E ANGLOSAXON POETS

ON THE

UDGMENT DAY.

BY

WALLER DEERING, M. A.

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TO MY FATHER.

Contents.

In the following pages Genesis (Gen.), Exodus (Ex.), Bi Domes Dæȝ (Bi. D. D.), Christ (Chr.), Phoenix (Ph.), Metra (Met.), Juliana (Jul.), Christ and Satan (CS.), Guðlac (Guð.), and Judith (Jud.), have been cited from Grein's Bibliothek; Andreas (An.), Elene (El.)., Beowulf (Beo.), Vision of the Rood (VR.), Speech of the Soul to the Body (Wülker's Rede der Seele an den Leichnam) (SB.) from Wülker's Bibliothek; Solomon and Saturn (SS.) from Kemble's Dialogues of Solomon and Saturn, Be Domes Dæȝe from Lumby's edition.

Introduction.

Every thorough student of Anglosaxon has noticed the inclination of the poets to embody the various doctrines of eschatology in their work. As companion pieces to their accounts of Creation and the beginning of all things, we find frequent allusions to the destruction of the world and the end of human history at Judgment Day. The latter seems to have been quite a favorite theme; whole poems like Be D. D. and Bi D. D. are devoted to it, scattered references and short descriptions are found in Ex., El., Ph., Jul., CS., VR., SB., etc., while Cynewulf, in his Christ, has given us a picture of the day of wrath that has scarcely been equalled. Though Hammerich[1] doubtless goes too far in regarding this preference for the subject as *'etwas speciell Englisches'*, we may safely say that the Day of Final Judgment is the theme of some of the finest passages in Anglosaxon literature, one of which the poets were very fond, one which enlisted their profound interest and called forth their best efforts.

These descriptions of Judgment Day have not, as far as we know, been made the subject of detailed discussion. Separate features, in individual poems, have been treated[2], but only in a very general way and as secondary argument and side issue in other questions. We deem the subject, however, in eminent degree worthy of a connected and detailed discussion for its own sake. And this, then, is the purpose of this essay. By careful search through the Ags. poetry we shall collect all the references to our theme and then attempt to construct

[1] Älteste christliche Epik p. 236 (German by Michelsen).

[2] For instance by Gäbler, Autorschaft vom Phoenix pp. 36—39.

from them, as from tiny bits of stone, a mosaic picture, as it were, which shall show us at a glance how the poets imagined the Judgment Day. Many interesting additional points might, of course, have been gathered from the prose writers, but as a thorough and consistent examination of such references was not possible within the limits of this essay, it has seemed best to confine our study to the poetry.

Having settled as far as possible the teaching of the poets regarding Judgment Day, we shall turn to the question, next and naturally arising, of the sources of these ideas and ask ourselves where did the poets get the conceptions embodied in their descriptions.

Though in the highest degree interesting, our task is no easy one. Where we have such numerous descriptions — products of different minds and of different centuries — it is difficult and delicate work to fit all the references into each other with such nicety as to form a smooth and perfect picture, which shall give us at once an adequate idea of the subject in hand. And especially as regards the sources of the various conceptions, we must often be content with conjecture in the absence of definite fact; for in a subject like this, common property of the christian world, it is often impossible to tell how far the poets are indebted to the Bible, to religious tradition, to the writings of others or to their own imagination for their material.

Divisions of the Subject. Material used.

To a clear presentation of the manifold events of the Judgment Day careful arrangement of the material is indispensable. The following threefold division has seemed advisable.

I. The Forerunners of the Last Judgment.
II. The Last Judgment itself.
III. The Results of the same.

Under I we may include the coming of Christ, the destruction of the world, the summons by the archangel's trumpet, the resurrection of men and other events preceding and preparatory to the Judgment itself. Under II may then follow an account of the progress of the latter, ending with the final sentence pronounced by the Eternal Judge, while under III

we shall add, for completeness' sake, a brief view of the results of Judgment, the final reward of the righteous in heaven, the eternal punishment of the evil in hell.

Having settled these several conceptions, we shall attempt, as far as possible, to give the 'source' of each one. Lest the term be in this case misleading, we may add that only rarely are we able to give the direct and immediate source — in the usual sense of the word — of any poem or passage; our investigation is rather a comparison of these Ags. conceptions with Bible teaching and current christian or heathen tradition and not so much an attempt to find for each some Greek or Latin original, which the poet may have translated or paraphrased. In the very nature of the case in hand, it is indeed doubtful that such an attempt could be successful. Of Caedmon Hammerich aptly remarks[1]: 'Übrigens kann bei einem Sänger, wie Kaedmon, welcher gewiss das Meiste aus mündlicher Erzählung geschöpft hat, von Quellen im gewöhnlichen Sinne gar nicht die Rede sein. *Seine Hauptquelle floss in den gängbaren Vorstellungen und Überlieferungen der Zeit . . .*' We hope in the following pages to prove that such is the case also in our poets' conceptions of Judgment Day.

For the present, therefore, we have mainly to do with the ultimate christian or heathen sources of the several *conceptions as such.* The immediate source of any passage will be given wherever this is possible. In a later and supplementary chapter (IV) we shall then put together all that may otherwise be said of the direct originals of the *language* in which, in each poem, these conceptions of Judgment Day have found expression.

The passages from which we have gathered these conceptions are scattered throughout the poetry. The longest, most complete and detailed description is that in Christ, where our subject takes up the whole of the third part of the poem (v. 779—1694). Be Domes Dæge and Bi Domes Dæge are devoted entirely to it, shorter descriptions are found in Ph., El. CS., VR., SB., while other, perhaps merely accidental, references occur in Gen., Ex., An., Met., Jul., SS., etc. The long,

[1] Älteste christliche Epik p. 41.

well planned account in Chr. is very detailed and contains all or nearly all the features of the other descriptions. The latter are much shorter and more or less general in character, some emphasizing the one feature, others some other feature of the common subject. Naturally, therefore, each of these shorter descriptions does not contain all the features which make up the whole; but as the poets do not contradict each other in any important point, the absence of any feature, in these shorter descriptions, does not prove that the poet did not believe or teach it; the omission may be due to the want of space for such detail. An exhaustive account of the relation of the several longer descriptions to each other, an examination of their similar or different tendencies would be impossible within reasonable limits; this relation is, however, indirectly evident throughout our discussion, where, under the several features, many similar passages are found side by side.

Chapter I.

The Forerunners of Judgment.

Preceding and introducing this chronicle of the separate events of Judgment Day a brief inquiry into the time and place and some of the names of Judgment may not be amiss. And first of all we take up the poets general

1. Belief in Judgment.

The Ags. belief in a last, great Judgment Day, the dividing line between time and eternity, when humanity shall assemble before the bar of divine justice to receive a final doom from an Eternal Judge is too evident in the following pages to need special argument here. For the present suffice a few passages which directly declare it and show the general terms in which the poets express it. Among others may be cited:

Be D.D. 71 ff. Ac se dæg cymeð ðonne demeð god
eorðan ymbhwyrft, þu ana sealt
gyldan sead wordum wið scyppend god
and þam rican frean riht agyldan.

Chr. 782 ff. Is þam dome neah,
þæt we gelice sceolon leanum hleotan,
swa we widefeorh weorcum hlodun
geond sidne grund.

Ph. 492 ff. wile fæder engla
sigora soðcyning seonoð gehegan
duguða dryhten, deman mid ryhte.

Be D.D. 95 ff. oððe hu egeslic and hu andrysne
heah-þrymme eyninge her wile deman
anra gehwylcum be ærdædum.

Be D.D. 19 f. and hu mihtig frea eall manna cynn
todæled and todemed þurh his dihlan miht;

El. 1276 ff. Swa þeos world eall ȝewiteð,
— — — — — — — — — —
þonne dryhten sylf dom ȝeseceð
enȝla weorude.

Of Christ ascended to heaven the two angels say:

Chr. 523 ff. wile eft swa þeah eorðan mæȝðe
sylfa ȝesecan side herȝe
and þonne ȝedeman dæde ȝehwylce
þara þe ȝefremedon folc under roderum.

VR. 103 ff. 'He ða on heofenas astaȝ; hider eft fundaþ
'on þysne middanȝeard manċynn secan
'on domdæȝe dryhten sylfa,
'ælmihtiȝ ȝod and his enȝlas mid
'þæt he þonne wile deman, se ah domes ȝeweald,
'anra ȝehwylcum, swa he him ærur her
'on þyssum lænum life ȝeearnaþ:

Ex. 539 ff. eft-wyrd cymð
mæȝenþrymma mæst ofer middanȝeard,
dæȝ dædum fah: dryhten sylfa
on þam meðelstede manȝum demeð.

Lot's wife shall await the Judgment Gen. 2569 ff.; so also Grendel Beo. 977 ff. Compare also the references: Bi D. D. 5 ff.; CS. 598 ff., SB. 5 ff., An. 1435 ff., 1498 ff., Met. 29, 39 ff., Jul. 724 ff.

The basis of this belief is clearly biblical. It is taught in countless passages like 2 Cor. 5. 10, Jude 14. 15, Rom. 2. 16, Ps. 96. 13 etc. Christ 523 ff. was taken from Acts 1. 11, VR. 103 ff. is the same in substance as Matt. 16. 27, Bi D. D. 5 ff. and CS. 598 ff. are somewhat like Acts 17. 31. The source of all passages cited from Be D. D. is the Latin poem *De Die Judicii* ascribed to both Bede and Alcuin. The relation of the Ags. poem to this Latin original is discussed in chapter IV.

2. Names of Judgment.

The most common of the names given by the poets to the Judgment itself is *dom*. Among the manifold meanings of this word those concerning us are judicium, judgment, sentence, doom. Alone and with adjectives or genitives, it is very frequently used as a general term for the Last Judgment, the court in which the Lord Himself sits as Judge of all men. Thus Judgment is near *Is þam dome neah* Chr. 782, the Lord

is coming to Judgment *ðonne dryhten sylf dom ȝeseceð* El. 1279, has power over Judgment *se ah domes ȝeweald* VR. 107. It is the Judgment of the Lord *dryhtnes domes* Ph. 48, Gen. 2571, of the Creator *meotudes dom* Ph. 524, of God *æt ȝodes dome* SB. 160, the great Judgment *miclan domes* Beo. 978, *dom þone miclan* Be D. D. 15, the awful Judgment *dom þy reðran* Chr. 790. Among other names are:

ȝemot = conventus, assembly, meeting; a word usually applied to a deliberative assembly (cf. witenaȝemot = the Ags. Parliament) and transferred naturally to this last and greatest meeting on earth. Thus men are led to Judgment *on ȝemot læded* Chr. 795, Ph. 491, it is the dreadful meeting *ðæt bið þearlic ȝemot* Bi D. D. 36, the king comes to the meeting *cyninȝ on ȝemot cymeð* Chr. 833, 943, *to ȝemote* Chr. 1027.

meðel = assembly, judicial meeting: *æt meðle* An. 1436, *æt þam mæðle* Ph. 538; cf. *on þam meðelstede* Ex. 542.

þinȝ = assembly; a common Teutonic word denoting a meeting for deliberative purposes (cf. the modern Storthing of Norway) and used once in Chr. in reference to the Last Judgment *to þinȝe* Chr. 927.

seonoð = meeting, synod; refers to Judgment in *seonoð ȝeheȝan* Ph. 493.

spræc = court, judicial investigation; *nis þæt lytulu spræc* Bi D. D. 8, *Adames bearn ealle to spræce* Bi D. D. 101.

wyrd: the use of this word in the sense of Judgment is not clear. Grein reads Ex. 539 *eft-wyrd cymð*, which he translates: 'So kommt einst doch *hinterher*'. Bosworth-Toller defines *eft-wyrd* = future fate, day of judgment, futurum fatum, judicii dies, citing this passage. In Gen. 2571 *wyrde bidan, wyrde* might be construed as synonymous with *drihtnes domes* in the next line, and therefore meaning Judgment, but in both the passages cited *wyrd* probably has rather its old meaning *fate* or *destiny* and does not refer directly to the Judgment. Grein's interpretation of Ex. 539, making eft-wyrd = æfterweard is also a very possible one.

meotudsceaft = decree of fate, fate after death, doom; this half christian, half heathen word, usually denoting future fate, the destiny in store for one, possibly refers in Chr. 888 *Weccað of deaðe dryhtȝumena bearn to meotudsceafte* directly

to the Judgment, the latter being that to which the archangels' trumpets *weccaþ of deaþe*. And yet *meotudsceaft* may in this passage mean only the fate awaiting men, the lot falling to them as the result of Judgment. Indeed the latter construction is the more probable, since the word would thus retain its original and usual meaning. The term *metodsceaft seon* Beō. 1180, translated by Grein 'zu sehen Gottes Bestimmung', has doubtless no reference to Judgment but is merely an epic formula meaning 'to die'. Compare also Gen. 1743.

The *Day* of Judgment is referred to in terms like *domdæg, æt domdæge* Chr. 1619, 1637, *on domdæge* CS. 600, VR. 105, *on þam domdæge* SB. 96, *ær domes dæge* Met. 29. 41, the great day of the mighty Lord *se micla dæg meahtan dryhtnes* Chr. 869, the most terrible day *daga egelicast* Chr. 1022, the great day *se mæra dæg* Chr. 1055, the stern or cruel day *se hearda dæg* Chr. 1065 the august day *se wlonca dæg* Bi D. D. 50, the day hostile to (evil) deeds *dæg dædum fah* Ex. 541.

Quite common also in this connection is the combination: preposition (*in* or *on*) + demonstrative + adjective + *dæg* or *tid*, mentioned by Gäbler[1] and Ramhorst[2]. Thus *on þam miclan dæge* Chr. 1051, SB. 50, 89, Jul. 723, An. 1436, *on þam grimman dæg* Chr. 1205, *on þam mæstan dæge* Bi D. D. 6, 104, *on þam mæran dæge* SB. 150, *on þam deopan dæg* Bi D. D. 59, *on þa snudan tid* Chr. 842, *on þa gæsnan tid* Chr. 850, *on* (*in*) *þa mæran tid* Chr. 972, Jul. 731, *on þa grimman tid* Chr. 1081, 1334, *on* (*in*) *þa openan tid* Chr. 1571, Ph. 509, *on þa halgan tid* Chr. 1589, *in þa frecnan tid* Jul. 724, *in þa geomran tid* Ph. 517.

Terms like *dom, domdæg, se micla dæg* and the combinations just cited may be regarded as biblical; *gemot, meðel* and *þing* usual designations for any deliberative assembly show genuine Ags. coloring and were transferred to this last and greatest assembly of earth either unconsciously or for the direct purpose of giving the reader, in terms he knew well, a clear and concrete idea of what might otherwise have been obscure

[1] Autorschaft vom Phoenix p. 25.

[2] Das altenglische Gedicht vom heiligen Andreas p. 29.

to him. *Wyrd* and *meotudsceaft* whether meaning Judgment or merely fate, destiny had doubtless lost most or all of their original personal and heathen significance.

3. Time of Judgment.

The time when Judgment shall come is represented throughout the Ags. poetry as indefinite and unknown. It is put at the end of the world, is to attend the second advent of Christ etc., but no attempt is made to determine the date more exactly. God alone knows the time. This whole idea is put in terms like 'the day shall come' *sceal se dæg weorðan* Bi D. D. 34, *ac se dæg cymeð* Be D. D. 71 when God shall judge *þonne demeð god* Be D. D. 71. Numerous references connect it with the second coming of Christ and make it in fact the object of that coming, but leave the time just as indefinite. Thus He has ascended to heaven, but will come again to visit (i. e. to judge) mankind *mancynn secan* on Judgment Day *on domdæge* VR. 104 f., He has determined to come again *Hafað nu geþingod to us* CS. 598, *Hafað him geþinged hider* Bi D. D. 5, on the 'greatest' day *on þam mæstan dæge* Bi D. D. 6, on Judgment Day *on domdæge* CS. 600, He will visit again the peoples of earth *wile eft ... eorðan mægðe sylfa gesecan* for the purpose of judgment *and þonne gedeman dæda gehwylce* Chr. 523 ff. Compare also Be D. D. 97 f., Chr. 825 f., 833 f., 942 f.

Again Judgment is to come 'long' after death:

SB. 5 ff.
Lang bið syððan
þæt se gast nimeð æt gode sylfum,
swa wite swa wuldor, swa him on worulde ær
efne þæt eorðfæt ær geworhte.

The dead lie long in the grave *þær hi longe beoð* till the fires of Judgment come *oð fyres cyme* Ph. 489 f. The departed soul is to visit its body during three hundred years *þreo hund wintra,* unless God destroy the world sooner *butan ær þeodcyning ælmihtig god ende worulde wyrcan wille* SB. 12 ff. The term *þreo hund wintra* is doubtless typical only, meaning a great number of years, for the following lines show clearly that the time is perfectly indefinite, known only to God and dependent on His will. In SS. 543 f. the typical 300 years have become 30,000:

ðynceð him þæt sy ðrea XXX ðusenð wintra
ær he domdæges dyn gehyre.

Compare also the similar attempts to express the indefinite length of time to elapse before Judgment in the references to the home of the Phoenix *se æðela wonz* Ph. 43, which is to remain blooming *bideð swa zeblowen* until the coming of the fires of Judgment *oð bæles cyme dryhtnes domes* Ph. 47 and to the stars which shall not forsake their courses till doomsday:

Met 29. 39 ff. Ne þearft þu no wenan þæt þa wlitizan tunzl
þæs þeowdomes aþroten weorðe
ær domes dæze:[1]

Again, indefinite in the other direction, Judgment is near *Is þam dome neah* Chr. 782. In the short exhortations, too, which frequently interrupt the narrative, the terrors of Judgment are mentioned, as solemn warning that men should live better, but the time of its coming is purposely left indefinite. Thus in Chr. 1205 f., 1560 f., Be. D. D. 15 f., 94 f., Ph. 473 ff., Bi. D. D. 46 ff., Cf. also Jul. 723 ff.

With this idea of uncertainty Cynewulf couples the conception that Judgment Day will come suddenly and unexpectedly, taking men unawares, like a thief in the night:

Chr. 868 ff. Þonne mid fere foldbuende
se micla dæz mealitan dryhtnes
æt midre niht mæzne bihlæmeð
scire zesceafte, swa oft sceaða fæcne
þeof þristlice, þe on þystre færeð,
on sweartre niht sorzlease hæleð
semninza forfehð slæpe zebundne,
eorlas unzearwe yfles zenæzeð:

Apart from the fact that the poets would naturally make no attempt to decide this question, Bible teaching evidently induced them to leave it, as they did, — unknown, indefinite. Troughout the New Testament we find the same conceptions: that no man knows the day, not even the angels, but only Father Matt. 24. 36; indeed it is not meet for man to know, (Acts. 1. 7) nor necessary to tell him 1. Thess. 5. 1. The sudden and unexpected coming of Judgment is also strictly biblical, taught in passages like Luke 21. 34 f., Matt. 24. 27, 38 f. and in the parables Matt. 25, 1 ff., Luke 19. 11 ff. Chr. 868 ff. seems taken directly from 1 Thes. 5. 2, 2 Pet. 3. 10 (cf. also Rev. 3. 3;

[1] This passage was doubtless suggested by Boethius' line: sic *æternos* reficit cursus, De Consol. Philos. Lib. IV, Met VI.

16. 15). The conception in Chr. 782 that Judgment and final recompense are *near* is taught in similar terms Rev. 22. 12 (cf. James 5. 8 f.). Christ and the apostles purpose lyleft the coming of Judgment indefinite, liable to be sudden and unexpected, in order to induce men to lead better lives and with this teaching coupled exhortation and warning to be prepared. The Ags. poets have diligently followed their example.

4. Place of Judgment.

On this point equally impossible for man to determine our poets have very little to say. Three passages, however, all in Chr., indicate that Cynewulf, at least, regarded Mt. Zion as the scene of the great event. After mentioning the sudden, unexpected coming of Judgment Day he tells us:

Chr. 876 ff. swa on syne beorg somod up cymeð
mægenfolc micel meotude getrywe
beorht and bliðe:

and after describing the blast of the archangels' trumpets he says of Christ's coming:

Chr. 900 ff. Þonne semninga on Syne beorg
suðan eastan sunnan leoma
cymeð of scyppende scynan leohtor,
þonne hit men mægen modum ahycgan,
þurh heofona gehleodu hider oðyweð.

Zion is doubtless meant also in the passage describing God, surrounded by His angel hosts and throned in judgment over assembled humanity:

Chr. 1008 ff. Þonne mihtig god on þone mæran beorg
mid þy mæstan mægenþrymme cymeð
heofonengla cyning halig scineð
wuldorlic ofer weredum.

The fact that the place of Judgment is mentioned only in Christ and not even hinted at in any of the other descriptions, though several of the latter would admit such detail, is a little remarkable and due, perhaps, to the indefiniteness of Bible teaching on this point. This conception was probably not well known or generally accepted, else we would find it mentioned in other poems. In explaining how Cynewulf, then, asserts it so distinctly, we can propose only possibilities. It is possible, of course, that he heard it in some sermon or took

it from one of the Church Fathers; possible also that the idea is his own. Indeed we incline to the latter opinion. Wishing to describe the assembling of mankind before the tribunal of the Eternal Judge, it is very natural that, in order to make the great picture the more vivid and impressive, he should represent the vast multitudes gathered around a mountain, with the Judge throned in glory and majesty above them; and having determined to use this figure, what is more reasonable than that he should select the well-known Mt. Zion, the center of the Bible world, as the mountain in question. It is possible again that scripture teaching induced, at least suggested, this idea. Though the Bible does not expressly teach that Zion is to be the scene of Judgment, there are some passages which the poet may have construed to mean that. Thus Joel 2. 1 asserts that the day of the Lord is nigh and commands the trumpet to be blown in Zion, vs. 31, 32 refer to the great and terrible day of the Lord and the deliverance in Zion, Joel 3. 7, 12 mention the judgment over the heathen in the valley of Jehoshaphat, v. 14 the 'multitudes in the valley of decision', the 'day of the Lord in the valley of decision' (= Jehoshaphat), v. 15 the darkening of sun, moon and stars, v. 16 the earthquake and the voice of the Lord in Zion. Cynewulf, now, may have regarded these as direct references to the Last Judgment, or may have thought them typical of it, as in Isaiah 13. 6—14. In any case they may have given him the hint for his direct and positive statement that Mt. Zion is the scene of Final Judgment.

