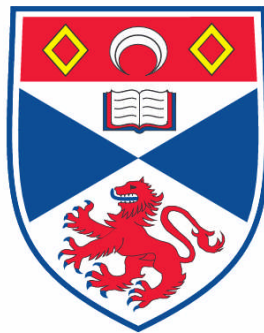


INFERNAL IMAGERY IN ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

Petra Hofmann

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



2008

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Infernal Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Charters

Petra Hofmann

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of English

University of St Andrews

2008

ABSTRACT

This doctoral dissertation analyses depictions of hell in sanctions, i.e. threats of punishments in Anglo-Saxon charters. I am arguing that an innovative use of sanctions as pastoral and ideological instruments effected the peak of infernal imagery in the sanctions of tenth-century royal diplomas. Belonging to the genre of ritual curses, Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain the three standard ecclesiastical curses (excommunication, anathema and damnation). It cannot be established if other requirements of ritual cursing (authoritative personnel, setting and gestures) were fulfilled. A lack of evidence, together with indications of more secular punishments, suggests that sanctions were not used as legal instruments. Their pastoral function is proposed by frightening depictions of hell and the devil, as fear is an important means of achieving salvation in biblical, homiletic and theological writings available or produced in Anglo-Saxon England. The use of the infernal motifs of Hell as a Kitchen, Satan as the Mouth of Hell and winged demons in sanctions are discussed in detail. Sanctions frequently contain the overtly didactic and pastoral device of the *exemplum*. Notorious sinners believed to be damned in hell (e.g. Judas) are presented as negative *exempla* in sanctions to deter people from transgressing against charters. The repeated use of terms from classical mythology for depicting hell in Anglo-Saxon sanctions appears to correlate with the preference for hermeneutic Latin by tenth-century monastic reformers. The reasons for employing classical mythological terminology seem to agree with those suggested for the use of hermeneutic Latin (intellectual snobbery and raising the stylistic register), and glossaries constitute the main source of both types of Latinity. The sanctions of the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, which is known to display the ‘ruler theology’ propagated by the monastic reform, are examined in their textual contexts with regard to the observations made in the earlier parts of this dissertation.

I, Petra Hofmann, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 73,985 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

24. 01. 2008

Date

Signature

I was admitted as a research student in September 2004 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2005; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2004 and 2008.

24. 01. 2008

Date

Signature

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

24. 01. 2008

Date

Signature of Supervisor

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INFERNAL IMAGERY IN ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

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ABBREVIATIONS

- I. Periodicals
- II. Publication Series
- III. Reference Works
- IV. Charter Editions
- V. Homilies
- VI. Glosses and Glossaries
- VII. Online Tools
- VIII. Miscellaneous Abbreviations

I. PERIODICALS

<i>ANQ</i>	<i>American Notes and Queries</i>
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>ASNSL</i>	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</i>
<i>ASSAH</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History</i>
<i>CCM</i>	<i>Cahiers de civilisation médiévale</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELN</i>	<i>English Language Notes</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>English Studies</i>
<i>FS</i>	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>MÆ</i>	<i>Medium Ævum</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>NM</i>	<i>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes & Queries</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>

<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SettSpol</i>	<i>Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo (Spoleto)</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>Studi Medievali</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>

II. PUBLICATION SERIES

AS Charters	Anglo-Saxon Charters
ASPR	Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
MGH Auct. antiq.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi
MGH Epist.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae aevi Carolini
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64)

III. REFERENCE WORKS¹

<i>BEASE</i>	<i>The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England</i> , ed. Lapidge <i>et al.</i>
Bosworth & Toller Suppl.	<i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> (Supplement edition from 1921)

¹ For complete bibliographical references, see below, pp. 240-1.

<i>DMLBS</i>	<i>Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources</i> , ed. Latham <i>et al.</i>
<i>LCI</i>	<i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i> , ed. Kirschbaum and Braunfels
<i>LexMA</i>	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , ed. Angermann <i>et al.</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> , ed. Simpson and Weiner
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , ed. Glare <i>et al.</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. Klauser <i>et al.</i>
<i>RGA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde</i> , ed. Beck, Geunich and Steuer

IV. Charter Editions

<i>Abingdon</i>	<i>Charters of Abingdon Abbey</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 7, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000-1)
B	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum: a Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History</i> , ed. W. de Gray Birch, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93)
Barlow 1970	Barlow, F., <i>Edward the Confessor</i> (London, 1970)
<i>Burton</i>	<i>Charters of Burton Abbey</i> , ed. P. H. Sawyer, AS Charters 2 (Oxford, 1979)
<i>Charters</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> , ed. A. J. Robertson, 2nd ed., Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge, 1956)
Davidson 1883	J. B. Davidson, 'On Some Anglo-Saxon Charters at Exeter', <i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i> 29 (1883), 259-303
<i>ECEE</i>	<i>The Early Charters of Eastern England</i> , ed. C. Hart, Studies in Early English History 5 (Leicester, 1966)
<i>ECWM</i>	<i>The Early Charters of the West Midlands</i> , ed. H. P. R. Finberg, Studies in Early English History 2, 2nd ed. (Leicester, 1972)

- Fleming 1997 Fleming, R., 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary', *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. C. W. Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 83-155.
- Galbraith 1920 V. H. Galbraith, 'Royal Charters to Winchester', *English Historical Review* 35 (1920), 382-400
- Glastonbury Cart.* *The Great Cartulary of Glastonbury*, ed. A. Watkin, Somerset Record Society, 3 vols. (1947-56)
- Johnson 1948 *Registrum Hamonis Hethe Diocesis Roffensis: A. D. 1319-1352*, ed. C. Johnson, Canterbury and York Series 48, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1948)
- K *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble, 6 vols. (London, 1839-1848)
- Lowe 1989 K. A. Lowe, 'A New Edition of the Will of Wulfgyth', *N&Q* 234 (1989), 295-8
- Malmesbury* *Charters of Malmesbury Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 11 (Oxford, 2005)
- Mon. Angl.* (rev. edn) *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. W. Dugdale *et al.*, 6 vols. (London, 1817-30)
- Napier & Stevenson *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, ed. A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895)
- New Minster, Winchester* *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. S. Miller, AS Charters 9 (Oxford, 2001)
- OS Facs.* *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ed. W. B. Sanders, 3 vols. (Southampton, 1878-84)
- Rochester* *Charters of Rochester*, ed. A. Campbell, AS Charters 1 (Oxford, 1973)
- Rose-Troup 1929 F. Rose-Troup, 'The New Edgar Charter and the South Hams', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 61 (1929), 249-80
- Shaftesbury* *Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 5 (Oxford, 1996)

<i>Sherborne</i>	<i>Charters of Sherborne</i> , ed. M. O'Donovan, AS Charters 3 (Oxford, 1988)
Searle 1894	W. G. Searle, <i>Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis</i> , Cambridge Antiquarian Society (Cambridge, 1894)
<i>Selsey</i>	<i>Charters of Selsey</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 6 (Oxford, 1998)
<i>St Augustine's</i>	<i>Charters of St Augustine's Abbey Canterbury and Minster-in-Thamet</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 4 (Oxford, 1995)
<i>St Paul's, London</i>	<i>Charters of St Paul's, London</i> , ed. S. E. Kelly, AS Charters 10 (Oxford, 2004)
Thorpe	<i>Diplomatarium Anglicum ævi Saxonici: a Collection of English Charters from the Reign of King Æthelberht of Kent, A.D. DC.V to that of William the Conqueror</i> , ed. B. Thorpe, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series 3 (London, 1865)
<i>Two Cart.</i>	<i>Two Cartularies of the Benedictine Abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney in the County of Somerset</i> , ed. E. H. Bates, Somerset Record Society 14 (London, 1899)
<i>Wills</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Wills</i> , ed. D. Whitelock, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge, 1930)
<i>Writs</i>	F. E. Harmer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Writs</i> (Manchester, 1952)

V. HOMILIES²

ÆCHom I	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series</i> , ed. Clemoes
ÆCHom II	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series</i> , ed. Godden
ÆHom	<i>Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary Collection</i> , ed. Pope
ÆLS	<i>Ælfric's Lives of Saints</i> , ed. Skeat
Blickling	<i>Blickling Homilies</i> , ed. Morris

² For complete bibliographical references, see below, pp. 218-20.

Napier	<i>Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien</i> , ed. Napier
Nic (C)	Gospel of Nicodemus Homily, 'De Resurrectione', ed. Hulme
Nic (D)	Gospel of Nicodemus Homily, Easter Day, ed. Hulme
Vercelli	<i>Vercelli Homilies</i> , ed. Scragg
WHom	<i>The Homilies of Wulfstan</i> , ed. Bethurum

VI. GLOSSES AND GLOSSARIES

ÆGram	<i>Ælfric's Grammar, Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar: Text und Varianten</i> , ed. J. Zupitza, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1966)
AldÆ	Aldhelm's <i>Ænigmata</i> , <i>Old English Glosses</i> , ed. A. S. Napier, <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 11</i> (Oxford, 1900), no. 23
AldV 1	Aldhelm's <i>De laude virginitatis</i> (prose) and <i>Epistola ad Ehiridum</i> , <i>The Old English Glosses of MS. Brussels, Royal Library 1650</i> , ed. L. Goossens, <i>Brussels Verhandelingen van de koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van Belgie, Klasse der Letteren 36</i> (Brussels, 1974), pp. 232-6
AldV 2.3.1	Aldhelm's <i>De laude virginitatis</i> (prose; fragments of Yale University, MS. 401), <i>Old English Glosses</i> , ed. A. S. Napier, <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 11</i> (Oxford, 1900), no. 11
AldV 7.1	Aldhelm's <i>De laude virginitatis</i> (prose), <i>Old English Glosses</i> , ed. A. S. Napier, <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 11</i> (Oxford, 1900), no. 8
AldV 9	Aldhelm's <i>De laude virginitatis</i> (prose), <i>Old English Glosses</i> , ed. A. S. Napier, <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 11</i> (Oxford, 1900), no. 7
AldV 13.1	Aldhelm's <i>De laude virginitatis</i> (prose), <i>Old English Glosses</i> , ed. A. S. Napier, <i>Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series 11</i> (Oxford, 1900), no. 1

- AntGl 2 Latin-Old English Glossaries, L. Kindschi, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS. 32 and British Museum MS. Additional 32246' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1955), pp. 42-105
- AntGl 4 Latin-Old English Glossaries, L. Kindschi, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS. 32 and British Museum MS. Additional 32246' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1955), pp. 111-89
- AntGl 6 Latin-Old English Glossaries, L. Kindschi, 'The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS. 32 and British Museum MS. Additional 32246' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1955), pp. 201-52
- CIGl 1 Latin-Old English Glossaries, W. G. Stryker, 'The Latin-Old English Glossary in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.III' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1951), pp. 28-367
- CIGl 3 Latin-Old English Glossaries, J. J. Quinn, 'The Minor Latin-Old English Glossaries in MS. Cotton Cleopatra A.III' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1956), 69-219
- CorpGl 2 Latin-Old English Glossaries, *An Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, ed. J. H. Hessels (Cambridge, 1890)
- EpGl Latin-Old English Glossaries of the Épinal MS, *Old English Glossaries in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, ed. J. D. Pheifer, (Oxford, 1974)
- ErfGl 1 Latin-Old English Glossaries of the Erfurt MS, *Old English Glossaries in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*, J. D. Pheifer (Oxford, 1974)
- HIGl Latin-Old English Glossaries of the Harley MS, *The Harley Latin-Old English Glossary*, ed. R. T. Oliphant, *Janua linguarum*, series practica 20 (The Hague, 1966), pp. 21-208
- HyGl 2 Glosses of Hymns, I. B. Milfull, *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a Study and Edition of the Durham Hymnal*, CSASE 17 (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 109-472

- HyGl 3 Glosses of Hymns, H. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter*, Buchreihe der Anglia 12 (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 265-413
- OccGl 49 Glosses of the Bible, Proverbs, J. Zupitza, 'Kentische Glossen des neunten Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und Literatur* 21 (1877), 1-59, at 18-44
- OccGl 50 Glosses of the Bible, Psalms, E. Brock, ed., 'The Blickling Glosses', *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, EETS 58, 63, 73 (London, 1874-80; rpt. in 1 vol. 1967), pp. 253-63 (rpt., pp. 251-63)
- PrudGl 1 Prudentius, *Cathemerinon*, *Peristephanon* and *Epilogus*, *The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-sur-Mer*, ed. H. D. Meritt, Stanford Studies in Language and Literature 16 (Stanford, 1956), pp. 1-115
- PrudGl 4.2 Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, R. I. Page, 'More Old English Scratched Glosses', *Anglia* 97 (1979), 27-45, at 32-43
- SedGl 2.1 Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, *Old English Glosses: a Collection*, ed. H. D. Meritt, Modern Language Association General Series 16 (New York, 1945), no. 28

VII. ONLINE TOOLS

- 'ASD' 'Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic', at <http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/diplomatic.html>
- Fontes* *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, ed. Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project, at <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>
- Revised Electronic Sawyer* *The Revised Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters: the Electronic Sawyer*, at <http://www.esawyer.org.uk>

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS ABBREVIATIONS

d.	died
ns	new series
os	old series
S	Sawyer number
ss	supplementary series

INTRODUCTION

INFERNAL IMAGERY IN ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

The progress of the research on Anglo-Saxon charters during the recent years has made it possible for non-historians to investigate Anglo-Saxon charters systematically. I am in particular referring to the modern critical editions of charters published by the British Academy and two invaluable online databases, the *Revised Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters: the Electronic Sawyer* and the *Regesta regum Anglorum*. On the one hand, this work has made the primary texts readily available to non-historians and, on the other hand, it allows non-historians to quickly gain access to the historical discussions of individual charters. The possibility of new interdisciplinary research in the field of Anglo-Saxon charters will not only be beneficial to Anglo-Saxon historical and literary scholarship, but also to the investigation of Anglo-Saxon culture in general. Of course, interdisciplinary research has its limits, especially since a scholar is liable to prioritize the discipline in which he or she was trained. Nevertheless, interdisciplinary research can provide new questions, offer innovative perspectives and gain invaluable insights that help to advance disciplinary research. In the present doctoral dissertation, I shall try to investigate the historical and legal genre of charters from the perspective of a literary scholar. This is encouraged by the pronounced literary imagery in numerous Anglo-Saxon charters.

The fact that the historical and legal genre of charters can contain valuable material for Anglo-Saxon literary studies was first demonstrated by David F. Johnson in his doctoral dissertation ‘Studies in the Literary Career of the Fallen Angels’ from

1994.¹ In his first chapter, Johnson has investigated the presentation of the Fall of the Angels in *Genesis A* in relation to descriptions of the same event in two Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas.² Johnson has not only been able to show the influence of the Origenist tradition in *Genesis A*, but, more importantly, he has found parallels for an otherwise seemingly unique account of the Fall of the Angels in Anglo-Saxon charters. Hence, the peculiar account of *Genesis A* can now be understood as one theological opinion among others available to Anglo-Saxon writers rather than an obscure account that may have existed in opposition to one predominant theological view. In addition, the Origenist tradition supports the ideological message of at least one of the charters Johnson has investigated.³

With the exception of David Johnson's work, the rich and surprisingly versatile literary material extant in Anglo-Saxon charters has hitherto hardly been explored by literary scholars. Thus, the present doctoral dissertation understands itself as an example of how systematic interdisciplinary research may be able to advance our understanding of Anglo-Saxon legal texts as well as explain the appearance of literary passages in a genre today not readily associated with 'literature'.⁴ My analyses shall focus on infernal imagery, because this type of literary imagery is particularly pronounced and diverse in charters. My central question is whether the

¹ D. F. Johnson, 'Studies in the Literary Career of the Fallen Angels: the Devil and his Body in Old English Literature' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Cornell Univ., 1994).

² This first chapter of David Johnson's dissertation was later published as 'The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A* and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters', *JEGP* 67 (1998), 500-21.

³ The charter in question is the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, which I shall discuss in Chapter 5 below.

⁴ By 'literature' I mean the kind of literature understood as a piece of art for art's sake or literature aimed at entertaining its readers or both. This kind of literature is often contrasted to 'pragmatic literature', i.e. texts written as a form of communication aimed at very specific and often very practical issues (e.g. an instruction manual, a recipe or a contract). Although literary theorists argue that this definition of 'literature' is insufficient and that the distinction between 'literature' and 'pragmatic literature' is not absolute, these definitions are still useful for non-theoretical concerns as long as it is understood that they are working hypotheses rather than fixed definitions.

literary infernal imagery of Anglo-Saxon charters is an irrelevant extra, i.e. a feature that does not contribute anything to the charter, or a purposeful element, i.e. an element that has a specific function in charters that is not fulfilled by other features of these texts. Many historians have discarded this type of imagery as irrelevant to charters, because it does not appear to have contributed to the charters' legal concerns.⁵ Yet, because the number of charters that contain references to hell is undeniably high, a closer look may be beneficial to our understanding of their place in Anglo-Saxon charters in particular and of the nature of Anglo-Saxon legal writings in general. In the following, I shall first introduce my corpus of primary texts, then present my working definition of 'literary imagery', and finally offer a hypothesis on the function of literary infernal imagery in charters.

1. Corpus of Primary Texts

As indicated above, I shall focus on infernal imagery in Anglo-Saxon charters.

According to Simon Keynes, a charter is:

a short and self-contained text written in Latin on a single sheet of parchment, recording a grant of land or privileges by the king to a particular person or to a religious house, drawn up in accordance with prevailing (but changing) conventions and invested with all the force and formality of a legal instrument.⁶

⁵ See below, pp. 14-15.

⁶ S. Keynes, 'Charters and Writs', *BEASE*, pp. 99-100, at 99. For a *Forschungsbericht* on Anglo-Saxon charters (c. 1953-98), see N. P. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: Recent Work', in his *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church, 400-1066* (London, 2000), pp. 181-215. For introductory reading on Anglo-Saxon charters, see S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016: a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd ser. 13 (Cambridge, 1980), esp. pp. 1-83; F. M. Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955); A. Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 26 (Vienna, 1982), esp. pp. 9-57.

Although the vast majority of charters are royal charters, some charters are issued in the name of ecclesiastics, especially bishops, and lay people. Writs, on the other hand, are shorter and mostly written in Old English ‘in the form of an address by the king (or other issuing party) to the persons assembled at a shire court (or a hundred court)’.⁷ Writs regularly appear from the early eleventh century onwards.⁸ Although writs are not irrelevant for my study, my following outlines focus on charters, as they will constitute the primary corpus of my dissertation.

The standard structure of charters consists of introductory remarks that place the grant into a general or specific context (proem), a section that records the specifics of a grant, i.e. who grants what to whom under what conditions (dispositive section), threats of punishment should the arrangements be breached (sanction) and promises of rewards for adhering to the agreements made (benediction), details regarding the issuing of the charter (grantor, date and place of issuing), and a list of names of people who witnessed the transaction (witness-list); in the case of a grant of land a more or less specific description of the land in question (bound) is included in or added to the charter. Individual charters may show variations on this standard structure by changing the sequence of their diplomatic elements or by leaving out elements. Infernal imagery can generally appear in charters (and more rarely in writs) at two points: the proem and the sanction. My dissertation will focus on the use of infernal imagery in sanctions, because they appear to be of greater legal relevance and stricter formulaic form than proems, wherefore their literary imagery appears to be more misplaced than that of proems.

⁷ Keynes, ‘Charters and Writs’, p. 100.

⁸ R. Sharpe, ‘The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century’, *ASE* 32 (2003), 247-91; F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952); P. Chaplais, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: from the Diploma to the Writ’, *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1966), 160-76.

Anglo-Saxon charters were first collectively published in the nineteenth century by John M. Kemble and Walter de Gray Birch respectively.⁹ In the 1970s the British Academy began to publish charters according to archives in their Anglo-Saxon Charters series. In contrast to previous editions, this series contains thorough introductions to the charters of individual archives, critical apparatuses and glossaries, and the more recent editions also contain discussions of the individual charters. Nowadays, the texts of Anglo-Saxon charters can also be accessed online in the searchable database *Regesta regum Anglorum*.¹⁰ Anglo-Saxon charters were catalogued by Peter Sawyer in 1968, who classified them according to the type of grant recorded (royal grants, grants by laity, by bishops, by other ecclesiastics, wills and bequests, miscellaneous grants) and chronologically within these categories.¹¹ Each document has received a number, the so-called 'Sawyer number' (S 000), by which charters are referenced today. In addition, Peter Sawyer has provided essential information about the individual charters (grantor, beneficiary, content of grant, date, place, language), their transmission (manuscripts, printed editions) and bibliographies. Sawyer's invaluable catalogue is also available online in a first revised version as *The Electronic Sawyer* (which is also part of the *Regesta regum Anglorum*).¹² Recently, *The Electronic Sawyer* has been further revised (the second revision of the information provided in the printed version) and is now available as the *Revised Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters: the Electronic Sawyer*.¹³ This

⁹ J. M. Kemble, *Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48) and W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonici: a Collection of Charters Relating to the Anglo-Saxon History*, 3 vols. (London, 1885-93).

¹⁰ *Regesta regum Anglorum*, at <http://www.anglo-saxons.net/hwaet/?do=show&page=Charters> [accessed 10.12.2007].

¹¹ P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 8 (London, 1968).

¹² *The Electronic Sawyer*, at <http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/eSawyer2.html> [10.12.2007].

¹³ *Revised Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters: the Electronic Sawyer*, at <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/> [10.12.2007].

database can be browsed according to several categories (Sawyer number, kings, kingdoms, charter dates, archives, manuscript dates, bibliography), and it will also be searchable soon.

As pointed out above, a sanction provides a charter with a threat of punishment should the charter's agreement be broken. An Anglo-Saxon sanction has four basic components: a motive for transgression (motive clause), the transgression itself (transgression clause), a threat of punishment (punishment clause) and an exhortation to do penance (penance clause). Not every sanction contains all of these elements, as many sanctions lack motive clauses and some omit the penance clause. The sanction of S 595 from CE 956 is an example of a sanction that contains all four clauses and infernal imagery:¹⁴

Si quis igitur tetri demonis stimulatione instinctus hoc nostrum decretum infringere uoluerit, sit ipse sub stigei fluminis undam preceps in ima tartara trusus, nisi hic prius ad satisfactionem uenire maluerit (S 595; representing Formula Group 17)¹⁵

Most sanctions are introduced by the phrase *si quis*, 'if someone'. Sanctions that contain motive clauses often describe motives for transgressions as envy, boldness or devilish instigation. The transgression itself is rarely defined precisely. Most often, the transgression is described as a diminishment of the charter's donation or a violation of a charter's agreement. There are exceptions, however. The sanction of

¹⁴ Throughout this dissertation, I shall indicate when charters were issued. In order to avoid confusion between Sawyer numbers and year dates, the year dates will be preceded by CE for 'common era'.

¹⁵ 'If someone then, instigated by the incitement of a hideous demon, wants to break our decree, the same person shall be thrust headlong underneath the wave of the river Styx in the deep Tartarus, unless he prefers to agree [to do] amends here [on earth] earlier.' All translations of Latin and Old English texts in this dissertation are mine, unless noted otherwise. Note that the term *satisfactio*, which appears almost regularly in sanctions, can have ecclesiastical as well as secular connotations, meaning 'penance' as well as 'reparation'. Although there are indications that *satisfactio* means 'penance' in sanctions, I shall translate *satisfactio* as 'amends' in my dissertation, which appears to be more neutral than 'reparation' or 'penance'.

charter S 849 from CE 983 and the first two sanctions of charter S 745 from CE 966 are so specific in their transgression clauses that these sanctions could not be used in other charters without substantial alterations.¹⁶

The transgression clause is followed by the threat of punishment. Scholars have distinguished between two kinds of punishments in medieval charters: secular punishments (*poenae saeculares*), often monetary fines, and spiritual punishments (*poenae spirituales*), i.e. punishments of an ecclesiastical or a religious nature.¹⁷

While continental charters predominantly contain secular sanctions, Anglo-Saxon charters usually contain spiritual sanctions.¹⁸ These spiritual punishments are either *pre-mortem* punishments in this world or *post-mortem* punishments in the afterlife or a combination of both. Among extant authentic charters, excommunication is the most common *pre-mortem* punishment.¹⁹ The most common *post-mortem* punishments are damnation (e.g. S 8, 29, 187), accounting for one's deeds at the Last Judgement (e.g. S 8, 42, 58) and torments in hell. The spiritual punishments can also be referred to as ecclesiastical punishments and religious punishments respectively, because the *pre-mortem* punishments are part of ecclesiastical law and can be suffered by anyone provided that ecclesiastics pronouncing them have the power to

¹⁶ Note that the authenticity of S 849 is uncertain, however. For a discussion of the sanctions of S 745, see Chapter 5 below.

¹⁷ Cf. D. Rübsamen, 'Buße und Strafe: zu den Pönformeln spätmittelalterlicher Königsurkunden, besonders unter Friedrich III.', *Ex ipsis rerum documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik: Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Herbers, H. H. Kortüm and C. Servatius (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 117-33, at 117; Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde*, p. 51; J. Studtmann, 'Die Pönformel der mittelalterlichen Urkunden', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12 (1932), 251-374, at 253.

¹⁸ There appear to be two exceptions, as the sanctions of charters S 995 and S 1417 threaten with monetary fines. However, S 995 has been regarded as an outright forgery, see A. Gransden, 'Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065-1097', *ANS* 4 (1982), 65-76, at 70-1; Sharpe, 'Use of Writs', pp. 255-6. S 1417 from CE 924 x 933 appears to be genuine, but it is specifically concerned with fines for unpaid rents rather than fines for breaching the charter's agreement, see *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. S. Miller, AS Charters 9 (Oxford, 2001), pp. 51-2.

¹⁹ On excommunication in sanctions, see below, pp. 33-41.

enforce them. On the other hand, the effectiveness of threats with *post-mortem* punishments largely depends on the religious beliefs of the individuals who are threatened with them. The threat of torments in hell is the place where infernal imagery is more or less lavishly employed in sanctions. The fourth component of a sanction is the penance clause, which allows those who transgressed against a charter's agreement to free themselves from the spiritual punishment with which the respective charter has threatened them.²⁰ This exhortation is generally introduced by the conjunction *nisi*, 'unless'.

In my dissertation, I shall distinguish between two types of sanctions: sanction formulas and unique sanctions. The latter term is not quite accurate, but it will be a helpful term nonetheless. By sanction formula I mean a sanction that has been used verbatim or with slight variations in more than one extant Anglo-Saxon charter; the most frequently used sanction formula appears about seventy times in extant charters. By contrast, unique sanctions appear only once in the extant corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters. Because there may have existed more than one charter containing such a sanction, the term 'unique sanction' is strictly speaking incorrect; hence, the sanctions in question are unique only with regard to their occurrence in the corpus of transmitted charters. As both Anglo-Saxon diplomas and writs can contain sanctions, sanctions are extant in Latin and Old English. There are, however, considerably fewer Old English sanctions than Latin ones, as the great majority of Old English writs do not contain sanctions. Some charters are extant in Latin and Old

²⁰ On penance in Anglo-Saxon England, see S. Hamilton, 'Remedies for "Great Transgressions": Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti, Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 83-105; S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050*, The Royal Historical Society Studies in History ns (Woodbridge, 2001); B. Bedingfield, 'Public Penance in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 31 (2002), 223-55; A. J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983).

English versions, whereby it is not always clear if a charter was translated from Latin into Old English or vice versa. Some of these charters contain sanctions and sometimes these contain similar infernal imagery, but they can also differ from each other considerably.

Providing a full picture of the infernal imagery employed in Anglo-Saxon sanctions by discussing all sanctions is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Of over one thousand extant authentic charters over two thirds have sanctions and about half of these sanctions contain infernal imagery. As a result, this dissertation's corpus of primary texts consists of almost four hundred sanctions with infernal imagery. A large proportion of the literary infernal imagery reappears throughout this corpus of sanctions, which contains roughly over thirty literary motifs. None of these motifs is extraordinary when compared with the infernal imagery of other genres like poetry, homiletic writing or visions, even though at times the manner in which they are expressed in sanctions may be peculiar. Most frequently, damnation is represented as a form of punishment or torment in the afterlife, and also the standard hellfire is almost omnipresent. It may strike us as odd that the motif of Judas in hell appears almost as frequently as that of demons and devils in hell. On the one hand, this can be explained by the medieval equation of breaches against charters with treason and the association of Judas with treason. On the other hand, the most frequently used sanction formula refers to Judas, which accounts for almost half of the representations of Judas in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Next to Judas, various other biblical or historical sinners are represented as damned people in hell as well as groups of sinners defined by their sins, as, for instance, 'the avaricious ones'. References to classical mythology keep reappearing in charters issued within a

specific time span of Anglo-Saxon history. Among the more usual infernal imagery are in addition military imagery and the imagery of fetters. Further motifs are the Mouth of Hell, which has been regarded as an Anglo-Saxon invention, general imagery of devouring as well as representations of animals that inhabit hell. With a view to the fact that representations of the cauldron as a prop in hell are more readily associated with medieval infernal imagery of the post-Anglo-Saxon era, they appear strikingly often in the relevant sanctions.²¹ A more comprehensive insight into the vast corpus of Anglo-Saxon sanctions with infernal imagery will be provided in the form of annotated indexes in the appendix accompanying this dissertation.²² My analyses of infernal imagery in sanctions shall focus primarily on sanctions of tenth- and eleventh-century royal diplomas that have been considered authentic. My study is thus not aimed at presenting a full, let alone final statement on Anglo-Saxon sanctions, but at introducing the genre of sanctions to the study of Anglo-Saxon literature by providing initial analyses of a selection of sanctions.

2. What is Literary Imagery?

Having introduced my primary corpus, I would now like to discuss my understanding of 'literary imagery'. The term 'imagery' is derived from 'image', which in turn is derived from Latin *imago*, 'likeness; representation; picture; image', and denotes 'creating, making a likeness'.²³ According to J. A. Cuddon, this means that language is used 'to represent objects, actions, feelings, thoughts, ideas, states of mind and any sensory or extra-sensory experience'.²⁴ Used for expressing abstract ideas or

²¹ A. Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 8 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 14, 16.

²² See Volume II of this dissertation.

²³ Cf. J. A. Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd ed. (London, 1991), p. 442.

²⁴ Cuddon, *Dictionary of Literary Terms*, pp. 442-3.

concepts, figurative language makes these ideas or concepts more easily comprehensible, but also emphasizes emotional aspects that are excluded from abstract explanations. Although this understanding of ‘imagery’ is simplified and constricted, I shall use it as a working definition in my dissertation. Figurative language is generally believed to be artistic language, in the sense that language is used very skilfully and in a sophisticated manner. Hence, it is more readily associated with ‘literature’ rather than legal literature. Although the distinction between ‘literature’ as art for art’s sake or entertainment on the one and literature as ‘pragmatic literature’ aimed at practical communication on the other hand is an outdated one as far as literary theorists are concerned, this kind of classification only gradually vanishes from the way in which we view literature. This seems to be an essential reason why historians and literary scholars alike have hitherto discarded the value of literary imagery in so-called ‘pragmatic literature’.

The punishments with which Anglo-Saxon sanctions threaten are expressed in various manners: abstractly, in plain literary imagery and in elaborate literary imagery. Consider, for instance, the following punishment clauses of three sanctions, which all threaten with damnation in hell:

sit anatematizatus (S 581 from CE 955 for 956)²⁵

eternis baratri incendiis cum diabolo sine fine crucietur (S 850
from CE 984)²⁶

²⁵ ‘he shall be anathemized’.

²⁶ ‘he shall be tormented endlessly in the fires of the abyss together with the devil’.

sit ipse grauibus per colla depressus catenis inter flammias
 tetrorum demonum cateruas (S 552 from CE 949; representing
 Formula Group 8)²⁷

The first example is abstract in the sense that the anathema is an abstract and complex concept that incorporates many aspects besides the simple fact of being excommunicated in this life and damned into hell in the afterlife.²⁸ *Inter alia*, such aspects are of a moral nature, because excommunication and damnation are essentially judgements on immoral conduct. Such aspects are also of a social nature in the sense that excommunication and damnation signify an exclusion from a society of which being a part is regarded as beneficial. Such aspects are of an emotional nature, too, because excommunication and damnation are generally associated with strong negative emotions, especially fear.

The second example, S 850, emphasizes these aspects by expressing the concept of damnation in a plain figurative manner as ‘being tormented endlessly in the fires of the abyss together with the devil’. The representation of damnation as torment in fire expresses the aspect of fear, as torments and fire generate feelings of fear also outside the context of hell, because they are associated with intense pain. This is intensified by the presence of the devil who is generally associated with fearfulness. The company of the devil also articulates the moral aspect, because only immoral people will join the devil in the afterlife. The aspect of exclusion is reflected by the abyss and the devil, as both terms are likely to trigger off the awareness of exclusion from the blessed in heaven.

²⁷ ‘he shall be dragged down by the neck by heavy iron-chains into the midst of flame-spitting troops of hideous demons’.

²⁸ On possible meanings of *anathema* and its relation to excommunication and damnation, see below, pp. 33-41.

The third example, S 552, of ‘being dragged down by heavy iron chains among the troops of flame-spitting demons’ is an elaborate figurative representation of damnation. It is probably more readily associated with the kind of imagery expected in ‘Literature’, because it creates a mental picture of damnation, especially with the term *flammiuomas* signalling a poetic register. Although this sanction incorporates all aspects the plain imagery also contains, the elaborate imagery of S 552 heavily emphasizes the aspect of fear by explicitly pointing to torments and the frightening nature of the demons. In contrast to the second example, S 552 does not explicitly speak of torment, but presents this aspect in the imagery of iron-chains that are so heavy that they drag the damned one down into hellfire, which is not just there, but emitted by military and thus hostile demons. Here, the demons are not passively present, but they carry out the torment of the damned, which heightens their frightening nature.

Even though all three examples essentially state that those who transgress against a charter shall be damned in the afterlife, they do so with an increasing emphasis on the emotional perception of damnation rather than with rational explanations. This emotional address is generated by the use of figurative representations.²⁹ As the boundaries between abstract language and plain literary imagery on the one and between plain and elaborate literary imagery on the other hand are fluent, they should not be understood here as fully-fledged categories, but rather as auxiliary categories for the analysis of infernal imagery of Anglo-Saxon sanctions. It is

²⁹ The subject of emotions in the Middle Ages (or any past era) is a complex one and cannot possibly be discussed satisfactorily in this dissertation. A good introduction to this subject is a series of articles published in the journal *Early Medieval Europe* in 2001: S. Airlie, ‘The History of Emotions and Emotional History’, *EME* 10 (2001), 235-41; M. Garrison, ‘The Study of Emotions in Early Medieval History: some Starting Points’, *EME* 10 (2001), 243-50; C. Larrington, ‘The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period’, *EME* 10 (2001), 251-6; B. H. Rosenwein, ‘Writing without Fear about Early Medieval Emotions’, *EME* 10 (2001), 229-34.

especially the emotional aspect which appears to render literary infernal imagery superfluous, even irrelevant if we understand charters exclusively as a form of writing which aims at practical communication in concrete matters of the medieval variant of ‘applied contract law’. Nevertheless, if we understand sanctions not exclusively as legal instruments, the appearance of literary imagery may not strike us as surprising or irrelevant, after all.

3. Why Literary Infernal Imagery in Sanctions? A Hypothesis

Sanctions in Anglo-Saxon charters have been largely understood as ecclesiastical rather than legal instruments because of their religious rather than legal contents. According to Pierre Chaplais, sanctions are of a religious nature and demonstrate (next to other characteristics of Anglo-Saxon charters) that charters were produced by the scriptoria of religious houses throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, wherefore charters were ecclesiastical rather than secular instruments.³⁰ Similarly, Susan Kelly has suggested that Latin charters were ecclesiastical instruments because of their strong ecclesiastical flavour, the most obvious manifestation of this being the substitution of spiritual punishments for the secular penalties threatened against those who refuse to abide by the provisions of the grant.³¹ According to Kelly, Latin charters had symbolic rather than legal value until the development of vernacular writs.³² Charters would thus have symbolized a legal transaction, which was made legal by certain rituals; only vernacular writs were able to carry legal weight.

³⁰ P. Chaplais, ‘The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma’, *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1965), 48-61, at 52-3. For general arguments that Anglo-Saxon charters were predominantly ecclesiastical instruments, see Chaplais, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: from the Diploma to the Writ’; P. Chaplais, ‘The Royal Anglo-Saxon “Chancery” of the Tenth Century Revisited’, *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davies*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 41-51.

³¹ S. E. Kelly, ‘Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word’, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 38-62, at 43.

³² Kelly, ‘Anglo-Saxon Lay Society’, pp. 44-7.

Although Simon Keynes has argued that a royal chancery rather than scriptoria of religious houses was responsible for the production of charters in the tenth century, he has understood sanctions as ecclesiastical relics from the time when charters were first introduced to Anglo-Saxon England.³³ This assessment is also shared by Rolf Bremmer, who has discussed the appearance of eschatological imagery in proems of especially tenth-century charters.³⁴ Thus, current scholarship understands sanctions of Anglo-Saxon charters predominantly as ecclesiastical elements irrespective of the degree of secular involvement in the production of these charters.

Yet, the distribution of sanctions in general and sanctions with infernal imagery in particular among the corpus of extant authentic Anglo-Saxon charters suggests that the nature of sanctions with infernal imagery may not have been purely ecclesiastical. Diagram 1, below, shows the distribution of a) authentic charters, b) authentic charters with sanctions, and c) authentic charters with sanctions containing infernal imagery throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.³⁵ Judging by extant authentic charters, almost every seventh-century charter appears to have had a sanction, but hardly any of these sanctions contained infernal imagery.³⁶ This observation also applies to the eighth and ninth centuries, although here the percentage of charters

³³ Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 31.

³⁴ R. H. Bremmer, Jr., 'The Final Countdown: Apocalyptic Expectations in Anglo-Saxon Charters', *Time and Eternity: the Medieval Discourse*, ed. G. Jaritz and G. Moreno-Riaño, International Medieval Research 9 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 501-14, at 507.

³⁵ It must be emphasized here that the use of 'authentic charters' in the following two diagrams, in contrast to the use of original single-sheet charters only, generates data only vaguely representative of the situation in Anglo-Saxon England itself, because the majority of Anglo-Saxon charters survived in the form of post-conquest copies, preserved especially in post-conquest cartularies. In addition, it is notoriously difficult to judge a charter authentic, and many texts have been alternately or even simultaneously regarded as authentic and spurious by various scholars. Even if the grant of land or privilege recorded extant in a post-conquest copy of a charter is believed to have taken place, this does not automatically entail that this copy provides a literal rendition of the wording of respective original charter. The vagueness of the data presented in Diagrams 1 and 2 on p. 16 must thus be kept in mind.

³⁶ Roughly 94% of authentic seventh-century charters contain sanctions. Of these sanctions, approximately 10% contain infernal imagery.

Diagram 1:

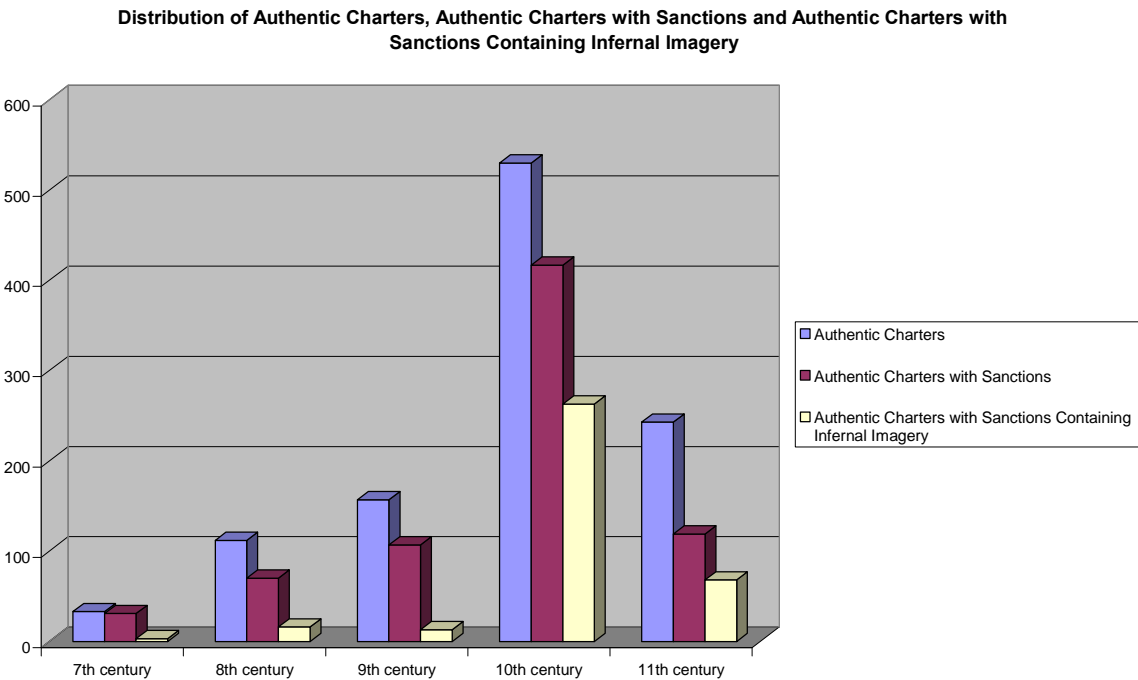
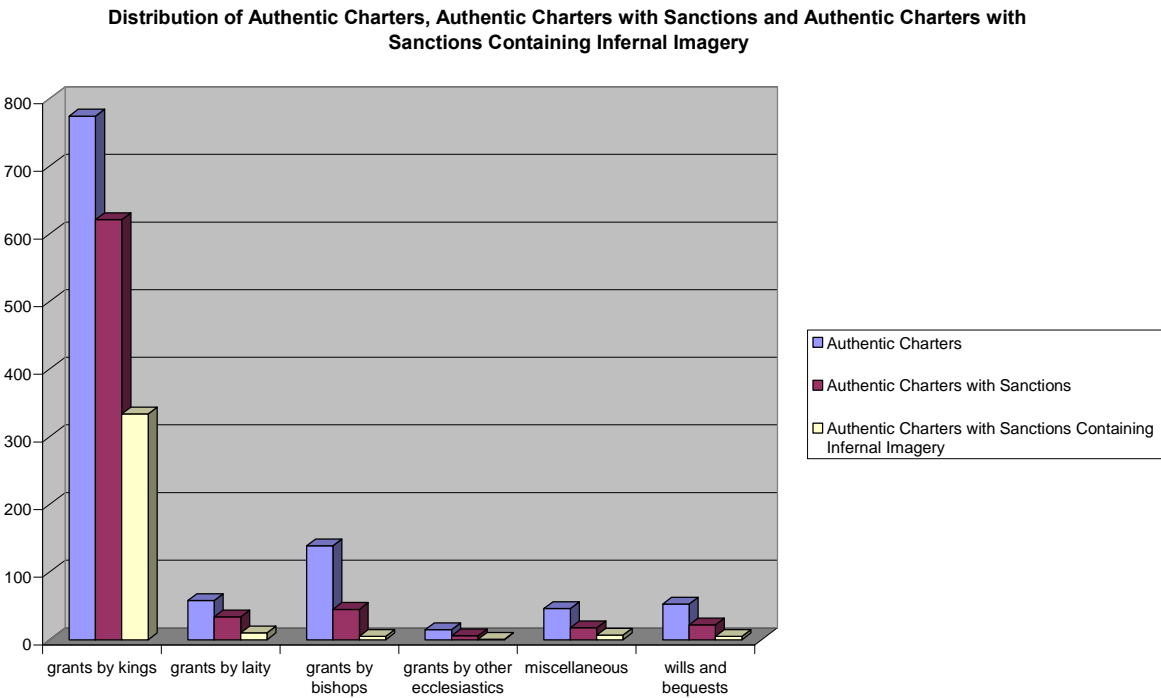


Diagram 2:



containing any kind of sanction is comparatively lower.³⁷ Thus, from the seventh to the ninth century only a small proportion of sanctions contain infernal imagery; in fact, for these three centuries, only approximately 15% of all sanctions contain infernal imagery. Judging by the corpus of extant authentic charters, the number of charters rose dramatically in the tenth century and with it the number of sanctions, albeit in more or less steady proportion compared with the earlier (eighth- and ninth-century) ratio between the number of charters and the number of sanctions.³⁸ In contrast to previous centuries, however, the number of sanctions containing infernal imagery also appears to have risen dramatically: roughly 63% of the sanctions of authentic tenth-century charters contain infernal imagery. In the eleventh century, the number of charters seems to have dropped again, but almost half of authentic eleventh-century charters (about 49%) have sanctions and slightly more than half of these sanctions (approximately 57%) contain infernal imagery. Hence, the use of sanctions with infernal imagery appears to have reached an unparalleled peak in the tenth century.³⁹ If spiritual sanctions were ecclesiastical relics from the time when charters were introduced to Anglo-Saxon England, as suggested by Simon Keynes, why did the most religious of all spiritual sanctions boom centuries after this introduction of spiritual sanctions? If this type of sanction was consciously revived, what were the motives for prompting this revival?

³⁷ About 62% of authentic eighth-century charters contain sanctions. Of these sanctions, roughly 23% contain infernal imagery. Approximately 68% of authentic ninth-century charters contain sanctions. Of these sanctions, roughly 12% contain infernal imagery.

³⁸ Approximately 66% of authentic eighth- and ninth-centuries charters contain sanctions, while about 79% of authentic tenth-century charters contain sanctions.

³⁹ About 72% of all sanctions containing infernal imagery in authentic charters are tenth-century charters, roughly 19% of all sanctions containing infernal imagery in authentic charters are eleventh-century charters, and less than 5% of all sanctions containing infernal imagery in authentic charters are seventh-, eighth- and ninth-centuries charters.

Diagram 2, above, presents the distribution of a) authentic charters, b) authentic charters with sanctions, and c) authentic charters with sanctions that contain infernal imagery according to benefactors and types of charters (the classifications follow Peter Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters*). By a very large margin, most extant authentic charters are royal diplomas (approximately 72%). At first sight, it may therefore not be surprising that most sanctions containing infernal imagery in authentic charters appear in royal diplomas (about 93%). However, the number of sanctions with infernal imagery in royal diplomas is disproportionately high when compared with charters of other benefactors. About 80% of authentic royal diplomas contain sanctions and of these sanctions, roughly 54% contain infernal imagery. In comparison, although there is a fair number of extant authentic grants by ecclesiastics, especially bishops, these contain only a small number of sanctions of any kind and very few of them contain sanctions with infernal imagery.⁴⁰ Hence, if sanctions were ecclesiastical instruments throughout the entire Anglo-Saxon era, as suggested by Pierre Chaplais, why did they hardly appear in ecclesiastical charters? Even extant charters of lay people other than the king contain more sanctions with infernal imagery than charters of ecclesiastics. If spiritual sanctions were ecclesiastical instruments, why did ecclesiastics more or less regularly include spiritual sanctions in lay charters (royal and others), but not in their own diplomas?

The question as to who was responsible for the content of individual charters is important in this context. Pierre Chaplais's argument that charters were produced in the scriptoria of religious houses because of their ecclesiastical character has

⁴⁰ Of extant authentic charters, approximately 14% of them record grants by ecclesiastics, about 13% of these record grants by bishops. Of the authentic charters by all ecclesiastics, about 33% contain sanctions (of the bishops' grants roughly 32%) and of these sanctions, approximately 12% contain infernal imagery (of the sanctions in bishops' grants about 11%).

received common consensus only with respect to the early Anglo-Saxon period.⁴¹ For the tenth century, the existence of a royal chancery from the reign of King Æthelstan (CE 924-39) onwards was first suggested by Richard Drögereit on account of an analysis of tenth-century diplomatic formulas and palaeography.⁴² This argument has been taken up by Simon Keynes, who has examined the charters of King Æthelred the Unready (CE 978-1016) with respect to the question of a royal chancery.⁴³ Keynes's arguments in favour of a tenth-century royal chancery prevail among scholars today.⁴⁴ Yet, according to Susan Thompson and Charles Insley, whether charters were produced in ecclesiastical scriptoria or a royal chancery, it was likely that Anglo-Saxon kings were interested in retaining or maintaining some kind of control over their title deeds, which recorded (whether symbolically or legally) politically important transactions.⁴⁵ In addition, Charles Insley has questioned whether the terms 'ecclesiastical scriptoria' and 'royal scriptoria' are indeed suitable in the context of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, as the same personnel (draftsmen and scribes) may well have been responsible for ecclesiastical as well as royal work.⁴⁶ Finally, it should also not be forgotten that whoever wrote the royal diplomas, they were written as if spoken by the king. Therefore, all sentiments and statements these charters contain, including sanctions, were presented as the royal benefactor's will. Thus, whether produced in ecclesiastical scriptoria or a royal chancery, the following question must be asked: was there a motivation for tenth-

⁴¹ For an overview of the various arguments concerning the production of charters in various periods of Anglo-Saxon history, see S. D. Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas: a Palaeography*, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 6 (Manchester, 2006), pp. 3-18.

⁴² R. Drögereit, 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 13 (1935), 335-436.

⁴³ Keynes, *Diplomas*.

⁴⁴ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Thompson, *Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas*, pp. 17-18. C. Insley, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria in the Anglo-Saxon South-West', *EME* 7 (1998), 173-97, at 183-4; cf. also Chaplais, 'Royal Anglo-Saxon "Chancery"', p. 42.

⁴⁶ Insley, 'Charters and Episcopal Scriptoria', pp. 196-7.

century Anglo-Saxon kings (or their agencies) not only to keep spiritual sanctions in their charters, but even to dramatically increase the quantity and quality of their literary infernal imagery? The relevance of this question is even more pressing in view of the long hiatus in charter production during the first half of the tenth century before the unprecedented and later unequalled boom of charters in the second half of the tenth century.⁴⁷

Charles Insley has suggested reading the literary eschatological and infernal imagery of proems of tenth-century royal diplomas as expressions of kingship ideology.⁴⁸ Presenting Anglo-Saxon kings not ‘just [as] kings, but [as] divinely sanctioned *gubernatores*’, proems were aimed ‘to create and sustain a political and religious agenda’ directed at the lay and ecclesiastical elite of Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁹ Catherine Karkov has read proems in the same manner and has extended this ideological interpretation to sanctions.⁵⁰ Tenth-century kingship ideology propagated the king as ‘Christ on earth’ and as a *pastor* defending his flock from evil.⁵¹ Although this ideology is ultimately derived from pre-Christian concepts of sacral

⁴⁷ On possible reasons for this hiatus in charter production, see D. N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 3 (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 151-3. On qualitative changes in charters from the second half of the tenth century onwards, see: Dumville, *Wessex and England*, pp. 153-5; D. A. Bullough, ‘The Educational Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric: Teaching *utriusque linguae*’, *SettSpol* 19 (1972), 453-94, at 466; M. Lapidge, ‘The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature’, *ASE* 4 (1975), 67-111, at 99-101.

⁴⁸ C. Insley, ‘Where Did All the Charters Go? Anglo-Saxon Charters and the New Politics of the Eleventh Century’, *ANS* 24 (2002), 109-27.

⁴⁹ Insley, ‘Where Did All the Charters Go?’, p. 118.

⁵⁰ C. E. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 3 (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 80-1.

⁵¹ For introductory reading to this multifaceted and complex ideology, see W. A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: the Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Manchester, 1970); Karkov, *Ruler Portraits*, pp. 79-117; R. Deshman, ‘*Benedictus monarcha et monachus*: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform’, *FS* 22 (1988), 204-40; R. Deshman, ‘*Christus rex et magi reges*: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art’, *FS* 10 (1976), 367-405; Dumville, *Wessex and England*, pp. 141-205. See also Charles Insley on the relation between ideology and local politics in his ‘Politics, Conflict and Kinship in Early Eleventh-Century Mercia’, *Midland History* 25 (2000), 28-42.

kingship, its tenth-century version was rooted in Alfred the Great's reform efforts and self-representation as a teacher of his people.⁵² Revitalized in Æthelstan's reign, the Christological interpretation of kingship reached its height during the reign of King Edgar (CE 959-75), with Bishop Æthelwold, who was the teacher of King Edgar, as ideological mastermind and prominent driving force behind the Anglo-Saxon tenth-century monastic reform movement. Although ecclesiastical intellectuals and statesmen were largely responsible for the propagation of this Christian kingship ideology, it must be emphasized that monarchy and monastic reform appear to have entered a mutually beneficial symbiosis that promoted one united sphere rather than differentiating between secular and ecclesiastical spheres.⁵³

As indicated above, representatives of the monastic reform appear to have been a major driving force behind the kingship ideology. At least, this impression is generated by the circumstance that a great proportion of extant sentiments of this ideology can be found in works written or commissioned by monastic reformers; most prominently, the *Regularis concordia* from CE 973, which was written by Bishop Æthelwold.⁵⁴ The *Regularis concordia* has the form of a monastic rule, as it describes an observance that is based on the *Regula S. Benedicti* for the Anglo-Saxon

⁵² Dumville, *Wessex and England*, pp. 141-205, esp. 185-205. For pre-Christian Germanic beliefs in spiritual kingship, see L. E. v. Padberg *et al.*, 'Sakralkönigtum', *RGA* XXVI, 179-320; Chaney, *Cult of Kingship*, esp. pp. 7-155. On royalty and spirituality during the process of conversion to Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England, see B. Yorke, 'The Adaptation of Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts to Christianity', *The Cross Goes North: Process of Conversion in Northern Europe AD 300-1300*, ed. M. Carver (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 243-57.

⁵³ See esp. Chaney, *Cult of Kingship*, pp. 174-259.

⁵⁴ On Æthelwold's authorship of the *Regularis concordia*, see M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 89-117, at 98-110; L. Kornexl, 'Regularis concordia', *BEASE*, p. 289. Thomas Symons has argued that Æthelwold produced the *Regularis concordia*, while Dunstan inspired the project, see his *Regularis concordia Anglica nationis monarchorum sanctimonialiumque: the Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. and trans. T. Symons, Medieval Classics (London, 1953), pp. li-lii; cf. D. J. Dales, 'The Spirit of the *Regularis Concordia* and the Hand of St Dunstan', *St Dunstan: his Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 45-65.

reformed monasteries. Yet, because of its highly political preface, it has been understood as an ‘act of national uniformity to be observed throughout all the monasteries’.⁵⁵ In its preface, King Edgar is presented as hierarchically above ecclesiastics not only ideologically, but also in important practical matters. Abbots, abbesses and bishops, for example, were to be selected with the king’s consent and advice:

ut abbatum ac abbatissarum electio cum regis consensu et consilio sanctae regulae ageretur documento. Episcoporum quoque electio uti abbatum [...] eodem modo agatur’ (*Regularis concordia*, Preface § 9).⁵⁶

Earlier, the king’s direct relationship with Christ as His agent on earth is expressed by assigning an important pastoral role to the royal office:

Regali utique functus officio ueluti Pastorum Pastor sollicitus a ravidis perfidorum rictibus, uti hiantibus luporum facibus, oves quas Domini largiente gratia studiosus collegerat muniendo eripuit; (*Regularis concordia*, Preface § 3)⁵⁷

This passage alludes to John X.11-13, in which Jesus speaks of Himself as the Shepherd who defends His flock from wolves even with His life.

The idea of the king as Christ’s vicar was also taken up by the second generation of monastic reformers, represented by Ælfric of Eynsham (CE c. 950 - c. 1010), a pupil

⁵⁵ Dales, ‘The Spirit of the *Regularis Concordia*’, p. 49.

⁵⁶ ‘so that the election of abbots and abbesses is conducted with the royal consent and advice according to the document of [this] holy rule. The election of bishops, too, is conducted in the same manner’. All references to the *Regularis concordia* are to *Regularis concordia*, ed. and trans. Symons; see there also for an alternative translation.

⁵⁷ ‘Performing the royal office even as the shepherd of shepherds, [the king] vigilantly snatches away the sheep which he diligently collected by God’s grace, and he defends them from the savage jaws of the unfaithful just as from the open jaws of wolves’; see *Regularis concordia*, ed. and trans. Symons for an alternative translation.

of Æthelwold, and Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. CE 1023), the most renowned Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical statesman. Ælfric describes the king's duty of protecting his people in military and religious terms in his homily 'Dominica post ascensionem domini':

And þæs behofað se cyning þæt he clypige to his witum,
and be heora ræde, na be rununge fare,
for ðan þe se cyning is Cristes sylfes speligend
ofer ðam Cristenan folce þe Crist sylf alyse,
him to hyrde gehalgod, þæt he hi healdan seol[e],
mid þæs folces fultume, wi[ð] onfeohhtend[n]e here, [...]
and wyle eac syllan, gif hit swa micel neod bið,
his agen lif æt nextan for his leode ware,
swa swa se Hælend sealde hine sylfne for us,
þeah þe he mihte eall mancynn ahreddan
butan his agenum deaðe, and of ðam deofle [ge]niman
his agen handgeweorc, gif he swa don wolde. (ÆHom 9.46-63)⁵⁸

Wulfstan calls the king *Cristes gespeliga*, 'Christ's vicar', in one of the manuscripts of his *Institutes of Polity*, at the beginning of a description of the king's duties:

Cristenum cyninge gebyrað swiðe rihte, þæt he sy on fæder
stæle cristenra þeode and on ware and on wearde Cristes
gespeliga, ealswa he geteald is (Wulfstan, *Institutes of Polity*,
MS D2, I.1-2)⁵⁹

⁵⁸ 'And it is necessary for the king to honour his councillors and to act by their council, not by secret advice, because he who is king is the vicar of Christ Himself over the Christian people, whom Christ Himself redeemed; [the king is] ordained as shepherd, so that he shall protect, with the support of the people, against the attacking army, [...] and eventually [the king] shall also wish to give, if it were necessary, his own life for the protection of his people, just as the Saviour gave Himself for us; by that He was able to save all mankind without His own death, and took from the devil His own handiwork, if He wanted to do so'. All references to the supplementary collection of Ælfric's homilies are to *Homilies of Ælfric: a Supplementary Collection*, ed. J. C. Pope, EETS os 259 and 260, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1967-68). On possible sources for Ælfric's *Cristes sylfes speligend*, see M. J. Silverman, 'Ælfric's Designation of the King as "Cristes Sylfes Speligend"', *RES* ns 35 (1984), 332-4.

⁵⁹ 'It suits the Christian king rather well that he shall be in Father's stead Christ's vicar for the Christian people in defence as well as in protection, as he is thought [to be]'. All references to Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* are to *Die 'Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical': ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, ed. K. Jost, Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten 47 (Bern, 1959).

In other manuscripts of the *Institutes of Polity*, Wulfstan refers to the king as *rihtwis hyrde*, ‘righteous shepherd’:

Cristenum cyninge bebyreð on cristenre þeode, þæt he sy,
ealswa hit right is, folces frofer and rihtwis hyrde ofer cristene
heorde. (Wulfstan, *Institutes of Polity*, MS X, II.4; cf. MS G1,
G3)⁶⁰

Lacking the reference to the king’s defence and protection, this second version emphasizes the spiritual aspect of the king’s duty towards his people more strongly than the first.

As Christ’s vicar on earth and the *pastor pastorum* of his people, one of the king’s duties was to provide his people with laws not only for their worldly, but also for their spiritual welfare.⁶¹ Spiritual welfare was considered essential for ensuring the salvation of humans at the Last Judgement, and it was one of the king’s duties to instruct his people in a manner that secured their salvation and prevented their damnation, thus to provide them with pastoral guidance. Furthermore, because a king was believed to be ordained by God, the king’s earthly law was perceived as God’s law and the same punishment that someone received for breaking God’s law applied to breaking the king’s law.⁶² The earliest extant outline of this Christian interpretation of legislation appears in King Alfred’s law-code.⁶³ Yet, with regard to legislation, this unitarian perspective, i.e. viewing the religious and ecclesiastical and the secular and royal spheres as one, reached its height in the work of Archbishop

⁶⁰ ‘It suits the Christian king that he shall be in the Christian nation, just as it is right, a consolation for his people and the just shepherd of the Christian flock’.

⁶¹ Chaney, *Cult of Kingship*, pp. 200-1, 247-59.

⁶² Chaney, *Cult of Kingship*, pp. 210-13.

⁶³ P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 416-29, esp. 428-9.

Wulfstan. It has long been observed that Wulfstan's homilies became increasingly legal and his laws increasingly homiletic, as Wulfstan strove towards establishing the heavenly kingdom on earth or rather towards turning the earthly kingdom into a reflection of the heavenly.⁶⁴ This union of religious and secular spheres was not only beneficial to the work of ecclesiastics in consolidating Christianity in Anglo-Saxon England, but also to the king, to whom these ecclesiastics were a great support in his efforts to unite the newly established Anglo-Saxon 'empire', as the preface of the *Regularis concordia* impressively demonstrates.⁶⁵

In the context of this increased merging of religious and ecclesiastical with secular and royal concerns and vice versa, I suggest that one should read not only proems, but also sanctions with infernal imagery as manifestations of Christian kingship ideology. This reading is supported especially by the apparent use of pastoral elements connected with the genre of sanctions in general, but more importantly connected with the infernal imagery of these sanctions in particular. As pointed out above, the great majority of the relevant sanctions are in royal diplomas from the later tenth and earlier eleventh century. This use of pastoral elements in sanctions may not necessarily appear only from the tenth century onwards, but its usage certainly reached an unparalleled height in the latter half of the tenth and the early eleventh centuries. I use the term 'pastoral' here as signifying the didactic or

⁶⁴ Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 465. See also P. Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Holiness of Society' in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London, 1999), pp. 225-51; P. Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-Builder', *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: the Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. M. Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages 10* (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 9-27; M. K. Lawson, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR* 107 (1992), 565-86; D. Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman', *TRHS* 4th ser. 24 (1942), 25-45.

⁶⁵ The expression Anglo-Saxon 'empire' refers to the united Anglo-Saxon kingdom from Æthelstan's reign onwards as opposed to the various smaller kingdoms that made up Anglo-Saxon England before. On the (self-) representation of Anglo-Saxon kings as *imperatores*, see Deshman, 'Christus Rex et magi reges', pp. 400-1; Karkov, *Ruler Portraits*, pp. 99-111.

pedagogical aspects of pastoral care, i.e. moral instruction aimed at teaching someone about the manner in which he or she secures his or her salvation and prevents his or her damnation. This understanding of the word ‘pastoral’ also appears to be implied in references to the king’s pastoral duties in ideologically tainted Anglo-Saxon writings.⁶⁶ I would like to emphasize that I do not see this proposed pastoral and ideological function of sanctions with infernal imagery as a secular royal function in contrast to the hitherto proposed ecclesiastical function of such sanctions. Instead, I am arguing that these two spheres, the secular and royal sphere and the religious and ecclesiastical sphere, are merged into one singular function, and it would be anachronistic to argue in favour of one or the other.

In my dissertation, I shall first discuss the genre of sanctions and its legal and pastoral nature (Chapter 1). I am interested in finding out if the genre of sanctions suggests a specific function for the use of literary infernal imagery. Afterwards, I shall focus on two pastoral devices employed in Anglo-Saxon sanctions with infernal imagery. I shall discuss the use of fear as a pastoral instrument and analyse sanctions containing frightening descriptions of devils in hell (Chapter 2). This chapter investigates whether there may have been a pastoral intent behind the generation of fear in the reader by a sanction’s infernal imagery. I shall then examine the appearance of notorious damned biblical and historical persons in sanctions in the context of negative *exempla* as didactic and pastoral devices (Chapter 3). May there have been pastoral intentions behind the frequent threat of being damned together with notorious damned persons? In the light of the well-known predilection of

⁶⁶ On pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England, see F. Tinti, ed., *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*; J. Blair and R. Sharpe, ed., *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1992), pp. 137-284.

monastic reformers for learned vocabulary, I shall analyse the use of terms from classical mythology for denoting and describing hell in many tenth-century sanctions (Chapter 4). Does this particular type of vocabulary give clues as to the ‘authorship’ of sanctions? Finally, I shall discuss the sanctions of S 745, the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, from CE 966 (Chapter 5). Drafted by Æthelwold, this extraordinary charter is of the greatest importance to the history of the monastic reform movement as well as an indispensable source of the kingship ideology outlined above. The use of sanctions in this royal diploma shall be analysed in the light of the findings from the first four chapters of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 1

THE GENRE OF SANCTIONS

Analysing the function of Anglo-Saxon spiritual sanctions is the first step in establishing whether their infernal and diabolical imagery is more than mere ‘dämonologische[r] Schwulst’ (demonological pomposity), because the overall function of sanctions is likely to have shaped the functions of its individual elements.¹ Yet, not only is the significance of the infernal imagery of spiritual sanctions debated, but also the practical legal value of the spiritual sanctions themselves. Discussing early medieval Catalanian charters, Pierre Bonnassie has observed that spiritual sanctions were ‘trop souvent déjà fait la preuve de leur inefficacité’.² Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier has similarly argued that spiritual sanctions and excommunications were ineffective in early medieval France.³ As pointed out earlier, Susan Kelly has explained that in Anglo-Saxon England charters as a whole were predominantly of symbolic value instead of being legally relevant documents, at least until the emergence of ‘true written records’ in the form of vernacular writs.⁴

By contrast, several scholars have argued that spiritual sanctions were useful protections of property. Discussing especially French diplomas, Lester Little has argued that spiritual sanctions shared the cultural context and the aim of maintaining

¹ Quotation from H. Holzhauer, ‘Pönformeln’, *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. A. Erler and E. Kaufmann, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1971-7), III, 1785-90, at 1787.

² P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle: croissance et mutations d’une société*, Publications de l’Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, Série A 23 and 29, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975-6), II, 652-3.

³ E. Magnou-Nortier, *La Société laïque et l’église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyréanée) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Publications de l’Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, Série A 20 (Toulouse, 1974), p. 309.

⁴ Kelly, ‘Anglo-Saxon Lay Society’, pp. 44-6.

social order with ritual curses.⁵ Investigating how the monks of Cluny, Fleury and Marmoutier dealt with their enemies, Barbara Rosenwein, Thomas Head and Sharon Farmer have understood spiritual sanctions as ‘the monks’ first line of defence’.⁶ Jeffrey Bowman, who has examined early medieval charters from southern France, has argued that in the context of medieval legal history the alleged ‘opposition of law and ritual [...] is an anachronism’.⁷ According to Bowman, charters reflected a merging of law and ritual, because they ‘equated challenges to ecclesiastical property not only with the violation of legal rules, but also with spiritual rebellion and with the disruption of social and ritual order’.⁸ Examining the eschatological vocabulary of mainly Spanish spiritual sanctions, Michel Zimmermann has concluded that the intermingling of legal and theological language meant that sanctions were also pastoral means which expressed the subject of salvation.⁹ Understanding sanctions as ecclesiastical instruments, Pierre Chaplais emphasized that they were not ‘mere verbiage’, but formed a part of religious guarantees.¹⁰ Catherine Cubitt, too, has argued that ‘it may be unwise to dismiss these diplomatic sanctions as pure form’, pointing to solemn rituals that may have been attached to charters, and to statements expressing the fear of King Æthelred the Unready of such sanctions in some of his charters.¹¹ In these charters, the king is presented as saying of himself that he

⁵ L. K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca, NY, 1993), esp. p. 52. Cf. L. K. Little, ‘La Morphologie des malédictions monastiques’, *Annales ESC* 34 (1979), 43-60; L. K. Little, ‘Formules monastiques de malédiction aux IXe et Xe siècles’, *Revue Mabillon* 58 (1975), 377-99; L. K. Little, ‘Anger in Monastic Curses’, *Anger’s Past: the Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, NY, 1998), pp. 9-25.

⁶ B. H. Rosenwein, T. Head and S. Farmer, ‘Monks and their Enemies: a Comparative Approach’, *Speculum* 66 (1991), 764-96, at 722.

⁷ J. A. Bowman, ‘Do Neo-Romans Curse? Law, Land, and Ritual in the Midi (900-1100)’, *Viator* 28 (1997), 1-32, at 6.

⁸ Bowman, ‘Do Neo-Romans Curse?’, p. 18.

⁹ M. Zimmermann, ‘Le Vocabulaire latin de la malédiction du IXe au XIIe siècle: construction d’un discours eschatologique’, *Atalaya* 5 (1994), 37-55, at 53.

¹⁰ Chaplais, ‘Origin and Authenticity’, p. 33.

¹¹ C. Cubitt, ‘Archbishop Dunstan: a Prophet in Politics?’, *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. J. Barrow and A. Wareham (Aldershot, in press). I am very grateful to Dr Catherine Cubitt for letting me read her article prior to publication.

repented his youthful misdeeds, *inter alia*, on account of the horrible curses included in charters that recorded agreements against which these misdeeds were directed.¹² In charter S 876 from CE 993, for example, it is explicitly stated that King Æthelred is *citius a tanto tamque exhorrendo anathemate liberari [cu]piens*, ‘desiring to be freed quickly from this horrible anathema’, of the charter he had broken.¹³

Scholars who have taken spiritual sanctions seriously understand them as a particular type of curse.¹⁴ Especially Lester Little and Michel Zimmermann have discussed spiritual sanctions as a form of *malédiction monastiques* aimed at protecting property, thus placing sanctions into a centuries-old tradition of using curses as legal tools.¹⁵ Little and Zimmermann have focused on continental spiritual sanctions, which were used next to or even in combination with monetary fines. Anglo-Saxons, however, used only spiritual sanctions, irrespective of the type of charter and of the ecclesiastical or lay status of benefactors and beneficiaries.¹⁶ In fact, as shown in the Introduction, most sanctions appear in royal diplomas, while the number of sanctions in ecclesiastical documents is surprisingly low.¹⁷

¹² Cubitt, ‘Archbishop Dunstan’; Charles Insley has pointed out that the motive behind including statements regarding Æthelred’s youthful misdeeds in charters is unknown, and that they may well have been ‘choreographed and orchestrated’ statements, see C. Insley, ‘Assemblies and Charters in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, *Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. P. S. Barnwell and M. Mostert, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 7 (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 47-59, at 53.

¹³ Cf. Cubitt, ‘Archbishop Dunstan’.

¹⁴ There is an anthropological study examining Anglo-Saxon sanctions as curse speech acts, see B. Danet and B. Bogoch, “‘Whoever Alters this, May God Turn his Face from Him on the Day of Judgement’: Curses in Anglo-Saxon Legal Documents”, *Journal of American Folklore* 105 (1992), 132-65. This study is problematic, however, because the authors have only a cursory and often outdated view of Anglo-Saxon history. In addition, they have not distinguished between spurious and authentic charters, and the study focuses mainly on Old English charters, which contain only a minimum of all extant Anglo-Saxon sanctions.

¹⁵ Little and Zimmermann, as above in footnotes 5 and 9 of this chapter. On curses as legal instruments in pre-Christian and Christian times, see W. Speyer, ‘Fluch’, *RAC* VII, 1160-1288, at 1304-11, 1332-3, 1268-71. On pre-Christian late antique influences on early medieval sanctions, see also F. Boye, ‘Über die Pönformel in den Urkunden des früheren Mittelalters’, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 6 (1918), 77-148; Studtmann, ‘Pönformel’.

¹⁶ For Anglo-Saxon charters containing sanctions that threaten or may threaten with monetary fines, see above, p. 7, n. 18.

¹⁷ See above, p. 18.

Why is this the case? Should spiritual sanctions really be understood as signs of the Anglo-Saxon charters' nature as ecclesiastical instruments, as Pierre Chaplais suggested?¹⁸ Why do spiritual sanctions, especially with infernal imagery, predominantly appear in royal diplomas? If it is because royal diplomas were produced by clerics, then why do spiritual sanctions occur hardly in charters with which clerics themselves granted or leased land? Should spiritual sanctions indeed be regarded as ecclesiastical relics from the time of the charters' introduction to Anglo-Saxon England, as Simon Keynes has suggested? Were spiritual sanctions then used over centuries for purely traditionalistic reasons? Moreover, why did they receive such a dramatic increase during the second half of the tenth century? Is this a coincidence of transmission or does it reflect a conscious revival? Alternatively, is there reason to suspect that Anglo-Saxon spiritual sanctions were different types of texts in comparison with continental spiritual sanctions and thus differed from those in their function? Anglo-Saxon sanctions appear to belong to the same genre as continental spiritual sanctions, irrespective of having been used especially in royal diplomas in Anglo-Saxon England. Thus, they should be seen as written records of ritual curses aimed at protecting property and privileges. Yet, in Anglo-Saxon England the situation seems to have been slightly different from that on the continent, because spiritual sanctions seem to have been the Anglo-Saxon king's 'first line of defence' rather than that of monks. At the time when the use of spiritual sanctions reached its zenith in Anglo-Saxon England, the religious and secular spheres were propagated to be one single sphere.¹⁹ As it seems that especially the

¹⁸ Chaplais, 'Origin and Authenticity', pp. 52-3; Chaplais, 'Some Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas on Single Sheets: Originals or Copies?', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3 (1968), 315-36, at 322-3; cf. also Boye, 'Über die Pönformel', p. 129.

¹⁹ See above, pp. 21, 24-6.

followers of the monastic reform movement were the driving force behind the propagation of a single religious-secular sphere, it may not be surprising to find a device ‘initially’ used predominantly by monastic circles on the continent in the Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas of a time when monastic reformers gained increasing political weight. As such, the revival of a traditional diplomatic element may have even been prompted by continental developments.²⁰ What remains puzzling, however, is the strikingly rare use of spiritual sanctions, especially those with infernal imagery, in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical charters. The suggested use of these sanctions as expressions of the royal pastoral duties and ultimately as reflections of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon ‘ruler theology’ may explain why these spiritual sanctions appear predominantly in royal diplomas. Hence, Anglo-Saxon spiritual sanctions are likely to belong to the same genre as continental sanctions, but they appear to have undergone a shift in function in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England, expanding their function from legal to pastoral and ultimately ideological aspects. I shall support my thesis by first showing that Anglo-Saxon sanctions threatened with standard ecclesiastical curses used in spiritual sanctions throughout the western Middle Ages. Secondly, I shall point out that Anglo-Saxon sanctions also have the grammatical structure of curses. Thirdly, I shall examine the manner in which Anglo-Saxon charters were issued in the light of how curses were to be performed ritually. Finally, I shall discuss sanctions as curses in the context of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon kingship ideology.

²⁰ On continental influences in this context, cf. Cubitt, ‘Archbishop Dunstan’.

1.1 Legal Sanctions – Ecclesiastical Curses

Curses can be performed either spontaneously or ritually.²¹ Clerics are thought to have frowned upon the first type of curses, because spontaneous curses were mostly spoken with malicious intent by unauthorized individuals; especially lay people were forbidden to curse.²² Exempt from this disapproval of spontaneous cursing were curses pronounced by saints. On account of their elevated spiritual position, the spontaneous cursing of saints was considered legitimate.²³ By contrast, ritual curses were readily performed by clerics, because they were regarded as legitimate means of protecting church property, preserving the orthodoxy of faith and maintaining social order.²⁴ The rituals were needed to ensure that curses were divinely sanctioned and thus effective.²⁵

Like their continental counterparts, Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain three standard ecclesiastical curses: excommunication, anathema and damnation. Because medieval writers often used the terms *excommunicatio* and *anathema* synonymously, it is difficult to establish what kind of distinction, if any, there was between them.²⁶ Strictly speaking, excommunication is a measure affecting the excommunicated

²¹ Cf. C. Daxelmüller, 'Fluch, -formel', *LexMA* IV, 596-7, at 596.

²² On spontaneous cursing, see Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 88-105; J. D. Niles, 'The Problem of the Ending of *The Wife's Lament*', *Speculum* 78 (2003), 1107-50, at 1129-30. On the prohibition of lay cursing, see Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan'.

²³ Little, 'Anger', pp. 28-9. Lester Little has spoken only of Irish saints in this context. Yet, also in Anglo-Saxon England, as in the rest of Christendom, saints were believed to have a special spiritual nature and close relationship to God, who was considered to make curses effective. In addition, Anglo-Saxon England was greatly influenced by Irish Christianity. With regard to cursing, Catherine Cubitt has pointed out that the Irish *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, which included a section on curses entitled 'De maledictionibus', possibly influenced Anglo-Saxon sentiments on cursing, see her 'Archbishop Dunstan'; on Irish cursing in general, see D. M. Wiley, 'The Maledictory Psalms', *Peritia* 15 (2001), 261-79.

²⁴ See below, p. 35.

²⁵ L. K. Little, 'Cursing', *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade *et al.*, 16 vols. (New York, 1987), IV, 182-5, at 184; E. Meineck, 'Fluchdichtung: III. Kontinentalwestgermanische Überlieferung', *RGA* IX, 246-51, at 247.

²⁶ On the similarity of these terms and their synonymous use, see E. M. Treharne, 'A Unique Old English Formula for Excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303', *ASE* 24 (1995), 185-211, at 190; H. Zapp, 'Exkommunikation', *LexMA* IV, 170.

person only in this world, as they are excluded from the community of believers as well as from Mass and the sacraments.²⁷ The concept of banishment from a community or exclusion from its benefits has a long pre-Christian history, but in the case of Christian writers, I Corinthians V.6-13 is at the root of their practice of excommunication.²⁸ According to Elaine Treharne, *anathema*, too, has its interpretative roots in I Corinthians V.6-13.²⁹ Yet, in contrast to the word *excommunicatio*, *anathema* is a biblical term. In I Corinthians XVI.22, Paul curses those who do not love God, using the phrase *sit anathema maranatha*, and he uses the similar curse *anathema sit* against those who teach the Bible differently from him in Galatians I.8.³⁰ *Anathema* has been defined as a more severe form of excommunication for particularly grave sins, as it combined excommunication and damnation in one curse.³¹ Damnation is the worst possible punishment for a Christian believer, because it is a sentence to everlasting torments in hell. Being thus eternally separated from God, the damned are denied salvation, the *raison d'être* of Christians.³² Like excommunication and *anathema*, the Christian concept of damnation has biblical roots, namely the gospels' accounts of the Last Judgement, at which the wicked are banished into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his

²⁷ Cf. Zimmermann, 'Vocabulaire latin', p. 45; H. Sauer, 'Die Exkommunikationsriten aus Wulfstans Handbuch und Liebermanns Gesetze', *Bright Is the Ring of Words: Festschrift für Horst Weinstock zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. C. Pollner, H. Rohlfing and F.-R. Hausmann, Abhandlung zur Sprache und Literatur 85 (Bonn, 1996), pp. 283-307, at 283; Treharne, 'Unique Old English Formula', p. 189.

²⁸ Treharne, 'Unique Old English Formula', p. 189. For pre-Christian forms of banishment that are similar to the Christian practice of excommunication, see W. Döskocil, 'Exkommunikation', *RAC* VII, 1-22, at 2-7.

²⁹ Treharne, 'Unique Old English Formula', p. 189.

³⁰ All references to the Bible are to *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. R. Weber, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1994); I shall not translate biblical quotations in this dissertation. The word *anathema* is Greek (ἀνάθεμα), while *maranatha* (*māran ethā*) is of Syriac origin, meaning 'the Lord hath come', see *OED* I, 439; cf. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, p. 33. Little has argued that the expression *anathema maranatha* was probably adopted by Christians because of its repetitive phonological value, as it had never been translated into Latin and presumably was 'a mysterious term' with 'magical qualities', see Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, p. 34.

³¹ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 31-3; Zimmermann, 'Vocabulaire latin', p. 45; Sauer, 'Exkommunikationsriten', p. 283.

³² Cf. Zimmermann, 'Vocabulaire latin', p. 45, who has presented a similar definition of damnation.

angels (Matt. XXV.41; cf. Luke XIII.27-8). All three curses ultimately exclude the cursed one from Christian communities either in this life (excommunication), in the next life (damnation) or both (anathema).³³ These curses present *de facto* punishments of the individuals who were cursed and excluded, but ecclesiastical writings frequently presented them as medicine for the community, because they freed the body of the Christian society from an illness within it.³⁴ The curses of excommunication, anathema and damnation were hence aimed at upholding the discipline of the congregation, i.e. at enforcing or encouraging obedience, which in turn was used as a means of protecting the orthodoxy of faith and Church property.³⁵ In their pastoral function, curses were addressed to everyone, as they may have deterred people from committing a misdeed. On some people, these curses may also have had a deterring effect as negative examples when they were pronounced on others who had indeed committed the misdeed in question. As such, curses were aimed at preventing people from suffering damnation and thus at aiding them to achieve salvation. When curses were used in the form of sanctions in Anglo-Saxon charters, they were likely to have been aimed at the same deterring and instructing, thus ultimately pastoral, effects.³⁶

Among Anglo-Saxon sanctions, even the earliest extant original charter, S 8 from CE 679, uses ritual curses. The curse of excommunication appears in the charter's main text:

³³ Speyer, 'Fluch', col. 1279; H. Sauer, 'Fluchdichtung', *RGA* IX, 240-2, at 241; Wiley, 'Maledictory Psalms', p. 277.

³⁴ On medicinal imagery of excommunication, see Wiley, 'Maledictory Psalms', p. 277; Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 30-1.

³⁵ Cf. Speyer, 'Fluch', cols. 1266-9, 1279; Little, 'Cursing', p. 182; Sauer, 'Fluchdichtung', p. 242; Daxelmüller, 'Fluch, -formel', p. 596; Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, p. 31.

³⁶ On effects of determent and pastoral use, see Speyer, 'Fluch', col. 1246; Little, 'Cursing', p. 182; Little, *Benedictine Malediction*, p. 31; Zimmermann, 'Vocabulaire latin', p. 49.

quisquis contra hanc donationem venire temptaverit sit ab omni
Christianitata separatus . et a corpore et sanguini domini nostri
Jhesu Christi suspensus (S 8)³⁷

Excommunication is here expressed as separation from other Christians and from the Eucharist. S 8 has a postscript or, as Pierre Chaplais called it, a ‘miniature charter’ attached to it.³⁸ This second text does not repeat the excommunication of the main text, but threatens with the curse of damnation:

si aliquis aliter fecerit a Deo se damnatum sciat . et in die iudicii
rationem reddet Deo in anima sua (S 8)³⁹

Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period excommunication, anathema and damnation were expressed in a variety of formulas in sanctions. In the following, I shall present a few select examples. Most sanctions express the curse of excommunication in a descriptive form similar to S 8, i.e. by using a verb that signifies separation and refers to the community of Christian believers or to the Eucharist or to both as objects from which the cursed one shall be separated. Only some sanctions use the verb *excommunicare* instead of more general verbs of separation (e.g. S 31) or in combination with those (e.g. both versions of S 22). Yet, *excommunicare* is rarely used all by itself without signifying from what someone is excommunicated (e.g. S 1036).

The curse of anathema appears most commonly as *anathema sit* in Anglo-Saxon sanctions:

³⁷ ‘Whoever dares to go against this donation shall be separated from all Christianity and suspended from the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ’.

³⁸ Chaplais, ‘Some Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas’, p. 325. For a discussion of S 8, see Chaplais, ‘Some Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas’, pp. 317-27, on the postscript in S 8, see *ibid.*, pp. 325-6, 327.

³⁹ ‘if anyone acts differently, he shall know himself to be damned by God and on the Day of Judgement give account to God with his soul’.

Si quis autem hanc donationem meam successorum meorum regum vel principum infringere aut minuere avarus invidus animo temptaverit anathema sit . nisi antea cum satisfactione emendaverit (S 352 from CE 878)⁴⁰

Sometimes *anathema* is extended by *maranatha* as in I Corinthians XVI.22.⁴¹ Next to these biblical phrases, the anathema is also expressed by the verb *anathematizare*, which mostly appears in its past participle form (e.g. S 174, 488, 512), similarly to the common use of the past participle of *excommunicare*.

In Old English sanctions excommunication and anathema are expressed using the term *amansumian*. Elaine Treharne has observed that ‘no semantic distinction between these two concepts appears to exist within the Old English laws and homilies’.⁴² The same is true for Old English sanctions, as S 98 and S 1487 show:

Gif heo þ̅ nyllen syn heo þ̅onne amansumade from dæl
neomencge liceman 7 blodes usses drihtnes hælendes cristes . 7
from alre neweste geleafulra syn heo asceadene 7 asyndrade [*sic*]
nymðe heo hit her mid þ̅ingonge bote gebete (S 98)⁴³

In S 98, maybe from CE 743 x 745, the verb *amansumian* appears to denote excommunication, because it goes together with ‘from dæl neomencge liceman 7 blodes usses drihtnes hælendes cristes’. In S 1487 from CE 975 x 1016, however, *amansumian* seemingly signifies the curse of anathema:

⁴⁰ ‘Yet, if one of the kings or princes succeeding me, greedy and envious [in his] heart, attempts to break or diminish my donation, he shall be anathematized, unless he earlier makes amends’.

