

A STUDY OF DOM IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

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DOM IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

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A Thesis  
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

May, 1974

McMASTER UNIVERSITY  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: A Study of Dom in Old English Poetry

[illegible]

SUPERVISOR: Professor A. A. Lee

NUMBER OF PAGES: viii, 347

## ABSTRACT

The study of the theme of dom and the Old English Doomsday verse (Judgment Day I, Judgment Day II and Christ III) begins with an investigation of the word-symbol itself and its possible meanings in poetic context. The initial, philological analysis is not intended to be exhaustive (and examples are largely limited to the poetic corpus), but rather to answer such questions as why one monosyllable can have such divergent referents as "law", "fate", "judgment", "wisdom", "self-assessment", "opinion" and both "heroic" "fame" and Christian "glory", and also to aid our understanding of the possible nuances of meaning of dom in the poetry. The method is intended to add an important perspective to an historical approach to medieval literature, for it can lead to a deeper appreciation of the poetic "word-hoard" and the complexity of associations particular word-symbols might have evoked in the Anglo-Saxon audience. Dom is analyzed initially in the light of Peter Clemoes' statement that Old English words can be "nuclei of meaning, symbols of integrated experience, [and] aggregates of traditional association". The semantic investigation leads on to a study of the concept of dom as both "heroic" reputation, the "pagan consolation", and the complex Christian idea of "glory", in particular referring to the after-life. An appreciation of the way in which a word was adopted and baptized by the Christian poets illustrates how the successful fusion of heroic and Christian concepts took place in Anglo-Saxon times, and how the "word-



hoard", the traditional vocabulary and metaphors, was adapted to convey the new and complex doctrines. The study of a semantic shift can shed light on the evolution of an idea.

The major part of the study is devoted to an analysis of the eschatological poetry in the light of the semantic investigation, for in these works the relationship between the divergent referents of dom and the parallels between heroic and Christian ideas of the after-life can be demonstrated best. The poets of the Doomsday verse do not simply recount the traditional, eschatological events, but treat the biblical, patristic and apocryphal accounts of the Last Things imaginatively and figuratively in order to stress their didactic theme which is that the moment of Judgment is ever-present and that immortality is gained by the individual's constant attempt to approximate what is considered the state of perfection. The themes of Judgment Day and the Apocalypse are very minor and, like the accounts of hell with which they are often confused, used as an incentive to better living. The poems are centripetal, aimed at instructing the individual at the present moment. The nature of the reward is rarely discussed and if so often in negative terms. Consequently, the Christian concept of dom as "glory", divine "fame", is akin to the earlier "heroic" one. Both traditions, based on hierarchical principles, stress that man's duty is to strive continuously towards a perfection which was conceived of in terms of the ethical law, although the nature of that law and the future reward differed. The important dom "judgment" rests with the individual to choose to act in a domgeorn ('eager for glory') state and gain the sodfæstra dom "the

glory of the righteous" like Beowulf or the Christian saint. Thus the concepts of dom as "decision", "judgment", "glory", etc. are seen to be inextricably fused, as are the heroic and Christian traditions in Anglo-Saxon times. Such findings also substantiate what was discovered in the semantic study, and the philological and literary-thematic analyses complement each other.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincerest thanks to Professor A. A. Lee for his guidance and scholarly counsel during the preparation of this work. I should also like to thank my wife for being so helpful in many ways, and the Canada Council for their continued financial help.

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# LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Symbols: [a] ~ [b]: a is cognate with b, rather than related to it.  
 [a] > [b]: b is a form derivative from a.  
 \* : denotes a hypothetical, reconstructed form.

Languages: Gk. - Greek.  
 Go. - Gothic.  
 I.E. - Indo-European (reconstructed).  
 L. - Latin.  
 Mod. E. - Modern English.  
 O.E. - Old English.  
 O.Fris. - Old Frisian.  
 O.H.G. - Old High German.  
 O.N. - Old Norse.  
 O.S. - Old Saxon.  
 O.Sl. - Old Slavonic.  
 Pr.Gmc. - Primitive Germanic (reconstructed).  
 Skt. - Sanskrit.

Titles: ASPR - George P. Krapp and Elliott V.K. Dobbie,  
 eds. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. 6  
 vols. New York, 1931-1953.  
 Bethurum - Dorothy Bethurum, ed. The Homilies of  
Wulfstan. Oxford, 1957.  
 B-T - Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller.  
An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. London, 1898.  
Supplement by T. Northcote Toller, 1921.  
 Klaeber - Fr. Klaeber, ed. Beowulf and the Fight at  
Finnsburg. 3rd ed. Boston, 1950.  
 Morris - Richard Morris, ed. The Blickling Homilies.  
 EETS o.s. 58, 63 and 73. London, 1874-80.  
 Reprinted as one volume in 1967.  
 PL - J.P. Migne, ed. Patrologiae Cursus  
Completus, Series Latina Prior. Paris,  
 1857-1903.  
 Wrenn - Charles L. Wrenn, ed. Beowulf with the  
Finnesburg Fragment. London, 1953.

Title abbreviations follow Magoun's code outlined in "Abbreviated  
 Titles for the Poems of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Corpus", Études Anglaises,  
 8, (1955), ~~14~~ 144-46.

## INTRODUCTION

One monosyllable in Old English, dom, can be translated into modern English by such differing referents as "judgement", "decree", "opinion", "free choice", "will", "sense", "interpretation", "wisdom", "fate", "power", "fame", "glory" and "honour". One immediately wonders about the semantic relationship between these concepts, how they might be distinguished in context and to what extent there might be ambiguity.

Of specific interest in this study is the fact that the symbol dom does refer both to the "pagan consolation" of worldly fame and to the Christian concept of immortal glory, the state of being at one with God. The investigation of "fame" and "glory" is not ultimately semantic, but it takes its starting point from linguistic analysis and concentrates on the evidence presented in Old English poetry. The philologist, having determined the subtle nuances of meaning which distinguish different referents, can often throw light on the interpretation of the poem itself. From semantic evidence the associations surrounding a symbol can be defined and a better understanding reached of the subtle interrelationships between "heroic" (i.e., pertaining to the Northern pre-Christian society) and early Christian concepts.<sup>1</sup> Such linguistic evidence should complement the historical, social and literary evidence in Chapter 3.

The Abbot Mellitus was instructed by Pope Gregory to preserve the pagan temples in Britain, the animal sacrifices and other rituals, and to accommodate as much as possible the Christian message to the

understanding of the indigenous society.<sup>2</sup> In precisely the same way the early Christian poets used the metaphors, language and poetic forms of the thriving native tradition as a means of communicating the new teaching; the proponents of the oral formulaic theory of Old English verse, for example, have shown that Cædmon's "Hymn" is composed of stock epithets taken entirely from the earlier, heroic verse.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis was on adaptation, and the writer of homily or poem shared a common tradition of concepts, such as the transitory nature of life and the need in a hierarchical society to obey one's Lord and fight for him, thus gaining dom "glory" or "fame" which will live after one's death. The forces of evil will remain ominous in the eyes of both heroic and Christian man, "For the monsters do not depart, whether the gods go or come. A Christian was (and is) still like his forefathers a mortal hemmed in a hostile world."<sup>4</sup> Only the outer shape of the forces of evil will change from monsters in Beowulf to the spirits in Guthlac, while the struggle of the soul, pledged to support a Lord conceived in martial terms against demonic forces, remains the same. Man's reward will be dom "fame", but his praises will be sung by the angels, not by future generations on earth.

The remarkably successful fusion of the two traditions was made possible, as suggested above, by the Christian poet's adoption and baptism of the traditional vocabulary and metaphors. "A whole new source of poetic metaphors was poured into the ancient word-hoard of the scop, with imaginative consequences for English poetry extending well beyond the Anglo-Saxon period of history."<sup>5</sup> And, in addition, the fact that the new wine was poured into old bottles gave it a unique

flavour, the result of which is seen in the felicitous intermingling of heroic and Christian elements which give Old English poetry its distinctive beauty.

Such "heroic" word-symbols as dom, wyrd, sped or dream, already steeped in associations involving fundamental issues of life and death, were adopted to express complex Christian tenets. The result of this fusion of associations is the formation of new concepts. For this reason many such Old English words are difficult to translate precisely, because the "sub-conscious" associations surrounding each symbol are many and complex. Peter Clemoes succinctly describes the highly associative Anglo-Saxon vocabulary as "nuclei of meaning, symbols of integrated experience, aggregates of traditional associations rather than words delimited intellectually, as is most of our present-day vocabulary".<sup>6</sup>

The aim of the first two chapters is not to dissect the "nucleus" of the meaning of dom, the inextricably fused associations surrounding the Old English symbol, but to understand its precise nuance of meaning in poetic context. Unless a poet were to choose the symbol dom for its alliterative value, one can assume that he wished to evoke a particular association in his audience, albeit subconsciously, by his choice of this word rather than another. For example, we learn that Beowulf dreah æfter dome "conducted himself in pursuit of dom" all his life until his soul finally sought sodfæstra dom "the dom of the righteous". What precise concept did the poet hope to suggest to his audience by his use of dom on these occasions, and, if he were aware of the heroic and Christian associations, what did he hope to achieve by this ambiguity?



Such linguistic "archaeology" is not intended to be an end in itself, but an attempt to add an important perspective to a historical approach to medieval literature.

The investigation will begin with a brief analysis of the etymology of dom and its cognate forms to establish the basic and original meanings, the "nucleus" from which all other meanings radiate. A semantic survey follows of Old English dom and cognate forms, also in the major Germanic languages contemporary with Old English, in order to demonstrate the range of possible meanings and the interrelations between the concepts. In many cases the cognate languages offer valuable insight into these relationships: in Old Norse, for example, we have a greater number of occurrences of dom as "fame" in a non-Christian sense, and passages from the Old Saxon Heliand admirably illustrate the way in which the heroic concept was adapted by the Christian poet.

The meanings outlined in the brief semantic study will be investigated in greater depth in the second chapter which comprises an interpretative analysis. Possible interpretations of dom in its "fame", "glory" sense (i.e., the heroic concept of dom as "reputation" and after-life, and the Christian doctrine of immortal "glory") will be studied in Old English poetry in particular. Chapter 3 will be devoted to the necessary background material which will be used to substantiate suggestions made in the previous sections concerning the two conceptions of an after-life. Part of this chapter and the remaining ones are devoted to an investigation of Dom as "Doomsday". At first sight the themes of heroic fame and Doomsday appear remote, because the pre-Christian Northern culture did not associate its myth of the Apocalypse

with an ethical judgment which determined man's after-life. But it is in Christian Judgment Day poetry, so named by the early editors, that the most important link lies between the heroic and Christian ideas of dom as an after-life. The Judgment Day literature in Old English, as will be shown by the detailed analyses of Judgment Day I, Judgment Day II and Christ III, is not primarily concerned with narrating the biblical and patristic events surrounding the Apocalypse and Judgment; there is, for example, no weighing of souls and consultation of ledgers. Instead, the poetry uses the metaphors of the Apocalypse and Judgment Day themes (frequently out of context or chronological order, although the poets undoubtedly knew the scriptural events) as a vehicle to convey a moral truth: that the moment of apocalypse or "revelation" and the judgment of man on each deed is ever-present, and that man's dom "glory" is established by a life time of such favourable judgments. Man, like the dreamer in Judgment Day II, must forever be alert. At the actual moment of death the revelation will be the degree of dom achieved by man while alive, and at the moment of Apocalypse there will be a consummation of the earlier, spiritual "resurrection" when the spirit and body will be translated into everlasting glory.

The theme of dom in this Christian sense accords exactly with the heroic ideal in which dom "fame" and immortality must be sought by every deed while man is alive, and his eternal dom "reputation" will be the "aura" of fame accumulated during life. In both concepts the precise nature of the after-life is not clearly depicted,<sup>7</sup> for it is the present moment which is of importance. Immortality is achieved by the individual's continuous attempt to approximate what is considered in both societies

the state of perfection according to their respective ethical codes. In a hierarchical society, such as the medieval one (Christian or pagan), the perfect good and the perfect being are equated. Man is judged by himself, by his fellows and by his God (if he believes in him), according to this state of perfection; and he is judged by his every act and thought. The responsibility is placed strongly on the shoulders of the individual at the ever-present moment of judgment. Wes a domes georn "Be forever eager for glory" is Christ's message to Andreas and might equally have been that of Hrothgar to Beowulf or the Doomsday poet to his audience.

The conclusion, then, takes us back to the initial etymological investigation, and shows that the concepts of "judgment" and "glory" are interdependent. Dom as the means of the immortality of the individual is dependent on the estimation of external beings -- one's fellows or one's God; but this final "judgment" is dependent on one's own estimation of one's actions, according to the ethical code followed. Every moment has the possibility of being the apocalyptic one for the individual, and individualism plays an important rôle in the Northern culture.

ETYMOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC STUDY OF  
DOM AND ITS COGNATE FORMS

A. Etymological Evidence

O.E. dōm can be traced back to the I.E. root \*dhē-/dhō-. A brief summary of the later history of this I.E. root will aid our understanding of the wealth of referents in the Germanic languages.

I.E. \*dhē-/dhō- > Skt. dhā and gives us, for example, dhāti "I did", etc. Related forms are O. Persian dā (df. Skt.), O.Sl. dēti "put" and the later Latvian det "to put, lay" and Lith. dėti.

One can, therefore, hypothesize that the root word in I.E. meant "to place, put", hence "to do", and would have come into Pr.Gmc. as \*dō- "to do" > O.E. dōn ~ O.H.G. tōn, tuon ~ O.S. dōn, duon ~ O.Fris. dua, etc. The verbal form does not exist in Go. or O.N. by the time of written records, for it is replaced by taujan (~ O.H.G. zauwen) and gōra (~ O.E. gearwian), respectively.

The substantives meaning "deed", "an object established, laid down" were formed from the verbal root \*dhē-; in Germanic languages, for example, we find Go. gadeþs ~ O.N. dāp ~ O.E. dæd ~ O.Fris. dēd ~ O.S. dād ~ O.H.G. tāt "a deed".

Of greater importance to our present study is the second nominal form created from this I.E. root by the -m suffix: \*dhōm > Skt. dhāma, "law" or "dwelling place" (as in Gk. Θωμός, both are "objects established / laid down").<sup>8</sup> We might, therefore, reconstruct a Pr.Gmc. \*dōmoz meaning "that which is established, set down" Go. dōms O.N. domr O.H.G. tuom (duam, etc.)<sup>9</sup> O.E., O.Fris., and O.S. dōm.<sup>10</sup>

As will be seen in the following semantic survey, these cognate words are capable of conveying i) the legal concept of what is "laid down" -- judgment, sentence; ii) the notion of an externally imposed law -- fate; iii) that of one's own judgment -- opinion, discernment, free choice; iv) the judgment of others on one's actions -- reputation, glory, fame; v) and the means with which this fame is established -- power, might, honour. Specific examples will be given later, but it is already clear that the associations, the "nuclei of meanings" which surround dōm suggest basic concepts in the Germanic Zeitgeist: the judgment or sentence given by one's peers if one acts contrary to the code; the court itself; the favourable judgment one is accorded by heroic deeds, "fame"; by a transferred sense dōm can also refer to those actions (and in O.N. to the songs) which will afford one such a reputation and ensure one everlasting dōm "fame",<sup>12</sup> and to the state of perfection required to gain dōm "glory".

The verbal form in Pr.Gmc. \*dōmjan was formed from the substantive \*dōmoz: > Go. dōmjan ~ O.H.G. tuomen ~ O.E. dēman (by "i"-mutation) ~ O.Fris dēma ~ O.N. døma, all capable of meaning "to judge", "decree", "consider", "estimate", "glorify", "praise".

Other mutated, substantival forms are O.N. d mi "a story", "an incident", "fate", "an example",<sup>13</sup> O.E. Dēma, Dēmend and Dēmere, "a judge", "God".

In concluding the etymological survey, we might simply note the use of the Germanic substantival root as a suffix denoting: i) the dignity, rank of the main noun, e.g., O.E. ealdordom ii) the state or condition of the main noun, e.g., martyrdom, beowdom iii) an abstract noun formed from an adjective denoting the state or condition: freedom, witigdom, wisdom, hærendom. (Cf. Mod. Ger. Irrtum, literally, "a wrong setting down", "an error".)<sup>14</sup>

B. Semantic Study of dōm- in the Germanic Languages

A. Gothic

In the small amount of Gothic literature which survives there are only two occurrences of the substantive dōms. Wilhelm Streitberg suggests Ruhm "glory" as a possible meaning.<sup>15</sup>

There is no occurrence of dōms in Ulfila's Gospels, where staua expresses "judgment" and is used to translate iudicia;<sup>16</sup> e.g., for John 7,24: ni stōjaip bi siunai, ak þo garaihton staua stōjaip, "judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteousness".<sup>17</sup>

The two examples mentioned are in the Skeireins aiwaggeljons þairh Iohannen, the Gothic commentary on St. John's Gospel:

- i) ip nasjands þana anawairþan dōm is gasaihands jah þatei in galaubeinai þeiha habaida . . ..<sup>18</sup>

But the Saviour, perceiving the future glory [of Nicodemus] and also that he was to increase in faith . . . .

Christ perseveres in His teaching to Nicodemus on man's rebirth (John 3,3ff.), because He perceives the anawairþan dōm "the future glory" of Nicodemus when he later becomes a professed disciple (John 7,50).

Streitberg's gloss of Ruhm would, therefore, be correct; it refers to the future "rebirth" of Nicodemus which will result in his eternal dōm "glory" earned by his faith in this world.<sup>19</sup>

ii) . . . ip þo weihona waurstwa, unandsakana wisandona,  
 gaswikunþjand[ona] þis waurkjandins dom, bairhtaba  
 gabandwjandona þatei fram attin insandþis was us  
 himina.<sup>20</sup>

. . . but these holy deeds being undisputed, manifest  
 the glory/power of the Doer, signifying clearly that  
 He was sent forth from the Father out of heaven.

The passage comments on John 5,35-7: John's earlier testimony might be misunderstood, but Christ's actions clearly manifest þis waurkjandins dom "this glory/power/fame of the Artificer". In both passages dōms is used to describe a supernatural or divine state; it refers to what will later be called "the Beatific Vision", the glory of God which is also possessed by man reborn in Christ and frequently denoted by dōmeadig "blest with glory" in Old English.

William H. Bennett, however, disagrees with Streitberg's gloss of Ruhm which he claims is based on the fact that dōm in cognate languages means "glory".<sup>21</sup> He prefers the translations "judgment", "opinion", "discernment" and quotes the analogy of staua/stojan, claiming that, if dōmjān in Ulfila's Gospels means "to judge", then dōms must have a similar, legal connotation. There are, however, more examples of dōm with its legalistic sense in cognate languages, so it is unlikely earlier editors made the simple, analogical error which Bennett suggests. In addition, it is the verb that is formed from the substantive, as we earlier noted, not vice versa; it is, therefore, inadvisable to use the verbal form as a gloss on the noun. Bennett's translations "perceiving his future discernment" and "manifest the distinction of the Doer", respectively, quite weaken the connotations of dōms and eliminate the associations with the divine.<sup>22</sup>



Conversely, in the Ulfila Gospels the verbal form -domjan is never used to denote glorification, but, instead, means "to judge", "consider", "differentiate", as can be seen in the following examples:

i) "to judge, consider" (Streitberg: urteilen, beurteilen: domeiþ jus þatei qiþa (1 Cor. 10,15) "judge ye what I say".<sup>23</sup>

ii) "to differentiate, discern" (unterscheiden): ni domjands leik frauþins (1 Cor. 11,29) "[by eating and drinking unworthily] not discerning the Lord's body".<sup>24</sup>

The verbal form in Gothic, as far as evidence is available, means "to judge" in the sense of making a decision, considering, etc., and might be considered a synonym for stojan "to judge".

#### B. Old Saxon

As there are more examples of dōm/ duom in Old Saxon (Old Low German) writings than in Gothic, one can determine the connotations of the word with greater precision. Our knowledge of Old Saxon comes largely from the Heliand and the Old Saxon Genesis, both written c. A.D. 830.

O.S. dōm/ duom can mean:

- i) judgment or court
- ii) decree or command
- iii) free will or choice
- iv) power or majesty
- v) honour, glory or reputation.<sup>25</sup>

Examples of the above senses are as follows:

- i) judgment:

Heliand, 1692: . . . huuand the dōm eft cumid, "for the judgment comes [upon him] afterwards".<sup>26</sup>

ii) decree or command:

Heliand, 5418-9: Thuo uuard that cud o<sup>†</sup>bar all, / huô thi<sup>†</sup>u thiod habda duomos adêlid, "Then it became known to all, how the people had dealt out their decrees".<sup>27</sup>

iii) free will or choice:

Heliand, 5343-4: Uuêst thu that it all an mînon duome stêd / umbi thînes lîbes gilagu?, "[Christ says,] Do you know that it lies completely in my decision ['power' or 'judgment' would be equally acceptable here], concerning your life's destiny?"<sup>28</sup>

iv) power or majesty:

In this sense the O.S. referent can be compared to the Go. (pis waurkjandins dom):

Heliand, 487-92

'Thu bist lioht mikil  
allun elithiodun, thea êr thes alouualdon  
craft ne antkendun. Thîna cumi sindun  
te dōma endi te diurdon, drohtin frô mîn,  
abarun Israhelas, êganumu folke,  
thînum liobun liudium.'

'Thou art the great light to all heathen races, which previously have not accepted (known of) the power of the Almighty. Thy coming is glory and honour to the children of Israel, my dear Lord, to thine own people.'

Dom is practically synonymous with the alliterating diurdon (~ O.N. dýrð) "glory", "majesty", "honour", and, as in the Gothic examples, suggests both the glory of God and the state of beatitude (and hence "power") when God is in man.

v) honour, glory, reputation:

The division between the concept of divine power in iv) and worldly reputation can only be made artificially, as the following example will show. In this passage from the Heliand the heroic ideal of terrestrial honour and fame is placed in a Christian context. Thomas, diurlic drohtines thegan (3994) "loyal thane of the Lord", exhorts the other disciples to defend Christ, stressing the heroic duty of thane to die for his lord.

'ac uuita im uuonian mid,  
 thuoloian mid [ûsson] thiodne: that ist thegnes cust,  
 that hie mid is frâhon samad fasto gistande,  
 dôie [mid] im thar an duome. Duan ûs alla sô,  
 folgon im te thero ferdi: ni lâtan ûse fera uuid thiū  
 uuihtes uuirdig, neba uui an them uuerode mid im,  
 dôian mid ûson drohtine. Than lêbot us thoh duom after,  
 [guod uuord] for gumon.'

Heliand, 3995b-4002a (italics mine)

'But rather we should remain with him, suffer with our Lord:  
 that is the duty [choice] of the thane, that he together with  
 his lord should stand fast, die with him there (at his doom)  
 in glory. Let us conduct ourselves in such a way, follow him  
 in the midst of the host; let us do all things worthily, unless  
 we die with our lord in the midst of the host. So honour  
 (fame, glory) will live after us, a good reputation (fame)  
 amongst men."

Thomas encourages the disciples to die with Christ an duome (3998a), which Sehrt glosses as am Tage des (jüngsten) Gerichts, the day of judgment at one's death (rather than Doomsday). Dom by itself, without a clarifying adjective or compound, rarely refers to this doomsday, and the preposition an "in", "on" also points to a reading "in glory".<sup>29</sup> This half line, "die in glory", is balanced with the following half line (4001b) Than lêbot ûs thoh duom after "then glory will live after us". A physical death with glory will result in everlasting life in glory/fame. (The significance of this passage will be discussed in the following, interpretative section.)<sup>30</sup>

There are no examples of O.S. \*dôman without a prefix, and only a few examples of forms with a prefix, all of which mean "to judge":

Sâlige sind ôc, the sie hîr frumono [gelustid]/rincos, that [sie] rehto adômien, "Blessed are those who have done good, heroes who justly have judged." Heliand, 1308-9.<sup>31</sup>

Although no conclusions can be reached from such evidence in the verbal form, it would appear that the substantive in the early ninth century had a range of meanings similar to that in O.N. and O.E. at the same date: "judgment", "command", "decision", "free will", "power" and "glory", with a similar intermingling of concepts. In particular, the use of the heroic dôm, "worldly reputation", to signify divine glory is of special interest.

### C. Old High German.

The works mentioned in this section will be the East Franconian Tatian (Evangelienharmonie), c. A.D. 830, the Rhenish Franconian Otfrid's Evangelienbuch, c. A.D. 863-71, the O.H.G. "Monsee-Vienna Fragments", c. A.D. 860, and the later Works of Notker Labeo of St. Gall, c. A.D. 1000.<sup>32</sup> The nominal form in all these works is duam/tuom, and has the following referents:

- i) judgment, personal or judicial
- ii) power
- iii) glory, fame, renown.

#### i) Judgment:

In the Tatian, a work written at the same time as the O.S. Heliand, L. iudicium is regularly translated by tuom and L. iudicare

by tuomen; e.g., Ni mag ih uon mir selbomo tuon íouuiht; sôsô ih hôriu tuomiu inti mîn tuom reht ist, which glosses Non possum ego a me ipso facere quicquam; sicut audio iudico et iudicium meum iustum est.<sup>33</sup> The force of tuom here is that of personal judgment, discernment.

The sense of impersonal or judicial judgment is to be found in an example in Chapter 172,5 of the Tatian: . . . fon duome, uanta hêrôsto thesses mittilgartes erduompt ist. [he will reprove the world] de iudicio autem, quia princeps mundi huius iudicatus est.<sup>34</sup> In the "Monsee Fragments" tuom / tuomida is normally the translation of the legal iudicium, e.g., tuomida enti ga[barmida] / enti kalaubin, iudicium et misericordiam / et fidem (17,17).<sup>35</sup>

In one passage of the Tatian the sense of "judgment" is strengthened to mean "condemnation": Thaz ist thie tuom, thaz liot quam in uuerolt . . . ; Hoc est autem iudicium, quod lux venit in mundum.

ii) Power:

In Otfrid's Evangelienbuch we find the following example: gilaub ih fasto in thinan duam, I believe firmly in your power [or glory?].<sup>37</sup> Kelle glosses this usage by Macht "power", although a sense as in iii) might well apply.

iii) Glory, fame:

In Otfrid Kelle glosses a number of instances of duam as Ehre, Beruhmtheit, Name "glory, fame, renown".<sup>38</sup> And in the later O.H.G. work of Notker Labeo of St Gall there are many examples of duom with this sense,<sup>39</sup> e.g., L. magnificentia is generally translated tuomheit "glory";

Keiíht unde tuômheit ist sîn uuérch, Confessio et magnificentia opus euis.<sup>40</sup>

In the Boethian translation there is the following passage:

Nû bíto íh tíh chád si. sîh uuío  
gótedéhtîgo. unde uuirdegliho  
dû dáz áhtoest. táz íh ten tûom  
gôt.tes tûomlichôsten gûotes chád  
fól uuesén.

Sed quesco inquit te vide quam id  
sancte probes. atque inviolabiter.  
quod diximus summum deum plenissimum  
esse summi boni.<sup>41</sup>

Tuom, therefore, glosses summus on both occasions, "the ultimate" in goodness. The summum bonum, however, according to Augustine, Boethius (and later Aquinas), implies more than moral goodness, but rather the essential quality of the Godhead who made all things good (Gen. 1,10).<sup>42</sup>

It is the essential nature of God; hence He is called tuom, which can only be translated weakly by "glorious". For man to achieve tuom "glory" is, therefore, to partake of the Godhead.

#### D. Old Norse

The texts used in this section, Icelandic Eddaic verse and sagas, are rather later than those used in the previous ones; however, the same groups of referents appear. Apart from dómr in O.N. there is a mutated cognate doemi which will also be analyzed briefly, in addition to the verbal form doema.

a) dómr can have the following meanings:

- i) "judgment" or "sentence" in the judicial sense, and, by extension, "court" or "body of judges".
- ii) "fate" (in the sense of "the judgment of the gods").

iii) "personal judgment", "opinion", "decision".

iv) "fame", "reputation", "glory".<sup>43</sup>

i) Judgment:

In the Icelandic sagas there are a great number of passages which refer to this legal sense of judgment, e.g., seggja upp dóm "to pronounce judgment", stíðr dómr "a severe judgment".

Court or body of judges: soekja mál í dóm "to prosecute a case in court"; and in a typical description of the Alþing in a saga:

Nú sitja þeir, þar til er dómar  
fara út. Þá kveðr Sámr upp menn  
sína ok gengr til lögbergs. Var  
þar þá dómr settr. Sámr gekk  
djarfliga at dóminum.<sup>44</sup>

Now they waited until the courts were in session. Then Samr called up his men and went to the Law hill. There the court was then assembled. Samr went boldly to the court.

Dómr can refer, therefore, to the physical location of the court, to the judges or to the judicial system in general (cf. "the bench" in Mod. English). In the saga literature with its innumerable accounts of trials and displays of legal terminology it is not surprising to find a host of compound words with dóm- used in this legal sense; e.g., dómsmaðr "judge", dómsorð "sentence", dóm-fé "the payment fixed by the sentence" and dóm-rof "disregard for the judgment", etc.

The Gospels in O.N. have been called hinn dyri dómr "the precious law"; in this sense dómr implies all the teaching and commands (and perhaps some of the mystery) of the new religion.

ii) Fate:

It is interesting to note how closely connected semantically the referents "judgment" and "fate" are. For example, in Fáfnismál dóm has this dual sense:

Norna dóm þu munt fyr nesiom hafa  
 ok ósvinnz apa;  
 í vantni þú drukknar, ef í vindi røer:  
 allt er feigs forað.<sup>45</sup>

The dómr of the Norns before the nesses threatens; a fool's  
 fate will be thine; in the water will drown in the wind who  
 rows: all spells death to the doomed man.<sup>46</sup>

Fáfnir in this stanza warns Sigurth that the Norna dómr "the judgment of  
 the Norns" (as it is usually translated) predicts death for him.

"Judgment" is a correct translation, but in this context "fate" is implied;  
 not the judgment of an action, but the workings of the amoral, inexorable  
 fate (or simply "ways") in the world. Dómr here means "that which is  
 laid down", as we noted was the basic etymology of Pr. Gmc. \*domoz, a  
 concept given material form in the myth of the Norns spinning the fate  
 of the world by the Urdar-brunnar. In this instance, therefore, urðr  
 "fate" (one of the Norns; cf. O.E. wyrd) becomes synonymous with dómr,  
 and, as shall be seen later, both concepts in the Old English Christian  
 poetry become attributes of Metod "God" (or "fate").<sup>47</sup>

iii) Personal judgment, decision, etc.: e.g., en heldr en þrælar  
sé upp gefnir, vil ek þetta mál leggja á ykkarn dóm,<sup>48</sup> "but rather than  
 give up the thralls, I will let this case rest in your decision". The  
 difference here between "judgment" and "decision" is very slight and is  
 made simply because this example demonstrates a personal decision, rather  
 than a legal one.

iv) Fame, glory, reputation: dómr in this sense is often  
 synonymous with eptirmæli "good report" (a word which also has legal  
 connotations); e.g., in the famous stanza from the Hávamál (77):



Deyr fé, deyja frændr,  
 deyr siálfr it sama;  
 ek veit einn, at aldri deyr:  
dómr um daðan hvern.<sup>49</sup>

Possessions die and relations die, one also dies oneself; I know of one thing which never dies: the dómr surrounding every dead man.

Lee Hollander translates dómr as "doom" which has sombre and negative undertones in Mod. Eng.,<sup>50</sup> and others translate it as "judgment". A clue to the precise significance of the word in context is the following preposition, um[b] "surrounding", "enveloping" (as Mod. Dan. om) every dead person. Also, as the poet is discussing the only worldly item which is immortal, "doom" or "judgment" limits the sense. Finally, the stanza repeats the previous one, but substitutes dómr for orztírr > orðs-tírr "the glory (cf. O.E. tír 'glory') achieved through the words (of others)". Dómr in this context is the result of the judgment of one's fellows and suggests the nebulous, heroic concept of an after-life gained by the reputation which surrounds the departed.

b) Doema: the O.N. verbal form doema (the mutated form) has the following meanings:

- i) "to judge", "pass sentence".
- ii) "to estimate", "form an opinion".
- iii) "to talk", "discuss" and by extension "pronounce fate".

i) "to judge": Síðan varði hann monnum í dóm lýriti at doema um sakarnar, "Afterwards he [Víga-Glúmr] forbade men to judge the case by lawful veto."<sup>51</sup>

ii) "to estimate": er þú doemir sjálfr, hvers þu ert verðr, "when you estimate your own worth".<sup>52</sup> Again, "judge" would be a feasible translation.

iii) "to talk", "discuss", etc. Such a meaning in the verbal form is unique in the Germanic languages. It is normally translated by "talk" or "discuss", but implies rather the weighty discussion involved in and leading up to a judgment, and reflects the lengthy deliberations over legal matters which one finds in the sagas. It also implies, by extension, the pronouncement of fate, e.g., the formal annunciation of the Norna dómr, mentioned above. The ceremonial, ritualistic associations surrounding doema are illustrated in the following Voluspá passage (stanza 52):

Finnaz æsir      á Íðavelli  
ok um moldþinur,      matcan, doema  
ok minnaz þar      á megingdóma  
ok á Fimbultýs      fornar rúnar.<sup>53</sup>

The Æsir meet on the Plain of Itha and discuss, debate about the mighty Middle Earth Serpent, consider again the great Doom and the great god's [Odinn] ancient runes.

Doema means far more than "speak"<sup>54</sup> or "remember",<sup>55</sup> and implies a weighty debate, the ritual speech concerning the gods' meindingómr, the great Doom. The verb is stressed by its final position in the line and balanced against meindingóma.

A similar significance can be attached to the common alliterative half-line drekka ok doema. Zoëga translates this "to drink and talk" and Lee Hollander, even less formally "to drink and chat".<sup>56</sup> An example occurs in the Rígsþula, 32:

vín var í kqnnu,      vardir kálkar;  
drukkok dæmdo;      dagr var í sinnom.

There was wine in a crock, were the cups gold-plated;  
they drank and chatted, till the day was ended.<sup>57</sup>

Hollander's translation suggests that the phrase is only a stock epithet

and insignificant. The context, however, suggests solemn and ritualistic counselling: the god Heimdall, "father of mankind", with dignity and ritual visited the mythic three estates of man, was served food and wine at each and he and his hosts doemdo "discussed" about the propagation of the species. Rígr [Heimdall] kunni þeim rað at segia, "Rigr knew how to counsel them well" is the following line, and also suggests that doema implies more than idle chat.<sup>58</sup>

c) Doemi: this substantive, cognate with dómr, takes its basic meaning from the verbal referent "to discuss", "promulgate fame" (see b iii above):

- i) a tale, poem or quotation
- ii) an incident, event
- iii) fate
- iv) proof, reason, state or condition
- v) an example, precedent or model (for imitation)

i) "tale", "story", "poem": Ari prestr fróði, er mörg doemi spaklig hefir saman sett, "Ari the wise priest who has composed many wise parables/tales." The sense of a didactic tale parallels that in the Rígsþula above. Þessi doemi öll eru kveðin um þenna atburð, "these verses all were uttered about the event".

"quotation": draga fram doemi af bókum "derived from the quotations [or 'examples'] from books".

ii) "incident", "event": þó hafa mörg doemi orðit í forneskju, "yet many incidents have happened in olden times . . .". This example is semantically connected with the following sense of "fate", "outcome of events".

iii) "fate": in Helgakvíða hundingsbana, II, 3, 1:

Nú hefir hǫrd doemi hildingr þegit,  
er vísi skal valbygg [mala] . . . .59

Now the hero received a harsh fate when the bold one  
must barley grind.

In this context "fate" simply means the outcome of events and  
does not carry the same, mystical overtones of Norna dómr.

iv) "state" or "condition": in Hamdismál, 29,2: Ekki hygg ek  
okkr vera úlfa doemi, "Nor should we, I think, be of wolfish kind."<sup>60</sup>

v) "an example", "precedent", "model": til doemis at taka, "to  
take an example", hence "an event", "a tale taken as a precedent"; ór  
doemum, for example, means "unprecedented". Similarly, doemi can mean  
"a model for imitation": eptir doemum kristinna manna, "after the  
example of Christian men". A doema-maðr is "a man to be imitated", and  
taka doemiaf einhverm means "to follow someone's example".

The majority of referents of doemi refer to a tale of an event  
or person in the past which, being judged good or indeed perfect, serves  
as an example in the present.

#### E. Old English

The majority of examples in this section will be taken from Old  
English poetry, because the following analyses will deal largely with  
the theme in its poetic context. The very large number of Mod. Eng.  
translations of O.E. dom might be grouped, albeit artificially as will  
be seen, into three major sections, all of which are thematically related:

1. Judgment: law (generally in plural); command, authority,  
decree (generally singular), Fate (in the sense of divine  
providence).

## 2. Personal Judgment:

- a) opinion, decision, free choice, will.
- b) meaning, sense, interpretation.

## 3. Power and Fame:

- a) power, might, majesty.
- b) fame, glory, reputation, honour.

## 1. Judgment

The majority of the meanings of dom in the poetic corpus refer to "power", "glory", "fame", etc., rather than to legal judgment, but this reflects the nature of the literature, rather than any shift in meaning. Unlike O.N. there is no example of dom referring to the "court" or "legal case". In this sense dom refers to the abstract "judgment" itself, as can be seen from such compounds as: domboc "law book", domhus "law court", domsetl "judgment seat", domsettend "judge", domesdæg "doomsday", etc. The Last Judgment is rarely referred to as dom without a specific, qualifying adjective, e.g., dom þone miclan "the great judgment" (Jdg II,15); on þam grimman dæge / domes þæs miclan "on the terrible day of the great judgment" (Cri III 1204-5);<sup>61</sup> dom dy reþran "the stern judgment" (Cri II 790). In the collective sense of "law", the O.E. form is usually in the plural -- domas -- and refers to the law of a society, the legal and ethical code, and divine law; e.g., the Israelites in Daniel left drihtnes domas, curon deofles cræft "the Law of God and chose the devil's cause" (Dan 32); the Law becomes a synecdoche for the religion, as O.N. hinn dyri dómr "the precious law" (see p. 18) referred to the Christian religion. There are many examples of Moyse domas "the

laws of Moses" and drihtnes domas "the Lord's law" which refer to the divine teaching, the dogmas of the faith, and hence the religion itself.<sup>62</sup>

In the singular dom refers to a specific command, e.g., Nebuchadnezzar's decree to the Israelites that all must worship the idol is peodnes dom "the king's decree" (Dan 190); and a specific law of God is, of course, in the singular, e.g., the demonic powers forfeit their glory purh deopne dom "by a profound decree" (Glc 669). There are also many examples of such phrases as to/æfter/purh frean dome "according to the command of the Lord".<sup>63</sup>

## 2. Personal Judgment

### a) "decision", "free choice"

When a personal decision is referred to, dom is generally preceded by the reflexive sylf-, e.g., in Maldon the Danish messenger tells Byrhtnoth

syllan sǣmannum    on hyra sylfra dom  
feoh wið freode,    and niman frið æt us. (38-9)

to give to the sailors [Danes] at their own choice property  
for peace, and accept peace from us.

And Beowulf tells Hygelac that Hrothgar gave him treasures on [min]ne sylfes dom "of my own choice" (Bwf 2147).<sup>64</sup>

### b) "Meaning", "sense", "interpretation"

Nebuchadnezzar tells the deofolwitgan "sorcerers"

Ge sweltað deaðe,    nympe ic dom wite  
sodan swefnes,    þæs min sefa myndgað (Dan 143-4)

You shall die unless I know the dom of the true dream, which  
lies heavily in my breast.

Dom in this context is normally translated as "interpretation", but, as can be seen from the other examples of dom in this context in the same

poem, "divine teaching" or "wisdom" would be a closer translation. The dream is called sod "true" in this passage (144), and later its message is seo run "the secret" or "mystical advice" (541), and Daniel's interpretation wyrda gepingu "the decrees of fate" (545). Dom comes to mean both the divine wisdom of the dream, and, because it can only be interpreted by godes spelboda "God's prophet" (532), the divine power given to Daniel to understand it. The sorcerers are, therefore, helpless for næs him dom gearu / to asecganne swefen cyninge "the power was not given to them to explain the dream to the king" (128-9). God is dema ælmihtig, se ðe him dom forgeaf "the almighty Judge who gave him divine power" (477), and dom in the following line is equated with spowende sped "triumphant prosperity".<sup>65</sup> And, after the prophecy of the dream has been fulfilled, the poet states that Wyrd wæs geworden . . . dom gedemed (652 and 654), both wyrd "fate" and dom refer to God's providence which was fulfilled. Dom in these examples, therefore, refers to the divine gift, the essential quality of the Godhead, given to the faithful, which will permit them to have sapientia "wisdom" (as opposed to the worldly scientia "knowledge" of the sorcerers), and, on a materialistic level, prosperity.<sup>66</sup>

### 3. "Power", "Glory", "Fame"

It is difficult to differentiate between the meanings of dom which refer to "power", "reputation" and "glory". Andreas, for example, thanks God pæs ðe he dom gifed / gumena gehwylcum (And 1151-2) "because he gives dom to all men", when dom could refer to physical power (because the hero has just won a victory), worldly fame or divine glory. The

implications of these interpretations will be discussed in the next chapter. All, however, were connected in the O.E. Christian poetry, when worldly prosperity (sped) and reputation were immediate, albeit epiphenomenal, rewards to the righteous, and a sign of their spiritual regeneration. When Lucifer in Genesis or Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel become domleas, they are immediately physically powerless, and have also lost their hope of eternal life; consequently, domleas comes to mean "damned".

The following divisions, therefore, can only be arbitrary:

a) "Physical power", "majesty", "intellectual power": of feonda dom "[rescued] from the power of the devil" (Exo 571); dom and drihtscipe "[Enoch upheld] the power / majesty and the lordship [of the tribe]" (Gen 1199, and also in 2138). Satan is deprived of dome and dugeþe, and dreame "power and might and joy" (Gen 56, where dom could also refer to "glory"). In the example given in the previous section -- næs him dom gearu / to asecganne swefen cyninge "power was not given to them to explain the king's dream" (Dan 128-9) -- the "power" is the intellectual gift of "wisdom" (as noted above).

b) "Worldly reputation", "Fame": l[an]gne dom / agan mid eldum "[you will] possess lasting reputation amongst men" (Wld 10-11 and cf. Mld 129); þin [dom] lyfað "your fame will endure" (Bwf 954 and cf. 1388, 1491, 1645, 2179, 2666).<sup>67</sup> An interesting example occurs in Cri I 168: Joseph feels he is dome bereafod "deprived of honour/reputation" when he hears of Mary's child (as in the Mystery Plays); dom could refer to his reputation, hence honour, and by implication to his fears that Mary's suspected unfaithfulness will deprive both of eternal glory.



c) "Glory": A þin dom wunap "may your glory live for ever" (Cri I 405, referring to Christ, and cf. 385); dom unbryce "involute glory" (Phx 642, also referring to divine glory); dryhtnes dom "the glory of God" (Glc 444 and cf. 972); Wes a domes georn "Be ever eager for glory" (And 959).<sup>68</sup>

#### O.E. Compounds with dom-:

a) domgeorn "eager for glory": duguð domgeorn "a host eager for glory [the righteous at Judgment]" (Ele 1291, and see Wan 17, And 693, 1308, and other examples in Chapter 2).

b) domleas "bereft of glory, fame" hence "damned": Ealle swylt fornam, / druron domlease "death took them all forcibly, they perished without glory" (And 994-5); domleasan dæd "inglorious deed" (Bwf 2890).<sup>69</sup>

c) domeadig "blessed by glory, fame": þær se halga þeow . . . domeadig bad "[the Lord extended his hand] where the holy servant lived blest by glory" (Glc 952, and cf. Gen 1247, Jln 288 and Glc 727); domeadigra dæg "the day of those blest by glory" (Cri 1656).

d) domfæst "glorious", "secure in glory": domfæstra dream "the joy of those secure in their glory" (Glc 1083 and cf. Gen 1287, 1510, 1786 and 2378); domfæst cyning "glorious king" (Aza 99); Twelfe wæron / dædum domfæste "there were twelve [Apostles] glorious in their deeds" (FAp 5).<sup>70</sup>

#### Cognate Substantival Forms:

a) Dema "a judge", "God": fore onsyne eces deman "before the

face of the eternal Judge" (Ele 745, Cri 836, Glc 783 and 1188); purh þæs deman muð "from the mouth of the Judge" (Ele 1283); dema ælmihtig "the almighty Judge" (Dan 477).<sup>71</sup>

Compounds with -dema: heofondema "heavenly Judge" (XSt 656), sigedema "victorious Judge" (And 661, Cri 1060), aldordema "supreme Judge" (Gen 1156, 2483).

b) Demend "a judge", "God": dæda Demend "Judge of deeds" (Bwf 181, Max II 36, Jln 725, And 87, 1189).<sup>72</sup>

#### Verbal Forms

a) Deman:

i) "to judge", "command", "condemn": Drihten sylfa / on þam medelstede manegum demed "the Lord himself will judge many on the meeting place" (Exo 542-3); swa him wæs on wordum gedemed "as was commanded to them by words" (Dan 244); swa gedemed is / bearwes bigengan "as is decreed for dwellers in the grove" (Phx 147-8); he þonne wile deman, se ah domes geweald "he who will judge, is he who has the power of judgment" (DrR 107); demde to deape "condemned to death" (Ele 500, and cf. Glc 549).<sup>73</sup>

ii) "to consider": fordon hie [Abraham and Loth] wide nu/ duggedum demað "therefore they now from afar considered them glorious" (Gen 1717-8; same sense as "judged").

iii) "to glorify", "honour": þegnas þrymfæste . . . heora liffrean / demdon "glorious thanes [angels] glorified their Lord of life" (Gen 15-7); þær ic dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon "whereby I must honour the law of the Lord" (FAp 10).<sup>74</sup>

b) todeman "to judge between", "distinguish": eall manna cynn /

toðæled and toðemed þurh his dihlen miht "the Lord will separate and distinguish between all mankind by his might" (Jdg II 19-20).

c) ademan "to judge" and by extension "to deprive": Ðu ademest me fram dugude "You deprive me of excellence" (Gen 1032).

d) domian "to praise": metod domige "glorify the Lord!" (Dan 398, and cf. 371).

### Conclusion to the Etymological and Semantic Section

The etymon of dom and cognate forms is "that which is laid down, established", whether a dwelling or a law, and is void of any ethical associations. From this basic concept radiate all the other meanings which might be artificially divided into three groups: i) that which is established externally by man: "judgment", "decree", "sentence", or by higher powers: "fate", "divine decree". ii) that which is established by oneself: "opinion", "free choice", "will". iii) the judgment established on one's actions and life either by one's peers: "fame", "reputation", or by God: "glory"; and, by extension, the means with which that fate is established: "power", "might" (which in the Christian sense is considered to be rather the immediate reward of the faithful, and, therefore, includes the intellectual gift of "wisdom").

In many of the examples studied the precise nuance of meaning was ambiguous, in particular in the third group noted above. In Gothic the symbol doms only refers to divine glory and staua is used to indicate "judgment" of any sort. In the Skeireins quotations doms refers to the glory of God and also to the state of glory awaiting the righteous

(Nicodemus). It might be surmised, although the evidence is too scant, that doms refers to the perfected state of Christ which man, desiring immortality, should strive to attain.

In the O.S. Heliand dom can refer to the quality or power which God brings to man and which the righteous thane of the Lord could (and should) acquire. This dom "glory" is also equated with worldly "reputation", as was seen in the Heliand, 4001-2. The abstract quality of the Godhead is also described as tuom in the O.H.G. translation of Boethius, the word used to qualify the summum bonum "ultimate goodness" which is the essence of God. Such examples would appear to substantiate the conclusion drawn from the Skeireins quotations, that the perfected quality of the divinity, called "glory", is signified by dom[s]. Such dom, according to the Heliand passage, is offered to all mankind who will "die" to the world and live for Christ þæs ðe dom gifed / gumena gehwylcum (And 1151-2) "because God gives glory to every man". By following Christ's example (including the "battle" with evil and the miserable "death" from this world), by desiring to be at one with God, domgeorn "eager for glory", one will attain immortal dom "glory". The "judgment" in this sense of dom is a personal one; one decides of one's own free will to be either domgeorn or domleas "bereft of glory", "damned".

The Old Norse literature analyzed is, conversely, secular. The stress on public opinion, on the judgment of one's fellows, suggests an anthropocentric society whose vision did not go beyond this world; hence "good reputation" is, according to the Hávamál passage, the only immortal part of man, and man's reputation is gauged by one's standing in relation to the heroic code. A doema-madr is an exemplary character to be imitated.

In both cases, heroic and Christian, judgment depends on man's performance during life. The chance of gaining glory is given to all (albeit only theoretically in the heroic ideal); consequently, the responsibility lies with the dom "free choice" of the individual, to live as nearly perfect a life as possible by following the dæmi "perfect example to be imitated", and thus become domeadig "blest by glory". In heroic thought the possession of dom as "power", "might" was equated with the desire to gain dom which was considered, naturally, the result of mighty deeds of courage. In Christian thought the worldly power and might was considered a foretaste or a reflection of the divine glory of the righteous. In Genesis, as was seen, it is expressed in terms of material prosperity and power, as in the Old Testament itself, and synonymous with sped "prosperity"; in Daniel this worldly gift is seen as sapientia "wisdom", and in the saints' lives as the power to overcome evil. Analogically viewed, the Christian dom as a worldly reward is the gift of God's grace which enables fallen man to regain a spiritual perfection, symbolized often by the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. This also is "that which is established" for man originally; the prelapsarian state when man's judgment, as his life, would have been perfect and the two concepts of dom "judgment" and "glory/perfection" would have been identical. The implications of these findings and suggestions in the semantic survey will be discussed in the following interpretative analysis.

## II

### AN INTERPRETATIVE ANALYSIS OF DOM AS "FAME", "GLORY" IN ITS POETIC CONTEXT

It can be seen from the semantic analysis that dom and its cognate forms meaning "fame", "reputation", "glory" are always used in a positive sense. Dom, as the judgment by one's fellows or by one's God on one, invariably implies a good reputation; "fame" and never "infamy", which might be expected when the etymology, "that which is established, judged", is ethically neutral and could refer to either positive or negative sense. The names of evil characters from Satan onwards survive in myth and legend and are just as "immortal" as those of the morally good characters, yet the former are called domleas in Old English, "lacking in dom". Dom, therefore, takes on a moral connotation, and the possession of dom, as deduced from the semantic evidence, must refer to the positive quality of virtue, the state of living an ethically perfect life.

The perfectio-complex of medieval times, which was at the centre of medieval thought, depended on, as Morton Bloomfield states, "the notion of the ontological hierarchy in the universe or the great chain of being. The qualitative distinction between each level is its degree of perfection".<sup>75</sup> Although one's social position in the hierarchy was largely fixed, it was one's paramount duty to attempt to reach this hypothesized state of perfection in the spiritual and ethical

hierarchies. Naturally, the conception of perfection varied between the heroic and Christian codes, but dom could represent the state of ethical perfection in both.

The implication of this assumption and many of the conclusions reached in the previous chapter will be discussed in the following interpretative analysis of dom in its "fame, glory" context in poetry. The majority of the examples will be taken from the Old English poetic corpus. Initially, the discussion will centre on the more explicitly "heroic" poetry in which dom signifies the merited fame of the noble, within the limitations of this world.

One of the most famous examples of this heroic conception of immortality is to be found in the Hávamál stanza quoted in the previous chapter (p. 20): all things in this world, including oneself, will die, except dómr um dauðan hvern "the fame which surrounds every dead man". Taylor and Auden, although their translation is not strictly accurate, excellently capture the essence of this immortality gained through fame: "But I know one thing that never dies, / The glory of the great dead."<sup>76</sup> The poet explicitly states that dómr is the reward of all the departed, but, when the ideal is that of the heroic code, only the brave heroes can hope to achieve this fame which is equated with ords-tirr "glory achieved by the words [of others]" in the previous stanza. Public opinion, then, would be held very highly, as can be seen in the Icelandic sagas. The hero must be, like Beowulf, lofgeornost "most eager for praise" (Bwf 3182), continually conducting himself in such a way as to gain dom "fame", the state in which he could at last have some control over his destiny in a mutable world.<sup>77</sup> Man's lack of

power over fate, conceived as the amoral and inexorable ways of the world, and his state of being fæg (O.N. feigr) "doomed", are themes common to heroic and Christian poetry and are continually found in contextual association with the theme of dom (as in the Hávamál passage). The well-known passage from The Seafarer echoes the Hávamál poet's thoughts:

Simle preora sum þinga gehwylce,  
 ær his tid aga, to tweon weorped;  
 adl oppe ylde oppe ecghefe  
 fægum fromweardum feorh odþringed.  
 Forþon þæt bið eorla gehwam æftercweþendra  
 lof lifgendra lastworda betst . . . . (68-73)

Always one of three things brings uncertainty before one's destined time. Sickness or age or sword-hate will take away the life from the fated man who will depart. Therefore, for all men the praise of the living, of later commemorators, is the best memorial . . . .<sup>78</sup>

The praise of the living and the best reputation possible for "fated man" is still recommended by the Christian poet, although the poem continues by describing the heavenly fame of the good Christian. A distinction is made here between lof and dom: lof signifies "the praise" a living man gains for a certain heroic act or actions, while dom implies the accumulation of lof over a period, generally a lifetime, which creates one's "reputation" and has a stronger moral overtone. Professor Tolkien sums up the distinction: "lof is ultimately and etymologically value, valuation and so praise, as we say (itself derived from pretium). Dom is judgment, assessment, and in one branch just esteem, merited renown".<sup>79</sup>

A typical example of how dom "reputation" was acquired is given in Byrhtnoth's speech in The Battle of Maldon: Byrhtnoth

bæd þæt hyssa gehwylc hogode to wige  
 þe on Denon wolde dom gefeohtan. (128-9)

[He] bade each warrior, who wished to gain fame by fighting the Danes, prepare for battle.



By fighting for and dying, if necessary, for one's lord, by carrying out the heroic boasts made earlier in the mead-hall, in fact by following the "heroic code", one achieved dom "fame". Death, then, became less horrific as this immortal part of one would live on. The paradox of a life in death, central to Christian doctrine, as well as a brave attitude to death itself, was well understood in pre-Christian times. The emphasis and burden was placed squarely on the shoulders of the individual; he could only trust in his own might, literally for the hero, figuratively for the Christian, and work out his own salvation. In Maldon the enemy, the Danes, represented ambivalently a threat to body and soul, as they were considered demonic,<sup>80</sup> and the battle, like the later crusades, was conceived of on a literal and figurative level.

A similar exhortation in a non-Christian poem is given in Waldhere; Hildegund incites Waldhere to battle, as Byrhtnoth did to his men:

[..] is se dæg cumen  
 þæt du scealt aninga     oder twega,  
 lif forleosan     odde 1[an]gne dom  
 agan mid eldum,     Ælfheres sunu. (8-11)

Now the day has arrived when you, Ælfhere's son, must do one of two things: lose your life or gain lasting fame amongst mankind.<sup>81</sup>

At first sight it would appear from this passage that death and the gaining of dom were incompatible, unlike in Maldon where the majority of the heroes gain dom by their courageous deaths; but in this case the choice is between cowardice which will lead to certain death and ignominy, because the two are ambushed, or fame by fighting. Perhaps Hildegund equated the loss of dom "eternal fame" because of cowardice with loss of life, the loss of life after death. If Waldhere had chosen not to fight

he would have been domleas "bereft of fame" and hence of immortality, like the coward Godric and his brothers in Maldon. Cowards, like all social outcasts, would be in permanent exile, outside the comitatus and, in Iceland at least, liable to be killed on the spot without any recompense paid. After death, according to the mythology of Snorri,<sup>82</sup> the coward would be sent to Nástrand, the hell of murderers, breakers of faith and cowards. Parallel to this is the Christian concept of the fate of those who refused to combat the demonic enemy and whose domleas state would make them forfeit glory, like Adam, and risk damnation.

Dom could be gained from a single, great deed as Byrhtnoth and Hildegund suggest, in particular a deed which costs one's life, but lof "praise" must be sought by every deed, so that the "aura" of dom "glory" surrounds one eventually. Even Beowulf, amongst the greatest dæmi "model for imitation" in heroic literature and frequently compared by critics to Christ,<sup>83</sup> was aware that, although he had accomplished more heroic deeds in a short period than any man could imagine in his life, he still had to think of his honour and be careful to cultivate his dom until his death. Wiglaf, just before Beowulf's heroic death, reminds him of his (Beowulf's) earlier boast:

Leofa Biowulf, læst eall tela,  
swa ðu on geogud-feore geara gecwæde,  
þæt ðu ne alæte be ðe lifigendum  
dom gedreosan; (2663-6a)

Beloved Beowulf, accomplish all things well, as you declared long ago in the days of your youth, that you would not allow your fame to perish while you were still alive.

Wiglaf's is a typical exhortation to a hero, but it tells us of Beowulf's ambition to protect and augment his fame until his moment of death. This,

then, is the major difference between lof and dom; the former can be won on one occasion without giving the hero eternal fame, but the latter is the result of continuous striving to approximate the ethical perfection and continues after death as immortality. Such an idea appears relentless and stoical, but it is one which is in accord with the Christian concept of ece dom "eternal glory", which is also the result of man's endless keeping of God's domas "laws". For both hero and Christian every moment was the apocalyptic, "the revealing" moment. Beowulf, when he returns to Hygelac after gaining greater fame than any other hero, is described as

guma gudum cūð,    godum dædum,  
dreah æfter dome, . . . (2178-9a)

a man renowned for his combats and good deeds conducted  
himself in pursuit of fame, . . .

Clark Hall translates æfter dome by "honourably",<sup>84</sup> whereas æfter requires such a translation as "after", "in pursuit of", and stresses the conscious and deliberate programme "to accomplish all things well" (Bwf 2663). A list of his virtues follows (2179ff.), all carefully studied throughout his life in order to obtain dom. Such a conscious and studied programme to achieve glory might be considered as "faultily flawless", a desire for perfection which is too calculated, and hence the aim of the hero detracts from the reputation desired. But the Beowulf poet presents Beowulf seriously as a dæmi "an ideal to be copied", and at no point criticizes him. Indeed, it was the duty of everythane to be domgeorn "eager for fame" and conduct himself as Beowulf does, just as it was to be the important duty of the Christian to strive consciously all through his life to gain glory.

Beowulf himself summarizes the heroic ideal when, as a young man like Wiglaf, he reminds the older Hrothgar who mourns the loss of Aeschere:

Ne sorga, snotor guma! Selre bið æghwæm  
 þæt he his freond wrece, þonne he fela murne.  
 Ure æghwylc sceal ende gebidan  
 worolde lifes; wyrce se þe mote  
 domes ær deaþe; þæt bið driht-gum[an]  
 unlifgendum æfter selest. (1384-9)

Do not sorrow, wise man! It is better for everyone that he avenge his friend than mourn too much. Each one of us can expect an end to his worldly life; let him who is capable of doing so, gain dom 'fame' before his death; that is the best thing [to achieve] for the departed warrior afterwards, after death.

As implied in The Wanderer (17ff.), the eorl must stoically conceal all personal emotion and avenge his relations' and friends' deaths, a duty condoned by the early Christian church and tolerated for many centuries.<sup>85</sup>

The stoical acceptance of the transitory nature of life is also common to both traditions, as seen in the Hávamál and Seafarer passages. The juxtaposition of what appear disparate sentiments reveals Beowulf's meaning ("do not mourn; avenge death; life is short; gain dom"). It suggests the belief in an active, not sentimental, way of life, one which concentrates on what can be done in the present to gain "glory", not the dead past, and the major belief is that dom is the finest aim which overcomes death, because it is outside the dictates of time. It is a philosophy summarized, with the typical, epigrammatic directness of the gnomic verses, by yrfe gedæled / deades monnes. Dom biþ selest. "the property of a dead man shall be divided up. Fame is best." (Maxims I 79b-80a). Nothing man leaves behind will remain as a memorial, all will be scattered at his death, only his fame will last. Beowulf's words to the contemplative Hrothgar domes ær deaþe . . . æfter selest (1388-9)

echo this realistic and unsentimental gnomic utterance. But, as Beowulf implies, this uncertain consolation is not possible for all, only for the drihtguma "the warrior" (1388b), for those who are capable of achieving it (1387b).

Beowulf's sentiment parallels the common biblical statement that the Christian message and reward is open to all who are capable of receiving it (Matt 13,9). The important difference is that, whereas the heroic ideal was only possible for those of a certain social and physical group, the Christian ideal could be attained by all: "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all . . .?" (1 Cor 9,24).<sup>86</sup> Those who are not capable of receiving the gift of dom God offers are those who, of their own free will, have opted out of the race.<sup>87</sup> In Christianity the stress is laid on the immense responsibility placed on the individual to join "the race" immediately. Fame and glory, then, must both be eagerly sought while alive and continually developed. Dom biþ selast.

Another of the greatest heroes of Germanic legend was Sigemund who achieved, according to the "Lay of Sigemund" in Beowulf

æfter deað-dæge dom unlytel,  
syþðan wiges heard — wýrm acwealde,  
hordes hyrde. (885-7a)

no little fame [came to] Sigemund after the day of his death,  
because he, hardly in battle, had killed the serpent, the  
guardian of treasures.

In the Völsunga saga it is stated that his great deed will be remembered as long as the world stands,<sup>88</sup> the greatest honour a hero could achieve. In order to stress the importance of Beowulf's deed and the potential for immortality which it will bring, the poet compares his hero to Sigemund who would have been well known to the Anglo-Saxon audience.<sup>89</sup>

Dom comes to Sigemund after his death (885a), and it is by means of the legend that this immortality is perpetuated. We are told of another heroic lay in Beowulf, the one sung about Beowulf himself after his death; he will be remembered by the prominent beacon, the mound, but above all his dom will be achieved by such a lay:

þa ymbe hlāw riōdan hilde-deore,  
 æþelinga bearn, ealra twelfe,  
 woldon ceare cwīdan, kyning mēnan,  
 word-gyð wrecan ond ymb wer sprecaþ;  
 eahtodan eorlscipe ond his ellen-weorc;  
 dugudum demdon, swa hit gedefe bið  
 þæt mon his wine-dryhten wordum herge,  
 ferhdum freoge, þonne he forþ scile  
 of lic-haman læded weorðan. (3169-77)

Then round the burial mound rode brave men in battle, sons of high born men, twelve in all; they wished to lament their sorrow and mourn their king, to utter a lay and to speak of this man. They praised his heroism and proclaimed the excellence of his deeds of valour, for it is fitting that a man should honour his liege lord by his words, and show him heartfelt love when his spirit has been taken from his body.<sup>90</sup>

This indeed is the "merited praise of the noble", and the important things which win the hero dom are his eorlscipe (3173) "that which pertains to a noble", "valour",<sup>91</sup> and his courageous, heroic deeds (ellenweorc, 3173). The thanes, twelve in number <sup>like</sup> as the heroic apostles in The Fates of the Apostles (4b), also demdon "judged", but here the verb has the sense of "estimating" his deeds favourably, hence "glorifying".