5. The Coming of Christ to Judgment.

Having disposed of these more preliminary questions of name and time and place, we may now turn to the real forerunners of Judgment, and begin with the coming of Christ, the immediate cause, the signal, as it were, of Judgment.

That the Ags. poets taught a real and personal coming of Christ for the direct purpose of judging the world and assigning mankind to eternal states of reward and punishment, that He is, indeed, the central figure, ordering and controlling all the events of Judgment Day is evident from a great number of passages, which need not be quoted here, since they

will appear in other connection in the following pages. Suffice it for the present, therefore, to cite a few passages, which simply and directly declare that He will come, in person and to judge all men.

He has ascended to heaven, but the angel says:

Chr. 523 ff. 'wile eft swa þeah eorðan mægðe
'sylfe ȝesecan side herȝe
'and þonne ȝedeman dæda ȝehwylce
'þara þe ȝefremedon folc under roderum.

CS. 606 ff. Þæt bið daȝa lenȝust and dinna mæst
hlud ȝehyred, þonne hælend cymeð,
waldend mid wolcnum in þas woruld færeð:

Once He came as the loving Redeemer of mankind; He shall come again and as the Judge in his righteous anger:

Chr. 825 f. Bið nu eorneste þonne eft cymeð
reðe and ryhtwis:

He ascended to heaven *He þa on heofenas astáȝ* VR. 103, but He will come again to earth *hider eft fundaþ on þysne middanȝeard* VR. 103, in person *dryhten sylf* El. 1279, *dryhten sylfa* VR. 105, with His angels *enȝla weorude* El. 1280, *and his enȝlas mid* VR. 106, to Judgment *dom ȝeseceð* El. 1279, to judge mankind at doomsday *mancynn secan on domdæȝe* VR. 104, *þæt he þonne wile deman* VR. 107. Compare also *Cristes cyme* Be. D. D. 97, *fore Cristes cyme* Chr. 1031 and Chr. 790, 833, 943, CS. 598, Bi. D. D. 67, Ph. 492, Jul. 725.

In addition to such general statements that He will come and be present at Judgment, we are told more directly how He will come:

Chr. 904 ff. þonne bearn ȝodes
þurh heofona ȝehleodu hider oðyweð.
Cymeð wundorlic Christes onsyn,
æðelcyninȝes wlite eastan from roderum
on sefan swete sinum folce,
biter bealofullum, ȝebleod wundrum
eadȝum and earmum unȝelice.

Chr. 901 ff., 919 ff. further describe His appearance and bearing towards good and evil, Chr. 1458 ff. shows that He comes in person, the same Christ that was crucified, who is to come in the presence of all creatures *ealra ȝesceafta andweardne faran* Chr. 926 with many signs and wonders *mid mæȝenwundrum monȝum* to Judgment *to þinȝe* Chr. 927.

This conception is the constant teaching of the whole New Test. The descriptions there — the situation, so to speak — are much the same as in the poets. Thus He is to come in glory and power, surrounded by the angels; cf. Matt. 24. 30 with Chr. 900 ff., Matt. 25. 31 with Chr. 942, 1008 ff., Mark. 13. 26 with CS. 606 ff. Chr. 523 ff. is taken from Acts 1. 11. The brilliant hosts of heaven serve Him not only as a worthy retinue and proclaim with archangel trumpet His coming (1 Thes. 4. 16), but are also His messengers to carry out His orders. Compare Matt. 24. 31, Mark 13. 27 with Chr. 879 ff., CS. 600 ff. That He is coming, too, for the direct purpose of judging the deeds of every man is taught in terms very similar to those used by the poets. Compare Matt. 16. 27, 2 Thes. 1. 7 f. with VR. 103—109, Chr. 525 f.

Numerous other references showing a general agreement might be cited, but these will suffice to establish the point that while the poets have only rarely translated or paraphrased a Bible passage, they have dilligently followed scripture teaching throughout.

6. The Summons to Judgment.

Prominent among the hosts that attend Christ's coming our poets pictured the archangels — His trusted messengers — who, at His command, sound their trumpets in the ends of the earth, proclaim the arrival of the day of final reckoning and summon mankind to appear before the bar of eternal justice. Thus:

CS. 600 ff. drihten seolfa
hateð hehenglas hludre stefne
beman blawan ofer burga geseotu
geond [feower] foldan sceatas.

Ph. 497 ff. swa se mihtiga cyning
beodeð brego engla byman stefne
ofer sidan grund, sawla nergend:

In the uttermost parts of the earth glittering angels sound their trumpets:

Chr. 879 ff. þonne from feowerum foldan sceatum
þam ytemestum eorðan rices
englas ælbeorhte on efen blawað
byman on brehtme, etc.

Throughout the broad earth *ȝeond sidne ȝrund* Chr. 948 the loud voice of the trumpet is heard *sio byman stefn* Chr. 1062 *weorðeð . . . . hlud ȝehyred heofonbyman stefn* Chr. 949, which proclaims the fires *brynehatne leȝ* Bi. D. D. 51 and the terrors of Judgment *eȝsan ofer þrym* Bi. D. D. 52. Be. D. D. 128 f. and Bi. D. D. 100 f. refer also to this proclamation although the trumpet is not expressly mentioned. The king of glory thus commands men to rise from their graves and summons them to Judgment.

Chr. 1023 ff. þonne wuldoreyninȝ
hateð arisan reordberende
of foldȝrafum folc anra ȝehwylc,
cuman to ȝemote moneynnes ȝehwone.

This is again a strictly biblical conception, expressed by the poets with almost the same simplicity and in terms very similar to the Bible account. In the latter also the angel's trumpet attends the coming of Christ 1 Thes. 4. 16, is sounded at His command Matt. 24. 31 (cf. CS. 600 ff.), in the four quarters of the earth Mark. 13. 27, to announce His arrival and to summon man to Judgment. The 'situation' in both accounts is the same; the Ags. descriptions are just such as christian poets, familiar with the Bible, would write from memory, incorporating scripture teaching, but without directly translating any particular passage.

7. The Resurrection of the Dead.

The summons of the Eternal Judge is imperative and must be obeyed; at the sound of the angel's trumpet the long, fast sleep of death is ended, the doors of the grave thrown open and man comes forth to meet his final doom. Such an instantaneous, personal resurrection, — at the command and by the power of God — of the body which was buried is the firm belief and constant teaching of our poets. Thus all men arise at the trumpet's sound, death is ended by the power of God.

Ph. 495 ff. þonne æriste ealle ȝefremmað
men on moldan, swa se mihtiȝa eyninȝ
beodeð breȝo enȝla byman stefne
ofer sidan ȝrund, sawla nerȝend:
biþ se deorca deað dryhtnes meahtum
eadȝum ȝeendad;

Vast crowds arise to Judgment, the Prince of Life has loosed the bonds of death:

Chr. 1041 ff. micel arisеð
dryhtfolc to dome, siððan deaðes bend
toleseð liffruma.

Though the body has lain long in the grave, covered with clay *þeah þe hit sy ȝreote beþeaht, lic mid lame*, it shall live again *hit sceal lif onfon feores æfter foldan* Bi D. D. 98 f.; the blast of the angels' trumpets awake the dead *of þisse moldan men onwecniað*, who arise from the dust by the power of God *deade of duste arisað þurh drihtnes miht*. CS. 604 f. The trumpet sounds in the four quarters of the earth and bids men quickly rise to Judgment:

Chr. 887 ff. weccað of deaðe dryhtȝumena bearn,
eall monna cynn to meotudsceafte
eȝeslic of þære ealdan moldan, hateð hy up astandan
sneome of slæpe þy fæstan.

Men receive at once bodies, the rest of the grave is over and every man must arise and appear before Christ.

Chr. 1028 ff. Þonne eall hraðe Adames cynn
onfehð flæsce, weorðeð foldræste
eardes æt ende. Sceal þonne anra ȝehwylc
fore Cristes cyme cwic arisan.

No one may escape, all must obey the summons. Man and woman *weras and wif* Bi D. D. 60, all Adam's race *Adames bearn ealle* Bi D. D. 101, *eal Adames cnosl* Be D. D. 129, the whole human race *eal monna cynn* Chr. 888, Be D. D. 19, all peoples *folc anra ȝehwylc* Chr. 1025, mankind *mancynn* VR. 104, the nations of earth *eorðan mæȝðe* Chr. 523, all men *ealle men on moldan* Ph. 496, every one *anra ȝehwylc* VR. 108, Be D. D. 97. Ph. 522, good and evil *soðfæst ȝe synniȝ* Ph. 523 arise from the grave *from moldȝrafum* Ph. 524, *of byrȝenum* Ph. 512, *of foldȝrafum* Chr. 1026 and come to Judgment *seceð meotudes dom* Ph. 524.

In addition to such general statements, our poets describe the resurrection, more particularly, as a reunion of the soul and body once separated by death. This is a favorite theme. Thus all Adam's race *eall Adames cynn* Chr. 1028, *Adames bearn ealle* Bi D. D. 101, all the race of men *anra ȝehwylc fira cynnes* Ph. 535 are summoned *ȝebonnen* Bi D. D. 100 to Judg-

ment *to spræce* Bi D. D. 101 and receive their bodies *onfehð flæsce* Chr. 1029, *flæsce bifonzen* Ph. 535, receive their bodies and limbs *leoðum onfon and lichoman* Chr. 1032; souls go into their bodies again *zæstas hweorfað in banfatu* Ph. 519, body and soul are united again for the journey to the place of Judgment:

Bi D. D. 102 f. beoð ðonne zezædrad zæst and bansele
zesomnad to þam siðe,

where body and soul are to stand united *leomu lic somod and lifes zæst* at the feet of Christ *fore Cristes cneo* Ph. 513 f.

The same is said in *wyt bioð zezæderode æt zodes dome* SB. 160 and that body and soul are united again is taught in the numerous dual forms throughout the poem: *unc* 103, 162, *uncre* 167, *unc bæm* 88, *wit* 100, 143, 163, *wit . . . ætsomne* 102, 161 and in such references as *sawl mid lice* Ph. 523, *bu lic and sawle* Chr. 1037.

That the body which is to rise is the same body that died and lay so long buried is directly implied in the passages just cited. In the following also it is this same body which shall 'give account' at the Last Day. Thus the soul tells the evil body that it must give an account *scyle riht azildan* SB. 98, *ponne þu for unc bæm andwyrdan scealt* SB. 88, at the Great Day *on þam miclan dæze* SB. 89, for everything *for unra zehwylcum onsundrum* SB. 98 and puts the terrible question:

SB. 95 f. Ac hwæt wylt þu þær
on þamdom dæze dryhtne seczan?

The virtuous body must also 'give account', but it has no reason for shame *ðu ne ðearft sceamian* SB. 148, need not be troubled *ne yfele habban sorze in hreðre* SB. 164 for an answer *þære andsware* SB. 164.

Again we are told, still more definitely, that the good are clothed with their own deeds *weorcum bifonzen azenum dædum* Ph. 527, which shine upon them *him on scinað* brighter than the sun *sunnan beorhtran* Chr. 1041 f., while the sins of the wicked may be seen through their bodies as through glass:

Chr. 1281 mazon þurh þa lichoman leahtra firene
zeseon on þam sawlum: beoð þa synzan flæsc
scandum þurhwaden swa þæt scire zlæs,
þæt mon yðast mæz eall þurhwlitan.

In short upon the risen bodies may be seen everything, good or evil, which they did during life:

Chr. 1033 ff. hafaþ eall on him
þæs þe he on foldan in fyrndaȝum
ȝodes oþþe ȝales on his ȝæste ȝehlod
ȝeara ȝonȝum.

One or two passages, now, seem to indicate the belief on the part of the poets that these mortal, physical bodies which rise are, by the power of God, renewed and 'changed' (in the Bible sense) before they go to Judgment. Thus:

Chr. 1030 ff. Sceal þonne anra ȝehwylc
fore Cristes cyme cwic arisan
— — — — — — — — —
edȝeonȝ wesan.

Ph. 533 ff. Swa biþ anra ȝehwylc
flæsce befonȝen fira cynnes
ænlic and edȝeonȝ,

Chr. 1040 f. Þonne biþ ȝeyced and ȝeedniwad
moncynn þurh meotud:

Wether these terms *ȝeyced* = increased, *ȝeedniwad* = renewed, *ænlic* = beautiful. *edȝeonȝ* = rejuvenescens refer merely to the physical change of the repulsive dead body to the living body or to the change by which the corrupt, mortal body puts on incorruption and immortality, by which the natural body becomes a spiritual body (as in 1 Cor. 15. 42, 52 f., Phil. 3. 21 and elsewhere) is impossible to say. Indeed it is probable that they refer to the simple physical process of giving life to the dead bodies. That these bodies are destined for and do really enter into eternal states of reward and punishment is, as will appear later, clearly taught. The poets do not, however, express themselves as to how or when this change occurs. The whole Bible idea of renewal, being made immortal at the resurrection, as in 1 Cor. 15. 52, does not seem to have been clear to them. The change to come over those "who are alive and remain" at the coming of Christ is not mentioned at all. The other features of this conception of resurrection conform closely to the Bible account, which also teaches that the dead, both good and evil (John. 5. 29, Dan. 12. 2), are raised by the power of God (1 Cor. 6. 14), by the archangel's trumpet (1 Cor. 15. 52, 1 Thes. 4. 16), which gathers

men from the four winds (Matt. 24. 31, Mark. 13. 27). Ezek. 37, 1—14 pictures the resurrection as a reunion of soul and body, in much the same way as the poets do.

Great stress is laid on the resurrection also in Aldhelm's (?) De Die Judicii, in which v. 3—18 and 46—64 are somewhat like Chr. 885, 1028, though the resemblance is very general.

8. The Destruction of the World.

The archangel's trumpet, which ushers in the day of final reckoning, proclaims the coming of Christ and summons mankind to the bar of eternal justice, is likewise in the minds of the poets the death-knell of all the rest of creation, the signal for the destruction of the world and for other signs and wonders that 'show forth His coming' *mægenwundrum mongum* Chr. 927.

This phase of the subject seems to have enlisted the poets' special interest and a number of their finest passages are devoted to it. To these then let us turn and inquire with the poet:

Be D. D. 97 f. hwylce forebeacn faran onginnað
and Cristes cyme cyðað on eorðan?

The central feature in these descriptions is the idea of the destruction of the world by fire. This seems to have taken deep hold on the poets' minds. The fire itself, its destroying effect and purifying power are favorite themes, treated at great length and constantly recurring; and to this enthusiasm of the poets, which made them delight in and loth to leave the subject, we are indebted for some of their finest flights.

A very imposing picture is the description of the fire, like a second flood, rolling over the earth and consuming everything before it. Thus the fire is compared directly with the flood:

Chr. 806 ff. Ur wæs longe
lagufloduin bilocan lifwynna dæl,
feoh on foldan: þonne frætwe sculon
byrnan on bæle: blac rasetteð
recen reada lig, reðe scriðeð
geond woruld wide. Wongas hreosað
burgstede berstað. Brond bið on tyhte,

and again we have the same idea of the rushing angry flood with waves of fire instead of water:

Chr. 984 ff. færeð æfter foldan fyrswearta leȝ,
weallende wiȝa, swa ær wæter fleowan,
flodas afysde.
Be D. D. 165 f. Þæt reðe flod ræscet fyre
and biterlice bærnð þa earman sawla
Chr. 931 ff. Dyneð deop ȝesceaft and fore dryhten færeð
wælmfyra mæst ofer widne ȝrund,
hlemmeð hata leȝ

The greedy, devouring flames *se ȝifre ȝæst* Chr. 814, 973, *weallende wiȝa* Chr. 985 spread over the whole earth *ȝeond woruld wide* Chr. 811, *ȝinna ȝrund* Bi D. D. 12, *ofer ealne foldan fæðm* Bi D. D. 54, *ofer eall beorht ȝesetu* Bi D. D. 117, *ofer widne ȝrund* Chr. 932, over everything *færð fyr ofer eall* Be D. D. 146, far and wide *hyðað wide ȝifre ȝlede* Chr. 1044.

And not only are the fields and cities of earth to be covered by the burning flood, but its fiery waves mount high to heaven and fill the invisible, to us the boundless, air *lyft bið onbœrned* Chr. 1043, *bryne stiȝeð heah to heafonum* Ph. 520 and

Be D. D. 144 ff. Ufenan eall þis eac byð ȝefylled
eal uplic lyft attrenum liȝe
— — — — — — —
eal þæt us þincð æmtiȝ eac ȝemearces
under roderes ryne readum liȝe
bið emnes mid þy eal ȝefylled;

The poets seek to highten the effect of the picture by telling us how the fire, red and angry *read and reaðe* Be D. D. 152, roars and crakles and rushes hither and thither *blawað and brastlað* Be D. D. 151, *ræsct and efesteð* Be D. D. 152, *brondas lacað* Bi D. D. 58, *leȝ onetteð* Bi D. D. 55, driven by violent winds:

Chr. 940 ff. and on seofon healfa swoȝað windas,
blawað brecende bealrtma mæste,
weccað and woniað wornld mid storme,
fyllað mid feore foldan ȝesceafte,

and still further by allusions to the hot and dreadful fire *se hata fyr* Chr. 1063, *brynehatne leȝ* Bi D. D. 51, *eȝeslic æled* Ph. 522, the greedy devouring flames *se ȝifra ȝæst* Chr. 973, 814, *ȝifre ȝlede* Chr. 1045, the angry flames *ȝledu . . . reðra*

bronda Bi D. D. 13, *hiðende leg* Chr. 976, which fiercely seize and swallow up *hat heorogifre* Chr. 977, *grædeð grimlice* Chr. 1004, *gifre forgripeð, grædig swelgeð* Ph. 507, the treasures of earth *londes frætwe* Ph. 508, like an angry warrior *weallende wiga* Chr. 985 or a fire-dragon or some other fierce monster, as it were, in search of prey *georne aseceð innan and utan eorðan sceatas* Chr. 1004 f.

And not only are all earth and air filled with these raging flames, but even the sea does not escape; all sea-animals perish and, strange as the contradiction seems, water burns like wax!

Chr. 986 ff. Þonne on fyrbaðe
swelað sæfiscas sundes getwæfde:
wægdeora gehwylc werig sweltеð;
byrneð wæter swa weax.

The poet graphically sums up this destruction of earth and air and heaven:

Chr. 965 ff. þonne eall þreo on efen nimeð
won fyres wælm wide tosomne
se swearta lig: sæs mid hyra fiscum,
eorðan mid hire beorgum and upheofon
torhtne mid his tunglum; teonleg somod
þryðum bærneð þreo eal on an
grimme togædre:

Grand as this picture is, it becomes still more vivid and awful when we notice the details of the poets' account of the destroying effects of this fiery flood. Cynewulf especially dwells with peculiar delight on this subject. His rich fancy found in it a worthy theme, and knowing well how to use details to increase the effect, he has painted a picture without a parallel in Ags. poetry. Thus cities and castles fall in ruins *hreosað geneahhe tobrocene burgweallas* Chr. 977, *burgstede berstað* Chr. 811, mountains melt *beorgas gemeltað* Chr. 978, and fall *þa duna dreosað and hreosað* Be D. D. 99, the doors of the graves bend and melt *beorga hlida bugað and myltað* Be D. D. 101, the tall cliffs of the sea-shore *heah cleofu* Chr. 979, that have defied the storms of ocean *fæste wið flodum, stið and stædfæst staðelas wið wæge* and protected the earth *foldan scehdun* against the surging waves *wætre windendum* Chr. 980 ff. melt away under the all-consuming fire.

All animals, too, *wihta ȝehwylce* Chr. 982 of earth or air or sea, beasts and birds *deora and fuȝla* Chr. 983 and fish *sæfiscas, wæȝdeora ȝehwylc* Chr. 987 f. perish *swelað, weriȝ swelteð* Chr. 987 f. in this deadly fire *deaðleȝ* Chr. 983.

Then, true to his Ags. nature, the poet does not fail to remember the trasures of earth, the inherited riches of kings; alas! the golden rewards of generous princes in the mead-hall are swallowed up in the fire:

Chr. 808 f. þonne frætwe seulon
byrnan on bæle:
Chr. 996 f. and ȝoldfrætwe ȝleda forswelȝað,
eall ærȝestreon eðeleyninȝa.
Chr. 812 ff. Brond bið on tyhte.
æleð ealdȝestreon unmurnlice
ȝæsta ȝifrast, þæt ȝeo ȝuman heoldan,
Ph. 504 ff. þonne fir brieeð
læne londwelan, liȝ eal þiȝeð
eorðan æhtȝestreon, æpplede ȝold
ȝifre forȝripeð, ȝrædiȝ swelȝeð
londes frætwe.

In short the fire *þæt fyr* Chr. 1003, *byrnende liȝ* Bi D. D. 12 fiercely seizes *ȝræfeð ȝrimlice* everything *nimeð ðurh foldan ȝehwæt* Chr. 1003 f., the whole sinful world burns up in shame *þeos woruld scyldwyrcende in scome byrneð* Ph. 501 f. and with it all the bright creation *beorhte ȝesceafte* Bi D. D. 12.

And again this fiery flood is, in the poets, not only the greedy, merciless destroyer, but also the purifier. It lays hold of earth and animals to destroy them, of men to chasten and cleanse them, to melt away their sin. This idea of the cleansing power of the flames of Judgment frequently recurs. Thus the terrible fire *eȝeslic æled* is felt by many *hat bið monezum* Ph. 521 and bitterly burns the poor souls *biterlice bærnð þa earman sawla* Be D. D. 116; it tries the souls of men in the presence of the Eternal Judge

Chr. 1059 ff. þonne bryne costað
hat and heoruȝifre, hu ȝehealdne sind
sawle wið synnum fore siȝedeman.

