

A

CONTRIBUTION TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY

of the

MEDIAEVAL VISIONS OF HEAVEN AND HELL

With Special Reference to the Middle-English
Versions.

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NOTES.



PART I: THE SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF VISION-LITERATURE. 7

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

[In the Divina Commedia of Dante ^{don't} ~~we~~ have the great epic of hell. Its content, like the content of any other great epic, reflects the thought and story not only of its own day, but of many previous generations. In it, the inventions of many men, of many times, have been brought together, and moulded into a harmonious whole by a master hand.

The great epics of classical antiquity are largely versified mythologies; and the great religious epics of Christian times are precisely the same thing. The works of Dante, Milton and Klopstock are merely variations upon the same general theme: Christian fable, old and new.

There can be no such thing as a spontaneous epic; as soon as a composition becomes spontaneous, its epic character is lost. Dante scholars were slow to realize this general truth in the case of the *Divina Commedia*, and that work was long regarded as the original production, in respect to both matter and form, of a single intellect. But not even the most idolatrous critic would think of claiming such a thing for Dante at

the present time, for we know beyond a doubt that he derived almost all the special features of his *Inferno*, at least, from that extensive and ~~strange~~ branch of medieval literature, the *visions of heaven and hell*.

This admission does not in the least detract from the glory of Dante's achievement. As M. Ampère says, "these visions gave to Dante not his genius, not his poetic inspiration, but the form merely in which he realized it. They must not, however be passed by. Genius should not be a descendant which scorns its humble ancestors; it should be like a reverent son who, having obtained power and glory, does not despise his humble parents, who are without fame."*

The question of the originality of Dante's work began to be agitated perhaps a century and a half ago, but always in a half-hearted, apologetic sort of way which was necessarily fatal to the cause. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that the matter began to be considered in all seriousness.

~~Most of the general works on the history of visions are written from this point of view. The following bibliography, of~~

had clear

* Hist. Litt. de la France, II, p. 134 f.

while by no means exhaustive, ^{principal}
 the ~~principal~~ books will serve to indicate the steps in the
 development of the question.

The first real impulse to a more objective and searching study of Dante's work was given by F. Cancellieri's "*Osservazioni intorno alla Questione...sopra la Originalità del Poema di Dante,*" published in Rome in 1814. An entertaining review of this work in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. XXX, p. 317 J. 1818, will serve to make us acquainted with the contents of Cancellieri's essay, which is rare, and at the same time will give us an insight into the ~~stage~~ of the question at that time.

"(We have) just received," says the reviewer, "a work almost unknown in England, having for its object to ascertain whether (Dante) was an inventor or an imitator only. The continental antiquaries and scholars have eagerly laid hold of a manuscript, (the vision of Alberic), said to have been discovered about the beginning of the present century, and affording evidence, according to some persons, that he had borrowed from others the whole plan and conception of his wonderful work. The question indeed is of ancient date, and long before such value had been set upon this manuscript, was so perplexed and prolonged as now to call for definitive elucidation."

Concerning the discovery, or rather the rediscovery, of the Alberic vision, he says, "An extract, or rather a short abstract of an old vision, written in Latin, appeared in a pamphlet published in Rome in 1801, with an insinuation that the primitive model of Dante's poem had at length been discovered. Some reader of new publications transmitted the intelligence of the discovery to a German journalist, who received it as of the utmost importance; and from him a writer in a French paper (the *Publiciste* of July, 1809), transcribed, embellished, and diffused it over all Europe. Having nothing to do with politics, everybody received it upon the faith of the author of the pamphlet, by whom alone the MS. had been read; and it was immediately settled by the wits and critics of the day, that Dante was but the versifier of the ideas of others. Mr. Cancellieri, a professed black-letter scholar, and animated, no doubt, with a laudable zeal for religion as well as for literature, published the vision entire in 1814..."

The writer then points out the unjustness of an attempt to account for Dante's work on the basis of one short vision, and intimates the existence of any number of similar works in the

Middle Ages.

But the old school of idolaters died ~~very~~ hard, and it was not until almost thirty years later that the matter became settled beyond all reasonable question. During these thirty years Ozanam, to be sure, had on several occasions hinted at the existence of a vast well from which Dante clearly drew; but his remarks were, in the main, sporadic and incidental, and therefore did not receive the reverent consideration which this distinguished scholar's work ^{had usually} ~~ever claimed and obtained~~.

But in 1842, M. Charles Labitte published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of that year, p. 704 f., his essay entitled "*La Divine Comédie avant Dante.*" It is a thorough study of other-world visions in classical antiquity and in Christian times. In his introductory remarks Labitte says: "The Divine Comedy), as a matter of fact, original and bizarre though it may appear, is not a spontaneous creation, the sublime caprice of a divinely-gifted artist. On the contrary, it harks back to a whole cycle which preceded it; to a permanent thought which reappears periodically in the ages which go before;--a thought at first shapeless, developing little by little, until finally a man of genius possesses himself of it, and gives it a fixed

... dass es nicht möglich ist, die ...
... die einschlägigen Produkte ...
... in den Kreis der Untersuchung zu ziehen. Dies verweist sich ...
... die Natur der in Betracht kommenden ...
... dass die Möglichkeit einer ...
... so nahe liegt, als es, ...
... ist schon evident, ...
... result can possibly be ...
... to the same end. ...
... is essentially, ...
... in interest.

Aside from England etc. p. 10 f. to page 15 ("One of the principal systems etc").

follow by "The story of the ..." etc (next sheet)

Naturalien zur Geschichte d. deutschen Wissenschaften, p 3 f.

and definite form in a masterpiece."

In 1844 a similar and perhaps even more erudite work on the subject of other-world visions appeared in London: *Thomas Wright's "St. Patrick's Purgatory: An Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise."* Wright does not consider these visions and legends in their possible relation to Dante at all, but naturally follows lines similar to those laid down by Labitte, though the two works were written quite independently of each other. Wright, too, treats far more fully than did his predecessor the other-world legends of Ireland, a country singularly rich in this particular branch of literature.

Embolden^{ed} by these practically pioneer essays (for the work of Cancellieri, and the slight contribution in the Edinburgh Review were as well as forgotten), *Ozanam* incorporated the results of his own investigations in the field in an essay, which appeared in 1845, entitled "*Etudes sur les Sources Poetiques de la Divine Comédie.*"**Ozanam*, while repeating much of what Labitte had given us, adds valuable new material, especial-

*Republished in Vol. V p. 378 f. of the complete ed. of *Ozanam's* works, 1872.

ly from Italian literature, and the essay is a decided advance upon all previous works ^{of} ~~of~~ the ~~same~~ ^{same} nature.

The works of both Labitte and Ozanam are reviewed briefly, and not very ably, in the *North American Review* for January, 1847.

In 1851 *Tischendorf* published a valuable essay in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 24, chiefly in reference to the Vision of St. Paul and other similar apocryphal works.*

In 1865 ~~we have~~ ^{we have} a slight contribution from *Albana Kegnaty*, entitled, "*An Historical Sketch of the Life and Times of Dante Alighieri, with an Outline of the Legendary History of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise previous to the Divino Commedia.*"

Late in the '60's Ozanam again ~~comes before us~~ ^{appears} with a whole volume on the subject--containing, to be sure, much material not directly connected--entitled "*La Poésie Catholique au XIIIe Siècle,*"† On p. 473 of this work he edits a XIII cen. French version of the Vision of St. Paul, and points out for the first time its resemblance in general tone, and in much of the detail, to the *Divina Commedia*.

*Cf. also his *Apocall. Apocr.*

†Sixth ed. 1872. Vol. 6.

In 1874 Alessandro d'Acuña published a work
entitled I precursori di Dante, to which I have
been unable to get access.

In 1870 *Octave Delepiere* published a treatise rather elaborately entitled **L'Enfer; Essai Philosophique et Historique sur les Legendes de la Vie Future,** (London, Truebner). The work is modelled in method upon Wright's book, and is not a very masterly performance; at least, it presents but little new material. Great stress is laid upon the similarity in form and execution between Dante's work and the Vision of Tundale, though the author disclaims any imitation on the part of the Italian poet. The essay was twice published; the second time under the title of **Le Livre des Visions,** illustrated, and limited to twenty-five copies.

In 1892 the fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter* was discovered, and published with a translation and an introductory essay by Mr. *Montague Rhodes James*. This work will be treated in detail later on.

The latest work in the field of vision-literature in general has appeared in recent issues of *Romanische Forschungen*. In Vol. II (1886) *C. Fritzsche* published an article "*Die Lateinischen Visionen des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des XIIIten Jahrhunderts*," concluded in Vol. III. It consists, as its title implies, of a catalogue of medieval Latin visions, arranged in

chronological order. A short explanatory essay is appended.

In Vol. V, p. 539, we have an interesting study by L. Schermann, to which reference will again be made later, entitled "Eine Art Visionärer Höllenschilderung aus dem Indischen Mittelalter."

When article, much amplified, was separately published, under the title "Höllenschilderung aus der Geschichte der Indischen Visionenlitteratur" in vol. VIII. E. Peters, "Zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Visionslegenden" supplements Fritzsche's work.

[No systematic study of visions, with a view to tracing their oldest elements to their sources, has yet been attempted. The task would be a most difficult one, since it would necessitate a thorough study, from the point of view of ^(and) incident, of the religious and mythological conceptions of an after-life among the various peoples. And, as Schermann justly remarks, "diese Nachforschungen dürfen sich nicht damit begnügen die einschlägigen Produkte eines der grossen Sprachstämme, wie etwa des indogermanischen, in den Kreis der Untersuchung zu ziehen. Dies verbietet sich schon durch die Natur der in Betracht kommenden litterarischen Werke, dann aber vornehmlich auch durch die Erwägung, dass die Möglichkeit einer um jene Schranken unbekümmerten Entlehnung nirgend so nahe liegt, als da, wo es sich

um elementare religiöse Begriffe und ihre Weiterbildung handelt.

Evidently such an undertaking would be almost beyond the powers of a single man. The only means by which a complete and satisfactory final result can possibly be attained is through a large number of special studies tending to the same common end. It is with this object in view that the present slight contribution is offered. An attempt will be made to trace the rise and development of this branch of literature especially in England, as exemplified in certain representative visions. Even here, the nature of this work makes it impossible to furnish a complete history of the subject; and to draw into the investigation a large number of unimportant ^{works} would only serve uselessly to complicate matters. All that will be attempted, therefore, will be to indicate the main lines of development from Bede onward.

Aside from England, two stages in the general development of visions have been taken up in some detail in the following pages: Oriental influence, and the Apocalypse of Peter. Such a procedure hardly requires an apology. Many of the analogs ^{to} between the visions and the oriental conceptions of the other-world have ^{previously} been pointed out ~~upon various occasions~~. But the data are widely scattered, and it seemed well to gather them, together with a few

hitherto unnoticed points of similarity, into a connected account. Whereas the Apocalypse of Peter, being the earliest Christian vision--in our sense of the word--which we possess, seemed the best possible point from which to indicate the organic ^{marrow} way in which all the visions are connected.

The intermediate stages between these two cardinal ^{princ.} steps in vision-development are, 1. Classical antiquity; 2. The Old Testament; 3. Old Testament Apocrypha, especially the Book of Enoch; 4. The Canonical New Testament; 5. New Testament Apocrypha, especially the Gospel of Nicodemus. For completeness, these points will be briefly treated in the following pages.

Within Christian times, the works of the church fathers were of course chiefly instrumental in diffusing the visions. Homilies, commentaries, theological essays and ecclesiastical histories were alive with accounts, in vision form, of the terrors of hell and ^{of} purgatory. These accounts were spread among the people by popular preachers and homilists, and in this way the visions no doubt became largely responsible for the epidemics of ^{of} terres which pervaded the Middle Ages.

Thus we have the skeleton of vision-development established.

Deriving the general form and many of the details from the East, the earliest Christian vision-writers grafted them upon such slight material as they found in the old and new testaments and their apocrypha, and attaching the names of Christian saints and martyrs to the results, launched them as inspired revelations. Barren in detail and crude in execution at first, they lived on in the minds of the people for several centuries without material alteration or embellishment. The church fathers made use of them to support their doctrines, and were chiefly instrumental in giving them the great vogue which they afterwards possessed. Gregory the Great adduced them in support of his doctrine of purgatory, just as they are still adduced for the support of the same doctrine at the present day.¹ Through Gregory especially they passed into the work of local historians, such as Bede in England; and were taken up and diffused among the people by homilists, such as Aelfric. And all the while the clergy was becoming ever more and more powerful, and the people ever more and more panic-stricken at the thought of what even the least sinful of them would have to undergo before obtaining everlasting bliss.

 1 Cf. for example, F. X. Schouppe, "The Dogma of Purgatory, Illustrated from the Lives and Legends of the Saints." London, 1893

And the more panic-stricken the people became, the greater swelled the power of the clergy, till at last the terror of the one became a nervous disease afflicting nations at a time, and the power of the other greater than any the world had ever known.

It was in such an unhealthy atmosphere that visions flourished in all their power. ^{they are the outgrowth of a fundamental morbid pathological condition.} The clergy who wrote began to pour them out in countless numbers, and preachers thundered them down upon the heads of their terrified congregations with all the additional emphasis of voice and gesture; and finally even laymen took them up and put them into verse, adding new horrors from their own fertile imaginations, and producing such catalogues of elaborated torment as, for example, the vision of Tundale.

It would therefore not be inappropriate to speak of an "epidemic of visions," and to include the phenomenon under the category of the many nervous diseases which afflicted the Middle Ages: the judgment-day panic, the childrens' crusades, and that most peculiar psychological phenomenon, ^{the} the epidemic of dancing, especially prevalent in Italy, and curable only by lively music of a peculiar character. ¹

¹Cf. Hecker-Hirsch, "Volkskrankheiten d. Mittelalters," p. 124 f., where (p. 190) the music of the tarantella is given.

In the face of these evidences of the morbid mental and physical conditions of the Middle Ages, there can be no doubt that trances and synkopes, hallucinations, catalepsies and the whole long catalogue of similar abnormalities, were widely operative among the people. We have the evidence of the visions themselves for it, and the circumstances which attended at least the later visions are of just this character. A ~~certain~~ man to all outward appearances dies, and after remaining in a condition of total unconsciousness for a stated time, ~~he~~ suddenly comes to life again, and relates what he has seen during his trance. What more natural than to suppose that the soul had, by a special dispensation of providence, been separated from the body for that ^{length} of time.

From a pathological point of view the circumstances are not at all surprising. It is quite natural that a person who has reduced his vitality to its lowest ebb by continual privation and exposure, and whose religious fanaticism borders upon lunacy, should be subject to periods of ecstasy; and that he should, upon returning to a comparatively normal state, imagine that he had actually ^{seen} things which for years he had constantly been picturing to himself in imagination. Nor would he experience the

slightest difficulty in convincing his hearers of the truth of his statements, and thus the marvellous story would spread.

The extent of the influence of the visions upon the mental life of the times must not be underrated. They were undoubtedly a powerful factor in establishing for religion the undisputed supremacy which it possessed over the minds of men in the Middle Ages. They formed, as could nothing else, a link between this world and the next, and seemed to solve in a way which left no room for doubt the greatest questions which theology or philosophy could propound.

One of the principal objections to the method employed in this study is that it becomes almost impossible to avoid occasional repetition of what has already been said. It would seem, however, to be the only method which can satisfactorily be followed in such an investigation. Foot-notes, referring to previous or following pages, in which the point in question has been, or will be, more fully discussed, have therefore been very freely employed, especially in the less important sections.



It is not within the scope of the present study to review, even briefly, the various doctrines concerning a future life which are advanced in the different Oriental theologies. But no survey of the history of visions would be complete without an indication, at least, of the most striking parallels between the pagan and Christian accounts. In almost every case the former can claim chronological priority, and ~~may~~ ^{may} therefore be the first step in the chain of vision-development.

Upham, in his History of Buddhism ⁽¹⁾ was at some pains to point out the resemblance between many of the torments of the Buddhist hells and of the Divina Commedia. And it is in these accounts that we find the most striking analog^ues to the incidents of the Christian visions. The chief lines of similarity may be briefly indicated.

The number of hells varies in Buddhist accounts, but the favorite figure is 17: 8 principal, and 9 subordinate hells. ⁽²⁾ The torments are, of course, not the same in all ac-

⁽¹⁾ p. 124 f.

⁽²⁾ In the Purānas the usual number is seven. In the Gāyā Purāna, however, the number is fixed at 8,400,000 of hells. Some mi-

counts; but the following abstract [in which only the eight principal hells are considered] will serve the present purpose.*

The first hell, [~~called Sajowaya,~~] is the place of the damned where they are cut in pieces by several sorts of weapons, and brought to life again. Here they will be torn to pieces by glowing hot irons, and then exposed to intense cold; after a time their limbs will again unite, and again be torn asunder and exposed to the cold; and this alteration of misery will endure for 500 infernal years.

The second hell, [~~called Callo-sotraya,~~] is the place where the damned are hewn with red-hot axes. On a bed of fire they will be extended, and, like so many trunks of trees, with burn-iron saws and hooks they will be cut into eight or ten pieces, for 1000 infernal years.

The third hell [~~called Senghataya,~~] is the place where the dead are squeezed with red-hot iron rocks, which roll from the four sides of hell. They will be ground between four baring mountains for 2000 infernal years.

The fourth hell, [~~called Sauryaya,~~] is the place where the damned are tormented by the flame having entered into them by the nine openings of their body. They will have their hearts consumed by fire entering their mouths etc. for 4000 infernal years.

The fifth hell, called [~~Kaha-rauraya,~~] is the place where the damned undergo great misery; tears red as blood and hot as

*Cf. Upan., loc. cit. p. 10. Also Ashtadhyayi, p. 71, 200.

fire proceeds ~~to~~ from their eyes for 8000 infernal years.

The sixth hell, called ~~Tan-Baya~~, is the place where the damned are tormented by being fixed on red-hot iron pins, which are fastened to the burning floor. They will be tumbled down headlong from a lofty burning mountain; then, being transfixed on an iron spit, they will be cut and torn by demons with swords and spears for 8000 infernal years.

The seventh hell, called Prata-Baya, is the place where the damned are placed on red-hot iron rocks, and being unable to stand on them, fall down headlong on the hot iron floor, from which protrude red-hot iron spikes as large as palm-tree logs. They will be first fixed with their heads downwards, and then transfixed with red-hot spits as large as palm trees.

The eighth hell, called Kana-awontya, is the place of the damned who are burned constantly by the fire which proceeds in an immense quantity from every side of that hell, by which fire the extent of 100 yodoons of the hell is filled up. They will be punished for a whole world in the most terrible of all hells, the pavement of which, nine ⁴ ~~huzara~~ in thickness, is of red-hot iron, and emits the most horrible smoke, and the most piercing flame.

In the first hell we are confronted with two of the most characteristic features of a large number of Christian visions. The fact that the souls, after being torn and agonized beyond possibility of recognition, again take on their original shape

in order to undergo renewed torment, is constantly emphasised in the Christian accounts. Cf. for example, Lundale who, being delivered by the guiding angel to the fury of the fiends, is thrown into "gobettes snale",

He myght not dey with that payne,
For he was made al hole agayne. l. 748.4

The torment of alternate heat and extreme cold is a well-known universal feature throughout the vision-literature. It is interesting to note that we also find it in the Book of Enoch, and it was probably through the medium of this work that the feature found its way into the Christian visions. We find it in the 7th century Vision of St. Paul, which had perhaps a greater influence than any other single work upon subsequent similar accounts. In England, Beze introduces the feature in the vision of Brinthelm, whence it was communicated to other specifically English visions. It is a feature of the Anglo-Saxon Hell (cf. p. 111 below), occurring both in the poetry and in the prose. The homilists almost invariably employ it in general descriptions of hell. Cf. for example, Aelfric: "the eyes will smart with the powerful smoke, and the teeth quake

Whenever it is possible to do so, references will be made to the Anglo-Saxon versions of the Anglo-Saxon. 2) XIV, 71. p. 39. 1-1

with the great chill; for the reprobates shall suffer intolerable heat, and unspeakable chill." Or again, "there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth: for their eyes shall be tormented in the great burning, and their teeth shall afterwards quake in the intense cold."†

Examples could be multiplied. *†

The torment of the second hell--hewing with red-hot axes--would naturally suggest itself to any imaginative torment-deviser, and we therefore find the feature with various modifications and elaborations all through vision-literature. It constitutes one of the most horrible episodes of Dante's hell.

For the torment of the third hell, where the souls are squeezed with red-hot iron rocks, there seem to be no exact ~~an-~~^{parallels} parallels in Christian accounts. The rocks, to be sure, recall the torture of the prodigal and the avaricious in the Divina Commedia, but very distantly. The mention of the "four sides" of hell has probably no special significance, though it recalls vaguely the Anglo-Saxon account of the wind blowing from the

*Thores, I, 521.

†Ibid. I, 134.

††Cf. e.g. Nivkling Homily V; Morris p. 80. *James Morale L.*

"four corners"* , and the "four fires" of the vision of Barseus.†

The fourth and fifth hells present no points of similarity to the Christian accounts, except in a very general way. Perhaps we have an echo of the fourth--where the flame enters by the nine openings of the body--in the Apocalypse of Peter, 114: "And over against these were again other men and women...having flaming fire in their mouth"‡c.

The sixth hell seems again to be in organic connection with the Christian accounts. In the Apoc. of Peter we find the following paragraph, [15]: "And in a certain other place were pebbles sharper than swords or than any spit, red-hot, and women and men, clad in filthy rags, were rolling upon them in torment..." The hot iron floor is one of the most elaborate features of the vision of Tundale.*†

The lofty mountains are a not uncommon feature of Christian accounts. They occur in one or another form in the visions of the Monk of Wenlok, Wettin, Drintheim, Monk of Eynsham and others. Souls are hurled from cliffs in the Apoc. of Peter:

*Crist, line 270.

†Cf. page 45 below.

*†Section 4. Page 162 below.

[17]: "And there were other men and women being hurled down from a great cliff, and they reached the bottom and again were driven by those that were set upon them to climb up upon the cliff, and thence they were hurled down again, and they had no rest from this torment."

In the vision of Alberic* the mountains are of ice.

