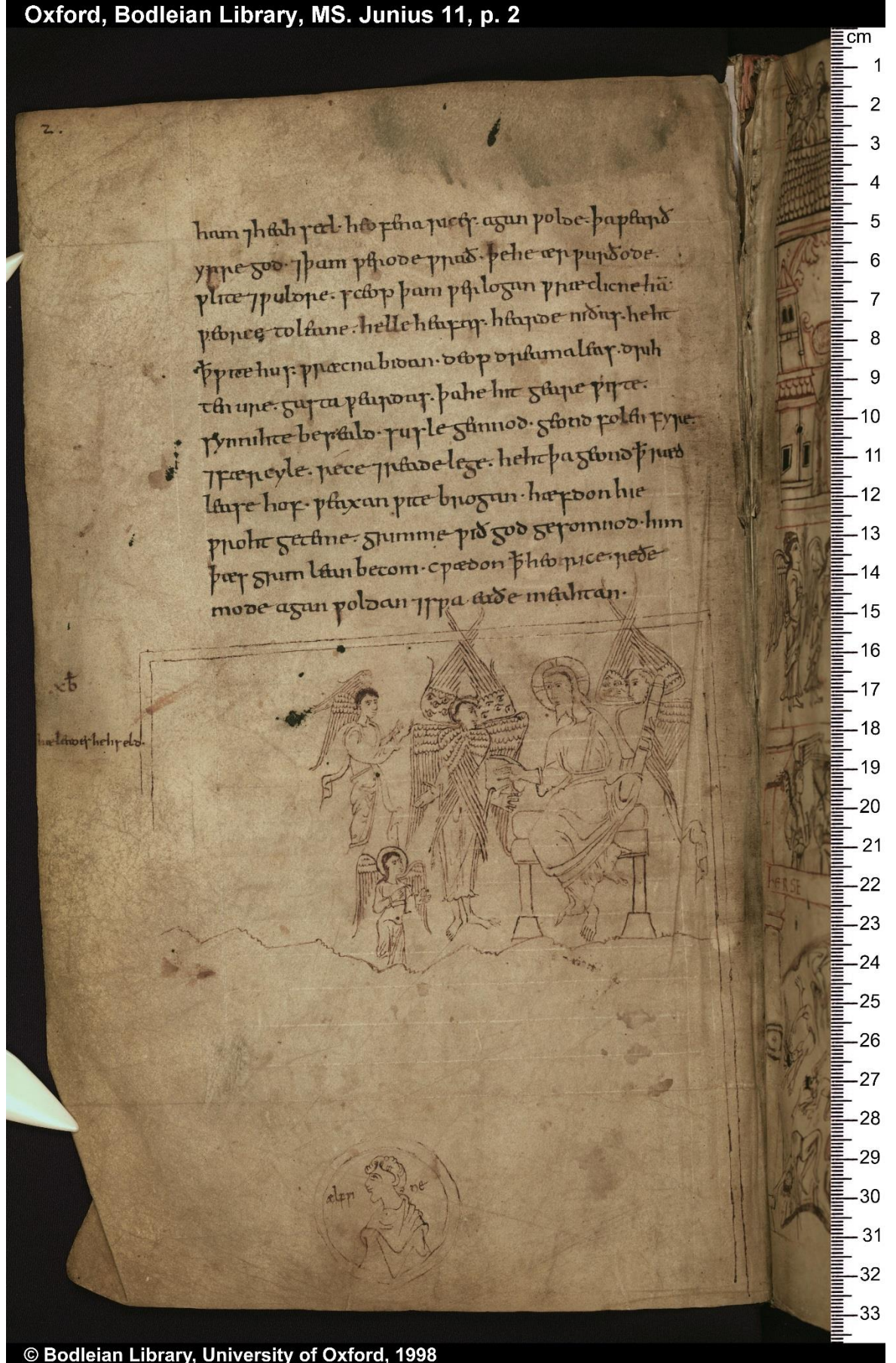




Figure A3: Rebellion and fall of rebel angels and hellmouth, MS Junius 11, p.3.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 3

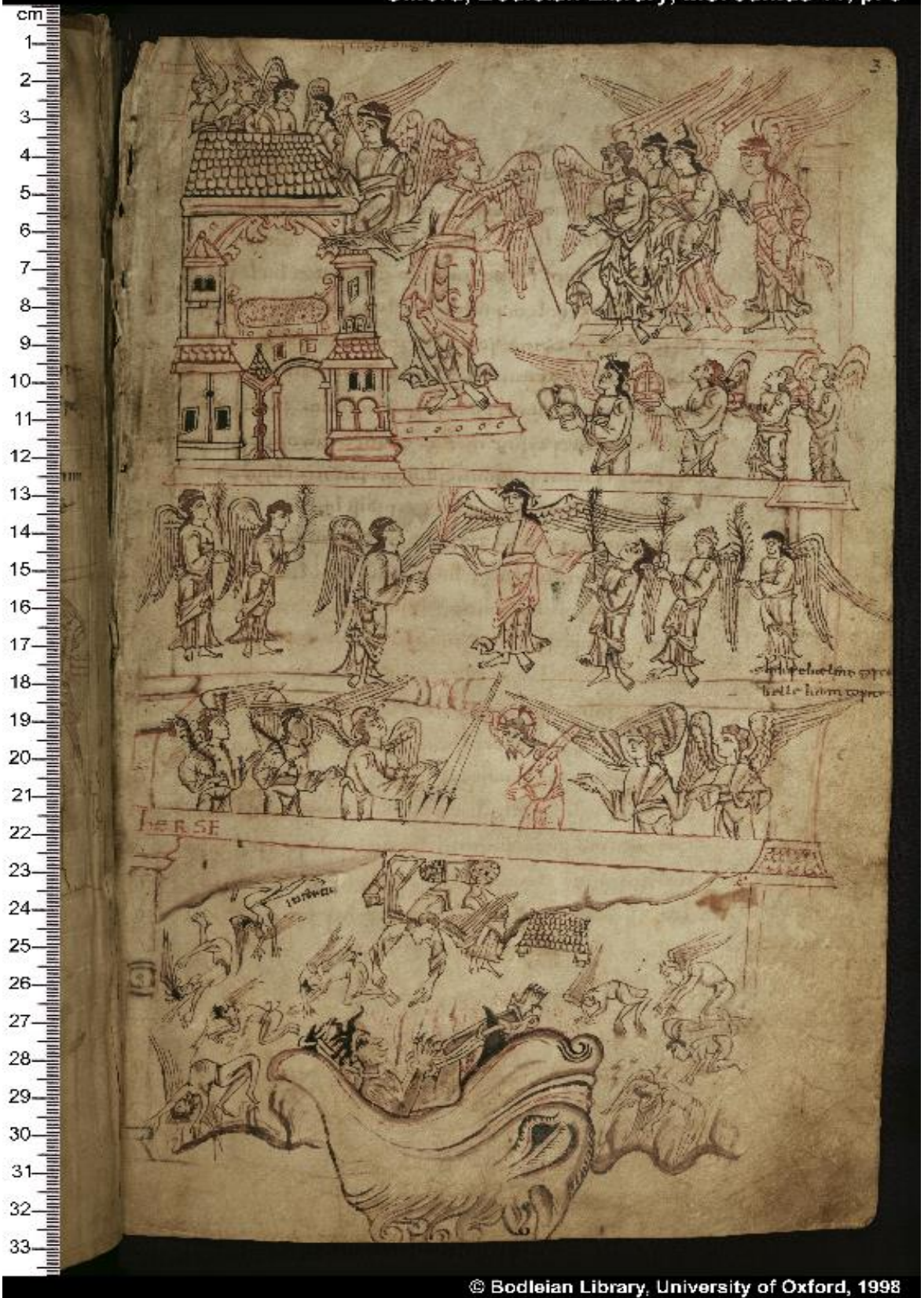




Figure A4: Creation, MS Junius 11, p. 6.

**Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 6**

þæt þu minne land. gefaþelode. 7 ƿrangum mihtū  
frea ælmihtig. folde ƿær þa sƿa. Siƿerungne  
ne. ƿar ƿæs þæt he. 7 ƿær ƿynnlihte. 7 de  
7 ƿrode. ƿonne ƿær. þa ƿær ƿuldon conht. he  
ƿon ƿærðes ƿær. of þi holm bora. miclum 7 ƿe  
dum. mæd ænġla heht. lifes brytta læht ƿord  
cuman. of þi minne ƿund. ƿaþe ƿær gefylled.  
heah cininges heær. him ƿær halig læht. of þi ƿe  
reanne. 7 þa 7 ƿynnlihta be bæd. þa 7 ƿundrode.  
7 ƿona ƿaldrad. of þi lāgo fode. læht ƿið þæt  
trum. 7 cæde ƿið reiman. 7 cæp þa bam naman.  
lifes brytta læht ƿær ænġt. þu 7 mihtig ƿord.  
deas ƿið mæd. ƿlæc be ƿihte gefaþt. ƿel lode. 7  
an æt ƿynnide. ƿon þæt be ƿið. deas ænġt 7 ƿið  
deore ƿæd. 7 ƿær 7 ƿið ƿan. 7 ƿið ƿone ƿund.

ſpynndode pæ 7678 an.





Figure A5: Creation, MS Junius 11, p. 7.

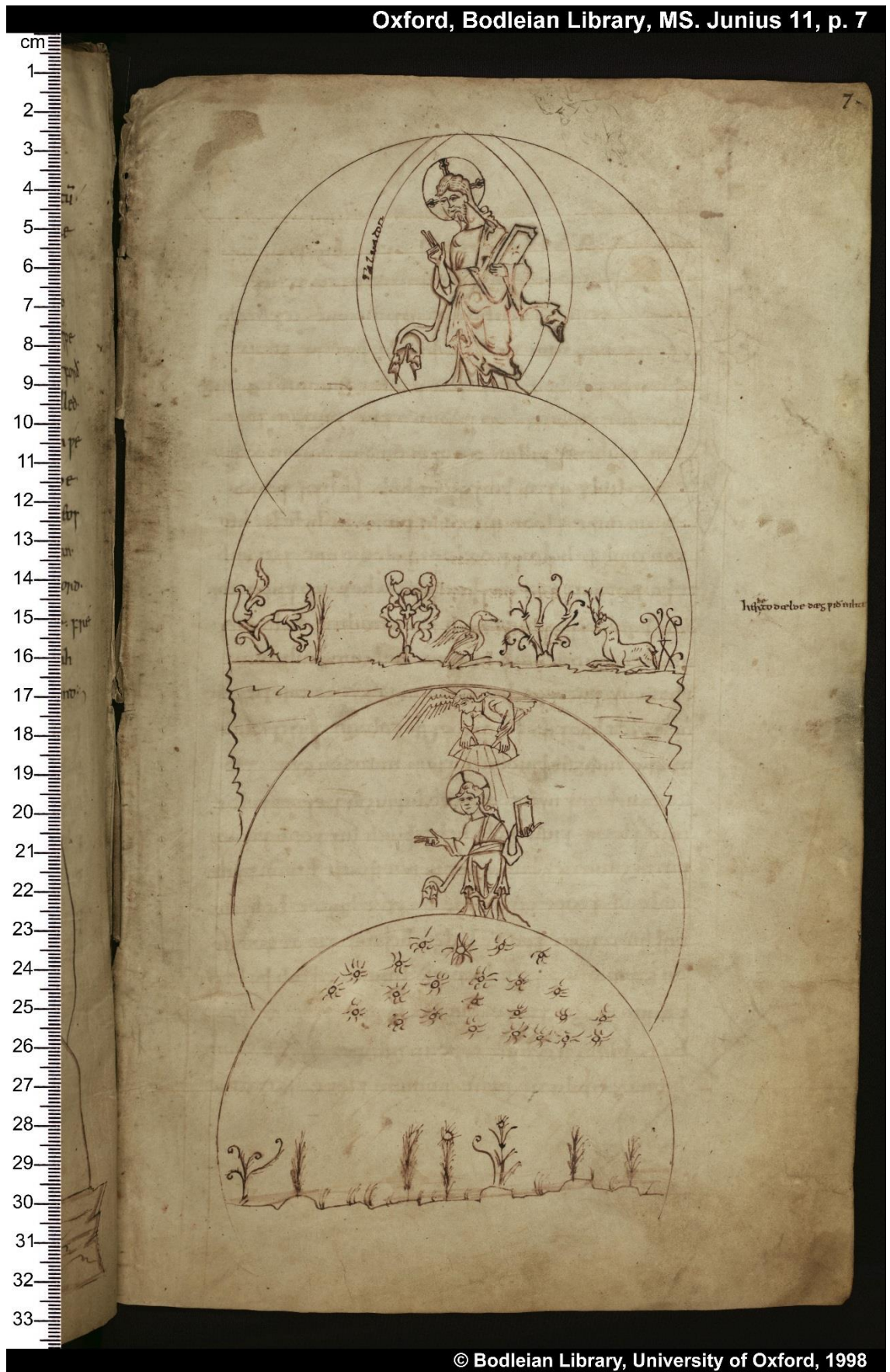








Figure A7: Adam and eve before God, Junius 11, p. 10.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 10

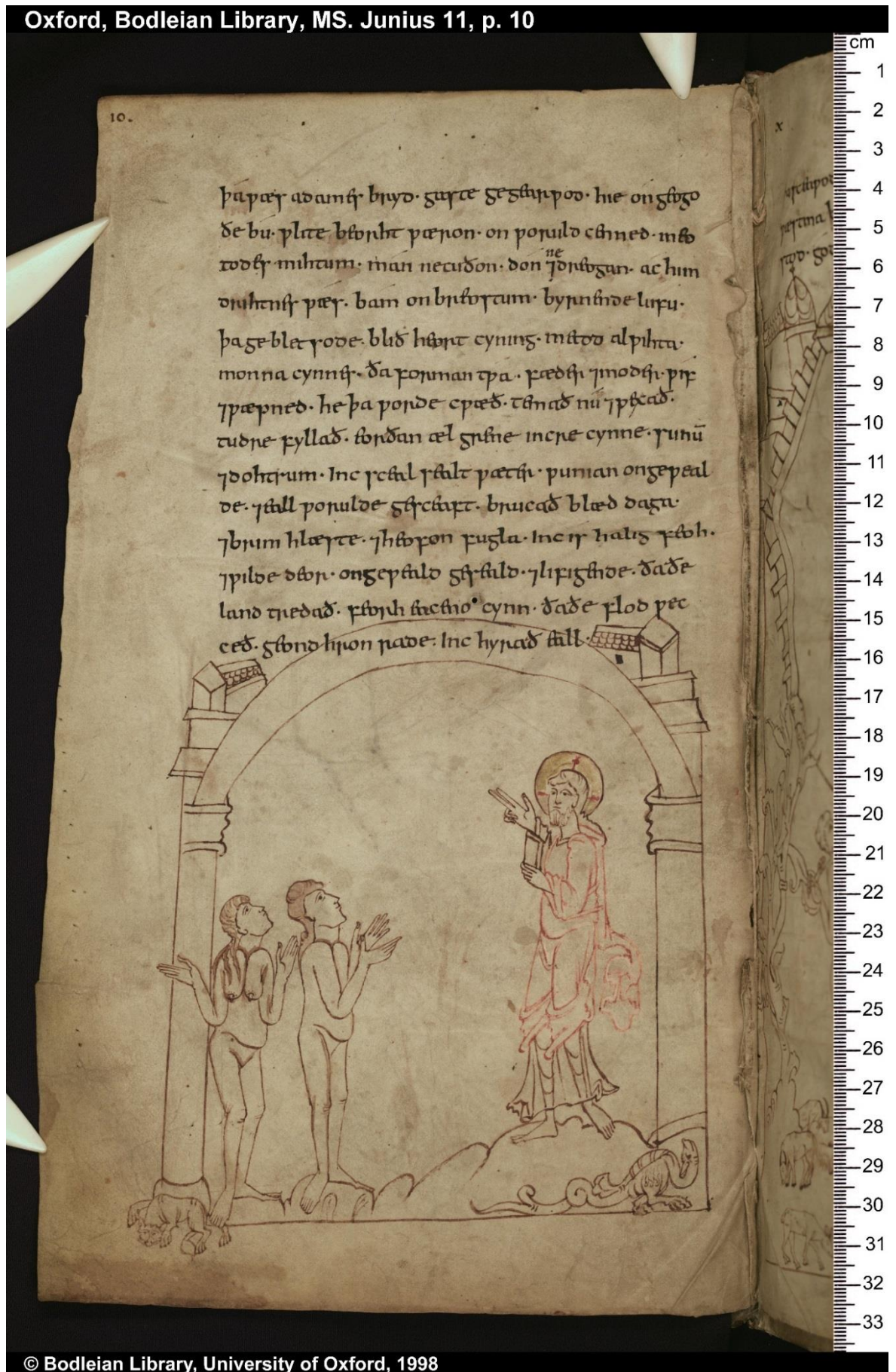




Figure A8: Adam and Eve in Paradise with God in majesty, p.11.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 11





Figure A9: Adam and Even I Paradise, Junius 11, p. 13.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 13

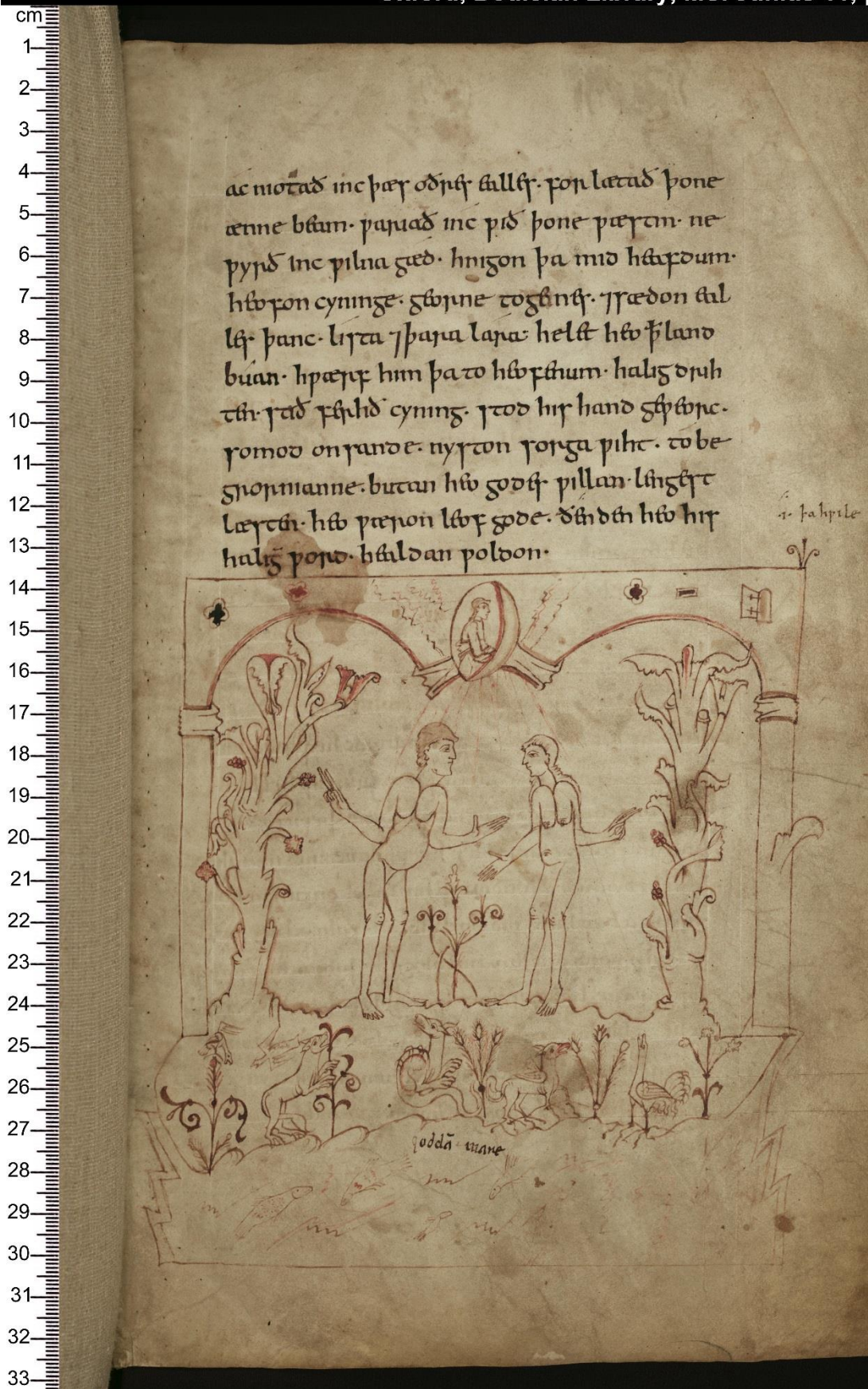




Figure A10: Fall of Rebel angels and hellmouth, Junius 11, p. 16.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 16

16-

X

ſaþa moþdru mæte. ꝥpa deð monna gehwile þe  
wið hiſ waldend winnan ongyrned. mid mane wið  
þone mæran drihten. þa wæs ſemolaga ge  
bolgen. heht a heofonſ waldend. ꝥa ƿp hine  
of þan hlum ſcele. hete hæfde he æt hiſ hlum  
nan geþunmæn. hylde hæfde hiſ ſcylorſne.  
ſnam wæs him ſegoda on hiſ mode. ƿanþon  
he ſceolde gwinde geſcecan. hlumſ helle ƿreht.  
þær þe he ƿann wið heofonſ waldend. ac ƿæð hine  
þa fram hiſ hylde. 7 hine on helle ƿærp. on  
þa dæþan dala. þær he to dæþle ƿærð. þe  
ſeond mid hiſ geþum ſallum. ſeollor þa uƿon  
of heofnum. þurh longe ƿpa ƿreð niht 7 dæ  
ſur. þa ſiglar of heofnum on helle. 7 heo ſalle  
ƿon ſceop drihten to dæþlum.





