

SPATIAL CONCEPTUALISATION IN ANGLO-SAXON THOUGHT
AND EXPERIENCE: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY ENQUIRY

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DECLARATION

Some of the material in Chapter 3 has already been used in my article 'Ladders and Lines of Connection in Anglo-Saxon Religious Art and Literature', in Medieval Literature and Antiquities, ed. Myra Stokes and T.L. Burton (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1987), pp.43-56.

The thesis as a whole has been expanded from a dissertation submitted for an M.A. at the Centre for Medieval Studies, York University, in 1983, entitled 'Wasteland and Enclosure in Anglo-Saxon England'.

ABSTRACT

The perception of spatial relationships is important in any society, and its fundamental importance resides in its use for articulating and embodying certain abstract concepts - in verbal or physical form, in artistic or practical form. This thesis investigates this concept in relation to the Anglo-Saxon period, drawing upon all the varied sources available; it aims to provide a greater understanding of the way the society thought and functioned through studying its response to and organisation of its surroundings, both mental and physical.

The distinction between the inside and the outside is a basic perception of environment common to most societies and can be seen to function in a variety of spheres in Anglo-Saxon England: a social sphere - mental and topographical boundaries round settlements; a legal sphere - trespass laws and special laws governing the king's highway; a religious sphere - altars, reliquaries and church precincts; and a moral sphere - the creation of a civilised norm, outside of which are criminals, outlaws and exiles. This involves the concept of boundaries, and an obvious development is that of movement across the boundary line. Forceful movements of this type can be termed invasion and expulsion. In both cases the outside is perceived as hostile to the inside, abstract qualities being projected onto defined areas. The threat of the outside is frequently articulated in a topographical metaphor - the distinction between wasteland and an enclosed space.

The thesis is organised around four basic uses of spatial terminology: i) the concept of central and sacred spaces, such as altars, thrones and the 'friðstol'; ii) the concept of hierarchy and the visual organisation of two-dimensional space in illustrative art; iii) the concepts of invasion and expulsion and their expression in literary contexts to define the antithesis 'good versus evil'; iv) the use of spatial conceptualisation to define relationships within society and the organisation of the environment.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ASA</u>	H.M. and Joan Taylor, <u>Anglo-Saxon Architecture</u>
<u>ASChron</u>	<u>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</u>
<u>ASE</u>	<u>Anglo-Saxon England</u>
<u>ASPR</u>	<u>Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records</u>
<u>AST</u>	J. Haslam, ed. <u>Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England</u>
<u>BAR</u>	<u>British Archaeological Report</u>
B&T	<u>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</u> , ed. J. Bosworth and T.N. Toller.
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
<u>C&ED</u>	<u>Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents</u> , ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs.
<u>EETS</u>	<u>Early English Text Society</u>
<u>EHD</u>	<u>English Historical Documents</u> , ed. D. Whitelock.
<u>ELN</u>	<u>English Language Notes</u>
[Harl]	The Harley Psalter
<u>HE</u>	Bede, <u>Historia Ecclesiastica</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>Micr Conc to OE</u>	<u>A Microfiche Concordance to Old English</u> , comp. R. Venezky and A. diPaolo Healey.
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLQ</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
<u>Neophil.</u>	<u>Neophilologus</u>
<u>NM</u>	<u>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</u>
<u>N&Q</u>	<u>Notes and Queries</u>
<u>PMLA</u>	<u>Publications of the Modern Language Association</u>
<u>PQ</u>	<u>Philological Quarterly</u>
[Utr]	The Utrecht Psalter

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY.

Every society needs to organise itself - mentally, socially and environmentally. The most fundamental act of organisation is that of placing one thing in relationship to another. It is a process of definition by which something or someone is assigned to a place in a particular relationship to someone or something else; the defining of the relationship in this way makes it possible to define the importance of the individual elements. On a concrete level this process requires the medium of space, since everything exists necessarily in space. Spatial prepositions are used to place elements above, below, near to, far from, inside or outside other elements. On an abstract level these spatial prepositions may well be used for the same purpose of definition; as metaphors they place things conceptually in relationship to others. Modern English has phrases such as 'that reaches a high standard', 'I am very close to my mother', 'it's beyond a joke'; the prepositions express simple spatial relationships, while the culture in which the language exists gives the phrases their precise significance, and defines whether they have a positive or negative connotation.

I want to look in this thesis at the uses of spatial metaphors in Anglo-Saxon culture to discover from their expression (in verbal and material form) and from the significance attached to them the nature of the concepts that inspired them. I am concerned with studying the process of conceptualising the abstract world in spatial terms which are drawn from the experience of the concrete world. I want also to investigate the phenomenon by which the concrete world is perceived and expressed in abstract terms - that

is, the projection of metaphysical ideas on to an actual space and the qualitative assessment of the space in accordance with a preconceived notion.

This last phenomenon is well illustrated by the following quotation from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, which was in a sense the starting point for this thesis; it seems at first sight to be a bizarre instance of miraculous power in action, but in fact a particular conceptual principle is being applied here to a defined spatial area - the principle that a site is capable of absorbing and retaining spiritual power and that this will be plain to an observer:¹

It happened that not long after his death a man was travelling on horseback past this place. The horse suddenly began to tire; next it stopped, bending its head to the ground and foaming at the mouth and then, as the pain became unbearable, it fell to the earth. The rider alighted, took off its saddle-cloth, and waited to see whether it would recover or whether he would have to leave it for dead. The beast was long tortured by the agonizing pain and twisted about from place to place, until as it turned over, it came upon the very spot where the famous king had fallen. Forthwith the pain ceased, and the horse stopped its frantic struggles; then, as horses do, after they have been resting, it rolled from side to side, stood up completely cured and began to crop the grass greedily. When the rider, who was an intelligent man, saw this, he realized that there must be some special sanctity associated with the place in which the horse was cured.

The importance of the above account lies in the fact that not only does Bede as author make a connection between the previous history

1. Bede, The Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. and transl. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p.243. HE III 8.

of the site and subsequent events, but he also represents the rider, previously unacquainted with the place and its history, as doing the same. The assumption is that it was an established mode of thinking for Bede's readers. The miracle is not the discovery that any space could be invested with sacred qualities, but that this particular space was so invested, as a result of a particular occurrence.

This episode is followed in the next chapter of the Historia by one in which a Briton (and therefore a stranger to the area) crosses near the site and notices that part of it is particularly green and beautiful - 'uidit unius loci spatium cetero campo uiridius ac uenustius'.¹ He comes to the conclusion that some great saint had died there and for this he is termed wise' - 'sagaci animo'. According to Bede it is a wise man who correctly interprets the spiritual significance of supernatural events perceived in the natural environment.

The perception of the actual world is here governed by an underlying principle; the natural environment for Bede and his contemporaries was seen as inextricably bound up in the constant spiritual struggle between good and evil. They followed the generally held patristic (and Biblical) view that the world 'fell' with Adam and Eve and is subject to spiritual forces, which display themselves through nature. So in Anglo-Saxon thinking there was a dynamic connection possible between a person and the place he or she inhabited; spiritual power - whether good or evil - forcefully

1. Colgrave and Mynors, p.244.

present in an individual could have an effect on that individual's immediate surroundings. Certainly it was considered wholly appropriate to posit such an effect when wishing to emphasise the spiritual quality of a saint;¹ in the case of Oswald's place of death, Bede suggests that such an effect was not just conceptually apt but was actually visible. Either way, a qualitative rather than quantitative assessment is being applied in the perception of a space.

As the episode quoted above indicates, beauty and greenness are two of the recognised signs of the presence of sainthood; it creates a landscape useful and pleasant to mankind in its fertility and fruitfulness. Its spiritual status is manifested in attributes that are considered connotatively appropriate.² Conversely, areas where the power of God is absent are seen to be characterised by ugliness, harshness, barrenness and danger. In both cases the criterion is the effect on mankind. This idea, not peculiar to the Anglo-Saxons, may have various sources; it is a natural sequence of ideas that an ordered, peaceful and secure lifestyle will be conducive to growing crops and to keeping the harsher aspects of the environment at bay, and that areas uninhabited or frequented only by unsettled men or criminals will tend to be unfruitful and left to go wild (just as wild men tend to resort to unsettled areas). Christian teaching provides a further source; God's curse

1. See chapter 2 below, re Cedd and Guthlac.

2. See D. Pearsall and E. Salter, Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World (London: Paul Elek, 1973), especially pp.25-27 and 41-44.

after the Fall means that the earth is now difficult to manage, in contrast to conditions in the garden of Eden; the connection between obedience to God and a fruitful and pleasant natural environment was one taught in the Old Testament and taken up as a general principle in early medieval Christianity. But whereas the Old Testament emphasis was on obedience on a national scale, the medieval expression of the idea, particularly in saints' Lives, seems to concentrate more on the individual's effect on a localised landscape through personal obedience to God.

The idea of a wasteland or wilderness is found in the Old and New Testaments. It has the consistent connotations of punishment or testing through hardship because of its nature; it is alien and hostile to mankind in its lack of the necessities of life - food, water and shelter. In Anglo-Saxon expression the wilderness landscape becomes a 'wasteland', antithetically opposed to the enclosed space which it surrounds, and possessing the Biblical characteristics of a wilderness now translated into local experience with the appropriate connotations; instead of desert areas of extreme heat and lack of water, it is represented by fens, moorland, woodland, sea, extreme cold and often excess water. The Anglo-Saxon ideal for a landscape, on the other hand, expressed in the descriptions of Paradise, consisted of a temperate climate, sunshine and green grass - moderation in all things.¹ The perception of the experienced world governs the perception of the abstract world, and the qualities of the one are projected onto the

1. This is consistent with the long tradition of describing the Paradisal landscape in moderate terms. See the discussion of The Phoenix, chapter 2 below.

other.

The importance of the wasteland here lies not in its undoubted existence but in its significance and use as a major symbol - as the antithesis of everything that is considered worth preserving and protecting. That in turn is characterised as an enclosed space, bounded against intrusion from the wasteland. A dichotomy of values is given expression through a dichotomy in space. Although the antithesis 'wasteland / enclosed space' has some validity in contemporary experience and makes sense on a natural level (as will be discussed in chapter 5), its primary use is as a spatial metaphor. An abstract ideology - that security is to be found within the community or at least within boundaries, and that going outside is dangerous - is projected onto the concrete world and expressed in terms of the spatial metaphor of inside / outside; this concretises the antithesis and makes it more readily apprehensible.

It will be apparent that this type of study inevitably cuts across the boundaries of disciplines, and indeed this is perhaps one of the strongest arguments for the value of this research topic. Concepts such as inside, outside, higher, lower, nearer, farther, are part of all areas of experience and are fundamental in assigning relative values - in articulating what is important and worthwhile, as opposed to what is of lesser or no importance. This must throw light on the collective values of a society.

There is obviously a problem in the nature of Anglo-Saxon source material; it is removed in historical time and limited

significantly in scope by the fortunes of survival. For some areas (liturgical and ecclesiastical, for example) it is necessary to draw on continental evidence for analogies, on the basis of the well-recognised close cultural contact between England and France, in particular, throughout those years. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxon period spans five or six centuries and major changes are to be expected over that time; it must be recognised that spatial concepts and their articulation may develop within the culture from its pre-Christian beginnings to its later increasingly centralised and highly organised state. The problems of assigning accurate dates to artefacts and to written sources compound the difficulties both of charting the development of concepts and also of relating sources to each other to posit some consistency in conceptualisation.

However, this thesis starts from the assumption that spatial concepts are integral to the workings of society and to its creative self-definition; they will therefore be apparent in all types of source materials, though their expression will differ according to the particular mode of communication. Poetry uses verbal metaphors to place things against others, while art uses visual techniques, such as motifs designed to separate or to connect figures, or to place figures above, below, near to or distant from others; in drama, visual relationships are created to give three-dimensional expression (with the additional potential of movement) to perceived relationships.

The interdisciplinary nature of this topic is confirmed by the variety of writers from different disciplines who concern

themselves in one way or another with spatial perception and conceptualisation. Mircea Eliade's work on the duality of man's experience of the sacred and the profane provides an example of the anthropological approach; he sees the duality as expressed in the principle of the non-homogeneity of space, that is, man perceives space qualitatively, ascribing certain values to defined areas according to his particular cosmic mythology.¹ Social geography also has an interest in what it terms 'spatiality'; Edward W. Soja, for example, divides spatial perception into three: spatiality, or socially produced space, the physical space of material nature, and the mental space of cognition and representation.² Certain archaeological approaches have adopted the use of spatial criteria to provide a methodological basis for the interpretation of material; its expositors include Ian Hodder and David Clarke.³

The above are all essentially methodologies which can apply to any culture in any period, though the geographical one refers mainly to ways of interpreting contemporary material. These various approaches can be of use, not least in that they confirm the importance of spatial considerations from widely divergent

1. Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion, transl. Willard R. Trask (New York, Evanston: Harper and Row, 1961).

2. Edward W. Soja, 'The Spatiality of Social Life: Towards a Transformative Rethorisation', in Social Relations and Spatial Structures, ed. Derek Gregory and John Urry (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), pp.92-93.

3. The Spatial Organisation of Culture, ed. Ian Hodder (London: Duckworth, 1978); Spatial Archaeology, ed. David L. Clarke (London: Academic Press, 1977).

standpoints. However, as far as studies of spatial conceptualisation in historical cultures go, the closest parallel is provided by Peter Brown's work on 'the holy' in sixth-century Gaul, which extends also into the Anglo-Saxon period in England.¹

It is, however, only a partial parallel, since he is primarily interested in the role of the Church and its influence on society, in general rather than particularly spatial terms. So although spatial perceptions have been studied in other cultures and even to a limited extent in Anglo-Saxon England, a comprehensive enquiry has not to my knowledge been attempted before. The scope of this thesis is not restricted to either sacred or secular source material, or to a particular sector of society. I would contend that an investigation into spatial relationships in Anglo-Saxon England provides a positive means of crossing the boundaries between disciplines; by looking at the ways in which the society organised its physical and mental space, we should be able to understand more fully how that society thought and functioned.

I have organised the thesis into four chapters, dealing separately as far as possible with different categories of spatial relationships. Chapter 2 investigates the concept of central spaces and focal points. It is concerned with the principle of investing a spot with sacred qualities, resulting in the transformation of the space into a sacred one, perceived as qualitatively separate from its surroundings. These are actual areas of ground, accorded a significance because of their

1. Peter Brown, Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity (London: Faber, 1982). For other relevant titles by Brown, see Bibliography.

connection with a past event or a present function. They include shrines, altars, sanctuaries, monasteries, churches and places where miracles happened, and they are distinct from their immediate environment by virtue of their supposed connection upwards to God and his saints. They are distinguished also by being subject to special laws which protect the area and people within it. Outside a specifically Christian context, it will be shown that the same principle applies to the throne, which is also the focal point of its context.

Chapter 3 looks at the use of the metaphor of above and below, which enables artists and writers to place things in relationship to each other on a notional and visible vertical axis. This involves the concept of hierarchy, particularly in Christian terms where the spiritual hierarchy of God / mankind / devils is thought to be reinforced by a spatial hierarchy within the universe of heaven / earth / hell. Examination will be made of its expression firstly in art through the organisation of elements on a page, allowing artists to define some complex spiritual relationships by means of spatial connections, and secondly in literature which employs spatial metaphors to suggest the notion of hierarchy, again usually in a Christian context.

Chapter 4 deals with the expression of moral questions in spatial terms - and in particular the subject of good and evil, polarised in the spatial metaphor inside / outside. Good (defined by its context) is thought of as existing inside an enclosed area, constantly under threat of invasion from evil forces on the outside. It is a subject expressed most often and most intensely

by poetry, and its most complex treatment is in Beowulf where the poet uses a polarisation in space to project principles of moral behaviour. It is also a habit of thought found in Anglo-Saxon psychology in the dichotomy of the body and the spirit, whether expressed in homiletic writings (in the context of the invasion of temptations into the soul), or in medical charms (in the context of the invasion of sickness into the body).

Chapter 5 is concerned with the organisation of society and with relationships between individuals and their environment as expressed in spatial terms. To some extent, relationships between people must in all societies operate spatially; every individual exists in space and laws concerned to protect individuals and property must function by defining spaces and by making distinctions in space. But the Anglo-Saxon law codes provide examples of the conceptualisation of relationships in spatial terms - which may or may not be valid in practice. The notion of outlawry, in particular, uses the spatial metaphor of inside / outside to define the relationship between a criminal and the rest of society; the clear dichotomy perceived conceptually and expressed in spatial terms may be less apparent in reality. Trespass laws are obviously spatial in function, and boundaries are important here; there are other defined and conceptually bounded areas in which special laws apply, marking them as qualitatively distinct - notably the highway and the spaces and times covered by 'friþ' and 'grið'. In the second part of the chapter I want to look at one instance of social organisation of the environment according to a preconceived principle; certain sites appear to have

been chosen as important central points because they were regarded as qualitatively significant as a result of their past status. They were perceived as distinct by virtue of their association with authority in the minds of local people. The final section deals briefly with another example of qualitative space - the wasteland; it is appropriate to end with a brief examination of the extent to which such an emotive image in popular imagination had any existence in reality in Anglo-Saxon England.

CHAPTER 2

SACRED SPACES.

Þa Jacob awoc, þa cwæð he: Witodlice Drihten
ys on þisse stowe, & ic hyt nyste.
& he cwæð eft: Eala hu egeslic ðeos stow ys!
Nys her nan ðing buton Godes hus, & heofones
geat...he nam þone stan...& araerde hyne to
meorce.

This passage,¹ accompanied in the manuscript (London BL MS Cotton Claudius B IV) by the illustration of Jacob's ladder, possesses all the characteristics of the perception of a sacred space. An event of spiritual dimensions which occurs at the place gives it significance: here, the 'event' is a vision of the Lord God and his angels who are ascending and descending a ladder between heaven and earth. The spiritual significance of the event needs to be recognised, as it is by Jacob in the words 'Witodlice Drihten ys on þisse stowe, and ic hyt nyste', and the place itself takes on a new quality in his perception: 'hu egeslic ðeos stow ys'. The site can also be marked for future reference; Jacob uses his stone pillow - in a sense the locus of the vision since his head rested on it - as an appropriate marker. The communication between heaven and earth represented by the two-way movement on the ladder is still true of the place when the vision has ended: 'Nys her nan ðing buton Godes hus, & heofones geat'.

This chapter looks at various instances of sacred spaces in Anglo-Saxon culture. They are all 'real' spaces in that they can be visited, and are sacred in that they are perceived as such. The

1. Aelfric, The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Aelfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testaments and his Preface to Genesis, ed. S.J. Crawford, EETS OS 160 (1922); reprinted with additional material, ed. N.R. Ker (1969), p.157.

Anglo-Saxon Church in particular frequently asserted its status in spatial terms, declaring the holiness of the sites it occupied, which allowed access to God. One of the most interesting and creative uses of this principle is the idea of colonisation - the effective transformation of an area into a sacred space. This has a dramatic function in the ritual for consecrating a church, in which the status of the area is proclaimed as different before and after the event. Monastic foundations are often perceived as coming into existence on this conceptual basis and as operating subsequently as areas set apart from their environment; historical and archaeological evidence may help to determine if the concept is worked out in concrete terms. The altar is a supremely sacred area, partly in its own right and partly in its close associations with relics; it is used to give holiness a defined location within a church, and its status has various repercussions in the organisation of the church building. Finally, another object which focusses and localises an abstract quality is the throne - a recognisable object like an altar and significant within its context as a focal point; this applies to the 'friðstol' or sanctuary chair in a church and to the king's throne, increasingly a symbol in its own right.

The Anglo-Saxons expressed their sense of the importance of certain areas by defining them as different from the surrounding areas. They signalled the significance of a space by marking it off in some way or by recognising a notional boundary. This was largely the province of the Church which had an interest in declaring that particular areas were to be acknowledged as holy; the principle encouraged corporate worship, proper reverence and a

realisation of the distinction between what was holy and what was not holy, between spiritual power and the power of the secular world - ultimately under the rule of the devil. Peter Brown identifies the importance of what he calls 'reverentia' in the time of Gregory of Tours, which provided a means of making this kind of distinction:¹

It meant, as far as I can see, the focussing of belief onto precise, if invisible, objects, in such a way as to lay the participant under specific obligations, to commit him to a definite rhythm in his life, to lead him to react to emergency in a specific way, and to cause him to be aware of his actions and the actions of others being divided between good and bad fortune in direct relation to his good and bad relation with this specific, if invisible, object.

A world made intelligible in terms of 'reverentia' was a world where fortune and misfortune were thought of as so many direct and palpable consequences of the remission and the retribution of sin.

This dividing line was not only applicable to understanding and organising human experience; special significance could be projected onto precise and visible objects, marking them off as distinct and thus creating a series of places and objects with arbitrary values, usable by the Church in its effort to regulate belief and behaviour.

There is something in the nature of a circular argument here. The sacredness of a place or equally of a person clearly required recognition - in a sense it was holy only by being perceived as such. St Swithun is a case in point; he was forgotten until a dream convinced someone years after his death that he ought to be

1. Peter Brown, Relics and Social Status in the age of Gregory of Tours, (Stenton Lecture 1976, Reading University, 1977), p.8.

remembered and venerated, to such an extent that many miracles were attributed to him and he became the focus of a cult at the Old Minster Winchester.¹ On the other hand, sanctity purports to have an objective quality too; it is seen to operate without previous knowledge, as in the episode from Bede quoted above and in numerous others where the sanctity inherent in objects resists natural forces.²

Since perception is so important to the existence of a sacred space, the creation or establishment of one belongs to those with the responsibility of didactic communication - that is, those involved in art, in writing poetry or saints' Lives, and in liturgy. Through the relationships of a particular mode of communication sacred qualities can be indicated and given a location. The manuscript illustration of Jacob's ladder has already been mentioned (see pl.1); the connecting lines of the ladder from top to bottom of the page declare a spiritual relationship perceptible by Jacob where he is on the ground: 'Drihten ys on þisse stowe'. The Latin words at the bottom of the page, added in the twelfth century, indicate the significance of

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1. Aelfric's Lives of Saints, ed. W.W. Skeat, 4 vols, EETS OS 76, 82, 94, 114 (1881-1900); reprinted in 2 vols (1966). I, 440-71.
 2. See, for example, HE III 7 - fire cannot touch the wooden beam against which Aidan leant when dying; also Eddius Stephanus, The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, ed. and transl. B. Colgrave (C.U.P., 1927), ch.67 - fire cannot touch the room in which Wilfrid died.

the event in Christian symbolism.¹ Jacob pours oil over the stone set up to mark the spot, making it a prototype altar - the focal point of localised holiness. The narratives of poetry and saints' Lives can also assert that an area is sacred; landscape description is used to denote the hidden spiritual qualities of an area through listing its outward physical qualities;² as discussed earlier, the antithesis is between a fruitful and pleasant place and a wasteland. Liturgy allows the re-enactment of significant events in order to realise the power of those spiritual victories in contemporary experience at that particular place; the liturgy for the dedication of a church draws upon Biblical passages (such as Jacob's ladder) to make a dramatic connection between the past event at which spiritual power was released and the present situation which requires the same spiritual power.

There are three main ways of drawing attention to a sacred space: by declaring its distinctness from its surroundings, often by pointing a contrast or by the use of a boundary line; by placing it in a central or focal position or, in the case of poetry, a pivotal position in the structure; by demonstrating that it has a further, spiritual dimension, usually by making a connection upward to God. The sacred spaces dealt with here all draw to a greater or

1. 'Evigilans iacob et prophavit de lege et templo et passione Christi que in terra illa futura erant. Terribilis enim lex domus dei templum passio Christi apertio porte celi'. See The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B IV, facs. ed. C.R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 18, (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1974), p.15.

2. See Pearsall and Salter, pp.41-44.

lesser degree on these three methods for defining holiness or separateness. Narrative sources can go further; they can show the process by which a site which has no positive qualities, and may have pronounced negative qualities, can be transformed into a site clearly distinguished from its environment, of central importance and allowing communication to and from God. This process might be termed 'colonisation'.

1. Colonisation

The passage from Bede quoted above is concerned with the recognition of a sacred space subsequent to the event. The event was an unforeseen one - the martyr's death of a king in battle - and it happened to take place in that particular part of the field. In other chapters of the Historia Bede makes it clear that it is also possible to create a sacred site deliberately for a specific purpose. In Book III ch.23, he relates at length an account of Cedd's procedure for preparing a site for the monastery at Lastingham, and the fact that he gives this detailed account suggests that he found it particularly significant and probably unusual; it is clearly a Celtic tradition, being followed by a bishop trained in a Celtic monastery and serving in the Anglo-Saxon Church. Cedd, requested by the king to found a monastery, chooses a site among high and remote hills - 'in montibus arduis ac remotis'¹ - which in the ninth-century Old English translation becomes 'in heawum morum uppe', an example of translating more for

1. Colgrave and Mynors, p.286.

connotation than for denotation.¹ This site, so Bede comments, was 'latronum magis latibula ac lustra ferarum quam habitacula fuisse uidebantur hominum'², and he assigns to Cedd the wish to fulfil the words of Isaiah's prophecy that:³

'in cubilibus, in quibus prius dracones habitabant, oriretur uiror calami et iunci', id est fructus bonorum operum ibi nascerentur, ubi prius uel bestiae commorari uel homines bestialiter uiuere consuerant.

Bede adds his own gloss to the prophecy: 'that is, the fruits of good works shall spring up'.

Bede reports that Cedd wished to purify ('purgare') the site from its former crimes in order to make it acceptable to God before laying the structural foundations. Bede, interpreting the significance of the events he is relating, sees it in terms of a symbolic change in the landscape of the area - from being the haunt of wild men and animals to being somewhere cultivated, with plants growing where none were before. The quotation of the prophecy operates on more than one level here; the spot is being made physically fruitful by being given over to monastic activities and will also abound in the spiritual fruits of good works. The area is represented as a physical and spiritual wasteland - barrenness,

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1. Bede, The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. and transl. Thomas Miller, 4 vols. EETS OS 95, 96, 110, 111 (1890-1898); reprinted in 2 vols, (1976, 1988). I, 230.
 2. 'seemed better fitted for the haunts of robbers and the dens of wild beasts than for human habitation'. Colgrave and Mynors, p.287.
 3. '"In the habitations where once dragons lay, shall be grass with reeds and rushes", that is, the fruit of good works shall spring up where once beasts dwelt or men lived after the manner of beasts'. *ibid.*

monsters, wild men and animals are all stock characteristics when defining a wasteland area; it is subsequently transformed to physical and spiritual fruitfulness as a result of Cedd's deliberate choice.

This choice has an element of deliberately seeking out an area that has the potential for transformation - that is, that its previous and future conditions will present a sharp contrast which will serve to glorify God who has effected the transformation. It is also an opportunity to challenge and expel evil from the site, and this factor provides the basic symbolism of the whole process; the act of purification will be a spiritual victory. By remaining on the site fasting and praying for the forty days of Lent, Cedd re-enacts the experience of Christ in the wilderness, and by the symbolic imitation he re-enacts Christ's victory over the devil too.

The site is thus purified by spiritual labour, not minimised by Bede who reports that Cedd ate only a small slice of bread and an egg with a little milk - and only on Sundays. It is not simply the presence of the saint that effects the purification, as it is on other occasions when the mere proximity of a saint can cast out devils,¹ though his presence is necessary, as Cedd's replacement by his brother shows. It is the symbolism of the fasting, praying and inhabiting or occupying process that is fundamentally important. Cedd has chosen an area and occupied it continuously for forty days, purifying it and transforming it spiritually from its

1. See chapter 4 below, re exorcism.

previous status by following Christ's example and claiming the same victory. The site has been colonised for God, and is thus ready for the foundation of a monastery.

The deliberate act of purification involves a potential clash with whatever is currently inhabiting the site, whether the physical presence of men or animals or the spiritual presence of undefined evil. No confrontation is seen to take place at Lastingham where Cedd has only to rid the place of the memory of crimes committed there - 'a pristina flagitiorum sorde'. The site, however, is clearly represented as pertaining to a wasteland status in its 'suitability' for the dens of criminals and in its remoteness from habitation. The practice of going out into the wasteland or wilderness to look for a confrontation with evil was well established in Christian literature by the Anglo-Saxon period. Cuthbert follows the practice when he chooses to live on Farne island, and his biographer assigns to him the usual motive: 'he sought a place of combat farther and more remote from mankind, aiming at greater things'.¹ It is also true of Guthlac in his decision to live in the East Anglian fens; what is less familiar within the tradition is the use the Anglo-Saxon writers make of the transformation of a site to indicate the transformation of the soul of the saint.

The deliberate confrontation between Guthlac and devils at a certain spot in the fens is the subject of the vernacular poem

1. Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, in Two Lives of St Cuthbert: A life by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's prose life, ed. and transl. B. Colgrave (C.U.P., 1940), ch.17, p.215.

known as Guthlac A.¹ His act of taking over a devil-ridden area and dedicating it to the service of God by inhabiting it is treated at some length by the eighth-century poet; this act is repeatedly seen as one of colonisation - on the physical level since he finds an uninhabited site and erects a building on it, claiming the area as his property, and also on the spiritual level since his continued stay there as a hermit means the continual presence of a soldier of Christ in the wasteland, an area which the devils would traditionally claim as their own.

The substance of the poem is the series of encounters between Guthlac and the devils, forming a process of spiritual temptation and resistance. The opposition is set up by Guthlac's act of taking up residence on a site on an island in the fens; as the poet describes it:²

Guthlac...	...man eall forseah,	
	eorðlic aephelu, upp gemunde	
	ham in heoforum.	95-98
	jaet he ana ongan	
	beorgseþel bugan...	101-2

His first struggle with temptation is dramatised by the poet in

1. ASPR III. The Guthlac Poems of the Exeter Book, ed. Jane Roberts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), is the best modern edition.
2. 'Guthlac...renounced all wickedness and earthly pre-eminence and set his mind on high, on the home in the heavens. ...so that he started inhabiting, alone, a hilly dwelling-place'.

Translations of all texts from ASPR are from Anglo-Saxon Poetry: An anthology of Old English poems in prose translation, transl. S.A.J. Bradley (London: Dent, 1982), unless otherwise indicated.

terms of two spirits - one guardian angel and one terrible demon - who prompt him respectively towards good and evil. It is as if he is here a battleground for the two antagonists; the struggle ends:¹

Swa hy hine trymedon on twa healfa
oþþaet þaes gewinnes weoroda dryhten
on þaes engles dom ende gereahte. 133-35

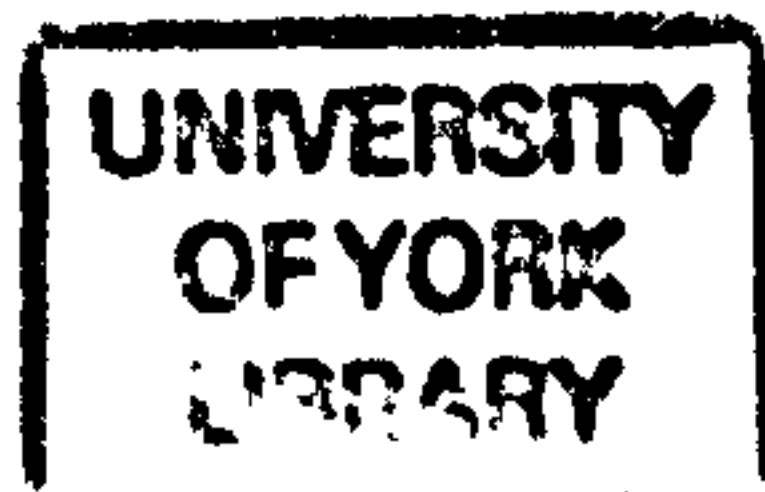
The result of this first victory is that Guthlac's guardian angel:²

lufade hine ond laerde lenge hu geornor,
þaet him leofedan londes wynne,
bold on beorhge. 138-40

'Londes wynne' takes the place of the 'eorðan wynne' he has renounced; his hold on the place is strengthened by an increased desire to be there.

The poet then expands upon the nature of Guthlac's hold and its implications. It is no longer merely a means of renouncing the world but a positive step of looking after the site on God's behalf. Guthlac is described as a 'bytla' (148) who erects a holy home (149); he acts as guardian to the place which had been hidden from men - 'bimiþen fore monnum' (147) - until God revealed it to Guthlac so that he could keep watch over it - 'þaet lond gode / faegre gefreoþode' (151-52) - once he had overcome the devil - 'siþþan feond oferwon / Cristes cempa' (152-53). He purifies it

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1. 'So they incited him on both sides until the Lord of the heavenly multitudes made an end of the strife, in favour of the angel'.
 2. 'showed him love and guided him ever more earnestly so that the pleasure of the countryside and his dwelling-place on the hill grew dear to him'.



and erects a cross:¹

wong bletsade,
him to aetstalle aerest araerde
Cristes rode.

178-80

Then begins the next attack - this time specifically from the devils who had lived there happily before Guthlac came. The poet explains their malice and their ensuing feud in terms of their enforced exile - they had previously established many lairs there - 'fela / setla gesaeton' (143-44) - from which they would go wandering, having lost their permanent home in heaven. They have lost the use of those lairs now and they therefore put their energies to getting Guthlac out, since they are prevented from doing evil by his presence.

After detailing each exchange between Guthlac and the devils, the poet returns each time to the fact of the saint's settlement in that place. Rather than proclaiming all at once in its chronological place the spiritual significance of the saint's act of settlement, he comes back to it repeatedly, so that each example of Guthlac's continued resistance to temptation is followed by a further facet of the nature of his hold on the site. This has the effect of making the settlement into a process; Guthlac's original stance is a provocation to the devils who previously lived there, and the more often he resists temptation the stronger he becomes as a 'Cristes cempa', dramatised by his increasingly strong hold on the site. The temptations provided by the dispossessed devils take various forms, such as reminding him of the delights of worldly

1. 'he sanctified the place and as his rallying-point he first raised up the Cross of Christ'.

gain, threatening suffering, accusing him of neglect of his family duty, predicting he will starve, trying to make him despair through showing him the corruption of the Church, and ultimately threatening him with eternal damnation through despair of God's forgiveness for his youthful crimes. These various temptations are given unity within the poem in that they are all directed at one aim - dislodging Guthlac. A spiritual victory for the devils in any one of these categories would have the effect of causing him to renounce his stand in the wilderness and return to society, leaving the site open for renewed occupation by the devils. Thus physical and spiritual resistance are totally interdependent in the terms that the poem has set up.

After the third main attack Guthlac takes the offensive. His right to inhabit the site has been established by the poet in the argument that he is the better tenant - 'bisaece betran hyrdes' (217). The site belongs ultimately to God who has chosen to give it to him in order that it may be brought under the aegis of civilisation. Guthlac asserts this right by commanding the devils to leave:¹

Gewitað nu, awyrgde, werigmode,
 from þissum earde þe ge her on stondað,
 fleoð on feorweg. 255-57

...Her sceal min wesan
 eorðlic eþel, nales eower leng. 260-61

Words are here used as weapons to resist the devils and put them to flight. His words cannot be turned aside any more easily than

1. 'Now be gone, damned and demoralized beings, from this site on which you are standing here; flee on your far-flung way...Here shall my earthly dwelling-place be, yours no longer'.

himself:¹

naefre ge mec of þissum wordum onwendað þendan mec
min gewit gelaesteð. 376

The various terms used for the act of settling and for the site itself include the metaphors of military siege or defensive stand - 2

Swa modgade, se wið mongum stod,
awreðed weorðlice wuldres cempa
engla maegne. 323-25

He waes on elne ond on eaðmedum,
bad on beorge. 328-29

- legal ownership - 3

Stod se dygle stow...
idel ond aemen, eþelriehte feor,
bad bisaece betran hyrdes. 215-17

and above all settlement and home-building with the verbs 'buan', 'getimbran', 'gesaeton', 'araerdon', and the nouns 'setl', 'hleonað', 'hus', 'ham', 'seðel', 'bold'.

The ultimate attack made by the devils is a quasi-bodily one in which they seize him and carry him off by force from the site and show him the horrors of hell. They claim that Guthlac will

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1. 'you will never budge me from these words as long as my wit shall serve me'.
 2. 'Thus bravely he behaved, who stood against the many - a soldier of glory, deservedly supported by the strength of angels'.
'He continued in courage and in humility and remained on the hill'.
 3. 'This secret place [stayed]...empty and desolate, remote from hereditary jurisdiction, it awaited the counter-claim of a better tenant'.

sink down deep into hell; his reply argues that, on the contrary, he has his true 'home' waiting for him in heaven - a 'betran ham /...leofestan / ecan earde...eþellond' (654-56) - and he asserts that they have a home waiting themselves - 'in helle hus, þær eow is ham sceapen' (677). At the end of this speech Guthlac's guardian angel comes bodily to his rescue, routs the devils by ordering them to put him back and announces that Guthlac is to have full control over the site from then on:¹

He sceal þy wonge wealdan, ne magon ge
him þa wic forstondan. 702

So Guthlac is carried back to the place:²

Sigehreðig cwom
bytla to þam beorge. 732-33

Guthlac's final victory over temptation and attack is seen in the assertion of his complete authority and rule over the disputed place. He is no longer merely inhabiting, or building, or holding off an attacking force; he now has complete control under God's jurisdiction - 'Stod se grenawong in godes waere' (746) - and the devils have been finally banished - 'haefde se heorde.../ feondas afyrde' (747-48).

This change of ownership has a dramatic effect on the land itself - the birds sing, the land is green, everything blossoms, and peacefulness and loveliness become the dominant

1. 'He is to exercise authority in that place; you cannot defend this dwelling-place against him'.
2. 'Triumphant, the founder came to the hill'.

characteristics:¹

Smolt waes se sigewong ond sele niwe,
faeger fugla reord, folde geblowen;
geacas gear budon. 742-44

It has been transformed from a wasteland into its opposite - a landscape of beauty and fruitfulness, under God's protection.

The site has an obvious dramatic place within the poem's structure as the battlefield for Guthlac's struggle against evil. In this respect it differs notably from the Latin Vita Sancti Guthlaci by Felix, writing in the first half of the eighth century, whose account is concerned to emphasise the ways in which Guthlac's life follows the example of the desert fathers and hermit saints; the saint's life of human hardship in an Anglo-Saxon style desert - the wasteland of the fens - increases his spiritual status and his power to perform miracles.² In the vernacular poem the site assumes greater significance in being used as a touchstone for assessing Guthlac's spiritual progress. The dramatisation of the spiritual struggle as one for possession of an area of ground has implications at another level; that is, that the site can be seen as a symbol of Guthlac's heart or soul, which he is gradually turning more and more to God's service and from which he is

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1. 'The site of his triumph and his lodgings were peaceful anew, the singing of the birds was lovely, the countryside was sprung into blossom and cuckoos heralded the year'.
 2. Felix's Life of St Guthlac, ed. and transl. B. Colgrave (C.U.P., 1956). See also Roberts' edition of the vernacular poem, pp.19-29, for a discussion of the evidence that Felix's Life was in any sense a source for Guthlac A. She concludes: 'there is insufficient proof either for or against placing the Vita among the sources used by the poet', p.29.

persistently expelling diabolic influence, so that it is finally completely under God's protection, is subject to Guthlac's own will, is open to frequent visits from the angel and blossoms in beauty and spiritual fruitfulness. The lack of specific topographical detail in describing the site contrasts again with Felix's account in which many factual details are provided - of getting a boat there, of the burial mound where Guthlac builds, of weather and wild animals. The spiritual and the physical are less easily distinguished here in the poem.

There are certain indications that the poet intends the struggle to be seen as taking place simultaneously in Guthlac's soul. The framework of the poem is the reception of the soul of a faithful warrior of Christ into heaven. The prologue describes the various ways in which these holy warriors set out to achieve a home in heaven, some of whom seek it by moving into a wasteland:¹

Sume þa wuniað on westennum,
secað ond gesittað sylfra willum
hamas on heolstrum.

81-83

Guthlac is one of these, and he is seen to be deliberately putting a spiritual process into operation which will be consummated by the end of the poem:²

hu Guðlac his in godes willan
mod gerehte, man eall forseah,
eorðlic aefelu, upp gemunde
ham in heofonum.

95-98

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1. 'Some dwell in desolate places and of their own volition seek out and settle homes in shadowy retreats'.
 2. 'how Guthlac held out his heart to the will of God, renounced all wickedness and earthly pre-eminence and set his mind on high, on the home in the heavens'.

In the epilogue the poet sums up:¹

Nis þæt huru laesast þæt seo lufu cyþeð,
þonne heo in monnes mode getimbreð
gaestcunde gife. 769-71

and the use of the 'getimbreð' continues the symbolism. The struggle is seen throughout as one of body and soul simultaneously, with the same verbs being used of each; thus Guthlac remains on the site and Christ's love remains ('wunade') in his heart, while God's protection is over both - 'hine weoruda god / freoþade on foldan' (395-96). Guthlac himself sees the fight as one of spirit as well as body:²

ic longe in lichoman
ond in minum gaeste gode campode. 642-43

The poet makes a clear connection in his gnomic interjection:³

Swa sceal oretta a in his mode
gode compian, ond his gaest beran
oft on ondan þam þe eahtan wile
sawla gehwylcre þær he gesaelan maeg. 344-47

So colonisation is arguably the appropriate term to describe Guthlac's occupation of his eremetical site; order and organisation are imposed on an area of wasteland, previously uncultivated and uncivilised. Positive spiritual values are ranged behind the orderliness of civilisation, while negative values belong to the barren and dangerous wasteland. The antithesis of good and evil is

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1. 'Certainly it is not the least of what that love performs, when it erects spiritual grace in a person's heart'.
 2. 'I have fought long for God, in body and in my soul'.
 3. 'A warrior must always so fight for God in his heart and constantly dispose his spirit to enmity against him who will be vigilant over every soul, as to when he may ensnare it'.

thus sharply polarised by relating it to the one site in both its physical existence and its symbolic status. The site is used in the structure of the poem to define the present state of the colonisation process, and it finally becomes a sacred space by virtue of the saint's occupation and ultimate triumph.

The same characteristics of a deliberate confrontation with evil and a resultant change in the nature of the site are found in Beowulf in the context of Grendel's mere. Beowulf determines to seek out - 'secan' - Grendel's mother; although the revenge aspect of the action is prominently placed, there is still a sense of an evil that needs to be dealt with for its own sake. The immediate result of his success is noted in the environment; the poet presents this by way of two similes which suggest the qualitative nature and significance of the change. The first is the light which shines out:¹

Lixte se leoma, leoht inne stod,
efne swa of hefene hadre scineð
rodores candel.

1570-72

The light is not that of the sun, but the implication is that it has the same source and function; the sun belongs to that set of natural characteristics which oppose the wasteland. It has much the same function at lines 569-70, where the light of the dawn brings Beowulf realisation of his success after a night of struggle

1. 'A radiance gleamed forth and a light appeared therein, even as the sun, candle of the sky, shines brilliantly from heaven'. Beowulf, ASPR IV (1953).

with sea-monsters:¹

Leoht eastan com,
beorht beacen godes.

569-70

Furthermore, the sun itself is here termed in periphrasis 'rodores candel' - perhaps making a deliberate comparison with the effect candles had inside the sacred space of a church building of lightening darkness.

The second simile involves the sun by implication:²

þa þæt sweord ongan
aefter heoþoswate hildegicelum,
wigbil wanian. þæt waes wundra sum,
þæt hit eal gemealt ise gelicost,
ðonne forstes bend faeder onlaeteð,
onwindeð waelrapas, se geweald hafað
saela ond maela; þæt is soð metod. 1605-11

The image of the melting of the ice has two functions here; it suggests the coming of Spring with its fruitfulness and beauty, and it also suggests the releasing of something that has been bound or imprisoned. It can be paralleled in an incident in Aelfric's Lives of Saints, where martyrs are imprisoned in ice and the sun

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1. 'Light came from the east, God's bright token'. See F. Klaeber, 'Die Christlichen Elemente im Beowulf', Anglia 35 (1912), p.122 - 'Die sonne ist godes zeichen'. See also Susie I. Tucker, 'The Anglo-Saxon Poet considers the heavens', Neophil. 41 (1957), p.273 - 'Beowulf is a sun poem'.
 2. 'Meanwhile the sword, the warring blade, began to waste away because of the gore from the fighting and the battle-spilt dribblets of blood. It was a remarkable phenomenon how it entirely melted away - just like ice when the Father looses the fetters of frost and frees the shackles on the water - he who has disposal over times and seasons: he is the true ordaining Lord'.

similarly effects their release:¹

þaer com heofonlic leoht to þam halgum martyrum
swa hat swa sunne scinende on sumere
and þaet is formealt on eallum þam mere
and þaet waeter wearð awend to wynsumum baðe.

In both instances the melting of the ice indicates God's salvation shown in his power over nature. The passage in Beowulf is a less direct way of stating what the poet of Guthlac A states in his description of a blossoming and fruitful landscape; God who has all times and seasons in his control and who changes the landscape accordingly at regular intervals, can also change it on certain specific occasions to demonstrate his victorious power.

Conversely, when the landscape does change in that way, it is to be understood that God is there demonstrating his sovereign power.

Ultimately, the colonised landscape is a type of the heavenly one, just as the saint's heart is being transformed into spiritual perfection in preparation for heaven. The qualities of fruitfulness and new life which belong to the season of Spring are also those celebrated at Easter in the resurrection. The poem The Phoenix, dealing with this very subject, offers a description of what a landscape is like when fully under the protection of God, far away from any evil. The land of Paradise where the phoenix lives remains unfallen after the Fall, so there is no need for a process of transformation and no confrontation with evil. The poem is based largely on the Latin poem by Lactantius, Carmen de ave phoenice, which as usual in descriptions of Paradise describes the

1. 'there came a heavenly light to the holy martyrs, as hot as the sun shining in summer, and the ice melted away over all the mere, and the water was turned to a pleasant bath'. Aelfric's Lives of Saints, I, 250-51.

landscape in terms of what is not there.¹ The Old English poet does the same, but expands his source as regards the climate of Paradise, so that a simple statement that Paradise did not suffer from the cold of winter or the heat of summer becomes a list of the unpleasant weather conditions that are absent:²

Ne maeg þaer ren ne snaw,
ne forstes fnaest, ne fyres blaest,
ne haegles hryre, ne hrimes dryre,
ne suman haetu, ne sincaldu,
ne wearm weder, ne winterscur
wihte gewyrdan, ac se wong seomað
eadig ond onsund.

14-20

The attributes of a colonised landscape and those of a wasteland do in a sense confront each other as a result of the rhetorical device of multiplying the negative adjectives. This gives the description a definition which it would not otherwise have, since the positive adjectives used are inevitably very general ones - 'wynsum', 'wlitig', 'faeger', 'eadig'. The comparison between the world of Paradise and the world of the poet's audience - 'ne maeg þaer...swa her mid us' (14-23) - serves to indicate the difference between a fallen world and a world which is a permanent record of God's power - a 'sigewong' (33) - to which man may one day return after the

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1. See The Phoenix, ed. N.F. Blake (Manchester U.P., 1964), pp.13-16; also Hildegard L.C. Tristram, 'Stock Descriptions of Heaven and Hell in Old English Prose and Poetry', NM 79 (1978), 102-13.
 2. 'not rain nor snow, nor breath of frost nor scorch of fire, nor falling of hail nor drizzle of rime, nor heat of the sun nor incessant cold, nor torrid weather nor wintry shower may spoil a whit, but the plateau remains perfect and unmarred'. ASPR III. See also B.K. Martin, 'Aspects of Winter in Latin and Old English Poetry', JEGP 68 (1969), 375-90; he cites the widespread Latin sources for the topos of the world bound by cold.

exile of life on earth (417-23). The righteous man who has transformed his corrupt heart through the power of God and produced the fruits of good deeds (the two are specifically linked as images of each other in lines 526-29) can look forward to leaving a corrupt world and finding a perfect world in heaven. The image of the phoenix shows clearly this principle of resurrection to new and incorruptible existence, mediated to the reader through the description of the Paradisal landscape.

So in these examples a process of colonisation seems to be in operation. The world is a fallen one and thus wasteland areas exist in which nature is in opposition to the good of mankind. Saints' Lives are concerned to suggest forcefully that the natural world can be made subject to human will when a person is totally subject to God's will and claims and asserts that divine power. When Cuthbert has colonised Farne Island, expelling the devils and building what is symbolically termed a 'city', he is shown to be able to control the natural elements. Bede comments:¹

ipsum mare...uiro uenerabili praeuere
obsequium. Qui enim auctori omnium
creaturarum fideliter et integro corde
famulatur, non est mirandum si eius
imperii ac uotis omnis creatura
deseruiat. At nos plerunque iccirco
subiectae nobis creaturae dominium
perdimus, quia Domino et creatori
omnium ipsi seruire negligimus.

1. 'the sea itself...did honour to the venerable man. For if a man faithfully and wholeheartedly serves the maker of all created things, it is no wonder though all creation should minister to his commands and wishes. But for the most part we lose dominion over the creation which was made subject to us, because we ourselves neglect to serve the Lord and Creator of all things'. Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, ch.21, pp.224-25.

The sites thus colonised are seen as sacred spaces, displaying physical attributes associated with spiritual virtues - namely beauty and fruitfulness. By using this principle of colonisation, writers can demonstrate clearly where appropriate that the person effecting the change is a saint, and indicate that the area is open to communication with God and the receipt of divine favour from that point onwards.

2. The Church

The order of service for the dedication of a church forms in effect an act of colonisation of that area. It uses certain key Biblical passages in this process, not least the Jacob's ladder passage; the repetition of the words within the liturgical context enabled the Church to recreate the spiritual significance of the event through its re-enactment. So the bishop performing the ceremony states - 'This is the house of God and the gate of heaven' - proclaiming that the area is now qualitatively separate and in a special relationship to God. Other passages also stress the indwelling of God within a defined space - for example, 'hodie huic domui salus a deo facta est' (Luke 19:9).¹

However, this declaration of a newly-created sacred space is not merely verbal but is also presented dramatically in the actions of the bishop and the people. The Lanalet Pontifical, dated to the

1. See, for example, Pontificale Lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A. 27. Cat. 368): A Pontifical formerly in use at St. Germans, Cornwall, ed. G.H. Doble (London: Henry Bradshaw Society 74, 1937), p.2; these words are given at the beginning of the 'ordo qualiter domus dei consecranda est'.

tenth century and probably used at Wells,¹ gives the rubric for the procedure: the bishop, accompanied by the people, processes up to the door of the church, singing various suitable psalms.² He then stops at the door and knocks on it with his staff, with the words from Psalm 24 - 'Tollite portas principes uestras et eleuamini porte eternas'.³ (See plate 2 which significantly illustrates this particular moment.) The response comes from within the church through the closed door - 'Quis est iste rex gloriae?'⁴ The door remains shut at this point; the bishop with the assembled company walk in procession round the outside of the church. Returning to the door, the bishop knocks again with the same words of command. A second time the door is not opened, and he then processes again round the church. On the third occasion, the deacon 'planted' inside the church receives the answer to his question: 'Dominus uirtutum ipse est rex glorie'⁵ - and the door is finally opened to the bishop and the waiting people who then make their entrance.

The threefold repetition of the question and answer, the

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1. *ibid*, p.x-xvii, where Doble discusses the provenance of the manuscript.
 2. *ibid*, pp.4-5.
 3. 'Lift up your gates, O ye princes; be ye lifted up, O eternal gates'. p.5.

Translations of Biblical texts are from The Holy Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate...The Old Testament, first published by the English College, at Douay, AD. 1609, and the New Testament, first published by the English College, at Rheims, AD. 1582 (Dublin: James Duffy & Co, 1888).

4. 'Who is this King of Glory?'. *ibid*.
3. 'The Lord of hosts, he is the King of Glory'. *ibid*.

knocking and the circumambulation of the church area all serve the same purpose; they make a clear distinction between the space outside the church and the space inside it. The moment of entry into the enclosed area is thus highlighted. Moreover, the use of the words - 'and the King of Glory shall enter in' - implies that it is only at the point of the bishop's entry that the Lord is perceived indeed to 'enter in'; the space is therefore transformed at that moment into an area filled with the Lord's indwelling presence and under his special protection. It has in effect been colonised for God and consecrated to his use; its spiritual status has changed from neutrality (at the very least) to that of a sacred space.

The various ceremonies that follow help to underline this. On entry the bishop goes to the middle of the church where he kneels to pray; he then proceeds to the altar which he consecrates by making the sign of the cross on all four corners. After that, he goes in circuit round the church area, making the sign of the cross on the walls. These movements are accompanied by antiphons which call on God to sanctify the place and to dwell in it as his own house. The encircling of the space ensures that no part is left unhallowed; the sanctification is complete.

The declaration of the church as sacred at its dedication is also reinforced by its subsequent use - not only liturgically and collectively, but at a personal level in the Church's teaching on and practice of excommunication. In one sense the whole purpose of creating a sacred space within the enclosing walls of the church was to make possible effective communication between God and his people. This was achieved ultimately in the sacrament of

communion, which took place at the most holy part of the church area - the altar.

The connection evident in modern English between the words 'community', 'communication' and 'communion', deriving from their common Latin root, is not apparent terminologically in Old English, but the concept of divine communication can be found to be closely linked to that of the church community in two of Wulfstan's homilies.¹ Both are based on a sermon by Abbo of St Germain, in which the latter makes an analogy between the exclusion of sinful men from church during Lent and Adam's exclusion from Paradise.² Adam in Paradise was able to communicate with the angels - 'ibi uidebat angelos et loquebatur cum illis' - until he lost that privilege through his disobedience. Wulfstan takes up this analogy and extends it; the spatial dislocation of exclusion from Paradise and the personal exclusion from communication with God is accompanied by exclusion from the community of angels - 'engla gemana'.³ 'Gemana' is a word used variously to denote different degrees of association, ranging from social company - 'ferena gemana' - to sexual intercourse - 'wifes gemana'.⁴ Its use by Wulfstan suggests both communication and community; by analogy the sinner is excluded from the church in its totality: the spatial

1. Sermo de .XL. and Sermo de Cena Domini, in The Homilies of Wulfstan, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

2. See Bethurum, Appendix I, p.367.

3. Sermo de .XL., Bethurum, p.234.

4. See A Microfiche Concordance to Old English, comp. Richard L. Venezky and Antonette diPaolo Healey. 397 microfiches. Publications of the Dictionary of Old English (Toronto U.P., 1980), s.v. 'gemana'.

extent of the building, communication with God and the community of God's people ('cyricgemana').¹ However, this separation is, like Adam's in the long run, a temporary one; the sinners will be received back into the church just as Adam was eventually re-admitted into the company of the angels in heaven:²

[Adam] syngode...& aefter þam ferde
to helle...oð þaet Crist hine þanon
þurh his mildheortnyse of yrmðum brohte,
& hine into þaere hefonlican cyrican
syððan gelaedde, þe he a syðþan inne
on wunode mid Godes englum & mid his
halgum on ecan wuldre.

Significantly, Adam now has a place in the 'heavenly church'; this phrase, not in Wulfstan's source, declares an association between the saints gathered in heaven and the potential saints gathered on earth - in the context of a communal gathering in the church for the sacrament of communion.

In another homily, on the dedication of a church, Wulfstan makes a further connection between communication with God and bodily presence in a church building; his source here is Aelfric's homily on the same subject,³ but whereas the latter is concerned with the symbolism of the temple, Wulfstan is more interested in promoting the right use of the church building and in declaring

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1. Sermo de .XL., Bethurum, p.234.
 2. 'Adam sinned...and after that went to hell...until Christ through his mercy brought him up from there out of hardships, and led him afterwards into the heavenly church within which he afterwards dwelt with God's angels and with his saints in eternal glory'. Sermo de Cena Domini, Bethurum, p.236. (My transl.)
 3. Aelfric, De Dedicacione Ecclesiae, in The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: the First Part, containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Aelfric, ed. and transl. B. Thorpe. 2 vols. (London: Aelfric Society, 1844, 1846). II, 574-94.

that it is under the special surveillance of God and his angels:¹

Witodlice aelc þaera þe cyrican rihtlice
secð & mid claenum mode þaer to Gode
clypað & his þearfe wilnað, God gehyreð
his bena...And soðlice swa oft swa men
cyrican secað, gode englas of heofenum
lociað georne on hwylce wisan hy men sece...

The right spiritual attitude is obviously essential, but its efficacy is channelled through attendance at church. The acts of taking communion and entering a church building are seen as correlated, in that both are equally forbidden during Lent to anyone who has acknowledged guilt of 'healicro misdaede'.²

In the homily Sermo de Cena Domini, Wulfstan follows Abbo in referring to the episcopal practice of declaring men excommunicate on Ash Wednesday - to be excluded during the 'halgan tid' of Lent. The homily expands its source on the subject of the distinctive quality of the church space; the excommunicants are encouraged to remind themselves of their exclusion:³

And ðeah aefre swa se man sy swyðor
forsingod, swa he geornor & gelomor
Godes hus sece daeges & nihtes & cneowige
þaer ute oft & gelome & clypige to Criste
geomerendum mode & talige hine sylfne
wið God swa forworhtne þaet he wyrðe ne
sy þaet he gan mote into Godes huse.

-
1. 'Certainly, everyone who seeks the church rightly and there with clean heart calls to God and acknowledges his need, God hears his prayers...And truly as often as men seek the church good angels observe eagerly from heaven in what manner he seeks it'. De Dedicacione Ecclesiae, Bethurum, p.247.
 2. Sermo de Cena Domini, Bethurum, p.237.
 3. 'And whenever a man has greatly sinned, so let him eagerly and often seek God's house day and night and kneel outside it frequently and often and cry out to Christ with a sorrowful heart and acknowledge himself so sinful that he is not worthy to go into God's house'. pp.237-38.

After due confession and penance, they are publicly re-admitted into the community on Maundy Thursday, being welcomed once again into the church building and invited to receive communion. It is an outward sign of being received back into God's favour; the subsequent Easter celebrations would be a most appropriate way of consummating this acceptance.¹

In these ways, the church is visibly and conceptually proclaimed as a sacred space, distinct from its immediate context. It may be surmised that entry into a church building would indeed be a different experience from entering other buildings; in the early period especially, only churches were built of stone, and the high proportions of the construction, the probable relative darkness and the use of candles to help dispel the shadows, would mark out the interior as qualitatively distinct and different from normal domestic buildings.

3. The Monastery

One manifestation of sacred space is that a distinction is perceived between itself and its surroundings. There is evidence that the inhabitants of monasteries, or at least monastic writers, saw themselves as distinct from those outside. They had rejected the world and this gave them the opportunity to achieve greater

1. Dorothy Bethurum expresses doubts (pp.344, 347) as to whether the practice was widely known or commonly practised in England, but the concept fits well into the framework of thought found in these homilies of Wulfstan.

holiness:¹

Cunque nouum uitae continentioris ingressum
sedulo iam corde meditaretur...

Just as solitary life as a hermit was seen as the way to greater holiness because of the increased opportunities to engage in spiritual battle, so entry into a monastery offered the challenge of fighting evil:²

Nec memoratus athleta Christi mutatione
loci mutauit mentem ab arrepto semel
proposito militiae coelestis...

The rejection of the world meant a different lifestyle - one of organised time and obedience to a superior:³

Sed iure inquit est coenobitarum uita
miranda, qui abbatis per omnia subiciuntur
imperiiis. Ad eius arbitrium cuncta
uigilandi, orandi, ieiunandi, atque operandi
tempora moderantur.

It also demanded a different quality of life in regard to possessions:⁴

Solitam sibi parsimoniam sedulus exercere,
et inter frequentiam turbarum monachicae
uitae rigorem sollicitus obseruare gaudebat.

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1. 'While, with diligent heart, he was now meditating entrance into a stricter course of life...' Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, ch.5, pp.168-69.
 2. 'Yet this same champion of Christ did not change his mind as a result of this change of place, nor abandon his determination once taken to wage the heavenly warfare'. *ibid.*, ch.8, pp.180-81.
 3. '"But", said he, "the life of monks ought rightly to be admired, for they are in all things subject to the commands of the abbot and govern all their times of watching, praying, fasting and working by his judgement"'. *ibid.*, ch.22, pp.228-31.
 4. 'Gladly and diligently he practised his wonted frugality and, amid the thronging crowds, rejoiced to preserve the rigours of monastic life'. *ibid.*, ch.26, pp.242-43.