Impaling is a feature which we should naturally expect to find in any catalogue of physical torments, and its frequent recurrence in the visions is not surprising. In the Divina Commedia, Calaphas is fixed to a cross on the ground.†

Placing sinners upon their heads [seventh hell] recalls the pits into which Dante plunges some of his damned head-foremost. Dante's immediate source for this feature was probably the Vision of Alberic,*† but the similarity is more, the less remarkable, especially as Dante places his pits in the "livid stone", which would seem to be the red-hot rocks of the Buddhistic accounts.‡

See also St. Bernard's Purgatory (P. 100)

† Cf. page 80 below.

‡ Inferno, part XVIII.

§ Cf. page 83-99 below.

* Cf. Inferno, canto XIX.

The eight hell offers no new features. In the vision of Iundale, the iron floor is also assigned a specified thickness.

The fore-going very brief review shows sufficiently clearly that an organic connection exists between the Buddhistic conceptions of hell-torment and the Christian. A perusal of Schoermann's article [cited above, page 8] will show that these conceptions developed in the East in just the same manner as in Europe, though not, in the case of the former, generally in the form of visions. In the Brahmanistic Mârkandeya-Purâna,* the earliest work of this nature extant, and which still reflects the earliest conceptions of epic mythology, we find a very similar division of hells: The doctrine of metempsychosis is the basis of the account. In the first hell, ^{called} Putrava (= ^{howling} the sinner is forced to run about over glowing coals; in the next, ^{called} Manaraurava (= ^{howling howls} they are bound down upon a floor of burning copper, and are torn to pieces by all sorts of animals. In the third, ^{called} Tamas (= ^{darkness} the torments of extreme cold, darkness, hunger, thirst etc. are inflicted. A driving wind and hail-storm [cf. Driithelm] breaks the bones of the damned, and presses

*Schoermann, loc. cit. page #44 f. *Mat* p 33

out the marrow and blood. Any number of ^{parallel} analogies to this in the Christian accounts will at once suggest themselves. In the next hell, ^{called} Vikrintana (= calling to pieces) souls are fixed upon a constantly rotating disk, and are sawed apart from head to foot by demons with the Kālasūtra, or ^{black} death thread. [Cf. the burning wheel of St. Paul's vision and of St. Patrick's Purgatory]. In the fifth hell, ^{called Aprakshita (= unobtable) (= sinners cause death)} sinners are fastened to wheels; blood streams from their mouths, tears from their eyes. This torment endures for 1000 years. ✓
The torment of the next hell, Asipatravana (= sword-leaf forest), possesses particular interest for us. In the centre of this hell there is a forest, the leaves of which are sword-blades. Allured by the pleasant appearance and cool shade of this forest, the souls enter to seek relief from their thirst and pain. But the wind drives the sword-leaves down upon them and they sink down upon the flaming ground, where they are attacked and torn to pieces by countless numbers of tiger-like dogs.

The sword-leaves at once recall the burning, sword-leaved trees which guard the entrance to hell and to which souls are affixed by various portions of the body--a feature peculiar, as far as I know, to the visions of St. Paul and Alberic. In the last hell, Taptakumbha, ^{provided with flaming caldrons,} sinners are hurled head foremost [cf.

1. Probably not "death-thread". Cf. Schumann, 'Mater.' p. 36, note.

wishes is that a suitable punishment is meted out for every crime. Thus birds with beaks of adamantite hardness pluck out the eyes of such as had cast lustful glances; backbiters, slanderers etc. have their tongues cut with sharp shears [cf. Apoc. of Peter, 14]; the hands of such as had touched sacred things before purifying them are plunged into pots of fire; &c.

These examples will suffice to show the relationship which exists between the Indian religions and Christianity in regard to conceptions of hell. A similar result is gained from a comparison of the conceptions of an abode of the blessed. For a study of the development within Buddhism, I again refer to Leisnermann's article.

* * * *

Turning now to other oriental religions, we find only isolated incidents which have been carried over into the Christian accounts.

The fate of the Egyptian soul after death is briefly as follows:*

The soul is led by the god Thoth into Amenthe, the infernal

*Alger: History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, p. 100.

world, the entrance to which lies in the extreme west, of the farther side of the sea, where the sun goes down under the earth. . . . At the entrance sits a wide-throated monster, over whose head is the inscription, "this is the devourer of many who go into Ametne, the lacerator of the heart of him who comes with sins to the house of justice." The soul next kneels before the forty-two assessors of Osiris; it then comes to the final trial in the hall of the two Truths, the approving and the condemning. . . . Here the soul is weighed in the balance. In one scale an image of Thmei, the goddess of truth is placed; in the other a heart-shaped vase, symbolizing the heart of the deceased with all the actions of his earthly life. Thoth notes the result on a tablet, and the deceased advances with it to the foot of the throne on which sits Osiris, lord of the dead, king of Ametne. He pronounces the decisive sentence, and his assistants see that it is at once executed. The soul, if condemned, is either scourged back to earth straightway, to live again in the form of a wild animal; or it is plunged into a hell of fire; or it is driven into the atmosphere to be tossed about by tempests until its sins be expiated, and another probation granted through a renewed existence in human form.

At least two of the features of this account have crept into the Christian visions:--the wide-throated monster and the scales of justice. It is most probable, however, that they came through the medium of the Greek.

In the vision of Thurcill* we have, with the substitution of Christian saints for heathen deities, and with the addition of purgatory, a remarkable survival of the Egyptian conception of judgment. In the great judgment-hall to which Thurcill is led by his guide, [St. Julian], St. Michael, Peter and Paul sit in judgment upon the souls. In the Egyptian accounts, the three judges are Horus, Anubis and Thoth. Thoth is also the guide, here St. Julian. Perfectly white souls are assigned to St. Michael, who sends them unharmed through the flames; spotted souls are sent by Peter to purgatory; whereas Paul and the devil [Osiris in the Egyptian account] sit one at each end of a large pair of scales, in which are weighed the black souls. If the scales turn to the saint, the soul is sent to purgatory; but if to the devil, it is hurled into a fiery pit just at Paul's feet.†

*Ect. 6 ; p. 159 below.

†For three-fold division of souls in Anglo-Saxon Ec. cf. p. 132-36 below.

The tempests of the Egyptian account recur frequently in the visions.

Turning to the Persian theogony, we find the one feature which links Orient and Occident most unmistakably together--the feature which is still a doctrine in ^{the} Mohammedanism--the ^{symbol} bridge of judgment. This, more than any other single incident, seems to have struck the popular fancy, and we find it recurring constantly throughout early and medieval Christian literature, not only in the visions, where we should naturally expect to find it, but in the romances as well.†

In the Khordah-Avesta we find the following brief mention of the bridge: "...the wisdom of wisdoms, which effects freedom from hell for the soul at the bridge, and leads it over to that Paradise, the brilliant, the sweet-smelling of the pure."

The account of the bridge in the Viraf-Namah is as follows: "On the soaring bridge the soul meets Washnerast, the angel of justice, who tries those that present themselves before him. If the merits prevail, a figure of dazzling substance, ra-

*Cf. Huebschmann: Die persische Lehre vom Jenseits &c. Jahrb. für prot. Theol. V, p. 48.

†Cf. Gaston Paris: Le Conte de la Charrette. Romania XII, p. 50Pf.

diating glory and fragrance, advances and accost the justified soul, saying: I am thy good angel; I was pure at the first, but thy good deeds have made me purer; and the happy one is straightway led to Paradise. But when the vices outweigh the virtues, a dark and frightful image, featured with ugliness, and exhaling a noisome smell, meets the condemned soul and cries: I am thy evil spirit; bad myself, thy crimes have made me worse. Then the culprit staggers on his uncertain foothold, is hurled from the dizzy causeway, and precipitated into the gulf which yawns horribly below."*

In the visions, the bridge is sometimes one of the torments of hell, at others, the "bridge of purgatory." The first Christian vision in which we find it is that of St. Paul.

The Mahomedan bridge, al Sirat, has precisely the attributes which are usually bestowed upon it in the Christian accounts. It is thinner than a hair, sharper than a razor, and hotter than flame, spanning in one frail arch the immeasurable distance, directly over hell, from earth to paradise.

*Alger, History of the Doct. of a Nat. Life, p. 176f.

Every orthodox Mussulman firmly holds this as a physical fact to be surmounted on the last day. Mahomed leading the way, the faithful and righteous will traverse it with ease, and as quickly as a flash of lightning. The thin edge broadens beneath their steps, the surrounding support of conveying angels' wings hides the fire-lake below from their sight, and they are swiftly enveloped in paradise. But as the infidel with his evil deeds essays to cross, thorns entangle his steps, the lurid glare beneath blinds him, and he soon topples over and whirls into the blazing abyss.

Representative visions in which the bridge figures are

fourth century, *eight century*, *twelfth century*,
 St. Paul, 4 c., Monk of Wenlock, 8 c., Tundale, Alberic, 12 c.,

St. Patrick's Purgatory [where the bridge broadens just as in the Mahomedan account], *thirteenth century*,
 Thurocill, 13 c.

eighteenth
 In the XVIII-century Persian Dabistan,* or School of Manners, the soul when upon the bridge of judgment is enveloped in a fetic mist, from which issues a terrible figure.

"Who art thou?" asks the spirit. "I am the personification of thy acts and deeds" answers the apparition. The bridge is

*translation of Shea and Troyer, p. 262 f.

sharper than a razor, and the wicked soul having gone a little way with great difficulty, at last falls into the infernal gulf below.

The Dabistan is interesting in many ways from our point of view; and the fact that it was composed in modern times goes to show how strong a hold these popular conceptions of Hell have gained. Both in form and in content it is the counterpart of a medieval vision, and I am prompted to close this brief survey of the oriental side of our subject with an abstract of the section dealing with the pains of hell. The account begins thus: "Ardaiviraf, having drunk a cup of bel-loned wine...lay down on a couch and did not arise before the expiration of a week: his spirit, through the efficacy of the divine word, having been separated from the body. On the eighth day Ardai, arising from sleep, ordered a scribe to be brought, who should commit to writing all his words; and he thus spake: "When I fell asleep Firushi, the Angel of Paradise, came near.I explained the motives of my coming to the other world. He took my hand and said, Ascend three steps. I obeyed, and arrived at the Changud Hal, or the straight bridge of Judgment. In consequence his angel pointed me out the road, when I should

a bridge finer than a hair and sharper than a razor, and strong, and its length was thirty-seven rasuns.... I beheld a spirit just parted from the body in a state of tranquillity: on its arrival at the bridge a fragrant gale came from the East, out of which issued a beautiful, nymph-like form, the like of which I never before beheld. The spirit asked her, Who art thou?... She replied, I am the personification of thy good deeds. After this the angel, taking me out of paradise, bore me off to behold the punishments inflicted on those in hell."

Then follows a catalogue of thirty-four distinct torments for as many crimes. Close analogies are found in Christian accounts to the following:

1. Black and gloomy river of fetid water, with weeping multitudes falling in and drowning.
2. The bridge of judgment.
3. Road through snow, ice, storms, intense cold, heathen speculations and obscurity, along a region full of pits, in which were myriads of spirits suffering torture.
4. Serpents in the pits.
5. Woman holding in her hand a cup filled with blood

See particularly Visions of Paul, sect. 3 : p. 142 below.

and corrupted matter, which she is forced to drink.*

10. Women suspended by her breasts, and noxious creatures falling on her.†

11. Women hung up by her tongue. ††

12. Men hung up and lashed with gnawing serpents.††

13. Men tormented by worms and serpents.

14. Number of persons up to their necks in snow and ice.††

*Cf. Luc. of Peter, II. P. 70 below.

†Ibid. I. p. 68 below. Also Paul, sect. 9 ; p. 143 ibid.

††Ibid. I. p. 64 below, and note.

***Cf. particularly, Visior of Algeria, p. 82 ibid.

****Ibid. p. 80 below.

It will be impossible to give in this place a catalogue of the elements which found their way into the visions from the rich mythologies of classical times. ^(My parallels, etc. a general character. I refer to the early pages of M. Hablot's essay) It has already been said, [p. 58, above], that the Greek was in all probability the medium through which several details of the Egyptian conception of an after-life crept into Christianity: such as, for example, the Cerberus myth, and the scales of justice. The rivers of hell reflect Acheron and Styx; the thread which Ariadne gave to Theseus to guide him through the labyrinth of the Minotaur springs up again in the ninth century vision of Charles the Fat, where, to be sure, it has assumed many distinctly medieval attributes. The "lux atra" of Virgil may be the "black fire" of the Anglo-Saxon hell.* Many visions, such as that of Hundale, introduce Greek and Latin proper names.

The more specific points of affinity will be indi-

 * Cf. also Hall, *The Happy New World*, p. 255-7.

* Cf. p. 113 below.

cated in the course of the study.

The vision of *Thesopias*, written at a time when the glory of Rome had already begun to fade, will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section.

Some influence of a very general character may have been exerted upon later descriptions of heaven by Cicero's Somnium Scipionis. The visions, however, owe very little to it. The indebtedness of Chaucer and Dante to the work has often been commented upon.

Old Testament scriptures furnish no description of a place of punishment sufficiently detailed to warrant bringing it into immediate relation with vision-literature. There can, however, be little doubt that the custom of prophesying and admonishing from a vision basis originated here, and was the direct stimulus for the similar procedure in the Christian accounts. Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Obadiah, and the minor Old Testament visionaries all contributed something to the result, though probably less than the apocryphal Book of Enoch.

The doctrine of a hell of fire is clearly expressed in the Old Testament. Cf. Deut. XXXII, 22: "For a fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell." The "pains of hell" are referred to in Ps. ^{CXVI,} ~~XLV~~, 3: "The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold upon me."

CXVI, ~~XLV~~, LV, CXXXIX,
Cf. also Ps. 16, 10; ~~XLV~~; 15; 139, 8.

Hell is a pit beneath the earth: Is. XIV, 15: "Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit." Ezek. XXXI, 16: "...when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit." 18: "They also went down into hell..."

Psalm 138, 8: "When all men shall come down to hell with their angels of war." Contrasted positions of heaven and hell clearly expressed in Amos 9, 2: "Though they dig into hell, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down." Hell is deep: Prov. 17, 19: "But he knoweth not that the dead are there; and that her guests are in the depths of hell." Job XXIV, 19: "Drought and heat consume the snow waters: so doth the grave those which have sinned" has been adduced as evidence of the double torments of heat and cold in purgatory.

The closest analog^{ies} to the general form of the Christian visions are Ezek. 1-8; Daniel VII, VIII, 9. Specific passages will be indicated in the course of the study.

For an exposition of the theory which would derive the Christian hell immediately from the Hellenic one, I refer to Prof Percy Gardner's essay in the Contemporary Review, March 1895, and to Artt, loc. cit. where further references will be found.

[References are to Dr. Richard Laurence's translation of the Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library, published by Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1892].

The date of the Book of Enoch is about 100 B. C., though it is impossible to fix an exact date. [Cf. Introduction to Laurence's translation]. The work was probably well-known in early Christian times, and was possibly the channel through which several Oriental conceptions of hell crept into Christian accounts.* The following extracts have immediate bearing upon our subject. The special points of connection are in

Italics
essentials.

IV. 2. A vision thus appeared to me. 3... THOU is the vision assisted my flight. 10. They SEVATHE DE ALCEI to heaven. I proceeded until I arrived at a TAH built with STONES OF CRYSTAL.† 11.... A spacious habitacle built also with stones of crystal... cherubim of fire in a stormy sky.†† ... When I entered into this dwelling it was NOT AS FIRE and COOL AS ICE.** No trace of delight or of life was there.

*The influence of Enoch on the Christian conceptions of heaven was certainly very great, but cannot be traced in detail here. †Cf. Book of Enoch, sect. 9; p. 181 below. ††Cf. Turpin. **Theophrastus, p. 49 below; 128. 3, 181. **Cf. p. 19 above.

terror overwhelmed me, and a fearful shaking seized me. 13. Violently agitated and trembling I fell upon my face*.... 14. There was another habitation more spacious than the former.... 15. So greatly did it excel in all points, in glory, in magnificence, and in magnitude, that it is impossible to describe to you either the extent or the splendor of it.† 16. Its floor was on fire*....there was an exalted throne....and there was the voice of cherubim. 17. From underneath this mighty throne FIFTEEN OF FLAMING FIRES** issued....

XV: XVI. [The Lord tells Enoch what he is to present to the people.††

XVII. c. They carried me to a lofty spot, to a VIEW OF the top of which reached to heaven. 1. I came to a VIEW OF FIRES, WHICH FLOWED LIKE RIVERS.

XVIII. c. I surveyed the stone pillars supports the corners of the earth, and the firmament of heaven. I also beheld the FOUR PILLARS** WHICH bear up the earth, and the firmament... 17. AND IN THE COLUMNS OF BRASS I beheld fires,†† which descended without number.

*Inferno V, 148.

†Cf. Apoc. of Peter, sect. 5; p. 60 below.

††Buddhist Hells, c. 1, v. 18 above. Also Dundale, sect. 4.

**Cf. Apoc. of Peter, sect. 8; p. 67 below.

††Visitors are customarily told by their guides to forget what they have seen for the benefit of mankind. Over the gates: ...e quel che vedi

ritornello di là, e non te lo scrivere.

†††For occurrence of mountains in visitors of. p. 75 below.

**Cf. A. S. Christ, line 370. Also c. 20 above.

††Cf. Dundale, sect. 10; p. 157, 163 below.

18
souls of men, 4....until the day of judgment. 7. At that time, therefore, I inquired...respecting the general judgment, saying, Why is one separated from another? He answered, THREE SEPARATIONS* have been made between the spirits of the dead, and thus have the spirits of the righteous been separated, 10. Namely, by a chasm, by water, and by light above it.

XXIV, 1. I went to another place, and saw a MOUNTAIN OF FIRES† flashing both by day and by night. I proceeded towards it and perceived seven splendid mountains, 8...and odoriferous trees & surrounded them. 7. Among these there was a tree of an unceasing smell,...its leaf, its flower, and its bark never withered, and its fruit was beautiful.*† The fruit of this tree shall be given to the elect [after the final judgment].

XXV, 1. I saw a holy mountain.... 5. Deep, dry valleys...

XXVI, 2. Here shall be collected all who utter unbecoming language against God.

XXVII, 1. From thence I proceeded towards the East.**

[XXVIII, 2 foll. Vision of the sainted in paradise].

*Three-fold division of souls at the judgment day in Theologiae, A.S. Flenc, [cf. p. 32f below] Thurcill, sect. 6, p. 85
†Trithelm, p. 49 below.

†This particularly pleasant tree recurs in almost all Christian accounts of paradise. It would seem in some way to connect these stories with the holy rood legend. Indeed, in Thurcill we find Adam lying beneath the tree.

**Cf. Apoc. of Peter, sect. 7, p. 37 below. Also Trithelm, p. 99 below.

self a vision, and reflecting Old Testament visions, especially those of Moses, Ezekiel and Daniel. Hell is a "bottomless pit," IX, 1; a "prison for the damned," II, 10; the chief torment is fire: "he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone," XIV, 10. The "lake of fire," so common a feature in the visions,* is three times mentioned: "cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone," XIX, 20; "and death and hell were cast into a lake of fire," XIX, 14; "and whatsoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire," II, 15. The conception of the devil, and later of hell itself as a dragon or serpent, probably has its first definite expression in XX, 2: "the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan."

The doctrine of the purgatorial quality of the judgment-day fire is clearly brought out in I Cor. III, 15-16, 17: "If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." This is the earliest approach to a doctrine of purgatory. The same thing holds for Anglo-Saxon. (cf. p. 131 below).

*cf. Apoc. of Peter, sect. 9; p. 67 below.

The Gospel of Nicodemus requires mention in our connection, not because it presents any particular points of affinity with the visions, but because, owing to its great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, and the manifold ~~readings~~ ^{workings} which it underwent, it can hardly have failed to have exerted an indirect influence upon them. But a passing notice is all that can be bestowed upon it here. For a study of the diffusion and development of the work in Europe, see R. P. Wuelker's essay, "Das Evangelium Nikodemi in der abendländischen Litteratur," Paderborn, 1870.

The Old English version of the Gospel has recently been worked up by W. D. Halms, in the Publications of the Modern Language Association, ~~XIII~~ XIII, ~~187~~ 187, 4 (N.S. VI, 4)

The vision of Theophrastus, recorded by Plutarch, is deserving of more than passing notice from our point of view. Written by a non-Christian author, within our era, it anticipates in a remarkable way both the form and the content of the medieval Christian visions. Its features recur unmistakably in later accounts: and as Plutarch was well-known to medieval writers, it is reasonable to suppose that there was frequently direct copying from him. It therefore seems necessary to look upon Plutarch as another link in the chain of vision-development.

The following is a brief abstract of the vision of Theophrastus.

Theophrastus had all his life had dissolute and most ungodly habits. One day he fell head foremost from a high place, and to all appearances died; and three days later was carried forth to be buried. But suddenly he revived, and ever after led a life of the most irreproachable virtue. Theophrastus proceeded to tell the cause of this very remarkable change, and related the following vision: When his spirit first left his body, he saw nothing but a few immense stars, infinitely

¹In his novel Uranus, Dr. Ward, Just. Div. Goodell's transl., vol. 17, p. 177.

for sport, and casting a most brilliant radiance. They
come along by an irresistible force, and as the souls of
those departed from life rising up in the form of fiery
cables, which, bursting asunder, disclosed men and women
within them.* Some of these ascended immediately and with
astounding rapidity. Others, however, swayed about uncertainly,
now rising, now falling, in great confusion. Thespesius
recognizing some of these, approaches in order to speak with
them: the souls, however, pay no heed to him, but cling to
each other in pairs,† and thus linked they continue their
aimless flight, midst terrible lamentations.‡ Still
others were in the uppermost regions of the air, seemingly
happy, and keeping carefully aloof from the disorderly throng
below. By one of these Thespesius is told that he [Thespesius]
is not yet dead, but has come hither with the "intellectual
part of his soul," the dead casting no shadow, nor winking or
opening the eyes.§ Thus encouraged, Thespesius looks more
closely, and observes that some of the souls shine with a

*Cf. Brinton, p. 44 f. below.

†Cf. Apoc. of Peter, sect. 3: p. 63 below.

‡This is a most striking forerunner of Dante's "Eufemi inferi: 1," Inf. 7, l. 21 f. Cf. also visions of the Apoc. of Peter; Truorell.