Figure A11: Satan in hell, Junius 11, p. 17

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 17

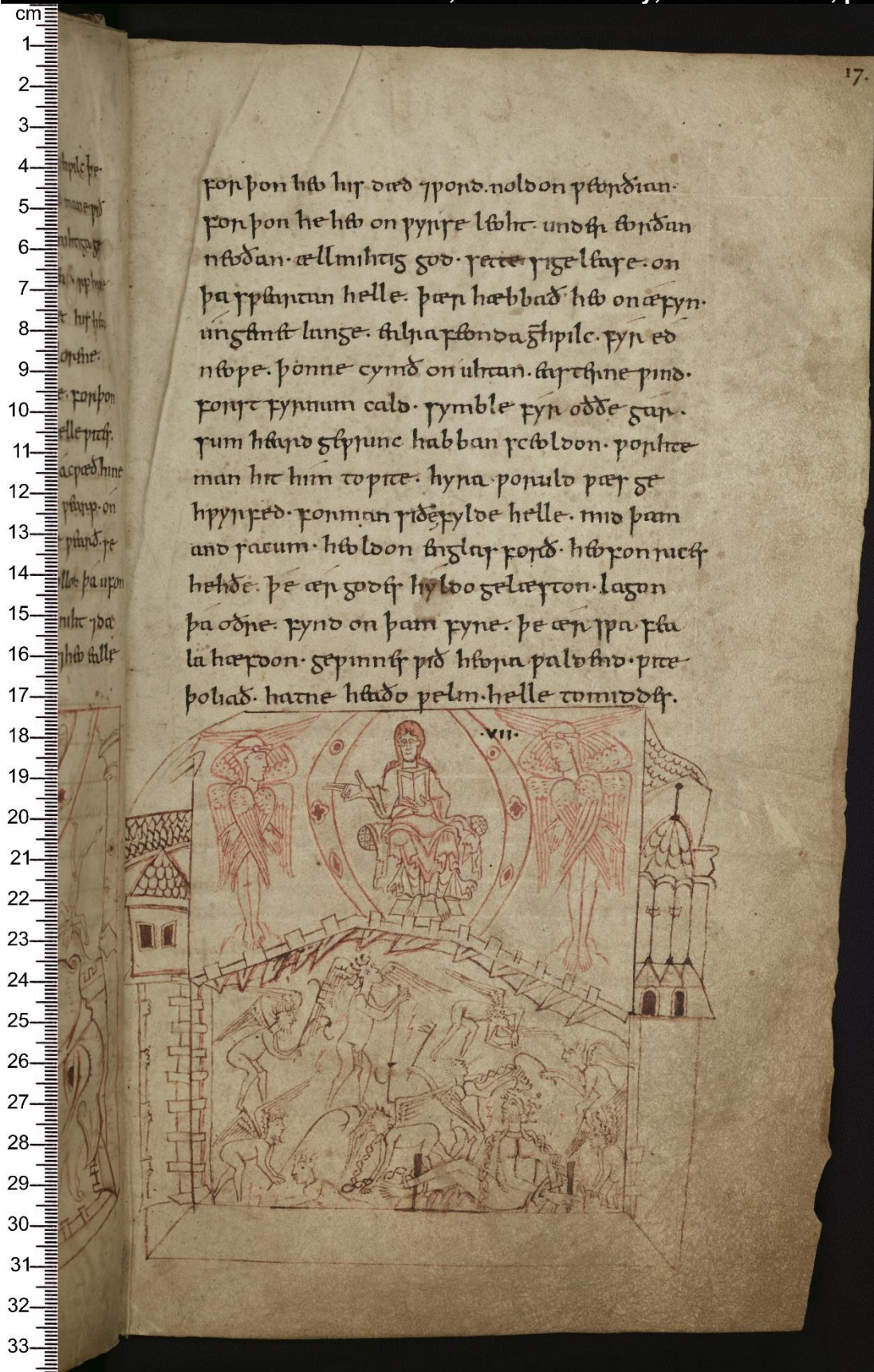




Figure A12; Satan`s messenger leaves hell, Junius 11, p. 20.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 20





Figure A13: Temptation of Adam, Junius 11, p. 24.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 24

24.

hæfon. þonne heo hænon pāde; þonne pæt se  
odde fulliga fæder. dūm 7 þyrtne. þæt pæt dædð bāum.  
I se bān bīcne fela fæderde bupian. yloa æghpīle.  
yfele 7 godde. gepand on þyrtne pōrude. fæderde  
on pite a mid spate 7 mid fongum. fiddan libban.  
7 pā hpa 7 pā gebyngde. þæt on þam bāme gepōx.  
Scōlde hūne ylo bānman. ellā dæda dūmān  
7 on hte fapde. 7 hūm bān dæd fcyred. hte hpile  
fæderde he hū fapde nōtan. fēcan þonne landa.  
7 fēdān fēdān on þyrtne fæderde fēdān fēdān.  
fēdān 7 fēdān fēdān mæte. lādum to lang  
ne hpile. fēdān fēdān fēdān. dūmne dæd fēdān.  
bōdā. þe pīd dūmān pān.





Figure A14: Temptation of Eve, Junius 11, p. 28.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 28

28.

ſc̅inlice: gode þegnode: þunh holdne hyge: h̅innan  
minum: drihtne: ſelfum: ne ſom ic d̅oþle: ge lic: læd  
de hie ſpa mic l̅igum: 7 mid l̅iſum ſp̅abn: id̅e on  
þæt unriht: oð ſhine on minn ongan: p̅tallan p̅yn  
m̅iſ geſtalt: hæfde h̅ine: paeran hyge: metod ge  
m̅iſcod: þæt h̅ine mod ongan: lætan æt̅h þam  
l̅arum: for þou h̅e æþam ladan onſing: of̅idra  
h̅anſ pond: d̅ad̅g b̅am̅iſ p̅b̅neſumne p̅ærm: ne  
p̅ar̅d̅ p̅yn̅e d̅æd: monnum ſ̅in̅l̅icod: ſ̅iſ micel  
p̅undon: þ̅ h̅ic ece god: ærne polde: þ̅ad̅i ſolian:  
þ̅p̅unde þ̅eg̅ ſpa monis: for lædd beþam lygenum:  
þ̅e for þam l̅arum com:





Figure A15: Eve tempts Adam, Junius11, p. 31.

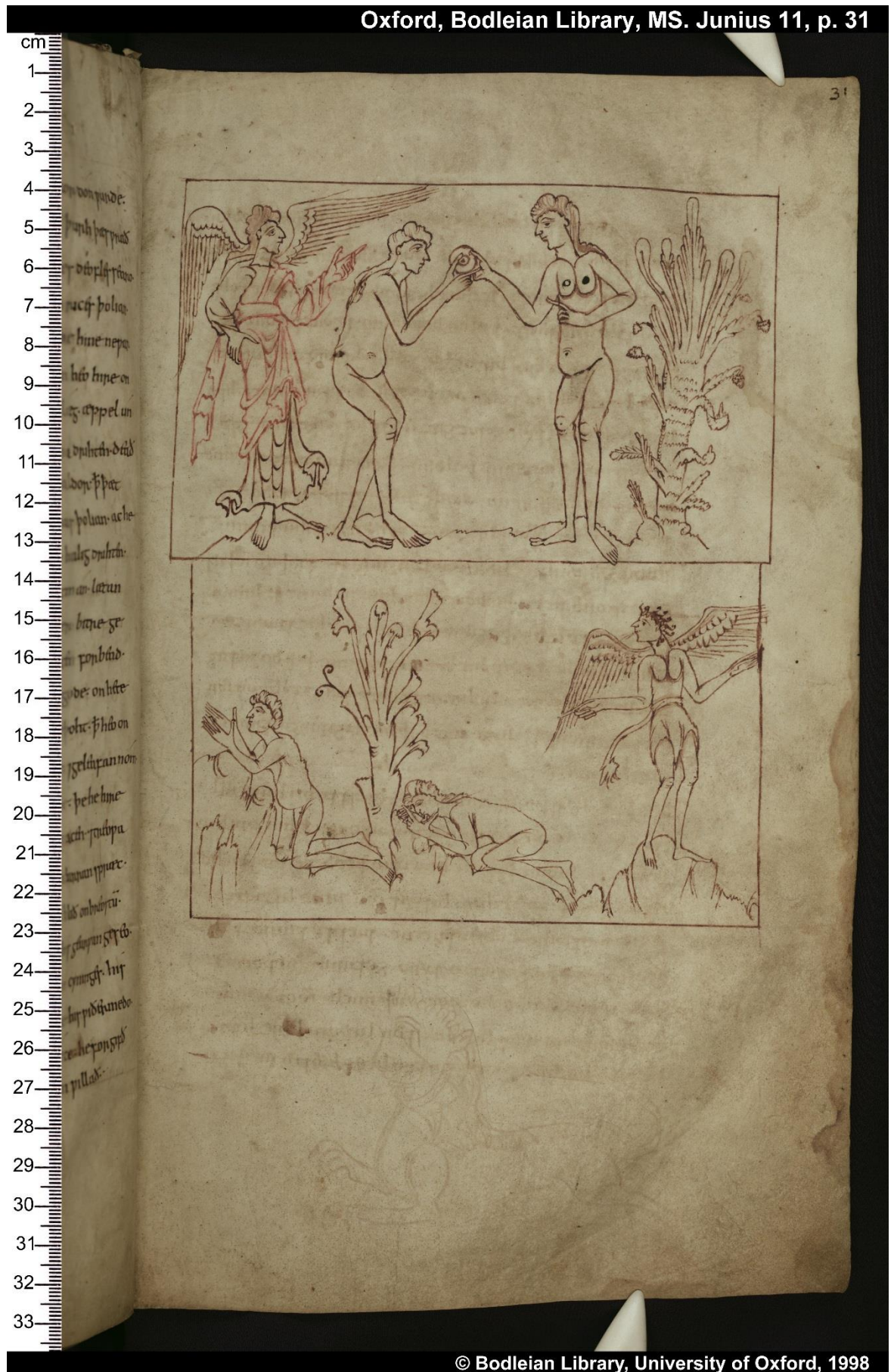




Figure A16: Adam and Eve knowing nakedness, Junius 11, p. 34.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 34

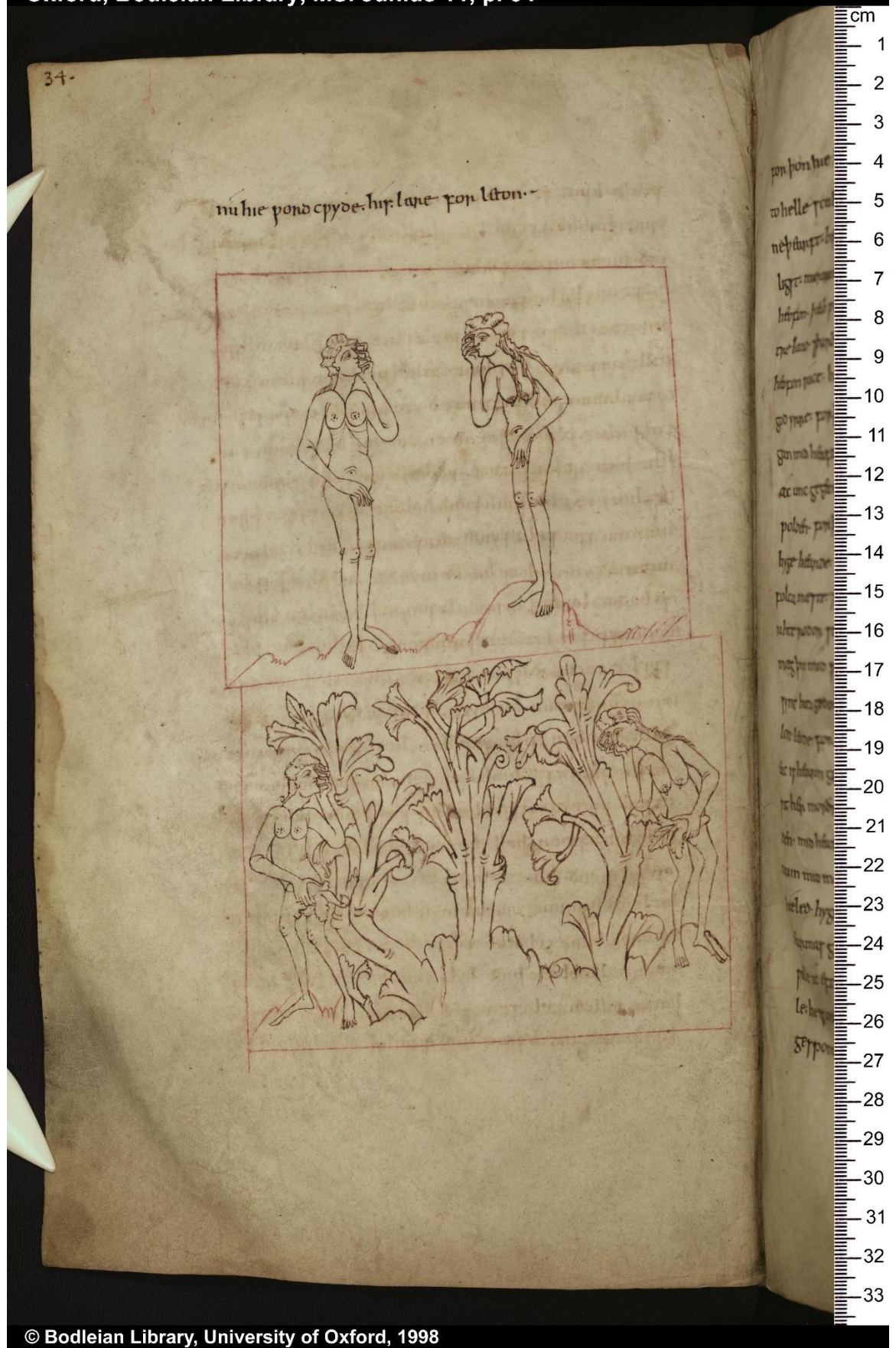




Figure A18: Messenger returns to hell, Junius 11, p. 36.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 36

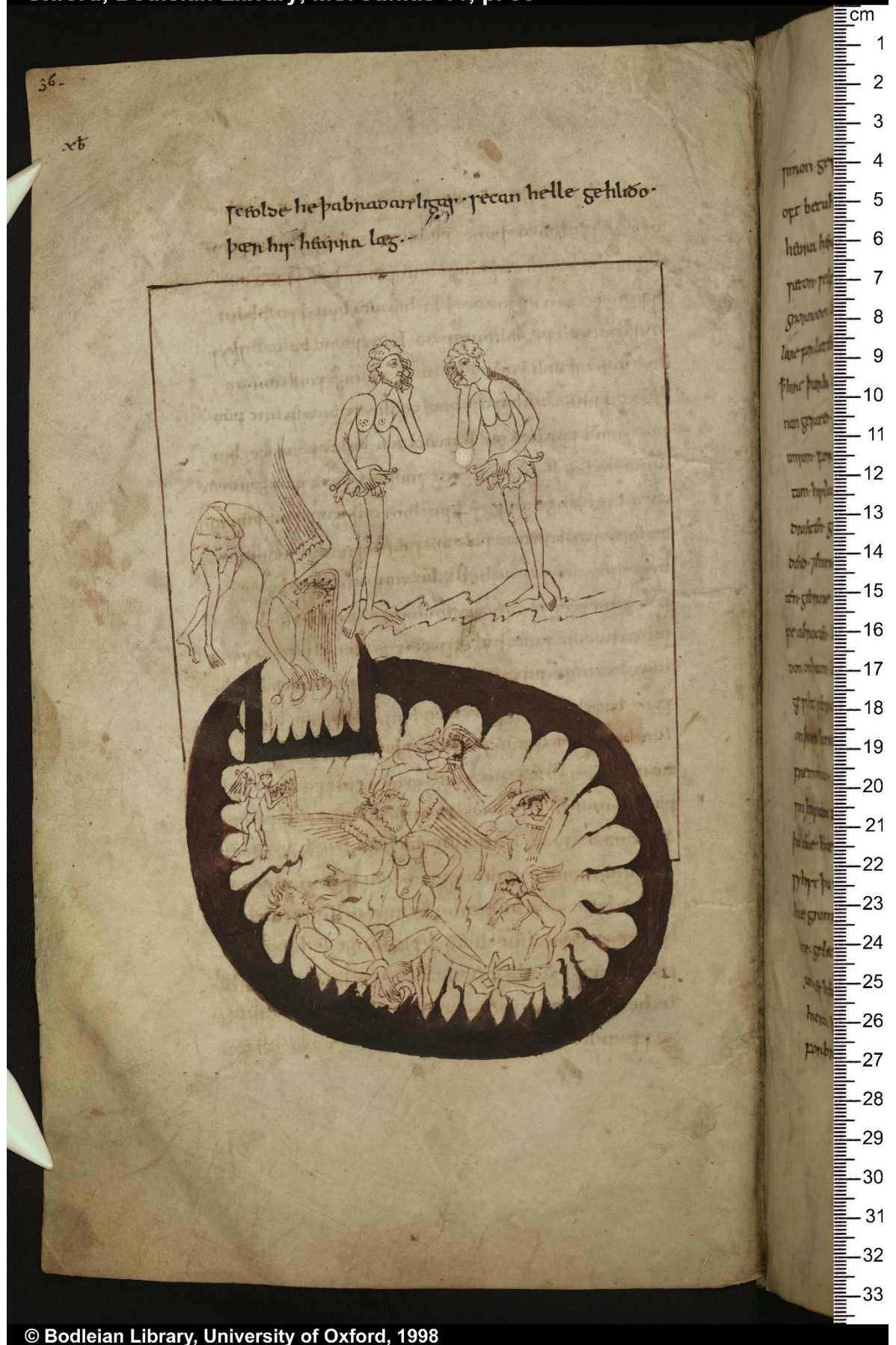




Figure A19: Adam and Eve's remorse, Junius 11, p.39.