Men in crowds wander up and down in the fire:

Chr. 987 ff. Þær mæȝen werȝe monna cynnes
wornum hweorfað on widne leȝ,
þa þær ewice meteð ewelmende fyr,
sume up sume niðer ældes fulle.

Still more detailed is the description in El. 1285—1301, where men are divided into three parts *on þreo* in the flames *in fyres feng*. Uppermost *yfemest in þam ade* are the righteous *soðfæste,* who suffer but little, in the middle *in þam midle* the sinful *synfulle,* who are thus punished, but may yet be purified and saved. Lowest down are the vile sinners *awyrgede womsceaðan* for whom there is no salvation. While the last are forever lost, the others are cleansed from sin as gold is refined from dross in the furnace:

El. 1307 ff. hie asodene beoð,
asundrod fram synnum swa smæte gold,
þæt in wylme bið womma gehwylces
þurh ofnes fyr eall geclænsod
amered and gemylted: swa bið þara manna ælc
asyred and asceaden scylda gewylcre,
deopra firena þurh þæs domes fyr.

In Ph. this purification is expressed in very similar terms:

Ph. 544 f. Beoð þonne amerede monna gæstas,
beohrte abywde þurh bryne fyres.

This fire *swearta leg* Chr. 995, *ældes leoma* Chr. 1006 burns away the sins of the wicked *seoðeð . . . . . synne on fordonum* Chr. 995 and all the crime *æleð uncyste* Ph. 526 and foul deeds of shame on earth *woruldwidles wom* Chr. 1007.

And not by fire alone is the destruction of the world to be acomplished; a migthy earthquake shall shake all nature *beofaþ eal beorhte gesceaft* Bi D. D. 58, earth shall tremble under afrighted man *beofaþ middangeard hruse under hæleðum* Chr. 882 f., *eale eorðe bifaþ* Be D. D. 99, the plains sink away *wongas hreosaþ* Chr. 811, cities fall in ruins *burgstede berstaþ* Chr. 812, mountains are overturned *eac swa þa duna dreosaþ and hreosaþ* Be D. D. 99 f., in the uttermost parts of the earth the shock is felt *þas miclan gemetu middangeardes beofiaþ þonne* Chr. 827, heaven itself is in commotion *rodor bið onhrered* Chr. 826, heaven and earth shall rush together at Judgment Day before one of his words shall come to naught:

An. 1435 ff. 'soð þæt gecyðeð
'mænig æt meðle on þam myclan dæge,
'þæt þæt geweorðeð, þæt þeos wlitige gesceaft,
'heofon and eorðe hreosaþ togadore,
'ær awæged sie worda ænig,
'þe ic þurh minne muð meðlan onginne.

Such awful commotion is naturally accompanied by great noise, and to this the poets make frequent reference. Thus *bi heofonwoman* Chr. 835, 999. This *heofonwoma*, translated rather indefinitely *'Himmelsschrecken'* by Grein, seems to mean primarily 'noise', 'tumult' and is defined by Bosworth-Toller to be in this passage 'the sound heard at the day of judgment'. Heaven above shall resound *dyneð upheofon* Bi D. D. 59, *dyneð deop ȝesceaft* Chr. 931 (dynian[1] from dyne, 'a din', 'a noise' = to make a noise). Compare also the expressions doomsday's din *domdæȝes dyn* SS. 545, *domes dæȝes dyn* SS. 650. The archangel's trumpet sounds out loud *hlud* Chr. 949 over the earth *ȝeond sidne ȝrund* Chr. 948 and on seven sides *and on seofon healfa* great, rushing winds roar with loud noise *swoȝað windas, blawað brecende beahrtma*[2] *mæste* Chr. 951, a crashing storm *þæt ȝestun and se storm and seo stronȝe lyft* breaks up the broad creation *brecað brade ȝesceaft* Chr. 992. This word *ȝestun* from *stunian* = 'to stun' is very expressive of the noise so great that it stuns man to listen. Terrible noise *heard ȝebrec, sweȝdynna mæst* Chr. 954, loud without measure *hlud unmæte, swar and swiðlic* Chr. 955, frightens mankind *ældum eȝeslic eawed weorðeð* Chr. 956, the greatest din *dinna mæst hlud ȝehyred* attends the coming of Christ in the clouds *þonne hælend cymeð, waldend mid wolcnum in þas woruld færeð:* CS. 606 ff. The sea also takes part in the general uproar; men's hearts are sore afraid:

Be D. D. 102 f. and se eȝeslica sweȝ unȝedryre sæs
eall manna mod miclum ȝedrefeð

Bi D. D. 38 f. ne bið þonne on þisse worulde nymðe wætres sweȝ
and freene ȝrimmeð fisces eðel.

And not only do earth and air and ocean meet so fearful a fate, but even heaven itself is included in the general confusion and destruction. As we have seen, the heavens burst *heofonas berstað* Chr. 933, heaven and earth will rush together *heofon and eorðe hreosað toȝadore* An. 1438, the glittering stars *trume and torhte tunȝol* shall fall *ofhreosað* Chr. 934, *stedelease*

[1] Grosehopp-Grein and Baskervill-Harrison give only *dynnan*, Bosworth-Toller only *dynian*.

[2] Doubtless a misprint for *bearhtma*. B.-T. gives only *bearhtm* not *bealrtm*.

steorran hreosaþ Be D. D. 107, *hreosaþ heofonstcorran* Chr. 1044. Still more vivid is the picture of the stars, torn from their places and scattered far and wide by the storm:

Chr. 940 f. and steorran swa some stredaþ of heofone
þurh þa stronzan lyft stormum abeatne.

The passage Met. 29. 39—41 also implies that the stars will fall on Judgment Day, though not before:

Ne þearft þu wenan þæt þa wlitizan tunzl
þæs þeowdomes aþroten weorðe
ær domesdæze.

The sun shall be darkened and turned to blood:

Chr. 935 ff. þonne weorðeð sunne sweart zewended
on blodes hiw, seo þe beorhte scan
ofer ærworuld ælda bearnum;
Be D. D. 108. And seo sunne forswyreð, sona on morzen.

Likewise the moon, 'that once lit up the night for man' shall fall and be darkened till she 'has naught of any might that she the night clouds may disperse':

Chr. 938 f. mona þæt sylfe, þe ær moneynne
nihtes lyhte, niðe zehreoseð
Be D. D. 109 f. ne se mona næfð nanre mihte wiht
þæt he þære nihte zenipu mæze fleczan.

The 'greater and lesser lights' of heaven are thus extinguished and darkness, so terrible in danger, covers all things:

Be D. D. 104 ff. eal bið eac upheofon
sweart and zesworcen, swiðe zewuxað
deorc and dim hiw and dolma sweart.

The poems sums it all up by saying:

Chr. 989 f. Þær bið wundra ma,
þonne hit æniz on mode mæze aþencan.

Imposing as these pictures already are, the poets seek to make them still more impressive, to bring the scene still closer home to the reader, by describing the effect, on the minds of men, of these convulsions of nature. Cynewulf describes at length the terror and bitter lamentation of men in this dreadful hour. The risen dead are terrified *forht afæred* Ph. 525, *forht on ferhðe* Ph. 503, the terrible noise of the sea affrights all men *eall manna mod miclum zedrefeð* Be D. D. 103; great terror, that seizes the whole multitude *þeodezsa* Chr. 834, noise and tumult *cirm and cwicra zewinn* Chr. 998, *cwaniendra cirm* Chr. 836, frantic rushing hither and thither *earmlic ælda ze-*

dreaz Chr. 1000, wailing *cearu, zehreow* and loud weeping *hlud wop* Chr. 999 are heard *hlud zehyred* Chr. 835 and seen on every hand. All mankind *Adames cynn* Chr. 961, bowed down with sorrow *leode zeomre* Chr. 963, *cearena full* Chr. 962, *heane hyzezeomre hreowum zedreahte* Chr. 994 shall wail *zretaþ* Chr. 992 and weep over their lot *wepaþ wanende werzum stefnum* Chr. 993 in this hour of trial *fore þam mæstan mæzenearfeðum* Chr. 964. Great multitudes, rich and poor, kings and people, lament with bitter, but unavailing repentance their lives of sin:

Chr. 890 ff. Þær mon mæz sorzende folc
zehyran hyzezeomor hearde zefysed
cearum ewiðende cwicra zewyrhtu,
forhte afærde.

Be D. D. 158 ff. þonne fela mæzða folca unrim
heora synnizan breost swiðlice beataþ
forhte mid fyste for fyrenlustum
þær beoð þearfan and þeodcyninzas
earm and eadiz ealle beoð afæred.

In short, as the poet tersely puts it:

Bi D. D. 44 f. Ne mæz zryre mare
zeweorðan æfter worulde and se bið wide cuð.

The basis of all these features in the conception of the destruction of the world is clearly Bible teaching. Though some of the details are not strictly scriptural, the poets found the outlines of their pictures already drawn by Christ and the apostles. In addition to the fundamental scripture doctrine that the world is to be destroyed at Judgment Day, there are direct Bible references, though usually in very general terms, to all the 'signs and wonders' just mentioned. Without citing many passages we may note very briefly some of these. Thus fire is to melt the elements with fervent heat and burn up the world and all its works (2 Pet. 3. 10), is to attend the coming of Christ (2 Thes. 1. 7); the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved (2 Pet. 3. 12); heaven, earth and sea shall be destroyed (Rev. 21. 1). Passages like 2 Pet. 3. 6 f., Matt. 24, 37—39 may have given the hint for comparing the fires of Judgment to a second flood, covering the earth; these same fires shall also test the works of men, shall chasten and cleanse from sin (1 Cor. 3. 12—15). The powers of heaven are shaken (Matt. 24. 29, Isaiah 13. 13, Luke 21. 26, Joel 2. 10), the heavens shall

pass away with great noise (2 Pet. 3. 10), there shall be a great earthquake (Joel 2. 10, Rev. 6. 12; 16. 18), cities shall fall (Rev. 16. 19), mountains be moved (Rev. 6. 14; 16. 20), sea-animals destroyed, waters dried up (Rev. 8. 7 ff.); the sun shall be darkened (Joel 2. 10, 30, Matt. 24. 29, Mark 13. 24), the moon shall not give her light (Matt. 24. 29, Joel 2. 10), shall become as blood Rev. 6. 12, Joel 2. 30), the stars shall fall (Matt. 24. 29, Mark 13. 25), shall withdraw their shining (Joel 2. 10); the sea roars (Luke 21. 25), all nations are in distress and men's hearts fail them for fear (Luke 21. 25, 26); all tribes of the earth shall mourn (Matt. 24. 30).

But to the Ags. mind these bare outlines and simple statements were not enough. The poets evidently thought them too meagre for their purposes and therefore expanded them into long descriptions, adding many details. Some of the latter, not so emphasized in the Bible, are doubtless due to the Church Fathers and were at that time accepted as current christian belief. Thus Augustine (De civitate Dei 20) and after him Bede (De temporum ratione 70) taught the purifying power of the fires of Judgment. As proof that this doctine was well known and lived on we may note that Ælfric calls the fires of the burning world the penal fire *witniendlic fyr* and teaches[1] that *'þæt fyr* (— þæt fyr on domes dæge) *ne deraþ þam ȝodum, þeah ðe hit tintreȝiȝe þa unrihtwisan. Gold and seolfor and deorwurðe stanas beoþ on fyre afandode, ac hi ne beoþ swaðeah mid þam fyre fornumene. Swa eac þa þe habbaþ ȝode weorc ne þoliaþ nane pinunge on þam bradum fyre þe oferȝæþ ealne middaneard, ac hi faraþ ðurh þæt fyr to Criste buton ælcre dare, swilce hi on sunnan leoman faron'.* Those guilty of light sins *leohtlice synna* are *afeormod þurh þæt fyr* and come *ðurh maran earfoðnysse to Ꝺodes rice.* But *'se ðe ða heafod-leahtras wyrcð, and on þam ȝeendaþ, he mot forbyrnan on þam ecum fyre and swa-þeah þa swæran synna ne beoþ næfre afeormode for nanes fyre ælincge'* (cf. Chr. 1542). Cynewulf's threefold division of mankind in the fires of Judgment was probably suggested by the Recapitulatio[2] (sors triplex hominum in

[1] In his homily: In Dedicatione Ecclesiae. Cf. Thorpe's Homilies of the Anglosaxon Church II, p. 590.

[2] Printed in Migne's Patrologia Latina 39, col. 1949.

judicio) of Augustine's Sermo CIV, already cited by Gäbler.[1] Both Ælfric's homily and Augustine's *sermo* are based on 1 Cor. 3. 11—15. Hammerich regards this conception of the purifying power of the flames as 'mit heidnischen Reminiscenzen verschmolzen'.[2] Though this is not so certain, we do find here and there, in other features, remnants of heathen conceptions which had lived on, almost forgotten, so thoroughly were they mixed with christian doctrine. The vivid *coloring*, so to speak, of the pictures of the fire rolling over the world before the Lord, the waving plains, the bursting heavens, the falling stars, etc. is doubtless due to the fact that the poets had not entirely forgotten these old Germanic heathen conceptions, though they conform in general to Bible outlines. Compare for instance the destruction of the world in Surtr's fire Sn. Ed. 5. 73, and the following passage from Völuspa 58, quoted by Kemble:

Sol tekr sortna	Black wanes the sun
sigr fold í mar	in waves the earth shall sink
hwerfa af himni	from heaven shall fall
heiðar stjörnur;	the friendly stars;
geisar eimr	round the tree
við aldrnára	red fire shall rustle
líkr hár hiti	high heat play
við himin sjalfan	against the heaven.

A tinge of heathendom may also be left in the references to the dark fire *se swearta lēg, fyrswearte lēg* etc., the poisonous fire *attrenum līge,* which remind us of the fires of Cædmon's hell (cf. below).

Other details may have been gathered from songs or sermons the poets had read or heard. Thus Chr. 935 ff. is not unlike Aldhelm's (?) De Die Judicii 19—24, 38 ff.[3]

Many of these details, too, are doubtless the invention of the poets themselves. They surely did not have a 'source' for every line they wrote. There is true Ags. coloring in the description of the destroying fire as a warrior *wealtenda wīga,* as the greedy spirit *se ḡifre ḡæst,* the ravenous flames *ḡifre*

[1] Antorschaft vom Phoenix p. 40.
[2] Älteste christl. Epik p. 96.
[3] Migne 89, col. 297 ff.

ȝlede, which, like a fire-dragon, eagerly search every nook and corner and seize and greedily devour everything. Quite Ags., too, is the emphasis laid upon the destruction of the treasures of earth, the heirlooms of kings, the 'appled gold', the reward of the mead-hall so dear to every Ags. singer's heart. Some of the Ags. love for nature, too, is seen in these accounts of the confusion of the elements, the mighty winds, the rushing storm, the roaring sea, the sturdy cliffs of the shore.

Chapter II.

The Last Judgment Itself.

Having thus noticed the precursors of the Last Judgment, we may now turn to the scene of the Judgment itself and ask who are present and what transpires there. We begin with the person, appearance and surroundings of the Eternal Judge.

1. The Judge.

Throned, according to Cynewulf, upon a mountain, in the midst of His glorious angel hosts and overlooking assembled humanity, sits the Eternal Judge, upon whose word now depends the everlasting weal or woe of mankind. He is referred to so often and at such length, we are inclined to believe that the secret of the poets' (at least of Cynewulf's) preference for the Judgment Day as a poetical theme may lie in the fact that it gave them such a good opportunity to describe the Eternal Judge in all His majesty and power. Indeed it seems as much their object to portray the character and surroundings of the Judge as to chronicle the events of Judgment itself.

The generic word used to designate the Judge is *dema,* alone, with adjectives or in compounds. Thus, in the presence of the Judge *deman ȝehende* Be D. D. 170, through the mouth of the Judge *þurh þæs deman muð* El. 1283, the Judge of victories *siȝedeman* Chr. 1061, the eternal Judge *fore onsyne eces deman* Chr. 796, 837, El. 745, Be D. D. 76, the Judge of deeds *dæda demend* Jul. 725 etc.

That the Judge thus referred to is Christ, is evident from several considerations. He is, in the first place, often mentioned

by name — *Crist*. Thus all men gather for judgment at the feet of Christ *fore Criste cneo* Ph. 514, the 'account' at the Last Day must be rendered to Him *to Criste* VR. 116, the good are separated to the right hand of Christ *on þa swiðran hond ... Criste sylfum* Chr. 1223 and are happy in His presence *fore Criste* Chr. 1635. In the dialogue between Solomon and Saturn, the latter asks who shall judge Christ *Ac hwa demeð þonne dryhtne Criste* SS. 669 at doomsday *on domes dæge* when He (= Christ) judges all creatures *þonne he demeð eallum ȝesceaftum* SS. 670. Having announced His ascension, the two angels promise His return as Judge Chr. 523 ff. He sits on his throne *Crist siteð on his cynestole, on heahsetle* Chr. 1217 (in spite of the term *fæder ælmihtiȝ* Chr. 1219 it is the Son) and judges *scrifeð* Chr. 1220 all peoples *folca ȝehwylcum* Chr. 1219 righteously *eall æfter ryhte* Chr. 1221. according to their deeds *bi ȝewyrhtum* Chr. 1220.

In pronouncing the final sentence (see below) the Judge says to the good *onfoð nu mid freondum mines fæder rice* Chr. 1345, while to the evil, he relates His own birth Chr. 1420 ff. and crucifixion Chr. 1447 ff. and shows them His wounds Chr. 1455 ff. Throughout both these speeches, Chr. 1345—1362 and Chr. 1380—1524, the speaker, the Judge, is evidently Christ.

Again the Judge is designated as *hælend* CS. 607, *ȝodes sunu* Be D. D. 86, *bearn ȝodes* Chr. 1073 etc., all terms meaning Christ. Thus the evil tremble *beoð beofiȝende* at the Judgment of the Son of God *hwonne him bearn ȝodes deman wille* CS. 622 f., the assembled multitudes, each called by name, must reveal the secrets of their hearts to Him:

Chr. 1073 f. berað breosta hord fore bearn ȝodes
feores frætwe.

The *mihtiȝ ȝod, heofonenȝla cyniȝ* Chr. 1008 ff. is doubtless also Christ; His coming has just been described v. 900 ff., we have here His arrival on the scene of Judgment. The situation is the same as in Chr. 1217 ff. where Christ is mentioned by name. The term *fæder* Chr. 1015 need not refer to God Father, *fæder* being sometimes applied to Christ, the Son, Chr. 1074, 1217, An. 330. Such use of *fæder* is due either to metrical necessity or else to the wish of the poet to completely

identify Father and Son, as in Jul. 725 ff., where the Trinity is Judge:

> þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende
> in annesse ælda cynne
> þurh þa sciran ȝesceaft scrifeð bi ȝewyrhtum
> meorde manna ȝehwam.

Some of the other terms applied to the Judge are useful in showing the Ags. conception of Him. Many of these are quite general and are usually applied to both God and Christ; but in many cases the context teaches that the latter is meant. Thus He is the king *cyninȝ* Chr. 797, *beorht cyninȝ* Chr. 828, of heaven *heofona heahcyninȝ* Chr. 1340, 1517, of all creatures *cyninȝ alwihta* CS. 616, of victories *siȝora soðcyninȝ* Chr. 1229, the ruler of heaven *rodera ryhtend* Chr. 798, *rodera waldend* Chr. 1221, *meahta waldend* Chr. 823, *waldend* CS. 608, the Creator *scyppend* Chr. 1227, God *ȝod* Chr. 1233, *alwalda ȝod* Chr. 1365, the eternal Lord *ece drihten* CS. 627, the Lord *frea* Chr. 925, 1231, *þeoden* Chr. 1100 (he = þeoden 1097), the leader of armies *herȝa fruma* Chr. 845, the prince of nobles *æðelinȝa ord* Chr. 846, the guardian of victories *siȝora weard* Chr. 1517.

In other passages it is not so certain that Christ is meant, yet this is very probable, in as much as nothing argues to the contrary. Among such references are: *heofona cyninȝ* Chr. 1039, *heofoncyninȝa hyhst* Bi D. D. 108, the king of glory *heahþrymme cyninȝc* Be D. D. 95, *wuldorcyninȝ* Ph. 537, of victory *siȝora soðcyninȝ* Ph. 493, *dryhten* SB. 96, El. 1279, Chr. 1050 (*dryhten sylfa*), Ex. 541, Be D. D. 121, *duȝuða dryhten* Ph. 494, *ȝæsta dryhten* Bi D. D. 81, *militiȝ frea* Be D. D. 19, *rican frean* Be D. D. 74, *ȝod* Be D. D. 71, *heofones ȝod* Be D. D. 88, *waldende* Chr. 1049, *lifes waldend* Bi D. D. 85, the shepherd, guardian of heaven *heofona hyrde* Bi D. D. 86, *meotud* Be D. D. 116, Chr. 1660, *fæder enȝla* Ph. 492, *þeoden user* Bi D. D. 5, the generous prince of heaven *swesles brytta* Be D. D. 117.

In spite of the complete identification of Christ and God, usual in Ags., in spite of the fact that in Jul. 725 ff., the Trinity is Judge, we may regard it as the teaching of our poets that the Eternal Judge at the Last Day is Christ, is this Trinity in *unity*, *on annesse* Jul. 726, is the majesty and power of God, manifested and visible in the person of Christ.

This is evidently the attempt of the poets to reproduce the Bible doctrine, which likewise, in spite of the Trinity of the Godhead, lays especial emphasis on the Judgeship of Christ. Compare John 5. 22, 27, Acts 17. 31, Rom. 2. 16, Matt. 16. 27, 2 Cor. 5. 10 etc.