§This test also occurs in Dante.

pure, unobscure light; others have coal-like spots upon them, whereas still others are entirely covered with them.* Those whose sins are light need undergo but a short punishment;† "but if the cure of impiety require a greater labor, the Deity delivers them to Justice [Dis].*† Put when Justice has given them over as altogether incurable, then Erinys [the Fury] takes them in hand; and after she has chased them and coursed them from one place to another,** flying, yet not knowing where to fly, for shelter or relief, plagued and tormented with a thousand miseries, she plunges them headlong into an invisible abyss, the hideousness of which no tongue can tell."†† After explaining to him the significance of the various colors in which the souls are clad,**† the spirit carries Theseus to a spacious place, in which was a vast, capricious chasm. Here Theseus is suddenly deserted by his guide,** and perceives other souls in the same condition as himself, who keep flying round and round the chasm like birds. Within the chasm was filled with flowers and fragrance, and the souls soon became dissolved in rapture, and gave themselves over to joy.††† Soon after, Theseus

 *Epoch: ^{Not} Flere; Monk of Bynsham, Thurcill. Cf. p. 57^f below.
 †Purgatory; of Christian accounts.
 ††Perte: la citta di Dite, Inf. VIII.
 **Alkeric, Perte, Monk of Bynsham. Cf. p. 85^f below.
 ††Thurcill, sect. 6: p. 186 below. Also Epoch, p. 41 above, note.
 †††St. Patrick's Purgatory, sect. 11: p. 171, 172 below.
 ††††Grinthela, p. 100 below; Tundale, sect. 5: p. 162 below.
 ††††† This recalls the earthly paradise of the Christian accounts.

is leu and to look upon the torments of the damned. He first sees his own father, terribly gashed and wounded, who confesses that he had poisoned some of his guests for their gold.* Some souls had their entrails torn out: others were flayed, while still others, linked together in groups of two's and three's, gnawed and devoured each other.† He next saw certain lakes,†† one of boiling gold, another of lead, exceedingly cold,** and a third of iron, which was very scaly and rugged.††† By the sides of these lakes stood certain demons, that with their instruments like smiths or founders,**† put in or drew out the souls of such as had transgressed through avarice etc. For the flame of the golden furnace having rendered these souls of a fiery and transparent color, they plunged them into a lake of lead; where after they were congealed and hardened into a substance like hail, they were then thrown into the lake of iron, where they became black and deformed; and being broken and crumbled by the roughness of the iron, changed their form: and being thus transformed they were again thrown

 *In the later visions, it is a common thing for the visionary to have an interview with some close relative in torment.

†Buddhist accounts; Alberic, Dante. Cf. p. 64 below.

††Cf. Apoc. of Peter, sect. 8; p. 67 below.

**Inoch, Buddhist hells and often. Cf. p. 19 above.

†††Inoch. LVII. 7.

*††Cf. Tundala, sect. 11; p. 187, 188 below. Thucyd., sect. 8, (d) p. 100 below.

into the lake of gold; in all these transmutations enduring most dreadful and horrid torments.* Those who suffered most were such for whose transgression their children or posterity suffered. These were constantly rebuked and reviled by the souls of their offspring.† The last things that he saw were the souls of such as were designed for a second life. These were bowed, bent, and transformed into all sorts of creatures by the force of tools and anvils, and the strength of workmen appointed for that purpose, that laid on without mercy, bruising the whole limbs of some, dis-jointing others and pounding some to powder," etc.*†

Thespesius shortly after returns to his body.

*This whole incident has a close ^{parallel} analogy in Tundale, sect. 4; p. 135 below.

†Cf. Apoc. of Peter, sect. 11; p. 70 below.

*†Cf. again Tundale.

One of the most interesting of the many recent discoveries, in Egypt, of manuscripts pertaining to the New Testament was that, in the spring of 1896, of a small roll containing fragments of the Book of Enoch, the Gospel of Peter, and the Apocalypse of Peter. The Gospel and the Enoch fragment are aside from our subject, but the Apocalypse is of vital importance in the study of visions.

Mr. W. R. James,* one of the first editors of the work, has, from external evidence, proved the Apocalypse to be a work of the latter part of the first century of our era. This makes it the earliest Christian vision which we possess--except, of course, that of St. John.

For a review of the earliest literary notices of the book, and for an estimate of its value as a theological document, the reader is referred to Mr. James' essay. The editor has also made a study of the work in its relation to

*The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter:
Two Lectures, by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., and Montague
Rhodes James, M.A. London, 1896.
†Ibid. p. 80 f.

a number of similar subsequent works, such as the Testament of our Lord [p. 54], the vision of Josephat [p. 57],* the vision of Saturnus [p. 60], the Sibylline Oracles, [p. 61], the vision of St. Paul, [p. 65], etc. In the following pages the work will be examined more fully in its relation to the remaining vision-literature, with a view to ascertaining just how far-reaching its influence was in this particular field. As the Apocalypse is short, I have decided to reproduce it in full, and to embody my notes in the form of a running commentary upon the sections. I shall refer only to the most prominent and representative visions: those, that is, to which most of the countless smaller works can be traced. They are: Thespisius, 1st century; St. Paul, 4th century;† Purseus, Driethelm, 7th century; Monk of Wenlock, 8th century; Wettin, St. Ansgar, Charles the Fat, 9th century; Alberic, Tundale, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Monk of Wynshar, 10th century; Thurocill, 15th century; Lazarus, 15th

*In the history of Parleam and Josephat: Poissonade: Anecd. dota Graeca. iv. pp. 280, 280.

†This vision, however, belongs in its more expanded form to the 3rd century.

century. Of these, all are Christian except Theoposits. Furseus, Brinthelm, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Tundale, Monk of Eynsham, and Thurcill belong to England or Ireland, although the last four were also well-known on the continent. St. Paul was familiar to Englishmen in several popular versions. Lazarus is a good representative of the latest visions, in most of which--as in this case--the pains of hell, usually eleven, sometimes nine* in number, have been displaced by the more specific torments for the seven deadly sins.

I shall employ Mr. James' division of the Apocalypse into sections. Section 1 does not concern us, but I adduce it for the sake of completeness.

1. Many of them will be false prophets, and will teach ways and various doctrines of perdition: and they will be sons of perdition. And then will God come into the faithful ones that are hungering and thirsting and suffering oppression, and proving their own souls in this life: and he will judge the sons of lawlessness.

2. And the Lord said furthermore "Let us go unto the mountain: and pray." And as we twelve disciples went with

*Of Cursor Mundi, ed. Morris, III, p. 1327.

Him, we besought Him that He would show us one of our righteous brethren that had departed from the world, that we might see of what form they were, and so take courage, and encourage ther also that should hear us.

This paragraph brings us at once into the atmosphere of the later visions. The GUIDE, so common a feature in subsequent accounts, is in this case Christ himself. This conception of a guide--now a guardian angel, again a purely arbitrary personage, is possibly of Oriental origin.*

The belief in a guardian angel, who watched each individual through life, was general during the Middle Ages.† The idea of the good and bad angel, who together watch over a mortal, may have developed out of this, or it may have been brought from Persia together with the bridge of judgment.

This paragraph also fixes the time of the action of the vision. It is the only account which we possess which falls within the life-time of Christ. Whether it was really written when it purports to have been we are of course

*Cf. p. 127 above. (*Egyptian judgment*)

†Cf. T. Wright: *St. Pat. Purg.&c.*, p. 87, note.

unable to decide. It is very unlikely that Peter himself was the writer. But it differs radically from the Pauline vision in point of face-evidence as to time. In the latter, though Paul himself is said to be the writer, the time of action is not within the life-time of Christ, as the appeal of Paul and Michael attests.

7. And as we were praying, there suddenly appeared two men standing before the Lord toward the East,* whom we could not look upon: for there came from their countenance a ray as of the sun and all their raiment was light, such as never eye of man beheld, nor mouth can describe, nor heart conceive the glory wherewith they were clad, and the beauty of their countenance.

"All their raiment was light." &c. Angels, and the blessed in general, are almost invariably represented as clad in garments of shining white. These betoken joy, so Gregory tells us.†

In the visions, the outward appearance of souls is

**Cf. Isoc., XXVII, 1. Also Driethelm, Work of Erasmus.

†Homily XXII: "in albis vestibus gaudium et solemnitas mentis ostenditur." Cf. Crist, 1. 448 f. Daniel, VII, 9.

is often taken for an index of the degree of virtue which they possess. Just as the virtuous and blessed are clad in garments of spotless white, so the damned are robed in darkness. [Cf. Sects. 6; 15; below]. In St. Paul we have the characteristic black-clothed damsels.* In Thurcill perfectly white souls are sent to heaven, spotted souls to purgatory,† while the black souls are sent to purgatory or to hell as the balance of judgment decrees. The same feature, it will be remembered, occurs in Thespesius.‡ In the voyage of Maelduin, and in similar works modelled upon it, the travellers find dark-robed men on the fifteenth island.

"Such as never eye beheld," etc. This is no doubt a paraphrase of II Cor. XII, 4: How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, etc. The thought recurs frequently in the visions, in connection

*Sect 9; p. 43 below.

†Spot and sin early became synonymous terms. Cf. A. S. wōrm; lat. maculare.

‡Cf. p. 44-50 above. Thespesius also differentiates souls by colors: p. 50 above. Also St. Patrick's Purgatory, sect. 11, p. 171 below.

The dialogue form between the visionary and his guide
has been employed by almost all subsequent recounters, in-
clusive of Dante.

5. And the Lord showed me a very great space outside
this world, shining excessively with light, and the air that
was there illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the
earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of
spices and fair-flowering plants, incorruptible and bear-
ing a blessed fruit: and so strong was the perfume that it
was borne even to us from thence. And the dwellers in that
place were clad in the raiment of the angels of light, and
their raiment was like their land: and angels ran about them
there. And the glory of the dwellers there was equal, and
with one voice they praised the Lord God, rejoicing in that
place. The Lord saith unto us: "This is the place of your
brethren, the righteous men."

We have here an orthodox, though very brief description
of the abode of the blessed--a place of purely sensual de-
lights. The model for all such descriptions was probably
the book of Enoch. The elaborate accounts of a happy other-
world which we find especially in the mythical voyages
constitute a different chapter of research.*

*For a complete study of the subject, cf. Nutt's essay, "The
Happy Other World" in Meyer & Nutt's ed. of the Celtic Voy-
age of Bran. Also A. Graf, "La Leggenda del Paradiso Terres-
tre," Torino, 1878. For a complete historical study of the Rand of
Coccyzus Legend of Ptolemy, Paul & Gruenir, *Reisung V.*

In the visions, the description of heaven became ever more and more subordinated to that of the torments of hell, until we often find accounts in which heaven is not mentioned at all.† This is very natural. The description of heaven did not allow as free play to the imaginative and inventive faculties as did that of hell, nor did it serve the end in view as well. The fear of future torment was ever more efficacious in restraining from sin than was the hope of future bliss. This bliss, as has been said, consisted in the minds of the visionaries of purely sensuous delights: limitless space, excessive light and fragrance, incorruptible flowers and fruits. The more exalted and spiritual enjoyments were generally not dwelt upon: the clergy probably realized that they would not appeal to the popular understanding.

A striking exception to this general rule is the vision of Adamnan, in which the description of heaven

 tre," Torino, 1878. For a complete historical study of the Land of Cockaigne legend, cf. Pöschel, *PO Beitr* V

†In the early centuries of our era, on the other hand, heaven often received the preference. Thus the well-known vision of St. Caude makes no mention of hell.

is very much fuller than in the general run of visions, being in close relation with the conceptions of a happy other world which we find in the voyages. In Adamnan's vision we are told of a "kingdom without pride, without haughtiness, without falsehood, without blasphemy, without fraud, without pretence, without reddening, without blushing, without disgrace, without deceit, without envy, without pride, without disease, without sickness, without poverty, without nakedness, without destruction, without extinction, without hail, without snow, without wind, without wet, without noise, without thunder, without darkness, without coldness;--a kingdom noble, admirable, delightful, with fruitfulness, with light, with odor of a plenteous earth, wherein is delight of every goodness."*

Compare with this, Bliccling Homily VIII,† where heaven is described as "the glorious life, wherein angels, and archangels, and patriarchs, and prophets, and all the sanctified abide in the presence of the Lord.

*Of. Meyer and Nutt, loc. cit. p. 208 f.
 †Ed. Morris, I, p. 108.

where is eternal joy without sadness, youth without age; where is no grief nor toil, nor any uneasiness, nor sorrow, nor weeping, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor ache, nor ill; where no man will meet his enemy, nor leave his friend, but there may he, who shall visit that place, dwell peacefully with angels in eternal joy before our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with God our Father, and with the Holy Ghost without end."

6. And I saw another place over against that other, very squalid, and it was a place of chastisement; and those that were being chastised, and the angels that were chastising, had their raiment dark, according to the atmosphere of the place.

We have here a comparatively definite mention of the position of hell, "over against that other." The relative positions of the Mahomedan abodes of joy and punishment are similar.* The belief that hell and purgatory were situated in the centre of the earth, though clearly implied in both the Old and the New Testaments, did not become general until considerably later. The

*Cf. p. 30 above.

Anglo-Saxons so conceived of it, as the vocabulary testi-
fies.*

The chastisers in this paragraph are called angels; in sect. 12 they are termed "evil spirits:" an identification, in the writer's mind, of the fallen angels as the instruments of divine justice, and as the enemies of God. Only in the later accounts are the evil spirits themselves made to undergo torment.

7. And there were some there hanging by their tongues, and these were they that blaspheme the way of righteousness: and there was beneath them fire flaming and tormenting them.

Suspension by various portions of the body according to the nature of the crime is a feature particularly of the visions of St. Paul and Alberic, and of St. Patrick's Purgatory. In the case of the first two, which seem to have been modelled directly upon the Petrine Apocalypse, [as will be shown more fully later], the sinful souls are suspended from the branches of burning [sword-leaved] trees.† I think it therefore safe

*cf. . 109 below.

†cf. also c. 24 above.

to conclude that our fragment is here somewhat corrupt, and that the burning trees--or some equivalent-- were originally a part of it. The statement as we have it in this paragraph is very abrupt, coming as it does immediately upon the general description of hell. Moreover, the writer says, "some were hanging by their tongues," from which it would seem that we must infer that others were hanging from other members--which is of course borne out by St. Paul's vision.* Hence it may be presumed that at least one paragraph has been lost between sections 6 and 7.

"There were they that blaspheme" etc. In the Apocalypse of Peter the principle of according punishments suitable to the crimes is rigidly observed. Blasphemers are suspended by their tongues; adulterous women are punished together with their partners in crime [9]; murderers are devoured by reptiles whilst their victims

look upon their agony [10]; evil-speakers and false-wit-

*The trees do not, to be sure, occur in the earliest Greek version of Paul, but spring up in the earliest Latin texts. †† Cf. also p. 44 above.

nesses gnaw their lips and tongues [17, 14] etc. Subsequent accounts become more and more lax in this respect, until finally almost any punishment is made to fit any crime. Dante, of course, is very careful in this particular. The Greek, and many of the Latin versions of the vision of St. Paul observe the rule, but in the popular accounts much freedom exists. Cf. for example the following from the Vernon MS.

...another derk place
 Moni men and wymmen ther amongus,
 That for-freten heore owne tongus:

 Thei usuden oour and usuri,
 Merciable weore thei nouht,
 Therefore hit schal be dere a-bouht.

Why usurers should be punished by having to gnaw their own tongues is not clear. In the Apocalypse, false-witnesses are very appropriately punished in a way similar to this.

When we come to the accounts of the 11th and 12th centuries, when visions were at the height of their glory, we find the utmost noncoralance observed in the pairing off of punishments and crimes. The vision of John

dile, the acme of popular visions, in which the most horrible torments are lovingly dwelt upon with the zest of an epicure in torture, offends most flagrantly in this particular.

g. And there was a certain lake full of flaming fire, wherein were certain men that pervert righteousness; and tormenting angels were set upon them.

The burning lake or river--corresponding in a general way to Acheron or Styx--is one of the commonest features of all, Oriental as well as Christian accounts of hell. We have encountered burning rivers in the Book of Enoch. The lakes are more often full of molten metal or sulphur than of fire, as here. Dante's lake of fire will at once suggest itself. A "burning lake" is also mentioned in Revelation. Representative visions in which burning lakes or rivers occur are Thespesius, St. Paul, Monk of Wenlock, Wettin, Charles the Fat, Alberic, Tundale, Monk of Evesham, St. Patrick's Purgatory, Thurcill and Sasarras. Dante of course has it. In a large number of these and other accounts the flood is spanned by the well-known

bridge,* which, strange to say, Dante has omitted, probably because it did not work well into his system.†

9. And there were also others, women, hung by their hair over that mire that bubbled up: and these were they that had adorned themselves for adultery: and the men that had been joined with them in the defilement of adultery were hanging by their feet, and had their heads in the mire: and all were saying, "We believed not that we should come into this place."

Finishing adulterous women together with their partners in crime is occasionally but not frequently met with in the later visions. In St. Paul, Vernon MS., l. 78, we have:

Byndeth her in knoccones, fornai
To brene lyk to licche,
Spous-breakers with lechours,
Rauisschers^{su} with rauisschers^{su}...

Douce MS. is a little closer, "bind ... cursid leuers with here cuncers." The thought is echoed by Welfric.† In Thorpe, adulterous men and women are among the per-

*Cf. ll. 29† above.

†Dante has several bridges, of course, but they are not a part of the system of torment.

*†Thorpe I, 527. Cf. also p. 126 below.

formers in the infernal theatre,* and in the vision of Nettin adulterous ecclesiastics are immersed into the fiery flood "ad loca genitalium," with their partners in crime opposite them. The vision of Alberic presents the closest parallel to the Apocalypse.†

10. And I saw the murderers and them that had conspired with them cast into a certain narrow place full of evil reptiles, and being smitten by those beasts, and wallowing there in that torment: and there were set upon them worms, as it were in clouds of darkness. And the souls of them that had been murdered were standing and looking upon the punishment of those murderers, and saying, "O God, righteous is thy judgment!"

Confronting sinners with the victims of their crimes is a feature of the Apocalypse of Peter [cf. next section]. It is not common in the visions, and we do not find it in St. Paul's. In the vision of Alberic, homicides are placed in a lake of blood, and the murderer has for three years to carry, attached to his neck, a demon in the form of his victim. It recalls

 *Sect. 3, c : c. 187 below.
 †cf. c. 50 below.

Dante's account.* We find something similar in the late oriental descriptions of hell.

Serpents and kindred animals as a mode of torment occur universally.

11. And hard by that place I saw another narrow place wherein the gore and the filth of those that were tormented ran down, and became as it were a lake there. And there sat women having the gore up to their throats, and over against them a multitude of children that were born out of due time sat crying; and there proceeded from them flames of fire, and smote the women upon the eyes. And these were they that had destroyed their children and caused abortion.

Different degrees of immersion in fire, ice or filth is a common feature, and is found especially in the visions of St. Paul, Wettin, Charles the Fat, Alberic, St. Patrick's Purgatory and Lazarus. In Alberic, souls are plunged into ice: compare Dante, Inferno XXXII, in which murderers are plunged into the frozen lake up to their throats.

*Inferno: XXXII.

Unbaptized children, even those who died the moment they were born [Tundale], are often made to undergo a certain amount of punishment. In the vision of Alberic, the first thing the visionary beholds is a large enclosure filled with very young children who had not been baptized.

The punishment for the crime of abortion is very much elaborated in the vision of St. Paul.*

19. And there were other men and women on fire up to their middle and cast into a dark place, and scourged by evil spirits and having their entrails devoured by worms that rested not: and these were they that persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.

The punishment here does not seem very appropriate to the crime. Immersion to the middle is most commonly the punishment of adulterers. Cf. St. Paul, Vernon 11. 1. 103 f:

And tho' that to the navel thou se
Spous-breakers and lechours thei be...

Cf. further note to sect. 9, above.

*Vernon, l. 1. 103 f. Sect. 9 ; p. 143 below.

17. And hard by them again were women and men gnawing their lips, and being tormented, and receiving red-hot iron upon their eyes: and these were they that had blasphemed and spoken evil of the way of righteousness.

18. And over against these were again other men and women gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths: and these were the false witnesses.

This incident occurs in just this form in the vision of St. Paul, Wernon Ms., l. 101 f:

Meni men and wymmen ther amorous,
That for-freten heore owne tongus...

though the punishment is not, as has been said, appropriate to the crime for which it is inflicted.

This is not a very striking feature, and therefore recurs only very seldom in later visions.

"Having flaming fire in their mouths" recalls the similar feature of the Buddhist system,* where the damned are tormented by the flame having entered into them by the nine opening of the body.

19. And in a certain other place were pebbles, sharper than swords or than any spit, red-hot, and

*cf. 4th Budd. Hell, p. 17 above.

women and men clad in filthy rags were rolling upon them in torment: and these were the wealthy that had trusted in their wealth, and had not had pity on orphans and widows, but had neglected the commandment of God.

This feature, with various modifications or elaborations is a common one throughout the visions. It is very possibly of Oriental origin. Cf. the Buddhist account,* for example, where the damned are tormented by being fixed on red-hot iron pins, fastened to a floor of the same temperature and metal.

The sharp pebbles also recur in various shapes all through the vision-literature. In the vision of Andala they are on the terraces of the bridge.† In that of Alberic,*† they appear as thorns.

The filthy rags recall the black-garmented maidens of St. Paul's vision.

"And had not pity upon orphans" etc. In the vision of Alberic,** women who had refused to foster little or-

*Cf. St. Budd. nell, p. 15 above.

†Sect. 9; page 156 below.

‡Page 12 below.

** " 30 "

plained children are suspended from trees, and their breasts are constantly sucked dry by serpents.

12. And in another great lake full of pitch and blood and boiling mire stood men and women up to their knees: and these were they that lent money and demanded interest on interest.

From this paragraph we gain stylistic evidence, so to say, of the early date of composition of the Apocalypse of Peter. It is the third time that the lake of boiling mire has been called into requisition. The medieval vision-writers would never have been guilty of such a procedure. Their difficulty lay not in the shortage of torments--they had a superabundance of these: their trouble consisted in the necessity for inventing a considerable number of crimes. Hence it often happens that the same crime is punished in a variety of ways.

In the vision of St. Paul, back-biters are immolated to their knees, whereas usurers, it will be remembered, gnawed their own tongues.

17. And there were other men and women being

hurlled down from a great cliff, and they reached the bottom and again were driven by those that were set upon them to climb up upon the cliff, and thence they were hurled down again, and they had no rest from this torment.