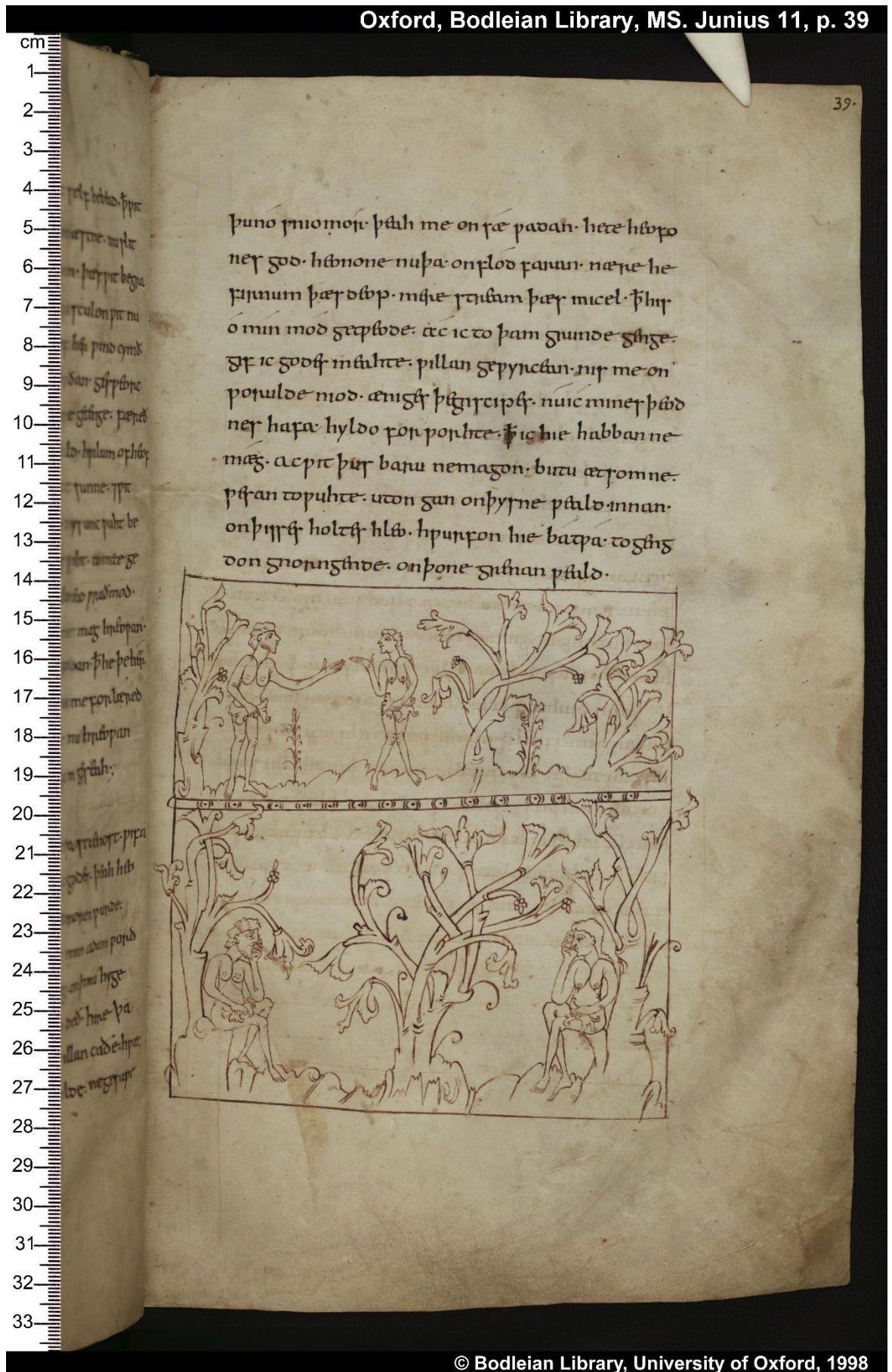




Figure A20: Judgment of God of God on Adam and Eve, Junius 11, p. 41.

**Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 41**





Figure A21: Judgement of God on Adam and Eve, Junius 11, p. 44.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 44





Figure A22: Expulsion, Junius 11, p.45.

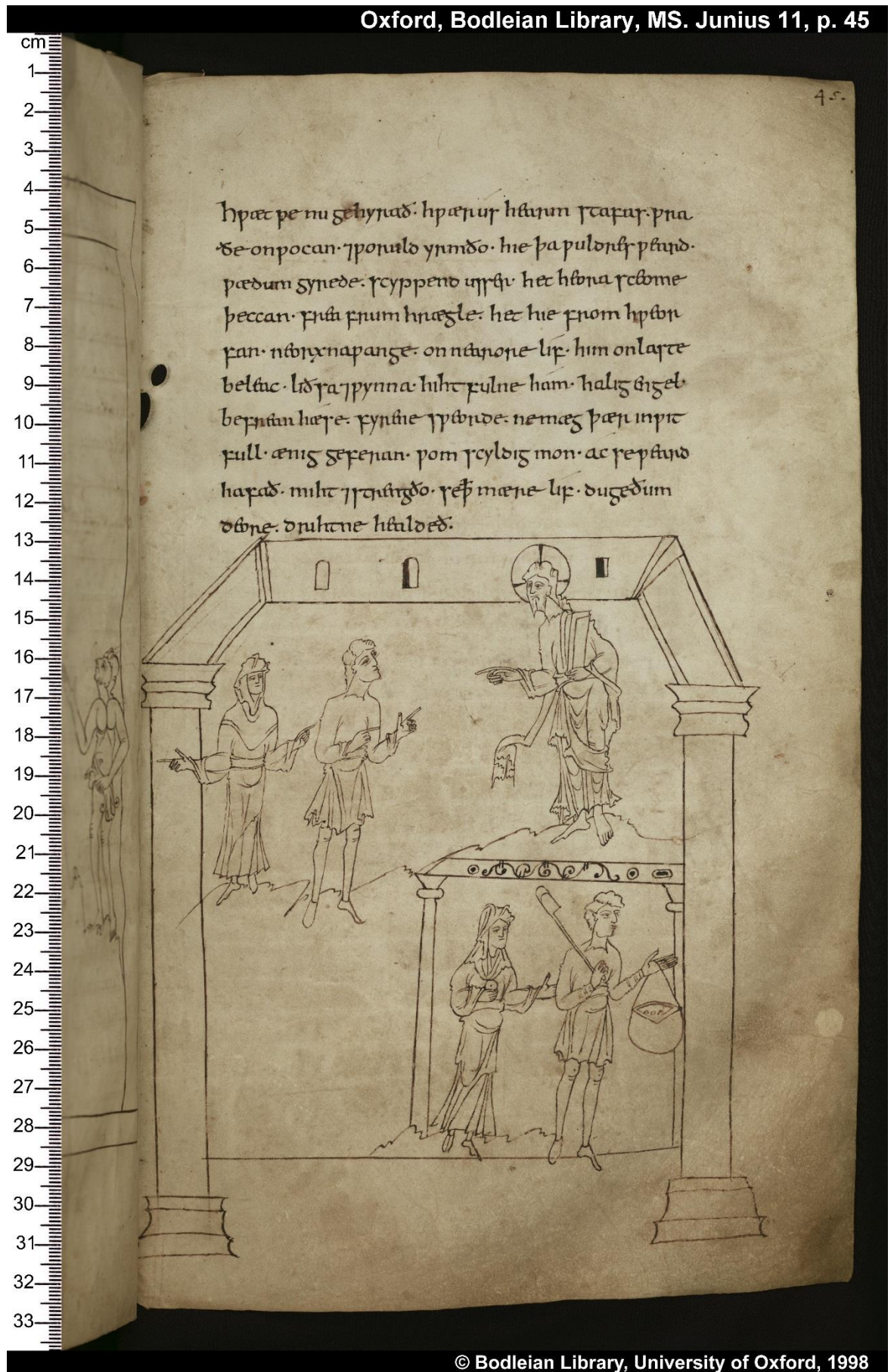




Figure A23: Expulsion of Earthly Paradise, MS Junius 11, Junius 11, p. 46.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 46

46.

No hƿæðne ælmihtig. ælra polde. adame ⁊ euan.  
anna of tæon. fædri æt fymde. þā h he him fnom  
ƿrice. æc he him to fnoƿne. læ hƿæðne fons ƿfian.  
hynƿedne hnoƿ. halgum tunglum. ⁊ him gund ƿe  
lan. ginne fælde. hæ þam ƿin hƿum. fæf ⁊ þoðan.  
tuddon tæondra. æbha gehilcne. to ƿonuld nƿce.  
ƿæfmas fedan. Geƿaton þa æt þi fenne. fongful  
ne land. fæd ƿedyl. unfedignan. fnefna gehilcne.  
þonne fepum fcol ƿæf. þe hie æt þi dæde. of adu  
fth ƿundon. On gunnon hie þa begodf hæfe. bæn  
aƿaþian. ƿpa him meod bebæd. adamf ⁊ euan.  
aƿonan ƿænon. fnefolicu ƿa fnum bæn cined.  
cam. ⁊ æl. uf cyðað bec. huf a dæd fnuman. daga  
þa fawndon. ƿelan ƿiƿce. ƿill gebnodon





Figure A24: Birth of Abel, Junius 11, p. 47.

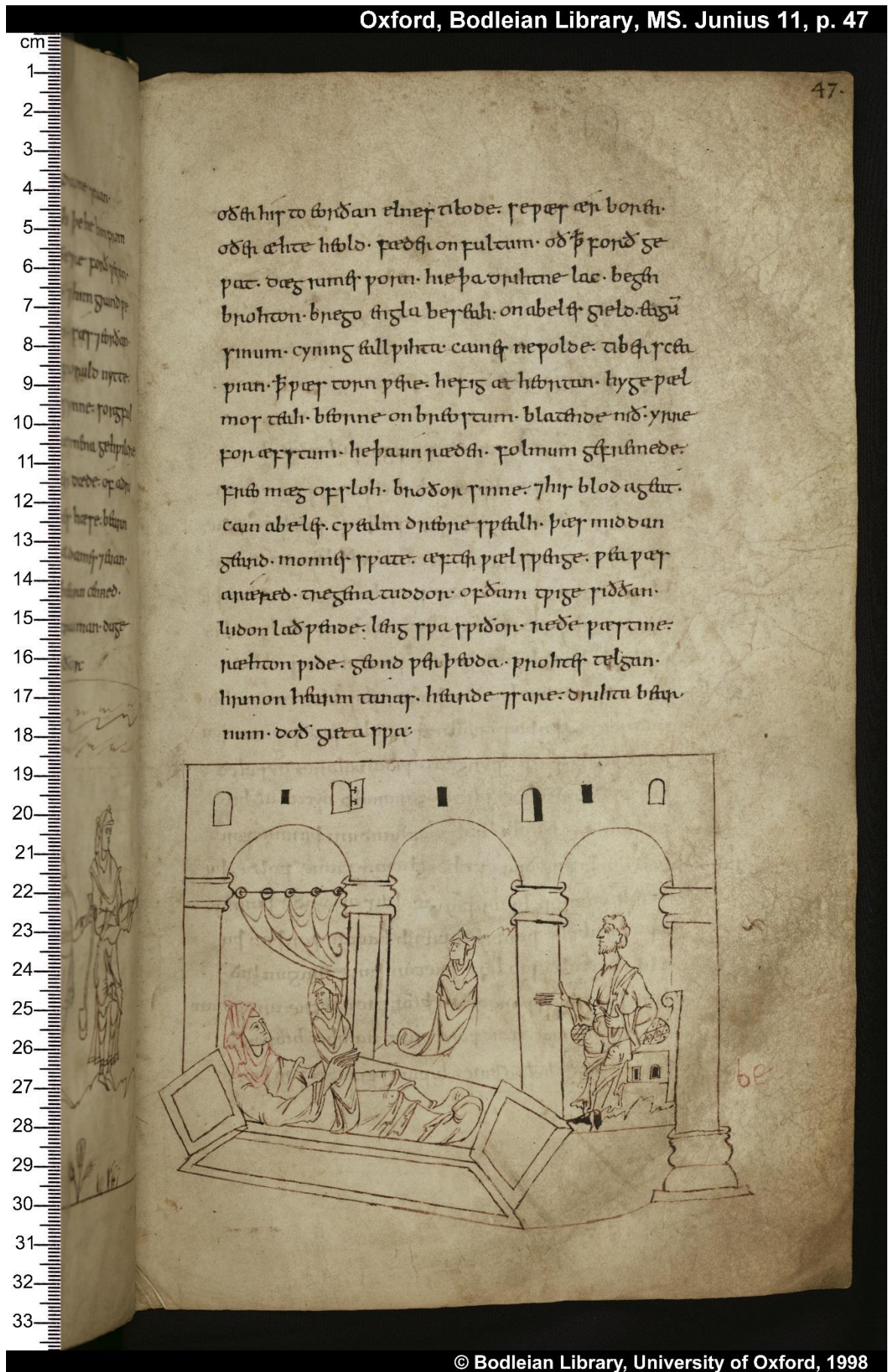




Figure A25: Cain and Abel, Junius 11, p. 49.

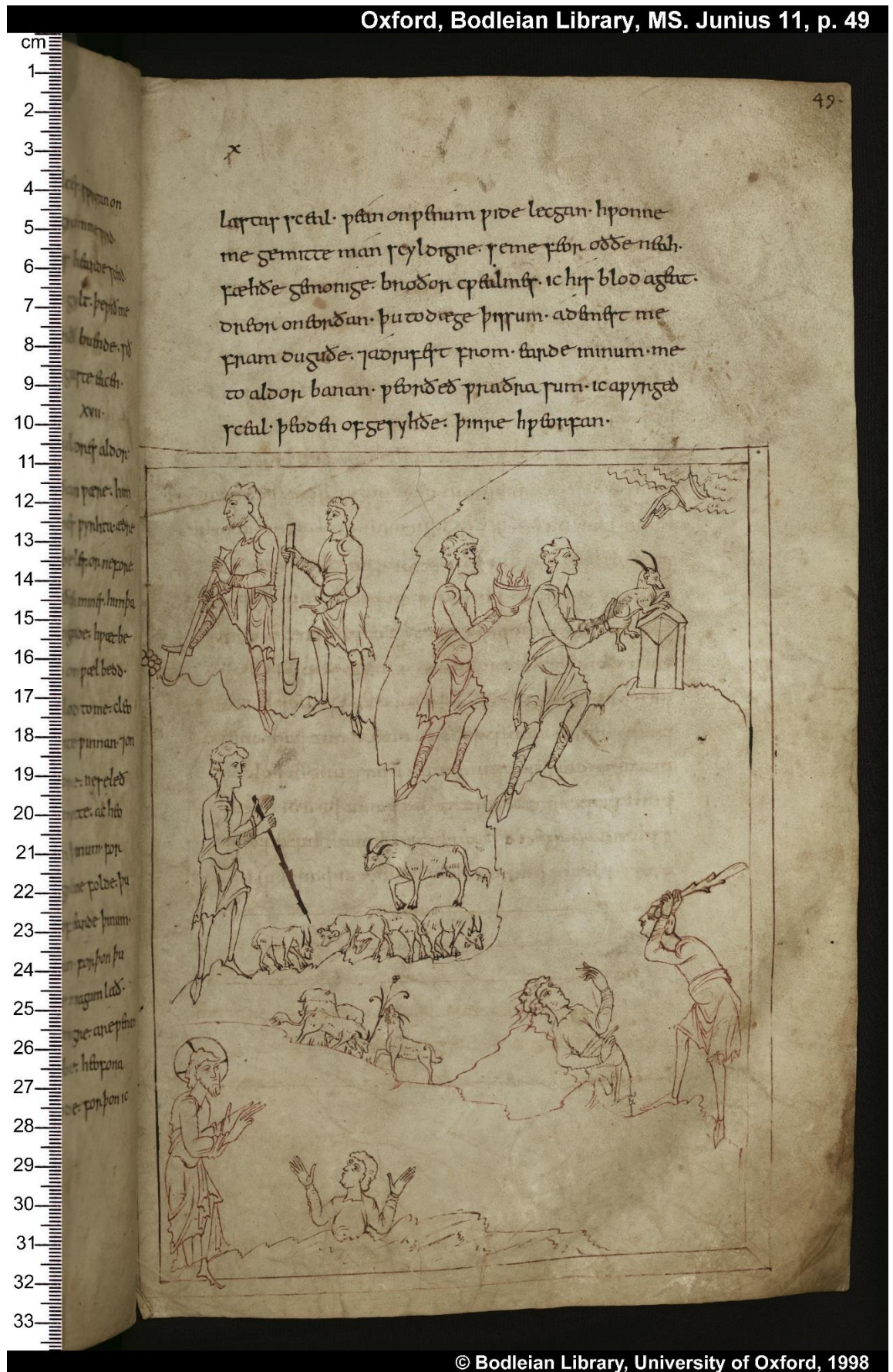




Figure A26: Cain cursed by God, Junius 11, p. 51.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 51





Figure A27: Descent from Cain, Junius 11, p. 53.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 53





Figure A28: Iared, Iubal and Tubal-Cain, Junius 11, p. 54.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 54





Figure A29: Seth, Junius 11, p. 56.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 56

56.

him on laſte ſeth. lāf pāwode. āfona æpeth ylōw.  
epel ſol hēolo. 7pīf begāt. pīnna hæfde 7pī 7hund  
tēnag. þa hēo fundum ongan. hīf mæg bunge. mār  
ſeicān. ſunum 7dohqum. ſedð āfona. ſe ylōſta  
pæf. thof hātā. ſe nemde god. nīð þa bēapnā. ænſt  
āhpa. 7dōdan adam 7cōp. on gūthie gūet. gūte ge  
pēwōd. Seth pæf geſælīg. 7dōdan ſaynde. 7fōf  
on pīnna hēo. 7una 7dohqā. ond āhka hund āhka  
hæfde. xii. 7nigon hund. þa 7fō ad gēfōrð. 7hepud  
gedal. 7nūman 7cōlde.





Figure A30: Cainan and Mahalalel as a baby, Junius 11, p. 57.

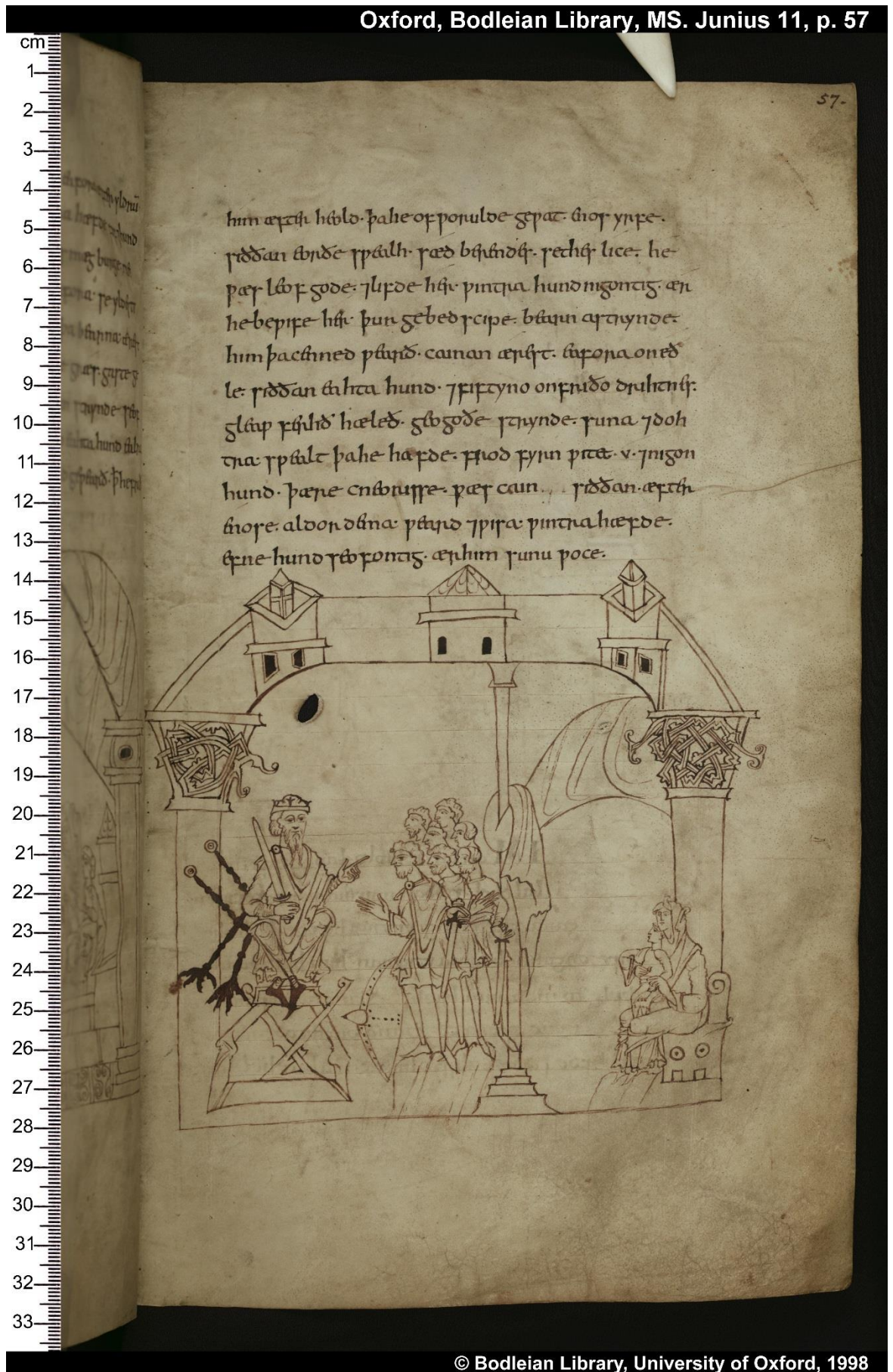




Figure A31; Mahalalel, Junius 11, p.58.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 58

58.