⁴¹ S 35, 36, 130, 164, 337, 363, 883.

⁴² Treharne, ‘Unique Old English Formula’, p. 190. On the generally inconsistent use of the terms *excommunicatio* and *anathema* in the Middle Ages, see Little, ‘Morphologie’, p. 51.

⁴³ ‘If they do not wish that, they shall then be excommunicated from the participation in the body and blood of our Lord the Saviour Christ and they shall be separated and divided from the presence of all the faithful, unless they atone for it here [on earth] with repairing intercession’.

“Gif hwa æfre ænig þinc of þisum cwyde awende opþe ætbrede .
 sy him Godes ar 7 his ece edlean æfre ætbroden . 7 he næfre ne
 wurthe [sic] on his myltse gemet . ac he sy amansumod of þam
 gemanan ealra gecorenra Cristes heapa . ge nu . ge on ecnysse .
 buton he þe hrædlicor þæt forlæte . 7 on riht eac eft gewende.”
 (S 1487)⁴⁴

In S 1487 the cursed one is *amansumod* now, i.e. in this life, and in eternity, i.e. in the afterlife, wherefore the curses of excommunication and damnation appear to be united in the word *amansumian*.

In contrast to the use of excommunication and anathema, the curse of damnation appears in a more versatile manner in Anglo-Saxon sanctions and it cannot be adequately represented with a few examples. In essence, all Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain the curse of damnation, at least by implication. The threat of having to account for one's deeds at the Last Judgement, for example, implies the curse of damnation, because having committed a sin, the person is believed to be among the wicked on Doomsday. Excommunication, too, entails damnation in the next world, if it is not followed by penance.⁴⁵ In its simplest form, damnation was expressed as *damnum esse*, as in S 8 above. Other frequently recurring expressions or paraphrases denoting damnation are the separation from the saints at the Last Judgement (e.g. S 34 below) and renditions of Matthew XXV.41, which is the most frequently and most diversely used literary source of Anglo-Saxon sanctions.

Although the curse of damnation may appear alien to modern readers because its consequences are postponed to a next world, there is no indication in the corpus of

⁴⁴ ‘If someone ever changes or takes away anything of this declaration, God's grace and His everlasting reward shall be taken away from him eternally, and he shall nevermore obtain His favour, but he shall be anathematized from the company of all the chosen bands of Christ now and in eternity, unless he very quickly excuses this and also properly restores [it] thereupon’.

⁴⁵ Treharne, ‘Unique Old English Formula’, pp. 197-8.

Anglo-Saxon sanctions that the curse of damnation had a different quality or value from that of excommunication or anathema. The sanction of S 34 from CE 765, for instance, directly juxtaposes excommunication in this life to the separation from saints in the next life:

Siquis autem hanc donationem meam inuido maliuolueque infringere temptauerit animo . sit separatus in hoc seculo a participatione corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Iesu Christi . et in futuro a cętu omnium sanctorum segregatus nisi antea suam pręsumptionem digna satisfactione correxerit (S 34)⁴⁶

Both curses in the sanction of S 34 use past participles denoting the separation of the cursed one from the Christian community (*separatus*, *segregatus*). Yet, these separations are clearly placed into two distinct time spans, as the first curse strikes in this world (*in hoc seculo*) with the separation from the earthly community of Christians, while the second curse strikes in the future afterlife (*in futuro*) with the exclusion from the celestial community. Hence, excommunication is, so to speak, damnation on earth, while damnation is excommunication in the afterlife.

The sanction of S 177 from CE 814 is similar to that of S 34, as it also expresses excommunication and damnation by separation from the Eucharist and separation from the saints, respectively. Yet, S 177 is more complex:

Siquis autem quod non optamus avaritiae ignibus aestuans superbiaeque typo tumidus diabolica fraude deceptus supramemoratam donationis concessionem infringere aut minuere temptaverit sciat se anathematis vinculis esse damnatum et á communione corporis et sanguinis Christi hic et

⁴⁶ ‘Yet, if someone attempts to break my donation on account of an envious and malevolent heart, he shall be separated from participating in the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in this age and he shall be separated from the union of all saints in the future, unless he earlier corrects his presumptuousness with proper amends’.

in ultimo examine et ab electione omnium sanctorum esse
separatum nisi prius digna satisfactione emend[ave]rit (S 177)⁴⁷

Excommunication and damnation are both expressed in parallel constructions with infinitive perfect (*esse damnatum*, *esse separatum*). This emphasizes the similarity of excommunication and damnation. Moreover, *esse damnatum* appears in combination with the anathema (*anathematis vinculis*). The equation of the separation from the community of the believers on earth with the separation from the saints in heaven is stressed by using one verb (*esse separatum*) for both sentiments and by the inserted *hic et in ultimo examine* that connects the two banishments. The common denominator of excommunication, anathema and damnation is exclusion from a group of believers.

Curses that express excommunication, anathema or damnation in a manner that does not agree with the strict canonical definitions given at the beginning of this chapter may not necessarily be poor curses; they simply reflect the inconsistent use of these terms in Anglo-Saxon England. Michel Zimmermann has pointed out that the terms *maledictus*, *damnatus*, *excommunicatus* and *anathematizatus* were used inconsistently in early medieval Catalanian sanctions, because diplomas were drafted by ‘simple clerics’ rather than learned theologians with the aim of generating frightening imagery, not theological discourses.⁴⁸ The situation is a bit different in Anglo-Saxon England, however. Historians are certain to have identified high-

⁴⁷ ‘Yet, if, what we do not wish, someone burning with the fire of avarice and swollen by the fever of pride [as well as] deceived by diabolical fraud attempts to break or diminish the abovementioned confirmation of donation, he shall know himself to be damned to [bear] the fetters of anathema and to be separated from the communion of the body and blood of Christ – here and at the Last Judgement – and from the assembly of all saints, unless he corrects [it] earlier with proper amends’.

⁴⁸ Zimmermann, ‘Vocabulaire latin’, p. 45. Note that the French term *clerc* can denote ‘cleric’ as well as ‘scribe’, Zimmerman may have referred to ‘simple clerics who act as scribes’.

ranking and often learned ecclesiastics as the draftsmen of charters.⁴⁹ Still, Anglo-Saxon sanctions do not seem to have been understood as theological discourses by those who drafted them. Hence, in sanctions all three standard ecclesiastical curses have the same aim (deterring people from transgressing against a charter) and carry the same punishment (some form of exclusion from the faithful) and consequence (denial of salvation).

1.2 The Language of Cursing

Lester Little has defined curses linguistically as speech acts, because:

[a] curse is simultaneously a verbal utterance and a deed performed [...] For the curse to be effective, and, in the same way, in order for the utterance to qualify as a given speech act, certain conditions must be met, such as that there be proper actors, time, place, verbal formulas, and gestures. What is proper is defined by the community [...].⁵⁰

The ‘proper’ conditions of the curses that were used in Anglo-Saxon sanctions were determined by ecclesiastics, as cursing was a prerogative of God, and ecclesiastics considered themselves as representatives of God’s will on earth. I have tried to show above that Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain authoritative types of curses, namely standardized ecclesiastical curses aimed at protecting property, upholding discipline and at serving as pastoral instruments for the benefit of the souls of the faithful. However, Lester Little’s expression ‘proper [...] verbal formulas’ refers not only to authoritative types of formulas, but also to an authoritative manner in which these

⁴⁹ The most prominent example of a charter having been drafted by a high-ranking ecclesiastic is S 745, the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, which was probably drafted by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester. The sanctions of this charter shall be discussed in detail in Chapter 5 below.

⁵⁰ Little, ‘Cursing’, p. 184.

formulas must be expressed.⁵¹ As indicated above, only the cursing of saints was exempt from these ritual requirements.

Lester Little has pointed out that most curses are ‘expressed in the subjunctive mood and the passive voice, and the agent is not always specified (May he be cursed)’.⁵² Michel Zimmermann has observed that the subjunctive in punishment clauses has the value of a future tense.⁵³ Because the transgression clauses are in the future perfect tense or past tense subjunctive, Zimmermann speaks of a grammatical gap between these two parts of a sanction.⁵⁴ The same grammatical choices can be seen in the majority of Anglo-Saxon sanctions, as, for example, in the sanctions of Formula Groups (1) and (2), the most frequently repeated Latin sanctions with infernal imagery:

Formula Group (1)

Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre **voluerit** : privatus consortio sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris jugiter cum Juda proditore Christi ejusque complicitibus **puniatur** . si non satisfactione **emendaverit** congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum (S 683 from CE 960; my emphases)⁵⁵

Formula Group (2)

Si qui denique michi non optanti hanc libertatis cartam livore depressi violari **satagerint** agminibus tetre caliginis lapsi vocem **audiant** examinationis die arbitris sibi dicentis . “Discedite a me

⁵¹ Although this may appear curious to modern readers, even today there are legal procedures that are believed to be authoritative only when traditionally prescribed formulas, actors and settings are employed. Weddings, for example, depend on these factors, even when they are not performed by the clergy, but by secular magistrates.

⁵² Little, ‘Cursing’, p. 184.

⁵³ Zimmermann, ‘Vocabulaire latin’, p. 43.

⁵⁴ Zimmermann, ‘Vocabulaire latin’, p. 43.

⁵⁵ ‘If someone then wants to turn our donation into anything other than what we have constituted, deprived of the holy community of God’s church he shall be punished perpetually as a deplorable person in the eternal fires of the abyss together with Judas, the traitor of Christ, and his accomplices, unless he makes suitable amends for what he did wrong against the decree’.

maledicti in ignem æternum” . ubi cum demonibus ferreis sartaginibus crudeli **torqueantur** in pæna . Si non ante mortem digna hoc **emandaverint** pœnitentia (S 465 from CE 940; my emphases)⁵⁶

In both sanctions the verbs’ tenses and moods follow the same pattern: the *si quis* clauses (and the penance clauses introduced by *si non*) have their verbs in the third person future perfect indicative active or in the third person past subjunctive active, signalling a conditional statement together with the introductory *si*, ‘if’. The crucial middle sections of the sanctions, which contain the punishment clauses, are expressed in the third person present subjunctive active or passive. The grammar of most Old English sanctions is quite similar, as S 566 and S 985 show:

Eadred cyning biddeð 7 halsað on þere halgan þrinnesse noman Dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti þet nan man þurh diofles searucræft geðristlece his cynelican gefe on woh gewonian . gif hit hwa **do gewrecen** hit dioflu on helle witan butan he hit ær **gebete** for Gode and for weorlde swa him riht wisie. Pax Christi nobiscum Amen (S 566 from CE 955; my emphases)⁵⁷

Gyf hit hwa þænne **dó. sy** his lif her gescert. 7 his wunung on helle gründe butan he hit þe striðlicor **gebéte** ær his ænde be þæs arcebiscopes tæcincge (S 985 from CE 1017 x 1020; my emphases)⁵⁸

S 556 and S 985 introduce their sanctions with the conditional *gif*, ‘if’, and their verbs are in the third person singular present subjunctive (which is also the person, tense and mood of the penance clause, here introduced by the conditional *butan*,

⁵⁶ For the translation and a discussion of S 465, see below, pp. 79-81.

⁵⁷ ‘King Eadred asks and implores in the name of the Holy Trinity of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit that no man through the cunning of the devil diminishes his royal gift boldly [and] wickedly. If someone does this, the devil shall punish it in the torments of hell, unless he earlier amends it to God and to the world, as he knows is right. Peace be with us, Amen’. The sanction of charter S 566 contains, so to speak, a ‘prelude’ stating that King Eadred implores the help of God for this sanction and the curse it contains. This may reflect the orthodox Christian belief that curses can be put into effect only by God.

⁵⁸ ‘If someone does this then, his life shall be shortened and his habitation [shall be] in the pit of hell, unless before his death he amends it very severely according to the instructions of the archbishop’.

‘unless’). The curses are in the third person present subjunctive singular as in the Latin sanctions.

Spiritual sanctions, including Anglo-Saxon sanctions, contain specific kinds of curses, namely preventive or provisional curses.⁵⁹ According to Lester Little this means that ‘the moment a person commits the anticipated offence [...] the malefactor is cursed, and the speech act accomplished’, provided that all other conditions that must be met for the curse to be effective (authoritative actors, time, place, verbal formulas, and gestures) have indeed been fulfilled.⁶⁰ Applied to Anglo-Saxon sanctions, this would mean that – depending on the curse – the moment someone transgressed against a charter’s agreement, that person was damned, excommunicated or anathematized. More importantly, however, if a specific ritual performance or pronouncement was needed to curse someone authoritatively, does this entail that sanctions, and perhaps by implication entire charters, would have had to be implemented ritually? If they were not implemented ritually, can Anglo-Saxon sanctions be read as curses at all?

1.2 The Ritual of Cursing and Anglo-Saxon Sanctions

I have tried to show above that Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain standard curses, which were considered legitimate measures for protecting property, and that these sanctions were expressed in agreement with the prescribed verbal formulas of such curses. Next to the required verbal formulas, prescribed actors and settings were needed to implement curses authoritatively. Because of the harshness of excommunication, only bishops were authorized to perform this curse; an anathema

⁵⁹ Cf. Little, ‘Cursing’, pp. 183-4.

⁶⁰ Little, ‘Cursing’, p. 184.

had to be pronounced by an archbishop even.⁶¹ It is known that the rites of excommunication were integrated into the Mass, preferably after the reading from the gospels and before the sermon.⁶² Determining whether these conditions were met in the case of Anglo-Saxon sanctions is not possible because of a lack of sources describing how charters were issued. It can only be said that these prescribed actors and settings were likely to have been available, because high-ranking clerics, bishops or archbishops, were ever present at the royal court. The sanctions of some charters have led several scholars to believe that charters were issued in a religious or liturgy-like ceremony.⁶³ It is not known, however, whether such a ceremony may have fulfilled the predetermined ritual conditions of authoritative cursing. In the following, I shall discuss indications pointing to a ceremonial implementation of charters in Anglo-Saxon England.

Simon Keynes has presented a strong argument that not only the transactions recorded in charters were performed at *witenagemot* (meetings of the king's council), but also that the recording of these transactions in charters occurred on these occasions.⁶⁴ However, it is doubtful that every charter was issued at a *witenagemot*.⁶⁵ Moreover, the *witenagemot* probably became an occasion on which

⁶¹ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 30-3.

⁶² Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, p. 34.

⁶³ See below, pp. 47-9.

⁶⁴ Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 34-7, 79-83, 126-34. For introductory reading on *witenagemot*, see T. J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor: a Study in the Constitutional History of Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford, 1955); Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters'; J. Insley, 'Witenagemot', *RGA XXXV*, 719-24; F. Liebermann, *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, Burt Franklin Research and Source Works Series 21 (Halle, 1913). Felix Liebermann interpreted the *witenagemot* as 'one of the lineal ancestors of the British Parliament', see his *National Assembly*, p. 1. This is an anachronistic view that is not shared by modern historians, see Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters', p. 48; Oleson, *Witenagemot*, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁵ Doubting that charters were produced during *witenagemot*, Pierre Chaplais pointed out that the writing of charters in their final form simply took too long to have been done there and then, see his 'Royal Anglo-Saxon "Chancery"', pp. 42-3.

charters were issued only from the tenth century onwards.⁶⁶ Not much is known about how a *witenagemot* took place; in fact, it is not even known what constituted a *witenagemot*.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, there are indications that all conditions essential to perform ritual curses in connection with charters could have been met at a king's council. It is well known that clerics of all ranks were integral parts of the Anglo-Saxon government and royal household. Especially bishops and archbishops played important roles in the circle of royal power and are thus believed to have been present at any *witenagemot*.⁶⁸ Hence, the personnel needed to pronounce a curse authoritatively was likely to have been present at a *witenagemot*, but also on other occasions on which charters may have been issued.

The question whether *witenagemot* would have been conducive to the setting required to make ritual curses authoritative is more difficult to answer as there is almost no evidence on how *witenagemot* were conducted. Tryggvi Oleson described that the *witenagemot* of Edward the Confessor's reign were accompanied by celebrations of the Mass and may have been held at the time of high feasts.⁶⁹ However, Barbara Yorke has pointed out that this was on account of continental

⁶⁶ Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 35-7.

⁶⁷ Oleson, *Witenagemot*, pp. 17-24; Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters', pp. 48-51.

⁶⁸ Æthelwold and Wulfstan are the most prominent examples of the great political influence of bishops and archbishops in Anglo-Saxon England. On Æthelwold as a political figure, see esp. B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in her *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 65-88; on Wulfstan as a political figure, see Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman'; Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-BUILDER'; J. Wilcox, 'Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Angelos* as Political Performance: 16 February 1014 and Beyond', *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. Townend, pp. 375-96. On the presence of bishops, archbishops and other ecclesiastics at *witenagemot* and their position in the king's *witan*, see B. Yorke, 'Council, King's', *BEASE*, pp. 124-5, at 124; Oleson, *Witenagemot*, p. 50. Note also that witness-lists have been read as 'attendance lists' of *witenagemot* and used for determining political structures in Anglo-Saxon England, see S. Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c. 670-1066: I. Tables*, Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic Guides, Texts and Studies 5 (Cambridge, 2002); on the benefits and limits of this method, see Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters', pp. 49, 51-2.

⁶⁹ Oleson, *Witenagemot*, pp. 71-2.

influences at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.⁷⁰ Susan Kelly has argued that the transactions recorded in charters were implemented by ceremonies rather than written diplomas throughout the Anglo-Saxon period until the emergence of vernacular writs.⁷¹ Catherine Cubitt, too, has spoken of ‘some evidence’ pointing to the enactment of solemn rituals with regard to ‘solemn ecclesiastical charters’.⁷² Charles Insley has suggested that rituals surrounding the granting of charters may have been especially beneficial to those who did not understand Latin, as it would have allowed them to ‘participate in the event, of which the production of the charter was only part’.⁷³

In some charters, there are indeed indications suggesting the involvement of ceremonies in the issuing of charters. Several Anglo-Saxon sanctions end with *amen* or *fiat*, which has been interpreted as a signal that charters were issued or authenticated in a ceremony.⁷⁴ This observation is important because these Anglo-Saxon sanctions seemingly follow the rhetorical model of biblical curses, especially Deuteronomy XXVIII.15-26.⁷⁵ Each of Deuteronomy’s curses ends with the phrase *et dicet omnis populus amen*, which expresses the congregation’s confirmation of the curses. This was frequently copied in Christian cursing.⁷⁶ In the sanctions of S 132, 552a and 1208 *amen* is introduced as an audience’s confirmation:

Et respondit omnis chorus . “Amen” (S 132)⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Yorke, ‘Council, King’s’, p. 125.

⁷¹ Kelly, ‘Anglo-Saxon Lay Society’, pp. 44-6.

⁷² Cubitt, ‘Archbishop Dunstan’.

⁷³ Insley, ‘Assemblies and Charters’, p. 58.

⁷⁴ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, p. 57; Little, ‘Morphologie’, p. 48; Niles, ‘Problem’, pp. 1126-7.

⁷⁵ Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 59-65; Niles, ‘Problem’, pp. 1120-4.

⁷⁶ Niles, ‘Problem’, pp. 1121-2.

⁷⁷ ‘And the whole crowd responds, “Amen”’.

Omne os Deum laudans fideliter dicat cordetenus . Amen amen
pax nobiscum (S 552a)⁷⁸

7 dixit omnis populus qui ibi aderat “fiat fiat Amen” (S 1208,
Latin version)⁷⁹

7 cwæp ealle þfolc þe þær embstod “sy hit swa amen amen” (S
1208, Old English version).⁸⁰

John Niles has taken the sanction of S 1208 as an example that gives evidence of the ‘oral-performative basis of some legal curses’, explaining how the ‘shift of grammar [...] simulates the oral performance that it reports’ and how ‘the curse is re-enacted for every present reader’.⁸¹ Yet, S 1208 is considered spurious and so is S 132, while the authenticity of S 552a has not been discussed yet by historians.⁸² Thus, the extant charters that introduce *amen* or *fiat* as direct speech are considered spurious. In addition, almost half of the charters using *amen* without phrases introducing direct speech are also considered spurious, and in several cases it is not clear whether *amen* refers only to the sanction or the complete charter.⁸³ The circumstance that many charters that contain phrases which suggest ceremonies are spurious may not necessarily be an argument against charters being issued, authenticated or presented in ceremonies which possibly also involved ritual cursing. If these charters were good forgeries, they were copied from authentic charters or followed the standard of the time in which they had allegedly been written. Nevertheless, it remains curious

⁷⁸ ‘All mouths praise God happily and say from their hearts, “Amen, Amen, peace be with us”’; S 552a is not printed yet, the sanction is cited according to the *Regesta regum Anglorum*.

⁷⁹ ‘And all people who were present said, “So be it, so be it, Amen”’.

⁸⁰ ‘And all people who were there said, “So be it, Amen, Amen”’.

⁸¹ Niles, ‘Problem’, pp. 1126-7.

⁸² Cf. *Revised Electronic Sawyer*, entry on S 552a.

⁸³ Authentic charters with *amen* or *fiat* or both after sanctions or sanctions and benedictions: S 41, 91, 154, 321, 472, 544, 549, 556, 557, 569, 637, 666, 779, 810, 817, 937, 989, 1110, 1171, 1309, 1320, 1332, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1342, 1401, 1456, 1481, 1488, 1531, 1608; after sanctions or sanctions and benedictions in spurious charters: S 1, 69, 72, 75, 77, 80, 197, 209, 237, 257, 357, 452, 553, 474, 728, 731, 752, 978, 990, 1035, 1039, 1047, 1089, 1109, 1149, 1250, 1368.

that only a minor fraction of charters (regardless whether authentic or spurious) contains such proposed signals of ceremonies at all.

As a consequence, the question as to whether issuing charters involved cursing rites or similar rituals cannot be answered. Moreover, there are too many unknown factors even to speculate. Could Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain only threats of curses rather than *de facto* curses? Were the necessary ceremonies performed only after someone had been convicted of a transgression? Were these ceremonies really necessary at all? Was the signature of a bishop or archbishop on the charter sufficient for the curses of sanctions to be authoritative?⁸⁴ All that can be said is that Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain the authoritative cursing formulas, while the use of authoritative actors and settings of ritual cursing cannot be established.

1.4. Sanctions as Curses in the Context of Tenth-Century Kingship Ideology

The question thus arises whether the sanctions of Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas did indeed require the use of ritually authoritative actors in the form of bishops (or archbishops), and ritually authoritative settings in the form of a liturgical ceremony, as described by Lester Little and others. With regard to the unparalleled boom of spiritual sanctions in royal diplomas of the late Anglo-Saxon period, the possibility of an alternative scenario is certainly suggested by the concept of the king as Christ's vicar on earth that was propagated by Anglo-Saxon tenth-century 'ruler theology'.

It must first be pointed out that the issue of punishing transgressions against charters appears to be even more complex than appreciable at first sight. Elaine Treharne has pointed to secular involvement in the process of excommunication in Anglo-Saxon

⁸⁴ S 1036 from CE 1062 appears to indicate this.

England, arguing that excommunication correlated with the punishments of criminals in secular laws and that, while there is evidence of a more frequent use of excommunication than previously suggested, excommunication ‘was not effective when used by the church alone’.⁸⁵ For the late Anglo-Saxon period Treharne has observed that the secular and ecclesiastical arms of the law worked together in punishing offenders and that excommunication ‘was subject to the further penalty of secular outlawry’.⁸⁶ Hence, the consequences of transgressing against Anglo-Saxon charters which contain curses are of ecclesiastical (excommunication, anathema) or religious (damnation, anathema) and possibly secular nature (outlawry). If excommunications needed the support of secular authorities in order to be authoritative, *witenagemot* appear to have been ideal occasions for the sentencing of those who transgressed against charters, because of the presence of the leading secular as well as ecclesiastical men of Anglo-Saxon England. Furthermore, according to Tryggvi Oleson, the *witenagemot* was also accompanied by ecclesiastical meetings at which ecclesiastical business was debated.⁸⁷ While it is not known if excommunications were performed on these occasions, there is evidence that the outlawry of prominent members of the Anglo-Saxon ruling elite did indeed take place at *witenagemot*.⁸⁸

While it is not known whether those who transgressed against charters were excommunicated or anathematized, there are faint suggestions that they may have been punished with very secular penalties, namely compensation for the damaged party and forfeiture of property. Patrick Wormald described a dispute settlement that

⁸⁵ Treharne, ‘Unique Old English Formula’, pp. 190-1, at 191.

⁸⁶ Treharne, ‘Unique Old English Formula’, pp. 192-5, at 194.

⁸⁷ Oleson, *Witenagemot*, pp. 31, 34.

⁸⁸ Oleson, *Witenagemot*, pp. 101-9.

involved a title deed that records a layman's donation of land to St Andrew's Cathedral in Rochester (S 1511 from CE 975 x 987, maybe CE 980 x 987).⁸⁹ This charter does not contain a sanction with infernal imagery, but a sanction threatening with God's anger (in its Old English version) and with punishment at the Last Judgement (in its Latin version). It must also be noted that S 1511 is not a royal diploma, but a charter issued in the name of a layman.⁹⁰ S 1511 was stolen from St Andrew's Cathedral by priests on behalf of the grantor's son. When the son (and his father) had already died, his mother was considered punishable. She was ordered to return the title deed 'with compensation for the theft' and in addition her 'property was forfeited to the king'.⁹¹ Compensation and forfeiture are known to have been increasingly practised punishments in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England.⁹² Were they, however, also used as punishments for transgressions against charters, as the case described above seems to imply? In this context, it would be of interest to establish to what exactly *satisfactio* refers, which is so often demanded in the sanctions' penance clauses. Should it be understood ecclesiastically as 'penance' or in a more worldly sense as 'reparation'? Should we think in these categories at all? Perhaps this is another case of deliberate ambiguity: just as the transgressions themselves are referred to in very general terms, so the necessary measures to

⁸⁹ P. Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon England', *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. W. Davies and P. Fouracre (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 149-68, at 157-9.

⁹⁰ Curiously, spiritual sanctions, especially those with infernal imagery, appeared more often in non-royal lay charters than in ecclesiastical charters; see above, p. 18. Perhaps lay charters were deliberately modelled upon royal charters, although the question of pastoral, ideological and practical value of spiritual sanctions in lay charters (other than royal diplomas) is indeed questionable. However, Anglo-Saxon lay people may have prioritized an authentic look of their charters, which may have meant the inclusion of all diplomatic elements found in royal charters. The question whether individual diplomatic elements were of value to these charters may have been of secondary importance in these lay charters.

⁹¹ Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes', p. 158. The dispute case became increasingly complex, but the further implications are not of interest at this point. Incidentally, the later events involved a charter in which King Æthelred the Unready expresses regret for his youthful misdeeds (S 893), cf. above, pp. 29-30.

⁹² Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters', p. 54.

absolve oneself from the curse of the sanction may be deliberately vague in order to imply anything. If transgressions against charters were indeed punished with secular punishments such as compensation and forfeiture, why did charters not threaten with these kinds of punishments? More importantly, as sanctions were addressed to undefined third parties, i.e. essentially anyone, how did Anglo-Saxons distinguish between a common crime committed against a *property* that happened to be the object of a charter and protected by a sanction on the one and a transgression against a *charter* on the other hand? Was the theft described above simply a theft, or was it a transgression against charter S 1511? Does the spiritual sanction of Anglo-Saxon charters have any relation to the legal machinery set in motion by a transgression against a charter? If not, does that mean that a sanction is a purposeless element after all, preserved for purely traditionalistic reasons?

I would like to argue that spiritual sanctions, especially those containing infernal imagery, fulfilled an ideological purpose rather than a predominantly legal function, at least in most royal diplomas issued in tenth-century and early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England. Many sanctions of these charters were ideologically powerful because they reflected the king's elevated spiritual position and, by implication, expressed his divinely ordained authority. I have pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that only saints were allowed to curse legitimately without the use of rituals that authorized their curses.⁹³ The legitimacy and authority of their curses were derived from the saints' exceptional spirituality and the resulting close relationship to God. I have also pointed out that lay cursing was condemned in Anglo-Saxon England.⁹⁴ Since the king was a layman, it is indeed very curious that royal diplomas,

⁹³ See above, p. 33.

⁹⁴ See above, p. 33.

which were written (in a royal chancery or in the scriptoria of religious houses) as if spoken by the king, contain so many curses; more importantly, that the use of curses in royal diplomas even increased quantitatively and qualitatively in the relevant era. In this light, Robert Deshman's observation that King Edgar was iconographically elevated above the status of saints in the frontispiece of the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, is of great interest.⁹⁵ As described in the Introduction, the Anglo-Saxon Christian kingship ideology that reached its peak in the second half of the tenth century put forth the idea that the king was divinely ordained and as such Christ's earthly counterpart, his *vicarius* and chief *pastor* on earth. Thus, he was responsible not only for his people's worldly welfare but also for their spiritual well-being. The king's laws were God's laws and transgressing against them brought about not only the king's but also God's wrath.⁹⁶ With spiritual sanctions, especially with sanctions containing infernal imagery, the king may have fulfilled his pastoral duties to his subjects, ultimately perhaps with his own spiritual welfare in mind. Moreover, he may thus have demonstrated his divinely ordained authority over his people and by implication his undisputable power. If charters were indeed delivered and even read out at *witenagemot*, they reached the 'correct' audience for this ideological message, namely the ruling class of Anglo-Saxon England.⁹⁷

In this respect, the fact that many tenth-century charters were written in challenging Latin poses a problem, however. Who was able to understand these charters?

⁹⁵ Deshman, '*Benedictus monarcha et monachus*', pp. 224-5. For a brief description of this frontispiece and further reading, see below, p. 164.

⁹⁶ See above, p. 24.

⁹⁷ For introductory reading on nobility in Anglo-Saxon England, see J. M. Pope, 'Monks and Nobles in the Anglo-Saxon Monastic Reform', *ANS* 17 (1995), 165-79; A. Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum gentis*: the Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83', *ASE* 10 (1982), 143-72; F. Barlow, *The Godwins: the Rise and Fall of a Noble Dynasty* (Harlow, 2002); M. F. Smith, R. Fleming, and P. Halpin, 'Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001), 569-602.

According to Charles Insley, presumably more people than hitherto thought, as lay education among the secular elite may have been better than previously suspected.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the exact content of these charters probably reached only a limited number of people. In addition, the use of spiritual sanctions in royal diplomas seems to reflect efforts of establishing the heavenly kingdom on earth by uniting the ecclesiastical and religious with the royal and secular sphere. Hence, I would like to argue that the spiritual sanctions of late tenth- and early eleventh-century charters were valuable expressions of the Christian kingship ideology of its time. The practical effectiveness of spiritual sanctions in Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas as legal tools for the persecution of those who transgressed against charters may have been of secondary relevance. This is not to say, however, that sanctions ought not to be taken seriously, but simply that the spiritual value and success in preventing transgressions is difficult to determine, as there are, to my knowledge, no sources commenting on these issues. Hence, it can only be assumed that sanctions were sometimes successful in preventing transgressions and sometimes not, just as today's law is sometimes effective and sometimes not.

1.5 Anglo-Saxon Sanctions and Curses: some Conclusions

Mainly discussing continental diplomas, several scholars have understood spiritual sanctions as ecclesiastical ritual curses that were predominantly used by monks. I have tried to show that Anglo-Saxon charters did use the same standardized ecclesiastical curses as continental diplomas, i.e. the curses of excommunication, anathema and damnation. For centuries, these kinds of curses were used for protecting ecclesiastical property and they were largely regarded as pastoral instruments, because they helped to uphold church discipline by deterring people

⁹⁸ Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters', pp. 57-8.

from being disobedient and by excluding those who were disobedient from the Christian community. I have further tried to show that in order for these standardized curses to be authoritative, prescribed rituals needed to be observed concerning the formulas with which these curses were pronounced as well as with respect to the persons who pronounced them and the setting in which they were pronounced. While the formulas of Anglo-Saxon spiritual sanctions demonstrate that authoritative cursing formulas were used in charters, there is, however, no evidence whether authoritative ecclesiastical personnel and settings were used in connection with the pronouncement of sanctions. Instead, there appear to be faint indications that point to a gap between the practicalities of penal action in consequence of violating charters and the punishments with which the charters themselves threatened.

In addition, the ecclesiastical nature of these sanctions and the ecclesiastical rituals needed to put them into effect appear to be at variance with the boom of spiritual sanctions in the royal diplomas of late Anglo-Saxon England. I have tried to show that this variance is largely effected by understanding curses and royal diplomas as belonging to two separate spheres, an ecclesiastical on the one and a secular sphere on the other hand. This distinction between ecclesiastical and secular spheres is likely to be anachronistic in the context of late Anglo-Saxon England, as, for example, the assimilation of ecclesiastical and secular law shows.⁹⁹ Moreover, propagating the unity of ecclesiastical and secular concerns, the late Anglo-Saxon Christian kingship ideology promoted the king as Christ's vicar and as *pastor pastorum*. The ideology was addressed to the same audience as the charters of late Anglo-Saxon England, namely high-ranking lay people and clerics who were

⁹⁹ C. Hough, 'Penitential Literature and Secular Law in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASSAH* 11 (2000), 133-41.

involved in the government and administration of Anglo-Saxon England. In this respect, it is important to remember that Simon Keynes has argued that charters were issued at *witenagemot* only from the tenth century onwards.¹⁰⁰ As a result, it would seem that the dramatically increased use of spiritual sanctions in late Anglo-Saxon charters was motivated ideologically as part of promoting the king's status as Christ on earth and *pastor pastorum*. This is not to say that spiritual sanctions themselves were ideological instruments, but their increased use in royal diplomas from the tenth century onwards appears to have been ideologically motivated: as curses, spiritual sanctions pointed to the divinely ordained authority of the king, and they were one means by which kings may have fulfilled their pastoral duties.

It should be clear from all that has been said so far that infernal imagery was no obligatory element of spiritual sanctions; these sanctions are perfectly acceptable without infernal imagery. Why, then, do so many Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain this type of literary imagery and why does almost every extant sanction in the second half of the tenth century contain infernal imagery, when this imagery was essentially superfluous? Heinz Holzhauer and Anton Scharer have suggested that the sanctions' infernal imagery is simply pompous ballast used for literary effect.¹⁰¹ By contrast, I shall argue that the infernal imagery is, in fact, an expression of the pastoral function of Anglo-Saxon sanctions and thus, by implication, reflects kingship ideology. The pastoral function is especially suggested by frightening illustrations of hell, particularly in connection with the devils' roles in hell (Chapter 2), and by the presentation of notorious damned persons like Judas as negative *exempla* (Chapter 3).

¹⁰⁰ Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 35-7.

¹⁰¹ Holzhauer, 'Pönformeln', col. 1787; Scharer, *Angelsächsische Königsurkunde*, p. 51.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVIL IN HELL

In the previous chapter, I have proposed that sanctions of tenth-century royal diplomas appear to have served predominantly as ideological statements by emphasizing the pastoral duties of the divinely ordained king and his close relationship to God. In this chapter, I shall analyse how elaborate literary representations of the devil and his sub-devils support this pastoral nature or aim of sanctions. Peter Dendle has doubted the literal meaningfulness of appearances of the devil in non-narrative writings, regarding the devil largely as ‘a literary motif, encountered primarily in ecclesiastical productions’ rather than secular law and scientific literature.¹ According to Peter Dendle, phrases like *þurh deofles lare* or *þurh deofles larum* in chronicles and personal letters were ‘set phrases [...] the literal meaning of which may well be doubted’.² The distinction between ecclesiastical and secular concerns with reference to Anglo-Saxon literature appears anachronistic to me, because, as I have indicated earlier, the ecclesiastical and secular sphere overlapped in practical as well as in ideological respects.³ The appearance of the devil as a literary motif must not necessarily entail that the figure of the devil was detached from the lives of people in Anglo-Saxon England and the Middle Ages in general. The question whether texts that contain references to or descriptions of the devil were considered authoritative or not appears to be more relevant in the context of medieval literature, because authority was established by tradition and tradition was conveyed and maintained by custom, writings and the arts.

¹ P. J. Dendle, *Satan Unbound: the Devil in Old English Narrative Literature* (Toronto, 2001), pp. 12-13, quotation on p. 12.

² Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, p. 12. The same phrase often appears in the motive clauses of sanctions, but Dendle has not commented on the nature of this phrase in charters.

³ See above, pp. 21, 24-6.

In the following, I shall argue that diabolical imagery in the sanctions of Anglo-Saxon charters was not an end in itself, not the ‘Schwulst und Bombast’ (pomposity and bombast) Anton Scharer has spoken of when comparing the elaborate sanctions of tenth-century charters to the plain early Anglo-Saxon sanctions.⁴ Instead, representations of the devil in sanctions were aimed at effecting compliance with the agreements recorded in charters by instructing a charter’s audience that breaking a charter’s agreements endangered their salvation.⁵ Hence, the function of diabolical imagery in sanctions can be compared to that of representations of the devil’s role in hell in homilies. In homilies, such accounts were also aimed at persuading people to comply with God’s laws by teaching them that disobedience against God’s laws endangers their salvation. Sanctions and homilies also share one crucial pastoral tool employed in representations of the devil’s role in hell: fear. As a pastoral device, fear was to guide people to salvation and prevent their damnation. After introducing the medieval understanding of fear in select texts relevant to Anglo-Saxon Christianity, I shall analyse representations of the devil as a tormentor in select sanctions and examine their use of fear.

⁴ Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunde*, p. 51. See also H. Holzhauer, who has similarly referred to the diabolical imagery of sanctions in early medieval papal diplomas as ‘dämonologischer Schwulst’ (‘demonological pomposity’), in his ‘Pönformeln’, col. 1787; cf. also comments by Studtmann, ‘Pönformel’, pp. 352-4; P. Chaplais, ‘Some Early Anglo-Saxon Diplomas’, pp. 71-2.

⁵ I have not come across sources which may demonstrate that this strategy was successful and that members of the audience were indeed persuaded from transgressing against charters on account of the sanctions’ diabolical and infernal imagery. Similarly, the secular fines of continental charters could not always prevent charters from being broken (cf. Studtmann, ‘Pönformel’, p. 354). One may also want to consider the fact that today the threat of punishment does not always prevent crimes from happening either. Consider, for example, that some crimes are still punished with the death penalty in various countries, including so-called ‘first-world’ countries. That crimes punished thus are still committed in these countries cannot be explained with the criminals’ fearlessness of death.

2.1 Fear as a Pastoral Tool

The emotion of fear has always played an important role in the regulation of social, moral and political life.⁶ According to Corey Robin, fear was closely connected with morality in premodern eras, because fear was considered to be the ‘artifact of [...] moral beliefs, which were the product of political education, laws and institutions’.⁷

Robin has further indicated that:

[w]hether religious or secular, premodern thinkers argued that fear had to be deliberately cultivated and sustained by a serious moral understanding of who men and women are and how they should conduct themselves as ethical beings.⁸

Despite its promise of love, benevolence and mercy, fear has always been an important feature of Christianity, as shown, for example, by the violent Christianisation of heathens.⁹ Fear has also played an important role in Christian eschatology, and thus in the concept of salvation. Salvation is a matter of morality, i.e. of knowing what is right and wrong according to Christian teaching and of acting in accordance with this knowledge. In the following, I shall first present different kinds of ‘medieval fears’ and then discuss primary readings on the importance and benefits of the fear of hell.

⁶ M. Aubrun, ‘Caractères et portée religieuse et sociale des “Visiones” en occident du VIe au XIe siècle’, *CCM* 23 (1980), 109-30, at 109.

⁷ C. Robin, *Fear: the History of a Political Idea* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 6-7.

⁸ Robin, *Fear*, p. 8.

⁹ E. McLuhan, ‘*Evangelico mucrone: with an Evangelical Sword: Fear as a Weapon in the Early Evangelization of Gaul*’, *Fear and its Representations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. A. Scott and C. Kosso, *Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* 6 (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 107-24. For a general introduction to fear in Christianity, see O. Pfister, *Das Christentum und die Angst: eine religionspsychologische, historische und religionshygienische Untersuchung* (Zurich, 1944) [not seen]; J. Delumeau, *Le Péché et la peur: la culpabilisation en occident, XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1983) [not seen].

Peter Dinzelbacher has outlined a basic framework for the discussion of fear in the Middle Ages by following Søren Kierkegaard's distinction between *Realangst*, which is created by objectively real threats, and *Binnenangst*, which is created by subjective threats which others may discard as unreal.¹⁰ Yet, *Binnenangst* is not necessarily less effective or less overwhelming than *Realangst* and the distinction between *Real-* and *Binnenangst* is, in fact, a matter of interpretation.¹¹ Nonetheless, I shall use these terms because they conveniently reflect the fact that fears can indeed be generated by real threats as well as by unreal threats. Therefore, I shall render *Realangst* as 'objective fear' and *Binnenangst* as 'subjective fear'. A medieval objective fear was, for example, the fear of losing one's social status and this fear was used as a means of upholding order and morals.¹² Social exclusion in the form of exile was a dreaded punishment in various countries throughout the Middle Ages, also in Anglo-Saxon England.¹³ Because subjective fear is largely a point of view, it is more difficult to grasp. For instance, the existence of demons, elves and witches has not been demonstrated scientifically and thus many people nowadays think that fearing them is irrational because they present no real threats. Dinzelbacher has demonstrated, however, that there are enough indications in medieval writings that the devil, for example, was generally perceived as real in the sense that he was believed to meddle in the affairs of humans.¹⁴ Today, too, there are people who

¹⁰ P. Dinzelbacher, *Angst im Mittelalter: Teufels-, Todes- und Gotteserfahrung: Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie* (Paderborn, 1996), p. 9.

¹¹ Cf. Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, pp. 9-10.

¹² Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, p. 12.

¹³ For introductory reading on exile in the Middle Ages, see L. Napran and E. v. Houts, ed., *Exile in the Middle Ages: Selected Proceedings from the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 8-11 July 2002*, International Medieval Research 13 (Turnhout, 2004). On exile in Anglo-Saxon England, see F. Liebermann, 'Die Friedenslosigkeit bei den Angelsachsen', *Festschrift für Heinrich Brunner zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern und Verehrern* (Weimar, 1910), pp. 17-37 [not seen].

¹⁴ Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, pp. 81-134; cf. P. Dinzelbacher, 'Die Realität des Teufels im Mittelalter', *Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487*, ed. P. Segl, Bayreuther historische Kolloquien 2 (Cologne, 1988), pp. 151-75. On today's belief in the devil and demons see,

believe in the existence of devils and demons, despite the lack of scientific proof of their alleged existence. In the early Middle Ages, the perception of the devil as a real figure meddling in human affairs was largely confined to the monastic sphere, according to Dinzelbacher.¹⁵ At the root of an increased awareness of the devil's omnipresence and reality from about CE 1200 onwards was the Cluniac reform.¹⁶ This is especially interesting, because representatives of the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform were highly influenced by the continental reform movement from Cluny and Fleury, and Anglo-Saxon reformers also appear to have had considerable involvement in Anglo-Saxon politics and government from the mid-tenth century onwards. The influence of monastic reformers on the writing and issuing of charters can be seen in the royal charters of their time, and most of these charters contain sanctions with infernal imagery.¹⁷

Next to objective and subjective fears, Dinzelbacher has introduced a third kind of fear that was common in the Middle Ages: religious fear. As such Dinzelbacher discusses the fear of God and the fear of the afterlife, i.e. especially of the Last

for example, J. B. Russell, *Mephistopheles: the Devil in the Modern World* (Ithaca, NY, 1988) [not seen].

¹⁵ Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, p. 100.

¹⁶ Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, p. 90.

¹⁷ On continental influences and background, see J. Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury and Continental Reform', *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. N. P. Brooks and C. Cubitt, Studies in the Early History of Britain, The Makers of England 2 (Leicester, 1996), pp. 23-45; D. A. Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia'*, ed. D. Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 20-36; P. Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', *Bishop Æthelwold: his Career and Influence*, ed. Yorke, pp. 13-42. For a discussion of charters in the light of the monastic reform, see especially a series of articles by Eric John: E. John, 'Some Latin Charters of the Tenth-Century Reformation', *RB* 70 (1960), 333-59; E. John, 'St Oswald and the Tenth-Century Reformation', *JEH* 9 (1958), 147-68; E. John, 'The Church of Winchester and the Tenth-Century Reformation', *Bulletin of the John Ryland's University Library of Manchester* 47 (1965), 404-29; E. John, 'The King and the Monks in the Tenth-Century Reformation', in his *Orbis Britanniae and other Studies*, Studies in Early English History 4 (Leicester, 1966), pp. 154-80; E. John, 'The Beginning of the Benedictine Reform in England', in his *Orbs Britanniae*, pp. 249-64.

Judgement and hell.¹⁸ Georges Minois has argued that the preaching of the fear of hell was successful in making this particular fear an increasingly common phenomenon and that the evolvement of purgatory as a temporary hell, which started between the sixth and tenth centuries, was accompanied by an increasingly overwhelming fear of everlasting hell.¹⁹ Indeed, fear was such a crucial element of Christian eschatology and salvation theory that Abelard's statement that fear was not present in the afterlife was condemned as heretical in the first half of the twelfth century.²⁰ The following select sources suggest that fear of hell was indeed encouraged in Anglo-Saxon England: the Bible and Augustine as religious and theological authorities, the *Regula S. Benedicti* and 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' as works representative of the first phase of the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform, and homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan as well as Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* standing for the later phase of the monastic reform.

Fear is the first emotion expressed in the Bible.²¹ Genesis provides only matter of fact narration until Adam tells God that he hid from Him because 'et timui eo quod nudus essem' (Genesis III.10). While Adam's awareness of his nakedness is merely the result and evidence of his disobedient eating from the forbidden tree, this disobedience against God's commands lies at the root of Adam's fear. Thus, his knowledge of having been disobedient makes Adam afraid of God or more precisely of God's power to punish disobedience. In the New Testament, Paul emphasizes that fear is essential to preaching the gospel because fear helps people to achieve

¹⁸ Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, pp. 16-23. Although focusing on thirteenth-century theology, the following article is a worthwhile introduction to the medieval theological concept of fear: S. Loughlin, 'The Complexity and Importance of *timor* in Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*', *Fear and its Representations*, ed. Scott and Kosso, pp. 1-16.

¹⁹ G. Minois, *Die Hölle: zur Geschichte einer Fiktion*, trans. S. Kester (Munich, 1994), p. 179.

²⁰ Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, p. 16.

²¹ Cf. Robin, *Fear*, p. 1.

salvation.²² He tells the Philippians, for example, to gain salvation with anxiety and fear (Phil II.12).²³ In the fourth century, Augustine of Hippo explained more explicitly that Christ was received through the fear of hell:

Timoris ergo et cupiditatis ianuam claude contra diabolum, aperi ad Christum. Quomodo ipsas ualuas aperis ad Christum? Cupiendo regnum caelorum, timendo ignem gehennarum. Per cupiditatem saeculi diabolum intrat, per desiderium uitae aeternae Christus intrat ; per timorem poenarum temporalium diabolum intrat, per timorem ignis aeterni Christus intrat (*Enarrationes in Psalmos* 141)²⁴

It may appear as if Augustine speaks of two kinds of fears: the fear of earthly things and the fear of hell. While the former must be avoided, the latter is encouraged. Yet, only the objects of fear differ, the fear itself remains the same, as the term *timor* is used for denoting fear in both cases. Thus, according to Augustine, fear of hell was a fundamental prerequisite for salvation and, by implication, something positive, something that ought to be encouraged. However positively religious fear was interpreted, it was nonetheless used as a means of regulating the Christian congregations' moral behaviour just as fear was utilized by secular powers for regulating society.²⁵

²² K. Romaniuk, 'Furcht: Altes und Neues Testament', *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. G. Krause et al., 37- vols. (Berlin, 1977-), XI, 756-9, at 758.

²³ Cf. Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, p. 16.

²⁴ 'Therefore, close the door of fear and desire against the devil, open [the door] to Christ. How do you open the wings of the door to Christ? Desire the heavenly kingdom, fear the fire of Gehenna. The devil enters through the desire for earthly things, Christ enters through the desire for eternal life, the devil enters through fear of temporal punishments, Christ enters through fear of the eternal fire'. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos 141*, in *Sancti aurelii Augustini. Enarrationes in psalmos*, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 38-40, 3 vols. (Turnhout, 1956), III, 2046-59, at 2047-8; cf. Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, p. 16. Augustine's *Enarrationes in psalmos* was used as a literary source in Anglo-Saxon literature, albeit not his comments on Psalm 141; cf. *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project*, ed., *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici: World Wide Register*, at <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 30.03.06]. Several Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Augustine's *Enarrationes* are listed in H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: a List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001).

²⁵ Cf. Dinzelbacher, *Angst*, p. 16.

Fear was also ‘an important vehicle for behavioural modification’ in early medieval monasteries.²⁶ The fourth chapter of the *Regula S. Benedicti* includes *Diem iudicii timere*, ‘to fear the Day of Judgement’, and *gehennam expauescere*, ‘to be terrified of Gehenna’, among the instruments of good works.²⁷ Describing the first stage of humility, the seventh chapter lists fear of hell as an aspect of the fear of God:

Primus itaque humilitatis gradus est, si timorem dei sibi ante oculos semper ponens obliuionem omnino fugiat et semper sit memor omnia, quae praecepit deus, ut, qualiter et contemnentes deum gehenna de peccatis incendat; et uita aeterna, quae timentibus deum praeparata est, animo suo semper euoluat (*Regula S. Benedicti*, 7.10-12)²⁸

The reader is asked to meditate on the salvation of those fearing God as well as on the damnation of those disobeying God. God is to be feared for His power to punish anyone transgressing against His commands with everlasting fire. Only those fearing this punishing power of God will receive eternal life. Thus, fear of God equals fear of hell and vice versa, after all God, not the devil, created hell as a place of punishment. The *Regula S. Benedicti* was of central importance to the monastic reform in Anglo-Saxon England and existed in a number of Latin versions, an Old English translation by Bishop Æthelwold, the author of the *Regularis concordia*, and interlinear Old English-Latin versions.²⁹ Following the Latin original closely, Æthelwold translated the two sections on the fear of hell quoted above as follows:

²⁶ McLuhan, ‘*Evangelico Mucrone*’, p. 110.

²⁷ All references to the Latin version of the *Regula S. Benedicti* are to *Benedicti regula*, ed. R. Hanslik, CSEL 75 (Vienna, 1960).

²⁸ ‘Thus, the first degree of humility is if, always placing the fear of God before one’s eyes, one entirely avoids forgetfulness, and always ponders in one’s mind about how Gehenna burns those defying God on account of their sins, and [how] on the other hand eternal life is prepared for those fearing God’.

²⁹ For a general introduction to the Old English *Regula S. Benedicti*, see M. Gretsch, ‘Æthelwold’s Translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and its Latin Exemplar’, *ASE* 3 (1974), 125-51; M. Gretsch, ‘The Benedictine Rule in Old English: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold’s Reform Politics’, *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture presented to Helmut Gneuss on the*

Domsdæg he sceal simle gepæncean, and hellewitu he him sceal a ondrædan, and þæs ecean lifes he sceal mid ealre geornfulnesse ginnan, and ælce dæge he him sceal deaðes wenan (*Regula S. Benedicti*, cap. IV, p. 17)³⁰

Ðære forman eaðmodnysse stæpe is, þæt gehwa godes ege hæbbe and ætforan his eagna gesyhðe singallice setle and ne sy ofergyttol, ac a gemyndig ealra þara þinga, þe ure drihten bebead; sy he eac gemyndig, hu ða for hiora synnum on helle behreosað, þe his beboda forseoð, eac swylce wealce a on his mode embe þæt ece lif, þe god gegearwod hæfð eallum þæm, þe hine andrædað (*Regula S. Benedicti*, cap. VII, pp. 23-4)³¹

Æthelwold stresses the interrelation between fearing God and fearing hell also in his ‘King Edgar’s Establishment of Monasteries’, which is a brief history of Anglo-Saxon monasticism he presumably wrote as a belated preface to his translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*.³² Æthelwold argued that a translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti* into Old English was necessary because it would provide illiterate lay people (that is those lacking a knowledge of Latin) who entered monastic life the proper instruction and prevent them from transgressing against the *Regula S. Benedicti* on account of their ignorance. Said lay people are described as follows:

occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. M. Korhammer, K. Reichel and H. Sauer (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 131-58; M. Gretsch, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften, Philosophische Fakultät, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 2 (Munich, 1973).

³⁰ ‘He shall always think of Doomsday, and the torment of hell shall always be frightening to him, and he shall with all zeal strive for eternal life, and on each day he shall fear death’. All references to the Old English *Regula S. Benedicti* are to *Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benediktinerregel*, ed. A. Schröer, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1964).

³¹ ‘The first degree of humility is that each one shall fear God and place [this fear of God] always before one’s eyes and forget [it] not; instead, one shall be mindful of all the things that our Lord commands; one shall also be mindful of how those who despise His command fall into hell for their sins, [and one shall] also always ponder in his mind about the eternal life that God has prepared for all those who fear Him’.

³² For introductory reading on ‘King Edgar’s Establishment of Monasteries’, see D. Whitelock, ‘The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar’s Establishment of Monasteries’, *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. J. L. Rosier, *Janua linguarum, Series major* 37 (The Hague, 1970), pp. 125-36; Gretsch, ‘Benedictine Rule in Old English’.

is þeah niedbehefe ungelæredum woroldmonnum þe for helle wites ogan 7 for Cristes lufan þis armfulle lif forlætaþ 7 to hyra Drihtne gecyrrað 7 þone halgan þeowdom þises regules geceosaþ ('King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries')³³

Fear of punishment in hell and love of Christ are conjoint and given as equally valid reasons why *ungelæredum woroldmonnum*, 'unlearned laymen', enter monasteries. Yet, not only unlearned lay people (or learned ones for that matter) were to have *helle wites ogan*, 'fear of hell's punishments'. Monks, too, were expected to fear hell. This is demonstrated by the above quotations from the *Regula S. Benedicti* and 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' itself, as it ends with a sanction stating that anyone who gives away possessions of the church shall be tormented in hell:

Gif hwa to þæm gedyrstig biþ þæt he þis on oþer awende, he biþ ungesælig on ecum tintragum gewitnad ('King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries')³⁴

While the first phase of the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform is *inter alia* concerned with the instruction of monks (and nuns), the second generation represented by Ælfric and Wulfstan fostered the instruction of lay people by writing homilies and, in the case of Wulfstan, laws.³⁵ Discussing Ælfric's theology, Lynne Grundy has pointed out that Ælfric understood the fear of hell as the first step towards God:³⁶

³³ '[It] is nevertheless necessary for unlearned laymen who for fear of punishment in hell and for love of Christ abandon this wretched life and turn themselves to their Lord and choose the holy service of this rule'. All references to 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' are to *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, I: A. D. 871-1204*, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), pp. 142-54; the above quotation is on p. 151.

³⁴ 'If someone is so foolish that he turns this into something else, he shall be unhappily punished in eternal torments'; *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock, Brett and Brooke, p. 154.

³⁵ Note, for example, Ælfric's dedication of his *Lives of Saints* to the 'alderman Æthelweard' and to Æthelmær; see *Ælfric's Lives of Saints: being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS os 76 and 82, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1881, 1885), I, 4.

³⁶ L. Grundy, *Books and Grace: Ælfric's Theology*, King's College London Medieval Studies 6 (London, 1991), pp. 209-10. Note that Lynn Grundy refers to Gregory the Great as a source for Ælfric's comment on fear, while Malcom Godden lists Haymo's *Homilia de tempore* 14 as a probable

On twa wisan byð se mann onbryrd ærest he him ondræt
 hellewite 7 bewepð his synna syððan he nimð eft lufe to gode
 (ÆCHom I 9.89-90)³⁷

In at least two of his homilies Ælfric emphasizes that the devil that comes from hell is particularly frightening. Ælfric recounts the vision of a dying military commander in his 'De doctrina apostolica' (ÆHom 19.138-207). The soldier is visited by *twegen egeslice deoflu*, 'two frightening devils', (191) who beat the man with *isenum tolum*, 'iron tools', (191) and whom the man shall meet again when they will drag him into hell (196-8). Ælfric explicitly stresses that the dying soldier is not visited by this vision so that he can secure his own salvation before dying; instead, this vision is to exhort those who listen to it or read it to do penance (202-7). This episode is one of the pastoral visions with which Ælfric frequently exhorts his audience to obey God's laws and withstand sin.³⁸ Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (V.13) has been identified as a direct source of Ælfric's account of this vision.³⁹ Interestingly, the description of the two devils in Ælfric's text differs from that of Bede's: while Bede speaks of *nequissimi spiritus*, 'two most wretched spirits', Ælfric called them *egeslice deoflu*, clearly emphasizing the frightening nature of these devils and hence the horror of the soldier's impending punishment in hell.⁴⁰ My second example is from a vision in Ælfric's fragmentary homily 'Visions of Departing Souls' (ÆHom 27). Here Ælfric speaks of *an egeslic deofol*, 'one frightening devil', (32) who comes from hell with a

direct source, see M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, EETS ss 18 (Oxford, 2000), p. 72.

³⁷ 'Man is inspired in two manners, first he fears the punishment of hell and bewails his sins, later he experiences love for God'. All references to Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* are to *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the First Series*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997) and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: the Second Series*, ed. M. Godden, EETS ss 5 (Oxford, 1979).

³⁸ On the pastoral function of visions in Ælfric's homilies, see M. M. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 69-76.

³⁹ R. Jayatilaka, 'The Sources of Ælfric, Supplementary Homily 19 (Cameron B.1.4.20)', 2002, *Fontes* [accessed 02.04.2002].

⁴⁰ All references to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* are to *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969). Note that in his *Grammar*, Ælfric renders Latin *nequam* as Old English *manful oððe forcuð*, not *egeslic*, see ÆGram (p. 75).

trident in his hands to poke a soul. In this case, the *Vitae patrum* (VI.iii.13) has been identified as Ælfric's direct source and again the source text does not call this devil fearful, but simply *tartaricum inferni*, 'the tartaric one from hell'.⁴¹ Thus, again Ælfric's text stresses the devil's frightening nature. Moreover, these examples show that even if descriptions of devils tormenting someone lack explicit references to fear (like Ælfric's sources), they could still be understood thus, as Ælfric's renditions of them unmistakably demonstrate. The devil's conduct is often so obviously frightening that specifications explicitly indicating that the devil is frightening are superfluous. Hence, if Ælfric stresses the obvious, one may conclude that the point of the devil's frightening nature is particularly important to him. Ælfric seems to emphasize the devil's fearfulness more often than other writers, as the collocation *deofol – egeslic*, which appears about nine times in Old English literature, occurs some six times in Ælfric's homilies, including the two instances quoted above.⁴²

Wulfstan's descriptions of hell are generally less vivid than Ælfric's, and Wulfstan is also more repetitive than Ælfric, using the same or similar comments on hell in several homilies.⁴³ Wulfstan presents hell as a fearful place full of *ece gryre*, 'eternal

⁴¹ On the identification of the *Vitae patrum* as Ælfric's source, see R. Jayatilaka, 'The Sources of Ælfric, Supplementary Homily 27 (Cameron B.1.4.28)', 1995, *Fontes* [accessed 02.04.2007]. All references to the *Vitae patrum* are to *Vitae patrum*, PL 73, cols. 993-1022B; quotation on col. 1012A.

⁴² Ælfric: ÆCHom I.31.113, ÆCHom II.34.364, ÆHom 11.168-9, ÆHom 17.128; other works: *Salomon and Saturn* (25b-6b), strictly speaking, the devil is further defined as an *egeslic draca*, 'frightening dragon', all references to *Solomon and Saturn* are to *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. E. v. Kirk Dobbie, ASPR 6 (London, 1942), pp. 31-48; Old English Martyrology, St Thomas (21 December), all references to the Old English Martyrology are to *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. G. Kotzor, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen. Neue Folge 88.1-2 (Munich, 1981), a new edition of the Old English Martyrology by Christine Rauer is forthcoming; the *Liber Scintillarum* (ch. 78), in this case it is a translation of Latin *diabolus terribilis*, 'terrible devil', all references to *Defensor's Liber Scintillarum with an Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version Made Early in the Eleventh Century: Edited with Introduction and Glossary from the Royal MS. 7 C iv in the British Museum*, ed. E. W. Rhodes, EETS os 93 (London, 1889).

⁴³ Compare, for example, WHom 3.66-73, 7.122-8 and 13.84-92.

terror’ or ‘eternal fear’.⁴⁴ In his homily ‘Her ongynd be cristendome’, Wulfstan directly asks his audience to fear hell:

Ondræde man domdæg 7 for helle agrise, 7 ecre reste earnie
man georne, 7 æghwylce dæge a manna gehwylc forhtige for
synnum 7 æfre him gehende endedæges wene (WHom 10c.182-
5)⁴⁵

Wulfstan’s I Cnut, a royal law-code on religious matters, contains a similar, although more explicit encouragement to fear hell:

we lærað eac georne manna gehwylcne, þæt he Godes ege
hæbbe symle on his gemynde, 7 dæg 7 nihtes forhtige for
synnum, Domdæg ondræde 7 for helle agrise, 7 æfre him
gehende endedæges wene (I Cnut 25)⁴⁶

The passages from Wulfstan’s homily 10c and I Cnut are similar to the passages from Chapter 7 of the *Regula S. Benedicti*, which may be explained by Wulfstan’s role in the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform.⁴⁷ While it is not known in how far law-codes reflect Anglo-Saxon life, they nevertheless show that eschatological concerns were interwoven with secular matters on the ‘intellectual level’ of governmental affairs.⁴⁸ Sanctions with infernal imagery and calls for penance, too, were probably not only or not primarily ecclesiastical tools, but also ideological statements. As I

⁴⁴ WHom 3.66-67; WHom 7.123; WHom 13.85.

⁴⁵ ‘Man shall fear Doomsday and tremble [for fear] of hell, and man shall eagerly earn eternal rest and on each day always each man shall be frightened on account of his sins and he shall ever think of the near day of death’. All references to the homilies of Wulfstan abbreviated as WHom are to *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957).

⁴⁶ ‘Moreover, we eagerly urge each man that he shall always have the fear of God on his mind and be afraid day and night on account of his sins, dread the Day of Judgement and fear hell, and he shall ever think of the near day of death’; see *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1903-16), I, 304-5 (quoted according to version G, on p. 304).

⁴⁷ On Wulfstan’s role in the monastic reform, see J. Hill, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?’, *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. Townend, pp. 309-24.

⁴⁸ Patrick Wormald indeed argued that Anglo-Saxon law-codes were ‘made and kept for other than legal reasons’ and should rather be understood in ‘literary and ideological terms’, see his *Making of English Law*, esp. pp. 416-65, quotation on p. 416.

have outlined earlier, the Anglo-Saxon king was represented as having a special spiritual relationship to God because he was thought to have been divinely ordained. Hence, the king possessed worldly and spiritual authority. The Anglo-Saxon king's elevated, indeed quasi-divine status came with pastoral duties.⁴⁹ These pastoral duties have been described by Wulfstan very explicitly in his *Institutes of Polity*:

Eahta sweras syndon þe rihtlicne cynedom trumlice upwegað:
Soðfæstnys, Modþwærnes, Rumheortnes, Rædfæstnes, Ueritas,
Patientia Largitas, Persuasibilitas, **Egesfulnes**, Fyrðringnes,
Lihtingnes, Rithwisnes, **Correctio malorum**, Exultatio
bonorum, Leuitas tributi, Equitas iudicii (Wulfstan, *Institutes of
Polity*, MS X, 'Be cynedome', III.23-4; my emphases)⁵⁰

The fifth column that supports kingship is *egesfulnes*, 'fearfulness, fear'. There is no Old English reference signifying how the reader is to understand *egesfulnes*, but its Latin equivalent in Wulfstan's literary source, the tenth chapter of Sedulius Scotus's *De rectoribus christianis*, is given as *malorum correctio atque contritio*, 'correction and contrition of the evil ones'.⁵¹ Taken together with its complementary item *fyrðringnes*, 'furtherance', which refers to the Latin *bonorum amicitia atque exultatio*, 'friendship and exultation of the good ones', it becomes clear that *egesfulnes* is to be understood in a pastoral context, in the sense that the evil ones

⁴⁹ Chaney, *Cult of Kingship*, pp. 247-59.

⁵⁰ 'There are eight columns that carry a just kingdom durably: truth, patience, liberality, reasonableness, *truth, patience, liberality, persuasiveness*, fear, furtherance, lightness of taxation, justice, *correction of the bad, exultation of the good, lightness of taxation, equality of justice*' (translations of the Latin passages are italicized). Because the *Institutes of Polity* has not come down in Wulfstan's own hand, it cannot be said how he would have related the Old English list of columns supporting the monarchy to the Latin list or if he had integrated a Latin list at all. It can only be said that in Manuscript X (from the early years of the eleventh century) the Latin words of the above passage are part of the text, while in manuscript D2 (from about CE 1070) the Latin terms are written in the same hand as the main text above their Old English equivalents, see *Institutes of Polity*, ed. Jost, p. 52.

⁵¹ See *Institutes of Polity*, ed. Jost, p. 52. All references to Sedulius's *De rectoribus christianis* are to *Sedulius Scottus*, ed. S. Hellmann, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* 1.1 (Munich, 1906), pp. 19-91.

must be frightened in order to be deterred from behaving evilly.⁵² This reading is supported by the seven characteristics of a righteous king, which include benevolence towards good people and strictness against evil people ('and þridde, þæt he eadmod sy wið gode, and feorðe, þæt he stiðmod sy wið yfele', Wulfstan, *Institutes of Polity*, MS X, II.27).⁵³ As a result, according to Wulfstan, it was part of the king's pastoral duties to frighten people from behaving in a manner considered morally evil. Interestingly, Charles Insley has pointed out that, in the context of royal assemblies, '[k]ings had to persuade and seduce as well as cajole and threaten' at royal assemblies.⁵⁴ The nature of such threats was surely diverse, but it may well have included threats of punishments in the afterlife.

To summarize briefly, fear is an important element of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. It is the first biblical emotion and emerges as a consequence of being disobedient against God; the object of this first fear is God's ensuing punishment. In the works of the Apostle Paul, the fear of God's punishment for disobedience is presented as a means of achieving salvation. In Augustine of Hippo's *Enarrationes* the fear of hell is also understood as beneficial to salvation. Moreover, for Augustine the fear of hell is tantamount to the fear of God, meaning that God has to be feared because of his power to punish in the afterlife. The *Regula S. Benedicti* also emphasizes both points: the importance of fear to salvation and the causal connection between disobedience against God and fear. Understanding fear similarly as in the Bible, Augustine's *Enarrationes* and the *Regula S. Benedicti*, Ælfric and Wulfstan stress the importance of the fear of hell in their writings. Finally, in his political treatise, Wulfstan presents

⁵² Cf. Karl Jost's translation of the fifth column as 'Einschüchterung [der Bösen]' in *Institutes of Polity*, ed. Jost, p. 52.

⁵³ 'and thirdly, that he shall be benevolent towards the good ones, and fourthly, that he shall be severe with the evil ones'.

⁵⁴ Insley, 'Assemblies and Charters', p. 50.

the act of frightening people in order to deter them from behaving in a manner considered evil as part of a king's pastoral duty.

2.2 Fearing the Devil in Anglo-Saxon Sanctions

I shall now investigate how the fear of hell as a pastoral tool is used in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. According to Christian teaching, hell was created as a place of punishment for those defying God. Therefore, the particular fear associated with damnation is primarily generated by elaborate descriptions of these punishments and the devil's role as the executioner of these punishments. The kind of fear connected with salvation, the afterlife and hell has been called religious fear by Peter Dinzelbacher, who has also spoken of objective and subjective fears.⁵⁵ Discussing diabolical imagery in sanctions, I shall argue that said religious fear was largely a product of a combination of objective and subjective fears that were projected onto or associated with hell and the devil. For example, the fear of social exclusion, which Dinzelbacher discussed as an important example of medieval objective fear, is projected onto damnation by presenting damnation as a form of afterlife exclusion from the heavenly community in the infernal imagery of sanctions (and other genres for that matter).⁵⁶ Hence, something that is fearful outside a specific eschatological context is used to present the afterlife in general and hell in particular as fearful. Centuries before the appearance of Christianity primeval fears of humans had already been projected onto representations of afterlife and some of these pre-Christian afterlife motifs are very similar to those of Christian infernal imagery.⁵⁷ The

⁵⁵ See above, pp. 61-2.

⁵⁶ On curses of exclusion in sanctions, see above, pp. 33-41.

⁵⁷ See J. B. Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca, NY, 1977), pp. 73-5 (the damned are tormented by demons, which may also be damned themselves, with various instruments of torment in representations of the afterlife in Japan and China), p. 77

projection of objective and subjective fears onto representations of the afterlife does not appear to be renewed with every new account of hell, but rather to be part of the respective infernal motifs. Because the subjective and objective fears that effected the development of individual literary motifs of hell and the devil were transmitted as part of infernal motifs, centuries later these motifs could still generate fear in their audience, provided the relevant fears were still shared by the audience.

In the following, I shall discuss the use of fear in the infernal imagery of four select sanctions, focusing on the representation of the devil as a tormentor of the damned. When devils are presented as tormentors of the human damned, a curious focus on presentations of devils eating the damned can be observed in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Thus, I shall first analyse this motif examining descriptions of devils feasting on the damned and a possible description of Satan as the Mouth of Hell. In both cases, the relevant sanctions may present very early, not yet fully developed examples of infernal imagery that became common motifs in the high Middle Ages. I shall also discuss a sanction in which frightening and tormenting natural forces have been projected onto devils.

2.2.1 Devils Feasting on the Damned

Containing some of the most elaborate and coherent infernal imagery, the sanction of charter S 925 from CE 1012 is an example of sanctions generating fear with their explicit infernal imagery:⁵⁸

(Egyptian anthropophagic demons; fire as an instrument of torment in representations of the afterlife in India, China and Japan).

⁵⁸ S 925 records Æthelred the Unready's grant of a manor house in Winchester to his wife Emma. Despite some unusual features S 925 has been considered authentic, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 125, n. 135; S. Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944, together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A.VIII and British Library*

Quod si cuilibet legirupi rancor multipetax quorumcunque posteritate temporum epilentico illectus spiritu hoc priuilegium autenticum quacunque temeritate quae frustrare desudabit tergiuersatione ex obsoleto corpore diaboli extrahatur arpagine et in lebetes Sathanae decoquatur, sitque infernalium offa carnificum in saecula, ni publicae poenitudinis remedio irae dei rumpheam super se euaginatam ob contradictionem qua hanc blasphemauit libertatem sedauerit (S 925)⁵⁹

The sanction describes devils preparing an anthropophagical meal in three steps: firstly, getting the food (*ex obsoleto corpore diaboli extrahatur arpagine*), secondly, cooking the food (*in lebetes Sathanae decoquatur*), and finally, feasting on it (*sitque infernalium offa carnificum*). In the following, I shall argue that the diabolical imagery of S 925 may be a very early and not yet fully developed example of the Hell as Kitchen motif. In its fully developed form the Hell as Kitchen imagery appears from the twelfth century onwards, becoming one of the most common infernal motifs.⁶⁰ This imagery shows hell as a kitchen in which devils torment the damned by preparing them in the way humans prepare their food, that is the damned are, *inter alia*, boiled, barbequed, sliced and impaled like food in a kitchen.⁶¹ The boiling and eating of a damned person by devils is straightforward in S 925, but the exact nature of the (*h*)*arpago* (hereafter: *harpago*) used for drawing a soul out of a

Cotton Titus D.XXVII, EEMF 26 (Copenhagen, 1996), p. 34; A. R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies 4.iii (Oxford, 2002), p. 215. A sanction in a charter benefiting one's wife may appear unconvincing, especially since the sentence before the sanction states explicitly that the beneficiary could do whatever she wanted with the grant. Yet, as Alexander Rumble has explained, the manor house seemed to have had some political significance and was wanted by at least two other parties (*Property and Piety*, p. 213). Remembering that sanctions in Anglo-Saxon charters were not only addressed to benefactors and beneficiaries, but also to unknown third parties, the sanction may have been addressed to any malevolent third party.

⁵⁹ 'Yet, should the insatiable spite of some law-breaker [who is] seduced by a maniacal spirit exert itself to deceive this authentic privilege with whatever audacity and deceitfulness, [this law-breaker] shall be drawn out of [his] worn body by a devil's flesh-hook and be boiled in Satan's cauldron and for all times he shall be a morsel for the infernal tormentors, unless he appeases the sword of God's anger, which has been drawn above him on account of the opposition with which he blasphemed this grant of freedom, with the remedy of public penance'; for an alternative translation, see Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 215-19.

⁶⁰ Morgan, *Dante*, p. 16.

⁶¹ Morgan, *Dante*, pp. 16-21.

body is ambiguous, because the term has various meanings. Moreover, each of the possible readings of *harpago* establishes its own diabolical connotations, which in turn determine the overall infernal imagery of S 925. This interesting term, hence, warrants a discussion of its various meanings and the diabolical imagery these meanings create before examining the sanction of S 925 in the light of the various diabolical motifs generated by the range of meanings of *harpago*.

The Latin term *harpago*, which is a grecism that is derived from the word ἄρπαγη, has several meanings.⁶² In classical Latin, it primarily denotes a ‘grappling-hook, grappling-iron’, a military or domestic instrument for ‘tearing down roofs or similar structures’, but also an instrument used in naval warfare for boarding an enemy’s ship.⁶³ In medieval Latin *harpago* additionally signifies ‘hook, talon’, and can also mean ‘tearing’.⁶⁴ Gildas and Aldhelm, for instance, used it specifically for denoting a bird of prey’s talons: ‘saevosque rapidi harpagones accipitris [...] vitantem’ (Gildas, *De excidio britanniae*, ch. 34); ‘ungues ritu falconum, et accipitrium, seu certe ad instar cavannarum, acuuntur [...] obunca pedum fuscinula et rapaci ungularum arpagine [...]’ (Aldhelm’s prose *De uirginitate*, ch. 58).⁶⁵ In Latin-Old English glossaries *clawu*, ‘claw’, is a frequent *interpretamentum* of *harpago*, together with

⁶² On the use of grecisms in S 925, see Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 214-15.

⁶³ For the first meaning, see OLD IV, 786; for the second meaning, see C. Ferone, ‘Asseres, harpagones e manus ferreae: nota a Liv. XXX, 10’, *Latomus* 63 (2004), 594-600.

⁶⁴ DMLBS, p. 1136.

⁶⁵ ‘and escaping the raging claws of the speedy hawk’; Gildas, *De excidio Britanniae* as in *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII*, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH Auct. antiq. 13 (Berlin, 1898), pp. 25-85, at 45; ‘nails are sharpened in the fashion of falcons and hawks or surely in the likeness of night owls [...] with the hooked forks of [their] feet and the violent talon of [their] claws’; all references to Aldhelm’s prose *De uirginitate* are to *Aldhelmi opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, MGH Auct. antiq. 15 (Berlin, 1919), 226-323, above quotation on p. 318. In Aldhelm’s *De carmen uirginitatis* (2314), *arpagans* (present participle) signifies wounds looking like tears on human skin produced by various methods of torture (hence, the *interpretamenta* ‘tearing’ for *arpagine* in some Aldhelmian glosses); all references to Aldhelm’s *De carmen uirginitatis* are to *Aldhelmi opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 350-471.

awel, ‘flesh-hook, small three-pronged fork’.⁶⁶ Bosworth and Toller pointed out that *awel* was the Old English term for Latin *fuscina*, ‘small three-pronged fork’.⁶⁷ In Latin-Old English glossaries *awel* appears indeed not only as an *interpretamentum* of *harpago*, but also of *fuscina*; in one case it also glosses *tridens*, ‘trident’.⁶⁸ In the above quotation from *De uirginitate*, Aldhelm uses *fuscina* and *harpago* as variants, both signifying the claws of birds of prey. Therefore, the term *harpago* appears to have denoted a (bird’s) ‘claw’ and ‘flesh-hook, fork’; as ‘flesh-hook, fork’, *harpago* seems to have been used synonymously with *fuscina* and *tridens* in Anglo-Saxon literature.⁶⁹

In view of these findings, *harpago* can either signify ‘grappling-hook’, ‘claw, talon’, or ‘flesh-hook, fork’ in S 925. The specifics of the diabolical imagery of S 925 vary with the interpretation of *harpago*: reading *harpago* as ‘grappling-hook’ would enrich the diabolical imagery with the aspect of militarism, rendering *harpago* as ‘claw, talon’ would add animal imagery, and understanding *harpago* as ‘flesh-hook, fork’ would present the devils with a kitchen utensil. These various readings of *harpago* not only affect the diabolical imagery of the sanction of S 925, but with it also the kind of fear that may have been generated by this sanction. Reading *diaboli harpago* as the ‘devil’s grappling-hook’, as suggested by Alexander Rumble, introduces the aspect of spiritual warfare to S 925 and places the act of transgression against the charter into a cosmic struggle between good and evil.⁷⁰ Read thus, the

⁶⁶ CorpGl 2 (1.756), EpGl (30), ClGl 1 (382), ErfGl 1 (29); cf. A. Cameron *et al.*, ed., *Dictionary of Old English* [Microfiche], (Toronto, 1986-), fasc. 5, p. 2121. For the translation, see Bosworth & Toller Suppl., p. 57.

⁶⁷ Bosworth & Toller Suppl., p. 57. For *fuscina*, see *DMLBS*, p. 1039.

⁶⁸ *ÆGram* (p. 25); *AldV* 7.1 (388), *AldV* 9 (379), *AntGl* 2 (850: *fuscina* *l* *tridens* *awel*), *CorpGl* 2 (6.370), *ClGl* 1 (2418, 2525), *ClGl* 3 (1363).

⁶⁹ For *trident* – *awel*, see *AntGl* 2 (850), *AntGl* 4 (299), *CorpGl* 2 (18.286: *Tridens* *auuel* *meottoc*).

⁷⁰ Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 218.

diabolical imagery would emphasize the endangerment of salvation when transgressing against the charter. Understanding *diaboli harpago* as the ‘devil’s talons’ may relate to the objective fear that wild animals may attack and possibly eat people, because the devil is then, by implication, associated with an animal or presented with animal traits. This imagery may also emphasize the devil’s animal, i.e. not rational, nature and thus his spiritual distance from God, and by association also the transgressor’s spiritual distance from God. Reading *diaboli harpago* as the ‘devil’s fork’ or ‘devil’s flesh-hook’ presents the devils tormenting the damned with a kitchen utensil, and *diaboli harpago* would thus emphasize the subjective fear of being devoured by demons.

All these readings are valid and the ambiguity of the imagery may possibly have been intentional. Nonetheless, with regard to the subsequent motifs of cooking (*in lebetes Sathanae decoquatur*) and eating (*sitque infernalium offa carnificum*), understanding *diaboli harpago* as a ‘devil’s flesh-hook’ or perhaps even ‘devil’s fork’ appears to be the primary association in the context of the entire sanction of S 925. During the Middle Ages forks were commonly used in the kitchen, but because they were closely associated with the devil, eating with forks was generally frowned upon, wherefore forks were only gradually used as cutlery with the beginning of the Renaissance.⁷¹ If my reading is valid, then S 925 may be a not yet fully developed example of the Hell as Kitchen imagery. This is not only suggested by reading *harpago* as ‘flesh-hook’ or ‘fork’, but also by the cauldron’s association with the Hell as Kitchen imagery.⁷² To my knowledge, this would make the sanction of S 925 one of the first examples of the Hell as Kitchen imagery in Anglo-Saxon literature. S

⁷¹ K. Düwel, ‘Gabel’, *RGA* X, 307; H. Hundsichler, ‘Gabel’, *LexMA* IV, 1069-70.

⁷² Morgan, *Dante*, pp. 14-17.

925 would then exhibit a stage in the imagery's development in which the individual parts were only loosely connected, in contrast to the fully developed Hell as Kitchen imagery of later centuries. The motifs of boiling the damned in cauldrons and of the damned being eaten existed already before the Hell as Kitchen imagery. The depictions of devils using tridents or forks also existed independently from the Hell as Kitchen imagery, as, for instance, Anglo-Saxon book illustrations, but also writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan show.⁷³ Interestingly, Wulfstan describes a devil using a fork in a similar manner as the sanction of S 925 in a hitherto unpublished excerpt of the *Canons of Edgar*:

Ofer þam seape þære hellican susle & þæra deoflica tintregena
sitt seo ealde hellwyrigend, & heo æfre scyfð swiðe bitterlice þa
earman sawla into þam picweallendan seaðe mid hyre irenan
force þeo byð æfre byrnende. & oðre hwile þonne hi man up
tyhð of þam grimlican seaðe. (Wulfstan, *Canons of Edgar* 14-
16).⁷⁴

Wulfstan speaks of an iron fork (*irenan force*) with which souls are put into a pit of boiling pitch. The fork in Wulfstan's text appears to be used for a torment similar to being cooked, because the damned souls are taken out of this pit and pushed back

⁷³ Cf. illustrations of devils with various instruments that look like hooks or lances or a combination of the two in illuminations accompanying the *Genesis* poems in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11; see C. E. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, CSASE 31 (Cambridge, 2001), Plates IIB, VIII-Xa, XV.

⁷⁴ 'Over the pit of the infernal torment and of the diabolical torments the old evildoer sits, and he ever shoves very bitterly wretched souls with his iron fork into the pit with boiling pitch [where] they are ever burning, and then every once in a while he pulls up a man out of the terrible pit'. Quoted according to the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, at <http://ets.umd.umich.edu/cgi/o/oec> [accessed 22.03.07], which is the only readily available source of this hitherto unpublished excerpt of Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar*; on this text, cf. N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 18, art. 42. Ælfric's homily 'Visions of the Departing Souls' contains a description of a devil impaling a damned human with a *þryfyrlede force*, 'three-pronged fork' (ÆHom 27.32). I shall not discuss Ælfric's account in more detail, because despite a faint similarity between the devils' instruments in Ælfric's homily and S 925, the actions for which these instruments are used differ too much from each other to make Ælfric's description truly relevant for S 925.

into it every once in while, which is very reminiscent of cooking a meal.⁷⁵ Consequently, the possibility of encountering an early Hell as Kitchen motif in an Anglo-Saxon text, i.e. prior to the twelfth century, may not be as extraordinary as it seems at first. All necessary elements, especially the boiling and devouring motifs, but also the fork motif had already been used as motifs in their own right. The manner in which these three motifs are combined in S 925 is still very loose, as they appear in a straightforward sequence, being combined by simple ‘and’ conjunctions. As such, any of the motifs could be taken out without destroying the syntactic structure of the sentence in which they appear. Nevertheless, the combination of these motifs in the sanction of S 925 generates most elaborate diabolical imagery, clearly describing the preparation of food with the damned as the devils’ meal. Thus, I would like to suggest that the primary meaning of *diaboli harpago* in S 925 is the ‘devil’s flesh-hook’ or even the ‘devil’s fork’. In accordance with its general use in Anglo-Latin, *harpago* may have lost its classical Latin meaning as a weapon of war here. The manner in which it is used in S 925 may have been dependent on Old English *interpretamenta* in glossaries.