The cliff is probably of Oriental origin. Compare the Hindu Buddhist hell: They will be tumbled down headlong from a lofty burning mountain, etc.

Cliffs or mountains occur in several visions, notably those of the Monk of Werlok, Settin, Driethelm and Alberic. They are not mentioned in St. Paul's.

The last three sections of our fragment offer only very sporadic analogues to vision-literature. I add them for the sake of completeness.

17. And beside that cliff was a place full of much fire, and there stood men who had made for themselves images instead of God, with their own hands.

18. And beside them were other men and women, who had rods, smiting each other, and never resting from this manner of torment.

The infliction of torment by the souls upon each other is rarely met with in later accounts. It of

course at once recalls Dante, Inferno: canto vii. Murderers, as has been said, are often tormented by their victims; also unnatural mothers by their offspring.

80. And others again, near them, women and men, were burning, and turning themselves and being roasted: and these were they that had forsaken the way of God.

Tabulary of Principles Analogy.

The incidents adduced in the following sections of the Apocalypse of Peter are repeated, occasionally with slight variations in

1. Vision of St. Paul, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.
2. St. Patrick's Purgatory, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.
3. Vision of Alberic, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, [17].
4. Vision of Wettin, 8, 12, [17].
5. Vision of Charles the Fat, 8, 12.

It will be seen from this table that the principal incidents of the Apocalypse of Peter have been incorporated into the vision of St. Paul. Whether the additions in the Latin versions of the latter work originally existed in that part of the Petrine vision which is lost to us, or whether the writer of the Pauline vision added them on his own account, cannot of course be decided. Certain it is, I think, that the latter work was written upon the direct model of the earlier, and that these two oldest Christian visions are thus organically connected, and thus we have another

link of the composite chain of vision-development established.

The Apocalypse of Esdraas,* and that of the Virgin-- both of considerably later date than the vision of St. Paul--need be given only passing notice, since their influence on subsequent apocalyptic literature was probably very slight. They themselves seem to have been modelled on the visions of Peter and Paul,†

turning, therefore, at once to the medieval visions, to the XIII century, when they began to flourish in all their power, we find two works in particular which have a comparatively large number of direct points of affinity with the Patrine vision. These are St. Patrick's Purgatory and the vision of Alberic. The former need not be taken into consideration, since there can be no question of any immediate connection between it and Peter. The direct model for St. Patrick's Purgatory was pretty certainly some version of St. Paul's vision, and the points of resemblance which we find between it

*Tischendorf, Apocall. Apoc. 74-75.

†Cf. Mr. James' essay, loc. cit. p. 69.

and the Apocalypse of Peter are only such as occur also in that of St. Paul.

But with the vision of Alberic the case is different. The following is a brief abstract of this vision, already discussed in another connection.*

Toward the beginning of the XII century, in a castle called the castle of the Seven Brothers, Alberic, the son of the lord of the castle, remained nine entire days in a condition of unconsciousness. It was while in this state that, at the age of eight years, he had the following vision [which is related in the first person]:



"A bird of white plumage, like a dove, gently placed its beak into my mouth; I felt that he drew something thence, I knew not what. Then, seizing me by the hair, he raised me up into space. Soon the Apostle Peter appeared, accompanied by two angels, and they conducted me to the place where evil-doers undergo their punishments.

"I saw first a vast circle in which was a multitude of very young children, in the midst of burning riots. St. Peter told me it was here that those -----

* P. 3 f above.
† Cf. Ps. CXXIV, 7.

whom death had stricken before baptism, were purified. Then the apostle directed my attention to a terrible valley filled with innumerable mountains of ice, the summits of which the eye could scarcely see. In the ice were tormented many souls: some were in it up to their knees, others to their middles, and still others to their breasts, according to the gravity of their crimes. A few, plunged in head foremost, had only their legs protruding. St. Peter informed me that these were such as had committed rape, adultery or incest.

"We next passed into another valley, not less horrible, full of trees with sword-like branches,* from which were suspended women whose breasts were being constantly sucked dry by serpents. These were women who had refused to foster little orphaned children.

"I also saw in the same valley still other women suspended from trees by their hair, with flames beneath them; and these I was told were those who had indulged in unlawful loves.

"Further on there was a ladder of white-hot iron, of immense height, covered with spikes. Those who were forced to ascend it soon fell, and were engulfed in a vast lake of burning oil and resin.† Thus, the

*Cf. p. 24 above.

†This incident would seem to be a variation upon the bridge-torture.

apostle told me, were punished those who had not restrained their fleshly appetites on Sundays, holy days and fast days; for it is absolutely necessary to deny oneself all carnal pleasures on these days, and to consecrate them to works of charity.

"I was then conducted to a great lake, filled, as it seemed to me, with blood; but my guide told me it was fire, into which homicides and tyrants were plunged. For three years the murderer was forced to carry upon his neck a demon in the form of his victim, after which he was hurled into the lake.

"We finally arrived at the very mouth of the infernal chasm, resembling a vast pit. The eye could not pierce the darkness; a terrible odor and frightful lamentations proceeded from it. At the entrance was chained an enormous and hideous two-headed serpent; before one of its mouths was an infinite multitude of souls, whom the monster inhaled like flies, discharging them again from the other mouth, in the form of burning embers.

"I next saw a lake of liquid metal, from which issued jets of flame, which consumed the sacrilegious, and such as had practised simony.

"The apostle next conducted me to a sea of sulphurous fire, in which a multitude of souls were wallowing, tormented by serpents with which demons struck their faces. Incessant were false-witnesses.

"Through the middle of the plain where I now found myself, flowed a burning river; across it was thrown a bridge of iron, very broad at first, but as narrow as a simple thread toward the centre. The less sinful a soul, the greater the rapidity with which it crossed the bridge. The more sinful ones, upon reaching the centre, fell into the boiling flood below; demons drew them out and replaced them upon the bridge, whence they again fell, and so on until purged of their crimes, when they could cross the bridge with ease. This, the apostle told me, was the Bridge of Purgatory.

"Continuing upon our way, we arrived at a valley which, my guide informed me, it required three days and nights to traverse. It was so strewn with thorns and obstructions that the foot left no mark upon it. I saw a demon mounted upon an immense dragon, and brandishing a hideous serpent in his hand. As soon as a soul arrived in this valley, the demon pursued it across the country, continually scourging it with the serpent. When this punishment had continued until the soul was cleansed of its crimes by grief, it then acquired the airiness necessary to permit it to escape from the pursuit of the monster. The souls then entered a flourishing country, exhaling the sweetest perfumes, where its limbs, torn by the thorns, are healed of their wounds.

"The souls of the just who dwell here, enjoying blessed repose, welcome the new arrival, and congratu-

late him upon having escaped the common enemy."

Then follows an orthodox description of the sensuous delights of the happy other-world, in this--as in most visions--very brief. In the centre is situated paradise, which these happy souls will enter at the last judgment.

"St. Peter," says Alberic, in conclusion, "showed me a great many other marvellous things, and gave me useful advice, which he ordered me to communicate to men upon my return to earth."

This vision is remarkable in several respects. In the first place, the visionary is a child of eight years. [Cf. also the vision of William]. This was probably done advisedly by the monk or monks who wrote and spread this vision, and who realized that a vision of this nature, vouchsafed an unsophisticated child, would appear all the more marvellous and convincing to the credulous public.

The many striking analogs to Dante's poem are evident, and some of them have already been pointed out by Delepierre.* They are briefly the following:

AL-1-10: "in the ice were plunged many souls..." f. 10.

*Liv. des Vis. II, p. 11 f.

plunged in head foremost, had only their legs protruding."

DANTE, Inf. XIX, 15 f:

Io vidi per le coste e per lo fondo
Piena la pietra livida di fori
D'un largo tutti, e ciascuno era tondo.

.....

Fuor della bocca a ciascun soperchiava
D'un peccator li piedi, e delle gambe
Infino al grosso: e l'altro dentro stava.

ALBERTI: "I was then conducted to a great lake of blood" etc.

DANTE, Inf.

Ma ficcia gli occhi a valle, che s'approcia
La riviera dal sangue, in la qual bolle
Qual che per violenza in altrui nocchia.

Inf. also Inf. XXX, 31 f. already printed out, in which
the punishment of Ugolino's murderer is recorded.

ALBERTI: "At the entrance was obtained an enormous and hideous
two-headed serpent, inhaling souls like flies."

DANTE: "Carcerato devours a sinful soul" "a guisa di moccia-
la." Cf. also vision of Tundale, sect. 17, below.

ALBERTI: "A lake of liquid metal: simony".

DANTE, Inf. XIX, 15 f:

O Signor Mago, o misteri devoti,
Che lo cose di Dio, che di portate
Dicono essere spose, voi rapaci

per oro a par argento adulterate...

ALBERIC: "Demon mounted upon a dragon, pursuing souls, and
lashing them with serpents."

DANTE, Inf., XXV, 16 f:

Quel si fuggi che non parlo piu verbo;
Ed io vidi un Centauro pien di rabbia
Venir chiamando: "Ov' e, ov' e l'acerbo?"
"Maremma non cred' io che tante n'abbia
Quante biscie egli avea su per la groppa,
Infin dove comincia nostra labbia.
Sopra le spelle dietro dalla coppa,
Con l'ale aperte gli giacea un draco;
E quello affoca qualunque s'intoppa.

This is certainly a very striking parallel. An incident somewhat similar to this we found in the vision of Inesperis, p. 10 above. Cf. also the vision of the Monk of Lyngnam, sect. 10, below. The following episode, similar to the above in that the souls pursue each other, occurs in the Old French poem: *Floire et Blancheflor:**

Le cu est Bido et Michis
Qui par amor firent ois,
Qui par infer vont deul faisant

*Floire et Blancheflor, p. 11. The feature is omitted in the Middle English version of the poem.

Et lor dras en dolor querant:
Ces les quièrent et querront
Toujours, ne je n'es troveront, etc.

Further parallels in Old French romances might be cited.

Other general similarities in Dante's work to the vision of Alberic are self-evident.

The most striking analogs in Alberic to visions other than those of Peter and Paul are, in addition to such as have already been instanced, the following:

1. Alberic has THREE guides, Peter and two angels.

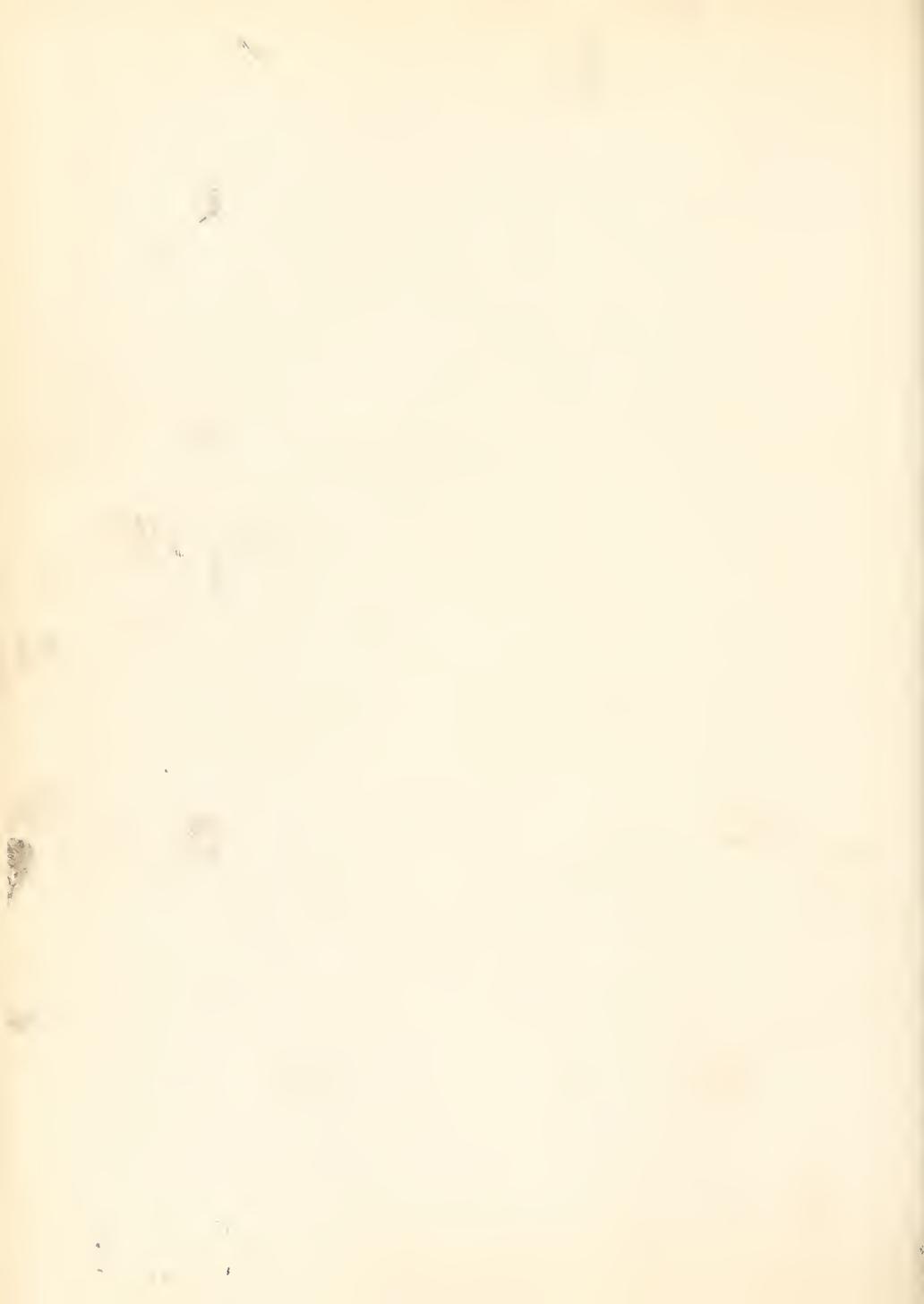
This is unusual, and recalls the vision of Furzeus, who is raised aloft by two angels, preceded by a third. [cf. p. 95 below].

2. Peter is very rarely the guide. In the vision of Alagar, Peter and John officiate.

3. The burning ladder occurs in a sermon of Gregory VII.

4. Lashing with serpents occurs in several accounts.

the visions of
A more detailed comparison between Peter, Paul and Alberic is now in order. The features common to all three are:



1. Different degrees of immersion according to the nature of the crime.

a. Suspension from various portions of the body.

b. The burning lake.

c. The flood with serpents.

The incidents common to Paul and Alberic, as against Peter, are:

1. The burning trees.*

c. The pits with terrible stench.

d. The bridge.*

The features common to Peter and Alberic, as against Paul, are:

1. The enclosure filled with young children.

c. Adulterous women hung up by their hair.

d. Lake of BLOOD.

It is hardly possible that the vision of Alberic was modelled upon that of Paul. Too many of the most striking features of the latter are omitted in the later work: the burning castles

*Neither of these features are found in the Greek version of St. Paul's vision.

dragon, the seven palms, the burning wheel, the black-clad maidens. Alberic, it will be seen from the above, has but seven points in common with Paul, while it has just as many equally striking ones in common with the Petrine vision, which is only a fragment. Moreover, Peter is expressly mentioned as the guide in Alberic, showing that the writer had that saint's vision in mind when he wrote. Paul is not mentioned, nor John, nor the archangel Michael: if they were, the mention of Peter would have no special significance, for we should then merely have a catalogue of the personages most closely associated, in the minds of men, with the other world. Such catalogues do, as a matter of fact, often occur. But in the vision of Alberic, St. Peter has been selected in preference to any other more famous other-world visitor.

Then, too, it must be borne in mind that the short Apocalypse of Peter which we possess may be but a small and corrupt fragment of the whole work, and this easily explains away the points which Paul and Alberic have in common as against Peter. But it is just as reasonable to

suppose that these features, being widely current in late medieval times, and common property of all vision-writers, were appropriated, quite independently of one another, by the late reworkers of the Pauline vision, and the composers of that of Alberic. The only feature which offers any difficulties from this point of view is that of the burning trees; and these, as I have already pointed out, we have every reason to believe occurred in the original version of the Apocalypse of Peter.

It seems to me necessary, therefore, to suppose that the Petrine vision was known, as such, as late as the ^{twelfth} century. No doubt it had received many additions and modifications; possibly a unique manuscript was possessed by the monks of Mt. Cassin, who wrote up the vision of Alberic. Possibly there are other manuscripts of the Apocalypse still hidden away in the recesses of some cloister library. In any case, it seems evident that the vision of Alberic was modelled directly upon it--either immediately from a manuscript, or through the medium of some now forgotten church father.

In this way we again connect the Divine Commedia with the earliest Christian vision of a popular nature which we possess. The vision of Alberic was one of the best-known and most popular accounts of the time, and its influence, together with that of the vision of St. Paul, is traceable in many of the latest visions. As an example, the ^{fifteenth} ~~XV~~ century vision of Lazarus, already referred to, will serve. Here proud men are attached to wheels with hooks, whirling incessantly: the wheel of St. Paul's vision. Envious men are placed to the navel in a flood frozen as ice--immediately copied from the vision of Alberic. Angry men are placed on butcher's tables and slaughtered; slothful souls are in a dark hall full of serpents; the covetous are placed in kettles of boiling lead and oil; gluttons in a stinking, venomous, toad-filled flood, the waters of which they are forced to drink; the incontinent are punished in a field full of deep pits, with fire and sulphur: almost all of which features recall the visions of St. Paul or Alberic.

After the XIII century, the influence of Dante's

work must, of course, be taken into consideration.

II. The Visions in Anglo-Saxon Literature

PART II.

1. VISIONS RECOUNTED BY BEDE.

The authority which Bede enjoyed in England throughout the Middle Ages, and the unquestioning and reverent credulity which was accorded all his utterances, make his work a most important factor in a study like the present. It was through the medium of Bede's writings that some of the most important patristic doctrines found their way into England. In particular, Bede was the first to promulgate a definite doctrine of purgatory on English soil. In short, he was for England much what Gregory the Great had been for continental Europe. We know how widely-spread the visions which Gregory tells of became on the continent; and it will be seen that those which Bede recounts had an even greater influence upon subsequent vision-literature in England. Whence Bede himself derived the material for his accounts is another, and a

quite unanswerable question. The vision of Furseus is easily accounted for. This holy man spent the greater part of his early life in France, and while there no doubt became imbued with the orthodox patristic doctrines and conceptions. But this vision is not original with Ede. Neither, to be sure, is that of Drihthelm, if we are to accredit Ede's own statements; but Drihthelm's vision is related with all the careful regard for detail which is characteristic of the continental visions, and it is therefore highly probable that the historian elaborated the story, as it was told him, from his own readings. The question is not an important one. The abstract of the Vision of Drihthelm given below will show very plainly that but very few, if any, of its features originated in England.

The Vision of Furseus(1) is about the earliest English vision which we possess, and it is principally in this

(1) Hist. Eccl. III. Aelfric, Thorpe, D For complete life of Furseus cf. Acta Sanct. Eolland. 16 January, p. 413 f. Cap. I and II recount early life in France; Cap. III sojourn in England; Cap. IV and V return to, and death in, France; Cap. VI, miracles after death; epilogue, and life as related by Ede.

fact that its interest and importance for our study lies. Its influence on later visions was slight, as its details are not particularly striking.

Furseus, Bede tells us, came out of Ireland into the province of the East Saxons during the reign of Sigebert. He was renowned both for his words and for his actions, and "remarkable for singular virtues, being desirous to live a stranger for our Lord, whenever an opportunity should offer." On coming into England, he was honorably received, and succeeded in converting many unbelievers to Christ. Being encouraged in a vision to continue the work he had undertaken, he built a monastery, which was afterwards much embellished by King Anna and his nobles.

Furseus was of "noble Scottish blood,"(1) but much more noble in mind than in birth, having from his earliest years particularly applied himself to reading sacred books, and following monastic discipline.

One day he fell into a trance at his monastery,

(1) "De genere Scottorum;" i. e. Irish.

and leaving his body from the evening till the cock crew, (1) he was found worthy to behold the choirs of angels, and to hear the praises which are sung in heaven.

Three days later he had another vision, not only of the greater joys of heaven, but also of the state of sinful souls. He was guided by three angels, (2) one of whom preceded, while the other two defended him from the perils of the way. He was attacked by evil spirits, who were driven away by the angels. (3) The devils advanced as arguments against him all his deeds, superfluous words, and even thoughts (4), but were answered and defeated by the angels (5). He was next lifted on high, and being told to look back, beheld a dark valley beneath him, in which were four fires not far distant from each other. These fires were respectively falsehood, covetousness, discord, and iniquity, and they will kindle and consume the world. These fires, increasing by degrees,

(1) The time of duration of visions varies greatly. Three days is the favorite period.

(2) Cf. vision of Alberic, p. 88 above. 15

(3) Cf. Tundale, Dante. (4) Cf. p. 88, above.

(5) Perhaps we have here an early intimation of the belief, common in the Middle Ages, that an individual's good and evil angels contend for his soul after death.

extended so as to meet one another, and, being joined, became one immense flame. This, the angel Tells Furseus, "tries every man according to the merits of his works; for every man's concupiscence shall burn in the fire; for as every one burns in the body through unlawful pleasure, so when discharged of the body, he shall burn in the punishment which he has deserved."⁽¹⁾

The guiding angel then divided the flame, and they passed through. Furseus saw devils flying through the fire. He was vouchsafed a more extended view of the heavenly troops, after which they retraced their steps, the angel again dividing the flame. But this time Furseus does not escape unscathed, for the demons seizing one whom they were tormenting in the flame, threw him at Furseus, and, touching his shoulder and arm, burned them. From this man Furseus had received a garment when he died. Hereupon follows a lively dispute between the good and evil spirits as to the extent of Furseus' guilt, incurred by this act. The good angels are of course victorious. After this Furseus returned to his body, and it was said that

(1) This is evidently the purgatorial fire of the judgment day which we find in the Anglo-Saxon poets.

when relating these visions, though it was winter weather and a hard frost, and he was sitting in a thin garment, yet he sweated as if it had been in the greatest heat of summer.

This vision lacks entirely the dominant characteristics of the large majority of similar works. The vision of heaven is fairly well developed, but there is practically no vision whatever of hell. It is rather a forecast, bordering upon the allegorical, of the judgment day. Two points, however, we gain by it for England: the "trance form," that is, falling sick and remaining unconscious for a given length of time; and the guide.