þapārd on eðle. aþona fædeð. mago cainq. malale-  
hel þæt hæth. þiððan aþita hund. æðeliga sum.  
þfopþragum tuc. þfolum geicte. þioþþ þunu. titha  
nigon hund. þintia hæfde. þa he populo of gþif.  
þcune tuc. þa hiſ ad dæge. und þi noderia sum. sum  
þæt gefylled. . VIII. .

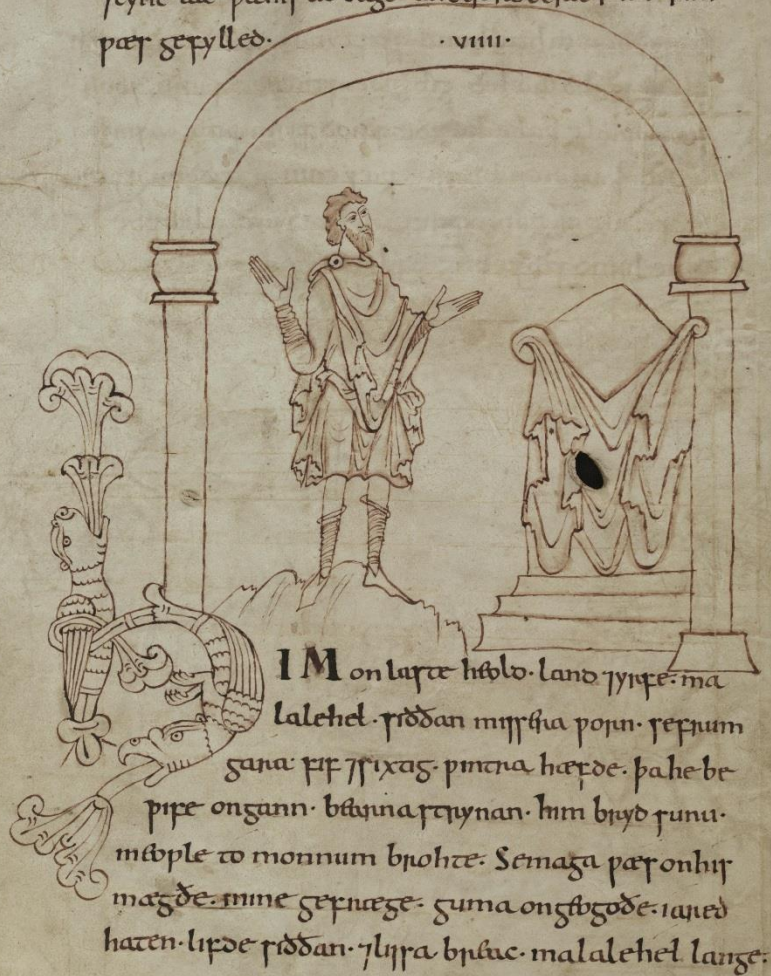




Figure A32: Death of Mahalalel, Junius 11, p. 59.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 59

cm  
1  
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31  
32  
33

mon dædona hq̃. poruld gætænna pincta hæpde  
fif 7hund mgonas. þa he fons sepat.



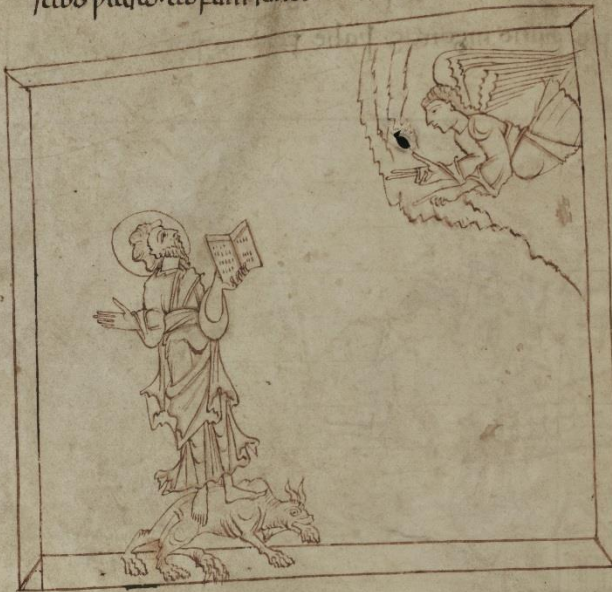
7ahtu hund aþonun læpde. land 7læd pætud. longe  
7iddan. gæned gumum. gold bructade. 7e tōnl pæt  
ædele. æpæt hæled. 77e fūm gæt. hif fūb magū  
læp. fif 7hund tōnig. on fyonre lēpde. pincta ge  
bidfina onporuld mē. 77yxtas æc. þa 7b fæl  
sepātud. 7hif fif 7unu. onporuld bnohte. 7e aþo  
na pæt. 7hoc hædū. fūb lic fūm bāun. pædqi hif  
þagyt. hif cynnif fons. cnebum icce. aþona ahtu  
hund. ælra hæpde. v 77yxtas. þa he fons sepat. 7m  
gon hund æc. mht gætūf. pine fūod pinctūf. þa he  
þæt poruld of gæt. ond gæned þa glæpūm læpde. land



Figure A33: Enoch, Junius 11, p. 60.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 60

60.  
7læd pænd. læpsum rince:



Enoch ƿæddan. ƿæddan dom ahoƿ. ƿæddan ƿæd ƿælc  
ƿiƿa nallg. ƿællan læ. dom ƿæddan ƿæp. ƿæddan he  
hynde ƿæp. hƿæd maga. bƿæc blæd daga. bƿæc  
ƿæynde. ƿæc hund ƿæc hƿæc ƿæc ƿæddan hold.  
ƿæddan ƿæddan. ƿæddan hƿæc. onlic hƿæc. lƿæc  
ƿæddan. dƿæddan. dƿæddan. nallg. dƿæddan. ƿæddan  
ƿæddan. ƿæc hƿæc mƿæc dƿæc. ƿæddan ƿæddan. ƿæddan  
god hƿæc. æhta. ƿæc ƿæc. ƿæddan ƿæddan. on ƿæc  
mæc. ƿæddan aldor ƿæddan. æc he ƿæc ƿæc. mæc  
cƿæddan æhta. of ƿæddan lƿæc. lƿæc. on ƿæc  
ƿæddan. ƿæddan ƿæc on ƿæc. æc hƿæc. ƿæddan  
mæc. bƿæddan. hƿæc. ƿæddan. lƿæc.



Figure A34, Ascension of Enoch, Junius 11, p. 61.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 61

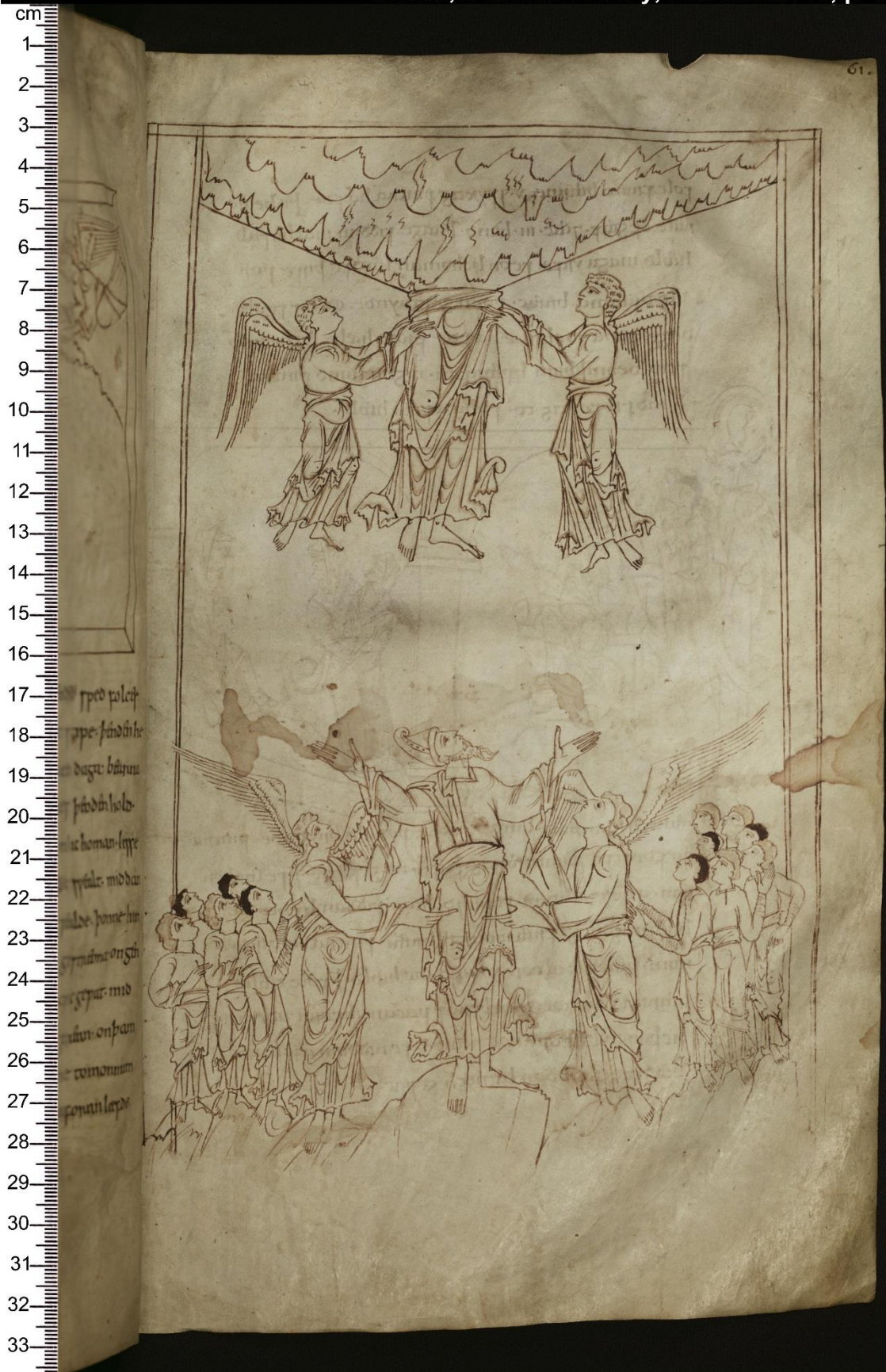




Figure A35: Mathusel and Lamech, Junius 11, p. 62.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 62

62.

ƿole ƿum bāune. v. 7 ƿyxtas ƿintia hæfde. þa he ƿo  
nuld of gāp. 7 æt. iii. hund. þa he ƿiddan mathusal  
hæbde. maga 7 ƿe. ƿe on lichoman lāgst ƿiſe ƿon  
uld dūfuma bāne. ƿon ƿe geynde. æt 7 ƿyxt  
dæge. 7 una 7 dohter. hæfde ƿeod hæle. þa he ƿeod  
ƿeabde. niſþum hƿeſeƿan. niſon hund ƿintia. 7  
hund ƿeƿontas to. 7 una æt ƿe hēbde.



Lamech lādgand. lange ƿiddan. ƿo nuld brytade. ƿintia  
hæfde. ƿe 7 hund ƿontas. þa he æt geynde. 7 ƿe ƿont on  
gan. ædele æt ƿe. 7 una 7 dohter. ƿiddan lēde. ƿe 7  
hund niſontas. ƿe 7 monig ƿe bāne. ƿintia und ƿe ƿole  
num. ƿe 7 aldor. v. hund æt hæbde. 7 ƿole æt ƿe  
bāne ƿe geynde. him by ƿe ƿe ƿe. æt ƿe 7 dohter  
he ƿe ƿe ƿe. no ƿe ƿe. 7 ƿe ƿe ƿe. land  
brytade. ƿiddan lamech geynde.



Figure A34: Noah and sons, Junius 11, p.63.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 63

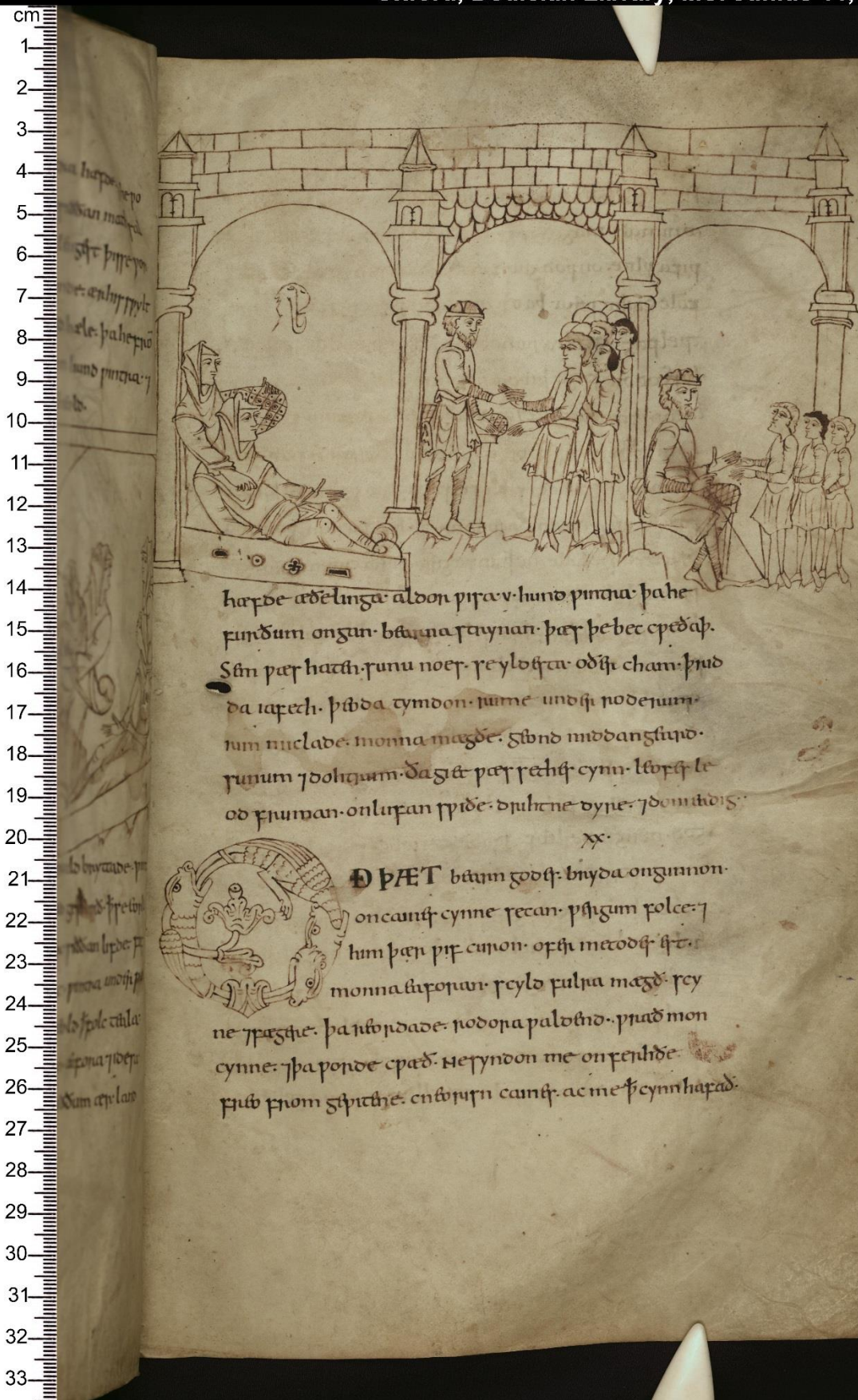




Figure A35: Noah commanded to build ark, Junius 11, p. 65.

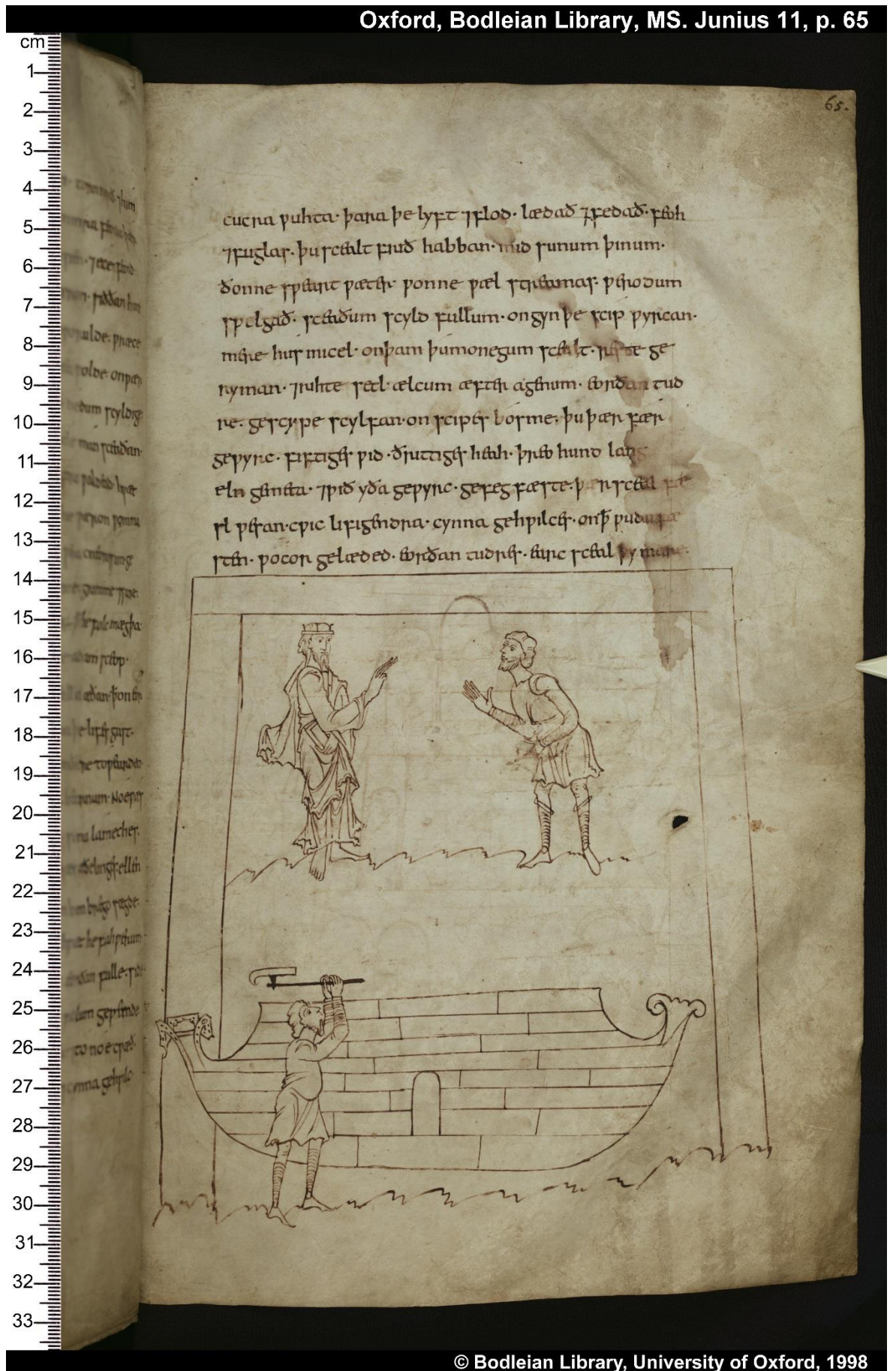




Figure A36 Embarkation, Junius 11, p.66.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 66

66.