Next to S 925, devils cooking or at least tormenting the damned in a cauldron is also the imagery used in the second most common sanction with infernal imagery among extant authentic Anglo-Saxon charters:

Si qui denique michi non optanti hanc libertatis cartam livore
depressi violari satagerint agminibus tetre caliginis lapsi vocem
audiant examinationis die arbitris sibi dicentis . “Discedite a me
maledicti in ignem æternum” . ubi cum demonibus ferreis

⁷⁵ The cauldron motif appears to be indirectly connected with the pit motif, as the presentation of hell as a pit influenced the Mouth of Hell motif, see G. D. Schmidt, *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth-Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century* (Selinsgrove, PA, 1995), pp. 33-5, and the Mouth of Hell motif is connected to the cauldron motif, see Morgan, *Dante*, pp. 14-15.

sartaginibus crudeli torqueantur in pæna . Si non ante mortem
digna hoc emandaverint pœnitentia (S 465 from CE 940)⁷⁶

Part of Matthew XXV.41 is integrated into this sanction in a manner that generates two interwoven eschatological motifs. Both of these motifs do not only drastically ‘baroque’ the plain source text, but they also render the damnation that awaits the damned in much more frightening imagery. Firstly, the motif of the damned falling through the troops of hideous gloom (*agminibus tetre caliginis lapsi*) anticipates the infernal atmosphere before the damnation is even pronounced. At first sight, there seems to be something wrong with this phrase, because one would expect a term denoting demons together with *agminibus tetre* rather than a reference to the gloominess of hell. However, this may metaphorically describe the outskirts of hell, which are dark from the demons that surround them.⁷⁷ As the gloom prevents a clear view onto hell, it emphasizes the mysteriousness of hell, while the ‘troops of hideous [demons]’ anticipate the hostile and frightening nature of hell. Secondly, because the phrase *agminibus tetre caliginis lapsi* is syntactically placed before the reference to the Last Judgement, yet semantically foreshadows the damnation into hell at the Last Judgement, it connects the sanction’s two eschatological motifs, namely that of the Last Judgement and that of hell. More importantly, the biblical reference to the devil and his angels as burning in eternal fire is altered into terrifying imagery, not least because the devils are turned from passive damned beings into active tormentors. In fact, the biblical verse appears to be of subordinate importance, as it is not

⁷⁶ ‘Finally, if some people, what I do not wish, oppressed by envy aspire to violate this charter of privilege, falling through the troops of hideous gloom, they shall hear the voice of the Judge, who says to them, “Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire”, where they shall be tormented in iron cauldrons by demons with cruel punishment, unless they correct it with proper penitence before their death.’ I am very grateful to Dr Niels Bohnert for his advice on this translation. This reading is supported by representations of this motif in the visual arts, in which the damned are usually whirled around by demons using some kind of instrument, cf. Morgan, *Dante*, pp. 11, 15, 16, 18, 19 (Plates 1-5).

⁷⁷ Such a motif appears, for instance, in Felix’s *Vita S. Guthlaci*, see below, p. 91.

reproduced completely and moreover entirely dominated by an ‘alternative ending’.⁷⁸ Judging from the function of iron cauldrons, the demons stir around the damned in boiling liquid like food prepared for a meal just as in S 925. This is also suggested by the verb *torquere*, which not only signifies ‘to torment’ in a general sense, but also, and indeed primarily, ‘to whirl around’ in a specific sense. As a result, the simple biblical verse from Matthew XXV.41 is turned into a horrifying threat expressed in graphic diabolical imagery by intertwining sets of imagery. Interestingly, Michael Lapidge has argued that charter S 687 from CE 960, one of charters containing the sanction of Formula Group (2), was drafted by Bishop Æthelwold, the ideological mastermind of the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon ‘ruler theology’ and renowned advocate of the monastic reform.⁷⁹ Because this sanction formula existed long before CE 960, its earliest extant authentic occurrence dating from CE 940, and because the charter S 867 contains one of the last occurrences of this sanction formula, Æthelwold should not be considered as the original draftsman of this sanction, but must have chosen or accepted this already extant material for his charter. Nevertheless, if Michael Lapidge is correct in suggesting that charter S 867 was drafted by Æthelwold, then this charter demonstrates that well-known advocates of the Anglo-Saxon Christian kingship ideology and monastic reform were not averse to using sanctions that emphasize the pastoral nature of sanctions as curses by using particularly frightening imagery.

⁷⁸ Cf., for instance, Formula Group (9) which attaches an alternative ending to the same abbreviated version of Matt. XXV.41 that is also used in Formula Group (2). Yet, in contrast to the sanction of Formula Group (2), the alternative ending of the sanction of Formula Group (9) does not dominate and crudely reshape the biblical verse.

⁷⁹ Lapidge, ‘Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher’, pp. 94-5.

2.2.2 Satan as the Mouth of Hell?

Although anthropophagy, the fear of being eaten, to which S 925 and the sanction of Formula Group (2) clearly allude, may seem unwarranted nowadays, it is not only commonly alluded to in medieval infernal imagery, but it is also a primeval fear of humans.⁸⁰ The danger of being attacked and eventually eaten by wild animals was perhaps still real in Anglo-Saxon times and thus the fear of being eaten by them can be regarded as an objective fear. As such, it may have influenced the development of the Mouth of Hell as a monster with animal traits in Anglo-Saxon England.⁸¹ There were, however, also many legends of monsters, animal and human monsters, that devour humans in remote and wild landscapes or at the 'edge of the world'.⁸² In the Anglo-Saxon context, *Beowulf*'s Grendel is an obvious example, but such creatures also appear in the *Liber monstrorum*, for instance, which speaks of cannibalistic giants who catch people and eat them.⁸³

In infernal imagery, anthropophagic fears are connected with the cauldron motif, with demonic animals, anthropomorphic demons eating the damned in hell, and with the Mouth of Hell imagery, which represents the entrance into hell as the mouth of a monster, often in the shape of an animal. All of these variants appear in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. The sanctions of S 925 and Formula Group (2) examined above contain the cauldron motif. In the sanctions of S 364 from CE 901 and S 914 infernal and

⁸⁰ On an anthropological discussion of anthropophagy, see e.g. W. Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York, 1979).

⁸¹ J. R. M. Galpern, 'The Shape of Hell in Anglo-Saxon England' (unpubl. PhD dissertation, California at Berkeley Univ., 1977), p. 151. Garry Schmidt, however, has doubted that fear of wild animals influenced the Mouth of Hell motif, see his *Iconography*, pp. 17-18.

⁸² Cf. Pehl, 'Menschenfresser', *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, ed. E. Hoffmann-Krayer and H. Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbücher zur deutschen Volkskunde, Abteilung 1 Aberglaube, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1927-42), VI, 151-4.

⁸³ *Liber monstrorum* I.33, as in A. Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 254-316, at 276.

demonic animals eat the damned in hell.⁸⁴ In the following, I shall examine the sanction of S 947 because it may be a very early example of Satan devouring the damned as the Mouth of Hell. Moreover, Satan's devouring of the damned may even make him a conveyer of the damned into hell instead of the more common animal Mouth of Hell. In the following, I shall first present the sanction of S 947 and then place it into the context of the Mouth of Hell imagery.

The sanction of S 947 from CE 1016 combines three motifs: burning in the fire of Gehenna, being in the company of notorious traitors and being devoured:

Si quis autem, diabolica illectus prauitate, et hoc donum in aliud quam quod constituimus peruertere molitus fuerit, maneat aeternaliter retrusus inter flammiumas aestuantis gehennae incorruptiones lugubre sibi solium uendicans, inter tres nefandissimos proditores Christi, Iudam, Annan et Caiphan, et in Satanae faucibus maneat deglutiendus, omnium infernalium morsibus carnificum sine fine laceretur, nisi hic digna satisfactione emendare curauerit, quod contra nostrum decretum inique commisit (S 947; representing Formula Group 21)⁸⁵

The combination of these three motifs is fairly complex. The conjunction *et* between *Caiphan* and *in Satanae* divides the sanction into two principal sections. The sanction's punishment clause begins with the first *maneat*, and *maneat* is repeated in the part following the above-mentioned conjunction *et*. The first *maneat*-part is used for expressing that the damned person remains in hell's fire, while the second

⁸⁴ For a discussion of S 914, see below, pp. 146-8.

⁸⁵ 'Yet, if someone enticed by diabolical viciousness labours to overturn this donation in anything other than what we have determined, eternally he shall remain thrust back within the flame-spitting imperishableness of the blazing Gehenna, among the three most impious traitors of Christ, Judas, Ananias and Caiaphas, and he shall remain in Satan's jaws in order to be swallowed down, endlessly he shall be torn to pieces by the bites of all infernal executioners, unless he takes care to correct here [on earth] by proper amends what he commissioned unjustly against our decree'. The same threat of punishment also appears in the sanction of S 63, which is, however, a post-Conquest forgery, see R. Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR* 100 (1985), 247-65, at 255.

maneat-part expresses that the damned person remains in Satan's mouth. The past participle (*retrusus*) in the first *maneat*-part indicates that the damned one entered hell by being thrust there. In the second *maneat*-part the damned remain in Satan's mouth to be swallowed down. Further infernal and diabolical motifs are attached to these two principal punishments without any syntactic markers as to how those motifs relate to the *maneat*-phrases to which they are linked. The infernal motif of the company of three of Jesus' traitors is linked to the first *maneat*-phrase and the diabolical motif of demons eating the damned person in the form of morsels (as in S 925) is connected to the second *maneat*-phrase.⁸⁶ Hence, there seem to have been two basic punishments in S 947, whereby the first uses infernal imagery and the latter diabolical imagery: a) remaining thrust back in the fire of hell, which is the most common infernal punishment, in the company of Judas, Annas and Caiaphas, which is also common, and b) remaining in Satan's jaws to be swallowed and eaten by demons.

The question is whether the damned first remain in Satan's mouth for a while and are then devoured by him and finally, having been devoured by Satan, are then again eaten by demons.⁸⁷ In this case, Satan's jaws would represent the Mouth of Hell and, so one must assume, hell would then be Satan's belly. However, the two motifs could also be read as variants of the same sentiment, the statement that the damned are in Satan's jaws and will be swallowed down would then simply be repeated with a variant, namely the statement that the damned are eaten as morsels by demons. In

⁸⁶ On famous damned persons in hell, see Chapter 3 below.

⁸⁷ There is similar, although far more explicit and vivid diabolical imagery that depicts the devouring of human damned by diabolical monsters, which in the course of the Middle Ages were turned into devils, see A. J. Kabir, 'From Twelve Devouring Dragons to the *Develes Ers*: the Medieval History of an Apocryphal Punitive Motif', *ASNSL* 238 (2001), 280-98. If the sanction of S 947 alludes to this motif, it certainly does so very implicitly and even rather clumsily.

this case, both activities can be presumed to take place within hell itself. I would like to suggest that the sanction's imagery is so ambiguous because it represents a very early and not yet fully developed example of Satan devouring the damned as the Mouth of Hell. Mouth of Hell imagery was developed in Anglo-Saxon England, and it became common infernal imagery from about CE 1200 onwards. As indicated above, it presents the mouth or jaws of a monster as the entrance into Hell. In Anglo-Saxon illuminations and literature that monster is usually in the shape of an animal.⁸⁸ Garry Schmidt has discussed the appearance of Satan as a devourer of the damned as a post-Anglo-Saxon development.⁸⁹ However, Satan is described as the Mouth of Hell in Vercelli 4:

ne cumað þa næfre of þæra wyrma seaðe 7 of þæs dracan ceolan
þe is Satan nemned. Þær æt his ceolan is þæt fyr gebet, þæt eall
helle mægen on his wylme for þæs fyres hæto forweorðeð
(Vercelli 4.46-8)⁹⁰

Satan is presented as a dragon here, but it is only a small step from an animal-like Satan to a Satan whose description lacks references to animal or human characteristics. Garry Schmidt has argued that Satan was 'unlike the hell mouth [...]

⁸⁸ For pictorial representations of the Mouth of Hell, see Karkov, *Text and Picture*, Plates IIb, VIII, XLIVb, XLVa. For a discussion of these illuminations, see Schmidt, *Iconography*, pp. 67-71; Galpern, 'Shape of Hell', pp. 35-7, 41. In *The Whale* (62b-81) the Mouth of Hell is presented as a whale's mouth; all references to *The Whale* are to *The Old English Physiologus*, ed. A. Squires, Durham Medieval Texts 5 (Durham, 1988), pp. 41-5. The Mouth of Hell also appears in several Old English homilies: ÆCHom II.80-1; Napier 29 (p. 141/ 23-5) and 40 (p. 181/ 7-10); all references to the Napier homilies are to *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, ed. A. S. Napier, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler in kritischen Ausgaben 4 (Berlin, 1883). A homily similar to Vercelli 9, printed as Homily L alongside Vercelli 9 in *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, ed. D. G. Scragg, EETS os 300 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 159-83 (the Mouth of Hell motif appears in lines 121-2).

⁸⁹ Schmidt, *Iconography*, p. 88.

⁹⁰ '[they] never come out of the pit of snakes and of the throat of the dragon which is called Satan. There in his throat is the fire attended to, so that the entire host is destroyed in his burning because of the fire's heat'; all references to the Vercelli Homilies are to *Vercelli Homilies*, ed. Scragg; cf. Napier 40 (p. 188/ 9-10), which presents the devil as the Mouth of Hell, although again in the form of a dragon.

never a conveyor into hell but exclusively a torment'.⁹¹ In the light of Garry Schmidt's findings, in S 947 Satan devours the damned as a kind of torment suffered in hell. However, distinguishing between the Mouth of Hell as an entrance to hell and Satan eating the damned in hell is not always easy. In Vercelli 4, Satan's throat is clearly the metaphorical place of hell and the damned are tormented within this hellish throat by fire and later also by cold, both of which are regulated by Satan's breath (52-5). Thus, Satan neither appears as a conveyer into hell nor is he presented as being in hell, because Satan himself is hell.

As the sanction of S 947 emphasizes in its first *maneate*-phrase that the damned shall remain thrust back in the fire and in its second *maneate*-part that they shall remain in the Satan's jaws, Satan's jaws may indeed be a variant of hell, which would be indicated by the parallel *maneate*-construction. However, in contrast to the first *maneate*-phrase, the second *maneate*-phrase contains a further indication of movement, because the damned remain in Satan's jaws only to be swallowed down, perhaps to be then eaten again by demons. Thus, if the draftsman of S 947 may have had a motif like that presented by Ananya Kabir in mind, he presented it in an abbreviated form in S 947.⁹² In any case, S 947 is curiously ambiguous in its presentation of Satan's jaws and the things that take place there. Perhaps this ambiguity resulted from the fact that the draftsman did not work with a fully developed infernal motif. Yet, because this imagery appears in a sanction, it may equally well be simply an incorrect rendering of a now lost or unknown older sanction or an unfortunate merging of two or more sanctions. This may explain the obvious lack of markers as to how the individual motifs relate to each other.

⁹¹ Schmidt, *Iconography*, pp. 88-9.

⁹² See above, p. 84, n. 87.

2.2.3 Natural Forces as Demonic Forces

Contrary to what one may suspect, the fears addressed by infernal imagery seem to be largely objective fears, not subjective fears. The predominant punishment in hell is to burn in fire, and being burnt is one of the most painful and frightening experiences humans can have. In the following, I would like to argue that objective fears are also addressed in the diabolical imagery of the so-called Glacial Curse, which appears in many Anglo-Saxon charters between CE 939 and 947, because its imagery associates tormenting natural forces with the torment exercised by demons. The sanction of S 447 from CE 939 is the earliest extant example of the standard variant of the Glacial Curse:

Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nostram difinitionem elationis habitu incedens infringere temptaverit perpessus sit gelidis glaciaryum flatibus et pennino excercitu malignorum spirituum . nisi prius inriguis pænitiæ gemitibus et pura emendacione emendaverit (S 447; representing Formula Group 6)⁹³

According to a comment Frederick Pollock presumably made in conversation and which was reported by Hubert Hall, ‘the charters containing this formula [i.e. the Glacial Curse] were the compositions of a scribe who had crossed the Alps and whose impressions of the journey have given an unusually realistic touch to this conventional clause’.⁹⁴ Pollock’s suggestion has also been quoted more recently in the online ‘Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic’. If Pollock’s comment, which rests on the reading of *penninus* as ‘Alpine’, were correct, then the Glacial Curse would be a

⁹³ ‘Yet, if someone, what we do not wish, seized by the condition of pride attempts to break our decree, he shall endure the icy-cold breath of cold and the feathered army of malignant spirits, unless he will have corrected [it] earlier with tearful sighs of penitence and sincere amendment’. Alternative versions of the Glacial Curse are in S 438 from CE 937 and S 442 from CE 938.

⁹⁴ Pollock’s suggestion as reported in H. Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 198-9.

truly exceptional case of objective fears of real threats being used to create diabolical imagery, which in turn encouraged religious fear. Investigating whether his idea is acceptable provides valuable insights into the nature of literary diabolical imagery. Because Pollock's proposition largely depends on the reading of the word *penninus*, I shall first discuss the meaning of *penninus* and then investigate whether the Glacial Curse's diabolical imagery may indeed be an example of personal experience that generated unique literary imagery or perhaps rather a traditional literary motif.

There are three possible readings of *penninus*: 'Pennine' (i.e. 'Alpine'), which was suggested by Pollock, 'Punic' (i.e. 'Carthaginian') and 'feathered, winged'.⁹⁵ Lewis and Short's Latin dictionary contains a shared entry for *Penninus* and *Poeninus*, which are, however, despite their similar spelling two different words.⁹⁶ While *penninus* is derived from Celtic *pen*, 'summit, peak', and signifies 'Pennine', i.e. the Alpine mountains between the Valais and Upper Italy, *poeninus* is the adjective form of *Poeni*, meaning 'the Punics', which is derived from Greek φοινίξ, 'Phoenicians'.⁹⁷ The *Patrologia Latina* database contains *penninus* exclusively in the meaning of 'Alpine'. In addition, this database shows that medieval writers used the term *penninus* for denoting 'Alpine' about as frequently as the alternative expression *mons iovis*, 'mountain of Jupiter'. In the meaning of 'feathered, winged', *penninus* appears to be a rare medieval neologism. The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* has explained that *penninus* is derived from *penna*, 'feather, wing', to which

⁹⁵ *Penninus* cannot signify England's Pennines, because the name *Pennines* for the hill chain in Northern England is an eighteenth-century invention, see K. Cameron, *English Place Names*, 6th ed. (London, 1996), p. 39; R. Coates, A. Breeze and D. Horovitz, *Celtic Voices, English Names: Studies of the Celtic Impact on Place-Names in England* (Stamford, 2000), p. 13; on a medieval appellation of England's Pennines, see M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 63-4.

⁹⁶ Lewis & Short, p. 1330.

⁹⁷ Lewis & Short, p. 1330. Etymology of *Poeni* taken from *OED* XII, 844 (entry on 'Punic').

the adjective ending *-inus* is added.⁹⁸ According to this dictionary, the Glacial Curse is the only occurrence of *penninus* in this meaning.⁹⁹ According to Peter Stotz, the use of the ending *-inus* in adjective neologisms of medieval Latin was widespread.¹⁰⁰ Anglo-Saxon writers of Latin are notorious for creating neologisms and Michael Lapidge lists several Anglo-Latin adjective neologisms ending on *-inus*.¹⁰¹

It can thus be briefly summed up that there is ample evidence in medieval texts that *penninus* was used for denoting ‘Alpine’ in the Middle Ages. By contrast, there is no medieval source supporting that *penninus* could denote ‘feathered, winged’ in the Glacial Curse. Yet, it would be a grammatically sound option if *penninus* in the Glacial Curse were a neologism. Even the most thorough analysis of the word *penninus* alone will not resolve whether the Glacial Curse’s diabolical imagery is a product of an extraordinary projection of an objective fear caused by a real threat experienced when crossing the Alps or already fully transformed into literary imagery (*pennin-us*) or whether the Glacial Curse contains a unique adjective neologism and, by implication, a rare variant of a common diabolical motif (*penn-inus*). As the influence of a personal experience in the composition of the Glacial Curse, as suggested by Frederick Pollock, is simply not provable, I shall now

⁹⁸ DMLBS, p. 2179.

⁹⁹ DMLBS, p. 2179. The *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* simply records a tenth-century date for the appearance of *penninus* as ‘winged’, which would agree with the tenth-century date of the Glacial Curse, see J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1993), p. 784. Classical Latin adjectives denoting ‘feathered, winged’ that were still commonly used in medieval Latin are *pennatus* or *pinnatus*, *pennus*, *depinnatus*, *pennifer*, *penniger* or *pinniger*. In several glossaries, the Old English adjectives *gefeðered*, ‘feathered’, and *feðerbære* and *feðerberende*, both ‘winged’ appear as *interpretamenta* of *pennatus*, *penniger*, *plumiger* and *alliger*, ‘bearing feathers, winged’, see: *pennatus*: OccGl 49 (1.17), OccGl 50.1.2 (77.27), PrudGl 4.2 (81), and a considerable number of times in the various Psalter Glosses; *penniger*: CIGl 1 (4703), AldV 1 (1575, 2360), AldV 13.1 (1565, 2404); *plumiger*: PrudGl 1 (144); *aliger*: SedGl 2.1 (481), CIGl 1 (281), CIGl 3 (1662). There are no occurrences of *penninus* in published Old English glossaries.

¹⁰⁰ P. Stotz, *Bedeutungswandel und Wortbildung*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 2.5, Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters 2 (Munich, 2000), pp. 333-4.

¹⁰¹ Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, p. 80 (*polinus*, *uafrinus*), p. 94 (*Beelzebutinus*, *pubetinus*).

examine whether there are literary sources for the one or the other or indeed both alternatives of the diabolical imagery created by the two readings of *penninus*.¹⁰²

None of the texts in the *Patrologia Latina* database that contain *penninus*, ‘Alpine’, collocate this word with terms denoting ‘army’ or ‘soldier’ or with terms signifying ‘demon’ or ‘devil’ respectively. Lewis and Short’s dictionary points especially to Livy’s *De urbe condita*, Pliny the Elder’s *Naturalis historia* and Tarcitus’s *Historia* as sources for the term *penninus*, ‘Alpine’ and ‘Punic’, but these, too, do not contain the expression *penninus exercitus* or similar ones which a medieval scribe may then have turned into an expression for ‘Alpine demons’. According to the *Perseus Project* database, there is no other classical literary source for such a collocation.¹⁰³ Although associations between the horrors of the Alps and hell are numerous in medieval travel accounts, I have not been able to find accounts that could be referred to the Glacial Curse.¹⁰⁴ Hence, ‘Alpine army’ or ‘Alpine demons’ does not appear to be a literary motif.

By contrast, ‘perpessus sit gelidis glaciaryum flatibus et pennino excercitu malignorum spirituum’ read as ‘he shall endure the icy-cold breath of cold and the feathered army of malignant spirits’ creates a diabolical imagery that not only has literary analogues, but also unites the two parts of the Glacial Curse (*gelidis*

¹⁰² The medieval travel across the Alps with its struggles and dangers cannot be discussed here, as Frederick Pollock’s suggestion is too great a speculation. Yet, useful introductory reading on this very interesting subject are V. Ortenberg, ‘Archbishop Sigeric’s Journey to Rome in 990’, *ASE* 19 (1990), 197-246. J. E. Tyler, *The Alpine Passes: the Middle Ages, 962-1250* (Oxford, 1930).

¹⁰³ *Perseus Project: Greek and Roman Materials*, at http://perseus.mpiwgberlin.mpg.de/cache/perscoll_Greco-Roman.html [accessed 09.04.2007].

¹⁰⁴ Two of the earliest of such travel accounts (from the high Middle Ages) are recounted in W. Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects delivered at Oxford, under statutory obligations in the years 1867-1884* (Oxford, 1900), p. 128 and in Rudolf of Saint-Trond, *Gesta abbatum Trudonensium*, ed. D. R. Koepke, MGH SS 10 (Hanover, 1852), pp. 213-448, at 307.

glaciarum flatibus and *pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum*). Reading *pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum* in the Glacial Curse as ‘winged army of malignant spirits’ is not only grammatically possible, but it also creates familiar diabolical imagery. Devils are occasionally described as having wings because of their former angelic nature.¹⁰⁵ In *Genesis B* the devil asks whether a fellow devil could *mid feðerhoman fleogan*, ‘fly with wings’, to Paradise (416b-9); *feðerhama* literally means ‘feather garment’.¹⁰⁶ Notable are also two descriptions of devils in the Old English translation of Felix’s *Vita S. Guthlaci*. At one point devils first strike Guthlac with iron wipes (p. 130, 165-8) and then take him up *betuh þa caldan facu þære lyfte*, ‘between the cold spaces of the air’, with their *andrysenlicum fiðerum*, ‘terrible wings’ (p. 130, 168-71), to fly him to the door of heaven.¹⁰⁷ The Latin version does not use *penna*, however, but *ala*, ‘wing’: ‘horridis alarum stridoribus inter nubifera gelidi aeris spatia illum subvectare coeperunt’.¹⁰⁸ When hell is in sight, the Old English version describes the air as dark from the *ondrysenlican fiðeru [...] þara werigra gasta*, ‘terrible wings of miserable spirits’, (p. 131, 179-81) that approach them. Some manuscripts of the Latin version include this second reference to the wings of demons (‘Innumerabiles enim immundorum spirituum alas in obviam illis dehinc venire cerneret’), while others speak of armies of evil spirits instead (‘Innumerabiles enim immundorum spirituum turmae in obviam illis dehinc venire

¹⁰⁵ Note also that devils are portrayed with wings in the illuminations of Junius 11, see Karkov, *Text and Picture*, Plates IIb, VIII, IX, Xa, XV; on Plate VIII the fallen angels are depicted with big, white wings like those of the angels in heaven in the upper register of the illumination, but with short, black wings once the fallen angels are in hell.

¹⁰⁶ All references to *Genesis B* are to *The Saxon Genesis: an Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis*, ed. A. N. Doane (Madison, WI, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ All references to the Old English translation of Felix of Crowland’s *Vita S. Guthlaci* are to *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac, mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Miniaturen*, ed. P. Gonser, Anglistische Forschungen 27 (Heidelberg, 1909), pp. 100-73; I am quoting the Vercelli-Fragment.

¹⁰⁸ ‘to the horrible buzzing sound of wings they began to carry him in between the cloudy space of icy-cold air’; all references to the Latin *Vita S. Guthlaci* are to *Felix’s Life of Saint Guthlac: Introduction, Text, Translation and Notes*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956); quotation on p. 104.

cerneres’).¹⁰⁹ In the Latin version, Guthlac then sees the damned suffering heat and cold simultaneously, as the abyss’s flames are *glaciali grandine mixti*, ‘mixed with icy hail’.¹¹⁰ Thus, the diabolical and infernal imagery in Felix’s *Vita S. Guthlaci* contains both the winged demons and the cold as torment in hell. In addition, depending on the manuscript, Felix gives the demons military characteristics. Although Felix’s description is too different to call it a literary source, it nevertheless shows that the elements of feathered demons and cold appear together in at least one other literary text next to the Glacial Curse.

While Felix’s text describes the cold in hell as hail, there are other texts describing it more similarly to the Glacial Curse as cold wind or storm. Ælfric’s description of a cold region in hell in his *Vision of Drythelm*, for example, presents the cold as an icy storm:

Da become wyt to anre dene [...] Seo wæs weallende mid
anðræcum ligum on anre sidan . on oðre sidan mid hagole and
grimlicum cyle. blawende butan toforlætennysse; Seo dene wæs
afylled mid manna sawlum . þa scuton hwiltidum of þam
weallendum fyre. into ðam anþræcum cyle. and eft of ðam cyle
into þam fyre. buton ælcere toforlætennysse (ÆCHom II.21.24-
31)¹¹¹

Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica*, which is Ælfric’s source of this vision, speaks of the same alternation between heat and cold, describing the latter as ‘furenti grandine ac

¹⁰⁹ ‘they saw uncountable wings/ troops of unclean spirits coming towards them from there [i.e. from hell]’, *Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. Colgrave, p. 104. Note that the Old English version of Felix’s *Vita S. Guthlaci* in the London Mss. follows the Latin description without the reference to the demons’ wings, cf. *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben*, ed. Gosser, pp. 131, 178-81.

¹¹⁰ *Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. Colgrave, p. 104.

¹¹¹ ‘Then we two came to a valley [...] It was burning there on one side with a horrible fire, and it was blowing there with hail and terrible cold on the other side without a break; the valley was filled with the souls of men, every once in a while they shot out of the burning fire into the horrible cold and again out of the cold into the fire without any interruption’.

frigore niuium omnia perflante atque uerrente' (V.12).¹¹² A similar idea as in Ælfric and Bede appears in *Genesis B*:

Pær hæbbað heo on æfyn ungemet lange,
ealra feonda gehwilc, fyr edneowe,
ponne cymð on uhtan easterne wind,
forst fyrnum cald. Symle fyr oððe gar,
sum heard geswinc habban sceoldon.
(*Genesis B* 313-7)¹¹³

In contrast to Ælfric and Bede, *Genesis B* hints at the kind of pain inflicted by the extreme cold, as it associates the frost with arrows. The Old English term *gar*, which is used in line 316b for denoting 'cold', also signifies 'dart, arrow' as well as sharp pain.¹¹⁴ Using *gar* for denoting 'cold' is likely to draw on the similarity of the pungent pain caused by arrows to that caused by cold. This link between the cold and arrows is very relevant for diabolical imagery, because devils are often described as shooting humans with arrows, whereby their tempting of humans is expressed metaphorically.¹¹⁵ The expression *exercitu malignorum spirituum* places the diabolical imagery of the Glacial Curse in a cosmic dimension by evoking the concept of spiritual warfare between good and evil over the souls of humans.¹¹⁶ Because the Glacial Curse emphasizes the demons' military characteristics and because *penna* in the meaning of 'feather' can be a *pars pro toto* for 'arrow', the

¹¹² 'a raging hailstorm and cold of snow blowing and sweeping over all things'. On Bede as a source, see Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp. 539-40.

¹¹³ 'In the evening, each of the fiends has to [endure] fire for a very long time, until the east wind, very cold frost, comes at daybreak. Fire or (piercing) cold, they shall have severe hardship'.

¹¹⁴ J. Roberts, C. Kay and L. Grundy, *Thesaurus of Old English*, King's College London Medieval Studies 11, 2 vols. (London, 1995), I, 117 (*gar*, 'sharp pain'), 608 (*gar*, 'arrow, dart, bolt'); Bosworth & Toller Suppl., p. 283.

¹¹⁵ Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, pp. 33-5.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Motif Group (XIV) in Appendix 5 below. The exact expression *exercitus malignorum* is rare, however; I have only found three examples: Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in libros IV regum*, PL 109, cols. 9-280A, at 214D; Hrabanus Maurus, *De universo*, PL 111, cols. 9-614, at 338D; Walafrid Strabo, *Liber regum tertius*, PL 113, cols. 581A-610D, at 609B.

Glacial Curse may indeed be alluding to this 'arrow'-metaphor.¹¹⁷ The association with 'arrows', which is not openly expressed in the Glacial Curse, but possibly metaphorically implied, strengthens the cosmic dimension of spiritual warfare in the sanction's diabolical imagery, because the Glacial Curse would then allude to the complete process of damnation starting with a person's temptation by the devil and ending with his suffering of infernal punishments.

The diabolical imagery of 'the winged army of malignant spirits' not only suits the context of the Glacial Curse perfectly, it also is a common literary motif in medieval literature. The Glacial Curse can thus not be presented as an extraordinary example of objective fears generated by real threats someone once experienced and later used for creating a unique description of devils. Instead, the allusion to the objective fear of cold in the Glacial Curse is already contained in the literary motif, just as the objective fear alluded to in presentations of hell as a place of fire, for instance. Is it possible to conclude from this that the frightening nature of the Glacial Curse's devils, which are undoubtedly literary figures, had no relation to life outside the Glacial Curse? Was there no interchange between literary motif and 'real life' because the representation of these devils appears in moral rather than scientific literature? I would like to argue that for a medieval audience the devils of the Glacial Curse may have been the more frightening precisely because they were presented as well-known and traditionally warranted literary motifs rather than personal experience. It should be remembered, not only in context of the Glacial Curse, that authority rested on tradition transmitted by literature and custom, which were

¹¹⁷ *DMLBS*, p. 2178; Lewis & Short, p. 1330.

themselves steeped in tradition.¹¹⁸ Thus, for sanctions to be authoritative pastoral tools, they needed to contain authoritative material. This underlines that spiritual sanctions in Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas may best not be read as legal instruments in the sense that they formed the basis of the criminal prosecution of those who transgressed against charters, but as pastoral, and ultimately ideological instruments expressed in authoritative infernal imagery.

2.3 Conclusion

Referring to Peter Dinzelbacher's discussion of fear in the Middle Ages, I have discussed diabolical imagery in select Anglo-Saxon sanctions, arguing that they address subjective fears caused by unreal threats and objective fears caused by real threats in order to generate religious fear in their audience, that is fear of the afterlife in general and of hell in particular. I have first tried to show that religious fear was understood as a positive fear that helped people to achieve salvation in several texts relevant to Anglo-Saxon Christianity. As such, religious fear was a pastoral tool when used in instructions and exhortations on how to live in order to achieve salvation and avoid damnation. Such instructions appear often in homilies, but can also occur in poetry, various ecclesiastical writings and even laws. I have then discussed select examples of diabolical imagery in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. The analysis of the sanction of S 925 has shown that the sanction's diabolical imagery creates religious fear not only with its explicitly horrific illustrations of devils tormenting potential transgressors, but also because it alludes to the primeval human fears, in this case the fear of being eaten, which is a combination of objective and

¹¹⁸ On authority derived from tradition and transmitted in the form of literary motifs, see, for instance, S. DeGregorio, 'Texts, Topoi and the Self: a Reading of Alfredian Spirituality', *EME* 13 (2005), 79-96; L. E. v. Padberg, 'Topos und Realität in der frühmittelalterlichen Missionspredigt', *Hagiographica* 4 (1997), 35-70; M. Otter, 'Functions of Fiction in Historical Writing', *Writing Medieval History*, ed. N. Partner, Writing History (London, 2005), pp. 109-30.

subjective fears. In the sanction of Formula Group (2), the second most common sanction formula with infernal imagery, a biblical verse is modified by including a motif that hints at anthropophagy. One of the charters containing this sanction may have been drafted by the monastic reformer Æthelwold. In connection with the sanction of S 947, I have discussed the fear of being eaten in more detail, emphasizing that it commonly appears in the infernal motif of Hell's Mouth. The Glacial Curse's diabolical imagery created religious fear by addressing the fear of extreme cold and spiritual warfare. The detailed discussion of the Glacial Curse has shown that objective fears are part of traditionally transmitted literary diabolical and infernal motifs. The literary diabolical imagery seems not to have been an end in itself or a superfluously bombastic, pompous weight, but a purposeful element of sanctions, a homiletic reminder not to endanger one's salvation by breaking a charter's agreement. While it cannot be said if the frightening representations of the devil as tormentor in hell indeed deterred people from transgressing against charters, the vivid emphasis on such representations clearly underlines the pastoral messages of sanctions in which they appear. Thus, the use of traditional infernal and diabolical motifs greatly strengthens the force of spiritual sanctions.

CHAPTER 3

THE DAMNED IN HELL

I have proposed that infernal imagery supports the pastoral function of sanctions. In Chapter 2, I have tried to show that sanctions containing particularly frightening descriptions of devils as tormentors are examples of the use of fear as a pastoral instrument. In this chapter on the damned in hell, I shall argue that infernal imagery of sanctions frequently incorporates one of the most explicitly didactic devices of early medieval literature: the *exemplum*. The type of *exemplum* used in sanctions is, however, not the narrative *exemplum* commonly associated with medieval literature. Rather than narrating an *exemplum* in the form of a story, sanctions refer to notoriously damned people by name only, threatening that those who transgress against charters are cursed to share their punishments with Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, Dathan and Abiram, Caiaphas, Pilate, Julian the Apostate, Adam, Cain or the devil or a combination of two or more of these. Because these damned are well known to Christians, their names alone were likely to have triggered off associations to the biographies and negative examples attached to them.¹ In the following, I shall first introduce the literary form of the *exemplum* and then present its function discussing three passages from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* that employ notorious damned as negative *exempla*. Finally, I shall try to demonstrate that negative *exempla* of famous damned persons support the sanctions' pastoral functions in the same way as they support the pastoral arguments of homilies.

¹ I shall use the term *exemplum* (pl. *exempla*) for denoting the literary form, while the deed or misdeed committed by someone shall be referred to as 'example'.

3.1 The *Exemplum*

The medieval *exemplum* has been researched for over a century, but a generally accepted definition of the *exemplum* has not been reached.² The medieval *exemplum* used to be largely understood as a genre of short moralizing narrations that appeared from the thirteenth century onwards.³ However, the view that the *exemplum* is a rhetorical device with various functions has gradually prevailed.⁴ As such, the medieval *exemplum* descends via the patristic *exemplum* from the classical *exemplum*. Markus Schürer has shown how patristic writers adopted the classical *exemplum* and used it for illustrating doctrinal and moral concepts as well as for imparting abstract theological concepts to unlearned people.⁵ The use of *exempla* in patristic literature then influenced medieval literature.⁶ In the early Middle Ages, the *exemplum* was used in particular by monks who followed the Cluniac reform, according to Frederic Tubach.⁷ Tubach's statement is very interesting in the light of the observation that the *exempla* of notorious damned persons was a dominant

² For good introductory reading on this complex topic, see M. Schürer, 'Das Beispiel im Begriff: Aspekte einer begriffsgeschichtlichen Erschließung exemplarischen Erzählens im Mittelalter', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 38.1 (2003), 199-237; D. Roth, 'Das Exemplum zwischen *illustratio* und *argumentatio*: zum Exempla-Gebrauch in der *Disciplina clericalis*', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 29.2 (1994), 19-27; see also C. Bremond, J. Le Goff, and J.-C. Schmitt, *L'Exemplum*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 40 (Turnhout, 1982), pp. 27-38. L. Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: the Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 20 (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 27-134.

³ Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, *L'Exemplum*, esp. pp. 36-8; J. A. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England* (New York, 1911) [not seen]; J. T. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge*, Bibliothèque d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France (Paris, 1927) [not seen].

⁴ R. Schenda, 'Stand und Aufgaben der Exempla-forschung', *Fabula* 10 (1969), 69-85; P. v. Moos, 'Das argumentative Exemplum und die "wächserne Nase" der Autorität im Mittelalter', *Exemplum et similitudo: Alexander the Great and other Heroes as Points of Reference in Medieval Literature*, ed. W. J. Aerts and M. Gosmann, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 8 (Groningen, 1988), pp. 55-84; P. v. Moos, *Geschichte als Topik: das rhetorische Exemplum von der Antike zur Neuzeit und die 'historiae' im 'Policraticus'* *Johanns von Salisbury* (Hildesheim, 1988) [not seen]; Schürer, 'Beispiel'; Roth, 'Exemplum'. Claude Bremond has understood the *exemplum* not as a narrative genre, but in close relation to certain forms of narrative genres in his 'L'Exemplum médiéval: est-il un genre littéraire?', *Les Exempla médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, ed. J. Berlioz and M. A. Polo de Beaulieu, *Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge* 47 (Paris, 1998), pp. 21-8.

⁵ Schürer, 'Beispiel', pp. 211-20.

⁶ Schürer, 'Beispiel', pp. 220-34.

⁷ F. C. Tubach, 'Exempla in the Decline', *Traditio* 18 (1962), 407-17, at 409.

infernal motif of Anglo-Saxon sanctions in the second half of the tenth century, when the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform (which was influenced by the reform movements of Cluny and Fleury) became a powerful force in England.⁸

Following current scholarship, I understand the *exemplum* as a rhetorical device that illustrates an abstract concept with a concrete example in order to persuade an audience into believing said concept to be authoritative; in medieval literature these abstract concepts are often, but not exclusively, moralizing, while the *exempla* can be didactic, edifying and entertaining.⁹ *Exempla* can be positive or negative, whereby positive *exempla* aim at persuading people to imitate a particular behaviour, while negative *exempla* are used for deterring people from following a specific conduct. The *exempla* in Anglo-Saxon sanctions are negative *exempla*. Moreover, they are particular kinds of negative *exempla* because they essentially consist of only a name. Peter von Moos has explained that even ‘die einfache Nennung einer historischen Person als metaphorische Chiffre für eine bestimmte Anekdote’ can be an *exemplum* or rather a *Beispielfigur* (‘illustrative figure’).¹⁰ Of course, this can only be effective if the audience is sufficiently educated and knows to what episode the *exemplum* alludes.¹¹ Because a person represents an idea in this type of *exemplum*, ‘[wird] die ganze Biographie dieser Person [...] auf eine durch bloße Nennung abrufbare

⁸ On the appearance of this motif in the sanctions of especially tenth-century charters, see Motif Groups (III) and (XII) in Appendix 5 below.

⁹ For a similar definition, see C. Daxelmüller, ‘Exemplum’, *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. R. W. Brednich et al., 12-vols. (Berlin, 1977-), IV, 627-49, at 627. Markus Schürer has called Daxelmüller’s definition of the *exemplum* a ‘minimal consensus’ of the *Exemplarforschung* in his ‘Beispiel’, p. 201. On the *exemplum*’s various functions, see Roth, ‘Exemplum’, pp. 20-7.

¹⁰ Moos, ‘Das argumentative Exemplum’, pp. 58-60, quotation on pp. 58-9.

¹¹ Moos, ‘Das argumentative Exemplum’, p. 59.

Anekdote reduziert'.¹² I shall show later that this is exactly the kind of *exemplum* used in Anglo-Saxon sanctions.

The medieval *exemplum* seemingly had a special connection with eschatology. Gregory the Great, who is seen as a father of medieval infernal imagery, was also among the first to use this imagery as a pastoral tool.¹³ The fourth book of his *Dialogi*, which generally deals with eschatological concerns, is often seen as the first medieval collection of *exempla*, although it would be more precise to call it a patristic work which greatly influenced medieval literature, including Anglo-Saxon literature.¹⁴ Gregory the Great favoured the *exemplum* because of its 'persuasive power' that 'aroused the heart to the love of God, in contrast with biblical commentary, which engaged the intellect'.¹⁵ Understood thus, the use of *exempla* in sanctions has a similar effect to the use of literary imagery in sanctions, which also appeals to emotions rather than the intellect.¹⁶ Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt have observed that Gregory's extensive use of *exempla* and his particularly elaborate infernal imagery merge in the *Dialogi*, where the *exemplum* 'devient un élément

¹² Moos, 'Das argumentative Exemplum', p. 59.

¹³ On Gregory's infernal imagery, see J. Le Goff, *La Naissance de purgatoire*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris, 1981) pp. 121-31; Minois, *Hölle*, pp. 170-5.

¹⁴ Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, *L'Exemplum*, pp. 49-50; Scanlon, *Narrative*, p. 31. Gregory the Great's work was very influential in Anglo-Saxon England; his *Cura pastoralis* and *Dialogi* were even translated into Old English. On Gregory's *Dialogi* and Anglo-Saxon England, see K. Dekker, 'King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*: Tales for the Unlearned?', *Rome and the North: the Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, ed. R. H. Bremmer, Jr., K. Dekker and D. F. Johnson, *Mediaevalia Groningana* ns 4 (Leuven, 2001), pp. 27-50; P. E. Szarmach, 'Another Old English Translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*?', *ES* 62 (1981), 97-109.

¹⁵ Scanlon, *Narrative*, p. 31. Cf. R. E. Finnegan, 'Christ and Satan: Structure and Theme', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 30 (1974 for 1969), 490-551, at 510-11. Medieval sources are largely silent about the functions of *exempla*, for a brief summary of those, see Schürer, 'Beispiel', pp. 211-20 (patristic literature), pp. 220-34 (from thirteenth century onwards).

¹⁶ See above, pp. 10-13.

essentiel de l'exposé doctrinal [...] [p]our traiter en particulier des problèmes de l'au-delà', including the concept of hell.¹⁷

According to Frederic Tubach, eschatological teachings remained the predominant context in which *exempla* appeared in the early Middle Ages.¹⁸ Ælfric certainly seems to have viewed *exempla* as very suitable for teaching eschatological concepts, as many of Ælfric's accounts of hell are presented in the form of visions of hell that are recounted as *exempla*.¹⁹ Ælfric was in this respect, as in many others, influenced by Gregory the Great and Bede.²⁰ Milton Gatch and Joyce Galpern have shown that eschatological *exempla* in Ælfric's homilies support penitential exhortations, which are essential parts of the homilies' moral teachings.²¹ I shall analyse Ælfric's use of *exempla* by discussing three passages from his *Catholic Homilies* that show how Ælfric used notoriously damned *personae* for instructing his audience in moral behaviour.²² In his 'Dominica palmarum: de passioni domini' (ÆCHom II.14), Ælfric interrupts his biblical narration of the Passion at the Last Supper in order to explain Jesus' saying 'Wa ðam men. þe me belæwð. betere him wære. þæt he

¹⁷ Bremond, Le Goff and Schmitt, *L'Exemplum*, pp. 49-50, quotation on p. 50; on Gregory's use of *exempla*, see also Scanlon, *Narrative*, p. 31; Schürer, 'Beispiel', pp. 218-19; Finnegan, 'Christ and Satan', pp. 508-11.

¹⁸ Tubach, 'Exempla', pp. 409-11.

¹⁹ See, for instance, ÆCHom I.4.150-3 (infernal part of detailed vision of afterlife), the Vision of Fursey in ÆCHom II.20.19-251 and the Vision of Drythelm in ÆCHom II.21.1-111.

²⁰ Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (V.12) is the direct source of Ælfric's Vision of Drythelm, and Ælfric himself mentions Bede as his source (ÆCHom II.21.1-2). The fourth book of Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* is also the direct literary source of the vision following the Vision of Drythelm in Ælfric's homily; this, too, is mentioned by Ælfric (ÆCHom II.21.112-16); cf. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp. 538-44. Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* also contains a version of Fursey's vision (III.19), but according to Malcom Godden it is not Ælfric's source, see Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, pp. 529-38.

²¹ Gatch, *Preaching and Theology*, pp. 66-76; Galpern, 'Shape of Hell', pp. 87, 102-9.

²² The question of audience in the context of Anglo-Saxon literature in general and homiletic literature in particular is highly debated, see H. Magennis, 'Audience(s), Reception, Literacy', *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E. Treharne (Oxford, 2001), pp. 84-101; E. Green, *Anglo-Saxon Audiences*, Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics 44 (New York, 2001); M. M. Gatch, 'The Unknowable Audience of the Blickling Homilies', *ASE* 18 (1989), 99-115; H. Magennis, "'Listen Now All and Understand": Adaptation of Hagiographical Material for Vernacular Audiences in the Old English Lives of St Margaret', *Speculum* 71 (1996), 27-42.

geboren nære' (ÆCHom II.14.43-4; cf. Matt. XXVI.24, Mark XIV.21).²³ Ælfric's explanation places Jesus' words into a greater context by using the betrayal and punishment of Judas for illustrating that *all* traitors of Jesus will be punished in hell:

Drihten cwæð soðlice be ðam swicelan iudan. þæt him selre wære. þæt he geboren nære; Nis þæt na to understandenne ænigum gesceadwisum swilce he awar wære. ær ðan ðe he geboren wære; Ac hit is anfealdlice gecweden. þæt him betere wære. þæt he næfre nære. ðonne he yfele wære; Forwel fela manna onscuniað iudan belæwinge. and swa ðeah nellað forwandian þæt hi ne syllon soðfæstnys. and se ðe soðfæstnysse beceapað wið feo. he bið iudan gefera. on fyrenum witum. se ðe crist belæwde. for lyðrum sceatte (ÆCHom II.14.54-63)²⁴

Three aspects of this passage are particularly important in respect of Ælfric's use of negative *exempla*. Firstly, there is a clear link between the misdeed of Judas and his punishment. The negative *exemplum* consists of the sin *and* punishment of Judas, because those following Judas in his misdeed will be forced to follow him in his punishment, too. Hence, the person who commits the same sin as Judas will be *iudan gefera*, 'the companion of Judas', in hell. Secondly, Ælfric explicitly addresses the less learned. In contrast to his probable sources, Ælfric's text clearly states that Jesus' words should not be misunderstood by *ænigum gesceadwisum*, 'any wise people'.²⁵ The adjective *gesceadwis*, 'intelligent, reasonable, wise', seems to be used as an understatement here, because wise people would not need this explanation, they would be wise enough to understand Jesus' words correctly. Because

²³ 'Woe to the man who betrays me. It would be better for him, if he were never born'.

²⁴ 'The Lord says truthfully to the deceitful Judas that it would have been better, if he had not been born. This should not be understood by any wise people as if he had been anywhere before he was born. Instead, it simply means that it would have been better for him if he had never existed rather than being evil. Many men despise the betrayal of Judas, but still they do not hesitate to sell the truth. Those who sell the truth for money shall be the companions of Judas in the fiery punishment, because they betray Christ for base money'.

²⁵ Ælfric probably had a number of sources available for his explanatory comment, see Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*, p. 477.

understatements are readily seen as a characteristic of Old English literature, the expression *ænigum gesceadwisum* may indeed be Ælfric's addition to his literary sources. Finally, Ælfric appears to have combined the sources of the above passage rather uniquely by emphasizing the *exemplum* at which his exegetical sources only hinted: Ælfric not only explains the gravity of the sin of Judas, but he also illustrates for his audience that everyone currently committing the same misdeed as Judas would be the companion of Judas in hell. For Ælfric, the meaning of Jesus' statement that it were better not to live at all than to live in an evil manner applies to everyone who follows the negative example of Judas.

The fact that a shared punishment is the consequence of having followed a negative example is made very explicit at the end of Ælfric's homily 'Natale sancte Pauli' (ÆCHom I.27). Illustrating the concept of the correct monastic life, Ælfric presents one positive *exemplum* and two negative *exempla* relevant here:

Micel toðal is betwux t þam gecyrredum mannum. sume hi geefenlæcað þam apostolum. sume hi geefenlæcað iudan cristes belæwan. sume annanian 7 saphiran. [...]; ða ðe ealle gewitenlice þing to þæra apostola efenlæcunge forseoð for intingan þæs ecan lifes; hi habbað lof. 7 þa ecan edlean mid cristes apolstolum; Se þe betwux t munecum drohtniende on mynstres æhtum mid facne swicað. he bið iudan gefera þe crist belæwde. 7 his wite mid helwarum underfehð; Se þe mid twyfealdum geþance. to mynsterlice drohtunge gecyrð; 7 sumne dæl his æhta dælð sumne him sylfum gehylt. 7 næfð nænne truwan to þam ælmihtigan þæt he him foresceawie andlyfene 7 gewæda. 7 oþre neoda he underfehð. þone awyrigedan cwyde mid annanian 7 saphira þe swicedon on heora agenum æhtum. 7 mid færlicum deaðe ætforan þam apostolum steorfende afeollon; [...] Is nu for þy munuchades mannum mid micelre gecnyrdnyse to forbugenne þas yfelan gebysnunga; 7

geeuenlæcan þam apostolum. þæt hi mid him 7 mid gode þæt
 ece lif habban moton. Amen; (ÆCHom I.27.210-23, 248-50).²⁶

The Apostles are Ælfric's *exemplum* for illustrating the correct form of monastic life. This positive *exemplum* is juxtaposed with several negative *exempla*. The Christian arch-traitor Judas is used as a negative *exemplum* for monks who cunningly betray their fellow monks with regard to monastic property. Ananias and Sapphira serve very aptly as a negative *exemplum* for those who enter monastic life without completely renouncing their worldly possessions.²⁷ An important aspect of the persuasiveness of these *exempla* is the fact that the positive *exemplum* closely links the Apostles' way of life with a reward in the afterlife, while the negative *exempla* equally closely connect Judas, Ananias and Sapphira's misdeeds with afterlife punishments. Thus, those imitating the Apostles receive everlasting rewards (salvation), while those following Judas or Ananias and Sapphira receive death and everlasting punishments in hell. Ælfric ends his comments on the correct monastic life, and indeed his entire homily, by explicitly asking his audience not to follow the

²⁶ 'There is a great divide between monks: some imitate the Apostles, some imitate Judas, the traitor of Christ, some [imitate] Ananias and Sapphira [...]. Those who imitate the Apostles despise all transitory things for [the benefit of] everlasting life. They have glory and eternal reward with Christ's Apostles. The one who, living among monks, cunningly betrays [them] with regard to the monastery's property shall be the companion of Judas, who betrayed Christ, and he shall endure his punishment with the inhabitants of hell. The one who chooses the monastic habitation with twofold thought and shares some part of his possession, while keeping another part for himself and has no faith that the Almighty provides food and robes and other necessities, he shall receive the accursed judgement together with Ananias and Sapphira, who deceived with regard to their own property and fell down dying with sudden death before the Apostles. [...] It is now time for the monks to prevent with great zeal the evil example and to imitate the Apostles, so that they may have eternal life with them and with God'. This passage follows an account of the Last Judgement and of the various groups of people appearing before the Judge. Among those are also the *gecyrradan menn*, whom Benjamin Thorpe understood as 'converted men', see Ælfric, *Sermones Catholici*, ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1983), I, 399; cf. Godden, *Ælfric's Homilies*, p. 697. Because Ælfric clearly comments on monastic life in particular, I would like to suggest that *gecyrrad* denotes 'monastic' here; cf. *gecyrran* (I.D.6.) and *gecyrrad* (I.D.2.c.), both with the meaning of entering monastic life' in A. Cameron *et al.*, ed., *Dictionary of Old English Project* [CD-Rom] (Toronto, 1986-). Reading *gecyrrade menn* as 'monks' is supported by Ælfric urging *munuchades mannum*, 'men of the monastic order', at the end of the relevant passage to learn from the examples he just recounted (ÆCHom I.27.248-50).

²⁷ On the suitability of Ananias and Sapphira for this context, see below, pp. 113-14.

yfelan gebysnunga, ‘evil examples’, but instead to *geefenlæcan*, ‘imitate’, the Apostles (ÆCHom I.27.248-50).

In his homily ‘In dedicatione ecclesiae’ (ÆCHom II.40), Ælfric presents the damnation of Judas as a negative *exemplum* that is phrased similarly to the *exempla* used in sanctions:

Gif hit ðonne hwa deð þæt he godes bryde þæt is seo cyrce wið feo sylle. ðonne bið he Iudan gelic þe for criste æt ðam Iudeum feoh genam. and he sceal mid iudan on ecnysse ðrowian. buton he hit on life wið god ær gebete (ÆCHom II.40.295-8)²⁸

Ælfric presents Judas as a negative *exemplum* for those who sell *seo cyrce*, ‘the church’, illustrating that selling ecclesiastical property is a betrayal of God. Although Ælfric’s *exemplum* is more detailed, the structure is the same as that of an Anglo-Saxon sanction: it has a transgression clause introduced by *gif hit* (equivalent to *si quis* in Latin sanctions), a punishment clause (not in the subjunctive as in most sanctions, but *sculan* + infinitive has the same effect), and a penance clause introduced by *buton* (equivalent to *si non* in Latin sanctions). Yet, Ælfric’s passage contains an element that is usually absent from Anglo-Saxon sanctions: the phrase *bið he Iudan gelic* explains that damnation is the punishment of betraying Jesus as well as selling ecclesiastical property, because selling ecclesiastical property is the same as betraying Jesus (and God) and the sinner is thus *Iudan gelic*.²⁹

²⁸ ‘If someone acts in a manner that he sells God’s bride, which is the church, he shall then be like Judas who took money for Christ from the Jewish people, and he shall suffer together with Judas in eternity, unless he amends it earlier in his life according to good law’.

²⁹ Similarly explicit *exempla* appear in S 745, see below, pp. 178-80.

Summing up briefly, I have tried to show that current research understands the *exemplum* as a rhetorical device of varying length that illustrates an abstract concept with a concrete case. When such *exempla* consist simply of a name, they have been referred to as *Beispielfigur* by Peter von Moos. Although the medieval *exemplum* mostly had a moralizing function, its function was ultimately determined by the textual context in which it appeared. The *exemplum* was commonly used on account of its persuasiveness, i.e. negative *exempla* were to persuade someone into refraining from a particular behaviour that was considered immoral and disobedient. Gregory the Great, whose work was very influential in Anglo-Saxon England, was among the first Christian writers to employ *exempla* in eschatological contexts. Ælfric, too, frequently conveyed eschatological teachings with the help of *exempla*. Discussing three select passages from Ælfric's homilies, I have tried to show that Ælfric used *exempla* for the instruction of less learned people (ÆCHom II.14.54-63), but also as a pastoral reminder for monks (ÆCHom I.27.210-23, 248-50). I have also tried to show that homiletic *exempla* can be phrased in the same style as legal sanctions, as one of Ælfric's *exempla* shows (ÆCHom II.40.295-8). Moreover, in the passages discussed not only the misdeeds themselves were used as negative *exempla*, but the punishments for these misdeeds were equally important. The punishments could be expressed in homilies in the same manner as in sanctions, namely in the sense that sinners had to share their punishments with notorious damned persons. The homilies' explanations that shared punishments are a result of imitating the negative conduct of a notorious sinner is largely absent from sanctions. However, it is likely that the basic connection between misdeed and infernal punishment was so well known from homilies that it was not necessary to state it in sanctions. In the following, I shall try to show that the type of *exemplum* employed in Anglo-Saxon sanctions is Peter von

Moos's *Beispielfigur*. The knowledge needed to understand these *Beispielfiguren* may have come from sermons. In the context of *exempla* in sanctions, it is interesting that sermons may have been given at *witenagemot*.³⁰ Unfortunately, as with other aspects concerning *witenagemot*, it is not known how sermons were integrated in these meetings, what their preferred subject matters were and other matters concerning the precise circumstance in which such sermons may have taken place.

3.2 The Damned in Hell as Negative *Exempla* in Anglo-Saxon Sanctions

In charters considered authentic, almost half of the sanctions with infernal imagery have one or more notorious damned person as part of their descriptions of hell.³¹ Most of these sanctions with notorious sinners appear in tenth-century charters. In fact, between CE 960 and 990 approximately two thirds of sanctions with infernal imagery contain negative *exempla*. Thus, negative *exempla* of notorious damned persons are not occasional embellishments, but integral parts of sanctions with infernal imagery. Ten biblical and historical persons who were famous for being punished in hell for their misdeeds appear in Anglo-Saxon sanctions of authentic charters: Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, Dathan and Abiram, Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, Julian the Apostate, Adam and Cain.³² In the following, I shall first briefly present how these notorious damned persons are used as *Beispielfiguren* in sanctions and

³⁰ Wilcox, 'Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Angelos* as Political Performance'; M. Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. Godden, D. Gray and T. Hoad (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130-62, at 157-8.

³¹ The devil and other damned like 'the avaricious' are excluded from this statistic. On the devil, see below, pp. 119-21. The anonymous damned are not discussed here, because, although appearing in a similar manner as the notorious damned and occasionally in combination with them, they are not employed as negative *exempla*. Instead, their appearance in sanctions alludes to the infernal motif of sinners being punished within their own groups, for example, the avaricious together with the avaricious, the gluttonous with the gluttonous, as, for instance, ÆCHom I.8.190-3 and ÆCHom I.35.125-30.

³² Herod is named among the damned listed in the sanctions of charters S 112 and 1026, which are considered spurious, however; cf. Motif Group (XII) in Appendix 5 below.

then discuss the notorious damned that appear in the sanctions of authentic Anglo-Saxon charters, including the devil, in more detail.

3.2.1 Negative *Exempla* Generated by Identification with the Damned

I have explained earlier that the function of an *exemplum* is determined by the context in which it is used.³³ As Christian preventative curses, sanctions have essentially three functions: arguably, they are to secure the punishment of those who transgressed against charters; they are also to deter people from transgressing against charters; and to instruct or remind them pastorally of the conduct necessary for acquiring salvation and avoiding damnation. One possibility of deterring someone from doing something is to frighten them: if you do this, the consequences will be terrible. In Chapter 2, I have presented one manner in which sanctions generate fear by presenting horrific descriptions of the devil tormenting the damned in hell. Although fear or rather the act of generating fear in people was regarded positively as an important pastoral instrument, this pastoral tool can hardly be regarded as instructive. Negative *exempla* allow deterring someone from doing something and instructing them at the same time, as the negative *exempla* illustrate the consequences of deeds with concrete cases rather than abstract or horrifying threats of damnation. Anglo-Saxon sanctions contain *exempla* to the same end as Old English homilies employ eschatological *exempla*: they illustrate the abstract concept of salvation and damnation and thus support the sanctions' moral instruction. Yet, while homilies combine misdeeds and punishments in their *exempla*, sanctions only contain the aspect of punishment, stating that someone who transgressed against a charter would be punished with notorious damned persons. This kind of punishment

³³ See above, pp. 98-9.

is generally expressed by three main formulas.³⁴ I shall introduce these formulas by first describing their grammatical structures, and then by giving examples for each formula, while further sanctions containing these respective formulas are listed in the footnotes.

a) *cum x* + past participle passive denoting a punishment:³⁵

[...] perpetue combustionis atrocitate **dampnatus cum Iuda** Christi proditore ac **Sathanam** pestifero **Iuliano** necnon miserimo **Pilatoque** lugubri ac ceteris infernalium claustrorum seuissimis commanipularibus, horrifluis sartaginibus perpetue Gehenne decoquatur, ac piceis tenebris miseriisque perhennibus permaneat addictus [...] (S 845 from CE 983)³⁶

7 gif hwa this awendan wylle sy he fordemed mid Iudan Scariothe butan he aer his forðsiðe hit gebete (S 1151 from CE 1042 x 1047)³⁷

b) *cum x* + passive verb denoting a punishment:

[...] eternis baratri prostratus incendiis **cum Iuda** Christi proditore eternaliter lugubris **puniatur** (S 607 from 956; representing Formula Group 5)³⁸

c) *esse/fieri/habere pars cum x + in* + locative denoting hell:

[...] **sit pars eorum** decreto Dei et meo. omniumque episcoporum quorum nomina hic habentur. **cum Iuda traditore. cum Dathan et Abiron in ignem eternum** ubi uermis eorum non moritur. et ignis non exstinguitur [...] (S 1028 from CE 1059)³⁹

³⁴ For other uniquely or less frequently occurring expressions of this punishment, see Formula Groups (21), (26) and S 928, 586, 606, 840, 1205a, 1236, 1237, 1520, 1497.

³⁵ In this and the following two examples, 'x' stands for a notorious damned person that serves as a *Beispielfigur*.

³⁶ For a translation of the complete sanction of S 845, see below, p. 120, n. 78. Cf. Formula Groups (3a-d), (7), (7a-b), (27) and S 53, 413, 845, 1039.

³⁷ 'and if someone wishes to alter this, he shall be damned together with Judas Iscariot, unless he amends it before his death'. Cf. S 1232 (Old English version) and S 1474.

³⁸ '[...] thrown down, in the eternal fires of the abyss he shall be eternally punished as a lamentable person together with Judas, Christ's traitor'; S 607 represents Formula Group (7). Cf. Formula Groups (1), (2d), (7a), (5b), (29) and S 440, 1012, 1232 (Latin version); cf. also S 1394.

³⁹ '[...] according to the decree of God and me and all bishops whose names are listed here, he shall have his part together with the traitor Judas [and] with Dathan and Abiron in the eternal fire, where their vermin do not die and the fire is not extinguished'. Cf. Group (16); S 1003; cf. also S 298.

At first sight, the damned persons referred to in these formulas do not appear to be used as *exempla*, because they are presented as companions in hell. I have shown earlier, however, that Ælfric, for instance, draws strong connections between misdeeds and punishments in his negative *exempla*.⁴⁰ Indeed, the punitive parts of his *exempla* are also their instructive parts, because they define the deeds committed as *misdeeds* which should be avoided. Referring solely to the punishment can only be instructive, however, if the corresponding misdeed is known, which will be the more likely the more famous a person is. Only when a person is well known to an audience, can that person's name stand as a 'metaphoric cipher' for an anecdote, thus illustrating an idea or a concept, as described by Peter von Moos.⁴¹ The choice of *personae* featured in Anglo-Saxon sanctions certainly supports this reading, because they are among the most notorious sinners in medieval Christian writings and most of them are typical negative *Beispielfiguren*.

3.2.2 The Damned of Anglo-Saxon Sanctions

3.2.2.1 Judas⁴²

Judas is a negative *exemplum* in almost 90% of Anglo-Saxon sanctions with notorious damned. This is not surprising, since Judas probably was the most notorious damned person, with the exception of the devil himself. Judas was the Apostle who betrayed Jesus for money and as a consequence initiated the Crucifixion of Jesus.⁴³ Thus, in most sanctions Judas is given the epithet *proditor* or *traditor*,

⁴⁰ See above, pp. 101-6.

⁴¹ See above, pp. 99-100.

⁴² Groups (1), (2d), (3a-d), (5), (7), (7a-b), (16), (26), (27), (29); S 53, 298, 413, 586, 606, 840, 845, 904, 1012, 1028, 1039, 1151, 1232, 1236, 1474, 1497, 1510, 1608 (Old English and Latin versions).

⁴³ Biblical Sources are Matt. X.4, XXVI.14-50, XXVII.3-10; Mark III.19, XIV.10-46; Luke VI.16, XX.3-48; John VI.70-1, XII.3-8, XIII.2-31, XVIII.1-9. For introductory reading on Judas in the Middle Ages, see P. Dinzelbacher, *Judastraditionen*, Raabser Märchen-Reihe 2 (Vienna, 1977); M. Dorninger, 'Judas Ischarioth', *Verführer, Schurken, Magier*, ed. U. Müller and W. Wunderlich,

both meaning ‘traitor’; a few sanctions also allude to the point that Judas committed his betrayal for money.⁴⁴

According to Peter Dinzelbacher, Judas fulfilled three functions in the Middle Ages:

- a) negative example
- b) behavioural yardstick: behaviour that was to be imitated or disapproved was easily illustrated by comparing it to the deeds of Judas
- c) convenient and ecclesiastically sanctioned scapegoat onto which Christians could project their hate.⁴⁵

In Old English homilies, Judas appears mostly in the didactic functions listed under a) and b). He largely appears as a negative *Beispielfigur* that warns against imitating his behaviour because the same punishment with which Judas was punished would be reserved for those following him. I have shown above that Judas is used thus in Ælfric’s homily ‘Natale sancte Pauli’ (ÆCHom I.27).⁴⁶

Mittelalter-Mythen 3 (St Gallen, 2001), pp. 411-55. An extra-biblical Judas tradition complete with a *uita* and legends rich in detail appears to have developed from the twelfth century onwards, see P. F. Baum, ‘The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot’, *PMLA* 31 (1916), 481-632; P. Lehmann, ‘Judas Ischarioth in der lateinischen Legendenüberlieferung des Mittelalters’, *SM* ns 2 (1929), 289-346. On Judas in Old English poetry, see J. H. Morey, ‘Adam and Judas in the Old English *Christ and Satan*’, *SP* 87 (1990), 397-409, at 404-9.

⁴⁴ Judas is presented as *pecuniae injuste amatorem*, ‘a lover of unrightful money’, in S 399, 400, 858 (these sanctions do not have infernal imagery, however, but Last Judgement imagery). Judas is also regarded as a particularly abhorrent sinner because of his alleged suicide (Matt. XXVII.5; Act I.18). On Judas’ suicide, see Dinzelbacher, *Judastraditionen*, pp. 46-52; Dorninger, ‘Judas’, pp. 417-18. In Anglo-Saxon sanctions this aspect of Judas does not appear to be relevant except for the sanction of the Old English version of S 1497 (the Latin version has a plainer sanction without infernal imagery) and the very explicit imagery of the spurious S 201 (with a lost original and the earliest extant record dated ‘xi²’, S 201 may perhaps still be a very late Anglo-Saxon text, however).

⁴⁵ Dinzelbacher, *Judastraditionen*, pp. 82-7, esp. 87.

⁴⁶ See above, pp. 103-5.

As noted earlier, the most common sanction formula among the entire corpus of extant sanctions with infernal imagery, Formula Group (1), is a sanction that contains Judas as a negative *exemplum*:

Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit : privatus consortio sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris jugiter cum Juda proditore Christi ejusque complicitibus puniatur . si non satisfactione emendaverit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum (S 683 from CE 960)⁴⁷

This sanction is especially interesting, because it may have a link with Bishop Æthelwold. Simon Keynes has argued that the sanction of Formula Group (1) was ‘devised and popularized’ by the scribe known as ‘Edgar A’ in the 960s.⁴⁸ Richard Drögereit suggested that ‘Edgar A’ was Bishop Æthelwold, a suggestion that has been rejected by Lapidge as unproven, however.⁴⁹ Another link between the sanction of Formula Group (1) and Æthelwold shall be discussed later when examining S 745, the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester.⁵⁰

3.2.2.2 Ananias and Sapphira⁵¹

Ananias and Sapphira are the next most frequently named damned persons, although they occur in only approximately 5% of authentic Anglo-Saxon sanctions containing notorious damned persons.⁵² Act V.1-11 recounts that Ananias and Sapphira decide

⁴⁷ For a translation of this sanction, see above, p. 42, n. 55.

⁴⁸ Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 72-3, quotation on p. 73.

⁴⁹ Drögereit, ‘Königskanzlei’, pp. 410-18; Lapidge, ‘Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher’, p. 94, n. 46. Simon Keynes has repeated Richard Drögereit’s suggestion twice without accepting or rejecting it, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 17, 70.

⁵⁰ See below, pp. 193-6.

⁵¹ Group (7a); S 1394.

⁵² Ananias (mistakenly named ‘Anna’) and Sapphira also appear in several authentic sanctions without infernal imagery, but with references to the Last Judgement (S 271) and to the curse of anathema (S 346, 471, 486, 487, 489, 496, 547).

to renounce their worldly possessions and follow the example set by the Apostles. Yet, fearing what may befall them in the future, they keep part of the money they received for their possessions and lie about this to Peter. For this deception, each of them is punished with sudden death. This episode appears to have been told as a warning in the Bible itself, because Ananias's death is commented on with the phrase 'et factus est timor magnus in omnes qui audierant' (Act V.5) and similarly Sapphira's with, 'et factus est timor magnus in universa ecclesia et in omnes qui audierunt haec' (Act V.11). Because monks were understood as direct followers of the Apostles, Ananias and Sapphira were frequently used as negative *exempla* in connection with questions of the correct monastic life, warning monks how not to lead their lives.⁵³ To this end, the 'Ananias and Sapphira' episode appears not only in homilies (for example, Ælfric's 'Natale sancti Pauli' above), but also in texts like the *Regula S. Benedicti*. In chapter 57, 'De artificibus monasterii', monks who sell artefacts manufactured by their monasteries as well as monks who deal with monastic property are warned not to betray their monasteries by keeping profits to themselves. These monks shall always contemplate Ananias and Sapphira's fate, so that they do not suffer their punishments:

Si quid vero ex operibus artificum uenundandum est, uideant ipsi, per quorum manus transigenda sint, ne aliquam fraudem praesumant. Memorentur semper Ananiae et Saphyrae, ne forte mortem, quam illi in corpore pertulerunt, hanc isti uel omnes, qui aliquam fraudem de rebus monasterii fecerint, in anima patiantur (*Regula S. Benedicti*, LVII.4-8)⁵⁴

⁵³ John Cassian used this episode for denouncing the Western type of monasticism practised by Paul of Nola and Sulpicius Severus, see R. Goodrich, 'John Cassian on Monastic Poverty: the Lesson of Ananias and Sapphira', *Downside Review* 437 (2006), pp. 297-308. On the availability and use of Cassian in (early) Anglo-Saxon England, see S. Lake, 'Knowledge of the Writings of John Cassian in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 32 (2003), 27-41.

⁵⁴ 'If something is being sold from the artefacts, they themselves, who sell it with their hands, shall be aware not to dare any deceit. They shall always think of Ananias and Sapphira, so that they do not

Similarly to sanctions, the *Regula S. Benedicti* refers to Ananias and Sapphira as negative *exempla* without recounting their entire story. Instead, only their names and the punishment for their behaviour are mentioned.

3.2.2.3 Dathan and Abiram⁵⁵

Numbers XVI.1-25 and XXVI.9-10 recount how Dathan and Abiram rebel against Moses and how God kills them together with their families for this by having the earth opening up and swallowing them. In Deuteronomy and in Psalm 105, this episode is first used as a negative *exemplum* warning those disobeying God of His punishment. In Deuteronomy XI the Israelites are urged to always love God and obey Him, because they know, *inter alia*, what He has done to Dathan and Abiram (Deut. XI.1-6). Similarly, Psalm 105 urges its readers to always thank God for His mercy (Ps. CV.1) and to keep His judgement (Ps. CV.3), because if they were to forget it, they would receive the same fate that Dathan and Abiram had suffered (Ps. CV.13-17). In Old English homilies, too, Dathan and Abiram appear in negative *exempla* illustrating the punishment for disobeying God.⁵⁶ In the context of infernal imagery, Dathan and Abiram's punishment of being swallowed by the earth is particularly interesting, because it is one of the motifs that influenced the Mouth of Hell imagery.⁵⁷

experience the death in their souls, which they [Ananias and Sapphira] experienced in their bodies, as shall all who deceive the monastery in anything'.

⁵⁵ S 1003, 1028, 1205a, 1237.

⁵⁶ For example, ÆCHom II.27.125-35; ÆLS 13.221-9; Napier 43 (p. 210, 26 - p. 211, 11).

⁵⁷ Schmidt, *Iconography*, p. 33.

3.2.2.4 Pilate, Caiaphas and Annas⁵⁸

These three persons are listed under the same heading because they represent the same type of sinner, but they do not appear together in sanctions or other texts like Ananias and Sapphira or Dathan and Abiram. Pilate, the governor of Judea, sentenced Jesus to die on the cross (which was a common death penalty for criminals at the time).⁵⁹ Caiaphas and Annas were high priests who interrogated Jesus after His capture.⁶⁰ In contrast to the other damned introduced above, Pilate, Caiaphas and Annas mostly appear in matter-of-fact biblical re-narration in Old English literature rather than in negative *exempla*.⁶¹ Nevertheless, being responsible for the death of Jesus, these three characters were certainly well known for having been damned. Caiaphas, for example, appears *cum cæteris qui occiderunt Dominum*, ‘together with those who killed the Lord’, in hell in a vision recounted by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (V.14).

3.2.2.5 Julian the Apostate⁶²

Julian the Apostate is the only non-biblical person that appears as a negative *exemplum* in sanctions of authentic Anglo-Saxon charters. Julian was emperor of Rome from CE 361 to 363. He had had a Christian upbringing before he returned to Roman polytheism, hence the epithet ‘the Apostate’. After a short period of religious tolerance, Emperor Julian began to persecute Christians. On account of his writing *Contra Galilaeos*, Julian was remembered as a notorious enemy of Christianity.⁶³ In

⁵⁸ Pilate: Formula Group (29) and S 440, 845. Caiaphas: Formula Groups (29), (21) and S 440. Annas: Formula Group (21).

⁵⁹ Matt. XXVII; Mark XV; Luke XXIII; John XVIII.29-40, XIX.1-38.

⁶⁰ Matt. XXVI.1-5, 57-68; John XI.48-57, XVIII.12-24, 28.

⁶¹ For instance, Caiaphas: Vercelli 1.57-82; Pilate: ÆCHom II.14.167-240; Vercelli 1.83-213, 251-86.

⁶² S 845.

⁶³ This biographical sketch is based on R. Klein, ‘I. J. Apostata’, *LexMA* V, 801-2. For further readings, see A. Lippold, ‘Iulianus I (Kaiser)’, *RAC* XIX, 442-83 (which includes a discussion of the

Old English literature, Julian the Apostate appears as a persecutor and tormentor of martyrs (especially in Ælfric's work).⁶⁴ While these and other passages are not negative *exempla*, Julian is frequently introduced as an enemy of God (*wiðersaca*) or lawless emperor (*arleas casere*).⁶⁵

3.2.2.6 Adam

Adam appears in a negative *exemplum* only in a sanction of charter S 745.⁶⁶ In the Bible, Adam is the first-created human, who fell from grace when he disobeyed God's command by tasting a fruit from the forbidden tree, for which he was cursed by God (together with Eve and the snake) and banished from Paradise (Gen. III). As I have pointed out above, the fear Adam suffered in face of God's punishment for his disobedience is the first emotion mentioned in the Bible.⁶⁷

Adam's story was well known in Christendom. By committing the first or original sin, Adam triggered off the struggle of humans to regain divine favour in the form of salvation, according to Christian teaching. *Genesis B* (442-683) narrates the story of Adam's (and Eve's) fall most vividly, presenting his temptation into disobedience as the devil's revenge on God.⁶⁸ Although the Bible only recounts Adam's banishment from Paradise and hardship in life as punishments, Adam was thought to have been

Christian reception); G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, Classical Life and Letters (London, 1978); S. Tougher, *Julian the Apostate*, Debates and Documents in Ancient History (Edinburgh, 2007).

⁶⁴ E.g. ÆCHom I.30.200-64; ÆLS 3.16-18, 205-91; ÆLS 7.394-429.

⁶⁵ ÆCHom I.30.199-200, 235-6, 247; ÆCHom II.34.19-20; ÆHom 8.132; ÆLS 3.206, 246, ÆLS 7.394, 404; ÆLS 25.833, ÆLS 31.19.

⁶⁶ On Adam as a negative *exemplum* in S 745, see below, pp. 177-9.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 62.

⁶⁸ The account of the Fall of Man in *Genesis B* is rather unorthodox. For discussions of its most curious features, see J. M. Evans, 'Genesis B and its Background', *RES* ns 14 (1963), 1-16, 113-23; P. J. Lucas, 'Loyalty and Obedience in the Old English *Genesis* and the Interpretation of *Genesis B* into *Genesis A*', *Neophilologus* 76 (1992), 121-35; M. Cherniss, 'Heroic Ideals and the Moral Climate of *Genesis B*', *Modern Language Quarterly* 30 (1969), 479-97.

damned in hell, too. Accounts of his release from hell in the course of Jesus' Harrowing of Hell appear in *Christ and Satan* (405-41) and the Gospel of Nicodemus.⁶⁹ In his 'Sermo de cena domini', Wulfstan explicitly calls the story of Adam an *exemplum*:

Leofan men, bisceopas syndon to þam gesette on þisre worulde
þæt hy georne sculon be Cristes bysene 7 be his lare Godes folc
wenian to þam heom þearf sy. And æfre þære bysne þe God sylf
on Adame astealde, þe he hine fo rhis halignesse 7 for his
godnesse on fruman in paradyso gelogode, æfre þære bysene we
lāpiað 7 logiað cristene men to Godes huse [...] And gif hwylc
man þonne Godes lage swa swyðe abrece þæt he hine sylfne
openlice wið Gode forwyrce mid healice misdæde, þonne be
þære bysene þe God on Adame astealde þa þa he hine nydde ut
of paradiso, be ðære bysne we eac nydað ut þa forsyngodan of
Godes cyrcan oð þæt hi mid eadmodre dædbote hi sylfe
geinnian to þam þæt we hy þyder in eft lædan durran, ealswa we
togæg þa don willað þe þas halgan tid geornlice bettan þæt hy
ær bræcon (WHom 15.26-45)⁷⁰

Wulfstan used Adam's story as an example for the ecclesiastical practice of excommunication and penance, emphasising the mercy which penance constitutes by reopening the way to salvation. Both concepts, excommunication and penance, are closely linked to the sanctions of Anglo-Saxon charters.

⁶⁹ All references to *Christ and Satan* are to *Christ and Satan: a Critical Edition*, ed. R. E. Finnegan (Waterloo, 1977). For Adam and Eve's redemption from hell in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, see W. H. Hulme, 'The Old English Gospel of Nicodemus', *MP* 1 (1904), 579-614; the redemption of Adam is narrated *ibid.*, p. 607, in Nic (C), a homily entitled 'De resurrectione domini', and p. 611, in Nic (D), a homily on the Harrowing of Hell. For further Old English homilies recounting Adam and Eve's redemption, see *ÆCHom* I.14.187-90; Blickling 7 (p. 87-9); all references to the Blickling Homilies are to *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, ed. R. Morris, EETS 58, 63 and 73, 3 vols. (London, 1874-80).

⁷⁰ 'Dear men, bishops are placed into this world so that they instruct God's people zealously according to their needs by means of Christ's example and His teaching. And the example that God himself set forth with respect to Adam, whom He had placed into Paradise at the beginning because of His holiness and goodness, ever shall we summon this example and place Christian men into God's house. [...] And if each men then so violently breaks God's law that he openly does wrong against God with severe misdeeds, then by the example that God set forth with respect to Adam, namely that he forced him out of Paradise, by this example we also force the sinners out of God's church until they with humble penitence restore themselves to Him, so that we dare guide them thither again just as all of us together wish to amend eagerly what they broke earlier'.

3.2.2.7 Cain

Like his father Adam, Cain appears only in a sanction of S 745 as a negative *exemplum*.⁷¹ Genesis IV recounts how Cain slays his brother Abel out of envy and spite, because God accepted Abel's sacrifice while He shunned Cain's. As a punishment, Cain was banished and cursed to wander the paths of exile, as Anglo-Saxons would put it. Ultimately, he, too, was believed to be damned in hell by Christians, and for him, as for Judas, there would be no release from hell.

In the relevant sanction, the emphasis is placed on Cain's misdeed of murdering his brother, but Cain is a figure with multiple facets. Having brought murder to humankind in its most severe form, namely the murder of a family member, Cain was regarded as one of the most notorious sinners in the Christian Middle Ages. In Anglo-Saxon literature, Cain is foremost known as an exile and ancestor of monsters; in fact, the latter view was connected to Cain's crime and status as an exile.⁷² David Williams has pointed out that '[t]he full significance of Cain's fratricide is seen, then, as an act determining the course of human history and repeated throughout history by human imitation of Cain in envy, anger, greed and bloodshed'.⁷³ Thus, Cain makes for a prominent and indeed very suitable negative *exemplum* in sanctions, similarly to Judas. Moreover, Cain was typologically associated with the murder of Jesus, as Abel is commonly interpreted as a prefiguration of Jesus as Shepherd and Cain was

⁷¹ On Cain as a negative *exemplum* in S 745, see below, p. 180.

⁷² On Cain as an exile, see Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 61-3; D. Williams, *Cain and Beowulf: a Study in Secular Allegory* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 25-30. On Cain as the ancestor of monsters, see Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*, pp. 63-85; Williams, *Cain and Beowulf*, pp. 30-9; R. Mellinkoff, 'Cain's Monstrous Progeny in *Beowulf*: Part I, Noachic Tradition', *ASE* 8 (1979), 143-62; R. Mellinkoff, 'Cain's Monstrous Progeny in *Beowulf*: Part II, Post-Diluvian Survival', *ASE* 9 (1981 for 1980), 183-97. On various traditional representations of Cain and their afterlife into contemporary literature has been studied by R. J. Quinones, *The Changes of Cain: Violence and the Lost Brother in Cain and Abel Literature* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), esp. pp. 23-61.

⁷³ Williams, *Cain and Beowulf*, p. 24.

hence associated with those who killed Jesus.⁷⁴ Altering the emphasis to Jesus as a suffering human, Ælfric, for instance, points to this Abel-Jesus typology in his homily ‘Dominica II. Post aepiphania domini’:

On ðære ylcan ylde wæs Abel, Adames sunu, rihtwis and Gode
anfenge, þonne ofsloh Cain his broðor unscyldigne þurh ándan.
[...] se mægslaga Cain getácnode þæra Iudeiscra geleafleaste, ðe
Crist mid niðe acwealdon, and þæt Abeles slege getácnode
Drihtnes ðrowunge (ÆCHom II.4.104-09)⁷⁵

As I shall explain later, this typological association, in particular the ensuing characterisation of Cain as an enemy of Jesus together with the representation of Jesus as the divine Shepherd, may have prompted the use of Cain as a negative *Beispielfigur* in S 745.

3.2.2.8 The Devil⁷⁶

The frequent appearance of the devil among the damned in hell in sanctions is interesting in the light of the question whether the devil of Anglo-Saxon literature is largely a ‘literary motif’ of a doubtful literal meaning, as Peter Dendle has suggested. As a damned being, the devil appears to have been understood in the same way as the biblical and historical damned people in sanctions.⁷⁷ In S 845 the devil clearly appears on the same level as biblical and historical damned persons:

Si quis autem, quod absit, hanc donationem liuore pressus
nequissimo euertere studuerit in aliud quam hic extat insitum,

⁷⁴ Williams, *Cain and Beowulf*, p. 22.

⁷⁵ ‘In the same old age was Abel, Adam’s son, rightful and agreeable to God, when Cain slew his innocent brother because of envy. [...] the murderer Cain signifies the unbelief of the Jews, who killed Christ with enmity and the murder of Abel signifies the Lord’s suffering’.

⁷⁶ Sanctions with devil as a notorious damned are, for example, in S 53, 191, 817, 874, 629, 914, 934, 958.

