

Introduction

Sometime in the eighth century, a priest named Sigewulf asked his teacher Alcuin (d. 804) a series of 300 questions about the biblical book of Genesis. Among these was a question concerning the book's silence on the matter of the fall of the angels. Two centuries later, Ælfric of Eynsham translated Sigewulf's question: 'Hwi wæs þære engla syn forsuwod on þære bec Genesis, and þæs mannes swa gesæd?' (Why was the sin of the angels passed over in the book of Genesis, and that of mankind told?). Ælfric also rendered Alcuin's straightforward response: 'Forþan þe God gemynte þæt he wolde þæs mannes synne gehælan, na þæs deofles' (Because God determined that he would heal the sin of man, not the devil's).¹ Indeed, no traces of the overreaching pride of Lucifer, the war in heaven, or the fall of the rebel angels are to be found in Genesis, although certain verses in other biblical books were thought to allude to it.² On some level, Ælfric must have viewed Alcuin's response to his pupil as satisfactory. His Old English translation follows the Anglo-Latin text with general fidelity. However, the eleventh-century monk's writings also suggest that he viewed the story behind the sin as one of great complexity, dramatic tension, and vital importance for his contemporary moment. The fall of the angels – the rebellion's causes, consequences, and lessons – would become a topic Ælfric would return to in his writings again and again. In his homilies, epistolary correspondence, and his 'Preface to *Genesis*', Ælfric infuses the story of the angelic rebellion with narrative form as well as instructional substance. And he was not alone in doing so.

Over 600 years before John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Anglo-Saxon authors told their own version of the fall of the angels. Retellings of this extra-biblical event are widely attested from the time of Bede all the way to the eve of the Norman Conquest and beyond, from the riddles of Aldhelm to early cosmographies such

as those written by Aethicus Ister to late medieval Arthurian texts.³ These stories, however, vary widely in both design and purpose throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The Bible's relative silence on the matter, it would seem, only increased curiosity (and perhaps the narrative's adaptability) about the vexed heavenly relationship that first led creation to sin against its creator. The narrative can thus be traced through a wide range of genres: sermons, saints' lives, royal charters, riddles,⁴ as well as devotional and biblical poetry⁵ – each genre offering a distinct window into the myth's place within the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination. It is the aim of the present book to explore how the story of the angelic rebellion can illuminate other areas of the Anglo-Saxon imagination and social world: namely, perceptions of territory, dissent, power, and popular belief. The argument thus progresses through several of these genres (biblical poetry, royal charters, saints' lives, and homilies) in an attempt to reconstruct early medieval attitudes about the fall of the angels and how perceptions of that narrative changed from roughly the eighth to the eleventh centuries. Alcuin's (and later Ælfric's) deceptively simple answer to Sigewulf's question would not keep early medieval poets, theologians, political thinkers, and kings from persistently interrogating what went on in the wee hours of angelic creation. Nor would that deceptively simple answer prevent them from retelling and repurposing the story with a growing confidence that rested on the authority of their patristic inheritance.

At various turns, this book will consider how a narrative only vaguely alluded to in the Bible came to justify and explain religious and secular hierarchies in the Anglo-Saxon world. The following section will more thoroughly consider the role of the replacement doctrine, a teaching which, as I argue, assumed the status of a dominant mythos or social theory, a way of crafting meaning for the Anglo-Saxons as a Christian community. Under the terms of the replacement doctrine, humans were created expressly to repopulate the emptied spaces of the divine hierarchy. However, to Anglo-Saxons, the doctrine of replacement was not merely an arcane teaching or a page of sacred text. Indeed, the doctrine seems to have found some its most potent expressions in various corners of the spiritual, civil, and social realms.

In considering the various spheres in which iterations of the story of the angelic rebellion can be found, this book investigates how homilists and spiritual authorities such as Ælfric saw fit to use its precepts to warn every sinner that they could be like rebel

angels, potentially forfeiting their eternal property rights and the good graces of their divine sovereign. Homilists mostly incorporate the motif of the fall of the angels in their renditions of catechetical *narratio*, or a short excursus upon ‘Christian cosmology and Christian history’,⁶ which typically open with God’s creation of heaven, earth, and humankind before turning to Christ’s life and his undertakings up to the Last Judgement. Virginia Day has documented how the original *narratio* was Augustine’s *De Catechizandis Rudibus* (c. 405). The genre was chiefly envisioned for priestly instruction, the spiritual edification of catechumenes, and even missionary endeavours. Day also charts the various branches of the *narratio* tradition through which other authors followed suit: from Martin of Bracara (c. 515–80) to Pirmin of Reichenau (d. 753), Hrabanus Maurus (c. 784–856), and Odo of Cluny (c. 879–942).⁷ One wonders if the famed poet that Bede alludes to, Cædmon, learned his craft from the recitations and orations of *narratio* at Whitby, since Bede states that he possessed extraordinary skill in versifying the Bible. The influence of *narratio* is especially evident in the works of Ælfric, especially his *De Initio Creaturae* which inaugurates his colossal series of *Catholic Homilies*; his opening (which I discuss in Chapter 6) reveals the tremendous influence this salvific programme exercised upon vernacular literatures. For Ælfric and others such as Wulfstan, it would seem, *narratio* (and thus the fall of the angels) became the appropriate way of signalling a beginning. Many of his texts including his *Letter to Sigeweard*, *Letter to Wulfgeat*, and *Hexameron* commence thusly with a short reflection on the cosmic disruption of the fall of the angels and its earthly consequences. When it came to the instruction of monks, Ælfric imagines their mission to be much like the angels who reaffirmed their absolute loyalty to God following the rebellion of their sorry counterparts. In his *Letter to Sigeweard* (also discussed in Chapter 6), he describes those angels as always and forever meditating on the surrendering of their will to God, much like any worthy monk would be asked to do.