Noe freme. ƿa hine nengro heht. hynde þam hal  
gan. hƿon cymme ongan. ofort lice þhof ƿyncan.  
micle mæte aſte. magum ƿagde. þƿæt þuſlic þing.  
þabum to ƿlud. neðe ƿite. hie ne rohton þæt. ge  
raht ƿymb pinra ƿorin. ƿær ƿæt maod. geƿon  
hƿa mæte. gano hluſtan. maon ƿutan. eorðan  
lune. geƿetnod ƿis flode. ƿer noht. þy ƿelhtan.  
þi ƿyndus cynn. Symle bið þy hārdra. þeht hƿoh  
tch. ƿpante ƿe ƿaamar. ƿið on bārd.





Figure A37: Ark on the waters, Junius 11, p.68.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 68

68.

dructin. purh hyf pond abad.





Figure A38: Disembarkation, Junius 11, p. 73.

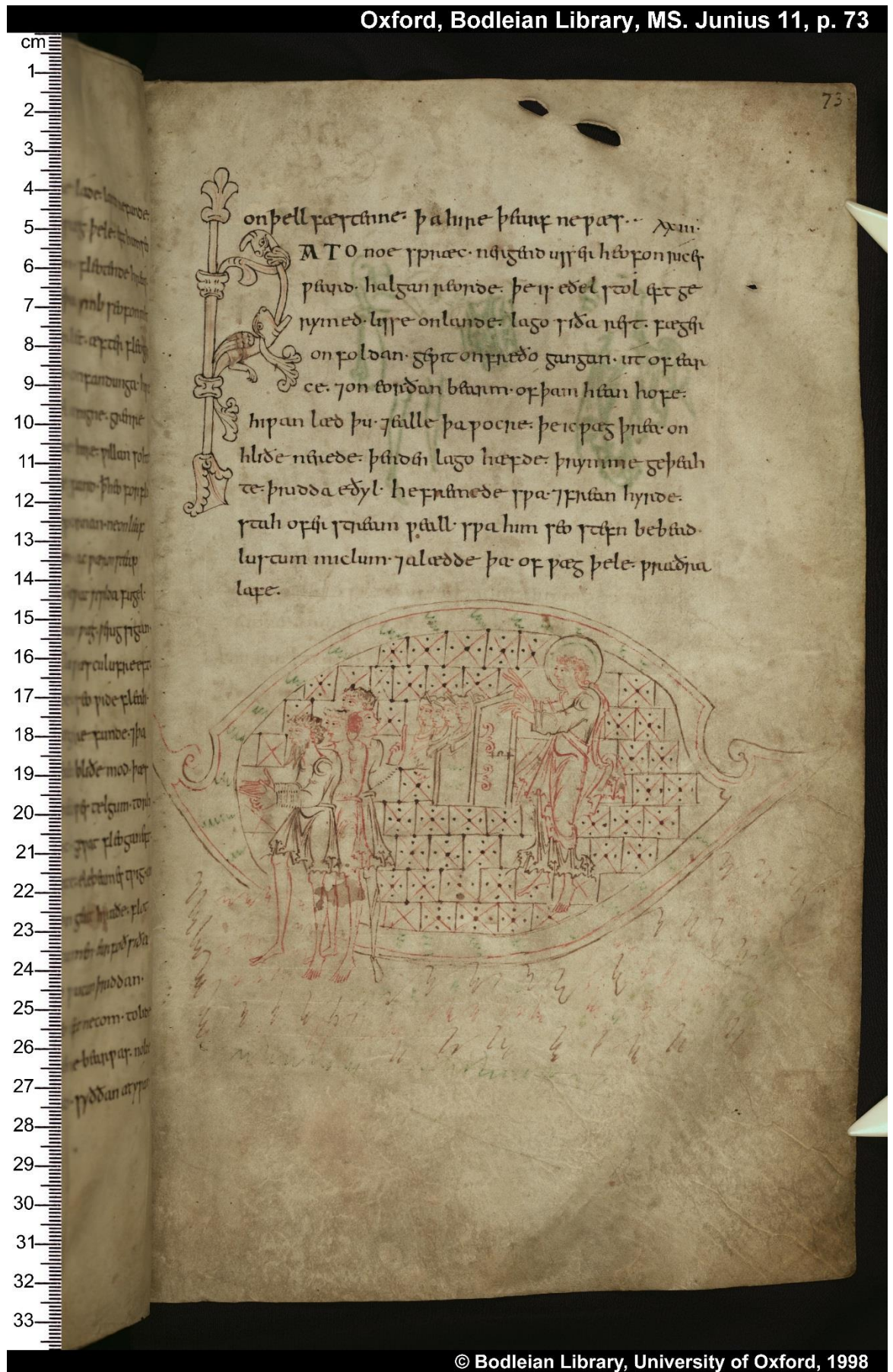




Figure A39: Noah offers sacrifice, Junius 11, p. 74.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 74

74.



þa noe ongan nāfighðe lac. næd fæst iudhan. 7 ne  
gæthe gham. on fallum dæl. ætham fimum. ðam ðe  
him to dūgedum. dūhctā fūlde. glæp to þam gel  
de. 7 þa gode felfum. todric mod hæle. abbi on  
fæge. cyminge æt gla. hūru cūð dyde. nāfighð upp ær  
þa he noe geblafade. 7 his bāru fomed. þhe þgld  
on þanc. agfā hæfde. 7 on gþgōð hade. godum dæ  
dum. ær gættinod. þahim ælra pær. ana fte. æl  
mihag god. doom fæst dūgeþa. þagyt dūhctā cūð.  
pūctā. aldon. pond to noe. Tynad nu 7 tædnad. tūf  
briuead. mid gþfūn fnydo. fyllad ærðan. æll ge  
icad. æp ær edel fcol. holm f hlæft. 7 hūfon fūgla  
7 pildu dæb. on gþfūld gþfūld. fūde æl gūthe. 7 æc  
æn fōh. næfne gūnd blode. bād gūndu. unan  
lice. æpne fiegad. bēmith mid fynne. faplōnþne.



Figure A40: Covenant with Noah, Junius 11, p.76.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 76

76.

rohte gibrne. þa him plite bānhte. pær amas bnoh  
te. gān conhte. gpe. gūne polde. Ða þ ge wode. þre  
æwega pær on hys picum pærus. pine druncar. spær  
þymbel pæus. 7 him selfa selfa. nāf of lice. 7 pæge  
nyrne nepær. læg þa him nacod. he lyt on gāt. þ him  
on hys umne. 7 pa ætyme. gelamp. þa him on hpedne.  
hæfod 7 puma on þær halgan hope. hæfcan clypte.  
7 pæde on lape. 7 þa nāfode. þ hene mhte. onge  
mynd on þær. hine handum self mid hæggle piron.  
7 ætyme. peccan. 7 pa geclapu pæron. psum 7 pīcū.  
7 ddan paldor. þær. 7 sum fædhr 7 medhr. pynne  
7 pænde. on lare belāc. lēf edel. þacom ænht cam.  
in 7 idian. æt pona nof. þær hys aldon læg. fæde for  
7 colā. þær he fubndlice. on hys agthum fædhr ære  
ne polde. gēclapian. nepærclonde hupu. hleb magū  
helan. ac he hlebade. bnodrum fæge. huse blōnn  
hine. nēte on pæcede.





Figure A41: Noah Ploughing, Junius 11, p. 77.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 77

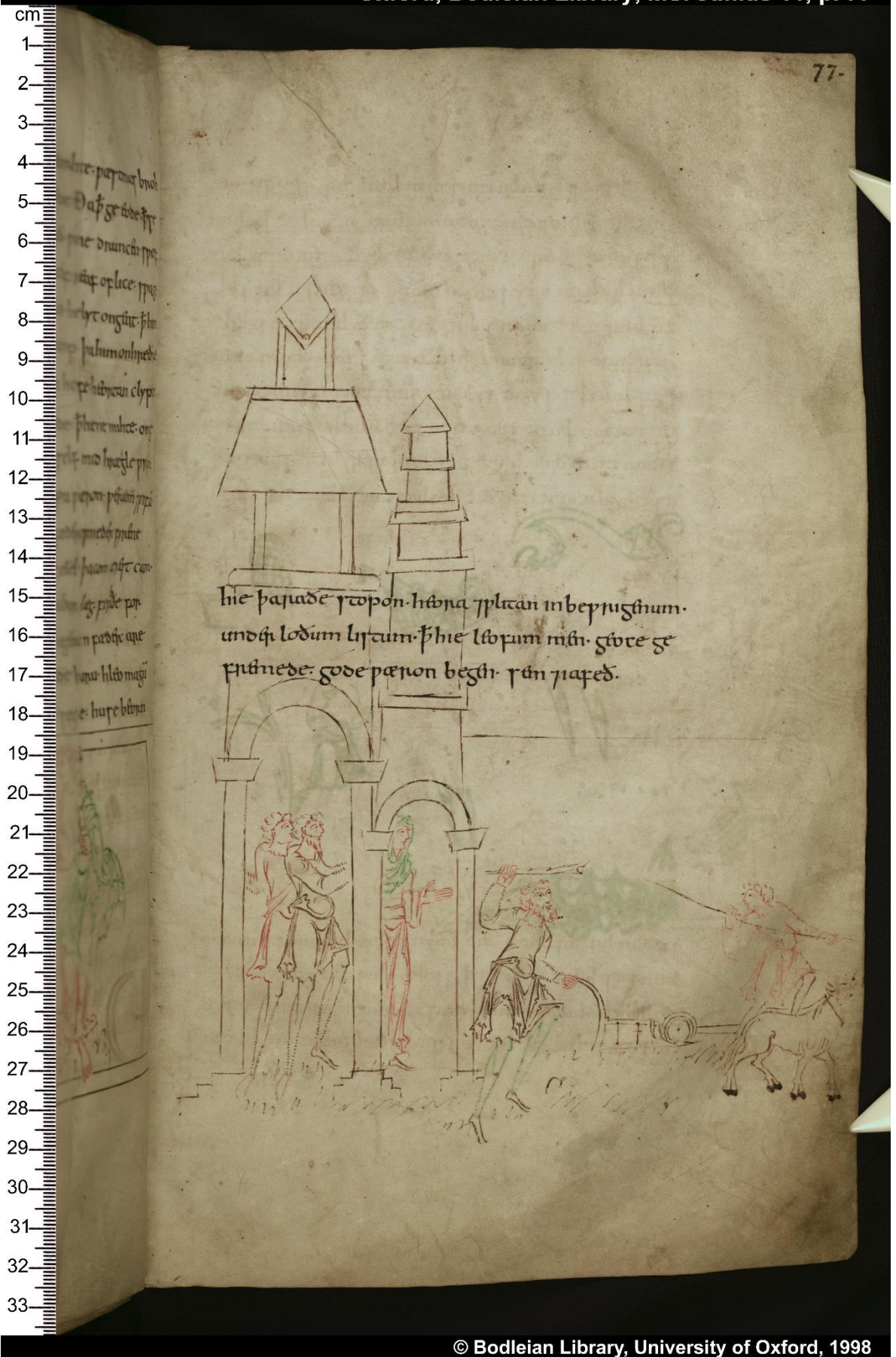




Figure A42: Drunkenness of Noah, Junius 11, p. 78.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 78

78.

Da of flepe on bræd. sunu larneth. 7 þa sona  
ongæt. þæt him cyne godum. cham nepolde. þa him  
pær ane þearf. ænige cyðan. hylde 7 ætþræ þæt  
þam halgan pær. 7 an on mode. on gan þa his sel  
f. bæn. pondum pynstan. cƿæð he pæt an seolde.  
hæn und þæt hlofnum. hle magan þæt. cham on lōn  
þan. him þa cƿyðe. 7 yddan. 7 his frow cenne. fæc  
ne seodon. þa nyttade. noe 7 yddan. mid sunum sinū  
7 idan. 7 uct. dæd hund pintra. þæt 7 liff. 7 uct mæn  
æfci. fode 7 fæst. þa he fode gepat.



7 yddan his æfci. and brycedon. bænas 7 yndon  
him pær bænlic pela. þa pænd. iafede. 7 god afeð  
ed. hyllic hlof pæt. hætod maga sunu 7 dohter  
he pær sefa. al. hælde a fuce. edel dæmar. blæd



Figure A43: Nimrod, Junius 11, p. 81.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 81

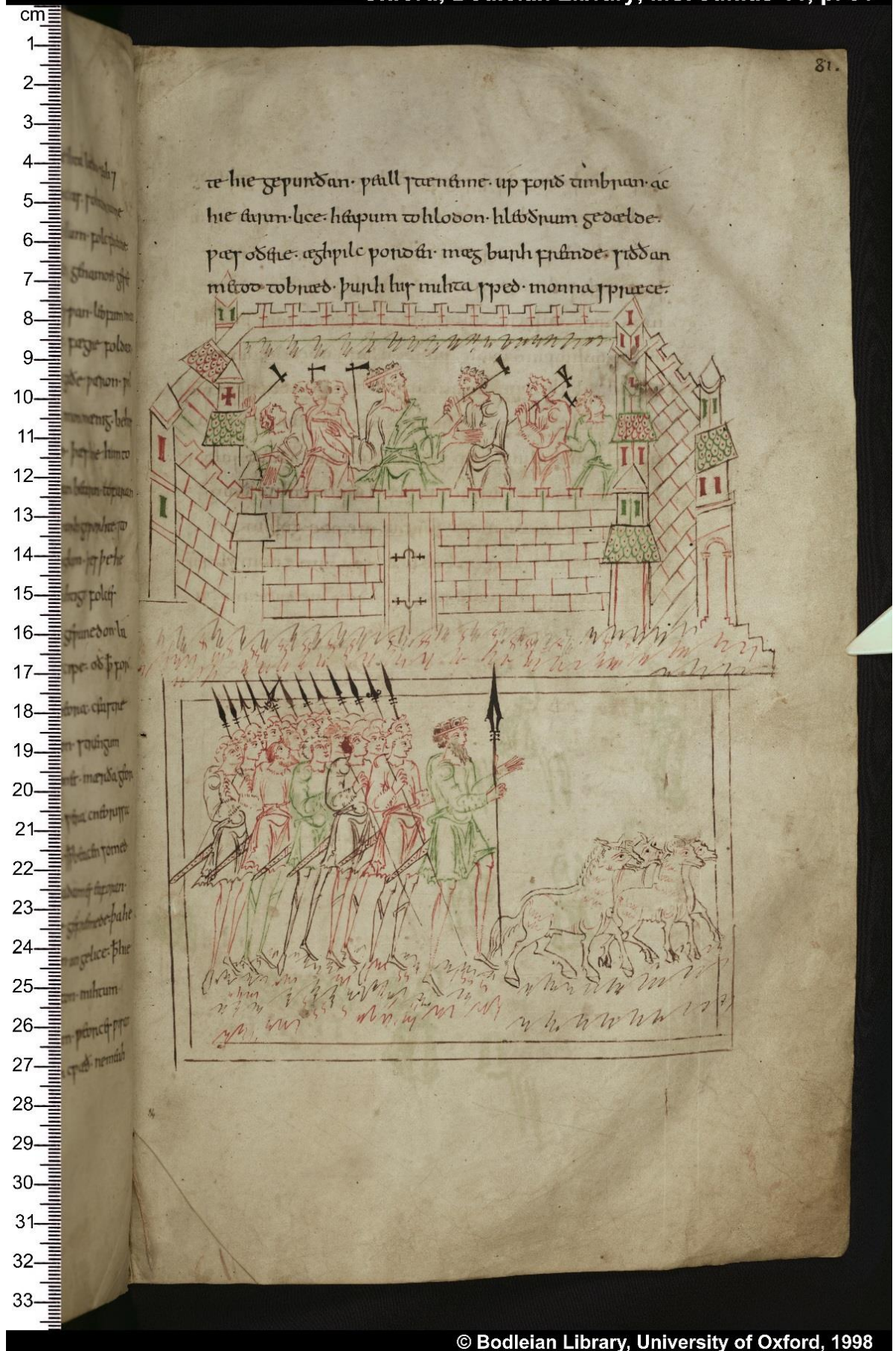




Figure A44: Tower of Babel, Junius 11, p. 82.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 82

82.

to sonan þa on fæþer þegur. æðelunga blyuun. un geþode.  
on land focene. him on laƿe. bu. ƿadlic ƿan towe. ƿæð  
ƿæpe. burh. ƿamod ƿan ƿorht. on ƿinnar ƿod. ƿæx  
þa undi ƿolenum. ƿpudade. magburh ƿan. oð þæt  
mon apoc. on þære cniþuſſe. cyne blyuuna ƿan. þancol  
mod ƿæ. þæt ƿum hydig. ƿurdon þam æðelinge. æfonan  
actide. in babilone. blyuun aƿeðeð. ƿæðlicu tu. ƿæpni  
ganun. hæleð hige ƿoƿe. hæðne ƿænon. abraham ƿa  
aƿon. þam ænrum ƿæp. ƿæð ængla bam. ƿæð ƿaldon  
ðapæd. aapone. æfon a ƿeðeð. læplic on lise. ðan  
ƿæp loch noma. ða mago tuncas. meðeð geþungon.  
abraham ƿloch. un ƿon cæðlice. ƿpa him ƿrom ylþu  
æðelu ƿænon. on ƿonuld rice. ƿon don hie ƿide nu. du  
geðum ðinnad. ðuhtga blyuunum.





Figures A45: Abraham with God, Junius 11, p.84.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 84

84.

þam þe purdian þurh þe. wond buðde. alle on  
ƿod. folc bāun ƿuðdo. 7 ƿuðnd ƿeipe. bliſſe min  
ne. 7 blaſunge. on ƿonuldrice. ƿuððide ƿeal. mæg  
de þinne. monnum ƿeðan. ƿiðe unda ƿe gle.  
ƿunum 7 dohtum. oðð ƿrom cyne. ƿolde ƿeðað.  
þeð lond monig. þine gefylled.





Figure A46: Abraham builds altar, Junius 11, p. 87.