⁷⁷ On the devil as tormentor of the damned, see Chapter 2 above.

uel si quispiam fortuitu ad hoc destruendam scedam aliquam demonstraerit, perpetue combustionis atrocitate dampnatus cum Iuda Christi proditore ac Sathanam pestifero Iuliano necnon misero Pilatoque lugubri ac ceteris infernalium claustrorum seuissimis commanipularibus, horrifluis sartaginibus perpetue Gehenne decoquatur, ac piceis tenebris miseriisque perhennibus permaneat addictus, nisi ante mortis articulum cum nimia satisfactione emendare ac tantam presumpcionem oblitterare toto conamine studuerit (S 845)⁷⁸

The name Satan is embedded in this list of biblical and historical human damned as if he were one of them.⁷⁹ Standing in mid-position enclosed by other names, Satan cannot be singled out and read isolated from the other names. Because this sanction does not distinguish between the devil and biblical or historical people, it assigns the same ‘reality of existence’ to the devil as to the Apostle Judas Iscariot, the Emperor Julian and as to Pilate, the Roman governor of Judea.

Of course, it could be argued that the notorious damned are also ‘literary motifs’ in S 845 and all other sanctions. Yet, Larry Scanlon has observed that the question whether a person or event of an *exemplum* is fictional or historical is largely irrelevant in the context of medieval *exempla*. Instead, questions of text authority and reader identification are crucial in reading medieval *exempla*. Thus, Larry Scanlon has argued that an *exemplum* was authoritative if the audience could identify with its protagonist:

⁷⁸ ‘If someone, what shall be far off, suppressed by very vile envy strives to turn this donation into a different decree than written down here [or] coincidentally presents another document in order to invalidate this [document] here, he shall be damned to the atrocity of the eternal burning, [and] he shall be boiled together with Judas, the traitor of Christ, and the mischievous Satan and Julian and the most deplorable Pilate and the other most savage cronies of the infernal prisons in the frightening cauldrons of everlasting Gehenna, and he shall endure pitch-black darkness and eternal afflictions, unless before the moment of his death he strives to correct [it] with penance beyond measure and to erase [his] great presumption with all effort’.

⁷⁹ On the name *Satan*, see Motif Group (XVIII) in Appendix 5 below.

[T]he *exemplum* expects the members of its audience to be convinced by its *sententia* precisely because it expects them to put themselves in the position of its protagonists, to emulate the protagonist's moral success, or avoid his or her moral failure.⁸⁰

What does this mean for the many sanctions that contain the devil as a negative *exemplum* in a very plain, almost fleeting manner? Consider, for instance, the sanction of S 612 from CE 956:

Si quis vero non prohorrescat evertere machinans nostrum decretum . Sciat se maledictionem Dei semper possidere cum diabolo in inferni profunditate (S 612)⁸¹

Are these plain *exempla*, as suggested by Peter Dendle for the phrase *purh deofles lare* or *purh deofles larum*, routinely inserted 'set phrases' with doubtful 'literal meaning', or are they purposefully included pastoral devices?⁸² Perhaps they are a bit of both or rather sometimes the one and sometimes the other, depending on the writer's intention and the audience's response. They could have been inserted by a draftsman as a routine feature of charters just because other charters contained them, but taken seriously by a member of the audience. On the other hand, they may as well have been inserted as pastoral warnings by a draftsman, but simply ignored or read over like today's small print of a contract. As there are no primary sources commenting on the audience's response to spiritual sanctions, let alone to specific infernal motifs in particular, it is best to allow for all possibilities rather than rigorously dismissing one and equally rigorously favouring the other.

⁸⁰ Scanlon, *Narrative*, p. 31. The related question whether the identification of the audience with an *exemplum* or a person was automatically generated or more likely when texts containing *exempla* or a person presenting *exempla* orally were regarded as authoritative by the audience is hardly answerable. The initial response may be 'yes, of course', but what made a text authoritative? Moreover, was it authoritative to *all* members of its audience?

⁸¹ 'If someone, who is scheming, is not frightened to overturn our decree, he shall know to possess God's curse in the depth of hell together with the devil'.

⁸² Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, p. 12.

3.3 Conclusion

Judas, Ananias and Sapphira, Dathan and Abiram, Pilate, Caiaphas, Julian the Apostate, Adam and Cain as well as the devil do not only feature in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, but also frequently appear in continental spiritual sanctions as well as other forms of ritual curses (e.g. excommunications).⁸³ In fact, Anglo-Saxons seem to have used only a small collection of suitable characters.⁸⁴ The reason for their appearance in curses lies in the gravity of the sins they committed and their ensuing punishment in hell. In addition, these characters possess a high degree of renown because they repeatedly appear in homilies, frequently as negative *exempla*. Their names alone were likely to have carried the illustrative and deterring function of negative *exempla*, illustrating the concept of damnation and salvation that lay at the basis of the sanctions' curses. Thus, it was indeed likely that their names alone triggered off a chain of associations in the minds of Anglo-Saxon readers.

Moreover, it is likely that these damned were chosen because the transgression against a charter was perceived as the same sin that these persons had committed. S 500 from CE 944, for example, explicitly calls someone who transgressed against a charter *Iude reus*, 'guilty of the crime of Judas', thus implying that transgressing against a charter is tantamount to betraying God.⁸⁵ Other sanctions explicitly state that transgressing against a charter is rebellion against the Church: *contra sanctam Dei ecclesiam rebellis agere*, 'to rebel against the holy church of God' (S 673 from

⁸³ On continental sanctions, see Zimmermann, 'Vocabulaire latin', pp. 46, 48-9; H. Martin, 'The Judas Iscariot Curse', *American Journal of Philology* 37 (1916), 434-51; A. Taylor, 'The Judas Curse', *American Journal of Philology* 42 (1921), 234-52. On excommunication formulas, see *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Liebermann, I, 438; Sauer, 'Exkommunikationsriten', p. 292.

⁸⁴ Martin, 'Judas Iscariot Curse', p. 435.

⁸⁵ Representing Formula Group (15).

CE 958/9).⁸⁶ It is conspicuous that the great majority of transgression clauses refers to rather general, all-comprising manners of transgressions (decreasing or diminishing the donation, altering the charter, violating the charter, ruining the donation) rather than to specific or precise transgressions, as especially modern readers would expect it from a legal text. The reason for this may be an effort to include as many forms of transgressions as possible, as not listing specific deeds leaves room for interpretation. Ultimately, transgressing against a charter means disobedience not only against what has been recorded in charters, but also against those in whose names charters were issued, in the case of royal diplomas the king himself. Being disobedient against the king was by implication disobedience against God, who is represented on earth by the king, at least according to tenth-century kinship ideology.⁸⁷ All of the notorious damned who appear in sanctions had also committed the sin of disobedience and thus forfeited their salvation: Judas on account of his avaricious betrayal of Jesus; Ananias and Sapphira by stealing from and lying to the Apostles; Dathan and Abiram by their open rebellion against Moses; Pilate, Caiaphas and Annas by sentencing Jesus; and Julian the Apostate by turning away from Christianity to heathenism and prosecuting Christians; Adam by consciously disregarding God's command; and Cain by murdering his brother, who had found grace in God. Read thus, the damned in sanctions are not only afterlife companions of those transgressing against charters, but indeed negative *Beispielfiguren*. The audience of charters was likely to recognize these damned instantaneously from homiletic and biblical material in which their names are closely linked to sins punished in hell. However, sanctions do not offer negative *exempla* that explain the analogy between the audience's deeds and the deed of the

⁸⁶ Representing Formula Group (7), cf. Formula Group (7a).

⁸⁷ See above, pp. 24-5.

Beispielfigur ('A did B and is therefore punished in hell; if D does B he is like A and thus will be punished together with A in hell'). Instead, sanctions immediately establish an identification of their contemporary sinner D with the *Beispielfigur* A by placing them into one social group in the afterlife: 'if D does B he will be punished together with A'. Larry Scanlon has pointed out that an *exemplum* can only be understood or indeed be effective when the reader identifies with the *exemplum*'s protagonist.⁸⁸ In sanctions with notorious damned as negative *exempla*, this process of identification with the damned *Beispielfigur* is already made for the readers by placing them into the company of these damned persons.

Although Anglo-Saxon sanctions do not juxtapose positive and negative *exempla* in order to illustrate the concepts of salvation and damnation as homilies do, sanctions are often followed or preceded by benedictions that promise rewards for those complying with the charters' agreements.⁸⁹ Despite a lack of positive *exempla* in these benedictions, the frequent juxtaposition of benediction and sanction in Anglo-Saxon charters supports the argument that the theological concept of salvation and damnation (good deeds = salvation; misdeed + penance = salvation; misdeed – penance = hell punishment = denial of salvation) is illustrated with concrete cases in many Anglo-Saxon sanctions. In this manner, sanctions follow the example of homilies, in which this use of *exempla* was repeated over and over again. As such, references to notorious damned persons are pastoral devices incorporated into the infernal imagery of Anglo-Saxon sanctions, next to the use of fear discussed in Chapter 2. My proposition that the large number of sanctions with infernal imagery in late Anglo-Saxon charters were motivated by the Christian kingship ideology of

⁸⁸ Scanlon, *Narrative*, p. 31.

⁸⁹ For example, S 206, 440, 481, 586, 1012.

the time is thus strengthened by the emphasis on pastoral aspects in infernal imagery of sanctions and the extraordinary frequent use of negative *exempla* in the latter half of the tenth century. In the next chapter, I shall discuss the use of vocabulary from classical mythology for depicting hell in tenth-century royal diplomas, investigating the involvement of representatives of the monastic reform in the creation and use of sanctions that contain infernal imagery during the late Anglo-Saxon period.

CHAPTER 4

INFERNAL IMAGERY AND CLASSICAL MYTHOLOGY

I have suggested earlier that the unparalleled use of sanctions with infernal imagery in Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas during the second half of the tenth and the early eleventh centuries was motivated by early medieval kingship ideology that was revived in Anglo-Saxon England at that time. I have tried to support my proposition by showing that the infernal imagery of the sanctions in the relevant charters are characterized by two important medieval pastoral instruments: fear and *exempla*. I have further pointed out that representatives of the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform movement stand as intellectual masterminds behind the late Anglo-Saxon version of Christian kingship.¹ In this respect, it is interesting that Joyce Galpern has argued that the monastic reform movement was one essential driving force behind a general increase of infernal imagery in Anglo-Saxon literature and art.² As much of extant Anglo-Saxon literature happens to date back to the late Anglo-Saxon period, it is a long process to establish whether the monastic reformers were indeed responsible for an advancement of Anglo-Saxon infernal imagery. Nevertheless, the question as to whether there are indications that point to the monastic reform movement as a driving force behind the increase of infernal imagery in the specific case of Anglo-Saxon sanctions must certainly be asked in this dissertation. The annotated index of infernal motifs in Appendix 5 shows that the infernal motifs used in sanctions are rather common and cannot be ascribed to any particular intellectual group.³ Hence,

¹ See above, pp. 21-5.

² Galpern, 'Shape of Hell', pp. 3, 21-2.

³ An exception may be the Mouth of Hell motif, which has been associated with the monastic reform movement by Joyce Galpern and Garry Schmidt, see Galpern, 'Shape of Hell', pp. 3, 119-54; Schmidt, *Iconography*, p. 3.

analysing the language in which this infernal imagery is expressed may be more revealing with respect to its intellectual provenance.

Research has shown that many monastic reformers were great advocates of a register of medieval Latin today called ‘hermeneutic Latin’.⁴ Michael Lapidge has argued that the expression hermeneutic Latin is somewhat misleading, as it ‘implies that the vocabulary is drawn principally from *hermeneumata*, a name by which certain Greek-Latin glossaries are designated’.⁵ What is referred to by the term hermeneutic Latin is, in fact, more broadly ‘a style whose most striking feature is the ostentatious parade of unusual, often very arcane and apparently learned vocabulary’, as Michael Lapidge has described it rather vividly.⁶ Lapidge has once mentioned that the term ‘glossematic Latin’ is, in fact, more appropriate.⁷ This Latinity is characterized by archaisms, neologisms and loan words, most commonly grecisms.⁸ Tenth-century royal diplomas contain some of the most notorious examples of Anglo-Saxon hermeneutic Latin. The earliest extant charters containing hermeneutic vocabulary date from the late 920s. Donald Bullough described its appearance in royal diplomas issued in the name of King Æthelstan as follows:

While previous charters have been composed in a fairly straightforward style with only occasional outbursts of rhetoric, usually – as elsewhere – limited to the arenga and the anathema,

⁴ On monastic reformers as advocates of hermeneutic Latin, see Bullough, ‘Educational Tradition’, pp. 465-6; Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, pp. 73, 77-90.

⁵ Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, p. 67, n. 2.

⁶ Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, p. 67, n. 2. Patrizia Lendinara has drawn attention to a similar use of glosses for a style called ‘contextualized lexicography’, that is a Latin characterized by vocabulary belonging to one semantic field or having ‘a common source in one and the same [...] work’, see her ‘Contextualized Lexicography’, *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O’Brien O’Keeffe and A. Orchard, 2 vols., Toronto Old English Series 14, 2 vols. (Toronto, 2005), II, 108-31, p. 111.

⁷ Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, p. 67, n. 2.

⁸ Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, p. 67.

now almost the entire text is written in an artificial and inflated style, liberally sprinkled with words of Greek origin and other exoticisms. Those of the 930s are if possible even more inflated, commonly ungrammatical and often virtually untranslatable. They are extreme examples of what has been labelled ‘the hermeneutic tradition in Anglo-Saxon Latinity’.⁹

Although many sanctions are indeed places of rhetorical outbursts, the number of hermeneutic terms in sanctions is surprisingly low. This number decreases even more when only descriptions of hell are examined. Yet, the sanctions of extant authentic charters issued roughly between CE 931 and 975 show an unusually frequent use of terms from classical mythology for denoting hell, its rivers and inhabitants. Paradoxically, classical literature, especially when containing mythological content, was despised and imitated at the same time during the Middle Ages. This is demonstrated very vividly by Ermenrich of Ellwangen’s ‘Epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem’ from CE 850: although Ermenrich saw mythological tales of classical literature as devilish lies and rejected pagan authors together with their pantheon, his letter is full of terminology from and allusions to classical mythology.¹⁰ This paradox has been explained by pointing out that classical literature was studied not for its content in the Middle Ages, but for its high-standard Latin, which Christian writers wished to imitate and employ for Christian teachings.¹¹ As such, allusions to or quotations from classical literature and mythology, particularly Vergil, signalled a high degree of learning and education, or alternatively the wish to create an elevated

⁹ Bullough, ‘Educational Tradition’, p. 466. On hermeneutic Latin in Anglo-Saxon charters, see also Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, pp. 99-101.

¹⁰ Ermenrich’s ‘Epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem’ is edited in *Epistolae Karolini aevi III*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH Epist. 5 (Berlin, 1899), pp. 534-79 (no. 10); the rejection of classical poets and gods appears on p. 563, lines 29-30; see also W. Suerbaum, ‘Ein heidnischer Klassiker als “Dünger” christlicher Bildung: Quellen und Bedeutung des Vergil-Bildes bei Ermenrich von Ellwangen (um 850)’, *Panchaia: Festschrift für Klaus Thraede*, ed. M. Wacht, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, supp. vol. 22 (Münster, 1995), pp. 238-50, at 240.

¹¹ Suerbaum, ‘Ein heidnischer Klassiker’, pp. 241, 244.

or embellished style.¹² More importantly, terms from classical mythology fulfil essentially the same function as terms more readily associated with hermeneutic vocabulary.

In the following chapter, I shall analyse the use of classical mythological terms for describing hell in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. I am particularly interested in examining if the use of such vocabulary in sanctions can be characterized as ‘glossematic’ or if they point to a more profound employment of classical mythological imagery. In order to appreciate the use of classical mythology in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, it is essential to outline the underworld of classical mythology and its influence on Christian literature. After this outline, I shall examine the use of classical mythology in depictions of hell in Anglo-Saxon sanctions and its implication regarding the authorship (in the widest sense) of the relevant sanctions in the circles of the monastic reform.

4.1 The Classical Underworld and Christian Medieval Literature and Education

The underworld of classical mythology had a great impact on Christian infernal imagery, especially through Vergil.¹³ Describing the visit of Aeneas to the underworld, the sixth book of Vergil’s *Aeneid* provides information about the landscape and inhabitants of the underworld as well as about the torments suffered

¹² On signalling a high degree of education and learning, see A. Laird, ‘The Poetics and Afterlife of Virgil’s Descent to the Underworld: Servius, Dante, Fulgentius and the *Culex*’, *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 24 (2001), 49-80, esp. 49-53; M. Herren, ‘The Transmission and Reception of Graeco-Roman Mythology in Anglo-Saxon England, 670-800’, *ASE* 27 (1988), 87-103; Suerbaum, ‘Ein heidnischer Klassiker’, pp. 241, 243-4. On the creation of elevated or embellished style, see M. Wehrli, ‘Antike Mythologie im christlichen Mittelalter’, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 57 (1983), 18-32, at 26.

¹³ Minois, *Hölle*, p. 72; Laird, ‘Poetics and Afterlife’, p. 49. For more information on the classical underworld, see Minois, *Hölle*, pp. 58-72. I shall use the word *underworld* for referring to the place of afterlife in classical mythology and *hell* for denoting the Christian place of afterlife.

there. The entry into the underworld is marked by the Avern, a dark cave with a black lake situated outside the underworld (237-42).¹⁴ It is depicted as a gaping mouth (237) and an evil-smelling throat (240-1) and it is further explained that Avern means 'place without birds', because of the poisonous air above it (241-2). The underworld itself is presented as the hall or house of Orcus (268-78), Orcus being identified with Dis Pater (269), the Roman god of the underworld and personification of death. The underworld, for which Erebus is another appellation (247, 404), is a dark place consisting of a number of waters, fields and woods. Only the ferryman Charon can bring someone across the river Styx into the underworld itself. The Styx is depicted as *lacus*, 'lake' (134), *palus*, 'swamp' (323, 369, 438), and *fluenta*, 'current' (327). In front of the Styx, there are numerous monsters and dead people who cannot enter the underworld because they were not buried (295-336). In a cave on the other side of the Styx lives Cerberus, the monstrous watchdog of the underworld. It has three throats and snakes writhe on its neck (417-25). In the woods of the underworld is the Cocytus, which is depicted as a dark river (131-2), but also as a deep pool (323). The various regions of the underworld are reserved for various groups of dead people: for instance, the first region is occupied by those who died in infancy (426-9) and the second by those unjustly condemned to death (430-3). In these and other regions of the underworld, the dead abide in a shadowy existence and in misery, but they are not actively punished. Only those who are confined to the Tartarus are tormented. The Tartarus first appears as a city encircled by a fiery river called Phlegethon and by a triple wall (548-51). The water inside Tartarus is the Acheron, a slimy 'boiling whirlpool', which feeds into the Cocytus (295-7). Inside Tartarus various monsters torment the dead (552-77) and at its centre is an extremely

¹⁴ All references to Vergil's *Aeneid* are to *P. Vergili Maronis opera*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford, 1969), pp. 103-422.

deep pit in which the Titans and other rebels against the gods are tormented for their misdeeds (577-627).¹⁵

Vergil presents two kinds of afterlife in his *Aeneid*: the shadowy but not tormented existence associated with Hades on the one and the tormented afterlife associated with Tartarus on the other hand. The Christian hell was influenced by the fiery and abysmal Tartarus in which transgressors against the gods are punished by torments.¹⁶ *Tartarus* became one of the most commonly used classical mythological words in medieval Christian writings. In the Bible it signifies 'hell', into which false and heretical teachers shall be condemned like the fallen angels and others before (2 Pet. II.4). Like Tartarus, Cocytus appears in the Bible. In Job XXI.33, it denotes the place of afterlife Christians later called hell. Unlike Tartarus, however, Cocytus rarely appears in Christian writings.¹⁷ In Christian infernal imagery a river or lake of hell is a common motif. Revelation XX, for instance, speaks of an infernal *stagnum ignis*, 'pool of fire', as a place of torment for the devil, the apocalyptic beast and all those not listed in the Book of Life. The widely distributed *Visio Pauli* and, seemingly through its influence, some Old English homilies depict punishments in hell as submerging in fiery rivers by various degrees according to the gravity of one's misdeeds; Charles Wright has called this motif 'an especially common feature'.¹⁸

¹⁵ The standard modern classical encyclopaedias contain excellent introductions to the terms from classical mythology discussed here, see H. C. Ackermann and J.-R. Gisler, ed., *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, 8 vols. (Zurich, 1981-97); *Der Neue Pauly*.

¹⁶ Russell, *Devil*, pp. 143, 152, 255. The influence of Tartarus on the Christian hell was intensified by the influence of the Jewish underworld Gehenna on Christianity. The Jewish religion similarly distinguished between two types of underworld, Sheol as a place of shadowy afterlife and Gehenna as a fiery place of punitive damnation of rebels. The ideas of Gehenna and Tartarus merged and influenced the Christian concept of hell (Russell, *Devil*, pp. 172, 186, n. 14).

¹⁷ Bullough, 'Educational Tradition', p. 471. Yet, Cocytus appears surprisingly often in Anglo-Saxon charters as part of a frequently repeated proem formula (S 407, 425, 426, 434, 435, 436, 458, 1166).

¹⁸ C. D. Wright, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, CSASE 6 (Cambridge, 1993), p. 189; see also *ibid.*, pp. 122-7. Cf. M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: an Apocalyptic Form in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Philadelphia, PA, 1983), pp. 122-3.

This ‘measure-for-measure’ punishment in infernal waters is, however, absent from extant sanctions. By contrast, the equally common motif of sinners plunged into ‘a terrible river filled with diabolical beasts plying the waters like fish’ may appear or at least have been alluded to in two sanctions containing classical mythological vocabulary.¹⁹ Indeed, if infernal rivers are given names in extant sanctions, these names are taken from classical mythology.

Vergil is believed to have been ‘the single most influential authority in the early Middle Ages’ with a ‘universal and assured’ transmission in that period.²⁰ Michael Herren has argued that the ‘medieval study of mythology began with attempts of barbarians to understand Vergil and other “school texts” at the most basic level’.²¹ The early medieval study of classical mythology proceeded in successive stages. First, the elementary knowledge needed to understand classical poets, foremost Vergil, was acquired with the help of glossaries and commentaries.²² The next level consisted of reading collections of stories, such as Fulgentius’s *Mitologia*, to increase one’s background knowledge.²³ At the highest level, a ‘handful of well-read scholars’ integrated classical mythology into their own works, because they saw parallels between classical mythology and the Scriptures, for instance ‘the Golden Age and the Garden of Eden’.²⁴ In addition, Max Wehrli has pointed out that classical mythological terminology was frequently used for adorning poems, rhetoric

¹⁹ Wright, *Irish Influence*, p. 123.

²⁰ A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, CSASE 8 (Cambridge, 1994), p. 131; cf. also N. Wright, ‘Bede and Vergil’, *Romanobarbarica* 6 (1981-82), 362-79.

²¹ M. W. Herren, ‘Earliest European Study of Graeco-Roman Mythology (A.D. 600-900)’, *Acta classica universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis* 34-35 (1998-99), 25-49, at 28.

²² Herren, ‘Earliest European Study’, pp. 28, 48.

²³ Herren, ‘Earliest European Study’, pp. 32, 48.

²⁴ Herren, ‘Earliest European Study’, p. 48.

and philosophy.²⁵ Next to Vergil's *Aeneid*, among the texts containing classical mythology that were available in Anglo-Saxon England the following are relevant for Christian infernal imagery: Servius's *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Aldhelm's writings, Sedulius's *Carmen paschale*, and glossaries.²⁶

Knowledge gained from glosses would largely have been sufficient for using and understanding classical mythology in most Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Thus, in the following, I shall distinguish between the use of classical mythological *vocabulary* on the one and classical mythological *imagery* on the other hand. Most sanctions contain classical mythological vocabulary, i.e. a use of classical mythological terms without requiring knowledge of classical mythology other than the knowledge of the individual words' general meanings. This usage of terms from classical mythology is not enough to create classical mythological imagery, however. By contrast, some sanctions either allude to or contain classical mythological imagery, which seems to point to a more detailed knowledge of classical mythology and perhaps to borrowings from Vergil's *Aeneid*. As these sanctions do not only contain individual mythological words, but probably used Vergil's *Aeneid* as a literary source, they are discussed separately in this dissertation. On the whole, Anglo-Saxon sanctions appear to reflect the whole range of classical learning from the first level of glossary knowledge to the advanced level of integrating elaborate allusions to classical mythology in new, Christian contexts.²⁷

²⁵ Wehrli, 'Antike Mythologie', p. 26.

²⁶ Sources of classical mythology available in Anglo-Saxon England are discussed by Herren, 'Transmission and Reception'.

²⁷ I am referring to a 'minimum requirement' needed to write and understand classical mythological references in sanctions.

In accordance with scholars who have analysed classical learning in medieval education, I have referred to the use of glossaries for learning classical mythological vocabulary as a first phase of learning. In the context of hermeneutic Latin, however, it should be remembered that glossaries seem to have been tools of more advanced intellectuals, too. Although someone of Æthelwold's education would probably not have needed to consult glossaries for terms like *Styx* or *Cerberus*, he probably would have appreciated whether a certain term was rarely used and predominantly appeared in glossaries or whether it was a word commonly used in Christian Latin writings. I shall try to show that classical mythological vocabulary was used in Anglo-Saxon sanctions for the same reason as hermeneutic Latin was generally used in charters, namely to make the infernal imagery of sanctions more elaborate with a higher register of Latin.

4.2 Classical Mythological Terminology in Sanctions

In the following, I shall first briefly introduce the classical mythological terms that appear in Anglo-Saxon sanctions and then analyse their use in these sanctions. The sanctions' classical mythological terms can be divided into three groups (the terms are listed in descending order of frequency):

- a) Appellations of hell: Tartarus, Orcus, Avern, Erebus
- b) Infernal waters: Styx, Acheron, (Pyri)Phlegethon, Cocytus
- c) Infernal beings: Cerberus, ?Vulcanus, Pluto

According to Michael Lapidge, especially the *Bella Parisiaca urbis* (Book III) of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Aldhelm's work were important sources of

Anglo-Saxon hermeneutic Latin, next to numerous glossaries.²⁸ With regard to mythological terminology, I have not noticed any relevant terms in Abbo's work, which is not surprising, however, in view of his very different subject matter.²⁹ Aldhelm, by contrast, did use classical mythological terms for denoting hell, although only two: *Tartarus* appears multiple times in his writings and *Orcus* once.³⁰ Surprisingly, other comparatively common terms like *Styx* or *Acheron* appear to be absent from his work. Nonetheless, most classical mythological terms used in Anglo-Saxon sanctions appear in edited Anglo-Saxon glosses and glossaries.³¹ While some of these glossaries may be of lesser importance to hermeneutic Latin, they do nevertheless provide insights into how these classical mythological terms may have been understood by Anglo-Saxons.³² *Tartarus* appears with three different Old English *interpretamenta*: *hell*, terms denoting 'torment' and 'punishment' in hell, and terms signifying 'abyss'.³³ According to Patrizia Lendinara, *interpretamenta*

²⁸ Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 69-76.

²⁹ On Abbo of Saint-Germain's *Bella Parisiaca urbis*, see A. Adams and A. G. Rigg, 'A Verse Translation of Abbo of St. Germain's *Bella Parisiaca Urbis*', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 14 (2004), 1-68; P. Lendinara, 'The Third Book of the *Bella Parisiaca Urbis* by Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and its Old English Gloss', *ASE* 15 (1986), 73-89; P. Lendinara, 'The Abbo Glossary in London, British Library, Cotton Domitiani', *ASE* 19 (1990), 133-49; P. Lendinara, 'Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, *Bella Parisiaca urbis*', *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture I: Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and Acta Sanctorum*, ed. F. M. Biggs et al. (Kalamazoo, MI, 2001), pp. 15-18.

³⁰ See the excellent word index in *Aldhelmi opera*, ed. Ehwaldi; cf. below, p. 135, n. 33, p. 136, n. 35.

³¹ On early Anglo-Saxon glossaries with classical mythological entries, see Herren, 'Transmission and Reception', pp. 97-101. For introductory reading on glosses and glossaries, see P. Lendinara, 'Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries: an Introduction' in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 622 (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 1-26; M. Lapidge, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of Latin Glosses', *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, Studies in the Early History of Britain, ed. N. Brooks (Leicester, 1982), pp. 99-140; R. I. Page, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England: the Evidence of Old English Glosses', *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Brooks, pp. 141-65.

³² Note, however, that according to Patrizia Lendinara these insights can only be tentative, because research is 'still far from a complete understanding of the significance of glosses for the knowledge of Anglo-Saxon cultural history and literature (and indeed of the Old English language)', see her 'Anglo-Saxon Glosses: an Introduction', p. 1.

³³ OE *hell* in HyGl 2 (43.8; 67.2.2; 70.5; 72.2; 128.3), SedGl 2.1 (70); *cwicsusl* in HyGl 3 (43.8; 67.2.6; 70.5; 72.2; 128.3), AldV 1 (1293), AldV 13.1 (1249); *hellewite* in AldV 1 (1293, 2179), AldV 13.1 (1249, 2218), AntGl 4 (455); *tintregu* in AldV 13.1 (685); *grundleas seað* in AldÆ 1 (39); *geswelge* in AldV 13.1 (635); in Ælfric's *Grammar*, *Tartarus* appears as OE *hellice susl* (p. 85);

suggest a shift in the meaning of *Tartarus* in Anglo-Saxon England.³⁴ However, there may instead have been simultaneous interpretations, because the *interpretamenta* merely vary their emphases on aspects shared by Vergil's Tartarus and the Christian hell. The term *Orcus* seemingly appears only in the Aldhelmian glosses, where it is rendered as 'death'.³⁵ *Avern* and *Erebus* are both rendered as *hell* in Old English, but *Erebus* is once given the connotation of depth.³⁶ *Styx* is glossed twice as *helle mere*, 'lake of hell', and *Acheron* is glossed in Latin as *fluuius apud inferos*, 'river in the Lower World'.³⁷ An alternative name for Pyriphlegethon is Phlegethon and only the latter seems to appear in Anglo-Saxon glosses.³⁸ One gloss presents Phlegethon like the other waters of the underworld as *inferni fluminis*, 'river of hell'.³⁹ The other occurrence of *Phlegethon* is interesting because, glossed in Latin and Old English, its Old English *interpretamentum* is closer to the classical mythological description of Pyriphlegethon than the Latin one: in Latin it is glossed as *de fluuiio infirni*, 'of the river of hell (or underworld)', in Old English as *of ligespiwelum flode*, 'fire-vomiting stream'.⁴⁰ The name *Cerberus* is glossed as *canis qui hostiarius inferni dicitur*, 'a dog which is called doorkeeper of hell', in the

Ælfric's *Grammar* is not a glossary, but it provides valuable translations of Latin words into Old English.

³⁴ P. Lendinara, 'Glosses and Glossaries: the Glossator's Choice', in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, pp. 27-63, at 58-9.

³⁵ Old English *deaðes* in AldV 2.3.1 (107); Old English *mupes* in AldV 1 (900), AldV 13.1 (837). The appearance of *mup*, 'mouth, opening, door', is puzzling. Yet, because the complete Latin lemma reads *orci mortis* and *orci .i. mortis* respectively, *mupes* may be a mistake for *morpēs*, 'of death'.

³⁶ *Avern*: OE *hell* in HyGI 2 (3.6), HyGI 3 (3.6), CorpGI 2 (1.920); *Erebus*: OE *hell* in CIGI 1 (2202, 3009), CIGI 3 (2114); *helle seap* in AntGI 4 (453); *profundum infernum* in CorpGI 2 (5.227).

³⁷ *Styx*: AntGI 4 (454), ÆGram (p. 72); *Acheron*: CorpGI 2 (1.116).

³⁸ The prefix *pyri-*, which is derived from the Greek word *πυρο*, 'fire' (cf. PrudGI 1, 207), emphasizes that the Phlegethon is a fiery water.

³⁹ HIGI (F461).

⁴⁰ PrudGI 1 (207); *ligespiwelum* (*lieg*, 'fire, flame' + *spiwan*, 'spit; vomit') appears to be a literal rendition of Latin *flammiuomus*, an adjective that appears often in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. According to Michael Lapidge *flammiuomus* was already used by Bede for its poetic register, see M. Lapidge, 'Poeticism in Pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin Prose', *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose*, ed. T. Reinhardt, M. Lapidge and J. N. Adams, Proceedings of the British Academy 129 (Oxford, 2005), pp. 321-37, at 331. Donald Bullough has discussed the adjective *flammiuomus* in the context of hermeneutic Latin, see Bullough, 'Educational Tradition', p. 471.

Leiden Glossary and similarly in the second Erfurt Glossary as *Ceruerus canis inferni*, ‘Cerberus, dog of hell’.⁴¹ In the Old English Alfredian translation of Boethius’s *De consolacione philosophiae*, Cerberus is presented as ‘helle hund [...] þæs nama wæs Ceruerus, se sceolde habban þrio heafdu’.⁴² *Cocytus* is the only term which I have not found in any published Anglo-Saxon glossary, but, as pointed out above, it was used in the Bible. The classical mythological terms used in infernal imagery of sanctions for denoting hell, describing its landscape and inhabitants are glossed only rarely with references to their mythological context. Instead, most glosses appear to interpret them in a distinctly Christian manner.

4.3 The Use of Classical Mythological Vocabulary in Sanctions

Having introduced the meanings of the relevant mythological terms in Vergil’s *Aeneid* and given an overview of their possible interpretation in Anglo-Saxon England, I shall now try to demonstrate that the knowledge provided by glosses and glossaries would have been sufficient for drafting (and understanding) most Anglo-Saxon sanctions with classical mythology. I shall first discuss the use of the terms denoting hell, then terms signifying the waters of hell and finally, the appearance of Cerberus.

In sanctions, the term *Tartarus* does not appear to be specifically associated with torments or punishments. The only sanctions in which *Tartarus* collocates with words carrying these meanings are those of Formula Group (32) and of charters S

⁴¹ Cf. P. Lendinara, ‘The *Liber monstrorum* and Anglo-Saxon Glossaries’ in her *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries*, pp. 113-38, at 135.

⁴² ‘hell-hound [...] of which the name was Cerberus, it was said to have three heads’. All references to the Old English version of Boethius’s *De consolacione philosophiae* are to *King Alfred’s Old English Version of Boethius De consolacione philosophiae: Edited from the Manuscripts with Introduction, Critical Notes and Glossary*, ed. W. J. Sedgefield (Oxford, 1899); quotation in ch. 35 (p. 102).

933 from CE 1014 and S 979 from CE 1023x1032. Instead, *Tartarus* seems to serve predominantly simply as another term for ‘hell’, as in S 575 from CE 958, which represents Formula Group (10):

Si quis autem infringere temptaverit : quod absit . sciat se reum
omni hora vitæ suæ et tenebrosum Tartarum non evadere : Nisi
prius hic digna satisfactione emendare maluerit (S 575)⁴³

The knowledge that *Tartarus* stands for ‘hell’ is enough to understand that this sanction threatens with damnation in hell. The connotation of torment or punishment expressed in some glosses (and classical mythology) may have made *Tartarus* particularly suitable for sanctions, but whether it made sanctions more threatening is doubtful, because the Christian hell is *per se* a place of punitive torment. It is equally doubtful whether knowledge or ignorance of the classical representation of Tartarus as a place of torment in the afterlife affected a change in the imagery of sanctions using the word *Tartarus* for characterizing devils, as in S 478 from CE 941:

Et econtrario quisquis me nolente meque perhibente, inuidie
stimulis agitatus et eius execrabili liuore retortus, eiusdem terre
dimensionem diminuerit et sub tali pacto non custodierit,
presens conuersacio ipsius in terris ab omni bonorum
possibilitate diminuatur et in die futuro calamitatis collocetur a
sinistris cum tartarorum demoniis, ubi erit fletus et stridor
dencium, pena eterna sine prestulacione consolacionis nisi digna
penitencia et reconsiliacione pura per satisfaccionem in huius
lucis spacio hoc emendauerit et amplius peccare disiuerit (S
478)⁴⁴

⁴³ ‘Yet, if someone attempts to break [this], what shall be far off, let him know in each hour of his life to be guilty and not to escape the dark Tartarus, unless he prefers to amend [this] earlier here [on earth] with suitable amends’.

⁴⁴ ‘And, in contrast, whoever, against my wish and my interdiction, urged by the incitement of jealousy and twisted [in his disposition] by its [i.e. jealousy’s] accursed envy decreases the dimension of this land and does not guard [this dimension] in accordance to this agreement, his current stay on earth shall be diminished regarding all possibility to experience good things and on the future day of calamity he shall be placed to the left side together with the demons of Tartarus, where there shall be lamenting and grating of teeth [and] eternal punishment without expecting consolation, unless he

In the sanction of S 478, the ‘demons of Tartarus’ are banished together with the wicked into hell at the Last Judgement. Hence, this sanction’s devils are essentially damned beings. Associating them with Tartarus does not change the demons’ roles in this sanction. There may be the possibility, however, that this appellation presents the demons in an ambiguous light by making the reader aware of the fact that demons had, in contrast to the human damned, a second position in hell as tormentors of their human ‘fellow-damned’. On the other hand, because punishments and torments are the defining elements of sanctions with infernal imagery, the use of the term *Tartarus* in the sanction of S 478 may simply have been perceived as particularly fitting for infernal imagery in sanctions in general.⁴⁵

Why then were classical mythological terms denoting hell used in Anglo-Saxon sanctions? What do they contribute to these texts? The choice of classical mythological vocabulary may have been prompted by a wish to make the texts more elaborate. This is especially evident when discussing sanctions that contain more than one term for denoting hell, as these sanctions use the literary device of variation. Arthur Brodeur has defined variation as ‘a double or multiple statement of the same concept or idea in different words, with a more or less perceptible shift in stress’.⁴⁶ Scholars have described various kinds of variation. Here, I would like to distinguish between ‘stylistic variation’ and ‘semantic variation’. By ‘stylistic variation’ I mean two or more words denoting the same idea without a shift in connotation or aspect.⁴⁷

amends with proper penitence and pure reconciliation by means of amends as long as he sees the light of this world, and [unless] he sincerely ceases to sin’. Further sanctions using the term *Tartarus* for characterizing devils are S 478, 519, 724, 1340.

⁴⁵ For torment and punishment in sanctions, see Motif Group (I) in Appendix 5 below.

⁴⁶ A. G. Brodeur, *The Art of Beowulf* (Berkeley, 1960), p. 40.

⁴⁷ Sometimes this type of variation is called ‘elegant variation’, a term introduced by Henry Fowler in his *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 130-3. Because Fowler largely understood this feature as a signifier of bad poetry, I shall not use Fowler’s term here. Note that the

‘Semantic variation’ has been defined by Stanley Greenfield as ‘the components of a variation conventionally show[ing] the same referent under different aspects or with different attributions’.⁴⁸ Both types of variation appear in sanctions with infernal imagery. I shall examine the usage of variation by taking the sanctions of S 912 and S 784 as examples.

The sanction of S 912 from CE 1005, which represents Formula Group (36), employs stylistic variation:

Si autem, quod absit, uspiam quis laruarico attactus instinctu
mente hoc subdola machinatus fuerit adnullare, uel quippiam in
peius quam constituimus transuertere, sua pro audacia a coetu in
hac uita anathematizetur fidelium, et in tremendo dei examine
astantibus coelorum agminibus hominumque turmis, necnon et
horrendis Erebi uernulis palam cunctis damnetur cum haedis,
auerni cruciamenta sine fine luiturus, ni ante obitum condigne
emendauerit (S 912)⁴⁹

The terms *Erebus* and *Avern* both appear simply to denote ‘hell’, without necessarily shifting connotations. The darkness that can be associated with *Erebus* had no effect on the sanction’s infernal imagery and also *Avern* is used without additional connotations. Hence, it can be presumed that the terms function as stylistic variation.

In S 138, which contains the same sanction as S 912, the word *Erebus* is spelled with

entry on ‘elegant variation’ has been revised in the newest edition, see R. W. Burchfield, ed., *The New Fowler’s Modern English Usage* (Oxford, 1996), p. 243.

⁴⁸ S. B. Greenfield, ‘The Uses of Variation’, in his *The Interpretation of Old English Poems* (London, 1972), pp. 60-83, at 66. Consider, for example, the variation on God in *Cædmon’s Hymn* or on the cross in *The Dream of the Rood*.

⁴⁹ ‘Yet, if, what shall be far off, somewhere someone affected by ghostly incitement plots maliciously with a cunning mind to annihilate these things or to alter [them] into anything worse than what we have determined, on account of his boldness he shall be anathemized by the company of believers in this life and at God’s terrible Judgement in the presence of the heavenly troops and the crowds of men and also the frightening vermin of Erebus; in the presence of all these he shall be damned so that he shall suffer the torments of Avern without end, unless he amends it before [his] death very worthily’.

an initial 'h'.⁵⁰ It is, of course, entirely common that words beginning with vowels in classical Latin are spelled with an initial 'h' in medieval Latin. Yet, in the case of S 138 spelling *Erebi* as *herebi* generates alliteration: *hominumque turmis necne 7 horrendis herebi vermilis*. This may be a coincidence, but it may also indicate a wish to uplift the sanction into a higher register of Latin prose. This would emphasize a stylistic motivation behind the choice or, in this case spelling, of words.

In contrast to the stylistic variation of the sanction of Formula Group (36) above, the use of the term *Orcus* in the sanction of S 784 from CE 972 can be interpreted as a semantic variation:

Si quis vero non perhorrescat machinari nostrum decretum .
sciat se casurum in profundum eterni Orci barathrum (S 784)⁵¹

Hell is signified by the words *Orcus* and *barathrum*. As outlined above, *Orcus* is clearly associated with 'death' in Vergil's *Aeneid* and in the Aldhelmian glosses, but also, for instance, in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (VIII.xi.42).⁵² The word *barathrum*, on the other hand, means 'pit, abyss', and in Christian writings it signifies the infernal abyss.⁵³ In S 784 *Orcus* and *barathrum* are accompanied by *aeternus*, 'eternal', and *profundum*, 'deep'. The four words are arranged in an envelope-pattern with

⁵⁰ S 138 is a spurious charter, presumably forged in the late tenth century, see Dumville, *Wessex and England*, p. 50.

⁵¹ 'If someone is not afraid to plot mischievously against our decree, he shall know to fall into the deep abyss of the eternal Orcus'.

⁵² All references to Isidore's *Etymologiae* are to Isidore, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols., Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford, 1911).

⁵³ On the etymology of *barathrum*, see H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Indogermanische Bibliothek: Reihe 2, Wörterbücher, 3 vols. (Heidelberg, 1960-72), I, 219; for its medieval meaning, see *DMLBS*, p. 181.

profundum [...] barathrum enclosing *eterni Orci*.⁵⁴ For those familiar with the mythological meaning of *Orcus*, the sanction goes beyond a stylistic variation, because its shift in connotation generates a semantic variation. As a result, using *barathrum* and *Orci* for denoting ‘hell’, S 784 describes hell as an abysmal realm of the dead. However, semantic variation requires semantic knowledge and for someone who only knows that *barathrum* and *Orci* denote ‘hell’, the terms constitute a simple stylistic variation.

Sanctions containing classical mythological terms for denoting infernal waters point even more explicitly to stylistic considerations behind the choice of vocabulary. In the sanction of S 871 from CE 988, the choice for the classical mythological term *Pyriphlegethon* for denoting a river of hell is very fitting for a charter with a general predilection for hermeneutic vocabulary:

Si quis sane eam frangere vel mutare vel eciam voluerit minuere
(quod absit) sciat se habiturum cum satellitibus beatmot’ in
pirflegetonte baratri quibus in ultima examinacione dicetur
‘discedite a me operarii iniquitatis non enim novi vos, ibi erit
fletus oculorum et stridor dentium’ (S 871)⁵⁵

The infernal imagery of this sanction is rather puzzling at first. In his edition of S 871, Alexander Rumble has quoted Michael Lapidge that *Pyriphlegethon* was a common metaphor for hell and was used thus in Frithegod’s *Breviloquium vitae*

⁵⁴ This phrase is shared by the sanction of Formula Group (18), without the envelope pattern, however: *corruentem in profundum barathrum æterni Orci*.

⁵⁵ ‘Certainly, if someone wants to violate or modify or diminish this, what shall be far off, he shall know to dwell in the *Pyriphlegethon* of the abyss together with the cronies of Behemoth, to which it is said at the Last Judgement, “Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity, I do not know you”; there shall be weeping of eyes and grating of teeth’. The authenticity S 871 has been regarded as uncertain by L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 8 (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 247-8. Yet, Simon Keynes has argued that its sanction is representative of the last twenty years of the tenth century, see his *Diplomas*, p. 92, n. 31, cf. also *ibid.*, p. 249.

Wilfridi.⁵⁶ Yet, the *Patrologia Latina* database suggests that Phlegethon was rarely used and Pyriphlegethon even more rarely. In contrast to Michael Lapidge's suggestion, I would not like to read Pyriphlegethon as a metaphor for hell, but rather as a literal reference to a fiery river in hell, because *in pirflegetonte baratri*, 'in the [river] Pyriphlegethon of the [infernal] abyss' clearly presents Pyriphlegethon as a part of hell instead of hell itself ('in the hell of the abyss'). Choosing the term Pyriphlegethon appears to have been motivated by the stylistic register in which the complete charter, which contains a number of rare words, is written.⁵⁷ In the river Pyriphlegethon is the biblical land-monster Behemoth (*beamot*) that appears in Job XL.10-19.⁵⁸ Depicted as drinking up the river Jordan (Job XL.18-19), Behemoth is also associated with a river in the Bible. Yet, because the sanction does not allude to this biblical episode, it seems doubtful that Job's description influenced the use of Behemoth here. Indeed, one wonders whether a reference to the sea-monster Leviathan would not have been the more obvious choice. While Behemoth and Leviathan are counterparts not only in Job, but also as apocalyptic monsters and representatives of the devil and the Antichrist, Leviathan is more frequently depicted in Christian literature than Behemoth.⁵⁹ This, in turn, makes Behemoth the more 'exotic' of the two, which may have prompted its use in S 871. On the other hand, Behemoth and Leviathan may have been perceived as interchangeable. In the poem of S 874 from CE 990 Leviathan is associated with the Phlegethon in a depiction of

⁵⁶ Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 204; Rumble has reported Lapidge's comment without further explanation or reference, and I have not been able to find it in Lapidge's work.

⁵⁷ Mostly grecisms: *ethereum* (< aether, eris), *zomatum* (<soma, atis), *australium* (<australis, e), *pirflegetone*; *barathrum* is also a grecism, but it cannot be called unusual or rare.

⁵⁸ Cf. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 204.

⁵⁹ On Behemoth and Leviathan, see E. L. Palli, 'Leviathan (und Behemoth)', *LCI* III, 93-5; J. B. Russell, *Satan: the Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), pp. 131, 190; J. B. Russell, *Lucifer: the Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1986), p. 97, n. 13.

hell written in hermeneutic Latin. Therefore, it may be most appropriate to see Behemoth and Leviathan as a unit of mythical Old Testamental monsters.

To be precise, the sanction of S 871 speaks of ‘the cronies of Behemoth’ (*satellitibus beamot*), not of Behemoth itself. This can be read either metaphorically or literally or in both manners, as there are no indications as to which reading would be more appropriate. In the metaphorical reading Behemoth would represent the devil, while his companions would not necessarily be only his sub-devils, but also all sinners.⁶⁰ Read literally, his companions would be demonic animal-like monsters like Behemoth itself. The phrase *se habiturum cum satellitibus beamot in pyriphlegeton baratri*, ‘he shall dwell together with the cronies of Behemoth in the Pyriphlegethon of the abyss’, suggests the literal reading, because Pyriphlegethon appears to be a part of hell rather than hell itself. Thus, Behemoth and his monstrous cronies may be an expression of the common Beast in a River motif.⁶¹ However, following the above phrase is the damnation of the wicked according to Luke XIII.27-8, which is connected to the Pyriphlegethon-Behemoth passage with the relative pronoun *quibus*, ‘to whom, to which’. This relative pronoun can only refer to *satellitibus beamot*, wherefore reading *satellitibus beamot* metaphorically as sinners appears to be more appropriate. As a result, the infernal imagery of S 871 is in essence rather plain: the transgressor is threatened with being cast into hell together with other sinners who are damned at the Last Judgement. Yet, using *Pyriphlegeton baratri* for denoting ‘hell’ and *satellitibus beamot* for signifying ‘sinners’ generates a very elaborate and

⁶⁰ According to D. F. Johnson, *Christ and Satan* suggests that the imagery of sinners as followers of the devil was known in Anglo-Saxon England, see his ‘Old English Religious Poetry: *Christ and Satan* and *The Dream of the Rood*’, *Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. H. Aertsen and R. H. Bremmer, Jr. (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 159-87, at 162-75 (cf. ‘Studies in the Literary Career’, pp. 79-107, esp. 103-4).

⁶¹ On the Beast in a River motif, see above, p. 132.

exotic sounding infernal imagery. For someone who knows his or her Bible, classical mythology and apocryphal visions of hell, the imagery appears to be rather complex and ambiguous. For someone who does not know what *Pyriphlegethon* and *Behemoth* mean, the mystery of ‘not knowing’ may have rendered the sanction of S 871 as well as other elaborate sanctions that contain rare or classical mythological terminology more frightening than sanctions containing plain infernal imagery.

In all of the sanctions discussed in this chapter classical mythological vocabulary is employed for Christian concepts in a more or less cursory manner. Especially the arbitrariness with which terms denoting the waters of the underworld are used emphasizes the irrelevance of their classical mythological content in the context of the infernal imagery of these sanctions. Transgressors risk being thrust into infernal waters represented as rivers (*flumina*), standing pools (*stagna*), whirlpools (*gurgites*) or swamps (*palus*), but the names of the rivers of the underworld are attached to them largely indiscriminately. The Styx, for example, is presented not only as an undefined hot water in Formula Group (28), but also as a river in Formula Groups (17) and (31) as well as the Latin version of S 1608, and as a swamp in S 914. The same is true for the Acheron, which is depicted as a hot water (Formula Group 29; S 413), a whirlpool (S 712, 736), a standing pool (indirectly in S 736), and as *putido torridoque*, ‘rotten and dried up’ (S 821). This inconsistency suggests an interchangeability of the classical mythological names of infernal rivers. However, this may not necessarily be a trait of Christian writers, as Vergil, too, is rather inconsistent in his presentation of the rivers of the underworld.⁶²

⁶² See above, p. 130.

As the final example of sanctions with classical mythological vocabulary, I would like to discuss the sanction of the Latin version of S 914:

Si tunc, ut non optamus, quis maleuolum diabolico instinctus
flatu, hanc nostram confirmationem minuerit uel dempserit,
partem cum Iuda proditore domini accipiat, et dentibus Cerberi
infernalis sine termino cum daemonibus omnibus Stigia palude
corrodetur, nisi mortem ante communem congrua emendet
satisfactione quod nequiter contra deum suum deliquit factorem
(S 914)⁶³

This sanction appears to contain overt classical mythological imagery which is largely devoid of Christian motifs. However, a closer look shows that it may, by contrast, render Christian infernal imagery in the guise of classical mythological terms. The depiction of Cerberus as gnawing the damned to pieces while being in the Styx seems to allude to Vergil's *Aeneid* or Servius's commentary of it. In Book 8 of the *Aeneid*, in which the labours of Hercules are described, Cerberus is shown as mangling meat:

te Stygii tremuere lacus, te ianitor Orci
ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento
(*Aeneid*, VIII. 296-7)⁶⁴

⁶³ 'If, which we do not wish, inflated by diabolical instigation, someone diminishes or removes our confirmation malevolently, he shall receive [his] share with Judas, the traitor of the Lord, and he shall be gnawn to pieces endlessly by the teeth of the infernal Cerberus together with all demons in the swamp Styx, unless he corrects before his death with suitable amends what he did wretchedly in sin against his God, the Creator'. S 914 is considered spurious, but believed to have been forged in the eleventh century, most likely before the Conquest, see N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, Studies in the Early History of Britain (Leicester, 1984), pp. 257-8; R. W. Pfaff, 'Eadui Basan: Scriptorum Princeps?', *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 2 (Stamford, 1992), pp. 267-83, at 278-9; D. N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950-1030*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History 6 (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 126, n. 75; the ascription of the earliest manuscript containing S 914 to the Anglo-Saxon scribe Eadui Basan is, however, rejected by Rebecca Rushforth, who has nevertheless dated the forged S 914 to the mid-1030s, see her 'The Prodigal Fragment: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 734/782a', *ASE* 30 (2001), 137-44, at 139, n. 14.

⁶⁴ 'The Stygian pools frighten you, the door-keeper of the Orcus [frightens] you, [as he] is lying over half-eaten bones in a cave splashed with blood'.

Servius's commentary on these lines indicates that Cerberus devours the flesh of corpses:

Cerberum esse terram, quae corpora sepulta consumit; nam inde Cerberus dictus est quasi κρεοβόρος. alii pueriliter volunt a Cerbero Amphiarai ossa consumi, qui hiatu terrae secundum Statium descendit ad inferos. (Servius, *In Vergilii carmina commentarii*, II.241.7-11)⁶⁵

Although Cerberus is presented in the *Aeneid* as eating meat, which is interpreted in Servius's commentary as meat of human corpses, neither Vergil nor Servius appear to have seen Cerberus's consumption of meat as a punishment suffered in the underworld. According to John Savage, 'the interpretation of Cerberus as a "flesh-devourer" [...] became commonplace' on account of Servius's reading of Vergil.⁶⁶ This interpretation was later, *inter alia*, expressed also in Isidore's *Etymologiae* (XI.iii.33), a standard reference work in the early Middle Ages.⁶⁷ Simultaneously, Cerberus came to be associated with the Mouth of Hell motif in Christian infernal imagery.⁶⁸ Yet, in S 914 Cerberus does not seem to be a metaphor for the Mouth of Hell, especially when compared to representations of the Mouth of Hell in other sanctions. Instead, Cerberus's feeding on buried corpses is reminiscent of the feeding

⁶⁵ 'Cerberus is the earth, which consumes buried bodies; indeed Cerberus is thus called as it were κρεοβόρος, "feeding on flesh". Others foolishly wish [to have] the bones of Amphiarus be consumed by Cerberus, [Amphiarus] who descended into the underworld through an opening of the earth according to Statius'; all references to Servius's commentary are to *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1881-1902).

⁶⁶ J. J. Savage, 'The Medieval Tradition of Cerberus', *Traditio* 7 (1949-51), 405-10, at 406, n. 5. Cf. K. R. H. Frick, *Das Reich Satans: Luzifer/ Satan/ Teufel und die Mond- und Liebesgöttinnen in ihren lichten und dunklen Aspekten: eine Darstellung ihrer ursprünglichen Wesenheiten in Mythos und Religion*, Satan und die Satanisten: ideengeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Herkunft der komplexen Gestalt 'Luzifer/ Satan/ Teufel', ihre weiblichen Entsprechungen und ihre Anhängerschaft 1 (Graz, 1982), p. 283.

⁶⁷ On Isidore's *Etymologiae* as a standard medieval reference work, see Herren, 'Transmission and Reception', p. 90.

⁶⁸ A. A. Strnad, 'Cerberus', *LCII*, 353-4.

of hellish *wyrmas* on dead bodies often depicted in Old English homilies, as, for example, in a homily in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fols. 140-7:

7 in þære caldan foldan lið gebrosnod 7 þæt læne lic þær
weorþeð to fylnesse 7 grimmum gylstre 7 þæm wælslitendan
wyrnum to mete.⁶⁹

In what is essentially the same imagery, the gnawing of *wyrmas* is said to take place in hell as a punishment of the damned. This is depicted very vividly in Napier 29:

hi wælgrimme wyrmas slitað, and heora bangnagað byrnendum
toðum (p. 139/ 9-11)⁷⁰

Thus, in S 914 Cerberus's eating of corpses may have been associated with the damned being eaten in hell as a form of torment in Old English homilies. Alternatively, because Cerberus stands in an infernal river, the Latin sanction of S 914 may be an example of the Beast in a River motif. In any case, this sanction appears to use classical mythological vocabulary for genuinely Christian infernal imagery in the same manner as most other sanctions, because Cerberus represents a devouring monstrous animal in hell and the Styx is a river of hell. The Old English sanction of S 914 demonstrates how dispensable the classical mythological terminology is: Cerberus is rendered as OE *hellehund* and the reference to a river is completely dropped. Thus, the Beast in a River motif, if it can be read into the Latin sanction, is annulled in its Old English version, while still keeping the essential threat of a devouring monster.

⁶⁹ 'and in the cold earth the body [is] decayed, and the transitory body turns into foulness and grim diseased matter and into food for the corpse-biting worms'. The homily of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, fols. 140-7, which is a variant of Vercelli 9, is quoted after *Vercelli Homilies*, ed. Scragg, pp. 159-83; quotation on p. 173, lines 108-10.

⁷⁰ 'the cruel worms bite them, and bone-gnaw on them with burning teeth'.

To sum up briefly, classical mythological vocabulary appears to have been predominantly used in sanctions for generating Christian infernal imagery. In most cases, the knowledge of the individual terms' meanings, which could be gained from glosses, would have been enough for drafting and understanding the sanctions; no direct knowledge of classical mythology from classical works was necessary. Judging from the extant authentic charters, and those forged within the Anglo-Saxon period, the usage of classical mythological vocabulary may have been prompted by a wish to embellish the sanctions in order to put them into a higher stylistic register or perhaps even to 'show off' one's education. In this manner, the use of classical mythological terminology in sanctions does not differ from that in other medieval writings. In addition, this usage is shared by Latin vocabulary more readily associated with hermeneutic Latin, with which it also appears in some sanctions. In the following, I shall discuss two cases, in which the integration of classical mythology in sanctions seems to indicate a direct or indirect knowledge of classical writings rather than only glossary-based knowledge.

4.4 The Use of Classical Mythological Imagery in Sanctions

I have found four sanctions that echo two phrases from Vergil's *Aeneid*, which may have been their antecedent source.⁷¹ In the following, I shall analyse these sanctions, focusing on how the classical mythology of the sanctions' sources are weaved into Anglo-Saxon sanctions. I shall especially discuss if these sanctions incorporate classical mythological imagery by, for example, including phrases of Vergil unaltered, or whether these charters, too, use classical mythological material rather superficially as a substitute for perhaps less learned or less elaborate alternatives.

⁷¹ Whether it was also their direct source is difficult to establish, because of the great frequency with which Vergil was quoted in late antique and early medieval writings.

In the sanctions of S 508 from CE 946, which represents Formula Group (31), and S 595 from CE 956, which represents Formula Group (17), transgressors are threatened with being shoved into the stream of the river Styx:

Si quis vero atri demonis face inflammatus contra hoc nostrum decretum quod neutrum aut optamus vel desideramus machinari infringereque aliquid voluerit . sciat se *trusum sub unda Stigei fluminis* . atque cum illis nefandis legem Dei blasphemantibus in picea custodia tetrae tortionis mancipatam . nisi prius Christi cohortatione compulsus ad satisfactionem vita comite festinanter pervenerit (S 508; my emphasis)⁷²

Si quis igitur tetri demonis stimulatione instinctus hoc nostrum decretum infringere uoluerit, sit ipse *sub stigei fluminis undam* preceps in ima tartara trusus, nisi hic prius ad satisfactionem uenire maluerit (S 595; my emphasis)⁷³

The italicized passages allude to Book 7 of Vergil's *Aeneid*, where Apollo's son, Phoebigena, is punished by Jupiter for reanimating Hippolytus, the son of King Theseus of Athens:

tum pater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab umbris
mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere uitae,
ipse repertorem medicinae talis et artis
fulmine Phoebigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas
(*Aeneid*, VII. 770-3, my emphasis)⁷⁴

⁷² 'If someone, what we neither wish nor desire, inflamed against our decree by the appearance of a black demon wishes to plot mischievously and break anything, he shall know himself to be shoved under the stream of the river Styx and to be delivered in the pitch-black confinement of hideous torment together with the impious ones who blaspheme God's law, unless urged by Christ's exhortation he hastily comes [to do] amends earlier'.

⁷³ 'If someone then instigated by the incitement of a hideous demon wishes to break our decree, he shall be thrust headlong into the stream of the river Styx in the deep Tartarus, unless he prefers to come [to do] amends here earlier'.

⁷⁴ 'then the almighty father himself, who despises any mortal [human] who rises from the deep shadows into the lights of life, threw the deviser of such medicine and practical skills into the Stygian waves with his thunderbolt'.

For all that is known about the dissemination of Vergil's *Aeneid* in Anglo-Saxon England and its use in the Anglo-Saxon syllabus, it could be the direct source of S 508 and S 595, but it could also only be their antecedent source, as the Vergilian passage is quoted in Lactantius's *Divinae institutiones* (II.xix).⁷⁵ Yet, there is hardly any textual evidence supporting the availability of Lactantius's *Divinae institutiones* in Anglo-Saxon England, and I have found no other work quoting this Vergilian passage.⁷⁶ There are three alterations to the Vergilian text in the relevant sanctions. Firstly, *Phoebigenam* is omitted, because the transgressors are thrust into the Styx in the sanction. Secondly, the grammatical endings are adjusted to new syntactical requirements. Thirdly and most significantly, the sanctions speak of *flumen*, 'river', using it as a genitive singular referring to *unda*, 'wave, stream', instead of *fulmen*, 'thunderbolt', which is an instrumental ablative in the *Aeneid* (incidentally, Lactantius copied Vergil's version correctly). The sanctions kept the basic motif of being thrust into the Stygian stream, but while the thrusting is brought about by the almighty father, Jupiter, using his thunderbolt in Vergil, the sanctions lack any reference to an instrument by which the thrusting is effected and instead speak of the *river* Styx. Nevertheless, I am proposing that Vergil's *Aeneid* is at least the antecedent source for the punishment depicted in S 508 and S 595, as the parallels between the respective texts are too striking to be coincidental.

⁷⁵ Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones et epitome divinarum institutionum*, ed. S. Brandt and G. v. Laubmann, CSEL 19 (Vienna, 1890), pp. 1-672.

⁷⁶ According to K. Scarfe Beckett, Lactantius's *Divinae institutiones* was perhaps used by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (V, 21), see her 'The Sources of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (L.D.1.4)', 2002, *Fontes* [01.06.06]. Yet, no certain quotes of Lactantius's *Divinae institutiones* have hitherto been identified and the lack of entries in the following lists is not favourable regarding its availability in Anglo-Saxon England: Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*; Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*; M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. M. P. Richards, Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England 2 (New York, 1994), pp. 87-167.

How may the change from *fulmen* to *flumen* have come about? There are two possibilities: it was either an unconscious mistake or a conscious alteration. The former would have involved not only one initial misreading, but also a subsequent amendment at a later stage, when an intermediate *flumine* would have been changed into *fluminis* and used together with *Stigei* to specify *unda*. Yet, exactly because not only the meaning of the word was changed, but also its grammatical function was modified in accordance with the new use, it could have been a deliberate alteration. The word *fulmen* may have been seen inappropriate for the new Christian context. Instead of simply dropping the word, like *Phoebigena*, the aural and visual similarities between *fulmen* and *flumen* and the appropriateness of the latter in the new context may have inspired the draftsman to make the alteration. In doing this, the anonymous draftsman or -men of the sanctions in S 508 and S 595, or possibly of their unknown direct source, would have been in good company, as Aldhelm, for instance, frequently altered his sources deliberately ‘to make [them] his own’.⁷⁷ Thus, the use of classical mythological terminology is probably not based on glossary knowledge in the relevant sanctions, but it still does not generate classical imagery, because too much changed. In addition, the sanction is perfectly well understandable by those who have a glossary-based knowledge of classical mythology, since the sanction contains very common infernal imagery.

The other classical mythological imagery to be examined is a phrase shared by the sanctions of S 712 from CE 963 and S 736 from CE 965. In S 712 the transgressor shall be shoved into the wild whirlpool Acheron:

⁷⁷ Orchard, *Poetic Art*, p. 224.

Si autem quod absit quis filius perdicionis hoc nostrum decretum infringere aut inmutare conatus fuerit : sit ipse *Acherontis* cujus *turbidus Gurges Ceno ac vasta voragine estuare* asseritur nisi prius hic ad satisfaccionem pervenerit 7 digna penitentia emendare maluerit (S 712; my emphasis)⁷⁸

For someone familiar with Vergil's underworld, the sanction depicts the damnation into Tartarus as described in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*:

Hic uia Tartarei quae fert *Acherontis* ad undas.
turbidus hic caeno uastaque uoragine gurges
aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
 (*Aeneid*, VI. 295-8; my emphasis)⁷⁹

The Vergilian text seems to be integrated into the above sanction in what would today be called a 'cut and paste' method, i.e. without major grammatical or content-related alterations. This suggests either poor Latin skills or sloppiness: the expression *turbidus gurges*, 'raging whirlpool', is kept in masculine nominative singular, although *ipse*, referring to the potential transgressor, already functions as the sentence's subject. It is unlikely that *ipse* is the article of *gurges*, because the statement that '*the* wild raging whirlpool is delivered to burn in the mire and pit' would leave the transgressor without a punishment.

In S 736, too, the allusion to the same Vergilian passage is grammatically incorrect:

Si autem quod absit quis filius perdicionis hoc nostrum decretum infringere aut immutare conatus fuerit . sit ipse pulsu demonum in aeternam damnationem trudendus . id est in extremam partem

⁷⁸ 'Yet, if, what may be far off, a son of perdition endeavours to break or alter our decree, the same person shall be delivered to boil in the foul whirlpool and the vast depth of this Acheron, unless he resolves to amend this and prefers to amend it by proper penitence'.

⁷⁹ 'From here [leaves] the way that carries on to the waves of the Tartarean Acheron. This raging whirlpool burns wildly [in] a mire and an immense pit and vomits all sand into the Cocytus'.

tetri baratri sub horrida stagna tartarei sit projectus *Acherontis*
 cujus *turpidus gurgis cæno ac vasta voragine æstuaris* assertur .
 Nisi prius hic ad satisfactionem pervenerit et digna pœnitentia
 emendare maluerit (S 736; my emphasis)⁸⁰

A link with *ubi*, ‘where’, would be needed here to insert the Vergilian echo properly as an additional depiction of the horrid Tartarean swamp. Even then, however, the grammatical construction of the Vergilian quote would be incorrect, because like *horrida stagna*, *Acherontis* and *turpidus gurgis* would need to be ablatives, i.e. *Acheronte* and *turpido gurgite*. Therefore, the grammatical construction must be discarded and the punishment read according to its most likely content.

Despite its incorrect Latin, S 736 is one of the most literary sanctions. The Vergilian phrase is a specification of the preceding *stagna tartarei*, which in turn specifies *in extremam partem baratri*, which in turn specifies *æternam damnationem*. According to this reading, the sanction is structured into increasingly detailed and horrifying revelations of a transgressor’s impending doom.⁸¹ Moreover, the description of infernal punishment shifts from the most abstract and simple (eternal damnation) to the most concrete and imaginative (burning in the wild whirlpool Acheron). In this manner, the text may aim at increasing the fear of the audience in successive stages.

A comparison between S 712 and S 736 shows that despite incorporating the same

⁸⁰ ‘Yet, if, what may be far off, some son of perdition endeavours to break or alter our decree, the same one shall be shoved by the beatings of demons into eternal damnation, that is he shall be cast into the lowest part of the hideous abyss under the horrid Tartarean swamp; he shall be delivered to boil in the foul whirlpool and the vast depth of the Acheron, unless earlier he resolves to amend this and prefers to amend it by proper penitence’.

⁸¹ Note that Grendel’s approach to Heorot in *Beowulf* (702b-727) is structured similarly. Grendel is depicted by increasingly detailed and horrifying revelations about his nature. First, he comes out of the shadows, stalking through the night (702b-3a) until finally, joyless (721) and intend on destruction (723) *he eode yrremod; him of eagum stod/ ligge gelicost leoht unfæger*, ‘he went angry in mind, fire flashed from his eyes like hideous light’ (726-7); all references to *Beowulf* are to *Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. F. Klaeber, 3rd ed. (Lexington, MA, 1950). Arthur Brodeur has described the emotional effect of these successive depictions and has shown that ‘each successive statement of Grendel’s oncoming [...] shows an increase over the preceding in the use of horrific detail; each imposes increased strain upon the audience’, see his *Art of Beowulf*, p. 91.

Vergilian phrase in the same incorrect manner (perhaps already extant thus in an unknown direct source), their literary quality is not the same. S 712 is solely dependent on the classical quotation. In contrast, the sanction of S 736 gains its literary value from its combination of elaborate Vergilian and non-Vergilian imagery in a highly literary style.

In the case of these four sanctions (S 508, 595; S 712, 736), it would be incorrect to speak of the inclusion of classical mythological vocabulary into Christian imagery. The first example may initially appear to be another instance of classical mythological vocabulary in sanctions. In contrast to those, however, not only the term *Styx* is used, but a whole phrase is taken from Vergil's *Aeneid* and logically altered to express a Christian concept. In S 508 the transgression is even the same as that of Phoebigena in the *Aeneid*: transgression against the divine law. Admittedly, not so for an unlearned audience, who would, however, understand the message perfectly well with glossary-based knowledge. In contrast to the sanctions of S 508 and S 595, in S 712 and S 736 hell is depicted by the classical mythological imagery of the Tartarean water Acheron in Vergil's *Aeneid* without 'translation' into Christian imagery. Yet, because Vergil's underworld greatly influenced Christian infernal imagery, it fits the sanction very well.

4.5 Conclusion

In general, the kind of classical mythology used in sanctions is one easily adaptable to Christian infernal imagery. On the whole, the usage of classical mythology in sanctions is similar to what is known about its use in other medieval writings. Appellations of 'underworld' as well as its topographical features and one monstrous

inhabitant are largely stripped of their mythological content and filled with new content by applying them to Christian infernal imagery.

Curiously, mythological imagery appears only in Latin sanctions. Especially S 914, probably a very late Anglo-Saxon forgery, emphasizes this phenomenon. S 914 is extant in Latin and Old English versions with essentially the same sanctions, but without mythological vocabulary in the Old English text. In addition, there are no sanctions using Germanic mythological vocabulary, although Germanic mythology was neither forgotten nor principally banned from Old English literature. Indeed, it even entered biblical poetry, as *Genesis B* depicts a devil sent to Paradise dressing himself with two Germanic mythological props: a *feðerhama* (417), a ‘feather-covering’ for flying, and a *hæleðhelm* (444a-445a), a helmet making the wearer invisible.⁸² Are mythological references therefore a characteristic of ‘Latin infernal imagery’ in contrast to ‘Old English infernal imagery’? For two reasons I would suggest that this is not the case: firstly, the infernal imagery in Latin sanctions with classical mythology is Christian imagery which appears in Latin and Old English literature alike, and secondly, because of the link between classical mythological vocabulary and hermeneutic Latin. The infernal imagery in sanctions with classical mythology is largely genuinely Christian. For instance, the swamp imagery that is frequently attached to infernal waters in Christian literature also appears in vernacular poetry, as *Beowulf*’s Grendel and his mother live in a fen (710-11a, 764, 851, 1345-82). Additionally, in the famous description of Grendel’s *mere* (1345-82),

⁸² On *feðerhama*, see K. v. See *et al.*, *Kommentar zu den Liedern der Edda*, vol. 3: Götterlieder: *Völundarkviða*, *Alvíssmál*, *Baldrs draumar*, *Ringsþula*, *Hyndlolióð*, *Grottasöngur* (Heidelberg, 2000), p. 522; P. W. Souers, ‘The Wayland Scene on the Franks Casket’, *Speculum* 18 (1943), 104-111, at 109-11. On *hæleðhelm*, see R. Jente, *Mythologische Ausdrücke im Altenglischen Wortschatz: eine kulturgeschichtlich-etymologische Untersuchung*, *Anglistische Forschungen* 56 (Heidelberg, 1921), p. 313, § 178.

the waters are also depicted as fiery (*fyr on flode*, 1366a) and surging (*yðgeblond*, 1373). The latter may be comparable to the imagery of an infernal whirlpool, which is supported by synonyms of *yðgeblond*.⁸³ It has been largely accepted that the imagery of Grendel's *mere* is influenced by Christian imagery; it is often compared with infernal imagery in Blickling 16 and in the *Visio Pauli*.⁸⁴ In addition, there are indications that whoever composed *Beowulf* in its extant form may have known Vergil's *Aeneid*.⁸⁵ Despite the use of classical mythological vocabulary signifying infernal waters in sanctions, the imagery used for depicting these infernal waters is essentially Christian and appears also in Old English writings, which speaks against the existence of a particularly 'Latin infernal imagery' characterized, *inter alia*, by classical mythology. Instead, the use of classical mythology appears to signal a specific register of diction comparable to that of hermeneutic Latin. So far, scholars have discussed classical mythology and hermeneutic Latin largely independently of each other.⁸⁶ Anglo-Saxon sanctions seem to suggest, however, that classical mythological terminology was used in a manner similar to hermeneutic Latin. Like hermeneutic Latin, classical mythological terminology is learned and mostly glossary vocabulary. Both can be used for embellishing texts or for 'showing off' one's learning or both. Reconsidering his earlier proposition that the hermeneutic Latin reflects intellectual snobbery, Michael Lapidge has recently suggested that writers of hermeneutic Latin conducted an 'attempt to reach in their prose a high stylistic

⁸³ *Thesaurus of Old English*, II, 14 (01.01.03.01.02.06).

⁸⁴ H. L. C. Tristram, 'Stock Descriptions of Heaven and Hell in Old English', *NM* 79 (1978), 102-12, at 110-11; Wright, *Irish Influences*, pp. 117-21, 132-6 (see there also for further reading on Grendel's *mere*).

⁸⁵ A. Renoir, 'The Terror of the Dark Waters: a Note on Virgilian and Beowulfian Techniques', *Harvard English Studies* 5 (1974), 147-60; F. Fajardo-Acosta, 'Beowulf and the Aeneid: the Role of the Poet in the Courtly/ Heroic Society', *The Influence of the Classical World on Medieval Literature, Architecture, Music and Culture*, ed. F. Fajardo-Acosta (Lewisburg, MA, 1992), pp. 9-26.

⁸⁶ Donald Bullough has referred to classical mythological terms denoting hell in the context of hermeneutic Latin, but he has not discussed their precise relation to hermeneutic Latin, see his 'Traditional Education', p. 471.

register'.⁸⁷ To support this, he cites the proem of S 425 from CE 934, which contains a depiction of hell in hermeneutic and classical mythological vocabulary.⁸⁸ If classical mythological vocabulary was part of hermeneutic Latin, and if both were used in sanctions either to give the impression of being learned or to enhance the stylistic register of Latin prose, then this may explain the lack of Germanic mythology, which would fulfil neither of these purposes.

Of course, not every text that contains classical mythological terminology also contains hermeneutic Latin and a more thorough investigation than this dissertation can offer is necessary to establish their relationship in charters. Nevertheless, in the case of Anglo-Saxon sanctions there appears to be circumstantial evidence suggesting that classical mythological vocabulary and hermeneutic Latin may have been used for the same purpose. About two thirds of sanctions with infernal imagery depicted with classical mythological vocabulary were issued between CE 931 and 975. This roughly coincides with the climax of hermeneutic Latin and with the very beginning of the monastic reform or, to be more precise, with the beginning of the public lives of men who later became full-fledged monastic reformers. The monastic reformers Dunstan and Æthelwold, who are known to have written and taught hermeneutic Latin, were closely connected with the royal household before and during their careers as 'reformers'.⁸⁹ Both were actively involved in the politics of their time and in the conception of Anglo-Saxon kingship ideology. Is a fondness of classical mythological terms representative for advocates of the monastic reform? Are most charters with sanctions containing infernal imagery and classical

⁸⁷ Lapidge, 'Poeticism', p. 336.

⁸⁸ Lapidge, 'Poeticism', p. 336.

⁸⁹ Bullough, 'Educational Tradition', pp. 465-6.

mythological terminology indeed concerned with matters concerning the monastic reform? Do charters that are concerned with interests of the monastic reform movement largely contain such infernal imagery? In the next chapter, I shall examine a charter that is known to be an expression of monastic reform politics and largely shaped by kingship ideology. What kinds of sanctions are used in that charter? How were they incorporated into the charter?

CHAPTER 5

THE REFOUNDATION CHARTER OF NEW MINSTER, WINCHESTER

In the previous chapters, I have developed the argument that the elaborate infernal imagery of sanctions of Anglo-Saxon charters is pastoral in nature.¹ Judging from the corpus of extant Anglo-Saxon charters, the use of sanctions containing this elaborate infernal imagery clearly concentrates on tenth-century royal diplomas. This has led me to hypothesize that the driving force behind this disproportionately high use of infernal imagery may have been the Anglo-Saxon kingship ideology of the tenth century, which regarded the king as Christ's vicar on earth and thus assigned pastoral duties to him (Introduction). I have tried to show that the genre of curses, to which sanctions belong, had a pastoral tradition that clearly affected the use of sanctions in Anglo-Saxon charters (Chapter 1). I have further tried to demonstrate that this pastoral nature is supported by the sanctions' use of fear as a pastoral instrument, especially in explicitly vivid representations of hell and the devil (Chapter 2), and by the use of notorious damned persons as negative *exempla* (Chapter 3). The tenth-century version of Anglo-Saxon kingship ideology is especially associated with the monastic reform movement. A particular characteristic of the writing of educated monastic reformers is hermeneutic Latin, which is also a prominent stylistic feature of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas. In this respect, it is interesting that hell itself and the infernal rivers as prominent features of infernal landscapes are frequently denoted with vocabulary from classical mythology, which shares many characteristics with hermeneutic Latin (Chapter 4). It seems as if the zenith of

¹ As explained above, p. 25, I understand the word *pastoral* in the context of this dissertation as relating to teachings aimed at instructing people how to gain salvation and avoid damnation or to statements that simply urge people to gain salvation and avoid damnation.

infernal imagery in sanctions was ultimately generated by the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform movement. It should be remembered in this context that Joyce Galpern has argued that the monastic reform movement generated a boom of eschatological subjects in general and of infernal imagery in particular from the late tenth century onwards.² As a great part of extant Anglo-Saxon, especially Old English, literature dates from the tenth and eleventh centuries, i.e. the period of the monastic reform in Anglo-Saxon England, one should be cautious with such a general statement. Nonetheless, it is crucial to further examine my suggestion that the frequent use of infernal imagery in sanctions may have had a historical background in the Anglo-Saxon reform movement by reading sanctions with infernal imagery in the context of the charters in which they appear.

Hitherto, I have focused on sanctions as texts in their own right. However, sanctions are foremost elements of longer texts and must ultimately be read in their respective textual contexts. Hence, in the following, I shall discuss how sanctions with infernal imagery may relate to other parts of the charters in which they appear. A series of case studies would be the most appropriate way of examining whether the textual contexts of charters support or question the reading of sanctions I have proposed in Chapters 1 to 4 together with my hypothesis of an ultimate background in the monastic reform movement. Case studies would allow registering the nuances and variances of individual texts. However, because statements based exclusively on individual charters are of limited value, subsequent comparative analyses would be needed to avoid an overemphasis on singular occurrences and a distortion of the greater picture of the nature of literary imagery in Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas. Yet,

² Galpern, 'Shape of Hell', esp. pp. 1-24.

as there are over 250 authentic tenth-century Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas that contain sanctions with infernal imagery, this undertaking is evidently beyond what can be achieved in the final chapter of this dissertation. Instead, I would like to discuss the sanctions of a charter that is known to possess a historical background in the monastic reform and is known to express ideological concerns as examples of the types of sanctions that may be found in such diplomas. For this, I have chosen the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester (S 745). This charter contains five sanctions of various styles, wherefore it can be assumed that sanctions as diplomatic elements were of some importance to the draftsman. It will be interesting to see whether differences in styles also imply differences in functions. Choosing the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, may appear questionable on account of the charter's extraordinary format, which is not at all representative of Anglo-Saxon charters. However, S 745 is an important document of the history of the monastic reform in Anglo-Saxon England.³ In addition, it is one of the few texts that explicitly develop sentiments of kingship ideology.⁴ Hence, S 745 is an ideal text for examining what kinds of sanctions there are in a charter known to have been prompted by ideological considerations, and for analysing how these considerations are reflected in the sanctions of such a charter. Furthermore, S 745 can give an idea of what kind of interplay between the individual diplomatic elements can exist in a charter motivated by ideological concerns. Thus, the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, is indeed an excellent stepping stone to future research on

³ On the importance of S 745 as a historical document, see *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 106; Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 65; John, *Orbis Britanniae*, p. 272; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', p. 95.

⁴ Further texts with explicit statements of kingship ideology are, as indicated earlier, the preface of the *Regularis concordia* and the alleged preface to the Old English translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*. These two texts are believed to have been composed by Bishop Æthelwold, like S 745. On Æthelwold's authorship of the *Regularis concordia*, see above, p. 21; on his authorship of the alleged preface to the Old English *Regula S. Benedicti*, see above, p. 65; on his authorship of S 745, see below, p. 163.

literary imagery in Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas, provided it is not regarded as a standard against which other charters are judged.

In the following, I shall first introduce the historical background to the refoundation of New Minster and the manuscript in which it is recorded. Then, I shall analyse the sanctions with infernal and diabolical imagery of S 745 with respect to my findings in Chapters 1 to 4. Finally, I shall examine the proem and dispositive section of this charter concerning how the sanctions relate to these two diplomatic elements.⁵

5.1 Charter and Historical Background

The Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, was issued in King Edgar's name in CE 966.⁶ Its draftsman is believed to have been Æthelwold, who was made Bishop of Winchester three years earlier in CE 963, and who is one of the most renowned tenth-century Anglo-Saxon monastic reformers next to Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury (CE 959-88) and Bishop Oswald of Worcester (CE 961-92), who was also archbishop of York (CE 971-92).⁷ S 745 records the expulsion of

⁵ As explained earlier, a proem denotes the section of a charter that serves as an introductory comment. It usually places the grant recorded into a general or, more rarely, specific context. The dispositive section means that passage of a charter which describes the actual grant (usually a donation of land or privilege) and its specific nature. Cf. above, p. 4.

⁶ A slightly later date was suggested by Francis Wormald in his 'Late Anglo-Saxon Art: some Questions and Suggestions', *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, ed. M. Meiss and I. E. Rubin, 4 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1963), I, 19-26 [not seen]; rpt. F. Wormald, *Collected Writings*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, T. J. Brown and J. Gibbs, 2 vols. (London, 1984, 1988), I, 105-10, esp. 109-10. Wormald's later date has not received a wide reception, however; see the following discussions on the charter's date: *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 109; Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 65-6; R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, *Studies in Medieval Illumination* 9 (Princeton, NJ, 1995), p. 226; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 53; John, *Orbis Britanniae*, p. 273.

⁷ On Æthelwold as the draftsman of S 745, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 95-103; Whitelock, 'Authorship', p. 131; *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, pp. 108-10; Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 66-7. On Dunstan, see Ramsay, Sparks and Tatton-Brown, ed., *St Dunstan*; N. Robertson, 'Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century Fact or Twelfth-Century Fiction', *ANS* 28 (2006), 153-67. On Oswald, see Brookes and Cubitt, ed., *St Oswald of Worcester*; E. John, 'The Church of Worcester and St Oswald', *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. R. Gameson and H. Leyser (Oxford, 2001), pp. 142-57.

canons from New Minster and the instalment of reformed monks in their place, which occurred two years earlier in CE 964.⁸ Justifying this exchange of personnel, the text argues that the canons' intercessory prayers on behalf of King Edgar were without value because of the canons' sinful conduct, while the prayers of the humble and obedient monks would be effective.⁹ It has been presumed that the charter was issued on the occasion of a grand *witenagemot* at Winchester, although it is easily possible that the main part of the text had been written before this meeting took place.¹⁰ The original manuscript is preserved in the British Library (Cotton Vespasian A.viii, fols. 3^v-33^v). The charter is not a standard single-sheet diploma, but a lavishly produced small codex, written in gold throughout and preceded by a frontispiece (fol. 2^v) showing King Edgar flanked by Mary and St Peter (the patron saints of New Minster) as he presents his Refoundation Charter to Christ, who in turn blesses the king.¹¹ This illumination is commented on in a couplet written in golden uncials (fol. 3^r):

Sic celso residet solio qui condidit astra
Rex uenerans Eadgar pronus adorat eum¹²

⁸ On the historical background of S 745, see *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 106; Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 65; Karkov, *Ruler Portraits*, p. 85; John, 'The Church of Winchester'; see also the entries for CE 964 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E*, ed. S. Irvine, *The AS Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition 7* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 58, and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS F*, ed. P. Baker, *The AS Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition 8* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 83. The term *canon* denotes a member of the clergy attached to a cathedral, i.e. a bishop's church. According to Julia Barrow, S 745 is the earliest extant Anglo-Saxon record of the term *canon* used for denoting 'a member of a cathedral community', see her 'Cathedral Clergy', *BEASE*, pp. 84-7, at 86.