Just as Beowulf's acquisition of fame in lines 2178-9 appeared affected and calculated, so the thanes' homage might also appear, as it is given swa hit gedefe bið "as it is fitting", "as expected" (3174), a half-line which takes away the spontaneity of the emotions. But such emotion had, after all, been criticized by Beowulf when Hrothgar mourned. And it was one of the duties of thethane to narrate the lord's heroic

deeds after death, a duty which not only brought the lord fame, but, by the thanes' conforming to the dictates of the heroic code, they too were "accomplishing all things well", as Beowulf had said was the means of gaining dom (læst eall tela, 2663, quoted above).

The Junius Manuscript Genesis begins with a similar reminder of man's duty to sing the praises of one's lord: Us is riht micel dæt we rodera weard, / . . . wordum herigen "It is very right for us to praise with words . . . the lord of the heavens." (Gen 1-2b), and continues:

þegnas þrymfæste    þeoden heredon,  
sægdon lustum lof,    heora liffrean  
demdon, . . . (Gen 15-7a)

thanes, secure in glory, praised the Lord, spoke his  
praise gladly, glorified their Lord of life, . . .

In the Beowulf and Genesis passages the poets stress the "bounden duty" of thethane to the lord to sing his praises, and in both passages the thanes demdon "judged" their lord to be glorious.<sup>92</sup> In Genesis those who praise are themselves called þrymfæste "secure in their [own] glory" (15a). The giving of praise, then, is necessary for the immortality of the living, and shows their desire to partake of this immortality themselves. In Judgment Day I the poet explicitly states that it is his duty to tell mankind to praise God's glory, in order that they may gain glory before Doomsday (Jdg I 46-50).

A further example of this duty of man to exalt the fame of others is expressed in Maxims I of the Exeter Book:

Ræd sceal mon secgan,    rune writan,  
leop gesingan,    lofes gearnian,  
dom areccan,    dæges onettan. (138-40)

Men shall utter wisdom, write mysteries [or merely 'with letters'], sing lays, merit praise, expound/raise up fame,  
be diligent daily.

The list at first appears haphazard, but in lines 139-40 the four half-lines state man's responsibility to further the dom of others ("sing lays" and "raise up fame" [of others]) in the "a" lines, and to achieve dom oneself ("earn praise", "be diligent daily") in the "b" lines. The dom is not specified and would appear to suggest the general fame of the heroic departed, just as in the Judaic tradition man was exhorted "Let us now praise famous men . . ." (Ecclesiastes. 44,1). Areccan can mean "to narrate" or "to raise up", and the sense of elevating praise to the heavens, akin to a type of resurrection, is most apt. It has, of course, its parallel in Christianity -- prayers for the dead, the endowments of chantries, etc.

In heroic verse, as seen in the previous chapter, there are also examples of the gods perpetuating the memory of departed heroes. The goddesses Freyja and Hyndla in the Hyndloljóð, 8, state:

Sennom vit or sqðlom! sitia vit skolom  
ok um iqfra ættir doema,  
gumna þeira, er frá goðom kvómo.<sup>93</sup>

Let us strive as we sit astride our saddles, discuss/  
glorify the lines of lordly races of the kin of kings  
who came from the gods.<sup>94</sup>

This was the ritual recital of the fame of the heroes and their divine ancestry by the gods, for it was their responsibility also to raise up the dom of departed heroes.

The best method of insuring that one's name was not forgotten was by having it immortalized in a lay, as was the name of Sigemund, and in Old Norse the drápa "the heroic, laudatory poem" was of great importance.<sup>95</sup> Turville-Petre states that "stories or incidents in a king's life recorded in verses had much better chances of survival than those entrusted to



story-tellers or to popular memory", and that the court poet's function "was to record and immortalize the achievements and chief events in the lives of their patrons".<sup>96</sup> The better the poetry, the greater the chance that the poem, and hence the man eulogized, would be remembered. Consequently, the scop occupied an important place in court, and courtly verse became more and more complex, reaching its apotheosis in the dróttkvætt.<sup>97</sup> One of the greatest of such patrons and himself a poet was Haraldr Finehair (d. circa 940-5) the first king of a united Norway (e.g., the Haraldskvæði of Þorbjörn Hornklofi). Many of the skalds themselves were famous in their day; perhaps their lack of anonymity might also point to the desire of the non-Christian to gain praise amongst his fellows, while the anonymous Christian Old English poet would know that that was not necessary to acquire God's good esteem. The scop was indeed a "creator" not only of verse, but of the dom of his lord.

We are fortunate in having a poet's own account of his function of perpetuating the lof and dom of the noble warrior in Widsith, perhaps the oldest Old English poem extant.

Simle sud oppe nord sumne gemetað  
 gydda gleawne, geofum unhneawne,  
 se þe fore duguþe wile dom aræran  
 eorlscipe æfnan, oppæt eal scæced  
 leoht ond lif somod; lof se gewyrced,  
 hafad under heofonum heahfæstne dom. (138-43)

They [the scops] always meet, south or north, one who,  
 wise in verse, liberal with gifts, wishes to have his  
fame raised up before warriors, to perform valorous  
 deeds, until light and life fall in ruin together; he  
 gains praise, and has under the heavens very secure  
glory/fame.

The poet's function in the hierarchical society was, in return for reward, dom aræran "to elevate the fame" of his patron in the eyes of warriors,

as indeed it was every<sup>1</sup>man's duty, according to the Maxims (dom areccan). The service was reciprocal, just as the lord gave his warriors and poet rings in exchange for work performed. The poet implies that it is the domgeorn lord who seeks his service, for it is he who eorlscipe æfnan "perform[s] valorous deeds" (141) (cf. Bwf 3173, above) all his life until light and life flee and dom alone remains. Once more the mutability of life and the world ("light") are contrasted with the security and everlasting quality of fame (heahfæstne dom, 143b, "very secure/everlasting glory"). The only difference between such a sentiment and the Christian doctrine is that this dom is "under the heavens" (143a), and the heroic vision is a more limited and limiting one. The great need for security in a society which is anthropocentric and governed by fate is seen in the word heahfæst; for the Christian the only fæstnung "security" or "promise" is in heaven (Wan 115).<sup>98</sup>

Til sceal on edle / domes wyrcean "The righteous must gain glory in his native land", the poet of the Cotton MS. Maxims II (20b-1a) states. Til has ethical associations of moral goodness, is cognate with O.H.G. zil "aim", "goal", and can refer to the perfected, moral state of goodness, as in Til biþ se þe his treowe gehealdeþ "Blessed is he who keeps his faith." (Wan 112a). Beowulf was ordered, as we saw earlier, læst eall tela "perform all things well"; tela is cognate with til and also implies "perfectly". And, finally, the blessed at Doomsday are called tile (XSt 609), in contrast to the yfle "the evil", "damned". Til and domeadig "blest by glory" become synonymous, both referring to the ultimate state of perfection, as dictated by the respective ethical codes. And at the

conclusion of Christ and Satan we learn that at Doomsday those who forfeit eternal life are those who Noldæs ær tealā "did not wish for good earlier" (729).

As suggested at the beginning of the chapter, dom is, therefore, always used in the positive sense, while absence of "fame", "glory" and the desire not to act well are denoted by the compound domleas. A domleas man is one who has forfeited his chance of gaining immortality by breaking the ethical code prescribed for mankind, thus upsetting the natural hierarchy of things and threatening the collapse of society. It was, therefore, not a personal sin but one against the society and indeed the universe. "Sin" basically is the breakdown of society because of the failure of its members, and etymologically means "rebellion" or "the breaking of agreement".<sup>99</sup>

Beowulf's heroism is contrasted with the cowardly conduct of Unferth ("mar-peace") who refuses to descend into the mere.<sup>100</sup> Cowardice, which involved the breaking of one's word to one's lord (Bwf 1465-8), and fratricide (587 and 1164-5) were the worst sins the Germanic man could commit, and Unferth was guilty of both:

selfa ne dorste  
 under yða gewin aldre geneþan  
 drihtscype dreogan; þær he dome forleas,  
 ellen-mærdum. Ne wæs þæm oþrum swa,  
 syðþan he hine to gude gegyred hæfde. (1468-72)

He himself did not dare risk his life beneath the tumult of the waves, perform deeds of valour; thereby he forfeited glory/fame from valiant deeds. It was not so with the other man [Beowulf], when he had prepared himself for battle.

Unferth refused to perform drihtscype "the duties pertaining to a noble", "valorous deeds" (synonymous with eorlscipe in Widsith 141 and Beowulf

3172); instead he actively "destroyed" (forleas 1470) any chance of gaining dom. The active mood and transitive case of forleas in he forleas dome stresses the fact that he deliberately chose to avoid the strenuous path to dom, like the sinful Christian. The glory would have come from the performance of ellen-mærdu<sup>†</sup> (1471a). The only other occurrence of this word is in Bwf 828 where the hero's victory over Grendel is described. Both occurrences refer to the greatest heroic deeds performed against superhuman forces, and would, naturally, lead to great dom.

A similar contrast with Beowulf is made when the poet mentions the infamous King Heremod. Beowulf's blæd is aræred/geond wid-wegas "glory is exalted along distant paths" (1703-4a),

Hwæpere him on ferhþe greow  
breost-hord blod-reow; nallas beagas geaf  
Denum æfter dome. Dream-leas gebad, . . . (1718-21)

Yet there grew up in his [Heremod's] heart a blood-eager spirit; he never gave rings to the Danes in order to obtain fame. Deprived of joy, he lived on . . .

The king's duty, we learn in the Gnostic Verses (Max II, 28-9), is to distribute treasure: Cyning sceal on healle/ beagas dælan "the king must distribute rings in the hall", just as Hrothgar gave Beowulf treasure and the domgeorn ruler repays Widsith for his verses. Heremod did not conform to the heroic code and scorned the function of the king; the breakdown of society, "sin", ensues, and chaos is certain, because of this domleas behaviour. His punishment is described as living dreamleas "without joy"; dream can signify the bliss of the Christian heaven (DrR 144, Cri 102, 1342, 1641, etc.) and therefore a dreamleas state would simply be one without any glory; it is synonymous with domleas.<sup>101</sup>

In Beowulf examples of the domleas warriors are inserted to

make the hero's glory all the more striking. Hrothgar pays Beowulf the highest praise a hero could desire:

ƿu ƿe self hafast  
dædum gefremed, ƿæt ƿin [dom] lyfað  
awa to aldre. (953b-5a)

You yourself have performed such deeds that your glory will live eternally.<sup>102</sup>

Such a statement is reminiscent of the Christian's reward for praiseworthy deeds in The Seafarer (78-9a): ond his lof siƿƿan lifge mid englum / awa to ealdre "and his praise live afterwards amongst the angels for eternity". One might speculate that on this occasion lof was used for alliterative reasons, rather than dom, or to suggest that divine "praise" implies "glory". The Beowulf poet is, however, silent about the precise nature of the hero's dom.

In his life-time Beowulf had already become a legend, honoured by fame as a result of valiant deeds:

Ða com in gan ealdor ðegna,  
dæd-cene mon dome gewurpad,  
hæle hilde-deor, Hroðgar gretan. (1644-6)

Then the chief of the thanes came in, the man courageous in deeds, honoured by fame, a hero bold in battle, to greet Hrothgar.

And, finally, at his death his soul is said to depart to seek sodfæstra dom (2820).<sup>103</sup> Much of the critical discussion concerning the interpretation of this half-line centres around the critics' views on whether Beowulf is pagan or Christian. Wrenn, for example, claims that "this seems to be a specifically Christian statement from its choice of words",<sup>104</sup> but is not more explicit. Sawol secean (2820) need not refer to the Christian concept of the soul, but simply the life force of man; sawle secan is used, for

example, to refer to Beowulf's companions' attempt to "seek the life" of Grendel (801), and sawol-leas (1406, 3033) means, simply, "without life", "dead".<sup>105</sup> In the same way, sodfæst need not refer only to the Christian "righteous", for it can gloss any use of L. iustus "just". A further problem is whether sodfæstra refers to those who will judge: "the judgment of/by the righteous" or to the "glorious", those judged to be righteous.

Such ambiguities are doubtlessly intentional and one can only translate the phrase by "the fate [or judgment] of the just", in the original sense of dom, "that which is established" for them.<sup>106</sup> As has been suggested above, the nature of that "fate" depends on the conception of the ethical ideal in that society. Beowulf is an anthropocentric work and the author rarely looks beyond the realm of this world; consequently, we might expect the poet to refer to the reward of a glorious reputation amongst men. The hero's life was devoted æfter dome "in pursuit of fame", and the final comment on him by the poet (after his last words requesting a monument, and after the pagan cremation) is that he was lofgeornost "most eager for praise", the means whereby, according to the heroic Widsith poet, one gained under heofonum heahfæstne dom "under the heavens, very secure fame" (142-3).

There is a deliberate ambiguity in the poet's choice of words, an ambiguity which is also found in Christian verse concerning the fate of the good. The precise nature of the reward in both Beowulf and the Judgment Day poems is not of great importance. The poets of both heroic and Christian didactic verse are interested only in the actions of man at the present time. Man can achieve immortality, the exact nature of

which his finite mind cannot conceive, but all depends on his present actions which are continually judged and will determine his future state -- one of dom or a domleas death. Heaven in the Judgment Day poems is conceived of generally in negative terms (e.g., the absence of all unpleasant things), while the tortures of hell are described in detail as an incentive to better living.<sup>107</sup> The Beowulf poet also mentions hell, but concerning the fate of the just he is tantalizingly silent.

The hero of Beowulf is portrayed as a doema-madr, a paragon of virtue, a man judged by all to be the most perfect and to be imitated. And yet there is a final note of pessimism and emptiness, for, at the conclusion in spite of the effort of this unparalleled hero, chaos comes again.<sup>108</sup> The saviour of the people does not bring lasting peace. The tragedy stems not from any fault of the hero, but from a basic limitation in the heroic "philosophy"; this limitation is that the heroic vision is confined to this world which is governed by wyrd, the amoral forces of fate. Dom had throughout this poem, and the others mentioned above, been contrasted with the mutability of all things worldly, but heroic dom, the judgment of future generations, is entrusted to equally fickle and terrestrial powers. In Beowulf we are presented with the perfect example of the heroic ideal, yet something important is lacking.<sup>109</sup> There are no answers given to the plaguing questions of why the hero's people must suffer after his death, of why the monsters will continue to return, and what the fate of the just will be. Beowulf's reward appears to be the fame of the just, which will be confined to this world with all its limitations. Larry Benson aptly sums up the poet's intentional use of such ambiguities:

The poet thought long and hard about Germanic heathenism and Germanic heroism, and he lived in a time when these were serious concerns that evoked reactions that were not as clear-cut and simple as we sometimes find it useful to think. This poem, I believe, is our poet's attempt to come to terms with his admiration for the heroic life and his own realization of the ultimate futility of the heroism he admired.<sup>110</sup>

The questions which Beowulf leaves unanswered are like those which Edwin's counsellor asks in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica,<sup>111</sup> when he hopes that Christianity can give him more "certain knowledge" about matters of life and death. While supplying such answers the early church adopted many of the earlier tenets. The most striking examples of this accommodation of Christianity to earlier tenets and concepts are to be found in the Old Saxon Heliand in which the ideals of the Germanic hero are transferred to the Christian disciple. The literal adoption of the heroic metaphors and concepts is reminiscent of the manner in which the Germanic chief Chlodowech claimed that things would have taken a very different turn on Golgotha if he and his Franks had been present! As the passage quoted in the first chapter is of importance here, I shall repeat it:

ac uuita im uuonian mid,  
thuoloian mid [usson] thiodne: that is thegnes cust,  
that hie mid is frahon samad fasto gistande,  
doie [mid] im thar an duome. Duan us alla so,  
folgon im te thero ferdi: ni latan use fera uuid thi u  
uuhtes uuirdig, neba uui an them uuerode mid im,  
doian mid uson drohtine. Than lebot us thoh duom after,  
[guod uuord] for gumon. (3995b-4002)

But rather we should remain with him, suffer with our Lord; that is the duty of the thane, that he together with his Lord should stand fast, die with him in glory. Let us all conduct ourselves in such a way, follow him in the midst of the host; let us do all things worthily, unless we die with our Lord in the midst of the host. So glory will live after us, a good reputation/fame amongst men.



The poet has taken the brief text "Let us also go, that we may die with him" (John 11,16), which were Thomas's words to the disciples after Christ had spoken of his approaching death. Such a comment fired the Germanic imagination of the poet and the result is this heroic exhortation by diurlic drohtnis thegan "the loyal thane of the Lord" (3994), Thomas, and is reminiscent of the inciting speeches of Byrhtnoth or Leofsunu in Maldon. The duty of the thane was to fight alongside his lord (3996), suffer with him and eventually die in glory (an duome),<sup>112</sup> implying that such a heroic death would lead to a state of immortal glory. The image of man being impervious to death when "reborn in Christ" is figuratively represented in the saints' lives by the heroes' and heroines' immunity to pain and torture, and eventual death.

Thomas then outlines the means of achieving this glory; "man must do all things worthily" (3999b-4000a), a line which echoes Beowulf's læst eall tela (Bwf 2663b), and not fear death. If one does so, then one's duom will live afterwards (4001b). The earlier "death with glory" is balanced with the following "glory living after one's death".

The final half-line [guod uuord] for guman "a good reputation amongst men" is problematic, but might be overlooked as the line is corrupt. If guod uuord is the reading, it appears to qualify dom and limit it to worldly reputation. The early church condoned the pursuit of fame amongst men, but only as an epiphenomenal occurrence, for the major difference between heroic and Christian dom is that the latter is perpetuated by the angels, not man. Either the line means "as an example for men", that is, the Christian's glory will live and also serve as an example, a doemi, or the poet could imply that the duom of line 4001 is

indeed worldly reputation, and is to be contrasted with the earlier duom (3998), the glory achieved when the Christian dies to the world and follows Christ's example. In either case the fusion of the two concepts -- eternal and worldly glory -- is expertly handled. There is no incongruity in the passage. The Christian after-life is also dependent on the judgment of one's actions in the world and this "reputation" sustained throughout one's life. The enemy forces are either literally or figuratively conceived in the Christian poetry, as for example in the saints' lives, and the Christian follows the example of Christ, his doema-madr, by dying to the world at baptism and living an exemplary life. As Christ is perfect, to imitate him is to become perfect, and hence to live in a state of dom, like Nicodemus in the Skeireins passage of Chapter I.

The transition from heroic reputation to divine glory as the reward of the righteous is best exemplified in the passage of The Seafarer which immediately follows that quoted on p. 35:

Forþon þæt bið eorla gehwam æftercwependra  
 lof lifgendra lastworda betst,  
 þæt he gewyrce, ær he on weg scyle,  
 fremum on foldan wið feonda nīp,  
 deorum dædum deofle togeanes,  
 þæt hine ælda bearn æfter hergen,  
 ond his lof sibban lifge mid englum  
 awa to ealdre, ecan lifes blæd,  
 dream mid dugeþum. (72-80)

Therefore, for all men the praise of the living, of later commemorators, is the best memorial, that he should achieve by good deeds before he must depart, by bold deeds on the earth against the malice of enemies, against the devil, so that the children of men may later exalt him, and his praise live afterwards among the angels for ever and ever, the joy of life eternal, delight among angels.

The Christian vision of dom, therefore, breaks down the limitation of the heroic concept of immortality by widening the scope, taking it out of the

realm of wyrd and into eternity. The three alliterating stresses in line 79 fall on words for eternity: /awā<sup>x</sup> tō<sup>x</sup> /ealdrē<sup>x</sup>, /ecān<sup>x</sup> lifeš<sup>x</sup> blæd<sup>x</sup>.

In the Old English The Fates of the Apostles the poet narrates the later history of the apostles, beginning where the Heliand poet left off.<sup>113</sup>

Twelfe wæron,  
 dædum domfæste, dryhtne gecorene,  
 leofe on life. Lof wide sprang,  
 miht ond mærdō, ofer middangeard,  
 þeodnes þegna, þryme unlytel.  
 Halgan heape hlyt wisode  
 þær hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon,  
 reccan fore rincum. (4b-11)

There were twelve, illustrious in acts, chosen by the Lord,  
 beloved while they lived. Wide through the world spread  
 the praise, might and fame of the Master's servants, no  
 mean majesty. Fate guided the sacred band where they should  
 glorify the law of the Lord, make it manifest before men.

The twelve are domfæste "sure of their glory" by the deeds they perform, as was Beowulf, whose lof, miht and mærdō were also widespread over the world. The poet is explicit about the fact that it is worldly fame, and the main stress in line 7 is on middangeard; he is concentrating on the need to gain dom "glory" while alive, not because he believes that dom lives only in the realm of this world. Hlyt "fate" is here equated with God's providence (cf. Metod as "God" or "fate"), and the apostles' task (and that of every Christian, the poet implies) is to spread the dom "glory" of God amongst mankind: dryhtnes æ deman "to glorify the law/ Word of God" (cf. Bwf 3174, above, where the thanes glorify their lord's deeds). The concept of singing God's praises on earth parallels the heroic theme of raising up the dom of departed warriors. And, as in the heroic verse, the promulgation of the glory of hero or God brings dom

"glory" to the man who offers the praise. Thus Andreas, cempa collenferhd "brave warrior" (And 538) exclaims A þin dom lyfad! "May your glory live for ever!" (541). God does not need man's praise, but it is, as we saw at the opening of Genesis, what is "very meet and right" to do. It upholds the hierarchical system and shows man's desire to live as Christ.<sup>114</sup>

Later in The Fates of the Apostles the poet remarks that sod yppe weard, / dryhtlic dom godes! "Truth was made manifest [to the Ethiopians], the divine glory of God!"<sup>115</sup> (64b-5a). God's glory is equated with his "truth" and both represent the essence of the divine Power, just as God is symbolized by Truth in Piers Plowman. When an individual seeks out "the truth", it indicates his desire to be at one with the Godhead. In The Phoenix, for example, it is stated that the blessed are those who seced meotudes dom "[actively] seek out the glory of God" (524).

Wes a domes georn! "Be ever eager for glory" is the Lord's command to his thane Andreas, Cristes cempa "Christ's warrior" (And 959 and 991, respectively). Later, when whipped and in prison, Andreas still praises God unceasingly and is called se halga . . . deor ond domgeorn "the saint . . . brave and eager for glory". His aim is to live a life in the image of his Lord in order to be "at one" with him, to be domeadig. Christ himself in this poem states that He is domagende "possessing glory" (570). Dom, then, symbolizes the essential quality of Christ, as was seen in the Skeireins passage, p. 11. In The Phoenix Christ's glory is also called dom:

hwæpre his meahta sped  
heah ofer heofonum halig wunade,  
dom unbryce. (Phx 640b-2)

Yet the greatness of his power, indestructible glory, lived in its holiness, high above the heavens.

The stock epithet heah under heofonum is simply changed to heah ofer heofonum, but with an immense change in meaning.

The angels in Christ I are also described as being dome geswidde "confirmed in their glory" (385). God, then, is domagende and it is man's proper function to seek to be like him. Andreas is indeed domgeorn, eager to emulate his Lord who reminds him:

Is þe guð weotod,  
heardum heoruswengum    scel þin hra dæled  
wundum weordan,    wættre geliccost  
faran flode blod. (And 951-4)

The battle is near, your body shall be riven by wounds, by  
hard sword play, most like to water will your blood flow.

His fate is to be very like that of his persecuted Lord, who was sacrificed in order to be an example for others,<sup>116</sup> as Christ later states that He will bysne onstellan "set [man] an example" (971). Andreas fulfils Christ's command (959) to be ever eager for glory, as do the Patriarchs who appear to Andreas's followers in a dream and sungon sigedryhtne soðfæstlic lof, / dugod domgeorne "sang righteous praise to the Lord of victories, the host eager for glory" (877-8).

In contrast, Andreas's enemies, the demonic Mermedonians who kept Matthew in slavery,<sup>117</sup> are called domleas: Ealle swylt fornam, / druron domlease "death took them all, bereft of glory" (And 994-5). They are deprived of any hope of immortality, separated from the Godhead; but such demonic powers cannot prevent the domgeorn man from achieving his aim.

Finally, Andreas gives thanks to God for granting him the divine power to overcome demons:

Gode ealles þanc,  
 dryhtna dryhtne,    þæs ðe he dom gifed  
 gumeþa gehwylcum,    þara þe geoce to him  
 seced mid snytrum.    (1150-3)

Thanks be to God entirely, the Lord of lords, because he  
grants glory to all men who with wisdom seek aid from him.

Christ's command to Andreas could well be that of the poet's to his audience: Wes a dom georn.

Juliana has also the God-given strength to overcome the forces of evil and is called domeadig "blest by glory" (Jln 288). By the defeat of the demonic powers, which are conceived of in many forms in Old English poetry, man recaptures the prelapsarian perfection and is again in communion with God. To be "heathen", the name given to all non-Christians, or to be a lapsed Christian, was considered to be a deliberate refusal of glory and a wilful reversion to man's fallen state. Elene, for example, tells the Jews that they had once known the true message, but had since fallen into evil practices:

Hwæt, we þæt gehyrdon    þurh halige bec  
 þæt eow dryhten geaf    dom unscyndne,  
 meotod mihta sped, . . .    (Ele 364-6a)

Lo, we have heard in holy books that the Lord gave you  
honourable glory, the blessing of might, . . .

All men are given the chance to gain this glory; it is only in their sinful state (whether pagan or renegade Christian) that they voluntarily relinquish this right. For this reason no mercy could be shown to heathen tribes, who would be considered damned. In the Junius Manuscript poems the pattern of man, created with essential goodness, dom, and wisdom, then falling from grace by his own sinful ways, is repeated continually. The poets' aim is to rekindle man's desire to acquire this dom, thereby

making him resurrected in Christ -- a continual process from a domleas to a domeadig state. The Jews in Elene, as in all the Junius Manuscript poems, were offered sped and dom "luck" and "glory", a paradise regained, but refused it in favour of materialistic gains. Judas substantiates Elene's statement concerning the Jews' refusal of dom:

Ne mæg æfre ofer þæt Ebrea þeod  
 ræðþehtende rice healdan,  
 dugudum wealdan, ac para dom leofað  
 ond hira dryhtscipe,  
 in woruld weorulda willum gefylled,  
 de þone ahangnan cyning heriaþ ond lofiað. (Ele 448-53)

The Hebrew people, for all their wisdom, can never hold sway, rule men, but the glory and the valour shall live for ever for those who, filled with joy, praise and worship the hanged king.

At the conclusion of Christ III the poet states that the Last Day is the domeadigra dæg "the day of those blest by glory" (1656), when they will receive the consummation of the reward which had been spiritually attainable during life. There is no actual judgment, for the judgment was the continual process during life, as stated in Judgment Day II, 87-8: and þe sylfum demst for synnum on eorðan, / ne heofenes god "and you judge yourselves for sins [committed] on earth, not the God of heaven". Dom refers, not to the Final Judgment, but to the state of glory of the blessed which is symbolized in the poetry by such figures as "eternal day", "life" and "light" (cf. Cri III 1238, 1579, 1646, etc.).

St. Guthlac, another dryhtnes cempa (Glc 727), is, like Juliana, described as domeadig during his lifetime: Ða se ælmihtiga/ let his hond cuman þær se halga þeow,/ deormod on degle domeadig bad. ("Then the Almighty showed the power of his hand where his holy servant dwelt in

secret, blest with glory"; 950-2, cf. 727.) Such pure souls will go directly to heaven, as is described in both Guthlac A and B.

There is no mention of Purgatory in Old English literature, for the daily judgment will already have divided the sheep from the goats. At the conclusion of Elene Cynewulf states:

Soðfæste bið  
yfeðest in þam ade, eadigra gedryht,  
duguð domgeorne, . . . (1289b-91a)

Uppermost in the fire shall be the faithful, the army of  
the blessed, a host eager for glory, . . .

The blessed, those "eager for glory", will not suffer in the purgatorial fires of Judgment; for them the flames will be swa him eðost bið, / sylfum geseftost "as may be the most mild and easy for them" (Ele 1294-5). Instead of hurting them it will complete the process of purification, as occurred in Daniel, where the Youths are put in the Fiery Furnace:

windig and wynsum, wedere gelicost  
þonne hit on sumeres tid sendeð weorðeð  
dropena drearung on dæges hwile,  
wearmlíc wolcna scur. (Dan 346-9a)

Windy and joyful, weather most resembling the dropping of rain  
in the summer time, the warm showers of rain in the day time.

The Youths, the earme lafe "wretched remainder" of the Israelites after their archetypal fall into sin, symbolize the righteous whom God will save and purify. Similarly, at Doomsday, the fire will leave the domeadig, the pure, untouched, while destroying all evil (those around the furnace, and the torturers of Juliana, like the evil at Doomsday, will be annihilated by the flames). Phoenix-like the Youths, just as Juliana and the blessed at Doomsday, will emerge from the flames joyful, unharmed and regenerated, uttering a doxology to God. At Judgment these flames



will mildly punish those who are not so pure and cleanse them of venial sin until they reach a "perfected" state, while the evil, such as Satan in Elene will be in susla grund / domes leasne "in the place of torments, bereft of glory" (943-4), like Unferth and Grendel in their Nástrand-like existence without any hope of future glory.

In Andreas, Juliana and Elene the saints' battles are vividly described and their deeds made famous in their time.<sup>118</sup> They are only one stage removed from the heroic warrior of the pre-Christian epics. In Guthlac, however, the mood is one of contemplation and the hero, although he does fight demonic beings, is a hermit who retreats from the world. The poem is "Old English poetry's fullest and most clearly articulated statement of ascetic ideals as they manifest themselves in the eremitical life".<sup>119</sup> He is a hero who by example shows man that dom "glory" can be realized within the soul of everyone -- not by exaggerated, heroic deeds, but by setting oneself apart for God, and away from all things worldly. Guthlac is an archetypal exile for God. In Guthlac A the saint has been rescued from the flames of hell by Batholomew and returned to a heaven on earth: stod se grena wong in godes wære "the green plain was in God's protection" (746). The domeadig man, therefore, conquers evil with God's help and creates a spiritual paradise, described in archetypal paradisaal imagery such as sigewong "plain of victory" (742), lipe lifwegas "the pleasant paths of life" (768 and cf. And 170), which God prepares for each man who is domgeorn; swa he Gudlases / dagas ond dæde þurh his dom ahof "thus he [God] raised up the days and deeds of Guthlac by his glory" or "because of his [Guthlac's] glory" (771a-2). Guthlac

remained in this state until the actual elevation to heaven, the consummation of the dom achieved in life.

In Guthlac B, when the land is purged of evil, Guthlac lives with his servant in a state of domfæstra dream "the joy of those whose glory is secure" (1083), until his death:

Wæs neah seo tid  
 þæt he fyrngewyrht    fyllan sceolde  
 þurh deades cyme,    domes hleotan. (970-2)

The time was near when he [Guthlac] must fulfil his fate,  
win glory by his approaching death.<sup>120</sup>

Just as the hero gained dom by his glorious death, so also is it possible for the hermit who dies naturally; this dom is ambivalently the glory in the world for the saint, as a doema madr would be famous, and the glory which was his lot (cf. hleotan "to allot") in the next. Guthlac's servant states that after death his master passed to godes dome "to the glory of God" (1362) from the glory he enjoyed on earth. The description of the death is "a powerful and moving account of heavenly glory impinging on middle earth".<sup>121</sup> It occurs at Easter time, the time of Creation and of Final Judgment, according to the Blickling Homily on Easter,<sup>122</sup> and at the same time as his death are such apocalyptic signs as a heavenly light, swylce fyren tor "like a fiery tower" (1311), and earthquakes (1325-6). The example of holy dying is taken out of time and made to symbolize the resurrections both spiritual and final of all the righteous, and in particular to give a foretaste of the glorious fate of the domgeorn man at Doom. The sweet fragrance, like that from flowers, which issued from the saint's mouth would have been interpreted as the worldly reputation of the saint after death.<sup>123</sup> In patristic thought such fame, akin to

that of the Northern hero, was epiphenomenal, as is the fragrance of a flower compared to the actual flower and its beauty. This is the renown of the Apostles, mentioned in The Fates of the Apostles, a renown which is important as an example, doemi, to others, albeit only a shadow of the greater glory enjoyed by the blessed.

In this analysis of a number of poetic passages containing dom in its "power", "fame", "glory" sense I hope to have demonstrated the subtle interweaving of Christian and heroic ideals and the extent to which the use of the symbol dom aids such an integration.

Worldly renown, which was the only "pagan consolation", still had an important place and function in early Christian thought, and hence literature (as will be seen in the next chapter). In both heroic and Christian verse the precise nature of the immortal glory after death was left deliberately vague and the individual could interpret the sodfæstra dom, the reward of the just, as he wished. Such a description of the after-life was not important to either writer's aim. The author of heroic or Christian verse was concentrating on man, and in particular the glorious deeds of his hero. Sigemund and Beowulf not only achieved fame during their lives but became examples of perfection for others. Similarly, Christ and the saints who lived lives approximating the perfection of Christ's existence on earth, became the perfect examples for man to follow. In the Christian literature the threats of hell and, to a lesser extent, the promises of heaven, were psychologically applied as goads to repentance. The emphasis in both heroic and Christian verse is on the ethical behaviour of the individual. The doema-menn, Sigemund

and Christ, lived perfect lives, according to the ethical code they followed, and man could achieve the dom "glory" they gained by living as close to their example as possible. Dom, therefore, came to be equated with this state of perfection which had to be imitated continually until man's death, if the man were domgeorn. For that reason the ever-present moment is the eschatological one, which dictates the hazy future glory of the man who is domeadig "blest with glory". The domleas man is he who does not desire to attempt this life-long struggle; but, as the entire medieval hierarchical system was based on the perfectio-complex, such a refusal had consequences far more widespread than personal. This "sin" was not merely complacency, but ~~o~~affected all society and threatened its collapse -- a microcosmic Fall.

In the Judgment Day poems the theme may be that of the Last Things (though at times this becomes doubtful), but the poets' didactic purpose is identical to that discussed in the Christian poetry above. There are no heroes, but at the centre of each is the God-Man, the Christ of the crucifixion, not the stern Judge. The poems are exhortations to Christ's thanes (Judgment Day I in particular is martial in tone) to remember læst eall tela "perform all deeds in a perfect manner", and to remember also that glory can be obtained (and hell avoided) only by living a life in imitation of one's doema-madr, Christ, whose message to man is Wes a domes georn "Always be eager for glory."

### III

#### THE THEME OF DOM

In the first two chapters the etymological, semantic and interpretative investigations demonstrated how the many referents of dom were interlinked and how the Christian poet adapted the earlier, heroic concepts. To appreciate the affinities between such heterogeneous concepts as "opinion" and "glory", for example, necessitates an understanding of certain basic ideals in the "heroic" way of life, and, in particular, ideas of an after-life. And to understand how these concepts of after-life were adapted by the Christian religion in the North is to appreciate how Christianity was accommodated to the understanding of the people.

For this reason there will follow a brief discussion in general terms of the theme of eschatology, "the study of the Last Things" concerning man, his society, and the world, as conceived in heroic and early Christian thought. First, the personal, individual dom "fame", "glory" which righteous man might expect in heroic and Christian societies will be surveyed, and, in particular, ideas about the reputation of the individual in this world after death. Secondly, the more impersonal theme of Dom as "Judgment" of the world involving the apocalyptic events at Doom and Judgment, and the parallels between the Old Norse and Christian concepts of the end of the world will be touched on. It will be seen throughout how, in the literature and thought of both "cultures",

all eschatological ideas are conceived of in terms of man in his present life, and that the future of man and his world depends entirely on the "apocalyptic present".

1. Dom: "Heroic Reputation" and "Christian Glory"

Little mention, lamentably but understandably, has been made by the Christian writers of the earliest Old English records about religious practices and beliefs in pre-Christian England. Bede's reluctance to describe any heathen practices in his Historia Ecclesiastica, except when mentioning the conversion of pagans, perhaps suggests a fear that such customs were still latent in the populace. Isolated pockets of paganism existed in England well into the period in which the majority of Old English poetry was written (e.g., at the end of the ninth century Pope Formosus denounced pagan practices in England),<sup>124</sup> and the heathen ways which the Danes re-introduced were vehemently criticized by Wulfstan in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>125</sup> As all non-Christians, whether Jew, Moslem, animist or believer in the Germanic pantheon, were considered "heathen" and "devil worshippers" in the early Christian period, it is difficult to ascertain whether the "heathen customs" in England were those of the Germanic "religion" or of an animistic cult, or a mixture of both.

Most of the evidence about the pre-Christian religion of northern Europe comes from Scandinavian works, partly because of the late date and nature of the conversion in this area. Sweden, for example, could not be considered Christian until the twelfth century. Consequently, it is to Scandinavia and particularly Iceland that we look for examples of the

heroic concept of the after-life, because, as Professor Tolkien states, their views were "fundamentally the same" as the English.<sup>126</sup> And, because the heroic concept of the after-life was not so clearly related to its mythology as the Christian was, many ideas and customs survived and were integrated into the new religion.

The ease with which Christianity was officially adopted in Iceland in A.D. 1000, in order to avoid conflict (followed by the decision at the Alþing to be baptized in the warm springs rather than in the nearer, but icy, waters of the Öxara) has its parallel in the stories Bede narrates about the English conversion. The conversion occurred by persuasion rather than by the sword, thanks to a diplomatic and intelligent missionary force which made many concessions to the older faith and stressed those beliefs common to both. The Danish Aaby Crucifix depicts a stalwart, heroic warrior wearing a royal crown on the cross, very like the Christ of The Dream of the Rood<sup>127</sup> while the image of a royal Christ at the Judgment rewarding man for loyalty, like a ring-giver, would have been well appreciated in the North:

Gods, angels and devils became Teutonic heroes with all the virtues and vices of the same, and Heaven and Hell show well-marked traces of the Anglo-Saxon way of thinking before the introduction of Christianity. As the poets draw the Christian religion as well as all that belongs to it within the horizon that bounds their own life, it becomes to them and their hearers a real religion -- a Germanic religion -- to which they can devote themselves body and soul, in as much as they can feel that it is thoroughly their own.<sup>128</sup>

This interweaving of the two cultures was as natural as possible, as can be demonstrated by the depiction of Northern apocalyptic symbols (see p. 80) on the Christian Gosforth Cross of the tenth century.

As the ethical code of the Germanic peoples was not so closely related to their mythology as the Christian one, the missionaries' task was the easier and the worship of the new God could easily be undertaken, for the northern, polytheistic pantheon was constantly changing. Many, like King Redwald of East Anglia, might have added the Christian God to the list already worshipped. The northern faith was not dogmatic and was without any missionary zeal, and the ease with which most made the change to Christianity (bringing with them their lack of enthusiasm for things religious) is well described in the Icelandic Kristni Saga and in the Hallfredar Saga:

All the world once worshipped  
 The weather god in poems,                   [Óðinn]  
 I call to mind the custom  
 my kinsmen glorious practised.  
 Well pleased Óðinn's power  
 the poet, loth am I to  
 hate the glorious husband                   [Óðinn]  
 of Hlín, though Christ I serve now.<sup>129</sup>

And Helgi the Lean is described in the Landnámabók as being "very mixed in his faith; he believed in Christ, but invoked Thor in matters of sea-faring and dire necessity".<sup>130</sup>

The Germanic gods were neither omnipotent nor beyond the power of wyrd "fate", but subject to the same cosmic laws as man. They were considered fickle and unreliable and, as Helgi implied, were turned to only in times of seasonal ritual or trouble, except in the case of loyal worshippers. Indeed, it is generally accepted that by the time of written records, the Germanic gods had faded into oblivion. Man would, therefore, be left to his own resources and his ideas of an after-life would have to be anthropocentric, as the concept of reputation is. There



was no codified religion, no fixed and permanent faith, and, hence, there were no generally accepted ideas on the nature of the after-life, on burial customs (which reflect such ideas) or on the Last Things of the world. In Iceland the duties of the priest were given to the most prominent man in the area, such as Hrafnkel in Hrafnkelssaga Freysgoði, but the position was almost entirely political. Man, then, was left alone to pit his finite strength against fate and implacable gods, doomed to fail, but, for the heroic few alone, impressive and memorable in the attempt, as an Achilles or a saga hero.

Roman Christianity, therefore, provided greater clarity of belief, a codified and disciplined religion, which left little room for speculation,<sup>131</sup> and a central authority (which was largely responsible for its triumph over the more mystical Celtic creed and practices). Its God was omniscient, omnipotent and ruled wyrd itself, but at the same time was the essence of purity and goodness, offering forgiveness and salvation to His followers. But, above all, it gave definite and soothing answers to all the basic queries of man about life and death. Edwin's counsellor, in that well-known passage from Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica about the sparrow's flight through the banqueting-hall, states:

Man appears on earth for a little while, but we know nothing of what went before this life, and what follows. Therefore if this new teaching can reveal any more certain knowledge, it seems only right that we should follow it.<sup>132</sup>

The decision is made coolly and logically, but the desire for "certain knowledge" about the future life must have been shared by many. The stoic answer of the Germanic code, to bear life's problems in silence,

to accept the apparent hostility of the ways of the world and to die bravely with only vague notions of an after-life, might have afforded some comfort to the few but not the majority.

Christianity provided for an archetypal need in man, for it spoke "humanly of a life's importance in relation to it [the world] -- a need in the moment of existence to belong, to be related to a beginning and to an end".<sup>133</sup> Christianity widened man's horizons beyond a time-governed world and shifted the emphasis from this life to the next. The warm, happy banqueting-hall in the pagan counsellor's example becomes a brief but bitter vale of tears, and the unknown, dark and cold exterior from whence the bird comes and to where it returns becomes the dazzlingly bright and joyous state of being at one with God, which all believers can depend on with certainty. The tragedies of life are then seen as transient sorrows in the divine comedy and the crises, including the final ones of death and the Apocalypse, become new beginnings. The new God also provided an important link between heaven, hell and middle-earth, and the story of the warrior Christ's Descent into Hell and his battle with evil forces there was warmly received,<sup>134</sup> especially as a "type" of the resurrection of every man. The hero-king showed man the way to conquer evil and gain immortality, and the important point was that in this spiritual battle, all classes and men of all strengths could contend and be promised immortal and certain dom "glory".

It is difficult to know to what extent the Northern races accepted or even knew about the ideas of the after-life which the Elder and Younger Eddas represent. It is only in the thirteenth-century Snorri Sturluson's work -- the Younger or Prose Edda -- that we find any

consistent mention of moral or ethical ideas connected with judgment and the allocation of a place after death. In the Gylfaginning Snorri states that the righteous will go to the Halls of Brimir, Bindri, etc. in Gimlí which is situated in the Asgardr; the evil will go to Hel and hence to Niflheim, while the worst characters such as cowards and murderers will be punished in Nástrand. The departed heroes, those who have achieved the heroic dom will go to Valhalla, the hall of the slain, where Ódinn will receive them in Gladsheimr and where, waited on by the Valkyrja "choosers of the slain", they will continue their worldly routine of battles and banquets. Freyja's fortress was the abode of women, and, in some tales, of peace-loving men. The emphasis put on heroic courage and the ethics of the comitatus is clearly seen in the "distribution" of the dead.

Apart from Snorri's neatly systematized scheme, we normally find less clear divisions of the departed in the next world.<sup>135</sup> Normally, Hel is said to be the abode of all the dead, an amoral, shadowy place -- the darkness outside the banqueting-hall -- where one lives a negative existence and is neither rewarded nor punished for virtues and vices done when in the world. Even the Christ-like Baldr was consigned to Hel until Ragnarøk. The repeated mention of Hel in this context in Icelandic literature points to the fact that this concept of an after-life was more commonly held. It parallels the negative state of the dead in the Greek Hades or Hebraic Sheol, where the god or gods cannot exert an influence, for these religions concerned themselves only with the living.

The etymology of Hel is "the covered up place" (~ O.E. helan, "to conceal") and hence "the grave". Hebraic sheol has a similar source.

The dead, then, as haugbui "barrow dwellers", lived a vague, amoral life, a shadow of their former existence, in their subterranean abode or burial mound. Many mounds and mountains were sacred to Ódinn for this reason, and we find similar superstitions in Celtic myth.<sup>136</sup> There are innumerable illustrations in the sagas which show that the living considered the dead still to inhabit the grave or mound. In the pseudo-historical Landnámabók (Book 2, chapter 6) there is the story of a woman who passes the mound of Ásmund and hears him complain about the slave buried with him. The incompatible servant was then removed by Ásmund's relations. In the same work there are examples of the veneration given these mounds, for example, that of the Faroese Grím Kamban, which amounts to ancestor worship rather than the remembrance of departed heroes.<sup>137</sup> A number of ecclesiastical laws of the eighth and ninth centuries concerning sacrilegium ad sepulchra mortuorum "sacrilege [committed] at the graves of the dead" testify to the later heathen habit of ancestor worship.<sup>138</sup> The dead were also frequently seen in the vicinity of their mounds, and, according to the many instances of ghosts in the sagas, they would haunt the living if not given due reverence. If this should happen, the body would be dug up and burned (e.g., Glámr in Grettissaga).

The Germanic races were amongst the most consistent in the world in supplying their dead with all the worldly goods needed for a worldly life. Above all, this suggests the belief in a continuation of the daily functions of the living and of body, soul and personality. The actual burial customs were radically different and varied in different areas and times, again suggesting diverse ideas about the state of the dead. The body might be buried on land, in a ship with anchor lowered

or raised (implying divergent views on the question of whether the dead person had reached or was travelling to his destination), or cremated in a ship on land (e.g., in the graphic account by Ibn Fadlan)<sup>139</sup> or disposed of by innumerable other methods. The scarcity of ships probably led to the custom of making graves in the shape of ships, especially in Sweden. And the burial goods found in the Sutton Hoo find, in particular the baptismal spoons, suggest that these customs continued well into the Christian period. There are also many examples of cremation, such as Beowulf's in Christian times. Snorri in the Ynglinga Saga describes the cremation service in the cult of Óðinn; the higher the smoke rose, the higher, it was thought, the dead man's soul would rise in the heaven.<sup>140</sup> The attention and the praise of the living, the amount they were willing to sacrifice at the burial, these and such-like considerations, and not ethical reasons, determined one's status and condition in the next life.

There is another sense in which the "soul" or influence of a departed person could live on. The soul of a famous man or woman might become a family protective spirit, a hamingja which passed from one male heir to the next just before his death and thus predicted death as well. Such a spirit was stronger than the gods but, like them, subject to the impersonal fate, urðr, the Norn of destiny. One of the best descriptions of the arrival of the hamingja to a hero is in Víga-Glúmssaga in which Glúmr sees his hamingja come up the Eyjafjörðr to Þvérar.<sup>141</sup> Akin to the hamingja is the fylgja, the protective guardian spirit which, if attached to a family over a period, becomes the ættarfylgja "family spirit".<sup>142</sup> Normally it was the bravest clan head or king who possessed the ættarfylgja which gave him "luck" in battle. And in the successful

ruler lay the "luck" of his people.<sup>143</sup> The rulers became "sacral figures who held their tribal world together, and related it to the cosmic forces in which that world was enmeshed".<sup>144</sup> But in no way can such a conception be equated with immortality; it created a mystique around the ruler which was later attached to the early saints, most of whom, interestingly, belonged to the ruling houses of England or in fact were kings. The great heroes of the heroic world, then, were also the Christian heroes, and thus their dom survived in this world and the next.

It is indeed this concept of dom as "reputation" which constitutes the most important aspect of immortality amongst the Germanic races. The idea permeates all Germanic literature and is at the core of the race's life and thought. Grönbech states that the concept of dom cannot be stressed sufficiently and he compares it with rebirth and resurrection in Christianity in its fundamental importance:

Honour has the reality of life itself . . . . To live in fame hereafter and preferably for as long as the world should last was the greatest ambition of the Northman . . . . For the Northman a name, a reputation, was enough to take away the bitterness of death, because fame after death was a real life, a life in the continued luck and honour of kinsmen . . . the word 'fame' has acquired a spiritual ring in the viking age.<sup>145</sup>

With death from sickness, the sword or old age (cf. Sfr 68-71), any one of these being an imminent possibility, there remained only one's reputation to rely on for immortality: dómr um daudán hvern "the reputation which enfolds every dead man".<sup>146</sup> A life of courage, the performance of heroic deeds and a glorious death, such as Beowulf's, will win renown for generations, "the merited praise of the noble".<sup>147</sup> As seen in the previous chapter, such dom can be aided by having fine

verses in one's honour, a splendid burial mound which can be seen by all, and sons to continue one's own name (hence the importance of the patronymic system). Adam of Bremen relates that the Swedes worship their departed heroes, and "on account of their mighty deeds they endow [them] with immortality".<sup>148</sup> Hilda Ellis Davidson aptly summarizes the fundamental reasons why such immortality was sought:

Men knew that the gods whom they served could not give them freedom from danger and calamity, and they did not demand that they should. We find in the myths no sense of bitterness at the harshness and unfairness of life, but rather a spirit of heroic resignation: humanity is born to trouble, but courage, adventure and the wonders of life are matters for thankfulness, to be enjoyed while life is still granted to us. The great gifts of the gods were readiness to face the world as it was, the luck that sustains men in tight places, and the opportunity to win that glory which alone can outlive death.<sup>149</sup>

But such an immortality can only be achieved by the few and it is dependent upon the fickle approbation of future generations and on fate. The Christian God, the omnipotent king, struck a bargain with his followers; he would offer certain reward of everlasting dom, if man kept his promise to remain faithful. The Christian reward of dom was an assured gift from the King, and one which could not be over-ruled by wyrd. Of highest importance in the heroic code of the comitatus was the concept of fidelity and truth, of loyalty to one's superior and plighted responsibility to inferior in the hierarchical society. The keeping of boasts and promises was of paramount importance, and constituted a desperate attempt to create something of future certainty in a mutable world.<sup>150</sup> In the previous chapters it was seen how the Heliand poet, for example, underlines the importance of the pledges Christ's disciples make to him, and throughout the Junius Manuscript poems the

repeated and archetypal fall of man is caused by a breaking of this covenant. In Daniel dom "glory" is given to man at the moment he becomes faithful and remains with him while the covenant is kept:

wæs him beorht wela,  
þenden þæt folc mid him hiera fæder wære  
healdan woldon.<sup>151</sup> (Dan 9-11)

when that people [Israelites] would keep their Father's covenant, they received glorious prosperity.

The Christian reward of dom, then, was a certainty, a solemn pledge offered to all mankind and inviolable by wyrd.

Heroic dom, which frequently drove heroes to perform mad feats of daring,<sup>152</sup> was basically fatalistic, albeit the Sorgenfreier Fatalismus which Grimm describes.<sup>153</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, Beowulf achieves more fame than any man could possibly hope for: he will have the highest dom after death, a majestic burial mound, but "the rest is silence". There is mention of judgment and hell for the evil, but a tantalizing silence about the fate of the good, except for the ambiguous sodfæstra dom (2820), discussed in detail in Chapter II. By implication, then, the poet suggests the basic limitation of the heroic ideal, the limitation of a vision circumscribed by this world and ruled by fate.<sup>154</sup> The tragic dilemma of dom bound to this world is poignantly expressed in Lycidas, lines 70-6:

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise  
(That last infirmity of noble mind)  
To scorn delights and live laborious days;  
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,  
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,  
Comes the blind Fury with th' abhorred shears  
And slits the thin-spun life.

The new religion gave rational explanations concerning adversity in life, certain dom "glory" in the after-life and also "accommodated" the heroic



desire for worldly praise, the good report of one's fellows which, as seen in the interpretative analysis, is frequently mentioned in Christian Old English poetry.

Such worldly praise was, however, considered epiphenomenal in Christianity, for example, the fame which comes to saints and martyrs because of their outstanding service to God. Or it is the fame which Christ mentioned in the Sermon on the Mount: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven" (Matt. 5,16). By heroic fights against evil demons and glorious deaths because of their faith, the Old English saints and martyrs achieved a considerable degree of fame amongst the living; and, as was noticed in the Daniel passage, it could be possible that worldly prosperity was the direct reward for faithful man. Because the early Hebraic faith had a similar emphasis on worldly fame, there were innumerable texts which could be quoted to stress this ambiguously heroic and Christian dom, e.g., "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches and loving favour rather than silver and gold." (Prov. 22,1).

Perhaps the best example of worldly fame is to be found in the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus in a well-known passage on the fame of the Israelites: "Let us now sing the praises of famous men . . ." (Ecclesus. 44,1). The worldly heroes, people famous for their rule, actions, counsel, prophecy, knowledge of law, wisdom, talent in music and poetry, wealth and strength, all gained fame in their life-time. "There are others who are unremembered . . . ." (44,9): some were not able to achieve such fame but, the poet continues, all of God's chosen people because of their faith and loyalty "are within the covenants" (44, 10-3).

Worldly fame has an excellent place, but it is not an end in itself. If man keeps his promise, then he is assured of eternal fame. Finally, the poet calls on all men to praise God, the source of all glory, for that is the way to gain immortality (50,22ff.).<sup>155</sup>

The Church Fathers were also eager to point out the importance of worldly fame, but always as a shadow of heavenly glory in a platonic sense -- the reflection of a greater honour. B. G. Koonce in his excellent study on the tradition of fama in Chaucer quotes Paul Bersuire's comparison of worldly glory to the scent of a flower (e.g., the saint's sweet scent in Glc) which Bersuire interprets "anagogically, as the sweetness and fragrance of heavenly glory; allegorically, as good fame and the redolence of renown; and, tropologically, as the sanctity of virtue".<sup>156</sup> Bersuire states further:

Fame, indeed, is the thing that the noble mind seeks most eagerly; and for that reason the ancients performed all their lofty deeds for the sake of acquiring fame, and they longed for glory and fame as the final reward for their deeds; and this they did for they were ignorant of the true glory of heaven and the true, everlasting reward.<sup>157</sup>

His remarks echo those of Augustine in De civitate Dei V, 15, in which chapter Augustine argues that the virtuous Romans received worldly glory and so have their reward already, but cannot expect divine reward.<sup>158</sup>

The poet of Ecclesiasticus indicated that immortality was gained, apart from faith, by singing God's praises. The divine reward of dom is accommodated to man's understanding in the Bible (e.g., Matt. 18,10; 1 John 32,3; 1 Cor. 13,12; Rev. 4,8, etc.) and repeated continually in patristic writing and Old English literature, as the endless hymn of praise to God's glory. We are told that it was because Satan ceased to

praise God's glory that he fell from grace and lost his dom "glory". The singing of God's praise, as we noted from Gregory Nazianzen (Note 114, chapter 2), was not considered as a means of adding to his glory, but to show the desire of the pure to partake of divine nature, and is paralleled (perhaps not exactly) by the Platonic ideal of the soul's contemplation of Absolute Good.<sup>159</sup> The pure soul is, then, domeadig "blest with glory", as the Old English poets frequently state (e.g., Cri III 1656a) or "at one with God". In a hypothetical, prelapsarian state man's terrestrial judgment of his fellows would be synonymous with their glory, the perfected state of being at one with God. One's estimation would be perfect, in other words. At the Fall this dom as "estimation" or "glory" was impaired and the two concepts could no longer be equated with each other (e.g., John 12,43: "For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God.") Man became domgeorn, eager for praise in the eyes of his fellows, rather than domeadig "blest by glory". For fallen man this perfected state is possible again, the Fathers claim, after baptism when true "glory" can be regained. For this reason there are many biblical and patristic sources which state that there can be no judgment of the pure soul after death, a theme stressed in the Old English Judgment Day poetry (e.g., "He that believeth in him is not judged", John 3,18). The soul in the beginning of Guthlac A, for example, goes immediately to heaven. St. John refers to the eschatological moment as the moment of crisis, which, according to Kermode, John uses ambiguously to mean "judgment" and "separation".<sup>160</sup> The moment of crisis, then, is the time of decision, the turning point for man, and this personal decision determines his "fate", the reward or punishment after death.

For this reason the medieval Christian might be said to be living perpetually in the eschatological moment, the time when the transformation to eternal glory could take place. Dom, then, protects man from oblivion and becomes the avenger of death. Consequently, the monk spending a life of contemplation and singing God's glory has shunned this world and lives in a spiritual Jerusalem anticipating the apocalyptic moment: monachus et Ierosolymita.<sup>161</sup> And so the greatest Old English poem on the Judgment, Christ III, begins with the Second Advent of Christ in Jerusalem, the apocalyptic city as well as, anagogically, the perfected soul. The poem is immediately taken out of its future context and placed in the omnipresent, apocalyptic moment when this world will be destroyed and man will achieve the resurrection promised him to everlasting dom.

## 2. Dom and Domesdæg: Judgment and Apocalypse

The Germanic "religion" did not promise a perfected state for the individual at the moment of "crisis", the Apocalypse. The Ragnarök myth was more distant and impersonal than the Christian revelation, although important in as much as man in medias res requires a beginning and an end in order to create cosmos out of a chaotic present and a necessary conclusion within time. The Northern Apocalypse had no ethical overtones and there was, therefore, no transformation of man at that time; it was a mythical event involving supernatural beings, the gods, the frost giants and the dwellers of Valhalla. Its conclusion was basically pessimistic, especially for the individual. The gods and the heroes, fighting side by side, would be destroyed by the forces of evil in the shape of the giants whose triumph, however, is short-lived. Fate

proves stronger than all the other forces divine or worldly and all are doomed to destruction. Like Beowulf, the gods and heroes are doomed, but glorious in their struggle. But for the Norse gods and heroes, unlike Beowulf, dom must be withheld, for none will remain to sing their praises. "The wages of heroism is death."<sup>162</sup>

That the Ragnarøk of the Völuspá in the Elder Edda, or at least some similar concept, was known in the pagan north is confirmed by literary and archaeological evidence. Hilda Ellis Davidson notes a pagan Swedish gravestone with the inscription iarrh s[k]al rifna uk ubhimin "earth shall be torn asunder as well as the high heaven", and she also refers to the reported apocalyptic events which Saxo Grammaticus mentions in his Gesta Danorum VIII, 262 at the death of Haraldr of Denmark.<sup>163</sup> Conversely, Christian artists drew heathen, apocalyptic devices on crosses, the best example being the tenth-century Gosforth Cross which depicts a figure with a horn, who could be Heimdallr, a woman beside a bound man, who is most likely Sigyn tending the bound Loki, and men and monsters fighting, as depicted in the designs on the jewellery of the Sutton Hoo find, many of which also appear apocalyptic in motif.

Certainly these carvings give us the right to assume what the literary evidence implies, namely that Ragnarok was a widespread popular image in the heathen north, and need not be accounted for by imitations of scholars, or borrowings by bookish men from the written literature of the East . . . . There seems no doubt that a vigorous tradition about the end of the world and its subsequent rebirth out of the sea existed in pre-Christian times in the north.<sup>164</sup>

And in Iceland, the home of Snorri, one can well appreciate how such signs of doom as the darkness in the day time, extremes of heat and cold, eruptions, floods and fire could have been conceived. Even the

miraculous emergence of a new land could be paralleled recently by the sudden submarine eruption which caused the island of Surtsey (given an apocalyptic name) to appear, an island which, like the new world of the Völuspá, is beginning to be covered in green and bring forth life.<sup>165</sup>

Our major sources of knowledge about the Northern Apocalypse come from the Völuspá of the Elder Edda and Snorri's prose version. First, there will be wars on earth and social disruption: "Brother will strike brother and both fall."<sup>166</sup> The all-important ties of kinship and promises will be broken and incest and murder rife. Fimbulvetr, the three year winter, will begin when the wolf devours the sun.<sup>167</sup> The moon and stars will fall from the heavens and the seas will rise up over the earth. Earthquakes will level the mountains to the ground and the great tree Yggdrasil will shake. The monsters and the infamous wolf Fenrir will be freed and his jaws will stretch from heaven to earth. The Serpent will leave the sea which will flood the land, and Naglfar, the ship made from the nails of the dead, will be launched and bring the demonic Loki and the frost giants to meet the gods. Surtr the fire giant and his army from Muspell will join the giants and shatter the bridge Bifrost before storming Asgard. Heimdall's horn will awaken the AEsir and Ódinn will take counsel at Mímir's well. On the Vigrid plain, where the gods and giants meet, Ódinn will be defeated by Fenrir, but his son Vidar will later wreak revenge. Thórr kills the World Serpent (Midgardsormr) which lets loose all its venom on the world, but is himself killed in the attempt. Freyr battles with Surtr, Tyr with the hound Garmr and Heimdall with Loki. All are killed except Surtr who remains to burn and destroy the world.

Earth sinks in the sea, the sun turns black,  
 Cast down from the Heaven are the hot stars,  
 Fumes reek, into flames burst,  
 The sky itself is scorched with fire.

I see Earth rising a second time  
 Out of the foam, fair and green;  
 Down from the fells, fish to capture,  
 Wings the eagle; waters flow.<sup>168</sup>

The final vision is one of tranquil beauty, of regeneration after the purgation of both good and evil. New life will come, but there will be no hope for man in the world.

The parallels with the Christian myth are obvious. The social upset and lawlessness and breaking of bonds (Matt. 24,6-10); the darkening of sun and moon (Joel 2,10 and Matt. 24,29) and the fall of the stars (Joel 2,10; Matt. 24,29; Mark 13,25; Rev. 6,13). The earthquakes (Joel 2,10; Rev. 6,2 and 16,18); the fall of the mountains (Is. 40,4; Rev. 6,16); the shaking of trees (Rev. 6,13); the freed monsters (Rev. 17), the horn of Heimdall (Rev. 8,12, etc.). The battle of the world (Matt. 24,37-9; 1 Cor. 3,12-5; 2 Pet. 3,10-2), and the paradise restored (Rev. 21,1). The figure of Loki, O.N. gōða dólgr "the enemy of the gods", strongly resembles the Christian Satan, godes ansaca "God's foe" or the bound beast of Rev. 20,2. It was also Loki who was responsible for the murder of the merciful son of Óðinn, Baldr, the Norse Christ-figure.<sup>169</sup>

The late tenth-century Völuspá is undoubtedly coloured by Christian thought, in spite of Dr. Davidson's protests to the contrary,<sup>170</sup> just as the Northern apocalypse must have had some influence on the early English church's popular ideas of Doomsday. The Signs of Doom found in Old English poetry (see the Appendix) are those ambiguously

heathen and Christian, the archetypal ones of fire and earthquakes. Some others, however, would appear to have Norse origins: the fumes and venom, the rising of the sea and floods,<sup>171</sup> the towering tree and the rebirth of a terrestrial land.

But many other points in the Ragnarøk myth would appear to have parallels in other mythologies, e.g., in Parsi myth the Chinvat Bridge is like the Bifrost Bridge, and a dread winter precedes both Doomsdays, while the fingernails of the dead in Parsi mythology are used by evil forces, if not consecrated to the bird Askozushta.<sup>172</sup> Such parallels merely underline the archetypal nature of all Doomsday myths (although there is a strong Eastern influence on pictorial, eschatological art) and fears of a cataclysmic end and total disruption of nature.