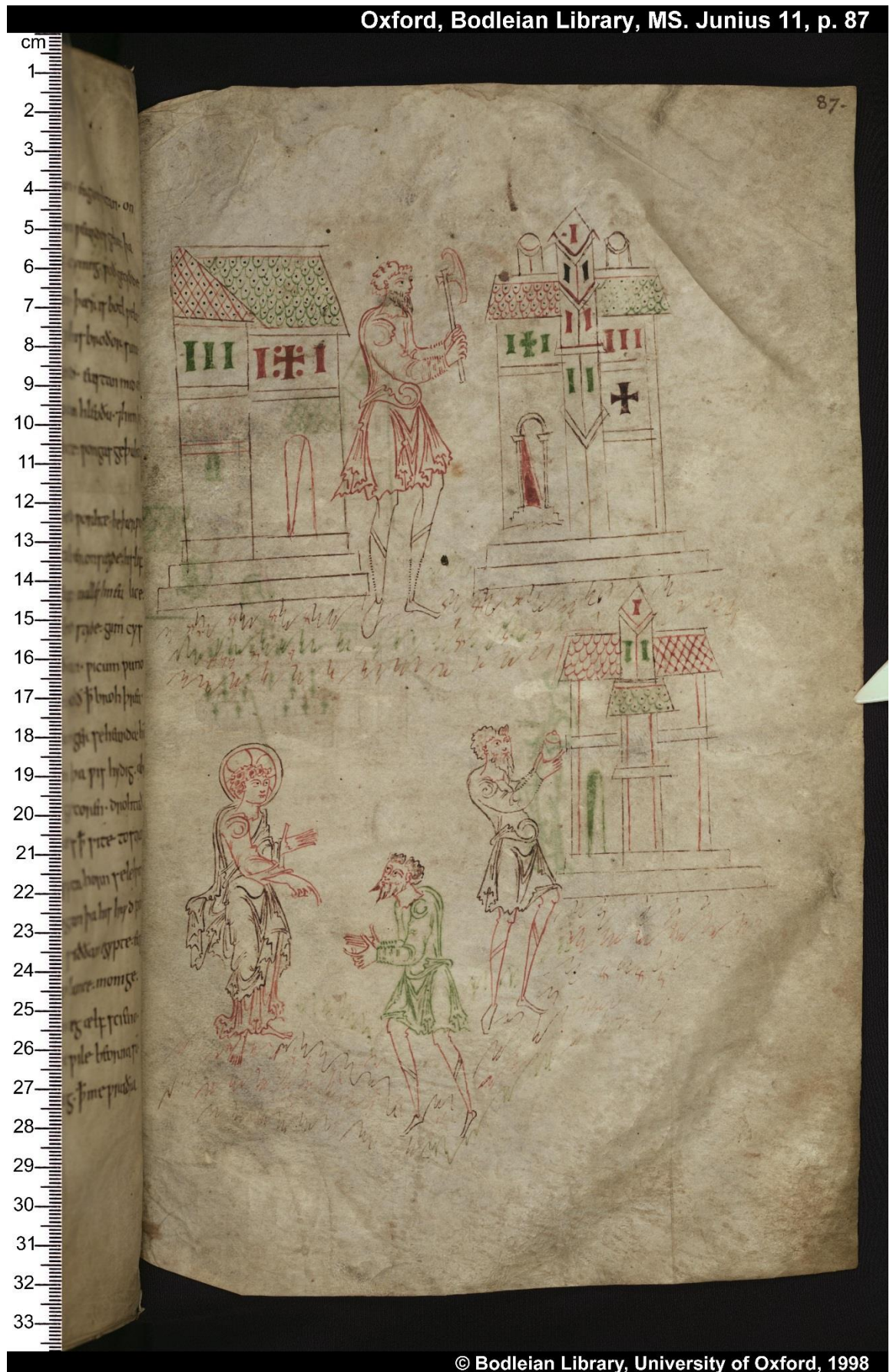
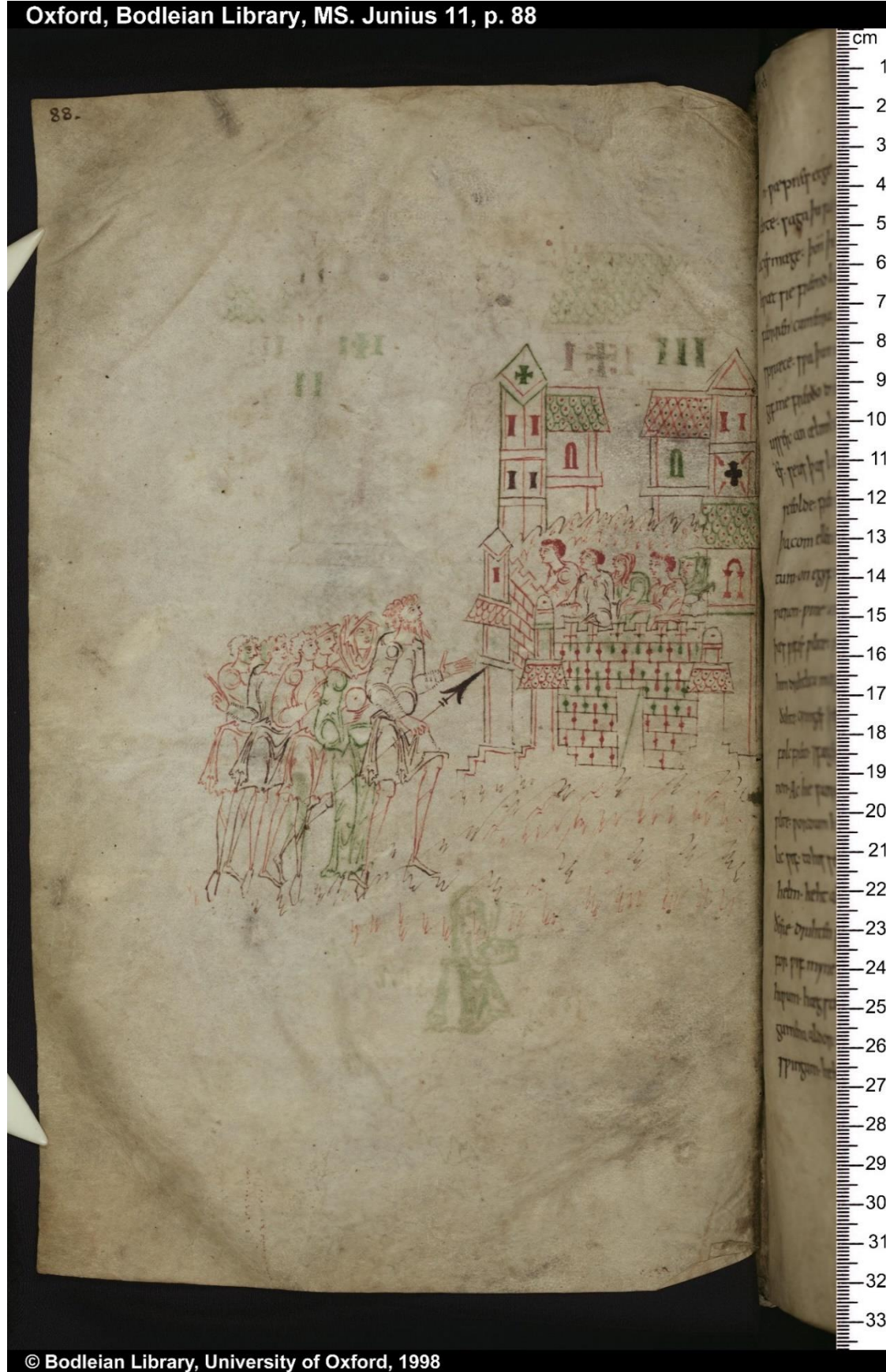




Figure A47: Abraham's approach to Egypt, Junius 11, p. 88.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 88





## B. Other images

Figure B1: Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana: Cod. Barberini lat. 2154, Calendar of 354, fol. 7r. Natales Caesarum. (Birthdays of Caesars).

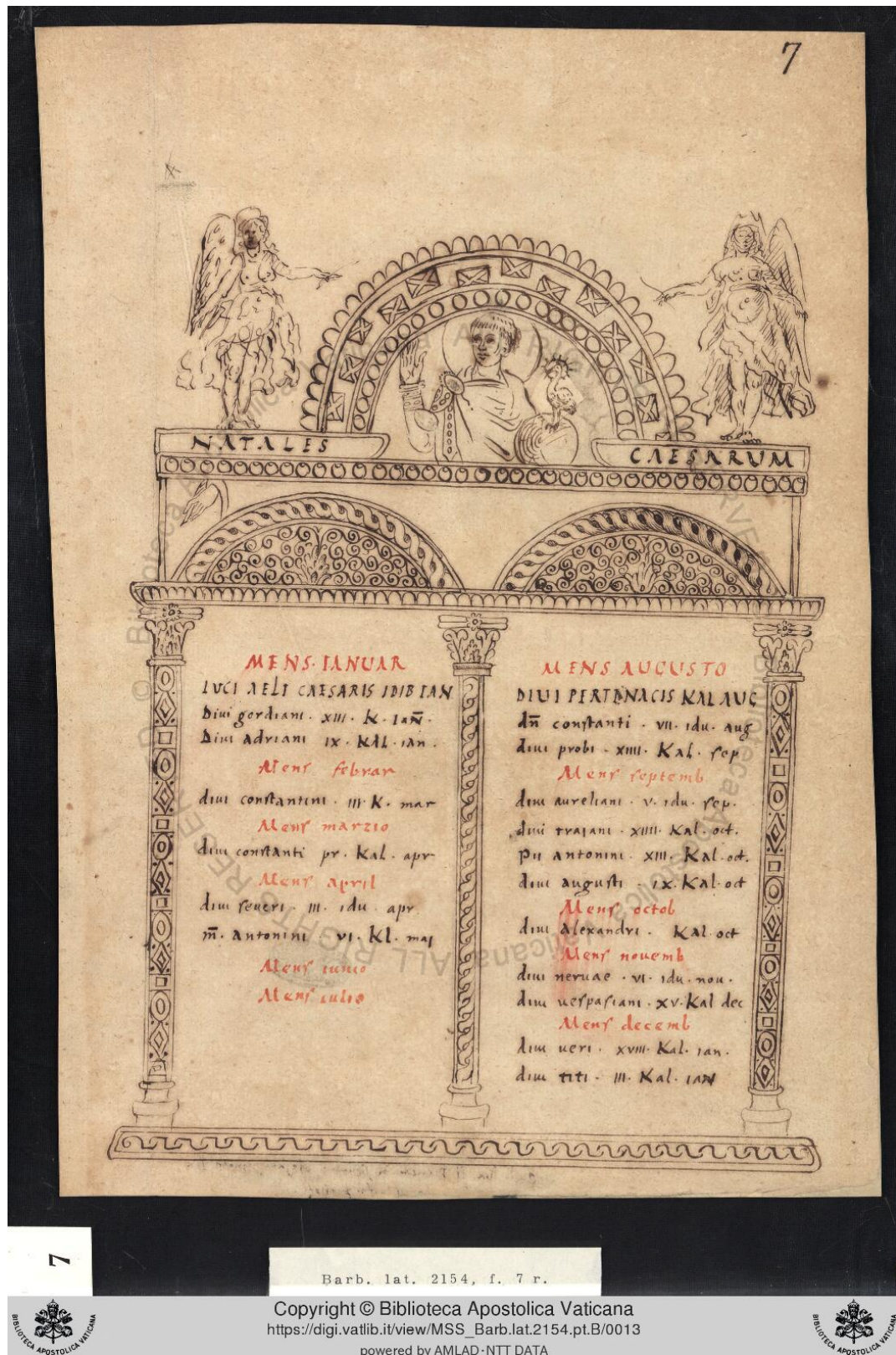




Figure B2: Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana: Cod. Barberini lat. 2154, Calendar of 354, fol. 13r. Emperor Constantius II.

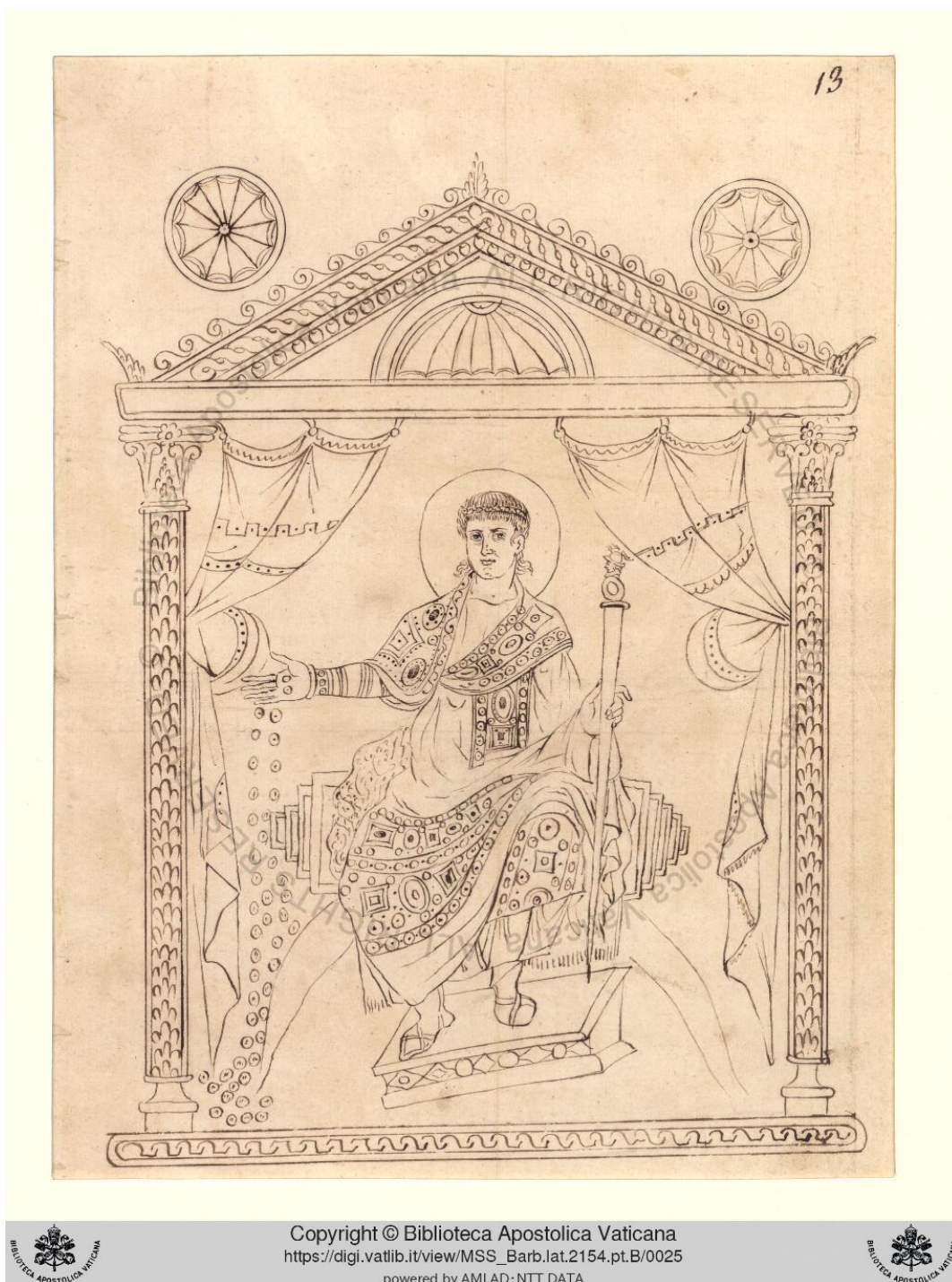


Figure B3: Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana: Cod. Barberini lat. 2154, Calendar of 354, fol. 14r. Emperor Gallus.





Figure B4: Vatican Vergil, Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, folio 39v.  
Dido in her watchtower sees Aeneas sail away.





Figure B5: Berlin, Folio 2 recto from the Quedlinburg Itala fragment (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. theol. lat. fol. 485). Samuel 1.



Figure B6: BL Cotton MS Otho B VI (Cotton Genesis, 28r). Angels speaking with Lot.





Figure B7: BL Cotton MS Otho B VI (Cotton Genesis), f. 26v. Abraham and two angels.



Figure B8: BL Add MS 10546 – fol.5 – Frankish Genesis, Tournon Bible.

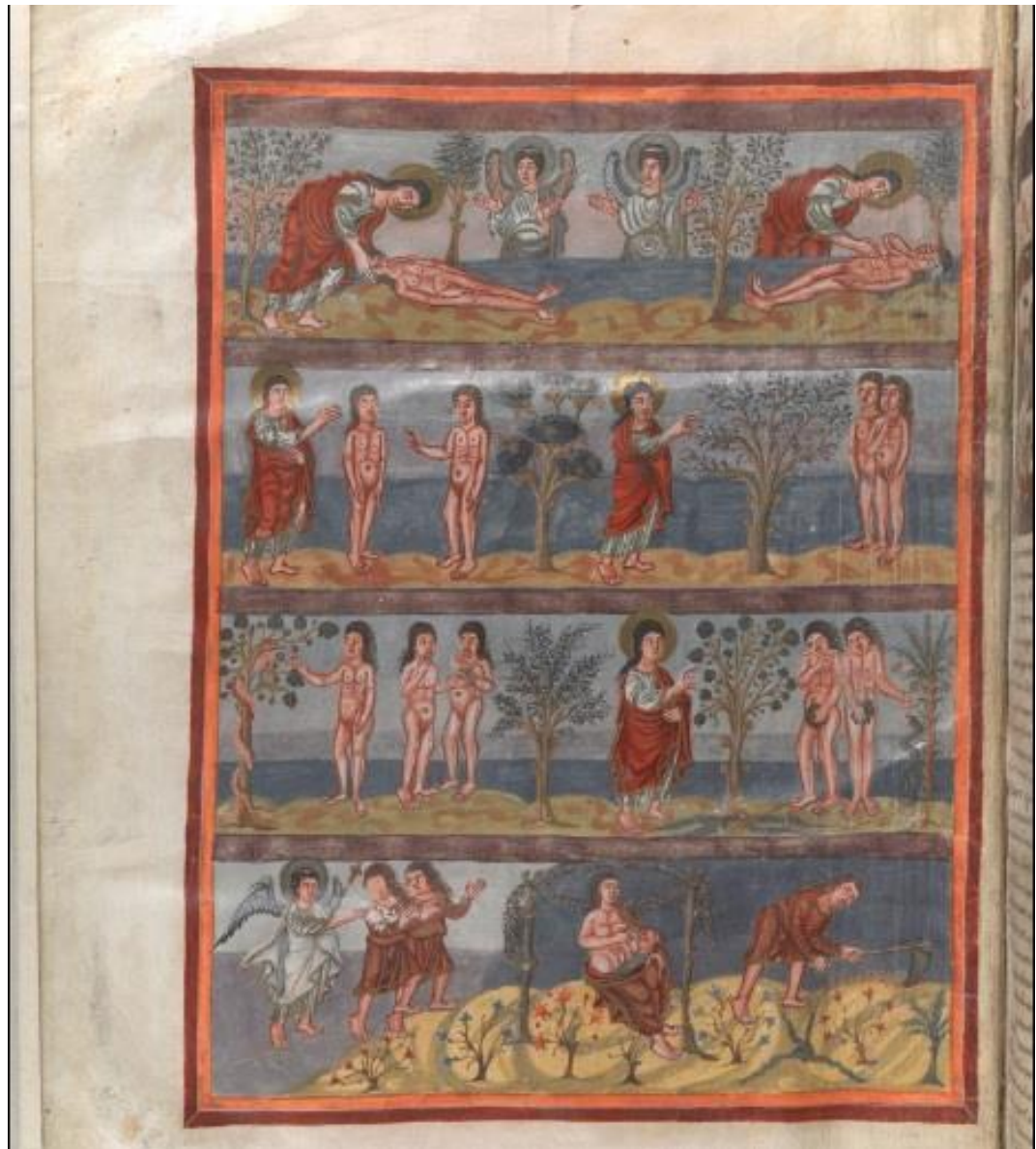




Figure B9: Purpureus Rossanensis (Rossano Gospels Folio 9 (?). Circular Canon tables with four Evangelists.