⁹ See below, pp. 204-5.

¹⁰ Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 66; cf. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', p. 83. On *witenagemot* and charters, see above, pp. 45-7.

¹¹ For a large-sized colour image of the frontispiece, see J. Backhouse, D. H. Turner and L. Webster, *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066* (London, 1984), no. 26. For art historical discussions of this frontispiece, see Karkov, *Ruler Portraits*, pp. 86-9; Deshman, 'Benedictus monarcha et monachus', pp. 223-5; Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 226.

¹² 'Thus resides he who created the stars on a high throne/ King Edgar, bent venerating, adores him'. The Latin text is cited according to *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 95; for an alternative translation, see Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 70. All references to S 745 are to *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, no. 23. All translations of S 745 in this dissertation are mine; for alternative translations, see Rumble, *Property and Piety*, no. IV.

S 745 is hence presented as an expression of King Edgar's veneration of the Heavenly King, and the grant recorded in it is presented to Christ rather than the New Minster in both the frontispiece and the charter's text.¹³

The diplomatic text of S 745 follows roughly the outline of a standard charter, namely invocation, proem, dispositive section, sanction, dating clause and witness-list, although these elements are more detailed and in the case of sanctions also repeated throughout the document. At the same time, S 745 deviates considerably from other Anglo-Saxon charters: it is not a relatively brief single-sheet diploma, but a twenty-two chapter long writing of an even stronger than usual religious tone, and it does not record a grant of land or privilege.¹⁴ Eric John has described it as standing 'midway between the conventional diploma and the rather charter-like consuetudinary, the *Regularis concordia*'.¹⁵

5.2 The Sanctions of S 745

The Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, contains five sanctions, three of which contain infernal imagery. Two of these contain elaborate and one rather plain infernal imagery. The other two sanctions threaten with damnation, but lack infernal imagery. Following the dispositive section (Chapters VII and VIII), the first two sanctions (Chapters VIII and X) are concerned with preventing intrigues against

¹³ Michael Lapidge has pointed out that this couplet is the only extant example of Bishop Æthelwold's Latin poetry, see his 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', p. 96; cf. on this couplet Karkov, *Ruler Portraits*, pp. 88-9; *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 105; Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 70.

¹⁴ The text is summarized in Sean Miller's commentary, see his *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, pp. 106-7.

¹⁵ John, *Orbis Britanniae*, p. 272; cf. *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 106, who takes up John's assessment.

the newly installed monks.¹⁶ Sean Miller has understood Chapters VIII and X as one sanction with two anathemas, while I am inclined to read these two chapters as two separate, albeit related sanctions.¹⁷ Both chapters exhibit the two elements necessary for constituting a sanction, i.e. the transgression clause and the punishment clause in subjunctive.¹⁸ Moreover, they address different groups of transgressors: Chapter VIII addresses canons and their supporters specifically as a likely group to plot against the monks who replaced them, while Chapter X speaks more generally of anyone who may wish to intrigue against the newly installed monks. The sanction of Chapter XX is concerned with securing the monastic property of New Minster, as most sanctions of Anglo-Saxon charters are.¹⁹

In contrast to these first three sanctions, which are introduced as *anathema* and *maledictio* in their respective headings, the sanction of Chapter XXI is not introduced as such. More importantly, it differs from all the other sanctions of S 745 and from standard Anglo-Saxon sanctions in threatening not only with damnation, but also with punishments that are listed in the *Regula S. Benedicti*. The addressees of Chapter XXI are the abbot and monks of New Minster themselves, and the primary concern of this sanction is to guarantee the integrity of the possessions of New Minster, even if the monks or their abbot may be guilty of misdeeds. Transgressions of the monks or abbot cannot affect the donation recorded in S 745, because this donation is presented as being given to Jesus, the monks of New Minster are merely

¹⁶ I shall cite S 745 according to its chapters, which are given in Roman numerals in Miller's edition and indeed the charter's manuscript itself.

¹⁷ *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 106.

¹⁸ Both sanctions lack penance clauses, but even though most sanctions contain them, they are not obligatory features of sanctions; cf. above, p. 6.

¹⁹ Chapter XVIII is a so-called 'prohibition clause', which contains typical motivation and transgression clauses, but it does not have a subsequent punishment clause. On the term 'prohibition clause' for Chapter XVIII, see Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 90, n. 109.

allowed to utilize it. Similar passages, also addressed to monks and abbots, appear in two other texts composed by Æthelwold, namely the alleged preface to the Old English *Regula S. Benedicti* and S 782 from CE 971.²⁰ As this sanction lacks infernal imagery, I shall not discuss it in detail. However, one observation must be made here. Chapter XXI appears to imply that usually when someone transgressed against a charter, the ensuing punishment could affect the property of the grant. To my knowledge, Anglo-Saxon sanctions do not normally threaten with punishments that touch property rights as a punishment for breaching a charter, for example in the form of forfeiture of property. Yet, if it had been the norm that punishments for transgressions against charters did not affect the grants themselves or perhaps other property of the offending party, Chapter XXI of S 745 would state the obvious and be thus essentially superfluous. Was there then a practical reason for this clause in S 745 (and the other two relevant texts of Æthelwold)? Without the sanction of Chapter XXI, could the property of New Minster, Winchester, have been taken away from it, if its members had committed anything against the agreements of this charter? As pointed out earlier, Patrick Wormald's research on dispute settlements suggests that a forfeiture of property may have been a punishment in the case of transgressions against agreements laid down in charters.²¹ Does Chapter XXI of S 745 then support the notion that the *de facto* punishments of those who transgressed against charters were different from those punishments with which sanctions threaten? If this impression were valid, the *de facto* punishments were for some reason not mentioned at all, and thus legal considerations may not have determined sanctions.

²⁰ Whitelock, 'Authorship', pp. 130-3.

²¹ See above, pp. 50-2.

Charter S 745 ends with a sanction that follows the witness-list. Like the sanction of Chapter XXI, it does threaten with damnation, but it does not contain infernal imagery. However, it will be of interest in this discussion, because it contains all three ritual ecclesiastical curses discussed in Chapter 1. This final sanction is written in a different hand from the greater part of the charter.²² The change of hands occurs in the witness-list, but the writing of the second hand is nevertheless ‘an integral part of the main document and not just an afterthought’.²³

The three sanctions of Chapters VIII, X and XX describe punishments in hell, but while the infernal imagery of the first two sanctions is very elaborate, the imagery of Chapter XX is rather plain. As pointed out above, Chapter XXI and the final sanction have no infernal imagery at all. Thus, S 745 contains the entire spectrum of Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Their styles may have been influenced by their respective positions in the diploma. The sanctions of Chapters VIII and X continue the baroque style of the charter’s proem and dispositive section, which are exceptionally colourful compared with even the most elaborate routinely issued charter. By contrast, the other three sanctions share the increasingly moderate tone of the charter’s later sections, which put down the specifics of the refoundation of New Minister as a reformed monastery. Nevertheless, it may also be possible that the differences between the two sets of sanctions reflect differences in their functions. This question will be of interest in the following discussion. I shall first cite all four sanctions with infernal imagery and then analyse them with regard to the following questions prompted by the first four chapters of this dissertation:

²² *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 105.

²³ *Charters of New Minster, Winchester*, ed. Miller, p. 105.

1. Are these sanctions ritual ecclesiastical curses?
2. Do the sanctions exhibit pastoral features?
3. Do the sanctions reflect ideological sentiments?
4. What can be concluded from the sanctions' styles of Latinity?

The sanctions are cited in the order of their appearance in S 745. Sanction 1 reads:

De illorum anathemate qui monachis insidiantur .

VIII. Si autem qualibet occasione diabolo instigante contigerit ut fastu superbientes arrogantiq̃ deiecti canonici monachorum gregem quem ego uenerans cum pastore in Dei constitui possessione . deicere insidiando uoluerint . agatur de eis et de omnibus qui quolibet munere cecati iuuamen eis impenderint . quod actum est de angelis superbientibus et de protoplasto diaboli fraude seducto . ut paradisi uidelicet limitibus sublimibusque regni celorum sedilibus eiecti . cum his qui Domini famulatum aspernentes contemserunt barathri incendiis detrusi iugi crucientur miseria .

Nec inde euulsi se glorientur euasisse tormenta sed cum Iuda Christi proditore eiusque complicitibus Acharonte conglutinati . frigore stridentes feruore perusti . letitia priuati . merore anxii . catenis igneis compediti . lictorum metu perculsi . scelerum memoria confusi . totius bonitatis recordatione semoti . eterno lugubres punientur cruciatu .²⁴

Sanction 2 follows immediately:

Item de anathemate insidiantium .

X. Qui autem iam predictos noui Uintaniensis aeclesie cenobii monachos uel quoslibet eiusdem ordinis nostro regmine

²⁴ 'Concerning the anathema of those who plot against the monks. VIII. Yet, if it may occur on any occasion that, instigated by the devil, the cast down canons, who are gloating in the haughtiness of arrogance, may wish to cast down the flock of monks which I, in veneration, have placed together with a shepherd in the property of God, by plotting against them, it shall be done with them and all those who, made blind by whatever reward, may give aid to them, what has been done with the proud angels and with the first-formed [man], who was seduced by the devil's deceit, namely expelled from the borders of Paradise and from the sublime thrones of the Kingdom of the Heavens; thrust into in the flames of the abyss, they are tormented by perpetual misery with those disdainful ones who despise servitude to the Lord. / Nor shall those who are dragged away thence pride themselves to have escaped the torments, but united with Judas, the traitor of Christ, and his accomplices in the Acheron, they shall be punished as deplorable people in eternal torment, grating for cold, burning up with boiling heat, deprived of joy, anxious with sorrow, fettered with fiery shackles, smitten by fear of the torturers, confused by the memory of crimes, removed from the remembrance of all goodness'.

degentes . e monasteriis [que uitiorum spurcitas expurgans Iesu Christo Domino nostro uicto demone adquisiui eliminare presumens uoluerit anathema sit . et eadem maledictione qua Cain parricida qui fratrem suum Abel stimulante inuidia liuidus interemit mastigia addictus est . sine termino teneatur obnoxius . atque in Dei persecutione continuo perseuerans in hac uita nullum dignitatis adquirat honorem . nec in futuro sine miseria umquam persistat . sed eum Annaniae et Saphirę una Stix porrigine heiulantem crucians complectatur .²⁵

Sanction 3 reads:

De maledictione minuentium .

XX. Minuentem perpetua possideat miseria .

In Domini manens persecutione . eius genitricis sanctorumque omnium incurrat offensam .

Presentis uite aduersitas illi semper eueniat .

Nulla ei bonitatis accidat prosperitas .

Omnia eius peculia inimici uastantes diripiant .

In futuro autem eterni miserrimum cum ędis in sinistra positum damnent cruciatus . si non satisfactione emendauerit congrua . quod in Domini usurpans detraxit censura .²⁶

S 745 closes with the following sanction, Sanction 4:

Omnes qui nominatim hoc priuilegio regis iussu descripti uidemur . posteritatis nostrę prosapiam subnixę deposcimus ut manuumstrarum uadimonium Christi cruce firmatum . nequaquam uiolantes irritum faciant . si successorum quispiam temeritatis . ausu uiolare presumserit corporis et sanguinis Iesu

²⁵ *'Item concerning the anathema of those plotting.* X. Yet, anyone who, in presumptuousness, may wish to banish the aforementioned monks of the convent of the New Winchester church or any of the same order living under our guidance from the monasteries which I have acquired, cleansing the filth of vices through our Lord, Jesus Christ, the devil having been defeated, he shall be anathemized and shall be held punishable without end by the same curse by which Cain was condemned as a murderer, who, envious with jealousy, had taken from the midst his brother Abel with a whip, and remaining in God's continuous persecution, he shall not obtain any honour of rank in this life nor shall he remain without any misery in the future, but the tormenting Styx together with the scurf of Ananias and Sapphira shall embrace him who is lamenting'.

²⁶ *'Concerning the curse on those who diminish . / XX. Eternal misery shall take hold of the one who diminishes. / Remaining in the Lord's persecution, he shall run against the anger of His mother and all saints. / The misfortune of the present life shall always befall him. / No prosperity of goodness shall happen to him. / Ravaging enemies shall seize all of his possessions. / Eternal torments shall condemn [him] in the future, placed together with the goats on the left side, unless he makes suitable amends for what he removed from God's property, appropriating [it] unlawfully'.*

Christi participatione priuatus . perpetua damnatus perditione
 anathema sit nisi diuino propitiante respectu ad humilem
 satisfactionem respiscens conuersus fuerit .²⁷

5.2.1 Are the sanctions of S 745 ritual ecclesiastical curses?

In Chapter 1, I have tried to show that sanctions are ritual ecclesiastical curses that threaten with excommunication, anathema, and damnation. These curses were used for pronouncing the banishment from the Christian society either in this or the next world or both. I have also pointed out that there existed a general confusion in the early Middle Ages with regard to these terms and their definitions.²⁸ According to Michel Zimmermann, in diplomas this confusion was caused by uneducated scribes.²⁹ How are these ecclesiastical curses presented in S 745? With Æthelwold as the probable draftsman, does this charter demonstrate a more precise usage of the relevant terms?

The first ritual ecclesiastical curse in S 745 appears in Sanction 2 with an anathema which is combined with a *maledictio*, ‘curse’.³⁰ In contrast to most other sanctions, which use the term *maledictio* in a general sense, Sanction 2 of S 745 refers to a specific curse, namely the one God Himself pronounced on Cain after he had murdered his brother Abel:

²⁷ ‘We all, who are seen described by name on this privilege by the king’s command, have imploringly urged the family of our posterity that they, violating, should not at all make invalid the written guarantee of our hands, which is strengthened by Christ’s cross; if any of [my] successors shall dare to violate [this] with the audacity of rashness, separated from the participation in the body and blood of Jesus Christ, damned in the perpetual ruin he shall be anathemized unless, recovering his senses, he turns around to humble amends when he reconciles with the divine consideration’.

²⁸ See above, pp. 33-41.

²⁹ Zimmermann, ‘Vocabulaire latin’, p. 45.

³⁰ Sanction 1 lacks the ecclesiastical curses of excommunication and anathema and the curse of damnation is not pronounced explicitly, but only implied in the sanction’s threat with punishments in hell.

anathema sit et eadem maledictione qua Cain parricida qui
 fratrem suum Abel stimulante inuidia liuidus intermit mastigia
 addictus est [...] teneatur obnoxius³¹

Cain's murder of his brother is turned into a negative *exemplum* for those intending to plot against the monks of reformed monasteries, as both parties share the same consequences of their misdeeds. The subsequent account of the misery and torments in hell certainly seems to refer simultaneously to Cain's and the transgressors' lot in the next world.³² The close connection between Cain's curse and the anathema pronounced on the transgressors appears to demonstrate that God is liable to put curses into effect. Thus, rather than presenting an additional punishment, the curse on Cain can be read as a negative *exemplum* that illustrates the anathema as a form of banishment in this life and a damnation into hell in the afterlife.

Sanction 3 contains the curse of damnation, which is accompanied by Doomsday imagery as the transgressor is threatened with being *cum edis in sinistra positum*, 'placed together with the goats on the left side'. This phrase refers to Matthew's account of the Last Judgement, in which the virtuous sheep, representing the blessed, are separated from the sinful goats, representing the damned (Matt. XXV.32-3). Sanction 3 represents a type of sanction rarely seen in Anglo-Saxon charters. In the manuscript, the visual structure of this passage underlines that Sanction 3 consists of a series of individual curses, as each curse forms one paragraph, and because of the manuscript's large script, this sanction's curses go on for pages. While the combination of several curses is well known from other Anglo-Saxon charters, such

³¹ 'he shall be anathemized and shall be held punishable without end by the same curse by which Cain was condemned as a murderer, who, envious with jealousy, had taken from the midst his brother Abel with a whip'.

³² In Sanction 1, the torments of hell also refer to the protagonists of the negative *exempla* and the transgressors alike; see below, p. 179.

a fast-moving succession of individual curses, whereby each sentence consists of one curse and forms one paragraph, is rather unique. Those who diminish the monastic property of New Minster are virtually ‘bombarded’ with curses. The curses themselves are plain and have none of the horridness of the elaborate sanctions in S 745 or other charters.³³ Although Sanction 3 does not terrify its audience with frightening literary imagery, it may still have been intimidating because of the manner in which its curses are delivered. The model for this list of curses in quick succession may have been the catalogue of curses in Deuteronomy XXVIII. However, Deuteronomy would have served as a model only for the style in which the curses in Sanction 3 of S 745 are delivered; it evidently was not a model for the curses themselves, as these are kept general and vague in contrast to the very precise curses of Deuteronomy XXVIII.³⁴

Sanction 4 is a typical representative of those Anglo-Saxon sanctions that threaten with all three ritual ecclesiastical curses.³⁵ This sanction contains the ecclesiastical curses of excommunication (expressed as a separation from the sacrament of the Eucharist), damnation and anathema without much literary embellishment. It is not clear whether the past participle clauses pronouncing the excommunication and damnation respectively illustrate what it means to be anathemized, i.e. excommunication in this life and damnation in the next, or whether all three curses

³³ Sanction 3 shares with Sanction 2 the idea that the transgressor shall be in God’s perpetual persecution: *in Dei persecutione continuo* (Sanction 2), *in Domini manens persecutione* (Sanction 3). All other curses of Sanction 3 are too general to be referred to those of other sanctions in S 745.

³⁴ On the importance of the influence of Deuteronomy XXVIII on early medieval cursing, see Niles, ‘Problem’, pp. 1121-3; Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 59-62. Consider also the similarities between the type of sanction in Sanction 3 of S 745 and the so called clamours, i.e. liturgical curses used by monks, especially Cluniac monks, on the continent in the tenth century, see Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, esp. pp. 20-6; Little, ‘Formules Monastiques’; see Cubitt, ‘Archbishop Dunstan’ on the possibility of continental influences.

³⁵ Cf. above, pp. 39-40.

are used synonymously. On the one hand, the transgressor foremost appears to be anathemized, as *anathema sit* is the main clause's predicate, while the past participles expressing his excommunication and damnation seem to characterize the transgressor further: the transgressor is anathemized, being in the state of excommunication and damnation. On the other hand, reading the curses synonymously is suggested by the use of *anathema* in its general meaning of 'curse' in the headings of the previous sanctions. This is especially evident in the case of Sanction 1, which is entitled *De illorum anathemate qui monachis insidiantur*, 'concerning the anathema of those who plot against the monks', without in fact pronouncing an anathema in the strict sense of the word.³⁶ Finally, it is not clear in whose name this sanction is pronounced. All other sanctions of S 745 are evidently pronounced as if spoken by King Edgar. According to Simon Keynes, sanctions that follow the witness-list represent a 'collective declaration of the witnesses'.³⁷ In the case of S 745 this appears to be the case at first, because this final sanction introduces *omnes qui nominatim hoc privilegio [...] uidemur*, 'we all, who are seen described by name on this privilege', as those in whose name the subsequent sanction is pronounced. Nevertheless, the final sanction itself is written in the first person singular, which can be presumed to refer to King Edgar, as the entire preceding text is written as if spoken by King Edgar. If the sanction was meant to be understood as Edgar's words, too, one may wonder why the draftsman did not decide in favour of a final elaborate emphasis on Edgar's quasi-divine status.³⁸ On the other hand, if it was meant to be a collective declaration, this may explain the lack of further ideological embellishments that would apply exclusively to the king himself.

³⁶ On definitions and medieval usage of the term *anathema*, see above, p. 34.

³⁷ Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 106, n. 61.

³⁸ On King Edgar's quasi-divine status, see below, pp. 186-8.

S 745 appears to incorporate the ambiguity with which the ecclesiastical legal terms of excommunication, anathema and damnation were generally used in the early Middle Ages. As pointed out above, Michel Zimmermann has suggested that this is the case because sanctions were written by uneducated scribes and were thus not regarded as the right places for theological and, for that matter, legal lectures.³⁹ This explanation applies to S 745 only partially. The Refoundation Charter of New Minster was in all probability drafted by Bishop Æthelwold, a highly educated theologian with evidential administrative and legal interests. Æthelwold was likely to have been aware of the theological and legal differences between these three ritual ecclesiastical curses. Nonetheless, S 745 appears to have used the three terms largely synonymously and clearly used the term *anathema* as ‘curse’ in its headings. Perhaps the lack of precision in this matter indeed reflects that sanctions were not regarded as suitable for pronouncing ecclesiastical law. In Æthelwold’s Refoundation Charter, the ambiguity between the various terms may have been prompted by the circumstance that not all members of the charter’s audience could have been expected to possess the same knowledge to distinguish between theological and legal subtleties. In fact, S 745 seems to suggest further that these theological and legal subtleties may even have been largely irrelevant. The threat with one or more ecclesiastical curses may have been enough to exhort the audience of S 745 to uphold moral discipline, irrespective of the precise threat pronounced; after all, all three curses, excommunication, anathema and damnation, were common threats aimed at upholding moral discipline.

³⁹ Zimmermann, ‘Vocabulaire latin’, p. 45.

5.2.2 Do the Sanctions Exhibit Pastoral Features?

In the previous chapters, I have argued that the use of negative *exempla* of damned persons and fear-raising descriptions of hell in general and the devil in particular in sanctions are of a pastoral nature. In this respect, it is significant indeed that Sanction 1 begins with a very strong pastoral metaphor. The monks of New Minster are referred to as a flock (*grex*) and their abbot as a shepherd (*pastor*). Earlier in Chapter VI of S 745 King Edgar has been said to be a model to his flock:

ut ipse criminibus cessarem cunctis . atque bonis operibus
insistens forma factus gregi.⁴⁰

This presents Edgar by implication as the *pastor* of his subjects, while later in Chapter XIII kings in general are said to be *pastores fidissimi*, ‘most faithful shepherds’. Sanction 1, however, places King Edgar even above God’s ecclesiastical shepherds, as Edgar is shown to have the authority and power of installing a flock of monks and their abbot as shepherd on God’s behalf. Edgar’s privileged status is further supported by regarding him as *Christi uicarius*, ‘Christ’s vicar’ or ‘Christ’s representative’, in Chapter VII; this position is also associated with the abbot of New Minster in Chapter XIII. As a representative of God on earth, King Edgar is thus presented as having pastoral duties to his flock of subjects. In the following, I shall examine if and how the use of negative *exempla* and fear-raising descriptions in the sanctions of S 745 reflect pastoral concerns.

There are altogether five negative *exempla* in the four sanctions, but while three appear in Sanction 1 and two in Sanction 2, Sanctions 3 and 4 have none at all. The

⁴⁰ ‘so that I myself shall cease [committing] any misdeeds, and pursuing good works, shall be made a model for the flock’.

protagonists of the five negative *exempla* are a mixture of rarely and commonly used *Beispielfiguren* in Anglo-Saxon sanctions and all of them are apocryphal or biblical characters: the rebellious angels, Adam and Judas in Sanction 1 as well as Cain and Ananias and Sapphira in Sanction 2. With the exception of the rebellious angels, the more rarely used protagonists (Adam and Cain) are presented in unusually detailed *exempla*, while those *personae* more commonly used as negative *exempla* in sanctions (Judas, Ananias and Sapphira) appear in the same brief manner as in other Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Judas is most frequently used as a negative *exemplum* in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, and he even appears in the most frequently used Anglo-Saxon sanction, classified as Formula Group (1) in Appendix 1.⁴¹ The negative *exemplum* of Ananias and Sapphira in Sanction 2 is also a common one in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. As described earlier, Ananias and Sapphira are ideal *exempla* for illustrating the consequences of the incorrect use of monastic property.⁴² As an analysis of the common *exempla* in S 745 would not contribute to the observations made in Chapter 3, I shall focus on the detailed *exempla* of the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, investigating whether they support or question a pastoral reading of the negative *exempla* in sanctions.

Sanction 1 combines the negative examples of the rebellious angels and Adam in one negative *exemplum*. While devils are among the most frequently used negative *exempla* in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, Adam's story is, to my knowledge, used as a negative *exemplum* only in S 745. This may have been a coincidence of survival, but Adam may also have been regarded as unsuitable as a negative *Beispielfigur* in

⁴¹ See below, p. 247; cf. also below, pp. 193-6, on a possible link between S 745 and Formula Group (1).

⁴² See above, pp. 113-14.

sanctions, because he and Eve ascended to heaven with Jesus after He harrowed hell in the days between His Crucifixion and resurrection.⁴³ If Adam had indeed been regarded as an inappropriate negative *exemplum* in sanctions because of his eventual salvation, what would have made his example more appropriate in S 745? The account of Adam's expulsion from Paradise in the charter's proem is equated with the expulsion of the canons from New Minster.⁴⁴ In S 745, Adam's negative *exemplum* is a direct reference to the charter's earlier parts that narrate the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, which is linked to Edgar's expulsion of the canons by using the term *deicere*, 'to cast down', for denoting the canons' expulsion (Chapter II) as well as that of Adam (Sanction 1).⁴⁵ Adam's ultimate escape from hell must have been of subordinate importance in Sanction 1. Thus, even in texts known to be consciously and largely coherently composed, such theological subtleties appear to have been of no or subordinate importance, just as a strict distinction between terms signifying ecclesiastical curses.⁴⁶

The manner in which the rebellious angels and Adam are presented as negative *exempla* is exceptional among extant Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Most negative *exempla* of Anglo-Saxon sanctions simply consist of a name which the audience is expected to associate with an admonitory story.⁴⁷ By contrast, the stories of the lapsarian angels and Adam in S 745 are explicitly recounted as *exempla*: *agetur de eis [...] quod actum est de [...]*, 'it shall be done with them [...] what has been done with [...]'. Here, the association is provided for the audience. Nonetheless, even these

⁴³ Old English homilies, the Old English *Gospel of Nicodemus* and *Christ and Satan* (405-41) suggest that this episode from the Harrowing of Hell was known in Anglo-Saxon England; cf. above, p. 117.

⁴⁴ Cf. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 67-8.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 204-5.

⁴⁶ See above, pp. 40-1.

⁴⁷ See Chapter 3 above.

detailed *exempla* are abbreviated in a manner similar to the more commonly used negative *exempla* of Anglo-Saxon sanctions. With the stories of their transgressions still vividly in the audience's mind, Sanction 1 alludes to the transgressions committed by the rebellious angels and Adam in their characterisation as *superbientibus*, 'proud', and *diaboli fraude seducto*, 'seduced by the devil's deceit', respectively. In the same manner, Judas is said to be a *proditor* or *traditor* in most Anglo-Saxon sanctions in which he appears, so also in Sanction 1 itself. Sanction 1 also describes the canons' transgression of plotting against the monks as prompted by pride (*fastu superbientes arrogantie*) and devilish intervention (*diabolo instigante*). Thus, this sanction of S 745 establishes an explicit link between the protagonists of its negative *exempla* and the transgressors, while such a link is only implied in most Anglo-Saxon sanctions. The sanction's punishment clause is introduced by *ut [...] uidelicet*, 'namely that', which may at first seem rather confusing concerning the question to whom the subsequent punishment refers. Yet, if it referred to the punishments of the fallen angels and the first man only, then the canons who plot against the monks of New Minster would be left without a punishment.⁴⁸ This merging of the hellish punishments of those presumably already in hell with those condemned under the conditions expressed by the sanction is again a central feature of the more common type of negative *exempla* in Anglo-Saxon sanctions; it strengthens a sanction's threat considerably by illustrating that somebody else has already been punished in the same manner.

⁴⁸ This sanction appears to have been addressed to members of the Anglo-Saxon nobility that still supported canons. The Anglo-Saxon nobility was very likely to have supported (in the form of donations) canons next to having begun supporting the monks of reformed monasteries, see Pope, 'Monks and Nobles', p. 165. For the eleventh century, Mary Smith, Robin Fleming and Patricia Halpin have argued that many nobles preferred making donations to canons rather than monks, see their 'Court and Piety', p. 581. However, there was no 'anti-monastic reaction' after the death of King Edgar, see Pope, 'Monks and Nobles', p. 179-80; D. J. V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1952), 254-70.

Sanction 2 also uses an atypically detailed negative *exemplum*. As pointed out above, those who plot against the newly installed monks in New Minster or other reformed monasteries, and are not canons or their supporters, are threatened with the curse of Cain. While Cain appears frequently in continental sanctions, Sanction 2 of S 745 seems to be the only Anglo-Saxon sanction which presents his story as a negative *exemplum*.⁴⁹ As with the negative *exemplum* of Adam, this may be a coincidence of survival rather than a historically representative finding. S 745 seems to associate an attack on the monks with fratricide: monks are often referred to as *fratres*, ‘brothers’, as, for instance, in Chapters XIII, XXI and XXII of S 745, and Sanction 2 specifies that Cain killed *fratrem suum Abel*, ‘his brother Abel’. This would certainly allow associating those intriguing against the *fratres* of King Edgar’s reformed monasteries with one of the most immoral crimes of Christian history, thus emphasizing the gravity of this transgression. The identification of Abel with Jesus as Shepherd and Cain’s association with the enemies of Jesus may also be of interest in the context of Sanction 2.⁵⁰ However, appropriate as these two associations are in the light of the pastoral imagery of S 745, they are neither explicitly nor implicitly alluded to in the text of S 745. Thus, whether they gave the negative *exemplum* of Cain a stronger force would have depended entirely on the individual reader or listener.

With their explicit references to crucial events of the salvation history, the detailed *exempla* of Sanctions 1 and 2 certainly emphasize a pastoral intention behind these sanctions. I shall now examine whether a pastoral reading of the sanctions of S 745 is also supported by a use of fear-raising imagery. In general, S 745 is fairly moderate

⁴⁹ On Cain in continental sanctions, see Martin, ‘Judas Iscariot Curse’, pp. 434-5.

⁵⁰ On Abel as a prefiguration of Jesus as Shepherd and Cain’s association with ‘the Jews’ who allegedly crucified Jesus according to medieval belief, see above, pp. 118-19.

in its use of horrific infernal and diabolical imagery. This is, of course, a subjective statement. Yet, the more elaborate first two sanctions of S 745 do not appear to be particularly horrific in comparison with sanctions that depict hell or the devil as a ravenous mouth (Motif Group XXIV), describe the torment of the damned in cauldrons (Formula Group 2) or show the damned as objects of an elaborate food-preparation (S 925).

Sanction 1 is arguably the most frightening among the four sanctions of S 745, although not so much for its individual infernal motifs, but rather on account of the fast moving sequence of motifs in the sanction's second paragraph, which describes hell in all its terrible aspects. This list of motifs covers physical and psychological torments suffered in hell in an apparently random fashion. The random choice of motifs is especially suggested by their contrast with the apparently consciously chosen negative *exempla* of the rebellious angels and Adam and the equally appropriate description of the motivation behind these transgressions. The second paragraph of Sanction 1 also differs from the first paragraph with respect to its style, as the second paragraph contains several instances of alliteration, for example, *nec inde euulsi se gloriatur euasisse tormenta; frigore stridentes feruore perusti; catenis ignis compediti*. This gives the section a tighter pace and a smoother flow, together with its mostly short phrases. Nevertheless, the conjunction *nec*, 'and not', that introduces this second paragraph connects the content of this passage closely with the preceding section. Most of the infernal motifs listed in this second paragraph are common in accounts of hell and discussing one after the other will not add to our understanding of Sanction 1. Instead, I would like to focus on two of these motifs, as they also appear in *De die iudicii*, a poem written by Bede and well known in Anglo-

Saxon England.⁵¹ The motifs in question are the extreme cold and the frightening appearance of the tormentors. The torment of cold, expressed in Sanction 1 as *frigore stridentes*, ‘grating for cold’, appears to echo Bede’s *De die iudicii*.⁵² The expression *frigore stridentes* refers to an explanation frequently given for the biblical infernal motif of *stridor dentium*, ‘grating of teeth’, namely that the teeth of the damned are grating in hell because of the cold there.⁵³ As used in Sanction 1, the phrase *frigore stridentes* is certainly a compressed allusion to this explanation for *stridor dentium*, but it may indeed be an abbreviated echo of *De die iudicii*, which reads:

Frigora mixta simul ferventibus algida flammis:
Nunc oculos nimio flentes ardore camini,
Nunc iterum nimio *stridentes frigore* dentes (95-7; my
emphasis)⁵⁴

With the exception of a reversal of words, the expression *frigore stridentes* appears in both S 745 and *De die iudicii*, and I have not come across this expression in another text. In the poem, *stridentes* refers to *dentes*, with which it constitutes an envelop pattern as both terms enclose the word *frigore*, thus describing the teeth of the damned. In S 745, however, *stridentes* only alludes to the teeth of the damned.

⁵¹ On Bede’s *De die iudicii*, see L. Whitbread, ‘After Bede: the Influence and Dissemination of his Doomsday Verses’, *ASNSL* 204 (1967), 250-66. M. Lapidge, ‘Bede and the “Versus de die iudicii”’, *Nova de veteribus: mittel- und neulateinische Studien für Paul Gerhard Schmidt*, ed. A. Bihrer and E. Stein (Munich, 2004), pp. 103-11 [not seen]; M. Griffith, ‘The Sources of Bede’s *De die iudicii* (L.A.2.2a)’, 2007, *Fontes* [accessed 26.11.2007]. The poem *Judgement Day II* is an Old English rendition of Bede’s Latin poem.

⁵² In Sanction 1, the phrase *frigore stridentes* is followed by *feruore perusti*, ‘burning up with boiling heat’, and together these two phrases describe cold and heat as tormenting elements in hell. Cold and heat are common features in accounts of hell in Old English homilies, Blickling 5 (p. 57); Vercelli 4.27-8, 53-4; *ÆCHom* II.21.26-8; and also, for example, in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* (V.12) and in *Genesis B* (313-20a).

⁵³ The phrase *stridor dentium* has multiple occurrences in the Bible, see Matt. VIII.12, XIII.42, 50, XXII.13, XXIV.51, XXV.30; Luke XIII.28. For occurrences and allusions to the biblical verse in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, see Motif Group (XXVII) in Appendix 5 below. For an occurrence in Old English homilies of the explanation that the grating of teeth in hell is caused by immense cold, see *ÆCHom* I.8.194-6.

⁵⁴ ‘The cold coldness [is] mingled together with burning flames/ Now the eyes are weeping for too much heat of the fire/ Now again the teeth are grating for too much cold’. All references to Bede’s *De die iudicii* are to *Bedae opera*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1995), pp. 439-44.

Although the relevant referent is absent in Sanction 1, the reference to the *stridententes* of the damned is just as clear.

In contrast to the affliction of cold, the torment described as *lictorum metu percussi*, '[being] smitten by fear of the torturers', may not necessarily be physical, but can just as well be a mental torment. The damned suffer fear in hell because of the tormenting devils. The devils are here presented as *lictores*. The classical meaning of *lictor* as 'attendant' survived into the Middle Ages, but the term's meaning was also extended to 'executioner, torturer', presumably on account of the duty of *lictores* to punish and execute criminals, and was as such also used with reference to hell.⁵⁵ Hence, the devils are presented in Sanction 1 in their function as tormentors of the damned in hell. The fear these diabolical tormentors instil in the damned is emphasized by the term *metus*, 'fear', which may have had an additional connotation of 'intimidation'.⁵⁶ Hence, *lictorum metu percussi* expresses that the damned are frightened at the sight of their tormentors. Sanction 1 of S 745 is not the only Anglo-Saxon sanction that refers to this infernal motif, as the sanction of Formula Group (12) also describes the damned as being tormented by the incessant perception of their diabolical tormentors in hell (*terribiles demonum cohortes obtutibus indesinenter aspiciant*, 'incessantly, they shall behold with their gaze the terrible cohorts of demons'). In *De die iudicii*, this infernal motif is presented with an additional twist. Bede's poem implies the horror of the diabolical tormentors by stating that they are the only beings the damned can see: *Non nisi tortorum facies ibi*

⁵⁵ On the classical Latin meaning, see *OLD*, p.1029; on the *lictores*' duty of punishing and executing, cf. C. Gizewski, 'Liktör', *Der Neue Pauly* VII, 180-1, at 181. On the medieval meanings, see *DMLBS*, p. 1606. The Old English translations of *lictor* in Anglo-Saxon glosses support both readings of *lictor* as 'attendant' and 'torturer', some indeed combine them: PrudGl 1 (327); AntGl 6 (751); ClGl 1 (129, 3695, 3713, 3730); ClGl 3 (1082); only CorpGl 2 (10.167, 10.228) glosses *lictor* exclusively as 'attendant' in classical times.

⁵⁶ See *DMLBS*, p. 1785.

cernitur ulla, ‘nothing is seen there except for the faces of the tormentors’.⁵⁷ The essence of all these versions presented is the infernal motif of the damned persons’ fear in the face of their devilish tormentors in hell. While the sanction of Formula Group (12) and the passage from *De die iudicii* emphasize this mental torment with their stress on the sense of perception, Sanction 1 of S 745 is more ambiguous regarding the question whether the devils in hell frighten the damned with their mere presence or because they are actively tormenting them. Ultimately, however, there is no reason for deciding in favour of one reading, as both possibilities are fear-raising prospects.

What are we to make of these greater and lesser similarities between Sanction 1 of S 745 and Bede’s *De die iudicii*? Considering the common use of the relevant motifs in numerous accounts of hell, probably not much, even though Leslie Whitbread has argued that the reformers regarded *De die iudicii* very highly in their effort to use earlier writers for furthering a ‘national Christian culture both in and outside the monasteries’.⁵⁸ Yet, ultimately, all that can be said about the infernal motifs of the

⁵⁷ Note that Daniel Calder and Michael Allen have read *tortorum* as a past participle of *torquere*, here ‘to rack, torment, torture’, translating ‘no face is seen except for the faces of those in torture’ in their *Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: the Major Latin Texts in Translation* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 208-12, at 211. This reading is grammatically perfectly sound, but so is reading *tortorum* as genitive plural of *tortor*, *oris* m, which I have suggested above. I have read *tortorum* as ‘of torturers’, because this reading is suggested by the Old English *Judgement Day II* (203-4); all references to *Judgement Day II* are to *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. E. v. Kirk Dobbie, ASPR 6 (London, 1942), pp. 58-67. Nevertheless, the poem’s passage may be deliberately ambiguous, and this ambiguous nature should be kept in mind whatever the translation.

⁵⁸ Whitbread, ‘After Bede’, pp. 260-1, at 261. The Old English text is extant in a manuscript dating from the mid-eleventh century (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201), which makes it roughly a century younger than S 745. On Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201, see E. G. Stanley, ‘*The Judgement of the Damned* (from Cambridge, Corpus Christi 201 and other Manuscripts), and the Definition of Old English Verse’, *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies presented to Peter Clemoes on the occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 363-91; G. D. Caie, ‘Codicological Clues: Reading Old English Christian Poetry in its Manuscript Context’, *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, ed. P. Cavill, Christianity and Culture: Issues in Teaching and Research (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 3-14; G. D. Caie, ‘Text and Context in Editing Old English: the Case of the Poetry in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201’, *The Editing of Old English: Papers*

second paragraph in Sanction 1 is that they have a poetic tone on account of alliteration, but also on account of the frequent appearance of some of its individual infernal motifs in Anglo-Saxon poetry.⁵⁹ Perhaps these motifs were popular with monastic reformers, but the reformers were not exceptional in this respect. Additionally, with the exception of the fear-raising tormentors, Sanction 1 does not go to any length in emphasizing the fearfulness of hell despite statements on the importance of fear as a pastoral instrument in other parts of S 745.⁶⁰ As I have pointed out above, the judgement whether something is frightening or not is subjective rather than something for which there is an objective measurement. Thus, the sanctions of S 745 strongly suggest that frightening imagery may not necessarily be tantamount to elaborate imagery. The motif of being frightened by the tormenting devils in hell may be plainer than, for example, the motif of being whirled around by demons in an iron cauldron, as in the sanction of Formula Group (2), but is the plain motif also less frightening than the elaborate one?

from the 1990 Manchester Conference, ed. D. G. Scragg and P. E. Szarmach (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 155-62. Interestingly, this manuscript also contains a fragmentary Old English translation of the *Regularis concordia*, next to vernacular exhortations to Christian living and summons to prayer, which may possibly reflect a provenance from the circle of monastic reformers.

⁵⁹ On the deprivation of joy (*letitia priuati*), see, for example, D. F. Johnson, 'The Five Horrors of Hell: an Insular Homiletic Motif', *ES* 74 (1993), 414-31; Wright, *Irish Tradition*, pp. 102-5; cf. also T. D. Hill, 'The Seven Joys of Heaven in *Christ III* and Old English Homiletic Texts', *N&Q* 214 (1969), 165-6. On the motif of fettering, see Johnson, 'Old English Religious Poetry', pp. 162-75 (cf. his 'Studies in the Literary Career', pp. 79-107); Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, pp. 66-70. The removal from the recollection of all goodness may refer to the removal of one's name from the *liber uitae*. Having one's name crossed out of the *liber uitae* is also a punishment in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, see, for instance, S 149, 210, 345, 743, 821. In the Book of Revelation, the *liber uitae* is the angels' book of good deeds which decides in favour or against salvation at the Last Judgement (Rev. III.5; XVII.8; XX.12-15; XXII.19). Religious houses produced earthly *libri uitae* in which names were record in the hope that they also appear in the *liber uitae* of the Last Judgement, on Anglo-Saxon *libri uitae*, see: Keynes, *Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*; D. Rollason *et al.*, ed., *The Durham 'Liber Vitae' and its Contexts*, Regions and Regionalism in History (Woodbridge, 2004); cf. also the upcoming *The Durham Liber Vitae Project*, at <http://www.dlv.org.uk/index.html> [accessed 25.10.2007]. Note also an article by Catherine Karkov, which is not only of interest because it examines eschatological imagery in a *liber uitae*, but especially because of its comparison of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* with the frontispiece of S 745, see her 'Judgement and Salvation in the New Minster Liber Vitae', *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. K. Powell and D. Scragg, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 2 (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 151-63.

⁶⁰ See below, pp. 206-7.

5.2.3 Do the Sanctions Reflect Ideological Sentiments?

I have hypothesized in the Introduction that the disproportionately high number of sanctions with infernal imagery in tenth-century royal diplomas was prompted by the wish to insert expressions of kingship ideology in royal charters.⁶¹ Tenth-century Anglo-Saxon kingship ideology represents the worldly king as Christ's vicar on earth and as a *pastor* of his people. The explicitly pastoral tone of Sanctions 1 and 2 can be read as a first indication of an ideological motivation behind the literary imagery of these sanctions, because through these pastoral sentiments King Edgar can fulfil his pastoral duties. However, the reasons for this pastoral tone may be diverse and not necessarily or predominantly ideological. Hence, it must be investigated whether there are further indications pointing to a possible ideological driving force behind the sanctions of S 745, next to their pastoral tone. In addition to assigning pastoral duties to the king, tenth-century kingship ideology propagates a very close relationship between the earthly king and the Heavenly King: having been installed by divine grace, the earthly king acts as a representative of God on earth with divine authority.⁶² Such an elevated status of King Edgar is implied at various points in Sanctions 1 and 2, as I shall try to demonstrate in the following. Interestingly, Sanctions 3 and 4 lack explicit ideological sentiments just as they lack an overt pastoral tone.

The pastoral imagery of Sanction 1 uplifts King Edgar to quasi-divine authority, and its infernal imagery serves as much as an illustration of hell as of King Edgar's power over matters concerning this and the next world. The pastoral metaphor of the

⁶¹ See above, pp. 25-6.

⁶² See above, pp. 24-5.

flock and its shepherd in Sanction 1 is part of the sanction's description of the transgression:

monachorum gregem quem ego uenerans cum pastore in Dei
constitui possessione deicere insidiando uoluerint⁶³

As I have argued above, King Edgar is presented not only as God's *pastor*, but hierarchically even higher, between God and His ecclesiastical *pastores*, because Edgar himself is said to possess the divine authority to install *pastores* and their flocks on God's property. Thus, Edgar acts, so to speak, as the manager of God's earthly possessions in Anglo-Saxon England. As God's manager, he also seems to have or rather is claimed to have divine authority to punish those who are undisciplined or disobedient. Edgar has already expelled the canons who had earlier inhabited New Minster for their vicious conduct just as God Himself had banished the rebellious angels and the disobedient first humans, which was reported in detail in the charter's proem and is re-introduced in the form of negative *exempla* in Sanction 1. These negative *exempla* illustrate God's divine power as much as Edgar's quasi-divine power. The same applies to punishments in the next world: if the canons were still to defy the royal-divine will by plotting against the reformed monks, the canons shall be punished in hell just as the devils and Adam earlier. Consequently, the sanction's overt pastoral as well as infernal imagery cannot be read only as a literary embellishment, but should also be understood as an expression of Edgar's alleged quasi-divine authority and power.

⁶³ '[that the canons] may wish to cast down the flock of monks which I, in veneration, have placed together with a shepherd in the possession of God by plotting against them'.

Sanction 2 underlines this quasi-divine status of King Edgar even more explicitly in its description of the expulsion of canons from Edgar's monasteries:

e monasteriis que uitiorum spurcitas expurgans Iesu Christo
Domino nostro uicto demone adquisiui⁶⁴

It is explained here that the expulsion of the canons from New Minster (and other monasteries) is tantamount to Christ's defeat of the devil. By implication, Edgar is not only God's earthly manager, but like Him or rather like Jesus, Edgar is presented as a redeemer, someone deciding over salvation (in the case of those obediently following him) and damnation (in the case of those disobediently defying his will). This is supported by the benediction following in Chapter XI of the Refoundation Charter, in which all those adding to the riches of New Minster are promised heavenly rewards.⁶⁵

The ideological sentiments of Sanctions 1 and 2 may seem insignificant and Sanctions 3 and 4 carry no ideological sentiments at all. Nevertheless, compared with most Anglo-Saxon sanctions, the sanctions of S 745 are very explicit in their ideological message. In future research that analyses sanctions in their historical and textual contexts it seems beneficial to investigate whether ideological concerns appear only in politically significant charters and are largely absent from routinely issued charters that record every-day business.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ 'from the monasteries which I have acquired, cleansing the filth of vices through our Lord, Jesus Christ, the demon having been defeated'.

⁶⁵ Just as the sanction for supporting canons who plot against the monks may have been aimed at deterring nobles from supporting canons, the promise of rewards for donating to the reformed monks may have been addressed specifically to the Anglo-Saxon nobility.

⁶⁶ Such an analysis would be complicated by the fact that diplomatic elements of older charters were copied into new charters; establishing whether ideological concerns may possibly have been consciously transferred into new texts is challenging.

5.2.4 What Can Be Concluded from the Sanctions' Styles of Latinity?

In Chapter 4, I have pointed out that the hermeneutic Latin of tenth-century charters is notorious. In sanctions, however, there are only occasional grecisms or neologisms that belong to hermeneutic vocabulary, as, for example, *harpago* in S 925 or *epilepticus* and *philargiria* in Formula Group (7). Instead, many sanctions of tenth-century royal diplomas use terms from classical mythology for denoting hell, its rivers and inhabitants. As I have tried to demonstrate above, these terms from classical mythology share the tone of learnedness and glossary character with grecisms and neologisms more readily associated with hermeneutic Anglo-Latin. The register of hermeneutic Latin has often been associated with the monastic reform movement. Earlier I was not able to support this association with regard to sanctions. S 745, however, seems to be an ideal document for a further investigation of the use of hermeneutic Latin in sanctions, because Bishop Æthelwold, the presumed draftsman of S 745, was a great admirer and practitioner of hermeneutic Latin.⁶⁷ Interestingly, although the charter does contain hermeneutic vocabulary, it does not make excessive use of it, unlike some charters issued in the name of King Æthelstan.⁶⁸ In the following, I shall first discuss the puzzling use of one grecism in Sanction 2, and then the classical mythological vocabulary used in Sanctions 1 and 2 (again Sanctions 3 and 4 do not share these features).

The terms *protoplastus*, 'first formed', signifying Adam as the first created human, and *barathrum*, 'abyss', in Sanction 1 are both grecisms, but because of their

⁶⁷ On Æthelwold's fondness of this particular kind of Anglo-Latin, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 90-103; M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, CSASE 25 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 125-30.

⁶⁸ An example for a royal diploma notorious for its overloaded use of hermeneutic vocabulary from Æthelstan's reign is S 407 from CE 934. On the use of hermeneutic Latin in S 745, see Rumble, *Property and Piety*, pp. 66-7; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 95-6; on Winchester as a centre of hermeneutic Latin, see Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 85-90.

frequent occurrence in Latin Christian writings, they cannot be considered as rarely used words that predominantly appear in glossaries. By contrast, *mastigia*, ‘whip, scourge’, appears to be a genuine hermeneutic term, deriving from μασιξ, ‘whip, scourge’, or μαστίγιον, ‘whip’.⁶⁹ The word is used for denoting the instrument with which Cain killed Abel in Sanction 2:

Cain [...] qui fratrem suum Abel stimulante inuidia liuidus
interemit mastigia⁷⁰

Genesis IV.8 does not specify any instrument with which Cain killed Abel, but simply states that Cain killed (*interfecit*) him. Alexander Rumble has understood *mastigia* as ‘club’, which is one of the instruments traditionally associated with the murder of Abel.⁷¹ Yet, the meaning of ‘whip’ in Anglo-Latin is supported by Anglo-Saxon glossaries, which almost consistently render it as *swipu*, ‘whip, stick, scourge’.⁷² This is the only *interpretamentum* in the glosses of Aldhelm’s work, which are important to the tenth-century revival of hermeneutic Latin in Anglo-Saxon England; according to Mechthild Gretsch, Æthelwold may even have indirectly been involved in the production of Aldhelmian glosses.⁷³ Only one entry is vaguely reminiscent of the murder weapons traditionally associated with Cain:

⁶⁹ *DMLBS*, p. 1731; for the Greek terms, see H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford, 1968), p. 1083.

⁷⁰ ‘Cain [...] who, envious with jealousy, has taken from the midst his brother Abel with a whip’.

⁷¹ Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 84. Traditional weapons with which Cain killed Abel were, next to the club, a spade, a pick or pickaxe, a stone, a sickle as well as a sword and a jawbone of an ass; see G. Henderson, ‘Abel und Kain’, *LCI* I, 5-10, at 8, and G. Henderson, ‘Kain’, *LCI* II, 471-4, at 472.

⁷² The term *mastigia* is glossed as *swipu* in the following glosses: AldV 1 (3350, 5243), AldV 13.1 (3461, 5366), CorpGl 2 (11.29), EpGl (502), CIGl 1 (3906), CIGl 3 (64), ErfGl 1 (635); as *læl*, ‘rod, whip’, in CIGl 1 (3905).

⁷³ On Æthelwold’s involvement in the production of Aldhelmian glosses, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 332-83; on the Aldhelmian glosses and the monastic reform, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 132-84; on the importance of the Aldhelmian glosses for tenth-century Anglo-Saxon hermeneutic Latin, see Lapidge, ‘Hermeneutic Style’, pp. 73-5; S. J. Gwara, ‘Manuscripts of Aldhelm’s *Prosa de Uirginitate* and the Rise of Hermeneutic Literacy in Tenth-Century England’, *SM* 3rd ser. 35 (1994), 101-59.

leades clynum, lead stafum, ‘leaden lump, leaden stick or rod’.⁷⁴ The use of the term *mastigia* in Sanction 2 of S 745 is rather puzzling, because even if hermeneutic terms were chosen on account of the rarity with which they were used, they were not employed blindly without any regard to their appropriateness in a given text. In the light of its attested meanings, the term *mastigia* appears to be rather misplaced as Cain’s murder weapon, and I have not come across an explanation for its use here.⁷⁵

As far as I am aware, no hermeneutical terms were used in the descriptions of hell in any of the sanctions of S 745. With regard to classical mythological terminology, Sanction 1 refers to hell as *Acheron* and Sanction 2 as *Styx*. As explained in Chapter 4, strictly speaking both terms denote rivers of hell, but they were also used for denoting hell in general. In Sanction 1 the river Acheron may indeed be read as a *pars pro toto* for hell, because the subsequent depiction of it describes hell in general rather than a particular region in it.⁷⁶ Instead of the more commonly known form *Acheron*, Sanction 1 speaks of *Acherontis*. According to Donald Bullough, this word form is not uncommon and Anglo-Saxon charters do not appear to use the form *Acheron* at all.⁷⁷ In the case of Sanction 2, the use of the term *Styx* is more ambiguous:

⁷⁴ CIGI 1 (3880).

⁷⁵ The work of Aldhelm is not revealing in this case either. Aldhelm uses the term *mastigia* twice in the prose version of his *De uirginitate*, once describing how the Martyr Julian is flayed (ch. 36) and once in a metaphorical meaning of invectiveness (ch. 58).

⁷⁶ Said description is the sequence of infernal motifs in the second part of Sanction 1 discussed above, pp. 181-5.

⁷⁷ Bullough, ‘Educational Tradition’, p. 471. In one proem formula, the adjective *acheronticus* describes the Cocytus (S 407, 425, 426, 434, 435, 436, 458, 1166), in one sanction it describes *combustione* (S 1017) and the noun *acherontis* also appears in the sanctions of S 712 and S 736, cf. above, pp. 152-5.

sed eum Annaniae and Saphirę una Stix porrigine heiulantem
crucians complectatur⁷⁸

The Styx is the subject of this sanction, and the verb *complectari*, ‘encircle, embrace, seize’, appears to be appropriate for describing how a river would seize a person. However, it is not unknown in Anglo-Saxon literature that hell appears as an animated *persona*, and hence Styx in Sanction 2 of S 745 must not necessarily be understood as a river.⁷⁹ In any case, the manner in which classical mythological terms are used in the sanctions of S 745 agrees with that in most sanctions, which use classical mythological terms not for creating classical mythological imagery, but for substituting ‘Christian’ terms for hell. In addition, the classical mythological terms may have been chosen for alliterative reasons (*Iuda – Acheronte; Saphirę – Stix*). This ‘poetic’ use of Acheron and Styx agrees with the observation that classical mythological terms were often used in medieval writing for signalling a high level of learning or for embellishing texts.

On the whole, however, it is curious that even though S 745 is believed to have been written by an advocate of hermeneutic Latin and hermeneutic vocabulary appears throughout the charter, this type of Latin is hardly visible in the charter’s sanctions. Interestingly, this is also true for the great majority of Anglo-Saxon sanctions. In contrast to many proems, sanctions use a minimum of hermeneutic vocabulary and are – with some exceptions – comparatively easy to read. Is this a coincidence or was it largely a conscious choice to make sanctions more understandable and thus more communicative than the rest of many charters? Whatever the reason, the lack of

⁷⁸ ‘but the tormenting Styx together with the scurf of Ananias and Sapphira shall embrace him who is lamenting’.

⁷⁹ For hell as an animated being, see, for example, *Gospel of Nicodemus* (Nic (C) in Hulme, ‘Old English Gospel of Nicodemus’, pp. 601-7).

hermeneutic vocabulary in a sanction must not necessarily exclude a composition of this sanction in the monastic reform cycle. Vice versa, on account of the method of copying diplomatic elements from older charters into new charters, it is equally difficult to point from the use of hermeneutic vocabulary to a follower of the monastic reform movement as the draftsman of a sanction.

S 745 not only uses a minimum of hermeneutic vocabulary in its sanctions, but it also appears to confirm the unparalleled popularity of a sanction without any hermeneutic and classical mythological vocabulary among the monastic reformers, namely the sanction of Formula Group (1). Sanction 1 of S 745 threatens canons with being punished in the Acheron *cum Juda Christi proditore eiusque complicibus*, ‘together with Judas, the traitor of Christ, and his accomplices’. This phrase occurs verbatim in Formula Group (1), the most frequently used Anglo-Saxon sanction.⁸⁰ Because the individual expressions that constitute this phrase are also common, a link between S 745 and Formula Group (1) cannot be taken for granted, but must be carefully considered. The expression *Juda Christi proditore* is commonly used outside Formula Group (1); alternating with *Juda Christi traditore*.⁸¹ Together with *eiusque complicibus* the occurrences of *Juda Christi proditore* are fewer, but *eiusque complicibus* largely collocates with Judas in extant Anglo-Saxon sanctions.⁸² Although the appearance of this phrase (*Juda Christi proditore eiusque complicibus*) in S 745 may not have any link with the sanction of Formula Group (1), it is curious

⁸⁰ Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit : privatus consortio sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris jugiter cum Juda proditore Christi ejusque complicibus puniatur . si non satisfactione emendaverit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum (S 682 from CE 960); see also above, p. 42.

⁸¹ There are too many occurrences to list them here, see Motif Group (III) in Appendix 5 for occurrences of Judas in Anglo-Saxon sanctions.

⁸² I have found only two sanctions in which *eiusque complicibus* is collocates with different *personae* than Judas, once with the devil in an authentic charter from CE 1015 (S 934) and once with Herod in a spurious charter (S 112).

that two further expressions are used in both Sanction 1 of S 745 and Formula Group (1). Firstly, following the negative *exempla* of the lapsarian angels and Adam, and thus appearing before the negative *exemplum* of Judas, the punishment of the transgressors as well as that of the rebellious angels and Adam is described as being thrust into *barathri incendiis*, ‘the flames of the abyss’.⁸³ As *aeternis barathri incendiis* this expression appears in the sanction of Formula Group (1), although also in other predominantly tenth-century charters.⁸⁴ Secondly, the expression *lugubres punientur*, ‘they shall be punished as deplorable people’, which concludes Sanction 1 of S 745, appears in the sanction of Formula Group (1), too, albeit not as a single phrase. The combined use of phrases and expressions in Sanction 1 of S 745 and the sanction of Formula Group (1) raises the question how the similarities between these sanctions may be interpreted. Is it simply a coincidence? Was Sanction 1 of S 745 composed with that of Formula Group (1) in mind? Were, perhaps, the draftsmen of both sanctions one and the same person? As pointed out above, the sanction I have classified as Formula Group (1) is the most frequently used sanction formula in the entire corpus of extant Anglo-Saxon charters.⁸⁵ Interestingly, the dissemination of this sanction is fairly limited. Formula Group (1) appears with unparalleled frequency in a very short period of time, roughly thirty years between CE 960 and 996, the first authentic specimen being S 683 from CE 960. Despite its frequent appearance in this period, this sanction appears almost exclusively in royal diplomas

⁸³ In S 745, the expression *barathri incendiis* is used in the earlier description of the rebellious angels’ fall into hell in the ‘introduction’ of the proem, where it appears as *aeternis baratri incendiis [...]* *demersus*, ‘sunk into the eternal flames of the abyss’, as well as in Chapter V, when the salvation concept is summarized.

⁸⁴ The phrase also appears in the sanctions of Formula Groups (5), (5a-c) and (7), (7a) as well as in the following unique charters: S 749, 847, 850. I have not come across a pre-tenth-century occurrence of the expression *barathri incendiis*, although it does occur in royal charters issued before the reign of King Edgar.

⁸⁵ Cf. Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 72.

with a clear zenith during the reign of King Edgar.⁸⁶ As pointed out earlier, Dorothy Whitelock has argued that S 782 was written by Æthelwold, as it shares an extraordinary feature with S 745 and the alleged preface to the Old English *Regula S. Benedicti*.⁸⁷ S 782 also contains the sanction of Formula Group (1). The only extant non-royal diploma using the sanction of Formula Group (1) is S 1298, from CE 962, which is a lease issued in the name of Bishop Oswald of Worcester.⁸⁸ Oswald was, of course, one of the most renowned monastic reformers together with Æthelwold and Dunstan. Simon Keynes has also pointed to the appearance of ‘a version with light variations’ in S 1634, which was probably issued by Dunstan in CE 963.⁸⁹ As pointed out earlier, Simon Keynes has argued that the sanction of Formula Group (1) was ‘devised and popularized’ by the scribe known as ‘Edgar A’.⁹⁰ Richard Drögereit’s suggestion that ‘Edgar A’ was Æthelwold has been rejected by Michael Lapidge.⁹¹ The appearance of phrases from the sanction of Formula Group (1) in S 745, partially in non-sanction contexts, cannot be understood as evidence for Drögereit’s proposition and by implication as evidence for Æthelwold being the draftsman of the sanction of Formula Group (1). Nevertheless, it suggests that Æthelwold may have had a predilection for the imagery of the sanction of Formula Group (1). At the same time, it strengthens the view that Formula Group (1) appears to have originated and received a great reception in the circle of the monastic reform movement. S 745, then, shows that the use or lack of hermeneutic Latin and classical mythological vocabulary in sanctions in particular, but also in charters in general is

⁸⁶ See Formula Group (1) in Appendix 1.

⁸⁷ See above, p. 167.

⁸⁸ Cf. Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 72, n. 143.

⁸⁹ Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 72, n. 144. S 1634 belongs to the Group of ‘Lost and Incomplete Texts’, see Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 442-83 and the *Electronic Sawyer* at, [http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/LostCharters/Lost charters1.html](http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/eSawyer.99/LostCharters/Lost%20charters1.html) [accessed 30.09.05]; information on these charters is also included in the *Revised Electronic Sawyer*.

⁹⁰ Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 72-3, at 73; cf. above, p. 112.

⁹¹ See above, p. 112.

difficult to interpret with regard to implications of authorship, even if authorship is understood in a very general sense. It promises to be more revealing to investigate the use of repetitive expressions and phrases and to analyse these in consideration of the historical background of the charters in which they appear.⁹²

In summary, marked differences can be observed among the sanctions of S 745. Sanctions 1 and 2 are reminiscent of the elaborate sanctions of other Anglo-Saxon charters, although they have an even higher degree of detail and embellishment than standard tenth-century elaborate sanctions. These ‘elaborate additions’ to Sanction 1 and 2 do not directly affect the sanctions’ infernal imagery, but appear to support the seriousness of the threat of punishments in hell by overtly strengthening pastoral and ideological sentiments, at which sanctions of other charters may only hint. Sanction 3, which can be associated with the sanctions with plain infernal imagery of other Anglo-Saxon charters, and Sanction 4, which is reminiscent of those sanctions that predominantly threaten with ritual ecclesiastical curses, appear less intimidating when read irrespective of their textual context. Hence, it must be examined if they gain in force when read in the context of charter S 745. Next to these general observations, I have pointed out that even though Æthelwold can be presumed to have been aware of differences between the ecclesiastical curses of excommunication, anathema and damnation, he does not appear to apply them to the text of his Refoundation Charter. I have suggested that the differences between them are simply irrelevant in the context of S 745. Similarly, I have proposed that the precise infernal motifs used in S 745 appear to be immaterial with regard to the

⁹² Richard Drögereit used a similar method in his ‘Königskanzlei’. Analysing palaeographical evidence of original single-sheet diplomas and diplomatic formulas, he made interesting findings, but also presented some difficult interpretations. Simon Keynes has outlined the advantages and disadvantages of Drögereit’s method, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 16-19.

sanctions' force. The difference in style among the sanctions of S 745 appears to entail a difference in function only to a certain degree, however. Sanctions 3 and 4 are also pastoral reminders, as they, too, remind their audience of the devastating consequences of transgressing against the agreements recorded in S 745 by threatening with a denial of salvation, thus urging its audience to comply with the settlements of S 745. In contrast to Sanctions 1 and 2, Sanctions 3 and 4 do not emphasize this function with infernal imagery. Furthermore, Sanctions 3 and 4 do not stress ideological concerns either. As argued above, in Sanction 4 this may have been prompted by a change of subject, namely not just the king, but secular and ecclesiastical nobles. Thus, even in a charter as shaped by ideological considerations and as important to the monastic reform movement as the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester, the emphasis on or inclusion of ideological concerns in sanctions appears to be an optional feature.

As explained above, sanctions are elements of longer texts and it is essential to read them in their textual contexts. Thus, in the following section of this chapter, I would like to analyse the proem and dispositive section of S 745 as a textual context for this charter's sanctions. How do the respective parts of the charter relate to each other?

5.3 Proem and Dispositive Section

Proems, more so than sanctions, are suitable places for literary embellishments in charters, because they appear to be less confined to prefixed structures and formulas. Proems have also been regarded more readily as ideological statements than

sanctions by modern scholars.⁹³ Yet, like sanctions, proems have hitherto not been studied systematically as literary texts in their own right. In the following, however, I am not interested in investigating *if*, but *how* the proem and dispositive section of S 745 support a pastoral and ideological reading of the charter's sanctions. S 745 is truly exceptional in its use of a continuous thread of theme and imagery from its proem via the dispositive section to Sanctions 1 and 2 and even continuing into the specifics of the grant. I shall thus present the pastoral argument of the proem and dispositive section of S 745 and its ideological implications, trying to show at the same time how statements in those early sections relate to the later sanctions.

Pastoral concerns are expressed in the charter's proem and dispositive section foremost by weaving the grant recorded in S 745 into the history of Christian salvation. The proem ('introduction' to Chapter V) of S 745 is essentially an outline of the history of Christian salvation: the creation of angels and the fall of the rebellious angels ('introduction'), the creation of humans and their lives in Paradise (Chapters I and II), their temptation and fall (Chapters III and IIII) and finally Jesus' birth, Crucifixion and Second Coming with Last Judgement (Chapter V). Even for an exceptionally long and important charter like S 745, this account of Christian salvation is very detailed and it may have reminded its audience of a homily or sermon on the subject.⁹⁴ Similarly to Ælfric's 'De initio creatione' (ÆCHom I.1), for

⁹³ Insley, 'Where Did All the Charters Go?'; Karkov, *Ruler Portraits*, pp. 80-1; Johnson, 'Fall of Lucifer', pp. 520-1 (cf. Johnson, 'Literary Career', pp. 76-8).

⁹⁴ One audience of S 745 were the monks of New Minster themselves, as stated in the heading of Chapter XXII: *Quoties et Quare in Anni Circulo Hoc Fratribus Legatur Priuilegium*, 'How often and why this privilege shall be read to the brothers in the course of a year'. Unfortunately, the content of this chapter is lost because of a gap in the document. One possible reason for the required readings of S 745 may lie in the description of how the monks are to live in New Minster (Chapters XII-XIII), another reason may be the king's wish to secure the monks' intercessory prayers on his behalf (Chapter VII) and their general defence of King Edgar from the devil (Chapter XV) by repeatedly reminding the monks of their duty to him. Considering the political importance of S 745, it can be

instance, the proem of S 745 is essentially a matter-of-fact account of events with occasional asides as to how to interpret them. This is then rounded off with an exhortatory statement that presents the Christian concept of salvation in a nutshell:

Hanc precipuam sine dubio gloriam . credentibus qui trinitatis
 ueraeque unitatis fidem bonis insudantes operibus sectantur
 pollicitus . non credentibus supplicium minatus eternum .
 perpetuis baratri incendiis iustissime spopondit .⁹⁵

Interestingly, S 745 does not simply present the salvation history and then leaves it to its audience to draw the connection between salvation and the grant recorded in this document. Instead, the refoundation of New Minster is explicitly placed into the history of Christian salvation, so that it effectively becomes an integral part of it. In the above citation, it is explained that those who believe in God and demonstrate their belief by *bonis insudantes operibus*, ‘sweating over good works’, are the ones achieving salvation. Later in Chapter VI, which gradually introduces the refoundation of New Minster, King Edgar is said to have been inspired by God to turn himself into a model for his flock of subjects by *bonis operibus insistens*, ‘pursuing good works’.⁹⁶ Presenting the refoundation of New Minster as a good work, Edgar is understood as one of those who will achieve salvation according to the concept of salvation presented in Chapter V, and in doing so King Edgar even sets a positive example to his people.

presumed that it was read aloud at the *witenagemot* at which it was issued despite the lengthy text. In that case, its audience would have been the Anglo-Saxon secular and ecclesiastical nobility; on *witenagemot*, see above, pp. 45-7. Of course, the ability of the ruling elite of Anglo-Saxon England to understand the sometimes challenging Latin of S 745 would be a prerequisite for a successful use of the charter’s text as an ideological instrument addressed to the country’s ruling class.

⁹⁵ ‘[He has promised] this particular glory without doubt to those who believe [and] who, sweating over good works, eagerly follow the belief in the Trinity and True Unity, [and] He has promised to those who do not believe that they be very rightfully projected into eternal torments in the perpetual flames of the abyss’.

⁹⁶ Cf. below, pp. 206-7.

The place of Edgar's refoundation of New Minster in the salvation history is further strengthened by the interplay between the proem and Sanctions 1 and 2. The rebellious angels are said to be *contumaci arrogans fastu*, 'arrogant with obstinate pride', in the 'introduction' and this characterisation is picked up again in Chapter I where the expulsion of the rebellious angels is described as eliminating *tumidi fastus spurcitia*, 'the filth of haughty pride'. Later in Sanction 1, the canons are described as *fastu superbientes arrogantie*, 'gloating in the haughtiness of arrogance', which clearly relates back to the angels' description in the proem.⁹⁷ Lest someone may be ignorant of this association, Sanction 1 presents the lapsarian angels as *angelis superbientibus*, 'proud angels'.⁹⁸ Thus, in Sanction 1 the canons are clearly equated with the rebellious angels. In Sanction 2, S 745 describes King Edgar's deed of expelling the canons from New Minster and other reformed monasteries as *uitiorum spurcitas expurgans*, 'cleansing the filth of vices', which implicitly relates the Anglo-Saxon king's deed with that of God when He banished the lapsarian angels (*eliminata fastus spurcitia*, Chapter I).⁹⁹ Furthermore, in Sanction 2 itself, King Edgar's cleansing of his monasteries from the pride of arrogance is directly related to God's victory over the devil: *uitiorum spurcitas expurgans Iesu Christo Domino nostro uicto demone*, 'cleansing the filth of vices through our Lord, Jesus Christ, the devil having been defeated'. Those knowing their Christian history may wonder to which defeat of the devil this passage refers: the banishment of the rebellious Lucifer from heaven, to which the charters has referred several times, or to Christ's defeat of the devil when He redeemed humankind through His Crucifixion and subsequent Harrowing of Hell, or to the victory over the devil in the final battle after His Second

⁹⁷ Cf. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 75, n. 7, cf. *ibid.*, p. 83, n. 62.

⁹⁸ The phrase *superbientium angelorum* is also used in reference to the banished angels in Chapter III.

⁹⁹ Cf. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 75, n. 11, cf. *ibid.*, p. 84, n. 67.

Coming? The passage may be deliberately ambiguous, developing a multiple typological structure: Edgar's cleansing of the Anglo-Saxon monasteries is typologically foreshadowed by God's first cleansing in heaven and Christ's later defeat of the devil, but King Edgar himself performs a deed that typologically points forward to the final victory over the devil after Jesus' Second Coming.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the banishment of the rebellious angels from heaven is likely to have been foremost in the audience's mind because of its elaborate account in the proem and in the form of a negative *exemplum* in Sanction 1. In any case, it is made perfectly clear that King Edgar represents God in this world, working towards the salvation of his flock of subjects.

King Edgar's quasi-divine status is paradoxically supported in Chapter VI by a humble farming metaphor that presents the Anglo-Saxon king as the farmer of God's ploughland, who repeats His heavenly actions on earth:

Talibus igitur exhortatus doctrinis quibus nos Dominus per prophetam clementer ammonuit . agens Christo faciente in terris quod ipse iuste egit in celis . extricans uidelicet Domini cultura criminum spurcitas . uirtutum semina sedulus agricola inserui .¹⁰¹

Both God and Edgar clear the filth of crimes, One in heaven by banishing the rebellious angels and the other on earth by expelling the depraved canons from God's earthly property. In addition, it is implied that both also perform the positive action of installing virtuous surrogates in place of the banished filth: God by welcoming the

¹⁰⁰ Catherine Karkov has argued that the charter's frontispiece portrays King Edgar's relationship to Christ typologically, see her *Ruler Portraits*, pp. 86-7.

¹⁰¹ 'Then, encouraged by such teachings in which the Lord indulgently warned us through the prophet, I, performing through Christ's doing on earth what He Himself rightfully performed in heaven, that is freeing the Lord's cultivations from the filth of crimes, have inserted seeds of virtues as a zealous ploughman'.

blessed ones in heaven, and King Edgar by installing reformed monks in Anglo-Saxon monasteries. In Chapter XIII King Edgar is further compared with God or Jesus respectively, when it is expressed that Anglo-Saxon kings shall defend their monastic subjects in the same manner in which the most faithful shepherds defend their flock from wolves:

Domini gregem non mercennarii sed pastores fidissimi .
luporum rictibus eximentes intrepidi defendant.¹⁰²

Just as a similar passage in the *Regularis concordia*, this statement may refer to John X.11-13, in which Jesus is presented as the Shepherds of shepherds.¹⁰³ An alternative association has been proposed by Catherine Karkov. She has compared this passage from S 745 to 1 Peter V.4, which speaks of Jesus in the context of His Second Coming as *princeps pastorum* who will reward all those who cared for his flock of believers with crowns of glory.¹⁰⁴ This reading emphasizes the belief expressed throughout S 745 that the refoundation of New Minster, Winchester, will secure King Edgar's salvation.

The question of obedience and disobedience is crucial to the salvation history and concept presented in S 745, and it severely strengthens King Edgar's elevated position as well as the force of his sanctions. In the 'introduction', it is stated that the rebellious angels' sin was their pride which made them believe to be equal to God and hence made them *creatori uniuersitatis famulari dedignans*, 'refusing to serve

¹⁰² 'They [i.e. Anglo-Saxon kings] shall not defend the flock as mercenaries, but as most faithful shepherds, who tear it [i.e. the flock] out of the jaws of wolves intrepidly'.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 22. Cf. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 88, n. 98; see there also for further similar statements in Æthelwold's work.

¹⁰⁴ Karkov, *Royal Portraits*, p. 100.

the Creator of the universe'. Then, creating humans, God is described to have set up a chain of obedience: *Cui uniuersa totius cosmi superficie condita subiciens . seipsum suosque posteros sibi subiecit*, 'subjecting all created things on the surface of the whole universe to him [i.e. to the humans, in particular Adam], He subjected him and his descendants to Himself'. In Paradise (Chapter II), the humans exhibit a considerable number of virtues. The first of these is obedience to God, for which the humans received the obedience of the creation: *Quippe altithrono deuote obsequenti . creatura cuncta famulabatur subiecta*, 'Of course, while he submitted faithfully to the High-throned One, all Creation serves, subjected to him'. In Chapter III, the reason for Adam and Eve's expulsion from Paradise and their exile in this world is then assigned to their disobedience: *Contemnentes conditorem . a cunctis insequuntur creatis*, 'Disdaining the Creator, they are followed by all created things'. Chapter VII justifies the expulsion of the canons from New Minster and other monasteries by emphasizing the canons' disobedience: *non agentes quę Deus iubendo uolebat . omnia quę nolebat rebelles faciebant*, 'not doing what God wished in his commanding, the rebels did all the things that He did not want'. The importance of obedience is further emphasized in Chapter XII, in which the obedience expected from the monks is stressed in the first and second paragraph and reappears in the fourth paragraph. What has been said earlier about King Edgar's status as a representative of God on earth, at least on Anglo-Saxon soil, appears to modify this chain of obedience by implication, because it places King Edgar as a link between God and the humans: Creation owes obedience to the humans, people owe obedience to King Edgar and King Edgar owes obedience to God. Cases of disobedience on the people's side are presented as punishable by King Edgar on God's behalf, as the punishment of the canons clearly demonstrates.

Just as S 745 establishes a chain of obedience, it also presents an opposing chain of disobedience. As pointed out above, Sanction 1 defines the group of potential transgressors as *deiecti canonici*, ‘cast down canons’. The transgression itself is described in similar terms as *monachorum gregem [...] deicere insidiando*, ‘plotting to cast down the flock of monks’. The word *deicere* is not only used for characterizing the expelled canons and for defining the nature of the transgression cursed in Sanction 1, but also earlier in Chapter III for describing the expulsion of Adam and Eve: *Utrique [...] impresentis uitae erumna [...] deiciuntur*, ‘both of them [...] are cast down [...] into the hardship of present life’. Hence, the verb *deicere* establishes a link between the canons and Adam and Eve: the sin of Adam and Eve, for which they were cast down from Paradise, is associated with the past sinful conduct of the canons, for which they were cast down from New Minster, and with a possible further sin on their part should they cast down the monks King Edgar placed into New Minster.¹⁰⁵ The common denominator of these three acts is disobedience against God, either directly or through his worldly representative. Thus, Sanction 1 is not only firmly rooted in the grant’s historical context, but the grant itself is equally firmly placed into the charter’s theological argument, which presents the question of obedience and disobedience as a crucial criterion of salvation and damnation.

Furthermore, in S 745, the reasons given in the dispositive section and in Chapter XV for the refoundation of New Minster, Winchester, are directly concerned with matters resulting from the Christian salvation concept presented in the proem. Edgar is said to have installed the monks in order to secure his own salvation. This is

¹⁰⁵ In contrast to the canons who are associated with the reason for Adam and Eve’s expulsion from Paradise, Chapter XII links the reformed monks with the life of Adam and Eve in Paradise before their temptation, which is recounted at length in Chapter II; cf. Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 68.

foremost to be effected by intercessory prayers, i.e. prayers spoken on behalf of a deceased with the intention to save him or her from hell.¹⁰⁶ According to the charter's reasoning, the intercessory prayers of the canons were useless on account of the canons' vices, while those of the reformed monks are believed to be effective because of their humility (Chapter VII). In addition, Chapter XV describes the monks' duty to spiritually defend King Edgar from *hostium [...] inuisibilium*, 'invisible enemies', just as King Edgar vows in Chapter XVI to defend the monks from *uisibiles [...] aduersarios*, 'visible adversaries'. While King Edgar protects the monks as a worldly warrior, the monks protect the king as *milites Christi* with the spiritual weapons of Ephesians VI.17. While the monks' intercessory prayers are aimed at protecting King Edgar in the next world, their spiritual struggle against the devils' tricks on Edgar's behalf appears to aim at defending the king in this life. In addition to these measures of securing his own salvation, Chapter VI describes King Edgar as eagerly securing his own salvation through *bonis operibus*, 'good works', among which 'the cleansing of the filth of pride from God's property' can undoubtedly be included.¹⁰⁷

Together with the intercessory prayers of the monks, Edgar's good works should, of course, foremost secure his own salvation. Nonetheless, Edgar's *bona opera* are also presented as beneficial to his subjects, because through them Edgar shall become an example to his flock of Christian subjects: *ut ipse [...] bonis operibus insistens forma factus gregi*, 'so that I, eagerly pursuing good works, have been made into a model for the flock'. S 745 presents King Edgar as a believer in the power of *exempla*, since

¹⁰⁶ On intercessory prayers in Anglo-Saxon England, see Galpern, 'Shape of Hell', pp. 155-67.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. above, pp. 176, 199.

‘he’ uses them numerous times in this text. Moreover, Chapter VII states clearly that King Edgar himself is moved by Christ’s example:

Timens ne eternam incurrerem miseriam si adepta potestate non facerem quod ipse qui operatur omnia quae in celo uult et in terra suis exemplis iustus examinador innotuit . uitiosorum cuneos canonicorum e diuersis nostri regminis coenobiis Christi uicarius eliminaui .¹⁰⁸

Alexander Rumble has translated *suis exemplis* as ‘His warning punishments’, referring to the law-code IV Edgar from CE 963 that describes a ‘pestilence recently suffered by the king’s people as merited’ because of their sins and disobedience.¹⁰⁹ Although the passage from Chapter VII begins with a reference to the King’s alleged fear of punishments in hell, I would like to suggest reading *suis exemplis* as deliberately neutral in meaning rather than exclusively denoting negative *exempla*. The *exempla* in the sanctions of S 745 would certainly comply with a neutral or ambiguous reading: they are negative *exempla* to those disobediently defying God, but at the same time good *exempla* for Edgar’s own proceeding as a ruler. In addition, the neutral *suis exemplis* in Chapter VII allows the audience addressed to establish both associations: either to be encouraged to strive positively towards salvation by good works or to be negatively forced to salvation by fear of punishment in hell. Both options are regarded as valuable in Chapter VI, in which Edgar is described as performing the duty of an ecclesiastical *pastor* who is to destroy evil and build good things on Christ’s behalf by *[q]uosdam igitur suasionibus inuitans ad premia . quosdam terroribus compellens ad gloriam,*

¹⁰⁸ ‘Fearing that I may run into eternal misery, if I, after having obtained power, shall not do what He wishes who operates everything in heaven and who has become known on earth as the Righteous Judge through His examples, I have expelled the crowds of vicious canons from various monasteries of our kingdom as the vicar of Christ’.

¹⁰⁹ Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 81.

‘inciting then certain [people] to rewards by exhortations [and] urging others to glory by great fear’. This is, after all, precisely the manner in which highly esteemed theologians advised *pastores* to encourage their flock to achieve salvation.¹¹⁰ More importantly, this is exactly what is done later, when Sanctions 1 and 2 as well as Sanction 3 are followed by benedictions that promise rewards. In the light of the debate how effective the sanctions of charters were, it is interesting to read in S 745 that the prospect of eternal misery in hell is said to frighten King Edgar (*timens ne eternam incurrerem miseriam*).¹¹¹ Although statements to the opposite could hardly be expected in a text like this, the charter’s pastoral argument would not have vanished if this phrase had been exempt from it. Yet, its inclusion strengthens the sanctions’ threats considerably, for if God’s earthly representative is said to fear the punishments of hell, how could his subjects defy this fear?

5.4 Conclusions

The presentation of King Edgar as an earthly representative of God affects the reading of the sanctions of S 745 considerably. The curses of Sanctions 1, 2, 3 and possibly 4 are pronounced as if spoken by King Edgar, the representative of God. Thus, the curses are pronounced by someone who is claimed to have an exceptionally close relationship to God, who alone can perform, i.e. put to effect, the curses humans can merely pronounce. Judging from the close relationship presented between the earthly king and the Heavenly King, an audience believing in the power of curses would surely understand King Edgar as someone who not only possesses the authority to pronounce curses, but more importantly someone who doubtlessly knows behind him the divine power that fulfils these curses. Moreover, the charter

¹¹⁰ See above, pp. 103-5, 124.

¹¹¹ For a similar statement in one of King Æthelred the Unready’s charters, see above, pp. 29-30.

repeatedly recounts that God is indeed known to have punished disobedience with punishments in hell, even if it concerned His formerly dearest creations (Lucifer and Adam). Interestingly, the first account of hell in S 745 appears not in Sanction 1, but in the charter's 'introduction' when the rebellious angels are said to plunge into hell:

aeternis baratri incendiis cum suis complicitibus demersus iugi
merito cruciatur miseria.¹¹²

Sanction 1 takes up this imagery by similarly threatening the canonical transgressors with being thrust into the flames of the abyss and being tormented there by eternal misery. Charter S 745 hence indeed connects the infernal imagery of its introductory account of Christian salvation with that of its first sanction, strengthening the sanction's threat by conveying that it has all been done before and can thus easily be done again. On the other hand, the lack of similar connections between the infernal imagery of the charter's sanctions and that of other parts of the charter should not be read as damaging to the seriousness behind those sanctions. In a way, the specific motifs that constitute a sanction's infernal imagery do not seem to be of importance as long as they support the pastoral nature inherent in the genre of sanctions. There seems to be no difference between 'being punished in the eternal flames of the abyss together with Judas and his accomplices' and 'being thrust into the Styx together with Ananias and Sapphira' or 'being tormented by demons in an iron cauldron'. The pastoral function remains, even though its illustration varies: if you are disobedient, you must suffer in hell, and you are, by implication, denied salvation. The message of the sanctions of S 745 appears to be by definition pastoral, that is they are pastoral

¹¹² 'plunged into the eternal flames of the abyss together with his accomplices, he is deservedly tormented by eternal misery'.

warnings on behalf of the *Seelenheil* of a charter's audience. In S 745, elaborate literary infernal imagery evidently strengthens the pastoral function of the sanctions.