The fall of the angels narrative also finds its most distinctly political iteration at a critical moment of upheaval in the early English church: the Benedictine Reform. In this case, monastic reformers used the narrative as a weapon against their secular rivals by tethering replacement principles to their monastic ideals, claiming that their ecclesiastical adversaries were little more than rebel angels, rogue bodies in a corrupt ecclesiastical establishment, ultimately arguing that they themselves could better prepare flocks for

heaven. Amid all this, we get just one glimpse of how sovereigns benefitted from the story of the angelic rebellion, their ruthless and formidable exercise of supreme authority allowing for a cleansing and (as my first chapter will demonstrate) a strengthening of lands. To put it another way, at a time when notions of sovereignty and sovereign authority were changing, we see how kings profit from the narrative by imagining their own powers as aligning with divine authorities.

Finally, we see poets craft this extra-biblical story into a complex epic filled with deceit, treachery, exile, tragedy, and triumph. In its poetic form, the narrative can tell us something significant about the dominant myths of the Anglo-Saxons. Of course, any discussion of the many myths that abided at the core of Anglo-Saxon cultural belief would be indebted to the work of Nicholas Howe, Andrew Scheil, and Samantha Zacher among others. Anglo-Saxons gathered a constellation of traditions that informed their sense of place in the world. Among them was the ‘migration myth’ as hypothesised by Howe. This mythos allowed Anglo-Saxons to recall the Germanic migrations from the Continent in a way that paralleled the Old Testament. That is, just as God guided the Israelites to the promised land, the Anglo-Saxons were so divinely directed to Britain. Authors such as Gildas, Bede, Alcuin, and Wulfstan all relied on this mythos to explore England’s relationship to wider Christendom and cycles of decay and rebuilding in their own time.

The branches of Howe’s thesis have been extended in provocative ways to encompass the *Populus Israhel* tradition, by which the Anglo-Saxons came to identify with the Jews, imagining themselves to be a present-day ‘chosen people’, as elaborated upon by Andrew Scheil and Samantha Zacher.⁸ As Scheil puts it, ‘[t]he *Populus Israhel* [tradition was] a complex metaphor and political ideology ... The Jews were once the chosen people, but now the Anglo-Saxons represent a new covenant with God ... Jews provide a sense of history for Anglo-Saxon culture, an understanding of the relationship between the past and present’.⁹ Although each of these ideologies are distinct, they manage to coexist in powerful and enmeshed ways. From the migration myth to their identification as ‘New Israel’ to their belief that they were to be the inheritors of heavenly spaces vacated in the angelic rebellion, early English men and women saw the history of the Old Testament as actively playing out in their own time. To be sure, the fall of the angels narrative was not simply a cautionary tale for the Anglo-Saxons, but a

narrative that reveals the complex dialectical relationship between their legal, political, and theological literatures.

The fall of the angels in patristic theology

Anglo-Saxon authors eagerly adopted both apocryphal and patristic ideas surrounding the angelic rebellion. The earliest attempts to supply this noticeable lacuna appear in Jewish apocalyptic traditions such as *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (c. 70 CE),¹⁰ and later in the exegetical commentaries of the Church Fathers. The two major patristic authorities on the subject were Augustine of Hippo and Pope Gregory the Great. Any author wishing to venture ideas about the angelic fall had to attend to the following pressing questions: when did angelic creation occur? When did the angels rebel? What (or who) were they rebelling against? What was their fate? How do these matters impact humankind? Augustine ponders these issues in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 62 (CCSL 46.82), *De Genesi ad Litteram* 11.24 (CSEL 28.1), and *De Civitate Dei* 11.9, 22.1 (CCSL 48.807). The prevailing theory about the timing of the fall of the angels came from his *City of God*. Here he surmised that angelic creation came about with God's command of *fiat lux* ('let there be light', XI.9).¹¹ In conjunction with that command, Augustine argued that God's subsequent separation of light and dark simultaneously corresponds with the expulsion of the rebel angels. In other words, Augustinian logic would suggest that this rift in divine creation inaugurates time itself.

Augustine may have reconciled questions concerning the absence of angels from the book of Genesis, but it was Pope Gregory whose writings on the fall (in his *Homiliarum in Evangelia* 34 (CCSL 141A.6) and his *Moralia in Iob* (PL 76, especially 477ff)) came to dominate views about angelic unrest from antiquity through the Middle Ages. In his *Moralia in Iob*, Gregory elaborated upon the intricate hierarchies of angelic orders (citing as his evidence parables from the gospel of Luke). The sources of Gregory's ideas on the subject are difficult to trace, but he most probably derived some of his thinking from *The Celestial Hierarchy* by Pseudo-Dionysius.¹² Angelic society, according to Gregory, consisted of angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominations, thrones, cherubim, and seraphim.

The second of Gregory's influential works on the subject of angels and how their fall would directly impact humanity derives from a sermon explicating Luke 15:1–10 (delivered in 591 CE).¹³

In this sermon, Gregory suggested that faithful Christians would inherit the heavenly territories forfeited by the rebellious order of angels. This idea came to be known as the ‘doctrine of replacement’. Augustine broaches this same possibility in his *Enchiridion ad Laurentium* 62 and 29 (CCSL 46.82; CCSL 46.65) and *De Civitate Dei* 22.1 (CCSL 48.807), in which he describes how God intends to ‘suppleat et instauret’ (fill and repair) the blank spaces left by the rebel angels. Gregory’s *Homiliae in Evangelia* 34 (CCSL 141A), however, gave the doctrine new vitality by reframing the issue around a salvific inheritance wherein humankind completes the orders. Several centuries later, the Frankish noblewoman, Dhuoda, in her *Handbook for William* (c. 841–4) (III.10 and IX.4), reveals that she knew the Gregorian metric quite well: ‘The meaning, William my son, is that the high and omnipotent God saw fit to form man from the mud of the earth, to share in the splendor of angels and to restore their number ... Everything has to be reunited so that the tenth angelic order can be lawfully restored’.¹⁴ Gregory’s numerological theories were thus common within ninth-century Carolingian circles in texts devoted to the proffering of advice and counsel.