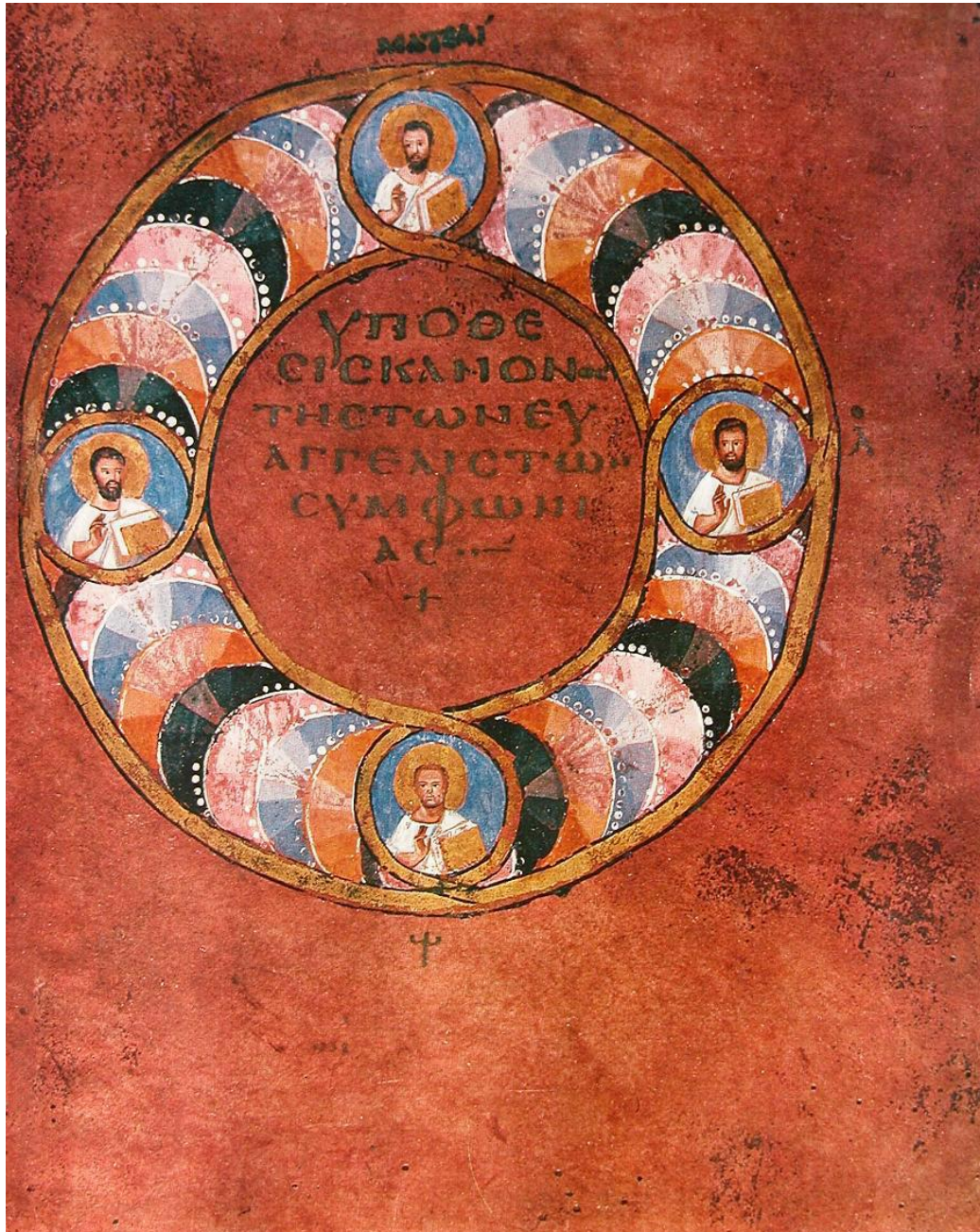




Figure B10: Purpureus Rossanensis (Rossano Gospels Folio 121r. Saint Mark Evangelist and Saint Sophia.

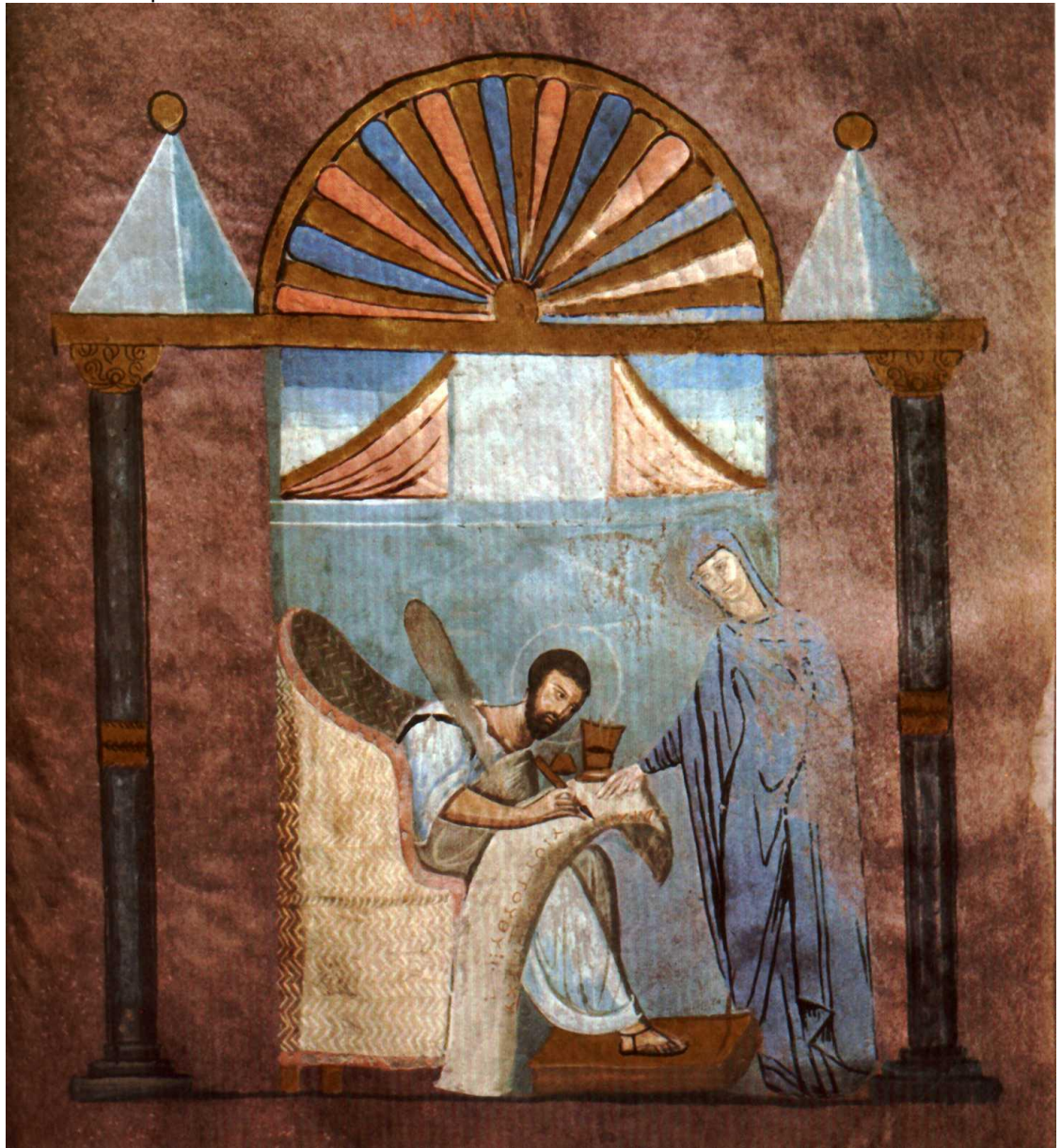


Figure B11: BL Cotton Claudius B.IV folio 4V. God in Majesty.





Figure B12: Fall of the Rebel Angels, fol. 2r, Hexateuch, possibly St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, ca. 1025–50, London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B. iv.



Figure B13: Expulsion of Earthly Paradise. Cotton Claudius B.V, fol. 4v.





Figure B14: The City of God St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Florence (MS laur. Plut. 12.17, fol 2v). Biblioteca Medicea Aluenziana Canterbury (1201-1210)



Figure B15: King Edgar with SS. Dunstan and Æthelwood. Regularis Concordia. British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 2v.

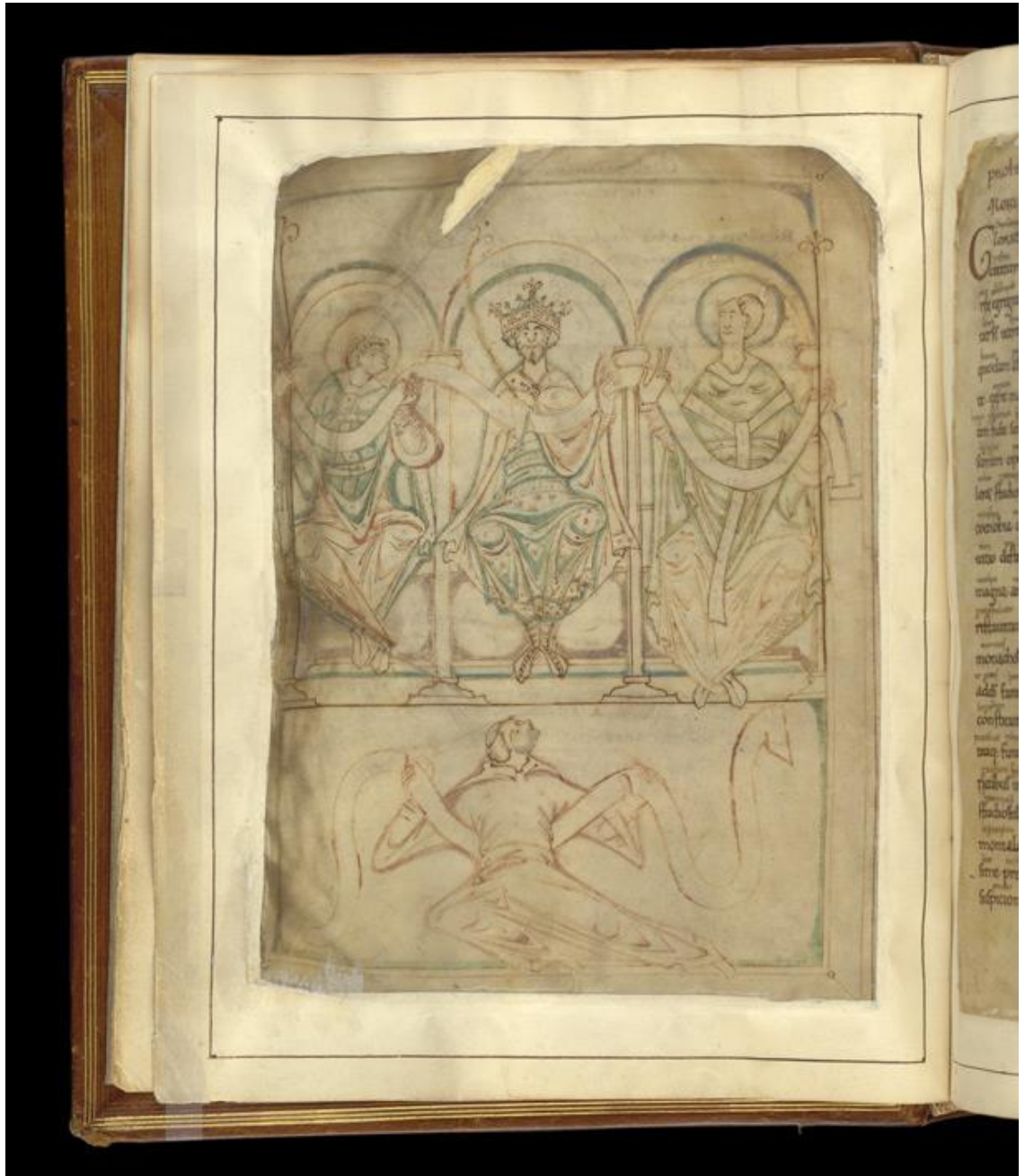




Figure B16: Refoundation charter of the New Minster, Winchester Miniature of King Edgar with the Virgin Mary, St Peter, Christ in Majesty, and angels, Cotton Vespasian A. viii, f. 2v.

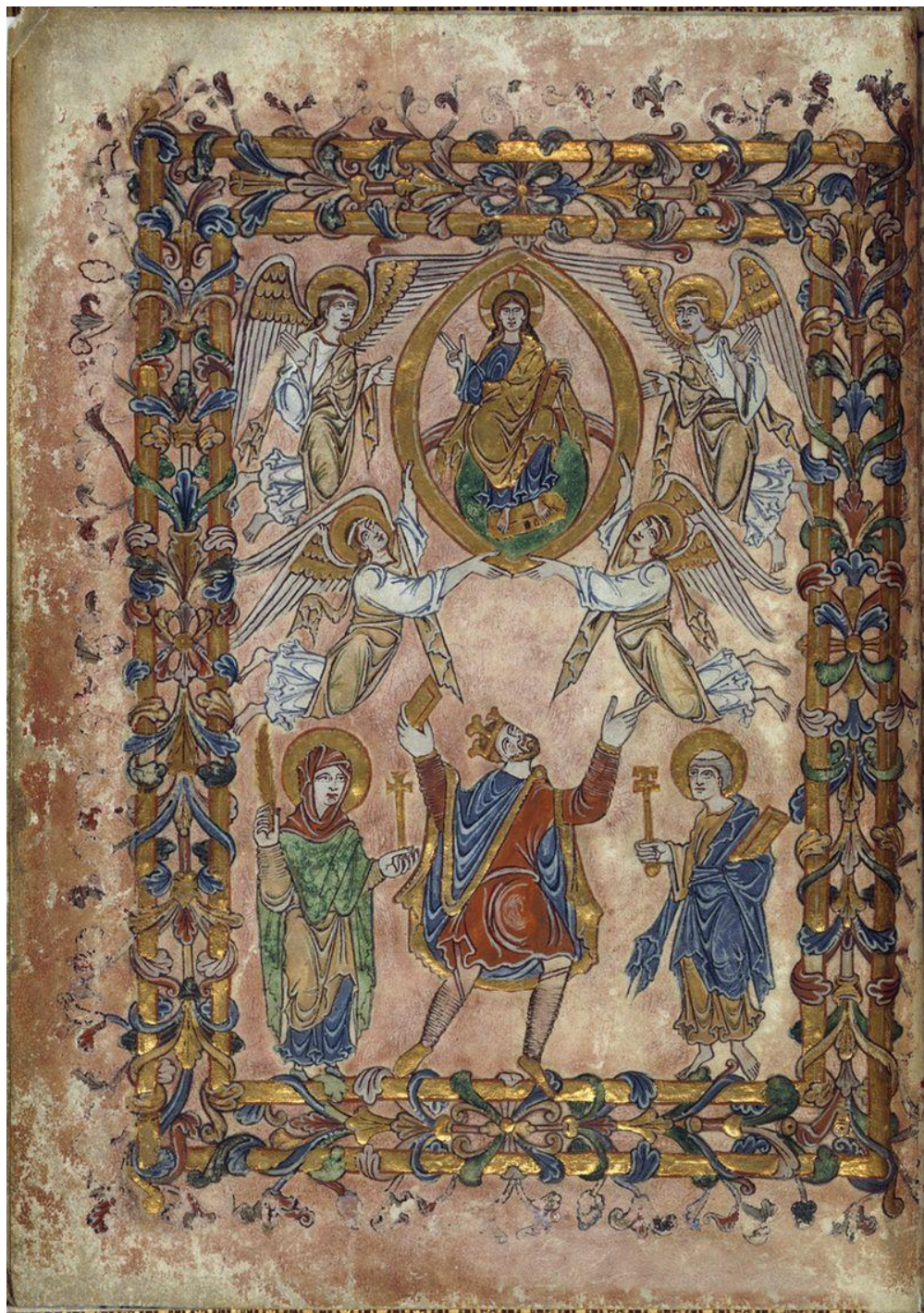




Figure B17: Add MS 49598, f. 2v. The Benedictional of St Æthelwold (963-984). Full-page miniature of three Apostles; above are three angels and the buildings of the 'Heavenly Jerusalem'.

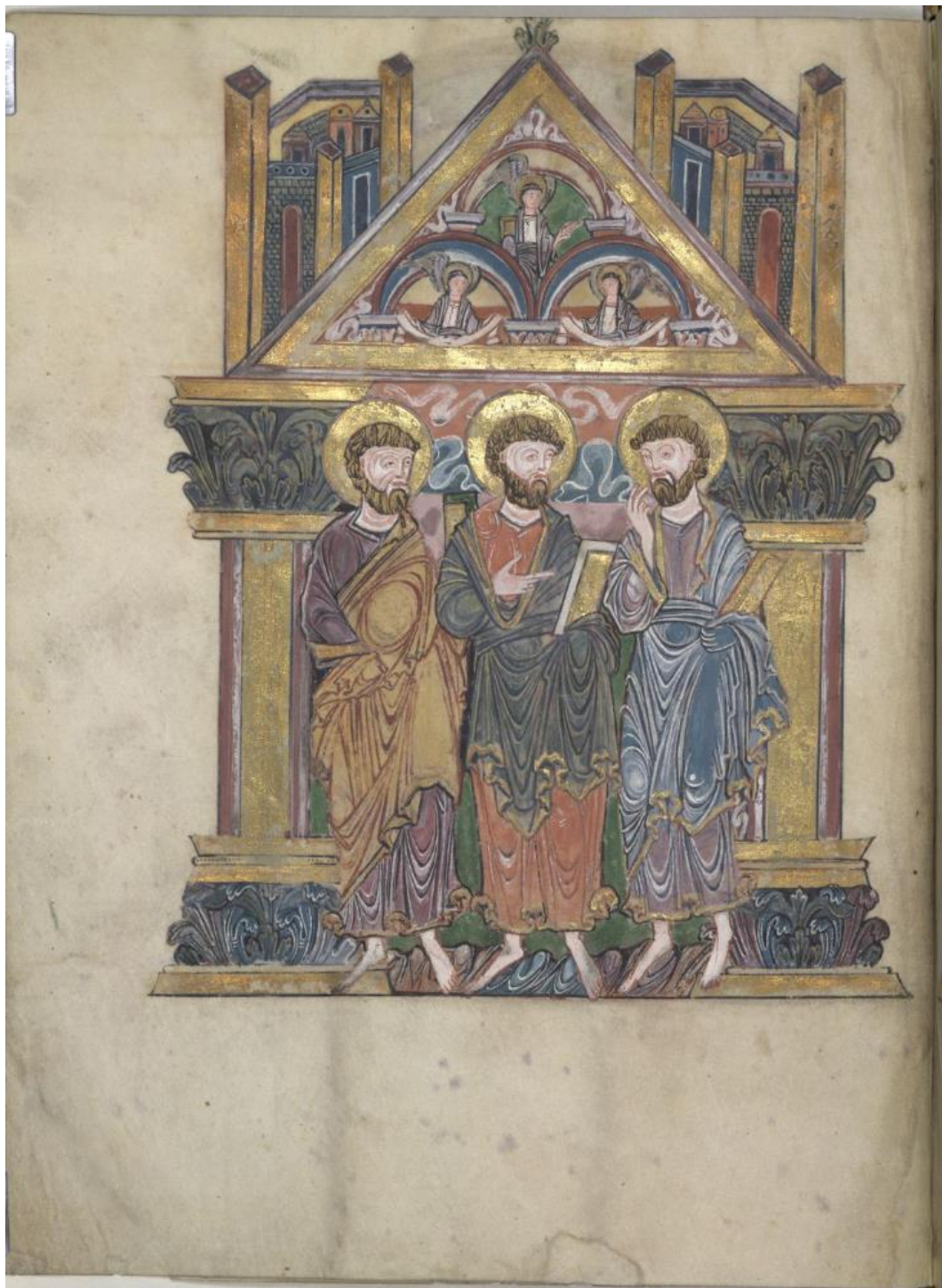


Figure B18: Add MS 49598, f. 3r The Benedictional of St Æthelwold (963-984). 'Full-page miniature of three Apostles; above are three angels and the buildings of the 'Heavenly Jerusalem'.

[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add\\_ms\\_49598\\_fs001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_49598_fs001r)





Figure B19: Add MS 49598, .f. 24v. The Benedictional of St Æthelwold (963-984). Full-page miniature of the Adoration of the Magi.





Figure B20: Book of Kells, fol 5r. Canon tables.