As in the Bible, so in our poets, the Eternal Judge is God, Christ, the Creator, the Lord, the King and He comes surrounded by angel hosts in glory and power to sit upon the throne of Judgment and vindicate Divine law. These more abstract and general conceptions of the King and Judge of Heaven have, however, in the poets become more concrete and definite, the vague outlines of the Bible picture grow sharper, the figures stand out plainer and the whole shows strong Ags. coloring. In order to impart the clear and vivid conception they desired, the poets resorted naturally to terms borrowed, with due reverence no doubt, from the every-day life around them, and perfectly intelligible therefore to their readers. Many epithets of earthly and Ags., at least Germanic, rulers and kings are thus applied, either directly or in exalted sense, to the Eternal Judge, the King of Heaven.

Besides *cyninȝ, meotud, scyppend, dryhten*, all doubtless entirely christian and as abstract to the Anglosaxon as to us, the Eternal Judge is also called, like an earthly king, *beorht cyninȝ* Chr. 828, *mihtiȝa cyninȝ* Chr. 496, *æðelcyninȝ* Chr. 907. He is the ruler *waldend* of heaven *rodera* Chr. 1221, of life *lifes* Bi D. D. 85 and of hosts *weoruda* Chr. 1570. He is, abstractly, the guardian of light *leohtes weard* Bi D. D. 53 and of angels *enȝla weard* El. 1315, but also, more definitely and like a Germanic prince, the guardian of the people *folca weard* Chr. 946, of the kingdom *rices weard* Chr. 1528, of victories *siȝora weard* Chr. 1517, the shepherd, protector, of heaven *heofona hyrde* Bi D. D. 86 just as an earthly king was *rices hyrde* Met. 26. 8. He is abstractly the prince of life *liffruma* Chr. 1042, but also the leader, the prince of armies *herȝa fruma* Chr. 845, the head, the chief of nobles *æðelinȝa ord* Chr. 846, just as an Ags. leader was called. Again He is a lord, a ruler *frea* Chr. 946 etc., accompanied by a triumphant band of his thanes *þeȝna eac hreðeadiȝ heap* Chr. 945; quite a common and favorite conception to the Ags. mind. Though *frea* is usually

applied to God, it is still often the title of an earthly ruler and in passages like Chr. 946 and references to *mihtiġ* and *rican frean* the rich and powerful lord, the poet probably had some Germanic ideal in mind. He is also the generous prince of heaven *swegles brytta* Be D. D. 117, who dispenses the gifts of God *waldendes ġiefe* Chr. 1244, the reward of victory *siġorlean* Chr. 1590, just as a human prince is the dispenser *brytta* of worldly treasure. At the same time, in deference to the calmness and experience brought by age, He is the wise and prudent prince of heaven *wuldres ealdor* Bi D. D. 82, just as Hroðgar is called *aldor East-Dena* Beo. 392.

The Germanic conception of the relation between king and people — a generous, gracious bearing on the part of the former, fidelity, gratitude and obedience on the part of the latter — is also strongly brought out in the poets' descriptions of the Eternal Judge. Thus He is kindly disposed to His people *on sefan swete sinum folce* Chr. 908; to the good He is friendly and gracious *milde* Ph. 538, *freond and leoftæl* Chr. 913, amiable and kind *lufsum and liðe* Chr. 914, turning to them, as it were, with a gracious, loving smile of approval *ġlædmod on ġesihðe* Chr. 911, *wlitiġ wynsumlic weorude þam halġan* Chr. 912; to the wicked His bearing is different *unġelice,* He is severe *biter bealofullum* Chr. 909, *eġeslic and andrysne* Be D. D. 94, stern and terrible *He bið þam yflum eġeslic and ġrimlic* Chr. 919.

Among the followers of the king the good are faithful *meotude ġetrywe* Chr. 877 and gladly obey His commands *sinne cwide ġeorne lustum læstun*[1] Chr. 1225 and do His will *hyra þeodnes willan heoldon* Chr. 1237, *wel heoldon þurh modlufan meotudes willan* Chr. 1261 and are always grateful *ġode þonciað blædes and blissa* Chr. 1256. The evil are unfaithful, disobedient *lifes word læstan noldes* Chr. 1393, *brœcon cyninġes word* Chr. 1630, have defied their gracious king *eall ġe þæt me dydon to hynðum* Chr. 1514 and showed him only ingratitude *þu þæs þonc ne wisses* Chr. 1386, 1474, *æniġne þonc . . . nysses on mode* Chr. 1498. The good are happy in the hope of reward Chr. 1244 ff., the evil are conscious of having deserved His wrath *no arna wenað* Chr. 1232. This general conception of the re-

[1] Cf. also the Old Saxon idiom; Vilmar, Alterthümer im Heliand p. 53.

lation of the king to his followers is also brought out Gen. 15 ff., 19 ff., 78 ff. and will be mentioned again in proper connection in the discussion of the conceptions of heaven.

The descriptions, too, of the Divine Judge, seated amidst His angel retinue on the throne of Judgment, show Ags. coloring. He comes with angels *his engias mid* VR. 106, *engla weorude* El. 1280, *heofonengla preat* Chr. 928, with glory and majesty *mid þy mæstan mægenþrymme* Chr. 1009[1] as in the Bible, but He also comes, like a powerful, ideal Germanic king might do, with a great retinue *þrymma mæste* Chr. 834, with a vast army *herigea mæst* An. 1501, *side herge* Chr. 524, with His triumphant thanes *þegna eac hreðeadige heap* Chr. 944, surrounded by a noble, martial band of angels *and him ymbutan æðelduguð betast . . . halge herefeðan . . . . eadig engla gedryht* Chr. 1012 ff. Such pictures remind us of a Germanic prince in the midst of his nobles, the flower of his army (*æðelduguð*). Genuine Germanic color is further added to these pictures in the descriptions: of the Judge *swegles brytta* Be D. D. 117, seated on His throne *on heahsetle* Ph. 515, Be D. D. 118, Chr. 1336, *on cynestole* Chr. 1217 with His crown (helmet?) upon His head *helme bewreorðod* Be D. D. 118; of the awe and reverence and fear of men and angels around Him Chr. 1014 ff., an exalted reference to the respect due an earthly monarch; of the uplifted cross, the bright banner *se beorhta segn* Chr. 1062, glittering like the sun Chr. 1103, erected as the standard of the empire *ryht aræred rices to beacne* Chr. 1066 in token of the power and authority of the king and in testimony against those who had been unfaithful to it. (See below.)

That the poets, in these descriptions of the Eternal Judge, though following in general the outlines of the Bible, have transferred to Him a great many features of earthly rulers and made him, as it were, much like an exalted, ideal, Germanic people's king need not surprise us. It was done in the main doubtless unconsciously, here and there, perhaps, purposely, in the attempt not only to embody thus an adequate idea of the Divine Judge, in terms perfectly plain, but even more so to picture Him in all His glory and majesty and thus to induce

[1] For a similar picture see De Die Judicii 29 ff. (ascribed to Aldhelm).

men to seek His mercy and beware of His wrath. The very same conceptions, still more pronounced and vivid in expression, run through the whole of the Old Saxon Heliand and that they are based on the then prevalent Ags.-Germanic ideas of royalty is too evident to need discussion here.

2. The Judged.

Christ the great Judge has taken His seat *siteð on his cynestole* Chr. 1227, *on þone mæran beorg* Chr. 1008 and around Him, gathered from the four winds of heaven, assemble the multitudes of His creatures to receive their final doom:

Chr. 795 f. þær monig beoð on gemot læded
fore onsyne eces deman.

Ph. 491 f. þonne mongc beoð on gemot læded
fyra cynnes:

The emphasis laid on the idea that this Judgment is to extend over all mankind is evident from the frequent use of terms like *æghwylc, anra gehwylc, folc anra gehwylc* El. 1287, Chr. 1026, 1219, *reordberendra* El. 1281, *fyra cynnes* Ph. 534, *eall manna cynn* Be D. D. 19, *moncynnes gehwone* Chr. 1027, *Adames cynn* Chr. 961, 1028, *Adames bearn* Bi D. D. 101, *Adames cnosl* Be D. D. 129.

To make the picture more imposing, the poets like to refer to the vast crowds assembled for judgment, *mægenfolc micel* Chr. 877, *weredum* Chr. 1011, *weoroda mæst* Chr. 1070, *æðele hweorfað, þreatum þringað* Ph. 500, and even resort to such enumerations as the following:

Be D. D. 129 ff. Eall Adames cnosl eorðbuendra,
þe on foldan weard fedend[1] æfre,
oððe modar gebær to manlican,
oððe þa þe wæron, oððe woldon beon
oððe to-wearde geteald wæron awiht.

Chr. 1067 ff. foledryht wera biforan bonnað
sawla gehwylce, þara þe sið oððe ær
on lichoman leoðum onfengen.

This Last Judgment is to include good as well as evil: the prince of nobles *æðelinga ord* judges all men *eallum* Chr. 846, *þeoda gehwylcre* Chr. 848, good and evil *leofum ge laðum*

[1] Brandl, Anglia IV. 103, suggests *feded.* Cf. also *gefeded* in similar connection in Wulfstan's XXIX homily, printed by Napier, Wulfstan p. 136 ff.

Chr. 847; every man *anra ȝehwylc* Ph. 522, good and evil *soð-fæst ȝe synniȝ* Ph. 523 must come to Judgment *seceð meotudes dom* Ph. 524. This conception is also evident in the account of the separation of good and evil CS. 609 f., SB. 148, Chr. 1222 etc., as well as throughout the speeches of Christ to them Chr. 1338 ff., 1364 ff.

Here again, as in the description of the burning world, the poets seek to make the scene more impressive by describing the effect of the situation on the individuals present. Thus all mankind fear VR. 110 f., 115, even the angels stand in awe and fear before the Judge Chr. 1015—1020. Especially the evil, unable to rely upon a life of good works, are in great terror:

Chr. 836 ff. ceaȝe reotað
fore onsyne eces deman,
þa þe hyra weorcum wace truwiað.
CS. 622 f. beoð beofiȝende, hwonne him bearn ȝodes
deman wille þurh his dæda sped.

In the rune-passage in Chr. the poet expresses personal fear:

Chr. 797 f. Þonne Cene cwaceð, ȝehyred eyniȝ mæðlan,
rodera ryhtend sprecan reðe word.

No man *ne mæȝ þær æniman* Be D. D. 169 may be bold *ȝedyrstiȝ wesan* Be D. D. 170 in the presence of the Judge *deman ȝehende,* but terror runs through all *ac ealle þurh yrnð oȝa ætsomne* Be D. D. 171, men are apalled, transfixed with terror, turned to stone, as it were, *stane ȝelicast* Be D. D. 173. Compare also in this connection the fine description in Chr. 1560—1572, and frequent warnings like:

Be D. D. 122 ff. Ic bidde, man, þæt þu ȝemunne hu micel bið se broȝa
beforan domsetle drihtnes þonne.
stent he heortleas and earh
amasod and amarod mihtleas afæred.

The poets' account of the judged is the Bible outline expanded and detailed in true Ags. style. Christian and scripture teaching based on passages like 2 Cor. 5. 10, Rom. 14. 10, Rev. 20. 12, Matt. 25. 31 f. etc. is the source of their conceptions.

3. Man's Deeds made known.

The Eternal Judge seated on His throne, the peoples of earth assembled fearful and anxious around Him, the real pro-

cess of Judgment begins. Men are called upon to give an account of their lives and deeds on earth. One passage would indicate that this is directly, by *name*:

Chr. 1073 ff. neode and nyde bi noman zehatne,
berað breosta hord fore bearn zodes,
feores frætwe.

Otherwise we are told simply that every man must and does make known his deeds:

Be D. D. 75 ff. þa ana scealt
zyldan scad wordum wið scyppend zod
and þam rican frean riht azyldan.

SB. 92 ff. þonne wyle dryhten sylf dæda zehyran
hæleða zehwylces, heofena scippend,
æt ealra manna zehwæs muðes reorde,
wunde wiðerlean. Ac hwæt wylt þu þær
on þam domdæze dryhtne seczan?

All man's words and works even the thoughts of his heart are revealed to the king of heaven:

Chr. 1037 ff. sceal on leoht cuman
sinra weorca wlite and worda zemynd
and heorta zehyzd fore heofona cyninz.

All that ever happened, good or bad:

Bi D. D. 106 ff. eal swylce under heofonum zewearð hates and cealdes,
zodes oððe yfles: zeorne zehyred
heofoncyninza hylst hæleða dæde.

It is made known *ðonne bið zecyðed* who have lived in uncleanness *hwa unclænisse lif alifde* Bi D. D. 62, Christ also knows all good deeds *Crist ealle wat zode dæde* Bi D. D. 69, and the sins of the evil are seen through their bodies as through glass *þæt mon yðast mæz eall þurhwlitan* Chr. 1284. No unrepented sin *wom unbeted* can be concealed *nænig bihelan mæg*, the whole multitude sees it *þær hit þa weorud zeseoð* Chr. 1311 f. Interesting for peculiar and exhaustive detail are the following:

Be D. D. 134 ff. Donne eallum beoð ealra zesweotolude
dizle zeðancas on þære dæztide,
eal þæt seo heorte hearmes zeðohte,
oððe seo tunze to teonan zeclypede,
oððe mannes hand manes zefremede,
on þystrum scræfum þinza on eorðan,
eal þæt hwæne sceamode scylda on wornilde
þæt he ænigum men ypte oððe cyðde;

þonne bið eallum open ætsomne
ȝelice alyfed þæt man lanȝe hæl;

Chr. 1046 ff.

Opene weorðað
ofer middanȝeard monna dæde:
ne maȝon hord weras heortan ȝeþohtas
fore waldende wihte bemiðan;
ne sindon him dæda dyrne, ac ðær bið drihtne cuð
on þam mielan dæȝe, hu monna ȝehwylc
ær earnode eces lifes,
and eall andweard, þæt hi ær oððe sið
worhtun in worulde. Ne bið þær wiht forholen
monna ȝehyȝda, ac se mæra dæȝ
hreðerlocena hord, heortan ȝeþohtas
ealle ætyweð:

Having told us that all deeds must and will be made known the poets add that every deed, small or great, good or evil, must be judged. Thus Christ shall return to earth and judge *þonne ȝedeman* every deed *dæda ȝehwylce* that men ever did on earth *þara þe ȝefremedon folc under roderum* Chr. 525 f., every man *bearn ȝehwylc* shall have recompense *leanes fricȝan* for everything he ever did *ealles þæs þe we on eorðan ær ȝeworhton* good or evil *ȝodes oððe yfles* Bi D. D. 40 ff. There is nothing so small, that we must not specially and separately give account for it:

SB. 97 ff.

þonne ne bið nan na to þæs lytel lið on lime aweaxen,
þæt þu ne scyle for anra ȝehwylcum onsundrum
riht aȝildan, þonne reðe bið
dryhten æt þam dome.

Every idle word and deed shall have its reward:

El. 1280 ff.

Sceall æȝhwylc ðær
reordberendra riht ȝehyran
dæda ȝehwylcra þurh þæs deman muð
and worda swa same wed ȝesyllan,
eallra unsnyttro ær ȝesprecenra,
þristra ȝeþonca.

For this conception again we have simply Bible teaching as the basis. The scripture account is followed closely. Compare passages like Rom. 14. 12, 1 Cor. 3, 13. There is nothing hid that shall not be made known Luke 12. 2 f., Matt. 10. 26, Luke 8. 17. God judges the secrets of men's hearts and lives Rom. 2. 16, 1 Cor. 4. 5. Every idle word that men shall speak

is judged Matt. 12. 36 and even a cup of cold water has its reward Matt. 10. 42. The poets descriptions are strictly biblical, with the usual expanding details.

4. The Basis of Judgment.

The measure of man's future reward or punishment in this final Judgment depends, now, in the poets, first and naturally, from what as just been said, on man's previous good or evil life on earth. Man shall be rewarded or punished 'according to his works'. This is the poets' constant teaching. Thus according to deeds *be dædum* Be D. D. 121, *æfter dædum* Chr. 803, by former deeds *be ærdædum* Be D. D. 96, by deeds done on earth *by mandædum on eorðan* Be D. D. 16, according to works *bi ȝewyrhtum* Chr. 1220. 1367, *þurh ærȝewyrht* El. 1301, and then, still more definitely, men's doom is decided *bið ȝæsta dom fore ȝode sceaden* Chr. 1233 by their lives on earth *swa hi ȝeworhton ær* Chr. 1234, as they have deserved *swa he him ærur her . . . ȝeearnoð* in this earthly life *on þyssum lænan life* El. 1282 f., according to deeds done in the body *swa . . on worulde ær efne þæt eorðfæt ær ȝeworhte* SB. 7 f., *swa we widefeorh weorcum hlodun ȝeond sidne ȝrund* Chr. 784.

The sinful life of the wicked involves shame on the great day *scealt . . . . sceame þrowian on þam miclan dæȝe* SB. 50 and corresponding punishment thereafter:

SB. 102 f. sculon wit þonne eft ætsomne siððan brucan
swylera yrmða, swa þa unc her ær scrife!

while the righteous life SB. 145 ff. is no cause for shame *þu ne þearft sceamian* v. 148, or anxiety *þæt þu ne sorȝode* v. 159, but is rewarded in heaven:

SB. 161 f. Moton wyt þonne ætsomne syððan brucan
and unc on heofonum heahþunȝene beon:

The poets like to call attention to the glorious reward of works *wuldorlean weorca* Chr. 1080, of victory *siȝorlean* Chr. 1590, etc., and to remind and warn us how severely evil deeds will be punished. Compare passages like Chr. 828—832, the *wraðlic andlean* in store for *earȝum dædum,* and Be D. D. 92 f., the terrible punishment *hu micel is þæt wite* of the wicked *þe þara earmra byð* for their deeds *for ærdædum.*

Future reward or punishment depends, too, on man's deeds,

especially in so far as these are in direct obedience or disobedience to the law and express command of God. The poets strongly emphasize this point. Thus God gives a glorious reward *wuldres lean* Chr. 1588 to those who have obeyed Him *þam þe him on ȝæstum ȝeorne hyraþ* Chr. 1591. The evil on the contrary have broken the law *Hy brǽcon cyninges word, beorht boca bibod* Chr. 1630. f. and must suffer:

Chr. 1631 ff. forðon hy abidan sceolon
in sinnihte sar endeleas
firendædum fa forð þrowian.

They have often scorned God's holy precept *he ȝehyrweð ful oft halȝe lare* Bi D. D. 70 and may have no hope of heaven *no þæs ȝilpan þearf . . . þæt hyre sie sweȝl onȝean* Bi D. D. 68.

The poet fears Judgment because he has not kept God's law:

Chr. 782 f. þa ic ne heold tcala, þæt me hælend min
on bocum bibead:

the good who have kept the law Chr. 1350—1360 shall be rewarded:

Chr. 1361 f. þæs ȝe fæȝre sceolon
lean mid leofum lanȝe brucan.

while the evil, who have broken the law *earȝe ȝe þæt læstun* Chr. 1503 ff. must suffer *sceolan hearde adreoȝan* eternal punishment with devils *wite to widan ealdre, wræc mid deoflum* Chr. 1514 f.

But not upon man's deeds alone, nor entirely upon his obedience or disobedience to the law of God does his future reward or punishment depend. Cynewulf lays especial emphasis also upon man's relation to Christ, man's acceptance or rejection of Him as the Savior, his gratitude or ingratitude for the wonderful love and sacrifice in the atonement. Thus with His death Chr. 1094 f., He bought life for man *he leoflice ceapode* Chr. 1096 and redeemed him *alysde* Chr. 1100 from sin *lysde of firenum* Chr. 1209. He was a beggar on earth *Ic wæs on woruld wædla* Chr. 1496 that man might be rich in heaven *þæt þu wurde weliȝ on heofonum,* He was poor and needy on earth *earm ic wæs on eðle þinum* v. 1497 that man might be happy in the home above *þæt þu wurde eadiȝ on minum* v. 1497. All this the poet contrasts with the ingratitude of man:

Chr. 1092 f. þonc ȝode
wom-wyrcende wita ne cuðun.

Chr. 1213 f. hy þæs eðles þone
hyra waldende wita ne cuðon.

Chr. 1473 f. wurde þu þæs ȝewitleas, þæt þu waldende
þinre alysnesse þone ne wisses.

In the description of the crucifixion he tells us Chr. 1129—87 how all lifeless nature in earth and heaven bewailed the sufferings and death of Christ and startles us with the terrible fact that man alone would not acknowledge the Savior:

Chr. 1187 ff. Leode ne cuðan
modblinde men meotud onenawan
flintum heardran, þæt hi frea nerede
fram hellewale halȝum meahtum.

An interesting feature in two of the poems Chr. 1065 f., 1082—90, Bi D. D. 105 is the cross, red with the Redeemer's blood, uplifted in Judgment as silent, but solemn testimony of man's ingratitude, and still stronger evidence are the wounds of Christ himself, inflicted by those he came to save and now mute witnesses against them Chr. 1102—1110.

But the day of eternal reckoning has come and He will exact an awful recompense.

Chr. 1100 þæs he eftlean wile
þurh eorneste ealles ȝemonian

Chr. 1477 f. ac forȝield me þin lif, þæs þe ic iu þe min
þurh woruldwite weorð ȝesealde:

These Ags. doctrines that man's final reward or punishment depends on his own deeds, on his obedience or disobedience to God's law, on his belief or disbelief in Christ are all thoroughly biblical. The importance attached by the poets to the acceptance of Christ and the atonement finds its parallel throughout the New Testament (John 3. 36, 5. 24, 12. 48, Luke 12. 8, 9); it is the great commandment 1 John 3. 23, the grandest of all the 'works' of men John 6. 28 f., as in the poets, the all important condition of eternal reward. But not the only condition, so to speak. It does not exclude the fact that men shall be judged according to their works, which is also taught in terms very similar to those in the poets. Matt. 16. 27, 2 Cor. 5. 10, Rom. 2. 6, Rev. 20. 12, 13; 22. 12. Cynewulf's detailed mention of the poor, hungry, naked, sick and sorrowful Chr. 1350—1361, 1500—1514 is in close accord with the Bible account, Matt. 25. 35, 40, 42 ff.