It is my contention that Anglo-Saxon Christians came to self-identify as among the rightful heirs to the territories forfeited by the rebel angels and were thus profoundly invested in envisioning their Christian community’s inclusion in the spaces of heaven via replacement. The doctrine took on added potency for the British Isles when in 597 CE Gregory proposed missionary endeavours to convert the ‘Angli’ living in Britain after he allegedly saw Northumbrians for the first time. The anecdote famously goes that Gregory observed young Anglo-Saxon slaves or boys in Rome and, upon learning that they were pagans from ‘Anglia’, declared it fitting that they become coheirs of the ‘angeli’ and spend eternity among the angelic host. This story is attested (with some slight variations) in three different versions: an early *Life of Gregory the Great* written by an anonymous monk at Whitby,¹⁵ Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.1,¹⁶ and an Old English retelling of Bede which was translated during the reign of Alfred the Great.¹⁷

In the anonymous Whitby *Life*, Gregory asks the boys who they are and where they come from. They answer, ‘Anguli dicuntur, ille de quibus sumus’ (The people we belong to are called Angles), and Gregory exclaims, ‘Angeli Dei’ (Angels of God!). In Bede’s account, Gregory sees the two boys for sale in the Roman marketplace. They are described as having ‘candidi corporis ac uenusti

uultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia' (fair complexions, handsome faces, and lovely hair). According to Stephen J. Harris, 'Bede's description of the boys as slaves or chattel implies ... that Gregory is delivering the Angles from bondage'.¹⁸ He adds that, in their appearance, 'the Angles show they are already predisposed to receiving salvation'.¹⁹ When Gregory asks about the race of the boys he learns that they are from the 'Brittania insula' (island of Britain), and he is told 'est quod Angli uocarentur' (that they were called Angli). 'Bene!' (Good!), Gregory responds, adding, 'angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in caelis decet esse coheredes' (they have the faces of angels, and such men should be coheirs of the angels in heaven).

In the Old English version, the story similarly reads that the 'cneohtas' (youths) were 'hwites lichoman ⁊ færon ondwilitan men ⁊ æðellice gefeaxe' (men of fair complexion and handsome appearance and elegant hair). Gregory learns that they are 'Ongle nemde' (called Angles) and replies that 'heo ænlice onsyne habbað, ⁊ eac swylce gedafonað, þæt heo engla æfenerfeweardas in heofonum sy' (their form is peerless, and thus it is right, that they should be coheirs with the angels in heaven).

This sense that Anglo-Saxons were specially fit to become *coheredes* or *æfenerfeweardas* (from *efenyrfeweard*) or 'coheirs', fundamentally informs conceptions of early English Christian identity as numerous texts articulate an understanding of their role in the story of salvation history. In his commentary 'On Tobias' (CCSL 119B), Bede writes, 'Having been led to the heavenly homeland, humanity's [elect] will be welcomed by God ... and also by the angels whose number they will complete'.²⁰ This linking of the replacement doctrine to the conversion story of the Anglo-Saxons, initiated by Gregory and reasserted through Bede, is taken very much to heart by authors from Æthelwold to Cynewulf to Wulfstan. With this simple pun on 'Angles' and 'angels', the salvific destiny of the Anglo-Saxons is inscribed in the place they inhabit: the land of the *Angli*.

Augustine and Gregory's ideas achieved mainstream status, and later authors such as Martin of Braga and Haimo of Auxerre would make further deductions in their positions about the fall of the angels (interpretations I discuss in Chapters 2 and 3). But its solid exegetical credentials meant that the fall of the angels narrative was sufficiently poised to become the subject of popular study and elaboration in the medieval world. Taking their cues from Augustine, many authors wished to explore the nature of pride because, as

Richard Sowerby observes, 'this "first defect" among the angels must have been the sin of pride'.²¹ For example, in Tatwine's *Enigma XXV*, 'pride' (the speaker of the riddle) describes its monstrous heavenly birth: 'a distinguished ancestor begot me long ago and lost his realm through me'.²² Boniface's 'pride' riddle similarly describes its mothering by 'an angelic serpent [who] gave birth to me in the height of heaven, viperously and harmfully breathing sins into its heart'.²³ Bede also felt it necessary to elaborate upon the dangers of pride through the story of the fall of the angels. He discusses as much in Homily II, 3 (CCSL 122.205), *In Lucae Euangelium Expositio* (CCSL 120A.285ff), his Commentary on the Epistle of Jude 6 (CCSL 121A), as well as his commentaries on Ezra 6:14–15 (CCSL 119A), and Tobias (CCSL 119B) (already quoted); as I will discuss in Chapter 3, he also makes several allusions to the angelic rebellion in his correspondence. He closely follows Jerome in his *In principium Genesis* (CCSL 118A) in his commentary on Lucifer's fall:

One of these morning stars indeed, in view of his scorn of the common praise of God, deserved to hear, How you are fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who did rise in the morning! *How are you fallen to earth, who did wound the nations! And you said in your heart: I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God* [Isa.14:12–13]. In his commentary on this passage St Jerome even mentions the higher heaven, writing as follows: *Either he said these things before he fell from heaven or after he fell from heaven. If he were still in heaven, how is that he says, 'I will ascend into heaven'? But since we read, 'the heaven of heaven is the Lord's', [Ps. 113:16 (115:16)] although he was in heaven, that is, in the sky, Lucifer wished to ascend into the heaven where the Lord's throne is, not out of humility but from pride. But if he speaks these haughty words after he fell from heaven, we ought to understand him to be one who, having been cast down, will not be quiet, but still promises great things for himself, not to be among the stars but above the stars of God.*²⁴

While Bede relies heavily on Jerome's exegesis here, eventually he and others will begin to describe the rebellious pride of the angels as analogous to the catastrophic failures in pastoral and spiritual leadership that they witnessed in their own day.