The relationship of people inside and outside the monastery was defined often as between shepherd and flock:¹

non solum ipsi monasterio regularis
uitae monita, simul et exemplum praefererat,
sed et uulgus circumpositum longe lateque
a uita stultae consuetudinis, ad coelestium
gaudiorum conuertere curabat amorem.

The comparison is pointed here by the terms 'inside' and 'outside'; different ways of working as a Christian were required in the different areas. All these quotations indicate the distinction perceived by monks between themselves and the rest of the people.

This perception is found not only in the early monastic writings but also in later tenth and eleventh-century works of the Benedictine Revival period. The writer of the earliest Life of St Dunstan promotes a similar sense of the monastery as a bounded area:²

Tunc ergo perprudens opilio, primum scepta
claustrorum monasticis aedificiis caeterisque
immunitationibus, ut jam olim a quodam sene
sibi denotatum per revelationem fuerat, ex
omni parte firmiter munivit; ubi oves
Dominicas longe lateque gregatim collectas,
ne a lupo invisibili dilaniarentur, includeret.

-
1. 'not only did he give the monastery itself counsels concerning life under the rule and an example of it, but he sought moreover to convert the neighbouring people far and wide from a life of foolish habits to a love of heavenly joys'. *ibid.*, ch.9, pp.184-85.
 2. 'Then, as a very prudent shepherd, he first fortified firmly the fences of the precincts on every side with monastic buildings and other defences, as had already been revealed to him a long time before by an old man in a vision. There he enclosed the Lord's sheep, gathered in flocks from far and wide, that they might not be torn to pieces by the invisible wolf'. Vita Sancti Dunstani, in Memorials of St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury: edited from various manuscripts, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Rolls Series, 1874), p.25.
Translation: English Historical Documents c.500-1042, ed. D. Whitelock (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955; 2nd ed. London: Eyre Methuen, 1979), p.899.

The particular circumstances of the Benedictine Reform period required forceful proclamation of the holiness of monastic life, in distinction to that of clerical life. The process of colonisation is still a prerequisite for the establishment of a monastery, but those expelled are the non-monastic clerics, whose space is taken over by the monks and who therefore continue to threaten the existence of the monastery by political machinations:¹

Erant autem tunc in veteri monasterio, ubi cathedra episcopalis habebatur, malemorigerati clerici, elatione, et insolentia, ac luxuria praeventi...vir sanctus Aetheluuoldus, data licentia a rege Eadgaro, expulit citissime nefandos blasphematores Dei de monasterio...

On occasions the clerics succeed temporarily:²

Expelluntur abbates cum monachis suis, introducuntur clerici cum uxoribus suis.

but the monastic cause is taken up:³

in synodo dixit quod nequaquam ferre posset vivens, ut monachi expellerentur a regno, qui omnem Christianitatem, eo iuvante, tenuerunt in regno.

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1. 'Now at that time in the Old Minster, where the episcopal seat is situated, there were evil-living clerics, possessed by pride, insolence and wanton behaviour...The holy man Aethelwold...when King Edgar's permission had been given... very quickly expelled the impious blasphemers of God from the minster'. Aelfric, Vita Sancti Aethelwoldi in Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1858), II, 260. Translation: EHD, p.907.
 2. 'Abbots, with their monks, were expelled; clerics, with their wives, were introduced'. Vita Sancti Oswaldi in The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1879-94), I, 443. Translation: EHD, p.912.
 3. 'in the synod he said that he could in nowise suffer, while he lived, that the monks, who by the help of God maintained all the Christianity in the kingdom, should be expelled from the kingdom'. Vita Sancti Oswaldi, p.445; transl. EHD, p.914.

The distinction was not only between monks and non-monks; it was also seen as existing between the monastery as a conceptual whole and its environment. The concept of the monastery is shown most clearly in the reactions to its violation. Bede's letter to Egbert reveals his concern that the whole status of the monastery is being undermined by the ulterior economic motives of many who are founding new monasteries which are therefore only nominally monasteries:¹

Tui, inquam, est officii procurare ne
in locis Deo consecratis diabolus sibi
regnum usurpet.

He puts the situation as strongly as the struggle between God and the devil; the substitution of secular motives for the pure self-sacrificing motives of devotion to God is seen in terms of the devil usurping an area dedicated to God - almost a colonisation process in reverse. A similar sense of horror is expressed at a frontal assault on monasteries by physical force; in Alcuin's letters after the Viking sack of Lindisfarne, he dramatises the difference between before and after the attack:²

Ecce ecclesia Sancti Cuthbercti sacerdotum
Dei sanguine aspersa, omnibus spoliata
ornamentis, locus cunctis in Britannia
venerabilior paganis gentibus datur ad
depraedandum...

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1. 'It is, I say, your duty to provide that the devil may not usurp a kingdom for himself in places consecrated to God'. Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, ed. A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869-71; reprinted 1964), III, 322. Translation from EHD, p.807.
 2. 'Behold the church of St. Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God, despoiled of all its ornaments; a place more venerable than all in Britain is given as a prey to pagan peoples...

Quis hoc non timet? quis hoc quasi
captam patriam non plangit? vineam
electam vulpes depraedarunt;
haereditas Domini data est populo non
Suo; et ubi laus Domini ibi ludus gentium;
festivitas sancta versa est in luctum.

However, the Vikings are also the instrument of God in judgement, according to Alcuin, who sees the outward profanation as a result of the inward profanation by luxurious living of the ideal purity of monastic life.

The function of the monastery is generally seen as one of intercession through prayer and of an example to the people by holy living. Alcuin claims in a letter to King Aethelred that:¹

nihil melius patriam defendit quam
principum aequitas et pietas et servorum
Dei intercessiones.

Aelfric expresses the same sentiment in one of his homilies:²

Hu waes hit ða siððan ða þa man towearp munuclif
and godes biggengas to bysmore haefde
buton þaet us com to cwealm and hunger
and siððan haeðen here us haefde to bysmre.

This belief in the value of intercessory prayer is stated as the

Who does not fear this? Who does not lament this as if his country were captured? Foxes pillage the chosen vine, the heritage of the Lord has been given to a people not his own; and where there was the praise of God, are now the games of the Gentiles; the holy festivity has been turned to mourning'. C&ED, III, 493. Transl. EHD, pp.842-43.

1. 'Nothing defends a country better than the equity and godliness of princes and the intercessions of the servants of God'. C&ED, III, 494. Transl. EHD, p.844.
2. 'How was it then afterward when men rejected monastic life and held God's services in contempt, but that pestilence and hunger came to us, and afterward the heathen army had us in reproach?'. Aelfric's Lives of Saints, I, 294-95.

motive for numerous royal foundations cited by Bede:¹

in quo ipse rex et frequentius ad
deprecandum Dominum Verbumque audiendum
aduenire...Nam et se ipsum fideliter
credidit multum iuuari eorum orationibus
cotidianis, qui illo in loco Domino
seruirent.

Oswy enjoined prayer for the peace of the nation on the twelve
monasteries he founded:²

in quibus ablato studio militiae
terrestris ad exercendam militiam
caelestem supplicandumque pro pace
gentis eius aeterna deuotioni sedulae
monachorum locus facultasque suppeteret.

King Aethelwulf was perhaps prompted by a similar motive when he
tithed Wessex in 855 - the year that the Viking army first wintered
in England - in the hope that more provision for churches and
monasteries meant more intercessory prayers.³ There is of course
abundant evidence that such a principle was at work in the
foundation of monasteries, particularly during the Benedictine
Reformation; it was equally obviously not the only principle at
work, but the ideal nonetheless remains.

The distinctive holiness of a monastery as a precinct also

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1. 'where he [the king] himself might frequently come to pray and hear the Word...for he firmly believed that the daily prayers of those who served God there would greatly help him'. HE III 23.
 2. 'on which, as they were freed from any concern about earthly military service, a site and means might be provided for the monks to wage heavenly warfare and to pray with unceasing devotion that the race might win eternal peace'. HE III 24.
 3. ASChron, s.a. 855. Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel: with supplementary extracts from the others, ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892-99; reprinted with contributions by D. Whitelock, 1952).

operates as a factor in the choice of a site for burial. Kings founded monasteries as communities to pray for their souls and as sites for their tombs. Oswy granted land for a monastery in which prayer could be offered for the eternal salvation of himself and his predecessor whom he had killed.¹ A hierarchy seems to exist within the monastic precinct as far as places for burial go. On the one hand, saints are buried frequently 'among' their followers - that is, on the site where they had lived; Cuthbert is an obvious example, and it is recorded also for Etheldreda at Ely and Cedd at Lastingham.² In the latter case it is notable that thirty of Cedd's followers moved from East Anglia to Northumbria specifically for this purpose:³

cupientes ad corpus sui patris aut
uiuere, si sic Deo placeret, aut
morientes ibi sepeliri.

It is probable that burial 'in the midst' of the community was favoured because it would encourage remembrance and stimulate prayer. The nuns at Barking are recorded as visiting 'sepulchra fratrum, qui eas hac luce praecesserant'.⁴

On the other hand, a monk who had not lived up to the monastic standard could be buried further away from the community and at the margins of the precinct. Bede has an account of a monk who, having died without receiving the saving Viaticum, was buried

1. HE III 14.

2. Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, ch.37; HE IV 19; HE III 23.

3. 'wishing to live near the body of their father or, if the Lord so willed, to die and be buried there'. HE III 23.

4. 'the tombs of the brothers who had already died'. HE IV 7.

'in ultimis...monasterii locis' (HE V 14). This reinforces the idea of the place of burial encouraging or discouraging remembrance after death, according to its proximity to the centre of monastic life:¹

...neque aliquis pro eo uel missas facere
uel psalmos cantare uel saltim orare
praesumebat.

So the evidence shows that a distinction was recognised in regard to monasteries - a distinction of lifestyle, standard of holiness, devotion to prayer - and that this difference extended to the precinct site as well as to the community of monks and to the concept of a monastery as a whole. The comparison is both implicit and explicit, and was made by both monks and lay people, in so far as the monastic writers were assigning correct motives to kings or not suppressing stronger motives.

Overt propaganda for the precinct site itself to be considered holy is to be found in saints' Lives. It is holy as a result of its close association with the saint and its continued possession of his relics. It is asserted that this means the intercessory protection of the saint for his followers and successors at the monastery, and the release of divine power through the relics for the working of miracles. Eddius is clearly claiming this for Wilfrid's monasteries at Oundle and Ripon; at the former a fire cannot touch the room where Wilfrid died and an angel

1. 'nor did anyone venture to say masses or sing psalms or even pray for him'. See also Theodore's Penitential, Book II, ch. V, para. 8, C&ED, III, 194, which forbids saying mass for an evil man.

is seen to be protecting it.¹ At the latter a white rainbow appears, encircling the entire monastery, and is interpreted as a sign of Wilfrid's continued protection:²

nunc autem nostrum est plene perfecteque
credere, intercessorem nostrum...in
conspectu Dei sine cessatione nostrae
defensionis tutorem existere...
Nos vero adorantes laudavimus Dominum
mirabilem in sanctis suis, perspicue
intellegentes murum auxilii divini circa
vineam familiae Domini electam.

More subtly, the poet of Guthlac A claims the continued protection of God over the site of the saint's struggle as a hermit, by working into the poem's structure the status and ownership of the site. There are certain indications in the poem of a sense of authorial proprietorship in the figure of Guthlac, and it is likely that it was written by a monk at Crowland Abbey, the monastery founded on the site.³ By the end of the poem the site is clearly within God's protective care as a sacred space; it is described as a 'socn' (716), which can denote simply a place sought for some reason, but could have here also its specific meaning of

1. Eddius, ch.67.

2. 'But now it is for us to believe fully and perfectly that our intercessor...in the sight of God...guards and defends us without ceasing...We worshipped and praised the Lord who is wonderful in his holy places, and clearly understood that the wall of divine help was around the elect vineyard of the Lord's family.' Eddius, ch.68, pp.146-49.

3. In this respect the poem differs from Felix's Life which, as Colgrave notes, has 'no hint...of the foundation of a monastery'. Felix's Life of St Guthlac, p.7.

'sanctuary'.¹ This would be entirely appropriate to the nature of the site in Guthlac's time and significantly also at the time the poem was composed. The same is true of Guthlac B where the saint's promise of eternal friendship to his follower is symbolically fulfilled in the tower of fire seen at his death (see chapter 3 below). In both cases the site is the locus which maintains the connection between the saint and his spiritual descendants who have inherited it along with its potential for access to God and for divine intervention through miracles.

The virtue of sanctity when allied to a space is that it can be inherited, and, unlike relics which can be found and were frequently transported elsewhere, it is permanent. So there was good reason for communities to remind people that the very site of their monastery was sacred as a result of a special event happening there in the past, and that through the site they had inherited the spiritual significance of that event.

The question now is whether this perceived distinction of the monastic site was manifested at a concrete level - whether the separateness asserted in theory was made visual by the use of boundaries or by the choice of site. It is here that pragmatic and conceptual considerations are difficult to disentangle from each other. On the one hand, there are indications that early

1. See An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary based on the manuscript collections of the late Joseph Bosworth, edited and enlarged by T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898). Supplement by T.N. Toller, with revised and enlarged addenda by Alistair Campbell (O.U.P., 1972), s.v. 'socn', definition VI; see also the Micr Conc to OE. It is used in the compound terms 'ciricsocn' and 'friþsocn' to mean sanctuary; see below, chapter 5.

monasteries were deliberately sited to suggest a contrast between the precinct and its surroundings, and that boundaries, either natural or artificial ones, encircled the monastery. On the other hand, it has to be recognised that most of the evidence is contained in contemporary historical writing and that the concept of a precinct site as perceptibly distinct is articulated most forcefully by writers such as Bede, who might well wish to stress the symbolism of the monastic site and to ignore other factors for the choice of site.

The land-holdings of the monastery were obviously more extensive than the area comprising the church and living quarters of the monks. They could extend over a large area and seem frequently to have been originally a working estate granted as a whole to the church or to a specific bishop; so, for example, Wilfrid was given 87 hides at Selsey for a monastery, along with all the property and inhabitants on the estate, and Whitby was founded on an acquired estate of 10 hides (HE IV 13 and III 24). Presumably the founder could decide within the estate where exactly to place the new monastery, and symbolism might play a part here.¹

So the sacred site refers primarily to the monastic buildings used by the monks in accordance with the Rule (see also chapter 4 below for a discussion of exorcism within the monastic precinct), and this could have been a bounded area. Eddius mentions a great thorn hedge around the monastery at Oundle which caught fire; the

1. Richard Morris has considered the factors leading to church or monastery foundations in particular locations; see R.K. Morris, Churches in the Landscape (London: Dent, 1989), particularly chapters 3,4 and 5. (This book has been brought to my attention in revising the thesis.)

flames apparently encircled the monastery, stopping at two points - the cross and the room where Wilfrid died - leaving only a small section of hedge standing.¹ The cause of the fire was in fact arson, and it prompts the question as to whether the boundary was a defensive rather than a symbolic feature; it seems unlikely, since the monks would be forbidden to defend themselves by carrying arms. The only archaeological evidence for boundaries around early monasteries is slight, since the number of sites and the extent of their excavation is limited. Whitby has indications of a boundary wall to the north-east of the excavated area, while there is a possible identification of a boundary at Jarrow to the north of the church.²

While evidence of boundaries is therefore inconclusive, the references to sites of early monasteries certainly suggest that a distinction between the precinct and its surroundings is intended to be understood. The environments quoted by Bede tend to be woods or water, with the monasteries in clearings or on islands: for example, Burgh Castle, 'At Barwe', Bosham, Beverley, Lindisfarne, Chertsey, Selsey, Ely, Melrose.³ Both of these types of environment are candidates for wasteland, being unfertile and potentially dangerous. It may be that Bede is simply using the best and most obvious means of defining the location of the

1. Eddius, ch.67, p.146 - 'sepes magna spinea'.

2. For a summary of the evidence, see Rosemary Cramp, 'Monastic Sites', in The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England, ed. D. Wilson (London: Methuen, 1976; reprinted C.U.P., 1981), pp.201-52. She concludes: 'the monastic vallum does not appear as a prominent feature in the archaeological record so far', p.249.

3. HE III 19; IV 3; IV 13; V 2; III 3; IV 6; IV 13; IV 19; V 12.

monasteries - that is, describing the nearest large natural feature, which would frequently be the wood or the sea or river. But in view of the explicit comments on the choice of sites reported of important figures such as Aidan and Cedd, it seems probable that Bede wishes to attribute to other monasteries the remoteness of Lindisfarne and Lastingham. These were both founded by bishops with a Celtic background, which may be a significant factor. The Roman policy, inherited from Gaul, of siting bishoprics (often in the form of monastic establishments) in central, accessible places was apparently followed for the majority of Anglo-Saxon sees as far as possible, but the principle of remote sites remained an attractive one for symbolic reasons.¹

The other angle on the choice of monastery sites is the political one. Church founders were sometimes given a free hand in deciding where to build a monastery, but more often Bede records that the king granted an estate. Whereas his motive in giving land might be a spiritual one, practical considerations might come into the choice of location. The assertion that monasteries are characterised by remoteness from civilisation would imply poor communication routes. However, as the centre of an estate the monastery was in effect the local landlord and it therefore had an economic role to play in the neighbourhood as the centre for distribution and rent-collecting. It is notable that many of the major monasteries in the south developed in the tenth century into important urban centres with an economic function not only in the locality but in a wider context, as the foci for festivals and

1. See David Hill, An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p.145.

fairs and the congregating points for craftsmen and for pilgrims. This could not have happened without good communication routes, and it tends to undermine the impression of early monasteries as remote from civilisation and cut off from the secular world. The rivers and seas which imply isolation were in fact often essential transport routes at a time when roads were poorly constructed and maintained.

There is some indication that political expediency played a part. The marginal land between kingdoms could be effectively wasteland, not fully under the jurisdiction of a king or lord and therefore frequented by those who were avoiding jurisdiction and human contact. In that capacity it was appropriate for a monastic foundation; Crowland is said in Guthlac A to be 'eþelriehte feor' (216) - a status which the saint reverses. This type of area could not only be colonised for God but also for the king, in the sense that founding a monastery on the borders of the kingdom would provide a stabilising influence on the area; the presence of a permanent and powerful landlord would enable the land to be held more effectively for the king who had granted it. Furthermore, once the border area had been established as belonging to that kingdom, the way was open to advance beyond it. This is conceivably an important factor in the siting of certain monasteries on the borders of Wessex and Mercia in the seventh and eighth centuries.¹

So this investigation into the monastery as a sacred space shows up the possible discrepancy between the concrete reality of

1. See chapter 5 below for a discussion of these sites.

an institution and the way it is perceived in abstract terms. It suggests that it was important for contemporary writers to assert the sacred status of a monastery because the distinction was not altogether clear in reality, particularly when political considerations had dictated the choice of site, or when economic motives had prompted its foundation and ruled its lifestyle. The perception of a monastery as spatially distinct is thus stressed whenever possible. The probable use of boundaries around the precinct would have assisted both the secular and ecclesiastical mind to perceive it as separate, and so would the ritual practices of exorcism which marked the area off as different. The individual monastic foundations used literary means to claim their particular site as sacred and subject to the special protection of God, and therefore peculiarly available for the performance of miracles.

4. The Altar

Unlike a monastery, there is no doubt that an altar was considered a sacred object.¹ It was recognisably holy in itself and in its sacred context of the church building. From the earliest Christian times, communion had been celebrated on a flat surface of wood or stone which eventually came to resemble a closed-in table or shortened sarcophagus. At an early date altars were associated with relics and by the sixth century and the beginning of Anglo-Saxon Christianity they positively required

1. For an exhaustive account of altars, their history, shape and function, see Joseph Braum, Das Christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung (Munich: Max Hueber, 1932; reprinted, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1973).

relics. Gregory sent 'relics of the holy apostles and martyrs' to England to help Augustine establish churches.¹ Eddius records the large supplies of relics that Wilfrid brought back from his travels on the Continent which he used to found new churches (Eddius, ch.5, ch.33, ch.55). So the altar was from the beginning in England the focus of liturgical practice and also the repository of sacred relics, linking it with the saints of the apostolic church.

The altar had important usages outside the church services. It was a highly-favoured location for burial, especially for bishops and saints, throughout the period. It also had a role in economic transactions as the place where pledges were made. So in the law-codes it states:²

Gif man his maen an wiofode freols gefe,
se sie folcfry.

Gif he þaet ne maege [summon a witness],
gekyþe ðanne in wiofode mid his gewitena
anum oþþe mid cyninges wicgerefan, þaet he...

Gest hine claensie sylfes aþe on wiofode;
swylce cyninges ðegn.

It is clear that the altar has two functions; it reinforces a pledge made in the ordinary way, and it takes the place of a human

1. HE I 29. Colgrave and Mynors, p.105.

2. 'If anyone grants one of his men his freedom on the altar, his freedom shall be publicly recognised'. Wihtrid 8, in The Laws of the Earliest English Kings, ed. and transl. F.L. Attenborough (C.U.P., 1922), pp.26-27.

'If he cannot do so, he shall declare on the altar, with one of his witnesses or with the reeve of the king's estate, that...' Hlothhere and Eadric 16, *ibid*, pp.22-23.

'A stranger shall clear himself by his own oath, at the altar. A king's thegn [shall clear himself] in the same way'. Wihtrid 20, *ibid*, pp.28-29.

witness where one is not available for a good reason. In a society where oaths were an integral part of social relationships, the altar could be seen as an absolute standard; its holiness through its association with the relics of saints encouraged people to act honestly when swearing on an altar for fear of divine retribution, and it was therefore accorded something of an objective status. Miracles performed at an altar would reinforce the perception of its holiness and of its potential for the release of divine power, which could be understood to work on the same basis as for all sacred spaces associated with miraculous events.

Apart from its function as a sacred object occupying a sacred space, the altar has a symbolic role in liturgical writings and in art. There is in fact limited Anglo-Saxon evidence for the use and connotations of the altar in its liturgical context, either early or late in the period; even in the years following the Benedictine reform period for which greater numbers of missals and pontificals survive, giving details of orders of service within the liturgical year, there is little in the way of commentary upon the symbolism to be understood in the liturgy. Homiletic writings of the period do not deal with the subject of the altar itself, but they do comment upon the spiritual significance of actions in which the role of the altar is implicit - such as coming to church, the sacrament of communion, and the sacrament of baptism. The homilists were concerned more with directing attitudes and conduct than with expounding complex symbolism. However, the latter is to be found in the works of Carolingian liturgical expositors and compilers, notably Amalarius of Metz (c.775-c.850). Rosamond

McKitterick gives a detailed assessment of the importance of Amalarius' work in the contemporary church; his large exegesis, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, written around 812 and concerned with the functions of secular canons, 'gained immediate popularity' and he thus became a 'significant figure in the evolution of the liturgy', despite the fact that it was disapproved of by his clerical contemporaries and was undoubtedly idiosyncratic in its thought, even verging on heresy.¹ It nevertheless had a wide audience and it is thus appropriate to examine his understanding of the liturgical connotations of the altar.

In this section on the altar we will first look at its symbolic significance as expressed in writings and in art, then at its place in the liturgy, and finally at its position in the church building, its role in the protection of relics and the implications this has for the design and use of the church structure.

i) The Significance of the Altar

In the minds of medieval ecclesiastical writers, every part of the church had some symbolic significance. It was regarded as a sacred entity, incorporating a hierarchical pattern of spatial areas. Its component parts, along with the furnishings proper to each, had been defined and expounded by Patristic liturgical commentators, in particular Isidore of Seville, whose De

1. Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), pp.149f. See also Margaret Deanesly, Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church (London: A. & C. Black, 1962), p.69, who argues that 'it became a standard text-book and commentary on liturgical rites'.

Ecclesiasticis Officiis was well known. Many important Latin expositions appeared in and after the period of the Carolingian church reforms in the ninth century, when the liturgy was re-organised and attempts were made to standardise it. Among these was Amalarius, Bishop of Metz and a pupil of Alcuin, who had himself been involved in Charlemagne's liturgical reforms, though his role has recently been re-assessed.¹ Amalarius' De Ecclesiasticis Officiis draws on Isidore's book of the same name as one of its sources, but goes much further in elaborating the symbolism of the liturgy and equally of the altar.

It should be stated at the outset that Amalarius says nothing about the physical requirements for the altar or its location; he concentrates entirely on its symbolic significance, and in this he naturally has the Old and New Testaments as his starting point. It is important at this juncture to draw a distinction between his two expository uses of the altar. Firstly, he uses the customs of the Jewish religion which concern altars - part of their spiritual life as a nation - to illustrate a spiritual truth for a contemporary audience. Secondly, he discusses also the symbolism to be attached to a contemporary altar in a liturgical context, and this might require reference back to either the Jewish customs or to events in the life of Christ. Obviously, these two usages cannot be kept completely separate; the Biblical picture of the altar is firmly

1. See McKitterick, The Frankish Church, p.132; she accepts J. Deshusses' argument that the crucial supplement to the new liturgical text was written by Benedict of Aniane, rather than by Alcuin.

and consistently connected to the act of sacrifice - as the place which allowed spiritual obedience to take physical form. This is true both in the Old Testament practice among the people of Israel after the giving of the Mosaic Law, and also in New Testament interpretation of the customary sacrifices in terms of a spiritual sacrifice, in a more extended and explicit sense. Spiritual sacrifice was always intended to be the motive-power behind the instituted physical sacrifice of animals, but the epistles of Paul and the epistle to the Hebrews put the Old Testament practices into a purely spiritual context. The symbolic identification of Christ as the supreme sacrifice upon an altar in accordance with the Jewish tradition is made explicitly in Hebrews chapter 9 and implicitly in the gospels by Christ's words at the Last Supper.¹ The tradition of yearly sacrifices of animals on a physical altar culminates in a historical event which belongs to a specific place and time and yet which has implications for all places and all times. That event is re-created symbolically through the use of the spatial and temporal dimensions of the liturgy; thus the celebration of the sacrament of communion takes place at the altar. It is not necessary to look at the history of theological thought and practice concerning communion; in the centuries after Christ's death there was a development in thinking of the altar as a place of symbolic sacrifice - the place where heaven is apprehended spiritually through the physical and spatial means of the liturgy.²

1. Hebrews 9:13-14. Matthew 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:17-20.

2. See Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminster: Dacre, 1943), for a thorough account of this process.

According to Amalarius, the altar of the Old Testament has a variety of symbolic meanings, all designed to aid contemporary spiritual understanding. He quotes Gregory's words on the distinction between the two altars which together formed an important constituent of the religious practice of Israel, as instituted in the Law.¹ One altar was inside the veil of the Ark, covered in gold, and was used for burning incense, and the other was outside and was used for burnt offerings of animals. Gregory interprets them symbolically in terms of two separate aspects of contrition:²

Quid isti nisi altare sunt aereum in quo
carnes ardent, quia adhuc ab eis carnalia
opera planguntur?...Quis isti nisi altare
sunt aureum, in quorum corde aromata incensa
sunt, quia virtutes ardent?

Amalarius takes up this distinction with its symbolism:³

una est per mortificationem carnis, altera
in oblatione bonorum operum, quae utraeque
offeruntur in introitu tabernaculi; in
praesenti vita mortificare carnem oportet
et bona opera reddere.

This is symbolism of a tropological type; the altars remain objects within their historical contexts for the purpose of the figurative

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1. Gregory, Homiliarum in Ezechielem Prophetam Book II, Homil. X, PL LXXVI, col.1070.
 2. 'What are these if they are not the altar of brass upon which fleshly things burn, because they still bewail their carnal works? What are these if not the golden altar in whose hearts spices are burnt, because virtues burn in their hearts?'
- Translations from PL are mine.
3. 'one is for the mortification of the flesh, the other for the offering of good works, both of which are presented at the entrance of the tabernacle; in this present life we should mortify the flesh and render good works'. Amalarius, De Ecclesiasticis Officiis, PL CV, col.1127.

writing, and are used to expound a spiritual truth; the physical object is invested with a symbolic and sacred import.

The evidence of manuscript illustration supports this view of the symbolic role afforded to the Biblical altar. The Carolingian artist or artists of the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht University Library MS 32) belonged to the same period of cultural and liturgical thought as Amalarius, and the illustrations of the Psalter, in which altars play a major role, were known and were influential in Anglo-Saxon England.¹ The Psalter originated in the Rheims monastery of Hautvilliers between 816 and 835.² Its antique characteristics are now generally considered to be the result of deliberate Carolingian taste, rather than copied heavily from an antique model: 'the manuscript is now recognized as a Carolingian masterpiece'.³ There is a suggestion that artists in the period were beginning to draw directly on the Biblical text and upon commentaries when illustrating, rather than following previous depictions.⁴ The Utrecht Psalter came to England 'during a formative period in the history of English illumination, and exercised a profound influence on its development'.⁵ Although

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1. The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter, facs. ed. E.T. De Wald, (Princeton U.P; London: O.U.P; Leipzig, Karl Hiersemann Verlag, 1933).
 2. Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987 (London: Longman, 1983), p.221.
 3. *ibid*, p.222. See also D. Tselos, 'The Influence of the Utrecht Psalter in Carolingian Art', Art Bulletin 39 (1957), 87-96.
 4. McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms, p.222.
 5. Francis Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (London: Faber, 1952), p.21.

known to be in an Anglo-Saxon library only in 1000, it is representative in style of a period which produced many illustrated manuscripts which were disseminated widely; the general influence of Carolingian art upon Anglo-Saxon art is pervasive.

The illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter were faithfully imitated in the Harley Psalter (London BL MS Harley 603), the work of a number of copyists over a period of time from c.1000 onwards, and also in two later Psalters - the Eadwine Psalter (c.1150) and the Canterbury Psalter (c.1250), which suggests its popularity in Anglo-Saxon monastic culture.¹ Obviously, the Anglo-Saxon artists were not responsible for the creation of the illustrations ab initio, but in the conscious decision to imitate and in the operation of transferring a certain composition to a given space it is reasonable to assume an understanding of and sympathy for the original illustrations in their depiction of the psalm text. It is important to note that the spatial layout of the composition is respected, even when the individual elements are treated more freely.

The representation of the altar conforms throughout the manuscript to a standard: a solid cube shape, roughly waist high, with projecting top and base, and with or without covering

1. 'The Utrecht Psalter was exercising influence on English drawings as late as the twenties of the eleventh century, and in Winchester, a place where there is no evidence that the Utrecht Psalter itself was ever domiciled'. Wormald, English Drawings, p.34. See also Elzbieta Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 2. (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), pp.81-83.

drapes.¹ The altars are characteristically set inside a building open at the gable end to show the altar, with curtains looped back at the sides and a hanging bowl above. The building and its component parts form a representation of the House of God - the 'domus domini' - which is a regular feature in the text, and thus the altar is usually only a part of the whole. However, sometimes the text of the psalm requires a more prominent place to be given to the illustrated altar by itself in order to complement the theme of worship, and specifically sacrifice and sanctification in worship. An example of this would be Psalm XCII (93) [Utr] where the altar within a circle illustrates the words 'domum tuam decet sanctitudo Domine in longitudine dierum' (v.5) - 'holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, unto length of days'; the altar is within the building as in other illustrations, but it is given greater visual emphasis by being placed in the centre of the circle, whereas the surrounding building disappears out of the circle (see pl.3).²

The association of sacrifice with the altar is clearly indicated in the illustration of Psalm LIII (54). The artist has

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1. 'the primitive "cube shape"...continues to be shown in manuscript illustrations and on ivories until the 12th century'; David Parsons, '"Sacrarium": ablution drains in early medieval churches', in The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology, in honour of Dr. H.M. Taylor, ed. L.A.S. Butler and Richard K. Morris (CBA Research Report 60, 1986), p.105.
 2. The Harley Psalter has no illustrations for Psalms LIX (60) to XCVIII (99), though the manuscript leaves spaces for them, implying that they were originally intended but were not completed. I have therefore referred to the Utrecht Psalter instead for those psalms, indicating this by [Utr]. For the numbering of the psalms I have followed De Wald's custom of using Roman numerals for Vulgate numbers and Arabic for modern edition numbers.

drawn two altars, one as usual within the temple building, the other outside it with a sacrificed sheep on top (see pl.4). The Psalmist figure stands in spatial and moral distinction from his enemies, who have not 'set God before their eyes' (v.5), whereas he is acknowledging God by his sacrifice. There appears to be a recognition on the part of the artist that the act of sacrifice should be accorded superior status - the spatial plane is used to represent moral superiority and separation from the violence of those below. The act of acknowledgement is emphasised by the artist in his double depiction of the sheep both alive and slaughtered in sacrifice. The relevant words in the text are:¹

voluntarie sacrificabo tibi
et confitebor nomini tuo Domine
quoniam bonum.

The sacrifice is shown on the outside altar; the inside one, of the same design, has a bowl-shaped vessel and a circular object upon it. A Psalmist figure stands between the two altars, his arms stretched out to both, as if to link them. This may be a representation of the two different altars as mentioned above, one for physical sacrifice and one for burning incense; if so, it is noticeable that the altar inside the temple appears to be carrying objects relating to the sacrament of communion, and that the Psalmist figure is wearing liturgical vestments, not shown in the Utrecht Psalter. The conceptual relationship between physical

1. 'I will freely sacrifice to thee: I will give praise, O God, to thy name: because it is good'. (v.8).

Biblical quotations are from Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem, ed. Robert Weber, with B. Fischer, J. Gribomont, H.F.D. Sparks, W. Thiele, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969; 2nd ed, 1975).

sacrifice and personal spiritual sacrifice is thus declared - the fulfilment of the Old and New Testaments in contemporary experience through the locus of the altar.

There is a parallel to this in an illustration from Prudentius' Psychomachia (London BL MS Cotton Cleopatra C VIII) where Abraham stands on one side of an altar offering a lamb, with Melchisedech on the other holding the sacraments of communion (see pl.5). The latter as the allegorical pre-figuration of Christ in his priestly role brings the Old and New Testaments into a contemporary context by the juxtaposition of the law lamb and the sacraments.

Certain psalms have no altars within their temples, otherwise complete with curtains and bowls - for example, Psalms LXX (71) [Utr], LXXX (81) [Utr] and CXXXIII (134). It may be suggested that the theme of each of these psalms is largely one of praise to God, rejoicing in his person and in his acts. This is borne out by the number of other psalms where the altar is drawn outside the temple - set apart for greater artistic emphasis - and where the theme is notably one of worship and sacrifice: for example, Psalms XXV (26), XLIX (50), LXV (66) [Utr] and LXVIII (69) [Utr]. The presence of an altar in these circumstances seems to denote a specific response to the Lord, personally acknowledging his supremacy and demonstrating willing obedience by bringing a sacrifice, an act representing an inner attitude. In Psalm LXVIII (69) [Utr] the inward and outward act of sacrifice is depicted by a bare altar with a live bullock beside (see pl.6).

The illustration for the 'Nunc Dimittis' (Luke 2:25-35) in

the Utrecht Psalter (f.89v), not copied in the Harley Psalter, is also worthy of note, since Simeon, standing behind an altar, is receiving the Christ child from Mary in front of the altar (see pl.7). The action is 'caught' at the point at which Jesus is, significantly, immediately above the altar top, suggesting perhaps an association with sacrificial offering, especially with the figure of Joseph at the side, holding the doves for the purification offering. A similar arrangement is to be found in the illustration of the same scene in The Benedictional of St Aethelwold (London BL MS Add. 48598), where the Christ child is in the precise centre of the picture, superimposed as it were on the pillar dividing the page in two and ending at its base in a shape very like the altars of the Psalter illustrations (see pl.8).¹ The altar is thus connected through the Christ child to the double arch above him, and the picture is so ordered that the viewer's eye is invited to move up and down the page through the pillar with the child in front of it. The spatial structure of the page is the vehicle of the artist's exposition of a timeless spiritual truth from a historical incident.

So the presence of an altar in the illustrations to the Psalms in this period generally indicates that the concept of sacrifice, with its related attributes of sanctification and righteousness, is a major one in the text. The altar appears to be for the artist a way of representing the relationship between an

1. The Benedictional of St Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, 963-984, facs. ed. G.F. Warner and H.A. Wilson (O.U.P., 1910). The comparison suggests a consistent framework of thought and artistic expression.

upright, righteous man and God. So in Psalm XVII (18) [Utr]; the text expresses the praises of a man who sees himself as upright before God:¹

retribuet mihi Dominus secundum
iustitiam meam
et secundum puritatem manuum mearum
retribuet mihi...
et ero immaculatus cum eo
et observabo ab iniquitate mea.

The illustration depicts an altar with wood piled up for sacrifice on top (see pl.9).

A similar association of concepts and a similar methodological approach to the articulation of these concepts seems to have been in the mind of the artist of the illustration on page 58 of the Junius 11 manuscript (Oxford Bodleian MS Junius 11), where Malalehel is shown standing beside an altar with his arms raised (see pl.10). The illustration is apparently not derived from the Old Saxon illustrated manuscript posited by Barbara Raw as the immediate source for most of the Junius 11 illustrations; she says 'it cannot be linked to any specific source', and may with its surrounding illustrations have had 'several models'.² Gollancz cites early etymologies which interpreted the name Malalehel as 'praiser of God', and he suggests that the altar is depicted 'as if to emphasize that the Malalehel of this illustration is the

1. 'And the Lord will reward me according to my justice: and will repay me according to the cleanness of my hands...And I shall be spotless with him and shall keep myself from my iniquity'. (vv.21, 24).

2. Barbara Raw, 'The probable derivation of most of the illustrations in Junius 11 from an illustrated Old Saxon Genesis'. ASE 5 (1976), p.137.

descendant of Seth', in contrast to an earlier illustration of him on page 53 without an altar 'as the descendant of Cain'.¹ The Biblical text has no mention of an altar in connection with Malalehel, and neither, incidentally, does the Old English poetic text which accompanies it;² Malalehel is characterised in the Biblical narrative (Genesis ch.5) as a man who enjoyed a long and prosperous life, an attribute which the vernacular poet enlarges upon in his use of parallel variation:³

Him on laste heold land and yrfe
 Malalehel siððan missera worn... 1167-68

Lifde siððan and lissa breac
 Malalehel lange, 'mondreama her,
 woruldgestreona. 1175-77

The depiction of an altar here characterises pictorially, even iconographically, a man whose prosperity is consequent upon a life lived in obedience to and worship of God.

From these examples it can be argued that Anglo-Saxon artists show an appreciation of the range of potential symbolic qualities belonging to the altar in its context, and are familiar with the means of articulating these concepts by exploiting the spatial relationships between features on a page. The altar is identifiable iconographically as an object essentially involved in

1. The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, facs. ed. Sir I. Gollancz (O.U.P., 1927), p.xliv.
2. See chapter 3 below for a discussion of the relationship of text and illustrations in the Junius manuscript.
3. 'Malalehel after him held the land and the inheritance from then on for a great number of years...From then on Malalehel lived for a long time and enjoyed delights and human joys, worldly treasure'. (My transl.)

the relationship between God and man, which provides in itself a locus for the relationship to exist and function.

ii) The Altar in the Liturgy

The other form of commentary upon altars concerns the liturgical altar and its significance within the context of the church service. It is immediately noticeable that, in the work of Amalarius at least, the method of symbolising does not have to be consistent:¹

Altare, ut saepe diximus, Dominum nostrum significat, in quo nostras oblationes Patri offerimus...

Quod enim significat altare, hoc et Evangelium.

Altare vel alio modo mensa quae osculatur, corda electorum significat sive in Hierusalem sive extra Hierusalem.

juxta hunc sensum, altare est mensa Domini, in qua convivabatur cum discipulis suis: Corporale, linteam quo erat ipse praecinctus: sudarium labor de Juda proditore.

This last quotation brings us to an important aspect of the use of and understanding of the liturgical altar. Throughout De

1. 'The altar, as we have often said, signifies our Lord, on which we present our offerings to the Father...' col.1026.

'For the altar signifies this - that is, the Gospel Book'. col.1026.

'The altar, while in another sense the table which is kissed, signifies the hearts of the elect, either in Jerusalem or outside Jerusalem'. col.1112.

'According to this meaning, the altar is the table of the Lord, on which he feasted with his disciples; the corporal, the cloth with which he was wrapped around; the sudarium, the work of the traitor Judas'. col.1133.

Ecclesiasticis Officiis the presiding bishop is spoken of, explicitly and implicitly, as taking the role of 'vicarius Christi'. So when for example the bishop approaches the altar to kiss it, he is re-enacting Christ's entry into the temple area of Jerusalem:¹

vadit Christus ad Hierusalem, in qua est altare quod osculatur in medio...Vicarius Christi haec omnia agit in memoriam primi adventus Christi. Osculatur altare, ut ostendat adventum Christi fuisse in Hierusalem.

At certain other points the other ministers also represent Christ when performing certain actions, but it is the actions that provide the comparisons, rather than the figure performing them:²

Oblatione suscepta, sacerdos redit ad altare...Christus enim, post accepta vota cantantium, Hierusalem et templum Domini intravit, in quo erat altare, ibique se praesentavit sibi, Deoque Patri ad immolationem futuram.

Other liturgical documents, namely missals and pontificals, similarly suggest that the 'celebrans' or presiding priest is in some sense representing Christ - to the extent that the words and movements at the Mass re-enact the events of the Passion. Karl Young in his discussion of the dramatic potential of the liturgy gives an account of the Mass and its text and rubric and shows how

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1. 'Christ came to Jerusalem, in the middle of which is the altar which is kissed...The 'vicarius Christi' does all these things in memory of the first coming of Christ. The altar is kissed to show that the coming of Christ took place in Jerusalem'. col.1112.
 2. 'Having received the oblation, the priest returns to the altar...For Christ, after accepting the prayers of those singing, entered Jerusalem and the temple of the Lord, in which was the altar, and there presented himself to his God and Father to be sacrificed'. col.1128.

the practice of responsorial singing with its question and answer formulae underlines the presidential nature of the celebrant's role, and therefore underlines his vicarious enactment of Christ's words.¹ It does not follow of necessity that the celebrant in repeating the words of Christ should be clearly identified with Christ within the liturgical feast. The analogy is not a consistent one, since he is at other times merely the spokesman for the worship of the congregation, representing them and himself before God. The two roles are not always clearly distinct, but they are differentiated in the use of prayers, as opposed to quotations from the Gospels or Psalms, to lead the worship. However, the vicarious role of the celebrant is documented explicitly by Amalarius, and it thus seems justifiable to assume such a consciousness of identification, at least on the part of an ecclesiastical congregation, attuned to the analogical potential of what they saw and heard.² He states in his preface:³

Sacramenta debent habere similitudinem aliquam earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt. Quapropter, similis sit sacerdos Christo, sicut panis et liquor similia sunt corpori Christi. Sic est immolatio sacerdotis in altari quodammodo ut Christi immolatio in cruce.

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1. Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), I, 15-75.
 2. See, for comparison, McKitterick, The Frankish Church, p.139, where she suggests that provision was made by Frankish bishops for explanations to the people of the significance of the liturgy.
 3. 'The sacraments should have the likeness of whatever they are the sacraments of. Wherefore the priest is like Christ, just as the bread and wine are like the body of Christ. Thus the sacrifice of the priest on the altar is equal to Christ's sacrifice on the cross'. col.989.

Here the celebrant is likened to the figure of Christ in the context of the altar in its role as a locus for sacrifice. The identification depends upon the context and upon the understanding of not only the altar as a symbol of the cross but also the sanctuary area as a symbol of Jerusalem and specifically Calvary. We will return to this in discussing the layout of the church building and the position of the altar.

It is clear that the altar is represented as a symbol in various ways and for different purposes within the progression of the liturgy. The identification with the cross is not enlarged upon; instead, the altar is most often seen as the table upon which the Last Supper was celebrated, as already quoted:

Juxta hunc sensum, altare est mensa Domini...

This analogy hardly needs comment, except to say that the other analogy of altar and cross does not need to be rejected, since the two could be simultaneously present in the repetition of Christ's words 'This is my body'.

The identification of the altar with the Easter sepulchre, on the other hand, is well known from other sources, particularly the Regularis Concordia with its Easter play.¹ It may be wise to make a distinction between the use of the altar during Mass and the liturgical Hours and its use in specific festival periods, notably Easter, when it may take on a symbolic role proper to the occasion. However, the two remain fundamentally linked, since the same

1. Regularis Concordia: Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialumque, ed. Thomas Symons (London: Nelson, 1953).

characteristics of the altar give rise to both: that is, its sacrificial role and its association with the burial of saints; these are constant features which are also peculiarly relevant to the Easter celebrations, and which are both related to the spatial dimension in which the altar operates in the minds of those present.

Karl Young traces the development of the association of the altar and the sepulchre, or place of burial, from the earliest Christian use of tombs as altars through to the designation of part of the altar as a 'sepulchrum' where relics were kept. He discusses the form of the sepulchrum in detail and concludes that it was either identified with the altar as a whole, using the grill beneath the top to suggest the empty tomb area, or was a temporary structure placed upon the altar top with the interior closed off by curtains which could be drawn back. The latter alternative seems to be true of the Regularis Concordia arrangement:¹

sit autem in una parte altaris, qua uacuum fuerit, quaedam assimilatio sepulchri uelamenque quoddam in gyro tensum quo, dum sancta crux adorata fuerit, deponatur hoc ordine. Veniant diaconi qui prius portauerunt eam et inuoluant eam sindone in loco ubi adorata est; tunc reportent eam canentes antiphonas In pace in idipsum, alia: Habitabit; item: Caro mea requiescet in spe,

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1. 'On that part of the altar where there is space for it there shall be a representation as it were of a sepulchre, hung about with a curtain, in which the holy Cross, when it has been venerated, shall be placed in the following manner: the deacons who carried the Cross before shall come forward and, having wrapped the Cross in a napkin there where it was venerated, they shall bear it thence, singing the antiphons In pace in idipsum, Habitabit and Caro mea requiescet in spe,

donec ueniant ad locum monumenti; depositaque cruce, ac si Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi corpore sepulto, dicant antiphonam Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. In eodem loco sancta crux cum omni reuerentia custodiatur usque dominicam noctem Resurrectionis.

The altar is thus designated as the place of Christ's burial for the three climactic days of the liturgical season - Good Friday, Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday - and allows the re-enactment of the raising of the cross and the visit of the Maries to the tomb to take place within an area already symbolically recognised as the original scene of the action in and around Jerusalem. The altar is the focus which links the past and present and therefore creates the circumstances for the liturgical re-enactment to operate.

The importance of the holy places in Jerusalem and in the Holy Land as the setting for events in the life of Christ is suggested by such works as Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis and Bede's inclusion of extracts from it in the Historia Ecclesiastica.¹ The detailed description of the holy places must have reached a fairly wide audience; the De Locis Sanctis was presented by the author to king Aldfrith of Northumbria, possibly in 686, and 'had a wide

to the place of the sepulchre. When they have laid the Cross therein, in imitation as it were of the burial of the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, they shall sing the antiphon Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent eum. In that same place the holy Cross shall be guarded with all reverence until the night of the Lord's Resurrection'. Regularis Concordia, pp.44-45.

1. Adamnan, Adamnan's 'De Locis Sanctis', ed. Denis Meehan (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1958; HE V 15-17.

circulation fairly early on the continent'.¹ Bede not only included it in the Historia Ecclesiastica, with the statement that it would be 'ad utilitatem legentium' (HE V 17), but also made a separate abridged version of the work, adding extracts from other writings.² The importance of the exact spot recurs in these descriptions - for example, at Bethlehem, the rock on which the cross stood at Golgotha, or the top of the hill of the Ascension, where a church was built, described in detail in one of the Blickling homilies.³ This interest in precise details is taken up into the liturgy, particularly in the period of the Carolingian exploitation of the complexities of the liturgy, and subsequently in England during the Benedictine Revival, with the designation of specific areas as symbolising places in the Holy Land.

The altar is very much the focus of liturgical movements of the Easter period, as laid down in the Regularis Concordia. It is ceremonially washed -

sacerdotibus interim cum ministris altaris
benedicta aqua sacra altaria lauantibus pp.38-39

ceremonially stripped -

duo diaconi nudent altare sindone quae prius
fuerat sub euangelio posita p.42

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1. Adamnan, p.6.
 2. Colgrave and Mynors, p.507, note. It should be noted, however, that this material was not included in the Old English version of the HE.
 3. On þa Halgan Þunres Daeg, in The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century, ed. R. Morris, 3 vols. EETS OS 58, 63, 73 (1874-1880; reprinted in one vol, 1967), pp.124-29.

and the cross set up in front of it -

praeparetur crux ante altare, interposito
spatio inter ipsam et altare. p.42

When the cross has been ritually buried, and candles placed before
the altar on Holy Saturday -

tunc illuminantur duo cerei tenentibus
duobus acolitis, unus in dextro cornu
altaris et alter in sinistro - p.47

the movements of the liturgy continue to be focussed on the altar
with the litanies which are sung in procession away from and
towards the altar, and ultimately with the section of the Easter
Day Nocturns when the four brothers enact the 'Visitatio':¹

quorum unus, alba indutus ac si ad aliud
agendum, ingrediatur atque latentur
sepulchri locum adeat ibique, manu tenens
palmam, quietus sedeat. Dumque tertiam
percelebratur responsorium residui tres
succedant, omnes quidem cappis induti,
thuribula cum incensu manibus gestantes,
ac, pedetemptim ad similitudinem quaerentium
quid, ueniant ante locum sepulchri.

The 'angel' displays the curtained area to the congregation to show
that the cross is no longer there, and the 'Maries' put their
thuribles in the sepulchrum, holding up the linen before laying it
in the altar.

The altar thus plays a major part in the realisation of this
dramatic moment in the history and belief of the Church since it is
identified specifically with the sepulchre in Jerusalem. It is

1. 'one of whom, wearing an alb as though for some different
purpose, shall enter and go stealthily to the place of the
"sepulchre" and sit there quietly, holding a palm in his
hand. Then, while the third respond is being sung, the other
three brethren, vested in copes and holding thuribles in
their hands, shall enter in their turn and go to the place of
the "sepulchre", step by step, as though searching for
something'. pp.49-50.

therefore associated liturgically with the three main events in the Passion of Christ - the table of the Last Supper, the cross and the sepulchre. The act of sacrifice, commemorated and re-enacted in the communion, forms the link between the three. Thus the perception of liturgical space in the Easter celebrations allows contemporary apprehension of spiritual reality at a more complex level than throughout the rest of the year.

iii) The Position of the Altar in the Church Structure

The interplay of these complex relationships around the altar during the liturgical ritual depends upon its existence within a clearly defined context. I have said that the church as a whole was symbolically seen to represent Jerusalem, and this was not restricted to the Easter celebrations. The order of service for the dedication of a church with its choice of certain antiphons suggests that this was a well-established pattern of thought. The deposition of relics is thus accompanied by antiphons which pick up this symbolism by paraphrasing relevant Biblical texts:¹

De hierusalem exeunt reliquie et saluatio
de monte sion protectio erut huic ciuitati
et saluabitur propter dauid famulum eius.

and elaborating upon the theme of Jerusalem as the holy city:²

Hierusalem ciuitas sancta ornamenta martyrum
decorata cuius plateae resonant laudes de

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1. 'Out of Jerusalem shall go the 'reliquie' [ie. the remains or relics] and salvation from mount Zion; it will be a protection to this city and it will be saved for the sake of his servant David'. This is a paraphrase of Isaiah 37:32. The Lanalet Pontifical, p.22. (My transl.)
 2. 'Jerusalem the holy city is adorned with the ornaments of the martyrs, in whose streets praises resound from day to day.

die in diem. Ambulate sancti dei ingredimini
edificata est enim uobis ecclesia noua ubi
populus adorare debeat maiestatem dei.

This identification of the church with Jerusalem shows a concern with the spatial symbolism of the church area. The expansion of the liturgy in England during the Benedictine Revival and the larger numbers of monks within monasteries enabled the Church increasingly to use the component parts of the individual church to create a meaningful context for the altar and also to exploit all the available space to indicate symbolic patterns of movement throughout the church building. In view of this, the position of the altar within the church structure is a fundamental issue. As Martin Biddle has commented:¹

The staging of the great festivals of the year, notably Easter, was intimately related to the structure of the building

and the altar was, as we have seen, the focal point of these festivals, while scarcely less important at other times of the year.

The position of the altar within the church is a question not easy to answer with any certainty. H.M. Taylor cites documentary and archaeological evidence that seventh-century altars were not uniformly at the east end of the sanctuary, but were free-standing either in the centre of the sanctuary or at the east end of the

Go, holy ones of God, enter; for a new church has been built for you where the people should honour the majesty of God'.
ibid.

1. Martin Biddle, 'Archaeology and the Beginnings of English Society', in England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (C.U.P., 1971), p.403.

nave.¹ David Parsons suggests that two positions - at the east end of the nave and in the eastern sanctuary - were used in the Anglo-Saxon period, since one may suppose a gradual shift towards the prevalent post-Conquest easterly position.² It seems probable that a position within the sanctuary - whether fixed to the east wall, in the centre or towards the western end - was most widely accepted. In later and larger church buildings the choice between positions was less important because particularly after the mid-tenth century they seem commonly to have had more than one altar and each could fulfil a different liturgical criterion. Alcuin's well-known description of the York basilican church with its thirty altars covered in gold and jewels is an example of the tendency even pre-tenth century to provide more than one altar in the important churches, or at least to claim the possession of multiple altars as an impressive fact.³ It is interesting to speculate - since there seems to be no evidence on the subject - what difference it would have made to have many altars as opposed to only one. It is arguably a major shift in the perception of the church space, which early in the period had only one focal point and later had many candidates for that position. A multiplicity of minor holy areas within the major sacred area of the church was thus provided.

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1. H.M. Taylor, 'The Position of the Altar in early Anglo-Saxon Churches', Antiquaries Journal 53 (1973), 52-58.
 2. Parsons, '"Sacrarium"', pp.106-7.
 3. Alcuin, Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Eboricensis Ecclesiae in Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, ed. P. Godman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p.120, l.1514.

However, there is no reason to suppose that the high altar from which the church took its dedication did not remain distinct. It seems logical to presume that even in a large monastic church where there were a number of altars, there was one altar which was the focus of attention for the whole congregation when gathered together. Since the monks were generally seated in the chancel area to form the two choirs for responsorial singing, it would presumably have been at the extreme east or possibly extreme west of that area. Eadmer's description of the arrangements at Christ Church Canterbury, while open to a variety of interpretations as to detail, as Taylor discusses, clearly states that there were two altars in the sanctuary, one close to the east wall, the other some distance in front, and that the matutinal altar stood in the choir near the foot of the steps that led up to the sanctuary.¹ On the other hand, Mass was also celebrated at the west end of the same church in the oratory where there was also the bishop's throne. It may be that this arrangement was similar in purpose to that at St Riquier and at Corvey, where the western part was used specifically for lay congregations at Easter but was not so used in the rest of the liturgical year, as far as is known.²

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1. For Eadmer's descriptions of Christ Church Canterbury, see the extracts quoted and translated by Taylor in 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Church at Canterbury', Archaeological Journal 126 (1969), 101-30, following the compilation of relevant extracts by R. Willis in The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral (London: Longman, 1845). For further discussion see H.M. Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building in England and on the Continent', in Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia', ed. David Parsons, (London and Chichester: Phillimore, 1975), pp.141-68, especially pp.154-58.
 2. Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building', pp.152-53.

An interesting feature of the description of Christ Church Canterbury is that many of the major altars are associated with steps. The altar of St Saviour in the sanctuary stood at the top of some steps, while the matutinal altar stood at the bottom, above the place underground where St Dunstan was buried. The altar in the west oratory is especially to be noted, since Eadmer relates that the priest celebrating Mass stood facing east towards the people standing below. While this does not seem to warrant interpretation as indicating the presence of a gallery - the arguments against this are outlined by Taylor - it does indicate that the priest was significantly higher than the congregation, most probably the result of raising the sanctuary area above the level of the main church area.

This feature of a raised sanctuary is a common one in Anglo-Saxon churches, in that the usual gradation between nave and sanctuary is at least one step and often a pair of steps. In some churches it is more distinctly marked by a flight of steps; Great Paxton church is one example of this, and is chosen by Taylor to illustrate his point, since it may 'represent an arrangement chosen for its own desirability', rather than be the practical necessity of having built a crypt under the sanctuary area, requiring the raising of the floor level of the sanctuary.¹ The latter is true of the churches at Wing, Repton, Brixworth, Winchester, Canterbury and Cirencester.

1. H.M. and Joan Taylor, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, 3 vols. (C.U.P., 1965, 1978), III, 1041.

Taylor does not discuss the significance of this phenomenon, but it has liturgical implications, since it results in the main altars within a church being raised, sometimes considerably, above the general floor level. It is possible to argue that this is for the convenience of viewing such an important part of the church's function and practice, and no doubt this has some truth.¹ However, the tendency to symbolise areas of the church in terms of the holy places of Jerusalem and the Holy Land might suggest that this factor is also involved in the choice of a higher floor level. Amalarius, it is true, does not deal with the altar or sanctuary area in this way,² yet, as we have seen, the altar is interpreted in symbolic variety, and there are signs that height would have been felt to be symbolically correct. The phrase 'ascendit in cruce', which is a common way of describing Christ's death, is both factually accurate and also suggestive.³ Writers use the ambiguity of connotations surrounding the cross - the act of being raised up involves both criminal implications and also exaltation - to show defeat being simultaneously transformed to victory. It has Biblical origins,⁴ and it is used to notable poetic effect in The Dream of the Rood (ASPR II), where the first characteristic given

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1. Taylor distinguishes between churches with integrated plans and those with cellular plans; in the latter, visibility of the altar area would probably have been restricted, despite the proportionately wide chancel arches found in some churches. See ASA III, 969, 790.
 2. Amalarius does discuss the symbolism of the bishop's throne in terms of height, however - 'De Sessione Episcopi' (col.1117); perhaps raising the altar and sanctuary was too obvious for him to mention it?
 3. See col.1141: 'De ascensione Christi in cruce'.
 4. John 3:14, 1 Cor. 1:18-27.

of the tree in the vision is that it is 'on lyft laedan' (5). The tree is both a shameful gallows - 'gestah he on gealgan heanne' (40) - and also a tree of victory and glory - 'sigebeam', 'wuldres beam'. Christ rose both up to the cross and up into heaven - 'He þa on heofenas astag' (103) - and this theological paradox of victory through weakness, honour through dishonour, is basic to the poem's structure and vivid imagery.

The upward movement was also seen to represent Christ's ascent of the hill of Calvary. The phrase 'ascending the hill' occurs in Guthlac A when a symbolic parallel seems intended between Christ and the saint:¹

þær he mongum wearð
 bysen on Brytene, siþþan biorg gestah
 eadig oretta, ondwiges heard. 174-76

Guthlac's hermit settlement is on top of a hill and he, like Christ, is a 'blessed warrior'; there is an implicit comparison. The success of the analogy obviously depends on a clearly established understanding of the symbolic potential of the phrase 'ascended the hill' in the context of the hill of Calvary.

The association of altars with height seems to be understood and projected by artists in the Anglo-Saxon period. They consistently represent altars with pedestals and frequently place them at the top of steps or of mountains and hills. A number of altars in the Harley Psalter not only have pedestal bases (the standard design throughout the manuscript, imitating precisely its source in the Utrecht Psalter) but also steps leading up to them.

1. 'There he came to be an example to many in Britain when he climbed the hill, a blessed warrior, tough in resistance'.

The most notable example of raising the altar by steps is found in the Utrecht Psalter, in the illustration to Psalm XCII (93) already discussed above (pl.3), where the steps have the effect of positioning the altar in the centre of the circle, and they thus help to make it the centre of attention within that area. A symbolic interpretation is to be assumed here, since the circle represents the world; the fact that Jerusalem was considered to be the centre of the world is obviously relevant, but it is the altar that is shown to be at the heart. There are groups of people on either side of the altar steps looking upwards to Christ; the altar itself represents the sanctity of God's house (see chapter 3 below). It is placed within the temple building, as in other Psalter illustrations, but is given greater visual emphasis by its position at the centre of the circle, with the surrounding building disappearing out of the circle.