That the cross shall be erected and Christ shall show His wounds as testimony against the wicked, though not in the Bible, is probably an old conception and not original with Cynewulf. It occurs in Muspilli and a number of other old German poems, cited by Müllenhoff.[1] The cross appears also, as vexillum, in an old Latin poem cited by Ebert[2] and published by Boucherie[3] as *Hymne Abécédaire contre les Anti-trinitaires.* B. assigns it at the latest to the 7th century and Ebert puts it 'frühestens in den Anfang der Karolingischen Zeit'. In this the cross appears as vexillum before Christ, shining *fulgebit* v. 123 instead of the sun and moon *tectisque luminaribus duobus principalibus* v. 124. Compare also *In caelo summi tropheum tunc fulgebit iudicis* in strophe 21 of the poem *De Enoch et Elia*[4], in the passage describing the return of Christ to judge the world.

5. The Good and Evil Separated.

The final account having been rendered and the decision made on the basis just mentioned, the good and evil are now separated, to the right and left, to receive their sentence.

CS. 609 f. wile þonne ȝescearian wlitiȝe and unclæne
on twa healfe, tile and yfle.

SB. 148 f. þonne sceadene beoð
þa synfullan and þa soðfæstan
on þæm mæran dæȝe,

Bc D. D. 19 f. and hu mihtiȝ frea eall manna cynn
todæleð and todemeð.

The good *þa soðfæstan* CS. 611, *þa clænan folc .... ȝecorene bi cystum* Chr. 1222 ff. are separated to the right hand of Christ *Him .... on þa swiðran hond* CS. 611, *on þa swiðran hond Criste sylfum* Chr. 1222 f.

The evil on the contrary to the left *on þæt wynstre weorud wyrs ȝesceaden* Bi D. D. 75.

Chr. 1226 ff. ond þær womsceaðan on þone wyrsan dæl
fore scyppende scyrede weorðað,

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[1] Müllenhoff und Scherer, Denkmäler p. 272.
[2] Allgem. Geschichte der Lit. 3. 163.
[3] Revue des Langues romanes VII. 15 ff.
[4] Ebert's Allgem. Geschichte der Lit. 3. 163.

hateð him ȝewitan on þa winstran hond
siȝora soðeyninȝ synfulra weorud,

In pronouncing the sentence Christ turns to the evil *to þam yflum* on His left *þe him bið on þa wynstran hond* Chr. 1364.

Cynewulf then gives us, somewhat in detail Chr. 1235—1301 three points of distinction between the good and evil, indicating thereby the condition and feelings of each. Of the good he says that (1) they shine before all men, their works brighter than the sun v. 1235—1242, (2) they realize and rejoice in their own salvation v. 1243—1247, (3) they see the evil suffer and are therefore grateful for their own reward v. 1247—1262. Of the evil we read that (1) they realize their sin and see before them their terrible, inevitable fate v. 1262—1272, (2) they know others see their sin and are ashamed v. 1273—1284, (3) they see the happiness of the righteous, which increases their own suffering v. 1285—1301.

The poets give us also other vivid pictures of the good and evil as they stand before the Eternal Judge. They know well, as we have seen in other connection also, how to heighten the effect by details, to transport the reader, as it were, to the scene in question by describing its effect on those who are present there. The good are unspeakably happy in anticipation of their reward in heaven CS. 613, Chr. 1077 etc., while the evil, sad in mind, *sariȝferðe* Chr. 1083, full of fear and shame, trembling and terror-stricken *eȝsan ȝeðreat* Chr. 1564, at the thought of the doom they know is coming, expect no mercy *arna ne wenað* Chr. 1232, but bewail their lot and shed tears of bitter, but unavailing, repentance *tearum ȝeotað, þonne þæs tid ne bið* Chr. 1567 in the agony of their despair. But alas it is too late *ac hy to sið doð ȝæstum helpe* Chr. 1568, God will not heed their weeping *ȝiman nele ... hu þa womsceaðan .... sare ȝreten* Chr. 1569 ff., no time is allowed them for repentance *ne bið þæt sorȝa tid leodum alyfed* Chr. 1572, there is no hope of rescue Chr. 1573 ff.

This separation of good and evil is based on passages like Matt. 25. 32, 33; 13. 30, 49 etc. The comparison of the evil to goats is in strict accord with Matt. 25. 32 f. Of the signs distinguishing good and evil, we find in the Bible only one, viz: the righteous shine as the sun, Matt 13. 43, Dan. 12. 3.

6. The Sentence Pronounced.

The crowds of good and evil, separated from each other and realizing already their fate, stand, thus, before the Eternal Judge awaiting the final sentence. Of a process by which this all important decision is reached the poets, following the example of the Bible, say nothing. Men give an account of their deeds and we are told simply:

Chr. 1233 f. Donne bið ȝæsta dom fore ȝode sceaden
wera cneorissum, swa hi ȝeworhtun ær.

The omniscient Judge, knowing the end from the beginning, naturally needs no deliberation to come to a decision. It only remains to proclaim the sentence, officially, as it were, giving it the sanction of Divine authority, to the waiting multitudes. This, then, is done by the Judge himself *þurh þæs deman muð* El. 1283. In loud and majestic voice He announces man's final doom:

BiD.D. 109 ff. Næfre mon þæs hlude horn aþyteð
ne byman ablaweð, þæt ne sy seo beorhte stefn
ofer ealne middanȝeard monnum hludre,
waldendes word: wonȝas beofiað
for þam ærende þæt he to us eallum wat.

Turning first to the good on the right, He blesses them with uplifted right hand and bids them welcome to the rest of heaven:

CS. 615 ff. and heo ȝesenað mid his swiðran hond
cyninȝ alwihta, cleopað ofer ealle:
'Ȝe sind wilcuman! ȝað in wuldres leoht
to heofona rice, þær ȝe habbað
a to aldre ece reste.

Cynewulf gives us a longer description Chr. 1337—1362. The high king of heaven *heofona heahcyninȝ* turns to the good and bids them peace *him frið beodeð* v. 1341, bids them enter into the eternal joys of their heavenly home v. 1342 f. with the welcome word:

Chr. 1345 ff. Onfoð nu mid freondum mines fæder rice,
þæt eow wæs ær woruldum wynlice ȝearo,
blæd mid blissum, beorht eðles wlite,
þonne ȝe þa lifwelan mid þam leofestum
swase sweȝeldreamas ȝeseon mosten.

Then follows, as in the Bible, an account of their kindness

and generosity to the poor, hungry, sick and naked, by which they have earned *earnodon* Chr. 1350 heaven and for which they shall be rewarded.

Chr. 1361 f. þæs ȝe fæȝre sceolon
lean mid leofum lanȝe brucan.

Turning then to the evil the Judge pronounces their sentence:

CS. 626 ff. ac biδ him reordiende [rodera waldend]
ece drihten ofer ealle ȝecwyδ:
'Astiȝaδ nu awyrȝde in þæt witehus
'ofestum miclum, nu ic eow ne con.

Cynewulf gives again a very detailed account, Chr. 1363—1524. The Judge turns to the evil and, in righteous anger *yrringa* v. 1373, proclaims their condemnation. He speaks to them sternly *laδum wordum* v. 1375[1], and they need not hope for mercy *biδ seo miccle milts afyrred* v. 1371. Before pronouncing the sentence Christ recounts, as an earthly judge would also do, the crimes of the wicked and the evidence against them. He thus relates the Creation, the life and sin of man in Eden and reproaches them with ingratitude *þu þæs þonc ne wisses* v. 1386 and disobedience to His commands:

Chr. 1393 ff. þa þu lifes word læstan noldes,
ac min bibod bræce be þines bonan worde,
fæcnum feonde furδor hyrdes,
sceδδendum sceaδan, þonne þinum scyppende.

He then describes the banishment from Eden (1404—1414) and how, for love to His creatures, He came to earth to save them (1415—1420). Then follows an account of His birth (1420 ff.) and sacrifices for men on earth (1428 ff.) that man might escape punishment and have eternal life:

Chr. 1426 ff. ic þe wolde cwalm afyrran,
hat helle-bealu, þæt þu moste haliȝ scinan
eadiȝ on þam ecan life:

Then comes the crucifixion v. 1433—1460, the death He endured that man might live:

Chr. 1461 ff. ic onfenȝ þin sar, þæt þu moste ȝesæliȝ mines
eδelrices eadiȝ neotan,
and þe mine deaδe deore ȝebohte

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[1] This righteous anger is a favorite theme. Cf. Be D. D. 17, 76, SB. 99 f., Chr. 1528 f.

þæt longe lif, þæt þu on leohte siððan
wlitig womma leas wunian moste.

He reproaches man with base ingratitude *þinre alysnesse þonc ne wisses* v. 1474 and solemnly demands recompense:

Chr. 1477 f. ac forgield me þin lif, þæs þe ic in þe min
þurh woruldwite weorð gesealde.

Then follows a reproach for sin in general v. 1481—1495 and for disobedience to God's law v. 1500—1513. Christ sums it all up:

Chr. 1513 ff. 'Eall ge þæt me dydon
'to hyndum heofoncyninge! þæs ge sceolan hearde adreogan
'wite to widan ealdre, wræc mid deoflum geþolian.

and pronounces at last the awful sentence (much like the passage in CS. 626 ff.):

Chr. 1520 ff. 'Farað nu awyrgde willum biscyrede
'engla dreames on ece fyr
'þæt wæs Satane and his gesiðum mid
'deofle gegearwad and þære deorcan scole
'hat and heorogrim: on þæt ge hreosan sceolan.

The closing verses of both these speeches, including the sentence, seem taken directly from the Bible; thus Chr. 1345 ff. from Matt. 25. 34, Chr. 1520 ff. from Matt. 25. 41. The references to the poor, hungry and naked Chr. 1350—1361, 1500—1513, differ slightly from the Bible account, but are probably due to Matt. 25. 35—40 and 42—45 where the reference also stands in direct connection with the sentence itself. CS. 628 was probably suggested by passages like Matt. 7. 23, where, in the same connection, the same in substance is said. The long speech of Christ to the evil, though containing Bible doctrine has no parallel in Scripture. The idea of having Christ make such a speech may have been suggested by some Latin homily; may on the other hand have been original with Cynewulf. He thus gained another opportunity to relate in summary the entire life, redeeming work and death of Christ, subjects he was loath to leave and which he thought could not be too much emphasized.

7. The Sentence Executed.

The final sentence has been pronounced and must be executed. Of the good we are simply and briefly told that

they are led to heaven Ex. 544 ff. and, greeted by angels Chr. 1671 ff., enter into eternal rest. And then more in detail we read how the doom of the wicked, awful as it is, is also inevitable. The Eternal Judge has spoken and there is no appeal. Repentance comes, bitter repentance, but it is too late (Chr. 1572); God's saving grace is removed from them (Chr. 1371), and they cannot avert their fate:

Chr. 1525 ff. Ne mazon hi þonne zehynan heofoncyninges bibod
rædum birofene: sceolon raðe feallan
on zrimne zrund, þa ær wiþ zode wunnon.

The Lord is angry with His foes *reðe and meahtiz, yrre and ezesful* Chr. 1528, none can withstand Him, but at the sweep of His sword of victory the wicked are banished forever from His presence into the place of eternal torment:

Chr. 1531 ff. Swapeð sizemece mid þære swiðran hond,
þæt on þæt deope dæl deofol zefeallað
in sweartne lez. etc.

And there is no delay in executing the sentence:

CS. 630 ff. Sona æfter þam wordum werize zastas
helle hæftas hwyrftum scriðað
þusendmælum and þider lædað
in þæt sceaðena seræf etc.

Then, as Cynewulf tells us, by the power of God, the Holy Ghost locks the doors of hell and the wicked are cut off forever from the presence and mercy of God.

Chr. 1624 ff.. Þonne haliz zæst helle biluceð,
morðorhusa mæst, þurh meaht zodes,
fyres fulle and feonda here
eyninges worde:

Compare also SS. 347 f. where God commands hell to be locked up:

SS. 347 f. hateð þonne heahcyninz helle betynan
fyres fulle, and þas feondas mid.

The simple Bible doctrine that the evil shall go away into everlasting punishment and the righteous into life eternal Matt. 25. 46 etc. is thus presented in true Ags. detail. Some passages, Chr. 1531 for instance, show a tinge of Ags. color, in harmony with their Germanic notions of the Judge. The idea of Chr. 1624 probably grew out of the conception of hell as a prison (see below), which must necessarily be locked when the criminals are in it.

Chapter III.

The Results of Judgment.

Judgment Day is over, the final sentence has been pronounced and man has been assigned to eternal states of reward and punishment in heaven and hell. An exhaustive discussion of the Ags. conceptions of these would be out of place here and yet they are so interwoven into the poets descriptions of Judgment Day, that we may not omit them entirely. A short account, then, of the poets' heaven and hell considered as results of Judgment, an inquiry into what constitutes the reward bestowed and the punishment inflicted by the Eternal Judge may engage us here. The examination will be based mainly on passages more or less closely connected with the general subject of Judgment, others being cited only to supplement or explain these.

1. Hell and Eternal Punishment.

Taking up first the fate of the wicked, we may ask what and where is the hell to which they are banished and in what do its torments consist.

The generic word for hell in our poets is *hel*, originally, according to Kemble[1] 'the name of the Teutonic mistress of the cold and joyless under-world', who received the souls of the dead, good and bad. Losing its personal significance almost entirely, the word came to mean the dark and cheerless realm of the goddess, the place of departed spirits. The hell of our poets, however, the place of eternal punishment, does not correspond to this realm of Hel, but is a union of it with other and very different conceptions, both christian and heathen, which in the poets find expression in a number of terrible pictures.

Thus hell is a deep abyss or gulf *grund* or *hellegrund* into which the wicked are thrown *in hellegrund* El. 1304. They cannot avert the final sentence but fall into the horrible abyss

[1] Saxons in England I, p. 392, and before him Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie p. 288.

sceolon raðe feallan on ȝrimne ȝrund Chr. 1526; directly after the sentence *sona æfter þam wordum* CS. 630 they are driven by thousands *to ȝrunde,* where they must endure imprisonment in the cold abyss *caldan ȝrund* CS. 636. These depths swallow up God's enemies *ȝrundas swelȝaþ ȝodes andsacan* Chr. 1594. There is the abyss of hell *ac þær is helleȝrund* Bi D. D. 24; the fire is in the depths *on ȝrunde* Be D. D. 188. Compare also CS. 31, 91 where the angels are hurled into the dark abyss *in þone neowlan ȝrund,* into the grim depths *ȝrimme ȝrundas* CS. 260, Gen. 407 and the references *þone hiteran ȝrund* CS. 149, *to ȝrunde* CS. 269, *hatne ȝrund* CS. 485, *susla ȝrund* El. 943.

The same general conception is indicated also:

by the use of *scræf* = a pit or gulf. The souls shall burn and wander *byrnaþ and yrnaþ* in the dark pit or cave *on blindum scræfe* Be. D. D. 230, the wicked are driven in crowds into the den or pit of criminals *in þæt sceaðena scræf* CS. 633. Compare also Satan's banishment into the pit of torment *in þæt witescræf* CS. 691, *þæt laðe scræf* CS. 727, the devils take up their abode in the horrible pit *þæt atole scræf* CS. 26, 73, 129, *þis hate scræf* CS. 419, the pit of all evils *ece scræf yfela ȝehwylces* Ex. 537.

by the use of *dæl* = a gulf or den. The condemned fall into the deep gulf *on þæt deope dæl* Chr. 1532, so the fallen angels *on þas deopan dalo* Gen. 421, the evil suffer in *þæt hate dæl* Chr. 1542. Compare also the deep abyss *se deopa seaþ* Chr. 1545.

These depths of hell are also pictured as a place of confinement, a prison, provided often with bolts and bars like an earthly prison. Thus the Holy Ghost locks up hell *haliȝ ȝæst helle biluceþ* Chr. 1624, the good are at the same time locked out *biþ him hel bilocen* Chr. 1260. Hell is called directly a guard-house, a prison (custodia, carcer) *on cweartern* Be D. D. 216. The evil endure bondage and prison *clom and carcern* CS. 637 (*carcernes clom þrowade* CS. 490), are confined in fire *under liȝes locan* Chr. 1621 and may yet never loose their cold fetters *ne mæȝ over losian caldan clommum* Chr. 1629. They must give their limbs to be bound and burned *hy leomu ræcaþ to bindenne and to bærenne* Chr. 1622. In the descriptions of

Satan and the fallen angels, we have the same idea. Satan himself is laid in fetters *clamme belezde* An. 119, must abide in bonds *bidan in bendum* CS. 49, bound fast *feste zebundne* CS. 57, 103, 324 in iron bonds *ac liczaþ me ymbe irenbendas* Gen. 371 and *hæft mid hrinza zespanne* Gen. 762, *simon zesæled* Gen. 765, *in liodobendum* Gen. 382.

In this same general sense hell is the prison-*house,* the court of crime *morðorhof* El. 1302, *morðorhusa mæst* Chr. 1625, the house of torment *susla hus* Chr. 1604, of punishment *wite-hus* Chr. 1536, CS. 628, of crime *manhus* Ex. 530, a joyless house *dreamleas hus* Chr. 1628, the death hall of the devil *deaðsele deofles* Chr. 1537, spacious *sidan sele* CS. 131, windy *windiza sele* CS. 136, 320, accursed *werizan sele* CS. 332, even *zystsele* Ex. 534. Compare also references like *atola ham* CS. 96, *walice ham wites afylled, þone laðan ham* CS. 177, etc. And still more directly is this idea of limitation, narrowness and confinement brought out in terms like the narrow home *in þam enzan ham* El. 920, *æniza stede* Gen. 356, *ufan hit is enze* Bi D. D. 22, *þæs enzestan eðel-rices* SS. 213.

In strange contrast to this idea of narrowness stand a few references to the enormous size of hell. Thus it is *zrundleas* Chr. 1546, spacious *sidan sele* CS. 131, while CS. 721 represents it as 100000 miles in extent from top to bottom.

That these depths of hell were imagined somewhere under the earth is indicated by the use of terms like *zrund, scræf, dæl* etc. and taught still more clearly in passages like *under eorðan neoðan ..... on þa sweartran helle* Gen. 311, *under foldan* Ex. 536, *under foldan sceat* Chr. 1534, *niðer* Chr. 1619, *niðer under nessas* CS. 31, 91, 135. Cf. also El. 899, An. 1594 f. already cited by Kent[1]. The motion, too, implied in terms like *onwæzed weorðeð* Bi D. D. 28, *feallan* Chr. 1526, 1532, *hreosan* Chr. 1413, 1524, *zedufan* CS. 30, Guð. 555, *bescufan* CS. 633, El. 942, *hniz an* CS. 375, is also indirect evidence, at least, of the same idea.

Among the punishments of hell that of fire is naturally made most prominent. We need cite but few references to so well-known a feature. Thus the condemned are banished

[1] Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene p. 28.

into eternal fire *on ece fyr* Chr. 1521, *in þæt hate fyr, under liges locan* Chr. 1620; fire awaits them *him bið fyr ongean* Bi. D. D. 18; their lot is the scorching of the furnace *þæs ofnes bryne* Be D. D. 194, *fule* (or better *fulle*[1]) stowa fyres on *grunde* Be D. D. 188, the fiery terror *firene egsan* Be D. D. 188. The fallen angels are banished to hell to dwell in the surging flames *wunian in wylme* SS. 933. Hell's inmates must endure *biterne bryne* An. 616, *in wylme* El. 764, *brynewelme* CS. 27, *deopan wælm* CS. 30, *hatne heaðowælm* Gen. 324, in the fire-bath *fyrbaðe* El. 948, in the flame-vomiting fire *ligspiwelum bryne laðlices fyres* Be D. D. 209, are swallowed up in the leaping, surging flames *lacende lig* Chr. 1595, are bound down in fire *lege gebundne* Chr. 1539, 1598.

In strange contrast to this fundamental Bible doctrine is the mention, in one passage, of water as one of the torments of hell. God sends in water *wæter insende* SS. 939 to torment the fallen angels. And in a large number of passages we find, well developed, another contrast to the tortures of fire viz: that piercing cold is to constitute one of the punishments of the damned. In the same line, indeed, we learn that the sinner must suffer both. Thus hell is not only *þæt hate dæl* Chr. 1542, *hate scræf* CS. 419, but also the cold abyss *þonne caldan grund* CS. 637, where men are bound down in cold fetters *caldan clommum* Chr. 1630, as well as in fiery bonds. Hell is a dwelling deadly cold *wælcealde wic* SS. 937, covered with winter *wintre biðeahte* SS. 938. In spite of the scorching of the furnace *þæs ofnes bryne* Be D. D. 194, men's teeth chatter from the great cold (in the next line) *hwilum eac þa teð for miclum cyle manna þær gryrað* Be D. D. 195. The inmates of hell must endure the mingled tortures of cold and heat *lige . . . egsan forste* Chr. 1547; the fallen angels *Nabbað to hyhte nymðe cyle and fyr* CS. 335; heat mingles with cold *hat and cald hwilum menegað* CS. 132. Such a contrast does not seem to trouble the poets in the least, on the contrary, it is emphasized. Very heat and cold in the midst of hell!

[1] Proposed by Brandl, thus translating the *ignibus loca plena* of De Die Judicii 94. Cf. Anglia IV. 103. Cf. also Wulfstan's XXIX homily.

Be D. D. 190 ff. Þær synt to sorȝe ætsomne ȝemenȝed
se þrosma liȝ and se þrece ȝiecla
swiðe hat and cald helle to middes.

Cold and fire and filth *liȝ and cyle and laðlic ful* Be D. D. 205! The east wind also adds its terrors to these torments of frost and fire:

Gen. 313 ff. Þær habbað heo[1] on efen unȝemet lanȝe
ealra feonda ȝehwilc fyr edneowe:
þonne cymð on uhtan easterne wind,
forst fyrnum cald, symble fyr oððe ȝar.