One additional crux that Anglo-Saxons wrestled with had to do with the possibility of a heavenly rivalry (between either Satan and Adam or Satan and Christ). The idea that Satan engaged in a bitter feud with Christ originates within the patristic period, but is quite rare. According to Thomas D. Hill, one patristic text

that suggests Satan's rebellion is aimed at Christ is the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius (CPL 85).²⁵ Beyond this, Augustine once glossed John 8:44 with this suggestion, which was subsequently echoed by Alcuin in his own commentary, and then by Ælfric in his *Heptateuch*.²⁶ In a late seventh-century Ascension Day homily (PG 43, cols. 481–4) commonly attributed to Bishop Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403), a fourth-century Greek author, Satan describes the 'Son of Mary' as his heavenly opponent, stating:

I seek to catch him, and see, as with a lead weight I am dragged down. I seek to seize him and by a strange force I am held back. What in my misery can I do? He has driven me out from every place. From the heaven he threw me down to earth like a little whirling stone.²⁷

Even though a majority of Anglo-Saxon retellings of the fall of the angels focus on Satan's contempt towards God and his overweening pride (as evinced in texts such as *Genesis A* and *Genesis B*), there are some exceptions (such as *Christ and Satan*) which recalibrate the story so as to include Satan's enmity towards Christ. One brief example appears in the penitential poem known as *Resignation*, found in the Exeter Book. It reads:

ne læt þu mec næfre deofol seþeah
 þin lim lædan on laðne sið,
 þy læs hi on þone foreþonc gefeon motan
 þy þe hy him sylfum sellan þuhten
 englas oferhydige þonne ece Crist. (ll. 52b–6)

[let no devil lead me, your offspring, on a hateful journey, lest they might rejoice in that original fore-thought in which they, those arrogant angels, considered themselves better than eternal Christ.]

C. Abbetmeyer's 1903 work titled, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin*, offered the first comprehensive overview of the Old English and Anglo-Latin texts that incorporated the theme of the fall of the angels alongside their relevant patristic backgrounds.²⁸ Following Abbetmeyer's work, there has been a consistent interest in exploring the poetic adaptations of the fall of the angels along with its patristic connections,²⁹ as well as those in prose writings (by both anonymous and known authors).³⁰ Source analysis has also yielded valuable insights into the transmission and appropriation of this narrative throughout Anglo-Saxon England.³¹ No doubt, this is because extra-biblical narratives and their accompanying patristic traditions offered

Anglo-Saxon authors an important avenue through which to explore the connections (and tensions) between their inherited Christian beliefs and native Germanic worldview. Further critical interest in the fall of the angels narrative concentrates on how authors converted complex theological exegesis into dramatic narratives about betrayal and rebellion. As Malcom Godden observes, Anglo-Saxons found the Old Testament to be ‘an ever-useful store-house of information and inspiration ... [the] emphasis upon glory in war, fealty to one’s lord, and the importance of a unified and strong nation was easily converted and translated into compelling heroic poetry’.³² Anglo-Saxon authors thus recycle their inherited patristic teachings while characteristically imagining Satan as a powerful nobleman or veteran retainer who betrays his lord’s munificence in a struggle for power and landed supremacy; he is subsequently banished from his homeland, doomed to wander in exile.³³ Magennis further observes that ‘[Satan’s] treachery represents the reverse of the great Anglo-Saxon ideal of loyalty’.³⁴ The narrative’s intrinsic connections to lordship and its subversion coupled with the precedent for forfeiture of inheritance would have thus had immediate socio-political and spiritual relevance for Anglo-Saxon readers. This book aims to bring together various cultural moments, genres, and relevant comparanda to recover the story that they tell, from the legal and social world to the world of popular spiritual ritual and belief.

Matters of space and sovereignty

Because Anglo-Saxon conceptions of legal and sovereign authority were, as this book will argue, directly inflected by the fall of the angels, the narrative’s core repertoire of themes can illuminate broader literary representations of space, power, and identity. As we have seen, the fall of the angels in patristic traditions was thought to be associated with the beginning of time immediately following God’s command of *fiat lux*. One reason why this narrative so captivated poets, homilists, political thinkers, and even kings, was because it also gave them a symbolic language through which to discuss when and how space and territory – heavenly, earthly, hellish – first came into being. For early medieval men and women, the fallen bodies of Satan and his rebellious cohort, in a certain sense, impacted the very arrangement of spiritual and earthly spaces: from the vastness of heaven, to the disorder of hell, and the impressionable earth.

What does this story have to do with space? The narrative, of course, would have been crucial for Anglo-Saxons attempting to think about both divine time and space as ways to order their earthly experiences. Space as it shaped early medieval culture is thus a theme of this book. Because Satan's crime results in the first forfeiture of space (and the chance for humankind to inherit his former estates), in most cases, early medieval English narratives of the fall of the angels coalesce around disputes concerning lands and territories (a common theme in charters and lawsuits), especially those with occupants deemed idle, rebellious, or in desperate need of penitential cleansing.

Old English terms for 'space' recur throughout the narratives describing heavenly dominions, earthly lands, and even Satan's ruinous kingdom in hell. Terms such as *fæc* ('space, interval, distance, portion of time'), *gemet* ('a measure, space, distance' or 'bounds, limit, boundary'³⁵) are frequent glosses for Latin *spatium* (which the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* defines as an 'area or expanse of land, ground, or space, region, area or expanse of sky or heavens' or 'space available or designated for a purpose, room'). The term *gerum* has both spatial and temporal force ('space of time'),³⁶ whereas *hwil* refers to 'a while, space of time' (sometimes an 'indefinite space of time').³⁷ It is in this indeterminate sense that *hwilum* features prominently in *Christ and Satan* when Satan fails to comprehend and order his physical and temporal surroundings, his fraught subjectivity defined by the immeasurable space he inhabits. The term *rum* appears to be the commonest way to describe earthly and heavenly spaces (as with the adjectival form *rume rodor* 'the spacious firmament on high'). The frequency with which authors employ these terms to represent both the acquisition of space as well as its loss suggests that texts – whether a charter, a boundary clause, a biblical poem from the Junius Book, or a saint's life – offered Anglo-Saxon authors one way to establish their sense of place and order in the world.