The illustration of the Cain and Abel story in MS Junius 11, p.49, shows an altar which, due to the artist's arrangement of the sequence of events, is placed towards the top of the page (see pl.11). The form of the illustration may be derived from the seventh-century Ashburton or Tours Pentateuch, f.6r, which has a composite depiction of the Cain and Abel story.¹ However, the similarity does not extend to the placing of the five scenes to form a sequence, since the earlier illustration is organised in horizontal bands in a static arrangement. The altar in Junius 11 is distinctly raised from the level on which Cain and Abel are

1. See Raw, pp.142-43. The Pentateuch illustration is reproduced in André Grabar, Byzantium: From the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), p.215, plate 242.

standing to make their offerings, and this means that the hand of God can rest in blessing above the offering of the lamb on the altar top. Although relatively crudely drawn, the altar clearly has a pedestal base. The story of Cain and Abel occupied an important place in Anglo-Saxon exegesis, and Abel's murder was commonly explained as a type of Christ's death at the hands of the Jews:¹

þæt se maegslaga cain getacnode þæra
iudeiscra geleafleaste. ðe crist mid niðe
acwealdon. and þæt abeles slege getacnode
drihtnes ðrowunge.

The story is illustrated episodically and the arrangement of the episodes leads roughly downwards in a zigzag from the top of the page to the bottom where Abel's blood cries to the Lord for vengeance. The whole incident is made an entity by the double line frame within which the drawings are placed to follow the narrative sequence. It is notable that Abel at the moment of murder has his head resting on the top of a mound which could conceivably be intended to represent a hill and thus form an analogy with Calvary.

The Abraham and Isaac story, illustrated in London BL MS Cotton Claudius B IV, f.38, is similarly one with a well-established allegorical dimension. The sacrifice of Isaac was seen as a type of Christ's sacrifice, and there is a traditional identification of the hill of Calvary and Mount Moriah where Abraham was commanded by God to take Isaac.² The illustration is

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1. 'that the kinsman-slayer Cain symbolised the unbelief of the Jews, who killed Christ with malice, and that the killing of Abel symbolised the Lord's suffering'. Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series, ed. Malcolm Godden, EETS SS 5 (1979), pp.32-33. (My transl.)
 2. See, for example, Adamnan, ch.6.

an even more striking example of the siting of altars at a relative height (see pl.12).¹ Unlike the previous illustration with its downward sequence, the events here are organised sequentially so that the eye of the reader travels up the page, following the journey up the mountain to where the altar is - at the top; it is conveniently placed for the hand of God this time to prevent the sacrificial act. The whole illustration is obviously concerned primarily with this act of sacrifice; the artist has caught effectively the significance of the moment in the position of Abraham - his sword raised in the air above the altar - and in the position of Isaac, who is lying not full-length upon the wood on the altar but as if poised above it and to its side. It is likely that the artist intended to combine the impression of both physical and spiritual sacrifice by this attitude of Isaac, suggesting prayer and worship rather than mere helplessness. His hands are together, though whether in prayer or supposedly bound is difficult to tell. The altar is shown draped - a significant fact, since it confirms that the artist is thinking primarily of the symbolic aspect of this particular historical sacrifice. All these factors suggest that the sacrifice of Christ - voluntary, and upon a hill, even traditionally the same hill - is being consciously portrayed by the artist as another viable interpretation of the picture.

All these factors together - the survival of steps in the structure of contemporary churches, the historical accounts of steps up to altars, and the dramatic potential perceived by artists

1. No clear source has been identified for this manuscript, though its main indirect influence is Carolingian. See The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, pp.65-67, and below, chapter 3.

in using height for altars - combine to suggest that the sanctuary area was designed to be raised above the nave level, not only to make it a distinct area but also to make a statement about the relative positions. Anyone proceeding from the nave to the sanctuary had to ascend, however slightly, and this created an awareness that the area was qualitatively separate and more holy from that point on. During the Mass, those watching the celebrant moving up to the altar would be made conscious of the symbolic dimension of the act as a re-enactment of Christ's ascent up to the cross.

iv) The Role of the Altar in the Protection of Relics

The location of the altar was necessarily the location of the relics it housed. They were enclosed within a hollow area in the altar top which it is assumed was either cut into the solid stone or wood, or else was a gap left between the component parts of the structure. The Lanalet Pontifical rite for the deposition of relics (which significantly is also the dedication rite for a new altar) lays down that the bishop should put the relics into the 'confession' of the altar, along with the host, oil and chrism, and should then make the sign of the cross on the four corners, with the words:¹

Sub altare domini sedes accepistis
intercedite pro nobis per quem meruistis.

This points to the role that relics were expected to perform; the

1. 'You have received a seat under the altar of the Lord; intercede for us through him by whom you gained merit'. The Lanalet Pontifical, p.23.

saints concerned would act on behalf of a petitioner in interceding with God for the granting of a request - whether for healing, for protection in sanctuary, or for forgiveness preparatory to receiving the sacraments, all of which are mediated through the physical existence and tangibility of the altar. In return the saints expected their power and influence to be recognised and respected, and they were represented as taking severe measures against those who would not do so.¹

The functioning of this power within relics depended upon the perception of their holiness - upon the recognition of the relics as belonging to a saint whose outstanding life of holiness gave his or her relics a particular status, once identified. The relics brought back from the Continent by Wilfrid, for example, had that status already accorded them and so were ready for deposition within an altar. The recognition of indigenous saints' relics was more difficult and required a greater or lesser time-span to establish whether the bones were being honoured by God for healing purposes.² There was obviously also a practical problem of reconciling the incorruption of the body with the decomposition necessary before it was practicable to deposit bones within the enclosed space of the altar. The bodies of saints could be broken up many years after death and transferred as individual bones to

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1. See the account of St Swithun, Aelfric's Lives of Saints, I, 456, 458-60.
 2. In the case of royal saints, recognised as such after death by 'martyrdom' in battle or by assassination, the time-span could be very small; see D. Rollason, 'The cults of murdered royal saints in Anglo-Saxon England', ASE 11 (1983), 1-22.

new locations. Thus Eadmer's account of the relics placed in Christ Church Canterbury altars mentions that Wilfrid's bones had been brought there from Ripon where he had originally been buried, Swithun's head had been brought from Winchester and Fursey's head from Gaul.¹ This series of re-translations is another indication of the importance placed on relics whose reputation was well-established.

These relics became identified with a particular altar, sometimes centuries after the death. On the other hand, saints recognised as such within their lifetimes could be buried, or subsequently re-buried, in a position in close proximity to an altar. It was obviously regarded as an act which conferred honour on the saint and which would extend his influence within the community; Bede records it only of major figures such as Aidan, Cedd, Cuthbert and Wilfrid (HE III 17, 23, IV 30 and V 19). Many factors might be involved in this decision - a sense that it would be more honourable for the saint's body to occupy a privileged position only available to a few due to the exigencies of space, a fear that the body would be otherwise unprotected from anyone or anything hostile outside the church building, a desire to keep a beloved 'lord' and 'father' close to the community still, or an expectation of an increase in pilgrims to the church and thus an increase in prestige, in status and in gifts to the church for its further adornment. David Rollason suggests that 'relic-cults formed an integral component of the tenth-century monastic

1. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Church at Canterbury', p.105.

reformation' and that they gave an essential impetus to that church or monastery in terms of influence and prestige.¹ All these factors operate on the principle that spiritual power is manifested at a particular identifiable spot which is seen as a sacred space.

Eadmer represents St Dunstan as having chosen his own location for burial in Christ Church Canterbury:²

loco scilicet ubi quotidie divinum officium a fratribus celebrabatur, quod fuit ante gradus quibus ad altare Domini Christi ascendebatur.

This does not state explicitly what benefits were thought to proceed from such an arrangement. Dunstan's body was buried deep underground with his pyramidal memorial above ground at the foot of the steps up to the altar of our Lord. Perhaps he saw a value in the brothers' remembrance of him when they saw his tomb memorial by the altar which they visited daily, or perhaps he was reminding them of his continued presence among them at the celebration of the Mass. It may be that he felt the especially holy qualities surrounding the altar area would be effective in putting to flight any evil influences - it is argued that the signs of the cross upon the altar are intended to have that effect³ - and would preserve

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1. D. Rollason, 'The shrines of saints in later Anglo-Saxon England: distribution and significance', in The Anglo-Saxon Church, ed. Butler and Morris, p.38.
 2. 'the place to wit where the divine office was daily celebrated by the brethren and which was before the steps that led up to the altar of the Lord Christ'. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Church at Canterbury', Appendix II, p.126; translation, p.103.
 3. See E.S. Dewick, 'Consecration Crosses and the Ritual connected with them', Archaeological Journal 65 (1908), 1-34.

his body until the Day of Judgement, when it would rise from the side of the altar to the right hand of God.¹ The popularity of the right hand or south side of the altar seems to be due to the honour associated with being at the right hand side of God, a place reserved for faithful servants (cf. Matthew 25:31-46). It is chosen for saintly bishops by their followers in recognition that the record of their lives will deserve that honour on the Day of Judgement. The spatial relationship of the tomb and the altar - their proximity to one another - allows this recognition to be realised.

It appears therefore that proximity to the altar was a major consideration in the matter of burial. The altar with its precise location and its permanent association with relics was seen as of primary importance as a sacred space within the church building, and the tomb's close spatial relationship to the altar defined the former as also sacred. This indicates the qualitative nature of space even within the church structure, as seen in two dimensions.

However, in some churches the organisation of sacred spaces and thus the nature of the spatial relationships was more complex. Relics were not confined simply to altars, but could also be placed in shrines. These probably provided the most basic and popular means of contact between the Church and the laity in general. The spatial distribution of relics within a church area and their

1. It is worth noting that the 'right hand' is as seen from the body of the church looking east, ie. from the perspective of the congregation, rather than from the perspective of a priest facing the congregation.

relationship with component parts of the church, particularly altars, need investigation as a result. Shrines were often below ground level, accessible from inside or outside the church, and they also seem to have been situated directly below an altar. This creates a situation where spatial relationships can operate in three dimensions, rather than just two.

The arrangements at Christ Church Canterbury are worth looking at in some detail, since we have the evidence of Eadmer's written accounts of the furnishings of the church before its destruction by fire in 1067, telling us where altars were in relation to other parts of the church and where relics were deposited. Taylor, in his attempt to reconstruct the layout, takes certain principles as a basis for translating the written account into three dimensions, notably the 'very special requirement of placing the high altar above an important relic', and he also states that 'it would be natural for the altar to be placed above this [relic-chamber]', though he does not indicate his reason for supposing this to be so.¹ It is essential to determine exactly how important this requirement is felt to be, since in one instance of Taylor's reconstruction it is not the case. To some extent it is a circular argument, given the few certain instances of alignment between altars and relics in Anglo-Saxon churches, but there is enough evidence, documentary and archaeological, in England and on the Continent, to indicate that such an alignment was highly regarded and was implemented when the circumstances permitted or encouraged.

1. Taylor, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Church at Canterbury', p.114; and ASA III, 1041-42.

The other principle underlying Taylor's reconstruction involves the correct identification of the high altar as distinct from other altars, particularly in view of the correlation posited between relics and the high altar.¹ In fact, Eadmer describes two altars as 'maiori altari', one of which Taylor translates as 'high' altar and the other as 'great' altar. The altars in question are the one near the east wall of the sanctuary and the one which Eadmer clearly states was a later introduction and was dedicated to our Lord, placed at the top of the sanctuary steps and at a convenient distance in front of the older altar. Oda during his archbishopric (941-59) deposited Wilfrid's relics from Ripon in the older altar, then the only one, and at some point subsequently the newer one was set up for divine service celebrated daily. Oda's own memorial was placed to the south of this later altar. The implication is that the climate of liturgical change required an altar in a different position within the church and that the status of the older one was taken over by the newer one for the purposes of everyday usage; the latter would then have been the main focus of the communion, but the former, with its important ancient relics, would conceivably have retained its previous status as a high altar too. It is perhaps an example of multiplying the sacred spaces perceived within a church.

The layout of the crypt is partly determined by its relationship to the sanctuary area above, and it is in fact the most complicated problem concerning the east end. It was built in

1. See his reconstruction diagram in 'Tenth-Century Church Building', p.156.

imitation of St Peter's in Rome underneath the sanctuary area which was raised to accommodate the vault of the crypt. According to Eadmer, the crypt had an altar at its east end with the head of Fursey (traditionally) and a passage running westwards to the burial place of St Dunstan. Eadmer pinpoints the relationship between the crypt and the sanctuary area above at only one precise point: Dunstan's body, which was beneath the area in front of the steps between the matutinal altar and the altar to our Lord, at a considerable depth - 'in magna profunditate'.¹ It seems likely, as Taylor suggests, that Eadmer knew the measurement because the tomb itself was accessible from the crypt corridor, while the memorial was directly above. This collocation above ground with a corresponding feature below ground seems to be a popular concept; the relics of Fursey lay under one of the two altars in the sanctuary, whether the older high altar, as Taylor argues, or the later altar, which seems to me a viable alternative.²

It is also possible that a means existed of viewing the tomb from the sanctuary area. A number of contemporary churches with crypts on the Continent had the feature of a 'fenestella' opening which enabled someone in the middle of the church to look through an opening to the crypt area and to a shrine in particular; it

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1. Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building', pp.105, 129.
 2. The arrangements at the contemporary church at Cirencester are worth citing, since there the circular corridor crypt is only under the more westerly part of the sanctuary area, and the shrine is therefore aligned with the altar at the western end of the sanctuary. See P.D.C. Brown and A.D.McWhirr, 'Cirencester 1965', Antiquaries Journal 46, Part II, (1966), 240-54. It provides a potentially useful analogy for Canterbury.

could then be obvious that the shrine was in alignment with an altar above.¹ Taylor posits a fenestella for the church at Repton which had an important shrine with the relics of the royal saint Wystan at the western end of the crypt; the shrine was therefore immediately below the altar at the top of the steps up to the sanctuary.² The fenestella would have given visual access to the shrine, while the passages at the side of the sanctuary gave physical access. At Cirencester and at Wing the shrines were also at the west end of the crypt in a similar arrangement to that at Repton, though there is no architectural evidence surviving of the existence of a fenestella or of the location of the altar.³

The Old Minster Winchester, Glastonbury and Canterbury St Augustine's were major churches which like Christ Church Canterbury underwent structural development in the later Anglo-Saxon period. The increased importance of the relics of a local saint was one of the factors involved and it seems to have largely dictated the new position of the altar. At Winchester the translation of St Swithun and the need to enlarge the church meant the relocation of the high altar from its pre-970s position to one in the new sanctuary area above the crypt with its shrine of St Swithun.⁴ At Glastonbury Dunstan had an extension built at the east end of the church to

1. Taylor, 'Corridor Crypts on the Continent and in England', North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies 9 (1969), 17-52.

2. Taylor, Repton Studies 2 (Cambridge, 1979), p.13.

3. Taylor, ASA III, pp.1041-46.

4. Martin Biddle, '"Felix Urbs Winthonia": Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', in Tenth Century Studies, ed. Parsons, pp.123-40.

incorporate within the main body of the building an underground burial chamber; though no evidence survives for the position of the altar, it may well have been shifted eastwards to fit in with the new arrangements.¹ At Canterbury St Augustine's in the eleventh century a crypt was begun in rotunda form between the east end wall of one church and the west wall of another to create one long integrated structure; the high altar did not remain in situ at the old east end of the main church and was presumably displaced to the raised area above the rotunda.² Hexham provides an example of a very early major church with a crypt, and its relic-chamber was most probably aligned with the high altar above with its free-standing canopy.³

So although there is limited evidence for the use and existence of Anglo-Saxon crypts, it seems likely that where possible church architects were concerned to align the high altar and the shrine. It is difficult to say which would have been the primary consideration - the place of the shrine or the place of the altar; the dislocation of the high altar in the large churches cited above is in the context of major structural re-organisation of the church interior space, often accompanying the translation of relics. Rollason's arguments that the re-translation of relics played an important role in the dynamics of political power suggest

1. ASA I, 253.

2. C.R. Peers and A.W. Clapham, 'St Augustine's Abbey Church, Canterbury, before the Norman Conquest', Archaeologia 77 (1927), pp.212f.

3. ASA I, 307.

that the shrine had primary importance. At Repton at least it would seem that the shrine was in position before the altar was sited above it, suggesting that the relics served to reinforce the sacred quality of the altar.

The principle behind this practice of aligning altars and shrines above and below ground is that of sacred space operating in three dimensions. . They were both recognisably sacred spaces, primarily in that both contained relics - those precious objects which allowed communication between God and man through the intercession of the saint with whom the relics were associated, and which consequently possessed the virtue of releasing divine power at that spot to effect healing of body, mind or soul. Moreover, the relics were enclosed within a defined area - either the altar, an enclosure with its own symbolic connotations, or the shrine, which might in some cases be the tomb or coffin and in other cases be a reliquary casket, perhaps carved and decorated. In the latter case, the decoration might well have symbolic significance in terms of the protection and honouring of the relics inside; Cuthbert's wooden coffin is carved with the figures of Christ, the twelve apostles, archangels, the Virgin and child and the symbols of the four Evangelists, and these are found on the lid and on all four sides of the coffin, as if to give complete protection spatially from outside attack.¹ The enclosing of relics in whatever container necessarily gave them a precise spatial location, and primarily a fixed one, even though relics were on occasions used in

1. Ernst Kitzinger, 'The Coffin-Reliquary', in The Relics of St Cuthbert: Studies by various authors, ed. C.F. Battiscombe (O.U.P., 1956), pp.202-307.

processions. This precision made possible the operation of symbolic spatial relationships within the structure and liturgical use of the church building.

The two-dimensional aspect of these spatial relationships has already been discussed above; the provision of a crypt makes it possible to talk about symbolism in three dimensions, particularly when the shrine is integrated into the existing interior space by an alignment on the vertical axis. The monastic complex could demonstrate alignment on a horizontal axis with the families of churches along an east-west line, and this presumably had significance beyond the ordered appearance it provided and the potential for the structural combination of two or more buildings into one with a minimum of effort. Vertical alignment was an even more dramatic way of stating relationships in space. The altar and the shrine were each a locus of divine power and presence - a sacred space where the vertical line of communication from heaven intersected the horizontal plane of the earth. It is comprehensible, therefore, why it should be considered fitting and symbolically powerful to align two sacred spaces on the vertical axis. Each would surely serve to reinforce the spiritual significance of the other.

v) The Use of Church Space

The fixed nature of altars allows for the idea of a symbolic procession around a church space. In the large churches of the eighth and ninth centuries with their multiplicity of altars and chapels, there could be a complex movement from space to space,

symbolising either the progression of the spiritual life or the progress of the liturgical year, following events in the life of Christ. There is more evidence for this practice in Continental churches where there is not only architectural evidence but also a written record of the pattern of movements taken by monks in procession from altar to altar.¹ The complexity of thought and concept in the liturgy goes alongside a contemporary increase in the complexity of architectural planning and structural design, as Carol Heitz points out:²

la distribution de l'espace liturgique
subit des modifications profondes qui
entraînent, dans l'architecture, des
variations parfois considérables.

His study of the detailed arrangements for St Riquier, Centula, shows that the church had four stations or 'Imagines' - the Nativitas, Resurrectio, Ascensio and Passio - which were identified by sculptured depiction and were positioned to make a cruciform pattern; the Nativitas was at the western entrance, the Passio was in the eastern sanctuary, and the altar of the Holy Cross appropriately formed the centre of the pattern. The procession from one point to another was a reminder of the events in the life of Christ:³

La progression mène logiquement de la
naissance du Christ à sa mort sur la croix.
De part et d'autre de la Crucifixion
apparaissent les deux principaux mystères,
la Résurrection du côté nord, donc du côté
de la nuit, l'Ascension au sud, du côté de
la lumière, du soleil.

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1. See Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building', pp.141-68.
 2. Carol Heitz, 'Architecture et liturgie processionelle à l'époque préromane', Revue de l'art, 24 (1974), p.30.
 3. *ibid.*, p.35.

Heitz further suggests that the church is modelled on the Church of St Sepulchre, Jerusalem, in which case the altar of St Saviour would be in a corresponding position to the location of Golgotha in Jerusalem. The identification of areas within the church with sites in the Holy Land provides a further dimension of spatial symbolism. As we have already seen, a forceful example of this is found in the Easter liturgy in the Regularis Concordia, when a specific space is created in the church to correspond with the site of the sepulchre in Jerusalem - for the duration of the liturgical period of Easter. This identification has a deliberate function:¹

usum...imitabilem ad fidem indocti vulgi ac
neophytorum corroborandum

and it is part of the general exploitation of symbolic space to represent historical events of universal and eternal significance in dramatic form and thus to apprehend that significance in the present. Later in the period and in the early Norman period Galilee chapels were named in such churches as Durham and Ely, or Cluny in France, and this too appears to function in the Easter liturgy.² The words after the resurrection 'ite nuntiate fratribus meis ut eant in Galilaeam ibi me videbunt' can be enacted symbolically by the identification of such an area;³ Christ's

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1. 'a practice worthy to be imitated for the strengthening of the faith of unlearned common persons and neophytes'.
Regularis Concordia, p.44.
 2. Heitz, p.38.
 3. Matthew 28:10 - 'Go, tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, there they shall see me'.

promise that he would be seen on movement to Galilee is therefore fulfilled for present disciples by spiritual sight upon movement to the corresponding area of the church.

There are certain structural changes in Anglo-Saxon churches later in the period which suggest that a more complex liturgical use of space would have been possible. As far as one can tell, given the difficulty of dating Anglo-Saxon church structures with any precision, there was a tendency to add further features to a church, such as cells or chapels, western galleries or passages to crypts, which would have increased the number of defined locations within the church area, and allowed the exploitation of the spatial relationships between them.¹ Taylor comments also on the number of tall narrow doorways found in Anglo-Saxon churches, and speculates that this may have been to 'allow a cross or lighted candles on staves to be carried in procession'.²

The liturgical records of St Riquier indicate that movement round the church was seen as a form of symbolic pilgrimage, the monks visiting shrines of saints in turn within the area of the individual church or in separate churches within a monastic complex.³ The constant repetition of a pilgrimage was a reminder that the Christian life is like a pilgrimage in which movement is symbolically represented by the act of continuing obedience to God.

1. ASA III, 1020-21.

2. *ibid.*, p.817.

3 Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building', pp.146-52.

The movement between the altars is in fact an act of obedience within the rules of monastic life and service, and thus spatial movement can become a means of serving God.¹

The multiplicity of cells and altars in large Anglo-Saxon churches suggests that a similar principle could be enacted in them. Deerhurst in its final Anglo-Saxon form is a good example of a multi-cellular church with its added chambers along the north and south sides of the nave and presbytery, of which some at least had an upper storey.² In the second floor tower room there are aumbries surviving which suggest the use of the area as a chapel. This would provide a parallel with Continental churches such as St Stephen's Corvey, where altars were sited on three levels.³ The existence of numerous doorways between towers and naves at a first floor level - Taylor cites thirty-four⁴ - suggests that height was a consideration in the usage of the church, perhaps for the display of relics from an upper storey shrine or altar. Another use of height is suggested by Peter Clemoes in connection with the western galleries found in a number of churches, including Deerhurst. In his article on Cynewulf's Christ II he posits a liturgical enactment of the ascension by the use of the two levels within a

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1. It also provided a means of prolonging thanksgiving; see Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, chs. 41 and 45, in which a person recently healed goes around the holy places within the church.
 2. Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building', pp.160-67, and Philip Rahtz, Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, 1971-3. CBA Research Report 15, 1976.
 3. Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building', p.153.
 4. ASA III, 826.

church, so that the speech of the angels to the disciples after Christ has ascended could be appropriately spoken by someone standing above in the gallery:¹

viri Galilaei quid statis aspicientes
in caelum
hic Iesus qui adsumptus est a vobis
in caelum
sic veniet quemadmodum vidistis eum
euntem in caelum.

He cites Brixworth Church as a structure contemporary with the poem which could have given 'symbolic height to the liturgical singers of the angels' words', and he comments that the arrangements at Brixworth seem 'designed for sophisticated liturgical use in three dimensions'.²

One development in church design was the later preference apparently for corridor crypts as opposed to chamber crypts.³ They allowed greater ease of circulation for those wishing to see the relics, and so could be explained as a way of meeting an increase in the number of pilgrims visiting a shrine. It could also be an architectural response to the desire to include the crypt in the processional movement round the church area, and this appears to be the case at Wing and Repton where access was originally from outside, and corridors were provided to give direct access from the

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1. 'Ye men of Galilee, why stand you looking up to heaven? This Jesus who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come as you have seen him going into heaven'. Acts 1:11.
 2. Peter Clemoes, 'Cynewulf's Image of the Ascension', in England Before the Conquest, ed. Clemoes and Hughes, p.302.
 3. See Taylor, 'Corridor Crypts'.

body of the church later in the period; as Taylor says:¹

Such a change is most easily understood
as a means of linking the crypt directly
into the services of the church.

While the multiplication of altars and the changes within a church building tended to be part of the development of the liturgy in the period following the revival of monastic life in the mid-tenth century, the multiplicity of churches within a complex seems to be found as early as the seventh century. This too provided the means of pilgrimage from altar to altar; at St Riquier the procession visited two other churches linked by walkways. In Anglo-Saxon England also, such 'families of churches' were a feature of major cathedral and abbey sites such as Canterbury, Glastonbury, Hexham, Jarrow, Lindisfarne, Monkwearmouth and Rochester.² Moreover, the individual churches, sometimes only chapels or towers, in the monastic complex appear to have been aligned in some instances along an east-west axis; this is true of Winchester, Jarrow and Canterbury St Augustine's. This must have been felt to be an appropriate way of stating a relationship between the churches which were distinct structures yet linked together by their proximity within the monastic precinct to which they belonged and by the fact that they formed separate stages of a single procession.

So the Church made effective use of movement within the space of the church building to dramatise significant events and

1. ASA III, 1022.

2. ASA III, 1020.

spiritual truths and to define relationships between component parts of the structure. Patterns were created on a horizontal plane by the siting of altars and by the movement between them, and historical events such as the Ascension could be re-created by the use of the vertical axis provided structurally by the galleries and upper doorways. The identification of parts of the church as places in the Holy Land and the recognition of certain spaces as holy in an absolute sense made it possible for the movements of the liturgy to have this symbolic dimension.

vi) Portable Altars

To round off this section on altars, we should look at what are probably the only surviving Anglo-Saxon altars - that is, portable ones, and notably that found among the relics of St Cuthbert.¹ There are other contemporary portable altars - Celtic wooden and stone ones, and one made of silver and red porphyry, now in the Cluny Museum in Paris, which may possibly be Anglo-Saxon at least in artistic influence. The seventh-century altar which was presumably used by Cuthbert as a bishop was a piece of wood 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x $\frac{1}{4}$ ", decorated merely with five incised crosses, one in the centre and one in each corner, with an inscription across it below the central cross: 'In honorem S. Petru' (see pl.13). This inscription leads one to suppose that it belonged amongst the furnishings of the main church at Lindisfarne which was dedicated to St Peter and in which St Cuthbert was buried. If this is so,

1. C.A. Raleigh Radford, 'The Portable Altar of St Cuthbert', in The Relics of St Cuthbert, ed. Battiscombe, pp.326-35.

then it suggests that the portable altar acted as an extension of the church while in use at a distance from that church, taking the dedication of the church and the altar to which it belonged. It would be just large enough to support a small travelling chalice, such as the one surviving at Hexham, with the bread of the sacrament. The bishop's assistant priest would presumably have held it while the bishop led the celebration of the Mass in a place which had no church building or altar of its own.¹

The five crosses in the wood are noteworthy, since they appear to relate to the ceremony of dedicating an altar, such as that given in The Lanalet Pontifical. This order of service requires the bishop to make the sign of the cross at the four corners of the new altar; it is not stated whether the signs are made permanent by subsequent incision, but stone altars which have survived the Reformation do indicate that at least later in the Middle Ages this was the case. The ceremony for the dedication of a church also requires the bishop to make the sign of the cross on the walls of the building,² and it is clear that the later practice was to incise these as a permanent reminder and a visible protection against the devil. Apparently, there is no evidence that Anglo-Saxon crosses were any more than signs, though equally

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1. Use of a portable altar is also implied in two sequential sections in Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar, ed. R. Fowler EETS OS 266 (1972), where no.30 allows Mass to be celebrated (exceptionally) outside a 'gehalgodre cirican' in the case of 'mannes oferseocneses', and no.31 forbids the celebration of Mass except 'onufan gehalgodon weofode'.
 2. The Lanalet Pontifical, pp.22-23.

no evidence to the contrary.¹ It is therefore impossible to say for certain whether Anglo-Saxon altars were commonly inscribed with crosses. It may also be that portable altars were in a slightly different category in this respect; the visible signs of sanctity in the crosses and inscription may have been considered necessary for a portable altar which by its nature had no permanent sacred context by which to define its own holiness, as the fixed altar had. Furthermore, the church altar contained relics and the portable altar does not appear to have done so; Cuthbert's altar has no indications of a cavity such as would have been necessary, and although relics could have been carried along with the altar, it would not have the specific close association which the ownership and protection of relics conferred. In that sense, a portable altar could only be an extension of the permanent altar from which it derived its authority.

However, its association with a living saint could in the long run transform it into a holy object in its own right. Cuthbert's altar was buried with him and apparently at a later stage was covered in a silver casing with decoration belonging in style to the eighth century. By the time Cuthbert's bones and the precious objects buried with him were finally deposited at Durham, it is reasonable to suppose that the altar itself would be regarded as a relic.

So, to sum up this section, the altar was a sacred space both relatively, within its setting of the church building -

1. See Dewick, p.10.

specifically the sanctuary area - and arbitrarily in its possession and protection of relics. It provided a defined location for holiness by which other relationships could be made. It appears to have been the focal point of its context - particularly in the early period when only one altar was permitted in each church. Whether at the far east end against the wall or standing alone in the middle of the sanctuary it would have been apparent as a sacred area. This is vividly illustrated in the Benedictional of St Aethelwold, f.118v, where the bishop, the altar and the arch surrounding them are in colour, with the rest of the church structure and its congregation in monochrome (see pl.14). It is conceivable that this is not an unfinished illustration but a declaration of the relative importance of the sanctuary area. It is interesting to note finally that a specific word 'weofodsteall' or 'weohstealle' exists, its single use being to denote a defined area within which special regulations must be observed:¹

And riht is þæt maessepreosta nan ne cume
 gewaepned binman cyrican dura, ne binman
 weofodstealle butan his oferslope, ne huru
 aet þam weofode þæt he þær þenige butan
 þære waede.

The Canons are concerned throughout with the promotion of holiness

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1. 'And it is right that no mass-priest come within the church doors carrying weapons nor within the altar area without his "oferslope", nor indeed that he serve at the altar without that garment'. (My transl.) Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar, no.46 (in the version Oxford Bodleian MS Junius 121), p.11. See also Fowler's note on p.36 for a comment on the meaning of the word. The Micr Conc to OE cites only this use and An Old English Vision of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, ed. and transl. A.S. Napier, Transactions of the Philological Society (1907-10), p.184: 'and he þa inn eode, and him man sona hrymde; and he þa sona eode binman þone weohstal on norðhealfe, and se cyng stod on suðhealfe'. This also suggests a defined area within the church building.

in priestly activities and attitudes; holiness is here defined by certain actions being appropriate to specific areas, including the 'weofodsteall'. The term might be translated 'in the vicinity of the altar', though the close parallel of 'weocsteall' which glosses 'absida' or 'apse' might lead one to suppose that the term is more descriptive than prescriptive. Its use nevertheless shows that an area of the church structure is to be considered more holy because of the presence of an altar.

5. The Throne

As we have seen, the means by which spaces are presented as sacred by contemporary historians, artists and poets are basically three-fold. They are shown to have i) a special place within a context, achieved by centrality, relative height or a boundary, ii) inherited significance through past association with a person or an event, and iii) the potential for access to God. It is not immediately obvious that the throne fits into all these categories. Unlike the altar, it has no arbitrary significance derived from its recognisably unique shape and identifiable single context. It is not always easy to judge whether a chair is intended to be seen as merely a seat or as a throne - that is, whether it has no importance beyond its use by an important person or whether its use in certain contexts and its permanent association with a person or a place ultimately give it a significance in its own right. There are two types of seats which could be designated thrones: the bishop's 'cathedra' in the church, and the king's seat. The question is to determine to what extent these seats were regarded as sacred spaces, if at all, using the criteria given above.

i) The Bishop's Throne

Archaeological evidence for the position of the cathedra survives only at Reculver, Hexham and possibly Barnack.¹ In the first two cases it was situated at the far east end behind the altar, flanked by chairs for subsidiary ecclesiastics in a semi-circle, either following the line of the apsidal east wall or diverging from that of a square one. At Barnack the chair is in the west tower and its exact function is debatable. At Christ Church Canterbury in the eleventh century there was a chair in the raised western sanctuary against the wall behind the altar, so that the bishop would look down the length of the nave.²

Amalarius devotes a section to the symbolism of the bishop's throne in which he asserts that height is appropriate:³

Episcopus quia vicarius est Christi in omnibus
memoratis superius, debet et hic ad memoriam nobis
inthronizare Christi ascensionem et sedem.

Since the bishop served at the altar as the celebrant of the Mass, his chair was generally near the altar and thus shared its raised level.

The concept of the cathedra came from the tradition of St Peter's seat in the church in Rome, supposedly where he sat in

1. ASA II, 506-7; I, 306f; I, 46.

2. See Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building', p.157.

3. 'The bishop, who because he is the vicarius Christi is superior in all aforementioned matters, should here also be enthroned to remind us of Christ's ascension and seat'. col.1117.

authority over the Church. When the Roman Church established Christianity in a new area it was its custom to appoint a bishop who would choose a site for the headquarters of his diocese; there he would build a major church to include his cathedra. The Old English words for 'bishop's seat' are 'biscopsetl', 'biscopseðel', 'biscopseald' and 'biscopstol' and they usually have the primary meaning of see or diocese or the central point of the whole extent of the bishop's authority¹ - just as 'cynestol' usually means 'capital city', and in modern English 'country seat' refers to an estate.² However, there is some variation in usage; 'biscopstol' can refer in a non-defined way to the general extent of diocesan authority -

geafon þa cynegas...þam halgan birine him to
bisceopstole þa burh Dorcanceaster

or to the complex of diocesan buildings -

Dionisius þa wunode...on þaere foresaedan
byrig aet his bisceopstole

but it can also denote more specifically the church building -³

forbarn þaet halige mynster sancte Paule
þe biscopstol on Lundene

However, despite this predominantly metonymical use of the word, it is conceivable that the seat formed the essential and perceived focus of that spatial authority.

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1. So 'biscopsetl', for example, in one instance clearly denotes an area larger than the church building: 'se cining sealde Pauline biscopsetl & þaer he het eft timbrian maran cyrican of stane'. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 626).
 2. Micr Conc to OE s.v. 'cynestol' and 'biscopstol'.
 3. Aelfric's Lives of Saints, II, 134; I, 174; ASChron, s.a. 1086.

Stone seats survive at Hexham, Beverley and Canterbury, while fragments probably from a seat survive at Monkwearmouth and Norwich (see pls.15 & 16).¹ These chairs are solid stone and very heavy and consequently can be regarded as permanent and fixed features of the churches. Their permanence brings the question of inherited significance into play, since they could become associated with a specific person. This is potentially an important factor in the practice of sanctuary. At Beverley a later medieval charter claimed special sanctuary rights under the term 'frithstool', asserting that King Aethelstan had granted this right in recognition of the status of St John of Beverley, its first bishop.² The term 'friðstol', meaning literally 'peace-seat' or 'sanctuary-seat', is used predominantly in the Anglo-Saxon period in its abstract sense (like 'biscopstol') to mean place of sanctuary or refuge; so in the Psalms it glosses 'refugium': 'Du eart friþstol us, Drihten' and 'Me is geworden Drihten to friðstole'.³ It is not clear, therefore, that the stone chair operated as a sanctuary in the way that the sanctuary knocker later did.

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1. ASA III, 1065-66; and Rosemary Cramp, 'The Furnishing and Sculptural Decoration of Anglo-Saxon Churches', in The Anglo-Saxon Church, ed. Butler and Morris, pp.101-4.
 2. Charles Cox, Sanctuary and Sanctuary Seekers (London: Allen, 1911).
 3. Psalm 89:1; 90:9. 'Friþstol' is cognate with 'friþstow' - Micr Conc to OE s.v. 'friþstol', 'friþstow'. See Christine E. Fell, "'Unfrið": An Approach to a Definition', Sagabook of the Viking Society for Northern Research 21 (1982-83), 85-100, especially p.92, for a discussion of the word 'frið', and below in chapter 5, section 5.

There are two questions here: does the right of frithstool specifically relate to the stone chair still existing in the church, and if so, on what basis? In view of the general meaning of the word, it might be thought that it was the status of cathedral (inevitably possessing a cathedra) which was the factor by which the right of frithstool was claimed - rather than the possession of a specific object known as the frithstool. However, not all cathedral churches seem to have claimed this right, as far as one can argue from the lack of evidence; it is documented at Beverley, Hexham, Ripon, York and Durham, but not elsewhere. Moreover, by the late Middle Ages the frithstool clearly meant the chair itself, and the sanctuary rights were focussed upon it; at Hexham persons breaking the sanctuary had to pay fines which increased in the proximity of the frithstool to the extent that the offence of arresting a fugitive sitting in the chair was not redeemable by any fine.¹ It is possible that the earlier general meaning of the term became crystallised into a specific identification with the chair; the church may have localised its claim as a seat of sanctuary upon a visible sanctuary-seat.

It does seem that from the beginning the chairs were associated with a specific person. Beverley's 'friðstol' dates from the time of bishop John (late seventh-century) and the later claim to the right of frithstool was based upon his continued influence over the site. At Hexham it is recorded that Wilfrid first obtained the privilege of sanctuary for the church, and certainly the stone cathedra appears to date from his founding of

1. W.T. Taylor, Hexham Abbey Handbook, 15th ed, 1977, p.27.

the church. An early source cites three 'cyricfriþ' examples by name - 'on Norðhymbra lage is scs Petrus cyricfrið & scs Wilfriðus & scs [Iohann]es binman cyricwagum...' ¹ Though York's sanctuary is here associated with a saint by name, it is not an indigenous saint, like its fellows; perhaps significantly, the chair itself no longer survives.

So it is not certain that the identification of the right of sanctuary with a specific chair had been made by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. Jacqueline Simpson concludes that there is no evidence that it had been:

There is no doubt that by the twelfth century at the latest 'fridstol' meant a sacred chair which gave inviolable protection

but she doubts whether the specific use was 'fully developed' before the end of the period. ² There is equally no evidence to the contrary; she admits that it is 'probable that the general and the specific uses of the word existed side by side in Old English'. ³ Furthermore, in two cases at least the association of the chair with the founding father of the church might in fact have given it the status of a relic by inheritance of the protecting power of the saint. This would be most appropriate for a place of refuge.

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1. London BL MS Cotton Nero A 1, f.96v, quoted in Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1903-16), I, 473.
 2. Jacqueline Simpson, 'A Note on the word "Friðstóll"', Sagabook of the Viking Society for Northern Research, 14 (1956), p.208.
 3. *ibid*, p.209.

ii) The King's Throne

Unlike the cathedra, no secular thrones have survived from the Anglo-Saxon period, and any evidence for their status and usage comes from historical records, art and literature. The difficulty lies in identifying the throne as an object or space with its own value, and this is particularly a problem in illustrations. In early art all seated figures are important ones - saints, evangelists, angels and kings, and so on - and therefore the person is more important than his highly decorated chair. It cannot properly be termed a throne in most cases, and has no status in its own right. The seated position should probably be taken to represent stability and permanence as well as honour.

There are a number of illustrations in the Utrecht and Harley Psalters which show a seated figure who is identifiable at least as a ruler, if not as a king. The final illustration in the Utrecht Psalter (f.94v - not accompanying a Psalm text and not in the Harley Psalter) shows Saul as king crowned and seated under a roofed open building with a sword across his knees, a sceptre in his left hand, and surrounded by armed attendants (see pl.17). In Psalm LII (53) there is a similar seated figure to represent the 'fool' who says there is no God; the text gives no indication of a king or ruler, but this feature enables the artist to show the figure accepting the evil deeds of the men around him (see pl.18). Two men are bringing severed heads to him and the implication is that he is condoning their crime. This would not be possible without a figure of authority. Secular kingship seems to be

indicated by the sword, suggesting the enforcement of royal decree, and by the crown which the figure is wearing. The illustration to Psalm I (1) shows a figure with the same characteristics (see pl.19 [Utr] and pl.47). The throne is more clearly visible here, since it is mentioned in the text: 'cathedra pestilentiae' - 'the chair of pestilence' (v.1). 'Pestilence' is illustrated by a devil standing to the side of the ruler and holding serpents which appear to be speaking into the latter's ear, suggesting corrupt counsels.¹ Serpents are again a feature of Psalm XIII (14), where they are coiled around the pillars of the building for the same purpose (see pl.20); Psalm XIII (14) is almost exactly the same as Psalm LIII (53) in text and in illustration. These rulers seated on thrones suggest a capacity for enforcing good or evil, since they are implicated by their position of authority in what happens around them, unlike other crowned kings in the illustrations who are static, for example, in paying homage.

In Psalm LXXXVIII (89) [Utr] the throne is a feature of the text in its own right, and this is reflected in the illustration (see pl.21). It represents King David enthroned as the archetypal Old Testament king and the foreshadowing of the Messiah. His throne is described as enduring for ever (vv.37-38) and established by covenant: 'aedificabo in generationem et generationem sedem tuam' (v.5); various characteristics such as mercy and justice are also ascribed to the throne of God in the heavens (vv.3, 8, 15). The illustration follows this parallel between the two thrones; the

1. On the subject of corrupt counsels to kings, see Jaenberht's Legatine Council, ch.12, entitled 'De ordinatione et honore regum', C&ED, III, 453-54.

earthly king, seated in the middle of a circle representing the world, receiving the homage of other kings, is directly below the Lord who is seated in a similar posture on a similar shaped throne in the heavens with his angelic subjects around him. There is a clear inference to be made that the heavenly king is a pattern of the earthly one; the ambiguity of the words 'our king, the Holy One of Israel' (v.19) enforces the parallel.

In Psalm XCII (93) [Utr] an occupied throne stands above the circle of the world. It is noticeable that it is again associated with permanence - 'Thy throne is prepared from of old: thou art from everlasting' (v.2). It is the Lord's throne, presumably in the same way that the temple with its altar is the Lord's house (v.5); both objects reveal aspects of God's character to man on earth - he is God to be worshipped and a king to be honoured and obeyed.

So, in illustrative art the throne is used - along with other attributes - to denote a figure of authority; its particular function is to allow the figure to be located formally within a context. His involvement with this context has in the case of an evil ruler moral implications. In the case of a good king, the throne indicates permanence and stability, and it is given a prominent position. In Psalm LXXXVIII (89) the arms of the kings below direct the eye upwards to the throne at the centre of the whole illustration, and in Psalm XCII (93) the eyes of the men look upward to the throne and to the Lord above.

Old English has a number of descriptive words for the throne with the word 'stol' as the second element. Most of them refer

by the ceremony encountered by the hero as he journeys to Heorot. The courtesies exchanged between the Geat visitors and the Danes from their first encounter on the beach establish a framework of civilised behaviour essential to the action of the poem, but they also serve to delay the final meeting between Beowulf and Hrothgar by creating various stages in the former's advance towards the king in his hall. The Geats pause outside Heorot in their armour while Beowulf asks permission to enter:¹

Wille ic asecgan sunu Healfdenes,
maerum þeodne, min aerende,
aldre þinum, gif he us geunnan wile
þaet we hine swa godne gretan moton. 344-47

The elaborate style of the request, the movements backwards and forwards of the king's servant Wulfgar, and the formal speeches before permission is gladly given for the audience, all emphasise civilised ceremony and delay the final approach, until eventually Beowulf can cross the hall and speak with Hrothgar. The king and his seated position within the hall are thus established as the final and focal point of all the ceremonial advance. This creates an important referential context for subsequent allusions to where the king sits and who comes near - notably in Fitt 17 with the presence close to the king of his nephew who will one day usurp the throne and also of Unferth, trusted as a counsellor despite his reputation as the slayer of his own brother.

In line 168 the approach of Grendel to the gifestol itself is prevented; as the symbolic heart of the hall and focus of its

1. 'I wish to tell my mission to Healfdene's son, the famed prince your lord, if he will grant us that we be allowed to greet him, generous man that he is'.

activities, it is significant that it is not destroyed by the monster:¹

no he þone gifstol gretan moste,
maþðum for metode, ne his myne wisse. 168-69

There have been many interpretations of this passage, questioning who the subject of the action is and whether the gifstol refers to Hrothgar's throne or to the Lord's throne in heaven. Most scholars now assume 'he' to be Grendel, rather than Hrothgar, and the throne to be in Heorot, and thus the remaining point of debate is the reason for Grendel's inability to approach it. Arthur DuBois has suggested that the gifstol should have 'the connotation of "altar" quite as much as of throne', while Alvin A. Lee saw the throne as a sacred enclosure at the centre of the hall, which is a symbol of the cosmos; William Chaney has cited the secular legal restraint of the king's peace, but John Golden has argued that Grendel was not bound by secular laws, though he was indeed bound by the curse of Cain who was condemned to wander in exile and forbidden to settle, and that the throne should be seen as a symbol of the stability of the kingdom, denied to Grendel.² This list does not exhaust the interpretations offered, but indicates a recognition of the symbolic status afforded to the throne in its context; it is asserted by the poet to be under the protection of God who will not

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1. 'yet, thanks to the ordaining Lord, he was not allowed to come near that precious thing, the gift-throne, nor did he understand its purpose'.
 2. Arthur DuBois, 'Gifstol', MLN 69 (1954), p.549; Alvin A. Lee, The Guest-Hall of Eden: Four Essays on the Design of Old English Poetry, (Yale U.P., 1972); William A. Chaney, 'Grendel and the "Gifstol": A Legal View of Monsters', PMLA 77 (1962), 513-20; John Golden, 'A Typological Approach to the "gifstol" of Beowulf 168', NM 77 (1976), 190-204.

allow Grendel even to approach it, let alone harm it. This invests the throne with significance and gives it some potency as a symbol even when unoccupied. It gives location to the king at the centre of his sphere of authority.

Historical sources suggest that there was an increasing concern over the period for visual propaganda to proclaim to the people that the king was set apart in status, particularly as someone specially chosen as ruler by God and upheld by him. Early source material shows little evidence even for the concept of absolute kingship, let alone for its dramatic expression in the use of a throne. M.J. Swanton, reviewing the early evidence, comes to the conclusion that:¹

the title of lordship...seems to have been accorded arbitrarily, and under a variety of names, to as many aspirants at one time as could claim support... popular consent remained a critical factor governing kingship.

Charlemagne saw his rulership as 'a rebirth of the Old Testament Jewish kingship' and himself as a type of King David.² Subsequent Carolingian kings through the medium of the Church took the title of 'vicarius Dei' - a stage higher than the title 'vicarius Christi' used by bishops. This concept of the king as God's vicegerent was projected above all in the act of anointing at the

1. M.J. Swanton, Crisis and Development in Germanic Society 500-700: Beowulf and the Burden of Kingship, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 333 (Göppingen: Kummerle Verlag, 1982), pp.26-27.

2. See J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp.102-5.

coronation performed by bishops in a church context:¹

The administrators of unction were, so to speak, executive agents of divinity, acting as mediators and conferring the unction vicariously. They spoke the formula as if God Himself had performed the anointing.

Part of this symbolic process was the enthronement:²

Above all, the idea of enthronement and the consequential occupying of a seat provided, allegorically, a vantage point from which the incumbent could, so to speak, survey the scene around him; and this symbolism greatly assisted in crystallizing the conception of the king forming an estate of his own, an estate which had nothing in common with any of the estates occupied by other mortals who, after all, were his subjects...

this concept...produced severely practical effects.

The act of anointing in itself was dramatically powerful in its symbolism and the throne provided it with a defined location; if the throne was raised up in some way, this could only add to the visual impact of the occasion.³ The Anglo-Saxons showed a growing interest in unction in the eighth century. The use of unction was primarily to 'reinforce the royal charisma' and to indicate that the king was supported by the Church.⁴ Offa had his son consecrated king - 'to cyninge gehalgod' - according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 785), which also records (s.a. 795) that

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1. Walter Ullmann, The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship (London: Methuen, 1969), p.71.
 2. *ibid*, p.174.
 3. It is interesting to note that contemporary Byzantine emperors are recorded as having thrones of variable height - 'in momento humile, excelsius modo, quam mox videretur sublime'. Liutprand of Cremona, Antapodosis, Book VI, chapter 5, in Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona, ed. J. Becker (Hannover & Leipzig: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1915), p.154.
 4. Patrick Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', in The Anglo-Saxons, ed. James Campbell (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982), p.118.

Eardwulf of Northumbria was consecrated. Janet Nelson suggests that these references indicate rituals that were in some way unusual in their circumstances and that a formal consecration ceremony was well-established by this time but only rarely documented.¹ The use of ritual anointing suggests the practice of enthronement in some form, though not necessarily the use of a throne with any significance outside the temporal context. Edgar was ceremonially crowned at Bath in 973, some years after his accession, when he was in his twenty-ninth year; this may have been intended as a significant parallel with Christ's beginning of his earthly ministry, but Nelson has more cogently argued for a different motive: the dramatic proclamation of Edgar's position as an overlord within a wider kingdom, using Bath as the location for the ceremony to project the concept of inheriting the Roman imperialist past.² So, although the evidence is thin, it seems likely that from the eighth century enthronement was available as a means, however temporary, of representing visually the separate status of the king.

It remains difficult, however, to determine whether the Anglo-Saxon kings had thrones that were in any sense permanent and had any symbolic value as objects through their position and connotations. Even in the coronation 'ordo' the wording was imprecise regarding the place of the ceremony; the original phrase

1. Janet L. Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', in Early Medieval Kingship, ed. P.H. Sawyer and I.N. Wood (Leeds: School of History, Univ. of Leeds, 1977), p.65.

2. J. Nelson, pp.67-70. See the anonymous Vita Sancti Oswaldi, ed. Raine, I, 436-38, for the detailed account of Edgar's coronation.

'sta et retine locum' was changed in Edgar's time to the less defined 'sta et retine statum'.¹ Kings continued to move around their kingdoms, holding meetings of the witan in various places, and there is no evidence that they sat enthroned anywhere on these occasions. The early concept of the king's presence requiring special laws to protect him (see chapter 5 below) kept some force and indeed was extended until in Edmund's laws of the 940s no man guilty of shedding blood could come into the king's presence until expiation had been fully made. It is not easy to distinguish between a desire to preserve the king's safety and an attempt to proclaim his unique status by suggesting that the king's presence could be violated by blood-guiltiness; the latter seems to be uppermost here.

In fact, the only records that survive of formal court ceremony associate it specifically with religious festivals. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 1086) states that William wore his crown three times a year at Easter, Whitsun and Christmas. It is probable that he was following an already established custom, since there is a reference to Edward the Confessor sitting crowned 'cum gloria et honore regio'.² William chose to celebrate the festivals respectively at Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester - royal centres that were also ecclesiastical centres. It would seem likely that this 'minor coronation' took place in the major church

1. William A. Chaney, The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity (Manchester U.P., 1970), p.135.

2. Chronicon Abbatiae Ramaseiensis. ed. W. Dunn Macray, (London: Rolls Series, 1886), p.178.

at each of these places.¹ The excavations at Winchester Old Minster revealed the ground plan of an extensive westwork, analogous to the westworks of major Continental churches, notably at Corvey and Werden.² Fernie suggests, however, that the closest parallel for Winchester, in concept rather than exact layout, is Charlemagne's ninth-century church at Aachen which had a throne at first-floor level at the west end, enabling the king to look down the nave to the east end: 'it is possible that Edgar intended something similar at Winchester'.³ Enthronement within a church created the appropriate surroundings for the king to be seen in his role as 'vicarius Dei' and Christian leader of his people.³

These thrones were permanent and were located within the fixed and defined context of the church building. They were placed at a relative height and were distinct within their context, and they projected the image of the king as a divinely appointed ruler. They thus fulfil most clearly the criteria of a sacred space - the object giving a precise location to the abstract qualities invested in the role of the king.

In this discussion of five instances of the phenomenon of sacred space, I have tried to indicate that their primary function was to localise abstract qualities, making conceptual relationships

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1. Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, ed. Earle and Plummer, II, 274, notes.
 2. See Martin Biddle, "'Felix Urbs Winthonia'", p.138.
 3. E. Fernie, The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons (London: Batsford, 1983).

possible by establishing relationships in space. This is particularly true of the altar and the throne, which, as three-dimensional objects, provide a precise location for the focussing of conceptual relationships. The colonised sites, specifically the church and the monastery, are perceived as sacred as a result of declaring them to be distinct from their surroundings; this is asserted dramatically through the liturgy, visibly through the use of boundaries (walls, doors, fences) which enclosed the space and which could be crossed, and conceptually through literary metaphors.

CHAPTER 3

HIERARCHY AND THE USE OF THE VERTICAL AXIS.

I have argued that space is used to define the conceptual relationship between two things. In this chapter I want first to look at illustrative art in its capacity for signalling relationships by using the space given on a page. Its most frequent use is for representing status and movement within a hierarchy, especially the spiritual hierarchy; an implicit vertical axis is used to place objects, figures and landscape zones in their relevant positions one to another. The artist can express complex ideas about the nature of the relationship between God and man by his organisation of features within a given space, working on the basic principle that spatial superiority indicates moral or spiritual superiority. He can make spatial connections to suggest spiritual communication.

Relationships on the vertical scale can also be expressed verbally and explored in a poetic context. The second part of this chapter is an investigation into the use of a hierarchical structure in the poems Genesis B and Guthlac B.

1. Spatial Relationships in Illustrative Art

Illustrative art in the Anglo-Saxon period was essentially two-dimensional. It belonged to the early medieval art tradition that had grown out of and away from Classical art with its three-dimensional perspective and naturalistic representation of objects and landscape. The new style in the third and fourth centuries onwards had a quite different purpose and used different artistic techniques to achieve it; as Ernst Kitzinger puts it, the 'artist's

concern was the abstract relationship between things rather than the things themselves'.¹ This was tied up with the new purpose of art itself, which was considered to be a didactic one:²

Not only had the outlook of the artist changed, then, but also his function. He was making a direct appeal to his public, he had a definite message to convey, and he was also aiming at a definite psychological effect.

The message conveyed was increasingly a religious one and in Anglo-Saxon England a Christian one; the illustrative art that survives from the period falls almost entirely into the latter category.

The 'abstract relationship' between objects is conveyed by various artistic devices, all essentially spatial ones. Some belong to all types of art, while others work only in two-dimensional representation where no naturalistic illusion is intended. These devices include such ones as placing objects in close proximity or at a distance, separating lines, eye contact and physical contact, placing above or below, and representing certain figures as relatively larger than others. These are principles, not symbolic motifs giving arbitrary signals, and they therefore require interpretation. But since most Anglo-Saxon illustrative art is essentially Christian in character, the devices can be 'read' according to an established Christian scale of values. In the case of illustrations accompanying a Biblical text, it is particularly straightforward; spatial metaphors found consistently in the text can be translated into visual terms and cross-

1. Ernst Kitzinger, Early Medieval Art in the British Museum and the British Library (London: British Museum Publications, 3rd ed, 1983), p.22.

2. *ibid.*, p.24.

references maintained. Spiritual closeness or communication with God can be represented visually in spatial terms, as can spiritual distance or separation. Spiritual importance can be represented by relative size of figures in non-naturalistic art. Spiritual status can be represented by placing figures above or below each other on the page, making use of the concept of a hierarchical universe, which is found in most beliefs and which is fundamentally a concept expressed in spatial terms.

Most of the artistic devices cited above involve movement in space. Pictorial elements are essentially fixed on the page, so any movement must come from the reader whose eye is directed to move as a result of the artistic devices contained within the illustration. This spatial movement makes it possible for the artist to simulate temporal relationships also; Otto Pächt cites the Parthenon frieze and manuscript rolls as examples of enforced physical movement by the beholder which allows the images to be assimilated successively in time as a result of a progression through space.¹ The technique of presenting temporal progression within one composite picture - one clearly defined spatial area - is a more complex one, involving more subtle artistic devices to encourage the reader's eye to travel through space in the appropriate direction. By these means Anglo-Saxon art uses movement across the page - both vertically and horizontally - to connect the elements of the illustration and thus to make a statement about their spiritual relationship.

1. Otto Pächt, The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp.1f.

Many of these artistic devices which make use of space to convey a spiritual truth can be found in the illustrations in the Utrecht Psalter and its Anglo-Saxon copy, the Harley Psalter. The texts of the Psalms are full of verbal references to and metaphors of space; they are chiefly concerned with the personal relationship between God and man and are themselves an expression of that relationship. The prepositions 'above' and 'below' consistently indicate spiritual status, and so too do expressions of distance or closeness to God: for example, 'Who is as the Lord our God, who dwelleth on high, and looketh down on the low things in heaven and in earth?' (Ps.113:5,6); 'Wonderful is the Lord on high' (Ps.93:4); 'To thee, O Lord, I have lifted up my soul' (Ps.86:4); 'For the Lord is high, and looketh on the low: and the high he knoweth from afar off' (Ps.138:6); 'Why, O Lord, hast thou retired afar off?' (Ps.10:1); 'The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart' (Ps.34:19); 'The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him' (Ps.145:18). These verbal metaphors are represented by the artist in visual terms by the positioning of figures on the two-dimensional plane of the page in certain relationships to one another which show their spiritual status.

The most basic use of this is in the relative positions of the Lord God, the Psalmist and his enemies. The Lord God, often framed in a mandorla, is to be found at the top of the picture, with the Psalmist in a position either of detached observation or of besieged involvement, usually at a mid-point either vertically or horizontally, while enemies advance from the bottom corners or retreat into them. A spiritual hierarchy is thus represented by a standard pattern of spatial hierarchy. The artist has a certain

sized space left between the lines of text and he divides it into two and often three notional horizontal bands; heaven occupies the topmost area, and the bottom is reserved for groups of evil-doers (where applicable to the text) or for animals and rivers. Miriam Schild Bunim calls this structural ordering of space 'Stratified space' in distinction to 'Stage space' because horizontal lines are used to indicate ground levels and to provide a basis for the figures to stand on; the 'ground plane' is 'only one of a series of zones in the same vertical plane'.¹

Many of the illustrations in the Psalter work dramatically because the artist makes connections between these zones by devices such as eye direction or body movement - particularly arms and hands - which cross the spaces between the zones. An effective example of this is Psalm CXIV (116) [Utr], on the left hand side of the illustration, where an imaginary diagonal line is created by the three main features; the Lord is stretching a hand down towards the Psalmist, the arm of hell is reaching up towards him, and his own posture maintains the diagonal emphasis (see pl.22). In Psalm CIV (105), in a different context, the Psalmist's hand is raised above a sea of heads towards the Lord, and it breaks into an otherwise blank space between the worshipping group of men and the object of their worship, suggesting that the Lord's attention has been captured (see pl.23). Another example of crossing zones in the context of worship is Psalm XLVI (47), which shows a static

1. Miriam Schild Bunim, Space in Medieval Painting and the Forerunners of Perspective (New York: Columbia U.P., 1940; reprinted: A.M.S., 1970), p.51.

hierarchical structure; the Psalmist stands on the wall in the centre looking up to the Lord in the heavens (see pl.24). The effect of the blank space left in front of the gate and of the position of the kneeling groups is to direct the eye to the figure immediately above the gate and, through his upward gaze, to the Lord. The Psalmist is the spokesman for all the people by his call to worship in verse 1 of the text and the artist depicts this spatially by making the Psalmist the focal point in the lower part of the illustration. Furthermore, he involves the viewer also in an act of worship by his spatial organisation, since it directs the eye upwards through the Psalmist to the Lord.