The word *ȝar* may be very expressive here of the great cold which pierces or penetrates like a spear. Though Grein considers the line corrupt and thinks "*ȝar* für die 'stechende' kälte steht nicht ausser allem Bedenken[2]", he defines it as 'die schneidende kälte' and embodies the same idea in his translation 'und Frost furchtbar kalt, immer Feuer oder Frost'. The mention of the east wind as a torment of hell seems strange to us, but to the Ags., to the Northumbrian, perhaps, who had no doubt suffered much in life from the cold east wind it was an easy transition to make it one of the torments of hell. Winds are also mentioned elsewhere. Hell is, indeed, directly called the wind-hall *windsele* CS. 320, *windiȝa sele* CS. 136.

Not only do we find in the poets' hell the contradictions of fire and water, heat and cold, but also that of fire and darkness. Instead of telling us that the surging flames *lacende liȝ* Chr. 1595 light up every thing with a lurid glare, the poets emphasize the fact that these fires burn with little or no light. It is the dark, bitter fire *blindum biteran liȝum* Be D. D. 241, *sweartne leȝ* Chr. 1533, *se wonna leȝ* CS. 715 etc. And in other and more direct references the poets teach the eternal darkness of hell. Thus it is the gloomy home *þeostre ham* CS. 38, *dimman ham* CS. 111, 337, a dark dwelling-place *heolstor hofu* El. 763, *þa mircan ȝesceaft* Bi D. D. 26, the dark abyss *blindum scræf* Be D. D. 320, veiled in eternal night *sinnihte* Chr. 1543, *sinnihte beseald* Gen. 42. The condemned

[1] heo = the fallen angels = se feond mid his ȝeferum eallum. v. 306.

[2] Bibl. d. ags. Poesie I, p. 10 foot-note; and we may doubtless agree with him.

wander about in darkness *betwyx forsworcenum swearlum nihtum* Be D. D. 198, *on þeostre* Chr. 1546; so, too, the devils *þeostrum forþylmed* El. 766 after having fallen into the darkness *heolstor* An. 1191, CS. 102, 280, 445. Indeed they are black themselves *blace* CS. 71, dim and dark CS. 105. Compare the pictures to the Caedmon MS., plates IV and XI, where the devils get black as they fall into hell. We find also references to the swart hell *sweartan helle* Gen. 312, devoid of light *leohtes leas* Gen. 333, to the dark mists *þas sweartan mistas* Gen. 391, the smoke and darkness *recas* Gen. 325, *þrosm and þystro* Gen. 326, Be D. D. 199. It thus has the darkness of fogs and mists as well as that of smoke, the darkness, therefore, resulting from both heat and cold. And then we are directly told in some fine passages that no little spark of light shines to the miserable:

Be D. D. 218 f. þær leohtes ne leoht lytel sperca
earmum æniġ.

no glad light of day ever shines there:

Bi D. D. 19 f. þær næfre dæġ scineð
leohte of lyfte,

to disperse the shadows:

CS. 105 f. ne her dæġ lyhteð
for scedes sciman, sceppendes leoht.

In accounts of the Judgment Day a few passages indicate the belief that hell, the place of the damned was filled with horrible filth and stench. Thus it is full of boiling pitch and vapor *weallendes pices and þrosmes* Be D. D. 199, Satan measures how vast the black vapor is *and hu sid se swarta eðm seo* CS. 704. There is naught but fire and cold and loathsome filth *liġ and cyle and laðlic fyl* Be. D. D. 205. Naught is smelled but 'immensity of stench'.

Be D. D. 207 f. hy mid nosan ne maġon naht ġeswæccan
butan unstences ormætnesse.

This dark and filthy fire is also mixed with poison *flor is on wælm attre onæled* CS. 39, *flor attre weol hat under hæftum* CS. 319.

These foul depths of hell are also peopled with monstrous beasts with deadly jaws and horrible serpents that wind around the naked bodies of men and gnaw their very bones

with fiery tusks. Thus the damned are tormented with fire and serpents *fyr and wyrm* Ex. 536, the fallen angels with foul beasts with horns of iron *atol deor monig irenum hornum* SS. 941 f.; bloody eagles and pale adders *blodige earnas and blace næddran* SS. 943 f., numberless worms, dragons and snakes *wyrma þreat, dracan and næddran* CS. 336, cruel serpents *wraðum wyrmum* Chr. 1548, with deadly jaws *frecnum feorhgomum* Chr. 1549 are found on every hand. Hell is indeed directly called the hall of serpents *wyrmsele* Jud. 119, the hissing of snakes is heard *næddran sweg* CS. 102, and these horrible monsters glide out of the half-liquid, poisonous filth and wind around the naked bodies of the sufferers, *hwilum nacode men winnað ymbe wyrmas* CS. 135, tear them and gnaw their very bones with burning tusks:

Be D.D.210f. and hy wælgrimme wyrmas slitað
and heora ban gnagað brynigum tuxlum.

Dragons breathing fire guard the entrance:

CS. 98 f. ece æt helle duru dracan eardigað
hate on hreðre:

And, indeed, hell itself was conceived as a frightful monster — a very easy and natural transition in view of what has just been said. Adam calls it the black and greedy hell *þa sweartan helle grædige and gifre* Gen. 793, which might be heard raging from Paradise *nu þu hie grimman meaht heonane gehyran* Gen. 794. Compare also the references *on banan fæðme* El. 766[1] and Whale 50—81, especially 76—81 where the whale is a type of hell, which catches sinful men in its terrible jaws, just as the whale gathers in small fish for food. See, too, the plates to the Cædmon MS. in Bouterwek's edition, where hell is represented as the distended jaws of a monster into which the rebellious angels are falling.

Having thus drawn such frightful pictures of the horrors of hell, the poets might have left their readers to imagine the sufferings of the damned, but the opportunity of impressing these dreadful scenes was too good to be lost, and they cannot resist the temptation to add a few more strokes to their already horrible pictures and tell us again and again of

[1] And Grein's note: „Die Hölle selbst ward als Drache gedacht".

the physical and mental tortures of this eternal punishment. The immates of hell must endure grievous tortures *cwealma mæst* Chr. 1627, *þearlic wite* CS. 636, endless pain *ece cwealm* Chr. 1541 and sorrow *sar endeleas* Chr. 1632, everlasting punishment *ecan witu* Be D. D. 217, a multitude of torments *wites worn* CS. 77, *wita unrim* Gen. 335 forever *hearde wite to ealdre* Chr. 1515, wretched penalties *earmlice witu* Be D. D. 189, the qualms of death *deaðcwale* El. 765, *swylt þrowiað* Chr. 1540, the bonds of torture *wites clom* CS. 103, 157, 453, the terrible recompense of sin *morðorlean heard and heorogrim* Chr. 1613, terrible and vital evil *ealdorbealu egeslic* Chr. 1615, torture *susl* CS. 40, 692, woe and torment *wean and witu* CS. 336, the greatest of all perils *eallra frecna mæste* Gen. 488. They are tormented by devils CS. 638 f., Be D. D. 203, are hurled into perdition *in wita forwyrd* El. 764, An. 1618, into the darkest and most terrible torments *in þa sweartestan and þa wyrrestan witebrogan* El. 930 f.

The distinctly physical pains also of hunger and thirst *þirst and hungor* SS. 945, fierce conflict *þearle genin* SS. 946 lack of sleep *and se earma flyhð uncræftiga slæp* Be D. D. 239, toil *geswinc* Be D. D. 256, weariness *æmelnys* Be D. D. 260, sickness *swar legor* Chr. 1663, disease and plague *ne fefur ne adl* age *yld* Be D. D. 255, *yldo* Ph. 614 etc. are directly brought out, in strong contrast to the joys of heaven, in passages like Chr. 1653 ff., Be D. D. 255 ff., Ph. 611 ff.

The effect of these awful pictures is still further heightened by the account of the mental agony of the sufferers. They must not only do without all the joys of heaven and all the pleasures of earth, but also endure bitter anguish *bitere care* Be D. D. 213, great, constant terror *angryslic ege and fyrhtu* Be D. D. 225, *eacne egsan* SS. 947, *gryre* Bi D. D. 21, *brogna hyhst* Bi D. D. 23. This mental anguish finds expression in dreadful lamentation *heof* SS. 935, weeping *wop* SS. 934, *stearc heard wop and wanung* Be D. D. 201, *ungemetum wepað* Be D. D. 193, in bitter repentance and gnashing of teeth *gristbitung* Be D. D. 226, Cs. 334, *toða gecheaw* CS. 339 that could be heard nearly twelve miles away *twelf milum neh* CS. 339.

The damned have in short no more the attention or

merciful presence of God Chr. 1537, El. 1301 f.; no ray of hope, no peace, no rest, consolation or help come to relieve their pain; the joys of life have vanished, its pleasures become loathesome and sadness, age, anger, woe and weariness, the wildest, bitterest, but vain remorse and repentance is now their lot Be D. D. 220—244.

And lastly the poets seek to impress upon their hearers the solemn truth that this terrible punishment is eternal. The damned must suffer *ece cwealm* Chr. 1541, *ecan witu* Be D. D. 189, *sar endeleas* Chr. 1632 throughout endless night *in sinnihte* Chr. 1632. They can never escape from hell:

CS. 634 f. and no seoððan,
þæt hie up þonan æfre moton.

There is no hope *ne hi .. æfre moton wenan* CS. 451, *ne þearf he hopian no* Jud. 117 of return *edcerres* CS. 451, *þæt he þonan mote of þam wyrmsele* Jud. 118 f., but they must suffer forever *a to ealdre* Bi D. D. 29, Jud. 120, *to widan ealdre* Chr. 1515, *butan ende* Bi D. D. 27, for many thousand years *and wintra rim ... þusenda feola* CS. 420. All these sufferings *ægþrylc þissa earfoða* last forever *ece standeð butan edwende* SS. 949 ff. and yet the fires of hell, throughout this eternity, can never burn their sin away.

Vivid and awful as these pictures are, one of the poets, feeling, perhaps, that he could not do the subject justice, says of the torments of hell:

Be D. D. 184 ff. *þa oferswiðað sefan and spræce*
manna ġehwylces for micelnesse
nænig spræc mæg beon spellum areccan
ænigum on eorðan earmlice witu.

Summary: Hell, then, the place of eternal punishment, is, in our poets, a yawning abyss deep down under the earth somewhere, veiled in the cheerless gloom of fog and mists, full of glowing fire and surging flame and yet dark as night and icy cold. Monstrous beasts and terrible serpents people its filthy depths. It was itself a frightful monster. Deep down in this horrible prison, bound hard and fast with fetters, the damned must lie, cut off forever from hope of release and suffering every conceivable physical and mental torture. Their

bitter, despairing repentance is of no avail, the eternal fires can never burn away their sin, eternal justice will never interrupt or abate their suffering.

Sources of these conceptions of hell. In no previous feature of our subject, have we found such a mixture of different and contradictory conceptions. But, strange as these may seem at first sight, they should not surprise us. When we go back to the sources of these conceptions and notice how the poets' general idea of hell was gradually developed from a union of several very different elements, each with strong influence on the whole, these contradictions appear quite natural. Some of the features involved seem taken from the Bible, though perhaps generally indirectly, through christian tradition. Thus Bible references are not lacking to the depths of hell (Luke 8. 31), to the bottomless pit (Rev. 20. 30) (cf. *se deopa seaþ . . . grundleas* Chr. 1545) the prison of Satan, to the gates of hell (Matth. 16. 18), to the punishment by fire (Matt. 18. 8; 25. 41), to the 'outer darkness' (Matt. 8. 12; 22. 13), to the anguish of mind (Rom. 2. 9) expressed in the howling and gnashing of teeth (Luke 13. 28, Matt. 13. 50, 24. 51, 25. 30), to the eternal torture (Matt. 25. 46), eternal banishment from the presence and glory of God (2 Thes. 1. 9), and delivery into the power of His enemies, without hope of release. These Bible teachings, as they had become current christian tradition and been learned and remembered by the poets, are doubtless the basis of the corresponding conceptions in their descriptions.

Others of these conceptions, however, we must seek in Germanic mythology. We have seen how *Hel,* originally the name of the goddess came to mean the place of departed spirits. As such, like the Hellia of old Germany and the Niflheimr of the North, it was a cold and dark and dreary land of shadows, deep down under the earth, just as Cædmon's *wite hus — deop dreama leas, sinnihte beseald,* but differing widely from the last in that it, like Hellia[1] and Niflheimr, was not a

[1] Grimm says, Deutsche Mythologie II, 668, that *halja, hella* implied, from the 4th to the 10th century, simply the under world, the realm of the dead, and adds: 'Seit der Bekehrung zum Christenthum hängt an dem Begriff der Hölle zugleich der von Strafe und Pein'.

place of punishment[1], but only the realm of the dead, of all who had not fallen in battle, both good and bad, like Hades.

Quite different, now, in this respect was Náströnd, which Kemble[2] describes as 'a place of torment and punishment, the strand of the dead, filled with foulness, dark and cold and gloomy'. Kemble adds: 'The kingdom of Hel was Hades, the invisible world of shadows; Náströnd was what we call hell'.

In the course of time these conceptions of Hel and Náströnd grew closer together and finally the two were no longer separate. Just like Hellia, Hel took on the features of punishment and pain and became more and more identical with Náströnd. Of the two tradition gradually made one, connecting the chill and cheerless gloom of *hel* with the stench and foulness, the snakes and monsters of Náströnd, and to these thoroughly heathen conceptions, the coming of Christianity added the torments of flame. Thus we gain the foundation of the poets' conception. In deference to the new religion, the punishment by fire, the christian torture, was naturally greatly emphasized, but these other and heathen conceptions lived on side by side with this. Powerful as Christianity soon became, it was still unable to crush out these heathen traditions at once. In this connection Kemble aptly remarks: 'Even in their more orthodox descriptions, ecclestical poets, though naturally adopting Judaic notions cannot always shake off the old traditions of their forefathers, but recur to the frost and gloom and serpents of Náströnd and the realm of Hel'.[3] And herein lies the explanation of the contradictions we have found. In their efforts to make hell as horrible as possible, the poets naturally, indeed wisely, retained the well known, much feared torments of the heathen place of punishment, while they added, with all due emphasis, the new and christian tortures of flame.

To these fundamental outlines, now, were added numerous details — the shadowy forms in these vague pictures were touched up with glaring colors. In the numerous 'visions',

[1] Grimm says, Deutsche Mythologie II, 671: 'So traurig und freudenleer Niflheimr gedacht werden muss, ist doch von Strafen und Qualen seiner Bewohner nie die Rede'.

[2] Saxons in England I, p. 395.

[3] Saxons in England I, 395.

for instance, of those said to have died and risen again[1], hell's horrors are portrayed with apalling vividvess. Frightful pictures of hell's pains — the heat, the cold, the hideous beasts, poisonous snakes, thick darkness, repulsive filth, hunger, thirst, terror, wails and moans of the damned — very similar to those in our poets are found in the dialogue between the devil and the recluse[2] and in the Hymne Abécédaire contre les Antitrinitaires 74 ff.[3] In the Northern Solarlioð, also, we have mingled christian and heathen conceptions of hell very similar to those in Cædmon. The same may be said, too, of Raban's Carmen XXXI = *De Fide Catholica.*[4] Beda[5] refers on the ground of Matt. 16. 18 to *inferni claustra;* in the Hymne Abécédaire, above cited, we read of *diversorumque carcerum* (v. 24) and of hell's inmates *qui nunc ligantur fascibus ergastulorum nexibus* (v. 43). On the ground of its name Gregory sees no reason for not believing that hell is situated under the earth.[6] The Bible references to 'outer darkness', to 'the worm that never dieth', to the sulphur fires, dark and stinking[7], to the jaws of hell (Isaiah 5. 14) may of course have been in the poets' minds, while writing their descriptions, but their treatment of all these features is much more heathen than christian. The dragons guarding the entrance of hell CS. 98 ff. remind us of the same conception in Northern mythology. The conception of hell as a monster, in spite of Isaiah 5. 14, is doubtless also heathen, handed down by tradition. Kemble[8], indeed, seeks here to find 'a remembrance which still lurked among our forefathers of the gigantic or titanic character of the ancient goddess, who in Norse mythology, was Loki's daughter'.

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[1] Especially the visions of Furseus and Drihthelm, related by Beda, Hist. eccles. III, 19 and V, 12.

[2] Kemble, Dial. of Sol. and Sat. p. 84 ff.

[3] Boucherie, Rev. des Langues Romanes VII, p. 15 ff.

[4] Migne, Patrol. Lat. 112, 1609 ff.

[5] Hist. Eccles. V, 13.

[6] Diall. IV, 42. Cf. also Rev. 5. 3, Ps. 86. 13.

[7] Compare the stench of the dark stream in the vision of the soldier who had died of the plague. Gregory's Diall. IV, 36. The conception, too, that the fires of hell burn hot, but with little light occurs also in Gregory. Cf. Sandras, De carminibus etc. p. 51.

[8] Saxons in England I, p. 395.

The east wind and the eagles in hell are doubtless also due to heathen tradition. The water, too, reminds us somewhat of the 'rauschende Ströme' of Niflheimr.[1]

Though proving but little regarding the immediate sources of our poets, such references show that these conceptions were well known and circulated at that time as current, accepted tradition.[2] Just how far the poets relied in this case upon any direct and immediate originals or how far they drew upon their own imagination or upon current tradition is impossible to determine. We incline to the opinion that, in their descriptions, the poets have made but little direct use of any Latin originals, but have for the most part simply embodied current belief — christian-heathen as it was — according to their own plans. Some degree of originality and genius they surely must have had.

2. Heaven and Eternal Reward.

In marked and pleasing contrast, now, to the horrors of the sinners' punishment in hell are the poets' descriptions of the rewards of the good in heaven. After the welcome plaudit: '*Onfoð nu mid freondum mines fæder rice*' Chr. 1345, '*Ze sind wilcuman, zað in wuldres leoht*' CS. 617 on the Judgment Day, the good, rejoicing in spirit *zlædmode,* led by the Lord[3]:

Ex. 543 f. þonne he (= dryhten sylfa) soðfæstra sawla lædeð
eadize zæstas on uprodor.

and greeted with angel welcome:

Chr. 1671 ff. 'Nu þu most feran, þider þu fundadest
'lonze and zelome: ic þec lædan sceal.
'Wezas þe sindon weðe and wuldres leoht
'torht ontyned: eart nu tidfara
'to þam halzan ham!

go upward to their eternal rest. A very brief view of the poets' conceptions of heaven and its rewards may follow here. And first as to the situation of heaven just hinted at. The regular system of contrasts in the descriptions of heaven and hell would of itself place heaven somewhere above the earth,

[1] Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie II, p. 670.

[2] Cf. Ælfric's references to Bede's visions of Furseus and Drihthelm. Thorpe's Homilies of the Ags. Church II, p. 332 ff. and 348 ff.

[3] Compare also CS. 402, 407, 443, 505 etc.

and this general conception is still more evident from the use of terms like *upheofon* Chr. 968, *on uprodor* Ex. 544, *uppe on roderum* Chr. 1469, *heofona heaðu* Bi D. D. 31, *heofona heaðu ȝestiȝan* Bi D. D. 97, *up heonan eard ȝestiȝan* Chr. 514, *on heaðu stiȝan* Chr. 498, *heofones heahȝetimbro* Chr. 1182, *uppe mid enȝlum* CS. 293, 591, *grene strœte up to enȝlum* CS. 287, *up to earde* CS. 458, 506, *up to eðle* CS. 461, *uplicne ham* CS. 362, *uplican eðelrice* An. 119, *uppe* CS. 647, *on heannesse* El. 1124 and from the use of verbs of motion like *up faran, astiȝan, up siðian, up cuman* etc. In short the references to the coming of Christ or the angels from heaven declare or imply a descent; their return and the entrance of the good are described as an ascent.

Among the names applied to heaven, terms like *heofon, upheofon, rodor, swe̊gl* etc. occur frequently and mean heaven in an abstract, general sense. Other conceptions are as follows.

Following the example of the Bible the most common conception is, first, heaven as a kingdom — *heofonrice*. The good receive as their reward *heofonrice* Chr. 1260, CS. 680, Be D. D. 252, *heofona rice* CS. 618, the shining kingdoms *þa scinendan ricu* Be D. D. 294, the kingdom of God *ȝodes rice* CS. 614, 651, 693, VR. 152 of the Father *mines fœder rice* Chr. 1345, SB. 140, CS. 308, of heaven *rodera rices* CS. 688 etc. But we need not multiply examples. Suffice it to say with Kent[1] that, while the conception is thoroughly biblical, this kingdom was in general to the Ags. mind a much more concrete, 'definite and limited' one than that implied by the vague and abstract Bible terms, a kingdom in every way corresponding to their Germanic notions of the king Himself.

Part and parcel of this idea is the picture of heaven as a broad and beautiful land, fairer far than earth, with spreading green fields, dotted with cities, planted with trees and flowers, the home of the good, the native land of the angels

CS. 213 ff. mycele fæȝerre land þonne þeos folde seo:
þær is wlitiȝ and wynsum, wæstmas scinaþ
beorhte ofer burȝum: þær is brade lond,
hyhtlicra ham in heofonrice
Criste ȝecwenra.

[1] Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene p. 15.

Compare also the picture of the beautiful landscape Be. D. D. 280 ff., where apostles, patriarchs and holy ones wander among the cities *burȝum tomiddes* v. 284, among heaps of red roses *betweox rosena reade heapas* v. 286 and where Mary *mædena selast* v. 293 leads through the shining kingdoms a throng of maidens decked with garlands *mæden-heap blostmum behangen* v. 288. A green pathway *grene strœte* CS. 287 leads up to this heavenly home *up to enȝlum*. The term *wanȝ* in *neorxna-wanȝ*, the name of Paradise, suggests also the pleasant, spreading fields. Compare also the Happy Land of the Phoenix as a type of heaven; just as the Phoenix *æfter liȝbryne* Ph. 577 gathers his *bana lafe ascan and yslan* Ph. 575 and goes *to frean ȝeardum* v. 578, just so man after death, resurrection and the fires of Judgment:

Ph. 583 f. Swa nu æfter deaðe þurh drihtnes miht
somod siðiað sawla mid lice

enters *sawla mid lice*, with his resurrected body, into his home in Paradise. Though not identified with it, heaven is here typified by the Happy Land, which is described Ph. 1—85 as *se æðela feld* v. 26, *torhte lond* v. 28, *se æðela wonȝ* v. 43, covered with flowers *blostmum ȝeblowen* v. 21, *wynsum ȝeblowen* v. 27, with green woods *wealdas ȝrene* v. 13, sunny groves *sunbearo wudu holt wynlice* v. 33, laden with fruit *wæstmas ne dreosaþ beorhte blede* v. 34, and hung with blossoms *blœdum ȝehonȝen* v. 71.