The Vision of Drinthelm is of greater importance to our study, since it possesses all the essentials of a late mediæval work. Many features of the subsequent English and Irish visions can be traced back to it (1), and it may therefore be considered the bond which linked, perhaps more than any other single work--with the possible exception of St. Paul's

(1) In the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, for example, we seem to have direct borrowing from Drinthelm.

vision--the continental stories with those of England. It is furthermore particularly interesting in that it makes specific mention of purgatory as a place of probation, as distinguished from hell whence there is no release. Nowhere else throughout Anglo-Saxon literature, outside of Bede, is this doctrine advanced. The closest approach to it is the purgatorial fire of the judgment day--a conception derived immediately from the Bible.

The following is a brief abstract of the vision of Drihtnehlhelm. Analogies to earlier and later works will be indicated in the foot-notes, showing, wherever it is possible to do so, the ultimate source of the incidents, and the subsequent use made of them. The resemblances to the Book of Enoch and to the Vision of Thespesius are especially significant.

(When the origin and history of a feature has already been traced elsewhere, reference will merely be made to the passage in which the point was first treated).

~~The Vision of Drihtnehlhelm.~~

When his soul left his body, Drihtnehlhelm was led by

his guide (1) toward the north-east (2). This guide had a shining countenance and a bright garment (3). They first came to a valley of great breadth and depth (4), and of infinite length (5); on the left it was full of dreadful flames; on the right, violent hail, wind and snow held sway. The souls, seeking relief alternately from the one or the other torment, constantly oscillated between them (6). But this was not hell (7).

As they proceeded, the place suddenly became dark, and finally the obscurity became so dense that Drihthelm could distinguish nothing but the shape of his guide's garment (8). "As we went on through the shades of night, on a sudden there appeared before us frequent globes of black flames (9), rising as it were out of a great pit, and falling back again into the

(1) Cf. Apoc. of Peter, 2; ~~p. 58~~, above.
 (2) Cf. Enoch XXVII: p. 42, above. Also Apoc. of Pet. 3, p. 57
 (3) Cf. Apoc. of Peter, 3; p. 57 above.
 (4) Cf. Enoch LIII, 1; p. 43, above. Throughout vision-lit^{erature}. Cf. especially Monk of Eynsham, 5.
 (5) Concerning size of hell, etc., cf. p. 41, note.
 (6) Cf. p. 19 above. Also Tundale, 5.
 (7) Paul's and Tundale's guides constantly tell them that worse things are still to come.
 (8) Cf. Tundale, 4. M. Fat. Purg. 3.
 (9) Anglo-Saxon hell, p. 113 below.

same." Drihthelm observes that the flames are full of souls (1); a terrible stench proceeds from the flames.

Here his guide suddenly leaves him (2), and Drihthelm hears behind him the noise of mingled lamentations and laughter, the latter proceeding from demons, the former from a monk, a layman, and a woman, who are being hurled into the pit. In the meantime some of the demons--with glaring eyes, and vomiting stinking fire from their mouths and nostrils--attack Drihthelm, and threaten to lay hold on him with burning tongs. While thus perilously situated, he sees a bright star approaching, which proves to be his guide, who puts the demons to flight.(3)

Going to the south-east, Drihthelm is led out of hell to the abodes of the blessed.

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Further borrowings from Drihthelm in the later English visions will be indicated in the special treatment of those works.

(1) Cf. Thespesius, p. 49 above.

(2) Ibid. p. 50. Also Tundale.

(3) Tundale,^{St. 3.} 3.

The vision of Drintheim is related in Book V, Chapter 12 of the Ecclesiastical History. Bede adduces two other short visions in the same work, but they are of a very general character and need not, therefore, be considered here. Cf.

(Eccl. Hist.) V, 14; V, 13.

2. THE ANGLO-SAXON HELL.

a) *The Poets.*

The Anglo-Saxon poets, especially Cynewulf and his school, have given us in scattered passages throughout their works, brief descriptions of hell as they conceived it; and by a collation of these we are enabled to obtain a fairly satisfactory basis for comparison with the conceptions of the vision-writers. That there is a close connection between the two branches there can, I think, be no doubt.

Waller Deering, in his dissertation (1), makes a brief study of the descriptions of hell found in the works of the Anglo-Saxon poets, and from them attempts to arrive at independent results for Anglo-Saxon. Regarding the sources of these conceptions he says, p. 57: "In no feature of our subject have we found such a mixture of different and contradictory conceptions. But strange as these may seem at first

(1) The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day. Halle, 1890.

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 very different elements, each with strong influence on the whole, these contradictions appear quite natural. Some of the features involved seem taken directly from the Bible, though perhaps generally indirectly, through Christian tradition..... 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.

Just what Deering means by "Christian tradition" in this connection is not clear. The Bible was a living, present thing among the clergy: every verse and thought of it was carefully analyzed and commented upon. We cannot speak of tradition under such circumstances.

No 8) Other of these conceptions, however, continues Deering, "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 Caedmon's *wite hus, deop dreana leas, sinnihte beseald*, but differing widely from the last in that it, like Hellia and Niflheimr, was not a place of punishment, but only the realm of the dead, of all who had fallen in battle, like Hades.

"Quite different now, in this respect, was Nastrond, which Kemble (1) 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; Nastrond was what we call hell.'

"In the course of time these conceptions of Hel and Nastrond grew closer together, and finally the two were no longer separate."

This fusion Deering thinks accounts, for example, for the paradoxical presence of both fire and extreme cold in the Anglo-Saxon hell: the latter being the old mythological element, the former the new Christian element.

 (1) Saxons in England, I, p. 395.

"To these fundamental outlines now," he continues, "were added numerous details--the shadowy forms in these vague pictures were touched up with glaring colors. In the numerous 'visions' of those said to have died and risen again, hell's horrors are portrayed with appalling vividness."

A more careful study of the visions and their development before Gregory and Eede would, I believe, have caused Deering to lay less stress upon the influence of Germanic mythology on the Anglo-Saxon hell. Moreover, it is incorrect to speak of the visionaries as having "died and risen again."

It would, of course, be folly to deny that the traditions of Germanic mythology lived on after the introduction of Christianity. It is indeed most probable that the general picture which the Anglo-Saxon poets had in mind when they wrote of hell was that of the traditional cold, wind-swept place which their fathers had conceived. Many of the general terms used to designate the abode of the dead indubitably point to this. But the detail, the specific attributes

ascribed by the poets to their hell must have had a different model.

Deering closes his treatment with the remark, p. 60, "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."

This last remark from a student of Anglo-Saxon borders upon philological heresy. No one will deny for a moment that the Anglo-Saxon imagination was most fertile, and that other-world descriptions, which had no basis whatsoever in fact, would allow the poet the broadest possible scope in the exercise of this faculty. The Anglo-Saxon poet loves to expand his theme to its utmost limits; to change the mere black and white of his copy to a many-colored, flowery word-painting. Cynewulf's genius, in particular, was distinctly lyrical in its nature, and rapid and sustained action is foreign to his work. He never invents a situation or a circum-

stance, but having found it in his model, he places it in every conceivable light, and with it as a cornerstone, builds up upon it a structure of poetry all his own. And what is true of Cynewulf is equally true in a greater or less degree of all Anglo-Saxon poetry. Even Beowulf, an epic, and from its very nature a poem of incident and action, frequently stops in its never very wild career to describe in characteristic compounds and collocations the beauties of some natural feature, of some cave or lake, some hall or hero. After which the unwilling story is again resumed.

I recall this well-known feature of Anglo-Saxon poetical style in this connection because it goes to prove that the Anglo-Saxon poet, though he might elaborate, would never *invent* a situation or torment for his hero. Hence, since Germanic mythology furnished merely the most general outlines of his conception, he must have found the detail in Christian accounts. The religious poets were always-- we may now pretty certainly assume--monks and scholars, and Latin, to say nothing of Greek, learning was universal

among them. Cynewulf, at all events, was well acquainted with Gregory, Augustine, Bede, and others of the church fathers, whose works were usually alive with those orthodox continental accounts of hell and purgatory whose growth, as far as visions are concerned, has already been traced. The very fact that so much of the late Anglo-Saxon poetry--and prose, for that matter--deals specifically with subjects connected with the final doom and its results, goes to show that the epidemic of terror which, under the skillful management of the clergy, had already begun its work on the continent, had made itself felt to some degree in England. Bede, a disciple in a way of Gregory, was widely read, and was, as has been said, chiefly responsible for the promulgation of the doctrine of purgatory in England: a doctrine which was probably well established when Cynewulf wrote. Homilists and preachers were no doubt very active in publishing, with original additions, the accounts of the other world which they found in books; and the visions, especially those recounted by Gregory and Bede, were powerful tools ready to their hands.

The following comparison of the hell of the Anglo-Saxon poets--in respect of detail--with the orthodox patristic accounts will speak for itself. For the illustrative passages I am in the main indebted to Deering's compilation, which I have taken occasion here and there to augment.

(Print numerals Roman)

x

Hell is represented as a deep abyss or gulf, *grund*, *hellegrund*, *scraef*, *witescraef*, *dael*, etc., which conception may have been derived either from Scriptures or from mythology. Hell is also termed *mcrdorhof*, *El. 130x*; *moðorhus*, *Cr. 1625*; *deaðeele*, *Cr. 1587*; *wyrmele*, *Jud. 119*, etc., the figure being that of an earthly prison--a kind of word-metaphor which we should naturally expect from a poet who compares Christ on his heavenly throne to the ring-giver in the mead-hall.

The situation of hell is under the earth. This is evident from the use of such terms as *grund*, *scraef*, *dael*, etc. But compare particularly Rid. XLI, 40 f:

eac is under eorþan eal sceawige
wom wraþscrafu wraþra gaesta.

These are all instances of Anglo-Saxon expansion, and we

need not seek their genesis elsewhere than in the poets' brain.

The great spaciousness of hell is often dwelt upon. Thus it is *grundleas*, Cr. 1546; *sidan sele*, CS. 151, while CS, 721 represents it as 100,000 miles in extent from top to bottom. (1)

In strange contrast to this, thinks Deering, "is the idea of limitation, narrowness and confinement brought out in terms like in *fān engan ham*, El. 920; *aenga stede*, Gen. 356; *ufan hit is enge*, Ei. D. D. 22; *paes engestan eðel-rices*, SS, 215."

But it is not strange, inasmuch as the terms of spaciousness are to be interpreted literally, whereas those of narrowness permit of no other than a figurative interpretation. The word *enge*, the one invariably employed in the

(1) Cf. *Enoch*, XXI, 4; p. ~~23~~²³, ^{love,} note.

I have employed Deering's abbreviations throughout this section. CS, (*Christ und Satan*), so called by Grein, is the Anglo-Saxon poem on the harrowing of hell *etc.* Cf. Grein-Wuelker, II, 542 f. *Bi Domes Daege*, and *Ee Domes Daege*, are two distinct poems on the judgement day. Cf. Gr.-Wuelk. II, 251; III, 171. Another poem on the harrowing of hell will be found in Gr.-Wuelk. III, 175. SS, is the poem *Salomon und Saturn*. The other abbreviations are self-explanatory.

cases under consideration, is more frequently used in its metaphorical than in its literal sense. Cf. Elene, 1260,

nearusorge dreaht,
enge rune...

where both *nearu* and *enge* are used in the sense of oppressive. Or it may mean cruel, painful, as in Phoenix, 52, *enga deað*. The same thing often applies to the word *cald*, in such collocations as *caldan clommu*, Cr. 1629, where it probably means simply cheerless, hopeless, with no reference at all to temperature. This will explain away a part of the second anomaly which Deering finds in the Anglo-Saxon descriptions of hell, namely the presence of both heat and cold among the torments. "Thus hell is not only *þæt hate dæd*, Cr. 1542, *hate scræf*, CS, 419, but also *þonne caldan grund*, CS. 637, where men are bound down in cold fetters, *caldan clommu*, Cr. 1629, as well as in fiery bonds". (1) This, as was said above, Deering has explained by supposing the mythological and Christian ideas of hell to have been present together in the poet's mind.

(1) P. 51, above.

counts. Deering quotes the following passage from Gen^{ca} 318 f:

paer habbað heo on efen ungemet lange
ealra feonda gehwile fyr edneowe:
ponne cymð on uhtan easterne wind,
forst fyrnum cald, symble fy oppe gar.

There are but few--very few--passages of this kind in the Caedmonic poems, for the Christian conceptions had not yet gained wide currency in England when they were written. The passage just quoted is a part of the interpolation from the Old Saxon Genesis, and may therefore be assigned a considerably later date than the body of the poem. It would be another proof, if such were now needed, of the correctness of Sievers' theory concerning Genesis E.

The fact of the flame of hell's fire giving no light--Deering's third paradox--is constantly emphasized, and *swart* is a favorite epithet for it.¹ Aelfric expresses this belief most clearly. "The miserable guilty ones," he says, "shall suffer torment in everlasting fire, and yet that swart fire shall give them no light." (2) And again, "Verily, the hellish fire has unspeakable heat and no light,

is thus referred to

fire comes in the interpolator's portion of Genesis 312, 313, 524, 761, 792. For note on swart, see W. E. Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," Baltic Mod Lang. Ass. N.S. VII, 2.

(2) Thorpe, I, 138.

but burns eternally in swart darkness."(1)

In this conception we very probably have a reminiscence of the classical "lux atra."

Filth and stench, invariable attributes of the patristic hell and purgatory, are also met with in the Anglo-Saxon poets. Thus *Be D. D.* 205, *lig and cyle and laðlic ful.*

Stench in *Be D. D.* 207 f:

by mid nosan ne magon naht geswaeccan
butan instences ormaetnesse.

In St. Paul's vision, and in many other accounts, the torment of stench is given a most prominent position.

The loathsome flood or river, so conspicuous a feature in almost all detailed early Christian accounts of hell, is only hinted at by the Anglo-Saxon poets. *SS* 929 we have *waeter insende*, a torment of the fallen angels.

But the monstrous serpents and dragons with which the imaginations of the visionaries always peopled these horrible bodies of water, are constantly introduced by the Anglo-Saxon poets. *SS* 941 f: *atol deor monig irenum hornum,*

(1)Thorpe, I, 531.

with which compare St. Paul, Vernon MS., l. 135 f:

Brennyng dragouns and serpentis i-fere
 Honginge aboute heor nekkes were,
 Gnawing hem to don hem schom,
 To tere the flesh from the bon;
 And ther weore foure angels to telle
 That weren of the hous of helle,
 Brennyng hornes hadde thei on hed,
 Thei hem turmented....

SS 943 f. we have *blodige earnas and blace naeppran.*

Whence the Anglo-Saxon poet derived the conception of "bloody eagles" and just what function they were supposed to fulfill in the system of hell-torment, is something of a mystery. Possibly the poet misread his Latin original, if he had one; more probably he had in mind some mythological story, perhaps the eagle of Prometheus.

In *Cr.* 1548 we have

wrathum wyrnum and mid wita fela
 frecnum feorhgomum folcum scende .

In *Jud.* 119 hell is termed *wyrm sele*

The fire-breathing dragons which guard the entrance to hell,

CS 98 f.

ece aet helle duru dracan eardiga^X
 hate on hrepre

are certainly a reminiscence of the Cerberus myth or its

concomitants, with perhaps an admixture of the Germanic dragons.

The torments of hunger and thirst, lack of sleep, toil, weariness, sickness, disease, old age etc. ~~simply~~ constitute a catalogue of the ills which mankind is heir to, and would naturally be adduced in any list of discomforts. They are as Deering correctly says (p.55), directly contrasted with the corresponding joys of heaven, Crist 1658 f., Be Domes Daege, 255 f., Phoenix, 611 f. etc. Compare also the passage already quoted in another connection, from the Vision of Adamnan. (P. 62, above).

The torments of the mind which the damned have to undergo are also particularly emphasized by the Anglo-Saxon poets, and we have in them another feature borrowed directly from the patristic accounts. We find, too, the biblical weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth, heof, SS 935, wop, SS 934, grisbitung, Be D.D 226, toþa geheaw, CS 339, etc. See especially the homilies in this connection.

Exclusion from the sight of God is another feature of a distinctly Christian nature. Cf. Cr. 1537 f. nales dryhtnes gemyud siððan gesecað. El. 1301 f., etc.

One of the most striking torments of this nature Deering seems to have overlooked: namely, that the damned will be forced to look upon the bliss of the blessed. This is a feature but rarely met with in the visions; but it is characteristic of many oriental accounts, especially the Mahomedan.

Cf. Crist, 1284 f.

þonne bið þæt þridde þearfendum sorg
 cwipende cearo, þæt hy on þa claenan seoð,
 hu hi fore goddaedum glade blissiað,
 þa hi unsaelge aer forhogdun
 to donne, þonne him dagas laestun,
 and be hyra weorcum wepende sar,
 þæt hi aer freolice fremedon unriht.
 Geseoð hi þa betran blaede scinan:
 ne bið him hyra yrmðu an to wite,
 ac þara oþerra ead to sorgum,
 paes þe hy swa faegre gefean on fyrndagum
 and swa aenlice anforletun
 þurh leaslice lices wynne,
 earges flaeschoman idelne lust.

The everlastingness of hell-torment is finely dwelt upon
 in Crist 1541 f:

þæt is ece cwealm!
 Ne maeg þæt hate dæl of heoloðcynne
 in sinnehte synne forbaernan
 to widan feore wom of þaere sawle,
 ac þær se deopa seað dreorge fedeð,
 grundleas gieme gaesta on þeostre,
 aeleð hy mid þy ealdan lige and mid þy egsan forste,
 wrapum wyrnum and mid wita fela
 frecnum feorhgomum folcum scendeð.

Cf. also Judith, 117 f:

Ne þearf he hopian no
 þystrum forþylmed, þæt he ðonan mote
 of þam wyrmsele, ac þær wunian sceal
 awa to aldre butan ende forð
 in ðam heolstran ham, hyhtwynna leas.

By summarizing these scattered references to the fate of the sinful soul after death, we are enabled to arrive at a fairly accurate statement of the Anglo-Saxon poets' conception of hell. Hell is a deep pit under the earth, incalculably immense in area, shrouded in eternal darkness. The principal torment is that of fire, but the flame is black, and burns without light. Side by side with extreme heat is the torment of cold; storms of wind, hail and frost sweep down from the four corners of hell. Frightful monsters, dragons, serpents, bloody eagles people the awful depths, and dragons guard the entrance. The sinful souls are bound down with fetters, suffering the utmost agonies of mind in addition to those of the body. Consumed with bitter remorse and despair, they must remain thus eternally without hope of ever being released from their sufferings, or of gaining the bliss of

the righteous which they are forced to look upon.

Such a summarizing of widely scattered elements, covering the whole field of Anglo-Saxon poetry, is not, perhaps, an entirely legitimate procedure. Still it is, in the main, only with Cynewulf that we are dealing, and the summary may therefore reasonably be considered to represent his conception of hell. The passages quoted from Judith and the Riddles are quite in Cynewulf's manner, and furnish stylistic evidence in favor of attributing those works to Cynewulf himself, or to an imitator of him. The resemblance between Cynewulf's conception of hell and the orthodox accounts of the church fathers and the early vision-writers is, it seems to me, very plain. Even should we deny to Cynewulf a knowledge of any writer other than Bede, the ~~single~~ ^{alone} vision of Drihthelm would be a sufficient basis for the greater part of his conception. But we know to a certainty that he was also acquainted with Gregory; probably with Augustine and Alcuin, and very possibly with any number of other writers. I am therefore inclined to think that the Anglo-Saxon poets--especially Cynewulf and his school--derived their conceptions not nearly so much

from the surviving traditions of Germanic mythology as from the writings of the church fathers. Their hell, therefore, is a purely literary product, with perhaps a very light background of tradition. This statement applies with even greater force to the homilists, who will next be considered.

The question of purgatory among both poets and homilists is a very interesting one, and seemed worthy of a separate treatment.

b) *The Homilists.*

The Anglo-Saxon homilies--Elickling collection, Aelfric, Wulfstan--are alive with descriptions of the day of doom, and of the state of affairs which will follow it. This, of course, is to be expected, since they were written toward the close of the ^{tenth} ~~X~~, and at the beginning of the ^{eleventh} ~~XI~~ century, when thoughts and fears of a momentary arrival of the judgment day were uppermost in men's minds. "No man on earth," says the Elickling homilist in his sermon on Ascension Day, "is so holy and none in heaven, as to know when our Lord will put an end to the world on the judgment day, save only the Lord alone. Yet we know that the time is not far distant, since the signs and tokens which the Lord foretold would happen before the last day have all been fulfilled, with the single exception that the accursed stranger, the Antichrist, has not yet come to earth. Yet it will not now be long before that also shall happen; for this earth must necessarily end in the time which is now present, since five ages have already passed. In this age of the world,

then, shall this earth come to an end, and the greater part of it has already elapsed: exactly nine hundred and seventy-one years this year."

Whether the clergy themselves shared in the universal panic is very doubtful; but that they employed every possible means to keep fear at fever heat is evident from the literature of the time. Preachers all over Europe were proclaiming in voices of thunder the terrible torments of hell which were soon to befall sinners: the surest way to escape at least a part of the awful, universal doom was to renounce all earthly pomp and pleasure, and to lead a life of poverty and penance till the judgment-day should fall. In other words, divide your worldly possessions among the poor, or, better still, bestow them upon the church, and you may possibly escape eternal damnation. We cannot doubt that the panic proved a fruitful source of revenue to the church, whether the clergy were sincere in their utterances, or not.

The descriptions of hell which we find in these homilies tally very closely with those of the Anglo-Saxon poets. In the homilies, however, we have connected accounts, and we

may call them the fruits of the first popular attempt on English soil to apply the visions practically. Bede had done the same thing, to be sure, but only incidentally, recording the fact and drawing the moral with a view rather to stimulating to a better life on earth, than to strengthening a belief in the doctrines of hell and purgatory. We need only to compare the manner of Bede's narration of the visions of Furseus and Drihthelm with that of Aelfric, when recounting the same visions, in order at once to recognize in the one the historian, to whom the fact is everything, and in the other the preacher, to whom it is merely a vehicle for moral precept.

The homilists have retained much of the poetical vocabulary in their descriptions. Thus in Blickling Hom.¹ V, p. 60, "And they do not consider that the *greedy* hell is ever open to devils." *Swart* is a favorite attribute for flame, as in the poets; Aelfric,² I, 188: "that swart fire shall give them no light." Instances could be multiplied.