The Psalmist figure is often shown as a link between heaven and earth; in Psalm LXI (62) [Utr] his posture indicates the link, with one hand stretched up in an exaggerated position to the Lord, and the other pointed downward to the people (see pl.25). In other illustrations the figure crosses the zones in an arrested movement indicating danger and rescue. Psalm LVI (57) represents the Psalmist under attack from below and being given help from above (see pl.26). Danger comes from lions (attacking from right and left) and from a pit immediately below him. He is being upheld by an angel grasping him from behind and above, lifting him up to the Lord immediately above, who stands flanked by angels to receive him. A marginal illustration in the Harley Psalter (f.17v), not found in the Utrecht Psalter, is a dramatically simple depiction of the same process; it shows a human figure leaping between a devil and an angel, the former below him trying to drag him down, the latter above him reaching down to pull him up to safety (see

pl.27).¹

Salvation for the Psalmist is also the subject of Psalms CXVII (118) and CXXVIII (129), and the illustrations are tackled in similar ways. In Psalm CXVII (118) [Utr] the Psalmist's back is turned to his enemies and his arm is stretched out and up to the Lord. The enemies' spears are so close that the artist must be intending to convey the Psalmist's confidence in the Lord in the face of danger. Psalm CXXVIII (129) [Utr] is even more striking (see pl.28). The right of the page shows the Psalmist on a mound turning his back on his attacker, leaving himself defenceless in human terms against an imminent and deadly blow from an axe. He is appealing for help from the Lord, who is in the act of delegating authority for dealing strongly with the situation by handing a sword to one of his angels. Other angels are already dealing with evil-doers by throwing down spears and axes from their vantage point in the heavens; one of these spears is heading directly for the man with the axe, and the relative distances are such that it appears that the spear will incapacitate the axe-man before he can complete his movement. The text expresses the tension between constant threat and the ever-present saving power of the Lord; the artist represents that tension visually by suspending time - danger is always there but the Psalmist in forgoing self-defence receives help from the Lord. Thus an important spiritual truth is conveyed through the spatial organisation of the scene.

1. This illustration is somewhat later than the earliest illustrations in the manuscript, probably dating from the third quarter of the eleventh century. See Temple, p.82.

The principle of making spatial connections to suggest spiritual communication is vitally important in illustrations to the Psalms. The very texts themselves are attempts at communication with God through prayer, either in supplication or worship, and the illustrations show the Psalmist as a figure trying to make this communication within a physical cosmos which represents the spiritual cosmos. Apart from the direction of hands and arms, eye contact is one of the most useful and effective means of conveying communication, assisted by relative proximity or distance. Psalm XXV (26), a prayer for vindication from the Lord for the Psalmist, is illustrated by a figure looking up to the Lord who is immediately above his temple (see pl.29). This principle of communication between the Psalmist and the Lord by eye contact across the space between earth and heaven is one that is found in very many of the Psalm illustrations.

Conversely, in a number of illustrations the eye contact communication is contrasted with the non-communication of other figures. The text of Psalm XIII (14) begins: 'The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God'; the artist represents the fool by a ruler seated on a throne, looking away from the Lord and towards a group of men engaged in various criminal activities (see pl.30). The Psalmist, on the other hand, stands slightly raised, looking up at the Lord and gesturing towards the ruler with one hand. Communication with the Lord is clearly possible and God is there waiting, but the 'fool' is looking in the wrong direction and sees only wickedness. He exemplifies those who, in the text of the Psalm, 'have not called upon the Lord' (v.5) and who have argued that in view of man's wickedness God does not exist. The artist

thus uses spatial separation and the device of eye contact - here, the significant lack of it - to suggest spiritual communication and spiritual blindness.

Psalm XCIII (94) [Utr] is a more involved illustration of a similar principle. The Psalmist appears as a soldier looking to the Lord above and gesturing to the scene below (see pl.31). This scene, unified by a common ground line, is made up of a seated figure with a crown who is directing a group of soldiers, one of whom is murdering a baby. It is the position of the seated figure on the page that is unusual, in that he appears to be seated - in a localised use of the three-dimensional - on the side of a hill. E.T. De Wald describes it as 'a wicked king enthroned on the hillside'.¹ Hills are common in the illustrations, but they are almost entirely drawn to provide background landscape features or ground lines for figures to stand on. There is no parallel to this use of a line starting behind the figure to the left, coming over the top in a wide sweep and down the other side until it becomes or merges into a ground level line. It seems significant that the line has the effect of cutting the figure off completely from the Lord who is almost immediately (but not directly) above and who therefore would be otherwise visible, in terms of the artistic convention of the illustration. It is arguable that this line, while representing a hill in three-dimensional illusion, is intended to perform a further function in two-dimensional terms by forming a barrier in the space between the figure and the Lord. It would then fit with the text: 'et dixerunt non videbit

1. The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter, p.43.

Dominus...aut qui finxit oculum non considerat...in malitia eorum disperdet eos'.¹

Implicit communication through eye contact or arm movement is in some instances made explicit by the use of lines drawn onto the page to connect the Lord and the Psalmist. It is an artistic convention that the hand of the Lord should have rays emanating from it in blessing, and the artist uses it to bless the man and his wife in Psalm CXI (112). Another use of the same device is in Psalm XII (13) in which the Psalmist prays for enlightenment; this is granted visibly in the vertical lines which emanate from a torch in the Lord's hand and reach the eyes of the Psalmist, crossing the space in between the two figures (see pl.32). The communication process here is from heaven to earth, and another artistic convention - the mandorla - is also used by the Psalter artist to connect the Lord to his people. In Psalm CXIIII (114) the Lord leans out of his mandorla to grasp the Psalmist (see pl.33). The artist conveys the Lord's love and mercy all the more clearly by indicating the space he would otherwise occupy. The linear frame remains to show that a movement from one sphere to another has taken place; a boundary has been crossed spatially to make a connection spiritually.

All these artistic devices - proximity, separation, above versus below - can also be found in other art works of the Anglo-Saxon period, similarly for conveying spiritual relationships. A

3. 'They say, The Lord shall not see...he that formed the eye, shall he not see?...[God] shall cut them off in their own wickedness'.

good example of two-dimensional separation (not technically possible in three-dimensional art without creating a naturalistic barrier) is the Junius 11 illustration (p.51) of Cain once he has been condemned by God to exile (see pl.34). The artist has drawn a vertical line down the page between the two figures of God and Cain and by this spatial division indicated the breaking of the spiritual relationship.¹ Separation by means of a horizontal line is conveyed by an earlier illustration in the same manuscript on page 17 where the two zones of heaven and hell clearly have no communication between them; this is in contrast to page 11 where the battlements of heaven stop at the point where the trees of earth intersect them, suggesting a route of communication between the Lord in glory and Adam and Eve who are looking up to him (see pls.35 & 36).

In a different context a similar principle applies to the illustration of King Edgar looking up to God; eye direction and arm movement create the illusion of communication vertically across the space between them.² This is most appropriate for the frontispiece of a charter given by Edgar to God via the Church.

Connections can also be made on a horizontal axis, as they conceivably are in Junius 11 page 28, where the spatial relationships between the three figures indicate their spiritual

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1. See The Caedmon Manuscript, p.xliii: 'The line dividing the two figures refers to the words "and from thy face shall I be hid", Gen. iv. 14'.
 2. London BL MS Cotton Vespasian A VIII. It is reproduced by Temple, plate 84.

status at that moment (see pl.37). Eve has already accepted the fruit and her hand is therefore linked to the devil's right hand over the apple they are both holding. Adam on the other side is not yet in tangible contact with the devil, though his hand is close to the apple in the devil's outstretched hand.¹

In some illustrations an object is used to make the connection between figures or between zones of the page which they occupy. The apple just mentioned is a minor example of this principle, but linear shapes would obviously be more generally useful. London BL MS Stowe 944 f.6 illustrates Cnut and his queen dedicating an altar cross to Winchester.² The spatial organisation is such that Cnut's hand grasps the altar-cross in the centre and this reaches up to the Lord above; the linear outline of the cross reinforces the upward line of the eye direction of the two figures and provides a solid visual link between the lower and upper areas of the illustration, suggesting a tangible link between Cnut and the Lord.

In London BL MS Cotton Claudius B IV, produced probably at Canterbury in the early eleventh century, there are a number of scenes in which the artist makes a connection between the upper part and the lower part of the page in a specific way; that is, he uses the device of a ladder with its feet on the earth and its topmost rungs in heaven. This obviously stems from the story in

1. This illustration has not been traced to any specific source, though it has some correspondence with Carolingian models. See Raw, p.141.

2. It is reproduced by Temple, plate 244.

Genesis 28 of Jacob at Bethel and his dream of a ladder between heaven and earth. The artist has apparently extrapolated the element of the ladder from the illustration of this story, and used it in the depiction of unrelated scenes. Dodwell argues forcefully for the inventiveness of the artist in using the text as a source of inspiration: 'my conclusion is that he simply read the Old English text, which had long been in existence without pictures, and used his own ingenuity to illustrate it'.¹ The text has no mention of a ladder in any of the instances discussed below; the artist appears to have chosen the ladder as a means of conveying visually the same quality of communication as understood in the story of Jacob.

The passage is a significant one in the discussion of spatial relationships, as we have already seen in the context of the recognition of sacred spaces (see chapter 2); the ladder, standing on the earth and reaching to the sky, connects the two; the angels ascending and descending suggest a two-way connection; Jacob's immediate reaction is to say (in the Old English translation) 'Witodlice Drihten ys on þisse stowe, and ic hyt nyste', a sentiment called forth by the very occurrence of the vision and by its nature. The purpose of the dream is to bring the covenant promise to Jacob that the Lord will be with him wherever he goes; it requires and provokes a response from Jacob - the acknowledgement of the Lord as his God, the vow to give a tithe, and the setting up of his stone pillow to mark the spot, which he calls Bethel: 'the house of God'. The illustration (f.43v) shows

1. The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, p.66.

Jacob asleep and the ladder of his dreams alongside him with the Lord God at the top in the heavens, which are depicted as a distinct location by a wide band of colour, as throughout the manuscript. There is no extraneous detail to detract from the simple arrangement of the three basic features: heaven, earth and the ladder spanning the space between them. Jacob's eyes are open and his face is turned upward to the Lord who is looking directly at him. The ladder in the text provides the artist with a device to pictorialise communication between God and man.

On f.29 there is an illustration of the Lord appearing to Abraham (Genesis 17) to make a covenant with him (see pl.38). It is not a dream this time, and Abraham falls on his face in front of the Lord who has descended by means of a ladder, an object not mentioned in the text. The incident itself could have been illustrated solely by the two figures bottom centre, but the artist has chosen to represent both characters twice and to include a ladder and a host of angels. The inclusion of the ladder, attended by flying angels, allows the artist to portray the Lord in the act of descending (or possibly ascending), his head just touching the lowest line of the heavens. It may be that his position, together with the kneeling figure of Abraham in the right hand corner, portrays the Lord appearing to Abraham (vv.1,2), whereas the centre two figures portray the Lord speaking to Abraham (v.3). The illustration as a whole demonstrates how a divine revelation can be depicted through the use of connecting lines.

A third use of the ladder device is in illustrating the building of the tower of Babel (Genesis 11) on f.19 (see pl.39).

The Lord is positioned at the top of a ladder slightly below the heavens, yet above the topmost builder who himself is not far off his target. There is another ladder at the right of the picture, and the various stages of the building are depicted like steps. The physical gestures and postures of the builders help to emphasise the sense of the vertical, since their arms are mostly stretched up or stretched down. The portrayal of their mutual assistance suggests that the penalty of non-communication will prove effective in stopping the work. As before, no ladder is mentioned in the text, which states that the Lord 'came down' to see the tower (Genesis 11:5). The ladder is a useful means of depicting descent, followed by observation, and then judgement, since the Lord can be seen to be suspended at the vantage point of a superior position. The other ladder may perhaps be representative of man's attempt to raise himself up through the pride and presumption originally displayed by Lucifer, to reach heaven by human exertion and force; in that case, it is significant that the ladder reaches only halfway.

Fourthly, there is a series of pictures towards the beginning of the manuscript, concerning the lives and deaths of the earliest generation of mankind (see pls.40 & 41). The text - Genesis 5 - is factual in the extreme, being a list of those generations, the number of years each man lived and who his sons were, and it might well be thought a difficult passage to illustrate. In fact, the artist has chosen a stylised representation of Life on the left hand half of the page and Death on the right, the two halves linked together for each generation by a border round both. The reader's eye zigzags down the page from left to right, following the

progression from life to death; this is an excellent example of the principle cited above of movement instigated in the beholder by the artist's spatial planning. 'Life' is characterised by a seated figure surrounded by wife and sons, and 'Death' by a swathed body lying across the middle of the right hand section, supported by two figures. The slight variations in this series of generations is due to the increase of family in the left hand section, as the human race multiplies.

Otherwise, the series is consistent until the fifth one, which concerns Enoch, notable for having been translated to heaven before death. The artist represents this effectively by interrupting the horizontal emphasis of the 'Death' sections with a vertical emphasis. This is achieved through Enoch's upright stance, his raised arms, grasped by the Lord's hand reaching down, and also by a ladder on which Enoch is standing. There is an interesting verbal parallel to this in the Old English text at this point. The word used for 'died' in the generations before Enoch is 'forðferde', a common term, which significantly comprises a metaphor of spatial movement. The visual interruption of the sequence in the case of Enoch is accompanied by a felicitous verbal interruption, in that 'he forðferde' is replaced by 'he ferde mid Gode'.¹ This metaphor for death is so well-established that one cannot be sure that Aelfric is here making deliberate use of it for effect. However, alertness to the concrete spatial aspect of the metaphor seems to have remained active enough to have been picked up and indeed made the basis of verbal play in a later version of

1. Aelfric, Heptateuch, p.98.

the Heptateuch text: 'he ne forðferde na, ac ferde mid Gode'; this juxtaposition is incidentally not available in the Vulgate source: 'mortuus est...ambulavit cum Deo'.¹ Furthermore, there is a explanatory phrase added at the end of the sentence which is not found in the Vulgate: '[Drihten genam hine] mid sawle ond mid lichaman' - 'with body and with soul'; the illustrations certainly point a contrast between the helpless mortality of the preceding figures and the upright movement of Enoch.²

It seems that the artist in this manuscript is using the device of a ladder to pictorialise a particular concept - the fact of divine intervention on earth; communication or access between heaven and earth is made concrete by its visual representation. The space on the page is organised so that certain features are linked together, not merely implicitly, as in the Psalter, but explicitly by the connecting quality of the vertical lines of the ladder. It is interesting to note that the ladder became in subsequent centuries a widely-used image of man's journey to heaven, through life or in death. The only illustration here that fits into that category is the one of Enoch; the other examples show the opposite movement - God descending to man on earth.

Finally in the section on illustrative art we should look at spatial relationships within composite pictures. There are only a

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1. It is found in the Cambridge University Library MS I.i.1. 33 version of the text; the manuscript is dated to the middle of the twelfth century. *ibid*, pp.5, 98.
 2. This stress on the fact that Enoch's body and soul are not separated as a result of death is an interesting comment in view of the recurrent topos of the separation - 'nydgedal' - that death brings. See chapter 4 below, re Guthlac B, and also The Phoenix 1.482f and Maxims I 1.27-30, etc.

select few of these, probably because not all subjects are suitable for treatment in this way. The illustrations of Abraham and Isaac (pl.12) and Cain and Abel (pl.11) have already been discussed in the previous chapter in the context of altars; it was noted how the overall movement up or down the page contributed to the symbolic meaning of the incident illustrated. (This is also true of the illustration of Satan's fall into hell, discussed below.) The illustration to Psalm CXXVIII (129) (pl.28), discussed above, is an example of what might be called cyclical movement within a composite picture; the reader's eye follows the lines provided by the elements of the picture, moving from the axe to the Psalmist's hand, to the Lord, to his angels, to the spear directed at the axeman - and the process begins again.

Another example of cyclical movement in a composite picture is that of David and Goliath in London BL MS Cotton Tibérius C VI, which spreads itself over two facing pages - ff.6v and 7r (see pl.42). On the left hand page is the youthful David with his sling, facing on the right hand page the armed figure of Goliath, whose spear is poised for the attack. The vulnerable position of David is, however, countered by the inclusion of the sequel to the incident, depicted below David on the left hand page - his victory over the fallen Goliath by cutting off the latter's head with his own sword. The artist's rejection of a narrative sequence in favour of this composite portrayal means that the time sequence is telescoped into simultaneous threat and victory.

So spatial relationships on the two-dimensional page are creatively, and in some cases at least consciously, used by Anglo-Saxon artists to suggest spiritual relationships, whether they are

copying from another manuscript, editing and compiling elements from various source manuscripts or (possibly) inventing their own means of representation. Some of these are simple static hierarchic relationships, while others involve a series of connections, vertically and horizontally, between figures and groups of figures. The artistic devices used to achieve these connections vary from the implicit to the explicit; a notional line joins the Psalmist to the Lord across an empty space through eye contact and gesture, whereas a concrete line joins heaven to earth in the ladder motif.

2. Spatial Relationships in Literature

We have seen how the vertical axis is employed in Anglo-Saxon art to suggest hierarchical status and relationships. In literature, spatial metaphors are used which can equally serve to place one thing in a defined relationship to another, above or below. This is particularly true of poems which have as their main subject one of these tenets of Christian doctrine which rely essentially upon the concept of movement within the hierarchy - for example, the Resurrection and Ascension, (in one direction) and the Incarnation, the Descent into Hell and the Fall of man (in the other). The concept of cosmic hierarchy is central to the Christian mythology, and Anglo-Saxon poets reflect their awareness of this in works such as the three Christ poems of the Exeter Book, which are meditations on Christ's movements between heaven and earth and their consequences for mankind. But the sense of hierarchy that informs the structure of Genesis B is the most interesting here because it is a narrative poem, describing action

in three separate locations - heaven, hell and earth - and dealing with movements between them.

The poem is found within the manuscript Oxford Bodleian Junius 11, inserted into the poem known as Genesis A, probably by the eleventh-century scribe from a translation of an Old Saxon poem, written perhaps in the mid-ninth century and translated in the late ninth century.¹ The Anglo-Saxon poem is generally considered now to be superior to Genesis A, part of which it presumably superseded, and the suggestion is that the scribe or compiler similarly perceived its poetic qualities. Scholars have not found any general source for the poem's idiosyncratic handling of the Biblical story; Timmer concludes that, provisionally, 'we may ascribe the poetical elaborations and the emotional and dramatic details to the originality of the [Old Saxon] poet' (p.48). He also argues for a creative input from the translator, who was familiar with Old English religious poetry. It is clear that despite its non-Anglo-Saxon origin, it had a recognised place in Anglo-Saxon culture, both at the time of its translation and at the time of its inclusion in Junius 11.

The poem's narrative progresses by means of various ascending and descending movements. It begins with a hierarchical ordering within heaven - God establishing ten orders of angels and creating one above the rest: 'hehstne to him on heofona rice' (254). Lucifer aspires to an even higher place - a 'strenglicran stol.../ heahran on heofonum' (273-74). The movement upwards in the

1. See The Later Genesis, ed. B.J. Timmer (Oxford: Scrivener Press, 1948), pp.1, 10f.

hierarchy is found in Isaiah 14:13-14, but the poet emphasises it further by his choice of words to describe Lucifer's mental process at this point: 'ahof hine wið his hearran' (263). The spatial metaphor here is repeated also in¹

ongan him wimm up ahebban
 wið þone hehstan heofnes waldend 259-60

and the reader's consciousness of the vertical plane is reinforced by the poet's placing of the action within the context of social hierarchy. The terms 'hearra' and 'geongra' are repeatedly used to characterise Lucifer's rebellion as that of the betrayal of a lord by a subordinate. The speech he gives expresses his denial of God as his 'hearra' and his determination to set up an alternative hierarchical structure with his own subordinates. The relationship between lord and subordinate carries the implication of physical hierarchy, and the use of the word 'hearra' throughout the poem for 'lord' is noticeable in this respect. It is an anglicisation of the Old Saxon 'herro' and is not common in Old English poetry; it occurs also in Daniel (393) as 'herra'. Timmer states that 'hearra' is 'really the comparative of "heah"' (op. cit, p.35); since 'hearra' does not have a wide usage in Anglo-Saxon poetry, it is difficult to be sure whether it would have had the immediate connotation of its literal meaning 'higher one'. However, 'hearra' is closely linked to height by the poet's constant association within the alliterative line of words with an ethical value with words of spatial value: 'hearra', 'hyldo', 'halig', 'heah', 'heahra' and 'heofon'. The common initial sound of these words is obviously in part a coincidence, but it allows a strong association

1. 'he began to stir up trouble against the supreme Ruler of heaven'. ASPR I.

of ideas. 'Geongra', often translated by the term 'servant' or 'subordinate', clearly does have its semantic origin in a notional hierarchy (of age). The metaphors implicit in these words thus reinforce the social hierarchy in the poem. On occasion they also mock it: in hell, Satan, once higher than his colleagues, is now lower than his own subordinates, being chained to the bottom of hell, yet he offers as a reward to a successful messenger equal status with himself:¹

Sittan laete ic hine wið me sylfne. 438

Satan's motive in sending up a messenger to deceive Adam and Eve is to prevent them from taking up his place in heaven, far above him; he wishes them to become instead his subordinates (407). They are spiritually at a mid-point in the hierarchy, just as earth, here justifiably termed 'middle-earth', is set at a mid-point between heaven and hell. The poet confines his description of earth to its two inhabitants and to the two trees which offer life and death and which display the qualities of heaven and hell respectively.

The messenger devil, on arrival up from hell, as the poet stresses (446), makes continual reference to the long journey he has had in coming (supposedly) down from heaven to earth. He tempts Eve by offering her a sight of heaven which, once she has

1. 'Him I shall allow to sit by my own self'.

eaten the fruit, she believes she possesses; she tells Adam:¹

Ic maeg heonon geseon
hwaer he sylf siteð...
geseo ic him his englas ymbe hweorfan...
...ic maeg swegles gamen
gehyran on heofnum. 666-76

Once Adam too has eaten, they both realise that this line of communication with heaven and God through sight and sound was a false one; the result of their disobedience is that they are cut off spiritually from God, and see and hear instead the unpleasant features of hell:²

Gesyhst þu nu þa sweartan helle
graedige and gifre. Nu þu hie grimman meht
heonane gehyran. Nis heofonrice
gelic þam lige... 792-95

Once communication upwards towards heaven and God has been cut off, the poet draws attention to the horizontal plane. Their world becomes a place where hunger and thirst close in on them (802) and they are oppressed by the weather from all points of the compass (806-9). As with the devils, whose surroundings in hell seem narrow and restrictive after the freedom of heaven, their experience is necessarily concentrated on the horizontal once the vertical - access to God - is denied. Adam and Eve can no longer look up to God in heaven and bow their heads before him as obedient

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1. 'I can see from here where he himself is sitting...I see his angels moving about him...I can hear the ethereal merriment in the heavens'.
 2. 'Do you now see that dark hell, greedy and voracious? Now you can hear it raging from here. The kingdom of heaven is not like that fire...'

servants, and they now become perforce aware of their environment, taking shelter in a forest.¹

Throughout the poem the hierarchical dimension reinforces the moral interaction. The spatial metaphors of upward and downward motion are used to indicate spiritual transitions; the distance between heaven and hell, repeatedly stressed in the account of the fall of the angels, is a measure of the spiritual change that has taken place:²

Acwaeð hine þa fram his hyldo and hine on helle wearp,
on þa deopan dala, þaer he to deofle wearð...
...Feollon þa ufon of heofnum
þurhlonge swa þreo niht and dagas,
þa englas of heofnum on helle... 304-8

Distance in spatial terms is an indication of the distance in spiritual terms. During the temptation sequences the poet reminds the reader by the references to heaven above and hell beneath that Adam and Eve are making a choice between the two; hence Adam's choice of the latter occurs simultaneously with his acceptance of the fruit:³

He aet þam wife onfeng
helle and himsið. 717-18

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1. The idea that sin and rebellion against God result in a constricted and narrowed existence is an important one theologically. Satan's self-delusion creates its own prison from which he cannot escape because he will not; his deception of Adam and Eve here leads first to illusory spaciousness and then to restriction. It is a recurrent idea in Anglo-Saxon literature; see the discussion of Christ and Satan in chapter 4 below.
 2. 'He banished him then from his favour and threw him down into hell, into those deep pits where he turned into a devil... Then they fell from on high, from out of the heavens, for as long as three nights and days, those angels, from out of the heavens into hell...'
 3. 'From the woman he accepted hell and departure hence'.

The poem is accompanied in the manuscript (Junius 11) by illustrations of the second quarter of the eleventh century, contemporary in style with the script of the poems. Barbara Raw has argued that most of the illustrations were derived from the manuscript of the Old Saxon poem, which originated in Carolingian Gaul and which came to England probably in the late ninth century.¹ This applies in particular to the illustrations of the creation and the fall of the angels, which have various common features suggesting a single manuscript origin. (The provenance of the illustrations of Cain and Abel and of Malalehel in the same manuscript have been discussed in chapter 2 above.) She posits a Carolingian source also for the illustrations of the temptation of Adam and Eve, suggesting parallels in illustrated Bibles which have friezes in which scenes are divided by trees.² It is not possible, however, to be sure whether the transformation of these series into individual scenes was the work of a ninth-century Carolingian artist, adding illustrations to the Old Saxon poem, or of the Anglo-Saxon artist, in which case it would provide a further indication that the artist understood the design conventions that exploit spatial relationships.

The illustrations in Junius 11 conform to the usual spatial representation of the cosmos, whereby the top of the page is occupied as a rule by heaven and the bottom by hell. The illustration of the Fall of the angels (p.3), though organised in four horizontal sections, reads vertically downwards (see pl.43).

1. Raw, pp.133-48.

2. *ibid*, p.139.

Lucifer in the top section stands centre, slightly raised up on a foot-stool beside an empty throne space raised higher still. In the next section he is accepting palm branches from followers on each side; and in the section below the Lord God deals with the situation in a downward movement represented by his handful of spears. The final section contrasts with the upper three in its jumble of figures, some falling horizontally, some already contorted into devils. Satan himself is represented twice here, once falling, entangled in pieces from his broken throne, and once chained centre bottom to the teeth of the jaws of hell. The artist's placing of Satan in the centre of the first, second and fourth sections assists the eye in following his descent - from the top of the page to the bottom, from heaven to hell. This one composite illustration deals effectively with the whole narrative sequence of the rebellion and Fall, retaining the importance of its basic hierarchical structure.

Those scenes in which the artist is required to depict both heaven and hell, or both heaven and earth, or both earth and hell, show each as a distinct location, appropriately placed at the top or bottom of the page. There is a second representation of the Fall of the angels, less complex than the other, which is a good example of the way the locations are clearly distinguished; the upper part of the available space is banded by two semi-circular lines representing the heavens, while the lower part is surrounded by battlements whose entrance is a hell-mouth (see pl.44). The falling angels occupy the space in between. The illustrations continue to follow the poem's interest in the vertical axis in portraying the devil-messenger's journey up from hell to earth and

subsequently from earth down to hell (see pls.45 & 46).

Significantly, earth in these illustrations is not represented as a bounded entity like heaven and hell; ground level is indicated by horizontal lines and a rudimentary landscape by trees. It is therefore open to influence from above and below, as in the poem, and spiritual openness is thus reflected by spatial openness.

So the Junius 11 manuscript illustrations reinforce the poem's use of hierarchy to express the nature and extent of the Fall of both angels and men. This is true both of those illustrations probably invented to accompany an unusual text and those adapted from more standard representations of the story.¹ Throughout, the spatial organisation on the vertical axis helps to define the spiritual condition of the figures and their relationships to each other.

Returning to spatial metaphors in poetry, the poem Guthlac B describes the death of the saint in terms which are designed to suggest a connection between heaven and earth at the point and place of death. The last three fitts of the poem deal with the actual day of death, and the theme that runs through the account of Guthlac's illness and conversations with his servant is that of separation. The poet has already described Guthlac's death in terms of separation - that of body and soul, a 'nydgedal'; he will also be separated from his servant, and his death is described as a journey, which stresses the spatial distance involved. The saint is ready for his journey - 'fusne on forðsiþ' (1148) - and he tells

1. Raw, pp.133-48.

his servant to prepare for a journey also:¹

Min þæt swaese bearn, nis nu swiþe feor
þam ytemestan endedogor
nydgedales... 1166-68

Beo þu on sið gearu,
siþþan lic ond leamu ond þes lifes gaest
asundrien somwist hyra
þurh feorggedal. Fys aefter þon
þæt þu gesece sweostor minre... 1175-79

The poet is ambiguous in his reference to a separation; the 'nydgedal' of l.1168 could apply to the body and soul of the saint or equally to the saint and his servant - his death will either way be characterised by separation.

The parallel between the two cases of separation remains important until the moment of death; at that point, the soul of the saint rises to heaven and his body is left on earth:²

Ða waes Guðlaces gaest gelaeded
eadig on upweg. Englas feredun
to þam longan gefean, lic colode,
belifd under lyfte. 1305-8

The separation between body and soul is clearly a spatial one; words such as 'on upweg', 'englas feredun', 'under lyfte' stress the distance involved in the parting of Guthlac's spirit from his body. It also parts the servant from his master; the former remains on earth with the body of the saint.

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1. 'My dear son, it is not very far from the utmost and final day of the inevitable parting...
Be prepared for a journey once my body and limbs and the breath of life sunder their union in the severance of the spirit; after that, hasten to tell my sister...'
 2. 'Then the blessed soul of Guthlac was led on its upward way; angels carried it to lasting joy. The corpse chilled, lifeless down below the sky'.

The poet has established the spatial separation; he then employs certain features to establish a spiritual connection across the distance. The most important is the light which shines during Guthlac's last day on earth. It contrasts with the earlier references to death approaching by night, and thus the spiritual forces at work are polarised in the antithesis 'light / darkness'. They are both present on the last night:¹

Wuldres scima,
 aeþele ymb aeþelne, ondlonge niht
 scan scirwered. 1286-88

Even more forcefully, at the moment of death and ultimate separation, the light appears as a tower or pillar, reaching from heaven down to earth:²

Ða þær leoht ascan,
 beama beorhtast. Eal þæt beacen waes
 ymb þæt halge hus, hefonlic leoma,
 from foldan up swylce fyren tor
 ryht araered oð rodera hrof,
 gesewen under swegle, sumnan beorhtra,
 aeþeltungla wite. 1308-14

It connects Guthlac's spirit with his servant at the place of his death and mitigates the separation.

1. 'The brightness of heaven, a noble light about a noble man, shone clear all night long'.
2. 'Then a light blazed out there, brightest among beams. This beacon quite surrounded the holy house, a heavenly incandescence raised straight up, like a fiery tower, from the ground to the vault of the skies, and visible beneath the firmament brighter than the sun and the splendour of the noble stars'.

Spiritual power is further evinced by sound and by sense:¹

Engla þreatas
sigeleoð sungon, sweg waes on lyfte
gehyred under heofonum, haligra dream. 1314-16

It is sensed by smell in the 'swetum stencum' (1318) and felt in the trembling of the earth - 'Beofode þæt ealond, / foldwong onþrong' (1325-26). It is clearly perceptible to the servant, as the poet stresses - 'gesewen', 'gehyred'. These manifestations emphasise that there is a connection between earth and heaven and that the servant has not been abandoned spiritually by his master, though separated physically. A direct association is created between heaven and earth at that specific point and it therefore symbolically fulfils the promise made by the saint before his death:²

nelle ic laetan þe
aefre unrotne aefter ealdorlege
meðne modseocne minre geweorðan,
soden sorgwaelmum. A ic sibbe wiþ þe
healdan wille. 1259-63

So, the concept of hierarchy had an important role in the perception of the relationship between man and God, and Anglo-Saxon poets and artists were aware of the potential of spatial metaphors - expressed visually and verbally - to articulate this clearly for their audiences. Connections made spatially in the imagination and

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1. 'Squadrons of angels sang the song of victory; there was melody upon the air, heard down below the heavens - the sound of the saints' rejoicing'.
 2. 'I will not leave you for ever after my death, to grow sad, weary, heart-sick and overwhelmed with turbulent sorrows. I will always keep friendship with you'.

on the page help to actualise the concept of communication between God and man; space is being consciously used to define abstract relationships.

CHAPTER 4

'GOD SCEAL WIÐ YFELE' - INVASION AND EXPULSION.

It is a truism to say that all societies need to find a way to define the existence of evil in the world as they perceive it, and so to deal with its presence - both on a conceptual level, and on a practical level in terms of prescribing principles for individual behaviour. The task ultimately belongs to writers and thinkers - theologians, philosophers and poets, those whose function it is to give expression to such problems. In the Anglo-Saxon period, as to a certain extent in any culture, these categories tend to overlap; since little survives that is not at least indirectly influenced by well-established Christian guidelines on the subject, it is not surprising that a broad consensus emerges. Anglo-Saxon poetry which is secular in subject matter tends to be prescriptive, in the sense that it appeals to an assumed understanding of what is normative in behaviour; the principles that underlie the distinction between right and wrong conduct are rarely if ever inconsistent with Christian belief, even when they are completely secular in character and in content. It may be said that all the writing dealing creatively with the subject of defining the operation of good and evil on a grand scale or in detail should be understood within a Christian context.

The distinction between good and evil is frequently characterised by polarising the two in terms of metaphorical antitheses. Just as comparative prepositions place things in relation to each other ('above / below', 'near / far'), so superlative terms can be used to polarise - to place things in extreme opposition: 'top / bottom', 'right / left', 'east / west'.

In chapter 3 we looked at the way space is used to make connections between things or to indicate a significant lack of communication; this chapter investigates how space can be used to present distinctions or divisions.

The first illustration in the Harley Psalter is a good example of spatial polarisation (see pl.47). Psalm I (1) contrasts the 'blessed man' who makes the choice to reject evil with the 'wicked man' who has chosen evil, and the artist, following the Utrecht Psalter copy, uses the two-dimensional space on the page to present a distinction between the two. On the left hand side of the page is an enclosure where the blessed man sits in meditation on God's law, with an angel standing behind him; on the right hand side a wicked man is seated holding a sword and surrounded by armed men, a devil at his side. These two features are separated by the width of the page, yet are connected by a line representing a path which runs between them and on which stand two men: one faces one way and one the other, each making a gesture in the opposite direction. E.T. De Wald describes these two as 'discussing' the two seated figures;¹ one could go further and suggest that they might represent the choice between the way of the righteous and the way of the ungodly - 'viam iustorum' and 'iter impiorum' (v.6). The juxtaposition of the two figures and the fact that their hands and eyes are turned in opposite directions would be an indication by the artist of the choice that has to be made between good and evil, as represented by the two seated figures to the far left and right. The antithesis between the righteous man, blessed by God, and the

1. The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter, p.4.

ungodly man, doomed to perish, which is the theme of the Psalm, is thus dramatised on the page by means of the spatial organisation, notably the distance put between the two; righteousness and ungodliness have been polarised by the artist along a horizontal plane.

Anglo-Saxon theology has a well-recognised tendency towards polarisation. It likes to define abstracts as absolute, to put things firmly into a suitable place - a 'mentality which seeks order, rationality and purpose in the human experience of this world'.¹ Not only theologians but artists and writers as well are concerned to present a clear choice - between good and evil, obeying and disobeying God, between an eternal destiny in heaven and one in hell. It is a mode of presentation widely used in both homilies and didactic poetry, and enables writers to deal with the concept of evil and its place in human experience by polarising it in space. So Aelfric, for example, polarises good men and evil by a spatial comparison with the distance between heaven and earth: 'forði þonne swa micel is betwux godum mannum and yfelum, swa micel swa bið betwux heofenan and eorðan'.² The conflict between evil and good is one that is frequently represented in terms of an invasion or an expulsion. Ultimately, this has its rationale in the Biblical accounts of how evil was originally dealt with by God; when Satan rebelled in heaven, he was immediately displaced, along with his followers, and this expulsion of evil provides a pattern

1. Anglo-Saxon Poetry, transl. Bradley, pp.512-13.

2. Aelfric, Homilies, ed. Thorpe, I, 262.

and precedent for all subsequent occasions on which evil needs to be dealt with. So we will begin this chapter by looking at the Anglo-Saxon accounts of the expulsion from heaven, and then examine how the spatially defined movements of invasion and expulsion are used to explain and focus the presence of evil and its rejection.

1. Satan's Expulsion from Heaven

The importance of the account of evil's origin lies in its dual status as historical fact and symbolic event. Evil in the person of Satan was once defeated in time and space, thus limiting its present power significantly; the idea is that evil can still be defeated by symbolic reference to that historical event, and indeed is defeated by employing basically the same method, following the same pattern, and repeating the same action. This method is characterised in the Bible by the metaphors of falling and expulsion. Both involve displacement, one vertical and one lateral, and both are therefore key spatial images. The former - falling - refers primarily to a change in moral status, whereas the latter - expulsion - indicates the nature of God's dealings with the presence of evil in heaven. The discussion above in chapter 3 on the use of spatial reference to indicate relative status - notably of attributes pertaining to heaven and hell - dealt with the static, hierarchic relationship between good and evil. The metaphor of expulsion, on the other hand, expresses movement or change and, in the context of good and evil, any movement is usually seen as forceful, even violent - an inevitable result of

the constant struggle between the two opposing forces: 'god sceal wið yfele'.¹

The extended use of the metaphor of falling in Genesis B, along with movement up and down the vertical axis, appears to be distinctive to that poem. Other accounts of the Fall in Anglo-Saxon poetry lay greater emphasis on the spatial metaphor of casting out or expulsion, which also accompanies the Fall of man and angels in the Bible. The Bible has no narrative account of the punishment of the angels, the theological doctrine being based on recurrent uses of the two metaphors and on Patristic agreement (after Gregory) that pride was the reason for Satan's rebellion. The idea of pride falling is found predominantly in the Old Testament, axiomatically in Proverbs 16:18:²

Contritionem praecedit superbia
et ante ruinam exaltatur spiritus.

and more specifically in Isaiah 14:12 where the evil figure who reaches up too far in pride and is thrown down has traditionally been taken as an allusion to Satan:³

quomodo cecidisti de caelo lucifer
qui mane oriebaris
corruisti in terram qui vulnerabas
gentes
qui dicebas in corde tuo

-
1. Maxims II, ASPR VI, 1.51.
 2. 'Pride goeth before destruction: and the spirit is lifted up before a fall'.
 3. 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer who didst rise in the morning? How art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations? And thou saidst in thy heart: I will

in caelum conscendam super astra
Dei exaltabo solium meum
sedebo in monte testamenti in
lateribus aquilonis
ascendam super altitudinem nubium ero
similis altissimo
verumtamen ad infernum detraheris
in profundum laci.

The idea of casting out and imprisoning is found in a number of New Testament passages, some clearly referring to Satan, others less specific. Any ambiguity serves to demonstrate that the metaphor can be taken to indicate God's universal method of dealing with the presence and activities of evil; so in Revelation the reference could be either to past or future judgement, and clearly the punishment is appropriate to both:¹

et proiectus est draco ille magnus
serpens antiquus qui vocatur
Diabolus et Satanas
qui seducit universum orbem
proiectus est in terram et angeli
ejus cum illo missi sunt.

et adprehendit draconem serpentem
antiquum qui est diabolus et Satanas
et ligavit eum per annos mille
et misit eum in abyssum
et clusit et signavit super illum.

The most specific allusion to Satan's original casting out of

ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the height of the clouds, I will be like the Most High. But yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, into the depth of the pit'.

1. 'And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil and satan, who seduceth the whole world, and he was cast unto the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him'. Rev. 12:9.

'And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil and satan, and bound him for a thousand years. And he cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him'. Rev. 20:2-3.

heaven is found in 2 Peter 2:4:¹

si enim Deus angelis peccantibus
non pepercit
sed rudentibus inferni detractos in
tartarum tradidit in iudicium
cruciatos reservari...

and this is closely allied to Jude 6:²

angelos vero qui non servaverunt
suum principatum
sed dereliquerunt suum domicilium
in iudicium magni diei vinculis
aeternis sub caligine reservavit.

These brief statements regarding events before the creation of the earth were expanded by commentators into a consistent and logically argued narrative account.

Genesis A, to which Genesis B provides an alternative account of the same material, is primarily concerned with the act of rebellion and the resultant expulsion. This is partly related to the importance of the figure of Satan; whereas in Genesis B he leads the rebellion personally, setting himself up as a substitute lord and is thrown down for his pride and presumption, in Genesis A he is seen as one among a rebellious group. Satan is not given prominence, remaining unnamed and, although the initial impulse to rebel is ascribed by the poet to one angel, individuality is

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1. 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned: but delivered them, drawn down by infernal ropes to the lower hell, unto torments, to be reserved unto judgment...'
 2. 'And the angels who kept not their principality but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved under darkness in everlasting chains, unto the judgment of the great day'.

quickly submerged into a collective 'they';¹

engla weard for oferhygde	
dwael on gedwilde...	22-23
...hie of siblufan	
godes ahwurfon.	24-25

The pride traditionally ascribed to Lucifer is here shared by all.

The context of the rebellion is important. The poem as a whole begins, not with narrative, but with an injunction to praise the king of heaven, who is without beginning or end and who rules his kingdom for ever:²

Us is riht micel ðaet we rodera weard,	
wereda wuldorcining, wordum herigen,	
modum lufien!	1-3

...he bið a rice	
ofer heofenstolas.	7-8

The use of the present tense here, describing a present situation contemporary with the poem's reader, is a significant reminder that God's power is unchanged and will always remain so, as will the bliss of the angels. Any actions put into the past tense will thus be seen to have taken place without having ultimately disrupted the power of God or the peace of heaven. It is not so much a question of purging heaven of the polluting presence of the rebellious angels as preventing the pollution before it can begin; heaven remains undefiled and therefore continues to be a sacred space. The relationship between the angels and God is characterised as the

-
1. 'the chief of angels strayed through pride into perversity...they turned aside from God's loving friendship'.
 2. 'A great duty is ours: that we should praise with our words and love with our hearts the Guardian of the heavens, the glorious King of hosts. ...he will ever remain mighty above the thrones of heaven'.

retainer / lord one - 'þegnas þrymfaeste þeoden heredon' (15). In that context they live in joy, without crime and in peace:¹

drihtenes dugeþum waeron
swiðe gesaelige. Synna ne cuþon,
firena fremman, ac hie on friðe lifdon,
ece mid heora aldor. 17-20

By this point it has become a 'past' situation - the past tense having been slipped in when speaking of God's eternal rule from the beginning of time. The flow of descriptive phrases is interrupted only by the conjunction 'aerðon' - an ominous one in the context of a seemingly endless state of bliss.

The cause of the disruption of peace and harmony is given as 'oferhygde' (22) - displayed by the retainers in their attempt to seize property from their lord. It is an act of unlawful appropriation and as such has the overtones of invasion:²

Haefdon gielp micel
þaet hie wið drihtne daelan meahton
wuldorfaestan wic werodes þrymme,
sid and swegltorht. 25-28

The significant verb is 'daelan' - 'to divide or share property' - here by force rather than by legal right. The implication is that the possession of the land involves possession of the land's glory. The aim of the rebellion is given explicitly by their leader who

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1. 'greatly were they blessed with the benefits of the Lord God. They had no knowledge of the commission of sins and of crimes, but they lived eternally in peace with their Prince'.
 2. 'They had the great arrogance to boast that they could partition with God that mansion, glorious in the majesty of the multitude, broad and ethereally bright'.

declares:¹

þæt he on norðdae
ham and heahsetl heofena rices
agan wolde.

32-34

Again, the ownership of land is the aspect emphasised by the poet, rather than pride for its own sake. This is true also in the account of God's response:²

Sceop þam werlogan
wraeclicne ham weorce to leane,
helleheafas.

36-38

The angels are oath-breakers - 'werlogan' - since they have betrayed the bond between a lord and his retainer in which the lord gives all things to his servant in return for service. Satan's pride incites him to take possession by force, and thus to set himself up as an equal to his lord, rather than remain as a loyal subject; his reward for this is indeed a home, but one of punishment and torment, in exile from heaven.

God prepares a home for them before the rebellion gets under way, and it is in effect a prison:³

Heht þæt witehus wraecna bidan,
deop, dreama leas, drihten ure...
synnihte beseald, susle geinmod,
geondfolen fyre and faercyle,
rece and reade lege.

39-40

42-44

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1. 'that he meant to have a home and a throne in the northern part of the kingdom of heaven'.
 2. 'He fashioned for the renegade a home - one in exile - as reward for his effort: the howlings of hell'.
 3. 'That outcast's prison, deep and cheerless, our Lord commanded [them] to suffer...enveloped in endless night, filled with torment, inundated with fire and intense cold, smoke and ruddy flame'.

The poet uses words which belong to the 'exile' frame of reference, such as 'wraecligne' (37), 'hearde niðas' (38), 'wraecna' (39), and 'dreama leas' (40). They are combined with words relating to a different yet complementary mode of unhappy existence - that of restriction, confinement or imprisonment. Since imprisonment as a judicial punishment was probably not part of Anglo-Saxon social organisation (see chapter 5 below), it is worth noting that confinement as an image is found in secular literary contexts in combination with exile (for example, The Wife's Lament), once again indicating that the Biblical story in outline was readily accessible for handling in vernacular poetic terms, including its spatial imagery.¹

At line 47 the narrative line begins again; the rebellious intent and the preparation of the prison are followed by rebellious action, and consequently God's punitive action. The verbs used by the poet to define this action are in the first place ones of separating and dividing: 'besloh' (55), 'bescyrede' (63), 'benam' (56), 'scyrede' (65). The angels lose what they aimed for - 'sigore', 'gewealde', 'dome', and 'dugeðe' (55-56) - and lose also what they previously had - 'dreame', 'friðo', 'gefean', 'aeðele' (56-58, 63). After God's deprivatory action comes his positive action. He sends them on a long journey:²

Waldend sende
laðwendne here on langne sið 67-68

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1. See Thomas Rendall, 'Bondage and Freeing from Bondage in Old English Religious Poetry', JEGP 73 (1974), 497-512; 'bondage is a pervasive image for man's fallen condition', p.512.
 2. 'The Ruler dispatched the rebellious army, those miserable spirits, upon a long journey'.

but here there is no suggestion of casting down, only casting out:¹

Sceof þa and scyrede scyppend ure
oferhidig cyn engla of heofnum. 65-66

The torments of the devils in hell are then detailed, followed by the renewed joys of heaven experienced by those faithful to God; this contrast makes the explicit point that heaven has returned to its previous state of harmony, now that strife and evil have been dealt with by means of expulsion:²

þa waes soð swa aer sibb on heofnum,
faegre freoþoþeawas, frea eallum leof,
þeoden his þegnum. 78-80

This act of expelling evil effectively purges the previously sacred space of heaven.

As well as peace in heaven there is some vacant property without an owner:³

Him on laste setl,
wuldorspedum welig, wide stoda
gifum growende on godes rice,
beorht and geblaedfaest, buendra leas. 86-89

This helps incidentally to reinforce the sense of spatial dislocation that has taken place; the angels are no longer there, having left the homes where they belonged, the places they were created for, and they have been given new homes where the

-
1. 'So our Creator thrust out and cut off the presumptuous clan of angels from the heavens'.
 2. 'Then as before there was true concord in the heavens, the pleasant virtues of peace, and the Lord loved by all, the King by his servants'.
 3. 'In their wake there stood abroad in God's kingdom thrones abounding in heavenly riches, increasing in endowments, resplendent and prosperous, lacking incumbents'.

conditions reflect and enforce their moral condition. They now belong to an environment without glory or happiness, where nature is unnatural and at extremes of heat and cold. The situation is implicitly ironic, since the aim of the rebellion was to gain new lands which would represent their increased sense of their own importance.

So, in this account the removal of the angels from heaven is represented by the poet as being effected by expulsion - a motion of casting out in exile to prison - rather than by a fall. The poet shows in spatial terms the process of dealing with the threat of evil. Through his choice of vocabulary he puts the threat into the context of social obligations, which are broken by the desire to own land for oneself rather than hold it from the lord. The angel first turns from 'siblufan', thus beginning the break in social bonds, and desires to divide the land with his lord by force - breaking his allegiance to the lord with a vengeance. In the angel's misconception, equality with God is achieved essentially through the appropriation of land and the consequent possession of a home and a high seat of power. The punishment for this pride in attempting equality is characterised similarly in terms of its social implications. The lord deprives them of their lands, sending them into exile, separated from him and from their homeland, but furthermore imprisoned physically. The spatial metaphors used in the poem thus give the action moral clarity within the narrative setting.

Christ and Satan is more explicitly didactic in its treatment of the same event but it uses spatial metaphors to similar effect.

Part II of the poem consists of the laments of Satan and his followers concerning their loss and their present hardships, and an explicit moral is pointed by the poet both authorially and through the words of Satan himself - to the effect that a similar punishment will eventually befall anyone who presumes to reject God and is disobedient to the call to worship and serve his Creator. Satan expresses it:¹

Wat ic nu þa
 þæt bið alles leas ecan dreamas
 se ðe heofencynige heran ne þenceð,
 meotode cweman

180-83

and the poet reinforces the same point:²

Forþan sceal gehycgan haeleða aeghwylc
 þæt he ne abaelige bearn waldendes.
 Laete him to bysne hu þa blacan feond
 for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon.

193-96

The laments of Satan consist basically of three points, elaborated at length in different combinations: a) the enforced loss of their former joys, related through a series of verbs of deprivation and separation - 'bedaeled', 'benemed' 'aworpan', 'afirde', 'alaeded'; b) the designation of their present place of abode as a 'ham', in the sense that it is where they belong and belongs to them, and is not exchangeable for a 'baettran ham': it is also described as a hall - 'sele' - and more Biblically as a pit - 'scraf', 'grund', 'neowle genip'; and c) the conditions of their

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1. 'I now know that he who is minded not to listen to the King of heaven and obey the Lord will be utterly dispossessed of everlasting joys'. ASPR I.
 2. 'Every man must therefore take thought not to provoke the Son of God the Ruler. Let it be as an example to him, how the black fiends all came to grief because of their pride'.

existence there, which include chains, fire, wind, darkness, excessive heat and cold, venom, snakes and dragons. These three categories, which together comprise the substance of the laments, have in common an acknowledgement of the separate locations of heaven and hell. The spatial distance between them serves as an index of the spiritual distance and enforces the distinction. The devils themselves express in a collective speech their recognition of a link between conditions spiritual and environmental:¹

Nu is gesene þæt we syngodon
 uppe on earde...
 Hwaet, we in wuldres wlite wunian moston
 þær we halgan gode heran woldon...
 þa we þær waeron,
 wunodon on wynnum... 228-35

The devils' lament indicates that they implicitly accept the justice of their punishment, even though they do not, and theologially could not, repent. They are aware of what they have lost and continue to prize it; they even appear to admit that their attempt to wrest the kingdom from God, once unsuccessful, inevitably resulted in exile:²

Ða gewearð usic þæt we woldon swa
 drihten adrifan of þam deoran ham,
 cyning of cestre. Cuð is wide
 þæt wreclastas wunian moton,
 grimme grundas. God seolfa him
 rice haldeð. He is ana cyning,
 þe us eorre gewearð, ece drihten,
 meotod mihtum swið. 254-61

-
1. 'It is apparent that we sinned in the habitation above...Think; we were allowed to dwell in heaven's brightness while we were willing to obey holy God...When we were there we dwelt amidst pleasures'.
 2. 'So we agreed that we would thus drive out the Lord from that precious home, the King from his citadel. It is known abroad that we were obliged to inhabit the ways of exile, the cruel abysses: God keeps the kingdom for himself. He is sole King, who grew angry with us, the everlasting Lord, the Ordainer, strong in powers'.

This recognition on the part of the devils as to right and wrong behaviour means that the poet is able to convey a direct warning to the reader, in effect from the devils themselves. The potential parallel between the choice once open to the fallen angels and the choice before every individual is thus presented more forcefully. The speech of the devils ends:¹

hwæðer us se eca aefre wille
on heofona rice ham alefan,
eðel to aehte, swa he aer dyde. 276-78

Their principal loss is their home, their native country, where they still feel they belong, in the sense that they can speak wistfully of returning.

The passage that follows is a further description of the conditions of hell - this time in the poet's own voice - in contrast to those of heaven, leading into the Harrowing of Hell episode where the forces of the two confront each other:²

Þis is stronglic, nu þes storm becom,
þegen mid þreate, þeoden engla... 385-86
Hwearf þa to helle haeleða bearnum,
meotod þurh mihte; wolde manna rim,
fela þusenda, forð gelaedan
up to eðle. 398-401

Christ brings light, beauty and freedom for the human captives and

-
1. 'Will the eternal Lord ever grant us a home in the heaven-kingdom, a patrimony to possess, as he did before?'
 2. 'This is hard to withstand, now that this attack has come, a soldier with a battalion, the Prince of the angels...The ordaining Lord, then, by means of his might, went to hell to the sons of men; he meant to lead forth the full complement of mortals, many thousands, up to their fatherland'.

they ascend to the home awaiting them in heaven - their homeland:¹

Let þa up faran ece drihten... 441

þaet, la, waes faeger, þaet se feða com
up to earde, and se eca mid him,
meotod mancynnes in þa maeran burh! 455-57

In contrast the devils are forced deeper into darkness:²

heo furðor sceaf
in þaet neowle genip, nearwe gebeged. 443-44

The final part of the poem was thought by earlier editors to have been composed separately, but more recently has been defended as a unified construction.³ It deals with Satan's temptation of Christ, and ends with Christ's injunction to Satan to go back to hell and measure it in order to realise fully his spiritual condition:⁴

Wite þu eac, awyrgda, hu wid and sid
helheoðo dreorig, and mid hondum amet.

-
1. 'Then the everlasting Lord let them ascend...It was indeed a beautiful occasion when that throng came up into the homeland, and the eternal God, the ordaining Lord of mankind, with them, into the renowned citadel'.
 2. 'thrust them, forcibly crushed, deeper into that abysmal darkness'.
 3. See Christ and Satan: An Old English Poem, ed. Merrel D. Clubb (Yale U.P., 1925), pp.xlii-xlix; also C.L. Wrenn, A Study of Old English Literature (London: Harrap, 1967): 'rather a triple group of poems than a single composition', p.98. R.E. Finnegan, on the other hand, argues for the poem's essential unity and careful structure in his edition, Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier U.P., 1977), pp.12-36. See also Charles R. Sleeth, Studies in 'Christ and Satan' (Toronto U.P., 1982), ch. 1; he summarises the various critical views, before stating his own defence of the poem's unity.
 4. 'realize, you cursed creature, how wide and broad is the dreary vault of hell, and measure it out with your hands.

Grip wið þaes grundes; gang þonne swa
 oððæt þu þone ymbhwyrft alne cunne,
 and aereſt amet ufan to grunde,
 and hu ſid seo se swarta eðm.
 Waſt þu þonne þe geornor þæt þu wið god wunne,
 seoððan þu þonne hafast handum ametene
 hu heh and deop hell inneward seo,
 grim graefhus. 698-707

By measuring the place of his punishment he is necessarily measuring the extent of that punishment. The reiterated phrases 'hu heh', 'hu wid', 'hu...deop', 'hu ſid' emphasise the enormity of his prison and therefore of his crime. On the other hand, the very fact that it can be measured makes an important point about its constrictive nature and its finiteness; as in Genesis A and B, Satan's physical imprisonment is a reflection and consequence of his self-delusion - his mental imprisonment, from which he cannot break free, because it is self-imposed.¹ Although environment has been used by the poet throughout the poem to define for his audience the spiritual condition of the inhabitants, it is given a particularly effective twist here in the command to Satan himself to measure his torment, thus examining his position and reflecting perforce on his conduct which has brought him there. Physical apprehension - 'mid hondum amet...grip wið þaes grundes, / gang þonne...' - is seen as a means towards spiritual apprehension.

Grope towards the bottom and then go about so until you know the whole circumference; and first measure from above to the bottom, and how broad is the murky air. Then you will realize the more readily that you strove against God, when you have measured with your hands how high and deep hell is inside, that grim cavernous abode'.

1. Physical restraint is a feature of all illustrations of Satan in hell, notably those in Junius 11, but also for example in London BL MS Cotton Tiberius C VI, f.14, where Satan is chained to the teeth of hell, while the souls of men are set free. (See pl.48).

Satan returns to hell and complies, measuring his torment in miles from where he stands on the bottom of the bottomless pit:¹

þa him þuhte þaet þanon waere
to helleduru hund þusenda
mila gemearcodes, swa hine se mihtiga het
þaet þurh sinne craeft susle amaete. 719-22

His despair is given far greater force here than it was earlier in the poem, where his laments in their repetition seem at times perfunctory. Editors have been so far unable to trace a source or close parallel for this passage, and it is therefore possible that it is not derivative but original.² The suggestion has been made that this section could come before the Harrowing of Hell section to correct the chronology, but since the poem is chiefly concerned to present the punishment of evil from the point of view of the fallen angels, this is arguably a more powerfully effective ending than Christ's triumph over all the occupants of hell would have been.³ The poem returns at its close to what has been an essential form of reference throughout; sin and its consequences are expressed in terms of spatial dislocation. Evil and good are polarised spatially in heaven and hell in order to present more

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1. 'Then it seemed to him that from there to the gate of hell was a hundred thousand miles in distance, according as the mighty Lord had commanded him in his cunning to measure his torment'.
 2. See Christ and Satan, ed. Finnegan, p.35; Sleeth states: 'the concluding part of the poem...is evidently his invention', p.64.
 3. See Christ and Satan, ed. Clubb, p.lv; also Richard L. Greene, 'A Re-arrangement of Christ and Satan', MLN 43 (1928), 108-10, and Charles W. Kennedy, Early English Christian Poetry: translated into alliterative verse with critical commentary (London: Hollis & Carter, 1952), p.16. For strong defence of the poem's present structure, see Christ and Satan, ed. Finnegan, pp.12-36, and Sleeth, ch.1.

clearly the choice before each individual.

2. The Marginalisation of Evil

Satan, expelled from heaven in order to preserve its integrity as a sacred space, becomes classified in literary terms as a marginal figure, forever on the outside. His power is circumscribed in accordance with orthodox belief, but he remains a threat in the same way as any outsider figure is seen as a potential danger to whatever group or place he has been expelled from. He and his devils are variously characterised as lurking on the fringes of areas where law and order are observed, as homeless and seeking a home, as malignant for no purpose, as a threat to the order of society. They are also seen as taking on characteristics of wild animals, both physically and figuratively, in order to harm the Christian Church.¹ The images of Satan as the chained dragon, the roaring lion and the prowling wolf are Biblical in origin, and these, though notably the last, are used by Anglo-Saxon writers to describe and define the role and activities of Satan in relation to the Church.

1. This can be noted in visual art; representations of Satan show him with such animal characteristics as a tail, pointed ears, long teeth, protruding jaw and claws. (see pls.43-46, 48).

The wolf image is found in John 10:12:¹

mercenarius et qui non est pastor
cujus non sunt oves propriae
videt lupum venientem et dimittit oves et fugit
et lupus rapit et dispergit oves.

Given the context of a parable, in which Jesus describes himself as the Good Shepherd, the implication is obviously that the wolf is the devil. Aelfric's homily on this passage states in the course of its exposition:²

Se wulf is deofol, þe syrwo ymbe Godes
gelaðunge, and cepð hu he mage cristenra
manna sawla mid leahtrum fordon.

There is a similar reference in Christ I to the wolf attacking the flock:³

Hafað se awyrgda wulf tostenced,
deor daedscua, dryhten, þin eowde,
wide towrecene. 256-58

Satan does not need to be named here to be identified as the wolf, particularly with the given adjective 'awyrgda'. Wulfstan in a homily addressed to ministers of the Church ends his instructions to shepherds of the ecclesiastical flock with the warning:⁴

Nis nan swa yfel scaða swa is deofol
silf; he bið a ymbe þaet an, hu he on
manna sawlum maest gescaðian maege.

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1. 'But the hireling and he that is not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep, and flieth: and the wolf catcheth, and scattereth the flock'.
 2. 'The wolf is the devil, who lurks about God's church, and watches how he may destroy the souls of Christian men with sins'. Aelfric, Homilies, ed. Thorpe, I, 238-41. (My transl.)
 3. 'the accursed wolf, the beast and agent of darkness, has scattered your flock, Lord, and driven it widely asunder'. ASPR III.
 4. 'There is no enemy more evil than the devil himself; he is always about one thing - how he may do most harm in the souls

Ðonne moton þa hyrdas beon swiðe wacole
 & geornlice clipigende þe wið þone
 þeodscapan folc sculan warian, þæt
 sindon biscopas & maessepreostas, þe
 godcunde heorde bewarian & bewerian
 sculon mid wislican laran, þæt se
 wodfraeca werewolf to swiðe ne slite
 ne to fela ne abite of godcundre heorde.