Not only is heaven a beautiful land, but, following the Bible figure, it is in a narrower sense a city. The good enter into the city *in burh*, the bright city *in þære beorhtan byriȝ* El. 821, *to þære mœran byriȝ* CS. 624, Ph. 633, *wuldres byriȝ* Ph. 475, *in þære wlitiȝan byriȝ* Ph. 666. Such references correspond to the Bible description, but the poets go further and make it a fortified city, an old Germanic stronghold, as it were. The king of kings rules in heaven *ceastrum waldeþ* Chr. 1682, the martyrs serve him *in cestre* CS. 657, Satan attempts to drive the king *of cestre* CS. 258, just as a rebellious Ags. prince might attempt to drive his king out of his fortified capital. The blessed may live in *cestre* CS. 298. Compare also the references to *sceldbyriȝ, beorhte burhweallas, burȝ and breotne bold, burȝa ne bolda, þa ȝetimbru þe no tydriaþ, þæs*

boldes, heahȝetimbrad, heahȝetimbro etc. all referring to the imposing buildings of heaven, but leaving us in doubt whether a city or only a great, fortified castle is meant. In fact we believe that both are meant and that the poets wished to picture heaven as the stronghold of the blessed, protected and enclosed by *burhweallas*, within which rises the hereditary castle, as it were, of Christ the king. References like *cestre and cynestol, burȝ and breotne bold* (*burȝ* = the city, *breotne bold* = the broad building = the castle?), *burga ne bolda* seem to include both. A castle-hall is doubtless meant in *þone sele frætweð* Bi D. D. 92, *wloncra winsele* CS. 94.

Other references, which lay the scene in the castle halls of the Eternal king, give us at the same time an account of the joys of the blessed and an insight into the poets' Germanic notions of the king Himself. Thus, called *sigedrihten, heahcyninȝ, enȝla ordfruma, rice þeoden, rice frea, æðelinȝ, æðelinga helm, hæleða helm, beorht blædȝifa, eorla eadȝifa, ȝifena dryhten, burhweard, rices hyrde,* even *casere,* the king, in name and character very like an ideal Germanic prince, adorns the hall for His faithful followers *se þone sele frætweð* Bi D. D. 92, takes His seat on His throne *on heofonsetle* Be D. D. 276, *hehsetl* CS. 220, *hehseld* Ph. 619, CS. 47 from which the mild and gracious *him bið enȝla weard milde and blíðe* El. 1315, *dryhten wearð . . . hold on mode* Ph. 446, lord of victory *sigores brytta* Be D. D. 277, the generous giver *ȝifena drihten* dispenses to His faithful servants everlasting reward *ece mede* Be D. D. 278, the reward of victory *sigorlean* Chr. 1590, of battle *wiggeslean* El. 824, the gifts of the king *cyninges ȝiefe* Chr. 1663, *waldendes ȝiefe* Chr. 1224, splendid gifts *heahlic ȝifu,* God's gracious, generous favor *ȝodes miltsa,* every good thing *him se æðela cyninȝ forȝiefeð ȝoda ȝehwylc* Ph. 614. He receives and honors, blesses, adorns and loves His devoted followers:

Be D. D. 271 ff. Ufenan eal þis ece drihten him ealra
ȝoda ȝehwylc ȝlædlice þenað
þæra andweard ealle weorðað and feh þ
and ȝeblyssað fæder ætsomne wuldrað and wel hylt
fæȝere frætwað and freolice lufað
and in heofonsetle heah ȝehrineð[1].

[1] Brandl, Anglia IV 103, proposes *ȝerimeð* from *ȝeriman* = locum dare.

The bearing of the Eternal King towards the blessed corresponds in short, in many points, to that of a Germanic prince towards his followers and is the same as that already referred to in our account of the Eternal Judge (p. 34 f.). We need not therefore dwell further upon it.

This same Germanic coloring is also brought out in the relation of the angels and the blessed to the King of heaven. They are His thanes *þegnas,* His retinue *folgað* CS. 229, His household *his hired* CS. 592, or family *þam hirede* CS. 423, His messengers *ærendracan* Be D. D. 285, His children *bearn* CS. 144, 153. In happy gratitude for His care and kindness, they surround His throne and invoke a blessing on the best of princes.

Ph. 619 ff. hædre ymb þæt halge heahseld godes
bliðe bletsiað bregu selestan
eadge mid englum efen hleoðre þus:
Sib si þe, soð god, and snyttru eræft
and þe þonc sy þrymsittendum
geongra gifena, goda gehwylces etc.

Ph. 658 ff. þær hi dryhtne to giefe
worda and weorca wynsumne stenc
in þa mæran gesceaft meotude bringað.

And their chief pleasure and joy is the expression of their gratitude by singing His praises:

Chr. 1641 ff. ac þær symle forð synna lease
dream weorðiað dryhten lofiað,
leofne lifes weard.

In Satan's descriptions, too, of the life of the angels before the fall, we find very similar pictures of heaven.

CS. 46 ff. þær nu ymb þone ecan æðele stondað
hæleð ymb hehseld herigað dryhten
wordum and weorcum.

CS. 222 halige heofonþreatas herigað drihten
wordum and weorcum.

CS. 663 ff. swa wuldres weard wordum herigað
þegnas ymb þeoden; þær is þrym micel,
sang æt selde:

CS. 143 ff. þær sunu meotodes
habbað eadigne bearn ealle ymbfangen
seolfan mid sange.

CS. 152 ff. ful oft wuldres [swez]
brohton to bearme bearn hælendes,
þær we ymb hine utan ealle hofan
leomu ymb leofne lofsonza word,
drihtne sædon.

One passage especially shows very plainly this Germanic relation between the heavenly King and his followers. A band of faithful thanes surround the throne; the prince of angels rises in their midst and gives them His rich and gracious blessing; His devoted followers bow before Him, with becoming respect and courtly reverence, in recognition and thanks for His royal favor:

CS. 233 ff. Hwæt we in wuldres leoht wunian moston;
þær we halzan zode heran woldon
and him sanz ymb seczan sceoldon
þegnas ymb þeoden þusendmælum,
þær we wunodon on wynnum, zeheredon wuldres swez
beman stefne: byrhtword aras
enzla ordfruma and to þam æðelan
hnizan him sanctas: sizetorht aras
ece drihten ofer us zestod
and zebletsode bilewitne heaþ
dozra zehwilcne and his se deora sunu
zasta scyppend.[1]

In one or two passages, which refer to the sacrament, as a feast set for the faithful, we find reminiscences of the mead-hall, perhaps even of Walhalla:

VR. 139 ff. þær is blis mycel,
dream on heofonum, þær is dryhtnes folc
zeseted to symle, þær is singal blis:

If we leave out *heofonum,* these lines could very well apply to the feast in the mead-hall of an earthly prince, where, also, the leader's followers *dryhtnes folc* were seated at the feast *zeseted to symle* enjoying all the physical pleasure and noisy, jovial conviviality expressed by *blis mycel* and *dreám.* Though *dream* and *symbel* had lost much of their original signification and come to mean rather the joys of heaven and the spiritual nourishment of souls, we may say that the poet has unconsciously (or perhaps purposely; in order to make it more

[1] Cf. also the very similar picture in the Heliand. Vilmar: D. A. im H. 51.

attractive to his feast-loving hearers?) transferred some features of an earthly festal-board to the feast around the table of the Lord in heaven.

In the passage

Chr. 1685 f. ac him bið lenge husel
ȝeoȝuðe bruceð and ȝodes miltsa.

the term *ȝeoȝuðe* (Dietrich reads *husel-ȝeoȝuðe* and translates *Abendmahlsjugend*) reminds us of the Einherjer who feasted with Wotan in Walhalla (Compare also the similar term *husel-bearn* applied to Guðlac, Guð. 531). Here again we have to do with heathen features, applied by a not unnatural transition, to a christian subject.

In short this Germanic character of the king of heaven and His followers, of their relation to each other, is frequently implied. Satan persuades some of the angels to rebel and attempts to drive the king from His stronghold; Christ enters heaven with the multitudes released from prison after hell is conquered; His followers are like warriors, who receive the rewards of battle and victory after the struggles of this life; the intercourse of the good with the angels like the concord among the followers of a beloved earthly ruler.

In their descriptions, too, of heaven as the home, the native land and inheritance of the angels and the blessed, the poets are true to their Ags. nature, and though they use a Bible figure their genuine Teutonic love for home and their own fireside runs through all their descriptions. Compare references like the heavenly home *heofonlicne ham* VR. 148, the holy home *to þam halȝan ham* Chr. 1676, CS. 567, the happy home *te þissum eadiȝum ham* CS. 660, *hyhtlicran hames* CS. 138, 216, the bright home *þone mœran ham* An. 227, the dear home *deoran ham* CS. 219, 257, the glad and joyous home *in þam ȝladan ham* Ph. 593, *bliðan ham* Ph. 599, the home on high *uplicne ham* CS. 362, so also *trumlicne ham* CS. 294, etc. In their descriptions the poets are also fond of *eðel*. The good enter *on eðel* Chr. 1343, and receive *beorht eðles wlite* Chr. 1347 of heaven the eternal heritage *þæt is se eðel, þe no ȝeendad weorðeð* into which the souls follow Christ *up to eðle* CS. 461, 553, *eðel* VR. 156, *enȝla eðel*. Heaven ist also

frequently referred to as the inheritance of Christ, who like a Teutonic king inherits His kingdom.

In striking contrast again to the darkness and cheerless gloom of hell, heaven is full of light and glory and beauty. It is called directly the bright home, the shining kingdoms *þa scinendan ricu* Be D. D. 294, the beautiful land, fairer far than earth *mycele fæʒerre land þonne þeos folde seo* CS. 213, We have also gotten already a view of the lovely landscape (p. 62). This dazzling beauty is opened to the blessed *wuldres leoht torht ontyned* Chr. 1674, the face of God shines brighter than the sun *sunnan beorhtre* Chr. 1652, the good shine in their glory *on wlite scinaþ* El. 1318, *beorhte scinaþ sæliʒe sawle* CS. 296, *leohte berundene* Chr. 1643, so also:

CS. 307 ff. Soðfæste men sunnan ʒelice
fæʒre ʒefrætewod in heora fæder rice
scinaþ in sceldbyriʒ.

They stand with the angels glittering around the throne:

CS. 220 f. and ymb þæt hehsetl hwite standaþ
enʒla feðan and eadiʒra

and their beauty shines throughout the ages *heora wlite scineþ ʒeond ealra worulda woruld* CS. 223 so also their good works *weorc anra ʒehwæs beorhte bliceþ* Ph. 598. Compare also the whole bright scene Be D. D. 271—298. There is no night there:

Be D. D. 253 þær niht ne ʒenip næfre þeostra
þæs heofenlican sciman.

but there is light and life *þær is leoht and lif* Ex. 545, eternal day *dæʒ butan þeostrum* Chr. 1657. In short no one can tell the bright beauty of heaven but God:

CS. 350 ff. Nis næniʒ swa snotor ne swa sundor-creftiʒ
ne þæs swa ʒleaw nymðe ʒod seolfa,
þæt asecʒan mæʒe swe ʒles leoman
hu scir sunu þær scineð ymbutan
meotudes mihte ʒeond þæt mære cynn.

The joys of heaven consist not alone in the presence and protection and generous gifts of the king, nor in the happy association of the angels in the bright and beautiful home on high, but also in the conscious freedom from all those anxieties and labors and sufferings which constitute the tor-

ments of hell or the burdens of earthly life. No hunger, nor thirst, no fire, no cold, no toilworn age, no sickness, suffering or sorrow, no want or weariness can enter there. Thus every thing that had made earth unpleasant is banished by the poets from heaven. The joys of heaven are thus negatively described in great detail:

Be D. D. 255 ff. ne cymð þærh sorh ne sar ne ȝeswenced yld
ne þær æniȝ ȝeswinc æfre ȝelimpeð
oðde hunȝer oðde þurst oðde heanlic slæp
ne bið þær fefur ne adl ne færlic ewyld
nænes liȝes ȝebrasl, ne se laðlice eyle
nis þær unrotnes ne þær æmelnys
ne hryre ne caru ne hreoh tintreȝa
ne bið þær liȝet ne laðlic storm
winter ne þunerrad ne wiht cealdes
ne þær haȝulscuras hearde mid snawe
ne bið þær wædl ne lyre ne deaðes ȝryre
ne yrmð ne aȝnes ne nænigu ȝnornunȝ.

Chr. 1653—1663 gives us a very similar detailed and negative account, at the same time excluding by contrast all the pains of hell the poet had mentioned before. See also Ph. 611 ff.

After referring to heaven's joys thus negatively, the poets, never weary of the subject, tell us positively with the same detail how great and wonderful are the rewards of the blessed. In heaven reigns *ac þær samod ricxað* Be D. D. 267 peace and prosperity *sib mid spede* v. 267, and virtue *and ærfæstnes* v. 268 and eternal good *and ece ȝod*[1], glory and honor *wuldor and wurðmynt* v. 269, praise and life and loving concord *lof and lif and leoflic ȝeþwærnes* v. 270. Free from hell's pains the blessed have eternal riches *eces eadwelan* El. 1315, the glory of heaven *wuldres blæd* CS. 508, peace and happiness and rest for their souls *sib and ȝesæliȝnes and sawla ræst* Chr. 1767, *blæd mid blissum* Chr. 1347, *lisse* Chr. 1647, *eadiȝne dream* CS. 354, *dream liðes lyfes* Chr. 1637, *ece tean* Chr. 1650, they dwell in joy *wuniað in wynnum* CS. 508. 556, *wuniað wuldre bitolden* Ph. 609. In short no one can relate the rewards of heaven and the good fortune *þone ȝodes dæl* awaiting pure hearts *swa he ȝearo stondeð clænum heortum* Bi D. D. 32. In

[1] We cannot agree with Brandl (Anglia IV, 98) when he makes *ȝod* in this passage mean God. It is here evidently the abstract *good*.

a word the poets exhaust their vocabulary in their attempts to describe the indescribable.

Corresponding to the eternal duration of the punishment of hell is the universally accepted, thoroughly biblical conception of the poets that the rewards of heaven are also eternal. To this the poets do full justice. All the usual terms denoting eternal duration are employed in expressing this idea. Thus *on ecnesse* Be D. D. 302, *a to aldre ece reste* CS. 617, *to widan feore* Chr. 1344, El. 1320, *awo to ealdre* Chr. 1646, *a to feore* Chr. 1678, *to widan feore ece lean, eces eadwelan* El. 1315, *ecan dreames* Ph. 482.

Summary. Heaven is, then, in short an idealized, yet concrete and definite kingdom somewhere above the earth, a bright and beautiful landscape with spreading, green fields, dotted with cities, planted with waving fruit-trees and fragrant flowers: in a narrower sense a city, the hereditary stronghold, as it were, of the Eternal King, the happy home of his followers. The mild and generous Prince of Heaven sits upon His throne in His hall, is mindful of the welfare of His people and dispenses to them the rich gifts of His presence, His grace and love, while His devoted followers surround His throne and with becoming reverence express their gratitude and faithful allegiance in glad songs of praise. The good not only enjoy the presence and blessings of God, the fellowship of the angels, the light and glory and beauty of their heavenly home, but are also free from every torment of hell, from every care and sorrow and suffering of earthly life. And these joys of heaven are eternal.

Comparing now these conceptions with those of hell, we are struck by the well developed system of contrasts by which the poets seek to heighten the effect of their descriptions. Thus heaven is the broad and beautiful landscape somewhere above the earth, hell the narrow abyss and fiery pit deep down under the earth. Heaven is flooded with light and radiantly beautiful and sweet with the perfume of flowers, hell is veiled in thick darkness, horrible in its ugliness, its stench and foulness. The one is the happy home of the blessed whither they have longed to come and where they delight to dwell, the other the terrible prison-house of the damned

whence they cannot escape. In the one is the fellowship of angels, in the other the taunts and torments of devils. The good enjoy the presence and blessings of God, the evil are banished and forever forgotten. The former have every conceivable joy and pleasure, the latter suffer every conceivable punishment and woe. These contrasts, though not unnatural, are also not accidental. In describing the one the poets were evidently thinking of the other and sought to make the one, even in minute details, everything the other was not.

In our search for the sources of these conceptions of heaven, we may look for the outlines of them all in the Bible. Thus there is no lack of references to the kingdom of heaven, to the glorious, eternal city (Rev. 21), with God's throne in the midst (Rev. 22), to the heavenly home and dwelling-place of the blessed (John 14, 2—3, 2 Cor. 5. 1), to its situation above the earth, to its light and glorious beauty (Rev. 21. 11, 23, 25; 22. 5), to the fellowship of the angels (Luke 20. 36), to the presence and blessings of God, to the eternal rest and joy of the good, to their freedom from hunger and thirst and from all other cares, anxiety and suffering of earth (Rev. 21. 4; 7. 16 f.), to the praise and service of the multitudes around the throne (Rev. 19; 7. 15), to the duration throughout eternity of heaven's rewards.

As we have seen, the poets have taken these Bible outlines and with fertile fancy adorned them with all the rich and beautiful colors earth could furnish in their attempts to describe and make attractive what is beyond all description. Many of the details, taken from every-day life and scenes around them, give us a glimpse at what they considered an ideal Germanic kingdom, while others are doubtless even relics of heathendom. Thus heaven is not merely a kingdom in the abstract Bible sense, but its green fields and cities and castles, its trees and flowers remind us more of an ideal Ags.-Germanic landscape, of the *græna heima* of the Hakonarmal[1], of the Fölkvangr of Walhalla[1], of the green plains of Iðavöllr, 'des zukünftigen Paradieses in dessen Grase die Götter goldtafeln'[2]. On this point Grimm says also: "Unsere

[1] Hammerich: Aelteste christliche Epik p. 269.

[2] Grimm: Deutsche Mythologie II p. 783.

Altern, vermutlich schon die heidnischen Dichter, dachten sich den Himmel als ein grünes Gefilde".[1] Compare also *neorxnawang,* the Ags. Paradise, with the Gothic *waggs* and the *hebenuuang, godes uuang, groni godes uuang* of the Heliand (v. 1323, 3083).

Accepted tradition, then, was doubtless the poets' main source for this conception. More definite hints they may have gotten from the numberless 'visions' and legends of souls wandering through Paradise, at that time well known and common property, in which the 'traditionelle Ausmalung', as Dietrich calls it, of very similar conceptions is found.[2]

As a city, the heaven of the poets is not so much like the 'heavenly city' of the Bible as like an ideal Germanic stronghold, with its shining gates and glittering walls surrounded by trees. *Sceldburiz* Grimm regards as 'ein entschlüpfender heidnischer Ausdruck'[3] and translates it not *refugium* or *sheltering city* but = *aula clypeis tecta* thus comparing it with Walhalla, which was covered with golden shields, as with shingles.

Truly Germanic, too, as we have seen, is the relation of the heavenly king to His people. He is not so much the Bible 'king of heaven' simply, not 'the Son of Man', but the strong, brave and manly hero, the people's king, the prince of victories, the heir on the throne of his inheritance, mild and gracious in the midst of his faithful thanes, dispensing to them all the rich gifts of heaven. His followers, in every way a worthy retinue of such a prince, surround his throne, in the hall, rejoice in his favor, receive his gifts and return him gratitude and faithful allegiance. This relation of kindness and generosity on the part of a king and of unfailing gratitude and fidelity on the part of his followers was a wide-spread, fundamental Germanic conception. To the Ags. singer especially, nothing was so dear as his 'lord'[4], his leader, his counsellor, his friend, his generous prince and no impulse was more sincere, no feeling more sacred than that of gratitude and fidelity

[1] Deutsche Mythologie II, 689.

[2] Cf. Gregory's Diall. IV, 36; Bede's Hist. eccles. V, 12.

[3] Mythologie II, 583.

[4] Compare for instance the Wanderer 37 ff.

to him. It is therefore quite natural that we find many of the features of this relation transferred in exalted, idealized sense, of course, to the heavenly king and His followers. In their descriptions, too, of heaven, as the home and inheritance of the good, the place of refuge and rest after the battles of life, in their accounts of the fellowship of the angels and the blessed, the poets struck responsive chords in every Germanic heart and expressed ideas deep seated in personal, yes national, feeling and tradition.

In general we may say, then, of these descriptions of heaven that the outlines are thoroughly biblical, the conceptions involved common property of the christian world and met at every turn all through the old Germanic literature. Many of the details were taken with due reverence, often doubtless unconsciously, perhaps even purposely, from scenes of every-day life and experience and transferred, in exalted sense, to heavenly scenes in order to make the indescribable more intelligible and attractive. The main sources upon which the poets have drawn were, doubtless, simple Bible teaching and christian tradition as they were understood and current at the time. Latin homilies, like that of Beda printed by Giles (I, 102) or some of the visions and legends referred to, some song or sermon the poets had heard may have given them more direct hints, but just what or how many we cannot say. Indeed in the case of such well known, universally accepted doctrines, it were unreasonable to expect to find some definite passage which may have served the poet as the direct and immediate source of the language in which he has expressed them.

Chapter IV.

The Sources and the Use Made of them.