Interestingly, the Refoundation Charter of New Minster contains all kinds of sanctions and features of sanctions. While it cannot be said that there is a preference for any type or feature, it must be presumed that there is a reason behind this, because S 745 can be regarded as a carefully constructed document. The elaborate style of the first two sanctions is contrasted by the plain tone of the last two sanctions. While it is true that the negative *exempla* are severely extended in Sanctions 1 and 2, it is equally true that Sanctions 3 and 4 do not contain negative *exempla* at all. In the same way, the first two sanctions are fairly overtly ideological in tone, quite in contrast to the latter two sanctions. In addition, although the text of the charter emphasizes fear as a pastoral device, its sanctions arguably do not appear to make explicit use of this. Furthermore, even though there are some hermeneutic and classical mythological terms in Sanctions 1 and 2, again this is contrasted by a lack of these features in Sanctions 3 and 4. It is equally interesting that the interplay between sanctions and other parts of the charters is also limited to Sanctions 1 and 2. Thus, while the first two sanctions appear as purposeful compositions that advance the 'argument' or 'agenda' of the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, the last two sanctions appear to have been chosen randomly. Finally, it is interesting to observe that the more legal devices of the ecclesiastical curses, excommunication, anathema and damnation, appear isolated from and combined with literary imagery in S 745. This suggests that the draftsman, i.e. in all probability Æthelwold, did not seem to have made a qualitative difference between threats with legal measures and threats with religious literary imagery. Instead, the legal and literary registers appear to be

two sides of one coin. This is reminiscent of the combination of legal and literary aspects or rather the expression of legal concerns in a literary register in Anglo-Saxon law-codes, as observed by Patrick Wormald.¹¹³

¹¹³ Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 416-76.

CONCLUSIONS

The central question of this dissertation was whether the literary infernal imagery of Anglo-Saxon sanctions is an irrelevant ornamental extra which does not contribute anything to the charters in which it appears or whether this literary infernal imagery is indeed a purposeful element with a specific function that is not fulfilled by any of the charters' other features. I hope to have demonstrated that the literary infernal imagery of sanctions is indeed a purposeful feature of Anglo-Saxon charters, as it provides the charters in which it appears with pastoral warnings or pastoral reminders. In other words, the literary infernal imagery is warning or reminding a charter's audience that transgressing against the charter is not compatible with the rules of Christian moral conduct and thus liable to be punished with excommunication in this or damnation in the next life or both, all of which result in forfeiture of salvation. This is a simple expression of the Christian concept of salvation as it is preached in numerous homilies and sermons. Because the appearance of literary infernal imagery is so evidently a feature of especially royal diplomas of the second half of the tenth and early eleventh century, the driving force behind its use may well have been the monastic reform movement which propagated a kind of Christian 'ruler theology' that regarded the king as a representative of Christ with pastoral duties.

I have supported this proposition by analysing the genre of sanctions (Chapter 1), representations of the devil in the sanctions (Chapter 2) and references to notorious damned persons (Chapter 3) as well as by investigating the use of classical mythological terminology (Chapter 4) and, finally, by a close reading of one particular charter, namely the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester

(Chapter 5). Discussing the genre of sanctions, I hope to have shown that a sanction is a special type of curse, which was used as legal as well as pedagogical instruments already in pre-Christian times. Anglo-Saxon sanctions follow the typical pattern of standard ecclesiastical curses (excommunication, anathema and damnation) in their content as well as in their form. Yet, the creation of prescribed ritual settings as well as the use of prescribed personnel that was required for authoritative cursing cannot be established in the context of Anglo-Saxon charters; it can only be assumed that both would have been easily available. In addition, there may have been a divergence between applied Anglo-Saxon penal law and sanctions. The suggestion of such a divergence and the fact that there is hardly anything known about Anglo-Saxon penal law as far as it concerns transgressions against charters support the possibility that the primary function of sanctions in Anglo-Saxon charters was not a legal, but a pedagogical one. Moreover, literary infernal imagery does not seem to support any legal purposes sanctions may indeed have had. Understood as pedagogical instruments, however, curses were aimed at deterring people with monitory threats from unwanted behaviour. The literary infernal imagery of sanctions indeed supports such a pedagogical reading of sanctions.

This pedagogical reading can be seen, for instance, in the use of frightening representations of the devil as a tormentor of the damned. Because fear of hell was presented as tantamount to fear of God, it was understood as something positive in Christian thought, as it helped people to achieve salvation by deterring them from unwanted conduct. In this manner, the fear generated by frightening infernal imagery supported the pedagogical function of sanctions and turned them into pastoral instruments. There is no evidence that the representations of devils tormenting the damned in Anglo-Saxon sanctions indeed frightened their audience or even deterred

someone from transgressing against a charter. Nonetheless, the pastoral intent seems clear even if we read the infernal imagery of sanctions as a pastoral reminder rather than a pastoral threat. The same pastoral purpose may also have been behind the reference to notorious biblical and historical damned persons with which the audience of sanctions is threatened to be damned or tormented in hell (Judas *etc.*). These persons function as *exempla* in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, because they are so well known that the simple mentioning of their names was likely to have triggered off associations to *exempla* heard elsewhere, presumably in sermons. Indeed, by a great margin, Judas, who was so notorious that he became a commonly used monitory example in Christendom, is the most frequently mentioned damned person in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. *Exempla* are among the most evidently pastoral devices in medieval literature; Ælfric, for example, used them often in his homilies, and Gregory the Great, who was very influential in Anglo-Saxon England, was the first to use them in connection with eschatology.

Having tried to establish that there is a great probability that the literary infernal imagery of sanctions had a pastoral purpose, the question arose who may have been interested in systematically emphasizing the pastoral nature of sanctions in royal diplomas. Because of the great influence of the monastic reform movement in the politics of the second half of the tenth century and early eleventh century agrees with the zenith of the use of literary infernal imagery in the charters of that very period, the monastic reform movement appears to be a likely provenance. This assumption is supported by the predominant use of literary infernal imagery in royal diplomas and by the 'ruler theology' propagated by monastic reformers that attributed pastoral duties to the king. As the infernal motifs themselves cannot be attributed to a particular provenance in the reform circle, it had to be investigated whether special

characteristics of the writings of monastic reformers also appeared in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, in particular in their infernal imagery. Surprisingly, the so-called 'hermeneutic Latin', which is closely associated with the monastic reform movement and for which especially tenth-century charters are notorious, is largely absent from Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Instead, the infernal imagery of sanctions often contains a type of terminology less readily associated with hermeneutic Latin, but similar in character: vocabulary from classical mythology. Just as hermeneutic Latin, classical mythological vocabulary is largely glossary-based and can add a note of educational snobbism to texts as well as elevate texts to a higher linguistic register. I hope to have demonstrated that the type of classical mythology appearing in Anglo-Saxon sanctions is indeed largely glossary-based with respect to its probable source and to its application in sanctions. Nevertheless, future research must still establish by examining individual charters whether Anglo-Saxon charters display a striking connection between classical mythological vocabulary and the representation of interests of monastic reformers. My research could only conclude that such a connection cannot be taken for granted, as many charters connected with the monastic reform movement also used many sanctions devoid of classical mythological vocabulary.

In order to investigate what sanctions may be expected in a charter connected with the monastic reform movement, I have examined the Refoundation Charter of New Minster, Winchester (S 745). This charter is not only an example of a royal diploma that is clearly a product of the monastic reform movement, especially since Æthelwold has been regarded as the charter's probable draftsman, but it is also an example of a royal diploma that clearly contains a pastoral programme and an ideological outlook. The analysis of S 745 has further strengthened the difficulty of

associating specific types of sanctions in general and specific types of infernal imagery in particular with the monastic reform movement. S 745 contains all types of sanctions, not only those evidently possessing a pastoral nature. In addition, although Æthelwold is known to have been an advocate of hermeneutic Latin, the charter's sanctions are largely devoid of this type of vocabulary. On the other hand, S 745 has also supported the pastoral nature and ideological use of the very elaborate infernal imagery of its first two sanctions by drawing links between these sanctions' imagery and the imagery of the charter's proem and dispositive section. Whether this is a result that is primarily generated by the extraordinary and hardly representative format of S 745 must be examined in future research, preferably in the form of comparative case studies of individual Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas.

As historical research into hell imagery is particularly pertinent today, I would like to question if this research may have any relevance to our contemporary world. Roughly a thousand years after the texts examined in this dissertation were written, it may seem easy for many to laugh about the appearance of, for instance, devils devouring human in texts that were allegedly aimed at recording legal transactions. Indeed, the very thought of personified evil and a literally understood hell may be ridiculous to many people today. To others, however, eschatological concerns similar to those expressed in the sanctions examined above as well as in other Anglo-Saxon and medieval writings are still valid; they are indeed components of the religious beliefs shared and expressed by an increasing number of people. For example, a number of US-American Churches can certainly keep up with the Anglo-Saxons when it comes to representing hell in all its graphic details. Each year around Halloween, an increasing number of churches are transformed into 'hell houses' in

which the simple equation of ‘sin equals punishment in hell’ is brought on stage.¹ Although Halloween is the season of entertaining scariness, the fact that the founder of these ‘hell houses’, Keenan Roberts, is proud to have converted or re-converted thousands of visitors shows that while entertainment may arguably be the manner in which these ‘hell houses’ function, it is certainly not the motivation behind them.² The sales webpage of the Church run by Roberts clearly expresses the hope to promote Christianity in this manner:

We trust you find the following materials helpful in your efforts to reach your community and build the Kingdom of God through dramatic and theatrical means!³

Some may simply discard these ‘hell houses’ as ridiculous ideas of an insignificant minority of religious fundamentalists and deny them any relevance to everyday life. Another apocalyptic expression that may similarly be discarded as more or less ridiculous, but harmless entertainment for Christian fundamentalists is the ‘Left Behind’ book series that recounts the struggle of Christians left behind after the Second Coming of Jesus to fight the Antichrist – for adults and children from ten years onwards.⁴ As these books are sold in their tens of millions, they do seem to strike a chord with a great number of people.⁵ Those who can still not take the ‘hell houses’ and the ‘Left Behind’ seriously in the sense that they deny them any impact also on the lives of those not believing in their message should remember that that US-American evangelical fundamentalists greatly influence US politics, education,

¹ K. Schmiester, ‘Religiöse Rechte in den USA: “Hell Houses”: Gottes Gruselkabinett’, *Tagesschau*, at <http://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/meldung93518.html> [accessed 05.12.2007].

² Schmiester, ‘Religiöse Rechte’; cf. also the ‘Results Page’ of Keenan Roberts’s New Destiny Church Centre, at http://www.godestiny.org/hell_house/HH_kit_Results.cfm [accessed 05.12.2007].

³ New Destiny Church Centre, ‘Hell House Resources’, at http://www.godestiny.org/hell_house/HH_resources.cfm [accessed 05.12.2007].

⁴ Left Behind, at <http://www.leftbehind.com/> [accessed 06.12.2007].

⁵ A. Johnson Frykholm, *Rapture Culture: Left behind in Evangelical America* (New York, 2007).

social life and culture regionally as well as state-wide. Among those are, for example, the Christian Regent University School of Law that trains lawyers in law as understood through the perspective of the Christian religion and biblical law.⁶ As the *The Boston Globe* from April 2007 has reported, graduates of such law schools are influential in the US Department of Justice.⁷ Among those increasingly influential in US politics are also many evangelical groups with apocalyptic outlooks and a more or less literal understanding of hell.⁸ Even though this kind of evangelical fundamentalism is still largely unknown in Europe, Christian believers in Europe are not free from eschatological and apocalyptic beliefs either. A survey recently conducted by Eric Stoddart of the School of Divinity at St Andrews University in Scotland shows that '[b]etween one quarter and one third [of Scotland's ministers] believe 'the fate of "the lost" [i.e. the damned] to be one of eternal physical torment'.⁹ In the light of medieval unity between religion and secular spheres, today's gradually increasing Christianisation of everyday politics, education, society and culture appears to be – depending on one's point of view – either a welcome or frightening step back into history. Thus, research on eschatological concerns, among them the black-and-white concept of good and evil and salvation and damnation as well as its representation in the form of vivid infernal and diabolical imagery, has never been more relevant than now.

⁶ Regent University Law School, at <http://www.regent.edu/acad/schlaw/admissions/home.cfm> [accessed 12.01.2008] and at <http://www.regent.edu/acad/schlaw/academics/home.cfm> [accessed 12.01.2008]; cf. Savage, C., 'Scandal Puts Spotlight on Christian Law School: Grads Influential in Justice Department', *The Boston Globe*, at http://www.boston.com/news/education/higher/articles/2007/04/08/scandal_puts_spotlight_on_christian_law_school/?page=1 [accessed 12.01.2008].

⁷ Savage, 'Scandal Puts Spotlight on Christian Law School'.

⁸ M. Northcott, *An Angel Directs the Storm: Apocalyptic Religion and American Empire* (London, 2007).

⁹ E. Stoddart, 'Hell in Scotland: a Survey of Where the Nation's Clergy Think Some Might Be Heading', *Contact: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Pastoral Studies* 143 (2004), 14-27, at 25; cf. also E. Stoddart, 'Excommunication in Contemporary Scotland', *Modern Believing* 46 (2005), 11-19. I would like to thank Dr Eric Stoddart for his time and advice concerning the subject of contemporary Christian apocalyptic beliefs.

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Infernal Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Charters

VOLUME II

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INTRODUCTION TO THE APPENDICES

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Appendices 1-5

These appendices exclusively contain sanctions with infernal imagery. I have cited only the charters' sanctions, all other parts of the charters are omitted. Appendices 1-5 are similarly structured, identifying charters by their Sawyer Numbers and subsequently giving information regarding each charter's date of issue, the name of its grantor, the archive in which it is preserved and its modern edition. In order to ensure that the texts are largely accessible, I have referred to the four standard editions of Anglo-Saxon charters when possible. These editions are:

The British Academy's Anglo-Saxon Charter Series (cited by the short titles of its individual editions)

Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* (henceforth: B)

Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus* (henceforth: K)

Harmer, *Writs* (henceforth: *Writs*)

In cases where particular charters have not been published in any of these four works, I have referred to the latest edition given by the *Revised Electronic Sawyer*, providing short-titles of these editions.¹ As the British Academy's Anglo-Saxon Charters Series is published according to archives, the future standard edition of charters not yet available in this series will easily be found by simply following the appendices' information in the 'Archive' column.

¹ All short-titles are explained in the Abbreviations above, pp. v-vii.

All information regarding dates, grantors, archive and editions are from the *Revised Electronic Sawyer*.

I have tried to provide the latest opinion regarding a charter's authenticity by marking spurious charters with an superscript 's' after its Sawyer Number in the first column.² I have generally referred to the last opinion stated in the 'Comments' sections of the *Revised Electronic Sawyer*. There are exceptions, however: two volumes of the British Academy Anglo-Saxon Charters Series, namely the charters of *Malmesbury* and *St Paul's, London*, have not yet been included in the *Revised Electronic Sawyer*, wherefore I have referred in matters of authenticity to these editions.

Concerning spelling and punctuation variants, I have followed the editions referred to as closely as possible. I have replaced the Old English letter *wynn* with the letter 'w', however. In addition, I was not able to follow all variants for the *punctus elevatus*, the 'e with ogonek' and the abbreviated *þæt*, and thus used the following consistently:

<i>punctus elevatus</i>	:
e with ogonek	ę
abbreviated <i>þæt</i>	þ

Appendix 1

This appendix lists all sanctions that appear at least twice among the extant Anglo-Saxon Latin Charters. The individual formulas of sanctions are listed according to the frequency with which they appear in extant Anglo-Saxon charters, starting with the most often repeated sanction. I have first briefly commented on the punishment and infernal imagery used in a respective sanction.³ I have then quoted the relevant sanction according to its first appearance in the chronologically earliest extant authentic charter. Finally, a table listing all charters in which the respective sanction formula appears follows. Some of these sanctions show variations. Because I am primarily interested in the sanctions' infernal and diabolical imagery, I have distinguished between various versions of a sanction only when it affected the threat of

² The question of authenticity is not always clear and scholars often disagree among each other. In addition, the following charters do not seem to have been evaluated yet and are thus superscripted with a quotation mark: S 517a, 517b, 418a, 442, 552a, 1236, 1389.

³ The primary and secondary reading referred to in the Appendix 1 is listed in the Bibliography in Volume I of this dissertation.

punishment in hell. These variations follow a formula's standard version, i.e. the most frequently used version, in the order of frequency with which individual variations appear.

A similar list of sanction formulas is under construction on the 'Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic', a sub-page of the *Anglo-Saxon Charters Website*. 'Anglo-Saxon Diplomatic' lists formulas of sanctions with and without infernal imagery that appear in tenth- and eleventh-century royal diplomas. By contrast, my lists focus on sanctions that contain infernal imagery, but include also formulas appearing prior to the tenth century.

Appendix 2

This appendix lists all sanctions that appear, to my knowledge, only once among the extant Latin Anglo-Saxon charters. I have entitled this Appendix 'Unique Latin Sanctions', which may be misleading, as it cannot be known how often these sanctions were indeed used in Anglo-Saxon times. Yet, these sanctions can be regarded as unique among the extant corpus of Anglo-Saxon charters. This appendix also includes Latin sanctions of charters extant in Latin and Old English versions, if the Latin charter differs from its Old English counterpart in so far as only the Latin version contains a sanction with infernal imagery. In contrast to Appendix 1, Appendix 2 gives first the basic information on the charter in which a sanction appears and then quotes the sanction of said charter.

Appendix 3

This appendix lists all Old English sanctions with infernal imagery. As in Appendix 2, the sanctions follow the basic information on the charters in which they appear.

Appendix 4

This appendix lists all sanctions with infernal imagery that are extant in Latin and Old English, as the charters in which they appear are extant in Latin and Old English versions. Although the Old English and Latin versions are often similar, there are also cases with differing sanctions. As in Appendix 2, the sanctions follow the basic information on the charters in which they appear.

Appendix 5

This appendix lists the various infernal motifs that appear in the extant corpus of Anglo-Saxon sanctions and the charters in which the relevant motifs appear in sanctions.⁴ The motif of Judas in Hell, for example, appears in the sanctions of charters S 53, 54, 68 etc. The motifs are presented according to the frequency with which they occur, starting with the most frequently used motif. If the sanctions in which a respective sanction appears constitute a formula, i.e. if such a sanction appears more than once, the number of the Group Formula from Appendix 1 is subscribed before the Sawyer number. For example, ‘₂₁68’ in the ‘Sawyer No.’ column signifies that the sanction of S 68 appears more than once and its formula has been catalogued as that of ‘Formula Group (21)’, similarly ‘_{5a}184’ signifies that the sanction of S 184 has been catalogued as ‘Formula Group (5a)’, as it is ‘Variant (a)’ of ‘Group (5)’. These subscribed formula numbers are helpful, because they allow to evaluate the distribution of particular motifs more clearly. For instance, the motif of Judas in Hell appears surprisingly often; more frequently than, for example, the motif of Demons in Hell. However, this is caused by the exceptionally frequent use of one single sanction formula rather than by a surprisingly broad distribution of the motif itself. The appendix also contains a subscript marker for sanctions from Old English charters, for example, the Old English charter S 1463 appears in Appendix 5 as ‘_{OE}1463’. The sanctions of charters listed in Appendix 4 contain similar subscript markers: ‘_{biOE}1389’, for instance, refers to the Old English sanction of the Old English version of charter S 1389; the subscript ‘bi’ stands for ‘bilingual’ as a reminder that the sanction in question is extant in Latin and Old English and appears in a charter extant in the two languages.

⁴ The primary and secondary reading referred to in Appendix 5 is listed in the Bibliography in Volume I of this dissertation.

Appendix 1

Sanction Formulas of Latin Charters

Group (1):⁵ ‘Iuda Christi proditore eiusque complicitibus’

This is the most frequently used formula not only of sanctions with infernal imagery, but ‘in Anglo-Saxon diplomatic’ as a whole.⁶ The sanction threatens with being punished together with Judas and his accomplices in the fire of hell’s abyss. Although the identity of these accomplices is not clear, based on other sanctions one can speculate that they are either Jews or all those involved in the Crucifixion of Jesus.⁷

Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit : privatus consortio sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris jugiter cum Iuda proditore Christi ejusque complicitibus puniatur . si non satisfactione emendaverit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum (S 683)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
78 ^s	708	Coenred, king of Merica	Evesham	B 120
409 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 25
683	960	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1054
688 ^s	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 88
690	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 87
696	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1071
698	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 91
700	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 92
701 ^s	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 93
702	962	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1085
706	962	King Edgar	uncertain (poss. Wilton)	B 1083
708	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 96
709	963	King Edgar	Wells	B 1116
710	963	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 24
711	963	King Edgar	Bath	B1099
714	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 98
716	963	King Edgar	York	B 1113
717	963	King Edgar	Canterbury, CC	B 1101
718	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1114

⁵ Cf. Sanction <Q> in ‘ASD’. For a discussion of this sanction formula, see above, pp. 42-3, 112, 193-5.

⁶ Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 72.

⁷ The sanctions of charters S 407, 417, 418a, 423, 425, 692, 928, and 1206 threaten with being damned together with Judas and the Jews, while those of S 440, 845, 1012 threaten with being damned together with Judas and others responsible for the Crucifixion of Jesus.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
719	963	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1120
720	963	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 20
722	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 99
729	964	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 3
737	966	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 105
738	966	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1176
744	966	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 26
746 ^s	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 24
747	967	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B1192
748	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1199
754	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1200
757 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 111
758 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 110
759 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 112
760 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 113
762	968	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 27
764	968	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1214
765	968	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1215
766	968	King Edgar	Wilton	Searle 1894, pp. 211-13
767	968	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1216
771	969	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1230
772 ^s	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1229
773	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1234
776 ^s	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1265
777	970	King Edgar	Bath	B 1257
780	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1268
781	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1269
782	971	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1270
789	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1286
792 ^s	973	King Edgar	Thorney	B 1297
794	974	King Edgar	Ely	B 1305
800	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1316
801	975 (?for974)	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1312
804 ^s	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1313
805	978 for c. 972	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1309
820 ^s	973 x 974	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1307
833 ^s	962	King Æthelred the Unready (? for Edgar)	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 95
835	979	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 622
841	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 31
843	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 119
861	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 655
864	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 30
866	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	K 659
867	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 658

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
868	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 664
887	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 127
907 ^s	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 711
919	1008	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 725
948	1015 x 1016	King Edmund Ironside	Thorney	B 809
1014	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 784
1058 ^s	1044 x 1051	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 797
1298	962	Oswald, bishop of Worcester	Worcester	B 1091

Group (2):⁸ ‘ferreis sartaginibus’

In this sanction, transgressors are threatened with being tormented by demons in iron cauldrons. Cauldrons appear as instruments of torment in hell in various forms in Latin sanctions, cf. Motif Group (XVII) below.

Si qui denique michi non optanti hanc libertatis cartam livore depressi violari satagerint agminibus tetre caliginis lapsi vocem audiant examinationis die arbitris sibi dicentis . “Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum” . ubi cum demonibus ferreis sartaginibus crudeli torqueantur in pæna . Si non ante mortem digna hoc emandaverint pœnitentia (S 465)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
392 ^s	850 for 939 or 940	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 4
465	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 763
474	941	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 768
502	944	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 15
517a [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
517b [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
521 ^s	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 831
524	947	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 828
531	948	King Eadred	Wilton	B 870
534	948	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 16
536 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 864
540 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 862
554	951	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 12
558	951	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 45
585	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 948
587	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 70

⁸ Cf. Sanction <E> in ‘ASD’. For a discussion of this sanction formula, see above, pp. 42-3, 79-81.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
588	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 71
610	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 927
640	957	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 1004
674	958	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1043
679	958	King Edgar	York	B 1044
687	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 86
842	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 26
851	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 120
860	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 650
968	1033	King Cnut	York	K 749 (omitting bounds)

(2a)

Si qui denique mihi non optanti hanc meam donationem adnullare uoluerint cum agminibus tetre caliginis lapsi uocem audiant examinationis die iudicis sibi dicentis. discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum ubi cum demonibus dira torqueantur in pena. si non ante mortem digna hoc emendauerint penitentia (S 884)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
884	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Muchelney	<i>Regesta regum Anglorum</i> ⁹

(2b)

Denique uero si quis nobis obtantibus nostrum hoc donum augere uoluerit, augeat amplificetque cunctipotens uitam ei temporalem et in futuro sempiternam. Qui autem illud uiolari fraudulenter perpetrando consenserit, consideret hinc se ultimo iudicii die coram Deo rationem redditurum atque cum reprobis auditurum, ‘Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum’ ubi cum demonibus penis atrocibus eternaliter torquebantur, nisi prius hoc digna emendauerit penitentia ante mortem (S 480)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
480	942	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 34

⁹ The above sanction is cited according to the *Regesta regum Anglorum*, but also published as *Two Cart.* 4.

(2c)

Si qui denique mihi non optanti hanc libertatis cartam philargirie liuore depressi uiolari satagerint, cum tetre tortionis agminibus delapsi uocem examinationis ymera districti arbitris sibi horribiliter dicentis, ‘Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum’, ubi cum zabulicis gehennarum parasitis ferreis sartaginibus crudeli torqueantur in pena, si non ante mortem digna hoc emendauerit penitencia (S 955)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
955	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 30

(2d)

Si qui denique michi non optanti hanc libertatis cartam livore depressi violari satagerint agminibus tetre caliginis lapsi vocem audiant examinationis die arbitris sibi dicentis . “Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum” . Vbi cum demonibus et cum Juda Christi proditore ferreis sartaginibus crudeli torqueantur in pæna . Si non ante mortem digna hoc emandaverint pœnitentia (S 475)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
475 ^s	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770

Group (3): Last Judgement Imagery

At the core of this sanction is vivid Last Judgement imagery. The sanctions containing this imagery clearly show the same formula, but its details are highly varied. My dissertation shall distinguish between variants of this sanction formula only when they affect the sanctions’ descriptions of hell. The sanction threatens with being tormented together with Judas, who is variously described, and sometimes also with the Jews, in the unutterable or innumerable torments of the fires of the abyss and in eternal chaos.

(3a)

Si autem quod absit . aliquis diabolico inflatus spiritu . hanc meæ compositionis ac confirmationis breviculam . infringere vel elidere temptaverit : sciat se novissima ac magna examinationis die . stridula

clangente archangeli salpice . bustis sponte dehiscentibus . somata jam rediviva reliquentibus . elementis omnibus pavefactis . cum Iuda proditore . qui á satoris pio sato . “filius perditionis” dicitur . æterna confusione . edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum flammis periturum (S 416)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
379 ^s	921	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 8
416	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 677
418	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 10
419	932	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 8

(3b)

Si autem quod absit aliquis tippo supercilii turgens hanc mee compositionis ac confirmationis breviculam . elidere vel infringere temptaverit . Sciat se novissima ac magna examinationis die classica clangente archiangeli salpicæ . Bustis spónte dehiscentibus somata jam rediviva relinquentibus cum Iuda proditore . qui á satoris pio sato “filius perditionis” dicitur . impiisque Judeis Christum blasfemantibus . æterna confusione edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum flammis periturum (S 417)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
417	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 689
418a [?]	932	King Æthelstan	Barking	unprinted
425	934	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 702

(3c)

Si autem, quod non optamus, aliquis superbe atque proterue flammium administrante invidia afflatus spiritu euenerit hanc mee compositionis ac confirmationis breuiculam demere aut infringere et ad nihilum deducere temptauerit, sciat se nouissima ac magna examinationis die, turba perstrepente archangeli, bustis sponte dehiscentibus, somata diu corrupta relinquentibus, elementis omnium creaturarum pauefactis, cum Iuda proditore qui a satoris pio sato filius perditionis dicitur eterna confusione edacibus innumerabilium tormentorum flammis periturum (S 403)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
403	930	King Æthelstan	Selsey	<i>Selsey 17</i>
405 ^s	930	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 1343

(3d)

Si autem , quod absit , aliquis typo supercilii turgens hanc meae emptionis ac confirmationis breviculam elidere vel infringere temptaverit , sciat se novissima ac tremenda concionis die classica archangeli clangente buccina , somatibus tetra postponentibus poliandria , cum Juda impii proditoris compilatore , infaustis quoque Judaeis Christum ore sacrilego ara in crucis blasphemantibus , aeterna confusione , edacibus favillantium tormentorum ignibus, sine fine poenaliter arsurum (S 407)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
407	930 for 934	King Æthelstan	York	B 703

(3e)

Si autem quod non optamus aliquis diabolico inflatus spiritu . hanc mee compositionis ac confirmationis breviculam demere infringere ad nichilum deducere temptaverit : Sciat sé novissima ac magna examinationis die tuba prestrepente archangeli . bustis sponte dehiscitibus somata diu fessa relinquentibus . elementis omnium creaturarum pavefactis . cum Juda proditore qui a satoris pio sato “filius perditionis” dicitur . eterna confusione edacibus innumerabilium tormentorum periturum (S 412)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
412	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 674

(3f)

Si quis autem post hóc subdola cavillatione deceptus nostrum non perhorrescat machinari decretum sciat sé novissima ac magna examinationis die classica archangeli clangente salpice bustis sponte patentibus somata jam rediviva propellentibus cum Juda proditore infaustoque pecuniarum compilatore suisque impiissimis fautoribus sub

æternæ maledictionis anathemate edacibus innumerabilium tormentorum
flammis sine defectu perituum (S 421)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
421 ^s	930	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 694

(3g)

Si autem quod absit aliquis diabolica deceptus fraude – hanc meę
liberalitatis breuiculam in aliquo elidere uel impugnare temptauerit : sciat
se die tremende districtionis ultima . clara reboante archangeli uoce cum
Iuda proditore – qui a satoris pio sato filius perditionis dicitur . ęterna
dampnatione edacibus indicibilium tormentorum flammis arsurum (S
422)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
422	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne 7</i>

(3h)

Si autem quod absit aliquis faculis inuidię succensus – hanc meę
liberalitatis singrapham elidere uel infringere conauerit : sciat se
nouissima ac magna examinationis die . classica archangeli clangente
salpice – bustis sponte patentibus . sonata iam rediuiua propellentibus .
cum Iuda proditore infaustoque pecuniarum compilatore . suis quoque
impiissimis fautoribus Iudeis . sub ęternę anathemate maledictionis .
edacibus innumerabilium tormentorum flammis – sine defectu perituum
(S 423)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
423 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne 8</i>

(3i)

Si quis (autem quod absit) aliquis tipo supercilii turgens hanc mee
donacionis breuiculam in modicis sive in magnis elidere vel infringere
temptaverit, sciat se novissima examinacionis die classica archangeli
clangente buccina cum Iuda proditore, qui a sathoris pio sato ‘filius
perdicionis’ dicitur, impiisque et infidelibus Iudeis Xpm ore sacrilego in

ara crucis mundi diluentem crimina blasphemantibus, eterna confusione,
edacibus favillancium tormentorum flammis perituum (S 426)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
426	934	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1203

(3j)

Si autem quod absit aliquis faculis invidiæ succensus hanc meæ
liberalitatis singrapham elidere vel infringere conatus fuerit : sciat se
novissima ac magna examinationis die classica archangeli clangente
salpice bustis sponte patentibus somata jam rediviva propellentibus cum
Juda proditore ac pecuniarum compilatore . impiissimisque fautoribus
Judeis sub æternæ anathemate maledictonis edacibus innumerabilium
tormentorum flammis sine defectu perituum (S 692)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
692	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1074

(3k)

Si quis autem, quod non optamus, laruarico instinctus flamine, hoc
nostræ dapsilitatis syntagma transmutare praesumptuosus temptauerit,
noscat se ultima examinis die, stridula clangente archangeli buccina,
cunctis tremefactis creaturis, cum Iuda Christi proditore eiusque
complicibus, baratri incendiis depulsum aeternaque puniendum
damnatione (S 900)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
900	1002	a) King Æthelstan the Unready b) Ælfhelm, <i>minister</i>	St Albans	K 1297

(3l)

Si hoc quod fieri non optamus aliquis tipho supercilii turgens hanc mee
donacionis breuiculam elidere aut infringere conauerit : sciat se ultima
contionis die classica clangente archangeli salpice . tumulis sponte
dehiscentibus somata diu fessa relinquentibus . omnibus pauefactis

creaturis cum Iuda melius non nato . impiisque contra Cristum
confligentibus Iudeis . quia non dictus proditor a satoris prosato filius
perditionis dicitur . eterna dampnatione edacibus innumerabilium
tormentorum flammis perituum (S 928)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
928	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton 37</i>

(3m)

Qui uero minuere, et per antiquam si superuenerit cartulam elidere
temptauerit, sciat illam conticiscendo esse adnullatam, et semetipsum
nouissima examinacionis die, classica archangeli clangente buccina,
paliandria frigulis homulorum liquefactis tetra relinquentibus, cum Iuda
impie prodicionis compilatore infaustis quoque Iudeis Christum ore
sacrilego blasphemantibus eterna dampnacione edacibus fauillancium
tormentorum flammis esse perituum (S 1206)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1206 ¹⁰	931 x 939	King Æthelstan's conformation of Goda's transaction	Selsey	<i>Selsey 16</i>

Group (4):¹¹ Mt 25:41

In this sanction, transgressors are threatened with having to take their places among the wicked at the Last Judgement and with being banished together with them into hell. The damnation is pronounced according to Matthew XXV.41, although the ending of the standard Vulgate version (*qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius*) is exchanged for *qui paratus est Satane et satellitibus eius*, 'which is prepared for Satan and his cronies'.

Hanc uero meam donationem quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus
minuentibus atque frangentibus, fiat pars eorum cum illis de quibus
econtra fatur, 'Discedite a me maligni in ignem eternum qui paratus est
Satane et satellitibus eius', nisi prius digna Deo penitentia ueniam legali
satisfaccione emendent (S 461)

¹⁰ I refer to part b) of S 1206 only.

¹¹ Cf. Sanction <F> in 'ASD'; cf. Sanction <D> in 'ASD' for variant (4b).

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
461	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 32
462	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 749
463	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 758
523	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 830
619	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 982
638	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 983
704 ^s	962	King Edgar	Buckfast	Rose-Troup 1929, p. 250-3
763	968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1217
844	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 639
855	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 122
856	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 648
886	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 126

(4a)

Hanc vero meam donacionem quam opto absit a fidelium mentibus minuentibus atque frangentibus fiat pars eorum cum illis de quibus econtra fatur: ‘Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum qui preparatus est Sathane et sathellitibus ejus.’ (S 740)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
740	966	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Regesta regum Anglorum</i> ¹²
770	969	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1231

(4b)

Minuentibus uero atque frangentibus hanc donacionem, quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus, terrat pars eorum cum illis de quibus econtra fatur, ‘Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum qui paratus est Sathane et satellitibus eius’, nisi prius digna Deo penitencia ueniam legali satisfaccione emendent (S 445)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
445	939	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 10
654	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 80
705	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 94

¹² The above sanction is cited according to the *Regesta regum Anglorum*, but also published as *Two Cart.* 7.

Group (5):¹³ ‘Iuda Christi proditore’

At the core of this sanction is the transgressor’s punishment in hell together with Judas. It expresses the same thought as Formula Group (1) above, but instead of referring to Judas and his accomplices, it only mentions Judas.

Si quis autem laruarico instinctus spiritu hoc donum uiolare immutareue presumptus temptauerit, nisi digna satisfactione ante obitum suum reus penituerit, eternis baratri prostratus incendiis cum Iuda Christi proditore eternaliter lugubris puniatur (S 607)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
408 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 27</i>
410 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 26</i>
607	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 57</i>
680	959	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1051
681	959	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1052
682 ^s	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 85</i>
732 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 103</i>
733 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 104</i>
734 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 102</i>
829	956 for 975 x 978	Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 116</i>
837	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 624
1020 ^s	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 145</i>
1023 ^s	1052	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 146</i>

(5a)

Siquis igitur hanc meam donationem in aliud quam constitui transferre uoluerit, priuatus consortio sancte Dei ecclesie eternis baratri incendiis lugubris iugiter cum Iuda Christi proditore puniatur, si non satisfactione emendauerit congrua quod contra meum deliquit decretum (S 184)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
184 ^s	821	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 10</i>

¹³ Cf. Sanction <O> in ‘ASD’.

(5b)

Si quis autem minuere vel auferre quod domino largiti sumus obstinatus voluerit . deleatur nomen ejus de libro vite . reusque anathema post obitum eternis baratri deputatus incendiis cum Juda Cristi proditore miserimus lugubriter puniatur . nisi cum digna satisfactione devotus emendaverit quod contra domini voluntatem violentus perpetravit (S 626)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
626	956	King Eadwig	Glastonbury	B 920

(5c)

Siquis autem hanc nostre munificentie singrapham, quam ego ab omni seculari iugo reddidi liberam, tribus exceptis, expeditione, pontis arcisue constructione, demonica instinctus philargiria infringere immutareue aliorum quam constituimus presumpserit, sit alienatus a consortio sancte Dei ecclesie et a participatione corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi, eternisque baratri lugubriter deputatus incendiis cum Iuda Christi proditore iugiter crucietur, ni prius digne satisfactione emendauerit quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum (S 567)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
567 ^s	955	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 51</i>

Group (6): Glacial Curse¹⁴

This so-called Glacial Curse threatens with cold rather than the more common hellfire. In addition, the sanction uses military imagery for depicting demons.

Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nostram difinitionem elationis habitu incedens infringere temptaverit perpressus sit gelidis glaciaryum flatibus et pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum . nisi prius inriguis pænitiencie gemitibus et pura emendatione emendaverit (S 447)

¹⁴ Cf. Sanction in 'ASD'; the name 'Glacial Curse' is conventional, cf. 'ASD'. For a discussion of this sanction formula, see above, pp. 87-95.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
447	939	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 741
449	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 734
460	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 31
464	940	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 753
468	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 756
469	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 757
476	941	King Edmund	Bath	B 767
490	943	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 14
510	946	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 813
518	946	King Eadred	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 28
527	947	King Eadred	Wells	B 821, 822
580	946 x 955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 901
831	977	King Edward the Martyr	Winchester, OM	K 611
1811 ¹⁵	963 for 943	King Edmund	Wilton	unprinted

(6a)

Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nostram donationem infringere temptaverit . perpessus sit gelidis glatiarum flatibus et malignorum spirituum . Terribiles tormentorum crutiatus evasisse non quiescat . nisi prius inriguis penitentie gemitibus et pura emendatione emendaverit (S 438)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
438	937	King Æthelstan	Wilton	B 714

(6b)

Denique vero si quis nobis non optantibus nostrum hoc donum violare fraudulenter perpetrando consenserit aut infringere temptaverit perpessus sit gelidis glaciaryum flatibus ex pennino exercitu malignorum spirituum nisi prius irriguis penitencie gemitibus in pura emendacione emendaverit (S 442)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
442 [?]	938	King Æthelstan	Wilton	B 728

¹⁵ Charter S 1811 belongs to the 'Lost and Incomplete Texts'; cf. above p. 195, n. 89.

Group (7):¹⁶ ‘baratri incendiis trusus’

This sanction is characterized by a lavish use of hermeneutic Latin. In addition, it touches on two important issues: the transgressor’s status as an apostate and the transgression as rebellion. The depiction of hell is, however, comparatively plain, threatening transgressors with being thrust into the fires of the abyss.

Siquis uero tam epylepticus philargirie seductus amentia quod non optamus hanc nostre munificentie dapsilitatem ausu temerario infringere temptauerit, sit ipse alienatus a consortio sancte Dei ecclesie necnon et a participatione sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi filii Dei per quem totus terrarum orbis ab antiquo humani generis inimico liberatus est et cum Iuda Christi proditore sinistra in parte deputatus, nisi prius hic digna satisfactione humilis penituerit quod contra sanctam Dei ecclesiam rebellis agere presumpsit, nec in uita hac practica ueniam nec in theorica requiem apostata obtineat ullam, sed eternis baratri incendiis trusus iugiter miserrimus crucietur (S 673)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
673	958 for 959	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 84
756 ^s	958 or 968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 108
811 ^s	959 x 963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1319
876	993	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 124
880	994	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	K 686
953 ^s	1018	King Cnut	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , ii, Exeter 10
954 ^s	1019	King Cnut	Exeter	K 729
971	1031	King Cnut	Exeter/ Canterbury, CC	Davidson 1883, pp. 290-2

(7a)

Si quis uero tam epilepticus philargirie seductus amentia quod non optamus hanc nostre munificentie dapsilitatem ausu temerario infringere temptauerit, sit ipse alienatus a consortio sancte Dei ecclesie necnon et a participatione sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi filii Dei, per quem totus terrarum orbis ab antiquo humani generis inimico liberatus est, et cum Iuda Christi proditore sinistra in parte deputatus, nisi prius hic

¹⁶ Cf. Sanction <S> in ‘ASD’.

digna satisfactione humilis penituerit quod contra sanctam Dei ecclesiam rebellis agere presumpserit, nec in uita hac practica ueniam nec in theorica requiem apostata obtineat ullam sed eternis baratri incendiis trusus cum Anania et Saphira iugiter miserrimus crucietur (S 658)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887
658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629

(7b)

Si quis uero tam epylepticus phyrargirie seductus amentia qđ non optamus hanc nře munificentiae dapsilitatē ausu temerario infringere temptauerit . sit ipse alienatus a consortio sće dī aeclesie necnon et a participatione sacrosći corporis et sanguinis ihū xpī filii dī per quem totus terrarū orbis ab antiquo humani generis inimico liberatus est . et cum Iuda xpī proditore sinistra in partē deputatus . ni prius hic digna satisfactione humilis penituerit (S 892)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
892	998	King Æthelred the Unready	Coventry	Napier & Stevenson 8

Group (8):¹⁷ ‘*grauibus per colla depressus catenis*’

The transgressor is dragged down into hell by iron chains around his or her neck. Very striking is the military imagery and the adjective *flammiuomus*, ‘flame-spitting’, which makes the sanction’s essentially plain imagery more graphic. I would like to suggest that Meter II of Boethius’s *De consolazione philosophiae* is a literary source of this sanction. In Meter II Boethius describes his arrest and imprisonment, using the phrase *et pressus gravibus colla catenis*, ‘and dragged by heavy chains [around] the neck’.¹⁸

¹⁷ Cf. Sanction <K> in ‘ASD’.

¹⁸ The quotation from Boethius’s *De consolazione philosophiae* is taken from *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii philosophiae consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler, CCSL 94 (Turnhout, 1957); the phrase is repeated in the commentary of

Siquis uero hominum hanc meam donationem cum stulticię temeritate iactitando infringere certauerit . sit ipse grauibus per colla depressus catenis inter flammiumas tetrorum demonum cateruas . nisi prius hic ad satisfactionem uenire maluerit (S 552)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
552	949	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 44
578	946 x 951 (? 949)	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 46
584 ^s	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 68
599	956 (? ii)	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 16
603	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 61
611	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 73
650	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 78
663	(956[ii])	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 59
727	964	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1127
755	967	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1197
769	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 109
778	970	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 114
828	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 117

Group (9):¹⁹ “Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum” poenis atrocibus se esse passurum’

This sanction threatens the transgressor with having to report his or her transgression on Judgement Day, where he or she will then be damned in hell as one of the wicked. The damnation is expressed by quoting the first part of Matthew XXV.41 with an alternative ending that refers to the atrocious punishments suffered in hell.

Denique vero si quis nobis non optantibus nostrum hoc donum violari fraudulenter perpetrando consenserit : Consideret hinc se die ultima iudicii coram Deo rationem redditurum atque cum reprobis quibus dicitur . “Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum” . penis atrocibus se esse passurum si non ántea corporea lamentatione emendauerit (S 441)

Remigius Auxerre’s *Commentarius in Boethii consolationem philosophiae*. According to *Fontes* and Gneuss’s *Handlist*, both works were widely available in Anglo-Saxon England.

¹⁹ Cf. Sanction <C> in ‘ASD’

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
351 ^s	939	King Alfred the Great	Winchester, OM	B 740
441	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 730
446	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 742
466 ^s	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 752
485	942	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 13
491	943	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 37
699	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1068
728 ^s	964	King Edgar	Ghent, St Peter's	Johnson 1948, pp. 32-3
896	999	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 128
1013	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 783

Group (10):²⁰ ‘tenebrosum Tartarum’

In this sanction, hell is called ‘tartarean darkness’. It is one of many that use terms from classical mythology for denoting hell.

Si quis autem infringere temptaverit : quod absit . sciat se reum omni
hora vitæ suæ et tenebrosum Tartarum non evadere : Nisi prius hic digna
satisfactione emendare maluerit (S 575)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
575	958	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 902
577	958	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 77
600	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 953
601	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 18
620	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 74
642	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 992
645	957	King Eadwig	Westminster	B 994
691	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 90

Group (11):²¹ ‘profundum chaos’

Here, hell is depicted as a deep chaos in which the damned one is disposed of in fiery fetters.

si quis reprobis falsis machinationibus per aliquam scripturam meum
donum subvertere conatus fuerit sit ipse in profundo cahos igneis nexibus

²⁰ Cf. Sanction <L> in ‘ASD’. For a discussion of this sanction formula, see above, p. 138.

²¹ Cf. Sanction <R> in ‘ASD’.

mancipatus et [e]jus memoria caligine mortis oblecta nisi hic assiduus
precibus prius optabilem consequi mereatur indulgenciam (S 551)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
551	949	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 878
613	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 974
660	959	King Eadwig	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 22</i>
693	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1077
973 ^s	1034	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 140</i>
1214 ^s	962	Vua (? Ufa), the Hwede, vicecomes of Warwick	Evesham	B 1092

Group (12):²² ‘horribiles inferni fusci ualuas’

In this sanction, the damned are tormented through their sense of sight. The sensual torture consists of the perception of hell’s doors and of military demons. The demons are placed into an ambivalent position, as they are not explicitly torturers, but not solely damned beings either.

Sin autem quod non optamus hanc meam donationem infringere uel
mutare satagerint . horribiles inferni fusci ualuas sentiant atque terribiles
demonum cohortes obtutibus indesinenter aspiciant . nisi prius digna Deo
poenitentia ueniam legali satisfactione emendent (S 470)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
470	940	King Edmund	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 12</i>
526	947	King Eadred	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 15</i>
647	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 998
715	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1118

(12a)

Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nostram donationem infringere uel
mutare satagerit, horribiles inferni fusci ualuas sentiat atque terribiles
demonum cohortes suis obtutibus <indesinenter> aspiciat (S 657)

²² Cf. Sanction <G> in ‘ASD’. For a comment on this sanction formula, see above, pp. 183-4.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
657	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 81

Group (13): ‘æterna inferni miseria dampnatus intereat’

This sanction emphasizes the misery of hell.

Siquis autem diaboli pellectus instinctu hanc perpetuam nostræ renovationis libertatem violare vel minuere audax presumpserit : a sancta corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Jhesu Christi communione et sancta Dei ecclesia ac sanctorum omnium contubernio segregatus æterna inferni miseria dampnatus intereat . si non satisfactione congrua humiliter correctus emendaverit . quod contra nostrum tumidus deliquit decretum (S 816)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
377 ^s (v1)	909	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 625
381 ^s	not given	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 629
382 ^s	not given	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 627
383 ^s	not given	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 628
816	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1157

Group (14): ‘in futuro perenni cruciatu permatur’

This sanction refers to the torments of hell simply as future everlasting torment.

Quod si quisque quod non optamus huiusce donationis cartulam infringere temptauerit, nisi prius in hoc seculo digne castigetur, in futuro perenni cruciatu prematur (S 561)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
561	953	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 48
563	955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 903
564	955	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 50
570	956 for ? 953 x 955	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 18

Group (15): ‘in generatione Belial gnatus’

The infernal imagery of this sanction is rather plain. Of interest is especially the sanction’s reference to the present as the ‘age of Belial’.

Nam quisquis seculorum in generatione Belial gnatus nostrum hoc uolumen immutare temptauerit, Iude reus scelere iudicii die magna cum turba truces tradatur in flammas, nisi hoc in seculo penitentie prius fletu deterius hinc se corrigere studuerit (S 500)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
500	944	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 39
504	944	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 800
573 ^s	956	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 20
632	956	King Eadwig	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 19

Group (16): ‘cum Iuda traditore [...] in inferno inferiore’

This is another sanction formula that threatens with a share in the fate of Judas as a form of hell punishment.

+ Sic et regalis omnis dignitas dicit Si quis uero hoc decretum irritum facere [t]err[an]ico [fre]tus [potentu] uiolenter [tempt]agerit nouerit se tremendo cunctorum examine coram Christo rationem redditurum et habere partem cum Iuda traditorem Domini nostri in inferno inferiore (S 1184)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
230 ^s	680 (?for 685)	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Canterbury, CC	<i>Selsey</i> , pp. 99-101
232 ^s	673 for ?683	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 1
1184	780	Ostac, dux of Sussex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 11

Group (17): ‘sub stigei fluminis undam’

Here, the transgressor shall be shoved into the Styx, one of the rivers of hell.

Si quis igitur tetri demonis stimulatione instinctus hoc nostrum decretum infringere uoluerit, sit ipse sub stigei fluminis undam preceps in ima tartara trusus, nisi hic prius ad satisfactionem uenire maluerit (S 595)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
595	956	King Eadwig	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 159-60
662a	955 x 959	King Eadwig	Evesham	B 1025
1022	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 144

Group (18):²³ ‘loetali laquei’

At the core of this sanction is the torment in flames, which are called *loetali laquei*, ‘lethal fetters’. Hell itself is called Orcus.

Si quis uero non perhorrescat machinari nostrum decretum . sciat se corruentem in profundum barathrum æterni orci et æternaliter loetali laquei uim uite suę diris flammis crucietur (S 890)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
890	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii.35
963	1031	King Cnut	Exeter	K 744
1019	1049	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 787 (omits bounds)

Group (19): ‘se apud Judam proditorem pecuniæ juste amatorem penarum’

This sanction contains an unusually detailed characterisation of Judas and understands the torments of hell as a form of retribution.

Si autem quod non optamus euenerit aliquis superbiæ fastu afflatus avaritiæ fascibus succensus . inuidiæ dentibus armatus execrabile caput ut adsolet arrigere voluerit . et hujus meæ donationis et compositionis singrapham in aliquibus magnis vel modicis causis elidere . infringere . minuere . vel aliquo casa sternendo delere conauerit . intelligat se apud Judam proditorem pecuniæ injuste amatorem penarum æternarum mancipatorem . Qui ab auctore salutis nostræ “filius” dicitur

²³ For a comment on this sanction formula, see above, p.143, n. 54.

“perditionis” . sub anathematis maledictione tremendo examinationis omniumque retributionis die æternam luem amarissimis cum fletibus ejulando perpressurum (S 399)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
399	928	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 664
400	928	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 663

(19a)

Si autem quod non optamus euenerit aliquis superbie flatu afflatus, auaritie facibus succensus, inuidie dentibus armatus hanc mee donationis kartulam infringere minuere uel aliquo casu spernendo delere temptauerit, sciat se apud Iudam proditorem, pecunie iniuste amatorem, penarum eternarum mancipatorem, sub anathematis maledictionis ultimo examinationis die periturum, nisi prius digna Deo penitentia legali satisfactione emendet (S 858)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
858	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 123

Group (20): ‘infernī cruciatibus attritus infelix intereat’

The unhappy state of having to endure infernal torments is emphasized in this sanction.

Si quis igitur hanc æcclesiæ libertatem violare presumpserit : anathema sit . et infernī cruciatibus attritus infelix intereat . nisi satisfaciendo ante obitum veniam optinuerit (S 815)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
377 ^s (v2)	909	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, OM	B 626
815	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1155
824	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1152

Group (21):²⁴ ‘in Satanæ faucibus’

The threat of infernal punishment is expressed in elaborate Mouth of Hell imagery: joining Judas, Annas and Caiaphas, the transgressor shall be devoured in Satan’s mouth and torn to pieces by all infernal executioners.

Si quis autem, diabolica illectus prauitate, et hoc donum in aliud quam quod constituimus peruertere molitus fuerit, maneat aeternaliter retrusus inter flammiumas aestuantis gehennae incorruptiones lugubre sibi solium uendicans, inter tres nefandissimos proditores Christi, Iudam, Annan et Caiphan, et in Satanae faucibus maneat deglutiendus, omnium infernalium morsibus carnificum sine fine laceretur, nisi hic digna satisfactione emendare curauerit, quod contra nostrum decretum inique commisit (S 947)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726

Group (22): ‘latibula’

Here, hell is described as hiding-places (*latibula*).

Si quis uero hanc largitionis munificentiam, arrepto procacitatis stimulo, infringere uel mutare aut minuere temptauerit, sciat se in illa magni examinis die cum poli cardines terreque fundamenta simul et infernorum ima pautando contremescent latibula, qua uniuscuiusque patebit opus et conscientiam siue bonum siue malum quod gesserit, si non prius satisfaccione emendauerit (S 396)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
396	926	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 21</i>
397	926	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton 3</i>

²⁴ For a discussion of this sanction formula, see above, pp. 84-7.

Group (23): ‘pulsu demonum’

Demons are described as beating the damned into hell.

Hanc autem donationem si quis face demonis subpositus aliquibus maculis turpare satagerit . sciat se de supernis pulsu demonum in ima cadendum nisi prius hic ad emendationem venire maluerit (S 124)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
124 ^s	785	Offa, king of Mercia	Westminster	B 245
579 ^s	951 x 955 (or 957 x 959)	King Eadred (? for King Eadwig or King Edgar)	Wells	B 1023

Group (24): ‘sitque pars ejus cum Juda’

Without any explicit reference to hell, this sanction simply expresses that the transgressor shall share his or her fate with Judas.

Si quis autem donationem Christo a nobis traditam temptaverit infringere
: confringat Deus regnum et potentiam ejus hic et in futuro sæculo .
sitque pars ejus cum Juda infideli traditore (S 54)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
54 ^s	706	Æthelweard, sub regulus with consent of Coenred, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 116
79 ^s	709	Coenred, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 124

Group (25): ‘cum Juda traditore dampnatus’

The transgressor is damned into hell together with Judas.

Si quis autem aliquando pulsatus aut judicatus fuerit aut heredis meus hoc neglexerit cum Juda traditore dampnatus in inferno inferiore (S 270)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
270 ^s	773 for 833	Ecgberht, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 411
285 ^s	827	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Chertsey	B 394

**Group (26): ‘infernalis [...]
flammis cum Iuda’**

The transgressor is tormented in infernal flames together with Judas.

Si quis autem tetri demonis instinctus hoc nostrum decretum infringere uoluerit : sit ipse a sanctę Dei ecclesię consortio separatus . et infernalibus ęternaliter flammis cum Iuda Christi proditore cruciandus . nisi hic prius digna satisfactione penituerit . quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum (S 969)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
957 ^s	1020	King Cnut & Emma, his wife	Evesham	K 1316
969	1033	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 20

**Group (27): ‘edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum [...]
flammis’**

This sanction is similar to those of Formula Group (3), as the transgressor is to perish in devouring flames of unutterable torments together with Judas. It lacks the Last Judgement imagery of Formula Group (3), however.

Si autem quod absit aliquis diabolico inflatus spiritu hunc mee compositionis ac confirmationis donum infringere temptauerit, sciat se nouissima et magna examinationis die cum Iuda proditore qui filius perditionis dicitur eterna confusione edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum flammis periturum, nisi hic assiduis precibus prius obtabilem consequi mereatur indulgentiam (S 725)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
250 ^s	725	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 142
725	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 101

Group (28): ‘in eternis stigneis ferventis Orci’

At the core of this sanction is terminology from classical mythology. The terms used serve to denote hell (Orcus), but also to envision an infernal landscape with Tartarus as a region in hell

and Styx as a boiling river of hell. It is also said that the transgressor shall be led to hell by a demonic army.

Siquis Autem contra hoc decretum vice jus fuerit in examine tremendi
iudicii Sciat se demonicis Agminibus tartarea subtrahi et dimersum in
eternis stigneis ferventis Orci nisi prius singultacionibus sue temeritatis
audacie emendare curaverit (S 481)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
481	942	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 776
483	942	King Edmund	Bury St Edmunds	B 774

Group (29): ‘cum Pilato et Iuda Scariothen . Caypha’

Here, the transgressor has to suffer in hell, which is depicted as the burning Acheron, together with Pilate, Judas Iscariot, Caiaphas and their companions.

Quod si quispiam hanc nostre donacionis libertatem inuidie face turgens
euertere conatus fuerit : cum Pilato et Iuda Scariothen . Caypha quoque
eorumque commanipularibus eternaliter Acherontica combustione
trudatur : nisi ante mortis articulum satisfactione penituerit congrua quod
nostre donacionis presumpsit violare quod absit statuta (S 1017)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1017	1048	King Edward the Confessor	Burton	<i>Burton 38</i>
1233 ^s	1054 x 1057	Godiva, wife of Leofric	Eynsham	K 818

Group (30): ‘olla Vulcani’

This sanction has very elaborate infernal imagery. The devils, who are in charge of hell, are referred to as *tartarei ministri*, ‘Tartarus servants’. Hell itself is depicted as a *profundum pestiferae mortis*, ‘depth of pestilential death’. Additionally, hell is called *flammigera domus*, ‘fiery house’. The punishment, too, is described very graphically: with his or her limbs bound, the transgressor shall be shoved into the *olla vulcani*, which signifies either the cauldron of Vulcan, the Roman god of fire, or the crater of a volcano, which was commonly seen as an

entrance into hell. The literary source of this motif is Gregory the Great's *Dialogi* (4.31.21).²⁵ In the sanction, this cauldron or crater is constantly refilled with boiling pitch.

Expleto siquidem dierum tempore suorum succedentium sibi carorum .
 cuicunque sibi placuerit menti derelinquat et tradat veluti preposueram
 ipse in eternum et inter catervas subripiendum futuris temporibus quod
 absit Belial . si quis filius cartam hanc jure meo conscriptam inimicali
 zelo corrumpere desideraverit si non dubitet a cunctis regni mei
 servientibus Deo . nunc et tunc et usque in sempiternum abdicatum et
 excommunicatum sine fine cruciandum . unde post mortem a tartareis
 raptus ministris in profundum pestifere mortis inferni flammigera
 concludetur in domo . Et ibidem in quandam ollam Uulcani ligatis
 proitietur menbris que assidue bulliente pice repleta esse testatur Et a
 talibus frangentibus seu minuentibus intolleratissime atrociterque absque
 ulla misericordia sentitur . Nisi hoc ante mortem penetentie lamentis
 emendaverit (S 519)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100

Group (31): 'cum illis nefandis legem Dei blasphemantibus'

Here, the transgressor shall be shoved into the Styx together with the blasphemers of God's law. Hell itself is called *picea custodia tetrae tortionis*, 'pitch-black confinement of hideous torment', which alludes to the idea of hell as a prison.

Si quis vero atri demonis face inflammatus contra hoc nostrum decretum
 quod neutrum aut optamus vel desideramus machinari infringereque
 aliquid voluerit . sciat se trusum sub unda Stigei fluminis . atque cum illis
 nefandis legem Dei blasphemantibus in picea custodia tetrae tortionis
 mancipatam . nisi prius Christi cohortatione compulsus ad satisfactionem
 vita comite festinanter pervenerit (S 508)

²⁵ R. C. Love, 'The Sources of S 519 (L.S.519)', 1997, *Fontes* [accessed 09.11.2007].

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820

Group (32): ‘tetra rapti acie’

The transgressors are threatened with being led to hell by devils described as *tetra [...] acie*, ‘hideous battle-array’ and the torments in hell are referred to as *tartareas [...] penas*, ‘tartarean punishments’.

Hanc vero meam donationem quod opto absit á fidelium mentibus
minuentibus atque frangentibus satagerint tetra rapti acie tartareas
ducantur ad penas . nisi prius huic lamentis se penitentiae corrigere
studuerint (S 467)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
467	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 764
503	944	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 796

Group (33): ‘sub diris dentibus salamandri , cerberique’

In this sanction the damned are tormented by two animals: the salamander and Cerberus. While Cerberus is a monster of classical mythology, the salamander was considered to live in fire, which made it a likely animal of hell.²⁶

Siquis autem quovis deinceps tempore hoc infringere , tot nobilitatis
gradibus roboratum , præsumeret jus , sit a consortio bene merentium
anathema , rapaciumque collegio adplicitus temeritatis suæ commissa
luat , sub diris dentibus salamandri , cerberique rictibus reatum exsolvat
proprium sine fine semper mœrens (S 238)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
238	663 for ? 693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 121
364	901	King Edward the Elder	Wilton	B 588

²⁶ On Cerberus, see above, pp. 136-7, 146-8; on the salamander, see, for example, Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (X.iv.36).

Group (34): ‘ligetur penarum æternarum nodis’

The imagery of being bound in hell is alluded to in this sanction, as the transgressor is threatened with being bound by *penarum æternarum nodis*, ‘knots of eternal punishments’.

Qui ergo locum , quem apostolica dignitas et regia potestas regiæ libertati donavit , et nos auctoritate Dei et sanctorum apostolorum donamus depravare aut minuere vel contaminare præsumpserit , iudicetur ante tribunal Christi , et nunquam in Christi veniat memoriam sed nomen ejus deleatur in eternum de libro viventium et, ligetur penarum æternarum nodis in inferno , nisi in hac vita pœnitens emendet (S 1250)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1250 ^s	714	Ecgbine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 130
1251 ^s	714	Ecgbine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 131

Group (35): ‘in ignem flammiumum’

Here, Luke XIII.27-8 is the central part of the sanction’s infernal imagery. The biblical quotation is enhanced, however, by *in ignem flammiumum*, ‘in the flame-spitting fire’, which makes it more graphic.

Hanc sane nostrae munificae concessionis libertatem conantes mutare uel minuere siue frangere, habeant partem cum his quibus dicitur, ‘Discedite a me operarii iniquitatis in ignem flammiumum, ibi erit fletus oculorum et stridor dentium,’ nisi prius digna poenitentia et legali satisfactione ante exitum corporalis uitae diligenter canonice emendauerit (S 882)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
882	995 for 994	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 689
1378 ^s	995	Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester	Canterbury, CC	K 690

Group (36):²⁷ ‘horrendis Erebi uernulis palam cunctis damnetur cum haedis’

This sanction threatens with public damnation on Judgement Day and emphasizes that the torments in hell cleanse the damned. The sanction also uses vocabulary from classical mythology.

Si autem, quod absit, uspian quis laruarico attactus instinctu mente hoc subdola machinatus fuerit adnullare, uel quippiam in peius quam constituimus transuere, sua pro audacia a coetu in hac uita anathematizetur fidelium, et in tremendo dei examine astantibus coelorum agminibus hominumque turmis, necnon et horrendis Erebi uernulis palam cunctis damnetur cum haedis, auerni cruciamenta sine fine luiturus, ni ante obitum condigne emendauerit (S 912)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
138 ^s	795 for 792	Offa, king of Mercia	St Albans	B 849
912	1005	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 672

Group (37): ‘dampnandum cum diabulo et angelis ejus’

This sanction alludes to Matthew XXV.41 in its pronouncement of damnation.

Si quis vero . regum aut principum vel praefectorum aut alicujus gradus homo hanc nostram conscriptam libertatem per diabolicam gastrimoniam deceptus frangere vel minuire temptaverit sciat se separatum a consortio sanctorum omnium in die magni iudicii : et in aeterna dampnatione dampnandum cum diabulo et angelis ejus . Nisi ante hic theo ponto cratore . et hominibus cum bona satisfactione emendaverit (S 198)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
198	845 = 844	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 450
205	840 x 848	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 428

²⁷ For a discussion of this sanction formula, see above, pp. 140-1.

Group (38): ‘tetrico infernalium sine ullo refocilamine’

The transgressor is threatened with infernal torments without any relief, whereby the term *refocilamen* [sic] may allude to the unorthodox concept that the damned in hell are relieved from their torments at regular intervals.²⁸

Quod si quis quod non optamus presumptivo peregerit temptamine . hoc
in tetrico infernalium sine ullo refocilamine sustineat cruciamine (S 661)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
661 ^s	961 for 956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 1009
694 ^s	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1073

Group (39): ‘in penis infernalibus post obitum miserabiliter dampnatur’

The sanction emphasizes the misery of infernal torment.

Siquis ergo alium libellulum false cupiditatis atramento pretitulatum
contra istum in palam protulerit, nec sibi nec sue profitiat auaritie, sed a
diuino sit inperpetuum perforatus graphiolo, et ipse meo atque meorum
interdictu pontificum permaneat anathematizatus, et a Christianorum
consortio alienatus insuper a corpore et a sanguine Domini sequestratus,
et in penis infernalibus post obitum miserabiliter dampnatus (S 993)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
993 ^s	1042	King Harthacnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 141
1025 ^s	1054	King Edward	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 147

Group (40): ‘poenasque in eternum passurum’

The transgressor is threatened in plain terms with eternal punishments.

Quod si quisquam transgressus fuerit : Sciat se in iudicio domini coram
Christo et omnibus Sanctis ejus rationem redditurum poenasque in

²⁸ M. Clayton, ‘Delivering the Damned: a Motif in OE Homiletic Prose’, *MÆ* 55 (1986), 92-102, esp. 97-101.

eternum passurum . nisi hic digna satisfactione celeriter emendare
curaverit . quod contra sanctos Dei apostolos audacter deliquit (S 229)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
229 ^s	not given	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 27
275 ^s	826	Ecgbert, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 391

Group (41): ‘eternas inferni penas sine fine passurum’

Similarly, the transgressor is threatened with eternal infernal punishments.

Quod si quisquam hec transgressus fuerit sciat se eterne maledictioni
subiciendum eternas inferni penas sine fine passurum nisi digna
satisfactione celeriter emendaverit quod contra sanctos Dei apostolos
audacter deliquit (S 312)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
312 ^s	854	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 477
317 ^s	856	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 491

Group (42): ‘poenis subiacere perpetuis’

The transgressor is once again threatened with eternal punishments in a straightforward sanction.

Et si forte quispiam hoc nostrae renouationis donum infringere seu
minuere temptauerit, sciat se diuinis carere muneribus, et poenis
subiacere perpetuis; ni quantocius a sua discedat prauitate (S 891)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
891	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 698
994	1042	King Harthacnut	Winchester, OM	K 763

Group (43): ‘rapacium que collegio combinatus violentiæ suæ pænas luat’

This sanction emphasizes the violence of the tormentors in hell.

(43a)

Quapropter si quis quovis deinceps tempore . tyrannica fretus insolencia .
sub qualibet occasione . interrompere atque in irritum deducere insolubile
placiti istius testamentum nisus fuerit . sit a consorcio piorum ultimi
examinis ventilabro dispertitus . rapaciumque collegio combinatus
violentiae suæ pænas luat (S 253)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
253 ^s	729	Æthelheard, king of Wessex & Queen Frithgyth	Glastonbury	B 147

(43b)

Si quis huius <largitionis> mee stipem, tyrannica fretus insolentia,
qualibet occasione, interrompere atque in irritum deducere nisus fuerit,
sit a consortio piorum, ultimi uentilabro examinis, sequestratus
rapaciumque collegio combinatus uiolentie sue penas luat (S 256)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
256 ^s	745	Cuthred, king of Wessex	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 12

Group (44): ‘infernorum ima pavitando contremescent latibula’

In this sanction, the transgressor shall be conscious of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of his or her deeds when he or she is in hell, which is presented as hiding-places (*latibula*), as in Formula Group (22) above.

Si quis uero hanc largitionis munificentiam, arrepto procacitatis stimulo,
infringere uel mutare aut minuere temptauerit, sciat se in illa magni
examinis die cum poli cardines terreque fundamenta simul et infernorum
ima pavitando contremescent latibula, qua uniuscuique patebit opus et
conscientiam siue bonum siue malum quod gesserit, si non prius
satisfaccione emendauerit (S 396)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
396	926	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 21</i>
397	926	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton 3</i>

Appendix 2

Unique Latin Sanctions

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
29	763 or 764	Eadberht II, king of Kent	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 53

Et quicumque de hac donatione nostra, quod etiam specialiter omnipotenti Deo firmiter concessum est, aliquid nefario caliditatis ausu abstrahere uel minuere temptauerit, sciat se a consortio sanctorum omnium separatum et cum diabolo et angelis eius inperpetuum esse dampnandum, quoniam sanctum locum istum dehonestare conatus est, in quo primi apostolorum principis Petri intercessio orationibus assiduis et elemosinis floret pro omni populo Christiano. Iccirco uiuens benedictione dei carebit et moriens maledictioni debite subiacebit, nisi digna satisfactione emendauerit quod inique studuit deprauiare.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
33	761 x 764 (prob. 762 x 764)	Sigered, king of West Kent	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 8

Quod siqui forte obseruare neglexerint . et absque digna satisfactione praesentis uite impleuerint infelices dies . audient uocem eterni iudicis sub fine mundi dicentis ad impios . discedite 'a me' maledicti in ignem eternum qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
37	765 x 785	Ecgbert II, king of Kent	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 15

Quisquis autem maliuola mente de illa immutare aut imminuere temptauerit : separetur a societate non solum aeternę felicitatis omnium sanctorum . sed etiam in eterna pena cum scelerum suorum crudelibus comparticipibus sit condemnatus .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
38 ^s	784	Ealhmund, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 243

Si quis quod absit contra hoc donum meum facere temptaverit : iram omnipotentis Dei incurrat . et cum impiis et peccatoribus flammis ulticibus sine fine dampnetur .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
44 ²⁹	[705 x (716 x ?)]	Eolla	Selsey	<i>Selsey 5</i>

Si quis homo temeritatis audacia hec aut per uim uecors auertit decreta, a catholicorum caterua anathematizatus iure diuina et insolibilis eterne retributionis uindicta penas subiaceat cruciandus imperpetuum.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
53	(693)	Oshere, king of Hwicce	Worcester	B 85

Si quis hanc donationem minuetur sciat se redditurum rationem in die iudicii , et partem ejus esse cum peccatoribus et cum Juda traditore cruciatus sine fine in inferno cum diabulo .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
83 ^s	716	Æthelbald, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 134

et é contrario si qui sunt qui huic meæ donationi nocere volunt . vel adversari moliuntur . in profundum inferni descendant viventes . et perpetuis pœnis mancipati . iudicium ultionis percipiant cum impiis nisi ante mortem ad satisfactionem venerint . et reatum suum agnoscentes pœnitentiam egerint .

²⁹ I refer only to part (b) of S 44.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
104 ^s	759 for 777 x c. 781	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 216

et si aliquis convertere hoc voluerit et ad malam servitutem vel ergastulum mutare voluerit .
sciat se separatim a consortio omnium sanctorum Dei in cœlis . et cum diabolo et angelis ejus
sine fine in perpetuum dampnatum . nisi ante hic Deo et hominibus cum satisfactione
emendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
105	764	Offa, king of Mercia	Rochester	<i>Rochester 6</i>

Quicumque uero sequentium regum aut principum aut aliquis seculari fretus potestate hæc
nostrę definitionis scripta irrita facere quod absit nisus fuerit . sciat se in presenti uita domini
benedictione esse priuatum . et in nouissimo maledictione subiacere . ut a consortio sit
separatus sanctorum et cum impiis et peccatoribus flammis ultricibus esse damnandum .
excepto si digna satisfactione emendare curauerint quod iniqua temeritate deprauarunt .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
112 ^s	777	Offa, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 222

Si quis uero quod absit béémotico instinctu tempore succedenti hoc infringere mente subdola
per aliqua machinamenta permutare conatus fuerit : noscat se tali pro reatu a numero secerni
beatorum . et æternis deputari herebi flammis . cum Herode Christi insecutore nequissimo
ejusque complicitibus quorum vermis mordax . et ignis fumificus . nunquam per sæcula cessat .
nisi ante obitum congrua aboleverit penitentia . quod audacter egit contra nostra decreta .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
118 ^s	780	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 235

Si uero quis temerarius vel avaritia diabolica seductus huic nostrę auctoritati obviare . aut
eam frangere vel minuere in aliquo temptaverit . sciat se separaturum anathematis vinculo ab
omnium sanctorum consortio . et cum angelis apostaticis `infernali submersurum iudicio

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
133 ^s	790	Offa, king of Mercia	Paris, Saint-Denis	B 259

Si quis autem hanc nostram nostroque constitutionem desiderio roboratam , quam ad sanctos martyres pro amore Dei et salute nostra fecimus , detrahendo vel violando infregerit , illa maledictio veniat super eum , “Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum” .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
142 ^s	757 x 774	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 219

Si quis ergo hanc nostræ donationis elemosinam minuere voluerit et delere : auferatur et deleatur memoria ejus de libro vitæ . et cum Juda Christi traditore crematur æterna combustione . et Annania et Saphira sentiat iram ultionis divinæ . nisi in præsentī vita emendaverit condigna satisfactione .;

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
155	799	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Canterbury, CC	B 294

Si quis de hinc easdem terras a jure præfatæ ecclesiæ amoverit ; ex parte omnipotentis Dei . et omnium sanctorum et nostra . scilicet tocius concilii . in quo hic in nomine domini congregati sumus . excommunicetur . et a Deo cum diabolo in infernum deputetur . nisi ante mortem Deo et eidem ecclesiæ Christi in Dorobernia civitate satisfaciat .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
157	801	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 16

siquis tunc minuere uoluerit . mortem supplicium cum diabolo in æternum sit passus .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
181 ^s	817	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 360

minuentem utique vel frangentem hanc in magno seu in modico . minuat Deus bona sua hic et in futuro . et æternaliter tradetur ad pœnam . nisi ante cum satisfactione emendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
191	840 for c. 844 x 852	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 453

Qui autem noluerit 7 confringere temptaverit : confringet Deus omnipotens regnum et potentiam ejus . 7 hic 7 in futuro seculo 7 ponat partem ejus cum diabolo in puteo nigri inferni . nisi digne emendaverit illud .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462

Et si quis hanc nostram munificentiam abripere vel minuere temptaverit . anathematizetur et dampnetur a Deo omnipotenti in die judicii cum Dathan et Abiron : et cum Juda proditore domini : ut sicut illos duos viventes dehiscens terra deglutivit . tertiumque laqueus suspensum visceribus diruptis suffocavit sic eum gehennalis inferni absorbeat incendium . nisi digna satisfactione defleat commissum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
206	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 487

Et qui in aliquo fraude vel disceptione per diabolicam gast'r'imoniam istam libertatem frangere aut minuere temptaverit ; Sciat sé cum rapacibus et peccatoribus esse conjunctum et sine ullo honore in aeterna dampnatione cum diabulo dampnatum et sociis ejus . Nisi hic cum satisfactione emendaverit Deo et hominibus .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
207 ³⁰	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 488 & 489

Et si quis sit qui hoc in pejus mutare voluerit sciat se anathematizatum a consortio omnium sanctorum Dei in celis . et in perpetuum damnatum nisi ante hic Deo et hominibus cum digna satisfactione emendaverit et a malo cesset . (B 488)

³⁰ S 207 is extant in two versions with differing sanctions.

et si aliquis `quod quidem non optamus sit qui convertere hoc voluerit et ad malum servitutem vel ergastulum mutare malluerit . sciat se separatum et anathematatum a consortio omnium sanctorum Dei in celis . et cum diabolo et angelis ejus sine fine in perpetuum dampnatum . nisi ante hic Deo et hominibus cum satisfactione emendaverit . (B 489)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
209 ^s	862	Burgred, king of Mercia	Gloucester	B 503, 535

Si quis quod absit cujuslibet personæ , contra hanc libertatis cartulam venire nititur sit sub anathemate Jude proditoris domini nostri Jesu Christi nisi hic Deo et hominibus digne emendaverit (B 503)

si quis autem , quod absit , cujuslibet personæ tyrannico cupiditate instinctus contra hanc diffinitionis libertatisque cartulam sæculari potentia fretus venire nititur , sit sub anathemate Judæ proditoris domini nostri Jhesu Christi , et illum projectum et alligatum in æternis pœnis sempiternis flagris fieri damnatum , nisi hic Deo et hominibus cum bona satisfactione digne emendaverit ; (B 535)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
227 ^s	670	Cenwalh, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 25

Si quis autem nusus fuerit hujus meæ donacionis testamentum confringere aut adimere conatur , ipse acrius multatus sit infernalis ergastuli pœna demersus , quam eo dæmon vel diis dampnatorum paravit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
228 ^s	671	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne 1</i>

Si enim aliquis successorum nostrorum maligni fraude instructus – et spiritu cupiditatis illectus – hoc infringere ausus fuerit : sciat se in inferni suppliciis suspiraturum et in faculis tartareis crematurum . et absque ullo remedio sine fine eiulaturum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
255	739	Æthelheard, king of Wessex	Exeter	B 1331

et qui minuatur seu transmutetur . conuertatur gaudium illius in luctum . pœnasque infernales perpetualiter luat .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
257 ^s	745	Cuthred, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 169

Si quis autem hujus meæ donacionis testamentum visus fuerit confringere vel gressum pedis nobis Hengissingum traditum urbemque glebam extra terminos prefixos vel definitos limites seu constitutos adimere ipse acrius multatus sit infernales ergastuli in pena demersus violentiæ suæ presumptionem luat in evum . Amen .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
271	823	Ecgbert, king of Wessex	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 18

Si autem quod absit aliquis insurrexerit tyrannica potestate fretus seu diabolica temeritate instigatus qui hanc libertatem infringere aut minuere uel maluit conuertere temptauerit quam a nobis constitutum est : sciat se separatim a communione sanctę dei ecclesię et a participatione omnium sanctorum dei et ęternis ignibus esse nodatum nisi prius digne et perfecte hic in seculo emendare uoluerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
298	847 [= 846]	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 451

Si quis autem hujus munificentia conlationem quouis tempore qualibet occasione cujuslibet etiam dignitates vel professiones vel gradus pervertere . vel in irritum deducere sacrilega presumptione temptauerit . sit a consortio Christi ecclesię et a collegio sanctorum hic et in futuro dispartitus parsque ejus cum avaris et rapacibusque ponatur et communionem habeat cum Judas Scarioth qui tradidit dominum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
353 ^s	871 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Chertsey	B 563

Si quis autem diabolica illectus cupiditate hujus mei decreti diffinicionem 7 confirmacionem irritam fecerit sciat se in tremendo iudicio rationem redditurum 7 ultricibus averni flammis cum antichristo 7 ejus fantoribus semper arsurum ibique eternaliter mansurum nisi in hac vita satis digne penituerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
355 ^s	892 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 18

Si quis autem cupiditatis flamma accensus hunc nostrum libellulum frangere temptauerit, sit dampnatus atque sepultus in inferno inferiori cum Iuda apostata atque Pilato et cum omnibus qui iniuste possident sanctuarium Dei.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
365	901	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 4

et qui minuerint abbreviat Deus uitam illorum, et fiat pars illorum cum diabolo in inferno nisi ante mortem suam hoc iuste emendauerint.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
366	901	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 5

contradicentes uero uel minuentes pereant cum diabolo in perpetua combustione, nisi in presenti cum satisfactione emendent .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
391 ^s	843 for 934	King Æthelstan	Milton	B 739

Dominus Deus omnipotens et omnes sancti ejus omnes illos et singulos qui hoc factum meum in aliquo pervertere vel permutare voluerint , seu quocumque modo attemptaverint , socii sint Judæ traditoris Christi in gehennalibus cruciatibus perpetuo cruciandi .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
393 ^s	905 for 931 x 934	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 690

ut nullus regum aut principum quibuslibet temporibus hanc nostram renovationem presumat violare : aut mutare . seu minorare : ne forte suppliciis sempiternis inferni sine fine dampnetur

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
398 ^s	927	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 660

Si quis autem quod non optamus hanc nostram donationem elationis habitu cedens infringere temptaverit : a Deo separatus fiat consors malignorum spirituum . nisi pura emendatione ememendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
413	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 23

Si autem quod absit aliquis diabolico inflatus spiritu hanc mee donationis breviculam infringere temptauerit, sciat se nouissima ac magna examinationis die cum Iuda proditore suisque impiis complicibus eterna confusione edaci bufa cherontis periturum flammis.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
430	935	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 707

Si quis hoc nostrum donum custodierit cum triumphantibus tripudium æternæ suavitatis gloriam inolecat . sin aliter quod non optamus antiqua machinatione diaboli fraudis inlectus fuerit : Et hoc nostrum decretum mutare satagerit . terribile spectaculum inter rabidis rictibus crudeliter discerpatur . Et nullius adventantis consolationem uspiam repperire potuerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 729

Si autem quod nusquam contingere cupimus . quisquam repertus fuerit diabolico perflatus anhelitu . qui hoc fraudulenter avertere vel permutare in aliud quam nunc constituimus studuerit . sciat se absque dubio in hujus vitæ labili stadio maledictionis cyrographo constringi . et in tremendo justissimi judicis libramine æternali dampnatione trucidari cum Caípha et Pilato cæterisque ipsorum sodalibus . qui in íma inferni trucidantur voragine cecis adusti flammis . ni ante obitum pleniter penitendo emendaverit quod deliquit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
453 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London 12</i>

Si quis vero quod non optamus huius decreti aduersitatem infringere temptauerit aut aliter quam a nobis statutum est mutare præsumpserit, sit a consortio Domini nostri Iesu Christi segregatus et cum lupis rapacibus ponatur, et eius ligaturis se constrictum sciat cui Christus claues cælestis regni commendans ait, Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam et tibi dabo claues regni cælorum, et quodcunque ligaueris super terram erit ligatum et in cælis, et quodcunque solueris super terram erit solutum et in cælis.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
478	941	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury 12</i>

Et econtrario quisquis me nolente meque perhibente, inuidie stimulis agitur et eius execrabili liuore retortus, eiusdem terre dimensionem diminuerit et sub tali pacto non

custodierit, presens conuersacio ipsius in terris ab omni bonorum pussibilitate diminuatur et in die futuro calamitatis collocetur a sinistris cum tartarorum demoniis, ubi erit fletus et stridor dencium, pena eterna sine prestulacione consolacionis, nisi digna penitencia et reconsiliacione pura per satisfaccionem in huius lucis spacio hoc emendauerit et amplius peccare disiuerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
511 ^s	960 ? for 941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 765

Si autem quod absit aliquis frenetico deturpatus spiritu hanc meæ compositionis syngrapham aliqua in ré demere conaverit . sciat se dubio procul æternis barathri incendiis sine fine puniendum nisi congrue penituerit quod proterve deliquit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
514 ^s	942 x 946	King Edmund	Rochester	<i>Rochester 28</i>

Siquis uero minuere uel fraudare presumpserit hanc donationem . sit separatus a consortio sanctorum . ita ut uiuens benedictione dei sit priuatus . et sit damnatus in inferno inferiori . nisi satisfacione ante eius obitum emendauerit quod inique gessit . manente tamen hac cartula nichilominus in sua firmitate .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantors	Archive	Edition
515 ^s	946	Kings Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig	Canterbury, CC	B 811

Si vero quispiam minuere aut violare , aut omnino satagit infringere , sciat se cum Caipha 7 Pilato simulque Juda traditore misero , inferno inferiori demersum esse . nisi ante ejus obitum gravibus penis se affligat , 7 digna satisfaccione emendet , quod incredibiliter gessit contra nostrum fidele decretum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
517 ^s	945	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 810

Si qui denique hoc nostrum donum maligna instincti invidia evertere seu minuere in qualibetcumque parte laboraverint . partem obtineant iniquorum . quos justis sententia iudicis in novissimo examine reprobatur dicens . “Ite in ignem æternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus” : Nisi humili satisfactione celerius penitere satagerint .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
545 ^s	949	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton 10</i>

Si quis uero quod absit cupiditatis flamma accensus hoc nostrum infringere temptaverit donum : sit dampnatus cum omnibus filiis perdicionis Belial in tartareis tormentis nisi resipiscens digna factione emendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
552a [?]	950	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted

Si qui uero fraudulenter in aliquo denihilent ad nihilum cum Behelzebub in baratro gehennaliter redigantur. si non digna coram Deo satisfactione reconcilient.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
568	955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 904

si quisque quod non optamus hujusce donacionis cartulam infringere temptaverit nisi prius emendaverit nisi prius in hoc seculo digne castigetur in futuro perhenni cruciatu prematur

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
571 ^s	956	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 931

Si quis vero demonicae fermentationis stimulo incedens nostrum integrum et inviolatum donum fraudulenter infringere probaverit . sciat se reum omni hora vitæ suæ et tenebrosam

Tartarum non evadere . sed cum Anna et Zaphira æternæ anathematis macera perforandum :
Nisi prius hoc digna satisfactione emendare voluerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
583 ^s	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 58</i>

Si quis autem quod absit tirannica cupiditate instinctus hoc mee beneficentie munus seculari potentia fretus obuiare presumserit, eterne maledictioni subiaceat cum Iuda Christi proditore et in inferno inferiori cum diabolo et angelis eius eternaliter crucietur, nisi digna satisfactione emendauerit quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum, cum diuina Dei omnipotentis auctoritate roboratum.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
586	956 for 959	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 1030

si quispiam quod absit machinamenta antiqui hostis subripere voluerit sciat se sodalem carnificis Jude et demersum tetrus inferni conligatumque catenis Satane sine fine nisi penitentie episcopali sententie emendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
590	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 60</i>

Gloria consentientibus, Tartarum nolentibus.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
594	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 54</i>

Hoc donum amodo seruaturus glorificetur a Christo . destruens uero conatum illum non impleat . sed precipitatus corruat in barathri profundo :-

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
606	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 959

Sit autem predictum rus ita firmatum . ut si quis studuerit in aliud transferre quam situm est anathematizetur á supernalibus civibus cælestium turmarum . Sitque consortio constrictus Judæ in barathri profundo æternaliter cruciandus .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
608	906for956(i)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 969

minuere vero temptans penas sentiat infernales “ubi erit fletus et stridor dentium”. nisi citius emendet .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
612	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 934

Si quis vero non prohorrescat evertere machinans nostrum decretum . Sciat se maledictionem Dei semper possidere cum diabolo in inferni profunditate .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
614	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 56

Si quis autem quod absit contraire temptauerit, obstaculum patiatur gehenne, nisi cito emendare festinet.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
618	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 66

Si quis uero huic donationi contrauenire nitatur poenas sentiat Avernii ibi erit fletus et stridor dentium.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
624	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 65</i>

Augens fruatur Domino . minuens ipse zabulo.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
627	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 973

Si quis igitur hoc donum custodiendo munierit . trabeatus inueniat stolam immortalitatis . rapere vero machinans præcipitetur in Cociti palude . nisi prius emendare sategerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
628	956	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton 15</i>

Si quis uero minuerit hanc donationem : sciat se reum omni hora vite sue . et tenebrosam in tartarum succedere .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
629	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury 29</i>

Sin autem, quod absit, et Deum et semetipsum obliuiscendo, aliquis mutare uoluerit, dies eius non dimidiauerit et gloriam Dei cum choris angelorum nequaquam uideat in terra uiuentium, sed suum auctorem diabolum sequatur in infernum ibi est fletus et stridor dencium.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
637	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Christchurch (Twynham)	B 968

infringere uero moliens , nisi emendando desinat , poenas luat infernorum . Amen .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
646	957	King Eadwig	prob. Ely	B 1347

Sin autem minuere satagerit nostram liberam largitionem sit sotius eorum quibus dicet æquissimus libripens In die Judicii “Ite maledicti In ignem æternum . qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis ejus” . si non híc prius emendare maluerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
659	958 for 959	King Eadwig	York	B 1029

si vero minuere aut violare , sciat se cum apostatis inferno inferiori demersum esse , nisi in hac mortali vita ante obitum emendaverit quod inique gessit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
666	(956 [i])	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 956

Si quis vero quod absit violare temptaverit dies ejus non dimidiaverit et penam sentiat sempiternam Amen ;

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
667	958	King Edgar	Chester	B 1041

Si quis vero quod absit invidie facibus succensus presumptibili elacionis fastu . hoc mee donacionis munimen frangere aut minuere voluerit . Sciat se reum omni hora vitæ suæ 7 tenebrosi Tartaris flammivomas voragines in futuro non evadere nisi prius cum satisfactione pleniter emendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
672 ^s	956	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1183

Quicumque amodo hoc donum custodierit palmam tripudii inveniat paradysi avertere vero quisquis ausus fuerit missus Cocyto nullo modo emergat donec totum usque ad novissimum reddat quadrantem nisi emendat .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
695	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1076

Si autem aliquis larvarico inflatus spiritu hoc nostrum decretum discindere temptaverit . nisi satisfactione dignissima in hac vita penituerit . in futura coram Christo et ejus angelici agminis collegio pænis permansuris punitum se sentiat . et in æternum ligamine sacrilegii strictum agnoscat .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
712	963	King Edgar	York	B 1112

Si autem quod absit quis filius perdicionis hoc nostrum decretum infringere aut inmutare conatus fuerit : sit ipse Acherontis cujus turbidus Gurgis Ceno ac vasta voragine estuare asseritur nisi prius hic ad satisfaccionem pervenerit 7 digna penitentia emendare maluerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
726	964	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1134

Quod si quisque quod non optamus hujusque donationis scedulam vel in minimo infringere temptaverit hoc in digno prius dempserit pænitemine se sentiat perenniter passurum in cruciamine .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135

Quicumque vero imminuerit . vel in pejus mutando subtraxerit eis quicquam de iis : sit pars ejus cum Dathan et Abiron . et cum Juda traditore domini . et Juliano apostata æcclesiarum Dei oppressore et persecutore . æterno anathemate ligatus cum diabolo et angelis ejus infernalibus ignibus perpetuo cruciandus . nisi resipiscat et emendet . Amen . amen . amen . Fiat . fiat . fiat .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
736	965	King Edgar	Abbotsbury	B 1165

Si autem quod absit quis filius perditionis hoc nostrum decretum infringere aut immutare conatus fuerit . sit ipse pulsu demonum in æternam damnationem tradendus . id est in extremam partem tetri baratri sub horrida stagna tartarei sit projectus Acherontis cujus turpidus gurgēs cæno ac vasta voragine æstuarē assertur . Nisi prius hic ad satisfactionem pervenerit et digna pænitentia emendare maluerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
741 ^s	966	King Edgar	Crowland	B 1178

Contra ergo hujus nostri chirographi propositum , quicumque dictum Turketulum abbatem patrem meum vel monachos suos vexare vel inquietare pro aliquo præmissorum præsumpserit , præter meam indignationem et vindictam nisi citius cum condigna satisfactione resipuerit , longius a sanctorum consortio segregatus , cum Dathan et Abiron damnationem gehennalem sentire possit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
742	966	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1177

et si aliquis transferre cupierit hanc nostram donacionem aut infringere sit privatus a consorcio sanctorum et traditus Sathane nisi ante obitus sui diem reversus fuerit et emendaverit quod nequiter deliquit nichilque ominis fixa et stabilis sit donacio nostra .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
743	966	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1188

Si quis autem minuere vel auferre quod domino largiti sumus obstinatus voluerit . deleatur nomen ejus de libro vite reusque anathema post obitum eternis baratri deputatus incendiis nisi cum digna satisfactione devotus emendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
745 ³¹	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 23</i>

a)

De illorum anathemate qui monachis insidiantur .