The works of Henri Lefebvre, Jacques Le Goff, and Anthony Smith all suggest that cultures imagine themselves according to distinct spatial structures and organisations, whether those spaces are in their possession or simply desired and hoped for.³⁸ As Fabienne Michelet puts it, 'Narrative also constitutes a powerful weapon in the struggle for control and appropriation of space ... narrative always grounds claims to a given land, justifies its possession, and defines the limits of the space thus occupied ... the making of poetry is always linked to the making of worlds'.³⁹

Anglo-Saxons must have also imagined their narratives as fragile (if not fledgling) and subject to erasure (particularly during eras dominated by invasion). Similarly, their lands and spatial communities were occasionally seen as vulnerable and subject to change.

If poetry afforded Anglo-Saxons an opportunity to imagine ideal spaces, popular belief and practices (such as the feast of Rogationtide) would have only reinforced this notion of earthly space as a conduit towards the perfect spaces of heaven. According to Howe, Anglo-Saxons would have been distinctly aware of 'all things on earth [as] *laene*, that is, transitory ... Home is, finally, the place that lies beyond direct human experience or apprehension. It can be entered only by those ... who knew that insubstantial buildings are the appropriate dwelling for those awaiting salvation'.⁴⁰ Because the fall of the angels tells the story of how an ideal space – teeming with bliss, stability, and love – can become threatened and destabilised through simple acts of thinking and speaking, and then how such spaces can be one day restored if faithfully earned by humankind, it follows that this narrative touches on the themes of divine and earthly time and territory that would have been on the minds of authors such as Bede and Ælfric.

'Sovereignty', as Lefebvre reminds us, 'implies space'.⁴¹ Just as Anglo-Saxon poets used this narrative to emphasise themes of disobedience and disinheritance, the administrators of the secular world were also formulating their actual legal cases of forfeiture in significantly analogous ways, particularly crimes of treachery, plotting, and oath-breaking. In King Alfred's England, for instance, the threat of total confiscation (both of titles and inheritances) ensured absolute loyalty. From Alfred on, we can see changing notions of kingship and power in early medieval England. Charters narrativise how all land comes from the king with the possession of such lands demanding obligations. Moreover, the law codes reveal that the bonds between a king and his thane can be forever undone through especially heinous crimes. In numerous places, we also read that sovereigns revoke privileges and transfer ownership to fortify their realm. All this would suggest that rulers would have seen in the fall of the angels a narrative precedent allowing for the assertion that all land belongs to and derives from the king.

Rebels are thus cast out as kings repopulate territories with loyal subjects, mirroring the politics of salvation as seen in poems like *Genesis B* and the politics of submission as in the land charters of the Benedictine Reform.⁴² In the former, we read about how Adam and Eve must earn salvation through penance. In the latter, we find

that to submission to the *Rule of St Benedict* becomes a requisite for authorised religious life and worship; any refusal of the *Rule* makes one a rebel. In Anglo-Saxon England, we also find varying expressions of sovereignty. Thomas Bisson explains that medieval '[l]ordship matters because the human realities of power – command, allegiance, accountability, coercion, and violence – were bound up with it'.⁴³ While Anglo-Saxon rulers and writers alike looked to biblical figures for their models of kingship, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has argued that obedience to sovereign authority underwent a distinct process of internalisation during the Anglo-Saxon period as 'compensation for wrongdoing [shifted] from an external, and in some ways, communal, responsibility satisfiable by compurgation and fine ... to an internal guilt in the eleventh-century codes (in a mutilation which forever forces the body to confess to its guilt as a part of the process of salvation)'.⁴⁴ In other words, sovereign authority has both a regal level (as seen in the royal charters which license the banishment of individuals from communities) as well as an individual or self-imposed dimension (as established by documents such as the *Regularis Concordia* which monks swore to obey); such tensions are frequently revealed in the texts that comprise this book.

Unlike Irish and Old Norse versions of the fall of the angels where clear-cut laws and prohibitions are brokered in heaven even before the angelic rebellion, Anglo-Saxon authors take time to point out how, at the moment of angelic creation, there are no pre-existing legal orders in place, only systems of obligation and reciprocity owing to God's gifts of 'gleam and dream' (beauty and joy, *Genesis A*, l. 12b) and 'gewit' (intelligence, *Genesis B*, l. 250b); furthermore, authors typically explain that the angels 'Synna ne cuþon' (knew nothing of sin, l. 18b). The angelic rebellion thereby requires the production of laws and limits following Lucifer's attempt to surpass God's sovereignty. Crucially, for Anglo-Saxons, out of this rebellion emerges the ambit of earthly creation, formal commandments and laws, and also new subjects – humankind – created with the express purpose of repairing the loss of loyal subjects incurred at the beginning of time. Ultimately, the fall of the angels serves as the event that establishes precedents for the kind of relationship God desires from his human subjects.

The following six chapters begin by examining how the narrative of the angelic rebellion resonated within secular, military, and legal spheres, where lordly obligations were given pride of place. Chapter 1 considers the proems of land charters (extending

from the reign of King Edgar to Æthelred and even Cnut), which evoke the angelic rebellion before establishing the transfer and re-granting of property. After providing an overview of the legal outlook surrounding treachery and rebellion from the age of Alfred – whose legal reforms sought to establish that landed entitlements and *seisen* were privileges descending from kings – onwards, I consider this social context alongside *Genesis A*, a vernacular poem that includes a striking episode detailing earthly creation alongside the doctrine of replacement using distinctly legal terminology. The poet of *Genesis A* imagines Satan's rebellion as a story of forfeiture and disinheritance followed by God's response as a legalistic compensation with the promise a future re-granting, aligning the poem with practices witnessed in Anglo-Saxon law codes and land charters. The connection between the charters and the biblical story thus allow us to see how notions of replacement may have had physical, earthly repercussions, and how new modes of sovereignty emerged through a growing reliance on biblical authority: the power of replacement (the re-granting of land) becoming a written legal instrument, a kingly action.