The Germanic gods, like the departed heroes in Valhalla, are still subject to fate and are not invincible. Evil can triumph as in ordinary life and, except in the moralized version of the thirteenth-century Snorri, there can be no hope for the souls of the dead destroyed in Surtr's fire. In the Christian myth all the events are planned and directed by Christ, the God who can offer man spiritual resurrection on this earth and the resurrection of the body and soul at the end of the world. The flames which he instigates merely cleanse the impure souls, leave the pure untouched and destroy the evil.<sup>173</sup> The heroic Apocalypse creates a harmony in the world within the laws of time with a beginning, a middle and an end, while the Christian Apocalypse transforms the present by making it the apocalyptic moment in the eternal existence of the soul. Man, as Browning states, unlike the beasts, "partly is, and wholly hopes to be".<sup>174</sup>



In Old English eschatological literature the central theme is the Judgment and the separation of the sheep and the goats. God will keep his covenant and the good can be assured of their reward. The theme has become entirely moralized, and the focus is on the individual at the present moment. Belief in an intermediary, purgatorial state is never mentioned, not so much because the authors considered that Doomsday would come in their life-time, but because such theological points did not advance the didactic theme of an admonition to repent of sin immediately. The soul, then, went directly to heaven or hell after death (e.g., in Glc A) and was reunited with the body for the second resurrection at Doomsday. The apocalyptic fires served as a purgation of the venial sins. The emphasis is on the daily judgment of man's deeds, as was noted in the previous chapter. Thus order was made out of chaos, and the plaguing question of "what went before and what is to come" is answered. Christian eschatological ideas proved to man in medias res that the ways of God are just and justifiable to man.

The evolution of Hebraic eschatological ideas (and their inherent limitations) surprisingly parallels <sup>at</sup> ~~those~~ of the Germanic religion, and both require the obvious and final resolution which the late Jewish-Christian doctrine offers.

The earliest Hebraic notions of death and after-life, like Germanic ones, were ambiguous and ill-defined. In fact there was no word for the dead other than reph'aim "powerless or quiet ones" (Job 26,5).<sup>175</sup> The dead went to Sheol "the hollow place" (cf. the etymology of Hel) beneath the earth (Gen. 37,35: "For I will go down into the grave . . .") where a shadowy continuation of worldly life was continued

(cf. Hades and Hel). Jahweh, a war God, was the God of the living and his power did not stretch to Sheol, where all of the departed nation, irrespective of virtue or vice, would live in an undefined community. Body and soul, personality and animal functions continued there. As in the northern "religion", ancestor worship was practised and sacrifices offered (Deut. 26,14; 2 Chron. 16,14) in order to keep alive the reputation and name of the dead. The difference between Hel and Sheol was that the Hebraic faith stressed the community or rather national aspects, rather than the individuality of the dead person in the North.

The pessimism of this early religion which offers no reward or retribution for one's worldly life is best exemplified in the Book of Job. Job cries out to know why the good must suffer and the evil can prosper, when misfortune is said to be God's punishment and prosperity his reward. The answer to the perplexing question on good and evil within the limitations of one's life is practically reached by Job himself by intuition:

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again . . . . But man dieth, and wasteth away: yea, man giveth up the ghost, and where is he? . . . So man lieth down, and riseth not. (Job 14,7-12)

Jahweh is the God of the nation, not the individual, and so there can only be a promise of the immortality of the nation. Later in Jewish history, in the exilic period, came the prophecies of a messiah who would save the Israelites and at a day of reckoning humiliate their enemies. The advent of the Messiah would be heralded by apocalyptic signs which were later to be codified as the Signs of Judgment,<sup>176</sup>

and he would lead the Chosen People to a paradise on earth, which was later to become the millenarian's "heaven on earth".

Not until the fourth century B.C. was there any explicit prophecy of resurrection from the dead: "I will ransom them from the power of the grave [lit. 'from the hand of Sheol']; I will redeem them from death." (Hosea 13,14). They are also numbered amongst the "righteous remnant" who will enjoy this messianic kingdom (Zephaniah 3,12). In this way the doctrine of retributive judgment for the Chosen People (and in some prophecies for the good Gentiles) was formed. In the later books such as Zechariah and Amos (5,18f.) the importance of moral purity is stressed with conviction for the first time. The best example of the Jewish hope is given in the prophetic and eschatological Daniel, a work much liked by the Old English moralists. The sinful race of the Israelites would be punished and the remainder (the earme leafe "wretched remainder" of the Old English Daniel) would be purified in the apocalyptic flames of the Fiery Furnace to emerge once more to a purged and regenerated world. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." (Daniel 12,2). Yet the less spiritual theme of the prophecy of the destruction of the oppressive tyrants, the Seleucid-Ptolemaic dynasty, was equally important to the writer of the Old Testament book.

There are no specific descriptions of the abodes of the good and evil after death. The new earth will be a perfected model of this earth (Is. 65,18f.) where eating and drinking will continue as in Valhalla. When heaven is mentioned it is stated that only the angels and those translated there while alive (Enoch and Elijah) live there (just as the

Greeks considered Elysium the home of the gods and their "relations"). Sheol was the home of all the dead and Gehenna "the Valley", the place of punishment for the very wicked.

Such prophecies were limited and basically materialistic even though the later ones involved a moral judgment. They were primarily intended to encourage an oppressed and exiled nation, just as the Christian millenarian cults generally mushroomed in troubled times of deprivation. Apocalyptic vision, on the other hand, which is not found until late in Jewish Old Testament thought and did not flourish until the "Inter-testamental" period, looks beyond prophecy which is circumscribed by time and place, to eternity. The apocalyptic beliefs in a blessed future life of the individual perceived a spiritual and eternal kingdom in a heavenly sphere. These early apocalypses were of a more popular nature, as Frank Kermode notes, and had their roots in unfulfilled prophecy.<sup>177</sup>

Ideas of an immortal spirit entered Jewish thought around the fourth century B.C. from Greece. In the first century B.C. 1 Enoch the resurrection of the spirit, not the body, to heaven is noted (v.103), and a Messiah, called the Son of Man, will offer immortal glory to the good (46,3 and 49,2-4). In 2 Maccabees (also first century B.C.) there is mention of the resurrection of the body and soul to eternal life,<sup>178</sup> with a judgment at the conclusion of the Messianic Kingdom on earth. Paradise becomes the intermediate abode of the righteous and elect, and heaven the final home, while Sheol and later Gehenna are for the evil, and the fallen angels will be consigned to a fiery furnace.

4 Ezra became one of the most popular sources for later eschatological writing and the list of the Signs of the Apocalypse in it (see the Appendix) provides the basis for all later lists, e.g., the popular Apocalypse of Thomas. The list of the joys of the blessed, e.g., surveying the pains of the damned, and the punishment of the evil, e.g., the sight of the blessed, parallels that in Christ III. And, in another apocryphal work, the Apocalypse of Baruch, we find a new and interesting stress on the fact that the individual is responsible for his own fate: "Adam is therefore not the cause [of sin and death] save only of his own soul, but each of us has been the Adam of his own soul." (54,19).

Just as Daniel and the Book of the Maccabees were written primarily against the tyranny of the Seleucid-Ptolemaic empire, and Baruch (63-72 B.C.) in protest against Roman oppression, so all the millenarian and apocalyptic ideas in this period and early Christianity were spurred on by oppression or deprivation. With the later establishment of a powerful Roman Church, millenarian views were discredited and finally condemned in the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), although they continued on a popular level and in the Gnostic and Montanist sects.

In the New Testament the later Jewish ideas of the Apocalypse were adopted, but only in the Revelation of St. John the Divine (20,4-6) is there any explicit comment about a Messianic kingdom in the world, the Millennium, and in this work it is stated that only the martyrs will be resurrected to enjoy it with Christ. However, the Millennium cannot be considered part of Christian doctrine.<sup>179</sup> <sup>That</sup> The earth would be unfit for such a paradise, and only a heavenly Kingdom would suffice, was the accepted doctrine. Yet, many early Church Fathers, as many early

Christians, literally interpreted Christ's words "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mark 1,15), and wrote about an imminent Millennium. Irenaeus, for example, in his Against Heresies has many messianic and millenarian views of a Kingdom in this world, as has Lactantius. But it is understandable that the later, well-established church should find such prophecies embarrassing, for they stressed the fact that the "millennium" had already begun on earth with the foundation of the Church. Such spiritual interpretations of Revelation were promulgated by Origen and later St. Augustine:

For a collective, millenarian eschatology Origen substituted an eschatology of the individual soul. What stirred his profoundly Hellenic imagination was the prospect of spiritual progress begun in this world and continued in the next; . . . According to The City of God the Book of Revelation was to be understood as a spiritual allegory; as for the Millennium, that had begun with the birth of Christianity and was fully realized in the Church.<sup>180</sup>

But at all periods of fear new millenarian groups began, many finding encouragement from the Sibylline Books. These "Oracles" were written around the first century B.C. in Greek hexameters and purported to be the work of prophetesses, but were simply propaganda material to frighten the pagan into the Jewish faith. The Christian Sibylline works were based on these, such as the fourth-century Tiburtina (PL 90,1181) which was written to condemn the Emperor Constantius who was portrayed as the Anti-Christ coming after Constans, the Emperor of the Last Days. The seventh century Pseudo-Methodius was written to console the oppressed Syrian Christians under Moslem rule. As in Baruch, the Saviour will be a warrior who will kill all the enemies of the Chosen People and set up a worldly Kingdom. The Sibylline works were to excite and make militant

for centuries many groups and were quoted by the often fanatical leaders of millenarian sects and the crusades of the poor, which were "a type of mass-immigration to Jerusalem -- terrestrial and celestial".

For them [the poor] the Crusade was above all a collective imitatio Christi, a mass sacrifice which was to be rewarded by a mass apotheosis at Jerusalem. For the Jerusalem which obsessed their imagination was no mere earthly city but rather the symbol of a prodigious hope.<sup>181</sup>

In the late tenth century and eleventh century, the time of the later Old English verse, such groups were rife.

Perhaps the greatest problem which confronts critics of the Old English eschatological material is that of chronology. Confused chronology of events surrounding the Parousia, Apocalypse, Resurrection of the dead and the Judgment has led many to criticize the poets,<sup>182</sup> but a similar "confusion" exists in the biblical and patristic accounts. The Second Coming is mentioned by Christ at the same time as the Ascension (Mark 8,31 and 38) and, interestingly, many medieval artists have depicted both scenes together (in the case of the Torcello mosaic the Descent into Hell as well). In Christ III and The Dream of the Rood the themes of resurrection of Christ and the Judgment are intermingled, and, in the former poem as in the Bible, we learn both that the Day will come unannounced like a thief in the night (1 Thess. 5,1-3), and also that it will be announced by lengthy signs (Matt. 24, Luke 21, etc.). In Old English poetry and in the Bible the Parousia and the Judgment seem to occur simultaneously (Matt. 7,22; Luke 6,23 etc.), and even Christ's teaching in the Gospels on the time of the arrival of the Kingdom appears equally confused: i) no man knows the time: "But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the

Son, but the Father." (Mark 13,32). ii) the time is in the very near future, probably within the life of Christ's contemporaries: "And he said unto them, Verily I say unto you, That there be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power" (Mark 9,1); "And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself." (John 14,3; cf. also Matt. 26,29; Luke 13,28-9). iii) the kingdom has already come to the world: "The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye and believe the gospel." (Mark 1,15; and cf. Matt. 3,2 and 5,17).

Such apparently contradictory statements were not meant to be taken literally, as Christ used the current apocalyptic views and metaphors to convey a greater truth, which he explicitly states in Luke 17,21: "for, behold, the kingdom of God is within you". St. John is clearer in his teaching of the spiritual nature of the Kingdom: "the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live" (John 5,25). Rarely does John mention the Parousia or Judgment in a temporal sense:

He that believeth on him is not judged: he that believeth not hath been judged already, because he hath not believed on the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the judgment, that the light is come unto the world and men loved the darkness rather than the light. (John 3,18-9: trans. in Charles, pp. 423-4)

Such a text might well have given the initial inspiration to the Christ III poet, whose theme is this spiritual judgment during man's life, and whose ruling metaphor is that of the Light.

The Last Judgment, the Parousia and the Millennium are manifestations



of, respectively, continual processes of judgment during life, the acceptance of Christ by man into his world, and the spiritual Jerusalem mentioned earlier.

Apocalyptic and not prophecy was the first to grasp the great idea that all history, alike human, cosmological and spiritual, is a unity -- a unity following naturally as a corollary of the unity of God preached by the prophets.<sup>183</sup>

The apocalyptic moment, therefore, becomes immanent, all-pervading, in Kermode's words, and the concepts of dom as "glory" (present and future), and as "judgment", merge into each other. Eschatology is not temporal and cosmic; eschatology began with the Nativity and the end is realized in the life of the believer.<sup>184</sup>

For this reason millenarian beliefs concerning the specific time and place for the Kingdom were later discredited by the Church. Christ is the way and the goal, and the kingdom could be achieved by all because of his atonement: "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." (Matt. 12,28).

Yet there still will be a manifestation or consummation of that judgment at a specific time, which is called the Last Judgment and which helps to explain Christ's apparently ambiguous words. Judgment and the Kingdom as a reality in the present, yet having a consummation in the future -- this was also the theme of the Old English poets and homilists on the Last Things. The saved ones are, like the monk or hermit, taken out of time and the old world and pass, immediately after baptism and the denunciation of the devil, into the eternal city of Jerusalem.<sup>185</sup>

And the second resurrection of man will be on Judgment Day when he will

be translated, body and soul, into this actual heavenly kingdom. St.

Augustine sums up this duality of meaning in De civitate Dei, 20,6:

Sicut ergo duae sunt regenerationes, de quibus jam supra locutus sum, una secundum fidem, quae nunc fit per Baptismum; alia secundum carnem, quae fiet in ejus incorruptione atque immortalitate per judicium magnum atque novissimum: ita sunt et resurrectiones duae, una prima, quae nunc est, et animarum est, quae venire non permittit in mortem secundam; alia secundum, quae nunc non est, sed in saeculi fine futura est, nec animarum, sed corporum est, quae per ultimum judicium alios mittet in secundam mortem, alios in eam vitam, quae non habet mortem.

As, then, there are two regenerations of which I have already made mention, the one according to faith, and which takes place in the present life by means of baptism; the other according to the flesh, and which shall be accomplished in its incorruption and immortality by means of the great and final judgment, -- so are there also two resurrections, -- the one the first and spiritual resurrection, which has place in this life, and preserves us from coming into the second death; the other the second, which does not occur now, but in the end of the world, and which is of the body, not of the soul, and which by the last judgment shall dismiss some into the second death, others into that life which has no death.<sup>186</sup>

Although the description of the Judgment in medieval works, and in Old English literature in particular, has such a spiritual interpretation generally, the works were normally didactic and their aim was to foster a spirit of repentance in the audience. Consequently, the late Jewish-Christian description of the terrors of the Last Days were used to full advantage; the horror and fear of the future dread event with its cataclysmic signs was used to bring about in the audience "the present spiritual reality". "In every moment slumbers the possibility of being the eschatological moment. You must awake it."<sup>187</sup> The Old English poets repeat and stress the important adverb nu "now", and their aim, as Bede states in his account of the poet Cædmon,<sup>188</sup> is to regenerate man and through penance to achieve the New Jerusalem in the present moment.<sup>189</sup>

St. John Chrysostom's comments which follow are echoed in all Old English eschatological literature, and indeed in all Christian literature of the period:

Show forth an anxious repentance, before the day come on, which permits us not to profit thereby. For as yet all depends on us, but then He that judges has alone control over the sentence. 'Let us therefore come before His face with confession' (Ps. 94,2); let us bewail, let us mourn. For if we should be able to prevail upon the Judge before the appointed day to forgive us our sins, then we need not so much as enter the court.<sup>190</sup>

The emphasis on the importance of tears of repentance is one of the major themes of Judgment Day II. Repentance, therefore, was the major theme of all the Old English Christian poetry, and eschatology one of the most favourite vehicles for conveying it.

As mentioned earlier, the events of the Last Things in Old English literature are interspersed with comments on the Resurrection, the Descent into Hell and the Ascension. Apart from the above remarks on the unity of the Christian story, these events are of particular importance in the eschatological theme. Because of Christ's suffering on the Cross man's original sin was atoned for, and by Christ's destruction of evil in hell man's spiritual resurrection now, and final resurrection at Doomsday, was made possible. The Blickling Homily on Easter Day, Dominica Pascha, begins with a remembrance of Doomsday, and states that the end of the world will occur at the same season as the Crucifixion.

Men þa leofestan, þis eastorlice geryno us æteowed þæs ecean lifes sweotole bysene, swa we nu gehyran magon forþ reccean and secggean, þæt nænigne tweogean ne þearf þæt seo wyrd on þas ondweardan tid geweorþan sceal, þæt se ilc[a] Scyppend gesittan wile on his domsetle: . . . 7 se þe nu biþ eapmod 7 gemyndig Drihtnes þrowunge and his æriste ealle mode, se sceal heofonlicre mede onfon.

Dearest men, this paschal festival presents to us a manifest token of the eternal life, as we may now hear related, so that none may need doubt that the event shall happen at this present season, when the same Creator will sit upon his judgment seat . . . and he who is now humble, and with all his mind mindful of Christ's passion and of his resurrection, shall receive a heavenly reward.<sup>191</sup>

The homily continues by describing the Descent into Hell, and the Ascension is immediately followed by the Second Coming. Christ's death to the world and defeat of evil, followed by his resurrection, came to be an example for man to follow spiritually. The image of the triumphant Christ in glory on the Cross is a common, early medieval iconographical sign, and the eagerly embraced death in The Dream of the Rood supports such a reading; the Harrowing of Hell was frequently used as the most important symbol of personal salvation (as will be seen in the description of the Torcello mosaic) in medieval times. The apocalyptic moment, then, became a symbol of the personal death, and, as Winkelhofer calls each death, "a recurring parousia".<sup>192</sup>

A brief glance at art and architecture of the period explains this concept excellently, and aids our understanding of the Judgment Day poetry. The western section of the church signified death and judgment and the portals illustrated these scenes. The progression that the individual makes from west to east symbolizes the spiritual journey from worldliness to "resurrection", and begins, like the Blickling Homily, with remembrance of the Apocalypse and eternal death -- the "old life"; after the western scenes of Doom one comes upon the baptismal font by the door, as baptism is the first stage in the journey, and so on, through the various stages of the Cross to the final scene, another death, namely the Crucifixion, but a death which enables man's resurrection to eternal

life.<sup>193</sup> Christ's resurrection and ascension is the perfect example of man's spiritual renewal in the present and of the events which will occur at Doomsday. At Chartres Christ appears on the western portals as a humble man showing his wounds, like the Christ of Christ III.<sup>194</sup> Christ is the Saviour still and not the Judge. For it is not until the final judgment (which is no judgment for the righteous) that he appears the stern Judge.

In a Russian icon Christ in the Ascension is seen to be accompanied by four trumpet-blowing angels, the same which will announce the "descent" of Christ at Doom, while on the Monzophials the newly ascended Christ is seen as the Judge.<sup>195</sup> And just as the Descent into Hell is the central image in the eschatological Blickling Homily on Easter, so the Descent is the central scene in the Torcello mosaic on the Last Judgment. The work is largely inspired, as the ultimate source of Christ III is also, by Ephraem of Syria, and the juxtaposition of these scenes implies that, just as Christ descended once to free all the faithful, so will he descend again to resurrect the blessed. In both scenes he is a conquering hero, armed with the Cross as a sword, saving man from the enemy, and as the Descent is placed above the Judgment, the image of Saviour takes supremacy over the Judge.<sup>196</sup> At Chartres the depiction of Christ as Judge is juxtaposed beside that of Christ the teacher, standing on a lion and dragon, the forces of evil, and one is reminded of the teaching of Christ at Judgment in Christ III (which might otherwise seem useless, coming after man's death). These artistic depictions of Judgment contain typological interpretations of Judgment Day similar to those in the Old English poetry.

It is for this reason that theological points such as the state of the soul between death and Judgment -- of Purgatory, are not discussed in the Old English poetry. Instead, the flames of the Apocalypse become simultaneously a Sign of Doom, the fire which accompanies the parousia, the purgative and destructive flames at Doomsday, and the punitive flames of hell. There is no real confusion in the poet's mind, as has been suggested. First, the fire of the Apocalypse in the poetry is frequently compared to a flood and the baptismal overtones thus underlined, for example, in Judgment Day I and Christ II and III; Wulfstan's homily on Secundam Lucam alludes to the regenerative fire which John mentions: "He that cometh after me . . . shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." (Matt. 3,11). And Origen in his Comm. Matt. states "In the baptism of water we are buried with Christ: in the baptism of fire we shall be conformed to the body of his glory."<sup>197</sup> Consequently, the flames of the Apocalypse take over this purgatorial function. Gregory the Great in his Dialogues, 4,39 mentions the venial sins which must be cleansed before Judgment,<sup>198</sup> and St Gregory Nazianzen in his Orationes explains this dual function: "I know a cleansing fire which Christ came to send upon the earth, and He is anagogically called a Fire . . . . I know also a fire that is not cleansing but avenging."<sup>199</sup> Such an anagogical interpretation would have been well known to the Old English poets, as can be seen from the flames in Daniel, The Phoenix and Juliana,<sup>200</sup> in which the evil are destroyed and the good purified. The apocalyptic flames in Christ III are personified to cruel forces which actively seek out evil in the hearts of men. The function of the flames on the individual, therefore, depends entirely on the decision of each man at the

present moment whether to accept Christ and repent of sin, and thus be immediately purged by the cleansing fire of Christ's forgiveness.

Apart from the Church's desire to read all eschatological material on an anagogical level, there is strong proof to show that the eschatological literature in Old English was largely spurred on by the fears of a fast approaching Doomsday (cf. Christ II 782ff. and Judgment Day II 15ff.). Fears that the world was coming to an end can be found in the sixth century when Pope John III built the Church of the Apostles at Rome "although the world was ending",<sup>201</sup> and a tenth-century hymn states "Veniet, prope est, dies irae supremæ" "It is coming, it is near, the great Day of Wrath." Wulfstan in many of his sermons repeats the sentiment expressed at the opening of his Sermo Lupi ad Anglos:

Leofan men, gecnawad þæt soð is: deos worold is on ofste 7  
hit nealæcd þam ende, 7 þy hit is on worolde aa swa leng  
swa wyrse; 7 swa hit sceal nyde for folces synnaþ ær  
Antecristes tocyme yfelian swyþe, 7 huru hit wyrd þænne  
egeslic 7 grimlice wide on worolde. (Bethurum, p. 267)

Dear men, understand the truth: this world is in haste and  
it draws near the end, and therefore it becomes always worse  
in the world as it proceeds; and so it must by necessity  
because man's sins before the arrival of Antichrist greatly  
worsen, and it indeed becomes then widely terrifying and  
ferocious in the world.

Such predictions are unlikely to be meant in a figurative sense and are probably simply intended to frighten the audience into repentance.

Gregory the Great, Augustine and Bede had all strongly criticized the fixing of dates for the world's end, and yet it appears to have been a popular pursuit from the vast number of guesses in the medieval period (and after). Apocalypse can never be disproven, even though the prophecies of it can be. Kermode mentions man's deep need for intelligible

Ends which leads him to create well-defined periods.<sup>202</sup> "Men in the midst make considerable imaginative investments in coherent patterns which, by the provision of an end, make possible a satisfying consonance with the origins and with the middle."<sup>203</sup>

Much has been written about the medieval notion of a Doomsday at the year 1,000. There were pilgrimages to Jerusalem, but there is not overwhelming proof that this prediction was believed any more than the others, for example 1033 (1,000 years after Christ's death), 1065 (when Good Friday and the Annunciation coincided on 25th March),<sup>204</sup> 1236, 1260, etc. Miss Bethurum discredits the evidence of the tenth-century charters which are often quoted to support arguments of the terror during A.D. 999; she states that, although they refer to the sign of doom (surget gens contra gentem "nation shall rise up against nation"), this was no more than a set formula which was discarded many years before A.D. 1000. There is also no greater fervour in Wulfstan's eschatological homilies before than after A.D. 1000. In his homily on Secundum Marcum, based on AElfric's Catholic Homily I,4, which was written in the 990s, the theme and tone is identical to his earlier eschatological works, although written after A.D. 1000:

ƿusend geara 7 eac ma is nu agan syddan Crist w s mid monnum  
on menniscan hiwe, 7 nu syndon Satanes bendas swyde to slopene,  
7 Antecristes tima is wel gehende, 7 dy hit is on worulde a swa  
leng swa wacre.<sup>205</sup>

A thousand years and more have now elapsed since Christ was with man in human form, and now Satan's bonds are indeed untied, and the time of Antichrist is very near and it is increasingly more evil in the world.

It would appear, however, that the Signs of Doom were a more important indication of the imminence of Doomsday than any fixed date.



The devastating and terrifying Danish raids, the famines and plagues which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles note during the eighth to eleventh centuries had a greater effect of instilling Doomsday terror than any fear of a date. At times of crisis, as was noted earlier, fears of personal death are at a height and thus eschatological feelings are strengthened. An interesting phenomenon occurs when one reads the Chronicle, for the alleged occurrences of apocalyptic signs increase in proportion to the hardships or events which elicit fear, for example:

- 774 [After King Alhred had been expelled] 'a red cross was seen in the sky after sunset'.<sup>206</sup>
- 787 [Ælfwald of Northumbria was slain] 'and a light was frequently seen in the sky where he was slain'.
- 793 In this year terrible portents appeared over Northumbria, and miserably frightened the inhabitants: these were exceptional flashes of lightning, and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. A great famine soon followed these signs . . . the harrying of the heathen miserably destroyed God's church in Lindisfarne by rapine and slaughter.

And connected with the Danish raids are many other examples of moon and sun eclipses and fiery lights (926, 1048, etc.), for example:

- 976 . . . a cloud red as blood was seen, frequently with the appearance of fire and it usually appeared about midnight . . . .

Without exception the Old English poets and homilists who wrote on eschatological matters were fascinated by the biblical and apocryphal Signs of Doom. This leitmotif appears to be used to instil fear in the audience, a "Ragnarøk" atmosphere of chaos, and are also psychologically chosen as the tortures which man most fears. Many others, however, like the apocalyptic fire of purgation mentioned above, are included to widen the scope of the work and suggest anagogical parallels. There are a

number of groups or traditions of "Sign" literature, and by detecting the source of the signs used by the Old English poets, one can ascertain certain influences. (A detailed list of possible sources and major works in which the Signs of Doom occur appears in the Appendix.)

It cannot be denied that an important function of Old English poetry was to instil fear, often, as in the homilies and later Mystery Plays, by as crude methods as the artists who depicted the Apocalypse of hell's gate as the terrifying mouth of Leviathan;<sup>207</sup> the horrors awaiting one after death, as stated in the late Old English The Grave, the terrors inflicted on man by the Signs of Doom which become purgatorial tortures, and the visions of the punishments of hell, all must have played an important part. The aim of the poets on the Judgment Day was, after all, didactic, and the message was a plea for repentance which, as we have seen, was the first stage of the spiritual pilgrimage to the Apocalyptic City. But the major theme remains, as I hope to show in the following analyses of eschatological poetry, that of the ever-present apocalyptic moment, the moment of revelation of self and of Christ's saving grace, in which the possibility of spiritual resurrection lies for those domeadig "blessed by grace", a resurrection which will be consummated on the Last Day.

#### IV

##### JUDGMENT DAY I

The Exeter Book Judgment Day I has been neglected by critics and editors alike and dismissed as being inferior to the Judgment Day II poem of MS. CCCC 201 and Christ III. The most recent comment on the poem in a literary history of Old English is by J. E. Cross who calls it "the least imaginative [of all the Judgment Day poems], although recording and using the scriptural statements about doomsday".<sup>208</sup> I should like to take a closer look at this poem, as I believe it contains many clues as to how the early medieval English poets interpreted and made use of the traditional, eschatological material. Judgment Day I is not a great poem, nor is it one of outstanding literary craftsmanship, but it is a poem which deserves greater attention.

The poet, like the authors of the other two Domsday poems mentioned above, makes no attempt to record and use "the scriptural statements about doomsday"; he does not list the apocalyptic events leading up to domesdæg, nor is the theme of the poem the dom "judgment" meted out to the faithful and sinful. It would appear, in fact, that the poet confuses the terrors of the Flood and the torments of hell with those of the apocalyptic fire, and also envisages Christ bound by chains and not nailed to the cross. All inconsistencies can be justified if one realizes that the poet's aim is to concentrate on the ever-present, apocalyptic moment, which was discussed in the previous chapter; and in

his rôle of homilist, to exhort his audience to meditate immediately on their sinful state in penitential mood, for the time of judgment is "now". Focusing on the individual in the present, the poet has no need to expound on the precise, biblical and patristic lists of the Last Things; rather, he uses such information imaginatively in his didactic aim.

As was seen in the previous chapter, man's ordered mind requires a beginning, a middle and an end to his existence and his world. Man's life is centripetal and is ordered by the knowledge of birth, a fact which leads to the supposition of a Creation of all things, and knowledge of death, which presupposes an end to all Creation and to time. The end, then, becomes immanent.<sup>209</sup> The individual crises in the history of man are seen in the Bible as apocalypses in small, and, as noted before, the "crisis" becomes a turning point. In the Old English Junius Manuscript poems, for example, the poets depict man falling ever deeper into sinful ways, because he has turned from God, until a "crisis" point comes when God reveals himself to the world and cleanses it from sin. Such occasions are at the Flood in Genesis, the Red Sea Crossing in Exodus and the purification of the Israelites' earme lafe in Daniel; on each occasion the floods or fire have had the ambivalent function of destroyer of the evil and purifier of the good in the world. In the individual life the sacrament of baptism represents the descent of the neophyte into the evil waters, as Christ descended into hell, only to ascend again purified. This sacrament, therefore, is an apocalypse, "a revelation", of God in the life of the individual, and is a figure of both Flood and final Apocalypse. It is not surprising, therefore, that Judgment Day I should begin with a

flood at Doom, even though such an event is unbiblical.<sup>210</sup> The Flood  
as a figure of baptism, according to Jean Daniélou,

represents the eschatological judgment by which a sinful  
world will be totally destroyed by the fire of judgment,  
from which those only will escape who, belonging to this  
sacred ogdoad, will be saved in the ark of the Church, and  
so arrive on the banks of eternity.<sup>211</sup>

The stress, therefore, is laid on the moment and on the individual; dom  
as "glory" depends in fact on dom as "free choice", and man must decide  
by his every action if he wishes the parousia to occur.

It is, therefore, apt that the poem should begin with a description  
of a flood and conclude with the apocalyptic and purging fire of Doomsday:

Sippan æfter þam lige    lif bið gestapelad,  
welán ah in wuldre    se nu wel þenced. (118-9)

Then, after the flame life will be established, eternal  
prosperity in glory for him who meditates deeply now.

Eternal life will be possible only for those who are now penitent.

The macrocosmic picture viewed from a point outside time becomes,  
as the poem unfolds, more specific and anthropocentric leading up to the  
"case-histories" of the worldly and of the penitent man. It is significant  
that Judgment Day I should be placed amongst a number of elegies in the  
Exeter Book. The following poem, Resignation, is about meditative man  
striving to set out on a spiritual journey away from the pleasures of  
this world, a theme common to both Judgment Day I and many of the elegies.

The poet wishes to stress the paramount importance of immediate  
repentance which is necessary to avoid the terrible fate of the sinners  
at Doomsday. The present rules the future and the focus of the work is  
centripetal: future joys and the knowledge of the cosmic pattern are  
the result of present sorrow and ignorance; future burning in hell

results from present evil and worldliness. And the entire poem is enclosed between the two archetypal symbols of purgation -- Flood and Fire.

A brief resumé of the poem will aid my discussion of thematic unity and development within the poem. Although there is a section division in the manuscript after line 80, there is no break in the structural unity of the whole. This division occurs between the descriptions of the worldly man and his punishment, and the reward of the meditative penitent. Perhaps a more natural break occurs after line 46a when the poet explicitly outlines his didactic aim.

Lines 1-46a. The poem begins, as stated above, with an allusion to a Flood at Doomsday, which will kill all men, and is immediately followed by an exhortation to sod̅ gepencan "meditate on truth" (4b). A description follows of the ravaging fire of doomsday, fire which is compared with the results from the gromhydge guman "hostile, evil-thinking men" (14a) who now rule the land and who actively seek hell (17). The Doomsday fire now changes into hell-fire which will receive such men, and the journey there is a sarlic sid̅fæt "a grievous journey" (25). Flood, fire and the ragings of the sinful are juxtaposed one against the other, and the fire of hell is actively sought by the evil.

The poet then takes up the theme of man's inability to think on the extent and eternity of such terror (30ff.). Similarly, no man can know enough to express the joys of heaven (31). The present finite knowledge of man is compared with the future revelation of all things -- man's thoughts and habits (34bff.) and the terrors of Doomsday (which are described in negative terms).

46b-80. The poet, using the first person singular, outlines his didactic purpose: to instruct man to praise God and live in faith before se wlonca dæg "the glorious day" (50b). Man's worldly glory (tir, 52) will be wiped out by the fire, and the terrors of that day are again described, but in greater detail: the leohtes weard "guardian of light" will send powerful flames; there will be bloodshed, earthquakes and great noise. It is only because of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross where he was bound by chains, that the pure can be saved (65-6). In contrast, the evil do not know the terrors awaiting them until it is too late. The poet then paints a portrait, common in the elegies,<sup>212</sup> of man being symbolgal "wanton with feasting" (77bff.) who enjoys this life without thinking of the journey he must make to the next world.

80-119. Juxtaposed against this portrait is, in the final section, a description of the fate of the meditative man. The Lord will reward after his heonansipe "the journey hence" (86) the man who his synna nu sare gepenceþ "sorrowfully meditates now on his sins" (83). The faithful man must be penitent and sorrowful and immediately follow Christ's teaching. Heaven is described as a beautiful hall, adorned by God, which all men may reach who wish to do so, and who are deophydig[ra] "deeply meditative" (96) (cf. the gromhydge men who seek hell [14]). Body and Soul will reunite for the Journey to the Cross where truth will be known (103-4). The Cross is made the central point and it is also the Way. The waldendes word "the voice of the Lord" will sound far louder than a trumpet blast when he sends us that message (109ff.). Wyrð "fate" cannot be changed and it must happen that fire will destroy all "bright dwellings".

But, after the flame, life will be established, eternal glory -- for those se nu wel þenced "who now meditate well" (119b).

### Analysis of the Poem

The poet of Judgment Day I is, undoubtedly, well aware of the biblical and patristic signs which herald the Day of Doom, yet he begins his poem with a description of a Flood which will destroy all life:

Ðæt gelimpan sceal, þæt te lagu flowed,  
flod ofer foldan; feores bið æt ende  
anra gehwylcum. (1-3a)

It will happen that water will flow, a flood over the world;  
the life of everyone will be at an end.

As seen in the previous chapter,<sup>213</sup> there is no biblical source for an apocalyptic flood, because of God's covenant to man never to punish him in that way again (Genesis 9,11).<sup>214</sup> However, the force and terror of the apocalyptic fire is often compared with the Flood; for example, Peter reminds man of the first Flood "whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished: But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men" (2 Peter 3,6). And in Matthew 24,37ff. Christ compares the Second Coming to the Flood, but only in as much as the time of both crises was hidden from man.

It is possible that the poet was influenced by traditions other than biblical. In the Irish Saltair na Rann the Sign of the Eighth Day is:

tonna na fairrgi do eirgi comhard frisna haeraibh roarda  
. . . . Cichanach 7 torannfadach na muirinn 7 na n-uiscedha  
frisna srothaibh teinedh isna haeraibh gan ceol gan aines  
fo cethri hairdib in domuin isin lo-sin.



the waves of the sea will rise as high as the lofty ether  
 . . . . The stridor and thundering of the seas and the  
 waters against the rivers of fire in the ether, without  
 music or pleasure, throughout the world's four airts that  
 day.<sup>215</sup>

Yet there is no hint that the seas will cause the final destruction and  
 the passage is more likely to be a paraphrase of the more common sign of  
 the seas' turmoil.<sup>216</sup>

Perhaps a closer parallel could be found in the Voluspá, in which  
 work the earth is said to sink under the pressure of the seas:

Sol tér sortna sígr fold í mar,  
 hverfa af himni heidar stíornor;  
 geisar eimi vid aldrnara,  
 leikr hár hiti vid himin siálfan.

Neath sea the land sinketh, the sun dimmeth, from the  
 heavens fall the fair bright stars; gusheth forth stream  
 and gutting fire, to very heaven soar the hurtling flames.

In the Voluspá the seas have the same purifying effect as in Judgment  
Day I. As this poem is the most "heroic" in mood of all the Old English  
 Doomsday poems, it is possible that the poet was influenced by Germanic  
 myths of the apocalypse.<sup>217</sup>

The most likely explanation is that given in the introduction to  
 this chapter. The poet is more concerned with the purgative function of  
 the terrors of Doom on the individual. Just as the Red Sea water and  
 the waters of baptism destroy the evil and cleanse the righteous, so  
 also will the "waters" of the Apocalypse. John, for example, mentions  
 the baptism by fire: "He that cometh after me . . . shall baptize you  
 with the Holy Ghost and with fire." (Matt. 3,11). The "flood" at the  
 end of the world will be the means by which the faithful are finally  
 saved, like Noah and his family, the domfæst duguþa "host firm in glory"

(Gen 1510). The function of the symbol of the flood at Doomsday would have been as easily understood by the audience as the fire in the furnace in Daniel which, as stated in chapter 2, is as wearmlic wolcna scur "warm rain showers", which are delightful for the faithful, but a nydhete "hostile heat" for the evil (Dan 349 and 278).

Origen imaginatively takes the figure of the "just man" throughout the ages:

See him coming out after the Flood, becoming as it were the creator of a new world, such is the just man: he sees the world before the Flood, that is before the end: he sees it in the Flood, that is in the destruction of sinful man at the day of judgment; and he will see it again at the resurrection of all sinners.<sup>218</sup>

The symbolic figure of the Flood is, according to Daniélou,

an efficacious prophecy of our eschatological death and resurrection . . . . Baptism by its symbolism of immersion appeared as a sacramental anticipation by way of imitation, of the final judgment, which is a baptism of fire, enabling the Christian to escape this judgment, since he is already judged.<sup>219</sup>

Immediately after the brief description of the Doomsday Flood the poet exhorts his readers to meditate well on sod "truth": Oft mæg se þe wile / in his sylfes sefan sod gepencan "Often he who wishes to may contemplate (the) truth in his own heart" (3b-4). The "truth" may refer to the wisdom implied in the initial, flood passage, or to the truth of the Christian message in general. In either case, this is the earnest meditation which, in common with the poets of the elegies, the Judgment Day I poet stresses throughout his work.

The apocalyptic fire is then described and balanced against the earlier mention of the flood. It will be instigated by Christ, who is called by such heroic, martial terms as þeoden user "our prince" (5b)

and brego moncynnes "leader of mankind" (7b). The warrior Christ will destroy the lond mid lige "land by fire" (8a), a half line which complements the earlier flod ofer foldan "flood over the land" (2a). Repra bronda "very fierce flames" will fill all the earth swa nu rixiað / gromhydge guman (13b-4a). The strength of swa is not clear, but it could refer to a comparison: "fierce flames will hold sway [in the world] just as cruel-hearted men now do". Mackie translates swa by "though",<sup>220</sup> while the sense implies "because" or "as", for the flames appear to be the result of the evil of such men. At least, a connection is made between the raging, fierce, insatiable appetite of the cruel brands and the hostile men who acquire treasure -- gylpe strynad<sup>†</sup> "acquire arrogantly" (14b) (gylpe is probably an adverb and not a substantive "vainglory", as Mackie states).<sup>221</sup> Man "now" (13) is gromhydge "hostile", as Satan is called in Christ II 734, the demonic Nebuchadnezzar when he threw the Youths into the blazing furnace (Aza 170), and the satanic rout in Andreas 1694; gram itself has associations with the inward fire of wrath. The poet, therefore, subtly compares the destructive force of the apocalyptic fire with contemporary man's devastating, burning sin, and, at the same time, suggests by the use of swa, that the later fire will be the direct result of man's sin in the present time.

Similarly, in the following lines, the poet states that it is man who actively seeks hell by pursuing his present sins. This statement is reinforced by the fact that all the verbs in this section are active (13ff.). There is no hint of man being deceived into committing sin. Such men acquire wealth and are proud (14) and then they scorn God (15), thus re-enacting the fall of man through hubris and excessive love of this world.

The apocalyptic fire then merges with the fire of hell, the droflíc wite "severe torment" (19a), and a comparison between hell and earth is made: earlier the world was called beorhte gesceafte "bright creation" (11b), while hell is mircan gesceaft "dark creation" (26b),<sup>222</sup> and earth is þes ginna grund "the spacious land" (12a), while hit is enge "it is narrow" (22a) in hell; creation will be brought to a close at Doomsday (2a), while hell is butan ende "without end" (27). Hostility (orleg, 29) will be endured there a to ealdre "for ever and ever" (29a), in contrast to the prosperity ah in wuldre "forever in glory" (119) awaiting those who choose to go to heaven. The road to hell is seen as a sarlic sidfæt "a grievous journey" (25a), deliberately taken by evil man, while the figure of the journey is repeated throughout the poem, and has the same meaning as Chaucer's Parson's parfit, glorious pilgrimage,<sup>223</sup> the figure of the individual soul's journey, by way of penitence, to the New Jerusalem.<sup>224</sup>

As in all the Old English eschatological poetry, there is no specific reference to a purgatorial period. Evil is punished and good is purified by flames which are ambivalently apocalyptic and from hell. Similarly, there is no distinction made between the endedæg of the individual and domesdæg; the poet concentrates only on the present moment, for after death nothing can be changed.

Man's inability to appreciate or comprehend anything beyond the present, worldly events constitutes another theme found throughout the poem. He cannot understand the extent of the horrors of hell: Ne con he þa mircan gesceaft "He did not appreciate the dark creation" (26) (cunnan "appreciate", "know about" is often used in this poem rather

than the more intellectual wat; the difference is the same as that between Daniel's dom "wisdom" and the sorcerers' scientia).<sup>225</sup> The sentiment is repeated in line 71: Ne con he þæs brogan dæl "He cannot appreciate the extent of the terror." The finite nature of man's knowledge and capabilities of appreciating the joys or terrors of the after-life is frequently contrasted with the infinite knowledge of God, which man can also possess after death. At present, no matter how -gleaw "intelligent" (30) he is, man can only live by faith (49a). The poem itself, which the poet calls þisne cwide . . . deopne "this profound discourse" (33b-4a) is intended as an aid to man's ignorance. In contrast to this lack of knowledge, the poet stresses the future dread of too much being known; all man's habits and thoughts at the þearlic gemot "the stern meeting" (36b) will be known, as in the dramatic scene in Christ III (1274-83) when God, angels and the devil view man's sins.

The Doomsday description which follows could also be one of hell or the Apocalypse. Hat biþ acolod "Heat will be cooled" (37b), the poet states, although earlier he had claimed that on the Day hat bið onæled (9b) "heat will be enflamed". Such a description of heat and cold is not to be found in any of the biblical sources, but is a common medieval description of hell.<sup>226</sup> All will disappear in the world nympe wætres sweg "except the din of water" (38). Mention of the great noise of the seas at Doomsday is common in apocalyptic writing,<sup>227</sup> but in this poem it makes a link with the initial description of the seas' flooding the earth. The 4 Ezra statement "the sea shall utter a roar" is generally connected with the defeat of the Leviathan, and hence all evil in the world. In Judgment Day II there is mention of se egeslica sweg

ungerydre sæ "the terrifying noise of the seas in turmoil" (Jdg II 102), and in the Blickling Homily Dominica V. in Quadragesima one of the joys of heaven is the lack of the sound of sea -- ne wāteres sweg "no sound of water", a puzzling "joy" for heaven, but probably explained by the fact that the sound of the sea is connected with the Leviathan and his roar at Doom.<sup>228</sup> In addition, the wrath of the seas would be an awesome symbol for the Northern races well acquainted with its cruelty. The poet concludes this section on an elegiac note: ac biþ tyr scæcen / eorþan blædas "but the glories and splendours of the earth have passed away" (45b-6a), which prepares his audience for the following, homiletic exhortation:

Forþon ic a wille  
leode læran    þæt hi lof godes  
hergan on heahþu    hyhtum to wuldre  
lifgen on geleafan,    ond a lufan dryhtnes  
wyrcan in þisse worulde,    ær þon se wlonca dæg (46b-50)

Therefore, I wish to instruct the people always that they raise up God's praise on high with hopes of glory, live in faith and ever gain the love of the Lord in this world before the proud day.

Man's bounden duty, as stated in the Preface to the Canon of the Mass, is ever to praise God, just as it was the thane's obligation to praise his lord (e.g., Bwf 3173-7; Max I 138-40), if he hopes to gain eternal dom "glory"; the desire for such a reward is implied in hyhtum to wuldre "with hopes of glory", and the aim of the passage is to make the audience domgeorn. The Junius Manuscript begins, echoing the words of "Caedmon's Hymn" (as noticed in chapter 2), with an exhortation that it is only right that man should praise his God.<sup>229</sup>

This eternal glory is contrasted with the transient, worldly tir:

Ne bið nānges eorles tir/ leng on þissum life, "no man will have glory long in this life" (52b-3a). Man's worldly glory will pass away (cf. Wan 36b, 106-10, Hávamál 77), and all will be wiped out by the fire of the apocalypse, fyr (54) being juxtaposed against the tir (52) which will be consumed.

The flame hastens on like a ruthless avenger (55-6), killing its prey as it progresses. The image is like that in Christ III 972-1006 where the personified fire eagerly seeks out evil from hidden corners and actively destroys all worldliness. The Judgment Day I poet even mentions bloodshed at Doom (56) in conjunction with Christ's severity (57b) and the flames; as in Christ III the flames are the Judge's weapon of purgation, and completely under his control. There is no source at all for such a slaughter and no parallel in other Old English works (perhaps Is. 66,16: "and the slain in the Lord shall be many"?). The apocryphal battle in heaven between the Anti-Christ and Elias who is wounded is mentioned in the O.H.G. Muspilli, and in the Irish Saltair na Rann bloody rain drops to earth, presumably as a result of this battle. But this is not a parallel incident, for the poet is thinking of a heroic battle on earth with the blood of the evil ones being shed. Another such instance occurs in Exodus<sup>230</sup> when the drowned Egyptians are described as if they had been slaughtered by the sword. Perhaps the poet had in mind the sword of justice (sigemece) of Christ, which is mentioned in Christ III 1530. But what is important is that the poet imagines the defeat of all evil in the same heroic terms and images as other Old English poets used to describe the defeat of demonic power in the world.

The earth will shake and the heavens resound,<sup>231</sup> and the leohtes

weard "guardian of light" (53) will send the flame blæc byrnende "burning black" (56). In Christ III Christ literally becomes the light of the world, when his cross sheds greater light than the extinguished sun had done. In contrast to Christ's light in Judgment Day I is the blackness of the flames which, although not evil themselves, seek out all evil. (It is, however, possible that blæc should read blac "shining", as the flame of Doom in Cri II 808 is described.) The allusion to the light of Christ is continued in the following passage which describes the Crucifixion:

Hyht wæs a in heofonum,    sippan user hælend wæs,  
middangeardes meotud,    þurh þa mæstan gesceaft  
on ful blacne beam    bunden fæste  
cearian clomme. (64-7a)

There was ever hope in heaven after our Saviour, the Lord of  
the world was, by the greatest of decrees, bound fast with  
dire bonds on the brightly shining cross.

Christ is here described as "Saviour" and the "Lord of middle-earth", for the poet is intent on stressing Christ's saving powers in the present. The significance of the "shining cross" will be discussed in the Christ III analysis; however, it links the events of Crucifixion and Parousia, for the former is normally a dark and sad occasion and the latter one of brilliant light. The Christ of the Cross here is the triumphant one of The Dream of the Rood, the militant saviour of mankind. And at the Judgment itself the poet envisages rincas æt þære rode "warriors at the Cross" (105), where the Cross becomes a surrogate for Christ, both the Way and the Goal, as in Christ III. It provides the hyht "hope" of glory and the means of salvation for the living, and, as the dazzling sign, symbolizes the state of dom as "perfection" and the eternal reward. The concept has a parallel in The Dream of the Rood:



ac <sup>↑</sup>durh <sup>↑</sup>ða rode sceal rice gesecan  
 of eordwege æghwylc sawl,  
 seo þe mid wealdende wunian þenced. (DrR 119-21)

but through the Cross each soul must seek heaven, away from  
 the earth, he who intends to dwell with the Ruler.

This pilgrimage is also described as a journey in Judgment Day I (103a),  
 and is in contrast with the sarlic sidfæt (25) of those deliberately  
 seeking hell.

The image of Christ bunden fæste / cearian clomme "bound fast  
 with dire bonds" (66b-7a) is also unique. The cearig may refer to  
 "sorrow", and the phrase refer to the binding effect of sorrow, akin to  
 the Seafarer's forste gebunden, / caldum clommum "bound by frost, by  
 cold bonds" (Sfr 9b-10a). The poet, however, is probably referring to  
 the burden of man's sins taken on himself at the Crucifixion, or even to  
 his descent into hell immediately afterwards, in order to save man bound  
 by Satan. The latter reading would complement the earlier theme of  
 baptism which is discussed above, for Christ's Descent was typologically  
 linked with the baptism of the individual, when the depths of the waters  
 were sounded and the Leviathan destroyed. Daniélou comments on 1 Peter  
 3,18-21:

The Flood comes first as the figure of Christ's triumph over  
 the sea dragon through his descent into Hell: he is the true  
 Noah who has experienced the swelling of the waters of death,  
 and has been delivered by God to be the beginning of a new  
 world; it represents also Baptism wherein the Christian is  
 buried with Christ in the waters of death through the symbol  
 of the baptismal waters, figuratively undergoing the punish-  
 ment due to sin and being freed with Christ . . . . Lastly,  
 it represents the eschatological judgment by which a sinful  
 world will be totally destroyed by the fire of judgment.<sup>232</sup>

The image of Christ burdened by the bondage of man's sins is, therefore,  
 not out of place in an eschatological poem. Adam is often described as

being physically bound by sin in hell, and Christ, the second Adam, by binding himself to the Cross, loosens Adam's chains and, thus, frees all mankind. As stated in the previous chapter, the central scene of the Torcello "Judgment" mosaic is the Descent into Hell, and an even better illustration is the miniature in the Hortus deliciarum where Christ is seen descending into the depths and capturing the Leviathan with his Cross which is shaped like a hook.<sup>233</sup> The image in the poem, then, connects Judgment, Crucifixion and Descent, and centres all these scenes on man who himself is bound by sin, and on Christ who alone can free him.

The poet then describes the sinful soul and, in contrast to Christ's omniscience (Crist ealle wat 67b), his lack of knowledge of future terrors and of evil he has committed (71b). His ignorance will lead him to be placed on the left hand of God at Judgment þonne se fær cymeþ "when the danger comes" (73b). Such a man does not meditate on the after-life (like the Dreamer at the beginning of Jdg II) neither is he repentant; he is like the archetypal "land-dweller" of Old English poetry:

Lyt þæt gepenced,  
se þe him wines glæd wilna bruced,  
sited him symbelgal, sip ne bemurned,  
hu him æfter þisse worulde weordan mote (77b-80)

Little does he think about what his fate may be after this world, he who, happy at wine enjoys pleasure, who sits proud at the feast, with no anxiety about his fate.

In a similar passage in Vainglory the poet states that the man who is the child of the devil, clothed with flesh (biþ feondes bearn / flæsce bifongen [Vg1 47-8]) is grundfus "hell-bound", and sitþ symbelwlanc "sits proud at the feast" (Vg1 40). The sin of drunkenness is frequently associated

with demonic characters. Belshazzar in Daniel 700, Holofernes in Judith 15 are at sympel, medugal (Dan 702, Jud 26a) or wlonc and wingal "proud and flushed with wine" like the land-dwellers of the Seafarer 29ff.<sup>234</sup> By becoming drunk they subvert their reason and re-enact the sin of Adam when he ate the fruit (often iconographically portrayed as a drink). Frequently in the poetic corpus the sin of gluttony is connected with the cardinal sin of pride. The poet, therefore, paints an archetypal portrait of worldly man grundfus "bound for hell".

Sip ne bemurned<sup>†</sup> (79) could mean "he does not pay heed to the journey", referring to the heonansip "the journey hence" (86, and cf. 25 and 103). B-T, however, glosses it as "lot", "fate". Both readings are possible, but in all other occasions in this poem sid<sup>†</sup> refers to the Journey.<sup>235</sup> The man who is sympelgal is, therefore, like the land-dwellers of the elegies who do not care to make the arduous, spiritual pilgrimage towards the state of perfection; they are indeed already domleas.

A new section in the manuscript begins at line 81 and the poet paints the opposite picture, one of the penitent and meditative man, destined for glory -- the domgeorn man. Heaven is reached by earnest meditation (83), sorrowful repentance and suffering of mind (84ff.). God will requite him:

æfter heonansipe  
godum dædum, þæs þe he swa geomor weard,  
sarig fore his synnum. (86b-8a)

with benefits after his journey hence, because he was grieved  
and sorrowful on account of his sins.

There is, again, no clear distinction made between the events taking

place at the point of death and at Doomsday; heonansip implies the endedæg of the individual and is a common euphemism for death, while earlier the poet states that the reward comes æfter þære wyrde "after the event" (82). Mackie translates this as "as is destined", yet this would be an unusual translation of æfter (wyrd suggests "the event destined by fate", as dómr can mean in O.N.). In Exodus 540 eftwyrd means "death" or "the events after death" and in Genesis A we read that Lot's wife awaited wyrd "death" in the sense of "fate". In this poem wyrd would appear to refer to the events at Doomsday when the righteous are saved, but the meanings of "death", "fate" and "miraculous event" which surround the word are also applicable in this context. What is important is that the poet does not differentiate radically between the death of the individual and Doomsday, for dom "glory" can only be achieved before that death.

Throughout the ensuing exhortation to repent mournfully the poet reiterates the paramount need for immediate action; he repeats nu "now" and states: Ne sceal se to sære beon / ne þissa larna to læt "he must not be too sluggish nor too late in following these teachings" (88b-9). Heaven is described as a splendidly adorned hall which God, the heroic sigedryhten "victorious lord" (92) has prepared for those who are deophydigra "contemplative" (96a). This heaven is open to all who wish to ascend there (97), as was earlier stated that hell is reached only by those who seek it (17-8).

The poet is explicit about the fact that body and soul will reunite at Doomsday. The body will take on life again (98-100a) and soul and body will gather for the journey (to þam siþe 103a). Such descriptions of body and soul uniting before the Judgment are found in

the Soul and Body poems, Christ III 1029ff. and Phoenix 519-20 and 535. The journey is to the Cross (105) where all truth will be revealed, in contrast to the lack of knowledge before the journey (103-4). The poet stresses the verbal nature of the revelation of man's deeds (probably to make a parallel with oral confession which is an integral part of penitence). The Judgment is called the spræce (101), all man's deeds will be spoken (105b-7a), and these Christ will eagerly hear (107b-8; as the priest, the poet implies, is also eager to do in the present time).

With no mention of the trumpet of the apocalypse being sounded itself, the poet states that the Word of God that day will be louder than any horn or trumpet. The stress is on the message of the Lord which he wishes all mankind to know (112b-3). Of course, it will be too late for man to heed the message at that time; Christ is speaking to man in the present, as he does in his long speech in Christ III. Perhaps the poet was thinking of the 1 Thessalonians 4,16 text: "For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first." And in The Apocalypse of Thomas the description of the events on each of the eight days of Doom is prefixed by "A great voice was heard in heaven." The Word will be known throughout the world then, as it can be in the present; and it is the Lord's voice which causes the plains to tremble (112b), as earlier the poet described all the glorious creation trembling (58).

The poem concludes with an explicitly homiletic statement which the poet commands his audience (addressed in the second singular) to repeat after him: Oncwep nu þisne cwide "Now repeat this statement" (114a);

but the ic (115a), unlike in the earlier occurrence (46b), does not refer to the poet; instead, it belongs to the words which the poet's audience must repeat. "I" as an individual cannot change fate under the heavens (115); fire must come at Judgment ofer eall beorht gesetu "over all the bright dwellings" (117).<sup>236</sup> Man is, therefore, reminded that he has no power over wyrd "fate", the destiny of the world, but he has freewill concerning his own destiny. The burden is placed firmly on the shoulders of the individual, for the apocalyptic fire can either purify or consume.

As we have already seen, the poem ends with the flames of Doomsday:

ofer eall beorht gesetu, byrnende lig.  
 Sippan æfter þam lige lif bið gestapelad,  
 welan ah in wuldre se nu wel penced. (117-9)

over all bright dwellings burning flames. Then after the flame, life will be established, joy in heaven for ever, for him who now contemplates deeply.

At a time in the future, ordained by fate, the holocaust will come, but the destiny of the individual is not ruled by that point in time, but by every moment in the present. Nu is front-shifted to stress the importance of immediate meditation which will change the apocalyptic fires of the future into purifying forces which will guarantee eternal dom.

The poet of Judgment Day I, therefore, is not attempting to give a faithful rendition of the "scriptural statements about Doomsday"; if he were, he would well merit the censure generally given him. Instead, the work is an exhortation to the individual (hence the use of the second person singular of 114a), including himself (the us of 113), to exercise his free will immediately and, by present action in the form of earnest meditation, avoid the retributions of fires of Doom and hell. Meditation

of one's sins was a vital initial step in the journey of penance, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, is the way to eternal glory. This also is the didactic theme of Judgment Day II.

One of the major metaphors is that of the journey (heonansipe "the journey away from here", 86) which will end æt þære rode "at the Cross" (105), the spiritual journey the domgeorn man will take of his own free will; this is contrasted with the static position of worldly man at the feast who sip ne bemurned "does not consider the journey (or 'his fate') (79). The themes of the journey, the transience of the world and the image of the worldly feast are also found in Old English elegiac verse, although the tone and mood of this poem is not elegiac but monitory.

In the first section the poet moved from images of the terror of the Flood and Fire of Doom to the fire of hell, and, in this way, stressed the purgative effect of both and the anagogical interpretation. The terrors of the apocalypse and of hell are not clearly distinguished, as occurs in all Old English eschatological literature.

It appears as if the poet sees his function to be in one sense like that of the scop in Widsith -- to encourage others to raise up the lof godes "God's praise" (47), in order that they themselves will gain glory ær þon se wlonca dæg "before the proud day" (50). Judgment Day I is indeed the most "heroic" in tone of all the Judgment Day poems, perhaps because it is the oldest.<sup>237</sup> Christ is the sigedryhten "Lord of victories" (92), brego moncynnes "leader of mankind" (7), and heofoncyninga hyhst "the highest of heavenly kings" (108) who sele frætweð / timbred torhtlice "adorns the hall, builds it in splendour" (92-3). His voice is louder than any trumpet, and his thanes are the ravaging fires of doom

which hunt out evil. The description of the bloodshed caused by the fire is of particular interest, for it shows the "heroic" word-hoard being used to describe this apocalyptic event.

The Cross at Judgment is indeed unbiblical, but occurs in Christ III as well; the Cross shows the poet's intention to stress the possibility of grace and glory which can be achieved by all in the present. It is a symbol of light which came into the world at Christ's first Coming, and which will come to the individual when he accepts him into his life.

At the centre of the poem is man, and the poet pleads with him to begin on the journey of penance "now". The message is that the apocalyptic moment is in the present, the only time when dom "glory" can be gained. The theme has a strong resemblance, therefore, to that in many of the heroic works studied in chapter 2; dom must be achieved now and man must be careful to cultivate it all his life. At no point can the domgeorn man rest, like the Dreamer in Judgment Day II, for the wind heralding the death of the individual or of the world will come in the eschatological present.



JUDGMENT DAY II

In the middle of the late eleventh-century Old English MS. CCCC 201, which is largely composed of legal and ecclesiastical documents and homilies, is a group of five poems in a separate section and written by two scribes.<sup>238</sup> The first of these is usually called Judgment Day II and is followed by An Exhortation to Christian Living, A Summons to Prayer, The Lord's Prayer II and The Gloria I.<sup>239</sup> The poems appear to form a coherent group, with the poetically inferior latter four explicitly reinforcing the message of Judgment Day II. For example, Judgment Day II concludes with the image of the faithful betweoh rosen a reade heapas (288) "between multitudes of red roses", and the virgin band blostmum behangen (291) "hanging with flowers", and between this poem and the following An Exhortation to Christian Living is the scribal rubric

Her endað þeos boc þe hatte inter florigeras. ðæt is on englisc  
betwyx blowende þe to godes rice farað. 7 hu ða þrowiað. þe to  
helle farað.

Here ends this book which is called inter florigeras, that is  
in English between the blossoming ones, who will go to God's  
kingdom, and how those who go to hell fare.

The saved are seen as "the flowering ones", while the following poem begins with the promise that Gif þu wille þæt blowende rice gestigan (2) "If you will rise up to the blossoming realm", you must follow the exhortations in the poem and be penitent. In Judgment Day II the theme is that of Doomsday, but the message, as in Judgment Day I, is one of

the vital necessity for immediate repentance, while in the following poems in the manuscript the explicitly didactic exhortations reinforce this message and conclude with a suitable doxology.

Judgment Day II has been praised by critics as being poetically superior to the Judgment Day I of The Exeter Book, but for widely differing reasons; George K. Anderson praises it for its "lyric bursts", though says it is spoiled by intervening narrative,<sup>240</sup> and Charles W. Kennedy for its "admirable lyric grace".<sup>241</sup> Other critics, however, consider it a homily on a traditional theme "preached to all who need to be reminded that this life should be a vale of tears",<sup>242</sup> while L. Whitbread claims, on the contrary, that "it contains no direct exhortation to the reader. Rather is it personal in tone . . .".<sup>243</sup> The poem viewed as a translation of Bede's De die iudicii has had equally divergent, critical views. Whitbread and Malone see it as a nearly literal translation from its Latin source and "a mere effort to reproduce in full the thoughts" in the source.<sup>244</sup> On the other hand, J. S. Westlake extravagantly praises "the imaginative gift of the translator [who] enlarges on a hint from his source", while his translation "is one of the finest in Old English. It is far more powerful than its Latin original and many of the most powerful passages are new matter put in by the Old English translator".<sup>245</sup>

It is clear, therefore, that the poem requires further investigation, both as a translation and as an Old English poem which deserves critical attention in its own right. Many of the stylistic attributes and the lyrical qualities praised in the English version, for example, are the result of the ingenuity of the Latin poet.