VIII. Si autem qualibet occasione diabolo instigante contigerit ut fastu superbientes arrogantē deiecti canonici monachorum gregem quem ego uenerans cum pastore in Dei constitui possessione . deicere insidiando uoluerint . agatur de eis et de omnibus qui quolibet munere cecati iuuamen eis impenderint . quod actum est de angelis superbientibus et de protoplasto diaboli fraude seducto . ut paradisi uidelicet limitibus sublimibusque regni celorum sedilibus eiecti . cum his qui Domini famulatum aspernantes contemserunt barathri incendiis detrusi iugi crucientur miseria .

Nec inde euulsi se gloriantur euasisse tormenta sed cum Iuda Christi proditore eiusque complicibus Acharonte conglutinati . frigore stridentes feruore perusti . letitia priuati . merore anxii . catenis igneis compediti . lictorum metu perculsi . scelerum memoria confusi . totius bonitatis recordatione semoti . eterno lugubres punientur cruciatu .

b)

Item de anathemate insidiantium .

X. Qui autem iam predictos noui Uintaniensis aeclesie cenobii monachos uel quoslibet eiusdem ordinis nostro regmine degentes . e monasteriis que uitiorum spurcitas expurgans Iesu Christo Domino nostro uicto demone adquisiui eliminare presumens uoluerit anathema sit . et eadem maledictione qua Cain parricida qui fratrem suum Abel stimulante inuidia liuidus interemit mastigia addictus est . sine termino teneatur obnoxius . atque in Dei persecutione continuo perseuerans in hac uita nullum dignitatis adquirat honorem . nec in futuro sine miseria umquam persistat . sed eum Annaniae et Saphirę una Stix porrigine heiulantem crucians complectatur .

c)

De maledictione minuentium .

XX. Minuentem perpetua possideat miseria .

In Domini manens persecutione . eius genitricis sanctorumque omnium incurrat offensam .

Presentis uite aduersitas illi semper eueniat .

³¹ S 745 contains five sanctions.

Nulla ei bonitatis accidat prosperitas .

Omnia eius peculia inimici uastantes diripiant .

In futuro autem eterni miserrimum cum ædis in sinistra positum damnent cruciatus . si non satisfactione emendauerit congrua . quod in Domini usurpans detraxit censura .

d)

Quibus modis secularibus obtemperant et quod nullius reatus hoc Domini priuilegium minuere ualeat .

XXI. Tribus tantummodo causis secularibus obtemperant preceptis . rata uidelicet expeditione . pontis arcisue constructione . alias æterna ditati glorientur libertate .

Reatus quippiam si incitante demone seductus uel abbas uel fratrum aliquis fragiliter quod absit contraxerit . iustitia purgante secundum regulę preceptum abolitus damnetur . maneatque præfatę munificentię libertas altithrono per nostram humilitatem oblata ad monachorum usus gratuite sibi famulantium inuiolabilis eterna libertate iocunda . quia Deus qui hanc priuilegii largifluam donationem locumque cum uniuersa monachorum familia ruraque omnia sacro subiecta coenobio possidet . numquam reatum commisit . nec ullo unquam tempore committet

e)

Omnes qui nominatim hoc priuilegio regis iussu descripti uidemur . posteritatis nostrę prosapiam subnixę deposcimus ut manuum nostrarum uadimonium Christi cruce firmatum . nequaquam uiolantes irritum faciant . si successorum quispiam temeritatis . ausu uiolare presumserit corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi participatione priuatus . perpetua damnatus perditione anathema sit nisi diuino propitiante respectu ad humilem satisfactionem resipiscens conuersus fuerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
749	967 for 972	King Edgar	Burton	Burton 22

Si quis autem hoc donum fastu superbie inflatus in aliud quam constituimus transferre uoluerit : priuatus a consortio sanctę ecclesię eternis baratri incendiis lugubriter deputetur . si non satisfactione emendauerit congrua quod contra decretum satagerit nostrum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
775	970	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1259

ergo si quis demonicio . quod absit instinctus spiramine huic nostre munificencie quippiam refragari satagerit alienatus a participatione sacrosancti corporis Christi ac sanguinis eternis cum Juda ejus proditore deputetur incendiis ni digna hic penitencia emendare curaverit quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
784	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1285

Si quis vero non perhorrescat machinari nostrum decretum . sciat se casurum in profundum eterni Orci barathrum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
787 ^s	972	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1258

sategimus per ipsum devotissimum hujus descriptionis auctorem Athelwoldum a sede Apostolica Romanæ Ecclesiæ juxta primitivam ejusdem monasterii institutionem perpetuo corroborare , quam quicumque in aliquo violare præsumpserit , ipsius summi præsidis Petri et Romanæ hierarchiæ , omniumque sacrorum ordinum animadversione in infernum æternaliter damnetur . qui vero provexerit et defensaverit , in sorte electorum Dei remuneretur .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
791	973	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1294

hoc precipiens in nomine domini nostri Jhesu Christi ut nostrorum nemo successorum christiano vigente nunime hoc nostrum decretum audeat violare quod si quisque temptaverit hic et imperpetuum perpetuas inferni penas luat .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
795	974	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1303

Minuentibus vero atque injuste frangentibus quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus fiat pars cum illis de quibus econtra fatur . “discedite a me maligni in ignem æternum” . nisi prius legali satisfactione emendaverint .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
807 ^s	984 for 963 x 970	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1302

Si autem quispiam altioris vel inferioris ordinis homo angustando donum nostrum uiolare presumpserit : anathema sit : et cum Juda filii Dei et domini nostri Jhesu Christi proditore ejusque complicitibus infernali incendio sine fine cruciatus puniatur . nisi ante obitum correctus emendaverit . quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
814 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1150

Qui autem lenocinante diabolo fastu superbiæ inflatus . nostra violare vel minuere presumpserit statuta in domini maledictione permaneat . et a sanctæ Dei æcclesiæ consortio sanctorumque omnium contubernio privatus . æterna misellus dampnetur miseria nisi resipiscens satisfaciendo restituerit quod in domini possessione violare præsumpsit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
818 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1159

Si quis autem philargiria seductus aliquid ex his quæ cum consilio sapientum precepta sunt vel minuere presumpserit : deleatur nomen ejus de libro vitæ . et in Jhesu Christo salvatoris mundi ejusque genitricis Mariæ omniumque sanctorum persecutione maneat . et post vite sue terminum cum Juda Christi proditore ejusque complicitibus inferni miseria punitus intereat . si non cum satisfactione emendaverit . quod nequiter peyorando deliquit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
819 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1151

Si quis autem philargiria seductus aliqua nova et adulterina cartula hanc nostram largifluam á domino abstrahere voluerit munificentiam . anathema sit et inferni incendiis assiduo punitus . jugi miseria cruciatus intreat .

[...]

Qui vero ejusdem libertatis gloriam violare iniquæ presumpserit . á Christo reprobatus inferni miseria puniatur nisi satisfaciendo se humiliatum correxerit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
821	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1146

Qui vero audax presumptor ausu temerario hpilargiria seductus violare minuereve temptaverit . deleatur ejus nomen de libro vitæ . ac per beati Petri apostolorum principis regnique celorum clavigeri auctoritatem . paradysi januis eliminatus . eternis barathri incendiis jugiter ustulatus . Acharonte putido torridoque suffocatus cum Juda Christi proditore ejusque complicibus perenni calamitate jugi‘que’ miseria á Deo et omnibus sanctis justo dampnatus puniatur judicio . nisi satisfactione congrua restituerit . quod in Christi possessione minuere presumpsit

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
825 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1149

Si quis autem hanc nostram violare minuereve munificentiam tyrannica fretus superbia presumpserit anathema sit . et domini clementia . sanctorumque omnium privatus contubernio . inimicorum omnium persecutione vallatus depopulatusque intreat . nec in hac vita ullam obtineat veniam . sed in futuro perhenni supplicio deputatus . inferni fauce consumptus . sine fine persistat cruciatus . nisi satisfaciendo redintegraverit quod insipiendus minuendo delevit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
836	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 626

Si quis autem furenti conamine uecors hanc nostram munificentiam quolibet modo temerarius auferre praesumpserit, alienatus ipse a communione sanctae aecclesiae, et omnium electorum

dei consortio, cum Iuda Christi proditore sine fine dampnatus intereat, nisi digna prius in hac uita satisfactione poenituerit quod contra sanctam et indiuiduam trinitatem rebellis agere non distulit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
839	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 118</i>

Si quis igitur infeste rapacitatis macula seductus hoc nostre munificencie donum in quolibet aliud quam constituimus euertere conatus fuerit, sequestratus a communione sancte Dei ecclesie et ab eterni regni patricipatione, gehennalis incendii globis absorbtus, eterne dampnationis amaritudinibus inuoluatur, si non satisfactione penituerit congrua quod nostro proterue decreto contraire nichili pendebat .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
840	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 633

Si quis igitur ausu temerario hanc cartam meo iure caraxatam in aliud quicquam proterue corrumpere praesumpserit, sciat se absque omni dubietate ab aecclesiae dei consortio in hac uita priuatum, et in futuro saeculo non se dubitet sed certissime sciat inter omnium pariter malignorum spirituum cateruas aeternis gehennae incendiis cum Iuda Christi proditore sine fine cruciandum, si non humili et congrua satisfactione poenituerit quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 27</i>

Si quis autem, quod absit, hanc donationem liuore pressus nequissimo euertere studuerit in aliud quam hic extat insitum, uel si quispiam fortuitu ad hoc destruendam scedam aliquam demonstraerit, perpetue combustionis atrocitate dampnatus cum Iuda Christi proditore ac Sathanam pestifero Iuliano necnon miserimo Pilatoque lugubri ac ceteris infernalium claustrorum seuissimis commanipularibus, horrifluis sartaginibus perpetue Gehenne decoquatur, ac piceis tenebris miseriisque perhennibus permaneat addictus, nisi ante mortis

articulum cum nimia satisfactione emendare ac tantam presumptionem obliterare toto conamine studuerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
847	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 186-7

Si quis hoc nostrum donum amouerit, eternis baratri incendiis iugiter reus puniatur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
849 ^s	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 640

Quod si quis diabolico instinctus spiritu praesumpserit anathema sit, et nisi satisfactione sui reatus cessando ueniam obtinuerit, in maledictione domini persistens aeternis barathri incendiis punitus crucietur; abyssos uero gurgitum ante capturam locatos nemo retibus piscari sine licentia episcopi siue capturam possidentis ullo modo audeat. Si quis uero in tribus abyssis ad capturam ipsam pertinentibus retia piscando traxerit uel statuerit, furti crimine obnoxius teneatur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
850	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 28

Siquis igitur hanc meam cum Dei uoluntate renouatam presumpserit infringere donacionem, eternis baratri incendiis cum diabolo sine fine crucietur, nisi in hac prius emendauerit uita quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
854 ^s	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Bath	K 643

Huius namque syngrapham successorum christianum quamdiu uigeat imperium hanc uel in minimis audeat uiolare. Quod si quisque temptauerit infringere, nisi dignissime hic poeniteat, sese permansurum in aeternis poenis persentiat.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
857	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 652

Hanc uero meam donationem cupientes minuere uel mutare uel frangere habeant portionem cum illis quibus dicitur, ‘Discedite a me operarii iniquitatis in flammam ignium,’ nisi prius poenitentiae digna satisfactione emendent.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
859	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Christchurch (Twynham)	K 647

Si autem aliquis, quod non cupimus, inflatus diabolica temeritate, aliquid in hoc nostro dono mutare uel minuere temptauerit, sciat se proculdubio in uoraginibus ultricium flammarum iugiter arsurum, et in aeternum periturum, nisi prius hoc digna satisfactione, deo fauente, studuerit emendare

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
862	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 32

Quod si quisque quod non optamus inire temptauerit, nisi prius in hoc seculo se digne castigauerit, in penis inferni eternis se talionem passurum agnouerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
865	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 28

Si quis autem hanc donationem peruertere studuerit, perpetue maledictionis incurrat reatum et Gehenne eternum sustineat incendium, nisi mortis ante exitum hanc presumptionem emendare curauerit per satisfactionem nimiam.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
869	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 30</i>

Si autem, quod absit, quispiam omnino hominum hanc euertere uel adnihilare studuerit paginulam, inuido animi tactus rancore seu per antiquioris scedule adinuentionem hanc presumptuose peruertere conamine stolido temptauerit cartulam, noctis horrifere letale excipiat exitium cum pertinaci acie inuidorum ubi Belial infandissimus miserie perpetue obtinet imperium, nisi mortis ante exitum per satisfactionem congruam tam peruerse machinationis infamiam emendare curauerit nimium .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart. iii. 1303</i>

Si quis sane eam frangere vel mutare vel eciam voluerit minuere (quod absit) sciat se habiturum cum satellitibus beatmot' in piflegefonte baratri quibus in ultima examinatione dicetur 'discedite a me operarii iniquitatis non enim novi vos, ibi erit fletus oculorum et stridor dentium.'

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
874	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 673

Si quis igitur hoc nostrum in aliud quid transmutare praesumpserit donarium, anathematizatus ipse a deo et ab omnibus sanctis eius in inferno inferiori cum Sathana sine fine crucietur, nisi prius hic digna satisfactione emendare maluerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
875	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's 30</i>

Si quis autem ut non optamus hanc me donacionis cartulam cupiditatis liuore depressus uiolari satagerit, agminibus tetre caliginis implicatur, uocem audiat examinationis in die magni arbitris dicentis, Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum, nisi digna satisfactione sinon penituerit ante.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
878	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton 27</i>

Qui uero nostrum hoc donum euertere laborauerit : timeat se in profundo auerni immersum aeternaliter torqueri : nisi quantotius a sua peruersitate discedat . Attamen si quislibet antiquum siue nouum protraxerit libellum . et hanc nostram titulationem superare nisus fuerit . binis mortis periculis obiurgetur obnoxius . quia aut rapina . aut furto illum subdole adeptus est .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
885	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester 31</i>

Siquis uero mortalium huius cyrographi renouationem qualibet occasione temerarius infringere pręsumpturi . omnibus ueteris ac noui testamenti maledictionibus strictus in hac uita permaneat. et post mortem omnibus gehennalium tormentorum poenis sine fine puniatur . nisi citius ad congruam satisfactionem conuolare maluerit

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
888	996	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 696

Si quis autem, maligno spiritu instigante, huic decreto repugnare temptauerit, sciat se alienum esse a consortio sanctae dei aecclesiae, et participatione sacrosancti corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi; et in nouissimo tremendi iudicii die, nouerit se in inferno inferiori, et in aeterna damnatione mergendum, et per auctoritatem praefati martyris, sciat se absque ullo termino sine fine cruciandum, nisi digna et congrua satisfactione citius emendauerit quod contra deum et sanctum martyrem eius delinquere non timuit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
889	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1291

Si quis igitur haec ausu temerario subuertere et a praefato loco sancto auferre conatus fuerit, aeternae maledictionis sententiae subiaceat, et poenis aeternae dampnationis inuolutus cum tetrae caliginis agminibus sine fine puniatur, nisi digna satisfactione emendauerit quod contra

gloriosos apostolorum principes delinquere non timuit; porro circuitus eiusdem hospicii pro cuius libertatis causa hanc cartam scribere concessi, ita se habere uidetur

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
893	998	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester 32</i>

Siquis igitur hanc diuinam pariter et meam auctoritatem . facibus auaricię ęstuanis . aut arrogantię fastu tumidus inmutare presumpserit . aeternę maledictioni subiaceat . et cum diabolo et angelis eius in inferno sine fine damnatus intreat . nisi digne peniteat . quod iniqua praesumptione deliquit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
899	1001	King Æthelred the Unready	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury 29</i>

Qui uero euertere aut in aliud quis transferre satagerit, adbreuiantur hic dies uite ipsius, ut cum hiis qui Christo resistere nituntur in inferiori prolongentur inferno, ni uelocius recedat a peruersa meditatione et eum quem offendere non metuit dignis penitencie lamentis placare festinauerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
902	1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 131</i>

Si quis autem hoc meum donum euertere studuerit uel alium antiquum librum uel nouum protulerit, nec sibi nec aliis proficiat, sed in sempiterno graphio deleatur et cum iustis non scribatur, sed consideret hinc se die ultima iudicii coram Deo rationem redditurum atque cum reprobis in penis atrocibus se esse passurum, si non antea corpore lamentatione emendauerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
904	1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Wherwell	K 707

Qui uero euertere seu in aliud transferre satagerit, duplicentur illi cum Iuda proditore poenae infernales, nisi celerius cum poenitentiae singultu a sua resipiscat fatuitate.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
906	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton 28</i>

Verum si quispiam altioris inferiorisvæ persone h[unc] locum deuastare uel quispiam ex eo abstrahere . seu minuere aut in seruitutem studuerit redigere . tribus tantummodo exceptis expeditione scilicet . arcis . pontisue constructione . sciat se a cęlesti alienari [gloria] et gehennalia subire tormenta . vbi uermis est non moriens . et ignis indeficiens . dentiumque stridor [int]olerabilis . ni citius a sua resipiscat prauitate .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
908 ^s	1004 x 1014	King Æthelred the Unready	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London 23</i>

Hanc uero donationem perpetuam esse concessimus, et si aliquis eam in aliud quam constituimus transferre uoluerit, cum Iuda qui Dominum tradidit pęnas luat herebi et inde nequaquam possit eximi, nisi ad satisfactionem uenerit

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
915	1007	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 134</i>

De cetero omnibus presentis donationi obtrectatoribus et emulis perpetue fiat scandalum maledictionis, donec uitium machinationis cum legali satisfactione emendauerint. Siquis uero nouum siue antiquissimum huic preponere uolerit libellulum, sibi sueque calliditati fiat detrimentum et a diuini igne fulminis inperpetuum permaneat combustum.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
924	1011	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton 34</i>

Si quis uero non exhorruerit machinari contra nostrum decretum sciat se casurum in profundum auernalis orci baratrum .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
925	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720

Quod si cuilibet legirupi rancor multipetax quorumcunque posteritate temporum epilentico illectus spiritu hoc priuilegium autenticum quacunque temeritate quauē frustrare desudabit tergiuersatione ex obsoleto corpore diaboli extrahatur arpagine et in lebetes Sathanae decoquatur, sitque infernalia offa carnificum in saecula, ni publicae poenitudinis remedio irae dei rumpheam super se euaginatam ob contradictionem qua hanc blasphemauit libertatem sedauerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
932	1014	King Æthelred the Unready	Pershore	<i>ECWM</i> 419

Si quis igitur alto stomachatus felle molitus fuerit obstinato animo hanc mee liberalitatis munificenciam subvertere iniqua sit ei sors vel societas in collegio supernorum civium sed sciat cum dominus omnium arbiter venerit se ulcissentibus flammaram globis collo tenus immergendum nisi anticipando Dei clementiam salubri emendacione sufficienter emendaverit

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
933	1014	King Æthelred the Unready	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 15

Si quis uero contra hoc decretum machinari uel infringere aliquid temptauerit . ni prius digna satisfactione cessauerit aut emendauerit . penalis eum deglutiāt tartarorum interitus .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
934	1015	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 137

Si quisquam autem temporum progressibus fomite zeli uel auaritie estibus accensus mee regalis donationem potestatis aut inminuere uel quoquomodo inmutare studuerit, infernalia participetur parasitis tenebrarum perpetuis cum diabulo eiusque complicitibus arsurus incendiis, nisi ab hoc deleramento desistens penitendo cessauerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
938 ^s	not given	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1284

Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre, uel de ea aliquid minuere praesumpserit, aeternae maledictioni subiaceat, et infernalibus incendiis cum Iuda Christi proditore iugiter puniatur, nisi satisfactione condigna emendauerit quod contra nostrum decretum contumaciter deliquit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
940 ^s	1006 x 1011	King Æthelred the Unready	Chertsey	K 718

Si quis autem hanc meam donationem et confirmationem infringere uel irritam facere presumpserit, sciat se in illa tremendi iudicii die cum Iuda proditore et complicibus suis poenas Auerni perpetuas sine fine deflecturum, nisi ante mortem suam fructifera satisfactione poenituerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
941 ^s	[978 x 995/6]	King Æthelred the Unready	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London 21</i>

Si quis uero quod absit, tyrannica potestate fretus aut fastu superbię tumidus, contra hoc decretum a me confirmatum in magno seu in modico nocere aut irrita facere temptauerit, nouerit se iudicante Domino uiuos ac mortuos gehennę suppliciis missus perpetuasque luere penas.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
951 ^s	1081	King Cnut	Exeter	<i>Regesta regum Anglorum</i> ³²

Hanc uero meam donationem, quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus, minuentibus atque frangentibus, fiat pars illorum cum illis de quibus e contra fatur, 'Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum,' et caetera; nisi hic prius satisfaciant ante mortem.

³² The above sanction is cited according to the *Regesta regum Anglorum*, but also published following printed edition: Davidson 1883, pp. 287-9.

[...]

Hanc uero meam donationem, quod opto absit a fidelium mentibus, minuentibus atque frangentibus, fiat pars illorum cum illis de quibus e contra fatur, 'Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum,' et caetera; nisi hic prius satisfaciant ante mortem. (S 951)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
958	1022	King Cnut	Ely	K 734

Si quis hanc nostram placitam uicissitudinem malo molimine machinatur mutare absque uoluntate seruorum dei in monasterio illo inhabitantium, sit pars eius cum diabolo, participium sumens de omnibus poenis eius aeternaliter, nec contingat ei perpetualiter uicissitudo, cuius uicissitudine possit sibi gaudium aliquod in hoc saeculo, uel in futuro sperare.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
962	1026	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 743

Si quis uero, quod non optamus, bohemotico instinctu tempore succedenti hoc infringere uel in aliud quam constituimus permutare conatus fuerit, sciat se tali pro reatu a numero secerni beatorum, ni ante obitum congrua oboleuerit poenitudine tale delictum.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
967 ^s	1033	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 139

Siquis igitur hanc nostram donationem in aliud quam constituimus transferre uoluerit, priuatus consortio Dei ecclesie eternis baratri incendiis iugiter puniatur, si non satisfactione emendauerit congrua quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum. Siquis uero inuidus ignicomis philargirie flammis accensus huic ueridico libellulo alium circumattractamentatum cupiditatis fallatia libellum superimponere conatus fuerit, sit anathema marathana, hoc est alienatio a consortio Christianorum, donec resipiscens peniteat quod in inuidie fallacis liuore probarat.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
972 ^s	1033	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 750

Si quis uero peruersus malignitate sua huius doni largitatem euertere aut infringere temptauerit, maledictionem perennis accipiat dampnationis et consors fiat Beelzebub in tartareis flammis, ni resipuerit et satisfactione correxerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
974	1035	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii. 42

Siquis autem quod non optamus diabolica temeritate inflatus hanc meam donationem minuire uel frangere temptauerit . deneget ei deus ingressum celestis uite . atque in inferno inferiori sit pars eius . nisi ante mortem digna satisfactione emendet . quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum. (S 974)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
975	1035	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 16

Et si umquam contigerit quod absit ante uel sero aliquis hominum siue episcopus – siue laicus – hanc meam regalem donationem et elemosinam infringere uel minuire conauerit : sit a consortio Christi ecclesie et collegio omnium sanctorum ‘segretatus :’ et ‘in’ inferni barathrum demergatur .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
977	1021 x 1023	King Cnut	Evesham	K 736

Precipimus u^o in nōe saluatoris . ut si in postmodū quisquis alios libellos ptulerit nichil omnino cont^a istū ꝑualeant . sed sint condempnati & anathematizati & ad nichilū redacti . & iste semp firm^o stabilisq. ꝑmaneant ad utilitatē se possidentis. Si qⁱs autē tetri dēmonis fastu instinctus hoc nŕm decretū infringere uoluerit . sit ipse a scē dī aecclāe consortio separat^o . & nfernalibz . nisi hic prius digna satisfactione ꝑenituerit quod cont^a nŕm decr&um deliquit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
979	1023 x 1032	King Cnut	Athelney	K 1324

Si quis autem contra hanc nostrae beneuolentiae dapsilitatem cupido conamine aliquid machinari uoluerit, aut minuere temptauerit, non dubitet se inter diabolica tormentorum tartara rotari, nisi prius hic cessauerit uel emendauerit

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
980 ^s	1021 x 1023	King Cnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 735

Si quislibet, quod absit, istam libertatem quolibet conatu nititur seruitutis iugo subigere, uel praua intentione transmutare, ut rursus clericos in eo collocet loco, sit addictus captiuitati aeternae carens sempiterna libertate, et mancipatus seruitio diaboli eiusque consortio sit inextricabilibus habenis constitutus, nisi satisfactio eius erratui subueniat, quod prorsus optamus.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
995 ^s	1038 x 1039	King Harthacnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 761

Si quis uero posterorum, quod non optamus futurum, hoc aggressus fuerit temere calumpniari aut infringere decretum, praesentium aecclesiasticorum prolatae excommunicationi subiaceat, et cum Iuda traditore ignis Tartarei poenas indesinenter luat et sustineat et insuper regio fisco .xxx. auri talenta persoluat.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
997	1040 x 1042	King Harthacnut & his mother Queen Emma	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 57

Quicumque ergo hanc donacionem nostram ab eadem ecclesia alienare temptauerit alienetur ille in die iudicii a gaudio celesti 7 penas inferni cum demonibus sorciatur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
999	1043	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 142

Siquis uero quod absit cupiditatis flamma accensus hoc nostrum infringere temptauerit donum, sciat se dampnaturum cum filiis perdicionis in tartareis tormentis, nisi resipiscens digna satisfactione emendauerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1003	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Exeter	<i>Regesta regum Anglorum</i> ³³

His itaque nobis prout debuimus ceuque placuit reuerentiae nostrae et voluntati stabilitis adhuc quod minime est obliuioni tradendum uolumus ut hic presens codicellus nostrae licentiae scriptus. dampnet conculcet et anathematizet cunctos emulorum siqui contra eundem reperti fuerint libellos. Siquis autem quod futurum minime autumo presumptione audaci instinctuque diabolico contra nostrum decretum hanc donationis karterulam adnihilare uel pro nihilo ducere temptauerit. in primis quod grauius est iram dei omnipotentis genitricisque eius uidelicet almae et intactae Mariae incurrat. dehinc meam omniumque satellitum meorum noscatque se obnoxium atque reum omnibus horis atque momentis solorum. fiatque pars illius cum Dathan et Abyron. cumque tortuoso Beelzebub principe muscarum in baratro inferiori. et quod indigne seu procaciter repetit non euindicet sed cum dedecore multimodo expulsus sit a nobis nisi prius hic digna penitudine studuerit ultro non coactus emendare.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1006	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 774

Si quis autem, quod absit, diabolico inflatus spiritu hanc meae compositionis ac confirmationis scedulam demere uel infringere temptauerit, et terram supradictorum apostolorum per uiolentiam sibi usurpare praesumpserit, segregetur a dei consortio et participatione omnium sanctorum in hoc sancto monasterio requiescentium, et aeterna confusione edacibus tormentorum flammis deputetur in saecula saeculorum, nisi quantocius suam peruersam emendare curauerit rapinam per condignam satisfactionem.

³³ The above sanction is cited according to the *Regesta regum Anglorum*, but also published following printed edition: Davidson 1883, pp. 292-5.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1012	1045	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 776

Et si aliquis, quod absit, diabolico inflatus spiritu hanc ruris partiunculam a supradicto Uetusto praesumpserit tollere monasterio, excommunicatus sit a domino Ihesu Christo et omnibus sanctis eius cum Iuda proditore domini nostri Ihesu Christi saluatoris, et cum miserrimo Pilato suppliciis deputetur infernalibus, nisi praeuaricationis suae nequitiam digna satisfactione dum uacat aboleuerit quantocius.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1016 ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335

Si quis igitur hanc nostram donationem In aliud quã constituimus transferre uoluerit priuatus consortio sc̃æ dei eccl̃æ æternis barathri incendiis lugubris Iugiter cum Iuda x̃pi proditore eiusq3 complicitibus puniatur et consideret se die ultima iudicii coram deo rationem redditurum. atq3 cum reprobis quib3 dicitur. Discedite a me maledicti in ignem eternum penis atrocib3 esse passurum. si non antea corporea lamentatione emendauerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801

Si quis ergo daemonis instinctu hanc meam donationem effringere temptauerit, aut aliquo modo reprobare uoluerit, maledictionis gladio transfixus anathema sit, et sulphureis laticibus in inferno demersus perpetualiter maneat condemnatus cum eis qui dixerunt domino deo, 'Recede a nobis, scientiam uiarum tuarum nolumus,' et cum Iuda traditore, et Pilato, et Herode, cum Beelzebub et omnibus inferni principibus.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1028	1059	King Edward the Confessor	Paris, Saint-Denis	<i>Writs</i> , pp. 538-9

Quod si qui uiolauerint. sit pars eorum decreto Dei et meo. omniumque episcoporum quorum nomina hic habentur. cum Iuda traditore. cum Dathan et Abiron in ignem eternum ubi uermis

eorum non moritur. et ignis non exstinguitur. nisi reatum suum coram Deo et Sancto Dyonysio emendauerint.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1034	1061	King Edward the Confessor	Bath	K 811

qui autem malefico ingenio istud auertere uoluerit, sciat se reum esse gehennae ignis coram aeterno iudice, si non ad poenitentiam reuocatus fuerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1038	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 33

Qui uero contempserit, ligatis manibus et pedibus mergatur in profundum inferni.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1039 ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	unprinted

Siquis autem temerario ausu magna paruaque persona contra hoc apostolice auctoritatis decretum agere presumpserit, sciat se nisi respuerit anathematis uinculo innodatum et a societate sanctorum alienum, eterni ignis incendio cum Iuda proditore et complicibus suis condemnatum.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1040 ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	<i>Regesta regum Anglorum</i> ³⁴

Si autem quod absit quis filius perditionis hoc nostrum decretum, suadente Diabolo, infringere aut mutare conatus fuerit, sciat se ab ipso Clavigero, cui Dominis potestatem tradiderit ligandi, solvendique, eiectionem et gehennalibus incendiis traditum una cum Iuda traditore retrusum et conligatum, nisi ante diem exitus sui emendauerit

³⁴ The above sanction is cited according to the *Regesta regum Anglorum*, but also published following printed edition: R. Widmore, *An Enquiry into the Time of the First Foundation of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1743), Appendix, no. 2.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1043 ^s	1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	K 824

si autem euenerit ut aliquis aut regum succedentium uel alicuius personae homo, quod non optamus, diabolica temeritate fuerit elatus uel seductus, quatenus hoc nostrum statutum infringere uel minuere aut in aliud mutare uelit, sciat se perpetuo anathemate damnatum, nisi tamen digna satisfactione emendauerit; sin autem emendatione fuerit indignus ipse quidem cum Iuda traditore gehennae ignibus cremabitur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1044	1042 x 1044	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 769

Si autem quod absit aliquis typho turgentis supercilii inflatus . hanc meę donationis ac confirmationis breuiculam peruertere uel infringere temptauerit. Sciat sé cum satane satellitibus tormentorum ignibus sine fine penaliter arsúram . nisi a prauo sensu desistat. Et huius doni constipulatores extiterunt . quorum inferius onómata caraxari cernuntur uerídica.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1053 ^s	1042 x 1046	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	Barlow 1970, pp. 330-1

Qui uero excidere uoluerit aut temptauerit. excidatur de gloria paradisi. et detrudatur in penas inferni. nisi resipuerit et ad emendationem uenerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1056 ^s	1042 x 1066 or ? 908	King Edward the Confessor	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London 29</i>

Si quis uero quod non optamus, huius decreti aduersitatem infringere temptauerit aut aliter quam a nobis statutum est mutare presumserit, sit a consortio Domini nostri Iesu Christi segregatus et cum lupis rapacibus ponatur et cum nefandissimo Iuda, qui Christum tradidit, infernales inperpetuum luat penas, si ad satisfactionem et emendationem non uenerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1060 ^s	1055 x 1060	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 806

Quicumque autem haec decreta nostra transgredi praesumpserit, deo et sanctis eius regique suo reus habeatur, et si digne non emendauerit in infernum inferiorem cum diabolo semper arsurus dimergatur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1107	1050 x 1052	King Edward the Confessor	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 59

Quod si quis post dies meos hoc minuere uel mutare ausus fuerit siue clericus sit siue laicus, segregetur ille a Christo 7 a Sancti Benedicti 7 omnium sanctorum consorcio 7 nisi hic emendauerit quod temere deliquit penas infernales cum demonibus sorciatur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1205 ^s	901	Ordlaaf	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 21

Insuper hiis contradicentibus autem, ue et pars cum inferis, nisi in presenti cum satisfactione emendent.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1205a ^s	918	Elstrudis & his sons Arnulf & Adelolf	Ghent, St Peter's	B 661

Si vero quod futurum minime credo quispiam de successoribus meis heredibus aut pro heredibus injuriosus contradictor , seu quelibet alia persona extranea huic traditioni mee contraire voluerit et infirmare quod justorum firmatum est fidelium testimonio , in primis quidem S . Trinitatis et beatissime Dei genetricis et perpetue virginis Marie , sanctissimeque virginis Christi Amalberge , deinde omnium sanctorum iram incurrat offensam , et ab universa sancta ecclesia excommunicatus appareat et dampnatione Dathan et Abiron , quos viventes infernus absorbit , pereat tam ipse quam cuncti qui in perpetuum injuste predictam possessionem possederint , aut per vim sacro memorato cenobio detinuerint , tamen iniqua eorum presumptio non obtineat effectum , magis hec nostra traditio firma permaneat cum astipulatione subnixa .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1212	961	Eadifu, queen	Canterbury, CC	B 1065

quin prædecessorum nostrorum decreto firmemus . hoc eternaliter statuentes ut impii quique a privilegiis prædictis Christo tonanti quid auferentes . sub anathemate in eternum cum diabolo puniantur .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1231	1042 x 1065	Eadnoth and his wife	Ramsey	K 919

Quod si quis fecerit, sit ille maledictus et alienatus ab omni beatitudine præsentis uitæ et futuræ, sitque eius commoratio cum daemonibus in inferno, ubi ignis eorum non exstinguitur et uermis eorum non morietur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1236 [?]	1057 x 1065	Gytha, comitissa	Exeter, St Olave	K 926

Et si quis eam peruadere uel ab ipsa aeclesia auferre conatus fuerit, auferat deus partem eius de terra uiuentium et cum Iuda proditore hæreditet infernalicia supplicia in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1237	c. 1061	Ælfgar, <i>quondam comes</i>	Rheims, St Remigius	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn), vi.1042 (no.1)

et de hoc ergo tali pacto publicè affirmari decrevit, ut si fortè quis sanctæ violator ecclesiæ, mortifera diabolo istigante cupiditate imbutus, ab eo unquam illam auferre voluerit, cum Dathan et Abriom quos terra viuentes deglutivit, detestabilem sustineat condemnationem, perpetuliter anatema sit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1278	872	Wærferth, bishop of Worcester, & the Worcester <i>familia</i>	Worcester	B 534

minuentibus ac spoliantibus ultio demonicae inponetur ; Nisi dignæ ut optamus satis factione coram Deo et hominibus emendaverit .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1294 ^s	966	Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury	Crowland	B 1179

concedemus et assignamus excommunicantes et exterminantes a facie Dei et a glorificatione vultus sui in die magni iudicii omnes qui dictum patrem Turketulum vel aliquem successorum suorum super hoc de cætero inquietaverint , vel aliquod præmissorum violare vel violari procuraverint quocunque modo in perpetuum eos Satanæ sine fine tradentes , nisi citius resipuerint , et cum condigna pænitentia prædicto monasterio satisfecerint pro patratiss .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1340	979	Oswald, archbishop of York	Worcester	K 623

Si quis autem contumax ac rebellis hoc nostrum donum decreuerit peruersa frangere mente, sciat sese subinde dampnandum in tremendi examinis die, ex auctoritate principis apostolorum Petri, tartaribusque tradendum satellitibus, nisi in hac uita prius deo hominibusque congrua emendauerit satisfactione.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1371	972 x 992	Oswald, archbishop of York	Ramsey	K 1286

Quicunque igitur hoc imminuere attentauerit aut immutare, a consortio ciuium segregetur supernorum, et cum Angelis Sathanae sit commoratio eius in inferno, nisi uita sua condigna satisfactione praesumptionem temeritatis suae studuerit emendare, Amen.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1380 ^s	996 (for 994)	Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury	Wolverhampton	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn.), vi.1443-6 (no.1)

Si quis autem (quod non optamus) contra hujus nostræ apostolicæ auctoritatis seriem piè à nobis promulgatam venire agerevè temptaverit, sciat se reum esse in tremendo iudicio, et cum impiis habere portionem et Plutone et Tricerbero mansionem sortire, nisi priùs satisfactionem agat Deo.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1387	1016 x 1020 prob. 1018	Eadnoth, bishop of Crediton	Exeter	Napier & Stevenson 4

Pax sit hoc seruantibus & infernus sit hoc frangentibus.

Sawyer No.	Date	Regarding	Archive	Edition
1438 short version	838	agreement between Archbishop Ceolnoth & Ecgbert, king of Wessex, & Æthelwulf, subking of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 422

Si quis hanc violare præsumpserit : ex parte Dei 7 nostra . regum episcoporum . abbatum . 7 omnium Christianorum sit separatus a Deo . 7 sit pars ejus cum diabolo 7 angelis ejus .

Sawyer No.	Date	Regarding	Archive	Edition
1463	1020 x 1023	record of acquisition by Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough, on behalf of the abbey	Peterborough	K 733

Quod si quis unquam transgredi præsumpserit, separetur a deo et omnibus electis eius, et daemonum collegio in aeternas poenas societur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1479	1058 x 1062	Ælfgar, <i>dux</i>	Evesham	K 964

Et si aliquis ei abstulerit cum diabolo Beelzebub, nisi poenituerit, permaneat.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1480 ^s	1062 x 1066	Ealdred, archbishop of York	Worcester	K 823

Quod si quis daemonis instinctu eam ab ipsorum utilitatibus ui aut aliquo ingenio diriperet, sciret se aeterno anathematis uinculo ligatum, et cum Dathan et Abiron in inferno damnatum aeternaliter luiturum, nisi digna satisfactione emendauerit, et a tam impiis conatibus poenitendo cassauerit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Regarding	Archive	Edition
1481	1042 x 1055	history of lands claimed by Peterborough Abbey	Peterborough	K 927

Sed si quis istud instinctu diabolico euertere cupit, sciat se excommunicatum cum ipso diabolo in inferno mercedem accipere. Fiat! Fiat!

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1520	1017 x 1035	Leofflæd	Ely	K 932

Et quicumque aliud ex eis euellere tentauerit maledictionem habeat domini nostri Ihesu Christi et cum Iuda proditore auditionem malam audiat, 'Ite maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius.'

Appendix 3

Sanctions of Old English Charters

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
325 ^s	[854]	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 493

Nu halsie ic þurh þa halgan þrimnisse 7 scs Petrus 7 ealne þane haligdom þe ic on Rome for me 7 for ealne þeodscype ge sohte . þet næfre ne kyningc . ne æþelingc . ne biscop ne ealdorman . ne þegen . ne gerefa hine si'lfne swa earme for wyrce þæt he þisne freols ge lyttlie þe he swylcre ge wittnesse ge festnod is . buton tweonan se þe hit deð . he abilhd Gode 7 sce Petre 7 eallæn þam halgan þe on Romes cyrcean restaþ . 7 him seluan ece helle wite unge sæliglice getilaþ . Eac se halga forsædæ papa Leo Godes curs 7 sce Petres 7 ealra halgena 7 his on þæne ge sette þe þis æfre undo . 7 eac eall þes þeodscype ge on ge hadodan ge on læwedan þ ylce dyde . þa ic on gean com 7 him þis cyþde ;

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
566	955	King Eadred	Peterborough	B 909

Eadred cyning biddeð 7 halsað on þere halgan þrinnesse noman Dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti þet nan man þurh diofles searucraeft geðristlice his cynelican gefe on woh gewonian . gif hit hwa do gewrecen hit dioflu on helle witan butan he hit ær gebete for Gode and for weorlde swa him riht wisie. Pax Christi nobiscum Amen .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
985	1017 x 1020	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>Writs</i> 26

Gyf hit hwa þænne dó. sy his lif her gescert. 7 his wunung on helle gründe butan he hit þe stiðlicor gebéte ær his ænde be þæs arcebishops tæcincge.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1148	1065 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	<i>Writs</i> 104

7 hwa swa hio awende sieo he awænded fram Gode. to þare hellware stiþe pinnesse. buton he hit on ðessere wrld. þe stiðliker gebete.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1149 ^s	1051 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	<i>Writs</i> 105

7 se þe þes hallges wrðscipe 7 þes munstres fridom. 7 þene broðru note. gewani God. 7 Godes moder gewani his dawes her on werlde. 7 þanne he heonen faren scule. se is woninge on helle grunde. buton he hit þe stiðliker wit[h] God gebete. Amen.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1151	1042 x 1047	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OE	Galbraith 1920, no. 1

7 gif hwa this awendan wylle sy he fordemed mid Iudan Scariothe butan he aer his forðsiðe hit gebete

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1197	843 x 863	Lufu, <i>ancilla Dei</i>	Canterbury, CC	B 405

se his ferwerne oððe hit agele se him seald 7 gehealden helle wite bute he to fulre bote gecerran wille Gode 7 mannum vene valete .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1394	1042	Lyfing, bishop	Worcester	<i>Charters</i> 94

God ælmihtig þone gehealde . þe þas ure sylena 7 ure gerædnyssa healdan wylle on ælce healfe . gif ænig þonne sy uppahofen 7 inblawen on þa oferhyda þære geættredan deofles lare . 7 wylle þas ure sylena gewemman oððe gewonian on ænigum þingum . wite he hine amansumadne mid Annaniam 7 Saphiram on ece forwyrd . butan he hit her ár wurðlice gebete Gode 7 mannum.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1421 ^s	xi ¹	community of Worcester	Worcester	B 1318

And se ðe þas foreward to breke ne ge wurðe hit him næfre for gifen . ac beo ‘he’ for demed into helle wite . 7 þær mid deofle wunige oð to domes dæge ::

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1427	1061 x 1082 poss. 1061 x 1066	Wulfwold, abbot	Bath	<i>Writs 6</i>

And se þe hit þence to litlianne. gelitlige hine God elmihtig her on worulde. 7 þonne he heonan faran sceal. si his wunung on helle grunde. buton he hit ær his ende þe stiðlicor gebete.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1449	964 x 975 (?970 x 975)	adjustment of boundaries between monasteries in Winchester	Winchester, OM	B 1163

Se þe ðis þonne awendan wylle ðe ic to sibbe 7 to ge sehtnesse betweoh þam mynstre geradigod hæbbe oððe þara ðinga þe on þissan þrim cyrogafum þe on ðissum þrym mynstrum to swytelungum ge sette syndon . awende hine sé eca drihten fram heofonan rice . 7 sii his wunung æfter his forð siðe on helle wite mid þam ðe symle on ælcra un geþwærnesse blissiað butan he hit ær his forðsiðe gebete .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1456	995 x 1005	agreement between Godwine, bishop of Rochester, and Leofwine, son of Ælfheah	Rochester	<i>Rochester 37</i>

Gif hwa þis ðence to awendenne . 7 þas foreword to abrecenne . awende him God fram his ansyne on þam miclan dome . swa þæt he si ascyred fram heofena rices myrhðe . 7 sy eallum deoflum betæht into helle . Amen .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1471	c. 1045	agreement between archbishop Eadsige & Æthelric	Canterbury, CC	<i>Charters</i> 101

7 gif ænig man on uferan dagan gehadud oððe læwede þisne cwyde wille awendan . awende hine God ælmihtig hrædlice of þisan lænan life into helle wite . 7 þær a wunige mid eallan þam deoflan þe seo laðlice wunung betæht is . buton he þe deoppor hit gebete ær his ende . wið Crist sylfne 7 wið þone hired.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1474	1045 x 1046	agreement between Ælfwold & community of Sherborne & Care, son of Toki	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 17

7 se þe þis awendan wylle oppe ætbredan þænçe þære halgan stowe : si he awend fram Gode on domes dæg 7 fram eallum his halgum . 7 si he besenct on middan þam weallendan bryne helle wites mid Iudan Cristes læwan a ecelice forðmed . butan he hit her ær þe deoppor gebete ;:

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1477 ^s	1052 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Chertsey	K 844

Se man ðe míne geue hér gelitlað óðer on óðere wisen tó áuuenden ðene hit hér beforen áwriten is, bén his lif hér ilitlade, and his wonienge in helle grúnde búten he hit hér ðe stíðlícor gebéte.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1483	946 x 951	Ælfgar	Bury St Edmunds	<i>Wills</i> 2

and gif it wo awende : habbe him wið god gemaene and wið þe holi s̅cas þe ic it to becueþen habbe. þat he it nefre ne bete buten on helle wite se þis quide awende boten it me seluen wende er min ende.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1495	[1000]	Æthelflæd	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London 22</i>

7 swa hwilc man swa ðisne cwide awende, sy he Judas gefere ðe urne Drihten belewde en helle pite.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1527	s. xi, prob. before 1038	Thurketel	Bury St Edmunds	B 1020

Se þe þis awende gewende hine god fram heofnan rice into hellewites brogan buton he hit þe deoper gebete ær his ænde dæg

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1535	1042 x 1053 poss. 1046	Wulfgyth	Canterbury, CC	Lowe 1989, pp. 297-8

and se þe mine quyde. beryaui þe hic nu biquepen habbe. a Godes ywitnessse; beryaued he worþe þises erthliche mergþes and ashiregi hine se almigti drigten. þe alle shepþe yshop. and ywrogte. vram alre halegene ymennessse. on domesday. and sy he bytagt Satane þane diefle. and alle his awargede yueren into helle grunde. and þer aquelmi mid Godes wiþsaken bute ysuyke and mine irfnumen neuer ne asuenche þisses is to ywitnessse Edward king and manie oþre

Appendix 4
Latin and Old English Sanctions
of Charters Extant in Latin and Old English Versions

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
72 ^s	680	Æthelred, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 48 (Lat) B 49 (OE)

Si quis autem hæc in aliquo , quod absit , violare præsumpserit, cujuscumque potestatis aut ordinis sit , excommunicatorio ipsius sancti Petri gladio nisi emendaverit , excidatur . Qui vero custodierit , quique res æcclesiæ amplificare maluerit , ipsius clavigeri gratia suscipiatur , et sicut infernus raptoribus , ita defensoribus ejus paradisus aperiatur .

Nu wille ic hit segge mid worde ðæt hwa swa halt ðis write 7 ðis bode . ða wurðe he efre wunnende mid God ælmihtig on heawenrice . 7 hwa swa hit tobreceð , ða wurðe he amansumod 7 aniðrod mid Judas . 7 mid ealle deofle on helle . buton he come to dedbote . Amen.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
452 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Pauls	<i>St Paul's,</i> <i>London 13</i>

Se þe þænne þa are þænce to þeofigenne, oððe on oððre wison to awadenne on oðre hit her beforen awriten is, sy his lif her gelittled, 7 þenne he heonon faran sceole, sig a his wunung on helle grund, buton he hit her ær his ænde þes tīpelicor gebete wið þæne æcan god þe ah ealra þinga geweald. Forþi þe swa fæstlice þysne freols bebeodað, þ̅ we swa moten eft ealle æt gædere heofonan rices myrhþe habban mid þam ecan Gode þe ah ealra þinge geweald. Amen.

Qui vero quid illinc abstulerit, sive in alium usum convertit, aliter (scilicet) quam hic suprascriptum est; sit ejus vita hic decurtata; et quando hinc decesserit, semper sit ejus habitatio in Inferni fundo, nisi id hic ante finem suum diligentius compenset apud æternum Deum, qui omnium rerum habet potestatem.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
574 ^s	957	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 987

Quod si quisque quod non optamus hujus donationis cartulam adnichilare temptaverit : coram Christo se rationem redditurum agnoscat .

Eadred cyning biddeð 7 halsað on ðere halgan ðrimnæsse . nomine Dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti . þte nan món ðurh deofles seáru cræft ge ðristlice his cynelican gefe on woh gewonían gif hit hwa dó gewrecen hit diuflu on helle wíte butan he hit ær ge bæte for Gode 7 for worulde swa hím riht wisie . Pax Christi nobiscum . Amen .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
806 ^s	978 for ? 968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1219 (Lat) B 1220 (OE)

Si quis autem presumptuosus diabolo instigante hanc libertatem infringere minuere vel in aliud quam constituimus transferre voluerit anathema sit et in Christi maledictione permanens æterno barathri incendio cum Juda Christi proditore ejusque complicitibus miserrimus puniatur . si non cum satisfactione ante obitum emendaverit . quod contra nostrum deliquit decretum .

Gif hwa þonne þurh ge dyrstignesse 7 deofles oppe his lima lare þysne freols abreca wille oppe on oþer awendan buton he hit ær his ford siþe ge bete sy he mid awurgednesse 7 ascyred fram ures drithnes ge manan 7 ealra his halgena 7 on helle susle ecelice ge tintragod mid Judan þe Cristes lewa wes.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1147 (Lat) B 1148 (OE)

Si quis autem diabolica suggestionem deceptus . hanc libertatem minuere vel infringere presumpserit . veniant super eum omnium maledictionem genera quæ scripta sunt in veteri et novo testamento . sitque cælum ferreum super caput ejus . et tellus énea sub pedibus ejus . et sit ipse æterno anathemate separatus á Deo et omnibus sanctis ejus . et apostolica beatorum . Petri et Pauli auctoritate ligatus sit quam diu vixerit . et post maledictum obitum suum gehennalibus flammis cum diabolo et angelis ejus sine fine dampnatus et cruciatus intereat

nisi prius emendaverit . quod Deum omnipotentem et sanctos apostolos ejus pro nichilo spernere non timuit .

Gif hwa þonne þurh ænige dystignesne oððe þurh deofles lare þisne freols abreca wille . oððe þas gesetednesse on oðer awendan durre . Se he awyrgeð mid eallan þan awyrgeðnessan þe synd áwritene on eallan halgan bocan . 7 sy he ascyred fram ures drihtenes gemanan 7 ealra his halgana . 7 sy he gebunden þa hwile þe he libbe on þisam life mid þan ylcan bendan þe God ælmihtig þyrc hine sylfne betæchte his halgan apostolan Petre 7 Paule . 7 æfter his awyrgeðan forð siðe ligge he efre on healle grundleasan pytte . 7 byrne he on þan ecan fyre mid deofle 7 his englan a butan ælcum ende . butan he hit ær his forð siðe ge bete . Amen .

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715

Si tunc, ut non optamus, quis maleuolum diabolico instinctus flatu, hanc nostram confirmationem minuerit uel dempserit, partem cum Iuda proditore domini accipiat, et dentibus Cerberi infernalis sine termino cum daemonibus omnibus Stigia palude corrodetur, nisi mortem ante communem congrua emendet satisfactione quod nequiter contra deum suum deliquit factorem;

Gyf ðonne hwylc yfel man of deófle onæled sý ðæt he ðisne mínne sunderfreols gewanige oððe gelytlice, sý he Iudas gefera Cristes belæwendes, and sý he toren of hellehundes tóðum on ðám egeslícum hellewítum, mid eallum deóflum bútan ælcum ende, bútan he hit ær his endedæge rihtlice gebéte, ðæt he wið his drihten mánfullíce ágylte;

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753

Si quis forte per quamlibet temeritatem aut per diabolicam instigationem hanc libertatem perfringere uoluerit siue hanc institutionem in aliud mutare praesumpserit, sit maledictus omnibus maledictionibus quae in uniuersis sanctis ascriptae sunt libris, sitque segregatus a communione domini nostri Ihesu Christi omniumque sanctorum suorum, ligatusque perseueret quamdiu uixerit eisdem uinculis quae per seipsum dominus suis tradidit apostolis Petro atque Paulo; et post maledictum exitum suum crucietur iugiter in profundissimo puteo

ardeatque in inferno cum diabolo et cum maledictis spiritibus secum sine fine habitantibus, nisi ante mortem suam emendauerit quod iniuste commiserat.

Gyf hwá ðonne þurð ænige dyrstnysse oððe þurð deófles láre ðysne freols ábreca wylle, oððe ðás gesetednysse on óðer áwendan durre, síg he áwyrgeð mid eallan ðán áwyrgeðnyssan ðæ synd áwritene on eallan hálgan bócan, and síg he áscyred fram úres drihtnes gemánan and ealre his hálkana, and sýg he gebunden ða hwíle ðe he libbe on ðissan life mid ðám ylcan bendan ðe God elmihtig þurh hine sylfne betáhte his hálgan apostolan Petre and Paule; and efter his áwyrgeðan forðsige ligce he æfre on helle grundleásan pytte and byrne he on ðám écan fýre mid deófle and mid ðám áwyrgeðum gástan ðe him midwuniað æfre búton ende, búton he hit ær his forðsíðe gebéte.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
981 ^s	not given	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	K 1327 (OE) Thorpe, pp. 326-7 (Lat)

and gyf ænig man sý swá dystig ongæn God ðæt ðis áwendan wille, áwænde hine God ælmyhtig from heofeneríces myriðe into helle grunde, búton ðás he æt his ænde hit ðe dæpper gebéte.

Et si aliquis hominum fuerit tam audax contra Deum, qui hanc regis munificentiam mutare voluerit, avertat illum Deus nisi ante finem perfectius emendaverit.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1045 ^s	1042 x 1065	King Edward the Confessor	Bury St Edmunds	K 895 (OE) K 910 (Lat)

Quod si aliquis fuerit ita uesanus per incitamenta diaboli quod uelit hanc libertatem mutare siue in aliquo adnichillare uel deprauare sit ille anathematizatus et in gehennam ignis demersus nisi in uita sua resipuerit.

And igif ðán euere áni man só drsti wrðe þurgh ðese défles lore ðat he ðis wiðquenchen wille and áweygen, sí he ámansumod and on helle súsle bischemt búte he ér his liues ende ðe déppere béte.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1047 ^s	1042 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 896 (OE) Fleming 1997, 76 (Lat)

Si quis autem aliquid horum a iure eiusdem ecclesie abstulerit faciendo aut consentiendo, perpetuo anathemate feriat et cum Iuda traditore dampnetur.

ic nelle gefafian ðæt ænig mann þis áwende ; and gif ænig mann sí swá dyrstig oððe ðærtó geðwærlæce ðæt ænig ðára lande ðe lið intó Cristes cyrcean ðanon geútige, sí he Iudas geféra ðe Crist belæwade, and ðe ðisne cwyde æfre áwende ðe ic mid mínre ágenre hand on þissere Cristes béc Criste betáhte on úppan Cristes weofod, drihten fordó hine á on écnese. Amen.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1089 ^s	1052 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	<i>Writs</i> 34

7 ic nelle gefafian þ ænig man þis tobrece be minan fullan freondscipe. 7 gif ænig man sy swa dirstig þ þisne cwide æfre awænde oððe þær to geþwærlæce, sy he Iudas gefere þe Crist belæwde 7 drihten fordo hine a on ecnyssse. Amen.

7 nolo pati ut aliquis frangat eas si non uult perdere amicitiam meam. Si quis autem huius donationis aliquid fregerit temerario ausu faciendo aut consentiendo socius sit Jude qui tradidit Christum 7 ab omnipotenti Deo in perpetuum dampnatur.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1208 ^s	c. 931	Æthelstan, ealdorman	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 28

Archiepiscopus etiam Wulfhelmus et omnes episcopi et abbates qui ibi simul aderant excommunicauerunt a Christo et ab omni communione Christi et omni Christianitate qui umquam hoc donum immutauerit uel istam terram diminuerit in pascuis siue metis, ut sit ipse missus et dimersus in inferno inferiori sine fine, et dixit omnis populus qui ibi aderat, 'Fiat, fiat, amen'.

Æðelstan ealdorman gebocade þis land of Uffentune in to sce Marie stowe to Abbendune be þæs kinges dæige Æðelstanes 7 þ̅ wæs be Winsies biscopes gewittnysse of Bærrucscire 7 Wulfhelm arcebiscop 7 Rodward biscop 7 manega oþra ægþer ge biscopas 7 abbodas 7 þeinas þe þer gegaderede wæron þær þæs tun be þyssan gemæran geled wæs in to sca Maria are in to Abbendune, 7 se arcebiscop Wulfhelm 7 ealla þa biscopas 7 abbodas þe þær gesomnode wæron amansumeden fram Criste 7 fram eallum Cristes gemæennes 7 fram eallum Cristen dome þe æfre þas gife undyde oððe þis land gelytlede on læsu oðð on gemæru beo he ascyred 7 gesceofen in to helle grunde aa buten ende, 7 cwæþ ealle þæt folc þe þær embstod, ‘Sy hit swa, amen, amen’.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	K 766

7 gyf ænig ðonne sý úp áhafen and swá swíðe grédig ðissere worulde, and ðás úre sylena geútian wylle, hæbbe he hér on ðisse life Godes curs and sancta Marian 7 sancte Oswaldes and ealra gehádedra manna, and sý he ámansumod on dómes dæige tóforan drihtnes cneówan fram Gode and fram eallan his hálgan, and mid Iudan 7 his geféran æfre on éce wite cwylmed, bútan he geswíce 7 tó rihte gecyrre, and wit synd ðisra landa hald and mund intó ðám hálgan mynstre ða hwíle ðe uncker lif bið.

Quod si uero quisquam, instinctu diabolico elatus, aut rerum cupiditate terrestrium inflatus, haec elemosinarum dona a sancto praedicto loco conatus fuerit abstrahere, excommunicatus sit ab omnipotente deo omnium creatore, et ex parte sanctissimae genitricis Mariae necnon sancti Oswaldi, sanctorumque reliquiarum ibidem quiescentium, et sit illi pars et haereditas in profundo abyssi, et in locis tenebrarum, et cum Iuda Scariothe similem sortiatur poenam gehennae, nisi poenitendo deo et hominibus satisfaciat, et talibus insistere iam amplius cesset

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1389 ⁷	1037	Æthelnoth, archbishop Canterbury	Canterbury, CC	Fleming 1997, no. 82 (Lat) K 974 (OE);

Quisquis eandem terram a iure prefate ecclesie avertere conatus fuerit. Anathema sit.

And se ðe ðis wille áwenden, áwende hine Crist fram heofenanríces myrhðe intó helle wíte.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1608	1044 x 1052	Osulf and Leofrun	Bury St Edmunds	<i>ECEE</i> 113

Et si aliquis fecerit sit, ipse sub Stigi fluminis vnda cum Iuda proditore mersus si ad emendationem non venerit.

And qwo so nouth ne dotz as oure wille was, in helle flod mote he drinklen witz þe tretour Iudas. Fiat, fiat.

Appendix 5
Motif Index of
Sanctions of Anglo-Saxon Charters

Group (I): Punishment/ Pain/ Torment

The most common motif in sanctions with infernal imagery in Anglo-Saxon charters is that of punishment and torment expressed by words like *poena*, *cruciatum*, *tormentum* and related verbs and adjectives in Latin as well as *wite* in Old English. It is not surprising that this is the predominant motif in sanctions, because the genre of sanctions as well as the concept of hell itself focus on the aspect of (often tormenting) punishment.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
37	765 x 785	Ecgberht II, king of Kent	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 15
44	[705 x (716 x ?)]	Eolla	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 5
53	(693)	Oshere, king of Hwicce	Worcester	B 85
₁ 78 ^s	708	Coenred, king of Merica	Evesham	B 120
83 ^s	716	Æthelbald, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 134
₃₆ 138 ^s	795 for 792	Offa, king of Mercia	St Albans	B 849
157	801	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 16
_{5a} 184 ^s	821	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 10
181 ^s	817	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 360
209 ^s version b)	862	Burgred, king of Mercia	Gloucester	B 535
227 ^s	670	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 25
₄₀ 229 ^s	not given	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 27
228 ^s	671	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 1
₂₇ 250 ^s	725	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 142
_{43a} 253 ^s	729	Æthelheard, king of Wessex & Queen Frithgyth	Glastonbury	B 147
255	739	Æthelheard, king of Wessex	Exeter	B 1331
_{43b} 256 ^s	745	Cuthred, king of Wessex	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 12
257 ^s	745	Cuthred, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 169
₄₀ 275 ^s	826	Ecgberht, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 391
₄₁ 312 ^s	854	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 477
₄₁ 317 ^s	856	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 491
_{OE} 325 ^s	[854]	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 493
₉ 351 ^s	939	King Alfred the Great	Winchester, OM	B 740
₂₀ 377 ^s (v2)	909	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, OM	B 626
_{3a} 379	921	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 8
391 ^s	843 for 934	King Æthelstan	Milton	B 739

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
² 392 ^s	850 for 939 or 940	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 4
393 ^s	905 for 931 x 934	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 690
¹⁹ 399	928	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 664
¹⁹ 400	928	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 663
^{3c} 403	930	King Æthelstan	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 17
^{3c} 405 ^s	930	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 1343
^{3d} 407	930 for 934	King Æthelstan	York	B 703
⁵ 408 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 27
¹ 409 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 25
⁵ 410 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 26
^{3e} 412	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 674
^{3a} 416	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 677
^{3b} 417	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 689
^{3a} 418	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 10
^{3b} 418a [?]	932	King Æthelstan	Barking	unprinted
^{3a} 419	932	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 8
^{3f} 421 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 694
^{3g} 422	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 7
^{3h} 423 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 8
^{3b} 425	934	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 702
³ⁱ 426	934	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart. iii. 1203</i>
^{6a} 438	937	King Æthelstan	Wilton	B 714
⁹ 441	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 730
⁹ 446	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 742
² 465	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 763
⁹ 466 ^s	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 752
³² 467	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 764
² 474	941	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 768
^{2d} 475	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770
478	941	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 12
^{2b} 480	942	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 34
⁹ 485	942	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 13
⁹ 491	943	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 37
² 502	944	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 15
³² 503	944	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 796
³¹ 508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
511 ^s	960 ?for 941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 765
² 517a [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
² 517b [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
³⁰ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
² 521 ^s	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 831
² 524	947	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 828
³¹ 528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₂ 531	948	King Eadred	Wilton	B 870
₂ 534	948	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 16
₂ 536 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 864
₂ 540 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 862
₅ 45 ^s	949	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 10
_{7a} 553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887
₂ 554	951	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 12
₂ 558	951	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 45
₁₄ 561	953	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 48
₁₄ 563	955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 903
₁₄ 564	955	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 50
_{OE} 566	955	King Eadred	Peterborough	B 909
_{5c} 567 ^s	955	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 51
₅ 68	955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 904
₁₄ 570	956 for ? 953 x 955	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 18
_{biOE} 574 ^s	957	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 987
₅ 83 ^s	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 58
₂ 585	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 948
₂ 587	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 70
₂ 588	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 71
₆ 06	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 959
₅ 607	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 57
₆ 08	906 for 956 (i)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 969
₂ 610	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 927
₆ 18	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 66
_{5b} 626	956	King Eadwig	Glastonbury	B 920
₆ 37	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Christchurch (Twynham)	B 968
₂ 640	957	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 1004
_{7a} 658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
₃₈ 661 ^s	961 for 956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 1009
₆ 66	(956 [i])	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 956
₇ 673	958 for 959	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 84
₂ 674	958	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1043
₂ 679	958	King Edgar	York	B 1044
₅ 680	959	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1051
₅ 681	959	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1052
₅ 682 ^s	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 85
₁ 683	960	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1054
₂ 687	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 86
₁ 688 ^s	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 88
₁ 690	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 87
_{3j} 692	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1074
₃₈ 694 ^s	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1073
₆ 95	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1076
₁ 696	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1071
₁ 698	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 91

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₉ 699	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1068
₁ 700	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 92
₁ 701 ^s	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 93
₁ 702	962	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1085
₁ 706	962	King Edgar	uncertain poss. Wilton	B 1083
₁ 708	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 96
₁ 709	963	King Edgar	Wells	B 1116, 1117
₁ 710	963	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 24
₁ 711	963	King Edgar	Bath	B 1099
₁ 714	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 98
₁ 716	963	King Edgar	York	B 1113
₁ 717	963	King Edgar	Canterbury, CC	B 1101
₁ 718	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1114
₁ 719	963	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1120
₁ 720	963	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 20
₁ 722	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 99
₃₀ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
₂₇ 725	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 101
726	964	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1134
₉ 728 ^s	964	King Edgar	Ghent, St Peter's	Johnson 1948, pp. 32-3
₁ 729	964	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 3
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
₅ 732 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 103
₅ 733 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 104
₅ 734 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 102
₁ 737	966	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 105
₁ 738	966	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1176
₁ 744	966	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 26
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
₁ 746 ^s	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 24
₁ 747	967	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1196
₁ 748	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1199
₁ 754	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1200
₇ 756 ^s	958 or 968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 108
₁ 757 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 111
₁ 758 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 110
₁ 759 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 112
₁ 760 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 113
₁ 762	968	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 27
₁ 764	968	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1214
₁ 765	968	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1215
₁ 766	968	King Edgar	Wilton	Searle (1894), pp. 211-13
₁ 767	968	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1216
₁ 771	969	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1230

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 772 ^s	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1229
₁ 773	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1234
₁ 776 ^s	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1265
₁ 777	970	King Edgar	Bath	B 1257
₁ 780	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1268
₁ 781	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1269
₁ 782	971	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1270
_{7a} 786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
_{7a} 788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
₁ 789	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1286
791	973	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1294
₁ 792 ^s	973	King Edgar	Thorney	B 1297
₁ 794	974	King Edgar	Ely	B 1305
₁ 800	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1316
₁ 801	975 (?for974)	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1312
₁ 804 ^s	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1313
₁ 805	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1309
_{biL} 806 ^s	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1219
_{biOE} 806 ^s	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1220
807 ^s	984 for 963 x 970	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1302
₇ 811 ^s	959 x 963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1319
_{7a} 812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
₂₀ 815	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1155
_{biL} 817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1147
818 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1159
819 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1151
₁ 820 ^s	973 x 974	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1307
821	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1146
₂₀ 824	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1152
825 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1149
₅ 829	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 116
₁ 833 ^s	962	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 95
₁ 835	979	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 622
₅ 837	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 624
_{7a} 838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629
840	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 633
₁ 841	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 31
₂ 842	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 26
₁ 843	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 119
847	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 186-7
849 ^s	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 640
850	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 28
₂ 851	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 120
854 ^s	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Bath	K 643
_{19a} 858	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 123
₂ 860	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 650

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 861	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 655
862	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 32
₁ 864	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 30
₁ 866	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	K 659
₁ 867	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 658
₁ 868	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 664
874	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 673
₇ 876	993	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 124
878	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 27
₆ 880	994	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	K 686
_{2a} 884	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 4
885	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 31
₁ 887	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 127
888	996	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 696
889	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1291
₁₈ 890	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii.35
₄₂ 891	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 698
₉ 896	999	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 128
_{3k} 900	1002	a) King Æthelred the Unready b) Ælfhelm, <i>minister</i>	St Albans	K 1297
902	1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 131
904	1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Wherwell	K 707
906	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 28
₁ 907 ^s	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 711
908 ^s	1004 x 1014	King Æthelred the Unready	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 23
₃₆ 912	1005	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 672
_{biOE} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
₁ 919	1008	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 725
₃₁ 928	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 37
932	1014	King Æthelred the Unready	Pershire	<i>ECWM</i> 419
938 ^s	not given	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1284
940 ^s	1006 x 1011	King Æthelred the Unready	Chertsey	K 718
941 ^s	[978 x 995/6]	King Æthelred the Unready	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 21
₁ 948	1015 x 1016	King Edmund Ironside	Thorney	B 809
₇ 953 ^s	1018	King Cnut	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , ii, Exeter 10
₇ 954 ^s	1019	King Cnut	Exeter	K 729
_{2c} 955	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 30
₂₆ 957 ^s	1020	King Cnut & Emma, his wife	Evesham	K 1316
958	1022	King Cnut	Ely	K 734
₁₈ 963	1031	King Cnut	Exeter	K 744
967 ^s	1033	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 139
₂ 968	1033	King Cnut	York	K 749 (omits bounds)
₂₆ 969	1033	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 20

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁷ 971	1031	King Cnut	Exeter/ Canterbury, CC	Davidson 1883, pp. 290-2
^{biL} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
⁹ 979	1023 x 1032	King Cnut	Athelney	K 1324
^{OE} 985	1017 x 1020	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>Writs</i> 26
³⁹ 993 ^s	1042	King Harthacnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 141
⁴² 994	1042	King Harthacnut	Winchester, OM	K 763
⁹ 995 ^s	1038 x 1039	King Harthacnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 761
⁹ 997 ^s	1040 x 1042	King Harthacnut & his mother Queen Emma	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 57
⁹ 999	1043	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 142
¹ 1006	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 774
¹ 1012	1045	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 776
⁹ 1013	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 783
¹ 1014	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 784
¹ 1016 ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335
¹⁸ 1019	1049	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 787 (omits bounds)
⁵ 1020 ^s	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 145
⁵ 1023 ^s	1052	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 146
³⁹ 1025 ^s	1054	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 147
¹ 1044	1042 x 1044	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 769
^{biOE} 1045 ^s	1042 x 1065	King Edward the Confessor	Bury St Edmunds	K 895
¹ 1053 ^s	1042 x 1046	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	Barlow 1970, pp. 330-1
¹ 1058 ^s	1044 x 1051	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 797
¹ 1056 ^s	1042 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 29
¹ 1107	1050 x 1052	King Edward the Confessor	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 59
^{OE} 1197	843 x 863	Lufu, <i>ancilla Dei</i>	Canterbury, CC	B 405
^{3m} 1206 ^s	918 x 924	Goda, <i>optimas & minister</i>	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 16
¹ 1212	961	Eadifu, queen	Canterbury, CC	B 1065
^{biL} 1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	K 766
^{biOE} 1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	K 766
¹ 1236 [?]	1057 x 1065	Gytha, comitissa	Exeter, St Olave	K 926
³⁴ 1250 ^s	714	Ecgwine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 130
³⁴ 1251 ^s	714	Ecgwine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 131
¹ 1298	962	Oswald, bishop of Worcester	Worcester	B 1091
^{biOE} 1389 [?]	1037	Æthelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury	Canterbury, CC	K 974
^{OE} 1421 ^s	xi ¹	community of Worcester	Worcester	B 1318
^{OE} 1449	964 x 975 (?970 x 975)	adjustment of boundaries between monasteries in Winchester	Winchester, OM	B 1163
^{OE} 1463	1020 x 1023	record of acquisition by Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough, on behalf of the abbey	Peterborough	K 733

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
OE1471	c. 1045	agreement between archbishops Eadsige & Æthelric	Canterbury, CC	K 773
OE1474	1045 x 1046	agreement between Ælfwold & community of Sherborne & Care, son of Toki	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 17
OE1483	946 x 951	Ælfgar	Bury St Edmunds	<i>Wills</i> 2
OE1527	s. xi, prob. before 1038	Thurketel	Bury St Edmunds	B 1020

Group (II): Fire

Fire is doubtless the most elementary feature of hell. The nature and purpose of hellfire were highly debated among medieval theologians. Most commonly, the fire in hell was regarded as immaterial, which is why it could burn the damned continually. Its purpose shifted between punitive, judicial and cleansing, largely depending on the writer, the era and context.³⁵

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
38 ^s	784	Ealhmund, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 243
₂₁ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
₁ 78 ^s	708	Coenred, king of Merica	Evesham	B 120
105	764	Offa, king of Mercia	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 6
112 ^s	777	Offa, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 222
133 ^s	790	Offa, king of Mercia	Paris, Saint Denis	B 259
142 ^s	757 x 774	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 219
_{5a} 184 ^s	821	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 10
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
228 ^s	671	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 1
₂₇ 250 ^s	725	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 142
271	823	Ecgbert, king of Wessex	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 18
₉ 351 ^s	939	King Alfred the Great	Winchester, OM	B 740
353 ^s	871 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Chertsey	B 563
366	901	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 5
_{3a} 379	921	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 8
₂ 392 ^s	850 for 939 or 940	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 4
_{3c} 403	930	King Æthelstan	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 17
_{3c} 405 ^s	930	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 1343
_{3d} 407	930 for 934	King Æthelstan	York	B 703

³⁵ On hellfire in Anglo-Saxon England, see B. M. Bedingfield, 'Anglo-Saxons on Fire', *JTS* ns 52 (2001), 658-77; on hellfire in the early Middle Ages, see Le Goff, *Naissance de purgatoire*, pp. 137-46.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₅ 408 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 27
₁ 409 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 25
₅ 410 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 26
413	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 23
_{3a} 416	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 677
_{3b} 417	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 689
_{3a} 418	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 10
_{3b} 418a [?]	932	King Æthelstan	Barking	unprinted
_{3a} 419	932	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 8
_{3f} 421 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 694
_{3g} 422	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 7
_{3h} 423 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 8
_{3b} 425	934	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 702
_{3i} 426	934	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1203
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 729
₉ 441	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 730
_{4b} 445	939	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 10
₉ 446	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 742
₄ 461	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 32
₄ 462	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 749
₄ 463	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 758
₂ 465	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 763
₉ 466 ^s	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 752
₂ 474	941	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 768
_{2d} 475	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770
_{2b} 480	942	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 34
₉ 485	942	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 13
₉ 491	943	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 37
₂ 502	944	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 15
₁₅ 500	944	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 39
₁₅ 504	944	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 800
₅ 11 ^s	960? for 941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 765
₅ 17 ^s	945	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 810
₂ 517a [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
₂ 517b [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
₃₀ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
₂ 521 ^s	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 831
₄ 523	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 830
₂ 524	947	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 828
₂ 531	948	King Eadred	Wilton	B 870
₂ 534	948	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 16
₂ 536 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 864
₂ 540 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 862
₁₁ 551	949	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 878
₈ 552	949	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 44
_{7a} 553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₂ 554	951	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 12
₂ 558	951	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 45
_{5c} 567 ^s	955	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 51
₁₅ 573 ^s	956	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 20
₈ 578	946 x 951 (? 949)	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 46
₈ 584 ^s	965 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 68
₂ 585	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 948
₂ 587	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 70
₂ 588	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 71
₈ 599	956 (? ii)	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 16
₈ 603	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 61
₅ 607	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 57
₂ 610	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 927
₈ 611	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 73
₁₁ 613	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 974
₄ 619	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 982
_{5b} 626	956	King Eadwig	Glastonbury	B 920
₁₅ 632	956	King Eadwig	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 19
₄ 638	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 983
₂ 640	957	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 1004
₆ 46	957	King Eadwig	prob. Ely	B 999, 1347
₈ 650	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 78
_{4b} 654	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 80
_{7a} 658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
₁₁ 660	959	King Eadwig	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 22
₈ 663	(956 [ii])	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 59
₆ 67	958	King Edgar	Chester	B 1041
₇ 673	958 for 959	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 84
₂ 674	958	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1043
₂ 679	958	King Edgar	York	B 1044
₅ 680	959	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1051
₅ 681	959	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1052
₅ 682 ^s	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 85
₁ 683	960	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1054
₂ 687	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 86
₁ 688 ^s	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 88
₁ 690	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 87
_{3j} 692	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1074
₁₁ 693	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1077
₁ 696	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1071
₁ 698	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 91
₉ 699	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1068
₁ 700	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 92
₁ 701 ^s	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 93
₁ 702	962	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1085
₄ 704 ^s	962	King Edgar	Buckfast	Rose-Troup 1929, pp. 205-3

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{4b} 705	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 94
¹ 706	962	King Edgar	uncertain poss. Wilton	B 1083
¹ 708	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 96
¹ 709	963	King Edgar	Wells	B 1116
¹ 710	963	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 24
¹ 711	963	King Edgar	Bath	B 1099
¹ 714	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 98
¹ 716	963	King Edgar	York	B 1113
¹ 717	963	King Edgar	Canterbury, CC	B 1101
¹ 718	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1114
¹ 719	963	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1120
¹ 720	963	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 20
¹ 722	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 99
³⁰ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
²⁷ 725	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 101
⁸ 727	964	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1127
⁹ 728 ^s	964	King Edgar	Ghent, St Peter's	Johnson 1948, pp. 32-33
¹ 729	964	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 3
⁷³¹ ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
⁵ 732 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 103
⁵ 733 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 104
⁵ 734 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 102
¹ 737	966	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 105
¹ 738	966	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1176
^{4a} 740	966	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 7
743	966	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1188
¹ 744	966	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 26
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
¹ 746 ^s	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 24
¹ 747	967	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1196
¹ 748	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1199
749	967 for 972	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 22
¹ 754	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1200
⁸ 755	967	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1197
⁷ 756 ^s	958 or 968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 108
¹ 757 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 111
¹ 758 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 110
¹ 759 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 112
¹ 760 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 113
¹ 762	968	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 27
⁴ 763	968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1217
¹ 764	968	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1214
¹ 765	968	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1215