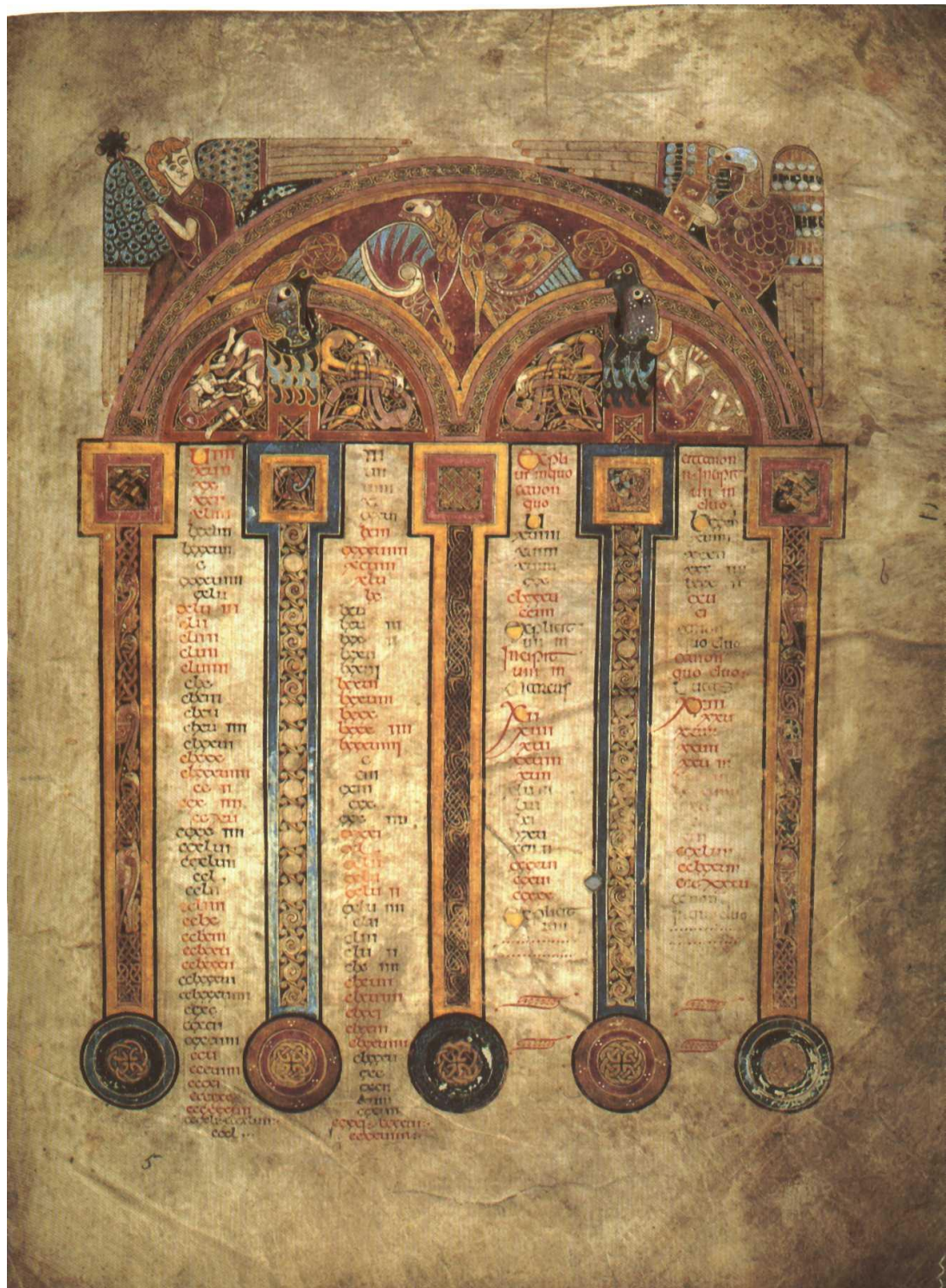




Figure B21: British Library Add MS 5111 f. 10v – Greek Canon table dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century.

[illegible]



Figure B22: Ms. 229. Etchmiadzin Gospels f. 2r. Canon table - Armenian Gospel from 6<sup>th</sup> early 7<sup>th</sup> century.





Figure B23: Ms. 229. Etchmiadzin Gospels f. 6r. Armenian Gospel from 6<sup>th</sup> early 7<sup>th</sup> century. Christ, beardless, enthroned between two standing Figures (Evangelists, maybe Peter and Paul) holding the Gospels.

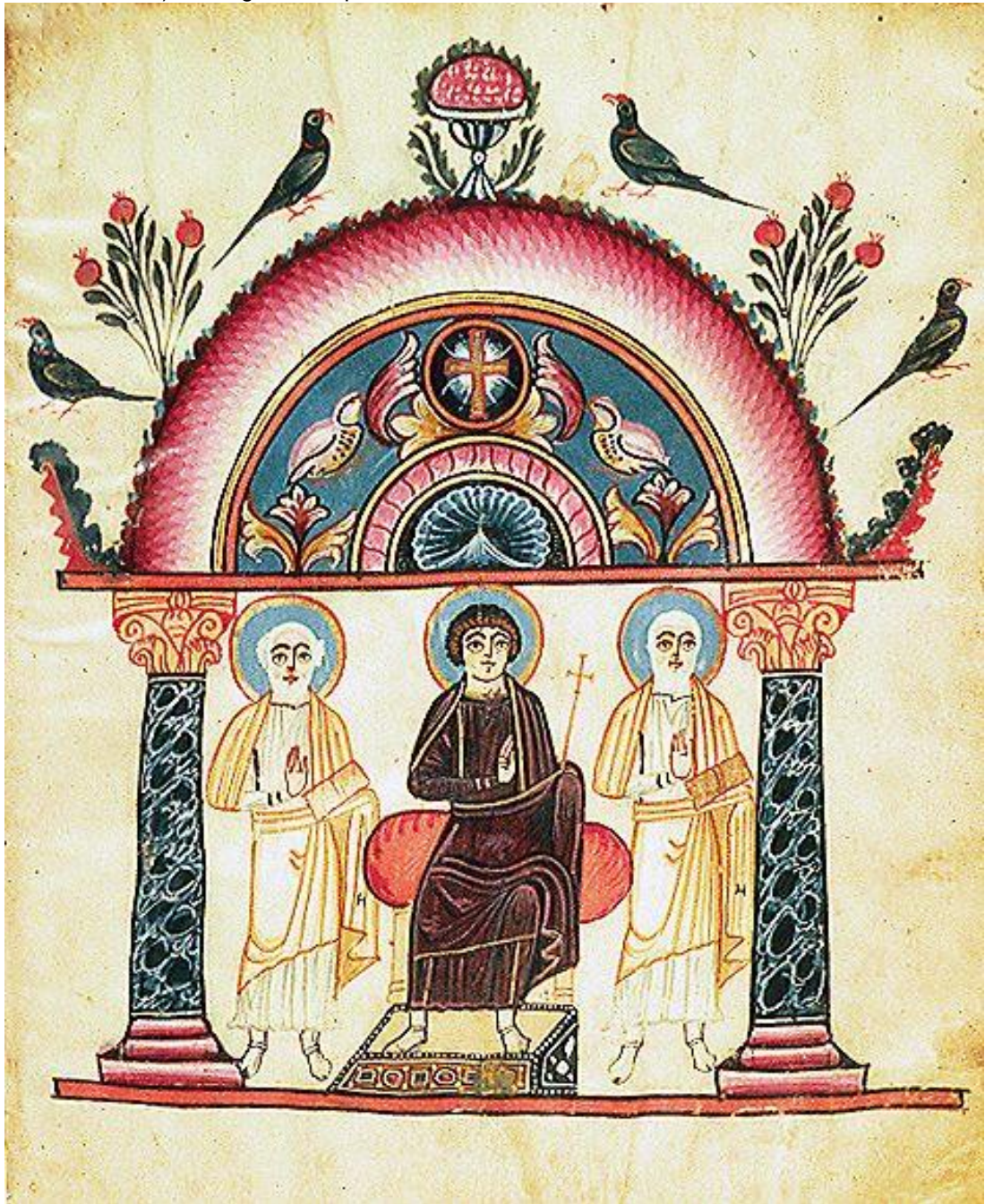


Figure B24: Vatican Vergil, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225, folio 47v.  
Aeneas and the Sibyl enter the underworld.

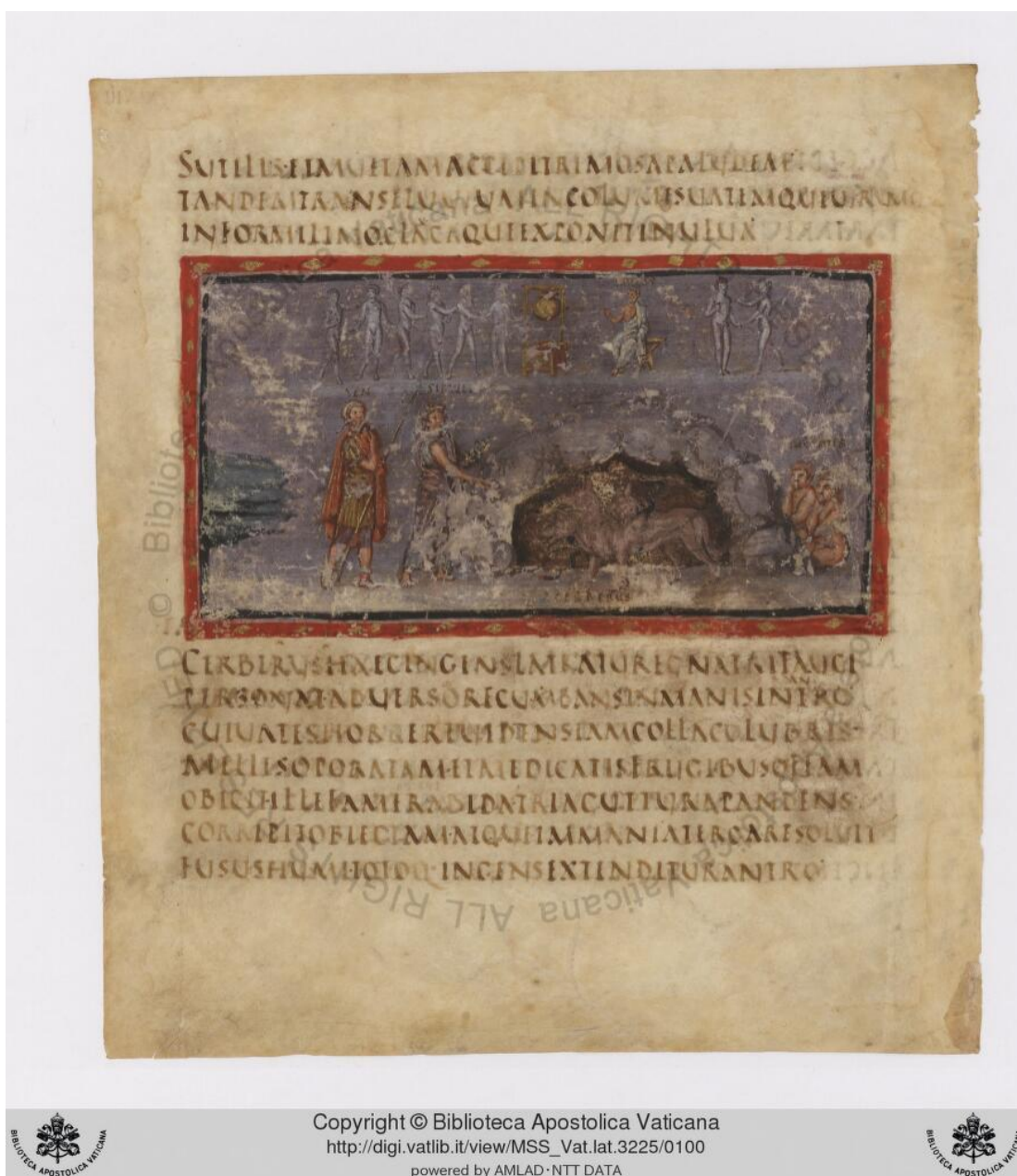




Figure B25: Canon tables. Barberini Gospels, Bar.lat.570, folio 1r. Biblia. N.T. Evangelia. Latino (Hiberno-Saxon, eighth century).





Figure B26: Psalm 102, Utrecht Psalter, 59r





Figure B28: BL, Harley 603,4v. (detail).



Figure B29: BL, Harley 603, 5r (detail)





Figure B30: Liber vitae ('The New Minster Liber Vitae'), Stowe 944 folio 7r. (1031).



Figure B31: 'The Quinity' (Kantorowicz) / 'The Trinity with Mary' (Karkov)., Cotton MS Titus D XXVI, 75 v (circa 1020)

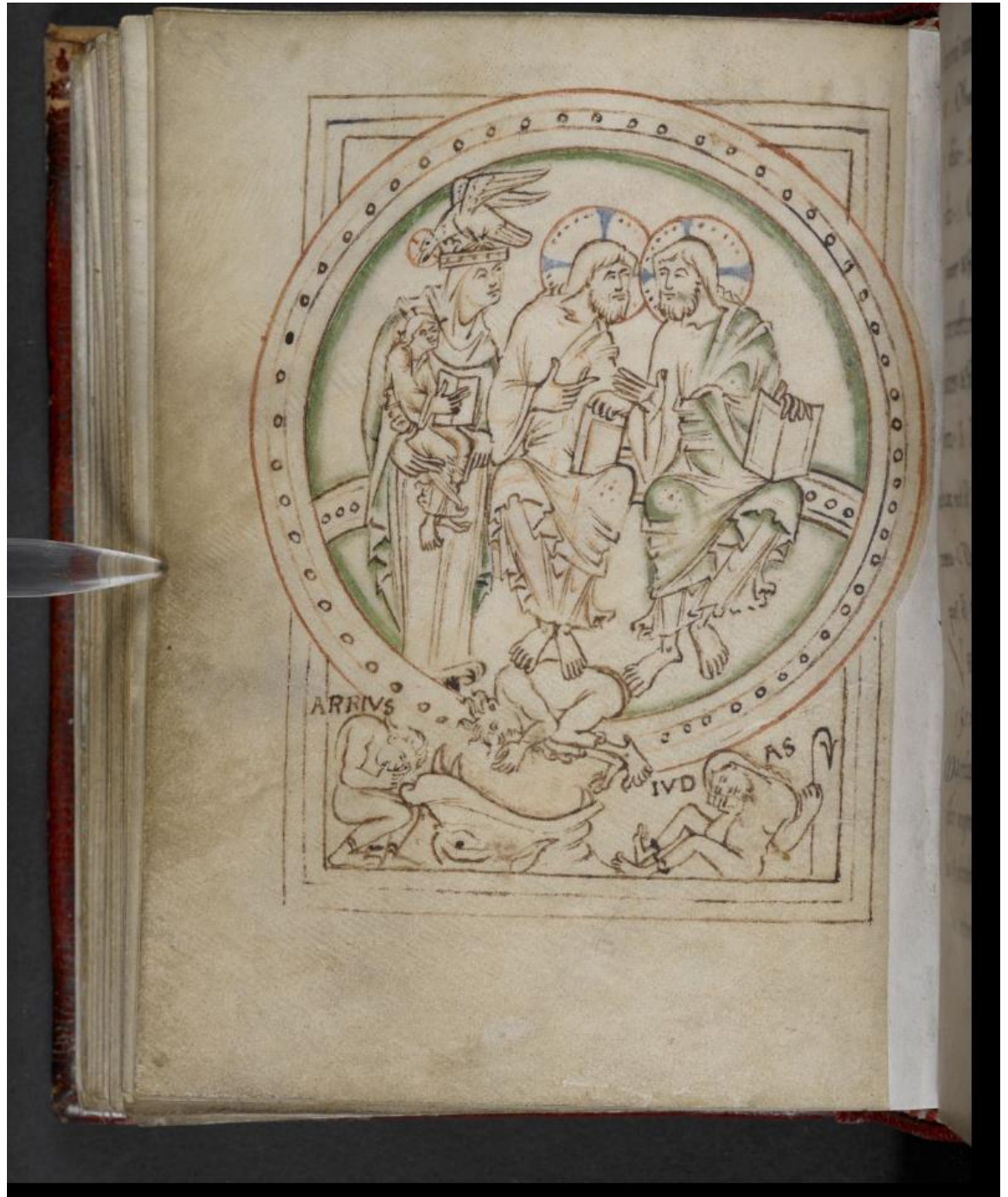




Figure B32: Ms Cotton Galba A.XVIII, fol. 2v.





Figure B33: Ms Cotton Galba A.XVIII, fol. 21r.



Figure B34: Men eaten by serpents, Rothbury Cross detail (second half of 8<sup>th</sup> century). Rothbury 1cD\_1224. Copyright: Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham. Photographer: Tom Middlemass.





Figure B35: Franks casket, Left panel, Romulus, Remus and the mother wolf.



Figure B36: Ascension of Enoch. The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, BL Cotton Claudius B.IV, 11v.

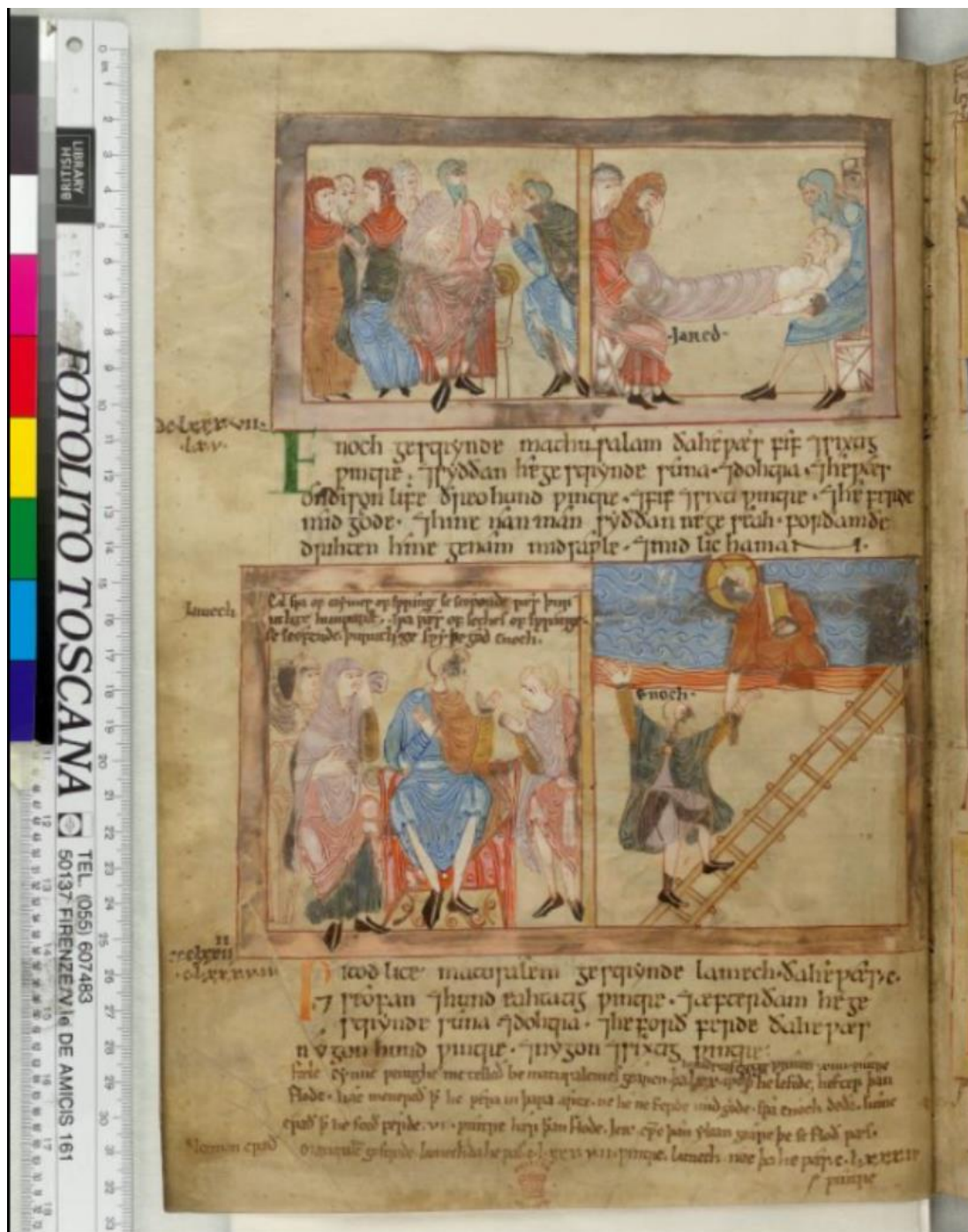


Figure B37; Ascension of Christ, The Tiberius Psalter, BL, Cotton Tiberius C.vi, folio 15r.





Figure B38: Anglo-Saxon Mappa Mundi, 1025-1050, Cotton MS Tiberius B.V. 56v.



Figure B39: British Library Cotton Clause b.iv folio 14v.



Figure B 40: Hand of God Blessing. Winchester New Minster 1A Plate: 657. Copyright: Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham: P. M. J. Crook. Late tenth century or beginning of eleventh century.