There is little doubt as to the author of the Latin lines and

few scholars today would attribute Bede's verses to Alcuin. The final lines of the Latin poem in most manuscripts are addressed to Bishop Acca, Bede's spiritual guide, and state that the poem was written at his request. This epilogue is omitted in some Continental manuscripts and from our English poetic "translation", probably because the personal dedication would not have been of interest to foreign and later English readers. The Doomsday theme was congenial to Bede, as can be seen from his apocalyptic writings in De temporum ratione and in the Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum. L. Whitbread states that in over thirty of the thirty-nine extant manuscripts, Bede's authorship is acknowledged, while the scribe of the Old English poem adds Bede's name in the initial rubric -- a far from common practice in Old English literature.<sup>246</sup> The Latin poem from which the Old English poetic version is taken was probably in a lost southern English manuscript.<sup>247</sup> The text which most scholars have worked from has been that of J. P. Migne (PL 94, 633-8) which is derived from a lost Continental manuscript, which, according to Whitbread, is "of no special significance and one there is no reason to believe was particularly close to the text utilized by the Old English translator".<sup>248</sup> The text has been used by Dobbie and Huppé and reproduced by Lumby and Löhe in their editions. In this study the edition by J. Fraipont will be used, as it is taken from more reliable manuscript readings.<sup>249</sup>

The Latin poem is not considered to be of great literary value, but its popularity throughout the Middle Ages (it was probably written c. 716-31, the period in which Bede dedicated other works to Acca) lasted as late as the fifteenth century. Whitbread suggests the original interest in the Latin poem and its wider dissemination have their roots

in the Benedictine Reform of the tenth century, and the liberty with which the text is treated "proclaims its continual vitality and appeal" for centuries.<sup>250</sup> The Old English poetic version probably dates from around the end of the tenth century,<sup>251</sup> and provided the source for the English prose version in the "Wulfstanian" Homily XXIX on The Last Judgment in MS. Bodl. Hatton 113, fols. 68-70<sup>V</sup>. This version is probably from a more accurate copy of the Old English poem than the one in MS. CCCC 201 and, therefore, it is an invaluable aid when the corruptions in our copy of the poem are checked. The Old English poet's normal method of translating is to take two Old English alliterative lines for each Latin hexameter. In most pairs of lines the thought of the Latin poem is contained in the "a" half-line, and the "b" half-line augments the "a" one with repetitions, alliterating synonyms, etc.<sup>252</sup>

From the large number of extant Latin manuscripts, and from the popularity of the English prose and poetic texts, it can be presumed that the work captured the imagination of generations beyond the Old English time. One can discard the theory that its popularity was due to the fears of an imminent Doomsday at the year A.D. 1000, because of the time span of its popularity. In the following analysis of the poem it will be shown that the poet does not focus on a specific time, but his work, like Judgment Day I, is centripetal, focused on man in the present moment.

The poet is not the stern preacher of the earlier Doomsday poem, but a sinner amongst sinners whose personal fears about the final days and personal recognition of his present sin, combined with his love of humanity, force him to exhort his audience to repent. The tone of the poem, at least in the first section, is reminiscent of a holy sonnet by

John Donne -- dramatic, forceful and intensely persuasive, recounted in the voice of a penitent sinner. The conflicting interpretations of the poem by the critics mentioned above are probably the result of the gradual change in mood and tone as the poem progresses. The poem begins in a personal, lyrical mood and describes the "dreamer's" inner state but gradually moves to a more homiletic tone when the poet urges his audience to repent and recounts the horrors of hell. The turning point is the section in which the poet's soul admonishes the body and the personal admonition leads to a more general warning. A similar progression is seen in a number of Old English lyrics, for example, the self-centred, personal observation of the eardstapa in The Wanderer gives way to thoughts on mankind in general and concludes with the common gnomic and homiletic utterance on mutability and the need to place one's trust in heavenly things. From the initial, paradisaical vision in Judgment Day II there is a progressive widening of the poet's vision and the reader ceases to be the passive listener to a monologue but is meant to feel similar fear and guilt. The central exemplum of St. Dismas, the sinner on the Cross who repented at the eleventh hour, helps make the personal death (and the importance of confession, no matter how late in time), the endedæg of the individual, more important than the "historical" domesdæg. The poem concludes as it began, in a garden. But the initial one is a garden of this world where, in spite of its idyllic nature, one must continually be aware of the imminence of one's endedæg and the terrors of Doomsday, before the garden of the eternally blessed can be attained. The intervening section suggests the "dark night of the

soul", the necessary, symbolical descent of the soul into hell before final regeneration and the domeadig state.

### Analysis of the Poem

The initial section of the poem, lines 1-9, has caused much critical debate. This lyrical introduction has been extravagantly praised as the first and only vernacular description of nature in her true colours in Old English. E. E. Wardale describes it as the introduction of "a new spirit in Old English literature", and Charles Kennedy states that "the details of landscape in his introductory lines are rendered with admirable lyric grace, . . . a romantic touch deftly handled".<sup>253</sup> This section has also been praised as the forerunner of the later medieval dream-vision introduction, reminiscent of the opening of Piers Plowman, Pearl or The Legend of Good Women.<sup>254</sup> But, although the poet does sit in a typical setting for the dream vision persona, there is no vision, only memories of personal sin and the repetition of the signs of Doomsday.<sup>255</sup>

The Old English poet -- he is certainly more than a translator -- has added more original material to this section than to any other. The suggestion that by so doing he is attempting to justify himself and assert his authority as an original scop, does not appear very convincing.<sup>256</sup> By a detailed analysis of these important lines, one can see that the poet by amplification of and omission from the Latin lines is attempting to clarify the important, symbolic significance of Bede's verses which might have been overlooked by the later, lay Old English reader.

Hwæt! Ic ana sæt·innan bearwe,	. Inter florigeras fecundi
mid helme beþeht,·holte tomiddes,	: cespitis herbas,
þær þa wæterburnan·swegdon and urnon	: Flamine uentorum resonan-
on middan gehæge,·eal swa ic secge.	: tibus undique ramis,
Eac þær wynwyrta·weoxon and bleowon	: Arboris umbriferæ maestus
innon þam gemonge·on ænlicum wonge,	: sub tegmine solus
and þa wudubeamas·wagedon and swegdon	: Dum sedi, . . . (1-4)
þurh winda gryre; (1-8a)	:
	:
Lo, I sat alone within a grove	: Amidst the flowery grasses
covered with foliage, in the middle	: of the fertile earth,
of a wood, where the streams made	: with the blast of the winds
music and ran in the middle of the	: everywhere in echoing
enclosure, just as I say. Pleasant	: branches,
plants also grew and bloomed there	: Under the cover of shade-
amid the throng in the excellent	: bearing tree, alone and
plain, and the trees of the forest	: dejected,
tossed and murmured in the strength	: While I sat . . . .
of the wind.	:

In the Old English version the personal pronoun is front-shifted and stressed, and the opening resembles a typical Old English elegy, for example The Wife's Lament, 35-7:

þonne ic on uhtan ana gonge  
under actreo geond þas eordscrafu.  
þær ic sittan mot sumorlangne dæg,

Then I before dawn pass alone under the oak tree beyond  
this earth-cave. There I sit during the summer-long day.

Professor Huppé claims that ana (1a) "alone" has the force of "lonely", but this is not implied in the Old English word in any other context;<sup>257</sup> rather it has the sense of solitariness, the exclusion from the comitatus which is suggested in The Wife's Lament, 35 above and The Wanderer, 8-9: Oft ic sceolde ana . . . mine ceare cwipan, "often I must lament my sorrow alone". The most significant change made by the Old English poet is the omission of any hint as to the mood of the "dreamer"; solus can imply loneliness and this sense is supported by maestus "sorrowful". The omission is significant in a section in which the Old English poet

has consistently attempted to enlarge on his source text. The first mention of the dreamer's feelings is made at line 10, when his mind is disturbed after the paradisal scene has similarly been shaken by the wind blowing through it.

Far from being sorrowful or disturbed the poet (for so we shall call the persona in the poem) finds himself in a paradisal, protected garden; the sense of security and protection is stressed by the accumulation of protective items: he is in a foliage-covered grove which is in the middle of a wood which in turn is situated on middan gehæge "in the middle of an enclosed meadow". In the Latin version, the poet sits in the shade of a tree (arboris umbriferae, 3) amongst flowers (mentioned later in line 5a of the Old English version); by choosing the phrase innan bearwe "within a grove" (1), the poet can immediately conjure up paradisal associations -- the tree of the Phoenix is situated in a bearwe (Phx 122) and the Phoenix is the bearwes inhabitant (Phx 71, 80), while the Garden of Eden itself is said to be on bearwe (Gen 902). On a few occasions bearo/bearwe suggests a protected place of retreat, for example, in The Wife's Lament 27b-8: the Wife lives on wudu bearwe, / under actreo "in a woody grove under the oak tree" (and in Genesis 284).<sup>258</sup> The association of bearwe with divine gardens is reinforced by the further point that it is situated mid helme beþeht (2a); helme has the double association of "foliage" and "protection" (frequently in the sense of "divine protection"). God is often called helme (generally in a compound word) in poetic context, while later in the same poem Christ the Judge is described as being helme/beweordod "glorified by a crown" (118). Consequently, there is both the connotation of a protected, secluded



retreat and also that of divine providence.<sup>259</sup> Holte "wood" also has sacred overtones: Adam and Eve seek shelter on pisses holtes hleo "in the protection of this wood" (Gen 840) in the Garden, and the Phoenix's wood in its prelapsarian state is described as a holte (Phx 73b).<sup>260</sup> Gehæge (4a) is, literally, "a hedged enclosure", or "garden" in the sense of a protected, enclosed garden, and the image evokes the memory of the hortus conclusus of The Song of Solomon 4,12 ("A garden inclosed is my sister, my spouse").

In the Garden are wynwyrta "pleasant plants" (5) and, although this is the only occurrence of the word in Old English, both elements of the compound are immediately recognizable: wyn- suggests "joy" and "blessed", e.g., wynlond, the paradise of the Phoenix (Phx 82; cf. also Phx 7, 12, 70). The flowers are "blessed" and the mention of them in this earthly, paradisaic image anticipates the final description of the blessed in heaven betweoh rosen a reade heapas "between multitudes of red roses" (288) and the mædenheap, / blostmum behangen "host of virgins decked with blossoms" (290-1). As was earlier noted, the rubric at the conclusion of the poem states that the work itself is called inter florigeras ðæt is on englisc betwux blowende þe to godes rice farað "'amongst flowers', that is in English between the blossoming ones, who will go to God's kingdom".

R. L. Hoffman quotes Hrabanus Maurus -- Flores in terra visi sunt . . . quibus etiam regnum coelorum promissum est "the flowers appear on earth . . . by which indeed the kingdom of heaven is promised" (PL 101, 528) -- to support his argument that the initial scene represents the church in this world.<sup>261</sup> Such an interpretation does perhaps limit

the figurative possibilities for this initial scene. Suffice it to say, that the mention of wynwyrta "pleasant plants" both points to the sacred, or at least symbolic, nature of the scene, and, when compared with the later section of the poem, provides a contrast between the temporal paradise possible on this earth, as opposed to the divine paradise where the flowers symbolize explicitly the martyrs and virgins.

The grove, flowers and enclosed garden are all within an ænlicum wonge "excellent [unique] plain" (6b). Throughout Old English poetry paradise is referred to as wong on many occasions.<sup>262</sup> Once more, there are innumerable parallels in The Phoenix. The paradise there is described as a wynsum wong "pleasant plain" (Phx 13), se halga wong "the holy plain" (418), wlitig is se wong "beautiful is the plain" (7), and Ænlic is þæt iglond "Excellent is the island" (9),

	ac se wong seomad <sup>†</sup>
eadig ond onsund.	Is þæt æpele lond
blostmum geblowen . . .	
	ac se æpela feld
wridad <sup>†</sup> under wolcnum,	wynnum geblowen.

(Phx 19-21, 26-7)

and the plain endures blessed and unscathed. The noble land is blooming with flowers . . . but the noble plain flourishes under the heavens, blossoming with joys.

The plants and trees in the phoenix's paradise are all swa him god bibead "as God ordered them" (36), in a prelapsarian state, od bæles cyme, / dryhtnes domes "until the coming of fire, God's judgment" (47-8). Both in Judgment Day II and in The Phoenix the paradisaal state is threatened by future devastation.

The most obvious addition to this section in the Old English version is the inclusion of the water running through the Garden. On a

literal level the introduction of the streams which make music as they run on their way (3) adds a harmonious note to the pleasant scene and might be contrasted with the chaotic din of the waters at Doomsday (102) or even the disturbing murmuring of the trees as they are agitated by the wind (7-8). Once more glancing at The Phoenix, one is reminded of the paradisaal lagustreamas, / wundrum wrætlice, . . . wæter wynsumu of þæs wudu midle "running streams wondrously splendid . . . joyous water from the midst of the forest" (Phx 62-3 and 65); and also of the streams which flowed through Paradise itself in Genesis 215-34 (cf. Genesis 2,10).

By omitting any suggestion that the poet is "sorrowful", by adding the paradisaal connotations of the streams, grove, garden, flowers and the hint of divine protection there, the Old English poet evokes the scene of a paradise on earth with the poet sitting in the most secluded and protected spot. Jean Leclercq stresses that pleasure and beauty seen in nature in medieval times is "more moral than material" (cf. the Hrabanus Maurus quotation above).<sup>263</sup> The cultivated garden suggests a paradisaal scene and symbolizes, as the hortus conclusus of the Song of Solomon suggests, the church in this world, or the monastery in particular, for they represent those parts of a fallen world which have been reclaimed by God and baptized for his service.<sup>264</sup>

And since eschatology never loses its rights, every garden where spiritual delights are found recalls Paradise and is described in the lush images which, in the Bible, depicted the garden of the Spouse or of the first Adam. The cloister is a 'true paradise', and the surrounding countryside shares in its dignity.<sup>265</sup>

The wild scenery which so delighted the Romantic mind would have inspired the fear of chaos and God's wrath in medieval man. The Day of Judgment

would bring about a regenerated land, that is, a levelling of the mountains and a raising of every valley.<sup>266</sup>

Furthermore, on an anagogical level, the regenerated soul reclaimed for Christ after baptism and repentance, was, like the church or monastery, symbolized by the well-kept garden with closely-defined boundaries (gehæge), and well-ordered plants. Hell, on the other hand, was a chaotic desert without boundaries or order -- like the lost soul on earth.<sup>267</sup> Consequently, it would be no exaggeration to suggest that Bede was thinking primarily on the figurative implications of this scene. And, in case there should be any doubt in the minds of the lay audience, the Old English poet has enlarged on his source, included the springs which flowed through Paradise,<sup>268</sup> and used suggestive vocabulary in his translation which would have evoked paradisaal images. It seems almost as if Bede had Augustine's De Civitate Dei in mind when creating this section of the poem. Augustine in Book 13, chapter 21 defines Paradise as "the life of the blessed" and, after symbolically interpreting the items in the Garden, he describes the sinful man who, having thought only of himself and realizing his error, cries out "My soul is troubled within me"; he is then full of tears and fear, just like the Dreamer in this poem. Or Bede might have been influenced by the introduction to Ezra's vision of the Last days. The angel tells Ezra that this world belongs only to the godless (2 Esdras 9,13) and Ezra then goes to a field. "There I sat among the flowers" (9,26) and was troubled in mind until the vision begins.

By placing the persona at the centre of this island of peace, surrounded by protective nature, the Old English poet is able to reinforce

the sense of security within the hortus conclusus. It would, however, limit the richness of the figurative meaning of the scene to claim that only the monastery was intended, and that the poem is a warning to those who live in such idyllic seclusion and protection that this paradise is only worldly and hence vulnerable, subject to change in a mutable world. If this were so, it would not have been necessary to translate the work to the vernacular. The monastery is indeed, as stated above, a Garden at the centre of which is a Tree, but, on an anagogical level, so also is the pure, Christian soul. The poem, therefore, seems to be a warning against complacency, against the choice of the deceptively easy life of the "land-dwellers" (as in Jdg I) in preference to the strenuous peregrinatio of the Christian for whom this life should be a vale of tears (the importance of tears is one of the major themes in the poem). The persona may have created for himself a spiritual paradise, but he must continually remember to scorn this life, to look upwards to his heavenly home, and, as the poet executes by writing these verses, to warn others of the dangers of complacency. The only "garden" where he can find everlasting protection is the heavenly one, and for that reason the poem begins and ends with a garden, and the audience is meant to appreciate the subtle but important difference between the two. It is not a passage about the Fall of Man, as Huppé suggests, for there is no mention of any specific sin committed;<sup>269</sup> the garden itself in the introduction is not meant to represent a prelapsarian Eden, but as perfect a state as possible for the domgeorn man in a fallen world.

By omitting any hint of fear or doubt or even loneliness from the mind of the persona in the Old English version, the poet is able to

create a state of euphoria, possibly a "Lotus-land" (although the seductive danger is not so pronounced), in which one might complacently forget the mutability of the world and the need to scorn it. The transition from this suggestive scene to the apocalyptic horrors of Doomsday only a few lines later is expertly handled by the poet. The final description of the Garden is one in which the trees toss and sound ("murmured" or "sighed": wagedon and swegdon, 7b) which echoes the gentle sound of the water which swegdon and urnon "made sound and ran on" (3b). But the trees sway purh winda gryre "through the force of the wind" (8a), and gryre implies terror and fear as well as force.<sup>270</sup> The sound of gryre even adds a harsh note which is continued throughout the passage. The terror of the wind makes the trees, in a personified sense, swegan "murmur" and sway. Similarly, the clouds were gehrered (8b) by the wind; gehrered "agitated" has also the psychological overtones of "worried", "disturbed", which complements the "agitation" of the trees. One can also envisage the poet raising his eyes from the idyllic earth to the tree-tops which do not share this lack of fear, and then higher to the heavens, where he can see the disturbed elements. And from this visual reminder that one's eyes ought to be diverted from the beauties of the earth and fixed on the heavens, it follows that the poet's heart also should be uplifted to divine thoughts.<sup>271</sup>

A striking parallel occurs in Daniel. The sinful Nebuchadnezzar, separated from God because of his sins, is a spiritual exile, wineleas- "lordless" (Dan 568), until he makes the simple gesture of humbly looking up to the heavens purh wolcna gang "through the flow of clouds"

(Dan 623). The glancing up through the clouds, therefore, symbolizes a willing desire to recognize one's God. In Christ II we are told that at Doomsday,

Rodor bið <sup>†</sup>onhrered,  
 ond þaṣ miclan gemetu middangeardes  
 beofiað þonne. (Cri II 825-7a)

The heavens will be disturbed and the great estate of the earth will then shake.

And the Christ II poet frequently and effectively uses the symbol of the shadow or cloud passing over the sun to suggest the withdrawal of God's power from the world (e.g., 1584), as also occurs at the Crucifixion (DrR 53). In Genesis 212-4 Paradise is described, like the initial scene in Judgment Day II, as having pleasant streams, but with Nalles wolcnu ða giet . . . wann mid winde "No clouds yet, dark with the wind" to spoil the scene. The clouds and wind, therefore, appear to be the direct result of man's sin, and symbolize man's unwillingness or inability because of sin to see and contemplate divine matters. Nature, in the Judgment Day II poem, which appeared so tranquil has now turned into something more sinister and the instability and transience of all worldly things are thereby underlined.

The poet then makes the first comment on his mental or spiritual state, an emotion directly related to and caused by the disturbance of the trees by the wind: and min earme mod eal wæs gedrefed "and my wretched mind [heart] was completely disturbed" (9). This expression is repeated later, when, with mode gedrefed "disturbed mind" (25b), he contemplates the Last Judgment (a phrase which has no Latin source). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the wind itself (and, to

a lesser extent, clouds) was considered one of the important signs of Doom in the Middle Ages. Bede himself narrates in his Historia Ecclesiastica IV, 3 how St. Chad would pray to God every time he felt a gust of wind and the degree of his fear and devotion would increase proportionately with the strength of the wind!<sup>272</sup> This, Bede states, was because he "was mindful of his last end in all that he did".<sup>273</sup> And in his Questiones super Genesim (generally attributed to Bede) he asks:

What is the meaning of the breeze of evening except that the more fervent light of truth has left, and the coldness of its guilt grips the sinful soul. For in the evening breeze, the first man after his sin is found hidden: because he has lost the midday heat of charity.<sup>274</sup>

And Gregory in his Commentary on Job, 30,15 states:

I am reduced to nothing. Like the wind You have taken away my delight. And like a cloud my security has passed away . . . . The wind takes away delight, just as when a transitory object destroys the desire for eternity . . . . The cloud indeed stands prominent on high, but the wind blows it on that course.<sup>275</sup>

The wind has indeed taken away all the delight which the garden afforded, as well as the false sense of security which is shaken by thoughts of mutability. And man is left in a frightened state to examine his own soul and contemplate the imminence of the Judgment Day which might come at that very moment and find the "dreamer" unprepared, like the foolish virgins who slept and were not watchful. The thoughts of Judgment, like the wind, come "suddenly" (færinga 10a) and fær- also implies "danger", thus the speed and the terror of the onslaught is stressed, as in Christ III 867. It is interesting that these thoughts are not new ones, but memories (ic gemunde "I remembered" is repeated in 21 and 24). The poet has not "fallen from grace" as Huppé suggests, only forgotten,



perhaps momentarily, that he must be perpetually domgeorn, like St. Chad who was forever "mindful of his last end"; he must not forget the immanence of the apocalyptic moment, and continually prepare himself by leaving this protected world, as the Judgment Day I poet suggests, on the arduous journey of penance. For the poet the apocalyptic moment has indeed come, and he recognizes his sinful state and the need to be purified, as Paul states, by fire and by water. The reminder of Judgment is not an end in itself, but a means of instilling the necessary timor Domini which leads to continual repentance. Indeed, the poem, like Judgment Day I, is one on Penance, with the fires of Doom and hell as graphic goads to that end.

In a few lines the poet expertly moves from the idyllic nature scene to the catastrophes of Doomsday, and the inner state of mind is conveyed by the analogy of the disturbance of the elements, while the danger and speed of the oncoming of the Day is stressed by the abrupt change in tone. The section is reminiscent of The Dream of the Rood 21-2:

<u>DrR 21b-2a</u>		<u>Jdg II 9-10</u>
Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedrefed,	:	and min earme mod·eal wæs
forht ic wæs for þære fægran	:	gedrefed.
gesyhde.	:	þa ic færinga,·forht and unrot,
	:	
I was completely disturbed by	:	and my poor mind was completely
grief, I was afraid because of	:	disturbed, then I suddenly,
the very beautiful sight.	:	afraid and sad, . . . .

In both poems the Dreamer has been awakened from his tranquil dream-world by a sign which fills him with fear and awe, makes him contemplate his own sins and finally exhort his fellow man to follow his example. And the central place the Cross holds in all eschatological work provides another parallel.

The verses which the poet sings are what he calls unhyrlic "gloomy" (11a), but also "full of horrors or violence".<sup>276</sup> The poem, then, like the mind of the poet, has become dark and horror-stricken, after the initial, tranquil mood.<sup>277</sup>

It is significant that dom þone miclan "the great Judgment" (15b) is not the first and most important fear when the poet first contemplates Doomsday. Rather, he is mindful of his sins (12b), of the vices of life (13a) and the approaches of death in the world (13b-4). The fear is one of the lack of personal preparation, for mandædum minum "for my [personal] sins" (16, and the main alliteration falls on mīnum). The fire of the Apocalypse, like the fires of hell, as the poet states later, can only hurt the evil, so only the sinful need fear these terrors. Once more in Judgment Day literature the stress is placed on the importance of present action which determines the outcome of the events on the great Day.

First person pronouns continue to dominate this section from the first stressed word in the poem onwards, for the poet must first of all consider his own sins. Gradually he begins to consider all of humanity, expressing fear for synfulra gehwam "all the sinful" (18a); but still the stress is on the individual and not humanity as a whole. God's might is called dihlan "mysterious", "secret" (20b) with associations of darkness. Similarly, death is called dimman "dark" (14a), and all through the poem, as in Christ III, the important distinction is made between that which is dark and concealed and that which is open to the light of day. These, then, are the poet's unhyrlican fers "gloomy, frightened lines" (11a) about the fear of the sinner for this dark

event of Doomsday, and can be contrasted with the final exultant lines on the shining light and open nature of the heavenly kingdom (254ff., 288-96).

Ic gemunde eac mærd<sup>†</sup>e drihtnes  
and þara haligra on heofonan rice,  
swylce earmsceapenra yfel and witu.  
Ic gemunde þis mid me, and ic mearn swide. (21-4)

I remembered also the glory of the Lord, and of the blessed in the heavenly kingdom, likewise the evil and punishment of the wretched. I remembered this within me and I greatly lamented.

In the final lines of this section the poet summarizes the theme of the rest of his work: he will write about the glory of God and the blessed in heaven and also [and especially] of the wickedness and punishment of the evil. The verbs are in the past tense, for he remembered what he ought never to have forgotten; the poem, like one by George Herbert, is written in tranquillity about a state of spiritual struggle at an earlier date and, therefore, for didactic reasons. Whilst writing, his state of mind is one of sadness and mourning (and ic murcnigende cwæð "and I mourning said", 25a), which is the proper penitential attitude.

The unhyrlican fers, first mentioned in line 11 and summarized later, actually begin on line 26. Fittingly, they begin with an appeal to the body (to æddran "the veins") to cry tears of repentance. The ic (32b, 33a) appears to be the soul of the poet addressing his body and in particular his tear ducts (eow, 26a, 33a). By introducing the "soul and body" topos, the poet achieves a gradual shift from the personal self-condemnation to a universal homiletic exhortation by identifying himself with mankind in general.

The repeated theme of the shedding of tears is so striking that Richard Hoffman considers it the major theme of the poem, which he claims is "a homily preached to all who need to be reminded that this life should be a vale of tears".<sup>278</sup> Jean Leclercq stresses the symbolic function of the shedding of tears, which can either be the tears coming from the love of God and the desire to be with him (domgeorn) or the tears which form an important prelude to penance.<sup>279</sup> In the Blickling Homily Dominica V. in Quadragesima the homilist, in a passage describing the torments of hell, states that mid gebedum, and mid teara gytum, ealne deofles willan oforswipan "with prayers and with the shedding of tears the devil's will is overcome".<sup>280</sup> St. Jerome states that a man must weep at the prospect of standing before God at the Judgment and that:

Lacrymae tres natures habent: amara, pro peccato non flere: calida, per calorem charitatis proximis deflere delicta, jacent: caelo, pro ejus amore flere. Tribus causis lacrymae funduntur: pro recordatione, pro timore futuri, pro peregrinatione.<sup>281</sup>

Tears have three elements: bitter, because of sins not lamented; hot, with the warmth of love for neighbours who neglect to lament wrongs; for heaven, to weep for the love of it. Three reasons are established for tears: on account of recollection, of fear of the future, and for the Pilgrimage.

The poet follows this example, first weeping for his own sins, then for those of his fellow man in true charitable fashion, and also for the love of heaven.

In the common patristic tradition, the poet frequently compares sins to wounds, calls tears the balm for the wounds, and Christ the divine Leech. Richard Hoffman quotes a number of patristic sources to substantiate this connection, e.g., Hrabanus Maurus's De clericorum institutione II, 29 (De poenitentia):

Est autem poenitentia medicamentum vulneris, spes salutis,  
per quam peccatores salvantur, per quam Dominus ad  
misericordiam provocatur, quae non tempore pensatur,  
sed profunditate luctus et lacrymarum.<sup>282</sup>

Penitence is indeed the medicine of the wound, the hope  
of salvation, through which sinners are cured, through  
which the Lord is urged to be merciful, which is not  
atoned for by time, but by deep mourning and with tears.

The shedding of tears serves an important symbolic function which would  
not go unobserved by the medieval audience; hate of hleorum, recene to  
tearum "hotly on [my] cheeks, quickly in tears" (28) -- a line with no  
source in the Latin poem (and no main alliteration), but which expands  
on the source so as to stress the importance of the shedding of tears.<sup>283</sup>

Having wept for his sins, the poet then goes on to the next stage  
in penance, self-mortification:

þænne ic synful slea    swide mid fyste,  
breost mine beate    on gebedstowe (29-30)

Then I struck hard with my fist, being sinful, beat my  
breast in the place of prayer.

Laying his body on the ground he calls for geearnade sar "deserved pain"  
(32). The exact meaning of gebedstowe (30) is unknown; B-T simply  
records the meaning "A place where prayers have been offered, an oratory".<sup>284</sup>  
As there is no mention of the poet moving from the garden to a place of  
prayer, gebedstowe could refer to the "anatomical" location of prayer,  
the heart, and be in apposition to breost mine "my breast" (30a). But  
in the following line the poet remarks that he lay on eorðan (31b),  
which must refer to "earth", rather than "floor". Consequently, the  
"place of prayer" is probably not a reference to the heart, or to an  
oratory, but the bearwe of the first section, which would explain the  
absence of any movement away from the garden. Such an interpretation

would substantiate the figurative reading of the first part of the poem: the protected garden which reflected the contented, complacent inward state of the poet, has now changed into a harsh, pain-giving place of prayer, a place of affliction and weeping, such as this world ought to be for the domgeorn man. The physical scenery, praised as the first description of nature in English, is not included for aesthetic reasons, but reflects the inner state of the individual, in exactly the same way as does the Garden in Le Roman de la Rose.

The ic appears to be deliberately ambiguous in this section. To begin with it appears to refer to the soul addressing the body (26); then it refers to the poet as he scourges himself (29). But the difference is immaterial; it is the voice of the spirit of a just man calling on the recalcitrant body to be quick to repent. The change from a personal meditation to a homiletic address to the audience is made by this intermediary exhortation to the flesh in general (which was hinted at in line 18: and synfulra gehwam "and for all sinners"). This pattern is repeated throughout the poem. A personal fear of Doomsday and a personal reproach for his own sins is followed by a remembrance of man's secondary mission to help save his fellow man (cf. the difference between Do-Wel and Do-Bet in Piers Plowman). In this way the message is made more forcefully and directly, but in a less aloof manner than in Judgment Day I. Similarly, the earme gepanc "wretched mind" of the poet and his tunge "tongue" (65-6) are scolded and addressed as pu, while, imperceptibly, the pu in line 75ff. refers to the individual in the audience. Thus the change from the formal ge/eow (33ff.) to the more familiar

pu/pin adds to the immediacy and intimacy of the tone and the fact that the poet identifies himself with his sinful audience.<sup>285</sup>

The audience is then exhorted to shed "salt drops" (36). Hoffman states that in Jerome, Bede and Hrabanus the salty nature of the tears was said to restrain carnal lust.<sup>286</sup> And just as the tear ducts are requested to open in order to heal the wounds of sin, so also is the body asked to reveal its hidden sin:

and sealtum dropum    sona ofergeotap,  
and geopeniad man    ecum drihtne.  
Ne þær owiht    inne ne belife  
on heortscræfe    heanra gylta,  
þæt hit ne sy dægcuð,    þæt þæt dihle wæs, (36-40)

and shed salt drops immediately and lay bare sin to the eternal Lord. Nor let anything remain there inside, in the heart's recesses of shameful guilt, that that which was hidden is not as clear as day.

Heortscræfe (39) is the translation of cordis in antro "the heart with its dark recesses", and excellently conveys the sense of the dark, hidden parts of the heart; scræfe (cf. Gen 2595 and in XSt 631a it refers to hell) is used a number of times in the poem, always implying a demonic or sinful, hidden cave. Man must reveal and make dægcuð "clear-as-day" (a unique word in the poetic corpus) his sins. The sinner has the opportunity in the present time of bringing his sins to the light of day. In the night of Doom there will be no choice, and the poet echoes this passage later on:

Ðonne eallum beoð<sup>†</sup>    ealra gesweotolude  
digle gepancas    on þære dægtide,  
eal<sup>†</sup> þæt seo heorte hearms gepohte  
odde seo tunge    to teonan geclypede  
oppe mannes hand    manes gefremede<sup>†</sup>  
on bystrum scræfum    þinga on eorðan. (135-40)

Then the hidden thoughts of all will be revealed to all in that day time, all that the heart thought of evil, or the tongue uttered in malice or the hand of man did in sin, of things on earth in the dark recesses.

(underlined words highlight the similarities between the two passages)

Similarly, in Christ III the flame of Doom will ferret out sin from the dark recesses (999-1006), and before God man's sin will be revealed.

The exhortation to weep and thus to purge oneself of sin is climaxed by the important and recurring metaphor of Christus medicus:

Ðis is an hæl earmre sawle  
and þam sorgiendum selest hihta,  
þæt he wunda her wope gecyðe  
uplicum læce, se ana mæg  
aglidene mod gode gehælan  
and ræplingas recene onbindan. (43-8)

This is the only salvation for a wretched soul and the best of hopes for the sorrowing, that he makes known his wounds here to the heavenly Physician, who alone can heal with good the stumbling heart, and swiftly unbind the prisoners.

The concept of Chritus medicus was well established in patristic thought from the third century onwards. Rudolph Arbesmann attributes the early popularity of the metaphor to a reaction against the supposed healing powers of pagan gods, Asclepius in particular.<sup>287</sup> Both Tertullian and Origen denounce this belief and substitute Christ as healer both of body and soul. Jerome states that Christ is verus medicus, solus medicus "the true Physician, the only Physician",<sup>288</sup> and Augustine describes him as medicus humilis "the humble Physician" who alone can cure the most serious of diseases, superbia "pride".<sup>289</sup> Hæl (43) can refer either to physical health or to salvation and links the literal and metaphorical concepts. Only the heavenly Leech can cure the aglidene mod "the guilty mind" (47),<sup>290</sup> and release the prisoners. The metaphor



of a physician releasing prisoners does seem to be mixed, but this latter image makes an excellent link with the following exemplum of the penitent thief, and also alludes to Christ's Descent into Hell where righteous man was bound in fetters by Satan. The implication is that Christ the Physician, by curing man of sin, is re-enacting the events of the Descent when he saved penitent man, as he also saved the penitent thief. The stress once more is strongly placed on the necessity for penance.

The metaphor of Christ the Leech is continued later (65ff.), where the poet asks the mind why it does not call on the Leech, and in lines 78ff. the themes of the Leech, the need to be cured by weeping, and the importance of revealing one's sins to the Physician are all interwoven.<sup>291</sup> The image of Christ the gentle healer is contrasted later with that of Christ the stern Judge who can have no sympathy for sinners at the Judgment.

The merciful nature of Christ is conveyed in a somewhat problematic passage:

ne mid swidran his swyðe nele brysan  
 wanhydige mod wealdend engla,  
 ne þone wlačan smocan waces fleaxes  
 wyle waldend Crist wætere gedwæscan. (49-52)

nor will the ruler of angels with his right hand harshly bruise  
 the careless [thoughtless, cf. O.N. van-hugadr 'ill considered']  
 mind, nor will Christ the ruler quench with water the black  
 smoke of weak flax.

The manuscript reads flæsces for fleaxes (51), but this must be a scribal error as the passage paraphrases Is. 42,3 and Matt. 12,20,<sup>292</sup> while the Latin poem has nec lini tepidos undis extinguere fumos "nor extinguish the smouldering flax with water", which is unambiguous. The text is normally interpreted as referring to the fact that he who fails

to help the sinner breaks the reed and puts out the smouldering flax. Fittingly, in the Matthew text Christ quotes the Isaiah passage when he has been criticized by the Pharisees for curing the man with the leprous hand (Matt. 12,10ff.) and before he heals the man "Possessed with a devil, blind, and dumb" (Matt. 12,22). Christ regarded it as his duty to aid the physically and spiritually ailing and, as the Church Fathers enlarge on this text, this should be the duty of every man, in particular the cleric. Consequently, the text at this point is particularly apt. It follows on naturally from the theme of Christus medicus and stresses the overwhelming desire of Christ to aid the sinner; it reminds the poet-cleric of the important function of the clergy (and hence the didactic role of the poem); the mention of smoke and fire prefigures the later, apocalyptic and demonic fires; and, finally, the reminder of Christ's unlimited grace to aid the sinner prepares for the following exemplum of St. Dismas, the penitent thief, who called on Christ from the cross to heal his sins at the eleventh hour.

The illustration of the penitent thief (53-64) impresses the importance of immediate repentance before it is too late, no matter how evil man is, or how late in his life. It also stresses that it is not so much the domesdæg but the endedæg of the individual which should be important for him. More specifically, the poet points out the absolute necessity for true repentance and faith -- hu mære is / seo sode hreow synna and gylta? "how great is the true repentance for sins and transgressions?" (55-6). It is not a complicated affair, but the sincerity of one's repentance is essential: He mid lyt wordum ac geleaffullum / his hæle begeat "He received salvation [significantly,

also meaning 'health'] with few words but complete faith" (61-2). With dramatic expediency the thief enters þa ænlican geatu / neorxnawonges "the peerless gates of Paradise" (63-4),<sup>293</sup> which illustrates the immediate salvation of the penitent who calls on Christ's aid. The apocalyptic moment, the moment of revelation for the penitent thief, coincides with the point of his death in this world, and thereby exemplifies the immediate dom "glory" which comes to penitent man, the state of being "at one" with Christ.

Christ the leech is now seen as nerigende "the Saviour" (64) who ascends to heaven after having saved the penitent thief. The poet is sacrificing theologically precise chronology for didactic and thematic ends, as do all the Doomsday poets. There is no mention of the Descent, or the other events between Crucifixion and Ascension. He concentrates on the individual, exemplified by St. Dismas, who is borne up to glory with Christ at the moment of his repentance. The associations between the Ascension and Judgment have been explained above; because of these associations, the ascension of the domeadig man with Christ is most apt in this context.

The following section of the poem (lines 65-91) begins with the exhortation of the soul -- or, as at the opening of the previous section (lines 26ff.), the poet -- to the earme gepanc "wretched mind" (65), that is, the mental faculties (mens rather than anima) to choose de læce and repent. In lines 68-9 nu is front-shifted both times and stressed. Now there is time for forgiveness and now Christ will gladly hear your prayer: Ac se dæg cymed ðonne demed god / eorðan ymbhwyrft

"but the Day comes when God will judge the entire extent of the world" (71-2). A similar juxtaposition is created a few lines later between the accessibility of repentance now and the impossibility then:

Nu þu scealt gretan, tearas geotan,  
 þa hwile tima sy and tid wopes;  
 nu is halwende þat man her wepe  
 Gemyne eac on mode, hu micel is þæt wite  
 (82-4 and 92)

Now you must cry, shed tears, while there is time and a season  
 for tears. Now it is wholesome that man should weep here . . . .  
 Also remember in your mind how great the punishment is.

This section is slowly built up into an impassioned plea, which stresses the vital importance of immediate repentance. The earlier requests (bidde, 26, 32) now give way to sternly asked questions by the soul to the body: "Why do you lie in filth? Why do you not purge yourself by tears? Why do you not ask for bathings and plasters from the Lord of life?", and, so, the theme of Christus medicus is taken up once more (80ff.), for now it is halwende "wholesome" (84) and healthy to do so.

Glæd bið se godes sunu, gif þu gnorn þrowast  
 and þe sylfum demst for synnum on eorðan. (86-7)

The Son of God is glad if you endure grief and judge yourself for sins on earth.

þrowian . . . for has the sense not only of suffering, but atoning by suffering for a sin. Eve, for example, is told by God that she must þrowian "atone" for her sins by weeping (Gen 921-3). Thus the necessity for physical suffering, the following of Christ's example in every detail, like St. Dismas who is literally "at one" with Christ, is required in the process of penance. Present suffering, literally illustrated in the sparagmos "rending of the body" of the martyrs, is

preferable to an eternity of pain in hell. And, of vital importance, the poet states that man judges himself (87), for God will not punish man for the same sin twice (88-9). The concept of self-assessment which continues all through one's life links the heroic and Christian ideas of dom. The domgeorn man must judge himself continually and for him there is no Last Judgment, for the state of glory is reached and must be reached while alive. One either punishes oneself while alive, or gives oneself up to eternal punishment.

A large section of the poem has passed before the events of Doomsday itself are mentioned, for, as stated earlier, Doomsday is not the theme of the work. Christ is no longer the Physician or Saviour at that time but heahprymme cyningc "the glorious king" (95) who will come to judge. The event will be egeslice and andrysne "terrifying" and "awesome" (94); andrysne expresses the ambiguity which is stressed all through the Doomsday section, namely the "terror" and also the "reverence/majesty" of that day, depending on one's state of preparation and penitence at that time.

A list of the forebeacn, the Signs of Doomsday, follows:

Eall eorðe bifad, eac swa þa duna  
dreosad and hreosad,  
and beorga hliðu bugad and myltad, (99-101)

All the earth will shake and also the hills fall and perish  
and mountain-sides bow down and melt.

The earth shaking and the hills subsiding was one of the most common apocalyptic signs, found in biblical, patristic, Irish and Norse, as well as early English, accounts of Doomsday.<sup>294</sup> The sign for the Ninth Day in the pseudo-Bede De quindecim signis is Nona die erit terrae motus, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi "on the ninth day there will be a moving

of the earth, such as has not been since the beginning of the world". Hreosan (100) has the sense of "fall", "perish" and the metaphorical sense of being ruined (cf. Cri III 977 and 1044).<sup>295</sup> Thomas Hill comments on the importance of the levelling of the earth at Doomsday and notes that at creation all was flat (cf. the paradise of the Phoenix with ne dene ne dalu "no valley nor dale" Phx 20-7) and at the Fall the world was disturbed, which caused mountains and valleys to be formed (cf. Rev. 21,1).<sup>296</sup> The new world, then, will be flat and perfect in shape, according to the prophecy in Isaiah: "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low." (Is. 40,4), which is closely paralleled by "Bede's" sign for the Tenth Day : omnes colles et valles in planitiem convertentur, et erit aequalitas terrae "all hills and valleys in the planet will be transformed and there will be even ground".<sup>297</sup>

The line and beorga hliðu bugað and myltað (101) closely resembles Christ III 977-8: Beorgas gemeltað / ond heahcleofu "mountains and the high cliffs will melt". R. K. Gordon translates the Jdg II line as "the covering lids of the graves will move and melt", but it is far more likely that it means "the slopes of the mountains . . .", for there is no other mention of the resurrection of the dead in the poem, and the Latin source reads: montesque ruent collesque liquescent "and the mountains fall down and the hills melt".

The levelling of the earth naturally leads on to the next sign, namely, the Flood which will rush in when the land is levelled, and which, as noted in Judgment Day I, has no biblical source:<sup>298</sup>

and se egeslica sweg ungerydre sæ  
eall manna mod miclum gedrefed (102-3)

And the frightening sound of the violent sea greatly troubles  
the minds of all men.

In the De quindecim signis the noise of the sea at Doomsday is noted:

Prima die eriget se mare in altum quadraginta cubitis, super altitudines  
montium, et erit quasi murus "On the first day the sea will rise up forty  
cubits and will be over the tops of mountains and like a wall." And in  
Judgment Day I the sound of the sea, as here, implies evil and horror  
(cf. 2 Peter 3,10 and Luke 21,25).<sup>299</sup> The sweg "noise" is terrifying  
(102) and instils fear into the hearts of men, reminiscent of the  
earlier sounds which the dreamer heard in the garden:

þær þa wæterburnan swegdon and urnon (3)

and þa wudubeamas wagedon and swegdon (7)

and min earme mod eal wæs gedrefed. (9)

Another link is made, therefore, between the horrors of the Apocalypse  
and the natural events around man every day. The Signs of Doom, like  
Doom itself, are also in the apocalyptic present, as was also seen in  
the entries quoted from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in chapter 3.

The skies become dark and overcast, and the oppressive feeling  
is intensified by the accumulation of a number of words for darkness:

sweart and gesworcen, swide gepuxsað,  
deorc and dimhiw, and dwolma sweart.  
þæt he þære nihte genipu mæge flecgan.  
(105-6, 110)

[heavens become] black and obscured, they become very misty,  
dark and dim of hue and black chaos . . . it [the moon] shall  
not have the power to scatter the darkness of the night.

Such words also carry connotations of evil and sinfulness, as is evident in Christ III. The association of light with goodness and order is archetypal, and it was from the chaos of darkness that creation was made in Genesis. At the point of Christ's death,<sup>300</sup> and at the death of the world darkness returns to the earth. The darkening of the sun implies a withdrawal of the power of the Godhead from Creation, and, as will be seen in Christ III, can also refer to the loss of grace of the individual (e.g., when clouds cover the sky, as in the beginning of Jdg II).

The darkening of the sun is accompanied by the falling of the stars (107-9), a sign noted in most eschatological works, for example The Apocalypse of Thomas, which influenced many of the early medieval works on Doomsday:

Steorran feallad of heofonu[m] on eorðan, 7 sunne hire  
sciman oferhealf ofgifð. 7 mona ne siled nan leoht.<sup>301</sup>

Stars fall from the heavens to earth, and the sun ceases  
her shining above, and the moon does not provide light.

And in the Sign for the Fifth Day in the Saltair na Rann:

Great thunder. The stars will be destroyed. Every  
created thing is sad. Hosts of stars will fall down  
from their seats. The sun and moon will be quenched.  
There is hideous weeping, intense gloom, and showers  
of hail.<sup>302</sup>

This small extract from the Saltair na Rann gives an example of a typical list of the events of Doomsday which can be found in innumerable medieval works (see the Appendix). The Judgment Day II poet, however, is not intent on repeating such lists, neither does he follow the accepted chronological order for these signs. Instead, he chooses only a few of the most alarming ones -- the earthquake, noise, darkness (perhaps because they affect different senses) -- sufficient to frighten his



audience without becoming tedious. The other signs are vaguely summed up as deaðbeacnigende [tacn] "death-signifying signs" (112), the translation of signa mimantia mortem (56).<sup>303</sup> The stress is not on the nature of the signs, but the effect they have, the fear and the death which they herald: bregað þa earman "they shall terrify the wretched" (112b).

After the descent of the signs of death, a host of angels comes down and is described in military epithets: eoredheapas, / stiþmægen astyred, . . . engla werod "a troop, a strong band stirred up, an army of angels" (113-5), while Christ is the stern Judge, thus increasing the fear of the awesome occasion.<sup>304</sup> The angels styllað embutan (114b), which Gordon translates as "leap about" (< stellan "to leap"). The image thus evoked is rather incongruous when a large, military troop is concerned. The prose version has donne cumað ealle engla preatas stide astyrode standað abutan eall engla werod "Then all the hosts of angels will come, greatly moved, all the army of angels will stand around."<sup>305</sup> Styllað embutan, then, is more likely to be synonymous with behlænad "to surround" in the following line, and mean "to stand, take [their] place around".

Having set the scene of majesty, fear and awe, the poet then states that

We beoð færinga him beforan brohte,  
æghwanum cumene to his ansyne,  
þæt gehwylc underfo  
dom be his dædum æt drihtne sylfum. (119-22)

Suddenly we shall be brought before him, coming from all sides to his presence, so that each may receive judgment from God himself, according to his deeds.

The suddenness of the onslaught is brought out by færinga (fær "danger" or "fear"); and once more one is reminded of the initial scene in the poem where the change comes suddenly (Þa ic færinga, forht and unrot [10]). The wind might have been one of the deadbeacnigende tacn and the poet might have found himself suddenly before his Judge. But, as stated above, man must judge himself "now", and the time of reckoning did indeed come to the poet in the garden. He, therefore, admirably interlinks present and future in the centripetal moment.

In case the audience has failed to be overwhelmed by the sense of terror, the poet directly addresses them:

Ic bidde, man, þæt þu gemune    hu micel bið se broga  
beforan domsetle. (123-4)

I entreat you, man, that you remember how great is the terror  
before the Judgment throne.

The multitude will stand there heortleas and earh, / amasod and amarod, mihtleas, afæred (125-6). Heortleas implies a dispirited attitude, earh, "swift through fear", hence "weak" or "timid", and amarod is not recorded elsewhere. It might come from either amerran "to trouble, disturb" or amyrran "to corrupt" (cf. Met 8,44 mod amerred "corrupted minds"). The multitude will also be mihtleas and afæred "powerless and afraid" (126). Such a description evokes the feeling of utter helplessness and deprivation of physical, mental and spiritual power with only terror and despair in its place. It is indeed the darkest of nights. In striking contrast is the strong army of angels which comes of swegles hleo "from the protection of the heavens" (127), thus emphasizing the vulnerability of man and perhaps contrasts with the earlier, false sense of protection

when the poet sat mid helme beþeht (2a), well protected in this world. The helplessness of man before his God is stressed and the false protection he feels in this world exposed.

The theme of revelation and light is continued in lines 135ff., the passage which closely resembles lines 39-42 in which the poet urges man to reveal the sins from the hidden recesses (heortscræfe). All that was dark and hidden will be made light and open on that day when man will no longer have the chance to reveal his sins voluntarily. The sins of the heart, tongue and hand are revealed (cf. the heort-, breost, tung, flæsc of lines 39-42):

þonne bið eallum open ætsomne,  
gelice alyfed þæt man lange hæl. (143-4)

Then will be open to all together, equally laid bare, that  
which man hid for a long time.

The verb hæl "hid" is aptly chosen, as the adjectival homophone means "safe", "healthy" (cf. the Christus medicus metaphor). That which was "hidden" and considered safe, will be laid bare at Doom.

The mention of sin hidden in deep recesses leads on to the image of the apocalyptic fire which can burn its way into the most secret areas (145ff.). A similar image is evoked in Judgment Day I (52-9) and in Christ III (999ff. and 1045-6). The effects on the individual of the avenging flames are stressed; they serve the dual function, like the waters of the Flood and baptism, of purifying good and purging evil. At the conclusion of Judgment Day I it is the fire which will purify the land and create a New Earth, just as after the Flood (Jdg I 116ff.).<sup>306</sup> A further parallel might also be made with the regenerative and symbolic flames of Doomsday in The Phoenix:

Hat bið monegum  
 egeslic æled, þonne anra gehwylc,  
 soðfæst ge synnig, sawel mid lice,  
 from moldgrafum seceð meotudes dom,  
 forhtafæred. Fyr bið on tihte,  
 æled uncyste. (Phx 521-6)

To many the dread flame will be hot, when everyone, righteous and sinful, the soul with the body from his earthly grave will seek God's judgment. The fire shall march forward.

In The Phoenix a direct parallel is made between the frequent "baths of fire" which the bird voluntarily seeks out during its life, and the fires of Doom.

In Judgment Day II, as in Christ III, the fire is personified as a ruthless tormentor, seeking out and punishing evil:

ne, se wrecenda bryne wile forbugan  
 odde ænigum þær are gefremman,  
 buton he horwum sy her afeormad,  
 and þonne þider cume, pearle aclænsad. (155-8)

Nor shall the avenging flame hold back, or show mercy to any there, unless he be cleansed here from filth and then come there greatly purified.

Like the Phoenix, man must suffer and be cleansed of his sins frequently in this world, be judged by himself, as the poet stated earlier, if he is to avoid the terrors of Doom and become domeadig. It is almost as if the torments begin immediately Doomsday is announced, and the personified fire efested "rushes" (153) to prepare the punishment of the sinful.<sup>307</sup> All will be consumed except those who cleanse themselves of sin here (157), by judging themselves and following the stages of penance. As a goad to penance the poet emphasizes the extent of the fear; the sinners beat their breast for fyrenlustum "because of sinful

lust" (161; fyr- is probably a pun on "fire" and "sin"), and all are afraid fordon hi habbað ege ealle ætsomne "because they all will have terror together" (165).<sup>308</sup>

In addition to the burning property of the fire, the atmosphere will be full of ættrenum lige "poisonous flame" (146). The poisonous air contrasts with the health-giving power of the Physician before Judgment Day. But poisonous fire is one of the "signs" of hell, not Doom (e.g., XSt 317). The same confusion, or rather conflation, of signs of Doom and hell occurs in The Apocalypse of Thomas and the works which it influences; it is possible, however, that the poisonous air was suggested by a Norse source, for, in the Voluspá the World Serpent vents all its venom at Ragnarøk. Such a suggestion might be strengthened by the fact that the ensuing sign is that of the ferocious attack of snakes at Doom, another sign of hell, and found in no other description of Doomsday (other than the attack of the Serpent in Norse mythology). But the serpents in Judgment Day II are more akin to those of hell:

and heora heortan    horxlice wyrmas,  
synscyldigra,    ceorfað and slitað. (168-9)

and snakes shall swiftly tear and slit the hearts of those  
guilty of sin.

The ravaging fire and ravenous snakes combine to make a terrifying and graphic image of the future punishment; in Christ III the avenging flame græfed grimlice, georne aseced "penetrates fiercely, eagerly seeks out . . ." (Cri III 1003), while the future punishment in hell is described by juxtaposing the terrors of fire and snakes:

weallendne lig,    ond wyrma slite  
bitrum ceaflum,    byrnendra scole (Cri III 1250-1)

the surging flames and tearing of serpents with fierce  
jaws, the host of burning ones . . . .

Similarly, the Judgment Day II poet seems to delight in describing the  
serpents in hell:

and he wælgrimme    wyrmas slitað<sup>†</sup>  
and heora ban gnagað    brynigum tuxlum    (211-2)

and slaughterous snakes will tear them and gnaw their  
bones with burning tusks.

Just as the good are judged before this great day, so also are the evil;  
the moment of Doom, therefore, for them heralds the beginning of their  
eternal torment, and the signs of Doom, which purify the good, will  
immediately ravage the evil. The image evoked is startlingly grotesque  
and aimed once again at frightening the audience into repentance, with-  
out regard to the orthodox, biblical and patristic signs which would  
have been well known to him. Neither is there any question of confusion  
in the mind of the poet; the Day of the Lord heralds the consummation  
of the judgment which continued all through man's life on earth.

This terrifying passage is quickly followed by a comment on the  
fear of the multitude: they are terrified (172) and weep bitterly (173),  
but this is a different type of weeping from the earlier tears of  
repentance. It is bitter tears and hence not health-giving ones; all  
are arleas "without [hope of] mercy" (175).

The following section, describing the torments of hell, begins,  
as did earlier sections, with a Soul and Body dialogue. The Soul scolds  
the Body for enjoying the things of this world (176ff.) and asks it why  
it does not fear the terror of the fire (181ff.). Initially, the poet  
claims that the punishments in hell are beyond description (187-90),

but continues nevertheless to ennumerate them and describe them in greater detail and at greater length than he did the signs of Doom. Undoubtedly, the poet sees great scope in such a description for evoking fear, for the pains of hell are directed primarily at sinful man, whom the poet also wishes to address. The Signs of Doom affect the physical world and only mankind epiphenomenally.

The extremes of heat and cold, found in so many medieval descriptions of hell, are in this work too (e.g., 191-3);<sup>309</sup> heat and cold were also a sign of Doom in Judgment Day I (37b). Similarly, the fire and snakes of hell have their counterparts in the description of Doomsday in Judgment Day II, while in Christ III all three torments are united:

æled<sup>†</sup> hy mid þy ealdan lige,    ond mid þy egsan forste,  
 wrapum wyrmum    ond mid wita fela,  
 frecnum feorhgomum,    folcum scended. (Cri III 1546-8)

With ancient flame it [hell] burns, and with terrors of  
 frost, with dreadful serpents with terrible, deadly fangs  
 and with many torments it does hurt to people.

The great darkness of Doomsday (104ff.) is also found in hell

betwyx forsworcenum    sweartum nihtum  
 and weallendes pices    wean and þrosme. (199-200)

[the evil wander] between the darkness of pitch-black  
 night and the misery and vapour of boiling pitch.<sup>310</sup>

All the senses of man are accosted in hell, as they will be at the Judgment; nothing is heard but weeping (201-2), no other face will be seen except those of the tormentors (202b ff.), nothing will be smelled except unstences ormaetnesse "the enormity of the smell" (208, cf. the swetum stencum "sweet scent" of the saints in Glc 1318), and nothing felt except the heat and cold (206ff.).<sup>311</sup> Fascinated by the subject of hell, the poet next lists all its negative attributes, which closely

resemble the brief list of the attributes of heaven later enumerated. And, if one accepts the figurative reading of the initial, earthly Eden, the fear of hell and the joys of heaven are seen to be suggested in the introduction too, thus creating an ingenious linking of themes and images throughout the poem and between hell, earth and heaven.

Having described the vivid physical horrors, the poet moves on to list the subtler, psychological ones: bið þæt earme breost / mid bitere care breged and swenced "the poor breast is terrified and tormented by cruel grief" (213b-4), because of the sins committed on þas frecnan tid (215b). This "dangerous time" could only refer to the period of one's life when it is possible to choose between sin and virtue. The really dangerous period, then, is not the point of judgment, but the duration of one's life.

In hell there is utter negation of light -- þær leohtes ne leoht lytel sperca "no little spark of light" (219) -- and the absence of light is reminiscent of the earlier descriptions of the dark hidden sins which could be brought to the light during one's life, out of the hidden recesses of the heart. There will be no arfæstnes "goodness", "mercy",<sup>312</sup> no sib "faith", no hope, no silence, nor "the number of weeping ones at all"<sup>313</sup> to cheer one in hell; there is no frofor "solace", "divine consolation" (223), nor fultum "aid". Nothing but angryslic ege and fyrhtu "horrible terror and fear" (226) with the gnashing of teeth (227).

There is unrotnes æghwær wælhreow "cruel, blood-thirsty sadness everywhere" (228); unrotnes implies more than "sadness", but rather translates tristitia, the sin of despair (cf. Cri III 1182, 1407).<sup>314</sup> Hell is called the dark scræf "cave" (231 and cf. XSt 631a), and one is



reminded of the earlier, metaphoric uses of scræf, referring to the hell within one where secrets are hidden and sins kept in darkness. Hell, like the blessed state of dom is, then, within the individual in the present.

and se earma flyhð<sup>y</sup> uncræftiga slæp  
sleac mid sluman slincan on hinder. (240-1)

and the wretched, powerless sleep, slothful with slumber,  
shall slink behind.

The effective personification of sleep (as in Sidney's sonnet) is achieved by the accumulation of sibilants alliterating, which gives a perfect, sluggish and snake-like feeling as sleep, denied to all in hell, slinks away. Perhaps the soporific image is meant to remind us of the initial scene with the dreamer.

The concluding section of the poem is devoted to a description of the blessed in heaven and, as might be expected, is not so vivid as the narrative of the torments of hell. It comprises a list of the sufferings in this world and in hell which are absent in heaven. The most blessed state (248) is simply that of having avoided hell's punishments (249-50) mid gesyntum, a phrase implying both happiness and health, in keeping with the earlier Christus medicus metaphor. There is no darkness (254, but compare the darkness in hell, 199ff.), nor sorrow, nor pain (256 and cf. 191), nor age, nor toil, nor hunger and thirst (257), nor heanlic slæp "unhappy sleep" (258 and cf. 240-1), nor sickness and pestilence (259 and cf. 229 and Cri 897), nor crackling fire and hateful cold (260 and cf. 192-3), nor any unrotnes "despair" (261 and cf. 228), nor amelnys "sloth" (261 and cf. 229). Heaven, then, is exactly antithetical to hell, and, above all, there is the absence of

fear -- deades gryre "the fear of death" (266), reminding one of the winda gryre (8a) of the initial scene and the fear of the dreamer.<sup>315</sup>

In retrospect we see that in heaven there is total absence of the fear-instilling tortures and discomforts which exist in hell, of which man is given a foretaste at Doomsday and which threaten man during his life (as illustrated in the initial scene).

Conversely, all the joys lacking in hell, which were enumerated earlier, are present in heaven:

sib mid spede,  
and arfæstnes and ece god,  
wuldor and wurdmynt. (268-70)<sup>316</sup>

Peace with prosperity and mercy and eternal God, glory  
and majesty.

God is now referred to as the fæder "father" (275b) who freolice lufað "nobly loves" (277b), and Christ as His sunu blide, sigores brytta "His gracious Son, the Lord of victory" (279)<sup>317</sup> who bestows ece mede "eternal mead" (280b) on the blessed (like Odinn in Valhalla), in contrast to the druncennes . . . mid wistum "drunkenness at feasts" (234) of the worldly. The blessed company of the saved join the patriarchs and holy prophets (285):

and betweoh rosenā reade heapas,  
þær symle scinad.  
þær þæra hwittra hwyrfd mædenheap,  
blostmum behangen, beorhtost wereda. (288-91)

And amid the red profusion of roses, there they will shine  
forever. There wander the virgin host of pure white, hanging  
with blossoms, most radiant of companies.

At the conclusion of the poem, therefore, we find ourselves back once more in a garden which is symbolically described. This is the garden of the blessed in which the red roses generally symbolize the martyrs

and the white, the virgin band.<sup>318</sup> In an Ælfrician homily the red roses are explained: Þæra rosena blostman getacniap mid heora readnysse martyrdom.<sup>319</sup> "The blossoms of the roses signify martyrdom by their redness." The image is archetypal, and Dante in his Paradiso envisages the Holy of Holies as an immense rose with red, fiery petals; in The Life of Basil the Younger the faces of the blessed are said to sparkle like a red or a white bloom. Finally, in The Apocalypse of Peter the bodies of the blessed are said to be whiter than any snow and redder than any rose, and the red and white are mingled.<sup>320</sup>

The Judgment Day II poet may, therefore, be referring to all the blessed and not a specific group. The blossoming flowers become a symbol of the dom man will receive in heaven, as can be seen in Andreas, when blossoming groves spring up after he has shed blood and suffered in Christ's name, a sign of his future glory (And 1448-9). The red roses contrast with the read brands of Doom (153a), but remind one of the wynwyrta "joyous plants" (5) in the "first" garden, and of the blowende "blossoming ones" (of the final rubric) who will go to heaven. The flowers of the initial garden symbolize the hope for and possibility of man achieving the celestial garden, just as the same scene can point to the possibility of man being eternally damned; the danger is in enjoying the worldly garden as an end in itself, not as a reminder of the future glory penitent man can gain.

The poem concludes with a rhetorical question, asking the audience to compare this world with the joys of heaven, where one may

	gemang þam werode	
eardian unbleoh	on ecnesse,	
and on upcundra	eade gum setlum	
brucan blidnesse	butan ende ford?	(303-6)

live eternally, spotless, amongst that host, and in the  
blessed seats of those on high enjoy gladness henceforth  
without end?

This is a comparison which is implied throughout the poem, especially in the antithesis between the two gardens. Unbleoh is translated as "without change" by Gordon and L. Whitbread.<sup>321</sup> Angus Cameron, however, suggests that a more etymologically correct reading should be made; bleoh in Old English invariably means "colour", so unbleoh implies a lack of colour, "colourless" or "discoloured".<sup>322</sup> He quotes from an Ælfrician sermon on the properties of the soul, one of which is that it is butan bleo, forþan ðe heo nis na lichamlic "without colour, because it is not like the body"; "The soul is without colour, for colour is the property of the body, and the soul will be adorned as it has deserved on this earth."<sup>323</sup> Cameron concludes that unbleoh should be translated as "spotless".

One might also add that the absence of colour might have implied pure whiteness, and the blessed in heaven would be envisaged, as is traditional, spotlessly white; such an image would be in keeping with the recurrent theme in the poem of the need to make open, clear and light one's soul, in contrast to the total absence of light and the Stygian gloom of the evil heortscræfe. In Christ III the damned have werges bleo (1564b) "the colour of the accursed", which is repeatedly described throughout the poem as pitch black.