In Chapter 2, I argue that the poet of *Genesis B* imagines Satan's crime as a failure to accept sovereign checks on his power and limits upon his territorial ambitions. The latter stages of the poem reveal Satan's post-lapsarian pursuit of space and territory as he operates a rival kingdom in hell and laments the fact that Adam and Eve will one day claim and settle his former habitations in heaven. Themes of territorial competition, expansion, and inheritance manifest in various wider traditions concerning the fall of the angels, too. Irish vernacular adaptations in particular depict how Satan views humankind as rival-inheritors of lands to which he feels entitled. These accounts, found in texts such as *Saltair na Rann* and *Lebor Gabála*, derive from the apocryphal 'Life of Adam and Eve'. In these narratives, Lucifer upsets clearly defined spatial and social limits. In *Saltair na Rann* a conflict arises between Adam and Lucifer over the issue of seniority, a controversial matter in medieval Ireland. Lucifer believes he possesses greater *febas*, a subtle concoction of positive qualities frequently evoked in Irish succession disputes, denoting one's dignity, reputation, or overall nobility. *Lebor Gabála* similarly sets up Lucifer's revolt as a response to Adam's territorial inheritance of earth with terminology connected to landed jurisdiction. Lucifer's heavenly authority is revoked by God in this account because he fails in his duties as an *airchinnech* ('governor, nobleman'). We see Irish authors thus adapting apoc-

ryphal traditions for a powerful socio-political effect, imagining features of their own ecclesiastical and secular administrations as mimetic representations of divine structures.

My third chapter explores how Bede's epistolary exchanges suggest that he viewed spiritual corruption as an earthly reflex of the sins of the rebel angels. This idea re-emerges in the city of Winchester in the tenth century amid the Benedictine Reform movement. Here, monastic reformers reinstate Bede's idea that ecclesiastical treacheries find an analogue (and perhaps their origin) in angelic strife in order to advance their own agenda: namely, labelling their rivals (wayward secular clerics) as rebellious, prideful, and unfit to keep their ecclesiastical endowments. For Henri Lefebvre, space is not an *a priori* concept, but a cultural construct, something that is carefully fashioned especially during moments of change and turmoil.⁴⁵ We might compare Lefebvre's thesis to any space or structure that allows a given community to look inward and thus structure meaning. In Anglo-Saxon England, we might extend this to a variety of spaces both fixed and abstract: properties, ecclesiastical endowments, minsters, parish boundaries, the distinct kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England, cities, and ultimately the island itself. The case of Winchester with its newly constructed minster and adjoining grounds (*c.* 963–75) offers us a unique vantage point from which to view the careful refashioning of physical and ideological space by individuals like King Edgar, his wife Queen Ælfthryth, and chief adviser, Æthelwold.

Poems evoking the fall of the angels reach an apex of expression in King Edgar's 'New Minster Charter', the prime textual forerunner to the Benedictine Reform. A defining document of late Anglo-Saxon history, the New Minster Charter served as the official royal and monastic response to the ecclesiastical conflicts of the 960s. The literary and theological content of this charter, which begins by rehearsing the fall of the rebel angels, had significant cultural and political consequences. The charter's author portrays the secular clerics at Winchester as a subversive threat to English ecclesiastical unity by aligning their alleged sinful behaviour with that of the 'superbentium angelorum' (pride-filled angels). As Sowerby puts it, in this era it happened that a 'myth about an expulsion of angels from heaven had become a matter of cardinal importance in early medieval England, central to the Anglo-Saxons' understanding of humanity and its origins'.⁴⁶ The charter thereby legitimates the exclusion of fallen and rebellious bodies in the nation and redefines the authority of King Edgar, a new

theocratic sovereign. I build on the work of Sowerby and others by examining how the Winchester charters attest to the potency of biblical narrative in the lived experience of Anglo-Saxons through their depiction of adversaries to the English Christian community and in their aim to legally establish the secular canons as rebels. I also consider how these charters were not the first English documents to imagine disobedient and disorderly ecclesiastics as earthly replicas of the rebel angels, but represent part of a longer tradition of viewing the church as a reflection of the heavenly polity.

In all these cases, rebellion is figured as a lapse of loyalty, a furtive betrayal, a broken oath, or a lethal desire for possession, not necessarily a fully fledged martial opposition against a lord. Charters like the ones issued during the reign of Edgar, with their hybridising of biblical, doctrinal, and legal registers can help bring the interests of both Anglo-Saxon literature and sermons into clearer focus. As I discuss in Chapters 1 and 3, Vercelli Homily 10, for instance, directly responds to the brazen landed ambitions of the monastic reformers as expressed in their stately charters. Such regal documents, moreover, become earthly tools of replacement, inscribing the restoration of loyalties and lands into collective memory; what we see in them is the drama of expulsion and replacement playing out on an earthly, and altogether human, space and scale.

From here, I turn to the narrative's appearance in Old English saints' lives wherein holy men and women articulate the fall of the angels narrative as though it were a charm, a verbal defence mechanism offering spatial, geographical, and bodily protections. Chapter 4 examines accounts of the angelic rebellion in four hagiographical poems in which saints articulate the story of the angelic fall to protect themselves from marauding demons. Just as Anglo-Saxon charms master something threatening by defining and reciting its name, properties, and origins, so too in *Elene* and *Juliana*, do Cynewulf's saintly protagonists Judas Cyriacus and Juliana master their demonic tempters by identifying them and recounting their originary sin. While in these poems the origin narrative is itself apotropaic, in *Andreas* the fall of the angels narrative is linked to the protective power of the baptismal seal (or *sphragis*) that safeguards Christians against the devil. Similarly, *Guthlac A* relates how Guthlac disarms his demonic tormentors by recounting the story of their fall and by expressing his faithful expectation that he will be one of their replacements in heaven.