A few representative passages from the homilies will serve to indicate the intimate way in which they are connected

1. *Homie*, p. 60
2. *Ælfric*, p. 133

with the visions. As regards the vision of St. Paul, we find a remarkable difference of opinion between the Elickling homilists and Aelfric. The former refer to the work as they would to any canonical book of Scripture, sometimes introducing a quotation from it with a mere "St. Paul said," without further reference to the source; and the words of the vision carry as much authority as would those of the epistles. Wright, St. Patrick's Purgatory, p. 7, is therefore in error when he says, "He (Aelfric), as well as other earlier writers who allude to this latter vision (St. Paul), pretend to no further knowledge of it than what may be gathered from the apostle's own words, who mentions a person that had been carried in the spirit to the third heaven." The statement will not apply to the Elickling homilies, to which Wright is evidently referring. Thus in Homily IV, (Morris, p. 42), we ^{find} ~~have~~ the following: "'Oh!' said St. Paul, 'that is accounted the devil's treasure for a man to hide his sins from his confessor,' because to our adversary a man's sins are more acceptable than all earthly treasure. The priest that is very tardy in driving out the devil from a man, and in speedily

rid̄ding the soul with oil and water against the adversary, shall be assigned to the fiery river and the iron hook. For St. Paul said that he was not far from the side of the priest of whom we have said above that he was drawn by the iron hook into the pitchy river, another old man (1) whom four accursed angels led, with great cruelty, and sank him into the fiery water *up to his knees*, and they had bound him with fiery chains so that he could not say, 'God have mercy upon me!' Then said the eminent teacher to the angel that led him, 'Who is this old man?' The angel replied, 'He is a bishop who did more evil than good. Before the world he had a great name, and disregarded it all, and his Creator, who had given him that name.' Then said St. Paul, that since the bishop had not shown mercy to orphans, nor to widows, nor to any of God's poor, he was requited according to his own deeds."²

The vision is frequently thus referred to and quoted; in fact it, together with the Gospel of Nicodemus, constitutes the principal basis for the Blickling homilists' conception

(1) Vernon MS. l. 173 f. Cf. Paul, sect. 10. below.

² Morris, p. 42

of hell.

Aelfric, on the other hand, who everywhere shows his superiority to his predecessors, says, ~~II, p. 333~~: "How do some men read the *false composition*, which they call the vision of Paul, when he himself said, that he heard the secret words which no earthly man may speak?"¹ Both of which opinions go to show that the Vision of St. Paul must have been a well-known work in England probably as early as the tenth century, since it was so familiarly spoken of at the beginning of the eleventh. No doubt it⁴ was one of the earliest Christian importations into England.

Despite his derogatory statement, Aelfric would appear once at least to quote from Paul's vision. Thus ~~I, 527~~ he says, "In this present church are mingled good and evil, as clean corn with foul cockle: but at the end of this world the true judge will bid his angels gather the cockle by burthens, and cast it into the unquenchable fire. *By burthens they will gather the sinful* from the righteous; *then will murderers be tied together in the hellish fire, and robbers with robbers, the covetous with the covetous, adulterers with adulterers;*

¹ *Thorp*, II, p. 333

and so all wicked associates bound together shall be brought into God's barn: that is, the righteous shall be brought to everlasting life, where storm comes not, nor any tempest that may injure the corn. Then will the good be nowhere but in heaven, and the evil nowhere but in hell." ¹

With this compare Vision of St. Paul, Vernon MS., l.

76:

As God seide in the gospel thore,

Ligate per fasciculos ad comburendum:

Byndeth hem in knucchenes forthi

To brenne lyk to licchi,

Spous-breakers with lechours,

Rauisschers with rauisschers,

Wikked with wikked also...

And again Aelfric, ~~l. p. 188~~, says: "The miserable guilty ones shall suffer torment in everlasting fire, and yet that swart fire shall give them no light. Worms shall tear their bodies with fiery teeth, as Christ said in his gospel, 'There their worms shall never die, nor their fire be quenched.' ^a Here shall be associated in one torment those who in life were united in evil deeds, so that murderers shall eternally be tortured together; and adulterers with adulterers, the rapacious with the rapacious, robbers with robbers, perjurers with per-

¹ *Illegible*, I, p. 521.

jurers. in the broad flame without any ending shall perish. There shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; for their eyes shall be tormented in the great burning, and their teeth shall afterwards quake in the intense cold."¹

This physical explanation of the weeping and gnashing of teeth is refreshingly novel, and finds an echo in the *Vision of Tundale*, ~~Ch.~~ sect. 7. ~~below~~. In this passage, too, we again meet with the oft-mentioned double torment of extreme cold and heat.

Compare with "The Homilies of the 12, 13 etc."

¹ *Thorpé, I, p. 133.*

After p. 128.

~~WANTS~~

(8) The homilies of the XII, XIII and XIV centuries are full of descriptions of hell which tally closely with those of the visions. A single example will suffice. The following passage is from the *Soul's Ward*, a ^{twelfth} XIII century homily (cf. Morris, *O. E. Homilies*, 1st. Ser., p. 250):

Hell is wide without measure, and deep and bottomless; full of incomparable fire, for no earthly fire may be compared therewith. Full of stench intolerable, for no living thing on earth might endure it. Full of unutterable sorrow, for no mouth may, on account of the wretchedness and woe thereof, give an account of nob tell about it. Yea, the darkness therein is so thick that one may grasp it, for the *fire there gives no light, but blindeth the eyes of them that are there with a smothering smoke, the worst of smokes.* And nevertheless in that same black darkness they see black things as devils, that ever maul them and afflict them....; and tailed dragons, horrible as devils, that *devour them whole and spew them out afterwards; at other times they rend them to pieces and chew each gobbet of them, and they afterwards become whole again.... to undergo again such bale without recovery.... loathsome hell-worms, toads and frogs... creep in and out at the mouth, ears, eyes, navel, and at the hollow of the breast, as maggots in putrid flesh.* There is shrieking in the flame, and chattering of teeth in the snowy waters (cf. ~~Job xxix, 19; p. 22 above~~). Suddenly they flit from the heat to the cold, nor ever do they know which of the two is worse for them, for each is intolerable. And in this marvellous mingling the latter through the former tormenteth the more (cf. Milton, p. 112 above) The fire consumes them all to dead colas; the pitch boileth them until they are altogether melted, and revives them anon to undergo the same, and much worse.... to continue in woe world without end, ever in eternity.....

I have begun to tell of things that I am not able to bring to any end, though I had a thousand tongues of steel (cf. p. 59 above: St. Paul). to endure and to bear their immense blows with steel mallets, and with their red-hot awls, and their buffetings, as though it might be a pitch-clout, each one toward the other in divers pains. O hell, death's house, abode of woe, of dread, and

and of groaning; horrid home, and hard dwelling of all miseries; city of bale, and the abode of every bitterness, thou most loathsome land of all, thou dark place filled with all dreariness!

The retention of some of the Anglo-Saxon characteristics would seem to point to the Anglo-Saxon homilies as part-model for this passage.. The first italicized passage, in particular, unmistakably recalls the passage, ^{above} quoted from Aelfric. ~~p. 127 above~~. The second passage in italics seems undoubtedly copied from the vision of Tundale, sect.10. (~~p. 157 above~~).

x x x

Ford, the dramatist, has the following fine passage:

“...many thousand sundry sorts
Of never-dying deaths; there damned souls
Roar without pity; there are gluttons fed
With toads and adders; there is burning oil
Poured down the drunkard's throat; the usurer
Is forced to sip whole draughts of molten gold;
There is the murderer forever stabbed,
Yet can he never die; there lies the wanton
On racks of burning steel, whilst in his soul
He feels the torment of his raging lust.

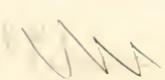
x x x

The following interesting passage occurs in the romance of Huon of Burdeux (cf. Lee's ed. of Lord Berners' transl. E. E. T. S.

3. THE ANGLO-SAXON PURGATORY.

We have already seen that Bede gave expression to a clearly-defined doctrine of purgatory, as an *abode* for moderately sinful souls in which they would be cleansed by fire of their evil deeds, preparatory to entering upon eternal bliss; this as distinguished from hell, the abode of the eternally damned. On the continent, Gregory I. is generally conceded to have been the first definitely to formulate the doctrine; which, in that peculiar form, is a purely Christian product. The fundamental idea of a probationary state is, however, much older. The Euddhist hells are, strictly speaking, purgatories, since a definite time-limit is always set.

The scriptural passages upon which the doctrine of purgatory rests are 2nd Macc., XII, 43-46 (which is adduced not merely on the supposition that it is inspired, but even as a simple historical testimony); Matt., XII, 32, "but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come;" 1st Cor., III, 11-15, already referred to; 1st Cor.,



XV, 29; also Psalms, XXXVIII, 1, and LXV, 12. Besides Gregory, in whom the doctrine is found in all the fullness of its modern detail, direct testimony is given by Tertullian, Cyprian, Arrob̄ius, Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, and above all, Augustine among the Latins; and by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius and others among the Greeks.

It seems strange, in view of the fact that the doctrine in its more modern form must have been pretty well known in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries, that we find practically no expression of it in the works of the homilists. Aelfric, in fact, expressly states, "then will the good be nowhere but in heaven, the evil nowhere but in hell."¹ We find, to be sure, a few vague intimations of a probationary state: for example, "...he will command you to be bound and set in prison, that is, in hell torment; and then the devil will torture you, *until ye shall have suffered for all your trespasses, until ye come to one farthing.*" (2) But far more frequently eternal torment is the lot of all evil-doers: "the miserable

¹ *Thorpe, I, p. 527*

(2) ~~Aelfric~~ Thorpe, I, p. 267.

evil-doers shall suffer torment in everlasting fire;" "there their worms shall never die, nor their fire be quenched;"(1), etc.

It has already been said that the Anglo-Saxon poets, following the scriptural statement, conceived of the fires of the judgment day as purgatorial, and this is the closest approach to a doctrine of an intermediatory state which we find in them. The most striking passages in which the purifying quality of the doomsday fire is dwelt upon are the following:

Crist, 1102 f:

ac þæt fyr nimeð þurh foldan gehwæt,
 græfeð grimlice, georne aseceð,
 innan and utan, eorþan sceatas,
 oþþæt eal hafað ældes leoma
 woruld-widles wom wælrne forbærned.

Here we have the conception in its widest and most general application; that is, the whole world shall be purified. More particular in reference to souls of men is

Crist, 1059 f:

þonne byrne costað
 hat and heorugifre, hu gehealdne sind
 sawle wið synnum fore sigedeman.

Rather more vaguely the same thought is expressed in

Phoenix, 521 f:

Hat bið monegum
 egeslic æled, þonne anra gehwylc,
 soðfæst ge synnig sawel mid lic,
 from moldgrafum seceð meotudes dom
 foht afæred. Fyr bið on tihte,
 æleð uncyste.

Similar passages occur in the special poems on the judgment day. But the most remarkable passage of all occurs in the epilogue to the Elene. The lines which particularly interest us are 1285 f. The poet is speaking of what will happen on the judgment day:

þonne on þreo dæleð
 in fyres feng folc anra gehwylc,

.....

soðfæste bið
 yfemest in þam æde.....

...swa hie adreogan magon

modigra mægen: him gemetgað eall
 eldes leoma, swa him eðost bið,
 sylfum geseftost. Synfulle beoð
 mane gemengde in þam midle þread,
 hæleð higegeomre in hatre wylm,



þrosme beþehte. Eið se þridda dæel
 awyrgede womsceaðan in þæs wylmes grund,
 lease leodhatan lige befæsted
 þurh ærgewyrht, arleasra sceclu
 in gleda gripe. Gode no siððan
 of þam morðorhofs in gemynd cumað,
 wuldorcyninge, ac hie worpene beoð
 of þam heaðuwylme in helle grund
 torngeniðlan. Ei þam twam dæelum
 ungelice: moton engla frean
 geseon, sigora god: hie asodeþe 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
 ascyred and asceadan, scylda gehwylcere,
 deopra firena þurh þæs domes fyr.

It is, of course, impossible to determine with certainty who was Cynewulf's immediate model for this passage. The conception of a three-fold division of mankind in the fires of judgment is several times met with in the works of the church fathers. Gaebler, "Autorschaft vom Phoenix,"¹ cites Augustine's Sermo CIV, in the Recapitulatio (2) of which a "sors triplex

¹ *Anglia*
 (2) Migne, Pat. Lat. 39, col. 1949.

hominum in iudicio" is dwelt upon. Cook¹, (~~Date of Elene: Anglia XV~~) finds a closer parallel in a work of Alcuin's, which would seem to have been modelled upon Augustine. Cook also cites similar passages from Gregory and Bede. The very fact that so many writers dwell upon it, is evidence that the idea was current in the Middle Ages; and it is most probable that Cynewulf, who states merely the bare fact, was drawing from his own memory. Augustine was no doubt the first to give expression to the idea.

What we have in the Anglo-Saxon account is briefly this: The souls, on the judgment day, will be disposed, according to their deeds, in the avenging fire: the good will occupy the uppermost portions of the flame and will escape unscathed; the "sinful" will be placed in the middle; whereas the swomsceaðan, the leodhatan,^W--that is, probably, the perpetrators of capital crimes--will occupy the third and lowest portion of the flame, that is, hell. These last will never attain to blessedness, but the other two divisions are different: these will be purified and refined like gold, and, when cleansed of their sins, be admitted to the abodes of the righteous. Cook says,

1. "State of the Elene," Anglia XV.



"to the three-fold division will succeed a two-fold," but, however the patristic accounts may read, the Anglo-Saxon poet can hardly be interpreted to say so. He simply states: "bið þam twam daelum ungelice, " that is, the third section is unlike the other two.

It is particularly interesting to note that we find a three-fold division of souls in two widely-different works, both earlier than Augustine: the Book of Enoch, and Plutarch's Vision of Thespesius, both of which have already been analyzed in their relations to vision-literature. In the Book of Enoch we have the following, XXII, 9: "I inquired...respecting the general judgment, saying, Why is one separated from another? He answered, Three separations have been made between the spirits of the dead.."

(8) In the Vision of Thespesius we have a closer analog¹: good souls are pure white, and undergo no punishment; those whose sins are light--spotted souls--need endure but a short probation of torment; but the great sinners are put to a terrible test of torment: if, after this, they are found to be hopelessly bad, they are then consigned to eternal damnation.¹ The

¹ Cf. p. above.

1 In the Vision of St. Frances (Acta Sanct. Mar. 9) Purgatory is divided into three distinct compartments: the first an immense dungeon of ice; the second a caldron of boiling oil and pitch; the third a pond of liquid metal.

feature occurs in almost identically the same form in the Vision of Thurcill. The similarity to the Egyptian judgment has also already been pointed out.¹

The picture of souls flying about in the flame also recalls Thespesius, Drihthelm, Monk of Eynsham, and Thurcill, and in a less degree Furseus.

These similarities may be mere coincidences, but it is very probable that we have in them another indication of the organic way in which the Anglo-Saxon conceptions of hell etc. are connected with continental accounts. Here at least there can be no question of a survival of the traditions of Germanic mythology.

¹ Above, p.

PART III: THE MIDDLE-ENGLISH VISIONS.

From [unclear]

Re: [unclear]

to [unclear]

See [unclear] [unclear] - VII (1897) 275.

PART III.

1. The Vision of St. Paul.

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not in Roman type.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY. The original work was written in Greek, in at least two versions belonging to the ^{fourth} ~~4th~~ century, A. D. Only one has come down to us. The other is mentioned by Epiphanius, under the title ^{Ἐπιφανίου Παύλου} Anabatikon Paulou, in his work against ~~80~~ ^{eighty} heresies (Migne; Fat. Gr. xli, col. 656); and after him by Michael Glycas, Annal. 2, 120. The extant version is described by St. Augustine (98th tract upon the Gospel of St. John: Migne; Fat. Lat. xxxv, col. 188,) in this sentence: "Qua occasione vni quidam apocalypsim Pauli, quam sana non recipit Ecclesia, nesqui quibus fabulis plenam, stultissima praesumptione finxerunt." This version is probably represented by the text published by Tischendorf (Apocalypses Apocryphae, p. 34-69; xiv-xviii), from a ^{fifteenth} ~~15~~ century MS. at Milan, collated with a ^{thirteenth} ~~13~~ century MS. at Munich. It is accompanied by a translation into English of an ancient Syriac MS. by Rev. Justin Perkins. (Reprinted from the Journal of the American Oriental Society,

VI. A German translation by Zingerle appeared in Heidenheim's Vierteljahrschrift IV, 139-183). Herman Brandes, Englische Studien vii, p. mentions twenty-two MSS. containing Latin versions of the vision; these he divides into six redactions. Other MSS. in Latin are mentioned by Paul Meyer, Romania xxiv, p. 357, who also gives a list of French MSS. There have Up to the present time been published five English metrical versions, representing four different redactions. Brandes made a study of these in their relation to French and Latin versions in his essay, "Ueber die Quellen der mittelenglischen Versionen der Paulus-vision," republished in Englische Studien vii. Ward, Catalogue of Romances ii, p. 397 f. describes nine Latin MSS. in the British Museum.

Following are the English metrical versions (Brandes' redactions):

I. c. 1300. MS. Laud 108 (cf. Horstmann; Altenglische Legenden p. x). Bodleian Library. It is written in six-lined strophes, third and sixth line having three stress, the remainder four. The rime is a a b c c b. The dialect is Southern. Published by Horstmann, Ferrigs Archiv, lii, p. 35 f.

II. a) latter half XIII century. Jesus College MS. 29; composed in short rimed couplets; South-west dialect. Published by Morris, In Old English Miscellany (E. E. T. 5. 49), p. 147 f.

b) 1304 (Warton) or c. 1290 (Horstmann). Digby MS. 86. Bodleian Library. Same as II a. Southern dialect. Published by Horstmann, Herrigs Archiv, lxii, 403-406.

III. c. 1375. Vernon MS. Bodleian Library. Written in short rimed couplets. Southern dialect (Horstmann). Published by Morris, An O. E. Miscellany, Appendix III, p. 223 f., and by Horstmann, Englische Studien, i, 293-299.

(III b. End of XIV century. British Museum additional MS. 22283, containing a word for word transcription of first 124 lines of Vernon MS. version. Unpublished).

IV. 1426. Douce MS. 302. Bodleian Library. Composed in 13-lined strophes, with the rime: a b a b b c b c d e e e d. It is signed by John Audelay:

For al is good that hath good end.
Thus counsels you the blynd Audlay.

Halliwel does not include the poem in his collection of Audelay's poems (The Poems of John Audelay, ed. Halliwel,

x of m. ad. by Schipper

London 1844: Percy Society Publications). Published by Morris, An O. E. Miscellany, Appendix II, p. 210-212.

A prose English version of the vision is printed by Morris, Old English Homilies, 1st. Series, 41. Also by Zupitza: Alt- und Mittelenglisches Übungsbuch, 2nd Edition, p. 62-65. (New edition, p. -)

The French versions were first enumerated by Paul Meyer, Romania, vi. p. 11. He found five. Three of these are more closely examined by Brandes, Englische Studien vii, p. 51 f. One of these three was printed by Ozanam, Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au XIIIième Siecle, p. 425 f. Ward describes two French versions in the British Museum: one by Adam de Ros, in 427 octosyllabic lines; the other in 579 lines, consisting of 530 alexandrines arranged in mono-rimed quatrains, together with 49 octosyllabic lines in the middle, occurring after the eighth alexandrine. Final enumeration of MSS. by Paul Meyer, Romania xxiv.

It would be without the limits of the present study to compare the Greek, Latin, French, and English versions. This has, moreover, already been satisfactorily done by Brandes, in the article above cited (E. S. uti), whose work is as sound as

it is possible for an investigation of this nature to be.

The "bridge of judgment" does not occur in the original Greek, which corresponds far more closely than the Latin versions to the Apocalypse of Peter. Thus, for example, the "blood pool" of Peter remains ^{Such} ~~as~~ in the Greek, but becomes a fire-lake in the Latin versions.

A Latin version of our vision, following very closely the original Greek, and belonging to the VIII century, was published by Mr. M. E. James in vol. ii of Texts & Studies (Cambridge, 1895.) Cf. further, P. Meyer, Romania xxiv, p. 358.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

(Note: The Vernon and Douce copies agree very closely, and probably had the same original. The Jesus Coll. version has many variants from them. Laud 108 is short, and presents no new features).

VERNON:—

1. Burning trees at hell's gates. Sinners suspended thereon from various portions of the body.
2. A burning cauldron, with seven flames of different colors.
3. Seven pains: snow, ice, fire, blood, adders, lightning (?), stench. Souls who would do no penance were here tormented according to their deeds. They desired to die, but could not.
4. Burning wheel, turned a thousand times a day, and at each turn a thousand souls are tormented. (Jes. Coll., wheel of steel, with sharp spikes).
5. Horrible flood, with many devilish beasts therein, which gnawed the souls without mercy.
6. Very high bridge over the flood: ^{could} ~~rightful~~ men pass

unscathed; sinners fall down from it, and are bound together in bundles, like to like.

7. Souls immersed in the flood to various portions of the body which were most sinful. Backbiters are immersed to the knees; adulterers to the navel, talkers in church to the lips, such as were glad of their neighbor's misfortune to the eyebrows, etc.

8. Souls gnawing their own tongues. (Jesus Coll. 10,000 fiends gnaw the tongues of usurers).

9. Black maidens, clad in black clothing, boiling in pitch and brimstone, with reptiles about their necks, and four angels of hell, with burning horns, tormenting them. These were unchaste, and destroyed their offspring.

10. Souls with meat before them, which they could not eat. These would not fast.

(Old man weeping between four yelling devils. He was negligent and unchaste).

11. Pit sealed with seven seals. A terrible stench proceeds from it. Whoever comes in here shall never find mercy. Here are those who did not believe in the incarnation of

Christ, and would not receive baptism. They are devoured by worms etc. (Jesus Coll. hungry hounds).

(A sinful soul which had just left the body was borne up by seven devils. He had read his own charter--also found in Laud 102--and thereby judged himself. The devils hurl him into the darkest abyss for having violated the commandments. Every man shall be repaid according to his deeds. Next came a righteous soul, who was led to heaven amid rejoicing of the angels).