Just as the joys of heaven were described in negative terms, so the blessed are said to be the opposite of the damned, unbleoh, lacking the essential nature of the damned. There are longer descriptions of heaven in medieval "vision" literature, but, as in "The Vision of Drythelm" told by Bede himself (Historia Ecclesiastica V, 12), the

same metaphors as those found in Doomsday literature are usually employed. Heaven in Drythelm's vision is a pleasant meadow with the scent of flowers deliberately contrasted with the stench of hell (as I suggested above was implied in this poem), and the light there will be greater than the sun (as in the world at Doomsday in Christ III). Heaven can only be a state of perfection, and perfection for fallen man cannot be conceived. The poet, like the artist, is handicapped from the start. "Art", states Emile Mâle, "confessed its inadequacy from the first".<sup>324</sup> Dante conceived of the Godhead as a flaming rose, while most medieval writers depict the epitome of perfection in terms of absolute light, unbleoh "without colour". The poet who attempts to describe the state of heaven, perfection, or the state of the perfected soul, either prelapsarian or in heaven, can only expect the censure which Milton receives.

The state of hell and the damned is similarly impossible to describe, but the human mind can conceive of terrible suffering in terms of physical pain, and archetypal fears of torture, whereas joy is a more complex concept. In addition, recalcitrant man will respond more readily to the threats of pain than to the promises of joy, and so the didactic poet, such as that of Judgment Day II, will concentrate his imaginative powers on the former. To describe heaven, then, is to limit it, and the Old English poets on Doomsday had no intention of doing that. Neither were they primarily concerned with the nature of the reward. Their didactic aim was to set man on the spiritual pilgrimage of penitence from this world with its shadows to the New Jerusalem. The emphasis is on man's present state, rather than his future one. And it is in this

arena where the heroic and Christian poets meet on common ground. In Beowulf mention is made of hell, a subterranean place of punishment, such as Holofernes is banished to in Judith (cf. the scræf symbol of Jdg II), but heaven is not described. The nature of the reward changes from one culture to the other, from a mythical Valhalla to a pleasant garden of flowers, from a physical to a spiritual conception; but the essence of dom as "glory" remains the same.

Dom represents perfection, as demonstrated in chapter 3, perfection as conceived by the different ethical codes, the perfect state man should try to reach while alive, and which will be consummated on his death. It is the sodfæstra dom "the glory which belongs to the just". The final flames of the pyre or of the Apocalypse will bring about a purgation of the soul and a final domeadig "blessed" state.

The Christian idea of perfection is Christ, and the individual's is to live like him. Christ in this poem and even more so in Christ III is imagined in terms of radiant light, and the blessed who are "at one" with him are also described as pure light. The poet's aim is to make man compare this perfect light with his own inadequate light in a world in which the passing clouds can obscure the sun. Consequently, the poet focuses on man in this present state, the apocalyptic moment when Christ could descend to him and banish all shadows. Indeed, the domgeorn man must make the present time the apocalyptic moment.

Having graphically illustrated the dangers of complacency in the introductory section, the poet moves on to give man the answer to his dilemma, which is to be found in Penance. He moves imperceptibly from the personal to the general and, by including himself as one of the

sinners, avoids the harsher tone found in Judgment Day I. The journey is a constant movement away from the shadows, the scræf "hidden recesses" to the pure light and openness of the state of perfection. The sins which are hidden must be laid bare and the purifying flames of penance must cleanse "now", or later the flames of Doom will inflict the punishments of hell. The signs of Doom and hell, then, merge, as within the individual in the present moment is a heaven or a hell -- he is either domgeorn or domleas. The laying bare of the sins is described throughout the poem in terms of spiritual anatomy. Christ, the Physician, will heal all man's sins, if they are shown to him now, for then it will be too late, and all sins will be laid bare in any case. The medical terminology leads on naturally to the stress put on man's senses, and how each of them will be afflicted at Doom and in hell. It is in the present that the body should suffer, thus following the example of Christ, and it is by the shedding of tears that sin can be purged.

At the centre of the poem, as in Christ III, is the Cross, the way and the end to perfection. Christ alone can cure man of his disease, as he cured the penitent thief on his cross. For the thief, as for all sinful men, the day of judgment was at the moment he, of his own free will, acknowledged God, no matter how late in his life. The endedæg of the individual is more important than the domesdæg of the world. Man must judge himself, make his own decision to follow the example of Christ continually throughout his life.

The poem concludes as it began, in a garden, but one in which there is no suggestion of ambiguity as in the first one, where there is the possibility, as in man himself, of a hell or a heaven. The initial

garden is an "amoral" place, neither paradise, as Huppé suggests, nor a deceptive, seducing hell. It is, like the description of the mutable world in Christ III, a shining land sceadum scriþende "with passing shadows" (Cri III 1584). The important matter is how the garden is used and regarded by man. He can live leisurely and with the feeling of enclosure and protection, but this must not be an end in itself. He must always look upwards to the heavens and penitently remember the transience of this world and the stability of heaven. Man can never know when repentance will be too late, for the time of reckoning will come like a thief in the night (Cri III 871).



## VI

### CHRIST III

#### Analysis of Christ III (and the Conclusion of Christ II)

The question of the unity of the initial poem in The Exeter Book, Christ, and that of the unity of authorship has been hotly disputed for a century.<sup>325</sup> But, as E. V. K. Dobbie states, "the question whether we have here three separate poems on somewhat related topics or three parts of a single poem approached from several angles, is a distinction with very little difference."<sup>326</sup> Albert Cook in his edition takes the work as one poem by Cynewulf,<sup>327</sup> although few scholars would insist that the whole poem, other than Christ II with its Cynewulfian signature, was written by that author. Further problems arise concerning the "Prologue" to Guthlac A which has often been taken as the conclusion to Christ III, the immediately preceding poem. Dobbie claims that "these lines (Glc 1-29) might be added to the end of Christ without too great violence to logical continuity, though they would form an anti-climax for that poem; they are certainly only very remotely connected with the narrative of the life of Guthlac . . .".<sup>328</sup> L. K. Shook, however, has clearly shown the integral part the "Prologue" plays in the entire Guthlac poem,<sup>329</sup> and, as the following analysis will show, there is an "imaginative" unity, centred on the theme of the saving of the individual soul, which links the three sections of Christ, Guthlac and Azarias as well as The Phoenix and Juliana, in the same way as the poems of The Junius Manuscript are thematically connected.<sup>330</sup>

There are clear manuscript divisions after each section of the Christ and between Christ and Guthlac (i.e., after lines 439, 866, 1664 there is double spacing and capitalization of the following line); on this basis, the Judgment Day poem Christ III will be taken as lines 867-1664.<sup>331</sup>

Christ III has been criticized as the least interesting of the three poems, as it is merely "a tissue of poeticized material" from patristic sources; it is said that "the poet's apocalyptic fervor led him into repetitions and inconsistencies".<sup>332</sup> Blackburn refers to it as merely "an expansion of the Scripture description",<sup>333</sup> and Charles Kennedy agrees that it is "a mosaic of borrowings".<sup>334</sup> A mosaic it may be, but the pieces are expertly fitted together to provide a vivid and dramatic illustration not only of the Judgment itself, but of the entire Christian cycle, while at the centre of the picture is man, terrified and awe-stricken. Even the repetitions serve an important thematic and rhetorical function, as will be seen, while the "inconsistencies", that is, departures from source material, at every point aid the poet's central, didactic or dramatic aim.<sup>335</sup>

Albert Cook initially traced Christ III to an alphabetic hymn Apparebit repentina dies magna Domini noted by Bede in his De arte metrica.<sup>336</sup> It is indeed obvious that the Old English poet was dependent on the Latin work for his general framework.<sup>337</sup> The sequence of events leading up to Doomsday could not have been taken from traditional scriptural or patristic apocalyptic sources, and, with a few exceptions (e.g., the fact that the Doomsday flames, 930-2, precede the fall of the stars and extinction of sun and moon, 934-40 in the Old English, but the

opposite order is observed in the Latin text), exactly follow the same sequence as in the Latin poem. Even a number of phrases seem to be direct translations from the Latin of the hymn but not from the Latin of the Vulgate texts on which the hymn is based.<sup>338</sup> Such dependence on one source for the organization of the poem does point to the fact that Christ III is a separate poem altogether; and the accusations of needless repetition are also answered, for in the succinct, forty-six lines of the Latin hymn, the pattern of interlaced themes which we shall see in Christ III, is the more obvious and rhetorically effective.

The central section of the vernacular poem, Christ's address to the sinner from the Cross, is indebted to Caesarius of Arles's Sermo CCXLIX de extremo iudicio I,<sup>339</sup> but the theme is common to many other religious writings, e.g., Basil's Admonitio ad Filium Spirituale, Gregory's "Pastoral Care", and in Old English it is found in the Blickling Homily Dominica prima in quinquagesima, etc.<sup>340</sup> In particular, this section has a close parallel in the Vercelli homily VIII (fol. 59a-61a). "The two Old English versions would seem to be independently derived from Caesarius: the Vercelli Homily through some intermediate text, in combination possibly with Gregory's Homelia Prima; the Christ perhaps directly from St. Caesarius, or through some intermediate vision."<sup>341</sup> The ultimate source is, as Cook and Willard suggest, the East Syrian Ephraem Syrus in De iudicio et compunctione (Opera 5.51),<sup>342</sup> who also provides the source for other sections of the vernacular poem, e.g., the vision of the bloody Cross. Gregory, Prudentius and Augustine furnish sources for other parts which will be discussed later.<sup>343</sup> In addition,

and of special interest, are parallels with other Germanic texts such as the Heliand and Muspilli and with early Irish Apocalyptic literature.

But, in spite of the large number of possible sources in this so-called "patchwork" of a poem, and in spite of the criticisms of repetitiveness, the Christ III is remarkably successful poetically, dramatically and as a didactic work. It is the longest of the three poems in this investigation and, although twenty times longer than its Latin "source", the poet manages to sustain an inspired and dramatic tone throughout the work. It commences with a tremendous blast on trumpets and the cataclysmic events of Doom which surprise man sleeping in the night (a parallel might be made with the initial scene of Judgment Day II) and this tone of emotional fervour continues. Thus, chronological "errors" in the events before Judgment appear immaterial and the repetition of such events as the trumpet blast, Christ's arrival as Judge, the fire and the light/darkness theme become effective leitmotifs.

At the centre of the poem is the Crucifixion and, as A. A. Lee has pointed out, the earthly sufferings and death of Christ.<sup>344</sup> At Doomsday it is the Cross, towering above creation like the tree in Daniel or the cross in The Dream of the Rood, that summons man to judgment and is both a sign of salvation to the good and, with its blood-red colour, a sign of terror to the evil. The Cross serves the same function in this poem as it does in The Dream of the Rood -- as a surrogate for Christ, and as an iconographic symbol recognizable by every man every day. At present the Cross and Christ offer life, the poet states, and above all hope, while at Judgment Day it will appear as either the symbol of damnation or salvation. The most interesting aspect of the

poem is that, as mentioned before (and in the other Judgment poems), there is no actual judgment, no weighing of the souls and consultation in ledgers. For the judgment has already taken place and is taking place, the poet implies, in the present moment. Such a theological concept is expertly conveyed first by the poet's strong differentiation between the dazzlingly white righteous and the darker-than-night evil, and, more effectively, by the dual aspect of the signs of judgment: the fire is purifier of the good (as in the furnace in Daniel, see Chapter III), and destroyer of the evil; the Cross and the face of Christ are either beautiful and radiant or sinister and terrifying, depending on the state of preparation of the individual soul. The sins which man commits today are more painful to Christ, the poet claims, than the torture on the Cross; and so man's daily "crucifying" of Christ will gain him everlasting torments. In short, the present moment is far more important than the apocalyptic one. Perhaps the comparison is exaggerated, but, if one's imagination is caught by the poet's emotional fervour, one might agree with Cook's final estimation of Christ III:

Thus, in a space of less than eight hundred lines, Cynewulf brings together elements which remind us successively or alternately of the terrors of the Inferno, the sweet humanity of the Purgatorio, and the splendours of the closing cantos of the Paradiso.<sup>345</sup>

### Christ II

Although there is evidence to disprove common authorship of Christ II and III, the similarities in theme and verbal patterns are striking, especially in the conclusion of Christ II which also describes Doomsday. In any case, the apocalyptic note at the end of Christ II

makes an excellent link with the following poem which begins with the temporal conjunction bonne as if continuing the earlier section, and which takes us in medias res with the Second Coming (which ought to follow the Signs of Doom).

The thematic and figurative connection between Resurrection, Ascension and Judgment has been commented on in the last chapter on Judgment Day II, in which poem the exemplum of the penitent thief plays a significant rôle. In the Blickling Homily Dominica Pascha, the homilist tells his audience that Doomsday will occur at Easter because that season betokens eternal life.<sup>346</sup> The homilist follows his account of the Ascension immediately with the Doomsday description which has many parallels in Christ III.<sup>347</sup> The iconographic evidence which demonstrates the important connection between Ascension and Judgment is also noted above.<sup>348</sup> Albert Cook in his edition points to further connections: both II and III have sources in Bede and Gregory; the themes of the harrowing of hell (558ff., 730ff., and 1159ff.), and the Nativity (444ff., 587, 628, etc. and 1418ff.) are common to both, while the events of Doom found in both sections are: the destruction of precious items (804-8, 812-4 and 995-6), the collapse of buildings (811 and 973-7), the destroying flame (808-11 and 964-1004), the shaking of the heavens (825 and 932) and many other common features.<sup>349</sup>

The central image in Christ II is that of the "Leaps of Christ" which has its ultimate source in The Song of Songs 2,8 and 9: "he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills. My beloved is like a roe or a young hart", and is a common theme in patristic works such as those by Gregory, Ambrose, Cassiodorus and Alcuin.<sup>350</sup> The final

leap in the vernacular poem is þa he to heofonum astag / on his ealdcyððe (737-8) "when he ascended to heaven, to his former dwelling". This is followed by the Doomsday passage, Is þam dome neah "Judgment is at hand" (782b), which concludes the poem. The intervening lines, 744-78, connect the leaps of Christ with the leaps which man in meditation must make þæt we to þam hyhstan hrofe gestigan / halgum weorcum "that we by holy deeds might ascend to the highest summit (or 'heaven')" (749-50), which will, of course, be at Doomsday, and which in Christ III is symbolized by Mount Zion. In Christ III Christ is once more at the centre, recalling his "leaps", while the bloody Cross, symbolizing His Passion and the accessibility of forgiveness during one's life, towers above creation. The most important feature in common is the anthropocentric nature of both works. Christ II concludes with a personal message by the poet who, in the runic signature, expresses his own fears of Doomsday and acknowledgment of his sins, concluding with the Gregorian exhortation to begin now (850) on the journey, the pilgrimage to the heavenly city. And, as will be seen, the central message in Christ III, addressed to everyman, is that judgment takes place now and that by Judgment Day all will know beforehand if they are saved or damned.

The runic inscription (797-807) initially conveys the fear all feel at the thought of Doomsday, and then an interesting parallel between the Flood and Judgment Day is made:

	.ſ. wæs longe
.ſ. flodum bilocen,	lifwynna dæl,
.ſ. on foldan.	þonne frætwe,sculon
byrnan on bæle	blac rasetted
recen reada leg . . .	(805b-9)

U [?Ur 'possession' or 'of old'] was for long covered by L  
 [lagu 'water'] our portion of life's joys, F [Feoh 'fortune']  
 on the earth. Then treasures shall burn in the blaze, the  
 swift red flame brightly rage.<sup>351</sup>

The reason for the inclusion of the Flood in Doomsday material was  
 discussed above (in the introduction to the Jdg I section), and the  
 parallel is made explicit in 2 Peter:

by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth  
 standing out of the water and in the water: Whereby the  
 world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished:  
 But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same  
 word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the Day  
 of Judgment and perdition of ungodly men. (2 Peter 3,5-7)

The Creation, Flood and apocalyptic fire are the three great signs of  
 the power of God to purge the universe of its black and chaotic evil  
 and create a regenerated, purified world. This explicit parallel in  
Christ II, repeated in Christ III 984-6:

	Swa ær wæter fleowan,
flodaꝥ afysde,	þonne on fyrbade
swelad sæfiscas,	

As previously rushing water, floods surged forth, then  
 shall fish die in a bath of fire,

stresses the important, purgative function of the flames of Doomsday,  
 when normally one thinks primarily of their destructive power. In  
 addition, by describing an unknown, future event in terms of a known  
 and feared event in "history", the impact of the flames can be under-  
 lined. An extremely interesting parallel might be made with a passage  
 in The Phoenix:

	Swa iu wætres þrym
ealne middangeard	mereflod þeahte,
eorþan ymbhwyrft,	þa se æþela wong,
æghwæs onsund,	wid ydfare
gehealden stod	hreora wæga,



eadig, unwemme, þurh est godes;  
 bided swa geblowen oð bæles cyme,  
 dryhtnes domes, þonne deaðræced,  
 hælepa heolstorcofan, onhliden weorþað. (41-9)

As the flood of old, the sea flood, overwhelmed all the world,  
 all over the earth, then the noble plain stood secure from  
 the rush of the flood, not at all harmed, blessed and undefiled  
 through God's grace; so will it endure in blossom until the  
coming of fire, of the judgment [or glory?] of God, when the  
graves, tombs of men, are torn open.<sup>352</sup>

The paradisaal home of the Phoenix, because of its unfallen nature, was  
 not hurt by the Flood, but the fire of Judgment will and must destroy it,  
 because the world, fallen and unfallen, and man, pure and sinful, will  
 be changed, just as the Phoenix is continually purified by the flames  
 of the pyre.<sup>353</sup> St Gregory Nazianzen in his Orations describes the dual  
 function of the fire:

For I know a cleansing fire which Christ came to send upon  
 the earth and He Himself is anagogically called a Fire . . . .  
 I know also a fire which is not cleansing, but avenging . . .  
 and one even more fearful still than these, the unquenchable  
 fire which is ranged with the worm that dies not but is  
 eternal for the wicked.<sup>354</sup>

The avenging fire will burn all frætwe "treasure" (807) and all ealdgestreon  
 "ancient treasure" (812) in its eager blaze. The image of the fire, like  
 a monster, seeking out and destroying worldly delights is reminiscent of  
 another passage in The Phoenix:

lig eal þiged  
 eorðan æhtgestreon, æpplede gold  
 gifre forgriped, grædig swelged  
 londes frætwe. (Phx 505b-8a)

Fire will take all the treasure of the earth, eagerly grasp  
 the apple-shaped gold, greedily devour the land's treasure.

And in place of the treasure of the world will be Christ's wlitig wuldres  
gim "the beautiful jewel of heaven" (Phx 516). Similarly, in Christ III

the swearta leg, . . . goldfrætwe gleda forswelgað, / eall ærgestreon  
epelcyninga "black flame . . . treasure is devoured by the blaze, all  
the ancient treasure of kings of the land" (Cri III 995-6), and the  
earcnanstan "precious stone [i.e., Christ]" (Cri III 1195a) will return  
to the world. The biblical source is probably Isaiah 3,18: "In that  
day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments . .  
. ." Jewellery and treasure frequently symbolized worldly possessions  
and delights in Old English poetry and in Christ II it is explicitly  
stated that the jewellery was the tangible result of man's pride, pride  
being the initium peccati in medieval theology:<sup>355</sup>

æled<sup>†</sup> ealdgestreon    unmunlice,  
gæsta gifrast,    þæt geo guman heoldan,  
þenden him on eorþan    onmedla was. (812-5)

The greediest of spirits shall consume eagerly ancient  
treasures which men previously kept when they were proud  
on earth.

The treasure in the dragon's cave in Beowulf is also called ealdgestreon  
(Bwf 1381, 1458), and with the prefixed eald- or ær- (Cri III 996) there  
are overtones of sinfulness or evil: Satan is the ealdfeond "ancient  
enemy" (Dan 57, 454; Cri 567; Glc 365; Phx 449) or ealdgeniþla (Jud 11;  
And 1048). Similarly, in Christ III the world which is about to be  
purged of its evil is ealdan moldan (888) and ærworuld (936) "the old  
world", as opposed to the New Heaven and the New Earth of Revelation  
21,1. By attacking the gold, the greedy fire (anagogically a "type" of  
Christ, according to St. Gregory Nazianzen) extinguishes and purges  
superbia, and hence all sin (as pride led to all others) from the old  
world, and in its place will be the wuldres gim.<sup>356</sup>

The flame surges through the whole world and Wongas hreosað /  
burgstede berstað. Brond bið on tyhte "the plains perish, strongholds  
 burst open. Fire shall be on the march" (810b-1). Once more there is  
 an echo in Christ III:

Hreosað geneahhe  
 tobrocene burgweallas. Beorgas gemeltað  
 ond heahcleofu . . . . (976-8)<sup>357</sup>

Collapsed city walls shall perish instantly. Mountains and  
 high cliffs shall melt . . . .

The wongas "plains", which as we noted above have connotations of a  
 terrestrial paradise such as the Phoenix inhabits, will also perish.  
 Normally the poets on the Judgment Day paraphrase the Isaiah 40,4 text  
 ("Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be  
 made low"), as in Christ III 976-8 and Judgment Day II 99-103, when the  
 poets have in mind the destruction of the earth by earthquake and the  
 final levelling to the perfect, flat form. It is, therefore, significant  
 that the poet should state that it will be the plains (the worldly  
 paradises such as the garden in the introduction to Jdg II) which will  
 also be destroyed.<sup>358</sup> The fall and destruction of the cities (809) is  
 found in most eschatological writing, and an interesting repetition  
 occurs in The Ruin (2): burgstede burston, / broснаð enta geweorc  
 "strongholds burst asunder, the works of giants perish", which has led  
 Hugh Keenan to read the entire poem as an apocalyptic one.<sup>359</sup> The fall  
 of the city in the elegies is generally narrated as a past event and one  
 which leads up to the ubi sunt theme: even great cities, those made by  
 giants of men, perish and so shall all the works of men. But in the  
 apocalyptic literature it is a future event that is predicted; the fall  
 of the city, symbolized by the fall of the proud Babylon, represents in

microcosm the end of the entire, evil world.<sup>360</sup> Babylon, the demonic city, has fallen, the rule of Satan in the world is at an end and in its place will arise the civitas Dei. Such a reading would support the above comments on wongas on the previous line and ealdgestreon on the following one: the fallen city, the postlapsarian plain and the misused gold, symbol of man's concupiscence and pride, are all eaten up by the greedy flames.

The poet continues with a typical exhortation to act well now, penden god wille / þæt he her in worulde wunian mote "while God wishes that he should live in the world" (817-8),<sup>361</sup> so stressing the fact that man's limited stay on earth is determined by God's will. The body is merely a gæsthofa (820a; translated by B-T as "guest-house"! "The soul's lodging place" would give the sense of a transient abode), while the soul "journeys" (819) in its worldly pilgrimage, an image which is reminiscent of the journey motif in Judgment Day I and which is expanded upon in the final, Gregorian paraphrase (850-66).

As in Judgment Day II the poet compares the mildness (822) of Christ now and his severity then (824-5),<sup>362</sup> and begins once more to list the catastrophes of Doomsday: the heavens will be troubled (825b, and cf. the opening of Jdg II and Cri III 932) and the earth will shake (826-7a, and cf. Cri III 881, Jdg II 99). Lines 829-31 suggest that there will be a purgatorial fire: þæs hi longe sculon / ferdwerige onfon in fyrbade, / . . . wraplic ondlean "because of that [their sins] they shall endure for a long time, weary in soul, a dire reward". Fyrbade "bath of fire" appears in Christ III 985b to describe the parallel between the flood and the purgatorial flames of doom, while in The Phoenix

437 the fyrbade has definite, baptismal connotations in an explicitly didactic and explanatory passage.<sup>363</sup> If this is an allusion to Purgatory in Christ II, it is indeed unique in Old English poetry; either the purgatorial flames of Doom are implied or, taking longe "for long" as a typical understatement, the eternal flames of hell. What is definite, however, is the figurative "baptismal" function of the fire and water, the cleansing of the soul in this world (e.g., Phx 518ff., Ele 1286ff., Dan 346-9, etc.). The stress is once more seen to be placed on man in his present abode and not on theological points.

For the same didactic reason the poet underlines the all-important element of terror at Doomsday:

ƿeodegsa bið  
hlud gehyred bi heofonwoman,  
cwaniendra cirm, cerge reotad . . . (833-5)

The fear of the nation will be heard loudly, caused by the sound from heaven, the outcry of lamenters, the wicked shall wail.

A passage which is very similar to one in Christ III:

Ðær bið cirm ond cearu, ond cwicra gewin,  
gehreow ond hlud wop, bi heofonwoman. (997-8)

There will be outcry and distress, and tumult of the living, wailing and loud weeping, because of the sound from heaven.

But it is ær þam gryrebrogan "before the horror" that man should eagerly contemplate the wlite "beauty" of the spirit on þas gæsnan tid "in the barren/unfruitful time" of this world (847b-9).<sup>364</sup>

The conclusion to Christ II is, as has been noted, based on Gregory's Hom. in Evangel. 29,11 (PL 76, 1218-9), but the poet's rendition provides both an amplification of Gregory and fitting allusions to earlier images in the section: the yða ofermæta "excess of waves" (854) refers

back to the Flood mentioned earlier (805ff.; as well as forward to the violent seas which Christ tamed in Cri III 1167, and the rough seas at the Crucifixion, 1144f., and at Doom, 978f.). The soul's journey (856ff.) was mentioned in line 819, while the eternal and stable harbour (864) contrasts with the transient and crumbling city of this world (811).

The final line of the poem alludes to the Ascension -- þa he heofonum astag "when he ascended to heaven" (866) -- and so unites once more Ascension and Apocalypse, Christ's departure from the world and his second coming to it, the connection frequently made in pictorial representations. The brevity between the two events is thus underlined, the period in which it has been possible for man to gain dom "glory", because of Christ's sacrifice.

### Christ III

The symbol of the Cross of Christ dominates Christ III.<sup>365</sup> The Cross is a symbol which all men knew represented both the humanity of Christ and His saving grace. It is the Cross which will summon man to Judgment. The Cross will replace the sun, the light of the old world, it will be a sign of deliverance for the good and, with its blood-red colour, of terror to the damned. The most poignant section of the poem is when Christ recalls the agony on the Cross, an affliction which he claims is less severe than the pain he suffers when man sins. Crucifixion, salvation and judgment are all, therefore, centred on the infinite moment of the present time: man crucifies Christ, forfeits salvation and damns himself every time he sins, and he avails himself of Christ's unwarranted grace and gains forgiveness and salvation every time he truly repents.

The Cross which the audience would see daily, is a constant reminder of Doomsday and of the important message that every present moment is eschatological.

The poem begins with a temporal adverb of sequence, Donne "then", "next" or "at that time" (867a), which implies a previous event or at least an event in a sequence. Just as Doomsday immediately follows Christ's sixth leap to heaven in Christ II, so the narration of the sudden, unexpected dawning of Doomsday seems to follow on naturally from the Christ II conclusion: þa he heofonum astag "when he [Christ] ascended to the heavens" (866b).

Donne mid fere    foldbuende  
se micla dæg    meahtan dryhtnes  
æt midre niht    mægne bihlamed,  
scire gesceafte,    swa oft sceada fæcne,  
þeof þristlice,    þe on þystre fared,  
on sweartre niht    (867-72a)

Then the great day of the mighty Lord will overwhelm with  
might, with fear, the dwellers on earth, fair creation, as  
often a stealthy robber, a bold thief, goes forth in the  
darkness, in the very black night . . . .

Cook, Kennedy and Gordon translate mid fere by "suddenly" probably because of the Latin repentina in the alphabetical hymn; the substantive fær/fer invariably means "fear", while the adjectival form fær/færinga (cf. Jdg II 10) has the extended sense of "sudden": mid fere in line 952 undoubtedly means "with fear". Consequently, it is fitting that the first alliterative stress should fall on the word "fear", and the first main stress on foldbuende "dwellers on this [i.e. the old] earth", thus setting the theme for the entire poem -- that the focus will not be on se micla dæg (868a) itself, but on the effect the contemplation of that day should have on the poet's audience. The sense of the Latin

repentina "suddenly" is adequately conveyed by the repetition of semninga (873 and 899) and in the image of the stealthy thief, while in the Latin text mankind is mentioned only to indicate human unpreparedness.<sup>366</sup>

The Day will come æt midre niht "in the middle of the night" (869a), an allusion to the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt. 25,6), and hence a reminder, such as is suggested by the initial scene of Judgment Day II, that man must ever be spiritually awake. ("Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh", Matt. 25,13.) In the Tenga Bithnua (the Irish eschatological work), there is an allusion to the midnight hour when Creation, Adam's fall, Cain's murder, the Flood, Pasch, Red Sea Crossing, Christ's birth, Harrowing of Hell and also the Last Judgment occur.<sup>367</sup> The stealth with which the Day will come is compared to that of a thief in the depths of the night who will surprise all who are carelessly wrapped in sleep (870b-4). The Latin poet's source is 2 Peter 3,10: "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt . . .", when the spiritual interpretation is explained in Rev. 16,15: "Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame."<sup>368</sup> There is an interesting parallel in the Heliand:

Mutspelli cumid  
an thiustria naht, al so thiof farit  
darno mid is dadiun, so cumit thie dag mannun.<sup>369</sup>  
(4358-60)

Muspil comes in the night of darkness, as a thief goes forth,  
secretly about his deeds, so comes the Day of Man.



The image of Muspelli reminds one of the Norse Ragnarøk and the apocalyptic fires. It is interesting that in this passage, which must refer to the Second Coming, Christ should have the name of a primitive Germanic fire-god, as in Christ III the flames are said to be the avenging forces of the Lord.

The sinful are sorglease "careless men" (872), men free from the anxiety man ought to feel in this world (and, again, one thinks of the dreamer in Jdg II). Their carelessness is that of the foolish virgins who will be excluded from glory when the Bridegroom comes, and, also like them, ungearwe "unprepared" (874), bound up in sinful lethargy and spiritual sleep. By the repetition of epithets for darkness and evil -- on bystre / on sweartre niht "in darkness, in the very black night" (871-2), pristlice "presumptuously" (871), an adverb used in Andreas (1185) to describe the devil himself, and yfel "misery", "punishment", "suffering" [not "evil"] (874), the poet evokes sinister overtones. And the verbs forfehd "take by surprise" and genæged "fall upon" (873-4) imply the forceful assault with which the robber assails his defenceless victim who is figuratively bound by sleep (873). The stealth, suddenness, violence and fear which will suddenly break on the world are not conveyed at all in the Latin and are the Old English poet's own invention. The punishment which approaches (874) parallels the Doom which will descend and contrasts with the preceding image of Christ ascending to heaven and the following description of the faithful who up cymd to Zion (875-6).<sup>370</sup> Similarly, the darkness and fear in the night of the sorglease contrasts with the brightness and joy of the mægenfolc micel "mighty crowd" (876) in the Day of Doom. This ambivalent nature of the Day (significantly

called the Day of Man, as in the Heliand passage above) continues throughout the poem, and again places the focus on the individual and his state of preparation.

Thomas D. Hill attempts to solve the apparent inconsistency in that the mægenfolc micel (876) arise before the trumpet's blast by suggesting that the folc are the saints who are resurrected first, as he says is implied in I Thess. 4,16:

For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout,  
with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God:  
and the dead in Christ shall rise first.<sup>371</sup>

However, this text does not state that the "dead in Christ" (who also need not be only the saints) rise before the trumpet call, and in the biblical texts which mention the mount of Zion there is no differentiation between saints and the saved in general; Joel 2,32 refers to "the remnant whom the Lord shall call", referring simply to the faithful. There is probably no subtle theological point being made here. The poet is making a successful and striking antithesis between those spiritually asleep in darkness who will be brought low, and those beorht and blipe "shining and happy" (877), the righteous, who will rise up into Zion, the mount of Jerusalem "And the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion from henceforth, even for ever" (Micah 4,7). The mention of Christ's coming to the blessed in Jerusalem (the only occurrence in Old English eschatological verse) suggests the anagogical interpretation mentioned in chapter III,<sup>372</sup> the bestowing of the gift of dom "glory" on the righteous individual during his life. The figurative meaning of Christ's Second Coming is therefore stressed by the mention of Zion. In Zion the blessed will receive blæd "glory" (877), the heavenly reward. There is,

then, no error, as Hill implies, but merely another example of the figurative interpretation of the Judgment Day story taking precedence over biblical chronology.

After the silent, stealthy and dark introduction the scene bursts into life, light and ear-piercing sound with the deafening trumpets' blast, which sets the dramatic, nearly frenzied tone sustained throughout most of the poem:

the poet of the Last Judgment [Christ III] takes off for extended flight, and his inspiration does not fail. Old English verse has few paintings of such sustained creative energy as the poetic panorama that begins with the sounding trumpets of Doomsday, and continues to the final fury of the Judgment flames.<sup>273</sup>

Þonne from feowerum foldan sceatum,  
þam ytemestum eorþan rices,  
englas ælbeorhte on efen blawad  
byman on brehtme. Beofað middangeard,  
hruse under hæleþum. (878-82)

Then from the four corners of the earth from the uttermost ends of the earthly kingdom, dazzling bright angels blow trumpets in unison with a blast. The earth shakes, the ground under men.

The sounding trumpet at Doomsday appears in most eschatological works; in Matt. 24,31, for example, "And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds", and 1 Cor. 51,52 where the speed and urgency of the occurrence is also stressed: "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." The Latin text provides the direct source: Clangor tubae per quaternas terrae plagas concinens "the sound of trumpets harmonizing at the four corners of the earth", which has a parallel in the Blickling Homily Dominica Pascha:

and þonne hateþ Sanctus Michahel se heahengel blawan þa  
feower beman æt þissum feower endum middangeardes.<sup>374</sup>

And then St. Michael the Archangel will command the four  
trumpets to be blown at these four corners of the earth.

Thomas Hill, relying on the Rev. 8,2 text ("And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets"), sees a problem in the Old English text with its four trumpets.<sup>375</sup> But in this Revelation text the seven trumpets are blown in sequence, one at a time as the Signs of Doom are inaugurated. The Latin poet, followed by the Old English one, appears to have taken the Matthew text freely; the angels who will gather the elect from the corners of the world are also those who blow the trumpets.<sup>376</sup> There was, however, an established "tradition" of four trumpets of Doom; in the Russian icon, mentioned in chapter III, there are four angels with trumpets, and in The Apocalypse of Thomas the trumpets of Doom are blown by four angels (and also in all the works which have their source from this work, such as in the Blickling Homily quoted above). There is a graphic illustration of the Resurrection of the dead in the Perikopenbuch of Henry II (early eleventh century) which shows both the four trumpets and the four winds at Doom.<sup>377</sup>

In the two other references to the Last Trump in the poem there is only one trumpet mentioned (948 and 1061). Again, it may be seen that the poet is not interested in factual details; he has heard of the popular notion of four trumpets (and from feowerum foldan sceatum "from the four corners of the world" could simply mean "from all over the world"), and of the one trumpet, but is more interested in the fact that the righteous rise first, the trumpet is sounded secondly, and that it should be the sign for the beginning of the destruction of the world. Thus the domeadig

do indeed escape Judgment and the torture of the apocalyptic fury. Normally, the blast occurs after the Signs of Doomsday and immediately preceding the Second Coming. Accuracy is sacrificed for dramatic effect; the trumpets' blast shatters the deadly silence of the night and heralds in the Day of Man. It becomes even more striking if þonne (878) is taken as "when" (as Cook suggests, p. 178) and a comma placed after brehtme "blast" (881a); then the trumpet's blast causes the earth to quake under men (881-2).<sup>378</sup>

As with every Sign of Doom in this work, the blast has two different aspects. It has a frightening and strident quality on earth as it awakens the spiritually dead, but the trumpets are said to sing and make melody (884) towards the region of the stars (883), suggesting the harmony and order in the universe and looks forward to the concord (archetypally symbolized by music) and cosmos of the New World.<sup>379</sup>

The dead awaken of þære ealdan moldan "from the old earth" (888). The connotations of evil and sin with "old" have already been commented upon and are stressed by Thomas Hill.<sup>380</sup> (In Christ III 1546 the flames of hell are ealdan lige.) In 2 Peter 2,5 there is a distinction made between the antedeluvian "old" world and the new "baptized" world, while Hill refers to the "new heaven and new earth" of Rev. 21,1. In the old, sinful world it is the sun which illumines mankind, while at the Day of Judgment and thenceforth it is Christ and his Cross which will shine brighter, and the righteous themselves will be dazzling white needing no exterior light (cf. 896a). One of the most striking and effective devices employed by the Christ III poet (and found in most of Cynewulf's poems) is the sharp distinction made between the unbleoh "spotless" and brilliant radiance of the blessed, the angels and Christ, which symbolizes

the domeadig state of perfection, and the pitch blackness of the damned.<sup>381</sup> The poem begins with the darkness of the night of the sorglease "heedless" (872), which contrasts with the beorht "bright" (877) righteous, and the ælbeorhte "all-bright" angels (880, and the saints are the ælbeorhtra scolu "the all-bright host", 928); and it concludes with a radiant flash of light in the heavens.

Fear and lamentation now begin (889-92). Man is hygegeomor "mournful in his thoughts" (890 and cf. 993), as Adam is called when confronted by his God at the moment of "revelation" after his Fall (Gen 879). They are cearum cwipende "lamenting with sorrow" (891), as the damned are in hell (cwipende cearo, 1285) and as the mute Creation at the Crucifixion (1131, cf. Glc 195, Wan 9):

forhte afærde.    þæt bið foretacna mæst  
 para þe ær oppe sid    æfre gewurde  
 monnum oþywed,    þær gemengde beoð  
 onhælo gelac    engla ond deofla,  
 beohtra ond blacra. (892-6a)

There has been some discussion as to the exact meaning of the foretacna "portents" (892b). Thomas Hill suggests that the passage (894b-6a) should be translated "there will be joined the hidden (or harsh) contentions of angels and devils, of fair ones and black ones".<sup>382</sup> According to Hill, this great sign would be a reference to the great battle between "Michael, Satan and their respective hosts in Apoc. 12:5ff.". <sup>383</sup> Onhælo, which glosses L. languorem "faint", "apathetic", can ambiguously mean in Old English "entire" (as Cook suggests, p. 179), or "secret", "hidden" (as Hill states), or it can be a form of unhælu "ill", "unhealthy". Hill's reason as to why this Miltonic battle would be hidden, is that it would be fought in the heavens, hidden from man's view. As we have repeatedly

seen, the poet rarely alludes to precise eschatological events, and never to those which do not directly effect man himself. A veiled allusion to a hidden battle in heaven would not be in keeping with the poet's artistic or didactic aims. Charles Kennedy seems to have solved the problem by changing Cook's and Krapp's punctuation and translating lines 892ff. as:

[grievous host]  
Trembling in terror, most appalling  
of portents  
To man ever manifest early or late.  
Whole hosts of spirits shall be gathered  
together.<sup>384</sup>

The foretacna mæst, then, becomes the horrifying sight of mankind lamenting their life's deeds and trembling in terror, and does not refer to the hosts of angels and devils. It is more likely, in addition, that the pæt of 892b would refer to an earlier statement than a following one. Such a token would indeed be in keeping with the poet's anthropocentric interest and purpose of instilling the fear of Doom.

The following description is of the confused gathering of the already damned and saved, the devils and angels, the beorhta "very bright, light, holy" and the blacra "very black, sinful" (896a), which Cook aptly states might be loosely translated as "saints and sinners" (p. 179), and thus the theological problem of why angels and devils should be assembled is avoided. Hill objects to the notion of an assembly of good and evil, for "Eschatology involved separation and division; the image of the forces of evil and good joined together -- apparently for no reason -- violates this essential aspect of the eschatological process."<sup>385</sup> But, if we consider a grouping together of righteous and sinful which must necessarily take place immediately after the raising of the dead, there

would be a confused assembly of "saints and sinners" before the final and necessary separation. Logically, then, this section describes the awakening of the dead at the trumpet blast, their grievous lamentation which is "the worst of the Doomsday signs", and their assembling in order to be assigned their respective homes (896-8).

The focus now shifts from man himself:

ƿonne semninga on Syne beorg  
 supaneastan sunnan leoma  
 cymed of scyppende scynan leohtor  
 ƿonne hit men mægen modum ahycgan,  
 beorhte blican, ƿonne bearn godes  
 ƿurh heofona gehleodu hider odywed. (899-904)

Then suddenly on the Mount of Zion from the southeast comes from the Creator the light of the sun, shining more brightly than the mind of men can conceive of, beaming brightly when the Son of God shall appear here through the vaults of the heavens.

The poet, far from repeating himself, as has been suggested, effectively echoes the initial section of the poem, making Zion the focal point, and the scene, initially crowded with the dazzling bodies of the righteous, then filled with the strident tones of the trumpet, is now illumined by the brightest of lights (901-3a) from the Creator (901). The description of the dawning of light on the scene and the epithet "Creator" evokes images of the primordial light in the world and the rôle of Christ as creator of cosmos and light out of chaotic darkness, as he did in the beginning (Gen. 1,2-3 and John 1,4-9). Zion will be the New Jerusalem and Christ to the righteous on the mountain will appear both as "recreator" and as their new source of light. The flood of light on the scene heralds the Parousia, and symbolizes the enlightenment and domeadig state which occurs at the individual "parousia", when man asks Christ to come into his life.



The light will come from the south-east (900) and Christ from the east, as ordained in the Bible and repeated in innumerable patristic works.<sup>386</sup> And in Genesis 666-8 it is stated:

Ic mæg heonan geseon  
hwær he sylf sited, † (pæt is sud and east),  
welan bewunden, † se ðas woruld gesceop.

I see from here where he himself sits, that is in the south-east, surrounded by prosperity, joy, he who created the world.

The south and east in biblical and patristic thought were associated, for natural reasons, with warmth and light, while the north and west were associated with darkness, the infernal regions and Satan. It is natural, therefore, that Christ and his light should come from the east, as it is this light which will supplant the sun. Thomas Hill suggests that there is a discrepancy in the fact that the light both comes from the Creator and at the same time is called sunnan leoma "the sun's light" (900), and hypothesizes that this might be a reference to "the relationship of the Father and the Son at judgment".<sup>387</sup> The light comes from the sun, just as Christ comes from God the Father. However, Christ's abode, heaven, in The Phoenix is called "the sun" (to frean geardum, / sunnan togeanes "to the dwelling of the Lord, towards the sun", Phx 578-9), where the righteous will go after death. The soul will set off, like the Phoenix itself

pær seo soþfæste sunne lihted †  
wlitig ofer weoredum in wuldres byrig. (Phx 587-8)

Where the sun of righteousness shines beautifully over the hosts in the city of glory.

Apart from the possibility of there being a word-play on sunne and suna "sun" and "son", there are a number of biblical texts in which Christ

is compared to the sun; for example, in Malachi 4,2 Christ is "the Sun of righteousness" at the Day of Judgment, as he is in The Phoenix. Perhaps the poet does wish to make the subtle point of the relationship of the Trinity at the Judgment (as it would appear he does at the conclusion of the poem), but it would be simpler and more fitting to see a metaphor for Christ in the sun, especially in the light of the following image in which Christ takes the place of the sun and rises from the east in its stead.

Lines 907-29 clearly depict the ambivalence of Christ's aspect or countenance when he comes to the world, and thus clarify the central point of the poem, that man will have judged himself before this time. In Judgment Day II the poet claimed that Christ would be pleased if þe sylfum demst for synnum on eardan "you judge yourself for your sins on earth" (Jdg II 87). At Judgment Day there is only the allotting of punishments and awards, the consummation of the sinful or glorious state reached by domleas and domgeorn man, respectively, while alive. Christ will appear glædmod "joyous", wlitig "radiant", wynsumlic "winsome", on gefean fæger "beautiful in gladness", freond ond leoftæl "friendly and kind", lufsum ond lipe "loving and gentle" (910-3) to the good, but biter "severe" (908), egeslic ond grimlic "frightening and fierce" (918) to the sinful. In Christ's face there will be a reflection of the individual's own spiritual state and an immediate realization of his errors and future punishment. Man's dom "self estimation" will be perfect, and he will see precisely his status in the perfectio- complex.<sup>388</sup> In the O.H.G. Muspilli (62-3) the poet claims: "Therefore it benefits man when he comes to the marked place [that is, at every point of decision

previously mentioned in the poem] that he justly judges each matter. / Then he need not regret when he comes to the court of justice." The concept is identical to that in Christ III, where the central message is explicitly made:

Þæt mæg wites to wearninga þam þe hafað wisne geþoht,  
 þæt se him eallunga owiht ne ondrædeð,  
 se for ðære onsyne egsan ne weorpeð  
 forht on ferde, þonne he frean gesihð . . . (921-4)

This may be a warning of the torments to those who have thought wisely, that he [the wise man] need not feel any fear, he shall not become afraid, frightened in his heart when he sees the Lord [come] before his face.

The poem is, then, a warning to mankind, that if they possess wisdom (sapientia), then they need not feel any dread at the Lord's coming; and that wisdom, as was seen in Daniel, is the gift of dom, the immediate award given to the righteous on this earth. Man's fate is in his own hands, to live righteously "now", thus receiving the divine gift of wisdom which will permit him to judge himself while alive.

The poet then reverts to the description of Doomsday and mentions the brilliantly bright band of angels which accompany Christ (cf. Matt. 16,27; 24,30 and Mark 13,26), once more stressing their radiant nature (ælbeorhtra scolu "brilliant host", 928) as they encircle Christ, like the angels in Judgment Day II 113-6. Thereupon, the full fury of the Apocalypse is let loose on the world and the thunder, fire and falling of the stars are dramatically and graphically painted:

Dyned deop gesceaft, ond fore dryhtne færed  
 wælmfyras mæst ofer widne grund.  
 Hlemmed hata leg, heofonas berstað,  
 trume ond torhte, tungol ofhreasad.  
 Þonne weorpeð sunne sweart gewended  
 on blodes hiw, seo ðe beorhte scan  
 ofer ærworuld ælda bearnum;

mona þæt sylfe, þe ær moncynne  
 nihtes lyhte, niþer gehreosed  
 ond steorran swa some stredad of heofone,  
 þurh ða strongan lyft stormum abeatne. (930-40)

The vast creation shall resound, and the greatest of surging  
 fires shall sweep before the Lord over the spacious earth;  
 the hot flame shall go hurtling; the skies shall be riven;  
 the stars, steadfast and shining, shall fall down. Then the  
 sun which had shone brightly over the ancient world upon the  
 sons of men, shall be darkened to the colour of blood; the  
 moon likewise shall fall down which erstwhile shed light upon  
 men at night; and the stars also shall be scattered from the  
 heavens in the stormy blast.<sup>389</sup>

The din of the resounding creation, accompanied by the raging fire at  
 the moment of Christ's arrival, has a number of biblical sources, e.g.,  
 Psalm 50,3: "Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence: a fire  
 shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about  
 him" (cf. Joel 2,5 and Cri III 930-1, and 940). The noise in creation  
 has a parallel in the Blickling Homily:

Þy ærestan dæge on midne dæg gelimpeþ mycel gnornung ealra  
 gesceafta, and men gehyraþ myccle stefne on heofenum swylce  
 þær man fyrde trymme and samnige.

On the first day at midday a great lamentation of all creatures  
 shall take place, and men shall hear a great noise in heaven as  
 an army being gathered and set in array there.<sup>390</sup>

It is of interest that this is the only time that the poet changes the  
 order of his Latin source. The fall of the stars, the darkening of moon  
 and sun and the storm occur before the fire in the Latin:

Erubescet orbis lunae, sol et obscurabitur,  
 stellae cadent pallescentes, mundi tremet ambitus.  
 Flamma ignis anteibit iusti vultum Iudicis,  
 caelos, terras, et profundi fluctus ponti devorans. (9-12)

The moon will blush and the sun be obscured, the stars, turning  
 pale, set, the circumference of the world will tremble. A fiery  
 flame goes before the face of the just judge, devouring the  
 heavens, earth and the waves of the deep sea.

The Old English poet appears to have followed the order of events in the Psalm 50 and Joel 2 sources, but, as the flames of Doom and hell are continually referred to throughout the poem, it is very likely that the poet is simply eager to reintroduce an important leitmotif, rather than correct his source material. The flames in both Latin and vernacular poems immediately precede Christ the Judge and are definitely instruments of his will, as is suggested in many biblical texts, e.g., Nahum 1,5-6:

The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth  
is burned at his presence, yea, the world and all that dwell  
therein . . . his fury is poured out like fire, and the rocks  
are thrown down by him.

And in Psalm 97,3-4:

A fire goeth before him, and burneth up his enemies round  
about. His lightnings enlightened the world: the earth  
saw, and trembled.<sup>391</sup>

The flames are said to hlemman (932), a word meaning both "to roar", "rush" and "to gnash" (as in the case of animals' jaws); the image of a devouring flame roaring (which may be the "din" of line 930), and rushing, perhaps with connotations of gnashing jaws, is highly evocative, and prepares for the description of the flames as wild beasts ravaging the land in lines 972ff. On some seventeen occasions throughout the poem the flames reappear as awesome signs of Doom, as heralds of Christ the Judge, as tormentors of the evil and purifiers of the blessed, and, finally, as eternal persecutors of the damned in hell. As in a vision, they change shape and function, but, as with all the signs of doom, they appear differently to the evil and blessed.

The heavens will burst (932b), as noted in Christ II 825b, and in the Blickling Homily: seo heofon biþ gefeallen æt þæm feower endum middangeardes "the heaven shall fall to the four ends of the earth".<sup>392</sup>

The stars will fall (933) and be scattered from the heavens (939),<sup>393</sup> as was mentioned in Judgment Day II (107) and in the twelfth sign in the pseudo-Bede: Duodecima die cadent stellae / et signa de caelo "stars fall on the twelfth day and constellations from the sky". The sun darkens to the colour of blood (935-6). Such a sign has no biblical or patristic source or any analogous example in other eschatological works. There are innumerable sources and parallels for the darkening of the sun and moon, e.g., Matt. 24,24, Mark 13,24, and in Jdg II, 108 and seo sunne forswyrct sona on morgen "and the sun darkens immediately in the morning". In The Apocalypse of Thomas both sun and moon will be quenched on the Fifth Day:

[Þunores-dæg] monan leoht, 7 sunnan leoht, bið genumen æt him. 7 micele þistro bið on heofonum oð æfen. 7 steorran fleogaþ þas wiorld.

[Thursday] the light of the moon and the sun are taken away by it [the thunder stroke] and great darkness is in heaven till evening and the stars flee from the world.<sup>394</sup>

There are also sources for the moon's turning to blood, e.g., Acts 2,20: "The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before that great and notable day of the Lord come." And, in "The Evernew Tongue" such a sign is also mentioned:

The stars . . . fall down to earth as falls ripe fruit on a windy day. The moon will turn into blood and the sun will grow dark, and the mountains and all the structures will turn into ashes.<sup>395</sup>

Such a radical departure from the accepted signs of Doomsday and from the immediate source and all biblical authority illustrates the licence with which the poet treats his source material, and the fact that he is not concerned with any systematic narration of the Doomsday signs.

For a number of aesthetic and thematic reasons it is more fitting in this context that it should be the sun and not the moon which turns to the colour of blood. As the apocalyptic fire blazes, the dazzling light of the sun becomes dark, sweart (934), and, as stated in lines 1087b-8a, the arrival of Christ and the brilliance of the Cross illumine the world instead of "God's candle". The association of Christ with the sun was made in lines 900-1, and even though no verbal pun between sunu and sunne is intended, the poet definitely alludes to Christ as the true light of the world who will illumine the new world in place of the sun, His "vicar". The sun turning the colour of blood at the point of its demise, makes the further parallel with Christ and the Cross. The darkness, earthquake and Light of the world turning bloody reminds one of the Crucifixion, while later in the poem the connection is made explicitly:

. . . beacna beorhtast, blode bistemed,  
 heofoncyniges hlutran dreore,  
 biseon mid swate þæt ofer side gesceaft  
 scire scined. Sceadu beoð bidyrned  
 þær se leohta beam leodum byrhted. (1085-9)

brightest of beacons, bedewed with the blood of the king of heaven, with pure blood, and with gore, that casts its light brightly over the wide creation. The shadows shall be driven off where the shining tree sheds its brightness on man.

And at the point of the Crucifixion, the sun is likewise obscured: sunna weard adwæsced "the sun was extinguished" (1132b), the sun which in the ærworuld (936) (the ealdan moldan of 888) had been the only means of light. Instead of a gross error, the transference of the blood-coloured aspect from moon to sun becomes an extremely imaginative addition by the Old English poet, and connects many of the dominant themes throughout the poem: the darkness of the "old" world, the substitution of the light

of Christ (connected with the flames of Judgment) for that of the sun, and, especially, the importance of the blood-drenched Cross at the Judgment, the Cross which, as stated above, links past and future in the eschatological, present moment.<sup>396</sup>

The poet resumes his description of the events of Judgment Day by describing the actual arrival of Christ and His angels (941ff.). Christ the æلميhtig "Almighty" (941), mægencyninga meotod "lord of mighty kings" (942), and brymfæst þeoden "glorious ruler" (943), the frighteningly martial figure who will Himself seek out (947) mankind þurh egsan þrea "with threat of fear" (946). The fear at the Judgment is mentioned some ten times throughout the poem, and the idea of the warlike Christ seeking out sinners in person precedes the equally frightening image of the personified flames.

Once more the trumpet sounds in this apocalyptic drama, but this time there is only one trumpet, as also in line 1061, in keeping with the biblical sources (e.g., Matt. 24,31, 1 Cor. 15,52). It is also more in keeping with the order of events mentioned in the Bible, namely, that the trumpet sounds after the Signs of Doom have occurred and immediately before the Judgment.

ond on seofon healfa swogað windas,  
blawað breccende beahtma mæste,  
weccað ond woniað woruld mid storme,  
fyllað mid fere foldan gesceafta. (949-52)

And on seven sides the winds shall howl; roaring, they shall  
blow with the greatest of clamours; they shall rouse and  
blight the world with their blast, fill the creatures of  
the earth with fear.

The importance of the wind at Judgment has been commented upon in the Judgment Day II analysis. In both poems the winds fill all mankind with



fear (952).<sup>397</sup> Although not explained in the poem, the wind of Doom had a punitive function similar to that of the avenging fire, e.g., in Jeremiah 30,23 "Behold the whirlwind of the Lord goeth forth with fury, a continuing whirlwind: it shall fall with pain upon the head of the wicked."

The fact that the wind should blow on seofan healfa "on seven sides" poses a minor problem as there is no source for such a sign. In "The Evernew Tongue", as Hill points out also, there is mention of seven winds:

The rising and the roar of the seven fiery winds out of  
the corners of heaven at the noise and approach of thunder  
and lightning on every airt.<sup>398</sup>

In the Irish "The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday" a similar passage occurs, but here only "the sound of the four fiery winds from the four airts of heaven" are noted, reminding one of the earlier (878ff.) trumpet blasts from the four corners of the world. One of the major themes in apocalyptic Irish literature is that of the Seven Heavens; St. John D. Seymour in his article on The Vision of Adamnan comments on this motif.<sup>399</sup> Hill suggests that there has been a conflation of the Rev. 7,1 text:

I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth,  
holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should  
not blow on the earth.

with Rev. 8,2:

And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to  
them were given seven trumpets.<sup>400</sup>

In 878-80 there are four angels with trumpets and in 847-9 there is a wind on seven sides. Such a "conflation", or rather confusion of texts might be possible, but the distance separating biblical texts and sections

in the poem is quite large. Moreover, the Rev. 7,1 text explicitly states that the winds would not blow from the four corners. It would be more logical to argue that the passage has its source in the Irish apocalyptic tradition, as exemplified in "The Evernew Tongue" passage. This, then, is the second occasion (the first being the "midnight" hour) when Christ III and this single Irish source have interesting parallels. A common source, which is not The Apocalypse of Thomas, might be hypothesized.

The wind and storm fill creation with fear (952), as does the following, deafening crash, swegdynna mæst "the greatest of noises" (954). In 997f. the din at Doomsday is also said to be the cause of great fear. The biblical source is probably 2 Peter 3,10 ". . . the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up",<sup>401</sup> for in the Old English poem the noise is also followed by a great, devouring fire (956-9).

Man is addressed as Adames/cyn "the race of Adam" (960-1) which would remind the individual reader of man's original sin and the "old Adam", the fallen part of man to be purged by baptism; he is filled with fear and mægenearfepum "the greatest of griefs" (963b), when he sees the all-devouring flame, se swearta lig (966) the epithet used in line 1532 to describe the black flame of hell.<sup>402</sup> The flame destroys the seas, the earth and the high heavens (966ff.), as stated in 2 Peter 3,10:

the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also  
and the works that are therein shall be burned up.<sup>403</sup>

The destruction of the elements by fire is found in all eschatological writings, e.g., O.H.G. Muspilli, 51-3, the Irish Saltair na Rann and "The Evernew Tongue", and in innumerable Old English apocalyptic works.<sup>404</sup>

Gornad<sup>†</sup> gesargad  
eal middangeard on þa mæran tid. (970-1)

The entire world will mourn, afflicted at that great season.

All creation, as at the crucifixion in The Dream of the Rood and in Christ III, lines 1127b ff., was affected at that great time: gesargad can mean "injured", "afflicted" in both a spiritual or a physical sense.

The flame is teonleg (968b) a "destroying flame" burning þrypum "with strength" and grimme "fiercely", causing all creation to lament with its physical and spiritual affliction on þa mæran tid "at the great time" (971b).

Swa se gifra gæst grundas geondseced;  
hipe<sup>†</sup>nde leg heahgetimbro  
fyll<sup>†</sup>ed on foldwong fyres egsan,  
widmære blæst woruld mid ealle,  
hat, heorogifre. Hreosad geneahhe  
tobrocene burgweallas. Beorgas gemeltad<sup>†</sup>  
ond heahcleofu, þa wid holme ær  
fæste wid flodum foldan sceldun,  
stid ond stædfæst, stapelas wid wæge,  
wætre windendum. (972-81a)

Then the greedy spirit shall go sweeping through the world, the ravaging flame through the lofty buildings; the far-famed blast, hot, devouring, shall hurl the world wholly to the ground by the terror of fire. City walls shall fall down all shattered. Mountains shall melt, and towering cliffs which erstwhile strongly guarded the land against the sea and floods, firm and fixed on the shore, barriers against the billow, the heaving water.

The poet now concentrates on the catastrophic effect of the flames on the earth. The fire is personified as se gifra gæst "the devouring, ravenous spirit" (972a) (cf. gifre glede, 1044a), hipe<sup>†</sup>nde leg "the plundering, ravaging flame" (973a). It is more like the weallendne lig "the raging flame" (1250a) of hell which actively seeks out and punishes evil than the Judgment Day flames, the hlutran lege "pure flame" (1335b) which

surrounds Christ the Judge. This all-pervading fire will search throughout the earth and her lofty buildings, filling all with terror.<sup>405</sup> By stating that the flame is heorugifre "extremely fierce", literally "sword-eager", the dual sense of purger and punisher of evil is implied; later, the poet explicitly states that the heorugifre flame (1059a) will test man's soul for sin and the image of the sword prepares us for the awesome appearance, unique in Old English literature, of Christ the Judge brandishing his sword (1530) and throwing all sinners into the flames of hell.<sup>406</sup>

All the glories of the world, city walls, mountains and cliffs melt before the devouring flames. All that was created to make cosmos out of chaos, to protect man from the ravages, is brought low and exposed to the destructive elements. The passage is strongly reminiscent of the Christ II passage (810b-2) quoted above. By describing the fall of the mountains and the man-made cities at the same time, the poet conflates "Bede's" Seventh and Tenth Signs from the De quindecim signis: Septima die omnia ædificia destruentur . . . decima die omnes colles et valles in planitiem convertentur, et erit æqualitas terræ "on the seventh day all buildings are destroyed . . . on the tenth day all hills and valleys are transformed into a plain, and will be level ground", a conflation which Hill notes as occurring in Peter Damian's De novissimis et antichristo, IV: omnes montes, et colles, et omnia ædificia humana arte constructa, in pulverum redigentur "all mountains and hills and all buildings constructed by man will be reduced to dust".<sup>407</sup> Once more, a catastrophe in nature is directly linked with a human and social holocaust. The cliffs will also collapse before the destructive fire, cliffs which previously

protected the land from the destructive sea (978-81a). There is no mention of an actual flood, but, the poet repeats in lines 984b ff., the fiery blast had the same function and effect as the deluge. Once more, as was seen in Judgment Day I 1-3a, Judgment Day II 164ff. and Christ II 805-9, the future, unknown holocaust is described in terms of an earlier, known one.

The Christ III poet, unlike Damian, does not take the Is. 40,4 text ("Every valley shall be exalted . . . .") as his source, but by describing the mountains as melting rather than crumbling, follows Nahum 1,5: "The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burned at his presence, yea, the world, and all that dwell therein."<sup>408</sup> Perhaps the closest parallel is in the Muspilli: "the mountains will take fire . . . the region of earth burns". Just as the addition of human dwellings to the list of things destroyed by fire includes man in the suffering, so the poet adds that the flame, weallende wiga "a fiery warrior" (984a) and deadleg "deadly flame" (982b) stalks through the earth killing all (981b-4a).

Swa ær wæter fleowan,  
flodaƿ afysde, þonne on fyrbæde  
swelað sæfiscas; sundeƿ getwæfde  
wæƿgeora gehwylc werig sweltað,  
byrneþ wæter swa weax. (984b-8a)

Even as waters flowed before, whirling floods, then fish  
of the sea shall be burnt, cut off from the ocean; all sea  
monsters shall die in misery; water shall burn as wax.

With the earlier description of the destruction of cliffs and sea barriers the primeval fear of the demonic seas overcoming the God-created land is evoked. Jean Daniélou states: ". . . here we have a trace of the primitive myth of creation as being a victory of God over the dragon of

the sea, Leviathan".<sup>409</sup> Chaos has come to the world again, and it is at the root of man's sanity to believe that he lives in an ordered, rational world. This time it is not a water flood, but a fyrbaðe "bath of fire" which kills sea creatures and burns the sea like wax (988a). A similar allusion to a Flood occurs in lines 1144b-5, which is said to have occurred at the time of the Crucifixion, and creates another link between Christ's death and the death of the world. The use of the term fyrbaðe has a parallel in the fyrbaðe of Christ II (830) the demonic fire which punishes the evil in hell. The use of bað "bath" also evokes the baptismal connotations discussed above and found especially in The Phoenix.<sup>410</sup>

Sources for the sea burning like wax are more complicated to find (Cook suggests that the poet may be thinking of altar candles!).<sup>411</sup> A conflation of texts is probably more likely; the hills are said to melt like wax in Psalm 97,5 and Nahum 1,5, while the burning sea is a common apocalyptic sign, e.g., in the pseudo-Bede "Fifteen Signs" (PL 94, 555). The allusion to the death of wægdeora gehwylc "every sea-monster" (987a) suggests the final destruction of the Leviathan, and confirms the purifying and regenerative function of the flames. The flames are the agents of Christ at Doomsday, and the destruction of the evil monsters in the sea through the power of Christ is paralleled by the scene in the miniature in the Hortus deliciarum, mentioned earlier, in which the Leviathan is captured by a hook on the Cross, which is another of Christ's agents on earth.<sup>412</sup>

After having devoured the evil in the sea, the flames will turn on the land:

Seoped<sup>†</sup> swearta leg synne on fordonum,  
 ond goldfrætwe gleda forswelgað,  
 eall ærgestreon eþelcýninga. (994-6)

The black flame shall seethe against those ruined by sin, and  
 the flame shall devour the ornaments of gold, all the ancient  
 treasure of the kings of the land.