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 766	968	King Edgar	Wilton	Searle 1894, pp. 211-3
₁ 767	968	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1216
₈ 769	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 109
_{4a} 770	969	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1231
₁ 771	969	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1230
₁ 772 ^s	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1229
₁ 773	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1234
₇ 775	970	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1259
₁ 776 ^s	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1265
₁ 777	970	King Edgar	Bath	B 1257
₈ 778	970	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 114
₁ 780	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1268
₁ 781	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1269
₁ 782	971	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1270
_{7a} 786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
_{7a} 788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
₁ 789	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1286
₁ 792 ^s	973	King Edgar	Thorney	B 1297
₁ 794	974	King Edgar	Ely	B 1305
₇ 95	974	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1303
₁ 800	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1316
₁ 801	975 (? for 974)	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1312
₁ 804 ^s	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1313
₁ 805	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1309
_{biL} 806 ^s	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1219
₈ 07 ^s	984 for 963 x 970	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1302
₇ 811 ^s	959 x 963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1319
_{7a} 812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
_{biL} 817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1147
_{biOE} 817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1148
₈ 19 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1151
₁ 820 ^s	973 x 974	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1307
₈ 21	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1146
₈ 28	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 117
₅ 29	965 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 116
₁ 833 ^s	962	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 95
₁ 835	979	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 622
₅ 37	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 624
_{7a} 838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629
₈ 39	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 118
₈ 40	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 633
₁ 841	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 31

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
² 842	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 26
¹ 843	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 119
⁴ 844	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 639
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
847	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 186-7
849 ^s	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 640
850	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 28
² 851	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 120
⁴ 855	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 122
⁴ 856	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 648
857	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 652
859	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Christchurch (Twynham)	K 647
² 860	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 650
¹ 861	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 655
¹ 864	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 30
865	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 28
¹ 866	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	K 659
¹ 867	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 658
¹ 868	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 664
875	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 30
⁷ 876	993	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 124
⁷ 880	994	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	K 686
³⁵ 882	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 689
^{2a} 884	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> , 4
⁴ 886	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 126
¹ 887	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 127
¹⁸ 890	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii.35
⁹ 896	999	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 128
^{3k} 900	1002	King Æthelred the Unready Ælfhelm, his <i>minister</i>	St Albans	K 1297
906	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 28
¹ 907 ^s	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 711
915	1007	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 134
¹ 919	1008	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 725
^{3l} 928	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 37
932	1014	King Æthelred the Unready	Pershore	<i>ECWM</i> 419
934	1015	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 137
938 ^s	not given	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1284
²¹ 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
¹ 948	1015 x 1016	King Edmund Ironside	Thorney	B 809
951 ^s	1018	King Cnut	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 287-9
⁷ 953 ^s	1018	King Cnut	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , ii, Exeter 10
⁷ 954 ^s	1019	King Cnut	Exeter	K 729

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{2c} 955	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 30
²⁶ 957 ^s	1020	King Cnut & Emma, his wife	Evesham	K 1316
¹⁸ 963	1031	King Cnut	Exeter	K 744
⁹⁶⁷ ^s	1033	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 139
² 968	1033	King Cnut	York	K 749 (omits bounds)
²⁶ 969	1033	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 20
⁷ 971	1031	King Cnut	Exeter/ Canterbury, CC	Davidson 1883, pp. 290-2
⁹⁷² ^s	1033	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 750
¹¹ 973 ^s	1034	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 140
^{biOE} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
⁹⁹⁵ ^s	1038 x 1039	King Harthacnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 761
¹⁰⁰⁶	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 774
⁹ 1013	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 783
¹ 1014	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 784
¹⁰¹⁶ ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335
²⁹ 1017	1048	King Edward the Confessor	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 38
¹⁸ 1019	1049	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 787 (omits bounds)
⁵ 1020 ^s	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 145
⁵ 1023 ^s	1052	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 146
¹⁰²⁸	1059	King Edward the Confessor	Paris, Saint Denis	<i>Writs</i> , pp. 538-9
¹⁰³⁹ ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	unprinted
¹⁰⁴⁰ ^s	1065	Edward the Confessor	Westminster	Widmore 1743, Appendix, no. 2
¹⁰⁴³ ^s	1066	Edward the Confessor	Westminster	K 824
¹⁰⁴⁴	1042 x 1044	Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 769
^{biOE} 1045 ^s	1042 x 1065	Edward the Confessor	Bury St Edmunds	K 895
¹ 1058 ^s	1044 x 1051	Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 797
¹⁰⁶⁰ ^s	1055 x 1060	Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 806
^{3m} 1206 ^s	918 x 924	Goda, <i>optimas</i> & <i>minister</i>	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 16
¹¹ 1214 ^s	962	<i>Vua</i> (? Ufa), vicecomes of Warwick	Evesham	B 1092
¹²³¹	1042 x 1065	agreement between Eadnoth & his wife & Abbot Ælfwine & community of St Benedict's, Ramsey	Ramsey	K 919
²⁹ 1233 ^s	1054 x 1057	Godiva, wife of Leofric	Eynsham	K 818
¹ 1298	962	Oswald, bishop of Worcester	Worcester	B 1091
³⁵ 1378 ^s	995	Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester	Canterbury, CC	K 690
^{OE} 1474	1045 x 1046	agreement between Ælfwold & community of Sherborne & Care, son of Toki	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 17
¹⁵²⁰	1017 x 1035	Leofflæd	Ely	K 932

Group (III): Judas in Hell

In many sanctions, the transgressors are threatened with being damned together with either biblical or historical persons. Judas is the most frequently mentioned person of these. Sometimes Judas appears alone, sometimes together with other notorious damned persons.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
53	(693)	Oshere, king of Hwicce	Worcester	B 85
₂₄ 54 ^s	706	Æthelweard, sub regulus with consent of Coenred, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 116
₂₁ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
_{biOE} 72 ^s	680	Æthelred, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 49
₁ 78 ^s	708	Coenred, king of Merica	Evesham	B 120
₂₄ 79 ^s	709	Coenred, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 124
142 ^s	757 x 774	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 219
_{5a} 184 ^s	821	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 10
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
209 ^s	862	Burgred, king of Mercia	Gloucester	B 503, 535
₁₆ 230 ^s	680 (?for 685)	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Canterbury, CC	B 50
₁₆ 232 ^s	673 for ? 683	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 1
₂₇ 250 ^s	725	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 142
₂₅ 270 ^s	773 for 833	Ecgbert, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 411
₂₅ 285 ^s	827	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Chertsey	B 394
298	847 [= 846]	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 451
355 ^s	892 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 581
_{3a} 379	921	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 8
391 ^s	843 for 934	King Æthelstan	Milton	B 739
₁₉ 399	928	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 664
₁₉ 400	928	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 663
_{3c} 403	930	King Æthelstan	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 17
_{3c} 405 ^s	930	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 1343
_{3d} 407	930 for 934	King Æthelstan	York	B 703
₅ 408 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 27
₁ 409 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 25
₅ 410 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 26
_{3e} 412	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 674
413	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 23
_{3a} 416	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 677
_{3b} 417	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 689
_{3a} 418	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 10
_{3b} 418a [?]	932	King Æthelstan	Barking	unprinted
_{3a} 419	932	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 8
_{3f} 421 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 694
_{3g} 422	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 7
_{3h} 423 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 8

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{3b} 425	934	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 702
³ⁱ 426	934	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1203
^{2d} 475	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770
515 ^s	946	Kings Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig	Canterbury, CC	B 811
^{7a} 553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887
^{5c} 567 ^s	955	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 51
583 ^s	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 58
586	956 for 959	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 1030
606	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 959
⁵ 607	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 57
^{5b} 626	956	King Eadwig	Glastonbury	B 920
^{7a} 658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
⁷ 673	958 for 959	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 84
⁵ 680	959	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1051
⁵ 681	959	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1052
⁵ 682 ^s	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 85
¹ 683	960	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1054
¹ 688 ^s	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 88
¹ 690	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 87
³ⁱ 692	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1074
¹ 696	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1071
¹ 698	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 91
¹ 700	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 92
¹ 701 ^s	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 93
¹ 702	962	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1085
¹ 706	962	King Edgar	uncertain poss. Wilton	B 1083
¹ 708	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 96
¹ 709	963	King Edgar	Wells	B 1116, 1117
¹ 710	963	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 24
¹ 711	963	King Edgar	Bath	B 1099
¹ 714	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 98
¹ 716	963	King Edgar	York	B 1113
¹ 717	963	King Edgar	Canterbury, CC	B 1101
¹ 718	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1114
¹ 719	963	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1120
¹ 720	963	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 20
¹ 722	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 99
²⁷ 725	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 101
¹ 729	964	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 3
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
⁵ 732 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 103
⁵ 733 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 104
⁵ 734 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 102
¹ 737	966	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 105
¹ 738	966	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1176
¹ 744	966	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 26

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 23</i>
₁ 746 ^s	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 24</i>
₁ 747	967	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1196
₁ 748	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1199
₁ 754	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1200
₇ 756 ^s	958 or 968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 108</i>
₁ 757 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 111</i>
₁ 758 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 110</i>
₁ 759 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 112</i>
₁ 760 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 113</i>
₁ 762	968	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury 27</i>
₁ 764	968	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1214
₁ 765	968	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1215
₁ 766	968	King Edgar	Wilton	Searle 1894, pp. 211-13
₁ 767	968	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1216
₁ 771	969	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1230
₁ 772 ^s	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1229
₁ 773	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1234
775	970	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1259
₁ 776 ^s	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1265
₁ 777	970	King Edgar	Bath	B 1257
₁ 780	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1268
₁ 781	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1269
₁ 782	971	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1270
_{7a} 786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
_{7a} 788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
₁ 789	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1286
₁ 792 ^s	973	King Edgar	Thorney	B 1297
₁ 794	974	King Edgar	Ely	B 1305
₁ 800	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1316
₁ 801	975 (?for974)	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1312
₁ 804 ^s	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1313
₁ 805	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1309
_{biL} 806 ^s	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1219
_{biOE} 806 ^s	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1220
807 ^s	984 for 963 x 970	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1302
₇ 811 ^s	959 x 963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1319
_{7a} 812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
818 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1159
₁ 820 ^s	973 x 974	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1307
821	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1146
₅ 829	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 116</i>
₁ 833 ^s	962	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 95</i>

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 835	979	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 622
836	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 626
₅ 837	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 624
_{7a} 838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629
840	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 633
₁ 841	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 31
₁ 843	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 119
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
_{19a} 858	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 123
₁ 861	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 655
₁ 864	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 30
₁ 866	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	K 659
₁ 867	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 658
₁ 868	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 664
₇ 876	993	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 124
₇ 880	994	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	K 686
₁ 887	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 127
_{7b} 892	998	King Æthelred the Unready	Coventry	Napier & Stevenson 8
_{3k} 900	1002	a) King Æthelred the Unready b) Ælfhelm, <i>minister</i>	St Albans	K 1297
904	1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Wherwell	K 707
₁ 907 ^s	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 711
908 ^s	1004 x 1014	King Æthelred the Unready	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 23
_{biL} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred II	Canterbury, CC	Fleming 1997, no. 70
_{biOE} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	<i>MonAngl</i> (rev. ed.), i. no. 6
₁ 919	1008	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 725
_{3l} 928	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 37
938 ^s	not given	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1284
940 ^s	1006 x 1011	King Æthelred the Unready	Chertsey	K 718
_{2l} 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
₁ 948	1015 x 1016	King Edmund Ironside	Thorney	B 809
₇ 953 ^s	1018	King Cnut	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , ii, Exeter 10
₇ 954 ^s	1019	King Cnut	Exeter	K 729
₂₆ 957 ^s	1020	King Cnut & Emma, his wife	Evesham	K 1316
₂₆ 969	1033	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 20
₇ 971	1031	King Cnut	Exeter/ Canterbury, CC	Davidson 1883, pp. 290-2
995 ^s	1038 x 1039	King Harthacnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 761
1012	1045	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 776
₁ 1014	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 784
1016 ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335
₂₉ 1017	1048	King Edward the Confessor	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 38

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₅ 1020 ^s	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 145
₅ 1023 ^s	1052	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 146
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801
1028	1059	King Edward the Confessor	Paris, Saint-Denis	<i>Writs</i> , pp. 538-9
1039 ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	unprinted
1040 ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	Widmore 1743, Appendix, no 2
1043 ^s	1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	K 824
_{biOE} 1047 ^s	1042 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 896
1056 ^s	1042 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , London 29
₁ 1058 ^s	1044 x 1051	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 797
_{biOE} 1089 ^s	1052 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	<i>Writs</i> 34
₁₆ 1184	780	Ostac, dux of Sussex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 11
_{3m} 1206 ^s	918 x 924	Goda, <i>optimas & minister</i>	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 16
_{biL} 1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	K 766
_{biOE} 1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	<i>Charters</i> 113
₂₉ 1233 ^s	1054 x 1057	Godiva, wife of Leofric	Eynsham	K 818
1236 ⁷	1057 x 1065	Gytha, <i>comitissa</i>	Exeter, St Olave	K 926
₁ 1298	962	Oswald, bishop of Worcester	Worcester	B 1091
_{OE} 1474	1045 x 1046	agreement betw. Bishop Ælf-wold & community at Sherborne, & Care, son of Toki	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 17
_{OE} 1495	[1000]	Æthelflæd	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , London 22
1520	1017 x 1035	Leofflæd	Ely	K 932
_{biOE} 1608	1044 x 1052	Osulf and Leofrun	Bury St Edmunds	<i>ECEE</i> 113
_{biL} 1608	1044 x 1052	Osulf and Leofrun	Bury St Edmunds	<i>ECEE</i> 113

Group (IV): Demons in Hell

After Judas, the most common inhabitants of hell in Latin sanctions are demons.³⁶ In the Anglo-Saxon sanctions these are either called *daemones* in Latin and *deofla* in Old English, or they are also repeatedly referred to as *satellites*, 'cronies'; *spiritus*, 'spirits'; *angeli*, 'angels'; terms denoting 'servants'; *carnifices*, 'executioners'; *turma*, 'troop'; *tetra acie*, 'hideous battle array'; sons of perdition; and parasites. In accordance with medieval literature, demons appear either as damned beings or as tormentors in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, although sometimes their position is ambiguous.

³⁶ In the Christian Middle Ages the term *demon* was largely used synonymously with 'devil' in the sense that it refers to minor devils as opposed to the (highest ranking) devil, cf. Russell, *Devil*, pp. 252-3; Dendle, *Satan Unbound*, pp. 86-7.

(IV.1): Demones (incl. OE *deofla*)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{bi} OE72 ^s	680	Æthelred, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 49
²³ 124 ^s	785	Offa, king of Mercia	Westminster	K 245
227 ^s	670	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 25
² 392 ^s	850 for 939 or 940	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 4
² 465	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 763
¹² 470	940	King Edmund	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 12
² 474	941	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 768
^{2d} 475	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770
478	941	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 12
^{2b} 480	942	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 34
²⁸ 481	942	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 776
²⁸ 483	942	King Edmund	Bury St Edmunds	B 774
² 502	944	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 15
² 517a [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
² 517b [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
² 521 ^s	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 831
² 524	947	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 828
¹² 526	947	King Eadred	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 15
² 531	948	King Eadred	Wilton	B 870
² 534	948	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 16
² 536 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 864
² 540 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 862
⁸ 552	949	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 44
² 554	951	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 12
² 558	951	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 45
⁸ 578	946 x 951 (? 949)	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 46
²³ 579 ^s	951 x 955 (or 957 x 959)	King Eadred (? for King Eadwig or King Edgar)	Wells	B 1023
⁸ 584 ^s	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 68
² 585	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 948
² 587	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 70
² 588	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 71
⁸ 599	956 (? ii)	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 16
⁸ 603	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 61
² 610	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 927
⁸ 611	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 73
² 640	957	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 1004
¹² 647	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 998
⁸ 650	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 78
^{12a} 657	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 81
⁸ 663	(956[ii])	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 59
² 674	958	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1043

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
² 679	958	King Edgar	York	B 1044
² 687	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 86
¹² 715	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1118
⁸ 727	964	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1127
⁷ 36	965	King Edgar	Abbotsbury	B 1165
⁸ 755	967	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1197
⁸ 769	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 109
⁸ 778	970	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 114
⁸ 828	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 117
² 842	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 26
² 851	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 120
² 860	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 650
^{2a} 884	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 4
^{biL} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
^{biOE} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
² 968	1033	King Cnut	York	K 749 (omits bounds)
997	1040 x 1042	King Harthacnut	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 57
1107	1050 x 1057	King Edward the Confessor	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 59
1231	1042 x 1065	Eadnoth and his wife	Ramsey	K 919
1278	872	Wærferth, bishop of Worcester, & Worcester <i>familia</i>	Worcester	B 534
^{OE} 1456	995 x 1005	agreement between Godwine, bishop of Rochester, and Leofwine, son of Ælfheah	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 37
1463	1020 x 1023	acquisition by Ælfsige, abbot of Peterborough, on behalf of the abbey	Peterborough	K 733
^{OE} 1471	c. 1045	agreement between archbishop Eadsige & Æthelric	Canterbury, CC	K 773

(IV.2): *satellites*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{4b} 445	939	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 10
⁴ 461	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 32
⁴ 462	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 749
⁴ 463	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 758
⁴ 523	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 830
⁴ 619	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 982
⁴ 638	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 983
^{4b} 654	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 80
⁴ 704 ^s	962	King Edgar	Buckfast	Rose-Troup 1929, pp. 250-3
^{4b} 705	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 94
^{4a} 740	966	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 7

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁴ 763	968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1217
^{4a} 770	969	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1231
⁴ 844	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 639
⁴ 855	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 122
⁴ 856	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 648
⁴ 886	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 126
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1303
⁴ 886	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 126
1044	1042 x 1044	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 769
1340	979	Oswald, archbishop	Worcester	K 623

(IV.3): Spirits

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
398 ^s	927	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	Fleming 1997, 43
^{6a} 438	937	King Æthelstan	Wilton	B 714
^{6b} 442 [?]	938	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 728
⁶ 447	939	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 741
⁶ 449	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 734
⁶ 460	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 31
⁶ 464	940	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 753
⁶ 468	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 756
⁶ 469	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 757
⁶ 476	941	King Edmund	Bath	B 767
⁶ 490	943	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 14
⁶ 510	946	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 813
⁶ 518	946	King Eadred	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 28
⁶ 527	947	King Eadred	Wells	B 821, 822
⁶ 580	946 x 955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 901
⁶ 831	977	King Edward the Martyr	Winchester, OM	K 611
840	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 633
^{biL} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
^{biOE} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
^{OE} 1535	1042 x 1053, poss. 1046	Wulfgyth	Canterbury, CC	Lowe 1989, pp. 297-8

(IV.4): Angels

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
29	763 or 764	Eadberht II, king of Kent	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 53
33	761 x 764 (prob. 762 x 764)	Sigered, king of West Kent	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 8
104 ^s	759 for 777 x c. 781	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 216
118 ^s	780	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 235
³⁷ 198	845 = 844	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 450
³⁷ 205	840 x 848	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 428

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
207	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 489
517 ^s	945	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 810
583 ^s	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 58
646	957	King Eadwig	prob. Ely	B 1347
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
biL817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1147
biOE817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1148
893	998	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 32
1371	972 x 992	Oswald, archbishop of York	Ramsey	K 1286
1438	838	agreement between Archbishop Ceolnoth and Ecgbert, king of Wessex, & Æthelwulf, subking of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 422
1520	1017 x 1035	Leofflæd	Ely	K 932

(IV.5): Servants

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
36138 ^s	795 for 792	Offa, king of Mercia	St Albans	B 849
30519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
30724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
36912	1005	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 672

(IV.6): *infernalium carnifices*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
2168 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
925	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720
21947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726

(IV.7): *turma*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
15500	944	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 39
15504	944	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 800
15573 ^s	956	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 20

(IV.8): *tetra acie*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
32467	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 764
32503	944	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 796

(IV.9): Sons of Perdition

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
545 ^s	949	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 10

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
999	1043	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 142

(IV.10): Parasites

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
934	1015	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 137
_{2c} 955	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 30

(IV.11): Misceallenuous

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
206	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 487
659	958 for 959	King Eadwig	York	B 1029
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
980 ^s	1021 x 1023	King Cnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 735
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801
_{OE} 1148	1065 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	<i>Writs</i> 104
1205 ^s	901	Ordlaf	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 21

Group (V): Abyss/ Pit as or in Hell (excl. Depth, see Group (XV) below)

Hell is often described as an abyss or a pit. Sometimes, however, this abyss or pit is part of the landscape of hell.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 78 ^s	708	Coenred, king of Merica	Evesham	B 120
_{5a} 184 ^s	821	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 10
191	840 for c. 844 x 852	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 453
₅ 408 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 27
₁ 409 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 25
₅ 410 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 26
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 729
_{biL} 452 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Pauls	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 13
_{biOE} 452 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Pauls	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 13
511 ^s	960 ?for 941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 765
552a [?]	950	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
_{7a} 553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887
567 ^s	955	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 51
594	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 54
606	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 959
₅ 607	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 57
_{5b} 626	956	King Eadwig	Glastonbury	B 920

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{7a} 658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
667	958	King Edgar	Chester	B 1041
⁷ 673	958 for 959	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 84
⁵ 680	959	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1051
⁵ 681	959	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1052
⁵ 682 ^s	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 85
¹ 683	960	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1054
¹ 688 ^s	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 88
¹ 690	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 87
¹ 696	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1071
¹ 698	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 91
¹ 700	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 92
¹ 701 ^s	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 93
¹ 702	962	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1085
¹ 706	962	King Edgar	uncertain poss. Wilton	B 1083
¹ 708	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 96
¹ 709	963	King Edgar	Wells	B 1116
¹ 710	963	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 24
¹ 711	963	King Edgar	Bath	B 1099
712	963	King Edgar	York	B 1112
¹ 714	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 98
¹ 716	963	King Edgar	York	B 1113
¹ 717	963	King Edgar	Canterbury, CC	B 1101
¹ 718	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1114
¹ 719	963	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1120
¹ 720	963	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 20
¹ 722	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 99
¹ 729	964	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 3
⁵ 732 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 103
⁵ 733 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 104
⁵ 734 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 102
736	965	King Edgar	Abbotsbury	B 1165
¹ 737	966	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 105
¹ 738	966	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1176
743	966	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1188
¹ 744	966	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 26
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
¹ 746 ^s	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 24
¹ 747	967	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1196
¹ 748	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1199
749	967 for 972	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 22
¹ 754	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1200
⁷ 756 ^s	958 or 968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 108
¹ 757 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 111
¹ 758 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 110
¹ 759 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 112

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 760 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 113
₁ 762	968	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 27
₁ 764	968	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1214
₁ 765	968	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1215
₁ 766	968	King Edgar	Wilton	Searle 1894, pp. 211-13
₁ 767	968	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1216
₁ 771	969	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1230
₁ 772 ^s	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1229
₁ 773	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1234
₁ 776 ^s	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1265
₁ 777	970	King Edgar	Bath	B 1257
₁ 780	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1268
₁ 781	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1269
₁ 782	971	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1270
784	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1285
_{7a} 786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
_{7a} 788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
₁ 789	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1286
₁ 792 ^s	973	King Edgar	Thorney	B 1297
₁ 794	974	King Edgar	Ely	B 1305
₁ 800	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1316
₁ 801	975 (?for974)	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1312
₁ 804 ^s	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1313
₁ 805	978 for 968	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1309
_{biL} 806 ^s	978 for 968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1219
₇ 811 ^s	959 x 963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1319
_{7a} 812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
_{biOE} 817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1148
₁ 820 ^s	973 x 974	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1307
821	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1146
₅ 829	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 116
₁ 833 ^s	962	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 95
₁ 835	979	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 622
₅ 837	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 624
_{7a} 838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629
₁ 841	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	Malmesbury 31
₁ 843	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 119
847	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 186-7
849 ^s	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 640
850	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 28
859	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Christchurch (Twynham)	K 647
₁ 861	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 655
₁ 864	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 30
₁ 866	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	K 659
₁ 867	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 658

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 868	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 664
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1303
₇ 876	993	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 124
₇ 880	994	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	K 686
₁ 887	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 127
₁₈ 890	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii.35
_{3k} 900	1002	a) King Æthelstan the Unready b) Ælfhelm, <i>minister</i>	St Albans	K 1297
₁ 907 ^s	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 711
915	1007	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 134
₁ 919	1008	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 725
₁ 948	1015 x 1016	King Edmund Ironside	Thorney	B 809
₇ 953 ^s	1018	King Cnut	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , ii, Exeter 10
₇ 954 ^s	1019	King Cnut	Exeter	K 729
₁₈ 963	1031	King Cnut	Exeter	K 744
967	1033	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 139
₇ 971	1031	King Cnut	Exeter/ Canterbury, CC	Davidson 1883, pp. 290-2
975	1035	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 16
_{biL} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
_{biOE} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
_{biOE} 981 ^s	not given	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	K 1327
_{OE} 985	1017 x 1020	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>Writs</i> 26
1003	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 292-5
₁ 1014	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 784
1016 ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335
₁₈ 1019	1049	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 787 (omits bounds)
₅ 1020 ^s	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 145
₅ 1023 ^s	1052	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 146
₁ 1058 ^s	1044 x 1051	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 797
_{OE} 1149 ^s	1051 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	<i>Writs</i> 105
_{biOE} 1208 ^s	c. 931	Æthelstan, ealdorman	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 28
_{biL} 1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	K 766
₁ 1298	962	Oswald, bishop	Worcester	B 1091
_{OE} 1427	1061 x 1082, poss. 1061 x 1066	Wulfwold, abbot	Bath	<i>Writs</i> 6
_{OE} 1477 ^s	1052 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Chertsey	K 844
_{OE} 1495	[1000]	Æthelflæd	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 22
_{OE} 1535	1042 x 1053, poss. 1046	Wulfgyth	Canterbury, CC	Lowe 1989, pp. 297-8

Group (VI) : Misery

Hell is frequently described as a place of misery.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₂₁ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
₁ 78 ^s	708	Coenred, king of Merica	Evesham	B 120
_{5a} 184 ^s	821	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 10
228 ^s	671	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 1
₃₃ 238	663 for ? 693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 121
₃₃ 364	901	King Edward the Elder	Wilton	B 588
₁₃ 377 ^s (v1)	909	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, OM	B 625
₂₀ 377 ^s (v2)	909	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, OM	B 626
₁₃ 381 ^s	not given	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, OM	B 629
₁₃ 382 ^s	not given	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, OM	B 627
₁₃ 383 ^s	not given	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, OM	B 628
₁₉ 399	928	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 664
₁₉ 400	928	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 663
₅ 408 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 27
₁ 409 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 25
₅ 410 ^s	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 26
478	941	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 12
_{7a} 553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887
₅ 607	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 57
608	906 for 956 (i)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 969
618	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 66
[624]	956	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 65
_{5b} 626	956	King Eadwig	Glastonbury	B 920
629	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 29
_{7a} 658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
₇ 673	958 for 959	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 84
₅ 680	959	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1051
₅ 681	959	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1052
₅ 682 ^s	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 85
₁ 683	960	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1054
₁ 688 ^s	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 88
₁ 690	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 87
₁ 696	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1071
₁ 698	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 91
₁ 700	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 92
₁ 701 ^s	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 93
₁ 702	962	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1085
₁ 706	962	King Edgar	uncertain poss. Wilton	B 1083
₁ 708	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 96
₁ 709	963	King Edgar	Wells	B 1116
₁ 710	963	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 24
₁ 711	963	King Edgar	Bath	B 1099

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 714	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 98
₁ 716	963	King Edgar	York	B 1113
₁ 717	963	King Edgar	Canterbury, CC	B 1101
₁ 718	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1114
₁ 719	963	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1120
₁ 720	963	King Edgar	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 20
₁ 722	963	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 99
₁ 729	964	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 3
₅ 732 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 103
₅ 733 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 104
₅ 734 ^s	965	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 102
₁ 737	966	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 105
₁ 738	966	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1176
₁ 744	966	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 26
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
₁ 746 ^s	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 24
₁ 747	967	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1196
₁ 748	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1199
₁ 754	967	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1200
₇ 756 ^s	958 or 968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 108
₁ 757 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 111
₁ 758 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 110
₁ 759 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 112
₁ 760 ^s	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 113
₁ 762	968	King Edgar	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 27
₁ 764	968	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1214
₁ 765	968	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1215
₁ 766	968	King Edgar	Wilton	Searle (1894), pp. 211-13
₁ 767	968	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1216
₁ 771	969	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1230
₁ 772 ^s	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1229
₁ 773	969	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1234
₁ 776 ^s	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1265
₁ 777	970	King Edgar	Bath	B 1257
₁ 780	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1268
₁ 781	970	King Edgar	Ely	B 1269
₁ 782	971	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1270
_{7a} 786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
_{7a} 788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
₁ 789	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1286
₁ 792 ^s	973	King Edgar	Thorney	B 1297
₁ 794	974	King Edgar	Ely	B 1305
₁ 800	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1316
₁ 801	975 (?for974)	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1312
₁ 804 ^s	975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1313

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁ 805	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Westminster	B 1309
_{biL} 806 ^s	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1219
₇ 811 ^s	959 x 963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1319
_{7a} 812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
₈ 14 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1150
₂₀ 815	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1155
₁₃ 816	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1157
₈ 18 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1159
₈ 19 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1151
₁ 820 ^s	973 x 974	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1307
₈ 21	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1146
₂₀ 824	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1152
₅ 829	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 116
₁ 833 ^s	962	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 95
₁ 835	979	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 622
₅ 837	980	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 624
_{7a} 838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629
₈ 39	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 118
₁ 841	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 31
₁ 843	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 119
₈ 45	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
₁ 861	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 655
₁ 864	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 30
₁ 866	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	K 659
₁ 867	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 658
₁ 868	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 664
₈ 69	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 30
₈ 71 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart. iii. 1303</i>
₇ 876	993	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 124
₇ 880	994	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	K 686
₃₅ 882	995 for 994	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 689
₁ 887	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 127
₁ 907 ^s	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 711
₁ 919	1008	King Æthelred the Unready	Ely	K 725
₂₁ 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
₁ 948	1015 x 1016	King Edmund Ironside	Thorney	B 809
₇ 953 ^s	1018	King Cnut	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , ii, Exeter 10
₇ 954 ^s	1019	King Cnut	Exeter	K 729
₇ 971	1031	King Cnut	Exeter/ Canterbury, CC	Davidson 1883, pp. 290-2
₃₉ 993 ^s	1042	King Harthacnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 141
₁ 1014	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 784
₅ 1020 ^s	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 145
₅ 1023 ^s	1052	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 146

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
³⁹ 1025 ^s	1054	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 147
¹ 1058 ^s	1044 x 1051	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 797
¹ 1298	962	Oswald, bishop	Worcester	B 1091
³⁵ 1378 ^s	995	Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester	Canterbury, CC	K 690

Group (VII): *infernum/ infernalis/ hell* (incl. *helle wite*, *helle grund*)

These Latin terms for hell emphasize the subterranean location of hell. As the Old English term *hell* is derived from Germanic **hela-*, ‘hide, conceal’, *hell* suggests that the underworld was, at least once, imagined as a hidden place.³⁷

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
53	(693)	Oshere, king of Hwicce	Worcester	B 85
²¹ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
^{biOE} 72 ^s	680	Æthelred, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 49
83 ^s	716	Æthelbald, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 134
118 ^s	780	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 235
155	799	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Canterbury, CC	B 294
191	840 for c. 844 x 852	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 453
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
227 ^s	670	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 25
228 ^s	671	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 1
¹⁶ 230 ^s	680(?for 685)	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Canterbury, CC	<i>Selsey</i> , pp. 99-101
¹⁶ 232 ^s	673 for ? 683	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 1
255	739	Æthelheard, king of Wessex	Exeter	B 1331
257 ^s	745	Cuthred, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 169
²⁵ 270 ^s	773 for 833	Ecgberht, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 411
²⁵ 285 ^s	827	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Chertsey	B 394
⁴¹ 312 ^s	854	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 477
⁴¹ 317 ^s	856	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 491
^{OE} 325 ^s	[854]	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 493
355 ^s	892 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 581
365	901	King Edward	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster</i> , <i>Winchester</i> 4
¹³ 377 ^s (v1)	909	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 625
²⁰ 377 ^s (v2)	909	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 626
¹³ 381 ^s	not given	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 629
¹³ 382 ^s	not given	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 627
¹³ 383 ^s	not given	King Edward	Winchester, OM	B 628
393 ^s	905 for 931 x 934	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 690
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 729

³⁷ H. Beck, ‘Hel’, *RGA* XIV, 257-60, at 259, cf. *ibid.* alternative etymology.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
biL452 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Pauls	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 13
biOE452 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Pauls	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 13
12470	940	King Edmund	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 12
514 ^s	942 x 946	King Edmund	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 28
515 ^s	946	Kings Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig	Canterbury, CC	B 811
30519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
12526	947	King Eadred	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 15
OE566	955	King Eadred	Peterborough	B 909
biOE574 ^s	957	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 987
583 ^s	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 58
586	956 for 959	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 1030
608	906 for 956 (i)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 969
612	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 934
629	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 29
637	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Christchurch (Twynham)	B 968
12647	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 998
12a657	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 81
659	958 for 959	King Eadwig	York	B 1029
38661 ^s	961 for 956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 1009
38694 ^s	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1073
12715	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1118
30724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
787 ^s	972	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1258, 1280
791	973	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1294
biOE806 ^s	978 for ?968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1220
807 ^s	984 for 963 x 970	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1302
20815	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1155
13816	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1157
biOE817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1148
818 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1159
819 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1151
20824	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1152
825 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1149
862	986	King Æthelred the Unready	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 32
874	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 673
888	996	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 696
42891	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 698
904	1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Wherwell	K 707
biL914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
biOE914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
925	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720
934	1015	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 137
938 ^s	not given	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1284
²¹ 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
²⁶ 957 ^s	1020	King Cnut & Emma, his wife	Evesham	K 1316
²⁶ 969	1033	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 20
974	1035	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii. 42
975	1035	King Cnut	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 16
^{biL} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
^{biOE} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
977	1021 x 1023	King Cnut	Evesham	K 736
^{biOE} 981 ^s	not given	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	K 1327
^{OE} 985	1017 x 1020	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>Writs</i> 26
³⁹ 993 ^s	1042	King Harthacnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 141
⁴² 994	1042	King Harthacnut	Winchester, OM	K 763
997 ^s	1040 x 1042	King Harthacnut & his mother Queen Emma	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 57
1012	1045	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 776
³⁹ 1025 ^s	1054	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 147
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801
1038	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 33
^{biOE} 1045 ^s	1042 x 1065	King Edward the Confessor	Bury St Edmunds	K 895
1053 ^s	1042 x 1046	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	Barlow 1970, pp. 330-1
1056 ^s	1042 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 29
1060 ^s	1053 x 1055 or 1058 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 806
1107	1050 x 1052	King Edward the Confessor	Ramsey	<i>Writs</i> 59
^{OE} 1149 ^s	1051 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	<i>Writs</i> 105
¹⁶ 1184	780	Ostac, <i>dux</i> of Sussex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 11
^{OE} 1197	843 x 863	Lufu, <i>ancilla Dei</i>	Canterbury, CC	B 405
1205a ^s	918	Elstrudis & his sons Arnulf & Adelolf	Ghent, St Peter's	B 661
^{biL} 1208 ^s	c. 931	Æthelstan, ealdorman	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 28
^{biOE} 1208 ^s	c. 931	Æthelstan, ealdorman	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 28
1231	1042 x 1065	Eadnoth and his wife	Ramsey	K 919
1236 [?]	1057 x 1065	Gytha, <i>comitissa</i>	Exeter, St Olave	K 926
³⁴ 1250 ^s	714	Ecgbwine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 130
³⁴ 1251 ^s	714	Ecgbwine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 131
1371	972 x 992	Oswald, archbishop of York	Ramsey	K 1286
1387	1016 x 1020 prob. 1018	Eadnoth, bishop	Exeter	Napier & Stevenson 4
^{biOE} 1389 [?]	1037	Æthelnoth, archbishop Canterbury	Canterbury, CC	K 974
^{OE} 1421 ^s	xi ¹	community of Worcester	Worcester	B 1318

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
OE1427	1061 x 1082 poss. 1061 x 1066	Wulfwold, abbot	Bath	<i>Writs</i> 6
OE1449	964 x 975 (? 970 x 975)	adjustment of boundaries between monasteries in Winchester	Winchester, OM	B 1163
OE1456	995 x 1005	agreement between Godwine, bishop of Rochester, and Leofwine, son of Ælfheah	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 37
OE1471	c. 1045	agreement between archbishop Eadsige & Æthelric	Canterbury, CC	K 773
OE1474	1045 x 1046	agreement between Ælfwold & community of Sherborne & Care, son of Toki	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 17
OE1477 ^s	1052 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Chertsey	K 844
1480 ^s	1062 x 1066	Ealdred, archbishop	Worcester	K 823
1481	1042 x 1055	history of lands claimed by Peterborough Abbey	Peterborough	K 927
OE1483	946 x 951	Ælfgar	Bury St Edmunds	<i>Wills</i> 2
OE1494	[1000]	Æthelflæd	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 22
OE1527	s. xi, prob. before 1038	Thurketel	Bury St Edmunds	B 1020
OE1535	1042 x 1053 poss. 1046	Wulfgyth	Canterbury, CC	Lowe 1989, pp. 297-8
biOE1608	1044 x 1052	Osulf and Leofrun	Bury St Edmunds	<i>ECEE</i> 113

Group (VIII): Human Damned

This motif presents the human damned that inhabit hell according to the sins for which they are punished. For example, those guilty of the sin of greed are referred to as *rapaces*, ‘the rapacious ones’. This practice is also widely used in Old English homilies (e.g. ÆCHom I.8.190-3; WHom 7.128-34)

(VIII.1): Those Hearing Mt 25:41

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
9351 ^s	939	King Alfred the Great	Winchester, OM	B 740
9441	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 730
4b445	939	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 10
9446	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 742
4461	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 32
4462	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 749
4463	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 758

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁹ 466 ^s	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 752
^{2b} 480	942	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 34
⁹ 485	942	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 13
⁹ 491	943	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 37
⁴ 523	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 830
⁴ 619	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 982
⁴ 638	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 983
^{4b} 654	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 80
⁹ 699	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1068
⁴ 704 ^s	962	King Edgar	Buckfast	Rose-Troup 1929, p. 250-3
^{4b} 705	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 94
⁹ 728 ^s	964	King Edgar	Ghent, St Peter's	Johnson 1948, pp. 32-3
^{4a} 740	966	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 7
⁴ 763	968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1217
^{4a} 770	969	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1231
⁷ 95	974	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1303
⁴ 844	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 639
⁴ 855	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 122
⁴ 856	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 648
⁴ 886	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 126
⁹ 896	999	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 128
⁹ 51 ^s	1081	King Cnut	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 287-9
⁹ 1013	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 783
¹ 016 ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335

(VIII.2): *reprobii*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁹ 351 ^s	939	King Alfred the Great	Winchester, OM	B 740
⁹ 441	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 730
⁹ 446	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 742
⁹ 466 ^s	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 752
⁴ 80	942	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 34
⁹ 485	942	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 13
⁹ 491	943	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 37
⁹ 699	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1068
⁹ 728 ^s	964	King Edgar	Ghent, St Peter's	Johnson 1948, pp. 32-3
⁹ 896	999	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 128
⁹ 02	1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 131
⁹ 1013	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 783
¹ 016 ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335

(VIII.3): *rapaces*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
206	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 487
³³ 238	663 for ? 693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 121
^{43a} 253 ^s	729	Æthelheard, king of Wessex, & Queen Frithgyth	Glastonbury	B 147
^{43b} 256 ^s	745	Cuthred, king of Wessex	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 12
298	847 [= 846]	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 451
³³ 364	901	King Edward the Elder	Wilton	B 588

(VIII.4): *impii*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
38 ^s	784	Ealhmund, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 243
83 ^s	716	Æthelbald, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 134
105	764	Offa, king of Mercia	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 6
1380 ^s	996 (for 994)	Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury	Wolverhampton	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn.), vi.1443-6 (no.1)

(VIII.5): *peccatores*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
38 ^s	784	Ealhmund, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 243
53	[693]	Oshere, king of Hwicce	Worcester	B 85
105	764	Offa, king of Mercia	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 6
206	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 487

(VIII.6): Those Hearing Lk 13:27-8

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
³⁵ 882	995 for 994	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 689
857	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 652
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury</i> <i>Cart.</i> iii. 1303
³⁵ 1378 ^s	995	Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester	Canterbury, CC	K 690

(VIII.7): Sons of Perdition (cf. Demons, Group (000) above)

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
545 ^s	949	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 10
999	1043	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 142

(VIII.8) : Miscellaneous

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
37	765 x 785	Ecgbert II, king of Kent	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 15
227 ^s	670	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 25
298	847 [= 846]	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Winchester, OM	B 451

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
355 ^s	892 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 581
¹⁵ 500	944	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 39
¹⁵ 504	944	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 800
³¹ 508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
³¹ 528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820
¹⁵ 573 ^s	956	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 20
659	958 for 959	King Eadwig	York	B 1029
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1303
899	1001	King Æthelred the Unready	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 29
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801
1205 ^s	901	Ordlaf	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 21

Group (IX): Classical Mythology

The sanctions of this Motif Group use terminology from classical mythology for depicting hell. Terms for hell (Tartarus, Orcus, Avernus, Erebus), several names for hell's rivers (Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, Pyriphlegethon) and inhabitants of the classical underworld (the 'hellhound' Cerberus; Vulcanus, the Roman god of fire; and Pluto, the Greek god of the underworld) appear in these sanctions. Yet, the terms are not always used in accordance with their classical meanings. For example, the word *Styx* does not necessarily denote a river of hell in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, but may simply signify 'hell' in general.

(IX.1): Tartarum

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
228 ^s	671	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 1
³² 467	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 764
³² 503	944	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 796
478	941	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 12
²⁸ 481	942	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 776
²⁸ 483	942	King Edmund	Bury St Edmunds	B 774
³¹ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
545 ^s	949	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 10
571	956	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 931
¹⁰ 575	958	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 902
¹⁰ 577	958	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 77
590	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 60
¹⁷ 595	956	King Eadwig	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 159-60
¹⁰ 600	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 953
¹⁰ 601	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 18
¹⁰ 620	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 74

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
628	956	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 15
¹⁰ 642	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 992
¹⁰ 645	957	King Eadwig	Westminster	B 994
¹⁷ 662a	955 x 959	King Eadwig	Evesham	B 1025
667	958	King Edgar	Chester	B 1041
¹⁰ 691	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 90
³⁰ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
736	965	King Edgar	Abbotsbury	B 1165
933	1014	King Æthelred the Unready	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 15
972 ^s	1033	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 750
979	1023 x 1032	King Cnut	Athelney	K 1324
995 ^s	1038 x 1039	King Harthacnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 761
999	1043	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 142
¹⁷ 1022	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 144
1340	979	Oswald, archbishop	Worcester	K 623

(IX.2) : Styx

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
²⁸ 481	942	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 776
²⁸ 483	942	King Edmund	Bury St Edmunds	B 774
³¹ 508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
³¹ 528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820
¹⁷ 595	956	King Eadwig	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 159-60
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
¹⁷ 662a	955 x 959	King Eadwig	Evesham	B 1025
^{biL} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
¹⁷ 1022	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 144
^{biL} 1608	1044 x 1052	Osulf and Leofrun	Bury St Edmunds	<i>ECEE</i> 113

(IX.3): Acheron

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
413	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 23
712	963	King Edgar	York	B 1112
736	965	King Edgar	Abbotsbury	B 1165
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
821	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1146
²⁹ 1017	1048	King Edward the Confessor	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 38
²⁹ 1233 ^s	1054 x 1057	Godiva, wife of Leofric	Eynsham	K 818

(IX.4): Orcus

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
²⁸ 481	942	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 776
²⁸ 483	942	King Edmund	Bury St Edmunds	B 774

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
784	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1285
¹⁸ 890	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii.35
924	1011	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 34
¹⁸ 963	1031	King Cnut	Exeter	K 744
¹⁸ 1019	1049	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 787 (omits bounds)

(IX.5): Avernus

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
353 ^s	871 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Chertsey	B 563
618	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 66
878	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 27
924	1011	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 34
940 ^s	1006 x 1011	King Æthelred the Unready	Chertsey	K 718

(IX.6): Erebus

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
112 ^s	777	Offa, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 222
³⁶ 138 ^s	795 for 792	Offa, king of Mercia	St Albans	B 849
908 ^s	1004 x 1014	King Æthelred the Unready	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 23
³⁶ 912	1005	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 672

(IX.7): Cerberus

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
³³ 238	663 for ?693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> ii. 979
³³ 364	901	King Edward the Elder	Wilton	B 588
^{biL} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
1380 ^s	996 (for 994)	Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury	Wolverhampton	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn.), vi.1443-6 (no.1)

(IX.8): Phlegeton

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
799 ^s	974	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1304
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1303

(IX.9): Cocytus

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
627	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 973

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
672	956	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1183

(IX.10): Vulcanus

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₃₀ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
₃₀ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100

(IX.11): Pluto

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1380 ^s	996 (for 994)	Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury	Wolverhampton	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn.), vi.1443-6 (no.1)

Group (X): Matthew XXV.41

The damnation of the wicked at the Last Judgement according to Matthew XXV.41 ('discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum qui paratus est diabolo et angelis eius') is the most frequently used biblical source.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
33	761 x 764 (prob. 762 x 764)	Sigered, king of West Kent	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 8
133 ^s	790	Offa, king of Mercia	Paris, Saint-Denis	B 259
₉ 351 ^s	939	King Alfred the Great	Winchester, OM	B 740
₂ 392 ^s	850 for 939 or 940	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 4
₉ 441	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 730
_{4b} 445	939	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 10
₉ 446	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 742
₄ 461	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 32
₄ 462	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 749
₄ 463	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 758
₂ 465	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 763
₉ 466 ^s	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 752
₂ 474	941	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 768
_{2d} 475	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770
_{2b} 480	942	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 34
₉ 485	942	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 13
₉ 491	943	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 37
₂ 502	944	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 15
517 ^s	945	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 810
₂ 517a [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
² 517b ⁷	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
² 521 ^s	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 831
⁴ 523	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 830
² 524	947	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 828
² 531	948	King Eadred	Wilton	B 870
² 534	948	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 16
² 536 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 864
² 540 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 862
² 554	951	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 12
² 558	951	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 45
² 585	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 948
² 587	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 70
² 588	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 71
² 610	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 927
⁴ 619	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 982
⁴ 638	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 983
² 640	957	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 1004
^{4b} 654	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 80
² 674	958	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1043
² 679	958	King Edgar	York	B 1044
² 687	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 86
⁹ 699	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1068
⁴ 704 ^s	962	King Edgar	Buckfast	Rose-Troup 1929, p. 250-3
^{4b} 705	962	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 94
⁹ 728 ^s	964	King Edgar	Ghent, St Peter's	Johnson 1948, pp. 32-3
^{4a} 740	966	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 7
^{4a} 770	969	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1231
⁴ 763	968	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1217
⁷ 95	974	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1303
² 842	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 26
⁴ 844	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 639
² 851	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 120
⁴ 855	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 122
⁴ 856	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 648
² 860	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 650
⁸ 75	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 30
^{2a} 884	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 4
⁴ 886	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 126
⁹ 896	999	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 128
⁹ 51 ^s	1081	King Cnut	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 287-9
^{2c} 955	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 30
² 968	1033	King Cnut	York	K 749 (omits bounds)
⁹ 1013	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 783
¹ 016 ^s	1046	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 1335

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1520	1017 x 1035	Leofflæd	Ely	K 932

Group (XI): Darkness in Hell

Despite the fire that fills hell, hell is commonly described as a place of darkness.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
191	840 for c. 844 x 852	Berhtwulf, king of Merica	Evesham	B 453
₂ 392 ^s	850 for 939 or 940	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 4
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 730
₂ 465	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 763
₁₂ 470	940	King Edmund	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 12
₂ 474	941	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 768
475	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770
₂ 502	944	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 15
₃₁ 508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
₂ 517a [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
₂ 517b [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
₂ 521 ^s	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 831
₂ 524	947	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 828
₁₂ 526	947	King Eadred	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 15
₃₁ 528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820
₂ 531	948	King Eadred	Wilton	B 870
₂ 534	948	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 16
₂ 536 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 864, 863
₂ 540 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 862
₁₁ 551	949	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 878
₂ 554	951	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 12
₂ 558	951	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 45
571 ^s	956	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 931
₁₀ 575	958	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 902
₁₀ 577	958	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 77
₂ 585	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 948
₂ 587	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 70
₂ 588	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 71
₁₀ 600	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 953
₁₀ 601	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 18
₂ 610	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 927
₁₁ 613	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 974
₁₀ 620	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 74
628	956	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 15
₂ 640	957	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 1004

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₁₀ 642	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 992
₁₀ 645	957	King Eadwig	Westminster	B 994
₁₂ 647	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 998
₁₁ 660	959	King Eadwig	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 22
₃₈ 661 ^s	961 for 956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 1009
₆ 67	958	Edgar, king of Mercia	Chester	B 1041
₂ 674	958	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1043
₂ 679	958	King Edgar	York	B 1044
₂ 687	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 86
₁₀ 691	961	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 90
₁₁ 693	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1077
₃₈ 694 ^s	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1073
₁₂ 715	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1118
₂ 842	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 26
₈ 45	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
₂ 851	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 120
₂ 860	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 650
₈ 69	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 30
₈ 75	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 30
₈ 84	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 4
₈ 89	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1291
₉ 34	1015	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 137
₂ 968	1033	King Cnut	York	K 749 (omits bounds)
₁₁ 973 ^s	1034	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 140
₁₁ 1214 ^s	962	<i>Vua</i> (? Ufa), vicecomes of Warwick	Evesham	B 1092
_{biL} 1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	K 766

Group (XII): Biblical and Historical Persons in Hell (excl. Judas, see above Group III)

Many sanctions present historical and biblical persons as damned inhabitants of hell: Ananias and Sapphira, who were cursed with death for betraying the apostolic way of life; Abiram and Dathan, who were swallowed by the earth together with their families for their rebellion against Moses; Pilate, Caiaphas and Annas, who were all damned for their involvement in the Crucifixion of Jesus. Concerning the appearance of Herod in Anglo-Saxon sanctions, it is not clear which of the three biblical Herods is meant (Herod the Great killed the infants shortly after Jesus' birth; Herod Antipas had John the Baptist murdered and mocked Jesus; and Herod

Agrippa I had John the Evangelist murdered and imprisoned the Apostle Peter).³⁸ Finally, there are Julian the Apostate, a pagan Roman emperor who persecuted Christians despite his Christian upbringing, as well as Adam, the first created human, and Cain, the first murderer.

(XII.1): Sapphira

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
142 ^s	757 x 774	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 219
7a553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887
571 ^s	956	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 931
7a658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
7a786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
7a788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
7a812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
7a838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629
OE1394	1042	Lyfing, bishop	Worcester	<i>Charters</i> 94

(XII.2): Ananias

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
142 ^s	757 x 774	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 219
7a553 ^s	950	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 887
7a658	959	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 83
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
7a786	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1282
7a788 ^s	972	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1284
7a812	967 x 975	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1187
7a838	981	King Æthelred the Unready	Tavistock	K 629
OE1394	1042	Lyfing, bishop	Worcester	<i>Charters</i> 94

(XII.3): Abiram

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
741 ^s	966	King Edgar	Crowland	B 1178
1003	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 292-5
1028	1059	King Edward the Confessor	Paris, Saint-Denis	<i>Writs</i> , pp. 538-9
1205a ^s	918	Elstrudis and his sons Arnulf and Adelolf	Ghent, St Peter's	B 661

³⁸ Ælfric presents all three in his homily 'In festivitatem sancti petri apostolici' (ÆCHom II.24.42-6).

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1237	c. 1061	Ælfgar, <i>quondam comes</i>	Rheims, St Remigius	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn), vi.1042 (no.1)
1480 ^s	1062 x 1066	Ealdred, archbishop	Worcester	K 823

(XII.4): Dathan

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
741 ^s	966	King Edgar	Crowland	B 1178
1003	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 292-5
1028	1059	King Edward the Confessor	Paris, Saint-Denis	<i>Writs</i> , pp. 538-9
1205a ^s	918	Elstrudis and his sons Arnulf and Adelolf	Ghent, St Peter's	B 661
1237	1061	Ælfgar, <i>quondam comes</i>	Rheims, St Remigius	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn), vi.1042 (no.1)
1480 ^s	1062 x 1066	Ealdred, archbishop	Worcester	K 823

(XII.5): Pilate

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
355 ^s	892 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 581
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 729
515 ^s	946	Kings Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig	Canterbury, CC	B 811
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
1012	1045	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 776
²⁹ 1017	1048	King Edward the Confessor	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 38
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801
²⁹ 1233 ^s	1054 x 1057	Godiva, wife of Leofric	Eynsham	K 818

(XII.6): Caiaphas

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
²¹ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 729
515 ^s	946	Kings Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig	Canterbury, CC	B 811
²¹ 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
²⁹ 1017	1048	King Edward the Confessor	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 38
²⁹ 1233 ^s	1054 x 1057	Godiva, wife of Leofric	Eynsham	K 818

(XII.7): Annas

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₂₁ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
571 ^s	956	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 931
₂₁ 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726

(XII.8): Herod

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
112 ^s	777	Offa, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 222
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801

(XII.9): Julianus

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 27</i>

(XII.10): Adam

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 23</i>

(XII.11): Cain

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 23</i>

Group (XIII): Fetter Imagery

Several sanctions describe the damned as being fettered in hell. This motif is linked to that of the bound devil in hell, which appears frequently in Old English poetry, for instance, in *Christ and Satan* (38b-9a, 48b-9a, 102a-3b *etc.*) and *Genesis B* (368b-74a, 377b-85a, 734b). Ælfric's homily 'In octavis pentecosten dicendus', for example, draws a clear connection between the bound devil and the fettered human damned (ÆHom 11.163-4).

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
83 ^s	716	Æthelbald, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 134
118 ^s	780	Offa, king of Merica	Worcester	B 235
₃₆ 138 ^s	795 for 792	Offa, king of Mercia	St Albans	B 849
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
209 ^s	862	Burgred, king of Mercia	Gloucester	B 503, 535

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
271	823	Ecgbert, king of Wessex	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 18
¹⁹ 399	928	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 664
¹⁹ 400	928	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 663
440	938	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 729
453 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's</i> , <i>London</i> 12
³¹ 508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
³⁰ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
³¹ 528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820
¹¹ 551	949	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 878
⁸ 552	949	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 44
⁸ 578	946 x 951 (? 949)	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 46
⁸ 584 ^s	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 68
586	956 for 959	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 1030
⁸ 599	956 (? ii)	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 16
⁸ 603	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 61
606	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 959
⁸ 611	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 73
¹¹ 613	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 974
⁸ 650	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 78
¹¹ 660	959	King Eadwig	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster</i> , <i>Winchester</i> 22
⁸ 663	(956[ii])	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 59
¹¹ 693	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1077
695	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1076
³⁰ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
⁸ 727	964	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1127
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster</i> , <i>Winchester</i> 23
⁸ 755	967	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1197
⁸ 769	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 109
⁸ 778	970	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 114
⁸ 828	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 117
¹⁸ 890	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii.35
³⁶ 912	1005	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 672
932	1014	King Æthelred the Unready	Pershore	<i>ECWM</i> 419
^{19a} 858	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 123
¹⁸ 963	1031	King Cnut	Exeter	K 744
¹¹ 973 ^s	1034	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 140
^{biL} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
^{biOE} 976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
980 ^s	1021 x 1023	King Cnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 735
¹⁸ 1019	1049	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 787 (omits bounds)
1038	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 33
1039 ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	unprinted

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1040 ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	Widmore 1743, Appendix, no. 2
₁₁ 1214 ^s	962	<i>Vua</i> (? Ufa), vicomes or Warwick	Evesham	B 1092
₃₄ 1250 ^s	714	Ecgbine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 130
₃₄ 1251 ^s	714	Ecgbine, bishop of Worcester	Evesham	B 131
1480 ^s	1062 x 1066	Ealdred, archbishop	Worcester	K 823

Group (XIV): Military Imagery

The military imagery in several sanctions alludes to the idea of spiritual warfare between angels and devils over the soul of each human as well as over humankind.³⁹

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
_{biL} 72 ^s	680	Æthelred, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 49
_{6b} 442 [?]	938	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 728
₆ 447	939	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 741
₆ 449	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 734
₆ 460	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 31
₆ 464	940	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 753
₃₂ 467	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 764
₆ 468	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 756
₆ 469	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 757
₁₂ 470	940	King Edmund	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 12
₆ 476	941	King Edmund	Bath	B 767
₂₈ 481	942	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 776
₂₈ 483	942	King Edmund	Bury St Edmunds	B 774
₆ 490	943	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 14
₁₅ 500	944	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 39
₃₂ 503	944	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 796
₁₅ 504	944	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 800
₆ 510	946	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 813
₆ 518	946	King Eadred	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 28
₁₂ 526	947	King Eadred	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 15
₆ 527	947	King Eadred	Wells	B 821, 822
₈ 552	949	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 44
₅₇₁ ^s	956	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 931
₁₅ 573 ^s	956	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 20

³⁹ On the motif of spiritual warfare, see J. P. Hermann, 'Recurrent Motifs of Spiritual Warfare', in his *Allegories of War: Language and Violence in Old English Poetry* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1992), pp. 37-52; J. P. Hermann, 'The Recurrent Motifs of Spiritual Warfare in Old English Poetry', *Annuaire Mediaevale* 22 (1982), 7-35 [not seen]; E. Jager, 'A *Miles Diaboli* in the Old English *Genesis B*', *ELN* 27 (1990), 1-5.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁸ 578	946 x 951 (? 949)	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 46
⁶ 580	946 x 955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 901
⁸ 584 ^s	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 68
⁸ 599	956 (? ii)	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 16
⁸ 603	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 61
⁸ 611	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 73
¹⁵ 632	956	King Eadwig	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 19
¹² 647	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 998
⁸ 650	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 78
^{12a} 657	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 81
⁸ 663	(956[ii])	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 59
¹² 715	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1118
⁸ 727	964	King Edgar	Romsey	B 1127
⁸ 755	967	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1197
⁸ 769	968	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 109
⁸ 778	970	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 114
⁸ 828	956 for 975 x 978	King Edward the Martyr	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 117
⁶ 831	977	King Edward the Martyr	Winchester, OM	K 611
⁸ 40	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 633
⁸ 69	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 30
⁹ 25	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720
¹⁰ 26 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801

(XV): Depth (excl. abyss/ pit, see Group (V) above; incl. expressions like *infernus inferius*, *barathrum profundum*)

The depth of hell and, by implication, its subterranean location is often emphasized. In Old English poetry, this motif has been most memorably explored at the end of *Christ and Satan* (689-726), when Christ punishes the devil by making him measure the immeasurable expanse of hell in its depth and width.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁸ 3 ^s	716	Æthelbald, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 134
²³ 124 ^s	785	Offa, king of Mercia	Westminster	B 245
¹ 91	840 for c. 844 x 852	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 453
¹⁶ 230 ^s	680 (?for 685)	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Canterbury, CC	<i>Selsey</i> , pp. 99-101
¹⁶ 232 ^s	673 for ? 683	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 1
²⁵ 270 ^s	773 for 833	Ecgbert, king of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 411
²⁵ 285 ^s	827	Æthelwulf, king of Wessex	Chertsey	B 394

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
355 ^s	892 x 899	King Alfred the Great	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 581
514 ^s	942 x 946	King Edmund	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 28
515 ^s	946	Kings Edmund, Eadred, Eadwig	Canterbury, CC	B 811
₃₀ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
₁₁ 551	949	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 878
₂₃ 579 ^s	951 x 955 (or 957 x 959)	King Eadred (? for King Eadwig or King Edgar)	Wells	B 1023
583 ^s	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 58
594	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 54
₁₇ 595	956	King Eadwig	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 159-60
606	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 959
612	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 934
₁₁ 613	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 974
659	958 for 959	King Eadwig	York	B 1029
₁₁ 660	959	King Eadwig	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 22
₁₇ 662a	955 x 959	King Eadwig	Evesham	B 1025
₁₁ 693	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1077
₃₀ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
784	972	King Edgar	Wilton	B 1285
874	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 673
878	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 27
888	996	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 696
889	996	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 1291
₁₈ 890	997	King Æthelred the Unready	Exeter	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii.35
915	1007	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 134
₁₈ 963	1031	King Cnut	Exeter	K 744
₁₁ 973 ^s	1034	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 140
974	1035	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>OS Facs.</i> , iii. 42
1003	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 292-5
₁₈ 1019	1049	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 787 (omits bounds)
₁₇ 1022	1050	King Edward the Confessor	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 144
1038	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 33
1060 ^s	1055 x 1060	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 806
₁₆ 1184	780	Ostac, dux of Sussex	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 11
_{biL} 1208 ^s	c. 931	Æthelstan, ealdorman	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 28
₁₁ 1214 ^s	962	Vua (? Ufa), vicecomes of Warwick	Evesham	B 1092
_{biL} 1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, comes, & his wife	Worcester	K 766

Group (XVI): *diabolus/ deofol* in Hell

Devils appear in various forms in Latin sanctions, cf. Motif Group (IV) above. The term *diabolus* is, however, used surprisingly infrequently. In addition, because Old English uses

the term *deofol* for rendering Latin *diabolus* and *daemon*, it can be difficult in Old English to distinguish between the devil and one of his sub-devils. With regard to Anglo-Saxon sanctions, I have read plural forms of *deofol* as ‘demons’ and the singular forms as ‘devil’. The devil or devils respectively appear as damned beings or as tormentors in hell or in ambiguous roles.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
29	763 or 764	Eadberht II, king of Kent	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 53
33	761 x 764 (prob. 762 x 764)	Sigered, king of West Kent	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 8
53	(693)	Oshere, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 85
104 ^s	759 for 777 x c. 781	Offa, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 216
155	799	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Canterbury, CC	B 294
157	801	Coenwulf, king of Mercia	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 16
191	840 for c. 844 x 852	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 453
³⁷ 198	845 = 844	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 455 (2)
³⁷ 205	840 x 848	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 428
206	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 487
207	855	Burgred, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 489
365	901	King Edward	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 4
366	901	King Edward	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 5
517 ^s	945	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 810
OE566	955	King Eadred	Peterborough	B 909
biOE574 ^s	957	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 987
583 ^s	956 (ii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 58
612	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 934
629	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 29
646	957	King Eadwig	prob. Ely	B 1347
731 ^s	964 = 963	King Edgar	Worcester	B 1135
biL817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1147
biOE817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1148
850	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 28
893	998	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 32
[925]	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720
934	1015	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 137
958	1022	King Cnut	Ely	K 734
biL976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
biOE976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
979	1023 x 1032	King Cnut	Athelney	K 1324
980 ^s	1021 x 1023	King Cnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 735
1060 ^s	1055 x 1060	King Edward the Confessor	Peterborough	K 806
1212	961	Eadgifu, queen	Canterbury, CC	B 1065

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{OE} 1421 ^s	xi ¹	community of Worcester	Worcester	B 1318
1438 (short version)	838	agreement between Archbishop Ceolnoth & Kings Ecgbert, king of Wessex, & Æthelwulf, subking of Kent	Canterbury, CC	B 422
1479	1058 x 1062	Ælfgar, <i>dux</i>	Evesham	K 964
1481	1042 x 1055	history of lands claimed by Peterborough Abbey	Peterborough	K 927
1520	1017 x 1035	Leofflæd	Ely	K 932
^{OE} 1535	1042 x 1053 poss. 1046	Wulfgyth	Canterbury, CC	Lowe 1989, pp. 297-8

Group (XVII): Cauldron Imagery

The depiction of cauldrons as a means of punishment is the most frequently referred to specific kind of torment in Anglo-Saxon sanctions. Three different types of cauldrons are named: *sartago*, 'cauldron, frying pan'; *olla*, 'pot'; and *lebes*, 'cauldron, kettle (often for meat)'. Thus, although today the punishment of being boiled in cauldrons in hell is more readily associated with high and late medieval visual illustrations of hell, it appears to have been well known among the Anglo-Saxons.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
₂ 392 ^s	850 for 939 or 940	King Æthelstan	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 4
₂ 465	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 763
₂ 474	941	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 768
_{2d} 475	941	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 770
₂ 502	944	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 15
₂ 517a [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
₂ 517b [?]	946	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
₃₀ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
₂ 521 ^s	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 831
₂ 524	947	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 828
₂ 531	948	King Eadred	Wilton	B 870
₂ 534	948	King Eadred	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 16
₂ 536 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 864
₂ 540 ^s	948	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 862
₂ 554	951	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 12
₂ 558	951	King Eadred	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 45
₂ 585	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 948
₂ 587	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 70
₂ 588	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 71
₂ 610	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 927
₂ 640	957	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 1004

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
² 674	958	King Edgar	Peterborough	B 1043
² 679	958	King Edgar	York	B 1044
² 687	960	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 86
³⁰ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
² 842	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 26
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
² 851	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 120
² 860	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 650
925	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720
^{2c} 955	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 30
² 968	1033	King Cnut	York	K 749 (omits bounds)

Group (XVIII): Satan in Hell

Strictly speaking, the name *Satan* refers specifically to the devil who was formerly the highest-ranking angel Lucifer, but it must not necessarily be used with this biography in mind. It should also be noted that *Satan* was not always a personal name, but appears to have denoted a function before dualistic religions influenced the late Jewish religion and through it early Christian beliefs.⁴⁰ In the Anglo-Saxon sanctions, Satan appears as a damned being, as tormentor and in ambiguous positions.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
[²¹ 68 ^s]	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
^{4b} 445	939	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 10
⁴ 461	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 32
⁴ 462	940	King Edmund	Glastonbury	B 749
⁴ 463	940	King Edmund	Winchester, OM	B 758
⁴ 523	947	King Eadred	Winchester, OM	B 830
[586]	956 for 959	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 1030
⁴ 619	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 982
⁴ 638	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 983
^{4b} 654	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 80
⁴ 704 ^s	962	King Edgar	Buckfast	Rose-Troup 1929, p. 250-3
^{4b} 705	962	King Edgar	uncertain	B 1083
^{4a} 740	966	King Edgar	Muchelney	<i>Two Cart.</i> 7
742	966	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1177

⁴⁰ A very good account of the transformation of the Old Testamental Satan into the New Testamental and ultimately medieval devil is E. Pagels, 'The Social History of Satan, the "Intimate Enemy": a Preliminary Sketch', *Harvard Theological Review* 84 (1991), 105-28, cf. also her *The Origin of Satan* (New York, 1995).

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁴ 763	968	King Edgar	Glastonbury	B 1217
^{4a} 770	969	King Edgar	Exeter	B 1231
⁴ 844	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 639
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
⁴ 855	984	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 122
⁴ 856	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 648
874	990	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 673
⁴ 886	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 126
[925]	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720
[²¹ 947]	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
[1044]	1042 x 1044	King Edward the Confessor	Canterbury, CC	K 769
1294 ^s	966	Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury	Crowland	B 1179
[1371]	972 x 992	Oswald, archbishop of York	Ramsey	K 1286
OE1535	1042 x 1053 poss. 1046	Wulfgyth	Canterbury, CC	Lowe 1989, pp. 297-8

Group (XIX): Chaos Imagery

Several sanctions associate hell with chaos. This association emphasizes hell's contrast to the divinely ordered world. However, chaos has also been associated with pre-Christian concepts of the underworld, here presumably in reference to the primal chaos before the creation of the world.⁴¹

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
²⁷ 250 ^s	725	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 142
^{3a} 379	921	King Edward the Elder	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 8
^{3c} 403	930	King Æthelstan	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 17
^{3c} 405 ^s	930	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 1343
^{3d} 407	930 for 934	King Æthelstan	York	B 703
^{3e} 412	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 674
413	931	King Æthelstan	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 23
^{3a} 416	931	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 677
^{3b} 417	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 689
^{3a} 418	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 10
^{3b} 418a [?]	932	King Æthelstan	Barking	unprinted
^{3a} 419	932	King Æthelstan	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 8
^{3f} 421 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Exeter	B 694

⁴¹ C. A. Jones, 'Early Medieval Chaos', *Verbal Encounters: Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Studies for Roberta Frank*, ed. A. Harbus and R. Poole, Toronto Old English Series (Toronto, 2005), pp. 15-38; K. Florey, 'Stability and Chaos as Themes in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', *Connecticut Review* 9 (1976), 82-9 [not seen].

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{3h} 423 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 8
^{3b} 425	934	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 702
³ⁱ 426	934	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1203
¹¹ 551	949	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 878
¹¹ 613	956 (iv)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 974
¹¹ 660	959	King Eadwig	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 22
^{3j} 692	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1074
¹¹ 693	961	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1077
²⁷ 725	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 101
^{3k} 900	1002	a) King Æthelred the Unready b) Ælfhelm, <i>minister</i>	St Albans	K 1297
^{3l} 928	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 37
¹¹ 973 ^s	1034	King Cnut	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 140
1006	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Winchester, OM	K 774
^{3m} 1206 ^s	918 x 924	Goda, <i>optimas & minister</i>	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 16
¹¹ 1214 ^s	962	Vua (? Ufa), vicecomes of Warwick	Evesham	B 1092

Group (XX) : Gehenna

Hell is frequently referred to as Gehenna, which was the name of a valley near Jerusalem, where sacrifices to the Canaanite god Moloch were burned.⁴² It became the name of a place of fiery afterlife punishment in the Jewish religion. Fire continued to be the chief element of Gehenna, and through its influence also of the Christian hell.⁴³ Jeffrey Russell has pointed out that Gehenna was the afterlife place of punishment for rebellious Jews and the Gentiles, while the Jews suffered there only temporarily, the Gentiles were thought to be damned there eternally.⁴⁴ In Anglo-Saxon sanctions, however, it is simply another term for hell, possibly with emphasis on torments suffered in hell.⁴⁵

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
²¹ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
201 ^s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
391 ^s	843 for 934	King Æthelstan	Milton	B 739
552a [?]	950	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
614	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 56

⁴² Minois, *Die Hölle*, p. 92; Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, p. 108; cf. C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago, 1949), p. 1485.

⁴³ Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, p. 108.

⁴⁴ Russell, *Devil*, p. 186, n. 14.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lendinara, 'Glossator's Choice', pp. 47-8.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
741 ^s	966	King Edgar	Crowland	B 1178
biL817	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1147
839	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 118
840	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 633
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
865	987	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 28
885	995	King Æthelred the Unready	Rochester	<i>Rochester</i> 31
906	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 28
941 ^s	[978 x 995/6]	King Æthelred the Unready	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 21
21947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
2c955	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 30
1040 ^s	1065	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	Widmore 1743, Appendix, no. 2
1043 ^s	1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	K 824
biL1045 ^s	1042 x 1065	King Edward the Confessor	Bury St Edmunds	K 910
biL1232	1052 x 1057	Leofric, <i>comes</i> , & his wife	Worcester	K 766

Group (XXI): Animals in Hell

The animals inhabiting hell in Anglo-Saxon sanctions are the ‘hellhound’ Cerberus, vermin, salamanders, wolves, snakes, the biblical monster Behemoth, and snakes. Each of these animals has a special association with either the devil or hell. In addition, the damned are metaphorically presented as goats, which refers to Matthew XXV.32-3, 41-6.

(XXI.1): Cerberus / *hellehund*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
33238	663 for ?693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 121
33364	901	King Edward the Elder	Wilton	B 588
biL914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
biOE914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
1380 ^s	996 (for 994)	Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury	Wolverhampton	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn.), vi.1443-6 (no.1)

(XXI.2): Vermin

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
906	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 28
1028	1059	King Edward the Confessor	Paris, Saint-Denis	<i>Writs</i> , pp. 538-9

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
1231	1042 x 1065	Eadnoth and his wife	Ramsey	K 919

(XXI.3): Goat

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
³⁶ 138 ^s	795 for 792	Offa, king of Mercia	St Albans	B 849
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 23</i>
³⁶ 912	1005	King Æthelred the Unready	St Albans	K 672

(XXI.4): Salamander

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
³³ 238	663 for ?693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 121
³³ 364	901	King Edward	Wilton	B 588

(XXI.5): Wolf

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
453 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London 12</i>
[1056 ^s]	1042 x 1066	Edward the Confessor	London, St Paul's	<i>St Paul's, London 29</i>

(XXI.6): Behemoth

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
[871 ^s]	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart. iii. 1303</i>

(XXI.7): Snake

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
112 ^s	777	Offa, king of Mercia	Evesham	B 222

Group (XXII): Ice Imagery

Extreme cold as an infernal torment is a common element of descriptions of hell in Anglo-Saxon literature (e.g. *Genesis B* 313-17). In Anglo-Saxon charters, it foremost appears in one particularly puzzling sanction formula, namely the Glacial Curse, see Formula Group (6) in Appendix 1 above.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{6a} 438	937	King Æthelstan	Wilton	B 714
^{6b} 442 [?]	938	King Æthelstan	Glastonbury	B 728

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
⁶ 447	939	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 741
⁶ 449	939	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 734
⁶ 460	940	King Edmund	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 31
⁶ 464	940	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 753
⁶ 468	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 756
⁶ 469	940	King Edmund	Wilton	B 757
⁶ 476	941	King Edmund	Bath	B 767
⁶ 490	943	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 14
⁶ 510	946	King Edmund	Canterbury, CC	B 813
⁶ 518	946	King Eadred	Canterbury, StA	<i>St Augustine's</i> 28
⁶ 527	947	King Eadred	Wells	B 821, 822
⁶ 580	946 x 955	King Eadred	Glastonbury	B 901
745	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
⁶ 831	977	King Edward the Martyr	Winchester, OM	K 611

Group (XXIII): Mansion-Motif (Habitation in Hell)

This motif presents hell explicitly as a mansion or habitation in which the damned dwell.

Interestingly, this motif appears more frequently in Old English than Latin sanctions.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
biL452 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Pauls	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 13
biOE452 ^s	924 x 939	King Æthelstan	London, St Pauls	<i>St Paul's, London</i> 13
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart. iii.</i> 1303
biL976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
biOE976 ^s	1035	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 753
OE985	1017 x 1020	King Cnut	Canterbury, CC	<i>Writs</i> 26
OE1149 ^s	1051 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Westminster	<i>Writs</i> 105
1231	1042 x 1065	Eadnoth and his wife	Ramsey	K 919
1371	972 x 992	Oswald, archbishop of York	Ramsey	K 1286
1380 ^s	996 (for 994)	Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury	Wolverhampton	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn.), vi.1443-6 (no.1)
OE1421 ^s	xi ¹	community of Worcester	Worcester	B 1318
OE1427	1061 x 1082 poss. 1061 x 1066	Wulfwold, abbot	Bath	<i>Writs</i> 6
OE1449	964 x 975 (? 970 x 975)	adjustment of boundaries between monasteries in Winchester	Winchester, OM	B 1163

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{OE} 1471	c. 1045	agreement between archbishop Eadsige & Æthelric	Canterbury, CC	K 773
^{OE} 1477 ^s	1052 x 1066	King Edward the Confessor	Chertsey	K 844

Group (XXIV): Mouth of Hell/ Devouring Imagery

These sanctions depict Hell as the so-called ‘Mouth of Hell’, a common medieval representation of hell as an animal’s mouth that swallows the damned.⁴⁶ Lines 71-81 of *The Whale* offer a poetic representation of this motif. This group also includes the motif of the human damned who are being devoured without allusions to the Mouth of Hell.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
²¹ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
²⁰¹ s	851	Berhtwulf, king of Mercia	Worcester	B 462
³³ 238	663 for ? 693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 121
³³ 364	901	King Edward the Elder	Wilton	B 588
430	935	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 707
825 ^s	963 x 975	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1149
839	982	King Æthelred the Unready	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 118
925	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 720
933	1014	King Æthelred the Unready	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 15
²¹ 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726
1205a ^s	918	Elstrudis and his sons Arnulf and Adelolf	Ghent, St Peter’s	B 661
1237	c. 1061	Ælfgar, <i>quondam comes</i>	Rheims, St Remigius	<i>Mon. Angl.</i> (rev.edn), vi.1042 (no.1)

Group (XXV): water (i.e. river, pool, swamp) in Hell (excl. sanctions mentioning only names of classical waters, see Group (IX) above)

Next to references to abyss and pit, waters are the only landscape features in the infernal imagery of sanctions. These waters appear as *flumina*, ‘rivers’; *gurgites*, ‘whirlpools’; and *paludes*, ‘swamps’. To my knowledge, there is only one extant Old English sanction that contains a reference to water in hell, namely the term *flod*, ‘mass of water, flood, wave’. The

⁴⁶ Galpern, ‘Shape of Hell’, pp. 119-54; Schmidt, *Iconography*, pp. 13-83.

relevant text is the Old English sanction of a charter extant in Old English and Latin versions (S 1608).

(XXV.1): *flumen*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
³¹ 508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
³¹ 528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820
¹⁷ 595	956	King Eadwig	Thorney	<i>ECEE</i> , pp. 159-60
¹⁷ 662a	955 x 959	King Eadwig	Evesham	B 1025
¹⁷ 1022	1050	King Edward	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 144
^{biL} 1608	1044 x 1052	Osulf and Leofrun	Bury St Edmunds	<i>ECEE</i> 113

(XXV.2): *gurges*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
712	963	King Edgar	York	B 1112
736	965	King Edgar	Abbotsbury	B 1165
849 ^s	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 640

(XXV.3): *palus*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
627	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Bath	B 973
^{biL} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715

(XXV.4): *flod*

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{biOE} 1608	1044 x 1052	Osulf and Leofrun	Bury St Edmunds	<i>ECEE</i> 113

Group (XXVI): Prison Imagery

Hell is described as a prison.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
227 ^s	670	Cenwealh, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 25
257 ^s	745	Cuthred, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 169
³¹ 508	946	King Edmund	Bath	B 814
³⁰ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
³¹ 528	947	King Eadred	Canterbury, CC	B 820
628	956	King Eadwig	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 15
³⁰ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
845	983	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 27
980 ^s	1021 x 1023	King Cnut	Bury St Edmunds	K 735

Group (XXVII): *fletus et stridor dentium*

At the core of this group is the biblical imagery of *fletus et stridor dentium* that fill hell.⁴⁷ In several of his homilies, Ælfric explains that the weeping (of eyes) is caused by the extreme heat or smoke in hell, while the grating, or rather chattering (*gebit*), of teeth is caused by equally severe cold (ÆCHom I.8.194-6; ÆCHom I.35.189-99; ÆHom 18.425-34; cf. also Napier 29, p. 138/ 25-9).

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
478	941	King Edmund	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury</i> 12
608	906 for 956 (i)	King Eadwig	Winchester, OM	B 969
618	956 (iii)	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 66
629	956 (i)	King Eadwig	Malmesbury	<i>Malmesbury</i> 29
745 (allusion to teeth)	966	King Edgar	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 23
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1303
³⁵ 882	995 for 994	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 689
906 (only teeth)	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 28
³⁵ 1378 ^s	995	Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester	Canterbury, CC	K 690

Group (XXVIII): Jews in Hell

Some sanctions mention Jews as damned persons in hell. All of these sanctions are variants of the Formula Group (3) in Appendix 1 above, and in them Jews are consistently associated with Judas.⁴⁸

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
^{3d} 407	930 for 934	King Æthelstan	York	B 703
^{3b} 417	932	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 689
^{3b} 418a [?]	932	King Æthelstan	Barking	unprinted
^{3h} 423 ^s	933	King Æthelstan	Sherborne	<i>Sherborne</i> 8
^{3b} 425	934	King Æthelstan	Canterbury, CC	B 702
^{3j} 692	961	King Edgar	Bath	B 1074
^{3l} 928	1012	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 37
^{3m} 1206 ^s	918 x 924	Goda, <i>optimas & minister</i>	Selsey	<i>Selsey</i> 16

⁴⁷ Matt. VIII.12, XIII.42, 50, XXII.13, XXIV.51, XXV.30; in Luke XIII.28, it occurs at the Last Judgement rather than in hell.

⁴⁸ On Jews in Anglo-Saxon England, see S. Keynes, 'Jews', *BEASE*, p. 262.

Group (XXIX): Being Torn to Pieces

In some sanctions, the transgressor's punishment is to be torn into pieces. Next to punishment in hell's cauldrons and rivers, this is the most graphically described infernal torment in Anglo-Saxon sanctions.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
²¹ 68 ^s	664	Wulfhere, king of Mercia	Peterborough	B 22
[₃₃ 238]	663 for ? 693	Ine, king of Wessex	Glastonbury	B 121
[₃₃ 364]	901	King Edward	Wilton	B 588
430	935	King Æthelstan	Winchester, OM	B 707
^{biL} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
^{biOE} 914 ^s	1006 for 1002	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 715
²¹ 947	1016	King Edmund Ironside	Peterborough	K 726

Group (XXX): Gates of Hell

An alternative to depicting the entrance into hell as an animal's mouth is its representation as a gate.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
¹² 470	940	King Edmund	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 12
¹² 526	947	King Eadred	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester</i> 15
¹² 647	957	King Eadwig	Wilton	B 998
^{12a} 657	958	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 81
¹² 715	963	King Edgar	Winchester, OM	B 1118

Group (XXXI): Beelzebub in Hell

Beelzebub is a name given to the devil or more strictly speaking one particular sub-devil. The sanction of S 1003 from CE 1044 presents Beelzebub as *princeps muscarum*, 'prince of flies', which is in accordance with the name's etymology.⁴⁹ In extant Anglo-Saxon sanctions, Beelzebub is explicitly depicted either as a damned being or as a tormenter, never in an ambiguous position.

⁴⁹ On the etymology of the name *Beelzebub*, see K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen (germanischen, romanischen und slavischen) Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, Indogermanische Bibliothek, 1. Abteilung Sammlung Indogermanischer Lehr- und Handbücher, II. Reihe: Wörterbücher, 3. Band (Heidelberg, 1927), p. 13 (no. 145); Frick, *Das Reich Satans*, pp. 144-5.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
552a ⁷	950	King Eadred	Barking	unprinted
972 ^s	1033	King Cnut	Winchester, OM	K 750
1003	1044	King Edward the Confessor	Exeter	Davidson 1883, pp. 292-5
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801
1479	1058 x 1062	Ælfgar, <i>dux</i>	Evesham	K 964

Group (XXXII): Luke XIII.27-8

This is the damnation of the wicked at the Last Judgement according to Luke. It is clearly referred to less frequently than Matthew's account in Anglo-Saxon charters.⁵⁰

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
857	985	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, OM	K 652
871 ^s	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Glastonbury	<i>Glastonbury Cart.</i> iii. 1303
³⁵ 882	995 for 994	King Æthelred the Unready	Canterbury, CC	K 689
³⁵ 1378 ^s	995	Æscwig, bishop of Dorchester	Canterbury, CC	K 690

Group (XXXIII): Pitch/ Sulphur in Hell

The motif of being damned in pitch or sulphur occurs only rarely in sanctions with infernal imagery.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
³⁰ 519	946	King Eadred	Wilton	B 818
³⁰ 724	964	King Edgar	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon</i> 100
1026 ^s	1055	King Edward the Confessor	Evesham	K 801

Group (XXXIV): 'vermis eorum non moritur et ignis non extinguitur'

This biblical verse (Mark IX.43, 45, 47) depicts hell as a place in which vermin live everlastingly and fire never extinguishes.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
<906>	1004	King Æthelred the Unready	Burton	<i>Burton</i> 28
1028	1059	King Edward the Confessor	Paris, Saint-Denis	<i>Writs</i> , pp. 538-9
1231	1042 x 1065	Eadnoth and his wife	Ramsey	K 919

⁵⁰ On the use of Luke XIII.27-8 in sanctions, cf. Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 92, n. 31.

Group (XXXV): Belial in Hell

Belial is yet another name for the devil or a devil; the name means ‘without use, useless’.⁵¹ In extant Anglo-Saxon sanctions, he appears only as a damned being in hell, never as a tormentor.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
545 ^s	949	King Eadred	Burton	<i>Burton 10</i>
869	988	King Æthelred the Unready	Winchester, NM	<i>New Minster, Winchester 30</i>

Group (XXXVI): Zabulus in Hell

Zabulus, again a name for the devil, appears only as a damned being in hell, never as a tormentor.

Sawyer No.	Date	Grantor	Archive	Edition
624	956	King Eadwig	Abingdon	<i>Abingdon 65</i>
_{2c} 955 ^s	1019	King Cnut	Shaftesbury	<i>Shaftesbury 30</i>

⁵¹ Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 24 (no. 287); Frick, *Das Reich Satans*, pp. 140-4.