The Biblical image of the wolf lying in wait for and attacking the sheep in a flock is one that sits well with the Old English secular usage of the image of the wolf - not surprisingly, since it is the traditional habit of wolves to lurk on the edges of civilisation, posing a threat to it by swift invasion and retreat. It is proverbial knowledge, as demonstrated by Maxims II:¹

wulf sceal on bearwe, earm anhaga 18-19

and by The Fortunes of Men:²

Sumum þæt gegongeð on geoguðfeore
 þæt se endestaef earfeðmaecgum
 wealic weorþeð. Sceal hine wulf etan,
 har haeðstapa; hinsiþ þonne
 modor bimurneð. Ne bið swylc monnes geweald! 10-14

As in Wulf and Eadwacer ('Uncerne earne hwelp / bireð wulf to wuda' 11.16-17), the wolf comes out of its natural habitat only to be destructive or to rob - the same characteristics ascribed to the

of men. Therefore, those shepherds who should shield the people against their enemy, should be very watchful and earnestly cry out. Those are the bishops and the mass-priests, who should protect and defend the religious flock with wise teaching, so that the mad werewolf does not too severely tear nor too greatly devour the religious flock'. The Homilies of Wulfstan, ed. Bethurum, p.241. (My transl.)

1. 'The wolf belongs in the forest, a wretched loner'. ASPR VI.
2. 'To one it happens that the concluding letter of his life tragically befalls the unfortunate in his youthful prime. Him the wolf, the grizzled haunter of the wasteland, shall devour; then his mother will mourn his going hence. Such things are not man's to control'. ASPR III.

devil.¹

Satan is a marginalised figure not only in his attack on the Church but also in his attack on the individual. The Anglo-Saxon understanding of human existence was expressed in terms of the duality of the soul and the body, one contained in and protected by the other. This is exemplified by frequent references in literature and is reinforced by specific teaching on subjects such as temptation and exorcism. Apart from the numerous allusions to the heart as an area upon which temptations encroach - such as 'þaet he todraefe ða yfelan costmunga fram ure heortan'² - more specific metaphors are also employed; both Aelfric and Wulfstan liken the senses to gates through which temptations enter the soul.³ The concept is that just as the heart is reached by piercing through the body, so spiritually is the soul - which is generally synonymous with all terms for the abstract parts of the individual. The soul occupies an area inside the body, enclosed by

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1. It is interesting to note that in the *Carmen Paschale* (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS M.17.4, f.33), there is an illustration of the betrayal of Jesus by Judas, representing the latter symbolically as a wolf and the former as a lamb. The manuscript is thought to be derived from an eighth-century Anglo-Saxon copy of an early archetype, probably brought to England in the seventh century by Cuthwine, bishop of Dunwich. See J.J.G. Alexander, *Insular Manuscripts: 6th to the 9th Century*. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 1. (London: Harvey Miller, 1978), p.83; the illustration is reproduced as plate 299.
 2. Aelfric, *Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, I, 156.
 3. *ibid.*, p.492; Bethurum, p.172.

it from the world outside, and the body thus forms a boundary line which can be broken. The dichotomy gives rise to the twin metaphors of invasion and expulsion; in spiritual terms, and at an extreme, these metaphors become possession and exorcism, while in a minor form temptations are seen as attacks by devils.

The relationship of inside to outside - soul to body - is not of course exclusively an Anglo-Saxon concept. It is a physiological fact that the threat to life is frequently through the harmful invasion of the physical body. The particular Anglo-Saxon use of the concept seems to me to lie in the constant emphasis on the boundary between the two in phrases such as 'þurh þa hringlocan' (Battle of Maldon 1.145) at the moment of a disruption in the status quo, or phrases such as 'in hyra breostcofan' (The Wanderer 1.18) when protection is required. The context of the former phrase is purely physical, while in the latter it is psychological:¹

Forðon domgeorne dreorigne oft
in hyra breostcofan bindað faeste;
swa ic modsefan minne sceolde,
oft earmcearig, eðle bidaeled
freomaegum feor feterum saelan. 17-21

Anglo-Saxon gnomic statements make it clear that self-discipline was a desirable quality in a man, and the image of a shut or locked

1. 'For this reason those caring for reputation often bind fast in their breast some sorrowful thing. So I, often wretchedly anxious, separated from my home, far from noble kinsfolk, have had to fasten my heart with fetters'. ASPR III.

container is one frequently used to express this:¹

Ic to soþe wat
þæt bið in eorle indryhten þeaw,
þæt he his ferðlocan faeste binde,
healde his hordcofan, hycge swa he wille. 11-14

A similar image is used by writers in a spiritual context. The soul is seen as requiring protection against the attacks of the devil from the outside, and the urgency of this teaching is enforced frequently by the metaphor of invasion by an alien force. The concept of Satan as the slayer of the soul has its Biblical origin partly in Psalm XC (91) with its list of dangers against which God will give the trusting Psalmist his protection; these include the fowler's snare, pestilence, terror by night, destruction at noon, plague and notably arrows flying by day:²

quoniam ipse liberabit te de laqueo venantium
et a verbo aspero
in scapulis suis obumbrabit te
et sub pinnis eius sperabis
scuto circumdabit te veritas eius
non timebis a timore nocturno
a sagitta volante in die
a negotio perambulavit in tenebris
ab incursu et daemonio meridiano.

The arrows, by association with the fiery darts of Ephesians 6:16, were interpreted as the offensive weapons of Satan, used to attack the individual by invasive action. The rest of the passage in

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1. 'I know, to be sure, that it is an excellent virtue in a man that he should bind fast his bosom and lock up the treasury of his thoughts, let him think as he wishes'. *ibid.*
 2. 'For he hath delivered me from the snare of the hunters, and from the sharp word. He will overshadow thee with his shoulders: and under his wings thou shalt trust. His truth shall compass thee with a shield: thou shalt not be afraid of the terror of the night, of the arrow that flieth in the day; of the business that walketh about in the dark: of invasion, or of the noon-day devil'. (vv.3-6)

Ephesians 6 details the defensive armour to be worn in protection against the arrows and darts:¹

in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei
in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi
ignea exstinguere.

This image of Satan as the enemy of the soul, using weapons to pierce its protection and to invade, involves spatial expression; the soul is seen as an area upon which evil can encroach, here in the form of weapons. It is an image taken up by patristic writers such as Augustine who represents the soul on a number of occasions as a walled city, and Gregory who expresses the temptations of Job as invasions by the devil into the protected fortress of Job's soul.² The same image of the soul as a fortress is found in the Old English poems Juliana and Vainglory; envy within the vain man causes the arrows of malice to break and enter into the fortress of his soul:³

laeteð inwitflan
brecaþ þone burgweal, þe him bebead meotud
þaet he þaet wigsteal wergan sceolde... 37-39

As James Doubleday notes, 'the "arrows of sin" is a common image in the early mediaeval period, perhaps especially among OE writers'.⁴

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1. 'In all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may be able to extinguish all the fiery darts of the most wicked one'.
 2. See F. Klaeber, 'Die Christlichen Elemente im Beowulf', Anglia 35 (1912), pp.129f, for an account of the development of this image.
 3. 'allows the treacherous shaft to break through the city wall, with which the Ruler had commanded him he should defend that defensive structure'. Vainglory, ASPR III. (My transl.)
 4. James F. Doubleday, 'The Allegory of the Soul as Fortress in Old English Poetry', Anglia 88 (1970), p.504, note.

In Juliana the process of temptation by the devil is described at length also in terms of the soul as a fortified area under siege by weapons. In the case of a faithful 'miles Christi' the devil admits that the arrows are successfully warded off by a shield:¹

he bord ongean
 hefeð hygesnottor, haligne scyld,
 gaestlic guðreaf. 385-87

The devil examines an individual's spiritual defences - 'hu gefaestnad sy ferð inmanweard / wiðsteall geworht' (400-401) - and if he can find some point of entry - 'þurh teonan' - he invades; the poet uses the image of a walled and fortified city with gates to express the process of temptation:²

Ic þaes wealles geat
 ontyne þurh teonan; biþ se torr þyrel,
 ingong geopenad. 401-3

The details of the gate and the tower emphasise invasion across a boundary. It seems as if the poet is imagining two boundaries; once inside, the devil proceeds to let loose his arrows into the individual's 'breostsefan' (405):³

þonne ic aereþt him
 þurh eargfare in onsende
 in breostsefan bitre geþoncas
 þurh mislice modes willan. 403-6

The parallel images of the soul's fortress and the devil's arrows

1. 'astute in his thinking, [he] lifts against me a targe, a holy shield and spiritual armour'. ASPR III.
2. 'Through some injury I open the gate of the rampart, once the tower is penetrable and access opened'.
3. 'then with a fusillade of arrows I first dispatch embittered thoughts into his mind by use of the various desires of the heart'.

are both present, but the poet has separated them into two consecutive invasions.

In other poems the image of invasion into the soul is presented without the specific metaphor of the fortress and with the addition of a protective figure - the 'sawles weard'. In these passages just cited the soul itself is a spiritual fortress; there is no explicit reference to a dichotomy of body and soul. In the following passages, however, the arrows or weapons invade the individual's body in order to pierce the soul; the invasion is successful when the guardian fails to prevent it.

The image is given extended treatment in a passage in Christ II, introduced by the sending of messengers from heaven for the purpose of protection from the arrows of adversaries:¹

He his aras þonan,
halig of heahðu, hider onsendeð,
þa us gescildað wið sceþþendra
eglum earhfarum, þi laes unholdan
wunde gewyrceþ, þonne wrohtbora
in folc godes forð onsendeð
of his braegdbogan biterne strael. 759-65

It is clearly an elaboration on the image from Ephesians 6, particularly with the verb 'gescildað' and its parallel in the shield of faith. The verbs used indicate that the shooting cannot be prevented - the 'earhfarum' and 'biterne strael' will be launched - but the shooting may not necessarily be harmfully effective in causing a wound; that clause is a subordinate one in the subjunctive mood, in distinction to the indicative mood of the

1. 'He sends thence his holy messengers here from the heights, who shield us against the grievous arrow-attacks of adversaries, lest the fiends should cause wounds when the lord of sin dispatches a cruel dart from his crafty bow [against God's people]'.

other verbs. The enemies' purpose is directed towards injury; they are designated 'sceþþendra', 'unholdan', 'wrohtbora'. The injury is preventible, however, only by persistent watchfulness, since it is a sudden shot - 'faerscyte', 'faersearo' - and dangerous - 'attres ord', 'biter borgelac', 'frecne wund', 'blatast benna'. The poet emphasises the picture through the repetition and by a close-up, as it were, of the process:¹

þy laes se attres ord in gebuge,
 biter bordgelac, under banlocan,
 feonda faersearo. Ðæt bið frecne wund,
 blatast benna. 768-71

The protection up to that moment has been spiritual and abstract - messengers shielding, we keeping guard - and here in the phrase 'under banlocan' it becomes briefly a physical protection; the spiritual arrows pierce the physical body. The sudden shift from invasion on a spiritual level to one on a physical level at this point emphasises the act of invasion itself, in order to underline the danger involved in this breaking of the boundary between the outside and the inside. The phrase 'in gebuge' is forcefully invasive with the alliterative stress on 'in' in the position of the headstave. After this, the image retreats into more commonplace vocabulary of prayers to the Trinity for protection:²

utan us to faeder freoþa wilnian,
 biddan bearn godes ond þone bliðan gaest
 þæt he us gescilde wið sceapan waepnum... 773-75

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1. 'lest the poisoned point, the cruel arrow, the sudden device of the fiends, should penetrate the body. That is a dangerous wound, the most livid of gashes'. The few critical editions of Christ II have no comment on the literary effect of this passage.
 2. 'Let us beseech the Father for sanctuary and pray the Son of God and the gracious Spirit that he should shield us against the weapons of adversaries...'

In this passage it is therefore the body which defines the spatial extent of the soul's protection.

The soul's guardian, not defined in Christ II except as holy messengers - 'aras' - is identified in Christ III (lines 1549ff) as the Holy Spirit. The passage states that the unrighteous man loses the privilege of his soul's guardian, designated also 'lifes wisdom', through lack of care:¹

se sawle weard,
lifes wisdom, forloren haebbe,
se þe nu ne giemeoð hwæþer his gaest sie
earn þe eadig. 1550-53

The poet elaborates on this statement to make it clear that the loss is that of the Holy Spirit, linking the two by the careless attitude in both cases of the man to his fate:²

ne he wihte hafað
hreowe on mode þæt him halig gaest
losige þurh leahtras on þas laenan tid. 1556-58

The refusal to exercise the right to choose one's own spiritual destiny, continually urged by poets and homilists, has terrible results.

The use of the 'sawla weard' motif in Hrothgar's sermon in Beowulf is well-known. It is part - the central part - of a warning to the man who thinks he is self-sufficient; he becomes arrogant once the guardian sleeps, and the slayer approaches with

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1. 'he has forfeited the Warder of the soul, the Wisdom of life, whoever does not presently care whether his spirit is wretched, or blessed'.
 2. 'nor does he have a scrap of remorse in his heart that the Holy Ghost is lost to him because of his vices in this transient time'.

his arrows:¹

Wunað he on wiste; no hine wiht dweleð
ald ne ylðo, ne him inwitsorh
on sefan sweorceð, ne gesacu ohwaer
ecghete eoweð, ac him eal worold
wendeð on willan (he þæt wyrse ne con),
oðþæt him on imman oferhygda dael
weaxeð ond wridað. Þonne se weard swefeð,
sawele hyrde; bið se slaep to faest,
bisgum gebunden, bona swiðe neah,
se þe of flanbogan fyrenum sceoteð.
Þonne bið on hreþre under helm drepen
biteran straele (him bebeorgan ne con),
wom wundorbebodum wergan gastes. 1735-47

The guardian here is not the Holy Spirit, since it seems to be morally responsible for its deep sleep; it is presumably identifiable with the conscience, if precise identification is possible. The result of the shooting is a close parallel to Christ II; the arrows have a metaphorical role as lies which make him forget his responsibility to choose between eternal life and eternal death - 'he þa forðgesceaft / forgyteð ond forgymeð' (1750-51). He becomes guilty of arrogance in taking no thought for the future, in not recognising what God has given him, and in not sharing out treasure.

An invasion takes place here too, as in Christ II, but the difference is in the clear moral responsibility placed to the man's account for the success of the attempt, and in the more dramatic

1. 'He continues in a state of well-being; sickness and age distract him not at all, nor does pernicious anxiety cast its gloom upon his spirit, nor does strife anywhere bring about armed hostility, but the whole world wends according to his will. He is unaware of the worser part - until within him a deal of presumptuousness grows up and flourishes while the soul's protector and guardian sleeps. Too sound is that sleep associated with worldly busyness, and very near is the destroyer who shoots from his bow with fiery darts. It is then that he is struck under his guard with a stinging arrow in his bosom - he is ignorant of protecting himself - by the perverse horrid promptings of the evil spirit'.

picture given of the activities of the slayer. The phrases build up the sense of danger: sleep is ominously 'to faest', he is surrounded by cares, distracting his attention, while the real cause of danger gets closer. His nearness is furthermore potentially dangerous in that he has a bow to shoot with from a distance; again he shoots not arrows but 'fyrenum'. 'þonne' announces that action is beginning, and the target is that most vulnerable one - 'on hreþre'; despite its protective helmet - 'under helm drepen' - it is struck with a 'biteran straele', as in Christ II. This is further glossed as 'wom wundorbebodum', which indicates the spiritual danger of the attack, clinched by the terms used of the attacker - 'wergan gastes'.

This extended account of the way in which evil can enter a man's soul, which along with its homiletic setting was once considered by some critics as an interpolation,¹ is in fact linked in to the poem as a whole by its reference to a named exemplum - the figure of Heremod, whose personal history introduces the homily. His moral deterioration, previously alluded to in more general terms, is there concluded, in the context of a sharp contrast to Beowulf, with the phrase 'hine fyren onwod' (915). This 'invasion' could just be taken as an explanation of either the cause or the result of the deterioration, but the latter seems more likely, and not simply because it is placed to conclude the passage. The characterisation of a change in an individual's moral state in terms of an invasion from outside might run the risk of

1. See Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg, ed. F. Klaeber, 3rd ed. (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1950), p.190, where he cites the references.

appearing to weaken the victim's moral responsibility. This is patently not the poet's intention;¹ he is concerned with the problem of human promise and its subsequent fulfilment or disappointment, and he explores it by the use of contrasting figures, such as Heremod and Beowulf, Modthryth and Hygd. The use of the invasion image in line 915 comes after a passage describing the effect Heremod's behaviour had on his people, giving the phrase a sense of ultimate condemnation and finality. The extended image in Hrothgar's sermon with its addition of the guardian figure emphatically puts moral responsibility back into the picture. Its sleep is a result of a culpable lack of care for the soul's welfare.

These references in Beowulf and Christ II are the main extended treatments of the motif of the 'sawles weard'. There is a slightly different expression of the same basic idea in Exodus with a 'banhuses weard', further denoted as 'lifes wealhstod':²

Daegword nemnað
 swa gyt werðeode, on gewritum findað
 doma gehwilcne, þara ðe him drihten bebead
 on þam siðfate soðum wordum,
 gif onlucan wile lifes wealhstod,
 beorht in breostum, banhuses weard,
 ginfaesten god gastes caegon.
 Run bið gerecenod, raed forð gaeð. 519-26

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1. The poet of Daniel places similar importance on the assumption of responsibility for successful invasion; Belshazzar imagines himself to be safe behind his city walls which he declares are more effective as protection than the Lord, and the invasion of the enemy here is clearly justified. Daniel, ASPR I.
 2. 'The nations still cite the accomplishments of that day, according as even now they find in the Scriptures each one of those laws which the Lord with his authentic words enjoined upon them during the exodus. If the faculty which interprets life's meaning, the body's tenant, radiant within the breast, has the will to unlock the ample benefits with the keys of the spirit, the mystery will be explained and wisdom will issue forth'.

The 'lifes wealhstod' is generally understood by editors to mean the intellect or mental faculty that can understand and explain the Scriptures.¹ The image used is of unlocking ('onlucan') with a key ('gastes caegon') the spiritual benefits within. The guardian here is the spirit itself and it does not have a directly protective function; however, its illuminative function does make possible for its owner the receipt of God's mercy:²

wile meagollice modum taecan
 þaet we gesne ne syn godes þeodscipes,
 metodes miltsa. 528-30

Another passage allied in context to the image of the 'sawles weard' is that in The Dream of the Rood, line 62 in particular:³

eall ic waes mid straelum forwundod.

The use of the word 'strael' rather than 'naegl' has caused editors some difficulty, and explanations have ranged from comparisons with the death of Balder by an arrow to citing allusions in the Bible to arrows being used to shoot and wound. Swanton suggests that 'strael' is 'most probably...an heroic metaphor for nails'.⁴ It is much more probable, however, that there is an allusion here to the arrows shot by the devil at the individual, as in the passages cited above, and that the poet deliberately chose the word 'strael'

1. See Exodus, ed. Peter J. Lucas (London: Methuen, 1977), pp.142-43, note.

2. 'it earnestly desires to instruct our minds so that we may not be lacking in God's law and the Lord's mercy'.

3. 'I was thoroughly wounded by sharp points'. ASPR II.

4. The Dream of the Rood, ed. Michael J. Swanton (Manchester U.P., 1970), note to line 62. Swanton also cites the various interpretations given by previous editors.

to create a mental association with that motif. The arrows are similarly instigated by evil and are directed at wounding and piercing - causing 'opene inwidhlemmas' (47). Unlike other occasions, however, they are not successful in invading the soul; the cross is seen to be carrying the suffering of the wounds thus created. In fact, the use of the phrase earlier in the poem 'forwunded mid wommum' (14) seems to clinch the identification of this motif in the poet's mind at this point; the act of salvation is necessarily one of healing - 'haelan' (85) - since the dreamer like the tree has been pierced by arrows, the metaphorical arrows of sin.

The invasion of evil into a person with the use of the verb 'onwadan' or 'anwadan', found in the phrase 'hine fyren onwod' (Beowulf 1.915), is a metaphor found also in Genesis and Daniel in clearly defined moral contexts, not least because of their Biblical source. In Daniel, the Jews live in prosperity - 'oðþaet hie wlenco anwod' (17); the consequence is punishment through exile. In Genesis, Abraham watches Sodom burn and the poet comments:¹

Hie þaes wlenco onwod and wingedrync
þaet hie firendaeda to frece wurdon. 2581-82

Here the invasion too has a clearly stated cause; it occurs because of their wicked deeds:²

synna þriste, soð ofergeaton,
drihtnes domas, and hwa him dugeða forgeaf,
blaed on burgum. 2583-85

-
1. 'pride and drunkenness invaded them so that they became too greedy for wicked deeds'. (My transl.)
 2. 'reckless in sins, they forgot truth, the decrees of the Lord, and who gave them their prosperity, glory in the cities'.

The use of the verb 'wadan' with its various prefixes in these contexts is such that it would be satisfying to posit a special usage for the verb in moral terms. However, the evidence is not sufficient; it means 'to go in' or 'to enter' in morally neutral terms, though it can also have the connotation of unnatural entering, whether physical or abstract: it is used for the piercing of sword or spear: 'ord in gewod' (The Battle of Maldon 1.157) or 'flod blod gewod' (Exodus 1.463); it is also used for abstract invasions such as pain - 'Sar eft gewod / ymb þaes beornes breost' (Andreas 1.1246-47) - or beauty - 'þaer wifa wite onwod grome' (Genesis 1.1260). In all these the result of the verb's action is either against the way of nature, committing a trespass, or ominous in its moral implications.

One striking and extended use of the invasion of pain, sickness and finally death is in Guthlac B: 'Him faeringa / adl in gewod' (939-40). The motif of invasion, here a continuous process, is used by the poet to demonstrate that though the saint cannot resist the onset of death into his body, he can and does resist the advance of the devil's temptations into his soul. The inevitability of death since the fall of Adam and Eve is the subject of the opening few lines:¹

þaere synwraece siþþan sceoldon
 maegð ond maecgas morþres ongyldon,
 godscyldge gyrn þurh gaestgedal,
 deopra firena. Deað in geþrong
 fira cynne, feond rixade
 geond middangeard.

860-65

-
1. 'From then on, in the punishment of wickedness, women and men, guilty before God, would have to pay for their crime the penalty of their profound sins, through the soul's disseverance: death invaded humankind and the devil reigned throughout the world'.

No one since Adam - 'naenig monna' (865) - can escape death, but a qualification is suggested - 'þeah þe fela waere / gaesthaligra...' (872-73). Guthlac provides the first instance in the poem of someone who has any control over his destiny; the verbs describing his life are positive and active ones, rather than defeated and passive ones:¹

Guðlac wearð...
 eadig on Engle. He him ece geceas
 meahht ond mundbyrd. 879-81

The phrase 'þurh godes willan' or 'þurh meahht godes' is interposed at regular intervals, but the impression is also given of someone who is at last challenging the supremacy of death; he certainly defeats the power of sickness in those who come to him 'adle gebundne' (886), giving them healing - 'helpe ond haelo' (890).

As if in reaction, devils swarm to Guthlac's dwelling, thronging it to heckle and if possible to kill (915), and these he meets prepared and ready to withstand them - 'feonda þreatum / wiðstod stronglice' (902-3 , 'symle hy Guðlac gearene fundon' (913). The poet states:²

He geþyldum bad,
 þeah him feonda hloð feorhcwealm bude. 914-15

The implication is that the threat of death from the devils is a real one, but that it can yet be successfully withstood with endurance.

After a description of other types of visitors - flocks of

1. 'Guthlac achieved perfection among the English. He chose for himself eternal strength and support'.
2. 'Patiently he would endure, even though the throng of devils threatened the extinction of his life'.

birds, messengers, pilgrims - the poet begins at line 932 the main action of the poem in announcing that Guthlac's death-day was near:¹

endedogor
þurh nydgedal neah geþrunge. 933-34

The word 'nydgedal' reminds us that even for Guthlac death is inevitable in its separation of body and soul. But before that painful process begins, Guthlac is sent help from God:²

þa waes frofre gaest
eadgum aebodan ufan onsended,
halig of heahþu. 936-38

As a result his spirit (synonymous as usual with soul, heart, mind and breast) is directed upwards to God:³

Hreþer innan born,
afysed on forðsið. 938-39

The next stage is then the invasion of sickness which will prove his death:⁴

Him faeringa
adl in gewod. 939-40

Here again we have a statement on spiritual condition clearly signalled by 'innan' - followed by an invasion from outside.

However, this time the invasion, though initiated by evil, finds the target prepared and already occupied. In fact, the

-
1. 'The day of ending...through death's inevitable dis severance, was now advanced'.
 2. 'Then the Holy Ghost from the heights, the Comforter, was sent from above to the blessed evangelist'.
 3. 'His breast was afire within, inspired with yearning for the onward path'.
 4. 'Suddenly a sickness invaded him'.

invasion is seen as primarily a bodily one, leaving the spirit to concentrate on its future destiny:¹

Waes þam bancofan
aefter nihtglome neah geþrunge,
breosthord onboren.

942-44

It seems as if his body is penetrated by sickness but it does not reach his spirit because that is in a sense already elsewhere.

This dichotomy between the pain-invaded body and the hope-inspired spirit is repeated variously by the poet, not lessening the impact of the physical suffering, but stressing that the spirit was not overcome by it and caused to fear or despair:²

He his modsefan
wið þam faerhagan faeste trymede
feonda gewinna. Naes he forht seþeah,
ne seo adlþracu egle on mode,
ne deaðgedal, ac him dryhtnes lof
born in breostum, brondhat lufu
sigorfaest in sefan, seo him sara gehwylc
symle forswiðde.

959-66

The poet finds various metaphors for death which he introduces in close juxtaposition: a poisonous drink, a door, a monster and a warrior.³ The drink image extends over ten lines, picking up the earlier reference to it in the opening lines of the poem, but it

-
1. 'During the gloom of the nights his bone-framed body was hard oppressed, and his heart enfeebled'.
 2. 'Securely he fortified his spirit against the encompassing danger of the devils' attacks, and yet he was not afraid, nor was the violence of the disease nor the severance of death appalling to his mind; but praise of the Lord burned in his breast and love triumphant, hot as a brand, in his spirit, which steadily transcended his every pain'.
 3. As J. Roberts comments, the poet found no precedent for this image as an invading warrior in Felix's Vita; although the image is found in The Phoenix and in Boethius, the conjunction with the image of the darts of death is without known parallel. Roberts, p.168.

then moves quickly in one sentence through the images of the door and the animal's clutches to come to that of death as an approaching warrior:¹

deopan deaðweges, ac him duru sylfa
on þa sliðnan tid sona ontyneð,
ingong geopenað. Ne maeg aenig þam
flaesce bifongen feore wiðstondan,
ricra ne heanra, ac hine raeseð on
gifrum grapum. Swa waes Guðlace
enge anhoga aetryhte þa
aefter nihtscuan neah geþyded,
wiga waelgifre.

991-99

One image seems to lead to another; no one can withstand it - and 'it' becomes personified as a being which moves - 'raeseð' - and clutches - 'gifrum grapum'. From there it is an easy step to death as an amalgam of all dangers that lurk at night: all the characteristics of the wolf - 'enge anhoga' - and the monster and lone warrior, desperate and ready to kill. It is significant that a number of the images here are also found in the description in Beowulf of Grendel's approach to Heorot - the shadowy and lonely warrior at night, the entry through a door, the clutching grip. Evil is consistently presented in terms of the invader whose invasion follows a characteristic pattern and takes place under cover of darkness, the usual medium for the operation of evil.

The motif of invasion is constantly emphasised by the use of certain words for the body which express it as an enclosed space. It is a 'hus' - 'sawelhus' (1030, 1141), a 'banhus' (1367); a

1. 'the deep cup of death, but the door into that hard time soon opens itself to them and reveals the way in. No one conceived in the flesh, powerful or humble, can prevail against it with his life, but it will rush upon him with greedy clutches. Just so had the cruel companionless thing, a warrior greedy for slaughter, approached closely, right up to Guthlac now, through the darkness of the night'.

'hord' - 'lichord' (956, 1029), a 'feorhhord' (1144), a 'greothord' (1266); a 'faet' - 'licfaet' (1090, 1369), 'banfaet' (1193, 1265); a 'homa' - 'flaeschoma' (1031), 'lichoma' (1376); a 'cofa' - 'bancofa' (954). The dichotomy between body and soul, which reinforces this concept, is also reiterated by the various phrases expressing the separation of the two, such as 'nydgedal', 'gaestgedal', 'deaðgedal', 'lifgedal', 'sawel gedal', 'feorggedal'. (The motif of invading weapons also occurs here in the 'waelpilum' (1154), 'hildescurum' (1143) and 'waelstraelum' (1286).) The effect of all these is perhaps lessened by the continual repetition of the concept, but it certainly indicates clearly the importance in the poem of the basic idea of the body as an enclosed area liable to invasion by such evils as sickness and ultimately death.

3. The Expulsion of Evil through Charms

This concept of the body as a bounded area giving protection to human life from outside forces also lies behind the use of Anglo-Saxon charms and remedies. These texts, though designed to have very practical results, make use of words (accompanied often by appropriate actions) to get rid of evil that is thought to have invaded. Although many of the entries in the Leechdom and the Lacnunga are best described as recipes for dealing with obvious medical disorders, such as headaches, indigestion, swellings and so on, some are designed to deal with diseases caused by unknown outside forces - that is, they attempt to tackle the cause of the problem rather than to treat the symptoms. In the former category

remedies prescribe taking something in to alleviate the pain; in the latter the remedy is to expel the disease itself.¹

The Anglo-Saxons retained what was apparently their ancestors' belief in the supernatural cause of disease through the agency of beings who inhabited the air - notably elves, dwarves, 'onfligende'; these were thought to attack human beings by means represented as weapons, such as arrows and spears.² The diseases caused by such means ranged from specific ones, such as elf-shot and chicken-pox ('waeteraelself-adl') and nightmares, to any ones that seemed to attack indiscriminately and mysteriously, such as rheumatism ('faerstice'), half-dead disease, erysipelas, and the sudden death of pigs. Against these sorts of diseases men could not take normal precautions, since the spirits were 'imperceptible to normal human senses; and they could act at will so that man was powerless against them'.³ The only remedy or precaution was to resort to supernatural means, and this primarily meant some form of ritual expulsion.

There is no suggestion in the Anglo-Saxon charms of actual

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1. See M.L. Cameron, 'The sources of medical knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England', ASE 11 (1983), pp.151-52, for a summary of the Classical source texts available to the Anglo-Saxons.
 2. See G. Storms, Anglo-Saxon Magic (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), p.34 - 'the highly animistic nature of Germanic religion'. See also Charles Singer, From Magic to Science: Essays on the Scientific Twilight (London: Ernest Benn, 1928), pp.149, 152, 155.
 3. Storms, p.144.

possession by the creature causing the disease:¹

The Teutonic peoples originally knew nothing of possession by demons...The northern European tribes held to the more primitive view that symptoms of disease are the result of attacks of super-natural beings, elves, Aesir, smiths, witches, and members of the 'furious host'.

However, the use of expulsion, and in extreme cases exorcism, as a means of getting rid of disease, seems to presuppose some form of invasion, at least by the arrows and venoms themselves. In some cases there is straightforward correlation between the attack and the method of expulsion - for example, 'flying venom' is blown on and blown off. In others the connection is less direct, requiring various symbolic rites to effect and establish the expulsion.

The charm 'Wið blaece' (Leechdom I xxxii)² is a combination of treating the symptoms of an 'itching skin disease' with a salve and dealing with the cause of it. The second half of the charm 'attacks the invisible cause', that is, 'a spirit operating in the patient...supposed to dwell in the blood'.³ After scarifying the neck of the sufferer, the leech pours the blood into running water which forms 'a means of conveyance' to take the disease away, and

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1. J.H.G. Grattan and Charles Singer, Anglo-Saxon Magic and Medicine, illustrated specially from the semi-pagan text 'Lacnunga' (O.U.P., 1952), p.56.
 2. Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England, ed. Oswald Cockayne, 3 vols. (London: Rolls Series, 1864-66), II, 76. Also Storms, pp.164-67.
 3. Storms, p.164.

speaks the words:¹

hafa þu þas unhaele & gewit aweg mid.

Storms sees the spitting which follows as a 'barrier to the spirit' to prevent it returning, while the open road ('claenne weg') and the silence on the return journey indicate the continuation of the charm's action, opposing the attack of another spirit until the ritual had been completed.²

Blood-letting is here being prescribed as a form of expelling a disease, and it occurs also in various other charms. Detailed directions are given as to the method and time for performing scarifications and venesections, based on Classical sources. Certain times of the month and year - namely, between fifteen days before Lammás and thirty-five days after it - are regarded as dangerous because of flying things in the air:³

for þon þonne ealle aeterno þing fleogap
& mannum swiðe deriað.

The connection between flying things and blood-letting would seem to be the piercing of the skin, which provides a point of attack, a way of invading the body.

There is a clear association between flying things and poison in the 'Nine Herbs Charm' (Lacnunga 45).⁴ The charm claims the

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1. 'Take to yourself this uncleanness and go away with it'. Cockayne, II, 76. (Translations of the texts of the charms are my own.)
 2. Storms, p.166.
 3. 'For then all venomous things fly about and greatly injure men'. Leechdom I lxxii - Cockayne, II, 146; see also Storms, pp.115-16.
 4. Storms, pp.186-97; also Cockayne, III, 30-37.

power of certain herbs against various imprecisely defined evils:¹

þu miht wiþ attre ond wið onflyge,
þu miht wiþ þa laþan ðe geond lond faerð... 5-6

Swa ðu wiðstonde attre ond onflyge,
ond þaem laþan þe geond lond fereð... 12-13

Þis is seo wyrt, seo wiþ wurm gefeaht,
þeos maeg wið attre, heo maeg wið onflyge,
heo maeg wið þa laþan ðe geond lond fere ... 18-20

Nu magon þas VIIII wyrta wið nygon wuldorgeflogenum
wið VIIII attrum ond wið nygon onflygnum. 45-46

The 'onflyge' are translated by Storms as 'infections' and by Cockayne as 'epidemic disorders', while Singer represents them as 'venoms which blow about in the air and, reaching the surface of the body, produce their characteristic diseases'.² (In the Leechdom II lxxiv they are explicitly linked with 'stice' and 'eallum uncuþum brocum' as diseases of unknown origin which are therefore attributable to supernatural beings.)³ Since the remedy prescribes singing into the ears and the mouth, Storms suggests that the infection is thought to have entered in that way.⁴ Alternatively, if they are seen as being blown onto the body, they can be blown off or washed off, as appears to be the case here

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1. 'You have power against venom and flying things, you have power against the loathsome one who roves through the land... Thus you withstood venom and flying things, and those loathsome ones who rove through the land... This is the herb which fought against the snake... It has power against venom, it has power against flying things, it has power against the loathsome ones who rove through the land... Now these nine herbs have power against nine exiles from glory, against nine venoms and against nine flying things'. Storms, pp.186-88.
 2. Cockayne, III, 33; Singer, From Magic to Science, p.152.
 3. Cockayne, II, 290.
 4. Storms, pp.196-97.

also:¹

ðone ic þis attor of ðe geblawe. 63

The reference to running water may be for that purpose also:²

Ic ana wat ea rinnende
ond þa nygon naeddran behealdað. 59-60.

Confusion seems to be created by the imprecision of the term poison or venom; at the conclusion of the charm a wound is mentioned:³

singe...on ða wunde þæt ilce galdor, aer he þa
sealfe onde.

However, it is clear that the charm is designed to protect against all attacks from evil beings coming without warning from any quarter - 'þe geond lond fereþ' - seeking to invade from the outside.

Another example of the association between poison and blood-letting is charm 74 in the Lacnunga:⁴

Wið fleogendan attre asleah IIII scearpan
on feower healfa mid aecenan brande.
Geblodga ðone brand, weorp on weg.

Storms is doubtful as to the 'exact nature of the disease', since it suggests a localised infection unlike the usual usage of the term 'flying venom', but expulsion is still the remedy required -

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1. 'when I blow this venom off you'.
 2. 'I alone know the running water and the nine adders beware of it'.
 3. 'sing...into the wound the same charm, before he applies the salve'.
 4. 'Against flying venom make four cuts on four sides with an oak stick. Make the stick bloody and throw it away'.
Storms, p.254; also Cockayne, III, 53.

in the form of blood-letting:¹

with the blood the disease-spirit is drawn out, and the stick is thrown away somewhere to prevent the spirit from returning or infecting anyone else.

One remedy (Leechdom I lxxxiv) goes so far as to recommend blood-letting for the ingestion of poison:²

Gif mon þung etc...stande on heafde aslea
him mon fela scarpēna on þam scancan þonne
gewit ut þæt atter þurh þa scarpan.

The piercing of the skin is clearly seen as providing a way of egress for the ingested poison, just as it can provide a way of ingress for flying poison.

Blood-letting and skin-piercing are also effective remedies for elf-shot. 'Wiþ ylfa gescotum' (Leechdom II lxxv) directs the leech to prick the ear of an elf-shot horse and to inscribe a cross on its forehead, back and limbs until they bleed:³

Gif hors ofscoten sie, nim þonne þæt
seax...Writ þonne þam horse on þam heafde
foran Cristes mael þæt hit blede; writ
þonne on þam hricge Cristes mael and on
leoþa gehwilcum þe þu aetfeolan mæge. Nim
þonne þæt winestre eare, þurhsting swigende...
Sy þæt ylfa þe him sie, þis him mæg to bote.

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1. Storms, p.256.
 2. 'If anyone eats wolfs-bane...let him stand on his head, let someone strike him many scarifications on the shanks, and then the venom will depart out through the incisions'. Cockayne, II, 154.
 3. 'If a horse is elf-shot, then take the knife...write then on the horse's forehead Christ's mark until it bleeds; write Christ's mark then on its back and on each leg which you can prick. Then take the left ear, pierce it through in silence...Let the elf be what it may, this will be effective as a remedy'. Storms, pp.248-51; see also Cockayne, II, 291, who gives a slightly different text.

Another charm against elf-shot gives the Latin words for a rite of exorcism:¹

Sanentur animalia in orbe terre et
ualitudine uexantur in nomine dei
patris et filii et spiritus sancti
extingunt diabolus per inpositionem
manum nostrarum...

The animals suffering from elf-shot are exorcised against the devil through the imposition of hands and the usual formula - 'in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit'.

'Wiþ faerstice' (Lacnunga 75, 76) lists different types of shot in the course of offering protection against all types of 'stinging pain' or 'painful nervous twinges'. It includes 'shot on fell', 'on flaesc', 'on blod' and 'on lið', variously caused by 'esa gescot', 'ylfa gescot' or 'haegtessan gescot'. The shot is represented in this remedy not in terms of arrows but of spears:²

Ut lytel spere, gif her inne sie...	6.
þaer ða mihtigan wif...	8
...gyllende garas saendan.	
Ic him oþerne eft wille saendan, fleogende flanne forane togeanes.	
Ut lytel spere, gif hit her inne sy...	9-12
Ut spere, naes in spere Gif here inne sy isenes dael haegtessan geweorc, hit sceal gemyltan.	17-19

The exorcismal formula is pronounced four times in all against the spirits who are presumed to be the cause of the rheumatic pain.

The repetition of the antithesis 'ut' and 'inne' clearly expresses the concept of invasion and expulsion.

1. Lacnunga 97; Cockayne, III, 64.

2. 'Out little spear, if it be in here...where the powerful women...yelling sent their darts. I will send them another again, a flying arrow back against them. Out little spear, if it be in here...Out spear, not in spear. If there be any iron in here, the work of witches, it shall melt'. Storms, p.140; also Cockayne, III, 53.

There are two more charms which deal in a different way with invasion and expulsion. One is the somewhat obscure charm 'wið dweorh' (Lacnunga 56). In the first line a 'spider wiht' makes an entry:¹

Her com in gangan in spider wiht
and it is followed half-way through the charm by the entrance of what appears to be the antidote:²

þa com ingangan deores sweostar.
þa geaendode heo and aðas swor
ðæt naefre þis ðaem adlegan derian ne moste. 8-10

The charm has been interpreted variously as against a warty eruption, a convulsive disease, a fever and, more recently, as a nightmare.³ The last explanation, based on the etymological confusion between 'spider' and 'dwarf' and the traditionally oppressive nature of dwarves, seems the most convincing.⁴ Marie Nelson argues that the dwarf is seen as causing the dream by an invading action, which is countered by the 'deores sweostar' declaring the protective nature of the charm - 'the whole protection lies in the power of the magic words to say "this cannot hurt you"'.⁵ It

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1. 'Here comes entering in a spider creature'. Storms, p.166; also Cockayne, III, 42.
 2. 'Then came entering in the dwarf's sister; she made an end to this and swore oaths that this would never be able to harm the sick person'.
 3. See Marie Nelson, 'An Old English Charm against Nightmare', Germanic Notes 13 (1982), 17-18; she cites the references to previous explanations.
 4. Grattan and Singer, p.61 - 'Theirs is the weight of incubus or nightmare'.
 5. Marie Nelson, p.18.

ends by claiming the power of the charm itself:¹

ne þaem þe þis galdor begytan mihte,
oððe þe þis galdor ongalan cuþe. 11-12

The invasion of evil is met here not so much by expulsion as by the nullification of the action of evil and by the declaration of future protection.

The second charm, one which has also received critical attention and varied interpretation, is known as the Journey Charm (Cockayne, vol.1, 388). Heather Stuart has argued forcefully for its interpretation as a poem expressing the need for protection throughout life.² She sees the rod in the first line - 'on þysse gyrde' - as referring to the process found in a number of charms of drawing a ritual circle both to confine disease by stopping its spread and to guard against disease by forming a protective barrier. The dangers cited within the poem are deemed to lie outside the circle:³

the protective sphere is defined by
things that cannot exist within its area.

The encircling image of the armour and the use of the prefix 'be-', implying 'around', in 'begale' and 'beluce' both contribute to the spherical imagery. The poet uses the ancient ritual practice of describing a circle as a vehicle for his request for Christian protection against all the evils around him.

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1. 'nor [harm] one who could obtain this charm or know how to sing this charm'.
 2. Heather Stuart, '"Ic me on þisse gyrde beluce": The Structure and Meaning of the Old English Journey Charm', Medium Aevum 50 (1981), 259-73.
 3. *ibid.*, p.267.

There is considerable overlap, if not confusion, between certain superstitious practices and Church ritual, particularly on the subject of the invasion of disease and the method of its expulsion. The Latin charm for elf-shot quoted above identifies the elf as 'diabolus', and certainly the actions of each were seen as similar in malicious intent. Salves and drinks could be effective against both:¹

wið aelfridene & wið eallum feondes
costungum.

One remedy is useful against both natural and supernatural disruptions:²

hi beoð gode wiþ heafod ece & wiþ eag
waerce & wiþ feondes costunga &
nihtgengan & lencten adle & maran
& wirtforbore & malscra & yflum
gealdor craeftum.

There was confusion too in the representation of the weapons used by elves and the Biblical image of the arrows of the devil. The two come together in an illustration to Psalm XXXVII (38) in the Utrecht and Harley Psalters, the Eadwine Psalter copy of which is used as a frontispiece by Grattan and Singer. It depicts the Psalmist as a 'diseased elf-ridden man', pierced on all sides by arrows and surrounded by small flying creatures (see pl.49). The

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1. 'against all elvish tricks and against all temptations of the devil'. Lacnunga ll. Cockayne, III, 10.
 2. 'They are effective against headache and against eye-ache and against the devil's temptations and night-creatures and spring sickness and incubus (or nightmare) and enchantment by herbs and bewitching and evil power of charms'. Cockayne, II, 307.

text reads:¹

Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me...
quoniam sagittae tuae infixae sunt mihi...
non est sanitas carni meae a facie
 irae tuae
non est pax ossibus meis a facie
 peccatorum meorum...
putruerunt et corruptae sunt cicatrices
 meae...
miser factus sum et curvatus sum
 usque ad finem.

There is some confusion here, as Grattan and Singer point out, as to the cause of the sickness; it seems as if Christ is seen as the ultimate cause, but the means of penetrating the body is via 'elf-shot'.

So, this investigation into Anglo-Saxon charms shows that the physical body was thought of as a space into which evil in the form of sickness invaded. The concept may have been in existence in some form from pre-Christian times; at least it seems to be widely held at a popular level. The various rituals prescribed involve essentially a dramatisation of the concept, either by blowing or blood-letting or by commanding an expulsion. The Psalter illustration suggests that the concept was also available at a visual level, although this appears to be an isolated example.

4. Exorcism by the Church

Some of the charms quoted above involve the expulsion of evil

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1. 'Rebuke me not, O Lord...For thy arrows are fastened in me...there is no health in my flesh because of thy wrath: there is no peace for my bones, because of my sins...My sores are putrified and corrupted...I am become miserable and am bowed down even to the end'. vv.2-7.

spirits by orthodox Christian exorcism. The Church provided for the office of an exorcist among the other ranks of the diaconate.¹ The 'exorcistus' required a ritual, drawing on and channelling the authority of the Church against the devil who was in possession of the individual. On the other hand, a saint could perform miracles of exorcism by his inherent sanctity, and without a ritual, just as he was able to fulfil most offices of the Church. There are a number of incidents recorded in which the mere propinquity of a saint disturbs the devil or puts him to flight, and these provide some account of the way in which exorcism was viewed and used.

Aelfric relates the story of the unrighteous monk who on his deathbed begged the praying monks to go because their presence hindered a dragon coming to take him, and the delay was painful.

He says:²

Gewitað fram me. Efne here is cumen an
draca þe me sceal forswelgan, ac he ne maeg
for eower andwerdnyse. Min heafod he haefð
mid his ceaflum befangen. Rymað him, þæt
he me leng ne swence. Gif ic þisum dracan
to forswelgenne geseald eom, hwi sceal ic
elcunge þrowian for eowerum oferstealle?

The brothers, far from complying, pray more earnestly until he

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1. See The Catholic Encyclopedia 17 vols. (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1907-22), s.v. 'Exorcist'.
 2. 'Go away from me. A dragon has come right here which intends to swallow me, but he cannot because of your presence. He has my head caught with his jaws. Make way for him so that he does not afflict me any longer. If I am given over to this dragon to be swallowed, why should I endure delay because of your opposition?' Aelfric, Homilies, ed. Thorpe, I, 534. (My transl.)

cries 'mid blissigendra stemne':¹

Ic þancige Gode: efne nu se draca, þe me
forswelgan wolde, is afliged for eowerum
berum. He is fram me ascofen, and standan
ne mihte ongean eowre þingunge.

He vows to turn properly to monastic life and is restored to a
measure of health. When he finally dies, a changed man, the dragon
does not appear:²

he ne geseah þone dracan on his
forðsiðe, forðan ðe he hine oferswiðde
mid gecyrrednysse his heortan.

Chapter 15 in Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, entitled 'Qualiter
demonium ab uxore praefecti necdum aduenient eiecerit', is devoted
to a miracle of healing and exorcism through the propinquity of a
saint. Cuthbert predicts that the afflicted woman will be healed
before he and her husband arrive. The authorial interpretation of
events is:³

appropinquarent domui, fugit repente
spiritus nequam, aduentum spiritus
sancti, quo plenus erat uir Dei ferre
non ualens. Cuius soluta uinculis mulier...

The woman is completely healed when she touches the bridle of
Cuthbert's horse. Although Cuthbert himself states that miracles

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1. 'I thank God: right now the dragon who wanted to swallow me has been put to flight by your prayers. He has been driven away from me, and could not stand against your intercessions'.
 2. 'He did not see the dragon on his departure, because he had overcome him by the conversion of his heart'.
 3. 'they approached his home, and the evil spirit suddenly fled, not being able to endure the coming of the Holy Spirit which filled the man of God. And the woman, being loosed from the demon's chains...' Bede's Life of St Cuthbert, pp.206-7.

can be performed at a distance, Bede obviously feels the need to show a more tangible link between the saint and the event, and so explains the success in terms which draw on spatial considerations. It is the proximity of the saint that effects the miracle - an extension of the more usual means of performing a miracle by touch, but equally a spatial image.

These are examples of curative exorcism in the sense that the devil has already made his presence known and the nearness of holy men is able to put him to flight. Exorcism is also used in what might be termed a preventive capacity. This would apply to the baptism of infants which as a sacrament expelled the devil who was not at the time manifestly present (in the sense of possession) but could otherwise claim the ground and make his presence felt.¹ The same is true of areas of land, notably monasteries, which were considered dedicated to God but which apparently needed constant re-dedication. The exorcistic ritual was performed regularly, in order to keep the area holy and free from evil influence. It served as a dramatic assertion of the nature of the area and was an important reminder to its inhabitants that they must equally be holy.

The concept of the monastery as a holy place, discussed in detail above in chapter 2, was made concrete in time and space by the treatment of the site - in concept and action - as a sacred one where sacred activities took place. The church structure was

1. See The Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. 'Baptism' - 'they were...subject more or less to the power of the devil'. See also Aelfric, Homilies, ed. Thorpe, I, 304; and Bethurum, pp.169f.

obviously a sacred area, having dramatic and visual ceremonies at its dedication and in its subsequent use. It was the focal point of monastic life, and all activities connected with it had their own reminders of sacred quality - the celebration of the Mass at the altar with its relics, the burial of important members of the community in or near it, the sprinkling of holy water on the structure and its occupants. The recognition of the rest of the monastic site as sacred in a special way was less immediately obvious, and yet monastic life continued outside the church - in fact, it might be argued that the spiritual life of the monks required greater safeguarding outside the church than inside. The connection between a site and its occupants was conceived to be a very close one, as we have noted in other contexts. It was therefore particularly important to express the relationship between the two in a positive way. One of these ways was the rite of exorcism using holy water in the monastic buildings. This was carried out on the premise that any evil influence able to lurk in the environs would adversely affect the monks both spiritually and physically and so render them less able to achieve perfection in their devotional life.

The rite of exorcising buildings using holy water was apparently first advocated by Pope Alexander in the second century, according to a fifth-century liturgical manuscript which itself gave directions for use.¹ The ritual for exorcising water to make it holy and therefore effective for exorcism in its turn - known as

1. See Dictionnaire de theologie catholique, 15 vols. Paris: Letouzey, 1909-50, s.v. 'Eau benite', section III.

the 'benedictio salis et aquae' - is found in both Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries, suggesting that it was a concept available and possibly familiar throughout the period. Its actual usage is another question; few writers on monastic practices deal at all with this aspect of ceremonial life, and I have not found any opinion on whether and to what extent this ritual was carried out in Anglo-Saxon monasteries, especially in the earlier centuries. The prayer was included in the Gregorian Sacramentary given by Rome to Charlemagne in the late eighth century and was retained by him in his new compilation of liturgical rites intended to regularise Church practice; this indicates that it would in principle have been accessible to English monasteries from at least that time onwards. It has been argued that English liturgy, unlike the Frankish liturgy, derived in its early days solely and directly from the Roman customs of Gregory's day, in which case liturgists would have had access to the consecratory prayer before the direct influence of Frankish practice in the period of the Benedictine Revival in England and subsequently in the years immediately before the Norman Conquest.¹ The ritual blessing survives in The Leofric Missal, probably compiled for use at Exeter in the eleventh century; it is found in the tenth-century continental section known as Leofric A, and continues in the Anglo-Saxon section (Leofric C),

1. See C.E. Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in Tenth-Century Studies, ed. Parsons, pp.60-83, where he argues that Augustine brought with him from Rome in the sixth century the Gregorian rites, which were therefore available at Canterbury to form part of subsequent liturgical books; these were later influenced by the Carolingian rites, also based on the earlier Roman models.

with two brief general prayers of exorcism and blessing.¹ It thus provides no direct evidence that the blessing was known in Anglo-Saxon England before the eleventh century, though the lack of missals surviving from the earlier period does not allow firm conclusions either way.²

It occurs more extensively in the book known as The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, an early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon production given by Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, to his old abbey at Jumièges.³ This preserves the largest contemporary collection of benedictions to be used with the exorcised salt and water, and assigns a particular blessing to each component functional part of the monastic complex.⁴ The form of words for the blessing of the water and the salt and both together is identical to that in The Leofric Missal, though the titles differ:

<u>Leofric</u>	<u>Jumièges</u>
Benedictio salis et aqua	Exorcismus salis
alia	Benedictio salis
Benedictio aquae	Exorcismus aqua
alia	Benedictio aqua
Hic mittitur sal in aqua	Hic mittitur sal in aqua
-	Benedictio pariter
alia	-
Post aspersionem aqua	Oratio quando aqua spargitur

-
1. The Leofric Missal, ed. F.E. Warren (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883).
 2. *ibid*, pp.xxvi-xxvii.
 3. The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, ed. H.A. Wilson (London: Henry Bradshaw Society 11, 1896).
 4. The Gelasian Sacramentary contains some of these specific blessings; see *ibid*, p.lxvii.

The Leofric Missal's titles indicate the nature of the blessing - that is, one of blessing by exorcism. Water is similarly blessed for sprinkling at baptisms, over the altar and consecrated objects, and over the people gathered for Mass, and on these occasions blessing is imparted to the water by exorcism and is then imparted in turn to the sprinkled object, itself made blessed by exorcism. The water is made holy by the actions and words of the bishop who pronounces the blessing over it; the triple exorcism of salt and water separately and together invests the mixture with properties to expel evil physically wherever it touches, whether objects, people or places.

The first benediction begins:¹

Exorcizo te creatura salis...ut efficiaris
sal exorcizatum...et effugiat atque
discedat ab eo loco quo aspersus fueris
omnis phantasia. et nequitia uel uersutia
diabolicae fraudis.

The second benediction is more explicit as regards expulsion by spatial displacement:²

...et quicquid ex eo tactum uel respersum
fuerit, careat omni immunditia omnique
inpugnatione spiritalis nequitiae.

-
1. 'I exorcise you, creature of salt...that you may become exorcised salt...and that all fantasies and evils or craftiness of the devil's deceits may flee and leave this place when it has been sprinkled'. Jumièges, p.275; Leofric, p.249. (My transl.)
 2. 'and whatever will have been touched or sprinkled by it, may it be lacking in all evil and all assaults of spiritual wickedness'. Jumièges, p.275; Leofric, p.249.

The third uses more concrete images of physical expulsion:¹

ad effugendam omnem potestatem inimici.
et ipsum inimicum eradicare et explantare
cum angelis suis apostaticis.

against more absolute forms of evil influence - the presence of devils. Together, the six blessings of the two elements cover a comprehensive range of possible evil influences in all degrees, from the vague 'noxa' to the 'ipsum inimicum' and, in a psychological context, from the general 'omnis phantasia' to the more focussed 'terror uenenosi serpentis'.

The benedictions are designed to be used on both people and places, although as stated above there is such a close connection when speaking of spiritual influence that the distinction is insignificant. The places are not exorcised for their own sake, but for the health of the inhabitants. The list of places indicated by the series of prayers is also comprehensive: 'dormitorio', 'refectorio', 'scriptorio', 'coquina', 'lardario', 'cellario', 'domo infirmorum', 'caminata', 'hospitali', 'area', 'granario', 'pistrino'. The final prayer - without a title but clearly referring to an entrance - seems to be for the gateway to the whole monastery, rather than to the church alone; if so, the monastery is described as a temple - 'introitum templi istius luce perfunde'. The individual prayers all draw upon some sympathetic characteristic of God's nature or his dealings with mankind which is relevant to the place, and in this they follow the manner of prayers for temporal occasions, which choose appropriate ones for the nature of the festival.

1. 'to put to flight all power of the evil one and eradicate and root up the evil one himself with his apostate angels'.
Jumièges, p.276; Leofric, p.250.

The question of the frequency of these rituals is not one that can be answered with any certainty. Traditionally, the practice of blessing the salt and water took place every Sunday before High Mass when the blessed water would be used partly to sprinkle the altar and all those present, and partly to be taken for sprinkling in the buildings.¹ This took place while Mass was being said by the rest of the community. There is no reason to suppose that this did not take place every Sunday in monasteries of the Benedictine Revival period, even when numbers dwindled in the eleventh century, given that the water was blessed every week. There is equally no reason to assume that it could not happen more often when considered advisable. Indeed, the Regularis Concordia states that the practice should take place in the dormitory every night after the monks have gone to bed:²

Omni etiam nocte post Completorium aspergatur
domus requietionis eorum recumbentibus eis,
propter illusiones diabolicas.

There would be a strong case for singling out the dormitory for daily exorcism, since it is while asleep that the soul's defences are least strong, especially given the recognised propensity of evil to approach during the night, under cover of darkness. The custom mentioned in The Missal of Robert of Jumièges similarly marks the dormitory out for special attention with the sprinkling

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1. The rite of 'asperges' was apparently not known until the ninth century; see The Catholic Encyclopedia s.v. 'Holy Water', and The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F.L. Cross. (O.U.P., 1957), s.v. 'Asperges'. See also Regularis Concordia, pp.19, 24, 34.
 2. 'Moreover, every night after Compline, when the brethren are in bed, the dormitory shall be sprinkled, on account of the illusions of the evil one'. ch.27, p.24.

of each bed. The prayer begins 'Ecce non dormitabit' - an allusion to Psalm CXX (121) and a reminder that God's protection is constant day and night - and asks:¹

custodi ab illusionibus satanae phantasmaticis
uigilantes in praeceptis tuis meditentur.

It is difficult to say why The Missal of Robert of Jumièges should have a greater number of formal prayers of benediction; it may be conjectured that the usual practice was to say a general prayer for blessing, such as 'Post aspersionem aqua', of which three versions are given in the Missal and two (one different again) in The Leofric Missal. The second one in The Leofric Missal is so general as to include anything - 'benedictio ad omnia quaecunque volueris'! The greater elaboration of providing separate prayers for each 'officina' may be a sign of the Missal's status as a prestigious gift to an important abbey, or may be the result of a natural ongoing development in monastic ritual.

So, the spatial metaphor of the expulsion of evil is being used here as a dramatic way of asserting and maintaining the presence of good. The act of ritual exorcism is a means of limiting the power of evil; it provides a reminder that there is a spiritual battle and finds the answer to the problem of the presence of evil by displacing it.

5. 'Beowulf' and the Conflict between Good and Evil

The problem of the presence of evil in human experience of

1. 'guard from illusions and fantasies of Satan those who, watchful, meditate on your precepts'. Jumièges, p.277.

the world and how to deal with it was the starting point of this chapter. We come finally to a discussion of Beowulf, a poem which is concerned with this struggle and which expresses it in terms of the twin metaphors of invasion and expulsion.

The narrative action of the poem follows the hero's struggles against monsters who are indisputably evil. But the poem is more complex than that in its handling of the nature of the relationships between good and evil. The interaction between the two comes not only at a narrative level but also on the level of the social environment in which the action has its immediate source. The evil which Grendel represents is found within the civilised society of the Danes; the evil consequences of revenge, exemplified by Grendel's mother's action, are demonstrated in the account of Finn and Hengest and elsewhere; and the evil destruction caused by the dragon is caused also by tribal wars and feuds.¹ The poet discusses in particular the action of evil and its effects. Spatial relationships constitute a means to this end; as in other poems, good and evil are polarised, partly through antithetical metaphors - light / darkness, solidarity / solitariness - and also partly by identifying moral qualities with a space and by setting one space against another by juxtaposition and contrast.²

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1. See Kathryn Hume, 'The Theme and Structure of Beowulf', Studies in Philology 72 (1975), 1-27; the 'controlling theme...is threats to social order...The poem's structure is simply the progressive sequence of these threats, each embodied in a suitable monster', pp.5-6.
 2. See Daniel G. Calder, 'Setting and Ethos: The Pattern of Measure and Limit in Beowulf', Studies in Philology 69 (1972), pp.23-25.

Charles Muscatine's comments on the locus of action in medieval narrative are in many ways applicable to Beowulf:¹

the orientation of the action in space (and thus in place) can be a mode of organising the narrative and giving it...meaning.

He cites Prudentius' Psychomachia as an example of a work in which²

all the elements of locus are used as direct and primary emblems of moral relationships, and operate in a space that has all the simplicity of the armed conflict it contains.