Even before the Judgment the evil ones are punished by the dark flame,  
 and the flames of Doom and hell are again conflated. Fordon implies  
 "destroy", "ruin", as in deadfirenum forden "ruined by deadly sin" (1206)  
 and suggests that these people have been ruined already by their own sins  
before the flames and before the punishment of hell, and for them, as for  
 the righteous, no judgment is necessary.<sup>413</sup> The dark flame seoped<sup>†</sup> "boils",  
 "seethes" (994a), but, significantly, seopan can also mean "purify", and  
 this line could also be interpreted as "the dark flame will purify those  
 [already] led astray by sin". This, then, is the poet's conception of  
 a purgatory, which, like all the other events, is occurring simultaneously  
 (cf. Flc 1295-8 and Phx 520-6).<sup>414</sup>

In this period of purgation all gold ornaments and ancient  
 treasure is devoured by the flames, just as happens in Christ II 812-3:  
æled<sup>†</sup> ealdgestreon . . . "ancient treasure burns . . .". And everything  
 from which man could gain solace in the world, such as the protection of  
 cities, walls and riches, is destroyed. The ravaging fire, like a mad  
 creature, græfed<sup>†</sup> grimlice, georne aseced<sup>†</sup> "fiercely burrows and eagerly  
 ferrets out" (1003) in all the corners of the earth, until all worldly  
 corruption is completely burned. The poet clearly shows the important  
 purgative function of the flames in this passage, and, after all evil  
 has been ferreted out from the hidden recesses, the earth is ready for  
 the triumphant arrival of Christ.

The following section repeats a description of the Parousia, yet, as with the other recurrent themes, the repetition has a dramatic effect. With each occurrence the poet suggests different attributes of the Trinity: the shining light of the Spirit in the first description (899ff.); the humanity of Christ as the Son of God (903); the power, as the King and Prince (941ff. and 1009ff.); and finally as the stern Judge (1530ff.). The poet may be alluding to the concept of Judgment by the Trinity, as found in Juliana 724-7. In any case, the Godhead is seen in all its rôles, and, as in the depiction of Christ in Chartres Cathedral, Christ at Judgment appears as the Saviour and teacher, his rôle in the world at present, as seen in Judgment Day II, rather than the stern Judge. Such an explanation would suggest a subtle artistry in the repetitions, rather than the irrelevant and distracting repetitions which Cook finds.

Just as at the beginning of the poem when the dark night of the thief is quickly followed by a blaze of light at the Parousia, so also here the description of se swearta lig "the dark flame" (965, 983, 994) is followed by the shining light surrounding Christ and his angels -- halig scined<sup>†</sup> "He shines in holiness" (1009b), hlutre blicad<sup>†</sup> "they [the angels] glitter with light" (1012), hwit ond heofonbeorht "white and heavenly bright" (1018), beorhte gesceafte "shining creatures" (1020), etc.

This is daga egeslicast "the most terrifying of days" (1021b) when all Adam's kin, clothed in flesh, shall be raised,<sup>415</sup> and edgeong wesan "become young again" (1032a). The concept of rejuvenation at the Judgment is common in eschatological works and may be inspired by 1 Cor. 15,52: "and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be



changed", or Psalm 103,5 "thy youth is renewed like the eagle's" (cf. Philip 3,21). The idea of rejuvenation is central to The Phoenix, in which poem man is compared to the ever-rejuvenating bird:

Swa bið anra gehwylc  
flæsce bifongen   fira cynnes,  
ænlic ond edgeong. (534b-6a)

So every one of mankind, swathed in flesh, shall be beautiful  
and renewed in youth.

The parallels between The Phoenix and the eschatological works discussed here are often striking. In Christ III and The Phoenix the flames are said to consume all gold and treasure, the fire is depicted as marching on destroying all sin, and in both, Christ is seen as a beautiful Jewel. One might, therefore, take The Phoenix poet's explanation of this rejuvenation as that of the Christ poet as well. Beauty and youth will come to se þe his agnum her / willum gewyrceð "he who strives here by his deeds with his own will" to reach glory (Phx 536-7). The emphasis is once more placed on here, on man's free choice, and away from that future event. The "rejuvenation", the rebirth in Christ, occurs whenever man voluntarily renounces sin and is purged in the flames like the Phoenix.

Man will have on him, visible to all, his vices and virtues (1032b ff.); his deeds, words and thoughts, as is also stated in The Phoenix (526-8), will come on leoht "to light" (1036b). A possible source might be 1 Cor. 4,5: "[the Lord] will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts", or 1 Cor. 3,13: "Every man's work shall be made manifest: for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire; and the fire

shall try every man's work of what sort it is." The theme of man's sins being made open and evident to everyone is frequently repeated by the Christ III poet, e.g., in lines 1045-51:

Opene weorþað  
ofer middangeard monna dæde.  
Ne magun hord weras, heortan gepohtas,  
fore waldende wihte bemipan.  
Ne sindon him dæda dyrne, ac þær bið dryhtne cuð  
on þam miclan dæge, hu monna gehwylc  
ær earnode eces lifes.

The acts of men shall be laid open throughout the world; men can no whit hide their secrets, the thoughts of their hearts, before the Ruler; deeds shall not be concealed from him, but there on the great Day it shall be known to the Lord how every man had deserved eternal life beforehand.

All will be clear and intelligible on that Day, including the price Christ paid to redeem man by his suffering on the Cross. The nakedness of the sinner and the evil aspect of the sins which are seen on him conjures up one of the most vivid images in the poem (e.g., lines 1274ff. and 1310ff.).

Ær sceal gepenčan  
gæstes pearfe, se þe gode mynted  
bringan beorhtne wlite. (1056b-8a)

He who proposes to bring unto God a shining beauty, must needs ponder before that the needs of his soul.

Wlite (1058a) implies far more than physical beauty, but rather "grace", "pietas", the glory of God, which man shall receive along with "youth" when he renounces evil. The main stress on line 1056 is on Ær "before-hand", and so underlines the need for man to prepare himself immediately for that day.

Lines 1061-80 serve as a resumé of the events and signs which acted as a summons to Judgment, and which are common to most medieval,

eschatological works: the trumpet blast, the hot fire, the host on high, the throng of angels and the agony of fear. But introduced into the list is se beorhta segn "the gleaming sign" (1061b) and seo hea rod "the lofty Cross" (1064), both referring to the beacna beorhtast "the brightest of signs" (1085), the Cross, which according to the Christ III poet towers above mankind at the Judgment, and is the dominating symbol in the following section (lines 1081-199), which is clearly marked by capitals in the MS. As in The Dream of the Rood the Cross changes its appearance, and hence its significance, from a gore-stained sign to a magnificent symbol of Christ's majesty; from a sign of his saving grace in the present to one which instils fear and joy at Doom for the evil and good, respectively.

There are no biblical sources for the appearance of the Cross at Judgment Day (although there are many mentions of his Descent from heaven: e.g., Matt. 16,27, John 19,37, Rev. 1,7), but there are a number of examples in visual depictions of Doomsday, which suggest that there was a popular myth of a Judgment Day Cross. In the O.H.G. Muspilli, moreover, Christ's cross appears at Doom and he will show his wounds received from man (Muspilli 100-3), as Christ also does in the Anglo-Saxon poem (1107ff.). In the pseudo-Methodius "Sibylline" work of the seventh century, which was very popular all through the Middle Ages, there is mention of a towering cross at the Parousia (see the Appendix). The punitive function of the Cross of Doom is suggested in the Blickling Homily: 7 seo rod ures Drihtnes bið aræred on þæt gewrixle þara tungla, seo nu on middangearde awergde gastas flemeþ "and the Cross of our Lord which now puts to flight accursed spirits on earth shall be raised in the course

of the stars" (Morris, p. 91 and cf. also Jdg I 105). Professor Cook notes that the response in the Third Lesson in the Second Nocturn of the Invention is Hoc signum crucis erit in caelo cum Dominus ad judicandum venerit; tunc manifesta erunt abscondita cordis nostri "This sign of the Cross will be in the skies when the Lord comes to Judgment; then will be manifest whatever our hearts conceal."<sup>416</sup> Such a connection between the Invention of the Cross and Judgment Day might also throw light on the dramatic appearance of the towering cross in the skies in Elene, where its function of striking terror in the hearts of the evil (the Huns) and giving dom "glory" and "power" to the righteous (Constantine) is identical to its function in Christ III.<sup>417</sup>

beacna beorhtast, blode bistemed,  
 heofoncyninges hlutran dreore,  
 biseon mid swate þæt ofer side gesceaft  
 scire scined. Sceadu beoð bidyrned  
 þær se leohta beam leodum byrhted.  
 þæt þeah to teonum geteod weorped,  
 þeodum to þrea, þam þe þonc gode  
 womwyrccende wita ne cupun. (1085-92)

brightest of signs, bedewed with the blood of the king of heaven, with pure blood, wet with gore, that casts its light brightly over the wide creation. The shadow shall be driven off where the shining tree sheds its brightness on men. Yet that shall bring calamities and affliction on men who, working iniquity, rendered not thanks to God.

The only other mention of a bloody cross at Doom once more is in an Irish source, the Saltair na Rann, where its appearance causes idols to fall and devils to come out of hell. But the most obvious parallel is with The Dream of the Rood, a poem beginning with the apocalyptic sign of the Cross towering above man, and concludes on a homiletic note concerning Doomsday. Even in phraseology there are many similarities:

The Dream of the RoodChrist III

beama beorhtost (6a)	beacna beorhtost (1085a)
mid blode bestemed (48b)	blode bistemed (1085b)
heofenes Dryhten (64a)	heofoncyninges (1086a)
beswiled mid swates gange (23a)	biseon mid swate (1087a)
Wealdendes hræw,/scirne sciman (53/4)	scire scined <sup>†</sup> (1088a)
scadu forðeode (54b)	sceadu beoð <sup>†</sup> bidyrned. (1088b)

In both poems the Cross becomes a surrogate for Christ and suffers with him; and in both poems it is stated that all creation lamented at the Crucifixion, animate and inanimate objects alike: weop eal gesceaft "all creation wept" (DrR 55b), þa dumban gesceaft . . . mid cearum cwiddun "then dumb creation . . . lamented with grief" (Cri III 1127 and 1130). But, whereas a shadow comes over the earth on the death of Christ in DrR and at the humiliation of the Cross (scadu forðeode "a shadow went forth" (DrR 54b), shadows are banished at the triumphant Second Coming and at the second "Invention" of the Cross at Doomsday in Christ III. The rood becomes the sigebeam "cross of victory".

donne sio reade    rod ofer ealle  
 swegle scined<sup>†</sup>    on þære sunnan gyld (1101-2)

When the red cross shines brightly over all in place of the sun.

The Cross, brilliantly shining, replaces the sun in the heavens. Significantly, the sun was darkened to the colour of blood previously (934), and is replaced by the blood-red Cross. It is almost as if the poet intended a word-play on Sun/Son which was "extinguished" only to return again in a brighter form at Doomsday. As is also mentioned in The Dream of the Rood 54b, the skies are said to become darkened and the

sun put out when the Christ III poet describes the Crucifixion: Sunne weard<sup>†</sup> adwāsced, / þream aprysmed "The sun was extinguished, suffocated cruelly [or 'by suffering']" (Cri III 1132-3). By using such a verb as aprysmian "to suffocate", the poet clearly shows his desire to personify the sun and to make it suffer physically with Christ at his death, just as the Cross and indeed all creation also did. It might even be possible that the poet was aware that the actual death of a crucified person is caused by suffocation. And at Doomsday the light of the world turns blood-coloured, and dies a second death in order to give place finally to the other symbol of Christ's suffering, the Cross. This entire image appears to be the imaginative invention of the poet, for there is no hint in the Latin text and no possible source for a blood-coloured sun at Doomsday. The sun and cross, things man can see daily, become reminders of the far greater light and saving power of Christ when he comes to illumine the soul of the individual and save him before Judgment.

The inter-relationship between the events and significance of Crucifixion, Resurrection and Judgment, and their centripetal importance, is made explicit when Christ at the Judgment shows his wounds to man and recalls the tortures of his death. Christ claims at that time that man crucifies him daily by his sins on þinra synna rod "the cross of your sins" (1489), a torture which is more painful and involuntary, compared with the Crucifixion which he eagerly embraced (1492, and cf. DrR 34 and 41). Such an effect is achieved in the Mystery Plays of the Crucifixion, in which the crucifixion is taken out of "history" and made to occur in the present moment, enacted by one's neighbours or participated in by oneself. Chaucer's Parson claims, for example, that by swearing one

dismembers "Crist by soule, herte, bones and body. For certes, it semeth that ye thynke that the cursed Jewes ne dismembred nat ynough the preciose persone of Crist, but ye disembre hym moore."<sup>418</sup> Man crucifies Christ every day by sinning, and every day the redemption offered by Christ on the Cross is offered to man to be once more "resurrected", like the Phoenix, so that he has the potential of gaining dom "glory" in the present. Man either is domleas and crucifies Christ daily, or domgeorne and dies to the world, as Thomas in the Heliand proposed. A later medieval writer, Jacobus de Voragine in the Legenda Aurea states that "His scars show His mercy, for they recall His willing sacrifice, and they justify His anger by reminding us that all men are not willing to profit by that sacrifice."<sup>419</sup>

The "absolute" light of the Cross which permits no shadow is vividly contrasted with the swearte synwyrkend (1104a). At the Day of Judgment these "dark, evil-doers", blinde on geponcum "blind in their thoughts" (1126b), who hide sin within themselves, will see in the great light the open wounds of Christ (1107b), and perceive his suffering for mankind open, orgete "clearly [and] uncloudedly" (1116). The ealdan wunde ond þa openan dolg "ancient wounds and the open/evident scars" (1107), a line which has a parallel in The Dream of the Rood: On me syndon þa dolg gesiene, / opene inwidhlemmas "on me are the scars evident, open wounds of malice" (DrR 46-7).<sup>420</sup> Just as man's sins and all his thoughts will be laid bare at that time, so also will the significance of Christ's suffering be revealed.

Colours, which rarely feature in Old English poetry, are accumulated with great effect in this passage. The red cross, shining in place

of the sun (1101-2), black sinners (1104), the white hands of Christ (1110) and the red blood (1112). The red of Christ's sacrifice symbolizes "the way" in which man, darkened by sin, can achieve the brilliance of purity. The red and white of the blessed recall the rosena reade heapas "the wealth of red roses" and the hwittra mædenheap "the virgin host of white ones" in Judgment Day II (288 and 290), the inhabitants of the heavenly kingdom.

The revelation of the stigmata appears to take place in the poem at the Parousia, not at the Judgment, as is usually the case, for example in Wulfstan's homily on Secundum Matheum: And on þam dome, þe ealle men to sculan, ure Drihten sylf eowad us sona his blodigan sidan 7 his pyrlan handa 7 ða sylfan rode þe he for ure neode on ahangen wæs. "And at the Judgment, which all men must go to, our Lord himself will show us immediately his bloody side and his painful hands and the same Cross on which he for our sake was hanged."<sup>421</sup> But the iconographic depictions of the showing of the wounds (see chapter III, p. 96) invariably conflate Apocalypse and Judgment, as the Old English poets also do. The Christ III poet, indeed, repeats the event later at the Judgment (1454ff.). Water and blood both flow from his wounds (1112 and cf. Jln 292), a sign which has its roots in John 19,34, "But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water." It is also likely that the medieval audience would have considered the common interpretation of the blood and water from Christ's body, which was the sign of both his divinity and humanity; if this were so, it is likely that the poet wishes to stress Christ's humanity and the need for man to follow his example.<sup>422</sup>



The evils man performed at the Crucifixion -- the denials, insults, spitting on Christ, blows and the crown of thorns (1118ff. and cf. Matt. 27,29-30; 26,67) -- by the helfuse men "men bound for hell" (1123a),<sup>423</sup> are unfavourably compared with the deep lamentation of all creation at that time:

Gesegun þa dumban gesceaft,  
eordan ealgrene ond uprodor,  
forhte gefelan færan þrowinga,  
ond mid cearum cwiddun, þeah hi cwise næron,

(1127b-30)

They beheld the dumb creation -- verdant earth and high heaven  
-- sympathizing in fear with the sufferings of the Lord, and  
they lamented with sorrow, although they were not alive.

The poet probably based his account on the Matt. 27,50-2 text in which the earthquake, splitting rocks and opening of graves at the Crucifixion are described (cf. also the Muspilli account). The suggestion of the very human feeling of sympathy in inanimate nature is unbiblical. Cook suggests a source in the Gospel of Nicodemus, In tua morte omnis contremint creatura "At your death all creatures quaked", but still the force of the personified objects lamenting is absent here. Dickins and Ross in their edition of The Dream of the Rood, which has a parallel passage, as noted above, suggest a Norse influence from the Baldr myth; all creation, including the earth and rocks (except the evil Þökk) wept to save Baldr from Hel.<sup>424</sup> It is, therefore, possible that such a myth existed in an oral tradition and had its origins in an early Germanic myth, but the Old English poet uses it for an important function. Firstly, the magnitude and severity of the Crucifixion is stressed by the fact that even inanimate objects could sense it. Only sinful man,

too evil to appreciate the significance of the event, does not mourn, but, indeed, is the cause of the torture. And, secondly, the poet continues the "pantheistic" metaphor, begun by the symbolic descriptions of sun and Cross, of all creation being part of the Godhead.

The theme is continued during what appears to be an unusually long account of the tearing of the temple veil (1133b-41a), which is only briefly mentioned in the Gospels (Matt. 27,51, Luke 23,45, Mark 15,38). The veil protected the inner sanctum of the temple and was only passed through by the High Priest once a year on the Day of Atonement. The tearing of the veil signified the possibility for all believers to enter into communion with Christ. The significance of the event, and one which would have suited the didactic aim of the Old English poet perfectly, is explained in Hebrews 10, 19-20: "Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, his flesh." Just as the mingling of the blood and water was stressed earlier, so the tearing of the veil underlines the readily accessible nature of Christ's salvation for all. The domgeorn man must accept the offer Christ gives; this is dramatically illustrated in Andreas when Christ instructs the saint to gain immortality by fighting evil, and when wættre geliccost / faran flode blod "most like to water will your blood flow" (And 953-4). A few lines later in the same poem Christ says that he bysne onstellan "sets an example" (And 971) by his death, which all men must follow. What the Andreas poet describes literally, the Christ III poet suggests anagogically: because of the

crucifixion and by following Christ's example in every detail, it is possible for man to achieve eternal dom.

The event of the Crucifixion and the magnitude of its significance caused the earth to give up its dead (1155ff.),<sup>425</sup> hell to yield up its hoard (1159ff.), the sea to recognize the Saviour when he walked on it (1163b ff.),<sup>426</sup> and trees to bleed in their grief (1174ff.). All creation except man understood the event, even though Christ died for man alone:

Leode ne cuþon,  
modblinde men    meotud oncnawan,  
flintum heardran,    þæt hi frea nerede  
fram hellcwale. (1186b-9a)

Mankind did not appreciate, men blind in their hearts, harder than flint, that they should acknowledge the Lord, that he had saved them from hell-torment.

All dumb creation acknowledged Christ as the Saviour, even though they had no ferdgewit "spirit of understanding" (1183b). But man alone, with "flint-hard" and "blind" heart was not willing to acknowledge him. Rocks were affected by the scene, but not the flint-like soul of man. The section is made extremely powerful and effective by the accumulation of all the inanimate objects and the stress on their lack of knowledge, contrasted with spiritually blind humanity which has the power of understanding and yet is unwilling to acknowledge Christ. Cook notes a possible source for this section in the Gregorian homily Hom. in Evang. I,10 which is translated by Ælfric.<sup>427</sup> But only the Jews are said to be blind in the Latin work, whereas the Old English poet includes all humanity in all ages. The poet's treatment of this section is highly imaginative, and the themes of the sun's extinction, the wounds of Christ and the blood mingled with water, the temple veil, and sympathy of dumb

creation, as opposed to the hardened attitude of blind humanity, all are inter-related thematically. This is certainly no arbitrary list of events. In addition, the poet carefully selects (and sometimes invents) the "signs" of the Crucifixion which parallel those at Doomsday: the trembling earth (Crucifixion: 1143, Judgment: 881 and 973-6), the terror (Crucifixion: 1143-4, Judgment: 888, 892, 918, 952, etc.), the sea breaking its bounds (Crucifixion: 1144b-5, Judgment: 977, 984, 1167),<sup>428</sup> the stars fading (Crucifixion: 1147-8a, Judgment: 933, 979).

It is this intermingling of thematically related and didactically important themes which leads Professor Cook to criticize the "interpolation" of irrelevancies "due to an unpardonable transposition of matter in Gregory's Homily":

In the same passage not only does the earth give up those whom she contains [1155ff.], but so does hell [1159ff.]; the former is based upon the Biblical account, the latter apparently upon the homily, by a confusion between the sense of infernus as 'the hidden parts of the earth' and as 'the abode of the departed spirits'. Accordingly, we have the crucifixion confused with the resurrection . . . and elsewhere there is an excess of emphasis in calling sinners devils and in designating them as black.<sup>429</sup>

Faults they may be, if one is expecting a faithful translation of certain source material or even if one wishes a traditional account of the signs and events surrounding the Crucifixion and the Last Things. The Old English poet is concerned firstly, but not primarily, with the symmetry of the verse: the earth gave up its dead from its breast, and hell surrenders its hoard from its hot breast (1156-62). Above all, he selects his material for its thematic importance; those spiritually dead in the world can be saved because of the crucifixion, just as Christ after his

death resurrected penitent man from hell. Thus the spiritual interpretation of Crucifixion, Descent and Judgment is linked, just as occurs in the paintings of the Judgment or Ascension.

An example of the interweaving of themes is provided by the repetition on three occasions of the unruly seas: the biblical story of Christ's calming of the seas (1163b-8), the flood at the Crucifixion, which has no biblical or patristic source (1144-5), and the chaotic seas at Doomsday (977, 984, 1167). In this way the poet can express the chaos in a creation, and, anagogically in the individual, which has not accepted Christ. In the beginning, before Creation, the world to which God had not extended his power is described as a chaotic sea; similarly, when Christ slept on the boat, the sea was unruly until he extended his influence over it; and, when the Old English poet claims he left the world and descended into hell, the seas were again unruly. The major events in the Christian "myth" are thus united, and the power which Christ alone has to create order out of chaos is illustrated. The "interpolation" of the sea's recognition of Christ which Cook calls "totally irrelevant" is in fact a stroke of imaginative genius.

A similar example might be provided by the addition of the suffering and bleeding of the trees at the Crucifixion:

Ða weard<sup>†</sup> beam monig    blodigum tearum  
birunnen under rindum,    reade ond picce;  
sæp weard to swate. (1174-6a)

Then many a tree was wet under its bark with bloody tears,  
with red and abundantly, the sap turned to blood.

The earlier theme of the sympathy and fellow suffering of all inanimate nature is continued by the mention of this phenomenon, especially as it

is the tears which turn to blood. In addition, there is probably an allusion intended to the fact that Christ's beam "Tree" suffered with him and was involuntarily the means of his death. There is no apparent source for this imaginative detail at the Crucifixion. The 2 Esdras 5,5 text "Trees will drip blood" refers only to the Apocalypse. There is an eschatological myth that bloody dew will spread over all plants and earth at Doomsday, probably a logical extension of the myth of the bloody rain at Doomsday, after the war in the heavens (e.g., in the first sign of the Saltair na Rann, Blickling Homily Dominica Pascha Morris, p. 91 and in the Muspilli there is mention of the blood of Elias which falls to the earth). There are, similarly, signs of Doom which include a description of a blood-stained Cross at Doomsday (e.g., the Saltair na Rann). One can, therefore, begin to appreciate the manner in which the Christ III poet selected his material: the blood-soaked trees of the Apocalypse and the blood-covered Tree at the Crucifixion become one, single symbol -- the pathetic description of trees weeping tears of blood. The pathos, terror and pain of the Crucifixion are underlined, and, in addition, the anagogical interpretation of the scene highlighted.

Finally in this section the poet alludes to the first event in the Christian story, the Nativity. No attempt is made to keep the events in any chronological order; for example the sea mentioned during Christ's life, at his death and at Doomsday, is noted in reverse chronological order, for all such events happened, and indeed are happening in the eschatological present. At the Nativity there were foreponcle men "far-sighted men" (1191), compared with the flint-hard souls at his

death. These men, through God's wisdom, had known of the coming of Christ. Then, as in the present, the poet implies that lack of knowledge of Christ is the result of a lack of desire to accept him, to be domleas, in fact.

The Christ-child is called se earcnanstan "the precious stone" (1195a), and thus contrasted with the sinful hearts which are like flint-stones. The Christ I poem on the Nativity begins with an allusion to Christ the Cornerstone on whom all is created: Ðu eart se weallstan "You are the cornerstone" (Cri I 2a). The "flint-hearted" in the Bible are the Israelites who deliberately turned from God (Ezekiel 3,9), and the "cornerstone" is mentioned in 1 Peter 2,6: "Behold, I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious: and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded" (cf. also Is. 28,16; Ps. 118,22 and Eph. 2,20). The Coming of Christ into the world, like his coming to the soul of the individual, is compared to the setting down of the cornerstone on which all else is built. However, in Revelation there is another text which mentions a precious stone: "the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal" (Rev. 21,10-1). The New Jerusalem of Revelation is lit by "a stone most precious", and in The Phoenix Christ at Judgment halgum scined / wlitig wuldres gim "shines with glory, beautiful gem of heaven" (515-6). The image in Christ III of Christ in his first "descent" to the world at the Nativity as a most precious stone, suggests his Second Coming when he will establish the New Jerusalem, and replace the sun (often called "a gem" in Old English poetry) as the light of the world; and,

as the precious "corner-stone", his coming to the individual will spiritually restore him and create a New Jerusalem within him.

There is a new section in the manuscript after the narration of Christ's nativity, and the poet reverts to a sterner, homiletic tone. Doomsday is the grimman dæge / domes þæs miclan "the fierce day of the great judgment" (1204b-5a), and Christ the heofonmægna God "God of the heavenly hosts", rodera Waldend "true King of victories" (1228), rather than the æpele bearn "the noble child". At Doomsday Christ once more shows his wounds, but it is not to urge man to repent this time, rather it causes the evil to be terrified and think of their ungratefulness (1204ff.). It will be too late to repent, and the Cross is no longer a symbol of hope, but, in its majestic and towering form, is also a cause for fear. The evil, who cannot expect mercy now, are deadfirenum forden "ruined by death-sins" (1206), womsceapan "creators of evil" (1225), unsyfre folc "impure people" (1231)<sup>430</sup> who are swa fule swa gæt "as foul as goats" (1230b). Physical uncleanness, like the allusions to the black colour of the evil, implies spiritual impurity, while the allusion to the goats suggests the division of the sheep from the goats in Matt. 25,31-46.

The dom "judgment" (1232) of souls will be determined by their previous deeds on earth, as also is stated in Judgment Day II (16, 96, 121), Christ II (803), and Elene (1301). But in this poem there is also an emphasis placed on faith, demonstrated by the acceptance of Christ as Saviour (e.g., 1094-5, 1100, 1473, 1496-7, and cf. John 3,36; 5,24; 12,48, and Luke 12,8, etc.).<sup>431</sup>



The three signs of the blessed and the three tokens of the damned, which have their source in 4 Ezra 7,8lff., are listed, even before any formal judgment has been made. The blessed will shine brightly and their former deeds appear sunnan beorhtran "brighter than the sun" (1240-1, like the Cross, 1102); they will enjoy the pure joys of heaven with the angels; and, rather sadistically, watch the evil suffer in hell. The predominant image used to describe the blessed is that of light; leohte blicap "they will gleam with light" (1238), as is stated in Matt. 13,43: "Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." But the damned dwell on bystra bealo "in the misery of darkness" (1247).<sup>432</sup> The three griefs of the damned balance the three joys; the hell-fire will imprison and exile them (repeated in 1520ff., 1594, 1619, etc.); they will feel great shame when their evil is made evident and their sinful flesh is open to view; and, thirdly, they will look on the blessed in heaven, who will be shining in bliss. The dominant theme is that of revelation. Man will look on his sins (1263b f. and 1273f.), God will see his vices (1274b f.) and the radiant host of angels and even the atol deofol "the foul devil", will gaze on their revealed vices:

	Beoð þa syngan flæsc
scandum þurhwaden	swa þæt scire glæs,
þæt mon ypæst mæg	eall þurhwilitan (1281-3)

The sinful flesh shall be pierced by disgrace, as if through that clear glass through which one can look without difficulty.

Such a concept appears in the Blickling Homily Þisses Middangeardes ende neah is:<sup>433</sup> . . . and þa deadan upastandaþ, biþ þonne se flæschoma ascyred swa glæs, ne mæg dæs unrihtes beon awiht bedigled. ". . . and the dead shall stand up, then shall the body be as clear as glass and

none of its nakedness may be concealed." The source is probably once more a conflation of two texts: "for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known" (Matt. 10,26-7) and "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face" (1 Cor. 13,12). In this way the poet continues the important theme of the exposure and openness at Judgment of sins which are carefully concealed earlier.<sup>434</sup>

The solution to the problem, the way man can avoid this exposure, is to confess to a priest now and be freed of these sins, rather than have God and all mankind stare at them then; the responsibility is with man, for the priest cannot gaze into the soul (1301-11). If man's sins could be seen mid [eagum] lichoman "with bodily eyes" (1314-5) now, then everyone would hasten to be shriven of þæt wom ærran "the ancient wound" (1321). Instead he must search himself with heortan eagum, / . . . heafodgimnum "the eyes of his heart, the gems of his head" (1328,30). Cook calls this section "misplaced and inartistic -- the most inartistic of the poem", because it refers to this present life, and not to the Judgment, and, therefore is an anti-climax.<sup>435</sup> But, as stated in the introduction to the chapter, the aim of the poet is not to recount the Doomsday myth, but to instil a contrite heart in his audience immediately. Nu (1327) is stressed, and the climax, not the anti-climax, of this section is the psychologically shrewd suggestion that man would surely repent immediately, if sins could be seen by one's neighbour while alive.

The poet takes up the sequence of events in the Latin poem again, with the speech of Christ from the judgment throne:

'Ite', dixit Rex ad dextros, 'regnum caeli sumite,/Pater  
vobis quod paravit ante omne sæculum;/ Karitate qui fraterne  
me juvisti pauperem,/Karitatis nunc mercedem reportare  
divites.'/ Laeti dicent: 'Quando, Christe, pauperem te  
vidimus',

Magnus illus dicet Judex: 'Cum juvistis pauperes, panem,  
domum, vestem dantes, me juvistis humiles.'

'Accordingly', said the King to those on the right, 'enter the  
kingdom of heaven, which the Father prepared for you before all  
time; you who with love helped me like a brother when poor, now  
receive the reward of love, being rich.' The joyful ones will  
say, 'when, Christ, did we see you poor?' . . . . That great  
Judge will say, 'When you aided the poor, giving bread, shelter,  
clothing, you, being humble, helped me.'

The Old English poet does little more than translate this section in  
lines 1344-61, only omitting the question of the blessed. Christ's  
answer to the evil occupies only six lines of the Latin hymn and the  
punishments, four lines, whereas in the Old English amplification the  
address of Christ to the sinners and his pronouncement of their punish-  
ments occupy practically the remainder of the poem (1362-633), some 270  
lines. The inequality between the length and vividness of the portraits  
of evil and good was seen in Judgment Day II and commented on at length.<sup>436</sup>

Christ's address to the sinners forms part of the Vercelli Book  
Homily VIII, a dramatic sermon on penance as well as the Last Judgment,  
and, as noted above, large sections of the poem and homily are similar.  
In the prose version the author ascribes the work to Gregory se halega  
writere se ðis gewrit sette and wrat "the holy author who composed and  
wrote this work", but, other than the distantly related Homily I (PL  
76, 1077) on Luke 21,25-32, no source can be found in Gregory. Professor  
Willard suggests that an intermediate homily in which the first section  
is ascribed to Gregory but not the major part, might have existed and

the Vercelli homilist copied out this acknowledgment.<sup>437</sup> Such an hypothesized homily might also have served as a source for both Old English works and thus account for the strong similarity between them:

The two Old English versions would seem to be independently derived from St. Caesarius: the Vercelli Homily through some intermediate text, in combination possibly with St. Gregory's Homelia Prima; the Christ perhaps directly from St. Caesarius, or through some intermediate version, very close in form to the Ego te, O homo as we have it in Migne.<sup>438</sup>

The Vercelli text contains the same introductory passage concerning the fact that all sinners are addressed as one:

And hie þonne se ælmihtiga God, onginneð þreagean mid his heardlican stemne, and þus cwīd to him, emne þon gelicost þe he to anum men sprece. (Vercelli, fol. 61r)<sup>439</sup>

And then God almighty begins to chasten them with his hard voice, and says this to them, just as if he were speaking to one man.

And in Christ III 1376-8:

Onginneð sylf cwēdan,  
swa he to anum sprece, ond hwæpre ealle mæned,  
firensynnig folc, frea ælmihtig:

The Lord almighty says, as if he spoke to one person, yet he means all sinful people:

The apocryphal lament of Christ at the Judgment to man, Ego te, O homo . . . "I [did] to you, O man . . ." in which he describes the gifts given to and sufferings endured for man and the rebuffs received in return, is found in many patristic and medieval vulgate texts. Willard's suggestion that the sixth-century Caesarius of Arles and his Sermo CCXLIX De extremo iudicio, I (PL 39, 2206-8) is the closest source for the Old English versions, is generally accepted, while the De iudicio et compunctione of the East Syrian Ephraem (Opera 5, 51) is likely to be

the ultimate source.<sup>440</sup> The theme fascinated medieval writers for centuries and occurs in a number of the Mystery Plays on the Resurrection and also the Harrowing of Hell.<sup>441</sup>

Christ recounts how man was created perfect, powerful and prosperous, in his own image (the gifts of dom which man receives on earth, if penitent), without knowing ðystra "darkness" (1379-85). After the Fall man is earg ond unrot, eallum bidæled / dugeþum ond dreamum "depraved and in despair (cf. Jdg II 228, 261), separated from all glory and joy" (1407-8), and becomes the archetypal exile, banished from gæsta epel "the homeland of souls" (1406) into this dark world (1409) with sweartne deað "dark death" (1411) and an uncudne eard "unknown land" (1417). These stock phrases are common in elegiac Old English poetry, and the image of the spiritual exile separated from his epel "homeland" (1406) and lord is evoked. He now endures sare sipas "the bitter fate" or "painful journeys" (1418a) of the exile in the world (cf. the sarlic sidfæt "bitter journey" of the hell-bound man in Jdg I 25). In addition, the set phrases have already been encountered in this poem when hell or the damned at Judgment have been described.<sup>442</sup> In this way the poet connects the drastic consequences of man's first fall and his domleas state with the daily "fall" of the sinner, who will be confined at Doom to an even darker place.

Christ continues by repeating a reference to the Nativity, once more connecting that event in the past with man in the present day; he came to the dark, fallen world mid þy ic þe wolde cwealm afyrran "because I wished to keep death away from you" (1425b). He addresses man in the familiar þe, speaking to the individual, and, as stated above, to all

sinner as if one. Again departing from all authorities, the poet describes the babe's clothes as wonnum clāpum "dark clothes" (1423a). The image is not at all that of the usual nativity scene, but the evil of the postlapsarian world in contrast to the shining epel "homeland" of heaven is brought out, as is the great sacrifice of Christ who leaves heaven for this dark world. The contrast between the divine and the worldly is again made by the dark/light contrast.

The tortures Christ suffers are simply to allow man to enjoy glory at Doomsday, Christ repeats throughout this section. The list of the tortures is very like that in the Blickling Domin. prima in quinquagesima, a homily based on Caesarius's Sermo CCXLIX also:

hie hine swunгон, and bundon, and spætledon on his onsyne,  
and mid bradre hand slogan, and mid heora fystum beotan;  
and þa wundan beag of þornum and hine setton on heafod for  
cynehelm; and hine þa on rode ahengon. Eal þis he þrowode  
for ure lufan and hælo;. . . Hwæt wille we on domes dæg  
forþberan þæs we for urum drihtne arefnedon, nu he swa  
mycel for ure lufan geþrowode?

They scourged him and bound him and spat in his face, with  
open hands struck him, and beat him with their fists, and  
then they wove a crown of thorns and set it on his head as  
a royal diadem, and then they hung him on a cross. All  
this he suffered for our sakes and for our salvation . . .  
What do we desire to bring forth on Doomsday of that which  
we have endured for our Lord, since he has suffered so much  
for our sakes? (Morris, 22-5)

The Ego te, O homo is implied in this homily in which man, as in Christ III, is asked to make an account of his life and to weigh Christ's sacrifice against his own.

And at the Crucifixion itself Christ states that

Swylc hi me geblendon    bittre tosomne  
unswetne drync    ecedes ond geallan. (1437-8)

They also mixed together for me with bitterness a harsh drink of vinegar and gall.

This glosses Caesarius's acetum cum felle bibi "I drank vinegar with gall" (cf. Matt. 27,34 and Mark 15,23). The Old English poet does not mention Christ's drinking the poisonous liquid, for in Matthew it is said that he refused it (Matt. 27,34). In many patristic works the drink which Christ refused on the Cross was taken to represent the evil of the world with which he was tempted.<sup>443</sup> It symbolizes the temptation which Adam succumbed to, and which the Second Adam refused, thus showing mankind the way to overcome evil. The persecutors, fittingly, are called feonda "devils" (1439).

After every affliction and torture Christ repeats that all was endured "for your sake", and this reminder becomes a leitmotif throughout Christ's speech to the sinners. All is now orgete (1457) "plain to see", "open" on that Day, and his death permitted so that man could live on leohte / wlitig "in radiant light" (1463-4). In an effective antithesis Christ tells how his body was laid low in the grave, so that man could be raised high to heaven (1465-8). But man has spurned Christ's sacrifice -- Hu þær wæs unefen racu unc gemæne! "How unequal was the reckoning between us!" (1459):

For hwon ahenge þu mec hefgor on þinra honda rode  
þonne iu hongade? Hwæt, me þeos heardra þynced!  
Nu is swærre mid mec þinra synna rod  
þe is unwillum on beam gefæstnad,  
þonne seo oþer wæs þe ic ær gestag,  
willum minum. (1487-92a)

Why dost thou hang me on the cross of your hands more painfully than long ago I hung? Lo! this seems harder to me. Now the rood of thy sins, on which against my will I am bound, is more grievous unto me than was that other, which aforetime I mounted of my own will.

The climax to the passage is once more anthropocentric, concerning man in the present moment. The torturing of Christ not only occurs every day when man sins, but is a greater injury to Christ than the torture by the Jews. Cook suggests that honda (1487) might be "merely for the sake of alliteration".<sup>444</sup> But "the cross of man's hands" refers undoubtedly to the evil deeds committed by man, and is similar to pinra synna rod "the cross of your sins" (1489b), and may even have been intended to contrast with the stigmata on Christ's hands: "on my hands are the signs of my sacrifice, on yours are the signs of evil deeds".

The final condemnations to the evil and to the blessed are linguistically alike, but vastly different in content; to the blessed he says þæs ge fægre sceolon / lean mid leofum lange brucan "because of that, you shall enjoy fittingly lasting reward with the blessed" (1360-1), while to the damned: þæs ge sceolon hearde adreogan / wite to widan ealdre "because of that you shall suffer grievous punishment for ever and ever" (1513-4). The sinful are now called awyrgde "accursed" (1519), the title normally given to Satan.<sup>445</sup> After the condemnation (it really is no judgment) Christ ceremoniously swings a sigemece "victory sword" (1530) with his right hand and the devils fall into the deep pit. Once more, this iconographic detail is unique in Old English. In a Blickling Homily, þisses middangeardes ende is neah (Morris, p. 109), there is a description of Christ with a fiery sword, but he is smiting and piercing bodies with it, as the flames, his thanes, do in Christ III. There is no biblical source for this detail, although the sword of justice is a common symbol for judgment. Cook suggests a possible source in Prudentius,<sup>446</sup> and regrets that there is no illustration of this scene.



There does, however, exist in a fresco from Dečani Monastery in Yugoslavia, a fourteenth-century depiction of the Last Judgment with Christ wielding a sword in his right hand. Desanka Milošević suggests that occidental influences are responsible for this iconographic detail, and agrees it is very rare.<sup>447</sup> The influence, then, might well be traced to Ephraem Syriacus, as indeed much medieval, eschatological literature appears to be.

The image of Christ wielding a mighty sword, repe ond meahtig / yrre ond egesful "severe and mighty, angry and terrible" (1527-8) intensifies the terror of the scene, as does the accumulation of epithets for the sinful: deorcan scole "the dark host" (1522), synfulra here "sinful army" (1532), fæge gæstas "fated souls" (1534), and womfulra scolu / werge to forwyrd "sinful troops, damned to ruin" (1534-5).

The description of hell which follows relies for its visual impact on the metaphors for darkness and death which run all through the work. The hell depicted here is once more an extremely imaginative amplification of the Latin source. They are gæsta on þeostre "[of] souls in darkness" (1545b) living in sinnehte "perpetual night" (1542) amid sweartne leg "black flame" (1532a). The accursed endure ece cwealm "eternal death" (1540b) in addition; deade fah "stained/doomed/pale by death" (1560) they dwell in deadsele deofles "the death-hall of devils" (1536a). The sinner, who refused the light and life offered by Christ, is deprived of both eternally in hell. The effective way in which the poet uses the light/dark imagery is admirably illustrated in this passage:

Ðonne mansceada fore meotude forht,  
 deorc on þam dome standeð, ond deaðe fah,  
 wommun awyrgeð, bið se wærloga  
 fyres afylleð. Feores unwyrde,  
 egsan geþread, ondweard gode  
 won ond witeleas hafað weriges bleo,  
 facentacen feores. (1559-65)

There are a number of patristic sources for such an image, for example in the Syriac Apocalypse of Peter: "Hail to him whose works are good, for his face shall beam and he shall rejoice and be glad. But woe to him whose works are evil, for he shall be sad and his face black." Professor Cook suggests "benighted" for deorc (1560),<sup>448</sup> which excellently conveys the significance of the word; the demonic flames and Satan's rout are called deorc (1522), as is all that is sinister (cf. the nails on the Cross in DrR 46a).<sup>449</sup>

The damned are excluded from life and light and are won and witeleas hafað weriges bleo (1564), a line closely resembling And 1168-9: deofol ætywde, wann ond witeleas, hæfde weriges hiw. Kennedy translates won [wann] by "haggard" and Gordon by "ghastly".<sup>450</sup> But the word means "dark", "black" and glosses nigra and livore in the Latin source (108); the sense is more that expressed in Joel 2,6: "All faces shall gather blackness." Witeleas means more than "pale" and "unsightly"; wlite means "form" or "beauty" and is the common epithet used to describe the blessed in heaven (in XSt 608-9 wlitig is synonymous with tile and describes the pure at Doomsday). Witeleas implies rather "bereft of glory" and is a synonym for domleas.<sup>451</sup> Werges bleo and werges hiw (And 1169) also refer to the "form", "shape" of the cursed, and also their "colour" (cf. Mod. Eng. "hue"). It was noted in the Judgment Day II analysis that unbleoh (304) "colourless" might be translated "spotless"

and refer to the essential purity and radiance of the blessed. The evil, then, possess the "colour", the "form" of the damned, the facentacen feores "sinful sign of the soul" (1565), and are symbolically coloured "black" -- the nearest one might come to the opposite of "pure light". Fah (1560) is frequently used by the Christ III poet, e.g., firendædum fa (1632), leahtrum fa (1538), with definite connotations of being "stained by sin"; deade fah, by analogy, would mean "stained by death" (1560b). The image evoked in this passage is one of the sinners physically besmeared by their transgressions, with the sinful stains of their iniquity appearing pitch dark and symbolizing eternal night and death. This evocative passage might, then, be translated:

Then the evil-doer shall stand terrified before the Lord,  
in despair/benighted at the Judgment, stained with death,  
cursed because of his sins; the breaker of [God's] covenant  
is sated with fire, unworthy of having a soul, overcome  
with terror in the presence of God; black/benighted and  
void of the attributes of grace, they have the stain of the  
accursed [which is] the sinful mark in a soul.

The way to avoid such a fate is explicitly outlined in a passage which continues the metaphors of light and darkness, life and death:

Fordon sceal onettan, se þe agan wile  
lif æt meotude, þenden him leoht ond gæst  
somodfæst seon. He his sawle wlite  
georne bigonge on godes willan,  
ond wær weorde worda ond dæda,  
þeawa ond geþonca, þenden him þeos woruld,  
sceadum scriþende, scinan mote. (1578-84)

Wherefore he who wishes to gain life from God must needs  
bestir himself, whilst in him body and soul are joined  
together. Let him earnestly foster the fairness of his  
soul after the will of God and grow heedful in words,  
deeds, in ways and thoughts, whilst this world moving on  
amid shadows can still be bright.

Eternal "life" and the sawle wlite "beauty", perhaps "glory of the soul"

must be sought immediately while the spirit still dwells in the "light" of the world (either literally or referring to the illumination God offers to man). For the time will come when the world's brightness will be extinguished, and the hope of salvation with it lost. This world, like the microcosmic world of the Dreamer in Judgment Day II, has shadows and clouds moving over it (1584), obliterating the life-giving light; the image stresses the mutability and the brevity of this world, and the need, therefore, for repentance before the darkness takes over altogether. The loss of light from the world as we saw earlier, occurs when the Godhead withdraws his power, for example, when he left the world at the Ascension. Now in the world there is darkness and light, sin and the possibility for salvation intermingled, and the poet in this exhortation pleads with his audience to choose the light. At Doomsday there will be eternal darkness for those who prefer darkness "now", but sceadu beoð bidyrned / þær se leohta beam leodum byrhted "shadows will be dispelled where the cross of light burns for people" (1088-9).

Ðonne halig gæst    helle biluced,  
 morþerhusa mæst,    þurh meaht godes,  
 fyres fulle,    ond feonda here,  
 cyninges worde. (1623-6a)

Then the Holy Ghost by the power of God, at the King's command, shall shut up hell, the greatest of houses of torment, full of fire and the army of fiends.

What might appear as an example of poetic variation when it is said that hell was closed up by Holy Ghost, King and God, could be, as Thomas Hill has pointed out, a subtle allusion to the Trinity, "Hell is ordained by the Triune God."<sup>452</sup> There is again no biblical or patristic source

for such a statement, but an interesting parallel occurs in Juliana, which would support Hill's suggestion:

on þam miclan dæge,  
fæder, frofre gæst, in þa frecnan tid,  
dæda demend, ond se deoru sunu,  
þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende  
in annesse ælda cynne  
þurh þa sciran gesceaft scrifed<sup>†</sup> bi gewyrhtum  
meorde monna gehwam. (Jln 723b-9a)

On the great day in the dangerous time, Father, Holy Ghost, the Lord of deeds, and the beloved Son, when the Trinity, gloriously throned in unity will decree through the fair world rewards to the race of men, to every man according to his deeds.

The allusion to Judgment by the Trinity is unambiguous in the quotation, and it is highly likely that the Christ III poet was also referring to this theological point. Such a fact would suggest that the Christ III poet, in spite of all his "incorrect" information on Doomsday which has been criticized by Cook, was indeed well aware of the subtler theological aspects of the Judgment. His departures from the established traditions show merely that he is not primarily interested in narrating the events of Doomsday, as in such a work as The Apocalypse of Thomas which he would probably have known. Instead, he had the more important, didactic aim of saving his fellow man from the powers of darkness immediately.

The poem concludes on a triumphant note of hope, an exultant song of the joy of the blessed, and, once more, the ruling image is that of brilliant light. Instead of the dark ealdgestreona "ancient treasure" (1570, and cf. Cri II 812), the blessed will bring their beorhte frætwe "bright/blessed treasure" (1635a) to the Lord who will be leohte biwundne "encompassed with light" (1642b), like the Cross of The Dream of the Rood (leohte bewunden, DrR 5). They will shine beorhte mid lisse "brightly

with grace" (1646b), unlike the damned who can expect lifes ne lissa "neither life nor grace" (1366a). God's face will shine on the blessed sunnan leohtra "brighter than the sun" (1651b), reminding one of the Cross, his surrogate, at Judgment (cf. also Jdg II 117). The Day will be without darkness (1656b), beorht blædes full "bright with blessings" (1657a), and the poem concludes with the saved called weoruda wlitescynast "most beautiful of hosts" (1664a), as opposed to the whiteleas sinners (1564).

Judgment Day is the domeadigra dæg "the Day of those [already] blessed by glory" (1656), of those who have been domgeorn while alive and who, like the Phoenix, have continually turned from the world and its treasure to seek the paradisaal state of glory. The conclusion, then, leaves man with the hope of eternal day, life and light. The poem began on the same micla dæg "great day" (868a), but then it was described as on sweartre niht "in very dark night" (872), and moves from the dark night which will be the reward of the sorglease hæled "the unmindful men" (872), those who inherit sinnehte "perpetual night" (1631) to the beatific vision of the light-filled joy of the blessed; from a domleas scene to a domeadig state. And between the two visions we are shown the Christian message in its entirety and the important path man must take to gain dom. All through the poem the dichotomy between good and evil is expressed by symbols of light and shade. Pure goodness of Christ is the light which shines brighter than the sun, the unbleoh "spotless" hue, and the demonic is pitch black, werges bleo "the colour of the damned" (1564). In the same way the blessed state of man is described as "life" in contrast with the deadfah "death-stained" (1560) sinners whose reward is ece cwealm

"eternal death" (1541). In the same way Judgment Day I concludes with the re-establishment of "life" (Jdg I 118-9).

But the present world is seen as an ambivalent place of light and shadow, sceadum scriþende "with shadows passing" (1584), unlike the state of the blessed at Doomsday when sceadu beoð bidyrned / þær se leohta beam leodum byrhted "shadows will be dispelled where the Cross of light burns for people" (1088-9). The poet clearly makes the figurative interpretation that the world covered by shadows is the world of the individual without Christ and without hope of glory. But with the arrival of the Cross at the Parousia, at Doomsday or at the "descent" of Christ to the individual, there will be a light brighter than the sun which will destroy all shadows of evil.

The events surrounding the Crucifixion are, then, closely related to those of the Parousia, and to strengthen the parallel the poet has chosen and invented "signs" which link the two on a literal level. I hope to have shown that the "inaccuracies" concerning these signs are not errors, but imaginatively selected and created symbols which strengthen the connection between the major events in the Christian "myth". The symbolic nature of these events is thus stressed and placed in the eschatological present. At Doom the sun will turn to a blood colour and die, asphyxiated, just as Christ painfully died in the world. In place of the sun at Doom will be the blood-covered Cross, surrogate for the crucified Christ, but now it will be triumphant and its light dispel all shadows. And, by the image of the trees weeping tears of blood at the Crucifixion, and by other symbols, such as the precious stone, the

literal events and their anagogical significance surrounding the Crucifixion and Doom are intricately interwoven and made relevant in the present.

In the speech of Christ at Judgment Day all the events of his life and the Christian story are combined in a non-chronological order. But the important theme is that his "descent" brings glory to all who listen. As in Judgment Day I and II the Cross becomes the focal point as the way and the goal to that glory. One either follows the example he sets and dies to this world, or one daily crucifies him "on the cross of your hands".

The Judgment Day presented in this poem, as in the others analyzed, is figuratively treated as the ever-recurring apocalypse, the revelation of God in the individual. The parousia becomes an every day occurrence. Man, however, must be forever domgeorn, like the Phoenix, and wish for the continual purification of sins. The exhortation to penance is not so strong in this poem as in Judgment Day II, but the theme is identical: man never knows when the world or his life will end, but he must not be found sleeping in darkness. The theme is also expressed imaginatively in the Gnomic Verses: Sceomiande man sceal in sceadu hweorfan, scir in leohte gerised "A shameful man shall walk in the shadow, a pure man's place is in the light" (Max. I 66).



## CONCLUSION

Christ III concludes with the message which has been implicit throughout the poem, that man should ever live in the light. Life and light, as was seen in the heroic verse as well as in the Judgment Day poems, signify the immortality, the dom, which comes to those who attempt to approximate the state of perfection dictated by the ethical code. The poetry is thus seen to be didactic and thematic, and not a record of the events which were traditionally thought in medieval times to occur at the Apocalypse, Parousia and Judgment. The final aim of this study has been to reach a fuller appreciation of the so-called Judgment Day verse by tracing the major themes, metaphors and certain key word-symbols in order to evaluate it as "imaginative" and didactic literature, and not as "a record of scriptural statements about Doom". If one considers the verse as consisting of statements about Doomsday, then it is indeed inaccurate and deserves the censure normally given by critics. I hope to have shown, however, that the poets were not at all concerned about the occurrences surrounding the final Assize; indeed they appear not to have believed that there would be such an event. The end of the world will be literally the domeadigra dæg, the Day or time of those blessed by glory already, the Day of Man, when the perfected existence which the righteous sought on earth will be consummated and eternal day and light attained.

In the face of the Lord, the perfect Being, man will only see the reflection of the degree of dom "glory" he has gained while alive,

and for this reason the judgment, the self-assessment must be in the present. The ever-recurring judgment man makes is his personal decision between good and evil, according to the heroic or Christian code, the re-enactment for the Christian of the decision Adam had to make, but man is exhorted to follow the example of the Second Adam when tempted by the devil. The message in the Judgment Day poems, and indeed in all Old English Christian poetry, is identical to Beowulf's ideal: læst eall tela (Bwf 2663b) [man should] "perform all things in a perfect manner", and thus devote his life æfter dome "in pursuit of glory". In every moment slumbers the eschatological moment, the time when one's eternal "fate" (dom) is determined, and the responsibility is placed strongly on the shoulders of the individual to choose to do well, to be domgeorn, or else to forfeit immortality and become domleas ("damned" in the Christian sense). For this reason dom has only the positive and moral sense of immortality, and never means everlasting "infamy"; it embodies the state of perfection which every one must strive to reach, and which must be upheld if society is to function, especially when the society is based on hierarchical principles which assume a state of perfection. And also, because of this definition of dom which is at the centre of the Doomsday verse, there is no middle state, no Purgatory, for man either is domgeorn or domleas. In the eschatological present man decides to act well, thus invoking a personal "parousia", the descent of Christ and the perfected state of regeneration for the individual; otherwise he separates himself from his God, from Perfection. In this way the divergent meanings of dom are seen to refer to the same basic concept: the personal "decision" taken by man's "free will" to act according to the dictates of the ethical "law"

(the tenets of which assume an absolute or perfected state) will dictate his "fate" and gain for himself "glory", the only immortal part of man.

In Christian thought this perfected state is symbolized by the descent of Christ and his illumination, the dom which refers to sapientia, and the creation of an unfallen state which will make man, like the saints in Old English verse, impervious to the ways of the world, "fate", and mortality, the state of perpetual night. The specific nature of heaven as a location, therefore, need not be described, except in symbolic terms, for it is the realization of the perfected state sought while man is alive, the sodfæstra dom "the glory which the righteous can expect". Instead, at the centre of the Judgment Day poems are Christ, the epitome of perfection and the doemi "the perfect example" for all domgeorn men to follow, and also the Cross, the symbol of Christ's sacrifice which enables man to defeat evil and make the right decision. The domgeorn man becomes transformed into the image of Christ (Romans 8,29), until at one's worldly end "we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord" (2 Cor. 3,18). Such future glory is the metaphorical re-establishment of the prelapsarian state which God originally "set down" for man when he created him a perfect being ("And God saw that it was very good.").

Man's continual praise of God's glory does not imply that the Godhead requires or demands constant thanks and praise, but indicates the desire of the person giving the thanks to draw even nearer to the divine glory. A parallel might be made with the duty of the thane to praise his lord, for it indicates the servant's desire to fulfil his

function in the social hierarchy and hence to gain dom himself. There is then no difference between worldly and heavenly glory in a prelapsarian state. Man will be "judged" to be perfect and his every "decision" will be perfect and domfæste "secure in glory", according to God's "Law". "Judgment", "fame" and "glory" will be synonymous, for man, "at one" with his Creator, will decide every action according to God's law and every decision will lead to his glory. But at the Fall man rejected God and the equation between "glory" and "judgment" was broken. Man's judgment was then impaired and he forfeited by this rejection the chance of gaining divine glory, "For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God" (John 12,43). The turning from God to the world made man desire terrestrial glory, and he judged all, therefore, on the flawed criterion of worldly estimation. "The wages of heroism is death." But, because of Christ's sacrifice, the prelapsarian state which makes man oblivious to mortality can and must be regained, according to medieval Christian teaching. At every moment man re-enacts either Christ's decision to reject Satan, thus becoming unbleoh "spotless" once more, or he follows the example of the old Adam. This concept of dom as the result of personal decision is basically the same as the pre-Christian "heroic" ideal, although, naturally, no doctrine of an original, perfected man was considered. The ideal, the doemi, was a life lived in complete accord with the perfected standards of the ethical code. Man's duty in the hierarchical society was to strive all through his life, in every deed performed to reach the state of perfection which would make him impervious to death and would gain him, like the great heroes, eternal dom.

The conclusion that the state of dom as "glory" can be equated with dom as "that which is established" for man, the code by which he ought to live, takes us back to the initial, linguistic investigation and substantiates the semantic connections suggested in the first part of the study. The original questions asked were why one word should and could refer to such vastly different meanings as "law, "fate", "self-assessment", Christian "glory", and heroic "reputation", and to what extent the associations inextricably attached to these meanings would affect the others, especially when dom refers to the "pagan consolation" of reputation, yet was adopted to indicate the complex and very different tenet of Christian "glory". The linguistic "archaeology" was not intended to be an end in itself, far less an exhaustive study of the word-symbol and its referents, but as an aid to an appreciation of the manner in which such a symbol, steeped in highly associative meanings which concerned matters of life and death, could be "accommodated" to the new religion with its own source of metaphor in Judaeo-Christian "myth". "Every shift between a name and a sense is a milestone in the history of ideas."<sup>453</sup>

Such an approach, continued throughout the chapters dealing with Old English poetry by the investigation of other key word-symbols, is intended as an aid to an historical approach to medieval literature. In the same way knowledge of the socio-historical background and art of the period concerning the Last Things, briefly outlined in Chapter III, can augment our understanding of the literature, and help to reconstruct the possible associations which certain metaphors might have elicited in the poets' audience. For example, the fact that Christ is depicted as

the gentle teacher in eschatological iconography, or the Saviour rescuing man from hell's bonds (as in the Torcello mosaic) strengthens the suggestion that poets and artists were more anxious to depict the "present" eschatological moment than the "future" event, when it will be too late for man to repent and avail himself of Christ's saving grace. A further parallel might be made with the Old Testament poems in the Junius Manuscript and with the plays in the later Mystery cycles in which the focus is centripetal, and where no inconsistency would be found in referring to Christ and New Testament events. Just as Christ is still Harrowing Hell and saving the sinner, so also is the Apocalypse occurring in the present. At the centre of this vision of life, as presented by the artists, is Christ, the way and the goal:

[the mystery of Christ dead and risen] is prefigured in the Old Testament; it is realized historically in the life of Christ on earth; it is contained by way of mystery in the sacraments; it is lived mystically in souls; it is accomplished socially in the Church; it is consummated eschatologically in the kingdom of heaven. Thus the Christian has at his disposal, for the expression of that single reality, several registers, a symbolism of several dimensions. All Christian culture consists in grasping the bonds of union that exist between the Bible and liturgy, the Gospel and eschatology, between the mystical life and the liturgy.<sup>454</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, that a shining Cross should tower above mankind to illuminate the world at Doomsday in Christ III and that the events of Easter should occupy a large section of that poem, or that the focus, as in Judgment Day II, should be on the need for the repentance of man, sheltered in the garden of this world. The entire Old English Christian poetic corpus had "as its major function in Anglo-Saxon England the recreation, in poetic terms, of the biblical vision of human life",<sup>455</sup> and presents us with "the meaning of the universe in all its parts".<sup>456</sup>

The Old English poet was greatly aided in this task by the poetic formulas, symbolic metaphors and associative words which make up his "word-hoard". By describing the events of Doom in terms which evoke images of heaven, earth and hell, the poet can include the macrocosmic myth of the Bible, and suggest an anagogical and didactic reading of his work. The vocabulary, as stated in the Introduction, did not consist of "intellectually delimited words"; rather, the word-symbols could be "nuclei of meaning, symbols of integrated experience, aggregates of traditional association"<sup>457</sup> which must have evoked associations in the audience difficult for us to appreciate today. No single modern English word or even phrase can capture the wealth of associations clustering round the monosyllable dom. The key to a fuller understanding of the poetic word-hoard is a better acquaintance with the etymology, and, more important, the contextual associations of these "nuclei of meaning" in the literature; of special interest are those word-symbols which help bridge the gap between the "heroic" and Christian cultures.

The etymological analysis demonstrated that the basic meaning of dom and its cognate forms is "that which is established, set down", hence a "law", "judgment", "decision", etc. From this central significance radiate all other meanings: the judgment of (that which is established by) one's peers -- "reputation", or, in the judicial sense, "sentence"; self-judgment -- "decision", "personal assessment", and hence "free will"; the judgment of superhuman forces -- such as the Christian "glory". In every case the judgment is based on the social and/or religious ethical code, the "laws" (and domas can refer to the Christian religion itself) on which society and faith stand. These natural laws assumed an absolute,

a perfection; adherence to them created perfection in the individual who could then have some power over his "fate"; worldly calamity could no longer affect him, nor could the inexorable ways of wyrd "fate"; his immortality would be assured. For this reason dom implies more than "reputation" or "fame" even in the heroic verse, for it has positive and moral connotations, while L. fama, which can also mean "infamy", is said to be a domleas state in Old English, a state entirely void of this ethical perfection. Such persons as King Heremod in Beowulf or Godric in Maldon not only lose the hope of immortality themselves but endanger the entire society which was based, as we saw in chapter II, on the perfectio-complex. The decision not to strive in order to gain glory by fulfilling promises and doing one's duty threatens the stability of the pyramidal structure.