12. The souls in hell then prayed Paul and Michael to intercede for them. These do so, and a respite is granted the sinful ones from Saturday till Monday of every week, Christ first reproving them in the words of Matt., xxv, 41 f.

ADDITIONAL FEATURES FROM JESUS COLL. MS. —

1. Souls who robbed the poor etc. are drawn in two by fiends, and one half is placed in fire, the other half in a "frozen fen."

2. Stream mixed with blood.

3. Old men among stinging adders. After being fretted to pieces they are made whole again, that the torment may be

be renewed. Four devils stand by and torture them. They would not pity the poor. (Evidently an expansion from the feature of the single old man in the Vernon MS. version, sect. 10).

4. Deep gaol, with hot pool. Ten thousand devils and more torment the souls of the damned with awls. These doomed Christ to death.

5. An "iron wall" full of the souls of those that were beheaded or hanged, etc.

DISCUSSION.

The large majority of the Latin MSS. of our vision belong to the thirteenth century--no earlier; whereas all but one of the English versions are of the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, though the MSS. of all the other works which are yet to be treated bear dates as early, or earlier, we must in every case give Paul priority. The thirteenth century was the flourishing period of vision-literature, and was fertile in reworks of old material as well as in the

invention of new. ~~St.~~ Paul differs from the other visions in question from the fact that it represents a development, or rather a growth. The late medieval vision of the thirteenth century bears little resemblance to the crude work of the fourth, and yet it is always the same work, enriched in the former instance by many new features which were attached to it by successive generations of narrators, and finally crystallized with no doubt still other additions by the writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The other visions, on the contrary, though they embodied much old material, moulded it into a new form, gave it a new name and a new locality, and thus lent it the semblance, at least, of originality and newness.

It would prove a thankless task to attempt to determine exactly what new elements were added to the Pauline vision by its thirteenth century resuscitators. It is a simple matter enough, of course, to compare the original Greek version with the late ^{handlings} ~~reworkings~~, but we gain but little by doing so, since it in no wise assists us in discovering what features were picked up during the intervening centuries, and what were

added from the scribes' own memories.

The earliest Greek version of the vision is usually assigned to the fourth century A. D. That it is no later we know from the historical mentions of the work. It may be earlier; it undoubtedly was modelled upon the Apocalypse of Peter. That it was a well-known book, even ^{accepted} received by some as a genuine work of the apostle, is amply testified to by frequent references to it, and arguments concerning it, as late as the eleventh century. It is reasonable to suppose that it was during this time constantly receiving new features from other works; for visions kept springing up sporadically all through the centuries which preceded their flourishing period. Thus, though we possess but few literary evidences ^{of} the fact, the spark which burst into flame in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had never really been extinct, but simply biding the time when the condition of men's minds should enable it to shine with the greatest lustre. And there can, I think, be but little doubt that the Vision of St. Paul existed by virtue of oral tradition, in much the same form in which we have it in the late manuscripts,

many years before it was committed to writing. And therefore it must be given priority to St. Patrick's Purgatory, for example, which resembles it so very closely in point of detail.

Brandes has made a careful study of the relation of the English versions of the vision to the Latin and French, and I shall therefore pass on immediately to a consideration of the material which we find in the English versions, and which of course reflects the Latin texts. Most of the analogues to other works have already been pointed out as occasion required, so that the following is practically a mere summing up of the evidence.

1. The burning trees occur in the Vision of Alberic, (p. 82), above) and in several medieval oriental works (p. 84). I have been unable to trace them to their ultimate source. They seem to be original with the Pauline vision. As has been said (p. 84) they may possibly have existed in the Apocalypse of Peter, though lost to our fragment. They do not appear in the Greek version of Paul which we possess, but spring up in

the earliest Latin texts.

2. The burning cauldron is a common feature throughout eastern and western accounts. Seven seems to have been a favorite, and in many cases an indefinite number. In Faul especially everything is reckoned by sevens: seven pains, seven flames, pit with seven seals, sinful soul driven by seven devils, ^{(Compare} ~~of~~ with later seven deadly sins, seven cardinal virtues). In the Vision of Thespesius different crimes are denoted by different colors (p. 50) ^{Compare} ~~of~~ also St. Patrick's Purgatory, sect. 11, below.

3. The seven pains were no doubt originally designed as an index to all the torments of hell, but were later combined into a single mode of punishment. They are condensed to four in Tundale, ^{Sect.} ~~vision~~, 7. Snow, ice, and fire are the customary paradox (p. 10; 20; Drihthelm, p. 90; Aelfric, p. 120); blood is an echo of the Apocalypse of Peter (p. 70; above); whereas adders and stench are invariable attributes of all hells, East or West.

4. The burning wheel is not so common a feature as one might expect. It occurs in St. Patrick's Purgatory, ^{Sect. 5,} (5), and

in several of the more modern oriental accounts.

5. The horrible flood is a feature of universal occurrence (See pp. ~~67-68~~, above.) We have it in just this form, with the serpents, and spanned by the bridge, in Tundale, sect. 8, and ⁱⁿ St. Patrick's Purg., sect. 10.

6. For recurrence of the bridge in vision-literature ^{See} ~~cf.~~ p. ~~66~~¹⁷ above. For punishment of like with like, ^{See} ~~cf.~~ p. 68.

7. Immersion to various portions of the body is an outgrowth from Apoc. of Peter, ~~sect.~~ 11 (^{See} ~~cf.~~ p. 70 above). Assigning an appropriate punishment to every crime is a principle which is carefully observed in the Apoc. of Peter, and in the earlier versions of Paul's Vision, (^{See} ~~cf.~~ p. 65 f., above.)

8. This is borrowed from the Apoc. of Peter, (^{See} ~~cf.~~ p. ~~72~~, above.)

9. For the significance of black clothing ^{See} p. 57, above. The feature in just this form seems to be original with the Vision of St. Paul. Devils have iron horns in the Anglo-Saxon hell, SS 941 f. (^{See} p. 114, above.)

10. The punishment of child-murderesses is emphasized in the Apoc. of Peter (p. ~~66~~^{above} f.) and in the Vision of Alberic

(p. 88).

The Jesus Coll. version. tells us that the souls before whom the meat was placed, but who could not touch it, were "sore of-thrust and ful hongri." Vernon leaves the nature of the punishment rather vague. We have here, of course, a reflection of the Tantalus myth.

11. This is the famous pit of hell; whoever enters here ~~will~~ never receive grace: a striking fore-runner of Dante's *Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate!* We are, therefore, to distinguish this feature from all the preceding ones, which together constitute purgatory.

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Little need be said of the additional features in the Jesus Coll. MS. In 1. we have the contrasted torments more clearly brought out than in Vernon. 2. reflects the original Greek and the Apoc. of Peter more nearly. The stream of blood becomes, as we have seen, a stream of fire in most versions. *Compare* ~~cf.~~ also Vision of Alberic, p. 84 above. 3. is elaborated still further in Tundale, sect 10. 4. is a new feature, peculiar to Paul's vision, and no doubt a late medieval addition. 5. The iron wall is rather mysterious, and is probably due to some error.

2. The Vision of Tundale.

Print Roman.

EIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY. Wagner, "Visio Tundali," Erlangen 1882, in which he prints a Latin version of this vision on the basis of the seven oldest MSS., mentions fifty-four widely-distributed MSS. which contain the Latin text. These all belong between the ^{twelfth} ~~XII~~ and ^{fifteenth} ~~XV~~ centuries. Forty of them are in Germany and Austria, while England and Ireland have six between them. One or the other of them have been printed in, 1. Helinand of Froidmont's Chronicle: Migne; Pat. Lat. cexii, 1088 f; 2. Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale, Bk. xxvii, ch. 88; 3) Edmond Martene; Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, I, col. 490, (1717). The author calls himself "pater Marcus" in a prologue, contained in six ^{twelfth} ~~XII~~ century MSS. His identity is doubtful, ^{(Compare} ~~cf.~~ ^{for discussion, Ward} Catalogue of Romances, ii, p. 416 f.) In the fullest Latin texts the introduction of Marcus is followed by a fervid description of Ireland.

An English metrical version, composed in octosyllabic rimed couplets is contained in the following MSS., all

belonging to the XV century:

I. Edinburgh MS. Advocates Library, 19, 3, 1.

II. Cotton MS. Caligula A II.

III. Royal MS. 17. B xlili.

IV. Ashmole MS. No. 1491 (Eodleian Library): two fragments:

a) ll. 2307-2326, upon which follow ll. 115-386.

b) ll. 700-1165.

There have been two editions:

1843. W. E. Turnbull; The Vision of Tundale, &c. Prints
III. Very rare.

1893. A. Wagner; Das Mittelenglische Gedicht ueber die
Vision des Tundalus, Halle. Prints composite text, based upon
III.

A small portion of II. was published by Wuelker; Altenglisches
Lesebuch, II, 1, p. 17 f.

Wagner has made a laudable attempt to establish the inter-
relationship of the English MSS., but has failed. For reviews of
his work see Anglia, Beiblatt IV, p. 129 (Holthausen), and Eng.
Stud. xix, p. 269 (Kaluza).

The vision of Tundale was perhaps the best-known, as it

is undoubtedly the most elaborate, of all the medieval visions. In addition to the numerous Latin MSS, there is a large number of French, German, Italian, and even Icelandic ones. Ward describes one French version in the British Museum (Cott. Liber. Add'l 9771) which is a translation of the Latin text used by Vincent de Beauvais. He also mentions a Latin version copied by an Italian, with a short introduction in that language.

Mussafia prints one Italian version in vol. xix of "Il Propugnatore". Cf. also same author, "Sulla Visione di Tundalo," Phil. Hist. Klasse, vol. lxvii, p. 158.

The Middle High German version was edited together with the composite Latin text by Wagner, The earliest work on the vision was done by Schade, "Visio Inugdli," Halle, 1869.

For a Scandinavian version cf. Unger, "Duggals Leizla" in Feil. ~~Manuscript~~ Manna Sögur, p. 329, Christiania, 1877.

The date ascribed to the vision in its prologue is 1149.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

1. Tundale, a wealthy land-owner, falls into a trance while trying to exact payment from a tenant.

2. When his souls leaves the body, it finds itself in a murk place, surrounded by a crowd of wicked demons, with black bodies; flames proceeded from their mouths, they had great horns and pronged tails. Their nails were as hard as ground steel. They threaten and revile Tundale.

3. A bright star appears in the distance, which proves to be Tundale's guardian angel. With him he proceeds on his journey.

4. A dark valley, filled with foul stench, the ground strewn with glowing coals, over which is spread a sheet of iron, which the flames penetrate. Murderers are placed hereon, and are molten like wax; in this state they trickle through the iron, after which they again resume their shape, only to endure the same torment over again.

5. Great mountain full of smoke and fire on one side, ice, frost, snow and wind on the other. Thieves and robbers are tossed alternately from one to the other.

6. Deep, dark abyss, from which proceeds a terrible stench. Here proud men and braggarts are punished. Tundale is led safely over the narrow bridge which spans it.

7. A monstrous beast, in whose mouth 9,000 armed men might ride. This was Acharon, who swallows the souls of covetous men. Here Tundale experiences his first torment. He suffers from adders, fire, ice, stench. The tears of his eyes burn as fire.

8. Terrible lake, full of horrible beasts. Spanned by a narrow bridge, thickly strewn with sharp spikes. It is two miles long, but has scarcely the breadth of a hand. Those that fall from the bridge are at once devoured by the monsters in the lake. Thus are robbers punished. Tundale is required to lead a cow, which he had stolen, over the bridge. This incident, whether consciously or not, is very humorous.

9. A house built like an oven, with stinking flames proceeding from it. Here fiends, armed with all kinds of weapons, cut off various portions of the bodies of gluttons. Sometimes they are chopped into little bits. Here a homily on the nature of purgatory is introduced.

10. Frozen lake, in the centre of which is a great beast, with terrible black wings. His mouth is full of fire. Into it the souls of unrighteous men of religion are hurled, and when almost wasted away by the heat, they are plunged into the frozen lake. They are furthermore tormented by adders which pierce their way outwards from every portion of the body.

11. Through a dark, narrow way they come to a deep ravine full of smiths with great hammers in their hands. Souls are first raised to the right temperature in a fire fanned by great bellows; they are then hammered out on an anvil. After which they recover their original shapes and are passed on to the next smiths, who tear them with hooks and tongs. Vulcan is the master of the smiths.

12. Deep ditch, from which stinking flames shoot out. Burning pillar which almost reaches heaven rises from the pit. Up and down this pillar souls and devils are flying. When the souls are burned to ashes, they drop into the pit, where they recover only to be burned again.

13. Torture-chamber of Satan. Description of the arch-fiend. He is immensely "broad and thick." When he gapes

or yawns he swallows a thousand souls at once. He is bound down in hard bonds. He has 1, 000 hands, and 20 fingers on each. His tail is sharp and of great length. He lies on burning coals. He seizes souls in his hands and crushes them as one would crush grapes to get the juice; after which he drops them into the fire. Every time he sighs a thousand souls are exhaled. His own torments are, however, the most harrowing of all. Story of the fall of the angels, followed by another short homily. Tundale is led over a high wall into a place as light as day.

14. Many souls suffering hunger and thirst. These have no positive crimes to pay for, but did no good. They will all be saved.

15. Earthly Paradise: place full of fair flowers and sweet smells. In the midst of it is a well: fountain of youth, and immunity from hunger and thirst.

16. House of gold, studded with precious stones. Within, a golden throne, upon which sat king Cormake (Cornale). Large crowds of bright-robed people bring him gifts and do him homage. But for three hours every day he must suffer tor-

ment, standing in fire up to his middle, because he broke his marriage vow.

17. Passing a silver wall, they come upon many souls clad in white. These were the chaste and generous.

18. A golden wall; within, many thrones of gold and precious stones. Holy men, and martyrs for Christ. Automatic musical instruments make melody, and blessed souls sing in harmony with them. Sweet smells also abound.

19. Beautiful, very high tree, laden with all kinds of fruits, flowers, herbs and spices, while many birds perch in its branches. Beneath it, many men and women live in golden cells, each with a crown on his or her head. The tree is holy church: those beneath it its supporters.

20. A wall of precious stones. Within are the nine orders of angels, the Trinity, and God in His majesty. Many saints are also here.

After a sight of this, Tundale's soul returns to its body.

DISCUSSION.

The vision of Tundale is by far the most detailed and systematically sustained of any which we possess. The author seems to have made it a point to gather together into an elaborate whole all the features of the entire remaining corpus of visions. There is hardly an incident in any other work which is not introduced, generally with numerous embellishments, into this epic of torment. The author's borrowings from the Greek and Latin are evident from the introduction of proper names such as Acheron and Vulcan; we have echoes of Irish history in the fate of king Cormack or Cornale. That he made use of several sources is evidenced by the two-fold introduction of the bridge (sect. [§]6, 8)—no doubt originally the same bridge in both cases. The cow which Tundale is forced to lead over the bridge is probably an original interpolation; as are the homilies in sections 9 and 13. Especially noteworthy are the undoubted borrowings from the Vision of Thespesius. Sect. 10 reminds one most forcibly of Satan in the Inferno; in fact there are several striking points of similarity between Tundale and both the Vision of Alberic

and the ^{Commedia} Divina Comedy. The Vision of Tundale is further of distinctive interest in that it differentiates hell (2-13); purgatory (14); a region corresponding to the earthly paradise (15); paradise (16-19); and heaven (20). The space devoted to purgatory is, to be sure, very small, but the statement that the souls "will all be saved" unmistakably establishes its identity. The earthly paradise is the neutral place, without pain, but also without positive delights.

Surveying now briefly the individual sections, we have in 1. the customary vision concomitants, though detailed with considerably greater definiteness than in the majority of visions. In sect. 2 we have a more accurate description than we have yet met with of the outward appearance of the demons of hell. That they are black we learned already from the Apoc. of Peter (^{6.} ~~sect. 6, p. 68~~). They are provided with horns in Paul's ^{vision} (sect. 9). ~~p. 156~~. The Anglo-Saxon hell, we have seen (p. 114), was peopled with *atol deor monig irenum hornum*. We have a remarkable parallel to the nails, hard as ground steel, in Beowulf, l. 984 f.

wæs

steda nægla gehwylc style gelicost

hæþenes handspora...

though the similarity is probably merely a coincidence. Sect. 3 seems to be a borrowing from Drihthelm's vision (p. 100); Tundale's guide also deserts him at critical moments, as in Bede's story (~~see~~ ^{compare} also Vision of Thespesius). Sect. 4: the dark valley first appears in the Book of Enoch, LIII, 1, (p. 43); but it is so indefinite and universal a feature that it is unnecessary to look for an ultimate source. To the iron floor etc. we have already noted oriental parallels (p. 21). Sect. 5 seems directly borrowed from the Vision of Drihthelm (p. 99). Sect. 6 is here out of place. The stinking pit is almost invariably reserved till the last (it is again introduced later on in Tundale's vision) and it is never spanned by a bridge. Sect. 7: the poet is here somewhat mixed up in his classical terminology. We have frequently met with variations of the Cerberus myth in the visions. Also in the Anglo-Saxon hell (p. 115). The four torments seem to be a condensation of the seven in Paul's vision (sect. 3, p. 149). The burning eyes remind us of Aelfric (p. 128). Sect. 8 requires no special comment. The cow, as has been said, is

probably original with Tundale. Sect. 9: the house is possibly the "bath-house" of St. Patrick's Purg.(sect. 6). The process of cutting off various portions of the body we have already encountered in the Buddhist hells (p. 20). and in Dante. Sect. 10 reminds most forcibly of Dante's frozen lake, with Satan in its centre. Indeed, it is most probable that Dante made immediate use of both sect. 9 and 10 of Tundale's vision. Here again we have the torments of heat and cold alternating. Sect. 11: the episode of the smiths is taken bodily from the Vision of Thespesius (p. 51). The fact of the souls recovering their original shapes after being mutilated was already noticed in the Buddhist hells (p. 18 f). Sect. 12: this is evidently the mouth of hell, ~~See~~ Vision of Alberic, (p. 81); of St. Paul (sect. 11) p. 151), etc. The burning pillar may have originated with Enoch, XVIII, 13 (p. 40), or XXI, 5 (p. 41): "columns of fire." Souls flying up and down in the flame recalls Thespesius, Dante, Monk of Eynsham, Drihthelm, and Thurcill. Sect. 13: we have here an extravagant description of Satan, no doubt the model for many subsequent ones. Satan is very commonly represented as lying on burning coals. His

"sharp tail" is possibly a reminiscence of the very general belief--often expressed in Anglo-Saxon literature--that scorpions stung with their tails. The simile of the grapes is not original with Tundale. In-and exhaling souls recurs in the Vision of Alberic, and in Dante (cf. p. 84). Sect. 15: the earthly paradise, contains the fountain of youth of the voyages, and of many romances. ^{Compare} ~~cf.~~ for earthly paradise especially St. Patrick's Purg. sect. 11, ~~for~~. Sect. 16 to sect. 20 is a comparatively detailed description of the various abodes of the blessed, separated from one another by walls, the materials of which become ever more precious as the abodes which they partition become more blessed. The walls are an expansion of the crystal wall of Enoch, XIV, 8; (p. 39), and which recurs in the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, sect. 8. In that vision, too, there is a similar division of the blessed into three parts. (Cf. further p. 135 f). Sect. 19: the tree is the tree of ~~the~~ Enoch, XXIV, 3 (p. 42), and of many subsequent accounts.

3. ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY.

P. - Irish Roman

The most exhaustive study of the MSS. etc. of this legend is by E. Koelbing, Englische Studien, i, p. 57-121. The most detailed Latin version is preserved in a large number of MSS. ^{See} ~~Cf.~~ for those in the British Museum, Ward, Catalogue of Romances, ii, p. 435 f. For discussion of authorship ("frater...E. monachorum de saltereia minimus") and date, cf. ibid., p. 426-444. Henry of Saltery, according to Bale, flourished at the same time as Tundale, that is, about 1140. St. Patrick's Purgatory is mentioned, without any allusion to Sir Owen, by Jocelyn of Furness (1188: translated by E. L. Swift, Dublin, 1809). Also by Giraldus Cambrensis, Top. Hibern. Rolls Ser. p. 82-83. The full Latin version was printed by John Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga, ii, Louvain, 1647. A second Latin version, considerably shorter than the first, and containing many variations in diction etc. from it, is adduced by Matthew Paris, Chron. Major, Rolls Ser. vol. ii, p. 192-203. Cf. also ibid. vol. i, p.

223. The legend is also recounted by Jean de Vitry, Vincent de Beauvais, Messingham (Florileg. Ins. Sancti, Paris, 1624, Caps. III, X. Migne; Patr. Lat., clxxx, p.975 f.) and many others. Among French versions that of Marie de France stands preëminent. Newly edited by T. A. Jenkins; L'es-purgatoire saint Patriz of Marie de France, Philadelphia, 1894.

There are three middle-english versions of the legend, contained in the following MSS. and editions:

I. Last ¼ XIII c. MSS. Ashmole, 48;

Egerton, 1993:

Laud, 108;

Cotton Jul. D.IX.

Composed in septenaries. Published by Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, Paderborn, 1875, p. 149-211. Also Horstmann, MS. Laud, 108; E. S. E. Leg. (E. E. T. S., No. 87).

II. XIII c. Contained only in Auchinlek MS. (Edinburgh).

Composed in six-lined strophes. Published by Turnbull and Laing; Owain Miles and other Inedited Fragments of Ancient English Poetry, Edinburgh, 1837. This volume is very rare.

Newly edited from the manuscript by Koelbing, Eng. Stud. i,
p. 98 f.

III. XV c. Contained only in MS. Cott. Calig. A II.

Composed in. rimed couplets. Extracts in Wright } St. Pat-
rick's Purgatory, p. 64 ff.

Entire work edited by Koelbing, loc. cit. p. 113 ff.

For Boome MS. see Eng. Stud. IX.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

1. Sir Owen finds himself in a dimly-lighted hall, surrounded by pillars and arches. He is met by fifteen men in white garments, who warn him that he will be attacked by fiends. These will try to frighten him back, and if they fail in that, will carry him away to their places of torment; but he will escape if he never forgets God, and if he calls in his utmost need upon the name of Christ. Sir Owen is then left alone.

2. Fiends rush up, taunt him, but promise to let him go back in safety. Sir Owen does not answer them.

3. Sir Owen is thrown into a great fire. He invokes the name of Christ, and is released. He is then led through a dark region, where he can see nothing but the demons who lead him. A wind which he can scarcely hear yet penetrates his body with its sharpness.