Just as the saints' lives I discuss in Chapter 4 deal with the retelling of the narrative by individual saints, Anglo-Saxon com-

munities were also known to re-enact the purging of the rebel angels within the yearly liturgical cycle. Linking the fall of the angels with Judgement Day, Chapter 5 considers how the poet of *Christ and Satan* portrays Satan's attempts to disrupt Christ's authority in both heavenly and earthly territories. In the same way that the New Minster Charter legitimised the rescinding of clerical lands and the exclusion of canons from religious communities, Satan's fitting punishments in this poem include forfeiture of his territories, expulsion from heaven, and exile to the chaotic spaces of hell. I approach the poem through the liturgical traditions of the Rogationtide festival, when Anglo-Saxons participated in three days of 'perambulations' meant to demarcate communal boundaries. This feast symbolically re-enacted the original exclusion of the rebel angels from heaven and also foreshadowed the final inclusions and exclusions at the Last Judgement. The poem's eccentric chronology and bizarre conclusion – in which Christ forces Satan to measure the *ymbhwyrft* ('circuit') of hell with his hands – can be understood as an inversion of Rogation rituals, whereby Satan parodies his own condition of lordlessness as he circuits the spaces of hell. By situating his poem within the framework of liturgical and localised practice, the poet appeals to an audience readily familiar with the primary goals of Rogationtide, namely, the purification of earthly boundaries in the interest of making oneself a suitable heir to otherworldly geographies.

This book closes with eleventh-century renderings of the narrative in the homilies of Ælfric and Archbishop Wulfstan of York. Ælfric explores the complex relationship between sovereigns and disobedient subjects, imagining the angelic fall as a crisis of individual agency and an unfortunate consequence of the gift of *agen cyre* ('free choice'). Wulfstan adopts Ælfric's approach in the wake of the viking invasions. With Wulfstan, I work to overturn some predominant readings of his famous *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (namely, that he characterises the vikings as heralds of Antichrist). Instead, Wulfstan puts the force of the replacement doctrine behind his admonishment of the English. He chides the English for imagining themselves as the elect (or *praedestinati*), or souls with a clear path towards a heavenly inheritance. Armed with the doctrine as his rhetorical weapon, Wulfstan suggests that the English body politic has instead come to resemble the rebel order of angels, implying that the vikings could supplant them and take their place as 'replacements', inbound colonisers destined for heavenly seats. Just as the originally pagan Anglo-Saxons had been replacements

for the sinful Christian Britons, Wulfstan urges Anglo-Saxon Christians not to cede to the vikings their providential role in salvation history.

This book ultimately aims to investigate how Anglo-Saxon authors reimagined the extra-biblical story of the fall of the angels to work through contemporary challenges and to serve as a foundational myth of origin. According to Nicholas Howe, any ‘shift in a people’s destiny – a migration or a revolution – can be set within [a] mythic pattern ... When an origin myth is deeply registered in a culture, it may become difficult to interpret the present except as it accords with the pattern of the past.’⁴⁷ For these early Christians, the events of angelic creation shaped prevailing attitudes about their status as an emergent Christian community and their understanding of earthly space and sovereign authority. Far from seeing the textual absence of the fall of the angels in Genesis as a constraint, Anglo-Saxons viewed it as an opportunity to write the beginning of their story as a converted Christian people eager to become heirs to the idle and unused thrones and territories the rebels left behind.

Notes

- 1 Alcuin, *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesin*, ed. J.-P. Migne, PL 101 (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1851), cols. 613–66. See also, ‘A Critical Edition of Ælfric’s Translation of Alcuin’s *Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbiteri* and of the Related Texts *De creatore et creatura* and *De sex etatibus huius seculi*’, ed. W. Stoneman, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983, p. 85 and ‘Ælfric’s Version of *Alcuini Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*’, ed. M. E. MacLean, *Anglia*, 6 (1883), 425–73; 7 (1884), 1–59. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.
- 2 Old Testament references to the fall of the angels appear in Ezra 28:12–17 and Isaiah 14:13–15 and in the New Testament at Luke 10:18 and 15:9, the Epistle of Jude 6, John 8:44, and Revelation 12:9.
- 3 Aldhelm, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works*, ed. and trans. Michael Lapidge and James L. Rosier (Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1985). In his riddle, *De Lucifero*, Aldhelm plays on Lucifer’s identity as the ‘morning star’ or ‘light-bearer’ (p. 88); Aethicus Ister, *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, ed. and trans. Michael W. Herren, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 8ff. The fall of the angels is the subject of a riddling contest between Parzival and Trevrizent in Book IX of Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival*; see Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ed. Wolfgang Spiewok, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981).