At the centre of medieval thought is the concept of truth, exemplified in the Germanic peoples by the stress placed on the keeping of boasts and pledges to carry out man's duties and functions proper to his station towards his superior and his inferior in the great chain. It was man's duty to be domgeorn, to attempt to approximate the perfection which was laid down: Til sceal on edle / domes wyrcean "the good must strive [to attain] dom" (Max II 20-1); and it was one's duty to raise up the glory of one's lord: dom areccan "to exalt, narrate the glory [of others]" (Max I 140 and cf. Wds 139), swa hit gedefe bið "as it is fitting" (Bwf 3174). As mentioned above, this concept was similar to the Christian ideal. Man both sought glory for himself: seced meotudes dome "seeks out the glory of God" (PLx 524), and also must praise God: A pin dom lyfað "May your glory live for ever" [Andreas cries out to Christ]



(And 541), in order that he himself should partake of the glory of God. God himself is associated with the state of dom and truth (cf. FAp 66), being the essence of perfection. He is domagende "possessing glory" (And 570), as seen also in the Gothic Skeireins passages, where the perfect quality of the Godhead is denoted by dôms. The Christian had a doemi "a perfect example" to follow, the dom unbryce "the indestructible glory" of Christ (Phx 642). Medieval man attempted to do this literally as well as spiritually, and the stigmata which were said to appear on many saints did not imply morbid delight in pain, but a sign of complete assimilation with the figure of Christ, that the saint had already reached in life that domeadig state "blessed by glory" and was "at one" with Christ. The showing of the stigmata plays an important rôle in Christ III and in many iconographic representations of Doom (e.g., at Chartres), for, as the poet states, man either tortures Christ again "on the cross of your hands", or suffers and dies to the world as Christ did.

The power to achieve dom is given to all who with wisdom wish to receive it (he dom gifed / gumena gehwylcum, And 1151-2), the Andreas poet claims. The heroic consolation, "That last infirmity of noble mind", was ruled by fate, and also only attainable by the few who had physical or other worldly power to achieve it, whereas the Christian's battle was on an anagogical level against the devil. The decision to choose correctly and avoid evil is graphically illustrated in heroic and Christian verse by the domgeorn man's defeat of evil monsters, spirits or human enemies. It was the hero's duty to fight alongside his lord and gain dom by courageous acts against evil forces. In both Waldhere and the Heliand the domleas existence of the coward who does not fight

is equated with death, while a death which brings dom is considered eternal life. The Christian paradox of "life in death", exemplified by the death of the old, evil part of man at baptism, is akin to this heroic concept, and can be seen in the baptismal symbolism of fire and flood in the Doomsday verse. The over-powering of the evil forces which threatened society (in the case of Grendel), the individual (as the spirits in Guthlac) or the universe (as Satan), was the best action man could achieve, and would assure him of certain immortality. The monsters reappear in the Christian literature in the shape of demonic forces which must be defeated with Christ's help, thus freeing man from the bonds of sin. The Harrowing of Hell is re-enacted, and man is restored to the domeadig state first established for him.

In later poetry the battle is fought on a figurative level, as in Judgment Day II, when the decision to leave the ways of the world and start on the spiritual pilgrimage of penance is expressed by man's simple action of looking up to the heavens and remembering God's glory, as Nebuchadnezzar does in Daniel. It is a decision to ask Christ to descend and illuminate him immediately, while he still possesses life and light. This is the eschatological moment which occurs ceaselessly, and the rest of the poem is an exemplum of the drastic effects a refusal to awaken this moment will have on man. Every decision is, then, a crisis, a "turning point", the time when glory can begin or life be perpetually lost. The heroic and Christian poetry both stress the paramount need for endless vigilance against the monsters; man's life must be a constant battle and decisions must continually be taken, in order that one "performs all things perfectly". Beowulf dreah æfter dome "conducted

himself in pursuit of glory" (Bwf 2179a) up to and including his dying moment, as St. Guthlac did too, albeit alone in his barrow. For dom can only be gained before death (domes ær deape, Bwf 1388); afterwards the reward is the sodfæstra dom, the glory, the state of perfection of those who have kept the truth. The aim of the poets on the Judgment Day is to show man the way, the spiritual pilgrimage to the perfect state, symbolized as a garden, a paradise regained in Judgment Day II, and the Celestial City in Christ III. The journey begins in complete penitence, as the Judgment Day II poet makes perfectly clear; this involves regret for past wrongs and the acknowledgment of God's glory. The journey continues by way of the Cross and Christ's example, as is stressed in Christ III.

The flames of Doom and hell were, of course, intended to frighten man into repentance, but the explicit use of this Sign of Doom to act as both purifier of the good and destroyer of all evil suggests the anagogical meaning as well. There is, as mentioned above, no Purgatory in the poets' vision of the future, for it is not possible to have an intermediate state between domgeorn and domleas. In Elene the dugud domgeorne "the host eager for glory" (1291a) will be uppermost in the "purgatorial" fires of Doom, and will be cleansed of venial sins there, while the flames, viewed in most eschatological literature as militant thanes of Christ searching out evil, act as the beginning of the punishment of hell. The dugud domgeorn must seek out the fire which will purge them of evil, like the Phoenix, the Youths in Daniel or Juliana. And, at the actual moment of Apocalypse, of Revelation, man will once more judge clearly and will recognize the state of perfection which he has gained on earth.

The Judgment Day poems, therefore, do not attempt to record the events of the Last Things. They are highly imaginative pieces which illustrate the Anglo-Saxon concept of dom, which is central to their society, religion and universe. Dom biþ selast. Above all else dom is the best thing for man to achieve; Christ's words to Andreas could have been those of Beowulf to his thanes: Wes a domes georn "Be forever eager to achieve glory."

## APPENDIX

### THE SIGNS OF DOOM

The Old English poets and homilists were fascinated by the "Signs of Doom", the portents which will herald the Day of the Lord. The signs of civil and worldly disorder which were prophesied to precede the arrival of the Messiah and the millennium in the Old Testament (e.g., those listed in 2 Esdras) were adapted in the New Testament to announce the Parousia and Doomsday. All eschatological literature from all cultures, religions and times contains such signs, as it appears that man intuitively expects the world to end with cataclysmic eruption. There are, therefore, many "signs" which are common to innumerable different traditions, and it is often impossible, and indeed inadvisable, to attempt to trace precise sources in medieval literature. There existed in patristic and medieval vernacular writings works which simply comprised a list of such signs, rather than incorporating them into a didactic context (e.g., the pseudo-Bede De quindecim signis and the Apocalypse of Thomas). In later medieval times a large number of such lists appeared, especially in Irish literature (e.g., the Saltair na Rann, Tenga Bithnua, and the tenth-century "A Poem on the Day of Judgment"). The Old English poets and homilists, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, were not interested in repeating these lists which were often collected in groups of seven or fifteen signs or the seven days before Doom. Instead, they chose a few, select signs, normally those which would be most likely to strike terror

into their audience, and used the signs for didactic reasons. In many works, the poetry in particular, the writers appear to have invented a number of portents in order to fulfil this didactic aim, or even for artistic reasons.

Throughout the previous chapters I have alluded to a number of eschatological works, biblical, patristic and vernacular, which might have supplied sources or inspiration for the Old English poet, or which simply have interesting parallels with the Old English works. The Old Icelandic "signs" which accompany Ragnarøk in the Völuspá of the Elder Edda and prose version by Snorri have already been enumerated on p. 81. The following is a list and brief description of major Christian works which contain these signs. It cannot attempt to be exhaustive, but might give a brief idea of possible sources of and parallels to the Old English poets' use of the "Signs of Doom".

#### Biblical

Psalm 50,2-3. "Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God hath shined. Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence: a fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him."

Isaiah. Ch. 2. The blessed will go up to the mountain of the Lord, the proud are humbled (cf. 13,11) and all idols are destroyed. Men flee to the caves to avoid God's wrath and the Lord "ariseth to shake terribly the earth". In the Last Days there will be "troubles and darkness, dimness of anguish and they shall be driven to darkness" (8,22).

Ch. 9. "Wickedness burneth as the fire", brother fights brothers, hunger drives man to eat the flesh of his arm (18). Ch. 11. The Lord will smite

the earth and "with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked" (4).

Ch. 13. The Day of the Lord is "cruel both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the land desolate"; the stars, sun and moon are darkened (9-10). The heavens shake and the earth is removed by God's anger (13). Beasts cry out and "dragons in their pleasant palaces" (22). Desolation abounds in the cities (17,9) [and the verse "Woe to the multitude of many people which make a noise like the noise of the seas" (17,12), is reminiscent of the shout from the seas in many later works and again associates the sea with evil forces]. Ch. 24. The earth becomes empty and waste, mourns and fades away. All men are burned and the joy of the harp ceases (8). "The city of confusion is broken down", the moon confounded and the sun ashamed when the Lord reigns in Zion (23). Doom comes like a hail storm, a tempest of mighty waters. Ch. 28. The high are made low, the proud humbled and all treasure is thrown away. Ch. 29. The Judgment comes suddenly and the Lord comes with thunder, earthquakes, a great noise, whirlwind, tempest and a devouring flame (6). "The wayfaring man shall cease his journeys for he has broken the covenant", 33,8. Ch. 34. The heavens are rolled up like a scroll and all their host fall down, as a leaf from a fig tree. Streams turn to pitch, dust to brimstone (4).

Ch. 40. Every valley shall be raised and every mountain shall be brought low (4). Ch. 66. The Lord comes with fire and chariots like a whirlwind and the flames are his rebuke (15).

Ezekiel. 32,7. "I will cover the heaven and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud and the moon shall not give her light" and all are greatly afraid. 38,19-20. Mention of earthquake, destruction of fishes, fowls and beasts and the quaking of all men

in God's presence. Mountains shall be thrown down, and every wall fall to the ground. Pestilence, hail-stones, fire and brimstone ensue (22).

Joel. Ch. 1. The land becomes wasted, famine will be rife, animals are perplexed, rivers dry up and fire devours all (10-20).

Ch. 2. The trumpet sounds in Zion (1), fear, darkness and a cloud come over the world; and fire and a great noise ensue. Blackness is seen in all faces (cf. the Syriac Apoc. of Peter). An earthquake, and the trembling of the heavens is followed by the darkening of the sun and stars, and the moon turns into blood (10). The Lord will then utter his voice. ["Therefore, also now, saith the Lord, turn ye even unto me with all your heart and with fasting and with weeping and with mourning."] Ch. 3. The sun and moon are darkened. The Lord shall roar out of Zion, and the heavens and earth shall shake (15ff.).

Amos. 5,18. Doomsday will be a day of darkness. Ch. 8. The land will tremble and all mourn, and the land will rise up like a Flood "as by the Flood of Egypt" (8). The sun will go down at noon and the earth darkens (9). The Lord will touch the land and it will melt, causing all mankind to mourn (9,5). The mountains shall drop sweet wine and all the hills shall melt (9,13).

Nahum. Ch. 1,4ff. The rivers will dry up, the mountains quake, and the earth will be burned. A flood follows and darkness (8). Rocks will be thrown down and the Lord's fury will be like fire.

Zephaniah. Ch. 1. The Lord will consume all things -- man, beast, fowl and fish (2). A cry will go up from the fish gate (10) and a great crashing from the hills. It will be a day of wrath, trouble, distress, desolation, darkness and gloom with thick clouds and



darkness (15). "A day of the trumpet and alarm" (16). The whole land will be devoured by the fire of his jealousy (18).

Habakkuk. Ch. 3. "And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his head." Pestilence and burning coals went before him and the hills bowed down (7). The mountains tremble and the deep utters his voice.

Haggai. 2,21. God will shake the heavens, the earth and the sea on that Day.

Malachi. 4,1. On the great Day it will burn like an oven and the proud will be scorched.

Matthew. Ch. 24. There will be wars and rumours of wars at that time and nation will rise up against nation. Famine, pestilence and earthquakes in diverse places (cf. the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p.100) will be followed by false prophets and messiahs. Love shall wax cold because of evil. The desolation will cause man to flee to the mountains. The Day of the Son will come like lightning from the East (27). Sun and moon will be darkened and stars fall from heaven. The powers of heaven will shake (29), and the Son of Man, accompanied by his Sign, will come with power and glory and all men shall mourn (30). Angels sound the trumpet and the elect are gathered from the four winds (31). The Day is compared with the Flood, a time when those feasting had no warning of the coming storm (37-9). Ch. 25 contains the parable of the wise and foolish virgins and concludes "Watch, therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh."

Mark 13. The coming of the Anti-christ, wars and civil strife will precede the Day (7). Earthquakes, famine and sorrows (8), the

betrayal of brothers, parents and children will follow. Then the sun and moon will darken, the stars fall and the heavens shake as the Son of Man descends with power and glory (24-6). The Elect are gathered from the four winds; "Watch ye, therefore, for ye know not when the master of the house cometh, at even, or at midnight, or at the cockcrowing, or in the morning: Lest coming suddenly he find you sleeping. And what I say unto you I say unto all, Watch." (35-7).

Luke 21. Wars and rumours of wars will begin, and nation rise up against nation. Earthquakes, famines, pestilence and great signs from heaven will ensue (9-11). "Signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars" (25). Great fear in the world and the seas and waves roar. The heavens will be shaken (26).

Acts 2,19ff. Signs of blood, fire and vapour of smoke. The sun turns dark and the moon to blood.

1 Cor. 3,13. Every man's work shall be made manifest and revealed by fire, and fire shall try every man's work. 15,52. "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump: for the trumpet shall sound and the dead shall be raised incorruptible and we shall be changed."

1 Thess. 4,16. The Lord shall descent with a shout, the voice of the archangel, the trump of God and the "dead in Christ" shall rise first. They shall be caught up in the clouds with Christ (17).

2 Thess. 1,8. The Lord comes with flaming fire and punishes all who do not know him.

2 Peter 3,6-7. "Whereby the world that then was, being overcome with water, perished: But the heavens and the earth which are now, by

the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." The day will come like a thief in the night; the heaven will pass away with a great noise and the elements shall melt with fervent heat and all the works burn up.

Revelation [only the barest outline can be given here]. Ch. 6.

The opening of the seals by the Lamb is accompanied by the noise of thunder, the war in the world, death by the sword and hunger, earthquake, the darkening of sun and the moon turning to blood. Stars will fall "as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs, when she is shaken of a mighty wind" (13).

Heaven departs like a scroll rolled up and the mountains and islands are moved. All hide in the dens and rocks of the mountains. Ch. 7. Four angels at the corners of the earth hold back the four winds. Ch. 8. The opening of the Seventh Seal is accompanied by voices, thunder, lightning and earthquakes. Seven angels sound their trumpets in sequence. The first blast is followed by hail and fire mingled with blood, and the trees and grass burn. At the second blast a great mountain burns with fire, is cast into the sea and a third part of the sea becomes blood. Sea creatures are destroyed and ships also. A great star falls from heaven on the third blast and falls in rivers and fountains in which men die. A third part of the sun is smitten at the fourth trumpet note; night and darkness follow.

Ch. 9. The fifth angel blows his trumpet and the stars fall to earth. The bottomless pit is opened and the sun and air become dark from the smoke.

Ch. 10. A mighty angel descends clothed with a cloud and a rainbow on his head "and his face was as it were the sun and his feet as pillars of fire".

Ch. 12. The war in heaven; Michael and his angels fight the dragon and the devil and his servants are cast out to earth.

### Apocryphal Works

2 Esdras. Ch. 5. The earth will be seized by panic, evil will increase and confusion follow, and the land become a desert. The sun will shine at night and the moon by day. "Trees will drip blood and stones will speak, nations will be in confusion, and the course of the stars will be changed." (6). Birds will fly away, the sea cast out its fish and "at night a voice will sound, unknown to the many but heard by all" (7). Chasms open and flames spurt out. Wild animals roam and women give birth to monsters. Fresh springs mingle with salt waters, and friends become enemies (9). "Then understanding will be hidden and reason withdraw to her secret chamber." (10). Ch. 6,21ff. Children of one year will talk and mothers will give birth after only three or four months pregnancy. Sown fields become unsown. A loud trumpet blast strikes terror into all who hear it (23). Friends become enemies and all the earth is terrified. Streams cease flowing for three hours (24). Ch. 13. Wind comes from the sea and from the depths "a Man came flying with the clouds of heaven", and his voice makes all melt like wax touched by fire (2-4). The man hews out a mountain for himself, and flies to its summit [Zion]. An evil multitude attack him and the Man lets a stream of fire flow from his mouth. The good join him on the mountain.

The Book of Jubilees (pre- 105 B.C.) Ch. 23,13-9. Calamities, wounds, disease, snow, frost and ice will be the first signs; also fever, famine, death and the sword, captivity, fornication and abomination. There will be no more fruit and no more oil. No beasts nor birds will remain and civil strife and the breaking of faith will be rife.

The Sibylline Oracles. These are called by Charles an "artificial

rechauffé of Old Testament ideas",<sup>458</sup> and belong to Hellenistic Judaism. The Messiah will end evil war and make the Temple resplendent and the earth full of fruit. An attack on Palestine will be rebuffed by God. Of greater importance in medieval thought are the later "Sibylline Oracles", the Tiburtina (4th cent. A.D.) and the Pseudo-Methodius (7th cent. A.D.). (See pp. 89-90. ) Of special interest in the latter is the sign of a cross in the heavens at the Parousia.

2 Baruch (60-100 A.D.) [or The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch Ch. 70]. Hate, strife and the social hierarchy's reversal will precede the day of the Lord. Universal war will break out (10), earthquakes, fire and famine. Only the Holy Land is protected.

The Assumption of Moses (7-29 A.D.). The earth will tremble, and mountains and hills fall. The sun becomes dark and the moon turns to blood. The stars are disturbed and the seas retire; rivers dry up. The Lord destroys all idols and Israel mounts on the neck of the eagle and looks down on the evil in Gehenna.<sup>459</sup>

The Psalms of Solomon (70-40 B.C.) Ch. 11,5ff. The Lord makes low the lofty mountains, hills flee when he comes. He makes trees of sweet savour grow up.<sup>460</sup>

The Armenian Apocalypse of Daniel. "Then shall the sun be darkened and the moon changed to blood. The stars shall fall down like leaves and heaven shall be rolled up like a scroll . . . and all things shall be scorched and parched by the wind. Fiery angels shall come down from heaven and fire shall flare up throughout the whole earth."<sup>461</sup>

The Syriac Apocalypse of Peter (1st cent. A.D., and the earliest "Vision" work after Revelation. Discovered in 1886 in Akhmin).<sup>462</sup>

"Hail to him whose works are good, for his face shall beam and he shall rejoice and be glad. But woe to him whose works are evil, for he shall be sad and his face black." The seas will dry up and the heavens roll back like a scroll, and the moon will become blood. The four winds will blow against each other.

The Pseudo-Johannine Apocalypse. Ch. 14,18. The rocks shall be fused and all plants and cattle be burned. Stars fall from the heavens and no light from the moon nor the sun. Half of the sea shall fail. Ch. 23. The just shall shine like asters and as the sun and the sinners stand wrapped in gloom.<sup>463</sup>

The Ethiopic Apocalypse of Peter. The trumpet of doom is sounded three times by the archangel Michael.<sup>464</sup>

#### Patristic Works

The most influential form of the Signs of Doom in the medieval period was the De quindecim signis found amongst Bede's works (PL 94, 555). These fifteen signs are attributed to St. Jerome in the introduction to the list, but it is thought that neither Jerome nor Bede was responsible for them.<sup>465</sup> Because of the frequent mention of this work in the previous chapters, I shall quote the Migne rendition in full:

Quindecim signa, quindecim dierum ante diem iudicii, invenit Hieronymus in annalibus Hebraeorum. Prima die eriget se mare in altum quadraginta cubitis, super altitudines montium, et erit quasi murus, et amnes similiter. Secunda die. Descendent usque ad ima, ita ut summitas eorum vix conspici possit. Tertia die erunt in aequalitate, sicut ab exordio. Quarta die pisces et omnes belluae marinae, et congregabuntur super aquas, et dabunt voces et gemitus, quarum significationem nemo scit nisi Deus. Quinta die ardebunt ipsae ab ortu suo usque ad occasum. Sexta die omnes herbae, et arbores sanguineum rorum dabunt. Septima die omnia aedificia destruentur. Octava die debellabunt petrae adinvicem, et unaquaeque in tres partes

se dividet et unaquaeque pars collidet adversus alteram. Nona die erit terrae motus, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi. Decima die omnes colles et valles in planitiem convertentur, et erit aequalitas terrae. Undecima die homines exhibunt de cavernis suis, et current quasi amentes, nec poterit alter respondere alteri. Duodecima die cadent stellae et signa de coelo. Decima tertia die congregabantur ossa defunctorum, et exsurgent usque ad sepulchrum. Decima quarta die omnes homines morientur, ut simul resurgant cum mortuis. Decima quinta die ardebit terra usque ad inferni novissima, et post erit dies iudicii.

The fifteen signs of the fifteen days before the Day of Judgment, which Jerome discovered in Hebrew Chronicles. On the first day the sea will rise forty cubits in height, above the height of mountains and it will be as a wall and like rivers. On the second day they descend down to the bottom, so that their summits can scarcely be seen. On the third day they will be even, as it was from the beginning. On the fourth day fish and all sea monsters will be gathered above the water and they will give a shout and groan, the significance of which only God will know. On the fifth day they [waters] burn themselves from the rising to the setting. On the sixth day all grass and trees become bloody with dew. On the seventh day all buildings are destroyed. On the eighth day stones conquer each other, and each is divided in three parts and each part strikes against the other. On the ninth day the earth will move, more than it has ever done since the beginning of the world. On the tenth day all hills and valleys on the planet are changed and will be level ground. On the eleventh day men will come out from their caves and run like madmen, the one will not be able to speak to the other. On the twelfth day stars and constellations will fall from the skies. On the thirteenth day the bones of the dead will be gathered and they will rise right up to the grave. On the fourteenth day all men will die and at the same time rise up with the dead. On the fifteenth day the earth will burn right up to the last hell and after that will be the Day of Judgment.

Max Förster comments on the popularity of this work, and notes a late Old English version in Vespasian D. XIV.<sup>466</sup> Förster states that although the Pseudo-Bede has many points in common with the Apocalypse of Thomas, the former cannot be derived from it, and hypothesizes a lost Latin version which would have influenced the Old English versions and those of Peter Comestor and Peter Damian.<sup>467</sup> The signs in Bede's list have

parallels also in that of Lactantius in his Divinarum Institutionum, Lib. 7, cap. 16ff. (PL 6, 791-8). Of special interest in Lactantius is the sign of the sword, found also in Cri III: gladius e coelo ut sciant iusti ducem sanctae militiae descensurum "the sword from the heavens so that they know the Lord of the holy army's descent".<sup>468</sup>

#### The Latin Apocalypse of Thomas

After the Pseudo-Bede The Apocalypse of Thomas was the most influential work on the medieval writers of eschatological poetry and prose. The Latin text is probably from the late fourth or fifth centuries, and might have come from an earlier Greek text, but the extant manuscripts date from the eighth century.<sup>469</sup> The Latin manuscripts are listed by Förster,<sup>470</sup> and translations or adaptations can be found in the following Old English works: Homily XV in the Vercelli Book, fol. 80<sup>b</sup>-85<sup>b</sup> (c. 1000 A.D.), Homily III in MS. CCCC 41, pp. 287-92 (c. 1100); this rendition is published by Förster, pp. 17-27. Homily VII of the Blickling Collection (Morris, pp. 91-5), Homily 39 in MS. CCCC 162, pp. 422-31 (cf. 1020), and MS. Hatton 116, pp. 382-95.<sup>471</sup> The following is a summary of the Signs, based on the MS. CCCC 41 Old English rendition. Before Doom there will be fighting, hunger, earthquakes, much wetness and tribulation. Gold and silver will be worth nothing. Springs will turn to blood, stars fall from heaven and the sun will lose half its light, while the moon is darkened.

On the First Day there will be mourning and lamentation and a great voice heard from the heavens. A great cloud appears along with thunder and lightning and very strong flames. It will then rain blood. Fire is all over the earth.



Second Day: a great voice is heard in heaven, the earth moves from its place. Smoke appears from the open gates of heaven. There is much fear and trembling.

On the Third Day a great voice is heard from heaven, and the heavens are rolled up like a scroll, but man can see none of this because of the smoke. There will also be a stench of sulphur.

On the Fourth Day the north and eastward parts of the world converse and earthquakes occur. Idols and buildings fall to the ground.

On the Fifth Day there will be thunder in the heavens, and the sun and moon become dark. Great darkness is in the heavens and stars fall.

On the Sixth Day there will be great signs in the heavens, which will be slit from east to west. Angels will then descend to earth, and men flee and hide in dales and ask the earth to open and swallow them up. (Some texts mention the fire around Paradise, the appearance of Christ and the resurrection from the dead in garments of light.)

On the seventh Day all the angels fill the heaven and fight the devils, who are defeated. All mankind sees his own fate. The Son of Man comes with great might and summons mankind together. (Some texts mention of Eighth Day when a sweet voice comes from the East from heaven.)

Identical signs appear in a great number of medieval works and attest to the popularity of this Apocalypse. The influence appears to have been particularly strong amongst Irish, eschatological writings.

#### Irish Works

The Saltair na Rann (c. 1000 A.D.), strophes 153-62, contains a

list of signs which appears to be based on the Apocalypse of Thomas.<sup>472</sup>

The major signs in this work are:

- i) Terrible cries and a red, fiery cloud which gives bloody rain. Thunder, lightning, hail and earthquakes; the sea overflows.
- ii) The heavens tremble, beasts and monsters roar; wailing and lamentation is in the world. Robbers strike off the palms of their hands.
- iii) The world's foundations melt, red fiery clouds appear, and sulphur and fire. The world is ablaze.
- iv) Wailing shakes the earth. The sea rises and gives a shout. Sea monsters bellow. There are great winds, the birds flock down. Showers of hail and blood. Heaven is crushed against the earth.
- v) Thunder, destruction of the stars, sun and moon darkened. Weeping ensues.
- vi) All creatures die, there is hail and lightning and, when the heavens open, the angels are seen in a pure flame.
- vii) The world trembles and streams run dry. Mountains are overthrown and shattered and nothing lives.
- viii) The Archangel calls all men to rise from the grave in a fixed, hierarchical order. The seven heavens fold up and are in flames. Christ appears with a bloody Cross. Idols fall and the devils come from the pit.
- ix) Judgment Day. Angels fight devils and all are judged.

The Tenga Bithnua, "The Evernew Tongue", makes much freer use of the Apocalypse of Thomas as source (if indeed this work is its source).

A lost Apocalypse of Philip is more likely to have been the source.<sup>473</sup>

The Apostle Philip, whose tongue has been cut out nine times for witnessing for Christ, replies to questions posed by Hebrew sages on Mount Zion at Easter (cf. the Blickling "Easter Homily" and its eschatological theme). The work follows the pattern of the Saltair na Rann and contains the following signs: the mountains burst, five heavens fall, seven fiery winds blow, thunder and lightning are rife. The stars fall, the moon is blood-coloured, the sun goes out, tempests destroy forests and mountains. Birds and beasts screech, fire covers all lands, monsters roar. Sea beasts give a great cry and they are heard in the heavenly city. Nine orders of angels come. And all occurs at midnight. The work also contains a vision of the seven heavens, some of them blazing, others icy cold (seven times colder than snow), and the highest is sunny with the harmony of melodies.

In the Leabhar Breac it is stated that the whole world from the rising to the setting of the sun will be ablaze. Sinners will weep and lament in the flame, while the good will not be touched.<sup>474</sup>

Another Irish, eschatological work is "The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday", which has been edited and translated by Whitley Stokes.<sup>475</sup> The signs which follow the pseudo-Bede and initially claim to be from Jerome, include the following: Fire over all the earth, an earthquake, the sea breaking its ramparts and waves rising up "as high as the lofty ether": fiery winds will shake the ocean and the firmament also shakes. The sea thunders and there are rivers of fire "without music or pleasure". A sad, peaceless and "healthless" life is led by man. Stones split in

four and converse with each other (cf. the Pseudo-Bede), and only God understands them. Trees all uprooted, and stones tremble. Sulphurous fire rises from the flanks of the earth and all the world is ablaze. Mist and thunder fill the world, and trees and stones shed blood. A keen wind begins, and mankind wails and cries and wishes the earth would swallow him up. Stars fall as ripe fruit and mountains collapse. Four fiery winds blow and the elements shrink. The moon turns to blood and the mountains to ashes.

In the Franciscan Library, Merchant's Quay, Dublin (A,9), there is a tenth-century work called "A Poem on the Day of Judgment".<sup>476</sup> The signs in this poem include the burning of the world, the great fear of man, wailings, terror and outcry and a list of the evil who will be punished (which includes "satirists").

The Irish Vision literature, which does not come into the scope of this investigation, also includes some Signs of Doom, but is mostly concerned with the state of the after-life in Heaven, Purgatory and Hell.<sup>477</sup>

Muspilli. This O.H.G. poem of the mid-ninth century has many interesting signs of Doom, many of which have been discussed in the previous chapters. The aim of the poet is the same as those of the Old English poems on Doom, as can be seen from this brief resumé of the Signs. The Anti-christ will contend with Elijah, who is aided by the Lord. Although the Anti-christ falls, many on earth fear that Elias has lost, because of the blood which drips to earth. The mountains will be on fire, waters dry up and the sky will melt. The moon falls

and all the earth burns. The fiery rain kills all, and all are purged by the strong wind. Man must judge himself and his deeds "now" to avoid this death. Man is freed from the chains of the grave. The Cross is brought to the scene of Judgment, and Christ will then show the stigmata which he received on earth. The parallels between this work and Christ III are indeed striking.

### Old English Prose

Only the briefest list of eschatological, Old English homiletic work can be given.

In the Blickling Homilies there are a number of sermons containing the Signs of Doom. The most important one is Dominica Pascha, No. 7 in Morris's edition. As mentioned above it is based on the Apocalypse of Thomas; it contains the following signs:

Doomsday will arrive at Easter-tide, when heaven and earth will pass away, and the sun, moon and stars fail, and the seas dry up.

1st Day. Lamentations at mid-day from all creatures. A noise in heaven, as of an army. A bloody cloud comes from the North, and lightning and thunder from it. Bloody rain falls in the evening.

2nd Day. The sound of armies, the earth is moved and so is the heaven's eastern quarter, and a host will come through it. Bloody and fiery rain tries to consume the earth. The heavens fall and there is darkness at the eleventh hour.

3rd Day. The seas rage and devour the earth. Earthquakes begin.

4th Day. Thunders in heaven, idols fall down. There is no light, the moon is quenched and the stars race over the sky. Men will hate all they now love on earth.

5th Day. The heavens burst open and reveal the angels. Men flee to the mountains and cry on them to cover them.

6th Day. The world is full of demons. Anti-christ comes and threatens all souls. St. Michael will kill all evil spirits and send them to hell.

7th Day. Michael commands four trumpets to be blown at the corners of the earth. The dead will rise and the drowned also, adorned with their deeds while alive.

Other Blickling Homilies which contain lists of the Signs are:

Dominica V. in Quadragesima (Morris, pp. 57ff.), Sauwle þearf (Morris, pp. 97-105), and Þisses Middangeardes ende neah is (Morris, pp. 107-15).

Wulfstan's Homilies on the Last Things include: De Anticristo (Ib in Bethurum, p. 117), Secundum Marcum (V in Bethurum, pp. 140-1), Secundum Lucam (III in Bethurum, p. 125). In this last work Wulfstan attempts to explain the significance of the individual signs, e.g.:

And steorran, hit cwæð, hreosað ufene of heofonum; ðæt is, þæt licceteras 7 leaslice cristene hræðlice hreosað of rihtan geleafan 7 to Antecriste geornlice bugað 7 weorþað his gefylstan eallum heora mihtum. (Bethurum, p. 125, 50-3)

And the stars it is said will fall from the heavens; that is, the hypocrites and deceptive Christians quickly fall from the right belief and eagerly turn to Antichrist and become his servants with all their might.

In the same sermon Wulfstan associates the Danish raids with the text "Nation shall rise up against nation" (Matt. 24,7). Other eschatological homilies by Wulfstan (written before and after the supposedly apocalyptic year 1000) are: Lectio Sancti Evangelii Secundum Matheum (Bethurum, pp. 119-27), and it contains a passage, as in Cri III, in which Christ

shows the stigmata at the Judgment. De Temporibus Anticristi (Bethurum, pp. 128-33), which is based on an Ælfrician homily (MS. CCCC 178, p. 134). Incipiunt Sermones Lupi Episcopi (Bethurum, pp. 142-56).

A number of Vercelli Homilies, likewise, contain eschatological material. Homily VIII (first after Epiphany), has its source in Caesarius, Sermo 57, and, therefore, parallels the section in Christ III of God's address to sinners at Doomsday: Ego te, homo . . . (Förster, pp. 149-59).<sup>478</sup> Homily XV (Förster, pp. 117-28) has its source in the Apocalypse of Thomas, and, therefore, has a parallel in the Blickling Homily on Easter (Homily VII). Homily IX (Förster, pp. 100-16) stresses the need for immediate repentance before Doomsday. Homilies II and XXI have a large section in common (Förster, pp. 44-53), and present one of the most terrifying lists of the horrors of Doomsday, by accumulating in poetic form the terrors of Doom and hell together, and, by the monotonous repetitions of "and", seem to convey the sound of a bell lugubriously tolling, as in a sermon by John Donne; this section is from Codex Verc. fol. 115<sup>V</sup>, and edited by Förster, pp. 47-9:

On þam dæge us bið æt-eowed  
 se opena heofon 7 engla þrym  
 7 eall-wihtna hryre 7 eorþan for-wyrht,  
 treowleasra ge-winn 7 tungla gefeall,  
 þunor-rada cyrm 7 se þystra storm,  
 [þæra lyfta leoma] 7 þæra liga blæstm  
 7 graniendra gesceaft 7 þæra gasta gefeoht  
 7 sio grimme ge-syhd 7 þa god-cundan miht  
 7 se hata scur 7 hell-warena dream,  
 [þæra beorga geberst] 7 þara bymena sang,  
 7 se brada bryne 7 se bitera dæg  
 [7 se micla cwyld] 7 þara manna man  
 [7 seo saric sorh] 7 þara sawla gedal  
 7 se deað-berenda draca 7 diofla forwyrd  
 7 se nearwa seap 7 se swearta deap  
 7 se byrnenda grund 7 se blodige stream  
 7 mycel fionda fyrhto 7 se fyrena ren  
 7 hædenra granung 7 hira heriga fyll,

heofon-warena mengo    7 hiora hlafordes miht  
 7 þæt myc̅le gemot    [7 seo egesfulle fyr̅d]  
 7 sio rede rod    7 se rihta dom  
 [ure fyrena edwit]    7 þara feonda gestal  
 7 þa blacan ondwlitan    7 bifiendan word,  
 [se forhta cyrm]    7 þara folca wop  
 ond se scamenda here    7 se synniga heap  
 [seo graniende neowelnes]    7 sio forglendrede hell  
 7 þara wyrma gryre.

On that Day we will be shown: the open heaven and the host of angels, and the ruin of all things and the destruction of the earth, the battle of the faithless and the fall of stars, the clamour of thunder and the storm of darkness, the radiance of the sky and the blast of the flames, and a creation of groaning ones, and the battle of spirits, and the fierce sight, and the power of God, and the shower of heat, and the joy of hell-dwellers, the breaking of mountains, and the song of the trumpets, and the expansive burning, and the severe day, and the death of many and the sin of men, and the grievous sorrow, and the separation of souls, and the death-bearing dragon, and the destruction of devils, and the narrow pit, and the dark death, and the burning ground, and the blood-filled stream, and great fear of the fiends, and the rain of fire, and the lamentation of the heathen, and the fall of their idols, the multitude of heaven dwellers, and the might of their Lord, and the great assembly and the terrifying army, and the stern Cross, and the just judgment, the disgrace of our sins, and the accusation of fiends, and the radiant countenance, and the trembling word, the noise of the fearful and the weeping of people, the shameful army and the troop of sinners, the groaning abyss and the destructive hell, and the ferocity of snakes.



## NOTES

Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Work has already been carried out on such concepts as O.E. wyrd as "fate" and "divine Providence". See Bertha S. Phillpotts, "Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought", Essays and Studies, 13 (1928), 7-27, and B. J. Timmer, "Heathen and Christian Elements in Old English Poetry", Neophilologus, 29 (1944), 180-5. The meanings surrounding such symbols as lof, sped, and ead, for example, would repay investigation.

<sup>2</sup>See Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum Book I, Chapter 30.

<sup>3</sup>See F. P. Magoun, Jr., "Bede's Story of Caedmon: The Case History of an Anglo-Saxon Oral Singer", Speculum, 30 (1955), 49-63. See also Alvin A. Lee, The Guest-Hall of Eden: Four Essays on the Design of Old English Poetry (New Haven, 1972), pp. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup>J. R. R. Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics", reprinted in Lewis E. Nicholson, ed., An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism (Notre Dame, 1963), p. 72.

<sup>5</sup>Lee, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Rhythm and Cosmic Order in Old English Christian Literature (Cambridge, 1970), p. 6.

<sup>7</sup>The Christian heaven is often but by no means always depicted in negative terms, as the absence of suffering, sorrow, etc., but the place of torment is usually vividly described in order to frighten man into good behaviour. See Chapter III, pp. 86-7 and Chapter V, pp. 164f. and 167-9.

## Chapter I

<sup>8</sup>"For further discussion of the function of the -m suffix see Friederich Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungslehre der altgermanischen Dealekte (3rd ed.; Halle, 1926), p. 80.

<sup>9</sup>Oskar Schade, Altdeutsches Wörterbuch (Halle, 1882), defines O.H.G. tuom as "Satzung, Urteil, Gericht, Leistung, Tat, Macht, Würde, Zustand".

<sup>10</sup>"In order to illustrate the diversity of forms and meanings derived from the I.E. root \*dhē I shall list the major forms found in The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, ed. William Morris (Boston, 1969), p. 1512. 1) 0-grade form \*dhō- in Germanic \*dōn in O.E. dōn "do". 2) Suffixed form \*dhē-ti- "thing laid down or done, law, deed", in Germanic \*dēdiz in O.E. dēd "doing, deed". 3) Suffixed o-grade form \*dhō-mo- in Germanic \*dōmaz in O.E. dōm "judgment, thing set or put down" (and the abstract suffix indicates state, condition or power -- -dōm). 4) Extended 0-grade form \*-dhōt- in Latin agential suffix -dōs in Latin sacerdōs "performer of sacred rites, priest". 5) Zero-grade form \*dhə- in prefixed form \*kom-dhə- in Latin condere "to put together, establish", and also in the compound \*kred-dhə-. 6) Suffixed zero-grade form \*dhə-s- in Latin fās "divine law, right". 8) Reduplicating form \*dhi-dhē in Greek tithenai "to put" (cf. Mod. Eng. "thesis"). 9) Suffixed form \*dhē-k- in Greek thēkē "receptacle". 10) Suffixed form \*dhē-mn in Greek thēma "thing placed, proposition" (hence "theme").

11) Suffixed zero-grade form \*dhə-tlo- in Celtic \*datlos Old Irish dāl "assembly". 12) Reduplicated form \*dhe-dhē in Skt. dadhāti "he places".

11

<sup>12</sup>Such Associations can, perhaps, tell us about the society. They suggest a people dependent on external judgment, either by divine powers, fate or "luck" (dom can be synonymous with sped in O.E.), or by one's fellows, "reputation".

<sup>13</sup>See pp. 22-23.

<sup>14</sup>Kluge, op. cit., pp. 85-6. He states also "Da jene substantivbildungen ausgehenden abstrakta die älteren sind, hat man für das suffix von andd. ags. dom, "ehre, ruhm" auszugeben."

<sup>15</sup>Die Gotische Bibel (2nd ed.; Heidelberg, 1919), II, 26.

All examples are from this work.

<sup>16</sup>Cognate with O.H.G. stua-tago "Day of Judgment".

<sup>17</sup>For other occurrences see Matt. 5,21; 11,22; John 8,16; 21,31; 16,8, etc.

<sup>18</sup>Streitberg, pp. 458-9, Sk. 2,17.

<sup>19</sup>This concept of dom is discussed Chapter III, p.

<sup>20</sup>Streitberg, pp. 466-7, Sk. 6, 16.

<sup>21</sup>The Gothic Commentary on the Gospel of John (New York, 1960) pp. 116-8.

<sup>22</sup>A translation of Ruhm for Go. dôms is also favoured by Jellinek, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum, 20 (1894), p. 152.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. 2 Cor. 5,15: domjandans "judging".

<sup>24</sup>Other examples have a prefixed ga-, af-, bi-:

a) "to compare oneself" (sich vergleichen mit): ak eis in sis silbam sik silbans mitandans jah gadomjandans sik silbans du sis silbam no

frapjand, 2 Cor. 10,12: "But they, measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves among themselves, are not wise."

b) "to condemn" (verurteilen), afdomjan: ni afdomjaid, jah ni afdomjanda Luke 6,37: "condemn not and ye shall not be condemned (judged)".

c) "to judge", bidomjan: ni manna nu izwis bidomjai in mata aippau in draggka, Coloss. 2,16: "let no man judge you either in meat or drink".

See also Mark 14,64.

<sup>25</sup>Edward H. Sehart, Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur Altsächsischen Genesis (2nd ed.; Göttingen, 1966), p. 76, lists the following meanings for O.S. dom: Gericht, Entscheidungsstunde, Urteil, Richterspruch, freie Verfügung, Belieben, Macht, Ruhm, Ehre.

<sup>26</sup>See also the expressions for Doomsday: dōm Heliand, 1692; ēr dōmes dage (4333); duomdag the māreo (4353). All references to Old Saxon texts are from Heliand und Genesis, ed. Otto Behagel (2nd ed.; Halle, 1903).

<sup>27</sup>See also Heliand, 3865: adēldi te dōme and 5104-5 Huat uuilliad gi Iudeon thes / adēlien te dōme?, "What command/punishment do you Jews wish for this man [Christ]?"

<sup>28</sup>The sense of personal judgment, decision is normally given when accompanied by a personal or reflexive pronoun, e.g., Heliand, 4488: is selbes dom "his own decision"; an thinum duoma, Genesis, 172b; cf. Genesis, 277, im selbas duom "in one's own decision".

<sup>29</sup>Cf. an thinum duoma in the previous footnote. It is also impossible to conceive the poet meaning that Christ was going to be judged, as such a reading would imply.

<sup>30</sup>See pp. 51-3 of Chapter II.

<sup>31</sup>The same half-line is repeated in Heliand, 1311. See also O.S. Genesis, 191-2: it glosses Beati sunt qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam.

<sup>32</sup>No differentiation is made between the East Franconian and Rhenish Old German "dialects".

<sup>33</sup>John 5,30 " . . . Nor can I by myself do anything; as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just". All quotations from the Tatian are from Eduard Sievers, ed. Tatian: lateinisch und altdeutsch (2nd ed.; Paderborn, 1960); this quotation is from p. 125, Section 88, 10.

<sup>34</sup>John 16,11, "[he will reprove the world] of judgment, because the prince of this world is judged". Sect. 172, 5.

<sup>35</sup>Also, in tuomtage glosses in die iudicii (6,23). All references are to G.A. Hench, ed. The Monsee Fragments (Strassburg, 1890). The work is in the "Bavarian" dialect, probably from Vienna, A.D. 800. The quotation above is from Evangelium Secundum Matthaeum, cap. 17, 17, pp. 26-7.

<sup>36</sup>Sect. 119,12. John 3,19: "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, [and men loved darkness rather than light]." Sievers, p. 171. Other examples of tuom in the Tatian with the sense of judgment can be found in the following Sections: 44,10; 62,12; 65,3 and 5; 88,9.

<sup>37</sup>See Johann Kell, ed. Otfrid von Weissenburg: Evangelienbuch (2nd ed.; Aalen, 1963) III, 20, 179. Otfrid's work is in the Rhenish Franconian "dialect", written between 863-71. See also Chapter IV, 1,50 in Kelle for a further example.

<sup>38</sup>E.g., I, 1,44; III, 15,17; IV, 18,8.

<sup>39</sup>See Paul Piper, ed. Die Schriften Notkers und seiner Schule 3 Vols. (Freiburg I. B., 1882). Notker's work is in the Alemannic

dialect of St. Gall, written c. 1000, and contains inter alia translations of the Psalms and Boethius's De consolazione philosophiae. Other works in this dialect are the Abrogans and the Benediktinerregel.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Die Psalmen, Vol. II, 479,13.

<sup>41</sup>De consolazione philosophiae, III, 78. Piper, I, 185,6.

"But I must ask you to make sure that your approval of our statement that the supreme God is to the highest degree filled with the most glorious good."

<sup>42</sup>Cf. Augustine's De civitate dei, Bk. 11, 24. PL 41, 338.

St. Gregory Nazianzen's Orationes, No. 38, 9, in which God is equated with Goodness. PG 36, 320. See pp. 11 and 13 above and the comments on this concept in Chapter III, pp. 77-9.

<sup>43</sup>In many dictionaries, e.g., Cleasby-Vigfusson and Zoëga there is no mention of the "fate" or "fame, reputation" significances which are noted here. It is true that the legal meanings of "judgment" take precedence in O.N., but dómr still can have the sense of "fame", "glory".

<sup>44</sup>Citation from E. V. Gordon, ed. Hrafnkelssaga Freysgoða in An Introduction to Old Norse (2nd ed., revised by A. R. Taylor; Oxford, 1962), Chapter 4, p. 73. Other examples: ok heyja féránsdóm á grjóthól nokkurum (Hrafnkelssaga Chapter 5, line 581, and cf. line 586); í fulla dóma fara, "to travel to the great court" (Sigurðrífomál, 12,9); and innumerable other examples in Njalssaga and Víga-Glúmssaga.

<sup>45</sup>Fáfnismál, 11. The citation is from Gustav Neckel, ed., Edda (Heidelberg, 1927), Vol. II, 178. All other eddaic references are from this work.

<sup>46</sup>Eddaic translations are from Lee M. Hollander, trans., The Poetic Edda (Austin, 1962); this quotation is from p. . Hollander avoids the problems (and interest) surrounding O.N. dómr by translating it as "doom" normally. See J. R. R. Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics", p. 97, and Chapter II, p. 50.

<sup>47</sup>See Dame Bertha S. Phillpotts article, "Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought", Essays and Studies, 13 (1928), 7-27. Vilhelm Grönbech equates dómr with fate. The Culture of the Teutons, trans. W. Worster (London, 1932), II, 324.

<sup>48</sup>From Víga-Glúmssaga, Chapter 7, ed. E. O. G. Turville-Petre (Oxford, 1960), p. 12.

<sup>49</sup>Neckel, Vol. I, 28.

<sup>50</sup>Hollander, p. 25.

<sup>51</sup>Turville-Petre, p. 43, lines 34-5. Other examples: doema mál, "to judge a case"; doema einhvern skógarmann, "to proclaim someone an outlaw"; doema sekt, utlegð, "to pass sentence of a fine, outlawry". See Schlyter, Corpus Juris Sueogotorum Antiqui (Stockholm, 1834), Vol. I, 36.

<sup>52</sup>Turville-Petre, p. 7, line 16.

<sup>53</sup>Neckel, II, 14.

<sup>54</sup>Hollander, p. 12.

<sup>55</sup>Paul B. Taylor and W. H. Auden, trans., The Elder Edda: A Selection (New York, 1970), p. 152.



<sup>56</sup>Hollander, p. 125.

<sup>57</sup>Text from Neckel, I, 280, trans. Hollander, p. 125.

<sup>58</sup>Another example is in the Hyndloljóð, 8, Neckel, I, 285. The goddesses Freya and Hyndla recall the fame of the heroes and their divine ancestry -- um iqfra ættir dæma, / gumna þeira, er frá goðom kvómo "discuss the lines of lordly races, of those men who are descended from the gods". Their "chat" is, therefore, the ritual enumeration by divine powers of the fame of heroes which must be pronounced in strict, ceremonial order; thus the heroes are immortalized by such a memorial (cf. dōm areccan of Maxims I, 140).

<sup>59</sup>Neckel, I, 147.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 268.

<sup>61</sup>Other examples can be found in Cri 1205, 1618, 1636; Bwf 978, 3069; InC 53; Max II 60, SmS 26, 273, 326, 337; XSt 599, etc.

<sup>62</sup>See also Glc 14, 56; Dan 286, 661, 744; Gen 1625, 2584; Exo 521; XSt 505; Precepts 73; Psalms 104,7 and 40; 118,7, 108 and 132, etc.

<sup>63</sup>E.g., æfter frean dome, And 1695; to frean dome, And 653, 796; purh dom godes, Order of the World, 6.

<sup>64</sup>See also Bwf 895 and 2776 (on bearm hladon bunan ond discas / sylfes dome "to heap up in his bosom goblets and plates of his own choice"); Gen 1915; Vgl 64-5 (ond þonne gesettan on hyra sylfra dom / wuldres wynlond "and then [the demonic host would try to] occupy the glorious land, as they so desire [lit. 'of their own free will']"); And 339.

<sup>65</sup>There are a few examples of such phrases in Dan as Daniel to dome (150), to ðam dome (531), æt þam dome (547); "judgment" does not quite fit here, and Kennedy suggests "in the assembly" for 547. There are no other examples of dom referring to the "an assembly" or even "court", as in O.N., far less a royal court. A translation of "wisdom" in lines 150 and 547 fits perfectly, e.g., "Nebuchadnezzar then fell silent, yet Daniel knew the truth, Daniel in his wisdom, that his lord, leader of men, was guilty before God." This, then, is the immediate gift given to the faithful, akin to the sped "prosperity" (cf. the heroic concept of "luck") which the faithful in the Junius MS. poems enjoy while on earth. This idea of worldly reward will be discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>66</sup>As mentioned above, it is often impossible to differentiate between the glory and power of the righteous and God.

<sup>67</sup>See also Wid 140, 143; Wld 10; Max I 140.

<sup>68</sup>Also And 1151; Phx 524; Gen 632; Dan 477, 761; Ele 365, 450.

<sup>69</sup>Also Gen 2082; Ele 944, etc.

<sup>70</sup>Other compounds are: domlic(e) "glorious(ly)" or powerful(ly), Aza 124; Jud 319; Phx 445, 452. domweorþung "glory", "power", "honour", e.g., Ele 146. domhwæt "eager for glory", synonymous with domgeorn, e.g., Forþon we hine domhwate, dædum and wordum / hergen holdlice "therefore, we being eager for glory, may praise him faithfully with words and deeds". (Cri 429-30); also Gen 1247, Glc 727, 952, Jln 288.

<sup>71</sup>See also Cri 796; Jln 249, 256, 594, 602; XSt 379; Glc 618, 703; Rsg 82; Jud 94; LP II 28, 37, 121; Jdg II 76; Psalms 21,5; 43,19; 67,6; 81,2; 92,2; 93,2; 94,7, etc.

<sup>72</sup>Demere is a variant form.

<sup>73</sup>See also Gen 2255; XSt 108, 621; Cri 803; Glc 1059; Jln 707; And 75; DrR 107; Ele 311, 500; Jdg II 71; Bwf 687; Psalms 57,1 and 10; 61,12; 66,4; 71,2; 73,20; 81,8; 95,10 and 12; 97,8; 118,154; 143,5.

<sup>74</sup>See also Bwf 3174.

## Chapter II

<sup>75</sup>"Some Reflections on the Medieval Idea of Perfection", Franciscan Studies, 17 (1957), 226.

<sup>76</sup>ek veit einn, at aldri deyr: / dóm<sup>†</sup>r um daud<sup>†</sup>an hvern. See Paul B. Taylor and W. H. Auden, trans., The Elder Edda (New York, 1970), p. 47. Italics mine.

<sup>77</sup>See Peter Hallberg, The Icelandic Saga (Lincoln, 1962), pp. 97-100.

<sup>78</sup>See also Hrothgar's "Sermon" in Bwf 1735ff.

<sup>79</sup>J. R. R. Tolkien, "Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics", reprinted in Lewis E. Nicholson, ed., An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, (Notre Dame, 1963), p. 92. See also B. J. Timmer, "Heathen and Christian Elements in Old English Poetry", Neophilologus, 29 (1944), 184.

<sup>80</sup>Cf. hæden, 55 and 181; wælwulfas, 96, the demonic epithets applied to the Danes (or rather, Viking warriors). See also Norman F. Blake, "The Battle of Maldon", Neophilologus, 49 (1965), 334.

<sup>81</sup>In the following passage Hildegund exhorts Waldhere to win fame by good deeds (22b-3a). Such an exhortation by a woman and the

mention of the hero's father as an encouragement is well known in Germanic, especially Icelandic, literature where there are many examples of women who try to eggja "egg on" the men.

<sup>82</sup>See Chapter III, pp. 69-70.

<sup>83</sup>E.g., Margaret Goldsmith, The Mode and Meaning of Beowulf (London, 1970).

<sup>84</sup>J. R. Clark Hall, Beowulf and the Finnesburg Fragment (London, 1963), p. 130.

<sup>85</sup>See Dorothy Whitelock, The Audience of Beowulf (Oxford, 1958), pp. 13ff.

<sup>86</sup>See also Matt. 13,12; 25,29; Mark 4,25-9; Luke 8,18 and 19,26.

<sup>87</sup>Jerome in Epistola adversus Jovinianum I,12, comments on this text: "'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that is also to receive it, let him receive it.' He does not say you must drink, you must run, willing or unwilling . . . . It indicates greater grace to offer what you are not bound to give." Lines 75-6 of The Wife of Bath's Prologue are based on the Jerome passage and aptly demonstrate the error in thinking that one can modestly opt out of this "race". Translation by W. H. Fremantle et al. The Principal Works of Jerome, Vol. VI of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Michigan, 1964), 355.

<sup>88</sup>See Fr. Klaeber, ed., Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg (Boston, 1950), p. 160.

<sup>89</sup>C. L. Wrenn in the Introduction to his edition, Beowulf, with the Finnesburg Fragment (London, 1964), p. 73 adds that the comparison

of Beowulf to the greatest hero Sigemund "is intended to exalt Beowulf and at the same time by this device of ironic tragic anticipation to foreshadow even his transience and doom". If this is so, even at the moment of greatest glory the poet is underlining the hopelessness of the pre-Christian consolatio.

<sup>90</sup>This translation and the others from Beowulf are from Garmonsway, Simpson and Davidson, Beowulf and its Analogues (London, 1968); on this occasion, p. 83. At times, however, I have given my own translations, if this work was not sufficiently precise.

<sup>91</sup>Cf. Widsith 141; eahtan means "to judge", "measure" and hence "praise", just as deman does.

<sup>92</sup>Klaeber makes a parallel with the Book of Common Prayer: "It is very meet, right and our bounden duty . . ." (Klaeber, p. 230).

<sup>93</sup>See Note 58 of Chapter I.

<sup>94</sup>See Chapter I, p. 21 for the precise meaning of doena.

<sup>95</sup>Interestingly, drápa "the heroic, laudatory poem" is a cognate form of O.E. drepan "to strike", "slay"; once more an etymological point throws light on the social values.

<sup>96</sup>Origins of Icelandic Literature (Oxford, 1967), p. 181.

<sup>97</sup>The "court-metre"; a strophe of eight lines with each six syllables long, three of which are stressed. Each line ends in a trochee and each pair of lines is bound by alliteration; there is also internal rhyme, consonance, highly complex kennings and involved syntax. See Turville-Petre, p. 23ff.

<sup>98</sup>This unique word in Old English conveys the senses of "security", "covenant/pledge" and also, being related with fæsten "a stronghold", the physical security from a castle. This connection between a pledge and security is central in heroic thought, for the comitatus depends on the promises (e.g., the heroic boasts, etc.) of thane and lord for its existence, and in order to fix something certain in the mutable future. Man thus feels he has some power over his destiny when a pledge is made, and the same concept is central in early Christianity, with its symbol of the fæsten the New Jerusalem.

<sup>99</sup>See John L. McKenzie on "Pride" in The Dictionary of the Bible (Milwaukee, 1965), p. 818. In the O.T. the disloyalty of king or subject is called "sin", e.g., that of Saul or David.

<sup>100</sup>See Wrenn, p. 47 and Klaeber, pp. 148-50 for examples of the archetypal evil counsellor in Germanic myth, and the parallels with Satan.

<sup>101</sup>Heremod's sin, the poet tells us, is that of oferhyge "pride", the same as Lucifer's. Another example of the domleas man occurs in Bwf when Wiglaf reproaches the cowardly thanes of Beowulf for their domleasan dæd (2890) when they do not come to their lord's aid: Deað<sup>†</sup> bið sella / eorla gehwylcum þonne edwit-lif "death is preferable for every man, than a life of reproach" (2890b-1). To refuse to aid one's lord is also a breaking of one's pledge, a "sin". The choice between eternal death by saving one's life in a cowardly way and immortality through death is akin to the exhortation of Hildegund, and parallels the Christian paradox of "life in death". Cf. Bwf 1535-6: þonne he æt guðe<sup>†</sup> gegan þenced<sup>†</sup> / longsumne lof; na ymb his lif cearað<sup>†</sup> "when he hopes to

gain in battle long-lasting praise; he does not care about his life". Lof and lif are contrasted here, as one cannot wish to preserve both worldly existence and eternal fame; the two, as in Christianity, are incompatible. For information on the concept of dream see Klaus Ostheeren, Studien zum Begriff der "Freude" (Heidelberg, 1964), pp. 69-77 and 114-6.

<sup>102</sup>Dom was first inserted by Kemble here and since adopted by all subsequent editors. One might add that the poet in a gnomic passage at the beginning of Beowulf (24b-5) sets the tone, and an important theme, of the poem: lof-dædum sceal / in mægþa gehwam man geþeon "by praiseworthy deeds shall one thrive in every nation". This is the basic principle of the heroic code, exemplified in Beowulf, and the outcome for the successful hero is dom.

<sup>103</sup>him of hrædre gewat / sawol secean soðfæstra dom.

<sup>104</sup>Wrenn, p. 225.

<sup>105</sup>Also sawul-driore "the life's blood" (2693). No specifically Christian sense can be read into any of these.

<sup>106</sup>Tolkien favours a more pessimistic and pagan interpretation than Wrenn (pp. 95-6): "Yet Beowulf himself, expressing his own opinion, though troubled by dark doubts, and later declaring his conscience clear, thinks at the end only of his barrow and memorial among men, of his childlessness, and of Wiglaf, the sole survivor of his kindred, to whom he bequeathes his arms. His funeral is not Christian, and his reward is the recognized virtue of his kingship and the hopeless sorrow of his people."

<sup>107</sup>See Chapter IV, pp. 168-9.

<sup>108</sup>As Tolkien suggested in the above quotation, Beowulf has no heir to continue his name, his country will be ruined and his tribe of Wægmundings is doomed; and one senses that the monsters will come again.

<sup>109</sup>A tentative parallel might be made with the ambiguity in meaning in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. In this work the perfect hero, Sir Gawain, is created. By following the code, of which he is a paragon, he is placed in impossible situations and with impossible decisions, and thus the intrinsic short-comings of that code are illustrated, or, perhaps, the impossibility of fallen man to live a perfect life according to any absolute ethical or spiritual rule is shown.

<sup>110</sup>"The Originality of Beowulf". In The Interpretation of Narrative: Theory and Practice. Harvard English Studies I (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 43.

<sup>111</sup>Book 2, Chapter 13.

<sup>112</sup>See Chapter I, p. 14.

<sup>113</sup>Where Beowulf ends, with the twelve thanes lamenting their dead lord, the hagiographical O.E. poetry begins, with the Lord's death, and continues with the glorious lives of the apostles and saints.

<sup>114</sup>See Gregory Nazianzen, Orations 28, 31. PG 36, 72: " . . . not that God may thereby gain an increase of glory [do we praise him], for nothing can be added to that which is full -- to Him who supplies good to all".



<sup>115</sup>For an appreciation of this poem see Lee, pp. 73-5.

<sup>116</sup>The blood and water from Christ's wounds were taken to represent in medieval times the divinity and humanity of Christ, respectively; the water was equated with the water of baptism. See Chapter III, pp. 95-6, and Chapter V, p. 219.

<sup>117</sup>Symbolizing mankind in the power of the devil.

<sup>118</sup>Andreas, like Beowulf, sails to a foreign land to free the people from a demonic force and encounters bloody battles. The parallels between the two works are striking.

<sup>119</sup>Lee, p. 103.

<sup>120</sup>Cf. Run 3 domes hleotan.

<sup>121</sup>Lee, p. 112.

<sup>122</sup>The Blickling Homilies, ed. R. Morris. EETS o.s. 58, 63 and 73 (London, reprinted 1967), p. 83.

<sup>123</sup>See Chapter III, p. 77.

### Chapter III

<sup>124</sup>See N. E. S. A. Hamilton, ed. William of Malmesbury. Rolls Series III, Bk. 1, Chapter 38 (London, 1870), 59.

<sup>125</sup>E.g., Sermo de baptisate in The Homilies of Wulfstan, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 175-84, Incipuint sermones Lupi Episcopi, pp. 142-56. This edition will be called Bethurum in future references. There are also a number of Wulfstan's law codes against

such practices, and Professor Bethurum notes other sources in her edition, p. 319, e.g., Buchard of Worms' Corrector, Bk. 19 of his Decretum, PL 140, 537-1058.

<sup>126</sup>"Beowulf: the Monsters and the Critics", in Lewis E. Nicholson, ed., An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism, (Nortre Dame, 1963), p. 76.

<sup>127</sup>An illustration of the Aaby Crucifix can be found readily in R. W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (London, 1967), plate II.

<sup>128</sup>C. C. Ferrell, Teutonic Antiquities, p. 8, quoted by Albert Keiser, The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry (Illinois, 1919), p. 12. For other examples see the articles by E. G. Stanley, "The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism", N&Q., n.s. 11 (1964), 204ff., 242ff., 282ff., 324ff., 455ff., and N&Q. n.s. 12 (1965), 9ff., 203ff., 285ff., 322ff.

<sup>129</sup>Translated by E. O. G. Turville-Petre, Origins of Icelandic Literature (Oxford, 1953), p. 55. See also his Myth and Religion of the North (London, 1964).

<sup>130</sup>Quoted by Johannes Brønsted, The Vikings (Harmondsworth, 1965), p. 306. Brønsted gives other interesting examples.

<sup>131</sup>The change from the Germanic polytheistic religion with its strict individualism to the Roman Church with its central authority and roots in Judaism, a religion of the community and nation, perhaps reflects a social change in the North and growth of nationalistic feelings.

<sup>132</sup>Leo Sherley-Price, trans., Bede: A History of the English Church and People (Harmondsworth, 1960), p. 125.

<sup>133</sup>Frank Kermode, The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction (Oxford, 1968), p. 4.

<sup>134</sup>See the description of the Torcello Mosaic, p. 96. The Descent into Hell, a figure of Christ's descent into the world to save the righteous from evil forces and take him up to heaven, was an important theme in many eschatological homilies, e.g., Morris, pp. 85-92.