Beowulf, dealing similarly with armed conflict and moral relationships, and also using space to give meaning to its narrative, is yet different in its expression of these. It may be argued that Heorot and Grendel's mere are indeed created as fixed moral loci within the narrative by their imagery and by the association of their respective inhabitants with fixed points within Christianity - Beowulf with saints and Grendel with the devil. However, in the rest of the poem, its moral ethos is found to reside in the movement between places rather than in the places themselves. The conflicts of the poem - lesser and greater - are almost without exception the result of some movement within space. (An exception is Haethcyn's killing of Herebeald (ll.2435-40) which, perhaps, significantly, was accidental.) They also frequently culminate in struggles over a particular space. The poem, then, predominantly uses movement between loci to organise the narrative and to determine its meaning. Significant movements

1. Charles Muscatine, 'Locus of Action in Medieval Narrative', Romance Philology 17 (1963-64), 115-22.

2. *ibid*, p.117.

are given moral status by being divided into the categories of invasion or expulsion. In this section we will look first at the polarisation of good and evil in the early part of the poem and the localisation of the two in Heorot and the mere, and then at the way invasion in particular is used to characterise movements and to give a moral dimension to the conflicts created.

The polarisation of good and evil begins early in the poem. Its opening passage defines good kingship in the person of Scyld Scefing, who imposes peace and order on his kingdom and beyond:¹

monegum maegþum, meodosetla ofteah... 5

oðþaet him aeghwylc þara ymsittendra
ofer hronrade hyran scolde,
gomban.gyldan. Þaet waes god cyning! 9-11

The gnomic statement that a young ruler should practise generosity in order to establish relationships of trust and loyalty forms a complement to this first quality of kingship:²

Swa sceal geong guma gode gewyrcean,
fromum feohgiftum on faeder bearme,
þaet hine on ylde eft gewunigen
wilgesihþas, þonne wig cume... 20-23

These two qualities are both categorised as 'god'. Both are found in Hrothgar and have their fulfilment in the building of Heorot; the former quality makes the project possible and the latter

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1. '[he] dispossessed...many nations of their seats of feasting...until each one of his neighbours across the whale-traversed ocean had to obey him and yield him tribute. He was a good king'.
 2. 'Just so ought a young man by his integrity, by generous gifts of treasure whilst in his father's guardianship, to bring it about that later, when he is of age, willing comrades will be at hand when war comes...'

provides the reason for its inception:¹

þa waes Hroðgare heresped gyfen,
 ...þaet him his winemagas
georne hyrdon... 64-66
 þaer on inman eall gedaelan
geongum ond ealdum, swylc him god sealde. 71-72

These two factors - the establishment of peace and order through subduing enemies and the establishment of social relationships through giving - are seen to be fulfilled by the building, significantly at the moment of naming it:²

 scop him Heort naman
se þe his wordes geweald wide haefde.
He beot ne aleh, beagas daelde,
sinc aet symle. 78-81

Heorot is the centre of the kingdom and the symbolic centre of civilised life. It is also immediately a point of conflict in the foreshadowing of its eventual destruction through 'ecghete' and 'heaðowylma' and in its threatened destruction by Grendel. The hall's purpose is at once under threat from two evil sources - human quarrelling and supernatural enmity.

The evil causing the immediate conflict is given a specific location by the poet. 'Se ellengaest' (86) is placed 'in þystrum' (87), and he listens to the activities of the hall from outside

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1. 'To Hrothgar next, military success was granted...so that his friends and kinsmen readily obeyed him...there inside it he would share out to young and to old all of such as God gave to him'.
 2. 'He devised the name Heorot for it, he who far and wide exercised the authority of his word. He did not leave unfulfilled his vow: he shared out rings and jewels at the feasting'.

it:¹

he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde
hludne in healle. 88-89

Once named as Grendel, he is further defined by where he belongs spatially:²

maere mearcstapa, se þe moras heold,
fen ond faesten. 103-4

'Mearcstapa' as an epithet locates him immediately on a spatial margin, and the wasteland vocabulary of moors and fens enforce that sense of his position as an outcast, a marginalised figure. His descent from Cain, the archetypal outcast expelled by God - 'he hine feor forwraec, / ...mancymne fram' (109-110) - joins with his association with the devil - 'feond on helle' (101); he is momentarily identified with the devil in the poet's ambiguous signalling of a shift of narrative level in lines 101-2. Grendel is a 'feond on helle' in his exile from the joys of heaven and Paradise celebrated by the scop in Heorot;³ hell represents a spatial separation, enforcing the spiritual distance of the outcast from God's peace.

The evil threat to Heorot brought by Grendel is thus firmly located on the margins of its influence. Any conflict therefore involves movement - an invasion - which is how the poet characterises Grendel's attack. He comes from the outside to the hall, finds 'ðær inne' (118) his prey, and then goes back home -

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1. 'each single day he heard the loud noise of happiness in the hall'.
 2. 'a notorious prowler of the marches, who patrolled moors, swamp and impassable wasteland'.
 3. See Malcolm Andrew, 'Grendel in Hell', English Studies 62 (1981), 401-10.

'þanon eft gewat / huðe hremig to ham faran' (123-24). The act of invasion causes a conflict, termed variously 'gewin' (133) and 'faehðe ond fyrene' (137), generalised by the poet into a struggle between right and wrong, or good and evil:¹

Swa rixode ond wið rihte wan,
ana wið eallum. 144-45

Although it is a feud between two individuals - 'Grendel wan / hwile wið Hroþgar' (151-52) - the object of the conflict is Heorot. The success of Grendel's attacks is measured not in the depletion of Hrothgar's men but in the effect it has on the hall and its status; it is no longer a place of security, since the Danes choose to sleep elsewhere, and it can no longer be used as a communal place: 'idel stod / husa selest' (145-46). The conflict is seen ultimately to be about the possession of an area, and Grendel achieves this in practice:²

Heorot eardode,
sincfage sel sweartum nihtum 166-67

although his occupation is significantly limited both temporally (night-long) and spatially - 'no he þone gifstol gretan moste' (168).³

It seems that the poet sees Heorot as not only occupied by Grendel (with restrictions) but as possessed by him in some way also, in that the verb 'faelsian' is used a number of times to describe the action of terminating Grendel's visits. Beowulf's

-
1. 'So he prevailed and, in defiance of right, he contended with them, one against all'.
 2. 'Heorot, that hall agleam with riches, he took over in the black nights'.
 3. See above, chapter 2, in the section on thrones for a discussion of the meaning of this passage.

assistance is offered towards that end rather than towards killing Grendel, though the one presupposes the other:¹

Ic þe nu ða
brego Beorhtdena, biddan wille,
eodor Scyldinga, anre bena,
þæt ðu me ne forwyrne, wigendra hleo,
freowine folca, nu ic þus feorran com,
þæt ic mote ana ond minra eorla gedryht,
þes hearda heap, Heorot faelsian. 426-32

The elaborate rhetorical structure of the request serves to emphasise the two final words - grammatically the object and main verb of the whole sentence. The word 'faelsian' is used of Heorot on three more occasions - line 825 at the conclusion of the fight, line 1176 by Wealhtheow in her speech of thanks, and line 2352 by Beowulf in recollection. Its use implies that the evil which is part of Grendel has affected the place where he triumphed, albeit temporarily, and in such a way as to require cleansing or purging. Beowulf's action in ridding the area of Grendel's operations is thus a form of exorcism, though it is implied rather than stated as such.

The implication is much clearer in the case of Grendel's mere, on the other hand, which is invested with all the attributes of evil displayed in nature. The place has taken on the moral status of its owner and manifests this in its wild barrenness and perilous unpleasantness. The poet adds to the stock features of the wasteland landscape certain attributes found also in the

1. 'Now, therefore, sovereign lord of the glorious Danes, prince of the Scyldings, I want to beg a single favour from you: that you do not deny it to me, refuge of warriors, noble friend of the people, now that I have thus come from far away, that I be allowed to cleanse Heorot alone, without even my retinue of noble soldiers, this troop of hardy men'.

Blickling Homily description of hell, notably the 'hrinde bearwas' (1363), 'fyrgenstream / under naesa genipu niþer gewiteð' (1359-60).¹ As discussed above in the context of colonisation, Beowulf's victory over Grendel's mother changes the nature of the landscape. The light which shines (1570-72) at the moment of her death and the simile of the spring with its promise of fertility breaking through the barrenness of winter point to this change. When Beowulf finally comes up through the water to the shore, the poet comments:²

Waeron yðgebland eal gefaelsod,
eacne eardas, þa se ellorgast
oflet lifdagas ond þas laenan gesceaft. 1620-22

The implication is that the landscape is released from its subjection to the monster, once the latter is dead and its spirit has departed. Beowulf's victory is dramatically apparent in the landscape; the effect of the conflict is visible spatially.

However, the landscape does not only change with its owner; it also shifts in character according to the perception of the individual. The journey to or from the mere is described several times. In Grendel's approach to Heorot, in Hrothgar's description of the landscape and in Beowulf's approach to the mere the wasteland characteristics are in full evidence: mist, excess water, wolf-haunts, narrow unknown paths, barrenness. On the other hand, the Danes' return from the mere after following Grendel's tracks to

1. The Blickling Homilies, p.209. See also Beowulf, ed. Klaeber, p.183.

2. 'its choppy expanses and vast tracts were completely cleansed since that alien being had left behind the days of her existence and this ephemeral creation'.

the brink is completely different in character:¹

þanon eft gewiton ealdgesiðas,
swylce geong manig of gomenwape
fram mere modge mearum ridan,
beornas on blancum. 853-56

Hwilum heaþorofe hleapan leton,
on geflit faran fealwe mearas
ðær him foldwegas faegere þuhton,
cystum cuðe. 864-67

There is no need to suppose that their route was a different one or that the subsequent expedition took two separate routes - one for horses, one for walkers.² It seems that the landscape changes according to mood. So the Geats, returning on foot with a successful Beowulf and with Grendel's head as a sign of victory, seem to cross a different terrain from their outward journey:³

Ferdon forð þanon feþelastum
ferhþum faegne, foldweg maeton,
cuþe straete. 1632-34

'Ferhþum faegne' gives the clue; their perception of the journey's environment has changed with their mood. The paths are in one sense no longer unknown because they have been that way before, but in another sense there is nothing strange or unpredictable any longer about the paths and their object.

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1. 'From there they turned back from sportive pursuit, old companions and many a young man likewise, men of spirit riding from the mere upon glossy-coated horses... From time to time these men renowned for their pugnacity would give their yellow-golden horses rein to gallop, to run in competition wherever the ways seemed to them agreeable and recognizable for their preferred qualities'.
 2. See Laurel Braswell, 'The Horn at Grendel's Mere: Beowulf 1417-41', NM 74 (1973), pp.466f; and Kenneth Kee, 'Beowulf 1408ff: A Discussion and a Suggestion', MLN 75 (1960), p.388.
 3. 'From there they journeyed on, happy in their hearts, along the trodden tracks, and traced the overland way, the familiar road'.

The poet thus creates a complex relationship between the person moving and the location of his movement. This relationship can be used to provide a comment on the moral or social implication of that movement - not necessarily for the individual himself but objectively.¹ This seems to be the case in the description of the Geats' arrival in Denmark and journey to Heorot. The poet in his narrative account of the advance highlights certain details of description which interact with each other. The journey is given in some length to indicate the civilised behaviour of both nations and to provide a context for the final meeting between Beowulf and Hrothgar. The civilised behaviour is in fact indicated the more dramatically by the fact that the Geats could have landed with another purpose. The coastguard's words and actions take into account the real possibility that they might have landed with hostile intent - only to discard it finally:²

Hwaet syndon ge searohaebbendra,
byrnum werede, þe þus brontne ceol
ofer lagustraete laedan cwomon,
hider ofer holmas? 237-40

His job is to ensure that:³

...on land Dena laðra naenig
mid scipherge sceðþan ne meahte. 242-43

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1. See Peter Clemoes, 'Action in Beowulf and our perception of it', in Old English Poetry: Essays on Style, ed. Daniel G. Calder (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) - 'Movement in Beowulf is not portrayed as a detachable outward concept: it merely identifies action as part of the doer', p.155.
 2. 'What sort of armour-bearing men are you, protected by corslets, who have come here in this manner, steering your tall ships over the seaways and over the deeps?'
 3. 'so that no enemy with a ship-borne army might cause damage within the land of the Danes'.

and he requires assurances before he lets them come further onto Danish land:¹

aer ge fyr heonan,
leassceaweras, on land Dena
furþur feran. 252-54

Once he has decided that they do not intend harm, he allows them to proceed:²

Ic þæt gehyre, þæt þis is hold weorod
freaan Scyldinga. Gewitaþ forð beran
waepen ond gewaedu; ic eow wisige. 290-92

As the Geats advance, the poet describes their shining armour:³

Eoforlic scionon
ofer hleorberan gehroden golde,
fah ond fyrheard. 303-5
...Guðbyrne scan
heard hondlocen, hringiren scir
song in searwum. 321-23

The qualities highlighted here - gold and shining - are the same applied to the place they are heading for, which they can see ahead:⁴

sael timbred,
geatolic ond goldfah... 307-8
lixte se leoma ofer landa fela. 311
Straet waes stanfah, stig wisode
gumum aetgaedere. 320-21

-
1. 'before you go any further beyond this point into the land of the Danes as dissembling spies'.
 2. 'I accept that this is a party of men loyal to the ruler of the Scyldings. Proceed, bearing weapons and armour. I shall guide you'.
 3. 'Above their vizors shone images of the boar...ornamented in gold, gleaming and tempered in the forge...battle corslet shone, tough, with rings interlocked by skilful hands; shining iron link jangled in their mail-coats'.
 4. 'a timber-built hall, magnificent and a gleam with gold...The lustre of it cast light over many lands...The road, paved with stone, gleamed; the route guided the men grouped together'.

It may be argued that these are common adjectives in praise of what is admirable and beautiful, but it is also true that the impression left is of an essential congruity between the Geats and their environment. There is no disparity between those moving and the location of their movement, and this creates an effective suggestion that the movement is not an invasive one. The men in their armour are appropriate to the place, and the gold and shining qualities of both indicate their common civilisation.

In direct contrast is the movement of Grendel towards Heorot. It is clearly an invasion - Beowulf is waiting inside for the attack, making no move until he comes - but the poet does not merely state it as such. He indicates it by highlighting certain descriptive details of the mover and his environment which serve to characterise the movement as an invasive one. While outside, Grendel is congruous with his environment; he is a 'sceadugenga' (703), a 'scynscaþa under sceadu' (707), a 'manscaþa' (712), and he moves 'of more under misthleoþum' (710) 'on wanre niht' (702) 'under wolcnum' (714). The shadowy darkness, the moorland, the evil intended to mankind, are all stock characteristics of a wasteland landscape and of those who belong in it.

Conversely, at the point of Grendel's arrival in Heorot, the poet chooses to emphasise the contrast between the monster and the space he is entering, by highlighting certain features. The invasive nature of his action is signalled by his assault on the protecting doors and his entry through 'recedes muþan' (724), and is then dramatised in the incongruity between the monster and the hall in its beauty, craftsmanship and shelter of sleeping

companions:¹

Duru sona onarn,
fyrbendum faest, syððan he hire folmum aethran...
on fagne flor feond treddode,
eode yrremod; him of eagum stod
ligge gelicost leoht unfaeger.
Geseah he in recede rinca manige,
swefan sibbedriht samod aetgaedere. 721-29

The alliterative structure of line 725 in particular reinforces the contrast; 'fagne flor' suggests a space in which the ground itself is highly crafted and beautiful, and it is met in the headstave by its antithesis - the 'feond'.² So the incongruity of the moving person and his environment here defines the movement as an invasion.

Movement within the poem is very important, since most of the conflicts arise as a result of some movement. It is true of the monster fights - Grendel journeys towards Heorot from the wasteland outside, Beowulf journeys to the mere to find Grendel's mother and later to the barrow to challenge the dragon, while in each case the monsters have initiated the conflict by a previous movement. It is equally true of much of the human conflict in the poem: the Geats' raid on Frisia provokes a raid in return, the constant movement of armies between Geatland and Sweden is too frequent to recount, and the temporary dislocation of a group of retainers from their own

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1. 'The door, secured with forged metal bands, yielded at once when he touched it with his hands...the fiend stepped swiftly on to the brightly coloured floor. Irascible of temper, he advanced; from his eyes there flashed a hideous light, most like a flame. In the hall he saw the many soldiers, the fraternal company, sleeping, a throng of young fighting-men gathered together'.
 2. See M. Osborn, 'Laying the Roman Ghost of Beowulf 320 and 725', NM 70 (1969), 246-55, especially p.253, for the alternative suggestion that 'fagne flor' may be taken to mean 'blood-stained'.

land as a result of the arranged marriages of Hildeburh and Freawaru causes in each case the culmination of a feud. Of course, the movement by itself does not bear the responsibility for the conflict - the moral standards of loyalty, bravery and heroism have to be kept - but the result of these movements is in each case destruction. In the latter part of the poem they appear, moreover, to be closely interrelated with the progress of the dragon-fight, interspersed as the episodes are and concerned equally with fighting around treasure. The dragon appears to represent the evil consequences of tribal warfare on an international scale, just as the evils caused by Grendel and his mother can be paralleled in human behaviour.¹

The feuds involve journeys,² as often mentioned - 'ofer wid waeter', 'ofer heafo', Beowulf's swim back from Frisia.³ Most of these references to journeys are vague; it is not without significance that the three specific references to journeys to a particular land involve Hygelac's raid on Frisia: 'on Fresna land' (2915), 'to Frysum' (1207), 'Freslondum on' (2357). It is more

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1. See Hume, 'Theme and Structure', p.9 - 'the dragon harms the Geat nation as a war would'.
 2. Feuds by their nature traditionally provoke a particular type of journeying - exile; this is a highly productive theme in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and has been well documented by critics. I am concerned here only with a discussion of the concept of journeying - with the movement itself.
 3. Journeys by water have a vital role to play in Beowulf as a whole; they are usually the prelude to significant action, though not always conflict - in the case of Scyld Scefing a sea journey brings prosperity to the nation. The sea is an uncertain medium, physically and morally; it gives Beowulf his first opportunity to prove himself against evil (in his swimming match) and his barrow is designed to be a steady landmark for those travelling on the sea.

serves to destroy causal links between them. The phrase¹

þa for onmedlan aerest gesohton
Geata leode Guðscylfingas 2926-27

suggests an unworthy motive, 'onmedlan' denoting 'arrogance' or 'presumption'; the subject of the sentence is presumably the Geatish nation, but the initiative was not originally theirs in this incident since it comes in response to Haethcyn's death at the hands of Ongentheow, ostensibly a worthy motive for action. The other reference with moral overtones concerns the Swedes coming to Geatland after Hrethel died:²

freode ne woldon
ofer heafo healdan, ac ymb Hreosnabeorh
eatolne inwitscear oft gefremedon. 2476-78

This lack of desire to keep the peace across the dividing water hints at some moral deficiency, but on the other hand it is introduced in the context of an ongoing mutual feud:³

þa waes synn ond sacu Sweona ond Geata
ofer wid waeter, wroht gemaene,
herenið hearda. 2472-74

The phrase 'wroht gemaene' denotes shared quarrelling, common accusation, and thus tends to lessen the moral blame attached to the subsequent phrase 'freode ne woldon'.

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1. 'when the Geatish people in their presumption first attacked the warlike Scylfings'.
 2. 'they had no desire to keep the peace across the seas but would frequently commit some terrible and malicious killing about Hreosnabeorh'.
 3. 'Then there was feuding and strife between Swedes and Geats, mutual recrimination across the wide water and stern warfare'.

It seems that the poet has avoided according blame to individual people or peoples. The raids are in a sense invasive, involving journeys, but they are not denoted as deliberately evil in motive. The verbs used of their movements are most often neutral ones - 'faran', 'gewadan', 'coman' - though the less neutral 'secan' (denoting movement with a specific object in view) is also used, as it frequently is for Beowulf's conflicts with the monsters. Unlike the monster fights, the feuds appear to have no clear right or wrong side, but, like the monster fights, the movements and the subsequent conflicts are destructive to civilisation. In the final analysis, feuding is wrong in principle, no matter what the motives are. No one may be fully to blame for the situation - the phrase 'þa waes synn ond sacu Sweona ond Geata' approaches impersonality - but it is an evil situation and one which is perpetuated by retaliatory movements. Significantly, Beowulf, in his speech summing up his life's achievements, asserts that he has not initiated any conflicts: 'Ic...ne sohte searoniðas' (2736-38).

The three major conflicts in the poem each culminate in a struggle over a particular space. Moreover, the progress of each fight is presented spatially, in as much as it proceeds by means of a series of offensive and defensive movements. Invasion is not only a necessary prelude to the conflict; it is also in another sense its ultimate aim, since victory is achieved by the invasion of the body of the opponent. These points may be demonstrated by a survey of the three fights.

When Grendel advances into Heorot, he is met by Beowulf's

resistance:¹

	Forð near aetstop...	745
	...he onfeng hraþe	
inwithþancum	ond wið earm gesaet.	748-49

At this point he wishes to retreat and leave the place, but Beowulf prevents that:²

	Hyge waes him hinfus, wolde on heolster fleon.	755
	...him faeste wiðfeng.	760

The struggle is encapsulated in one line - expressed in spatial terms:³

	Eoten waes utweard; eorl furþur stop.	761
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The two figures are polarised in their purpose and also in the structure of the alliterative line. Beowulf does not attempt to kill Grendel, though he would like to; his is a defensive stand, preventing first the monster's advance and then his retreat. The violence of the struggle is measured by the harm done to the hall, rather than to the combatants; details of the fight are limited to those describing the effect the fight has on the space it occupies:⁴

	Dryhtsele dynede...	
	...Reced hlynsode...	
	...þær fram sylle abeag	
medubenc monig.		767-76

-
1. 'Forward and nearer he stepped...he, with astute presence of mind, quickly grabbed hold of it and braced himself against the arm'.
 2. 'His instinct was urging him to be off; he wanted to escape into the darkness...[Beowulf] grappled tightly with him'.
 3. 'The ogre was edging his way outwards; the noble warrior kept moving forward step by step'.
 4. 'The lordly hall rang with the din...The building resounded...Many a mead-bench...was wrenched from its footings'.

This is appropriate, given the earlier focus on Heorot as the object of the twelve years' war.

Beowulf deliberately invades the mere, but his part in the fight is basically defensive. He begins by arming himself with protective armour -¹

bancofan beorgan cuþe,
þæt him hildegrap hreþre ne mihte,
eorres inwitfeng, aldre gesceþðan... 1445-47
...þæt hine syðþan no
brond ne beadomecas bitan ne meahton. 1453-54

against the intrusive grip of the monster. The verb 'bitan' is perhaps a precursor to the eventual bite that will kill Beowulf. The first episode of the fight concentrates on the monster's inability to pierce Beowulf's corslet:²

No þy aer in gescod
halan lice; hring utan ymbbearh,
þæt heo þone fyrðhom ðurhfon ne mihte,
locene leoðosyrcean laþan fingrum. 1502-5

He cannot in turn pierce her - 'bitan nolde' (1523) - and after his stumble he is in danger once more from an invasion, this time by a 'seax'. Again his corslet proves successfully protective:³

wið ord ond wið ecge ingang forstod. 1549

He is finally able to pierce her body with the ancient sword - 'Bil

-
1. '[a corslet] capable of protecting his ribbed chest in such a way that an aggressive grasp could not harm his vital spirit, nor the spiteful clutch of a furious enemy his life...so that hereafter neither broadsword nor battle-blade could bite into it'.
 2. 'But not that way would she harm his body unscathed within: on the outside, chainmail shielded it about so that she was unable to poke her loathsome fingers through his soldier's armour, the corslet of interlocked rings'.
 3. '[it] resisted penetration by point or edge'.

eal ðurhwod' (1567). Here it is not the spatial area containing the struggle that is the locus of dispute, as it was in Heorot, but Beowulf's body. The victory for either combatant lies in successfully penetrating through the body to the spirit, or life, within.

The progress of the dragon fight is similarly a series of invasions and defensive stands. It begins with the invasion of the hoard by the thief:¹

Þaer on iman giong... 2214

...he to forð gestop... 2289

and the response is the destructive journey of the dragon to burn the 'gifstol' - 'mid baele for' (2308). Beowulf plans to attack the dragon, presumably as the best means of defence - 'faehðe secan' (2513) - but recognises that the dragon must come out of his barrow to be fought:²

gif mec se mansceaða
of eorðsele ut geseceð. 2514-15

and that a defensive stand will be required:³

Nelle ic beorges weard
forfleon fotes trem. 2524-25

Beowulf does not invade the mound in person, but the sound of his

1. 'into it [he] had gone...he had advanced...right up close'.
2. 'if the evil ravager comes out of his earth-house to face me'.
3. 'I do not mean to fall back a foot's length from the guardian of the burial-mound'.

voice does and the space his words travel is detailed:¹

Let ða of breostum, ða he gebolgen waes,
Wedergeata leod word ut faran,
stearcheort stymde; stefn in becom
heaðotorht hlynnan under harne stan. 2550-53

He stands firm while the dragon's fiery breath comes out -

'oruð...hat hildeswat' (2557-58) - and the dragon himself finally emerges to make a three-fold attack, emphasised by the poet's repetition:²

Gewat ða byrnende gebogen scriðan 2569
wyrn yrre cwom,
atol inwitgaest, oðre siðe... 2669-70
þa waes þeodsceaða þridan siðe... 2688

Each time the dragon takes the initiative as the attacking force, while Beowulf defends. The latter's sword fails to penetrate the dragon - 'bat unswiðor' (2578) - but finally Wiglaf's sword pierces him - 'ðæt sweord gedeaf' (2700) - and Beowulf's knife is able to reach his heart - 'forwrat...wyrn on middan' (2705).

Meanwhile, Beowulf himself has been invaded. It seems to me that this motif of invasion is the reason for the poet's choice of the dragon's bite rather than his fire as the ultimate cause of death.³ Beowulf is surrounded and pierced - 'biteran banum' (2692)

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1. 'Then, because he was now swollen with fury, the prince of the Weder-Geats let loose a cry from out of his breast; truculent of heart he bellowed aloud. His voice, challenging and clear, went reverberating within, under the grey stone'.
 2. 'Then, aflame, the coiled thing came slithering... the reptile, hideous malevolent being, came angrily on a second time... Then for a third time the ravager of the nation...'
 3. I would disagree with M. Goldsmith's explanation for the preference of bite to fire as indicating punishment for pride; see Margaret E. Goldsmith, The Mode and Meaning of 'Beowulf' (London: Athlone Press, 1970), p.238.

- and the dragon's poison reaches inside him - 'attor on innan' (2715). It is an appropriate way for the hero to die and forms a climax to his resistance to invasion in the earlier fight. It is also true that death is characteristically an invading force - one notable example is 'deaðes wylm / hran aet heortan' (2269-70) - just as sickness and death is in Guthlac B.

The poem's final movement is that of Beowulf's soul as it rises to heaven:¹

him of hreðre gewat
sawol secean soðfaestra dom 2819-20

echoed by the smoke which rises to heaven from the funeral pyre:²

Heofon rece swealg. 3155

I have tried to show that in Anglo-Saxon psychology evil and any forces not conducive to the preservation of social order were seen as existing separately from the human mind and as acting upon it by invasion. This way of rationalising the problem of disharmony in society is essentially spatial in its expression. It sees the mind as an entity or space, bounded and requiring protection - either mentally by a guardian figure or physically by the body. Evil forces are thus projected to an 'outside', creating a distinction in space between what is outside and what is inside. The outside forces are characterised and given meaning by the use of certain interrelated images which all belong to the 'topos' of

-
1. 'the soul departed from him to seek the glory of those steadfast in the truth'.
 2. 'Heaven swallowed up the smoke'.

the wasteland. Anything or anyone harmful to the survival and good health of the individual or of society in general is assimilated to this basic image of the wasteland, which in its inability to support life and its tendency to destroy it gives a spatial value to all forces injurious to mankind. Among these are the images of the wolf and the exile, and the source of all evil - the devil. Having projected these forces onto an area beyond the pale of what is regarded as civilised, it must be expected that any effect they have will be by means of an invasion.

The didactic prose and poetry discussed above works on this assumption from a specifically Christian point of view. The soul needs protection against the devil who was once dealt with archetypally by expulsion and who has been subject to the same treatment and therefore defeat ever since. The image of the devil as a marginalised figure is calculated to warn audiences that they are in continual spiritual danger and need to be on guard against invasion. Beowulf's treatment of the same subject is less specific. While Hrothgar's sermon in particular has the same theme of the possible invasion of evil into the soul, the poem as a whole is less overtly prescriptive. Beowulf purges Heorot of Grendel's presence, but the hall will be burnt down at a future date through the action of a similar type of enmity, found within Heorot itself; Grendel's mother is killed, but revenge continues to be a destructive element in the fortunes of the Danes and the Heathobards; the dragon is prevented from further raids on the Geats, but they will be under severe threat from human feuds and retributive raids. The poet shows evil as a powerful force acting

in the lives of men, dramatised symbolically in the monster fights - a force which operates typically through invasion and dispute over a space. The spatial metaphor of invasion, involving the distinction between inside and outside, provides a means of discussing in a poetic context the action of evil. The poem serves as a warning by highlighting the destructive nature of evil and suggests that the way to deal with the presence of evil is by expulsion.

CHAPTER 5

THE SPATIAL ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY.

This chapter aims to look at the Anglo-Saxon concept of society and its expression in spatial terms. It means looking firstly at the relationship between the individuals who make up that society, and secondly at some of the ways in which society organises its environment.

It is an interesting fact that although Anglo-Saxon society can be accurately described as hierarchic, in that it was 'strongly stratified', contemporary writers seem not to have used this particular spatial metaphor.¹ It is implicit in the listing of ranks and social classes, but it appears not to have been expressed as such, even in the law-codes, for example, which have always been recognised as a major source of information about social relationships. It is not clear to what extent the laws can be taken as an expression of the real and current state of legal affairs at the time, as opposed to an ideological statement about what legal transactions ought to be like. A.W.B. Simpson has argued that 'the laws are an expression of aspirations, not a compulsory and enforceable set of regulations'.² This may well be the case; either way, the law-codes provide evidence for the

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1. Eric John, 'The Age of Edgar', in The Anglo-Saxons, ed. Campbell, p.168. The concept of the pillars of society, found for example in Wulfstan's Polity, does express a hierarchical view of society, but it belongs to the sphere of allegory.
 2. A.W.B. Simpson, 'The Laws of Ethelbert', in On the Laws and Customs of England: Essays in Honor of Samuel E. Thorne, ed. Morris S. Arnold, Thomas A. Green, Sally A. Scully and Stephen D. White (University of North Carolina Press, 1981), p.17.

conceptualisation of social relationships by giving a fairly consistent account of the relationships between individuals. These relationships are of course most apparent in their breach; since there was then no such thing as criminal law, all offences were civil ones and the legal processes worked on behalf of individuals injured by other individuals. It may be said, then, that the surviving law-codes are concerned with the restoration of social relationships, which had been broken by murder, by injury or by theft.¹ These social relationships are arguably expressed in spatial terms; but rather than the vertical spatial metaphor of hierarchy which expresses a relationship of above and below, horizontal spatial metaphors are implicitly used which place individuals in relationship to one another according to their location inside or outside a certain area. This area may be purely notional or may coincide with an actual space.

An obvious example of this is outlawry. This was the last resort of the process of restoring broken social relationships; those who would not, or could not, comply were declared to be outlawed. This meant the imposition of spatial separation; it divided on a horizontal plane those who would not accept society's rules from those who did accept them - by the use of the spatial metaphor inside / outside. Outlaws were thus a group considered to

1. The law-codes are conceivably also concerned to express the status of the king as law-giver and to encourage the use of the king's court as an arbitrating force in disputes, thus ensuring revenue from compensation; see Patrick Wormald, "'Lex Scripta" and "Verbum Regis": Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to Cnut', in Early Medieval Kingship, ed. Sawyer and Wood, pp.105-38. However, whatever the motive, the immediate content of the law-codes is a concern with social relationships.

be outside a notional area which was defined by the fact that within its bounds laws were obeyed. The division may well have had more force as a concept than it had in practice, but this would not be surprising; the emotive propagation of the concept arguably constituted some form of deterrent. Nevertheless, the spatial concept appears to have had some validity in experience; it may be contrasted with the practice of imprisonment, also a spatial concept.

Other relationships within society also operated on spatial criteria. The laws governing compensation for trespass clearly imply the notion of inside and outside. By their very existence they recognise one man's right to at least the use of, if not the outright ownership of, land and property - to the exclusion of others. Boundaries are assumed to exist around property, acting variously to keep livestock from damaging crops and as a protection to the householder and his family. They may range from natural boundary lines marking the extent of the farmer's land or fences around grazing areas, to elaborate defensive structures around living quarters. The existence of boundaries in any form suggests that notional distinctions in space were recognised and that the laws were applied on this basis.

There were two kinds of ties between one individual and another in legal terms: that of family or kinship, and that of lord and dependant. Both were concerned with the fundamental social necessity of the protection of an individual from other individuals and from the group. Protection operated by the dual means of rights and responsibilities; one man had the responsibility to

protect another, which also gave him the right to compensation if the protection was violated.¹ The law-codes are primarily concerned with the rights to compensation rather than with the responsibilities, since a dispute over compensation presupposes a violation of the protective relationship. The lord's right to protect his dependant is termed his 'mundbyrd' and has reference to bodily injury or personal insult; it seems to have had a defined spatial area in which it applied.

So the first three sections of this chapter look at three ways in which the necessity for protection - of people, property and communal security - is organised and operated according to spatial constructs. The principle of the distinction between inside and outside informs both the practice of imprisonment and the development of the legal idea of the king's peace, and these are discussed in the fourth and fifth sections. To some extent, the approach to this material is exploratory. Legal historians have tended to concentrate on the detail of the codes and on the historical evolution of the legal process. I am more concerned with the laws as evidence for the Anglo-Saxon conceptualisation of space.

In the second part of this chapter we will examine the basis on which certain major settlement sites were chosen, and conclude

1. This point is made clearly by Eric John in 'The Age of Edgar', with reference to both kinship and lordship: 'Kinship relations were the chief source of protection, but also the chief source of obligation...This society was held together... by the bonds and privileges of lordship', p.168.

with a brief survey of the evidence for the actuality of wasteland areas in Anglo-Saxon England.

1. 'Mundbyrd' and the Protection of the Individual

The early law-codes suggest that in certain circumstances, compensation may be claimed for what might be termed indirect offences. One example is Hlothhere and Eadric 2:¹

Gif man mannan an oþres flette manswara hate
oððe hine mid bismaerwordum scandlice grete,
scilling agelde þam þe þæt flet age, & VI scill.
þam þe he þæt word to gecwaede. & cyninge
XII scill. forgelde.

The factor that entails an extra payment is the ownership of the place where the offence is committed. This right to compensation implies some form of right to the peace on one's own property, as also suggested by Aethelberht 13:²

Gif on eorles tune man mannan ofslaeh , XII
scill. gebete.

The right to compensation here must be linked to ownership, since it is charged at a level corresponding to the owner's rank; the same offence on the king's premises incurs a payment more than four times greater than the amount payable to an 'eorl'.

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1. 'If one man calls another a perjurer in a third man's house, or accosts him abusively with insulting words, he shall pay one shilling to him who owns the house, 6 shillings to him he has accosted, and 12 shillings to the king'. Hlothhere and Eadric 2, in The Laws of the Earliest English Kings, ed. Attenborough, pp.4-5. This edition is used throughout for text and translations, unless otherwise stated.
 2. 'If one man slays another on the premises of a nobleman, he shall pay 12 shillings compensation'. Aethelberht 13, pp.6-7.

Ownership and rank are also the basis for paying compensation for lying with a maidservant:¹

Gif man wið cyninges maegdenman geligeþ,
L scillinga gebete.

Gif wið eorles birele man geligeþ, XII
scill. gebete.

Gif wið ceorles birelan man geligeþ,
VI scillingum gebete.

There are thus three categories in which an indirect offence may be claimed in law for what is in effect the breaking of a protective relationship. These are: the presence of a person with a certain status, the ownership of a place, and the ownership of a dependant. The principle may perhaps be summed up as: 'an individual has rights of protection over his own people in any place, and over any people in his own place'. The legal right of a person to collect compensation for an offence against his property and dependants suggests a concomitant legal responsibility. It is not here a question of the protection of property per se, but of the protection of people within a certain defined area, in which ownership confers both responsibility and right to compensation. This principle seems to be illustrated in Ine's law-code where a scale of compensation is given for fighting which takes place in someone's house (except for the king's house where the offence is

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1. 'If a man lies with a maiden belonging to the king, he shall pay 50 shillings compensation.
If a man lies with a nobleman's serving maid, he shall pay 12 shillings compensation.
If a man lies with a commoner's serving maid, he shall pay 6 shillings compensation'. Aethelberht 10, 12, 14, pp.4-7.

beyond compensation):¹

Gif hwa on mynster gefeohte, CXX scill. gebete.
Gif hwa on ealdormonnes huse gefeohte oððe on
oðres geðungenes witan, LX scill. gebete he &
oþer LX geselle to wite.
Gif ðonne on gafolgeldan huse oððe on gebures
gefeohte, CXX scill. to wite geselle & þam
gebure VI scill.

(The accompanying system of fines to the king suggests that the high sums required were designed to deter fighting in houses altogether). Again, the payment is made according to the owner's status. It may be an ideological statement underlining the stratification of society - the more important the person the worse the offence - but it is nevertheless true that the offence is seen in its operation to be directed against the owner of the space where it took place.

The system of protecting dependants did not just cover the simple ownership of servants but also a voluntary agreement between one man who could offer protection and another man who needed it, perhaps only temporarily. This appears to operate as a form of sanctuary. It is possibly this type of protection referred to in the ambiguous mention of a lord's compensation in Aethelberht 6 and

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1. 'If anyone fights in a monastery, he shall pay 120 shillings compensation.
If anyone fights in the house of an "ealdorman", or of any other distinguished councillor, he shall pay 60 shillings compensation [to the householder] and he shall pay another 60 shillings as a fine.
If, however, he fights in the house of a taxpayer or of a "gebur", he shall pay 120 shillings as a fine, and 6 shillings to the "gebur". Ine 6, pp.38-39.

Ine 70:¹

Gif man frigne mannan ofsleahþ, cyninge
L scill. to drihtinbeage.

Aet twyhundum were mon sceal sellan to
monbote XXX scill., aet VI hyndum LXXX scill.,
aet XII hyndum CXX scill.

A specific form of protection is also suggested in Alfred 3; it refers not only to the 'borg' of the king but also to that of archbishops, bishops and ealdormen:²

Gif hwa cyninges borg abrece, gebete þone tyht
swa him ryht wisie & þaes borges bryce mid V
pundum maerra paeninga. Aercebiscepes borges
bryce oððe his mundbyrd gebete mid ðrim pundum.
Oðres biscepes oððe ealdormonnes borges bryce
oððe mundbyrd gebete mid twam pundum.

Different ranks could give different lengths of sanctuary to offenders; a king, archbishop or church gives nine days' respite, a bishop, nobleman, abbot, ealdorman or thegn gives three days. The vernacular version of IV Aethelstan 6 adds that violating this personal sanctuary renders the mundbyrd payable, thus establishing

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1. 'If a man slays a free man, he shall pay 50 shillings to the king for infraction of his seignorial rights'. Aethelberht 6, pp.4-5.

'When a wergild of 200 shillings has to be paid, a compensation of 30 shillings shall be paid to the man's lord; when a wergild of 600 shillings has to be paid, the compensation shall be 80 shillings; when a wergild of 1200 shillings has to be paid, the compensation shall be 120 shillings'. Ine 70, pp.58-59.
 2. 'If anyone violates the king's protection, he shall pay compensation for the crime to the injured person, as the law directs him, and 5 pounds of pure silver pennies for violation of the king's protection; for violation of the archbishop's protection or guardianship 3 pounds must be paid as compensation; for violation of the protection or the guardianship of any other bishop or of an "ealdorman" 2 pounds must be paid as compensation'. Alfred 3, pp.64-65.

a connection between the operation of personal sanctuary and that of the mundbyrd:¹

gif hine hwa lecge binnan ðaem fyrste,
þonne gebete he ðaes mundbyrde ðe he
aer sohte.

There is obviously a correlation between the rank of the protector and the length of the sanctuary offered; pragmatically, a certain level of resources would be required to fulfil the offer of sanctuary effectively. It raises the question of the spatial extent of the sanctuary: firstly, whether it was considered to cover an individual wherever he was or only when he was in a certain area, that is, close to the lord; and secondly, whether or not in the latter case the lord's protection formed in effect a 'moveable sanctuary', defined as an area around his person. The evidence, such as it is, tends to support the idea of a fixed sanctuary. IV Aethelstan 6 states that the fugitive shall be held in custody and killed if he takes to flight; it implies that proximity to the lord was an essential factor in preserving the fugitive's security. It seems most likely that this personal sanctuary, while potentially moveable, was in effect fixed, like church sanctuary, and was a form of imprisonment at the king's 'tun' (see Alfred 1 and II Aethelstan 1), albeit voluntary.

The principle of protection is also applied to the operation of official functions, and in this category it has a temporal as well as a spatial operation. Compensation is due for a breach of

1. 'If anyone slays him within that period of respite, he shall pay as compensation the "mundbyrd" of him to whom the thief has fled'. IV Aethelstan 6, pp.150-51.

the peace in the presence of someone of status:¹

Gif mon beforan aercebiscepe gefeohte oððe waepne gebregde, mid L scill. & hundteontegum gebete; gif beforan oðrum biscepe oððe ealdormen ðis gelimpe, mid hundteontegum scill. gebete.

It appears to be simply a question of rank, but it is possible that compensation is also payable on account of the individual's function, rather than his status alone. The word 'beforan', translated by Attenborough as 'in the presence of', may perhaps be understood as 'in the presence of someone of status at a time and place when that status has some particular significance'. This certainly seems to be the case in Alfred 38 where compensation is due personally to an ealdorman for the offence of fighting in his presence at a gemot:²

Gif mon beforan cyninges ealdormen on gemote gefeohte, bete wer & wite, swa hit ryht sie, & beforan þam CXX scill. ðam ealdormen to wite.

A payment is due in compensation for the direct injury and a separate fine for breach of the peace. The ealdorman receives 120 shillings on this occasion, whereas in a previous paragraph of the same code, quoted above, he received 100 shillings for the same offence, not committed at a gemot; it appears that the formal occasion - 'on gemote' - makes the difference. Another instance of

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1. 'If anyone fights, or draws his weapon in the presence of the archbishop, he shall pay 150 shillings compensation; if this happens in the presence of another bishop or of an "ealdorman", he shall pay 100 shillings compensation'. Alfred 15, pp.72-73.
 2. 'If anyone fights at a meeting in the presence of an "ealdorman" of the king, he shall pay as compensation such wergild and fine as is due, but previous to this he shall pay a fine of 120 shillings to the "ealdorman"'. Alfred 38, pp.80-81.

an occasion when it appears that specific laws apply is the gathering of men for a feast or a drinking party, such as in Aethelberht 3 and in Hlothhere and Eadric 12 and 13:¹

Gif cyning aet mannes ham drincaeþ, & þaer man lyswaes hwaet gedo, twibote gebete.

Gif man oðrum steop asette ðaer maen drincen, buton scylde, an eald riht scll. agelde þam þe þaet flet age, & VI scll. þam þe man þone steop aset, & cyng XII scll.

Gif man waepn abregde þaer maen drincan ond ðaer man nan yfel ne deþ, scilling þam þe þaet flet age, ond cyninge XII scll.

In these instances, the time and place of the formal occasion are denoted by 'þaer maen drincen'; it is less obviously formal, but the same principle operates.

The principle of protection has therefore other applications beyond the use of the term 'mundbyrd', which is explicitly applied only in certain cases. The first mention of the term is in Aethelberht 8, where the amount of the king's mundbyrd is given - 50 shillings - but no indication as to its usage. Laws such as Aethelberht 15 - 'Ceorles "mundbyrd" VI scillingas' - imply that there was a fixed sum for each rank, but it is perhaps reasonable

1. 'If the king is feasting at anyone's house, and any sort of offence is committed there, twofold compensation shall be paid'. Aethelberht 3, pp.4-5.

'If, where men are drinking, one man takes away the stoup of another, who has committed no offence, he shall pay, in accordance with established custom, a shilling to him who owns the house, 6 shillings to him whose stoup has been taken away, and 12 shillings to the king'.

'If where men are drinking a man draws his weapon, but no harm is done there, he shall pay a shilling to him who owns the house, and 12 shillings to the king'. Hlothhere and Eadric 12 and 13, pp.20-21.

to conjecture that other amounts could be set for a lesser breach of protection. A sequence of paragraphs, Hlothhere and Eadric 11-14, suggests that the mundbyrd is only a specific form of the general principle of the right and responsibility of a protective relationship; a mere shilling's compensation is due to the owner of the house where one man insults another or threatens another, but his mundbyrd must be paid to the owner if anyone is killed:¹

Gif þæt flet geblodgad wyrþe, forgyld e þem
maen his mundbyrd & cyninge L scill.

The mundbyrd is violated here by the act of wounding or killing within a defined space; the act of violence is expressed in terms of where it took place and the physical effect, metaphorically or literally, on the spatial area of the 'flet'.

So the protective relationship has in practice a spatial dimension; one factor is physical proximity - the presence of someone at a certain time giving all within the area special protection, or giving one person the sanctuary requested. Another factor is the spatial extent of one person's authority; it extends over his land and protects those within its boundaries; alternatively, it covers his own people whether on his property or not. The legal processes are set in motion by the presence or actions of a man when he is in a certain spatial area, as opposed to another.

1. 'If the house is stained with blood, the owner shall have his mundbyrd paid to him, and 50 shillings shall be paid to the king'. Hlothhere and Eadric 14, pp.20-21.

2. Trespass and the Protection of Property

Protection of the individual and protection of property are in fact closely related in the Anglo-Saxon law codes, in that a person could be assumed to be a thief (on reasonable grounds) until proved otherwise. The onus was on the accused, when in possession of goods said to have been stolen, to swear on oath that they were bought honestly and to bring forward witnesses as to his innocence. If a thief was caught in the act, he could then be killed with impunity by a householder taking measures to protect his property. No wergild was payable for a thief caught red-handed and killed, so active self-defence on the part of an individual would not theoretically incur penalties. If the householder preferred to (and was able to) capture the thief instead, the latter could be ransomed for the value of his wergild, half of which was paid to the captor. A thief discovered as such subsequent to the theft paid compensation, sometimes a fixed sum, and sometimes an amount so many times the value of the stolen goods. From all this it is clear that property rights were taken very seriously.

An act of trespass is a movement across a boundary line and as such can arguably be considered in terms of an invasion. It has been claimed that ownership in the modern legal sense did not exist: 'what the law and lawyers call property and ownership did not exist in the Anglo-Saxon mind'.¹ What was disputed was

1. Bryce Lyon, A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England (New York: Harper, 1960; 2nd ed, New York: Norton, 1980), p.94.

possession, not ownership. Nonetheless, one person was still regarded as having a legal right to the use of land or goods, to the exclusion of others. There are only two reasons in law for trespassing on property, namely, with intent to steal or with intent to kill. The latter has already been mentioned above in the context of protecting the individual, though it is closely allied in a secondary capacity to theft. Theft can be divided into two categories: that without violence, and that with violence - when personal injury may well be involved.

Theft without violence covers fraud and financial injury in general, usually in the context of livestock or crops; the law-codes suggest a straightforward system of compensation as the remedy. If someone accuses another of possessing stolen livestock, then the onus is on the accused to declare his honesty on oath and provide witnesses to a legal transaction (see Ine 46-56). These laws concern themselves with restoring order after the event.

Theft with violence is a quite separate offence, whether the violence is directed against property or against the occupier. In this context Rebecca V. Colman discusses the definition of 'hamsocn' and the early existence of the offence it denotes.¹ She argues that the terms 'edorbryce', 'burgbryce', 'husbryce' and 'hamsocn' (all connoting breaking and entering) cannot involve

1. Rebecca V. Colman, '"Hamsocn": Its Meaning and Significance in Early English Law', American Journal of Legal History 25 (1981), 95-110.

simple damage to property but must include personal injury to the householder: 'the constant reiteration of such breakins as a shocking thing' implies a concern for more than a broken fence.¹ This would be in contrast to the property damage signified in the phrase 'rihthamscyld þurhstinð' (Aethelberht 32) where straightforward compensation is to be paid in accordance with its value. It would appear that the suffix '-bryce' denotes an assault on a person rather than simply on a defensive structure or building, or at least that the destruction of the latter implies an intent to personal assault. In Edmund's law-code, 'hamsocn' is linked with 'mundbryce' as a crime which is similarly inexpiable; the perpetrator forfeits possessions and life, subject to the king's pleasure. This, Colman says, makes the offence a royal plea and a very serious crime. She suggests it was primarily directed against organised gangs of armed raiders who would assault settlements to steal provisions, and she cites Guthlac's youthful activities as an example of such bands of robbers. These are categorised in Ine's laws:²

Deofas we hatað oð VII men; from VII hloð
oð XXXV; siððan bið here.

Since the theft of food laid up for the winter could be a matter of life or death to the household or settlement, it is readily understandable that defence would be vigorously maintained. On the

1. *ibid.*, p.98.

2. 'We use the term "thieves" if the number of men does not exceed seven, "band of marauders" for a number between seven and thirty-five. Anything beyond this is a "raid". Ine 13, pp.40-41.

other side, the fact that a thief could be killed without legal recriminations (see Ine 16) probably made it the more likely that the thief himself would kill if necessary in self-defence.

The concept of the individual's responsibility to maintain his own law and order on his property gives a particular significance to boundaries and defences. Cultivated land had to be fenced to protect it from grazing animals (Ine 40) at the landholder's expense. This accords with the laws granting compensation for broken fences; the responsibility for erecting protective boundaries meant a concomitant right to collect compensation if they were damaged, as is the case in Aethelberht 27 and 28:¹

Gif friman edorbrecþe gedeþ, VI scillingum gebete.
Gif man inne feoh genimeþ, se man III gelde gebete.

The second concerns a resultant theft and so implies that the fence-breaking in the first is a separate offence. The fact that compensation is payable suggests that it relates to non-violent theft, but the level of compensation - three times - suggests that the theft is compounded by its association with breaking and entering.

The laws concerning 'burgbryce', though somewhat ambiguous, seem again to relate to damage to the boundary. 'Burg' has the denotation of a defensive structure or fortification, and the offence of 'burgbryce' (like the mundbyrd) is liable for

1. 'If a freeman breaks the fence round another man's enclosure, he shall pay 6 shillings compensation. If any property be seized therein, the man shall pay a three fold compensation'. Aethelberht 27 and 28, pp.8-9.

compensation according to the rank of the owner:¹

Cyninges burgbryce bið CXX scill., aercebiscepes hundnigontig scill., oðres biscepes & ealdormonnes LX scill., twelfhyndes monnes XXX scill., syxhundes monnes XV scill; ceorles edorbryce V scill.

1. Gif ðisses hwaet gelimpe, ðenden fyrð ute sie, oððe in lenctenfaesten, hit sie twybote.

Since there is no explicit suggestion of intent to kill or steal (and if they are implicitly present, they are separately compensated), the offence seems to relate either to a breach of the mundbyrd in some way or to damage to the structure. The compensation level set according to rank is indeed suggestive of a mundbyrd-type payment, but arguably only as a secondary factor - in that the breach in the defences means potential personal danger to the members of the household. (This explanation would take into account the higher payment for the offence at a time of national crisis when the risk to life and property from undefended boundaries was even greater.)

So Anglo-Saxon law clearly upheld property rights. The principle of self-defence against thieves, violent or non-violent, means that intact boundaries are important, and thus a clear and recognisable allocation of space is necessary. The responsibility to fence in livestock compels each owner to define his own space.

1. 'The fine for breaking into the fortified premises of the king shall be 120 shillings; into those of an archbishop, 90 shillings; into those of another bishop or of an ealdorman, 60 shillings; into those of a man whose wergeld is 1200 shillings, 30 shillings; into those of a man whose wergeld is 600 shillings, 15 shillings. The fine for breaking through a commoner's fence shall be 5 shillings.

1. If any of these offences occur while the army is in the field, or during the fast of Lent, the compensation to be paid shall be double the above'. Alfred 40, pp.82-83.

The concept of invasion and violation may therefore be considered relevant, since attempted movement across a boundary is resisted by the landholder and his resistance is supported by the law.

The Battle of Maldon offers an interesting example of resistance to invasion on the grounds of ownership. Byrhtnoth defies the Vikings with the words:¹

her stynt unforcuð eorl mid his werode,
þe wile gealgean eþel þysne,
Aeþelredes eard, ealdres mines,
folc and foldan... 51-54
...nu ge þus feor hider
on urne eard in becomon. 57-58

The sentiments expressed here are similar to those spoken in Beowulf by the Danish coastguard to the Geats, where the concern is for the harm invaders might do:²

þe on land Dena laðra naenig
mid scipherge sceoþan ne meahte. 242-43

But Byrhtnoth's defiance is significantly expressed not in terms of the prevention of harm to people but in terms of resisting further movement. The Vikings are classed in effect as trespassers in their invasion onto land that Byrhtnoth asserts belongs to the king and which is defended as 'urne eard'. By defining the Vikings as trespassers the poet is suggesting that they must be fought, just as property rights are defended by personal confrontation.

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1. 'here stands a worthy earl with his troop of men who is willing to defend this his ancestral home, the country of Aethelraed, my lord's nation and land... now that you have intruded this far hither into our country'.
 2. 'that no enemy with a ship-borne army might cause damage within the land of the Danes'.

3. Outlawry and the Protection of the Community

For crimes too enormous to be compensated for by fines, the malefactor was put beyond the law, unprotected against anyone who might harm or kill him; only the king could restore him to the pale of justice.

He who breaks the law has gone to war with the community; the community goes to war with him.

...the capital punishment of a rude age.¹

These descriptions of the operation of outlawry are based on an understanding of Anglo-Saxon society as made up of two parts: the community where the law was respected and obeyed, and a notional area where laws had no power either to protect or punish and where by definition the outlaw belonged. The descriptions suggest also that outlawry was necessary to protect the community - a measure of self-defence against an individual who would not abide by its collective ruling. In Anglo-Saxon writings, society or the community is often seen in antithesis to those qualities which threaten it, embodied in the outcast - whether outlaw, exile, wanderer or victim of fate. The outlaw, with his later association with the wolf in the quasi-legal term 'wolf's head', is thus firmly placed by proverbial wisdom and literature as outside civilisation and still a danger to it. This is emotively suggested by a passage

1. Lyon, p.42; F. Pollock and F.W. Maitland, The History of English Law before the time of Edward I, 2 vols. (C.U.P., 1898; 2nd ed, with new introduction by S.F.C. Milsom, 1968), II, 449, 451.

in Maxims I:¹

Wineleas, wonsaelig mon genimeð him
wulfas to geferan,
felafaecne deor. Ful oft hine se gefera
sliteð;
gryre sceal for greggum, graef deaðum men;
hungre heofeð, nales þæt heafe bewindeð,
ne huru wael wepeð wulf se graega,
morþorcwealm maecga, ac hit a mare wille. 146-51

These lines come in the context of friendship and indicate what may be expected for a man without friends who therefore has to live away from society; he lives by implication in the woods, since that is where wolves proverbially belong. It not only suggests the misery and danger of the friendless man, but also the essential nature of wolves, who recognise no laws of friendship (equated with the moral laws of civilisation) and are not moved by pity on account of their victim's fear or by remorse for their own actions. Since outlaws are often identified with wolves in habitat and malevolent behaviour, their relationship to society is seen as qualitatively the same; they are on the margins of civilisation morally and spatially, posing a threat to it by their existence and risk of imminent invasion.

Once it is recognised that outcasts from society, including outlaws, had a proverbial and traditional position in a metaphorical wasteland outside civilisation, the question may well

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1. 'The unbefriended man gets wolves as his comrades, beasts abounding in treachery; very often that comrade will savage him. For the grey one there has to be dread, and for the dead man a grave; it will mourn, this grey wolf, out of ravening and it will wander round the grave, but not with a dirge nor indeed will it weep for the death and destruction of men but will always wish for more'.

be asked if this has any reality in contemporary experience. It is conceivable and even likely that in the case of outlaws their gnomic identification with wolves and the wasteland is a literary means of expressing the severity of the crime - and of promoting an unsympathetic attitude towards outlaws. Although the outlaw as an archetypal figure might be assimilated in contemporary thought to a wolf, the specific case might well be divorced from the general, when, for example, an individual was expelled from a community where he was well-known. A more precise definition of 'community' is needed; the statement that the community in effect 'goes to war' with the outlaw suggests a collective decision against a transgressor. It has been said that outlawry is an expedient of weak government and a rough, crude substitute for, or form of, capital punishment.¹ This is, however, not necessarily the case. Although its effective working depends on the co-operation of everyone rather than on an impersonal central government, strong rule would be needed to enforce that co-operation, and that it is not necessarily used for the worst of (initial) crimes but for those where the perpetrator refuses to comply with paying compensation. It may also be true that the literary usage of the antithesis 'wasteland and enclosure' has supported too neatly the traditional view of early Anglo-Saxon settlement patterns; David Hill puts this older view thus:²

The village sat in the middle of its fields;
beyond, the meadow; beyond that the waste
and finally the great wild wood.

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1. Pollock and Maitland, II, 449-52.
 2. Hill, An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England, p.107.

Recent archaeological and historical research has suggested a different, or at least modified, pattern of settlement which may alter our views on the 'community' in the early period and therefore on how that community viewed itself and its outcasts, particularly in spatial terms.

The nineteenth-century view of the Anglo-Saxon local community was that of a township, collectively organised by free landholders with a presiding headman. This is no longer supported by scholars; it was replaced by the idea of the 'free peasant landholder', who held his own land, and was an 'independent person with many rights'; in Kent, at least, he was subject only to the king - the aristocratic structure intervened in Wessex and the North.¹ Obviously, the various theories concerning the nature of the 'adventus Saxonum' play a large part in determining the subsequent settlement pattern. Stenton's view is of 'a series of national migrations' rather than 'an invasion...by a small number of chiefs, each accompanied by his personal followers'; this national influx of individuals progresses towards a society in the sixth and seventh centuries based on 'the independent master of a peasant household'. Each household farmed a hide of land which was 'the basis of social organisation'; common land existed, but it was not necessarily commonly owned, and each ceorl was responsible for his own share.² This hypothesis does allow for some sort of

1. F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd ed, 1971), pp.277-78.

2. *ibid.*, pp.27-79.

community in topographical terms, though not one that had collective jurisdiction over one individual:¹

The ceorl of Ine's laws was essentially an individualist; owning the land which supported him, though farming it in association with his fellows, and responsible to no authority below the king for his breaches of local custom.

However, Stenton saw economic organisation as inevitably collective, since a village for example had to decide among members how much each would contribute to the given requirement of 'feorm'; this is clear from eleventh-century records, he says, and probably goes back to the seventh or eighth century.² A primitive township-moot would be the most convenient and effective way of responding to the king's demands for an army or for food-rent. Stenton posits the existence of 'popular courts', meeting for these purposes and for the interim administration of customary law while the king was elsewhere; they would be the fore-runners of the hundred courts, just as the 'folcgemot' of Alfred's time resembles the later shire courts, both presided over by an ealdorman. The later hundred courts usually met every four weeks in the open air for the people to administer customary law upon their members; the reeve presided but did not interfere with judgements. Though the first reference to these courts is in the tenth century and there is 'no direct evidence' to connect them with earlier 'popularia concilia' (mentioned in a memorandum of Cenwulf of Mercia) there would obviously be a need for these local interim assemblies, and

1. *ibid.*, p.280.

2. *ibid.*, p.299-300.

the lack of evidence does not preclude their existence; the fact that many hundreds were named after royal vills suggests an ancient administrative and judicial link.¹ So, if the local popular assemblies existed and were the vehicles of justice in the early period, it would be the individual members of the local community who, in the administration of customary law under the king, took the responsibility of outlawing one of their number who would not co-operate in their collective decisions.

As mentioned above, the form of the early settlement patterns helps to determine the nature of the community. Recent scholarship has been able to concentrate its attention - largely as a result of increasing urban archaeology - on the continuity between Roman Britain and the Anglo-Saxon settlement. The work of G.R.J. Jones et al on multiple estates has led to greater stress being placed on the essential continuity in estate units from Roman through to Anglo-Saxon settlement, which can be demonstrated at many sites.² As Warwick Rodwell puts it:³

Deviations of line have occurred, landblocks have been amalgamated and sub-divided, but the landscape has never been replanned.