- 4 *The Old English Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn*, ed. and trans. Daniel Anlezark, Anglo-Saxon Texts 7 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), ll. 265–97. Anlezark argues that *Solomon and Saturn II* was influenced by various apocrypha including 2 Enoch in ‘The Fall of the Angels in *Solomon and Saturn II*’, in *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Kathryn Powell and Donald G. Scragg (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 121–33. In response to Saturn’s question about ‘the beginning of all torments’ (ll. 265–8), Solomon describes how an ‘ofermodan’ (proud one) once boasted of his desire to ‘completely ravage the kingdom of the heavens and to occupy half himself’ (ll. 276–7a).
- 5 The fall of the angels also appears in the poem *Vainglory* (ll. 52–64). See *The Exeter Book*, ed. George Philip Krapp and Elliot Van Kirk Dobbie, ASPR III (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936).
- 6 For an overview, see Virginia Day, ‘The Influence of the Catechetical *narratio* on Old English and Some Other Medieval Literature’, *ASE*, 3 (1974), 51–61 (p. 51).
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 53–4.
- 8 For Zacher’s discussion of the *Populus Israhel* tradition, see *Rewriting the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon Verse: Becoming the Chosen People* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 24ff. See also Andrew P. Scheil’s *The Footsteps of Israel: Understanding Jews in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), pp. 143–91.
- 9 Scheil, *The Footsteps of Israel*, p. 19.
- 10 *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (or 2 Enoch) suggests that corruption is the work of fallen angels. See *The Book of Enoch or I Enoch: A New English Translation with Commentary and Textual Notes*, ed. and trans. Matthew Black (Leiden: Brill, 1985). For its conjectured circulation, see *SASLC: The Apocrypha*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs, Instrumenta Anglistica Mediaevalia 1 (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), p. 10.
- 11 Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei*, ed. Bernhard Dombart and Alfons Kalb, CCSL 47–8 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), ii. 329.
- 12 Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Celestial Hierarchy*, ed. Günter Heil and Adolf Martin Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum II* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991).
- 13 Gregory the Great, *Homeliae in Evangelia*, ed. Raymond Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 299–319.
- 14 Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, ed. Marcelle Thiébaux, Cambridge Medieval Classics 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 116 and p. 214. Translation from Carol Neel, *Handbook for William: A Carolingian Woman’s Counsel for her Son* by Dhuoda (Washington, DC: Catholic University Press, 1991), p. 93.
- 15 *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 90–1.

- 16 Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 132–5.
- 17 *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Thomas Miller, EETS os 95 (London: Oxford University Press, 1890; repr. 1997), pp. 96–7. See also Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: The Geography of English Identity from Ælfric to Chaucer* (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1999).
- 18 Stephen J. Harris, 'Bede and Gregory's Allusive Angles', *Criticism*, 44 (2002), 271–89 (p. 273).
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 277.
- 20 Bede, *In Tobiam*, ed. David Hurst, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, CCSL 119B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983).
- 21 Richard Sowerby, *Angels in Early Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 26; for Augustine on pride, see *De ciuitate Dei* (11.13 and 12.6–7), Dombart and Kalb, ii. 333–5 and 359–62) and Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* (11.14–26), ed. Joseph Zycha, *Sancti Aureli Augustini De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim eiusdem libri capitula, De Genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber, Locutionum in Heptateuchum libri septem*, CSEL 28.1 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1894), pp. 346–59.
- 22 Tatwine, *Enigma*, ed. and trans. Maria De Marco, *Collectiones aenigmatum merovingicae aetatis*, CCSL 133 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), pp. 192 and 325.
- 23 Boniface, *De uirtutibus et uititiis*, ed. and trans. Maria De Marco, *Collectiones aenigmatum merovingicae aetatis*, CCSL 133 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), ll. 251–2.
- 24 Bede, *In Genesin*, ed. C. W. Jones, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, CCSL 118A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967). Translation by Calvin Kendall, *On Genesis* (Liverpool University Press, 2008), pp. 69–70. For pre-Gregorian ideas concerning the fall of the angels, see *St Augustine: The First Catechetical Instruction (De Catechizandis Rudibus)*, trans. Joseph P. Christopher (New York: Newman, 1946), p. 126 (n. 191); ed. I. B. Bauer, CCSL 46 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969).
- 25 Thomas D. Hill, 'The Fall of Satan in the Old English *Christ and Satan*', *JEGP*, 76 (1977), 315–25 (p. 317). Anselm proposed that Satan refused to venerate Christ; see Stella Purce Revard, *The War in Heaven: Paradise Lost and the Tradition of Satan's Rebellion* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 60.
- 26 T. D. Hill, 'The Fall of Satan', p. 319ff.
- 27 See *Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition*, ed. and trans. Robert Emmett Finnegan (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977), p. 40 (n. 18).
- 28 C. Abbtmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (Minneapolis: H. W. Wilson Company, 1903).

- 29 See Bernard F. Huppé, *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1959).
- 30 See Michael Fox, 'Ælfric on the Creation and Fall of the Angels', *ASE*, 31 (2002), 175–200.
- 31 See, for instance, J. M. Evans, 'Genesis B and Its Background', *RES*, 14 (1963), 1–16 and J. M. Evans, 'Genesis B and Its Background', *RES*, 14 (1963), 113–23; Thomas D. Hill, 'The Fall of Angels and Man in the Old English *Genesis B*', in *Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation, For John C. McGalliard*, ed. Lewis E. Nicholson and Dolores Warwick Frese (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), pp. 279–90.
- 32 Malcolm Godden, 'Literature and the Old Testament', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 206–26 (p. 206).
- 33 See Michael Cherniss, 'Heroic Ideals and the Moral Climate of *Genesis B*', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 30 (1969), 479–97.
- 34 Hugh Magennis, *Images of Community in Old English Poetry*, CSASE 18 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 15.
- 35 Bosworth-Toller, *fæc*, sense 1 and 4.
- 36 Bosworth-Toller, *gerum*, sense 2.
- 37 Bosworth-Toller, *hwil*, sense 1.
- 38 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), p. 280 and Jacques Le Goff, 'Discorso di chiusura', in *Popoli e paesi nella cultura altomedievale*, 2 vols, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 29 (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1983), pp. 805–38. See also, Fabienne L. Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest: Imaginary Geography and Sense of Space in Old English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 2.
- 39 Michelet, *Creation, Migration, and Conquest*, p. 11.
- 40 Nicholas Howe, *Writing the Map of Anglo-Saxon England: Essays in Cultural Geography* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 46.
- 41 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 280.
- 42 On Anglo-Saxon kingship, see Patrick Wormald, 'Lex scripta and verbum regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship from Euric to Cnut', in *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image, and Experience* (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), pp. 1–48 (p. 38).
- 43 Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 31–68 (p. 34).
- 44 Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, 'Body and Law in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 27 (1998), 209–32 (p. 217). On the role of penance within the Anglo-Saxon legal landscape, see Tom Lambert, *Law and*

Order in Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 216–37.

45 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 10.

46 Sowerby, *Angels in Early Medieval England*, p. 42.

47 Nicholas Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), pp. 4–5.