4. The four fields of torment:

a) Souls pinned down face foremost on the ground, with red-hot nails of iron piercing hands and feet. Demons beat them unmercifully.

b) Souls pinned down with their backs to the ground. Fiery dragons lacerate them with hot teeth. Toads of great size are on~~g~~ the breasts of some. These souls also are beaten with whips.

c) Souls pinned down with so many iron nails that not sufficient of their bodies is left uncovered with them for the admission of a finger-tip. These try to talk, but cannot. They are further tormented by a cold but burning wind.

d) Many fires in which souls are suspended: some by iron chains, by feet or hands or hair or arms, etc. Some were immersed in sulphurous flames. Others were roasted on griddles or turned on spits, or basted with molten metal. Demons constantly beat them. Here Sir Owen recognized some of his former friends. No tongue can tell the torments of these.

5. Fiery wheel, surrounded by flames. Men were attached to it with iron spikes. One half of the wheel was in the air, the other dipped into the ground.

6. Great house, immeasurably large, smoking horribly.

This was a "bath house." It was full of divers molten metals, in which souls were "bathed." Some were immersed to the eyebrows; others to the eyes, to the lips, to the neck, to the breast, to the navel, to the thighs, to the knees, to the calves. Some had only one foot in the bath; others only one hand, or both hands.

7. Proceeding from the house, they go upon a high mountain. Looking down, Sir Owen perceives many shivering souls; as he is wondering at the sight a violent wind suddenly arises from the North(-east), which drives all--demons, Sir Owen, and the souls--into a fetid and icy river.

8. They go toward the South. Horrible pit full of stinking flames, in which men are driven up and down, like sparks from a furnace. None who enter here, the demons tell Sir Owen, shall ever come out. He is hurled into it by the fiends. Upon calling upon Christ, he is spewed out by the flame upon the brink of the pit. The demons tell him they had lied to him: the pit was not hell, but they would now lead him thither.

9. Torrent of burning sulphur, very broad and fetid.

Below this is hell.

10. Over the torrent is a dizzy bridge, very high, thin and slippery. Sir Owen is forced to pass over it. He calls on Christ, and the bridge broadens at his every step, so that when he reaches the other side he is unable to see where it stops.

11. EARTHLY PARADISE. Sir Owen, after crossing the bridge, sees before him a high wall, beautifully adorned, and studded with precious stones. As he approaches, a door in the wall opens a little, and most wonderful perfumes are wafted to him. He here sees the various ecclesiastical orders. He is received into their company, and a bishop tells him that he (Owen) had passed through purgatory, as had all those present. Souls are clad in garments of different colors: some in gold, others in green, purple, blue, white etc., according to the degree of virtue which they possess. This was the earthly paradise, from which Adam had been ejected for his disobedience.

12. Sir Owen is led upon a high mountain, and sees the gate of heaven. Heavenly food descends upon him in the form

of a flame. Sir Owen partakes of it, but is compelled to return to earth.

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DISCUSSION.

In St. Patrick's Purgatory we encounter at least one feature which we have not yet met with in the visions. Sir Owen visits purgatory in the flesh, as Ulysses and Aeneis and Orpheus did. We are not, however, to suppose that the original writer of the legend modelled himself upon classical antiquity in this particular. The legend may, indeed, primarily have been stimulated by the cave of which it treats; but, once the awe and curiosity of the people ^{widely} aroused by it, the legend underwent a change of function, and became a stimulus for the cave. For such is undoubtedly the external history of this "put in Irlonde." Having obtained a reputation as an entrance to purgatory, it was only to be expected that so important a place should be put into the keeping of the clergy. The clergy--possibly in all sincerity, for there is no reason to assume that Irish priests were less superstitious than Irish laymen--speedily spread reports of the wonderful

character of the cave, shrouded it in a mantle of delightful mystery, and peopled it with definite horrors. But as the cave was a real thing, it would obviously not ~~be~~ ^{answer} to have its horrors proclaimed through the medium of a vision seen by the soul only. This would be too incongruous a confusion of reality with unreality, of the actual world with the visionary. The public might--probably would--refuse to identify the vague abode visited by the soul of some visionary with their very material cave. And therefore we are given the unique figure of Sir Owen.

As regards the purgatory itself, we have in it all the characteristic elements of a medieval vision. St. Patrick's Purgatory resembles ^{the Vision of Jun dale} ~~Tundale's vision~~, in that Tundale also was made to undergo some of the torments of which he was witness. Furseus, too, it will be remembered, had his arm and shoulder burned. But taking the work as a whole, it seems nearly certain that the writer took for his immediate model some version of the Vision of St. Paul, introducing a few additional features, especially from the Vision of Drinthelm and ^{the Vision of} Tundale. This will appear from the following consideration of the in-

dividual sections.

Sect. 1: whether there is any special significance to be attached to the fact that there are *fifteen* men, I have been unable to determine. In the romances the favorite number for a small company is twelve--perhaps a reminiscence of the twelve apostles. The men are clad in the customary white garments, which at once lends them a supernatural character. This whole section is peculiar to St. Patrick's Purgatory. To invoke the name of Christ when in great need was a common procedure, but we do not often meet with it in the visions.

Sect. 3: the great fire is a universal feature. The "dark region" we are also familiar with; it appears in Enoch, Tundale (~~in~~ sect. 4, p. 165), Driithelm (which may be the immediate source for St. Patrick's Purgatory), Monk of Eynsham (sect. 5), and frequently elsewhere. The cold wind, too, we have met with in the Anglo-Saxon hell, and elsewhere. Sect. 4, a), recalls the sixth Euddhist hell (p. 21 above). Cf. also Dante, Canto XXIII, the punishment of Caiaphas. b), c) are merely variations upon a), probably original with the author of St. Patrick's Purgatory. The cold and turning wind (sect. 4, c $\frac{1}{2}$) presents

the familiar anomaly in a somewhat new form. d) presents the very common features of suspension from and immersion to various portions of the body. For analogous, ^{note on} cf. Apoc. of Peter, ~~sect.~~ ^{above.} 7 (p. 84 above). The immediate source for St. Patrick's Purgatory for this incident was, I am inclined to believe, the Vision of St. Paul. Paul's visions. Roasting, basting, and turning on spits are possibly features of oriental origin. Thespesius (p. 51 above) recognizes his father; Dante meets many acquaintances. It is a common feature. --- "No tongue can tell" etc. cf. note on Apoc. of Peter, ~~sect.~~ 8 (p. 56 above). Sect. 5: the fiery wheel seems undoubtedly to have been borrowed from Paul's visions (sect. 4) (~~p. 149~~). Sect. 6: The "bath-house" may, as has been said, be copied from Tundale's visions, (sect. 9) (~~p. 168 above~~). Different degrees of immersion we already met with in sect. 4, ~~d~~ ⁸ above. Sect. 7: Ascension of mountains is a common procedure. ^{Compare,} for example, Apoc. of Peter, ~~sect.~~ 2 (p. 55 above); Furseus (p. 95 above) etc. Visions of heaven are very commonly had from such a point of vantage. In the Faust books, for instance, the Doctor ascends a mountain, and has a sight of the earthly paradise. -- The wind from

the north-east is probably from the Vision of Drihtelm.
 The icy river is possibly a borrowing from Tundale, (sect.
 10) (~~p. 165~~). -- Sect. 8 presents a commixture of various
 features. The pit is undoubtedly the pit of hell, which we
 are familiar with through Paul and other visions. In St.
Patrick's Purgatory the pit is, to be sure, made a part of
 purgatory; but only, as it would appear, upon second thought,
 since the devils are forced to acknowledgè a falsehood in
 order to permit of the mention of the real hell under the
 river (sect. 9). With this exception, the pit is identical
 with the one in Paul's vision, (sect. 11) (~~p. 151 above~~). --
 Souls flit about in the flame similarly in Thespesius (p. 49),
Drihtelm (p. 100), Tundale, (sect. 12) (~~p. 162~~), Book of Eyn-
sham, (sect. 5), and elsewhere. -- Sect. 9 is interesting
 chiefly from the peculiar position which is assigned to hell,
 being a remarkable echo of Enoch, LXVI, 6 (p. ~~46~~ above). Cf.
note on
 also Apoc. of Peter, ~~sect~~ 6, (p. ~~66~~). -- Sect. 10: in St.
Patrick's Purgatory the bridge is identical with the Moham-
medan al Sirat (cf. p. 20, above) not only in point of resem-
 blance to detail, but also in position, in that it spans hell,

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linking purgatory with the earthly paradise, corresponding to earth and heaven, respectively, in the Mahomedan account. --- For recurrence of the bridge of judgment in the visions, cf. ^{note on} Apoc. of Peter, p. 80 above. St. Patrick's Purgatory has borrowed the feature from Paul's vision, Sect. 11. The account of the earthly paradise very closely resembles that which we find in the Vision of Alberic. The feature of the souls being clad in garments of various colors seems to have originated with the Vision of Thespesius, (cf. p. 86, above).

4. Vision of the Monk of Eynsham (Evesham).

Roman

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY. There are seven manuscripts containing a Latin version of this vision. For those at the British Museum, ~~See~~ Ward, Catalogue of Romances, ii, p. 498 f. For those at Oxford, see Sir Thomas Hardy's Catalogue of Materials for British History, vol. i, pt. i, p. 78-79; 81. The Latin text has also been inserted in Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History, ed. Hewlett, Rolls Ser. i, pp. 246-266; Roger of Wendover's Chronicle, Bohn's Antiquarian Library, ii, pp. 148-164; Matthew Paris' Chronica Majora, Rolls Ser. ii, p. 243 f; Ralph of Coggeshale } Chron. Anglicanum, Rolls Ser. pp. 71-2.

No English MSS. are known. English version by William Machlenia: "A marvelous revelacion... to a monke of Euyshamme" (c. 1482). ~~See~~ Arber's Reprints, No. 16. The Latin text is closely followed.

The vision purports to have been revealed by St. Nicholas to a monk, sometimes called Edmund, of the

Abbey of Eynsham, in Oxfordshire, from the night before good Friday to Easter eve, 1196. This is also the date under which we find it^t in Matthew Paris's chronicle. The author was Adam, sub-prior of the monastery, as we are told in the preface to the Vision of Thurcill. Adam became abbot of Eynsham in 1215, whence he was deposed in 1228; but he was still alive in 1312.

This Adam has recently[†] been shown to have been no other than the chaplain of St. Hugh of Lincoln. Adam, the ~~author~~ author of the Magna Vita. The evidence for his identification seems sufficient. The author of the Vision of the Monk of Eynsham being expressly named, in the preface to Thurcill, "chaplain to Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln."

* And yet another vision has been recently recorded which was seen in the Monastery of Eynsham in the year 1196. William the Prior of the monastery, a most brave and religious man, wrote this narrative in an elegant style, even as he heard it from the mouth of him to whom some had been sent from the Lady, for 2 days and nights. &c.

† H. Thurston. The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln. Lond. 1889. p. 211.



SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

1. Falls into a trance, and remains in this condition for two days.
2. The guide is an old man, clad in white (St. Nicholas)
3. They go towards the East.
4. They first see a horrible plain, marshy and filthy.

There are here large numbers of souls, tormented according to the nature of their crimes (not specified). But all expressed the hope of salvation: ^{first} ~~1st~~ purgatory.

5. A deep valley, hemmed in by a circle of rocks. In the centre was a lake, from which proceeded bubbles of fetid and insupportable vapors. On the sides of the mountains burned terrible fires, the flames of which reached to heaven. Souls were plunged first into the lake, then into the fires, which hurled them into the air, like sparks from a furnace, and threw them upon the summit of the rocks, where they were beaten upon by snow, hail, and cold winds. Souls here were gathered together in troops, like to like. ^{Second} ~~2nd~~ purgatory.

6. Immense plain filled with sulphurous smoke and burning pitch which, rising up like a mountain, filled this horrible

place. Fearful reptiles covered the ground, and fed upon the miserable souls, who were further tormented by demons, running about like mad, who tore their flesh with burning pincers.

7. Place in which perpetrators of crimes against nature are tormented in an appropriate manner. These will be judged on Doomsday, whether they are to be saved, or consigned to eternal punishment.

8. Abode of the blessed: vast plain, full of sweet smells and beautiful flowers. Three divisions: in the first the souls were dressed in garments which, though not spotted or dirty, were only of a dull white; in the second, the souls had white and shining garments. The third division was heaven itself, separated from the second by a wall of crystal, of infinite extent, at the gate of which were crowds of souls waiting for admittance.

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DISCUSSION.

The Vision of Drihthelm has been followed more closely than any other single work in this vision. There are, however, many borrowings from other sources.

In sects. 1 and 2 we have the customary conditions ad-
 duced under which most visions were revealed. St. Nicholas is
 a novelty, but he is "clad in white," as the saints, and the
 blessed in general, always are, ^{(See note on} ~~cf.~~ Apoc. of Peter, sect. 3,
~~(p. 57 above)~~. -- Sect. 3: in the Vision of Drihthelm, the
 direction taken was the north-east (cf. p. ~~60~~ ^{above}; Also Enoch,
 XXVII, p. 42; Apoc. of Peter, sect. 3, p. 57). -- Sect. 4:
 the horrible plain, marshy and filthy, we have already fre-
 quently met with. Tormenting according to the nature of the
 crime is a feature borrowed from the Vision of Paul, (sect. 7);
 (~~p. 150~~); the Apoc. of Peter (p. ~~65~~), and the Oriental ac-
 counts. -- Sect. 5 gives us the well-known lake ^{compare} (cf. pp.
~~67-68~~, above). The valley with its encircling rocks, as
 well as the fires with their souls are undoubtedly copied,
 directly or indirectly, from the Vision of Drihthelm (p. ~~60~~ ^{above}).
 The alternate torment of heat and cold which has been so
 often met with is here probably also ascribable to the Vision
 of Drihthelm. -- Sect. 6 presents no new features. Tearing
 the flesh with pincers has a distinctly oriental flavor,
 though we find it in Tundale's vision, (sect. 11). (~~p. 157~~)

~~what do we not?~~ -- Sect. 8. The souls in the abode of the blessed are divided into three groups--a division which has already been discussed elsewhere (p. 132-136 above). The souls are further distinguished by the relative brightness of their garments. The wall of crystal is from the Book of Enoch, XIV, 8 (p. ~~56~~⁵⁷), perhaps through Tundale's ~~vision~~ (sect. 20), (p. ~~155~~); (sect. 16), (p. ~~164~~).

5. The Vision of Thurcill.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY. Ward, Catalogue of Romances, ii, p. 506 f.

describes two Latin MSS. of this vision in the British Museum.

The Latin text was printed in Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History, ed. Hewlett, Bolls Ser. I, p. 497 f. Also in Roger of Wendover's Chronicle, Bohn's Library, II, p. 221 f. Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, Rolls Series, vol. II, p. 497 f.

There are no English MSS. of the vision.

The vision was revealed in the year 1206 to a husbandman of Stisted in Essex. Ward takes the author to be Ralph of Coggeshale, and there seems to be no reason to doubt this, though he never mentions the name of Thurcill in his Chronicle. But ^{Compare} ~~of~~ the Chronicon Anglicanum, Rolls Ser. ed. by Joseph Stevenson, pp. 72, 141, 162-3, 187.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS.

1. Thurcill, a husbandman of Essex, leaves his body and is conducted by St. Julian to purgatory.

2. They go toward the East, and enter a large and glorious hall, supported by three pillars. To this souls go immediately upon leaving the body, and thence are sent either to purgatory or to hell..

3. Fire of purgatory, between two walls. St. Nicholas is the overseer.

4. A pond, very salt and cold: into this the souls who had passed through the fire are plunged for the purpose of cooling them.

5. A great bridge, covered with nails and spikes, which leads to the mount of joy, where is a church large enough to contain all the people in the world.

6. The hūl of judgment (sect. 2). St. Michael, Peter and Paul sit in judgment on the souls. Perfectly white souls are assigned to St. Michael, who sends them unharmed through the flames; spotted souls are sent by Peter to purgatory; whereas Paul and the devil sit one at each end of a large pair of scales, in which

are weighed the black souls. If the scales turn to the saint, the soul is sent to purgatory; but if to the devil, it is hurled into a fiery pit just at Paul's feet.

7. Devil comes riding up furiously on a black horse. The horse, **Thurcill** is told, is a transformed soul, who is tormented by being thus driven. It was the soul of a peer of England.

8. The infernal theatre, in which fiends sit and enjoy a performance by the damned.

a) Proud man: struts about for some time clad in all the insignia of his proper sin. Suddenly the gay garments in which he is clad burst into flame, and he is thrust back to his place of punishment. Demons tear his flesh with burning pincers, and torture him with boiling pitch and oil. The "smiths of Erebus" then approach him, and drive burning nails through various portions of his body. Being restored to his original shape, the punishment is renewed.

b) Hypocritical priest: his tongue is torn out by the roots.

c) Knight who had spent his life in slaughter and rapine. He is clad in **armor**, and rides a black horse, which vomits flames from mouth and nostrils. He is quickly unhorsed by the demons who

joust with him, after which he is tormented like his predecessors and then thrust back into his place of punishment.

d) Lawyer who had died the year in which the vision is related. Thurcill recognizes him. He is forced to act over his former deeds, pleading on one side, and accepting bribes on the other. He is then forced to swallow the fees thus received, and which have meanwhile been transformed into molten gold. A peculiarly infernal emetic is administered, the gold is vomited forth, only to be reswallowed. And so on for a considerable length of time.

e) Adulterous man and woman. They perform and are tormented in a manner appropriate to their crime.

f) Back-biters, thieves, incendiaries, dishonest merchants, all of whom are tormented in similar ways.

9. The pit of hell, with four cauldrons. In the first cauldron, souls are tormented in boiling oil and pitch; in the second, in snow and ice; in the third, in sulphur and fetid liquors; in the fourth in black, salt water. Every week the souls are changed from one cauldron to another: those in the first to the second, those in the third to the fourth, and vice-versa.

10. The "mount of joy." Souls here suffer no pain, and await admittance to the abode of the blessed. They have been cleansed of their sins by the fires of purgatory.

11. The earthly paradise. Immense temple, surrounded by a garden full of flowers and fruits and perfumes. The fountain of youth. The tree of paradise. Under it lies Adam, clad in a vest of various colors, reaching from his breast to his feet. With one eye he laughs for the blessed; with the other he weeps for the damned. When the number of the elect shall be complete, he will be entirely covered with his robe, and the world will be at an end. Its various colors denote the different virtues by which the righteous are saved.

Thurcill then returns to his body.

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DISCUSSION.

It is impossible to fix upon any single work as the immediate model for this vision. Thespesius, St. Paul, Tundale, Monk of Eynsham, St. Patrick's Purgatory seem all to have contributed somewhat to its varied stock of torments. A number of new features which we have not encountered in the works thus far treated,

are given very especial prominence. These only need be considered in connection with this vision.

Sects. 1, 3, 4, 5, present no new features. St. Nicholas as the overseer (sect. 3) of purgatory may be an echo of Monk of Eynsham, (sect. 2). The pillars which support the hall of judgment are possibly from the Book of Enoch, XVIII, 2 (p. 46; above). The hall itself, as well as the mode of judging the souls therein (sect. 6) is, as has been said, based directly or indirectly upon the Egyptian judgment (cf. p. 26 f. above). The episode of the demon driving a soul (sect. 7) is analogous to a scene in the Vision of Alberic (cf. pp. 22 f. 35, ^{above} where other analogues are cited). The infernal theatre (sect. 8) we have not yet met with. It is of rare occurrence in works earlier than the vision of Thurcill, but becomes rather common later. In the ^{eight(?)} VIII century ~~the~~ Vision of Barontus, sinners are described as sitting round a great area sorrowfully in chairs of lead, each particular class of criminals grouped together. "There is a copy of this vision," says Wright ^L (St. Pat. Purg. p. 105, note) "in a MS. of the ^{twelfth} XII century, in the British Museum, MS. Cotton Tiber. C.XI. There was another copy of this vision in MS. Cotton Otho A xiii, which perished in the fire. It was there said to have occurred in the sixth St. Patrick's Purgatory, etc. p. 105, note.



year of the reign of Theodoric, perhaps Theodoric IV, king of Austrasia and Burgundy, and in that case A. D. 726.)

A closer parallel, pointed out by Ward, Catal. of Rom. ^{11, p. 570,} is in the Vision of Gunthelm (cf. Helinand's Chron. Migne Pat. Lat. ccxii, cols. 1060-1063) who, after leaving paradise, visits the furnaces of Hell; and he sees Bishops there, and Monks and Nuns, acting their former misdeeds for the gratification of the fiends. This may possibly have suggested, thinks Ward, the "Infernal Pageants;" but the picture was probably a commonplace. For the "infernal pageants," see Warton's History of Poetry, § sect. xxvii, under the heading of Kalendar of Shepherdes.

In the Vision of Gunthelm, too, Adam's robe is described in a manner very similar to Thurcill (sect. 11).

The "smiths of Erebus" (sect. 8 a) are interesting reminiscences of Tundale ^{(sect. 11),} and Thespesius ^{(p. 1, above),} (cf. p. 163, sect. 11 above; also p. 51).

Sect. 9 presents the familiar pit of hell. The four ^{the Visconti} cauldrons recall the burning cauldron, with its seven flames, of St. Paul's ^{vision} (sect. 2), p. 142; 148).

Various colors denoting various virtues (sect. 11) is probably a variation upon the garments of different colors in St. Patrick's



Purgatory (sect. 11) (~~p. 171 above~~). In fact, the whole description of the earthly paradise in these two works resembles very closely.

Reye,

I was born in Baltimore, Md., July 9, 1875. Having received my earliest education in the public schools of that city, I became, in 1885, a student at the preparatory school of Dr. E. Deichmann. Thence, in the fall of 1891, I entered the Johns Hopkins University, and in June, 1894, received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from that institution. My advanced studies were pursued under the guidance of Professors Bright, Browne, Wood, Learned; Drs. Vos, Rambeau, Menger and Marden. To all these I take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude; to Professors Browne and Wood, in particular, I am indebted for many hints and inspirations which have proved of inestimable value. Above all, however, I wish to thank Professor Bright, to whose sound scholarship, untiring aid and ready sympathy I owe far more than I can ever hope to repay.

~~Baltimore, April, 1898.~~