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1. loc. cit.
 2. G.R.J. Jones, 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in Medieval Settlement: Continuity and Change, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London: E. Arnold, 1976), 15-40. However, there is considerable debate concerning the validity of this model: see N. Gregson, 'The multiple estate model: some critical questions', Journal of Historical Geography 11.4 (1985), 339-51, and G.R.J. Jones, 'Multiple estates perceived', Journal of Historical Geography 11.4 (1985), 352-63.
 3. Warwick Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement, ed. Margaret L. Faull (Oxford: Oxford University Department for External Studies, 1984), p.3.

He sees¹

a continuity of hierarchical structure
evidenced by the physical location of
domestic and religious centres...
the location of local power and authority
is the continuous thread.

The evidence behind these statements is the spatial links discovered on site between Roman villas, early Anglo-Saxon royal vills and later Anglo-Saxon towns. It indicates that at least some Anglo-Saxon settlers took over working estate units and administered them from what were already recognised centres. This must be seen as a deliberate policy of establishing a new authority, literally in the place of the old. The importance of these estate centres as the gathering point for food rents in the neighbourhood remained and increased over the centuries until in many instances they became towns during the ninth and tenth-century urban expansion.

There is thus a major shift of emphasis in historical study from autonomous farmsteads owing food-rent to the king to estate centres with dependent farmsteads, themselves belonging to a multiple estate with an overall estate centre at the royal vill or manor. It suggests a different pattern of original settlement in which Anglo-Saxon leaders took over centres of administration, which were still in working order, either at the outset of the 'adventus' or in subsequent decades. This process enabled them to assert their authority and ownership while leaving the basic structure of dependent holdings intact and able to continue functioning productively. Subsequent changes to the estate might

1. loc. cit.

include expansion, reclamation of waste, sub-division, re-siting and so on, as necessary, but these would occur within the boundaries of the estate unit.¹

The emphasis on the estate as the basic unit of organisation rather than the farmstead has implications for the sense of community and thus for the practice of outlawry. Farms might be grouped to some extent into villages by social or topographical factors and would thus form small communities, but all important activities outside the farming process would be focussed on the estate centre where the lord's official was. Trade and exchange would take place there for commodities not available locally, which might include salt, stone, iron, wine, fish, bone, and flax. The ecclesiastical structure was also centralised. Rodwell shows that churches, like settlements, often followed the existing Romano-British pattern and that the first churches were frequently built in towns where Roman masonry buildings survived, and even in their precincts (see below). Early churches were otherwise built by the individual enterprise of the lord on his estate for his dependants, and these became minster churches, serving the local area.² This provides another major reason for a focus upon the estate centre. It is unlikely that there would be other church buildings at an

1. See also J. Campbell, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns', in The Church in Town and Countryside, ed. Derek Baker, Studies in Church History 16 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), pp.120-21.

2. See J. Godfrey, 'The Emergence of the Village Church in Anglo-Saxon England', in Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape: Papers presented to a Symposium, Oxford 1973, ed. Trevor Rowley, BAR British Series 6, 1974, pp.131-38.

early stage, and even if preaching crosses may have provided a subsidiary Christian focus in default of a building, baptism and burial rites would be performed at the minster church.¹

This still leaves the question as to how local justice was administered. It seems that the estate centre would again be the most natural point for a moot, especially if the reeve was to preside. Even if moots are considered a later development, some sort of formal gathering must have existed, because effective outlawry requires an organised judicial process and not simply a collective decision by default (the means by which social outlawry works), although this would form a significant part of it. Whether the cause of the outlawry is the final stage in a civil case or the flight of someone to avoid paying compensation over a murder, some kind of formal proclamation is needed; effective outlawry depends on universal acknowledgement of the outlaw's position and of each man's duty to refuse him help and pursue him to death when the occasion arises. The property abandoned by the fugitive would need to be taken in charge by someone in an official capacity in order to ensure that the outlaw had no means of survival. Formal procedures and strong government might be required subsequently to take measures against anyone who had harboured the outlaw or who had been reluctant to apprehend him.

It is important to consider the role of the kin in relation

1. See Robert E. Rhodes Jr, Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England (Notre Dame U.P., 1977), pp.25f.

to outlawry.¹ The family of an offender has a responsibility expressed throughout the law-codes for guaranteeing compensation to the injured party, just as they have a right to collect compensation on behalf of one of their number. The responsibilities and rights of kinship provided on the one hand a powerful leverage for exerting pressure on a member of the kin and on the other a powerful deterrent to anyone considering an attack on a member. It might therefore be said that outlawry is an act of rejection not so much by society as by the family, who will not or cannot assume the responsibility for an individual's offence. Some writers have suggested that certain sums of compensation were deliberately set too high for reasonable payment; if this is so, then outlawry would be inevitable for certain offences, since even the extended family would not be able to pay what is in effect a ransom for the offender's freedom. Only if fines or compensation levels are intended to be prohibitive can it be said that the early laws actually prescribe outlawry for heinous offences. Ostensibly, the law-codes are concerned to allow compensation as acceptable settlement for any dispute, whether involving material loss or bodily injury.

In fact, the earliest reference to outlawry in the law-codes is comparatively late - Edward and Guthrum 6:²

Gif hwa aenigra godcundra gerihto forwyrne,
gylde lahslit mid Denum, wite mid Englum...

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1. See Lorraine Lancaster, 'Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society (7th Century to Early 11th)', in Early Medieval Society, ed. Sylvia L. Thrupp (New York: Meredith, 1967), pp.17-41.
 2. 'If anyone refuses to render any church dues, he shall pay "lahslit" in a Danish district, and a fine in an English district...

Gif he man to deaþe gefylle, beo he þonne
utlah, & his hente mid hearma aelce þara
þe riht wille.

All right-minded citizens are called upon to take their part in enforcing the sentence by active hostility, and in this respect it suggests the operation of community justice. But the context of the judgement is significantly different, involving ecclesiastical dues; outlawry is judged an appropriate course to take against a killer who has already broken God's law in not paying what he owed to the Church. It is a harsher penalty than that given to the perpetrator of a corresponding offence who does not already owe compensation to God. It is surely not a coincidence that the archetypal Christian outlaw, Cain, was guilty of refusing to give God his due and subsequently of murdering someone. The idea seems to be that by deliberately dishonouring God in the first instance the laws offering compensation as a way of restoring social order cannot apply. Outlawry here becomes a punishment in its own right. This development of a punitive element in Anglo-Saxon law is a significant change which in concept has a spatial dimension in the form of imprisonment.

4. Imprisonment

In Anglo-Saxon England there were two ways of dealing with those people whom society decided through the law had to be kept separate from itself: one was by expelling them through outlawry, depriving them of the means to survive and thus allowing economic

If he strikes a man dead he shall then be outlawed, and he shall be pursued with hostility by all those who wish to promote law and order'. Edward and Guthrum 6, pp.104-7.

forces and society's well-developed sense of self-protection to prevent them returning; the other was by imprisoning them. This required force and authority, and so imprisonment was carried out by the king's delegates - the local lord, the reeve, or the ealdorman. It thus took place at the local centre of administration - what might be called the heart of society. This is in direct contrast spatially to the method of separating offenders from society through outlawry by placing them on the margin, but in both the principle of absolute separation is fundamental. There is an increasing use of imprisonment apparent in the law-codes over the period, and it has certain implications for the development of the judicial process.

Imprisonment as a way of dealing with offenders does not seem to be indigenous in Anglo-Saxon culture, even as a last resort, like outlawry, when compensation proved impossible. The word used in the law-codes is 'carcerne' and is borrowed from the Latin 'carcer', meaning a place of imprisonment, a cell. The Old English word is also spelt 'carcaerne', which may suggest a confusion with two separate Old English words - 'carc', meaning 'care', and 'aern', meaning 'house', 'chamber' - or perhaps the influence of another word for prison, used later by Aelfric - 'cweartaern'.¹ The literary usage of 'carcerne' is confined to translations of the Bible and of Christian works such as Gregory's Pastoral Care, and to Christian poems - Andreas (1.90), Christ I (1.25), Christ and Satan (1.635) - where its force is more 'place of unpleasant confinement' than 'place of punishment'.

1. See the Micr Conc to OE s.v. 'carcerne' and 'cweartaern'.

In fact, imprisonment in Anglo-Saxon law is not strictly punitive in itself, but is part of the judicial process; it is a means to a legal end, not an end in itself. Its first mention, in Alfred 1, is for a pledge-breaker who gives himself up to spend forty days in prison - 'beo feowertig nihta on carcerne on cyninges tune' (p.62). However, the real sentence is that imposed by the bishop, to be undergone while in prison - 'ðrowige ðaer swa biscep him scrife'. The main use of imprisonment is to hold thieves and other offenders in custody until they or their relatives have paid the compensation and fines due; it is thus a means of compelling conformity to the law, by making offenders available for justice to be enforced. Custody also gives the law the advantage, so that relatives have to pay large sums to ransom offenders and thus presumably play an active part in deterrence for future occasions. It is implied in II Aelthelstan 7 that thieves with no relatives will remain in prison indefinitely. Relatives and friends are considered responsible for providing food for the prisoner. So imprisonment emerges as an option to help the process of law - that is, the payment of compensation.

It appears that the concept of punishment (as opposed to compensation) was introduced by Christianity. In the early codes fines were due to the king along with compensation to the injured party, but these should probably be seen rather in the category of fruits of justice. The question of punishment rather than compensation was one raised by Augustine in the early days of Christianity in England, and Pope Gregory's reply recommended a combination of the two; he should accept compensation for the theft

at its value, and administer discipline according to the nature and motive of the theft (HE I 27). Aethelberht's law-code on the other hand indicates the serious nature of such an offence against the Church not by punishment but by extra compensation - threefold (Aethelberht 1). A problem would have arisen when certain offences were seen as directed against God himself rather than his Church. Biblical teaching has no concept of paying compensation to God for an offence - only of paying a penalty in the course of discipline. The handbooks of penance which began to appear in England in the seventh century are one aspect of the response to the question.¹ The law-codes begin to use punitive measures for offences against God and the Church, as we have seen in the use of prisons (Alfred 1) and outlawry (Edward and Guthrum 6).

So this development in the legal processes is also an essentially spatial one. Again, the relationship of an individual to the community - one of moral distance - was expressed and actualised in terms of spatial separation on a horizontal plane.

5. 'Friþ' and 'Grið'

Another development in the laws which took place over the period was the use and meaning of the words 'friþ' and 'grið'. The application of the terms makes legal distinctions in space, both actual and notional space. The word 'friþ' has an abstract meaning of 'peace' or 'absence of hostility'; it is also prefixed to

1. See J.T. MacNeill and H.M. Gamer, Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A translation of the principal "libri poenitentiales" and selections from related documents (New York: Columbia U.P., 1938).

various nouns to denote a specific area within which peace is to be upheld, notably 'friþstol', discussed above, but also 'friþsplott' and 'friþstow'.¹ In the law-codes it is suffixed to two nouns to denote similarly a definable area protected by the law in a special way: 'ciricfriþ' and 'maethl friþ', which are both mentioned in Aethelberht 1:²

Ciricfriþ II gylde. Maethl friþ II gylde.

The former has been dealt with above and also in chapter 2 in the context of sanctuary. 'Maethl friþ' is used only here and denotes the right to peace in an area where many people congregate, and in that respect resembles a church - 'church' at that period possibly denoting both a building and an area where a congregation gathered for worship in the open air.³ Both the church and the 'maethl' are areas apparently set apart for a particular purpose; the church area would certainly be so, even if it did not yet possess a building, and there is some evidence that meeting places were sited in areas distinct for a different reason, such as at crossroads or in old burial grounds.⁴

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1. See the Micr Conc to OE, s.v. 'friþsplott' and 'friþstow'.
 2. 'Breach of the peace shall be compensated doubly when it affects a church or a meeting place'. Aethelberht 1, pp.4-5.
 3. See Charles Thomas, 'Churches in late Roman Britain', in Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain, ed. Warwick Rodwell, 2 parts. BAR British Series 77 (1980), i, pp.132-34.
 4. This seems to be the case at Gloucester, for example; see Carolyn Heighway, 'Saxon Gloucester', in Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England, ed. J. Haslam (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), p.365.

These distinct areas, used for important and formal gatherings of local people, were not apparently covered by any one person's mundbyrd, unlike domestic areas of congregation which were covered by the mundbyrd of their owner, who took responsibility for keeping the peace in that area. It is interesting to speculate who if anyone owned the land occupied by these formal assemblies. They may have been sited on communal ground; the instances of the 'maethl' meeting at an old burial ground or at crossroads might suggest this. The land used by a church congregation would not necessarily have belonged to the Church before a church structure was built and was perhaps provided by the local lord who often seems to have initiated the first building on his own land. If churches were usually built on the site of a preaching cross, as seems probable, then the sponsorship of the earlier cross assumes significance.¹ In the case of open air assemblies, the spatial extent of the occasion is not the only factor; the acts of fighting, quarrelling or killing which are the causes of breaches of the peace would arise when a group of people had gathered to fulfil the function of the place at a particular time. These offences would presumably not incur the particular penalties of the 'maethl friþ' at times when no meeting was taking place. There appears to be a link here with the protection given to a king's ealdorman while fulfilling his operational duties at a specific time and place.

1. See Richard K. Morris and Julia Roxan, 'Churches on Roman Buildings', in Temples, Churches and Religion, ed. Rodwell, i, p.191.

In addition to the church and the meeting place, there was another important area which had its own rules - the highway, though no special term is used to denote its protection. The law of Wihtred 28 is repeated almost exactly in Ine 20, and it states that anyone travelling furtively off the main road can be assumed to be a thief and be summarily killed or captured for ransom:¹

Gif feorran cumen man oþþe fraemde buton wege gange, & he þonne nawðer ne hryme ne he horn ne blawe, for ðeof he bið to profianne: oþþe to sleanne oþþe to alysemme.

Another law concerning robbing from slaves on the highway (Aethelberht 89) also suggests that the highway was regarded as an area which must be specially protected to keep it safe from thieves and would-be attackers. However, these early law-codes do not suggest unusual compensation for victims of crime on the highway, merely stating the principle; in theory, the law enforces itself by relying on the individual's responsibility to protect himself and others by taking action.

In the early law-codes the term 'friþ' has a solely institutional use, and is not applied to anyone in person. However, the king had certain non-codified powers and rights of protection accorded to him in this earlier period. Two-fold compensation was payable for any offence committed in a house when the king was present (Aethelberht 3) and 50 shillings compensation was payable for killing on the king's 'tun' - whether that denotes the house or its land or both. However, at this period it is

1. 'If a man from afar, or a stranger, quits the road, and neither shouts, nor blows a horn, he shall be assumed to be a thief, [and as such] may be either slain or put to ransom'. Wihtred 8, pp.30-31.

different only in degree from the compensation due to a nobleman (12 shillings, Aethelberht 13) or a 'ceorl' (6 shillings, Aethelberht 15) for the same offence on their property. By the time of Ine's laws, compensation for similar offences is on a different level altogether; Ine 6 concerns fighting in various places and it can be compensated for in a monastery (120 shillings), 'on ealdormomes huse' (60 shillings, plus a 60 shilling fine), 'on gafolgeldan huse' (6 shillings, plus a 120 shilling fine), 'on middum felda' (120 shillings fine), but not 'on cyninges huse'; in the last case, the offender forfeits all his property, and his life is at the king's disposal:¹

Gif hwa gefeohte on cyninges huse, sie
he scyldig ealles his ierfes, & on
cyninges dome, hwæðer he lif age þe nage.

It does not say whether it is fighting directly against the king himself, or whether it is the insult to the king or the danger of violence beginning in his presence, that makes the offence such a serious one, but it is clearly an attempt to give the king a status and a presence well removed from that of his subjects.

A specific term for a protected area around the king is first cited in Edward and Guthrum 1:²

þæt cyricgrið binman wagum & cyninges
handgrið stande efne unwemme.

It has been traditionally accepted that the word 'grið', coming

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1. 'If anyone fights in the king's house, he shall forfeit all his property, and it shall be for the king to decide whether he shall be put to death or not'. Ine 6, pp.38-39.
 2. 'that sanctuary within the walls of a church, and the protection granted by the king in person, shall remain equally inviolate'. Edward and Guthrum 1, pp.102-3.

into Old English vocabulary from Old Norse with the Viking settlements in England, and denoting 'truce', had thus a different frame of reference from the indigenous word 'friþ', which it is argued now denoted a more abstract sense of general peace or king's peace on a national scale. Bryce Lyon sees a historical shift from 'friþ' to 'grið' in a process whereby the king's personal peace (denoted by the term 'friþ') extends to cover a greater number of his subjects; his responsibilities expand from protecting his personal property and personal servants to protecting persons who represent him officially and places where 'it was considered that theoretically he was present'.¹ Christine Fell, on the other hand, argues that it is not possible to trace any significant distinction in the usages of the two words, which are both used for the general as well as for the specific meaning, and thus do not encapsulate a development in the understanding and operation of peace.² Certainly, in the law quoted above, 'civicgrið' appears to have precisely the same meaning as 'civicfriþ' has in Alfred 2. The phrase 'cyninges handgrið' seems to relate to the general principle of the mundbyrd but it is notable that, unlike the application of the older term equally and automatically to men of all ranks, 'grið' is reserved in legal contexts for the right and responsibility of protection that belongs to the king and also to God through his church. It appears, therefore, like 'friþ', to have primarily an institutional use. 'Grið' might in fact be said

1. Lyon, p.42.

2. Fell, pp.85-100.

to denote a royal or a Christian 'mund', established as a result of the unusual circumstances which applied in each case.¹ It might also be arguable that the royal use of a word which otherwise only applied to God's care for his people was a deliberate policy, in keeping with the deepening conceptualisation of kingship.

Aethelred's version, in his law-code VII, of Edward and Guthrum's law, quoted above, is:²

Ðonne is rihtlic þæt Godes ciricgrið
binnan wagum ond cristenes cyninges
handgrið stande efen unwemme.

The additions may be significant in pointing to an increased awareness of the role of a Christian king. God and the king are implicitly asserted as having similar responsibilities of protection, which necessarily involve similar rights - not just in law, but also the right to be regarded as inviolate.

Although it may not be possible to understand 'grið' as denoting a distinct concept of the king's peace, it may be argued that some development in the operation of 'friþ' did take place during the period. The early law-codes suggest that every man's house and land is covered by the personal mundbyrd of the owner and that he has the responsibility to keep the peace. Of course, in practice it would not be possible to ensure that no breach of the peace went unpunished, but the principle as expressed would go some way to encourage people to see themselves as responsible for law

1. See *ibid*, p.91.

2. 'For it is right that the peace of God's church within its walls and the peace of the king's presence stand equally inviolate'. VII Aethelred 2, Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. and transl. B. Thorpe. (London: Public Records Commission, 1840), p.141. (My transl.)

and order and to cover all inhabited areas and all areas of the environment owned or possessed by someone. The major 'neutral' areas would then be the church, under God's protection, and the meeting place, under the king's protection. In the later period, in the early ninth century and then in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the expansion of the economy led to significant changes in the pattern of settlement and corporate life. The growth of towns meant communal living to a new degree and this may well have involved an increase in areas not specifically under any one person's protection or not effectively covered by the principle of 'mund'. The law-codes which put markets and festivals under the king's special protection were arguably a response to that need, as were ordinances compelling trade to be transacted under a reeve, who as representative of the king had vicarious rights and responsibilities of protection. Official peace was established in response to specific circumstances and for the defined length of time occupied by a festival or market.¹

So the use of the term 'friþ' and later 'grið' indicates the existence of areas to which certain special rules apply. It apparently covered the church (at an early stage before its space was defined and sanctified), the meeting place, markets and festivals. All of these were characteristically functions which had a specific place assigned to them but which used it discontinuously. The operation of the peace therefore depended on the definition not only of a recognised space but also of a time.

1. See Rhodes, pp.52f.

6. The Re-Use of Earlier Sites

The extent to which Anglo-Saxons made use of existing sites is an interesting one in its own right and has always been an important aspect of debates about the settlement period. It used to be thought that the Anglo-Saxon settlers deliberately avoided earlier sites and communication routes; this was bound up with the assumption that there was a clean break between the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon cultures, which led to distrust of the established sites and their consequent disuse and decay. This view is now largely discounted as a simplification.¹ The economic structure was different in the two periods and inevitably sites lost their particular importance and precise economic significance, but excavation has uncovered evidence that many of the important settlement sites in the later Anglo-Saxon period were also important in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period and that they were important even earlier in the pre-Anglo-Saxon period, although subject to different economic conditions. Direct continuity - that is, an overlap in the personnel and an uninterrupted use of the site in the transitional period - is demonstrable in only a very few cases, if any, but in a number of others the site returned to its former importance as a local centre at a later stage. In other cases again, a new site was settled close to an older one, arguably taking its place - metaphorically, if not actually. This suggests what might be called indirect continuity, whereby the reasons for

1. See Christopher Taylor, 'The making of the English landscape - 25 years on', The Local Historian 14 (1980), 195-201, where he summarises the evidence. Ecological evidence also supports urban continuity; see below, re wasteland.

an area's importance remain valid, such as its potential for defence, agriculture, communication, administration and so on; the site is re-occupied for the same practical and economic reasons.

However, there is another category of re-used sites which represents those re-occupied for reasons quite separate from those for which they were originally chosen. In this category the factor is not geographical advantage but historical past. This applies most notably to the early Anglo-Saxon churches founded in probably deserted Roman cities and forts: Warwick Rodwell has forcefully argued that the Church wanted to claim or inherit the authority which was accorded to the vanished Roman state, and that it could do this visibly by taking over the buildings which had been the focus of that authority.¹ If this is so, then it provides a clear example of the way in which an area could be seen as of greater significance by virtue of its past. It is arguably a factor also in the re-use of certain Iron Age and Romano-British rural sites, though it is less easy to disentangle this motive from more obvious geographical ones. There are four major categories of important settlement sites re-used by the Anglo-Saxons, all of which would remain vestigially to a greater or lesser degree in the landscape by the use of building stone or by earthwork defences.² These are:

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1. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape', pp.1-23.
 2. The fixed nature of these particular sites made them distinct from smaller Anglo-Saxon settlements which tended to shift site frequently within the estate boundaries.

For a discussion of the re-use of sites and the accumulated meanings that such locations could convey, see R. Bradley, 'Time Regained: The Creation of Continuity', Journal of the British Archaeological Association 140 (1987), 1-17.

- i) Roman walled towns or forts
- ii) Roman villa estates
- iii) Iron Age hill forts
- iv) Romano-British ecclesiastical centres

In all these, it can be demonstrated that the conceptual significance attached to such places by the local population (indigenous or incoming) has operated at some level during the process of re-occupation.

i) Roman Walled Towns or Forts

In most of these there is no evidence of direct continuity.¹ At Ilchester, Bath and Gloucester (AST p.39) there is some evidence of continued occupation or at least early re-occupation, but it is only in terms of a small local population, with no sign of administrative importance. The re-use of these sites in any significant way seems to have been the result of a deliberate policy from an external force, such as the king and, through him, the Church. It is likely that Canterbury (AST p.5) and Rochester (AST p.14) were both effectively deserted as Roman sites when Aethelberht gave permission to Augustine to establish them as bishoprics in 597 and 604. Canterbury at least would seem to have been an obvious choice with its church still in existence and in use, but that does not hold true for other Roman cities used for

1. Most of the evidence for the re-use of these sites is found in Anglo-Saxon Towns, ed. Haslam, where they are organised by county, leaving each individual contributor to deal with them alphabetically or chronologically. Since the conclusions suggested by the evidence are summarised only in general form by the editor, I think it is helpful here to cite the relevant facts for the re-use of sites.

establishing major church centres, and it is arguable that an important factor in the choice of such sites was the impressive physical presence of the Roman walls and stone buildings which were and would continue to be a visible reminder of authority, wholly appropriate to the establishment of a new Church with its bias towards the concept of central authority.

The link between Roman secular authority and Christian authority is even closer at Lincoln, York and Exeter, where the forum area provided the focus for the church; Rodwell concludes that these Roman cities were still regarded as focal points of authority, whether they were urban in function at that time or not.¹ As well as diocesan churches, minster churches were founded also in the early Christian period in important places, though less frequently on deserted sites. Gloucester was a rural centre already when its minster church was founded in 679, as was Cirencester - described by Carolyn Heighway as probably 'the head place of a district' (AST p.362) - and Bath (AST p.347) shows tentative evidence of occupation at the establishment of its minster church within the Roman walled precinct in 675 or 676. Dorchester apparently had a royal presence from an early stage with a palace by the eighth century; its church was at the centre of the city, where the forum presumably was at the junction of the central Roman roads. Dover (AST p.23) on the other hand shows no signs of early activity as a settlement, but had a minster church founded inside its Roman walls in the 690s.

1. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape', p.3.

Rodwell continues his argument by citing evidence of churches being built on other types of existing sites such as cemeteries, rural buildings, villas and religious centres; he builds up a strong case for concluding that the Anglo-Saxon Church considered that the old sites conferred authority on its own presence and role there.

ii) Roman Villa Estates

A number of early Anglo-Saxon royal vills had their administrative centre at or near the site of a Roman villa, or included a villa inside the estate boundary. These include Bradford-on-Avon, Cricklade, Downton, Calne and South Petherton. In these cases it may be presumed that the administrative unit of the estate was preserved intact, even if the estate centre shifted from the villa to a new site, as at Calne. Bradford-on-Avon (AST p.90) is a notable example of this type of continuous use of a site; in addition to an Iron Age hill fort, it had a large Roman villa immediately to the north of the town. In the early Anglo-Saxon period there was a river-crossing there and a battle in 652; a church had been built there by 705 which suggests an early settlement, probably on the south side of the river with the ecclesiastical focus on the northern, where there was a Christianised pagan well. By the eleventh century it was the centre of a royal estate whose boundaries were substantially the same as those of the Roman estate based on the villa, using the

Roman road to the north. Haslam remarks that:¹

it seems likely that the estate of which it [the Roman villa] was clearly the centre survived to become the Domesday hundred and parish with little change.

Cheddar is a well-known example of a royal manor and later palace complex associated with a Roman villa site;² there also it is likely that the land unit remained the same from its earlier existence as a villa estate, through its possible use as a monastic site, to its later status as a royal estate with a palace.

At Calne (AST p.103) it appears that the estate boundaries remained constant through a major shift in the location of its administrative centre; the Roman villa of Verlucio was situated in the south-west corner of the hundred and was disused to the extent that its site probably reverted to wasteland. It probably had a royal residence by the ninth century and a minster church by the seventh century.

South Petherton (AST p.188) was the Anglo-Saxon centre of a large and early royal estate which included two Roman villas and a number of Roman settlements in its boundaries. It had an even closer association spatially with its Iron Age hill fort, however, which may be an equally important factor in the continuity of its settlement.

iii) Iron Age Hill Forts

Iron Age sites, and particularly hill forts, are among those

1. AST p.90.

2. Philip Rahtz, The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar: Excavations 1960-62. BAR British Series 65, (1979).

re-used by the Anglo-Saxons. Some were chosen for their most obvious geographical advantage and used for defensive purposes; one example is South Cadbury (AST p.188) which had a continuous history from the Neolithic period to the Iron Age and functioned as a fort for ten years under Aethelred. Others used at some point for defence were in close proximity to an established settlement which explains their re-use and why they did not become permanent settlements themselves. These include Chisbury (AST pp.95-96) which was re-used as an Alfredian burh, Old Sarum (AST p.124) which was probably settled and abandoned early on and was re-fortified by Alfred, and Watchet (AST p.193) where the Iron Age Daws castle was probably the site of the burh mentioned in the Burghal Hidage.

There are other instances of settlements close to hill forts which were not re-used for defensive purposes but whose presence made settlement there desirable for a different reason; this relates to the status of hill forts in the local area. Amesbury, for example (AST p.130) was settled immediately to the east of a hill fort known as Vespasian's Camp, and it guarded the river-crossing; a royal vill had developed there by the seventh century and possibly in the sixth. Its name suggests a connection with the hill fort ab initio, and Haslam goes so far as to say that:¹

it seems clear that Amesbury's early significance was due to its role as a central place from the Iron Age if not rather earlier

and that the site was re-used as some sort of military and/or

1. 'The Towns of Wiltshire', AST, p.130

territorial tribal focus. He points furthermore to a pattern of¹

development of royal administrative centres in direct and arguably causal relationship to hill forts shown at, for instance, Wilton / Old Sarum, Warminster / Battlebury, Bradford / Budbury, and Brokenborough / Malmesbury.

Old Sarum was abandoned for Wilton below it which became chief seat of the county by the late eighth century, and its success was probably due to inheriting the importance of the hill fort which would have been the 'focus of a wide area' in military and administrative terms:²

It probably became the local royal administrative centre on the consolidation of Saxon power in the area in direct succession to the tribal base at Old Sarum.

Bradford (AST p.90) had a hill fort - Budbury - immediately above the settlement in the river valley; like Old Sarum, Budbury was clearly in use in the Romano-British period, indicated by the proximity of Roman roads to the one side and a villa to the other.

Immediately to the south of the fort at Chisbury was Bedwyn (AST p.96), which was an early royal administrative estate centre with a minster church and a royal residence. Ramsbury, not far away, had a similar status, and Haslam has argued that these two royal villas took over from the Roman centre at Cunetio and the hill fort at Chisbury as focal points of administrative authority in the area. At Malmesbury (AST p.111) he posits the existence of a hill fort to explain an early reference to a British city in the area;

1. loc. cit.

2. loc. cit.

it is ideal topographically for a hill fort and might well have been a military or tribal centre in the fifth and sixth centuries. (The foundation of a monastery there later by an Irish monk supports this view, he adds, given the Irish tendency to associate monasteries and forts.) It would appear that the Anglo-Saxon royal vill for the administration of the estate was established to the north at Brokenborough, and again this fits the pattern of the association between forts and early vills.

So there is a case for arguing a clear connection between early settlements and Iron Age hill forts in use during the Romano-British period. In Wiltshire and Somerset the continuity may well have been direct, as Wessex pushed its boundaries further into those areas only in the sixth century. There is little reason to believe that the same pattern could not be seen elsewhere; the conquest of new areas from the earliest period onwards would be likely to take the form of attacking and defending the central military focus - conceivably a hill fort or important local site - and again it would be likely that this focal point would retain its status after a military conquest, even if at a subsequent point a new settlement was established to take over the administrative functions at a more suitable site, such as in a valley. It is important to remember the administrative as well as defensive functions of such central places, whether Iron Age or Romano-British in origin, and arguably this was an important feature for the colonising Anglo-Saxons. Haslam sees this principle at work in

Wiltshire, and particularly at Old Sarum and Wilton:¹

Indeed it seems at least probable that the manifest attraction of this area for the Saxons lay in the existence of a working system of administration and land utilisation preserved from, and around, the Roman settlement at Sorviodunum.

Far from avoiding earlier sites of authority under earlier cultures, the Anglo-Saxons appear on the available evidence to have utilised them wherever possible, either to inherit a working administrative system for a newly-conquered area, or to inherit the authority once accorded to a site by the local population.

iv) Romano-British Ecclesiastical Centres

The evidence in this category is minimal at present, and is confined to four sites, of which one has probable evidence of re-use, one possible and two tenuous. They are all in Dorset where there is a possibility that Celtic Christian foundations survived into the sixth century.

The bishopric at Sherborne (AST p.209) was established in 705 on royal land and a church was built there by the first bishop, Aldhelm. However, there is a tradition that an earlier Wessex king, Cenwalch, had already founded or granted lands to a monastery there in 671, alluding to it under the name of Lanprobus. A grant by a Celtic king of lands in Cornwall to Sherborne in 710 also suggests that there had been a Celtic monastic foundation at

1. AST p.122. The evidence is concentrated on Wiltshire at present, where Haslam has been working, but it is possible that this phenomenon exists elsewhere and has not yet been fully appreciated.

Sherborne, which might then have been known as Lanprobus. It would have been annexed during the expansion of Wessex into Dorset, and probably continued to exist under Anglo-Saxon rule. Excavation under the medieval castle has uncovered burials where there is no church, and with the proximity of an old road the probability is that the original monastery was at that site but was finally deserted; the new West Saxon foundation would have been newly sited but would have taken over the lands belonging to the older establishment. The importance of Sherborne as the centre of a large multiple estate would have made it a desirable place for a bishopric and also a site worth reinforcing as a Wessex stronghold. Again, there would seem to have been an inheritance of the administrative authority within the area at a suitable moment, though shifting the exact location.

Shaftesbury (AST p.213) also shows signs of having had a British foundation before its Anglo-Saxon one in the 870s - in the preservation of charters referring to British abbots. Keen suggests there is a possibility by analogy of British foundations surviving also at Wareham and Christchurch (AST p.213 & 215), both of which had a tradition of early minster churches. It is likely that more archaeological evidence might support these signs of ecclesiastical continuity; as Keen says, the sites of bishoprics became important towns and their status as major centres may well go back beyond their Anglo-Saxon origin.¹ The connection between the king and the church is vital in this area; the king provided

1. Laurence Keen, 'The Towns of Dorset', in AST, p.216.

the land for monasteries and the probability is that he saw the foundation as a means of reinforcing his influence in the area. He would therefore have chosen a site with administrative potential, conceivably one that was already exercising that function. This policy can be seen to operate in the foundation and support of a number of monasteries on the borders of kingdoms - notably Wessex / Mercia - and this would apply to Malmesbury in the early or mid-seventh century (AST p.111), Abingdon in c.670 (AST pp.55-57), and Bath in 675 (AST p.349).

So, in conclusion, there is evidence to support the argument that some sites were re-used by the early Anglo-Saxons for reasons based not, or not wholly, on their intrinsic potential, but based on the assumption that their past status as major foci of authority in an area made them desirable sites for the exercise of authority by different rulers. The Anglo-Saxon rulers who made these choices worked on the understanding that the local population accorded certain sites a higher status as a direct result of their association with past administration; this would arise either through memory alone or through the visible reminders of stone walls or earthen defence systems on hill-tops. In the case of the Roman villa and Iron Age hill forts it is more difficult to prove that it was the place itself rather than the administrative system attached to it that carried the sense of authority from one period to the next, but it is clearer in the case of churches sited within the forum area of deserted Roman cities. It suggests that the principle of certain spaces being perceived as significant within their environment was important in the secular sphere as well as in the Christian one.

7. Wasteland in Anglo-Saxon England

As we have seen, literature and legal writings of the period assume a well-established dichotomy between the area occupied by settlement and its immediate natural environment. We come finally to a brief investigation of the actuality of this concept - whether the dichotomy evidently perceived was projected onto or had its origins in the organisation of the landscape. This may perhaps be determined by archaeological investigation, assisted by ecological evidence.¹

The first question to be addressed is the extent of dense woodland in Anglo-Saxon England. The traditional view is expressed by H.R. Finberg:²

It is difficult for us to appreciate how much of Britain remained densely wooded at the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period. Wolves, boars, deer and wild cats found ample cover in the still uncleared natural forests. Between the Tees and the Tyne lay a region almost uninhabited except by wild beasts.

The Anglo-Saxon settlers therefore began 'an energetic process of deforestation', gradually clearing the forests to create space to build and plant crops. By the eleventh century, 'there had been a vast extension of the area under plough'. This historical view ties in well with the literary concept of colonising and taming an infertile and hostile landscape. Wood distribution maps have

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1. The role and nature of wasteland is also a major concern of landscape historians, for example D. Hooke, The Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Kingdom of the Hwicce (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).
 2. H.R. Finberg, The Formation of England 550-1042 (London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon, 1974), p.18.

tended to bear out the picture of a densely-wooded England, showing large areas of tree cover.¹ The hypothesis is, however, challenged by Oliver Rackham:²

There is nothing to suggest that the Anglo-Saxons were pioneers, spending their lives digging up trees among boundless woodland.

He points to the evidence of substantial clearing by the Neolithic and Roman populations, leaving little for the Anglo-Saxons to do, and to the lack of evidence that the existing woodland was allowed to get out of hand by the incoming Anglo-Saxons. There are also very few allusions to the destruction of woodland; place-names such as Brentwood can be accounted for more plausibly as charcoal-burning areas. He suggests, in fact, that rough estimates show³

that England was not well-wooded even by the standards of twentieth-century, let alone eleventh-century, Europe.

Only one in thirty of boundary features in charters refers to woodland, and this agrees in general terms with the distribution and extent of woodland in the Domesday Book, when only half the settlements possessed woodland. Many estates had instead woodland exclaves, suggesting that there was none nearby and that any woods were valuable privately-owned property, parcelled out, probably

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1. Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, 2 sheets. (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1935, 1939). The second edition of the map (2nd ed. in one sheet, 1966) omitted woodland altogether in acknowledgement of growing uncertainty about its extent.
 2. Oliver Rackham, The History of the Countryside (London: Dent, 1986), p.84.
 3. *ibid*, p.76.

with demarcated boundaries:¹

many villages were over four miles from any wood, and a day's journey from any substantial woodland.

This view of the development of the landscape agrees largely with the idea put forward above that the Anglo-Saxons made very few changes to the landscape as they found it, taking over intact not just the estates and headquarters, but also the estates' woodland exclaves. It suggests that they did not radically re-organise the landscape, but with their lesser agricultural expertise farmed what was already there to the best of their ability.

The nature of woodland where it did exist is another question. D.P. Kirby argues that dead and decomposing trees on the forest floor made transit difficult and, in abandoned forest clearings, almost impassable, due to a combination of thorn bushes, holly, briar, bramble, bracken and nettles.² He also suggests that the higher average temperature level in that period (1°C warmer) would have meant that malarial insects were prevalent within woods. However, this view is partly dependent on the nature of woodland usage; if the area was properly managed and intensively exploited, as seems possible, then decomposing trees and undergrowth would not have proved an obstructive problem. There has been a shift from

1. *ibid*, p.78.

2. D.P. Kirby, 'The Old English Forest: Its Natural Fauna and Flora', in Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape, ed. Rowley, pp.120-30.

this earlier viewpoint, as D. Hill notes:¹

our view...has...changed from an impassable damp oak forest to a canopy forest through which passage was possible.

As regards the exploitation of the resources, Rackham distinguishes between woodland and wood-pasture; the former provided timber and was more likely to be privately owned, whereas the latter was used primarily for grazing animals and might well be communally owned. Both required management to make the best use of resources; the clause in Alfred's laws (13) about accidents while chopping trees, which has been brought in to support the forest clearance hypothesis, should more probably be placed in the context of woodmanship.

So, most woods would not be the unknown and unacknowledged areas suggested by literary writings. In addition, the activities of the wolf as the archetypal wood-dweller are called into question by Rackham; he notes that wolves 'are not specially woodland beasts' and tend to move in packs rather than singly. They are not prone to stealing off and killing children: 'such behaviour is the mark of the fictional rather than the zoological wolf'. He admits, however, that they 'thrive on war and social upheaval' and that they were probably still in existence in Anglo-Saxon England, whether widespread or not.²

It has always been acknowledged that habitats classed poetically as wasteland have nevertheless some economic status.

1. Hill, An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England, p.17.

2. Rackham, pp.34-36.

Woodland was an important source of fuel, while wood-pasture was apparently essential to the keeping of pigs:¹

numerous place-names compounded from 'swin'
and 'swine' prove how generally pigs were kept.

Domesday Book entries frequently assess the value of woodland according to its capacity for supporting pigs. Rackham has also challenged this assumption that woodland was therefore an important habitat for pigs:²

The acorn crop is (and was) very undependable.
By 1086 the wood-swine had become swine of the
imagination; real pigs were counted separately
and fed in other ways.

However, there is no reason to doubt that wood-pasture was used at least to some extent for grazing pigs, even if other more efficient methods had superseded it. Pigs were evidently a central part of the livestock economy throughout the period to judge from the proportion of pig to other animal bones found on excavated sites.³

The other traditional use of woodland was for hunting. Stories survive to show that it was a practised contemporary sport, notably the famous story of King Edmund at Cheddar. The use of an area for hunting, however, does not mean that it was reserved exclusively for that purpose. The word 'forest' is not used in Anglo-Saxon documents and there is no evidence that the concept existed either.⁴ Even in the creation of Norman forests, landrights were apparently not interfered with; the king claimed

1. Finberg, p.74.

2. Rackham, p.75.

3. See Martin Jones, England Before Domesday (London: Batsford, 1986), p.131.

4. See Rackham, p. 130.

the exclusive right to hunt in that area and the protection of the deer within it, rather than owning the land occupied legally by the extent of the forest. It is probable, therefore, that the practice of hunting in Anglo-Saxon woodland would allow it to fulfil simultaneously its other economic functions.

The other traditional wasteland habitats are marshland and heathland. There is evidence that both were economically productive and that they were a valued resource. Heathland, like woodland, was not a wild habitat, having been created by Neolithic, Bronze Age and Roman populations from the wildwood, and it therefore required maintenance to prevent it reverting to woodland. The Anglo-Saxons, like their predecessors, used it for grazing sheep and for cultivating heather and bracken as fuel crops. Place-name evidence suggests that it was widespread - Heathfield, Hadley, and so on - and it was often found in association with woodland.

The Anglo-Saxons also inherited from the Romans areas of drained fenland where settlements had earlier been established. They eventually made use of this potential by settling the fenland islands in their turn, and by the eleventh century at the latest the area had been divided up for ownership. A sea bank and a fen bank were constructed at some stage, implying economic investment in the area, while surrounding saltmarshes were used for pasturing sheep.¹ The Fens became economically of great significance in the

1. See H.E. Hallam, The New Lands of Elloe: A Study of Early Reclamation in Lincolnshire Dept. of English Local History Occasional Papers 6. (Leicester: Univ. College of Leicester, 1954).

early post-Conquest period, and the growth of the large abbeys which contributed to this began in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The conceptualisation of wasteland depends largely on the assumption of the existence of unowned land which is therefore not subject to the rules laid down by society to protect itself. The picture of Anglo-Saxon England discussed above does not conform in regard to this crucial factor of ownership. When Guthlac asserts that the area surrounding Crowland is 'eþelriehte feor' (words ascribed to him some decades later) he is not stating an economic fact but declaring his relationship with his environment; there can in practice have been few areas where this was strictly true. I have argued above that the marginal lands around the boundaries of kingdoms could be disputed areas in political terms, but this does not make them marginal economically; the very fact that the land was disputed would suggest that it was valuable. Conceivably, every part of the landscape was economically valid in some way and would therefore be claimed by someone as a resource - whether for the purpose of settlement, or for the provision of arable land, grazing land, fuel, timber, fish and so on. This to some extent depends on which model of historical settlement is accepted; if it is agreed that the Anglo-Saxons took over a well-developed landscape from the Romano-British with as little interruption as possible, then there is every reason to suppose that there was a concomitant take-over of existing property rights. Ownership would have been transferred along with the estate boundaries.

Ultimately it must be impossible to say whether, despite the qualitative difference between literary expression of wasteland and

the historical and archaeological evidence of the use of wasteland, the Anglo-Saxons habitually projected the concept onto their experience of the environment. Woodland, for example, could exist as an economic resource, accessible to the local population and well-used by them, and still be the focus for insecurity, apprehension and mistrust. What can be said is that the simple dichotomy of settlement and wasteland existed only in the mind - it appears to have no validity in the complex economic organisation of the Anglo-Saxon landscape, even at an early stage in the period.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has taken as its procedural basis the premise that the perception and organisation of space is a social phenomenon found in communities and cultures world-wide, and has thus attempted an exploration of Anglo-Saxon culture. Using the evidence of a wide range of source materials, it has examined the Anglo-Saxon perception and organisation of space according to abstract principles, and the uses of space and spatial relationships as metaphor in the conceptualisation and expression of abstract thought. I have tried to demonstrate that such an approach offers a means of gaining a fuller understanding of Anglo-Saxon culture and a deeper insight into the structure of the Anglo-Saxon mind. The various sources analysed according to this criterion show that the Anglo-Saxons were able successfully to deal in complex patterns of thought and to express themselves forcefully through their conscious and intelligent management of space and spatial relationships, whether metaphorically, verbally, visually, topographically, physically or dramatically.

The perceived relationship between space and time is one example of this, and I have shown how, in art, space on the page was used to create the illusion of timelessness through the suggestion of arrested and cyclical movement. Similarly, the discussion of church architecture demonstrated that the designation and recognition of spaces as identifiable with symbolically significant locations (notably Jerusalem) served as a means of

telescoping time towards the contemporary realisation of a historical event. Again, in the context of literature, especially Guthlac A, we have seen that the projection of the monastic site as sacred indicates that spatial conceptualisation provided a complex means of asserting the status and nature of the site in direct relation to its occupier.

These examples are conscious usages of spatial expression for didactic effect. It is less easy to determine examples of unconscious spatial conceptualisation, but I have argued that such spatial structuring can be discerned in society's internal organisation, particularly in the concepts of outlawry and the protection of personal space. These show that in a legal sphere social relationships were determined to some extent by spatial location - both actual definable space (such as a man's house) and the notional space comprising civilisation from which the outlaw was expelled and which he was forbidden to re-enter.

The thesis has attempted deliberately to illustrate the importance and value of an interdisciplinary approach to such a study. This is exemplified in the analysis of the usage of the metaphor inside / outside, which as an abstract antithesis has reference in a wide range of disparate source materials. Its use spans legal history, medical history, literature (both secular and sacred and both poetry and prose) and conceivably can contribute towards archaeology in the notion of boundaries; there has not been space in this thesis to tackle the large subjects of charter boundaries and burial practice, but the concept of inside / outside

should ideally inform a study of such material, particularly the latter; whereas in a sacred context burial of a saint was desirable within the community, in a secular context a location outside the community may well have been considered appropriate for such an activity, essentially concerned with the definition of the boundary between life and death. The dichotomy also gives relative value to such concepts as civilisation, orderliness, safety, health, salvation and life itself, by means of placing them notionally inside an enclosed or bounded space (often identified as that of the body).

Any study of Anglo-Saxon culture has, of course, to acknowledge the indebtedness of the society in that period to established Christian thinking and customs, which were in fact speedily and productively assimilated by the Anglo-Saxons, and this is equally true in a survey of spatial conceptualisation. However, I have endeavoured to identify areas where the expression of these imported concepts is distinctively Anglo-Saxon in style. So, for instance, though the concept of Satan being expelled from heaven is Biblically based, I have argued that Anglo-Saxon poets exploited this metaphor so that a change in spiritual status was expressed by spatial displacement. Excommunication was a well-established Christian practice, but Anglo-Saxon homiletic writers found their own means of expounding the subject; thus Wulfstan links 'communication' with 'community' to create a distinction between spiritual life outside the church and the spiritual life possible within the church as a building and as a congregation of people.

The principle of employing spatial relationships as a means of defining spiritual relationships has been shown to be prevalent in many sources, and the identification of examples of this has proved a useful and, I believe, new way of approaching the material, particularly in the context of illustrative art. The ladders of Cotton Claudius B IV are an outstanding (and probably innovative) example of an artist using connections in space to indicate spiritual communication, while in a poetic context the concluding passage of Christ and Satan has been shown to use spatial apprehension as a dramatic means towards spiritual apprehension. This is a potentially fruitful line of enquiry for future research in all aspects of Christian expression in Anglo-Saxon society, particularly as it crosses the boundaries of disciplines; in an architectural context the identification of this principle assists understanding of the nature of the relationship perceived in three dimensions between shrines and altars within the church structure.

Ultimately, this investigation confirms that the Anglo-Saxons used spatial constructs to 'place' things, not only topographically but also conceptually; it may be said that they had a predilection for clear definitions and perceptible boundaries, as indicated by the wide reference of the metaphor inside / outside. However, to some extent, a conclusion as such is incidental; the charting of spatial conceptualisation as a phenomenon is in itself a valid exercise, providing an occasion and the means to survey the organisation of physical and mental space in the period and thus to understand more clearly and profoundly the ways in which Anglo-Saxon culture thought and functioned.

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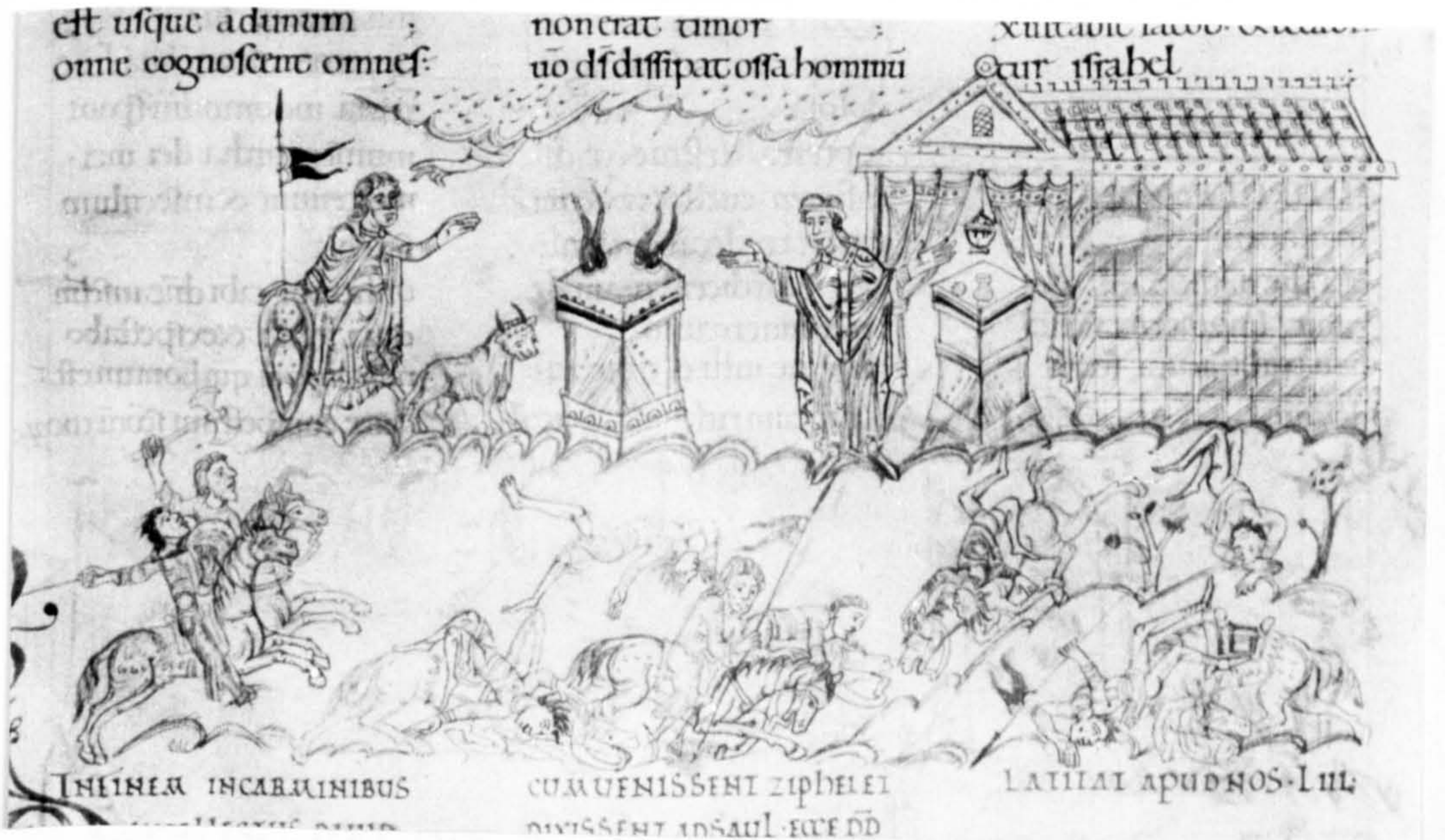
The Consecration of a church.
Lanalet Pontifical, f.2v.

PLATE 3



Psalm XCII (93) [Utr] f.54v.

PLATE 4



Psalm LIII (54) [Har1] f.29v.

PLATE 5



Abraham and Melchisedech.
London BL MS Cotton Cleopatra C VIII, f.5v.

PLATE 6



Psalm LXVIII (67) [Utr] f.38v.

PLATE 7



'Nunc Dimittis'. [Utr] f.89v.

PLATE 8



Simeon in the temple.
The Benedictional of St Aethelwold, f.34r.

PLATE 9



Psalm XVII (18) [Utr] f.9r.

PLATE 10



Malalahel before an altar.
Bodl. Junius 11, p.58.

PLATE 11



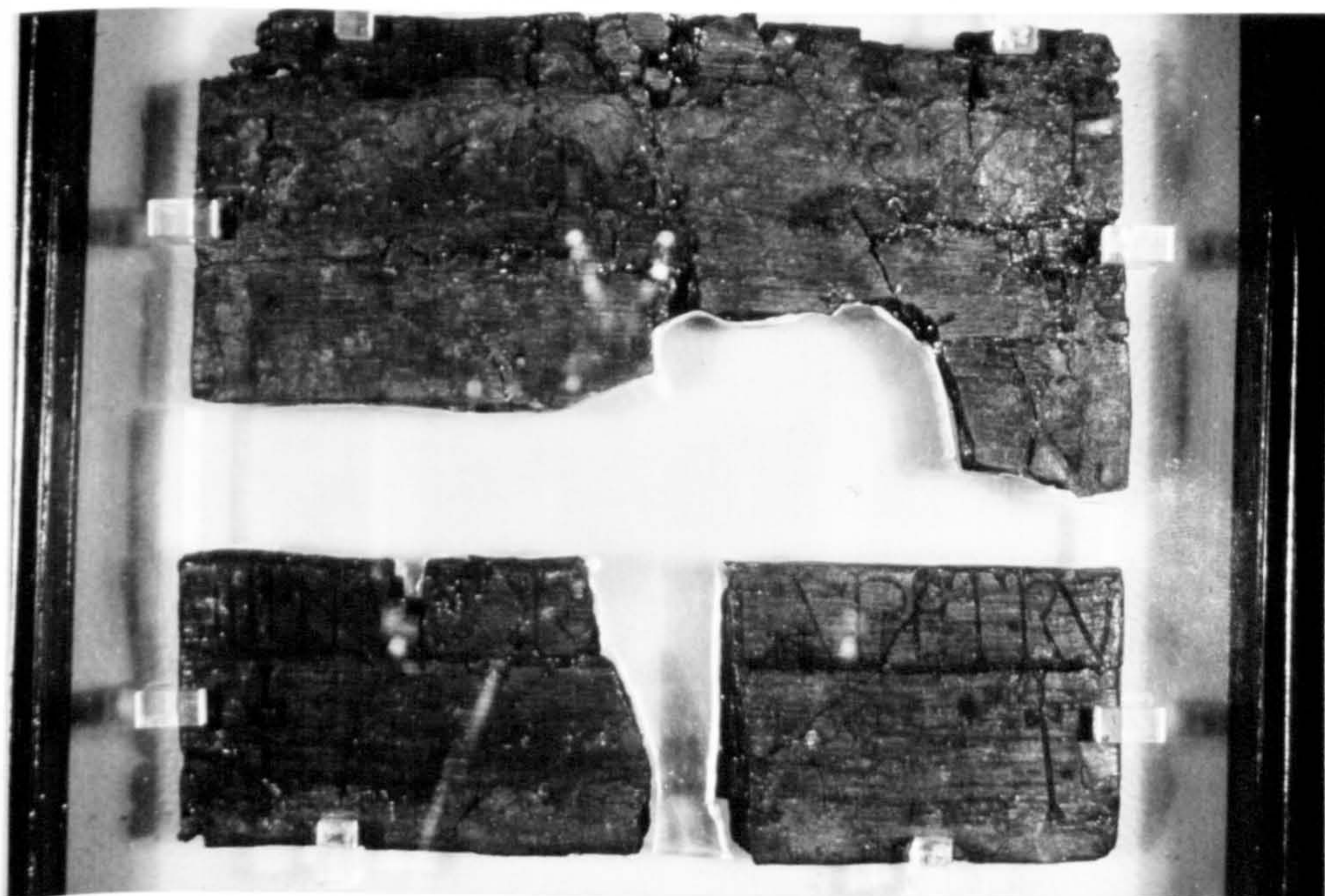
Cain and Abel.
Junius 11, p.49.

PLATE 12



Abraham and Isaac.
Cotton Claudius B IV, f.38.

PLATE 13

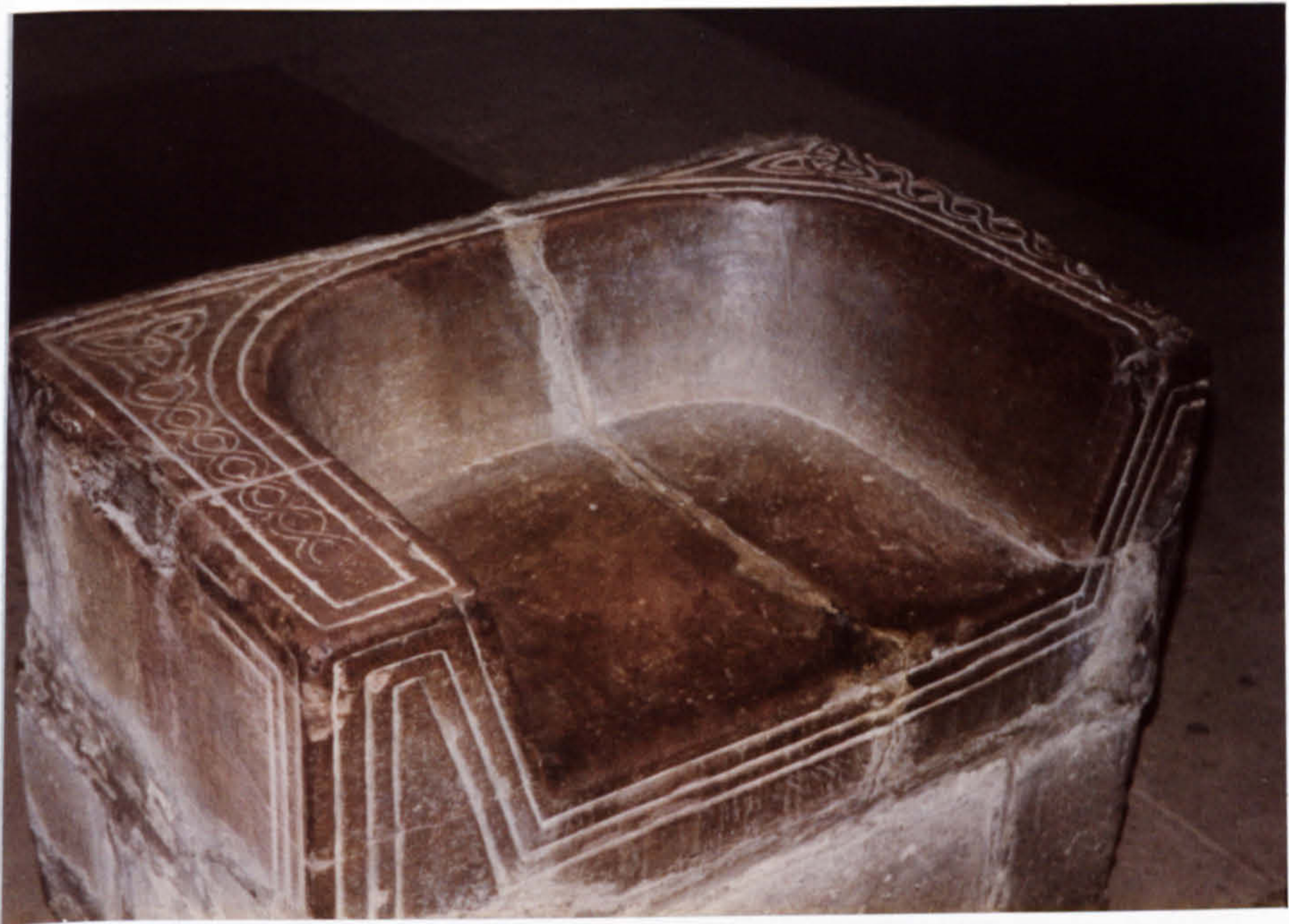


St Cuthbert's Portable Altar.



A bishop (Aethelwold?) presiding at mass.
Benedictional of St Aethelwold, f.118v.