Under each of the features of the Ags. conception of Judgment Day we have, in the preceding pages, attempted to give as far as possible the source of the same. But these have been, for the most part, the ultimate sources, as it were, of those conceptions as such, not the direct and immediate sources of the language in which the poets have expressed them. In-

deed in the case of such ideas of Judgment, already taught in the Bible, for long centuries common property of the christian world, constantly modified by tradition and the rich fancy of early writers, it is exceedingly difficult, if not altogether impossible to determine how far the poets, in their descriptions, may have relied on any such direct and immediate sources, how far their pictures are their own original and independent work or how far they have simply embodied Bible teaching and christian or heathen tradition. Finding the same conception in the Bible, in the Fathers and in current tradition, we are at a loss to decide whether the poet had the one or the other in mind while writing his verses or whether, after all, the language he uses is not purely and simply his own, his own way and means of expressing such well-known universally accepted ideas.

Though we can, therefore, positively assert but very little regarding any direct originals for these descriptions of Judgment, yet some few things may be said. These may find place here, together with a brief inquiry into the manner in which all the sources, direct and otherwise, have been used.

Of one of our poems, one too devoted entirely to our subject, the immediate source has been found. As already noticed by Lumby and others. Be D. D.[1] is an alliterative translation of a Latin poem of 157 hexameters, entitled De Die Judicii, printed by Lumby[2] and ascribed to both Bede and Alcuin. A detailed account of the character of the translation is not our purpose and has been, moreover, already furnished by Brandl.[3] A short summary of the facts involved will therefore suffice here. The translation is quite a free one, yet not so free as might seem from the fact that it is almost double the length of the original, 154 hexameters becoming 304 Ags. verses. The Ags. verse, however, is often very short (cf. v. 41, 100, 104, 287) and rarely contains so much as a hexameter. The translator seems, throughout, to have understood his Latin original per-

[1] We may remark here that a very corrupt version of almost the whole poem (v. 15—283) is found also in Wulfstan's XXIX homily, printed by Napier: Wulfstan p. 136 ff.

[2] In his edition of Be D. D. p. 22 ff.

[3] Anglia IV, 97 ff.

fectly. Even the mistake *qui solet* 23 = *se ana mæg* v. 46, mentioned by Brandl, may be due to a confusion of *solet* with *sola* two lines before. In general the Latin ideas are closely followed; some passages being as literal as we could well expect of an alliterative translation; cf v. 43—47 of 22 f., 212—214 of 106 f., 222—224 of 111[b]—113, 253—267 of 128—134; while others again are quite free, as, 122—143 of 62—71, 158—164 of 79—81. The omissions are few and of minor importance. The last three hexameters are omitted entirely — doubtless due to the fact that the close, v. 304, being quite a common one in Ags. poetry[1], seemed to the translator a fitting conclusion.

Unimportant additions are numerous and serve mainly to expand and explain and impress the Latin idea just translated. Thus one Latin word, often doubtless, too, for metrical reasons, is frequently translated by two Ags. synonyms (cf. *ruent* 51 = *dreosaþ and hreosaþ*, *tenebris* 53 = *sweart and ȝesworcen* 105), indeed one Latin word is sometimes thus expanded into a whole line (cf. 69 with v. 136—139). Synonyms and appositive phrases, so characteristic of the Ags. poetry, are frequently put in to patch up the line and preserve the alliteration. A number of lines and half lines are added independently, either for metrical reasons or to explain or impress the Latin idea. Larger and more important additions occur in the description of the landscape v. 3 ff., of the sinner at Judgment v. 124 f., of hell v. 244 f., of heaven v. 277 f. and in the tribute to the Virgin Mary v. 288—293. Brandl also calls attention to some passages in which specific Latin ideas are substituted by more vivid Ags. figures. Thus *attonita turba timore* 86 = *stane ȝeliċast* 173. Single Latin words are often translated by Ags. compounds *herbis* 1 = *wyn-wyrta, homines* 66 = *eorþ-buendra* 129 etc.) and everywhere the cumbersome Latin periods are resolved into short Ags. sentences.

We may now turn to the longest, most complete and detailed account of the Judgment Day, that in Christ. The immediate sources in Christ have not yet been very satis-

[1] Compare for instance the close of El., Ph., Whale, Seafarer, An., and Chr. 415, 439, 1362 etc.

factorily settled; probably never will be. Opinion on the subject is, so far, as follows:

Thorpe[1], supposing Chr. to be a number of separate and independent hymns, says of these[1]: 'They are no doubt translations from the Latin ..... and too paraphrastic to admit of comparison'.

Dietrich[2] also examined the sources of Chr. and finds: for part I (v. 1—440) a number of Bible passages, especially Matt. 1, 18—23, all used with much freedom; for Part II (v. 440—779) the Bible and the 29th homily of Gregory the Great. Of Part III (v. 779—1694), the part directly concerning us, Dietrich says: 'Vom dritten habe ich nur den Inhalt einer Stelle des vierten Gesanges aufgefunden in der zehnten Homilie Gregor's'. The passage in question = v. 1128—1189.

Fritzsche[3], in attempting to conform Chr. to his canons for Cynewulf's use of his sources would suppose[4], 'dass, neben den von Dietrich angeführten Quellen, dem Cy. wol ein ausführliches Lateinisches Werk vorliegen mochte'. F. bases his supposition on the ground that 'für die übrigen Werke derartige Quellen sicher nachweisbar sind', and that Chr. is one of Cynewulf's earlier works, written before Jul. and El. and at a time when the poet would be even more apt to use some such original than later.

Gäbler, on the contrary, thinks that the poet gathered 'den Stoff dazu aus zerstreuten Homilien und daraus ein einheitliches Werk schuf'[5] and Kirkland believes that 'Cynewulf has in the composition of Chr., drawn not so much on any one work, as upon a number of sources'.[6]

Of these opinions, that of Fritzsche, assuming a detailed Latin original, seems the least probable. It cannot at least be accepted until that original be found — a discovery we may hardly venture to hope for. In the first place, as Kirkland has already noticed[7], Fritzsche's canons are based on a

[1] Codex Exoniensis V f.
[2] Haupt's Zeitschrift f. d. A. IX, 193 ff.
[3] Andreas und Cynewulf p. 18 ff.
[4] Ibid. p. 23.
[5] Autorschaft vom Phoenix p. 35.
[6] Harrowing of Hell p. 23. [7] Ibid. p. 20.

study of Jul. and El. alone and are, therefore, not valid for Chr. That Jul. and El. have each a detailed Latin original does not make it at all necessary that Chr. have such an one. For poems on such definite limited subjects as Jul. and El., probably little known — certainly not in such detail — outside of the originals containing them, Cynewulf was naturally compelled to resort to these originals for his information. But in Christ the case is entirely different; we have here not one single subject, but a great variety of subjects, all of which are not apt to have been contained in any one Latin original, however detailed, but all of which are found in the Bible and in christian or heathen tradition and were, therefore, perfectly familiar to the poet and well known to the people. For Chr., therefore, though written early in his career, Cynewulf did not so much need 'ein ausführliches Lateinisches Werk' as he did for Jul. and El. Then, too, the sources of parts of the poem have been found, and not in a detailed Latin original, but in scattered Bible passages and Gregory's homilies. In the absence then of much definite and positive information as to the direct sources of the third part of Chr., the part immediately concerning us, the most tenable position is that taken by Kirkland[1], which satisfactorily explains the facts and which we, therefore, readily accept until more positive statement may be made. The idea of including a description of Judgment Day in Chr. was most probably Cynewulf's own. Indeed, in a poem on the 'threefold coming of Christ', such a description could not be left out. True, the poet may have gotten a hint for it from Gregory. Just as in Phoenix the latter part was suggested by the last two lines of the Latin original[2], so in Chr. Cynewulf may have gotten a hint from the close of Gregory's 29th homily, which refers to the second advent and which he had been following more or less closely in vs. 600—779.

Having determined to include a description of the Judgment Day the poet, himself, most probably conceived the plan and general outlines of the work, basing them on Bible teaching and current tradition. This does not, however, at all imply that he did not draw on other sources for details, whenever

[1] Harrowing of Hell p. 23.

[2] Gäbler, Autorschaft vom Phoenix p. 31.

he saw fit. Dietrich has shown that v. 1128—1189 are based on Gregory's 10th homily and Kirkland points out some general resemblances to De Die Judicii (ascribed to Aldhelm) and thinks 'we have no reason to conclude' that he did not use the Evangelium Nicodemi.[1] It is, therefore, more than probable that, in the course of the work, he got many hints for details from Latin hymns or homilies or other religious literature of the day, and used them more or less freely whenever occasion demanded. It is also as evident that many of the details, as well as the general outline, are his own. A poet of Cynewulf's genius surely did not need a 'source' for everything he wrote; we cannot deny him a certain degree of originality, at least, in creating ideas of his own or skill in using those of others.

In his use of the Bible as a source, he conforms, as a zealous christian, closely to its teaching, though only in rare cases does he translate or paraphrase a scripture passage. Some few passages we may regard as taken directly from the Bible; thus 868 ff. from Matt. 24. 43, 1 Thes. 5. 2, 1345 ff. from Matt. 25. 34—36, 1520 ff. from Matt. 25. 41. But in general his descriptions leave the impression that they were written by a man thoroughly familiar with the Bible narrative, but without frequent, direct reference to particular passages. This, together with the fact that he credits Isaiah with a passage occurring in Ezekiel (v. 303 ff. from Ezek. 44. 1—3), goes to prove that he relied largely upon his memory for Bible references. Passages of a subjective character, like 789—808 for instance, we may regard as the independent work of the poet himself.

In short, then, we believe, with Kirkland, that Cynewulf has embodied in Chr. the generally accepted christian teaching of his time, as he had learned it from the Bible or heard it from current tradition around him, here and there quoting a scripture passage and not hesitating to use a hint taken from the works of others when he saw fit, but in the main throughout the poem holding to the outlines of his own plan.

Turning now to Phoenix, Juliana and Elene, we find that the Latin originals of all three offer no occasion whatever for

[1] Harrowing of Hell p. 25.

the descriptions of Judgment Day therein contained. We must seek the sources elsewhere. In the case of Phoenix, if we agree with Gäbler, which, after his careful examination, we may very well do, that it is a work of Cynewulf[1], written not long after Chr.[2], we may also accept as more than probable his opinion 'dass die Schilderung des jüngsten Gerichts im Ph. aus Reminiscenzen aus der im Chr. hervorgegangen ist'. The two descriptions are remarkably similar and are in all probability both the work of the same poet, the one written shortly after the other. It is almost self-evident that the first, longer and more detailed description furnished the material for the second, shorter and more general one.

The very brief mention of Judgment in Jul. (only a few lines), uncalled for in the original, occurs in the passage in which the poet gives his name in the runes, and immediately after, this in his exhortation to the reader to pray for him by name that God be merciful to him on the great day of doom. The reference is so short and so general and the whole passage so subjective and personal and in such direct connection with the runes, that we need not hesitate to call it the independent production of the poet himself.

In Elene the case is quite similar. With the 'Finit' of verse 1235 the original ends. The short description of Judgment is contained in the well known epilogue and as in Jul. directly after the runes containing the poets name. These references are, therefore, companion pieces to the passage in Christ, where the poet also gives his name in runes very near the beginning of his long account of Judgment. Like the close of Jul., the epilogue of Elene is very personal in character. In repentant contemplation of his previous worldly life, he speaks of the transient nature of all things earthly; the whole world is to perish in the flames of Doomsday. Though the epilogue is so personal, the main feature of Judgment it contains viz: the threefold division of mankind in the fires of the burning world, seems not to be original with Cynewulf. In spite of the great detail in Chr., it does not occur in that poem. Neither is it to be found in Ph. or Jul. The poet was,

[1] Cf. also Wülker's Grundriss p. 185, § 101.

[2] Ueber Phoenix p. 39.

therefore, most probably not acquainted with this idea at the time when he wrote these poems. He must have learned it later, and not improbably from the similar account in the Recapitulatio, Sors triplex hominum in judicio of Augustine's Sermo CIV.[1] Other and more general references to Judgment in El., quite similar to those in Chr. and Ph., may very well be reminiscences from these poems. The fact that Judgment is thus described in four of Cynewulf's works shows what a favorite subject it must have been with him. It is doubtless also not accidental, that in three of these poems — the three in which he gives his name in runes — these runes occur at or near the beginning of a description of Judgment Day. This all goes to prove what a deep and personal interest he took in our subject, and may be somewhat of an argument, though indeed by itself of but little weight, that he drew largely on personal feeling and imagination for the material of these descriptions; in other words that he, regarding the Judgment as a judgment to come over himself, personally, has given us a great many of his own immediate personal views regarding it, in far greater degree than would have been the case in a subject which interested him only in a general way. Inasmuch as the three descriptions in Ph., Jul. and El. are similar to those in Chr., only more general in character, and at the same time all three wanting in the Latin originals, we doubtless need not hesitate to say they are based in large measure upon Chr. itself.

The sources of Christ and Satan were discussed by Kühn[2] who finds that v. 470—664 'stimmt im Ganzen mit der biblischen Darstellung überein' and therefore assumes 'lediglich das neue Testament als Vorlage'. The description of Judgment, especially (v. 598 ff.) conforms so closely to the Bible account that, in the absence of any more immediate source, we may regard it as the embodiment of the Bible narrative in the poets own words. The descriptions of heaven and hell in the poem are probably also in large measure the work of the poet himself, based on the Bible and thoroughly mixed with christian and heathen tradition.

[1] Migne, Patrol. Lat. 39. 1949.

[2] Über die ags. Gedichte von Crist und Satan.

The source of Met. XXIX is Metrum VI, Lib. IV of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophiae. The short reference to Judgment, Met. XXIX 39—42, is doubtless an attempt to reproduce the idea of the line *sic aeternos reficit cursus,* and is a roundabout way of saying that the stars will continue long in their courses, until the end of all things human — i. e. till Judgment Day.

A similar attempt to express a great length of time are also, no doubt, the references to Doomsday in SS. 543—46, 649 f. The description of hell v. 932 ff. is based largely on heathen tradition, to which basis the christian torture of flame is added. The same may be said of that in Gen., to which we have referred in passing.

The short, general reference in Exodus, occuring very unexpectedly and uncalled for in the source, is doubtless an invention of the poet, who for reasons of his own, saw fit thus to change the speech of Moses. This description shows merely christian coloring.

Though after the essays of Wülker[1] and Ebert[2] we may no longer consider the Vision of the Rood the work of Cynewulf, as Dietrich, Rieger and ten Brink had done, we may regard it as probably the work of an imitator of Cynewulf, since it shows some general resemblances with El. and Chr. The short description of Judgment v. 103 ff. is not unlike Chr. 523 ff. and the poet may have had that passage in mind while writing it. The reference is moreover so general that we need hardly look for a 'source' in the ordinary sense of the word. The poet has most probably simply embodied Bible teaching in his own words, with a view, perhaps, to Cynewulf's treatment of the same subject in Chr.

The source of SB. says Thorpe "is a prose homily to be found in most of the MSS. of which no doubt a Latin original exists".[3] Thorpe does not tell us, however, where that homily or that original is. Rieger thinks also, that the source is some yet undiscovered Latin original.[4] Kleinert[5] seems to oppose

[1] Anglia I, p. 501—506.

[2] Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Klasse. Mai 1884. Cf. also Ebert's Literaturgeschichte III, 70 ff.

[3] Codex Exoniensis p. 525.

[4] Germania III, 398 f.

[5] Über den Streit zwischen Leib und Seele p. 7.

this idea and to regard the poem, the first part rather, as the independent work of the Ags. poet, the oldest version of this subject, the original itself, 'in jeder Beziehung die Grundlage zu der Entwickelung .... welche derselbe (dieser Stoff) in seinem weiteren Verlauf erfahren hat'. The description of Judgment, contained in this part which Kleinert thinks original, is very general and thoroughly biblical in all its conceptions and until Thorpe's original is found we may content ourselves to say that it is the poets own work, his own way of expressing these scripture doctrines.

For Bi D. D. we have been unable to find any direct original. Grein ascribes the poem to Cynewulf and indeed some passages do remind us of Chr. though the general tendencies of the two are different. Bi D. D. does not lay so much emphasis on the condemnation of the wicked as Chr., indeed devotes but little space to the real Judgment itself, but dwells especially on the destruction of the world and the precursors of the Judgment. In the several descriptions of the fire, the fallen stars, the trembling earth, the raging sea, the terror of mankind, the uplifted cross, the proclamation of the sentence etc. we are reminded of Chr. The whole treatment of the subject in Bi D. D. is much more general than in Chr. and it is quite possible that the author drew in a general way upon Chr. for some of his material.

The short reference in Andreas 1425—1440 seems to be the poets way of reproducing the idea of Matt. 5. 18; 24. 35.

The use of the Bible as the most important source of these descriptions of Judgment Day has already been indicated. In summary we may say that while only rarely a scripture passage has been translated or paraphrased, the Bible is still the ultimate source of most of the ideas brought forward, whether it be the immediate original or not. The whole character of these descriptions warrants the opinion that the poets, perfectly familiar with the Bible accounts, based their work on scripture teaching as they had learned or remembered it, but without frequent direct reference to definite passages. The Bible merely states in short, simple, often very abstract and general terms the facts involved, while the poets lose themselves in long detailed descriptions of situ-

ations only thus indicated. The abstract Bible language grows more concrete and definite, its vague outlines become clearer and sharper, its shadowy figures stand out boldly on the poets' canvas. Some scenes attract us by their beauty and others impress us none the less by the awful magnificence of their coloring.

And herein lies what we may call the specific Ags. or Germanic features of these descriptions. The poets have added but few conceptions to those of the Bible, but in the coloring of their pictures they have been true to their nationality and in many of their descriptions shown an originality, which in the treatment of a subject like the Judgment Day, common property of the christian world, is remarkable for those times and even yet worthy of praise.

Thus, as we have seen, this Germanic coloring is strongly brought out in the pictures of the Eternal Judge and His splendid retinue, of the fires of Judgment like an angry warrior destroying everything before him, of the bright home and kingdom in heaven, its generous, gracious Prince and His relation to His loyal, grateful followers. True Ags. love of nature, at rest or in anger, stands out boldly in their descriptions of the broad, fair fields of heaven and of the wild convulsions of the elements attending the destruction of the earth.

And now and then, though often faintly, we can hear the echoes of heathendom in some of the finest strains of the poets' song; thus, most probably, in some of the features of the destruction of the world, certainly in the cold and cheerless gloom of hell, its ice and frost, its filth and stench, its poisonous snakes and frightful monsters. In their descriptions, too, of heaven, that fairer land than earth and yet, like the happy hunting-grounds of the Indians, much like the earth, the home of warriors, where the Prince of victory sits in his *sceldburiz* and bestows the reward of battle, prepares a feast for His followers around the table of the Lord, this heathen influence is considerable. Indeed several features of Walhalla seem thus transferred to heaven. The similarity is, as Kent remarks, 'too striking to be accidental and too natural to be at all im-

probable'.[1] And yet in so christian a subject we should be careful not to overrate this heathen influence, but rather attempt to explain as much as possible on the basis of the Bible and christian tradition and only when these are indequate should we turn to heathendom for help. The Anglosaxons had early become enthusiastic christians; many of their poets were doubtless monks and zealous teachers of the Bible; but as the new religion could not at one blow crush out the old, heathen conceptions lived on side by side and more or less thoroughly mixed with christian teaching. The poets have therefore naturally, either unconsciously or else purposely as a stroke of policy, incorporated some of these even in so biblical a subject as ours. Just where the line of demarcation is to be drawn, even the sharpest eye and the shrewdest judgment are often at a loss to decide.

From these remnants of heathendom, however, we may draw, in conclusion and very briefly, one or two instructive lessons. And first as to the marked preference of the Ags. poets for this whole subject of final Judgment. All through this discussion we have seen with what deep interest they dwell upon it, with what real enthusiasm they describe it in all its phases and results. This is evidently not the interest and enthusiasm in a subject entirely new to them. In the darkest days of their heathendom, the Germanic tribes believed in a destruction of the world, in a Judgment after death, in a Hell, in a Heaven. All these subjects enlisted their profoundest interest and are described in their literature with all the enthusiasm of their strong and simple Germanic natures. When therefore the corresponding christian teaching came among them, it did not, so to speak, seem so strange to them, they appreciated it and, attracted by some general resemblances to their own system, they gave it much the same interest. Much of the prominence of the subject is also due to the individual poets; in their desire to turn men to right living they are constantly holding up the terrors of Judgment and the horrors of hell as a warning argument, which they seek to impress in the numerous exhortations which interrupt the narrative.

[1] Teutonic Antiquities in Andreas and Elene p. 17.

A natural consequence of this preference, this interest in the subject — itself (this preference) a relic, so to speak, of heathendom — was, secondly, the gradual assimilation of christian and heathen conceptions of Judgment, hell or heaven. Surely and rapidly did Christianity gain ground and drive back the corresponding heathen notions; and not so much by mere force, not by uprooting and casting away at once these heathen conceptions, but rather by a process of assimilation. The heathen ideas of these things, to begin with somewhat like the christian conceptions, became more and more like these, until they became so absorbed in them as to lose almost entirely their own identity. It was not the so-called Germanic predisposition to Christianity, but rather the certain general resemblance in many points between christian and heathen views, that made the transition easier and less noticed. It was not hard for a people whose fathers believed in the Norns, in the Twilight of the gods, in Wálhalla, to adopt the Christian teaching that 'the elements shall melt with fervent heat', that 'we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ', that He has gone 'to prepare a place' for us, and 'will come again' and take us to Himself that we be with Him always. Thus these general resemblances with heathen conceptions we may say in a measure paved the way for the acceptance of Christian truth.

Thirdly and lastly these conceptions of Judgment are interesting as an index of the general religious advancement of the Anglosaxons at that time. As we have seen they are almost entirely christian, many of them in the strictest conformity to the Bible account, only here and there are traces of heathendom left. The transition period is over, the new has already driven out the old, in less than two hundred years after the landing of Augustine and more than a thousand years ago, we find current in England the same great truths of Christianity which her people accept to-day.

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