<sup>135</sup>Vilhelm Grönbech states that "the idea of a realm for the dead never went beyond the imagination of poets fired by contact with Christian eschatology". The Culture of the Teutons. Vol. III (London, 1931), p. 322. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, The Religion of the Teutons, trans. B. J. Vos (Boston, 1902), p. 291, states "The Walhalla concept is the product of later poetic invention" and quotes Widukind "Where might there be a Hel [infernus] so large that it could receive such a multitude of the slain?". Hilda R. Ellis Davidson, Gods and Myths of Northern Europe (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 162, states that "Balder was the son of Odin, and by a surprising twist, typically Icelandic in its irony, the god of the dead was himself defeated by the relentless law of mortality".

<sup>136</sup>For the Celtic interpretations of the Christian after-life see St. John D. Seymour, "The Vision of Adamnan", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 37, No. 15 (1927), 304-12, and by the same author, "Studies in the Vision of Tundal", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1926), 87-106. The hollow hills were said to be the abode of the dead in Celtic myth and superstition (cf. "The Sleepy Hollow" type of myth) and hence many hills were revered.

The Celts stressed the aesthetic nature of this "heaven", the beauty of the landscape and nature. I am indebted to Lektor James Stewart, Lektor í Irsk, Københavns Universitet, for information on Irish eschatology. See also MacCulloch's article on Celtic ideas of after-life in "Abode of the Blest", in James Hastings, ed., Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (Edinburgh, 1908-26), Vol. II, 689-96.

<sup>137</sup>In Brennu-Njáls saga there is an excellent description of Gunnar's mound opening and Gunnar looking at the moon while reciting verses. This can be found in translation by Carl F. Bayerschmidt and Lee M. Hollander, Njáls Saga (New York, 1955), pp. 162-4.

<sup>138</sup>See W. A. Craigie's article on the cult of the dead in the entry "State of the Dead", in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, 851ff.

<sup>139</sup>The account can be found in G. N. Garmonsway, J. Simpson and H. R. Ellis Davidson, Beowulf and its Analogues (London, 1968), pp. 341-5. See also the chapter on "Funerary Customs: Literary Evidence", pp. 340-9 of this work.

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., p. 348.

<sup>141</sup>Víga-Glumssaga, ed. E. O. G. Turville-Petre (Oxford, 1968), p. 15. Glumr dreamt he saw a gigantic woman coming up the fjord towards his home and he interpreted the dream thus: "Draumr er mikill ok merkiligr, en svá mun ek hann ráða, at Vigfúss móðurfadir minn mun nú vera andaðr, ok mundi kona sjá hans hamingja vera, er fjöllum hæra gekk. Ok var hann um aðra menn fram um flesta hluti at virðingu, ok hans hamingja mun leita

sér þangat staðfestu, som ek em." "The dream is important and curious, and I must interpret it this way, that my maternal grandfather Vigfuss has now died, and the woman must be his guardian spirit who walked higher than the mountains. And he was superior to other men in most ways in honour and his guardian spirit has to look for a dwelling for itself where I am."

<sup>142</sup>Turville-Petre suggests that there may be no difference between the hamingja and the ættarfylgja. Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>143</sup>See Grönbech, Vol. II, 16, on the concepts of sped "luck", "power", and the semantic connection between spedig "prosperous" and eadig "prosperous", "blessed". "In A.S. ead there lies the full feeling of confidence in luck, the sense of health and well-being, happiness and rejoicing in life, the feeling of strength, the feeling of power and honour."

<sup>144</sup>William A. Chaney, The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England (Los Angeles, 1970), p. 3. Chaney points out that the priesthood was secular and the temples, the private possessions of the ruler, pagan parallels of the medieval Eigenkirche, with the head of the household as the priest (p. 14). By the time of the conversion in Iceland the goðar "priests" were almost completely secular rulers and their function hardly changed after the conversion.

<sup>145</sup>Grönbech, Vol. III, 253 and II, 311, respectively.

<sup>146</sup>Hávamál, 77. See also Bwf 1384-9, Sfr 72ff., and pp. 34-5. of Chapter II.

<sup>147</sup>Tolkien, p. 91.

<sup>148</sup>Gesta IV, 26. Quoted by Chantepie de la Saussaye, p. 296, where it is suggested that the growth of hero worship reflects the decline in the belief of the power of the gods.

<sup>149</sup>H. R. Ellis Davidson, p. 218.

<sup>150</sup>Cf. Maldon, 198ff. and 212ff. which demonstrates the importance of the heroic boast. On another level, but with the same basic concept, the theme of Truth, the keeping of pledges, is the major theme in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. Without this trust chaos would come to society.

<sup>151</sup>The punctuation is mine.

<sup>152</sup>Cf. the accounts in Tacitus's Germania, and Chantepie de la Saussaye quotes from the Hamdismál, 31: "We have gotten a good report though we die today or tomorrow. No man can live over the evening when the word of the Norns has gone forth" (p. 408).

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., p. 407.

<sup>154</sup>This heroic dilemma is in many ways comparable to that of Job who could not understand the absence of "cause and effect" in a world supposedly ruled by a benevolent God. The resolution or resignation offered by Christianity is admirably illustrated in The Seafarer, 97-124.

<sup>155</sup>See B. G. Koonce, Chaucer and the Tradition of Fame: Symbolism in the House of Fame. (Princeton, 1966), p. 20. I am much indebted to Koonce's remarks on the background of fama in this section.

<sup>156</sup>Pierre Bersuire, Opera omnia, V, 152, quoted from Koonce, p. 20. Bersuire's work is, of course, later than the period investigated here, but admirably sums up the medieval ideas of fama. Koonce paraphrases Bersuire further: "just as the rose and certain aromatic trees have an inner fragrance which is outwardly diffused, so those who are good within emit a fame which spreads to the most remote places" (p. 19). Cf. also 2 Cor. 2,14-6 and, once more, the fragrance surrounding St. Guthlac's barrow.

<sup>157</sup>Opera, IV, 185, quoted by Koonce, p. 21.

<sup>158</sup>Cf. Bede in Super parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio. Lib. II. PL 91, 1001. See also John 3,3ff. Christ perceives in Nicodemus "future glory", which was translated in the Gothic commentary as anawairþan dom (see p. 10 ); the future dom "state of perfection" is therefore perceived in the living man, as it is while alive that this state must be reached.

<sup>159</sup>See Koonce, pp. 16-7. And Augustine's Confessions I, 1, PL 32, 661; De civitate Dei 12, 6, PL 41, 353; and 2 Peter 1,4: " . . . ye might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust".

<sup>160</sup>Kermode, p. 25.

<sup>161</sup>See Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God (New York, 1962), p. 59. Leclercq claims that medieval ideas of celestial happiness are influenced, through St. Augustine's neoplatonism, by descriptions of "the locus amoenus, the Golden Age, the Elysium . . . by Pindar and Aristophanes" (p. 59).

<sup>162</sup>Tolkien, p. 77.

<sup>163</sup>H. R. Ellis Davidson, p. 205.

<sup>164</sup>Ibid., pp. 208-9.

<sup>165</sup>See also loc. cit.

<sup>166</sup>Voluspá, 39. Paul B. Taylor and W. H. Auden, trans. The Elder Edda: A Selection (New York, 1970), p. 150. All translations from the Voluspá are taken from this work.

<sup>167</sup>The image of two animals devouring a creature with a circular, sparkling face on the Sutton Hoo purse lid could depict the wolves' devouring the sun at Ragnarök. Many of the designs in this treasure have apocalyptic features.

<sup>168</sup>Taylor and Auden, p. 152.

<sup>169</sup>See Rosemary Woolf, "The Devil in Old English Poetry", RES, n.s. 4 (1953), 1-12.

<sup>170</sup>H. R. Ellis Davidson, p. 204. See Turville-Petre, Origins of Icelandic Literature, pp. 59-62, where the arguments for and against Christian influence are balanced. "The author of the Voluspá was an individual rather than a representative of his age . . . [he] regarded the fate of gods and men as a natural evolutionary and devolutionary process. Such views would accord better with Christian teaching than the cruder and more grotesque ones typical of northern paganism." (pp. 60-1).

<sup>171</sup>God had forbidden any future flood in Gen. 9,8-17 and gave as



a token the sign of the rainbow, the symbol of God's saving the "righteous remnant". The sign becomes one of the signs of Doom in Rev. 4,2-3, where the rainbow becomes the Judge's throne, again stressing the forgiveness of the Godhead (and an important feature of eschatological art). There is no biblical reference to a flood at Judgment, yet flood imagery pervades the Judgment Day poems in Old English. The significance of this will be discussed in the following chapter.

<sup>172</sup>See J. A. MacCulloch's article on Parsi myth in the section on "Eschatology" in The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V, 376, and H. R. Ellis Davidson, p. 204. Stronger parallels between eschatological myths of the East and West are seen in the Vision Literature which describes Purgatory, heaven and hell. See Arnold B. Van Os, The Development of the Eschatological Elements in Medieval English Religious Literature (Amsterdam, 1932), and Ernest J. Becker, A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with special reference to the Middle English Versions (Baltimore, 1899). See pp. 27ff. for "English Visions".

<sup>173</sup>See Jln 563b-94a, and Dan 335b-56a.

<sup>174</sup>A Death in the Desert, 586.

<sup>175</sup>Irving F. Wood in "The State of the Dead (Hebrew)", The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, XI, 841. See also R. H. Charles, Eschatology, The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity (New York, 1963), pp. 33-50, and Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages (New York, 1970), pp. 19-20. I am indebted to both

these works in this section. The Hebrew reph'aim "the quiet ones" has a parallel in Plato's (much abused phrase) "the silent majority" for the dead.

<sup>176</sup>See the Appendix.

<sup>177</sup>Kermode, p. 5: "In Jewish thought there was no true apocalyptic until prophecy failed."

<sup>178</sup>This became the accepted Christian doctrine. See Augustine's De civitate Dei, 21, 3, PL 41, 710, and Tertullian, PL 2, 523. Origen in On First Principles 3, 16, PG 11, 338 suggests that the same body as one has on earth will be resurrected, while others talk of bodies and clothes of man's good and evil deeds, e.g., Augustine in Enchir. 89, PL 40, 273.

<sup>179</sup>See Charles, p. 408.

<sup>180</sup>Cohn, p. 29.

<sup>181</sup>Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>182</sup>E.g., Albert Cook in his Introduction to The Christ of Cynewulf (Boston, 1900), pp. xci-xciii.

<sup>183</sup>Charles, p. 183. See also A. A. Lee: "'In the beginning' means 'right now' and the Genesis story tells how things happen in human consciousness. The Gospel writers tell how Christ comes 'now', how human redemption works. The Judgment describes what happens in the apocalypse of human emotions and imaginings right now. Religion does not destroy the human consciousness of natural time and space; it brings something new into nature." "The English Bible", an unpublished article.

<sup>184</sup>See Charles, p. xiv, and Bultmann: "In the sacramental Church eschatology is not abandoned but is neutralized in so far as the powers of the beyond are already working in the present." Quoted in Kermode, p. 25.

<sup>185</sup>"We project ourselves -- a small, humble elect, perhaps -- past the End, so as to see the structure whole, a thing we cannot do from our spot of time in the middle." Kermode, p. 8.

<sup>186</sup>PL 41, 666, trans. John R. Willis, S.J. The Teachings of the Church Fathers (Montreal, 1966), p. 438. Cf. Tertullian On the Resurrection of the Flesh, Chapter 14. PL 2, 813.

<sup>187</sup>Bultmann, quoted in Kermode, p. 25.

<sup>188</sup>Historia Ecclesiastica, Bk. 4, Chapter 24.

<sup>189</sup>The Parson in Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales hopes to show the pilgrims "the wey, in this viage,/Of thilke parfit glorious pilgrimage /That highte Jerusalem celestial" (49-51), which he later states "is cleped Penitence" (79-80). F. N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (2nd ed.; London, 1957), pp. 228-9.

<sup>190</sup>Homilies on Matt. 14,4. PG 57, 222; trans. Willis, p. 495. See also Homilies on 1 Cor. 42,3. PG 61, 367.

<sup>191</sup>Morris, pp. 82-3.

<sup>192</sup>Quoted in Kermode, p. 25 and he also states "St. Augustine speaks of the terrors of the End as a figure for personal death." (loc. cit.).

<sup>193</sup>"By baptism", Tertullian states, "man regains his likeness to God". (Quoted by Jean Daniélou, The Bible and Liturgy [Notre Dame, 1956], p. 26) PL 1, 1206. Daniélou describes the liturgy of the baptismal service on Holy Saturday; the catechumen re-enacts the original temptation of man, tramples under foot a hair cloth signifying worldly sins, descends into the waters of death and re-emerges purified (p. 26). In the Bourges Cathedral Judgment Day window there is a depiction of baptism; medieval commentators, such as Anselm of Laon, interpreted Rev. 4,6 "before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal", as "The sea of glass resembling crystal is baptism, for even as the crystal is hardened water, so baptism transmutes irresolute and unstable men into firm and unyielding Christians." (PL 162, 1517; quoted by Emile Mâle, The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century (New York, 1958), p. 364.

<sup>194</sup>See Mâle, p. 368. Fig. 173, and a similar depiction at Notre Dame, Paris, Fig. 174. Mâle quotes Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda Aurea, I, De adventu Domini: "His scars show His mercy, for they recall His willing sacrifice, and they justify His anger by reminding us that all men are not willing to profit by that sacrifice." (p. 369); and cf. Christ's speech to man in Christ III.

<sup>195</sup>See the depictions of the Last Judgment in Desanka Milošević, The Last Judgment, Vol. III (Recklinghausen, 1964); T. S. R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgment and Remembrance (London, 1972), pp. 19-37. And Mâle, pp. 355-89.

<sup>196</sup>See Milošević, p. 34, and Boase, pp. 18 and 20. The Mosaic includes scenes of Christ releasing Adam from Limbo, trampling Satan

underfoot and carrying a Cross; Adam and Eve and the Book of Life, the vision of Daniel, the scales of justice, John the Baptist, and innumerable other biblical scenes. Christ the Judge is much smaller than the Christ who harrows hell, either to show that the Saviour is more important than the Judge, or, as Milošević suggests, it indicates that the Descent was still in progress (p. 35).

<sup>197</sup>Quoted in Daniélou, p. 102.

<sup>198</sup>PL 77, 396. See also Augustine De civitate Dei 21, 26. PL 41, 743, and Tertullian Apologeticus adversus Gentes, 48. PL 1, 594-5.

<sup>199</sup>Orationes 40, 36, PG 36, 409. Translated by Willis, p. 505. See also Cyril of Jerusalem, PG 33: "a river of fire rushing on, searching [the hearts] of men". This is his description of the apocalyptic flames, which parallels the personified flames seeking out sin in Christ III.

<sup>200</sup>The flood of fire may have an eastern source, e.g., in the Egyptian Book of the Dead or in Parsi myth. See MacCulloch's entry on Egyptian eschatology in The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. V, 374-5 and on Parsi myth, 376. In Egyptian myth a lake of fire features prominently and in Parsi myth all must walk through a river of fire, which, like all eschatological fire in Old English poetry, is "to the righteous like warm milk, to the wicked like molten metal".

<sup>201</sup>Quoted by J. A. MacCulloch, Medieval Faith and Fable (London, 1932), pp. 287-8. Cf. the writings of Columbanus, Ep. 5 ad Bonif. PL 80, 276. Such ideas were also entertained by Gregory the Great.

<sup>202</sup>Kermode, pp. 7 and 11. Man makes "arbitrary chronological divisions -- we might simply call them saecula . . . to bear the weight of our anxieties and hopes", as in the nineteenth century fin de siècle (11).

<sup>203</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>204</sup>Bethurum, p. 279.

<sup>205</sup>Ibid., pp. 136-7, lines 44-7. See also p. 280.

<sup>206</sup>G. N. Garmonsway, trans. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (London, 1962), pp. 51ff.

<sup>207</sup>See, for example, the illustration in Boase, p. 27 or in the Junius Manuscript illustrations, reproduced in the facsimile edition, Sir Israel Gollancz, ed. The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry (London, 1927).

#### Chapter IV

<sup>208</sup>"The Old English Period", in W. F. Bolton, ed., The Middle Ages. The Sphere History of Literature in the English Language, Vol. I, 40.

<sup>209</sup>Kermode, p. 25.

<sup>210</sup>See Chapter III, pp. 93 and 97.

<sup>211</sup>From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers (London, 1960), p. 84.

<sup>212</sup>E.g., Sfr 27-30.

<sup>213</sup>See p. 97.

<sup>214</sup>The rainbow, the sign of God's covenant, is also a symbol of the Apocalypse; thus the two events are typologically related. See Rev. 4,2-3.

<sup>215</sup>Whitley Stokes, "The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday", Revue Celtique, 28 (1907), 312-3. The translation is also by Stokes. The parallels between Irish and Old English eschatology are striking, and are discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI.

<sup>216</sup>E.g., Luke 21,25; and see Blickling Homily VII, Morris, p. 93: 7 þa neolnessa grymetiap, 7 þa eorþan willap forswelgan "the deep will rage and devour the earth".

<sup>217</sup>The text of the Vǫluspá is from Neckel, p. 14 and the translation from Hollander, p. 11. No suggestion is implied that the O.N. work (chronologically impossible) or any hypothetical source for the Vǫluspá influenced Jdg I. In other Old English poems comparison is made between the Flood and Apocalypse, e.g., Cri III 984ff., Jdg II 164, where the fire is described as a rushing flood; Cri II in the Cynewulfian inscription.

<sup>218</sup>Hom. Ezech. 4,8, PG 13, 703, translated by Daniélou, p. 76. In his Comm. Matt. 15, 23 Origen states that "In the baptism of water we are buried with Christ; in the baptism of fire we are conformed to the body of his glory." (Daniélou, p. 102). Daniélou also quotes from Edsman's rendition of St. Ephraem, on whose eschatological writings Cri III is based: "When Christ descended from heaven/Straightway an inextinguishable fire raged everywhere/Before the face of Christ and devoured everything./And the Flood in the time of Noah /Was the type

of this inextinguishable fire./For just as the Flood covered even the tops of the mountains,/So does this fire." (p. 89).

<sup>219</sup>Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>220</sup>W. S. Mackie, ed. The Exeter Book, Part II. EETS 194 (London, 1958), 157.

<sup>221</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>222</sup>Mirce has associations of evil as well as darkness, cf. the myrcan mor (Bwf 1405); see also Dan 447, Jln 505, Phx 457.

<sup>223</sup>See Chapter III, p. 93 and Note 189.

<sup>224</sup>E.g., lines 73, 79, 86, 103, and cf. the use of sidfæt in Dan 648, Glc 1378, Jln 285, 318, Ele 220, And 358 (meaning "the course of events", the events leading up to, therefore, the pathway to hell).

<sup>225</sup>See Chapter I, p. 26.

<sup>226</sup>The source is probably the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus; cf. the descriptions of heat and cold in hell in XSt 334, Cri III 1546, 1625-9, Jdg II 195-6.

<sup>227</sup>See Saltair na Rann in the Appendix, Rev. 21,1, and Chapter III, p. 81.

<sup>228</sup>Morris, p. 65.

<sup>229</sup>This is the only occasion in the Old English poetic corpus in which Doomsday is called se wlonca dæg; wlonc means "glorious", as here, only in passages of heroic import, e.g., Bwf 331, 341, 2953, Mld 139, 205, Wds 106, 118, Brb 72, Max II 27, etc., in religious poetry it invariably



refers to "proud", the pride in possessions, e.g., Dan 17, 96, Exo 204, 487, Glc 208, 503, Sfr 29, 39, SmS 217ff., Gen A 1673, 1825, 2581.

Throughout the poem the poet uses heroic epithets, thus giving the Day suitably martial overtones.

<sup>230</sup>Exo 477-500. The demonic Egyptians are killed by the garsecg "the sea", which has evil connotations throughout the poetic corpus. No satisfactory interpretation has been made for the meaning of garsecg; could it refer to the Leviathan, and hence symbolize all the evil and fear which Northern man felt for the sea? At Doomsday the sea was said to turn to the colour of blood and give a shout when the Leviathan was killed. If this were the case, then the evil are killed by the Leviathan, the power of evil, therefore seeking their own deaths, as the sinful in Jdg I seek out eternal death.

<sup>231</sup>See Matt. 24, Rev. 6,12; 16,18; Joel 2,10, and other sources mentioned in the Appendix. In the poetry, Cri 810-1, 826-7, 811-2, And 1438, Jdg II 99, DrR 36-7: ic bifian geseah / eorðan sceatas "I saw the corners of the earth shake". The great noise at Doomsday has sources in Joel 2, 2 Peter 3,10, and parallels in Cri III 950-1, 953-4, 990, etc., XSt 605-6.

<sup>232</sup>Daniélou, pp. 83-4.

<sup>233</sup>See Mâle, p. 380. A further suggestion for a source for the bound Christ might have come from an image of a bound figure on a cross such as that found on the Gosforth Cross.

<sup>234</sup>See also Gen 1564, 2641 and Jud 10, 26.

<sup>235</sup>A similar ambiguity exists in WfL, the elegy preceding Jdg I in the Exeter Book. The wife sings of minre sylfre sid "my own fate [or journey]" (2a), but it would appear to refer to her wræcsip "exile journey" (5b). As this poem unfolds it becomes clear that she has not in fact travelled; the "journey" from her lord could well, therefore, be a spiritual one, similar to that advocated by the Jdg I poet.

<sup>236</sup>Perhaps reminding one of the final conflagration of Heorot in Beowulf.

<sup>237</sup>Dobbie suggests "the end of the eighth century, or, at the latest, the beginning of the ninth century" ASPR III, xlii.

## Chapter V

<sup>238</sup>The poetry is found on pp. 161-70 of the MS., which also contains the O.E. Apollonius of Tyre and a number of Wulfstan's homilies. There is no edition nor transcription of this MS. which greatly deserves further investigation. A. S. Napier (1883) and Dorothy Bethurum (1957) have edited the homilies of Wulfstan in the MS. and B. Thorpe, in his Ancient Laws and Institutes of England (1840), has transcribed a number of miscellaneous sections including the Capitula of Theodulf and an interesting "vision" homily derived from the Latin vision of Macarius; this homily has many features in common with the poetic works on Doomsday, as well as with the "Vision" literature.

<sup>239</sup>These titles are those of E. V. K. Dobbie, ASPR VI, lxx. The following editions of Jdg II have appeared in print: a) J. R. Lumby, ed., Be Domes Dæge. EETS o.s. 65 (London, 1876). Published along with the

other MS. CCCC 201 poems and Migne's rendition of De die iudicii. b) Hans Löhe, ed., Be Domes Dæge. Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, 22 (Bonn, 1907), with a German translation and Commentary, c) R. P. Wülker, ed., Bibliothek d. ags. poesi II, 2 (2nd ed.; Leipzig 1894), 250-72. d) E. V. K. Dobbie, ed., ASPR VI (New York, 1942), 58-67. e) Patrick M. Geoghegan, ed., Judgment Day II, unpublished dissertation (University of Illinois, 1968).

<sup>240</sup>The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons (Princeton, 1966), p. 166.

<sup>241</sup>Early English Christian Poetry (New York, 1963), p. 252.

<sup>242</sup>Richard Hoffman, "The Theme of Judgment Day II", ELN, 6 (1969), 161.

<sup>243</sup>"A Study of Bede's Versus de die iudicii", PQ, 23 (1944), 212.

<sup>244</sup>Kemp Malone, "The Old English Period", in A. C. Baugh, ed., A Literary History of England (New York, 1948), p. 81. L. Whitbread states that the translator often subtracts "from the precision of the source and produce[s] verse often prosaic and diluted, occasionally awkward and labored, and rarely rising above competence to artistry" in "The Old English Poem Judgment Day II and its Latin Source", PQ, 45 (1966), 645.

<sup>245</sup>Cambridge History of English Literature, I (Cambridge, 1907), 146-7.

<sup>246</sup>"After Bede: The Influence and Dissemination of his Doomsday Verses", Archiv. f. n. Sprachen, 204 (1967), 251. Whitbread explains that the tradition of ascribing the poem to Alcuin arose from the fact

that in one single MS., MS. Vienna 89, the poem happens to follow a page which is questionably ascribed to Alcuin.

<sup>247</sup>Ibid., 261. The lost MS., according to him, is probably "a recension reflecting an editorial interest stimulated by the monastic movement". Cf. the MSS. Cott. Domitian Ai, Camb. Trin. Coll. 1135, Camb. Univ. Lib. Gg. 5. 35, Salisb. Cath. Lib. 168, Worcest. Cath. Lib. F 57, and the two O.E. versions in MSS. CCCC 201 and Bodl. Hatton 113.

<sup>248</sup>"The Old English Poem Judgment Day II and its Latin Source", 636.

<sup>249</sup>Versus Bedae Presbyteri De Die Iudicii in Corpus Christianorum, Series CXXII (Turnhout, 1955), 439-44. This, according to Whitbread, is the most reliable of the edited versions.

<sup>250</sup>Whitbread, "After Bede: The Influence and Dissemination of his Doomsday Verses", 260. He adds, "In those ages however which best understood its spirit it achieved a remarkably wide and long-lived popularity, and in Bede's own land, towards the close of the Anglo-Saxon period which he so luminously adorned, it gave rise to a faithful and understanding vernacular translation." (251)

<sup>251</sup>Dobbie suggests late tenth century from linguistic and especially metrical reasons, the use of end-rhyme, the decay in alliteration, etc. (ASPR VI, lxxi-lxxii). Löhe would place it earlier, c. A.D. 950, while F. Liebermann thinks it was written a century later, c. 1050-80 (Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen I [Halle, 1903], xxii-xxiii).

<sup>252</sup>In many lines there is a lack of any alliteration, e.g., 3, 4, 6, 28, 42, 152, 190, 251, 255. There is internal end-rhyme (i.e., the "a" half-line rhyming with the "b" one) in 3, 4, 6, 28 (in which lines they take the place of alliteration), and 82 and 122.

<sup>253</sup>E. E. Wardale, Chapters on Old English Literature (London, 1935), p. 234, and Charles Kennedy, p. 252.

<sup>254</sup>See R. Hoffman, "Structure and Symbolism in Judgment Day II", Neophil., 52 (1968), 170.

<sup>255</sup>See Whitbread, "A Study of Bede's Versus de die iudicii", 213.

<sup>256</sup>As Whitbread suggests in "The Old English Poem Judgment Day II and its Latin Source", 642.

<sup>257</sup>B. F. Huppé, Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry (New York, 1959), 88-9. The above Latin translation is from Huppé, p. 81.

<sup>258</sup>In The Wife's Lament the oak tree, which has strong sacred associations, and the bearwe, suggest the home of an anchorite. It is possible to interpret the poem as referring to the Wife (seen as the soul or the Church) awaiting the summons to join her Spouse in a place of retreat and self-denial, such as Guthlac's barrow and the anchorite's cell.

<sup>259</sup>R. Hoffman in "Structure and Symbolism in Judgment Day II", 17, quotes from the Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturam: "Umbra, protectio Christi, est in Cantico: 'Sub umbra illius, quem desideravi, sedi', id est, in protectione Christi, quem diligo, requievi" ["Shade: the protection of Christ is in the Song of Solomon 2,3 'I sat down under his shadow whom I

desire', that is, I found refuge in the protection of Christ whom I love."]. Cf. Ps. 16,8. and Is. 32,2. Hoffman argues that the initial scene describes a church or oratory.

<sup>260</sup>The description of the blossoming groves, called halge under heofonum (Phx 71-81) is also an echo of Jdg II. The Cross in DrR is taken from holtes on ende "the edge of the wood" (29b).

<sup>261</sup>In "Structure and Symbolism in Judgment Day II", 176. Cf. also Hrabanus De universo (PL 111, 334), where he claims that the garden signifies the present Church or the land of the living. In the Blickling Dominica V. in Quadragesima (Morris, p. 57-9) the homilist expresses the thoughts which the sight of blossoming plants should elicit. The body without its soul is swylc þes blowenda wudu and þas blowendan wyrta. We witon þæt Crist sylfa cwæp þurh his sylfes mup, 'Þonne ge geseoþ growende and blowende ealle eorþan wæstmas, and þa swetan stencas gestincad þara wuduwyrtas, þa sona eft adrugeað and forþ gewitaþ for þæs sumores hæton.' Swa þonne gelice bið þære menniscan gecynde þæs lichoman . . . . Hwæt is þæt lif elles þysses middangeardes buton lytelu ylding þæs deapes? "like to the flowering tree and blooming flowers. We know that Christ himself said by his own mouth, 'When ye see growing and blowing all the fruits of the earth, and the fragrant odours exhaling from plants, then soon afterwards they shall dry up and dwindle away on account of the summer's heat.' So is it like to the nature of man's body . . . . What else is the life of this world but a little interval or delay of death?"

<sup>262</sup>The precise name is neorxnawong, the exact etymology of which is still disputed. In Ulfila's Gospel, 2 Cor. 12,4, Go. waggs ~ O.E.

wong signifies "paradise". The most recent comment is by Alan K. Brown, "Neorxnawong", NM (1973), 610-23. He suggests the neorxna- part is a reverse spelling of groen with the gyfu rune substituted for the "x". In Parsi myth I have found the word Raoxsna used to signify "heaven", and its precise meaning is "the shining place". Along with the other concepts in common with Parsi mentioned in Chapter III, perhaps the name might have lingered on in a slightly altered form. In addition, the concept of "a shining place" is exceptionally apt for the O.E. idea of heaven, as will be seen in this chapter and the next.

<sup>263</sup>The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, trans. Catherine Misrah (New York, 1962), p. 136.

<sup>264</sup>E.g., Guthlac's barrow.

<sup>265</sup>Leclercq, pp. 136-7.

<sup>266</sup>Is. 40,4. See also 99-101 and Cri III 976-88. The paradise of the Phoenix is also flat (Phx 20-7).

<sup>267</sup>Cf. Christopher Marlowe's Doctor Faustus:

Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscrib'd  
In one selfe place, for where we are is hell,  
And where hell is, must we ever be:  
And to conclude, when all the world dissolves,  
And every creature shall be purified,  
All places shall be hell that is not heaven.

ed., C. F. Tucker Brooke, The Works of Christopher Marlowe (Oxford, 1957), p. 163.

<sup>268</sup>Hoffman suggests that the wæterburnan "may symbolize the waters of doctrine, bringing salvation" ("Structure and Symbolism in Judgment Day II", 176).

<sup>269</sup>"The tree is further identified with the tree in the middle of Paradise by the phrase in line 4 that is added in the English poem, on middan gehæge (in the midst of an enclosure) . . . the tree of knowledge of good and evil, under which Adam and Eve hid in the spiritual distress and loneliness occasioned by their sin." (Huppé, pp. 90-1). There are definitely paradisaical overtones, just as one could claim the garden represents the monastery. Such readings do, however, limit the highly allusive description. I prefer to interpret the scene as a microcosm of the world with all its attractions and transient beauty, which should make man's thoughts go beyond this world. And, because of the signs of a prelapsarian Eden in the garden which Huppé finds, the ambivalent nature of this world as a hell or heaven, depending on man's use of it, is suggested.

<sup>270</sup>Cf. Dan 438 and 525, and Mod. Eng. "gruesome", Dan. grusom "cruel".

<sup>271</sup>It might be significant that the poet should be sitting on the ground initially with eyes downcast on the tranquil scene, unaware of the turmoil in the heavens. He is as near the earth as possible, and the symbol of downcast eyes is a common iconographic detail implying shame. The serpent's reputation, in contrast to that of the soaring eagle's, is based on an archetypal concept of evil being bound to the earth.

<sup>272</sup>Cf. Whitbread, "A Study of Bede's Versus de die iudicii", 220. This is also an argument for Bede's authorship of the Latin poem.

<sup>273</sup>Bede: A History of the English Church and People, trans. Leo Sherley-Price (Harmondsworth, 1955), p. 205.



<sup>274</sup>PL 92, 280. Quoted from Huppé, p. 82.

<sup>275</sup>PL 76, 170. Also from Huppé, p. 92. Biblical sources for the wind and clouds at Judgment are: Ezek. 30,3; Jer. 30,23; Joel 2,1; Rev. 6,13. The Midrash Tanhuma, Pekude (rabbinical commentary on the Torah) explains that the wind symbolizes the mutable world.

<sup>276</sup>Grendel's mother is called unhyre (Bwf 2120) and the murderous drink offered by the Mermedonians in Andreas is unheorne (And 34).

<sup>277</sup>In line 12a the poet states that he created [pas unhyrlican fers] . . . eall swylce þu cwæde. Huppé suggests that þu refers to the voice of God in the wind -- "all as You said" (p. 93). L. Whitbread ("The Old English Poem Judgment Day II and its Latin Source", 648) suggests the þu refers to Bishop Acca. Löhe thinks it a misreading of L. Utpote "in as much as" line 6 (p. 72). Geoghegan suggests that the poet is asserting his authority as an original poet in eall swa ic secge "all as I say" (4b), and his accuracy as a translator in 12a. As the expression does not occur in the Latin text, it would be unusual if the late O.E. poet added a reference to Acca, especially in the familiar form; Geoghegan's suggestion is the most plausible; and perhaps one might add that the O.E. poet may have wished the audience to realize that he had changed the initial section to stress the important symbolic interpretation which he had made clearer in so doing (hence 4b), while at 12b he wished to state that from that point onwards he was relying more heavily on Bede's work.

<sup>278</sup>"The Theme of Judgment Day II", 161. He also quotes Psalm 125,5 and Matt. 5,4: "Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted."

<sup>279</sup>Leclerq, p. 63.

<sup>280</sup>Morris, p. 61.

<sup>281</sup>Expositio IV. Evangel. Matthaeus, PL 30, 561. See Hoffman, 163 for another reference to Jerome.

<sup>282</sup>PL 107, 341. Quoted in Hoffman, "The Theme of Judgment Day II", 162.

<sup>283</sup>The tears gush from wylspringas (27), a word not recorded in B-T, but one which recalls and contrasts with the streams running through the grove in the earlier section.

<sup>284</sup>Cf. Jln 376a and Blickling Homily, Morris p. 133, where the Holy Spirit, like the wind, descends on the Apostles on heora gebedstowe.

<sup>285</sup>Ge/eow might be used if referring still to the plural æddran (26a).

<sup>286</sup>"The Theme of Judgment Day II", 164.

<sup>287</sup>In "The Concept of 'Christus medicus' in St. Augustine", Traditio, 10 (1954), 1-28.

<sup>288</sup>Expos. evang. Lucae, 74.

<sup>289</sup>In Serm. Mai. 22,1. See also De civ. dei 4,16; Enarr. in Psalm. 35, 17; and 18, 2; De doct. christ. 1, 14, and the other sources suggested by Arbesmann. Cf. XSt 588b.

<sup>290</sup>This passage is textually corrupt. The MS. has Aglidene gyltas mod god gode gehælan, which is unintelligible and unmetrical. The Latin

has qui solet allisos sanare. To omit gyltas does weaken the sense and deprive the half-line of alliteration, while it is evident that god is a reduplicating error.

<sup>291</sup>A similar interweaving appears in the runic conclusion to Jln where the poet's wounds, sins, mourning and tears are connected (Jln 703ff.).

<sup>292</sup>Is. 42,3: "A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth." Matt. 12,20: "A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory."

<sup>293</sup>Ænlican "incomparable", "unique" is probably a mistranslation of apertas "open". The Latin meaning would have fitted the motif of "openness" in the poem, although the poet uses ænlican later when describing paradise. Perhaps he wished to suggest that the way of penance is the "unique" way to heaven.

<sup>294</sup>Cf. Is. 13,3; Matt. 24,29; Mark 13,24; Luke 21,11 and 26; Joel 2,10 and 30; Rev. 6,12; 16,18. In other Old English texts, Jdg I 58, Cri 811, 826-7, 882f, And 1435ff. See also the Appendix.

<sup>295</sup>Cf. eall eorðe bifað (99a) and bifian . . . eorðan sceatas in DrR 36-7 at the point of the Crucifixion.

<sup>296</sup>"The Old World, the Levelling of the Earth, and the Burning of the Sea: Three Eschatological Images in the Old English Christ III", N & Q, n.s. 19 (1972), 323-4. Hill translates a section from the eighth century Irish Blathmac poem: "The mountains will be as high as the

hollow; there will be great complaint; the world will be a level expanse so that a single apple might roll across it" (324).

<sup>297</sup>See the Appendix.

<sup>298</sup>Here, however, it is only the sound of the sea which is mentioned, not an actual flood as in Jdg I.

<sup>299</sup>Cf. Cri III 990.

<sup>300</sup>Cf. DrR 52b-5a:

ƿystro hæfdon  
bewrigen mid wolcnum wealdendes hræw,  
scirne sciman, sceadu fordeode,  
wann under wolcnum.

Darkness had covered with clouds the corpse of the Lord, the shining radiance, a shadow went forth, dark beneath the clouds.

The juxtaposition of shadows, clouds and brilliant light is as one finds in Jdg II and especially Cri III. The nails in DrR are also described as deorcan (46), which Dickins and Ross in their edition suggest might be connected with O.Ir. derg "bloody", but the concept of "dark nails" is in keeping with the motif of darkness symbolizing evil and sin. Biblical sources for the light/dark antithesis: Joel 2,10 and 30. Matt. 24,29, Mk. 13,24; and see the other signs of darkness in the Appendix.

<sup>301</sup>Max Förster, "A New Version of The Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English", Anglia, 73 (1955), 20.

<sup>302</sup>St. John D. Seymour, "The Signs of Doomsday in the Saltair na Rann", Proc. of the Irish Academy, 36 (1927), 155. See also Matt. 24,29, Mk. 13,25; also The Evernew Tongue, ed. W. Stokes in Eriu, 2 (1905), 125; Cri III 933, 1043b (hreoſað heofonsteorran), and the other sources in the Appendix.

<sup>303</sup>Tacn is not in the MS. and Lumby takes beacnigende as a noun "tokenings", but most editors add tacn, especially as the homily has dead beacnigende tacn.

<sup>304</sup>He is swegles brytta "Lord of heaven" (117b), as in Cri I 281, SmS 124, and also said to be helme beweordod "honoured with a crown" (118b); cf. helme in 2a (perhaps the two kinds of "protection" are meant to be compared).

<sup>305</sup>The Latin merely has Coetibus angelicus regem stipata supernum (58) "with angelic hosts crowding around the celestial king".

<sup>306</sup>Cf. the fire compared to a flood in Jdg II 166-7.

<sup>307</sup>The fire is called read and reade (153); there is no O.E. reade found elsewhere, but seems to be a conflation of rede "cruel" and read "red". See The Fates of Men (46) read repe gled, and Dobbie, ASPR VI, 179.

<sup>308</sup>Cf. the flames at Doomsday in Cri 811, 932-40, 973f., 985, 1006, 1044, 1059-60. Jdg I 12, 14, 117. Phx 520-2. Examples of the fire acting as a purifying agent: Ele 1285-307, Phx 521ff., Jdg I 116f., Cri III 984ff., 1059ff.

<sup>309</sup>Cf. XSt 334; and the Book of Enoch, 14,11: " . . . when I entered this dwelling it was hot as fire and cold as ice". For a list of references to this phenonemon see Whitbread, "A Study of Bede's Versus de die iudicii", 210-1.

<sup>310</sup>Cf. Jdg II 173 and 219. Also XSt 336, Cri 592.

<sup>311</sup>Cf. XSt 131.

<sup>312</sup>God is called arfæst in Gen 2407, Cri 245, and, as in domfæst, the word has the sense of "secure in grace".

<sup>313</sup>MS. reads ne þara wera worn wihte, but the Latin has flentibus, consequently wependra "of weeping ones" would be the logical emendation.

<sup>314</sup>Cf. Wulfstanian homily quoted in B-T under the entry Unrotness:  
Se fifta leahtor is tristitia; ðæt is ðonne se man geunrotsað ealles to  
swyðe for his æhta lyre . . . Twa unrotnyssa synd; an is ðæs yfele, and  
oder is halwende, ðæt is ðæt man for his synnum geunrotsige. "The fifth  
sin is tristitia, that is when a man becomes altogether too despairing  
because of the loss of his property . . . . Two types of despair exist;  
one is this evil variety, and the other is wholesome, that that man is  
sad on account of his sins."

<sup>315</sup>The superstition that certain winds bring death is still found  
in certain West African tribes, for example. Medical science has shown,  
however, that certain winds can indeed convey infections diseases.

<sup>316</sup>Cf. lines 220-2.

<sup>317</sup>Cf. Cri 294 and 404.

<sup>318</sup>R. Hoffman in "Structure and Symbolism in Judgment Day II",  
175 quotes Hrabanus Maurus again: Significat autem rosa martyres "The  
rose indeed signifies the martyres" (De universo, PL 111, 528). See this  
article for other patristic sources for the red and white symbols in  
heaven.

Æpelwulf in his De Abbatibus describes heaven in an apocalyptic

vision he has: campus erat latus, pulchris qui floribus offert/olfactum  
dulcem miranda ad gaudia cunctis,/qui meritis digni possunt hec cernere  
uisu,/namquae rosae rutilant per totum et lilia flagrant/permultique  
holerum flores . . . . "There was a broad plain which afforded a sweet  
scent from lovely flowers to the wonderful delight of all, who could see  
these things with their eyes, being worthy by their desert (to do so),  
for roses were red everywhere there, and lilies shone, and many flowering  
herbs . . . ." A Campbell, ed., Æthelwulf: De Abbatibus (Oxford, 1967),  
pp. 54-7. Such a passage would support my reading that the red and white  
need not only refer to martyrs and virgins, but to all the blessed.

<sup>319</sup>Thorpe I, p. 444, line 13, in the B-T entry for rose.

<sup>320</sup>See Mâle, pp. 385ff., and M. R. James, The Gospel According  
to Peter and the Revelation of Peter (London, 1892).

<sup>321</sup>R. K. Gordon, p. 288, and L. Whitbread, "Old English unbleoh",  
Neophilologus, 50 (1966), 447-8.

<sup>322</sup>"Old English unbleoh Again", Neophilologus, 53 (1969), 300.

<sup>323</sup>Ibid., 301.

<sup>324</sup>Mâle, p. 383.

## Chapter VI

<sup>325</sup>See E. V. K. Dobbie, ASPR III, xxv-xxix.

<sup>326</sup>Ibid., xxix.

<sup>327</sup>The Christ of Cynewulf (Boston, 1900), pp. xvi-xxv.

<sup>328</sup>Dobbie, xxx.

<sup>329</sup>L. K. Shook, "The Prologue of the Old English Guthlac A", Medieval Studies, 23 (1961), 294-304.

<sup>330</sup>See A. A. Lee, The Guest Hall of Eden (New Haven, 1972), p. 16.

<sup>331</sup>See F. A. Blackburn, "Is the Christ of Cynewulf a Single Poem?", Anglia, 19 (1897), 89-98. Initially, Thorpe divided the poem into a collection of twenty "Hymns", and gave each a title. In 1853 Dietrich called the whole poem Christ and considered it a unified work, a theory which Grein (1856), Gollancz (1892) and most editors since have accepted.

<sup>332</sup>S. B. Greenfield, A Critical History of Old English Literature (New York, 1965), p. 131.

<sup>333</sup>Blackburn, 92.

<sup>334</sup>C. W. Kennedy, trans., Early English Christian Poetry (New York, 1963), p. 255.

<sup>335</sup>Cook claims that the homiletic material is "by no means conventional" and "such is Cynewulf's imaginative power and command of language that sutures are nowhere visible; the whole is moulded, or rather fused, into a poem of the greatest moral fervor, intensity and vividness" (p. xlv).

<sup>336</sup>"Cynewulf's Principal Source for the Third Part of 'Christ'", MLN, 4 (1889), 341-51. Cook reproduces the Hymn in his edition, p. xlv.

<sup>337</sup>See Clæs Schaar, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group (Lund, 1949). He considers the correspondences between the Latin and vernacular



poems "slight and insignificant . . . . It seems, on the whole, hardly possible to find any passage in the poem where the vernacular Anglo-Saxon tradition unmistakably asserts itself. There was no room in the poet's mind, apparently, except for phrases, ideas and echoes from the works of the leading spirits of the continental Christian tradition" (pp. 37, 39).

<sup>338</sup>See Cook's edition, pp. 172-4 for examples.

<sup>339</sup>PL 39, 2206-8. See Rudolph Willard, "Vercelli Homily VIII and the Christ", PMLA, 42 (1927), 319-20, and Cook, p. 210.

<sup>340</sup>Morris, pp. 24-6. Cook suggests that the Cursor Mundi 17111ff. and a number of Mystery Plays have the same source (Cook, pp. 208-11).

<sup>341</sup>Willard, 328-9.

<sup>342</sup>See Cook, p. 210.

<sup>343</sup>E.g., the Sword of Victory at the Judgment may come from Prudentius's Cathemirion 6.85ff., the joys of the blessed at the conclusion of the poem from many patristic sources, such as Gregory's In septem Psalm. Poenit. Expositio, PL 79, 657-8, and Augustine's Sermo ad Fratres in Eremo 65, PL 40, 1351. See Cook, p. xlv.

<sup>344</sup>Lee, pp. 77-8.

<sup>345</sup>Cook, p. xcv.

<sup>346</sup>Morris, p. 83. See also the comments on the connection between Easter and Doomsday in Chapter III, p. 94.

<sup>347</sup>Ibid., 91. In Otfrid's Evangelienbuch (O.M.G.) the Ascension is also quickly followed by the Last Judgment.

<sup>355</sup>See William M. Green, "Initium Omnis Peccati Superbia: Augustine on Pride as the First Sin", Univ. of California Publications in Classical Philology, 13 (1949), 407-31, and Robert Payne, Hubris: A Study of Pride (New York, 1960).

<sup>356</sup>By placing the comment on worldly treasure immediately after that on the Flood and before that on the flames, the poet thus stresses succinctly the brevity of the period of worldly joys between the two great calamities, and hence diminishes the importance of the joy received from earthly possessions.

<sup>357</sup>Cf. Jdg II 99-103:

Ealle eorðe bifað, eac swa þa duna  
dreosað and hreosað,  
and beorga hliðu bugað and myltað.

All earth will tremble, the hills also will sink and perish, the mountain sides bow down and melt.

<sup>358</sup>Possible sources might be Nahum 1,5: "The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burned at his presence", and Psalm 97,5: "The hills melted like wax at the presence of the Lord, at the presence of the Lord of the whole earth."

<sup>359</sup>"The Ruin as Babylon", Tennessee Studies in Literature, 11 (1966), 109-17.

<sup>360</sup>Cf. Rev. 16,19; 14,8; 11,13.

<sup>361</sup>This use of the conditional clause is reminiscent of the effective use of penden at the opening of Daniel, where the prosperity of the Israelites is made to be the direct result of God's grace.

<sup>362</sup>Cf. Cri III 1527.

<sup>363</sup>Cf. Ele 919, and Chapter III, pp. 97-8 for comments on  
Doomsday acting also as Purgatory.

<sup>364</sup>Cf. Bwf 2227 (gryrebrogā).

<sup>365</sup>See 1064-6 and 1083. Matt. 24,30: "And then shall appear  
the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of  
the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds  
of heaven with power and great glory."

<sup>366</sup> Apparebit repentina dies magna Domini,  
fur obscura velut nocte improvisos occupans. (1-2)

The great day of the Lord will come suddenly, like a thief  
in the dark night surprising those who do not expect it.

<sup>367</sup>Whitley Stokes, "The Evernew Tongue: Tenga Bithnua", Eriu 2  
(1905), 96-162. This work is thought to have the lost Apocalypse of  
Philip as its source. The Apocalypse of Thomas and all works influenced  
by it claim that Doomsday begins at noon. Such a point might well suggest  
the influence of the Apocalypse of Philip on Cri III, especially as there  
are many points which "The Evernew Tongue" and Cri III alone have in  
common. See the Appendix.

<sup>368</sup>See also 2 Thess. 5,2 and 4.

<sup>369</sup>See Cook, p. 177.

<sup>370</sup>Cf. Joel 2,1 and 2,23; 3,16-7 and 21: "for in Mount Zion and  
in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the Lord hath said, and in the  
remnant whom the Lord shall call". See also Micah 4,7.

<sup>371</sup>"Further Notes on the Eschatology of the Old English Christ III", NM, 72 (1971), 691-3. Hill also quotes from Jerome PL 30, 878.

<sup>372</sup>Christ's coming to the blessed in Jerusalem, then, implies the bestowing of the gift of dom "glory" on the righteous individual. There is a shift from the literal descent of Christ to the spiritual "ascent" of the righteous.

<sup>373</sup>Charles W. Kennedy, Early English Christian Poetry, p. 256.

<sup>374</sup>Morris, p. 95. This section of the Homily has its source in The Apocalypse of Thomas.

<sup>375</sup>Thomas D. Hill, "Notes on the Eschatology of the Old English Christ III", Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 70 (1969), 675-7.

<sup>376</sup>XSt 600f. Cri 948 and 1061.

<sup>377</sup>See T. S. R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgment and Remembrance (London, 1972), p. 24.

<sup>378</sup>See also Jdg II 99, and Ps. 60,2 and 114,7, Joel 2,10, Rev. 6,12.

<sup>379</sup>This notion is the Old English poet's invention. Cook draws a parallel with Phx 124 where the Phoenix "pours fourth harmony and song to the skies". In Rev 20,15 the rising from the dead is immediately followed by the creation of a New Heaven and Earth.

<sup>380</sup>"The Old World, the Levelling of the Earth, and the Burning of the Sea", N & Q, 19 (1972), 323.

<sup>381</sup>See Chapter V, pp. 166-8.

<sup>382</sup>"Further Notes on the Eschatology of Christ III", 695.

<sup>383</sup>Ibid., 694.

<sup>384</sup>Kennedy, p. 268.

<sup>385</sup>"Further Notes on the Eschatology of Christ III", 696. In any case, the devils and the angels would not be gathered for judgment. It is only man who is judged on this, the Day of Man.

<sup>386</sup>E.g., Ps. 67,34 and Zech 14,4. Jerome's Comm. on Zech. PL 25, 1525, John of Damascus De Fide Orthodoxa IV,2 PG 94, 1135, Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica 5, 12 and his alphabetic Hymni de die iudicii PL 94, 557-60. See the Appendix, and Cook, 180-1.

<sup>387</sup>"Further Notes on the Eschatology of Christ III", 696-7.

<sup>388</sup>See Thomas D. Hill, "The Eschatology of the Old English Christ III", NM, 70 (1969), 674 and Cook, p. 182. Cook notes that in Hampole's Prick of Conscience 5355-40, the same point is made concerning the reflection of the individual's state of purity in the face of the Lord.

<sup>389</sup>R. K. Gordon, p. 150. The translations are largely based on this work, except when a specific point is made in the text, and Gordon's translation does not make this clear.

<sup>390</sup>Morris, p. 91, and see the other occurrences listed in the Appendix. Also, Cri II 834-5, Cri III 953, 990, 997-8.

<sup>391</sup>Cf. also Daniel 7,10 and Joel 2,3.

<sup>392</sup>Morris, p. 93. See Is. 34,4 and Rev. 6,14. Also Morris, p. 91.

<sup>393</sup>See Cri III 1043. Sources can be found in Is. 13,10, Joel 3,16,

Matt. 24,29, Mk. 23,25, Rev. 6,14. See also The Apocalypse of Thomas, the Irish Apocalypses, the Armenian Apocalypse of Daniel in the Appendix.

<sup>394</sup>Max Förster, "A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English", Anglia, 73 (1955), 25.

<sup>395</sup>Whitley Stokes, 313. See also the Appendix under The Assumption of Moses and the Armenian Apocalypse of Daniel.

<sup>396</sup>This section concludes with a comment on the storm at Doom and this sign is repeated at 949-51.

<sup>397</sup>The MS. has mid feore, but editors generally change it to mid fere. Cf. 867 which I would translate "with fear" and not "suddenly". See also Rev. 6,13, Jer. 30,23.

<sup>398</sup>"The Eschatology of the Old English Christ III", 676.

<sup>399</sup>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 37 (1927), 304-12. See also Seymour, "Studies in the Vision of Tundal", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 37 (1926), 99. Also Rev. 1,16 and 2,1, concerning the seven stars, and Koonce, p. 231.

<sup>400</sup>"Further Notes on the Eschatology of Christ III", 693.

<sup>401</sup>Cf. 930 and 990.

<sup>402</sup>There are many examples in Gen A of the flames of hell called sweart, e.g., 1926, 2415, 2505, 2541, 2857.

<sup>403</sup>See also Rev. 21,1 and 8,10, Nahum 1,4.

<sup>404</sup>In O.E. poetry in Cri 1042, Jdg I 12, Jdg II 144ff., Phx 520, etc.

<sup>405</sup>Heahgetimbro, 973b occurs later in 1181, referring to the heavens which mourn at the Crucifixion. In this context, however, the lofty buildings could well symbolize man's worldly pride, as the Tower of Babel, or the ruin image in many Old English elegies.

<sup>406</sup>Cf. J1n 567a and 586a where heorugifre is used to describe the fire and the lead, respectively, which, eager for slaughter, cannot harm the pure soul, only the evil persecutors. The image of a "sword-eager flame" reminds one of the blood-bath caused by the flames, personified as soldiers, in Jdg I 56-7.

<sup>407</sup>PL 145, 840 (and cf. Rev. 16,19). Quoted from Thomas D. Hill, "The Old World, the Levelling of the Earth . . .", 323-4. See also Phx 20-7 and Jdg II 99-103.

<sup>408</sup>See Ps. 97,5, 2 Peter 3,10 and Rev. 8,8. In the Old English elegies there are many examples of buildings crumbling, e.g., Rui 2-3 and 25.

<sup>409</sup>The Bible and Liturgy (Notre Dame, 1956). Here quoted from Hill, "The Old World, the Levelling of the Earth . . .", 324. Practically all the figures of speech taken from the sea in the Bible are ominous.

<sup>410</sup>The connection between Flood and Doomsday was made in Cri II 805-7, Jdg II 166ff.

<sup>411</sup>Cook, p. 187.

<sup>412</sup>See Mâle, p. 380, and Hill, "The Old World, the Levelling of the Earth . . .", 325.

<sup>413</sup>Cf. Gen 629b: Eve is fordon "ruined" by her sin. And Cri  
III 1103b.

<sup>414</sup>See also Cook, p. lxxviii.

<sup>415</sup>The reunion of soul and body is also mentioned in Jdg I 102,  
Phx 535, 519ff.

<sup>416</sup>Cook, p. 192.

<sup>417</sup>Cook gives a possible source for the towering Cross from  
Ephraem Syrus (Cook, pp. 189-90).

<sup>418</sup>The Parson's Tale, line 590. F. N. Robinson, ed., The Works  
of Geoffrey Chaucer (2nd ed., London, 1957), p. 246.

<sup>419</sup>Mâle, p. 369.

<sup>420</sup>Inwidhlemmas captures the ambiguously evil and painful nature  
of the wounds: inwitt means "malice", "hatred" and by extension "sin",  
thus refers to the persecutors as well as the wound. Sources for Christ  
showing his wounds at Judgment: prophesized in Zech. 12,10; Luke 24,19ff.,  
John 19,37; 20,27; Rev. 1,7.

<sup>421</sup>Bethurum, p. 121.

<sup>422</sup>Cf. 1 John 5,6: "This is he that came by water and blood, even  
Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the  
Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth."

<sup>423</sup>This list of abuses is repeated in 1433ff. in Christ's speech  
to the sinners.

<sup>424</sup>The Dream of the Rood (4th ed.; London, 1954), pp. 27-8.



<sup>425</sup>See Matt. 27,52-3: "And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves . . . and went into the holy city", and Rev. 20,13.

<sup>426</sup>See Matt. 14,25-6.

<sup>427</sup>Cook, p. 195.

<sup>428</sup>The poet, who has been following Gregory's Hom. in Evang. I, interrupts to add other Doomsday signs, probably from the pseudo-Bede "Fifteen Signs".

<sup>429</sup>Cook, p. xcii-xciii.

<sup>430</sup>Cf. unsyfre bismite "foulyly defiled", and it is also used to describe Holofernes in Jud 76.

<sup>431</sup>See Walter Deering, Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day (Halle, 1890), p. 39. For biblical sources on the importance of man's works: Matt. 16,27, 2 Cor. 5,10, Rom. 2,6, Rev. 20,12 and 13, 22,12.

<sup>432</sup>Cook quotes Gregory's Hom. in Evang. 40,8 PL 76, 1308 as a source for this third "joy". Cf. Jdg II, 167 and 210.

<sup>433</sup>Morris, pp. 109-11.

<sup>434</sup>Koonce, p. 99 quotes Pieere Bersuire "Glass is Paradise where there is clearness of vision and splendour and purity of condition." Bersuire is commenting on Rev. 21,18-21: " . . . but the City itself was pure gold like to clear glass . . .".

<sup>435</sup>Cook, p. 204. "The gems of his head" must refer to his "conscience", and by calling it "gems", recalls the earlier use of gem to

refer to Christ. The conscience is the God-given part of man (like sapientia) which assists man to judge himself the better.

<sup>436</sup>See Chapter V, pp. 164-9.

<sup>437</sup>Willard, 318 and 320.

<sup>438</sup>Ibid., 328-9.

<sup>439</sup>Ibid., 316.

<sup>440</sup>Ibid., 328-9.

<sup>441</sup>Cf. Cook, pp. 208-11 and Willard, 314-30. Willard notes that this theme was frequently used by Ephraem Syrus, e.g., in his De Passione Salvatoris and In Sanctam Parasceven et in crucem et in latronem (329).

<sup>442</sup>E.g., unrot "despairing" (1182).

<sup>443</sup>See Mâle, p. 190. He suggests that the vinegar symbolizes "the old and now unsound doctrine [Judaism]". In some medieval illustrations of the Fall Eve hands Adam a drink rather than fruit.

<sup>444</sup>Cook, p. 215.

<sup>445</sup>E.g., se awyrgde wulf "the accursed wolf" Cri I 256, and the demonic spirits in Glc 25 are awyrgdan gæstas.

<sup>446</sup>Cook, p. 216.

<sup>447</sup>Desanka Milošević, p. 53. In the thirteen century window at Bourges Christ is portrayed as having a sword in his mouth (as the angel in Rev. 4,6), and Peter stands nearby baptizing the crowd, as "the sea of glass" was interpreted as referring to baptism. See Mâle, p. 363.

In the Roahn Book of Hours God looks down on dying man and states "Do penance for thy sins and thou shalt be with me in the Judgment." He has a sword in his right hand instead of a sceptre.

<sup>448</sup>In his Glossary, p. 238.

<sup>449</sup>Cf. Matt. 6,23: "But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

<sup>450</sup>Kennedy, p. 286 and Gordon, p. 161. Cf. the ominous overtones in se wonna hrefn "the black raven" (Bwf 3024). See XSt 38, 110, 444, etc. for examples of hell described as black. In Dan 447, Jln 505, Phx 457 blackness implies evil.

<sup>451</sup>In XSt Satan loses his wlite (213) at the Fall of the Angels, while the life to come and the angels are both called wlitig (213, 222), and the poet exhorts the audience to let their wlite shine (210). Wlite in this context appears to be synonymous with dom "glory", and hence "the blessed" (608), directly opposed to the yfle (609).

<sup>452</sup>"The Eschatology of the Old English Christ III", 679.

### Conclusion

<sup>453</sup>Bogislav von Lindheim, "Problems of Old English Semantics". English Studies Today, 3rd Series, ed. G. I. Duthie (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 68.

<sup>454</sup>Jean Daniélou, Dieu Vivant, I (1945), 17. Quoted by Stephen Manning, "Analogy and Imagery" in Edward Vasta Middle English Survey

(Notre Dame, 1965), pp. 2-3. In Manning's article there is an excellent survey of "typological" criticism.

<sup>455</sup>The Guest-Hall of Eden, p. 6.

<sup>456</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>457</sup>Peter Clemoes, Rhythm and Cosmic Order in Old English Christian Literature, p. 6.

#### Appendix

<sup>458</sup>R. H. Charles, Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life (New York, 1963), p. 207.

<sup>459</sup>See Charles, pp. 301-6.

<sup>460</sup>Ibid., 267-72.

<sup>461</sup>W. Bousset, The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore, trans. A. H. Keane (London, 1896), p. 242.

<sup>462</sup>See M. R. James, ed., The Gospel According to Peter and the Revelation of Peter (London, 1892).

<sup>463</sup>Bousset, p. 250.

<sup>464</sup>See also Bousset, p. 248.

<sup>465</sup>De quindecim signis ante iudicium in Bede's Excerptiones patrum, collectanea, flores ex diversis quaestiones et parabolae (PL 94, 555). On the question of the authorship of this work, see Max Förster, "A New Version of the Apocalypse of Thomas", Anglia, 73 (1955), 16. See also W. W. Heist, Fifteen Signs before Doomsday (Michigan, 1952), pp. 24-30.

<sup>466</sup>Published by Bruno Assmann in Anglia, 11 (1899), 369-71.

<sup>467</sup>Förster, 16. Heist notes the many later works which were influenced by the De quindecim signis, including Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica (PL 198, 1611), the Liber Sententiarum of Peter Damian (PL 145, 840-2), the Cursor Mundi, 427-72, and 710, The Prick of Conscience, and David Lindsay's Buke of the Monarche (ed., John Small, EETS o.s. 19 [London, 1883]).

<sup>468</sup>See also Tertullian, Apologeticus aduer. Gentes Cap. 48 (PL 1, 594-5). Also Augustine in Books 20 and 21 of De civitate dei discusses the Last Things, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catecheses 15, 11 (PG 33, 884).

<sup>469</sup>Heist, pp. 33ff. and Förster, 12.

<sup>470</sup>Förster, 9-10.

<sup>471</sup>Ibid., 10-1.

<sup>472</sup>See St. John D. Seymour, "The Signs of Doomsday in the Saltair na Rann", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 36 (1923), 154-63.

<sup>473</sup>See Whitley Stokes, "Tenga Bithnua: the Evernew Tongue", Eriu, 2 (1905), 96-162, and Heist, who postulates a lost Latin Apocalypse of Philip as its source (p. 65). The most recent edition and translation is by Una Nic Enri and G. MacNiocaill, "The Second Recension of the Evernew Tongue", Celtica, 9 (1971), 1-60.

<sup>474</sup>St. John D. Seymour, "The Eschatology of the Early Irish Church", Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, 14 (1923), 198.

<sup>475</sup>"The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday", Revue Celtique, 28 (1907), 308-26.

<sup>476</sup>J. G. O'Keefe, ed., "A Poem on the Day of Judgment", Eriu, 3 (1907), 29-33.

<sup>477</sup>See Seymour, "Studies in the Vision of Tundal", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 37 (1926), 87-106, and "The Vision of Adamnan", Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 37 (December, 1927), 304-12. For information on "Vision" literature, see Ernest J. Becker, A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell with special reference to the Middle English Versions (Baltimore, 1899). Thomas Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory: An Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell and Paradise (London, 1884). Arnold B. Van Os, The Development of the Eschatological Elements in Medieval English Religious Literature (Amsterdam, 1932).

<sup>478</sup>Max Förster, ed., Die Vercelli-Homilien zum ersten Male herausgegeben, I Hälfte (Hamburg, 1932). See Milton McC. Gatch, "Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies", Traditio, 21 (1965), 117-65.

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