PLATE 15



Hexham Abbey 'frithstol'.

PLATE 16



Beverley Minster 'frithstol'.

PLATE 17



King Saul. [Utr] f.91v.

PLATE 18



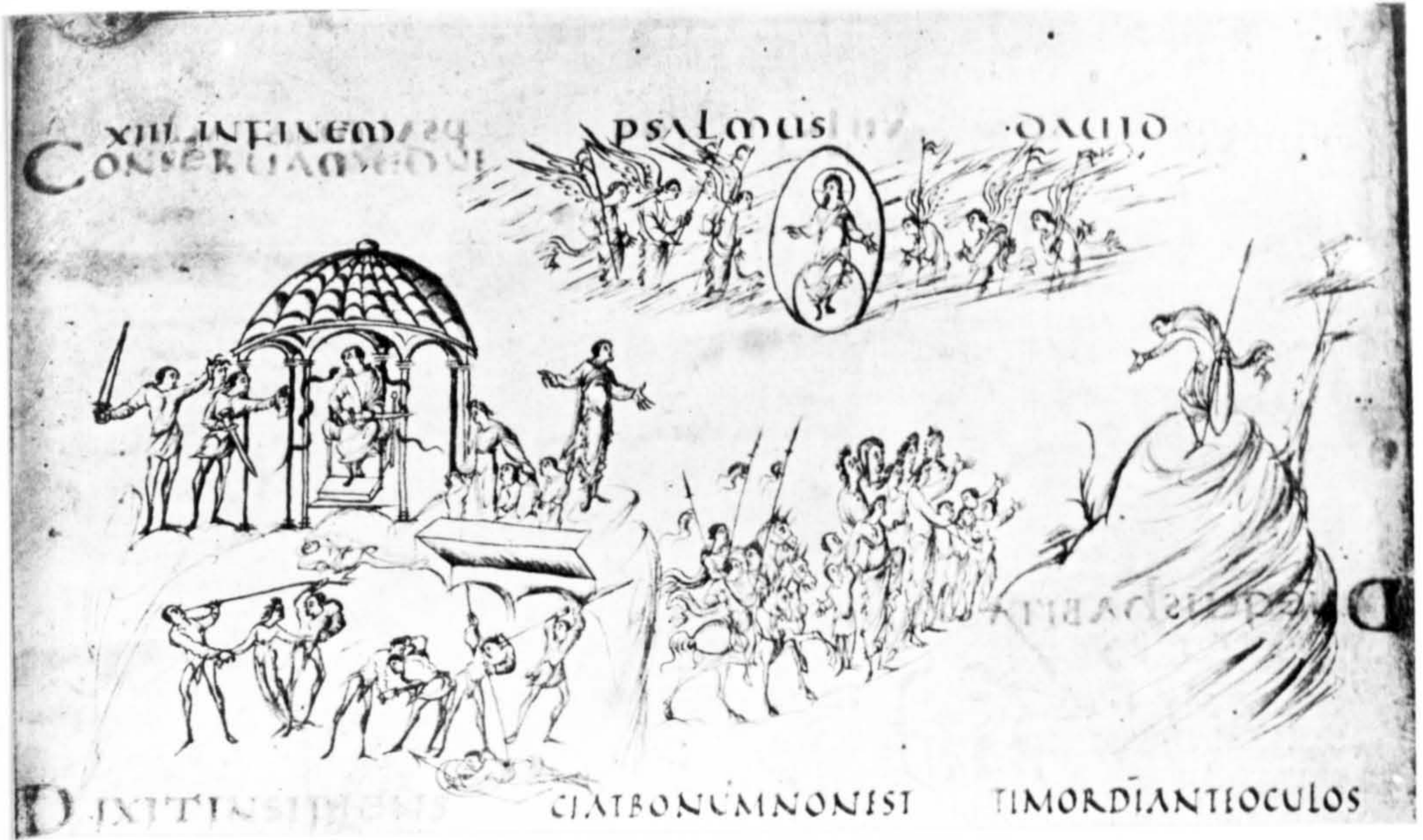
Psalm LII (53) [Utr] f.30v.

PLATE 19



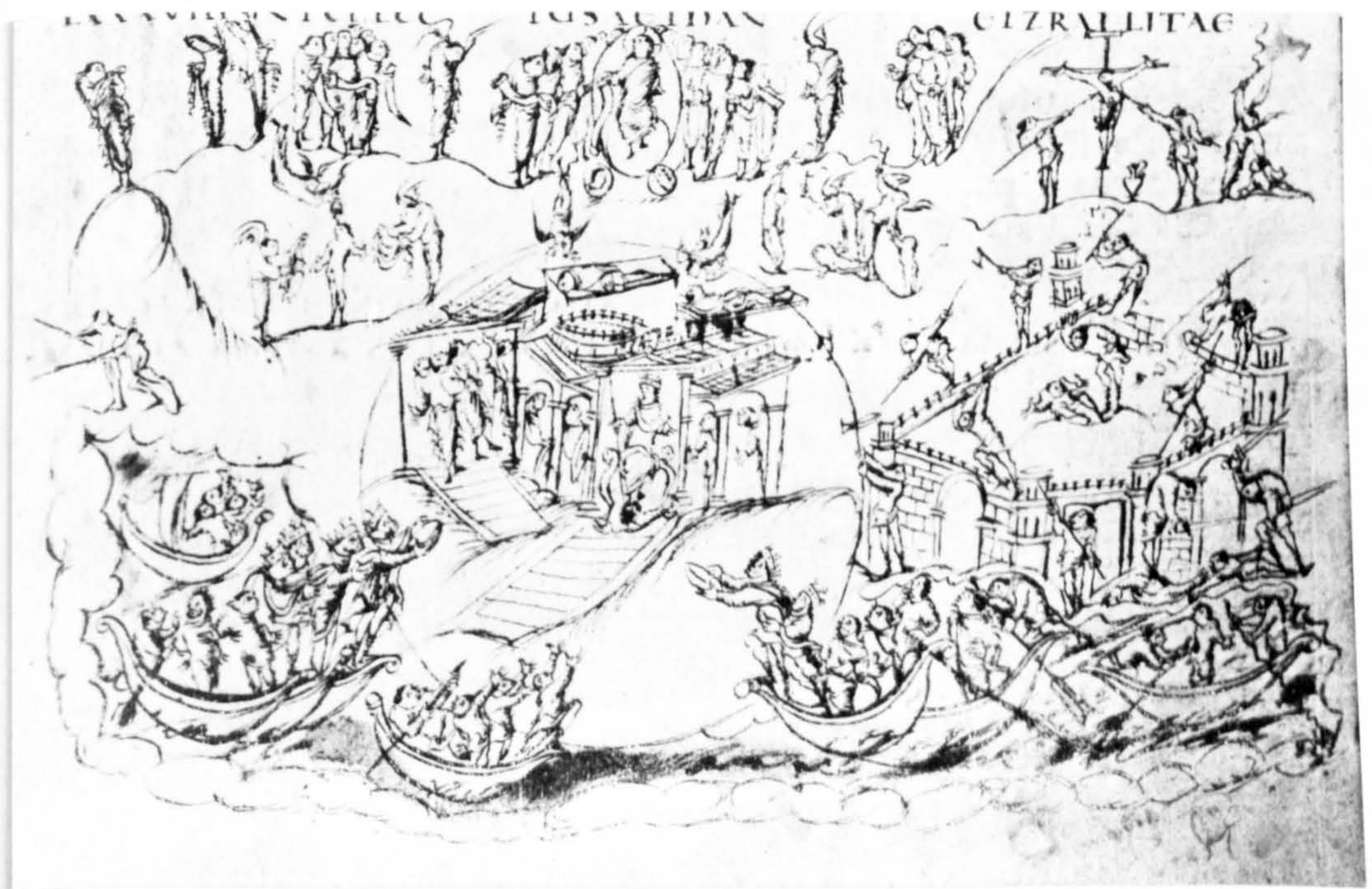
Psalm I (1) [Utr] f.1r.

PLATE 20



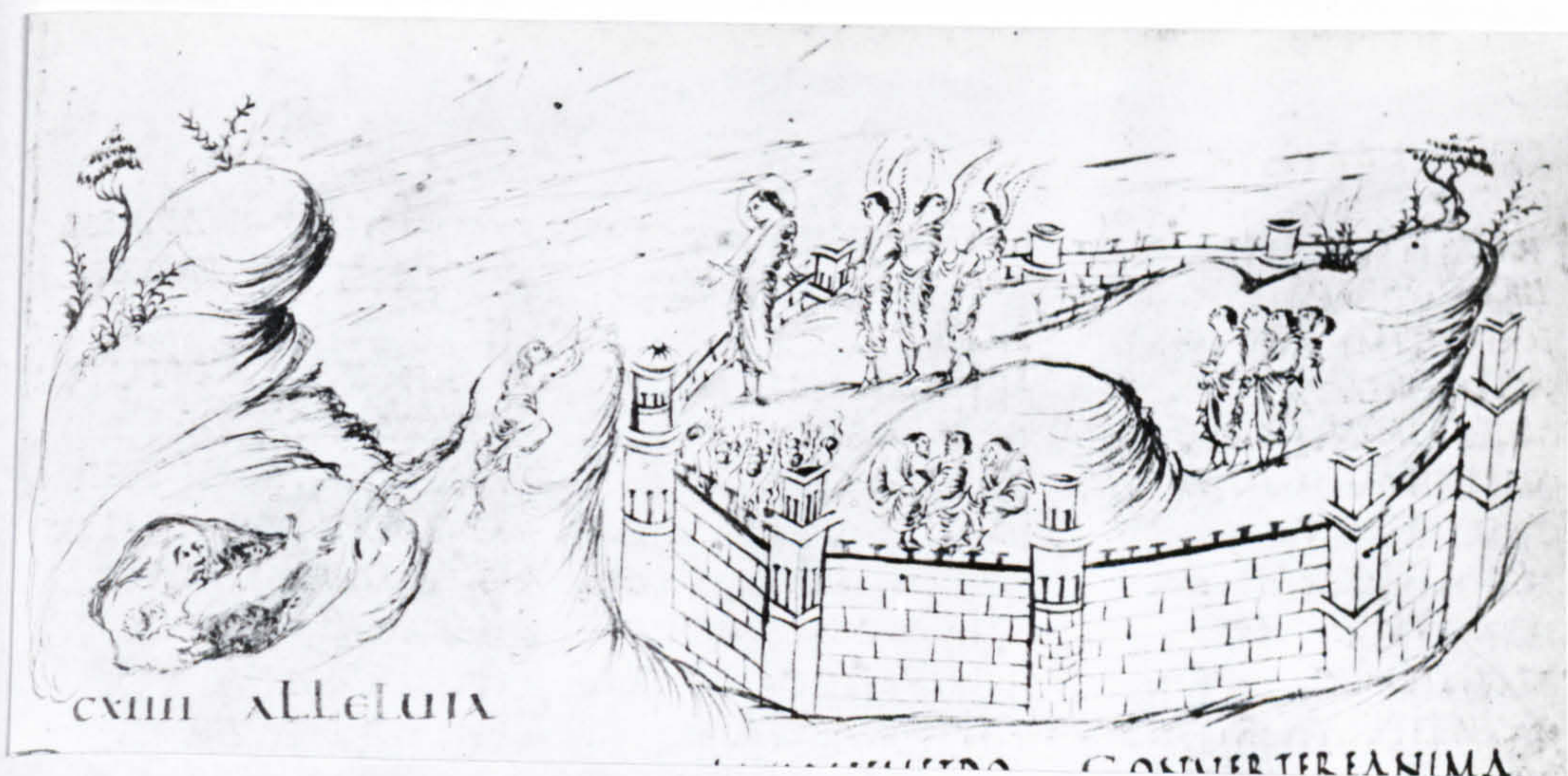
Psalm XIII (14) [Utr] f.7v.

PLATE 21



Psalm LXXXVIII (89) [Utr] f.51v.

PLATE 22



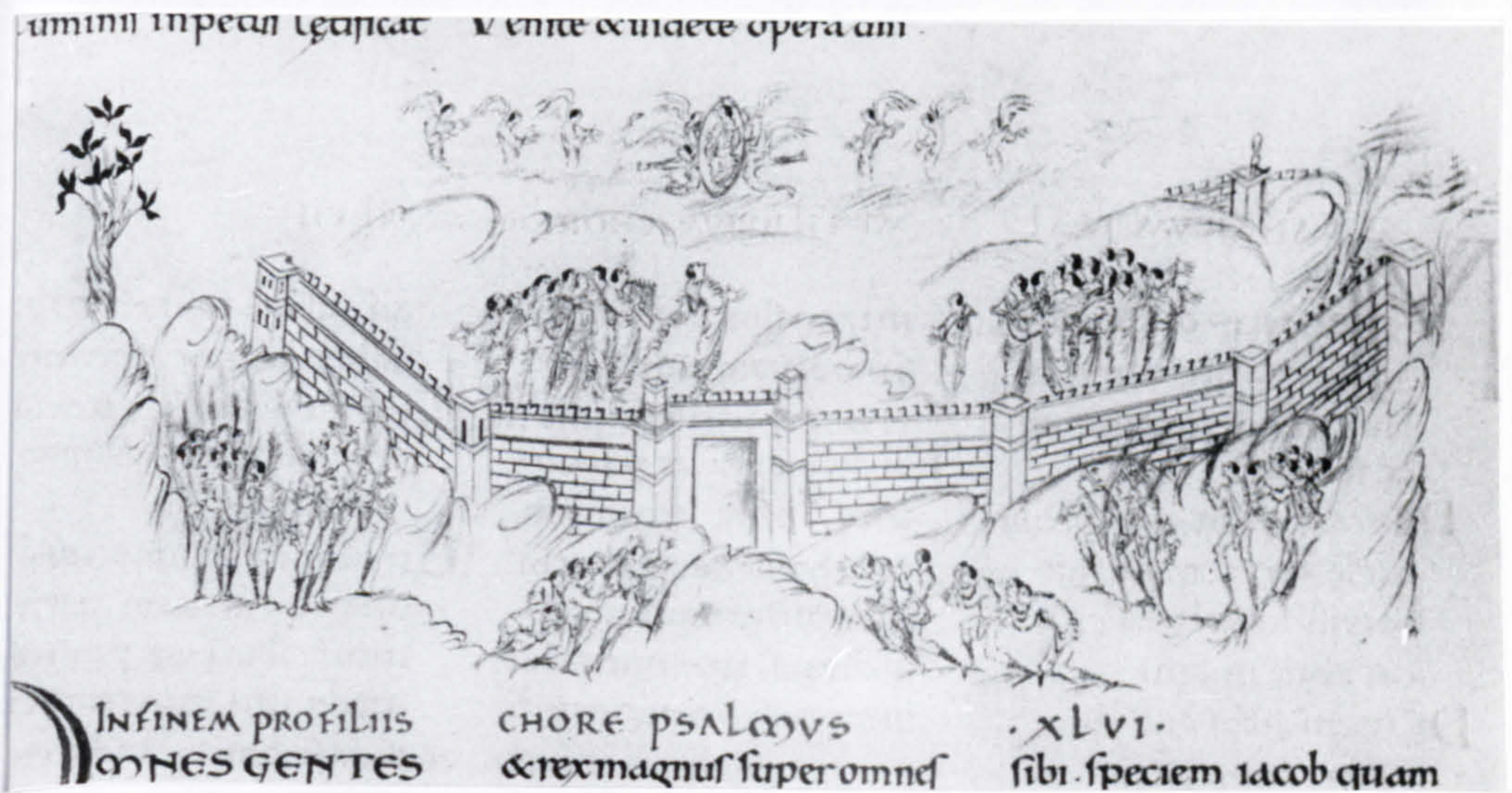
Psalm CXIV (116) [Utr] f.67r.

PLATE 23



Psalm CIV (105) [Utr] f.52v.

PLATE 24

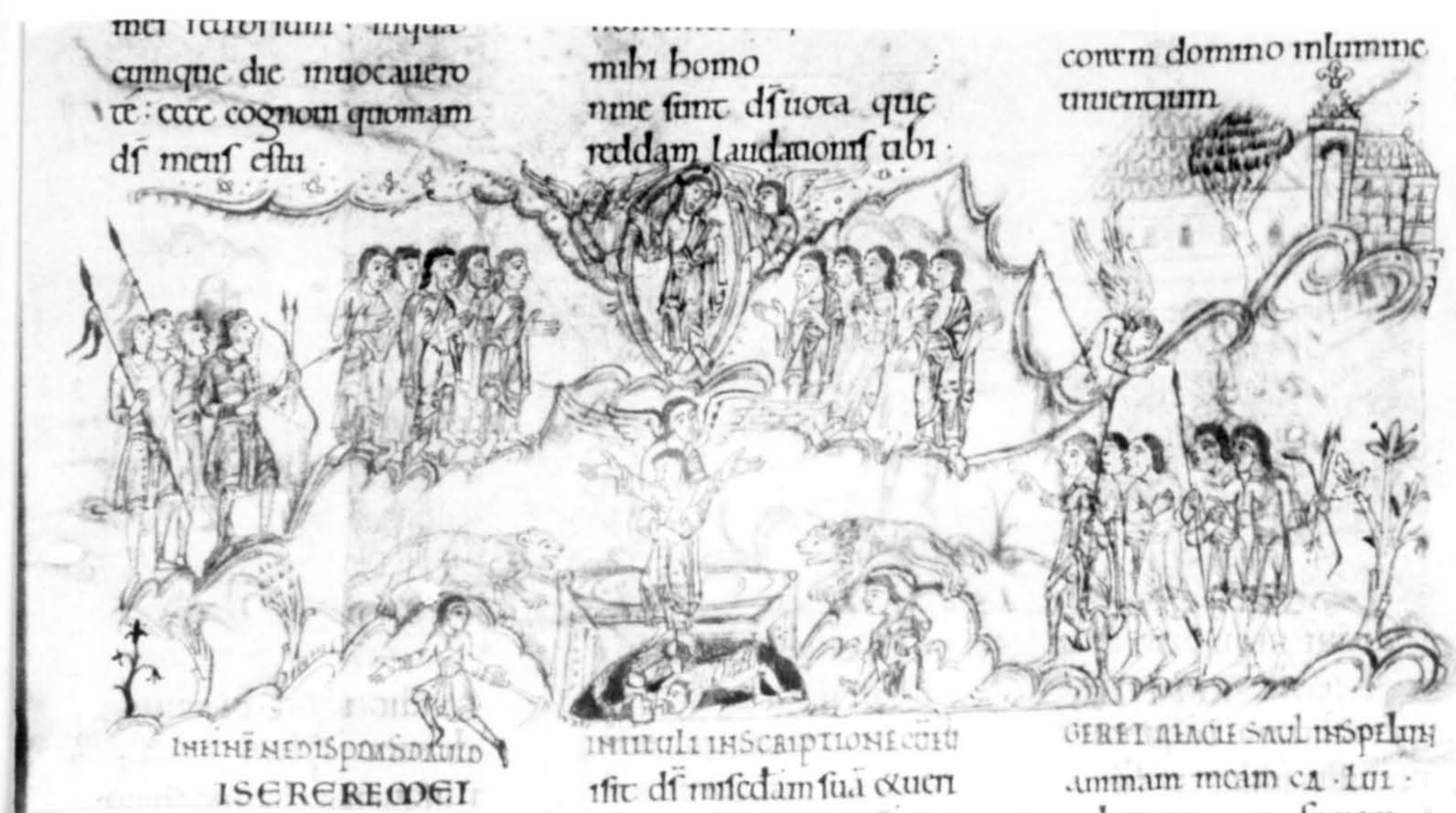


Psalm XLVI (47) [Har1] f.27r.

PLATE 25



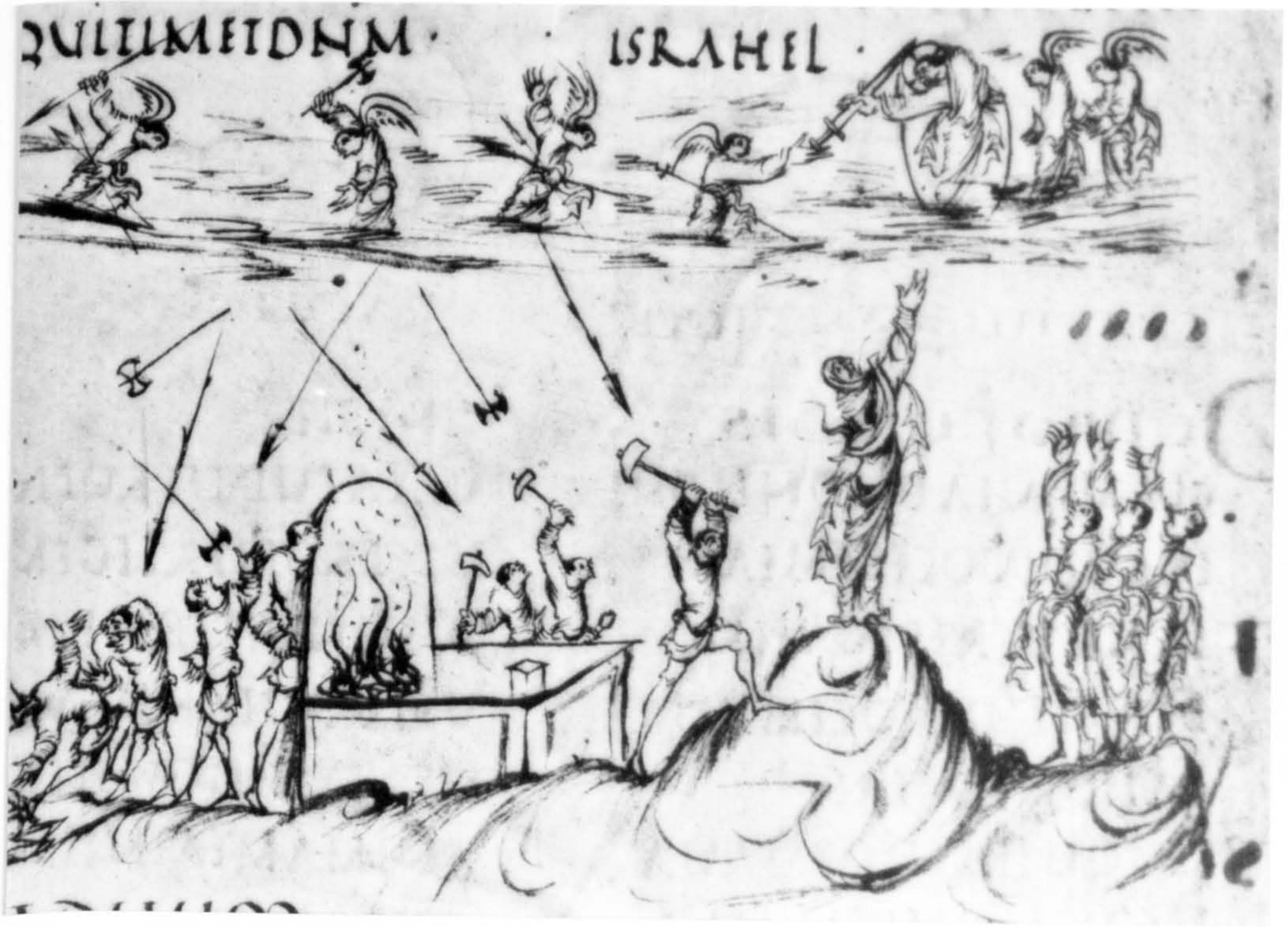
Psalm LXI (62) [Utr] f.34v.



Psalm LVI (57) [Har1] f.31r.

[Har1] f.17v.



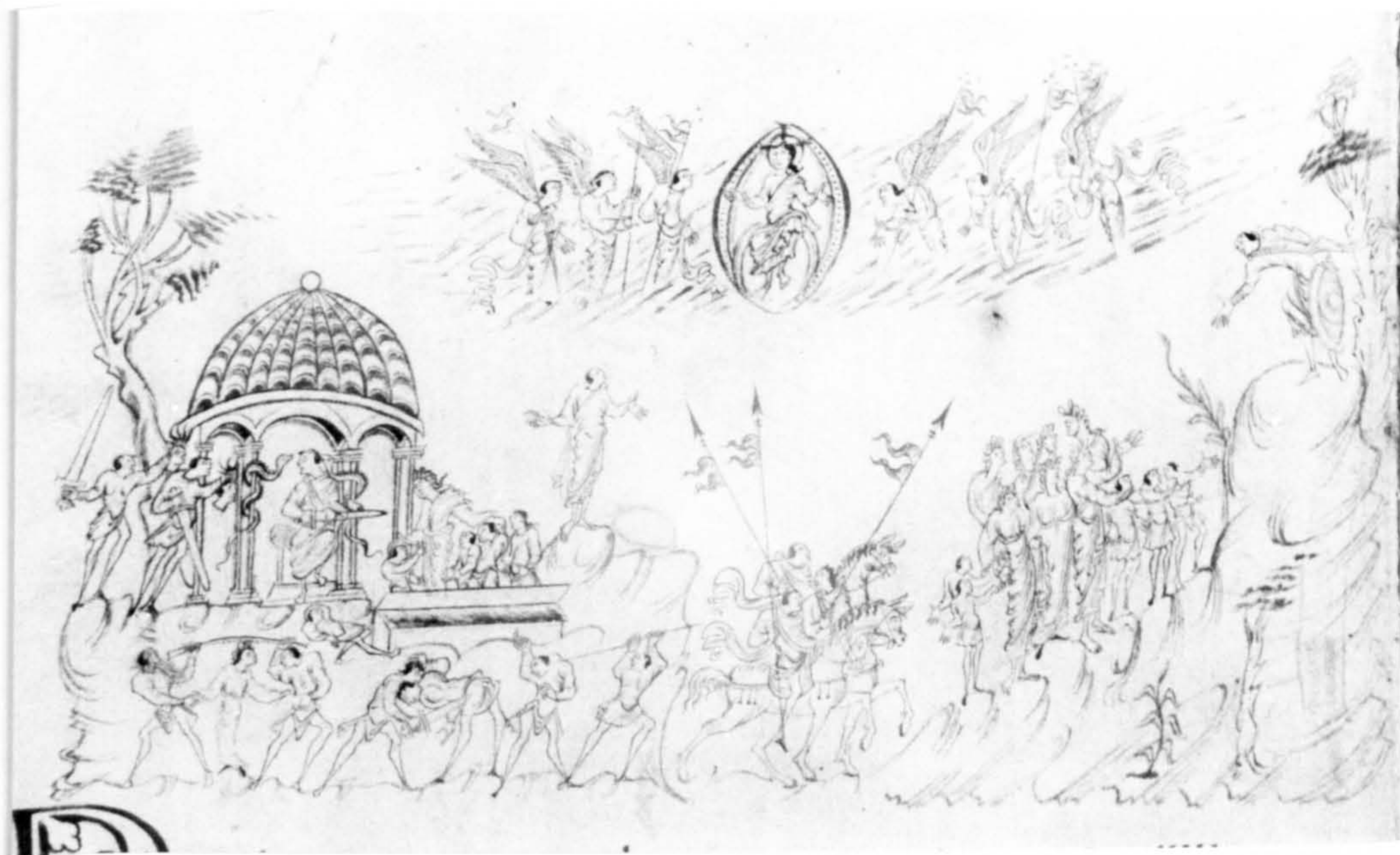


Psalm CXXVIII (129) [Utr] f.74r.



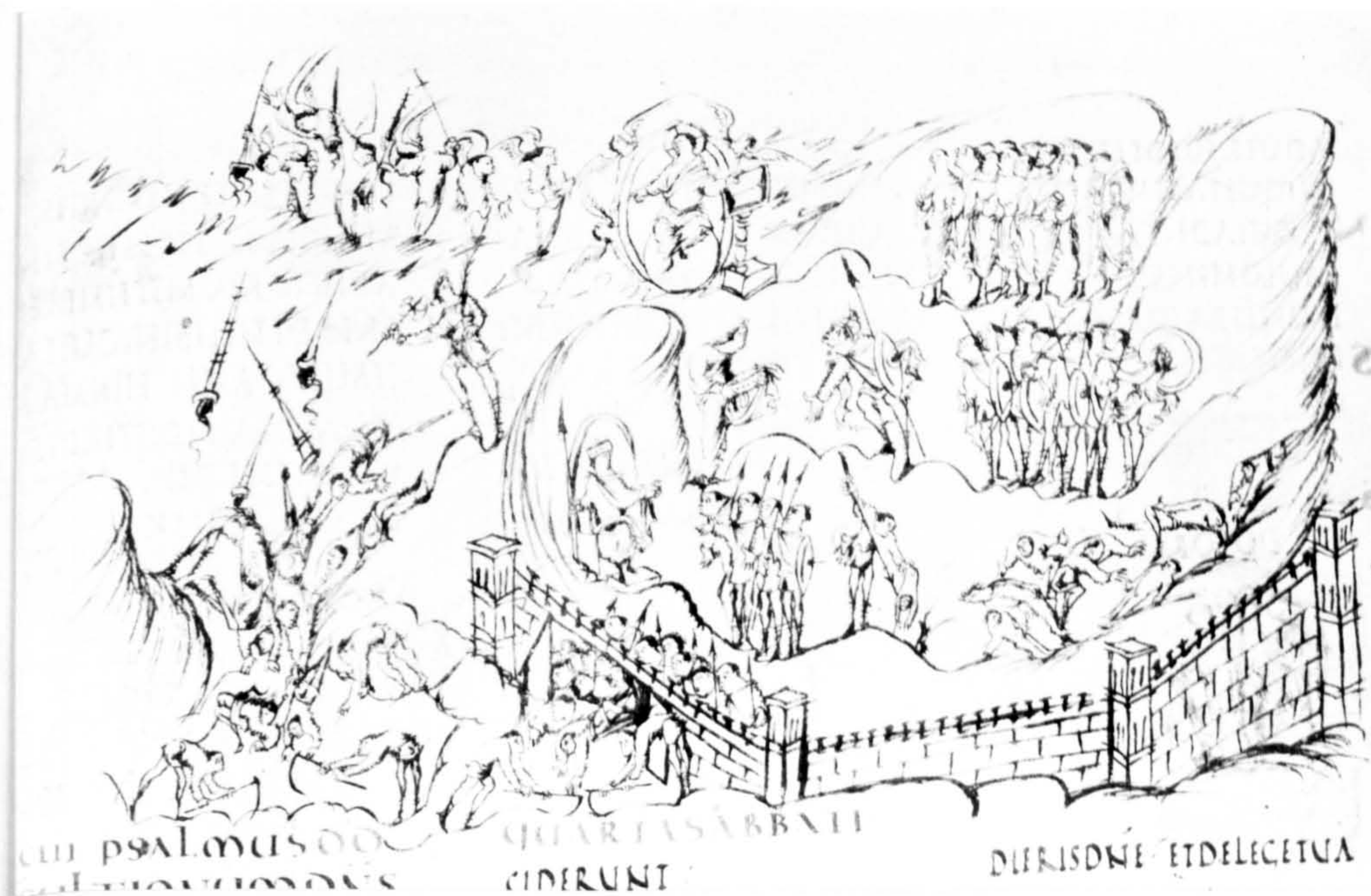
Psalm XXV (26) [Utr] f.14v.

PLATE 30



Psalm XIII (14) [Har1] f.7v.

PLATE 31



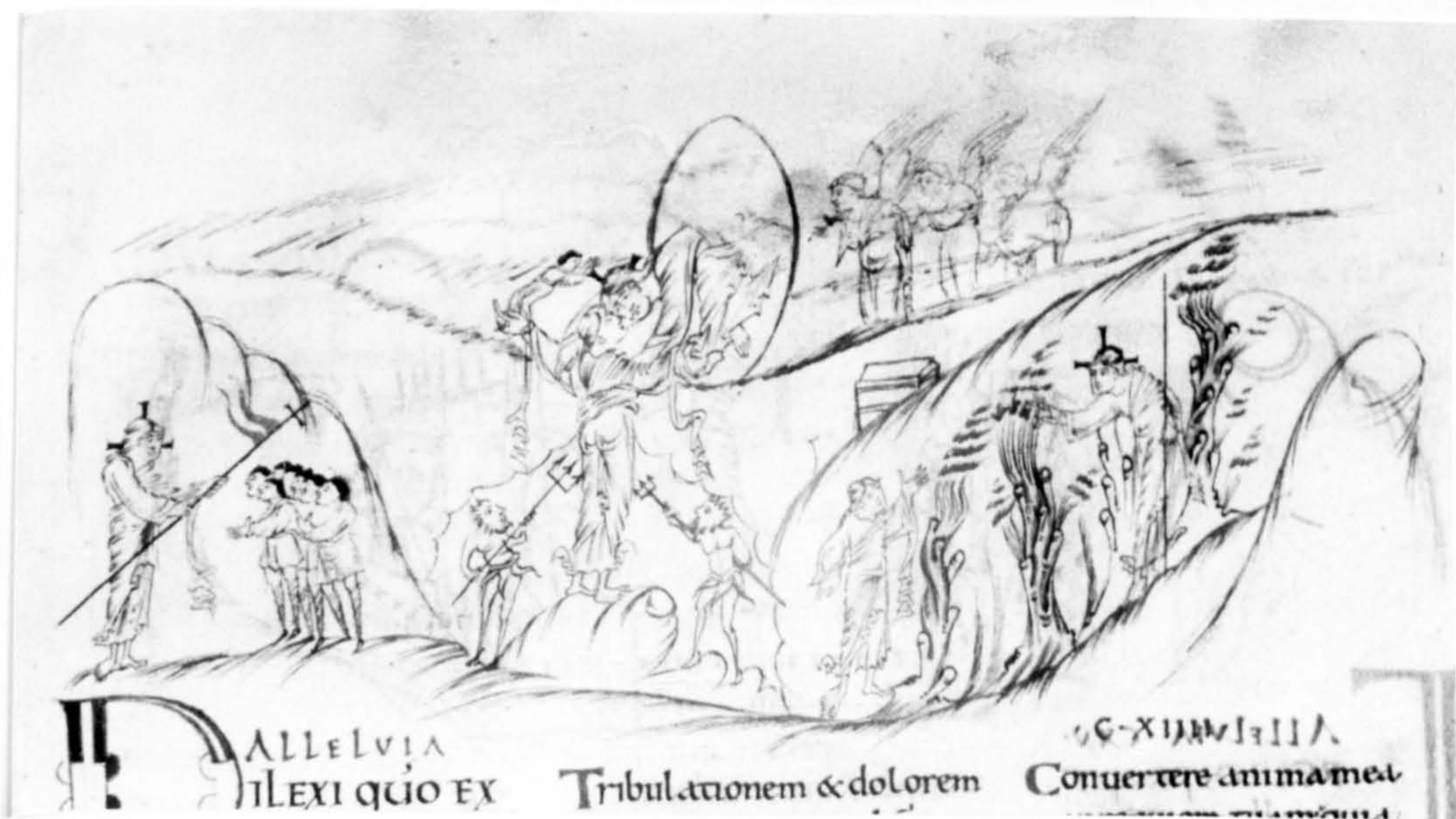
Psalm XCIII (94) [Utr] f.55r.

PLATE 32



Psalm XII (13) [Har1] f.7r.

PLATE 33



Psalm CXIII (114) [Har1] f.59r.

PLATE 34

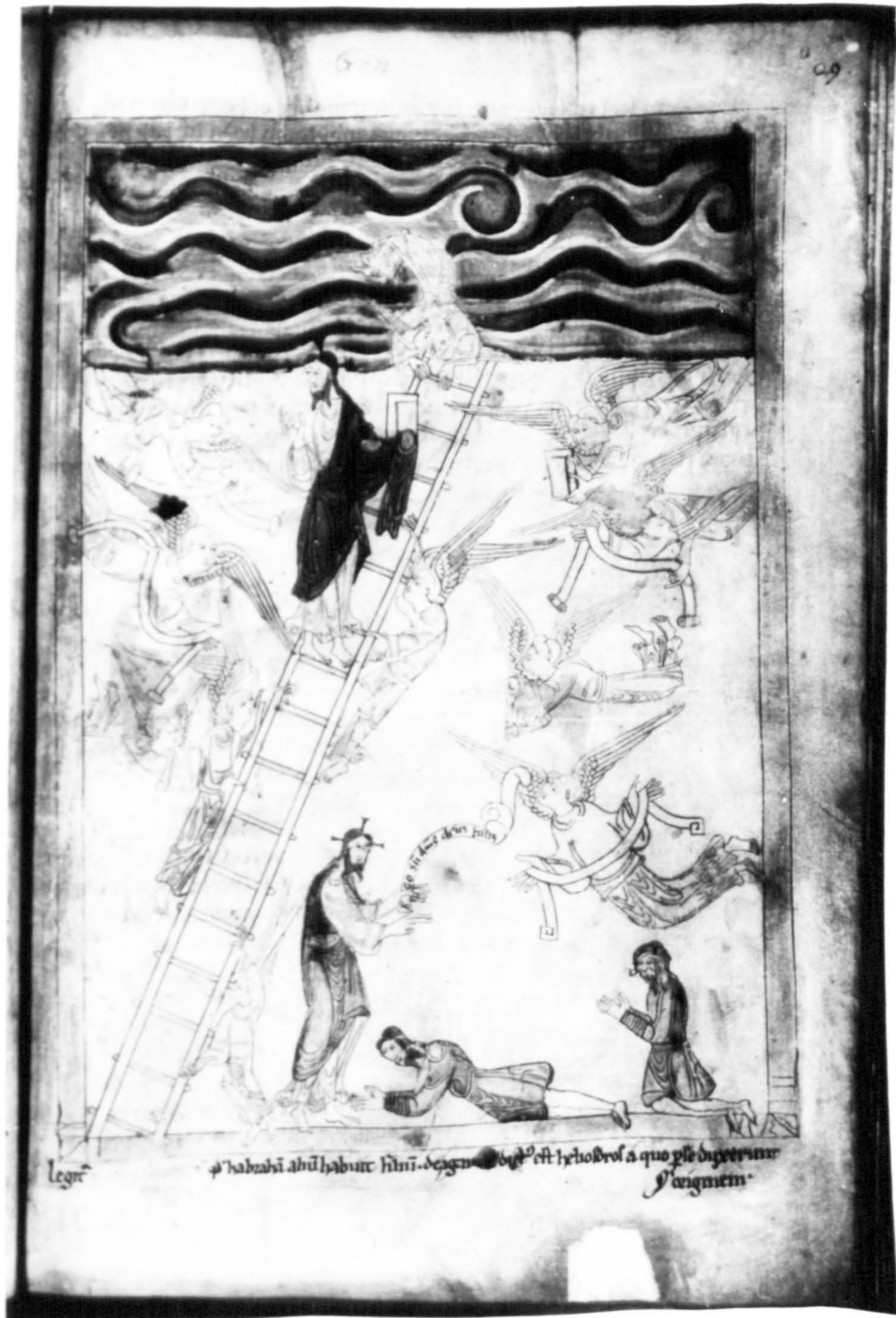


Cain exiled from God.
Junius 11, p.51.

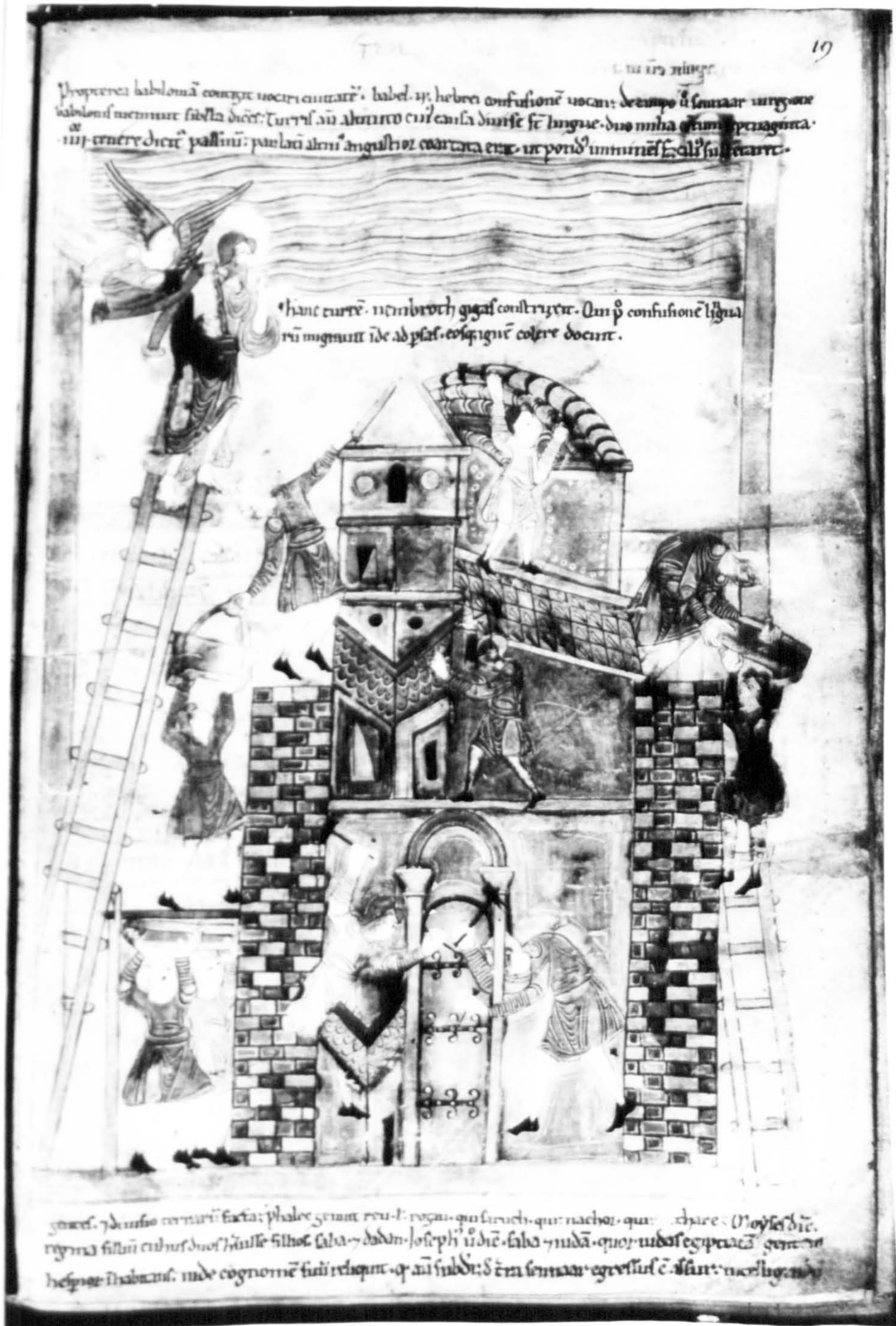
PLATE 37



The devil with Adam and Eve.
Junius 11, p.28.



The Lord appearing to Abraham.
Cotton Claudius B IV, f. 29r.



The Tower of Babel.
 Cotton Claudius B IV, f.19r.

Sodlice adam liofode nigon hund pinqia. 7 dritas pinqia
 7 he forid fende ongodre yldr. Diep on boer. p adam herode. xxx. yun.



Sech pater mund pinque. 7 v. da hege pteynde enorymb
 profan. 7 hund taltatiz pinque a pteydam hege pteynde
 pma. 7 dohqua. 7 he forid fende. p alie ptey nigon hund pinque
 7 ptey pinque.



Dis is adamer cno ptey. Enor pteynde eaman. da he ptey
 hund nigoniz pinque. a pteydam hege pteynde pma.
 7 dohqua. 7 enor forid fende da he ptey nigon hund pinque. 7 ptey
 pinque.



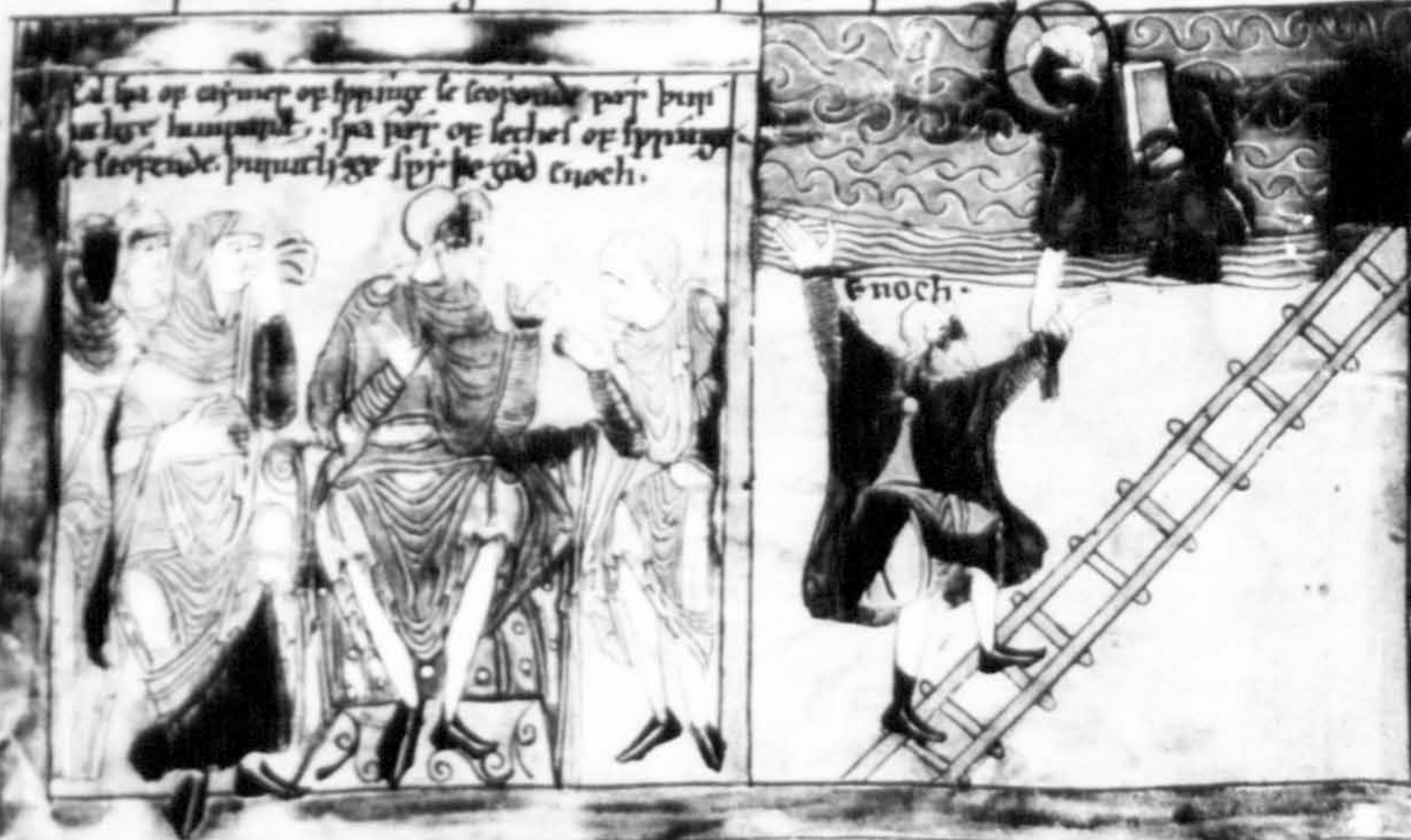
The early generations of mankind.
 Cotton Claudius B IV, f.10v.



Dele xxxviii
lxxv.

noch zetsqynde machupalam sahēpār fif 7 xixas
pincie. 7 syddan heze zsqynde suna. 7 dolqia. 7 hezē
dindron life dwe hund pincie. 7 fif 7 xixas pincie. 7 he ferd
mid gode. 7 hine nan man syddan nege reah. fordamde
druhten hine zekam mid siple. 7 mid lic hamar 1.

Lamech

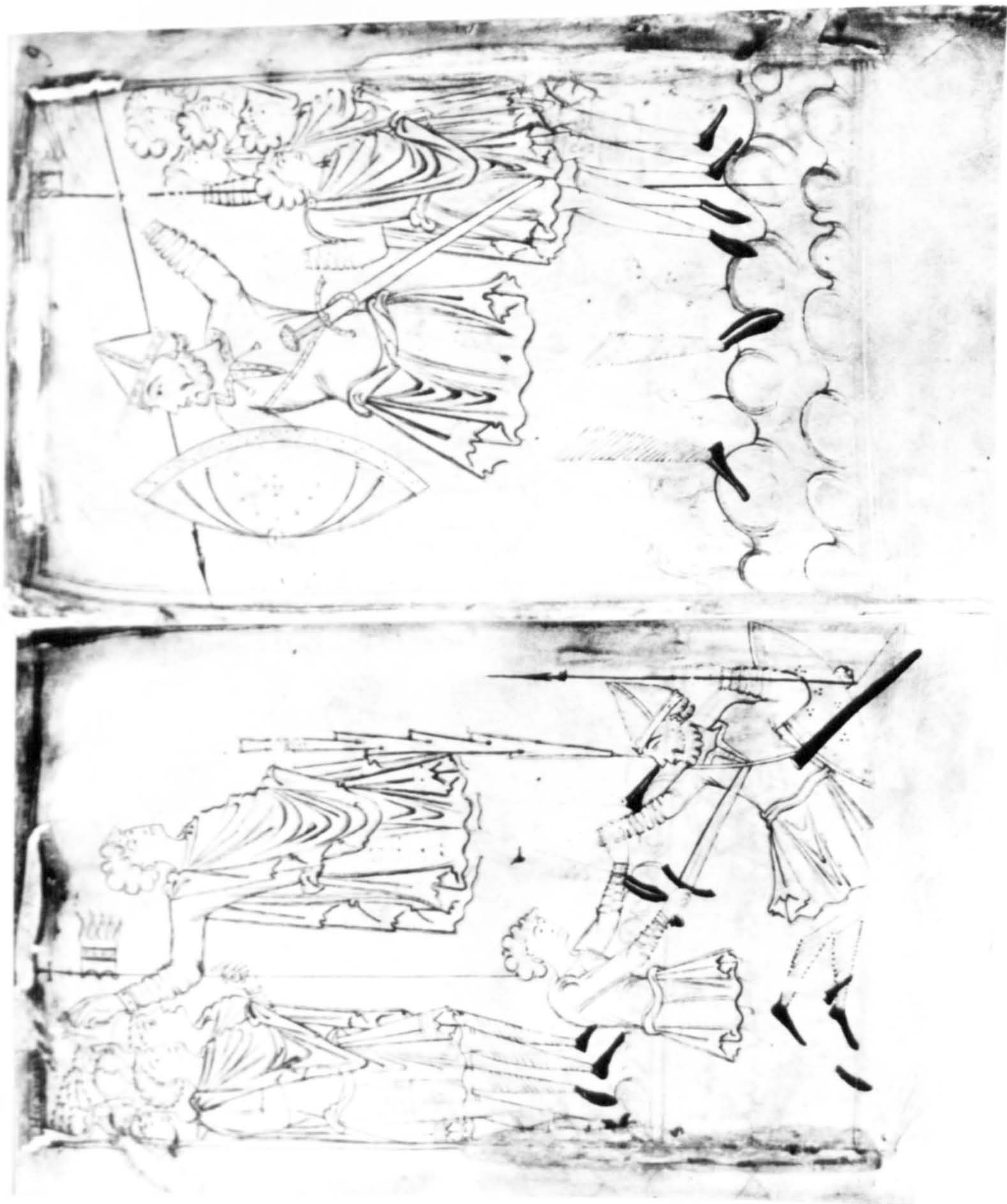


Dele xxxviii
c. lxxv. xviii

icod lice machupalem zetsqynde lamech. sahēpār. e.
7 seofan 7 hund eahcaas pincie. 7 afeordam heze
zsqynde suna 7 dolqia. 7 hezē dindron ferd sahēpār
n 7 tou hund pincie. 7 nyzon 7 xixas pincie.
fate dymne pange me tello be machupalemes gearen. 7 afeordam heze
fode. hae menepod þ he sefa in sara apier. ne he ne ferd mid gode. spa enoch dede. sume
epod þ he fode ferd. vi. pincie hær san fode. len. epe san slean gearde þe se fode pers.
Naman epod 7 afeordam zetsqynde lamech da he pale. e. l. xxxv. xviii. pincie. lamech. noe þa he pær. e. l. xxxv. xviii.
pincie

The early generations of mankind (contd)
with the translation of Enoch.
Cotton Claudius B IV, f.11v.

PLATE 42



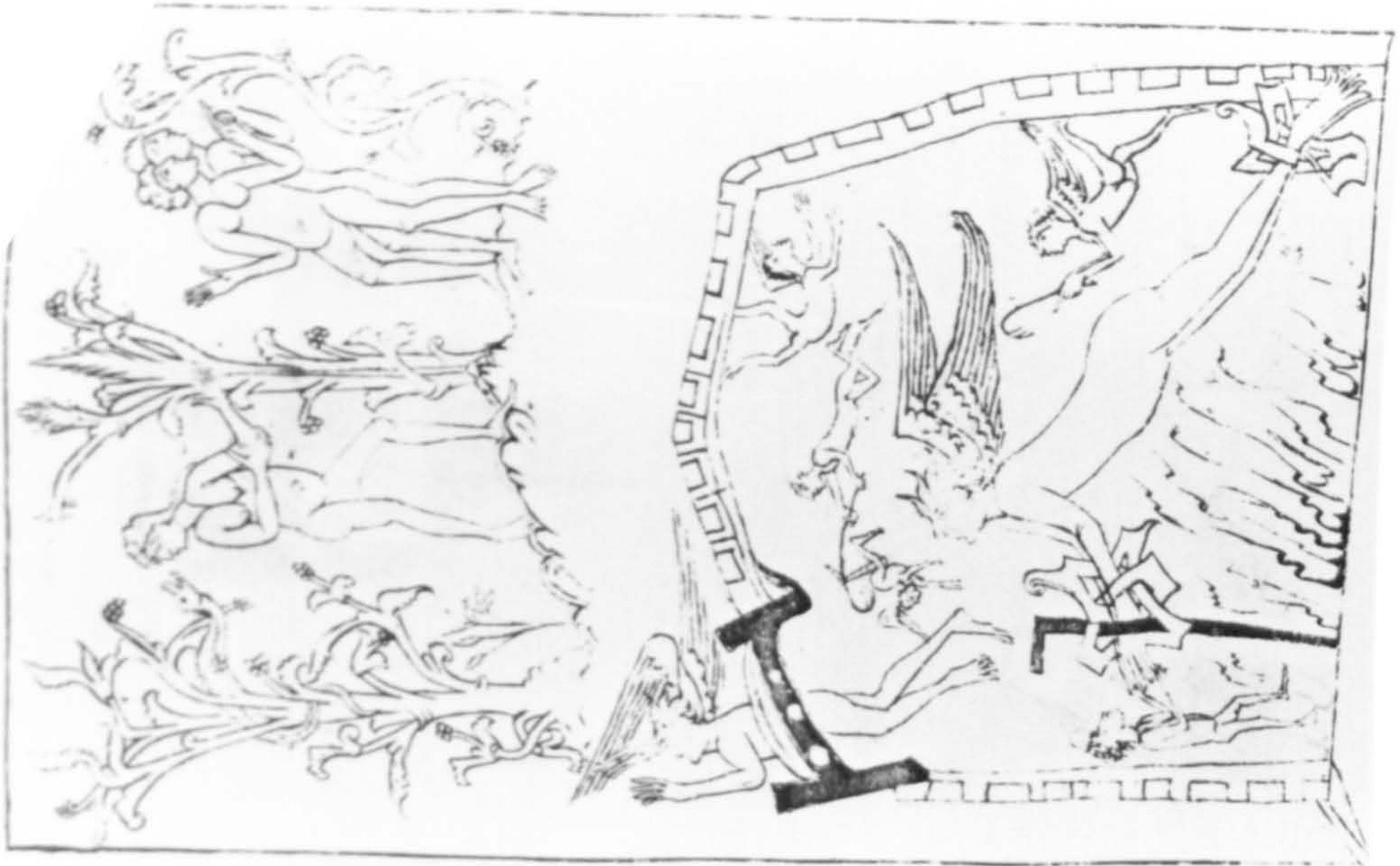
David and Goliath.
London BL MS Cotton Tiberius C VI, f.6v & f

PLATE 44



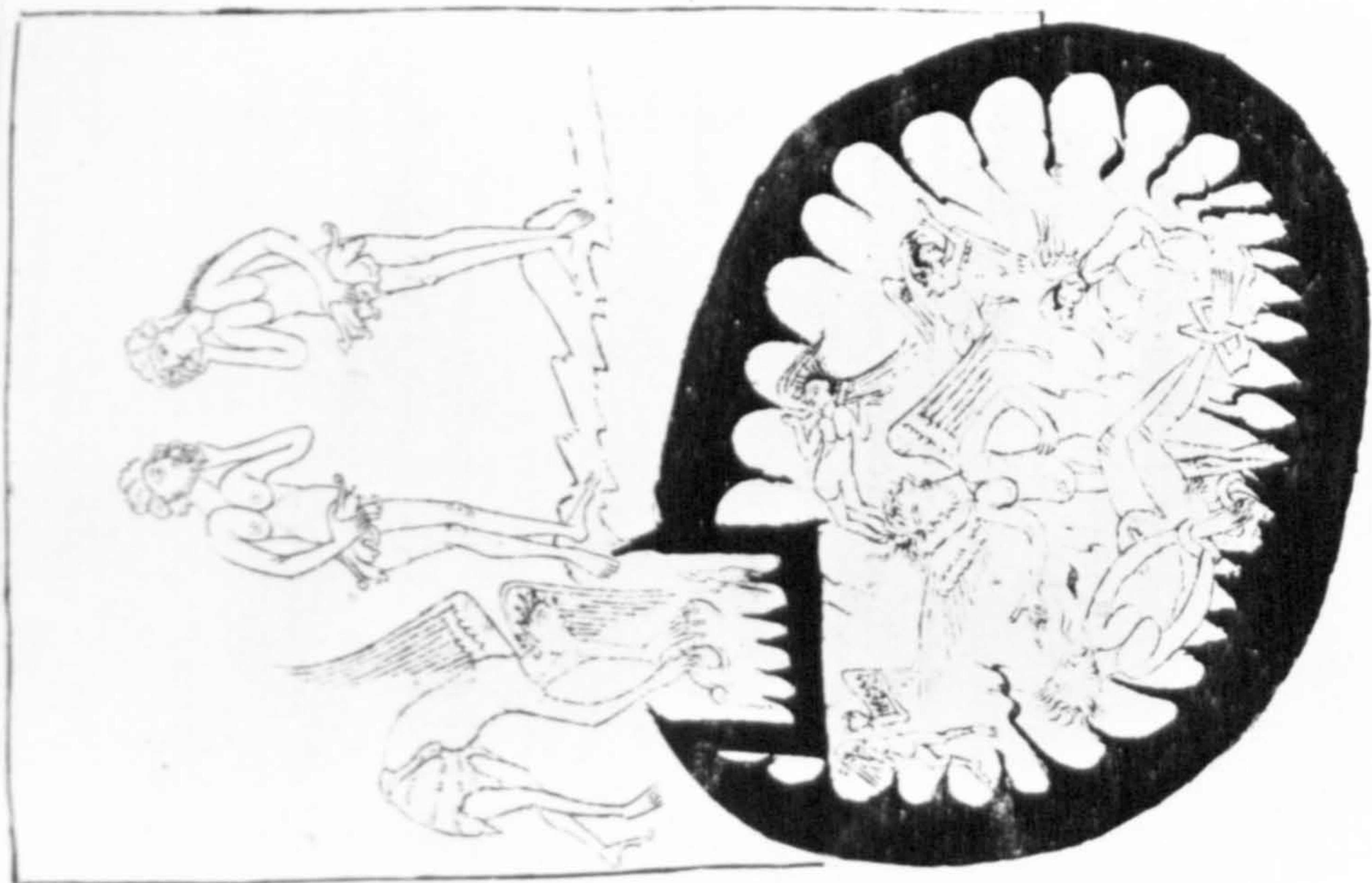
The Fall of the Angels.
Junius 11, p.16.

PLATE 45



The devil goes up from hell to earth.
Junius 11, p.20.

PLATE 46



The devil returns from earth to hell.
Junius 11, p.36.



[Harl] Frontispiece.



The Harrowing of Hell.
Cotton Tiberius C VI, f.14r.

PLATE 49



Psalm XXXVII (38) [Har1] f.22r.