THE ESCHATOLOGICAL THEME IN ENGLISH RELIGIOUS DRAMA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE TUDOR-STUART PERIOD

A Thesis

Submitted to the

Department of English and the Graduate Council

of the

Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

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August 1964

Approved for the Major Department

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TO

MY MOTHER

AND

IN MEMORY OF MY FATHER

". . . Man, in the begynnynge
Loke well, and take good heed to the endynge, . . ."
(Everyman, 10-11)

PREFACE

Some explanation of life is necessary to reconcile man, not only to his hardships and suffering here on this earth, but also to his apparent doom. Since the beginning of the history of Humanum Genus, he has sought ways to save his soul from the terrors of hell. In works of sculpture and in dazzling glass, the medieval artist portrayed all the miseries of life and death in every form, along with scenes concerning the martyrs, saints, and angels. Medieval man considered all of them a part of the Divine plan for creating human souls worthy of admission to an eternity in the Beatific vision. Medieval theologians, believing that everything in the universe, if rightly used, was for the purpose of man's ultimate salvation, used the religious drama as a mode of interpreting for the uneducated masses the Scriptures which taught men how to escape the horrors of hell.

I began this investigation with the intention of analyzing the earliest extant eschatological dramas to establish a particular framework upon which each succeeding similar play was probably based. My purpose has been to determine to what extent the eschatological dramas of the cycle plays are related, to what extent they are reflected in the later morality plays, and, finally, to suggest what

direction the theme might be expected to take as it survives in the Tudor-Stuart plays.

To arrive at the end, one must understand the beginning; consequently, my first chapter deals entirely with the principles of eschatology and their evidence in early philosophy and literature. The second chapter, probably of most importance to the study, is devoted to the problem of the translation and analysis of the Sponsus, a consideration of an early Antichrist play, and, finally, a comparison of the Corpus Christi cycle plays embracing the eschatological theme. The last chapter deals primarily with the finest of all the moralities, Everyman, and the projection of the eschatological theme into the plays of the Tudor-Stuart period.

I wish to express my appreciation especially to Professor Charles E. Walton, Department of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, for his patience, his helpful suggestions and assistance during the preparation of this thesis. Furthermore, I wish to express my gratitude to Professor June Morgan, also of Emporia State Teachers College, for her interest and suggestions. I have pleasure, too, in acknowledging Mrs. Joy Swift, Instructor of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, for her translations of the Low Latin portions of the Sponsus; and Dr. Minnie Miller, Chairman of the Foreign Language

Department, and the informants of the 1963 NDEA Institute, all of Emporia State Teachers College, for their translations of the Old French passages of the same manuscript.

July 18, 1964
Emporia, Kansas

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CHAPTER I

ESCHATOLOGY, DEEPLY ROOTED

Eschatology, a basic concept in the philosophy of human life, emerged from paganism to become the chief concern of the medieval mind and, consequently, one of the principal themes of medieval religious drama which existed primarily to give religious instruction and encourage piety. Furthermore, the theme passed without interruption into the Tudor-Stuart drama.

The term _eschatology_ is defined as that branch of theology dealing with the doctrine of "last things." It involves a study of the fundamentals of salvation and the values that lie beyond one's earthly life.[1] It goes beyond the range of metaphysics and moral philosophy into the concept of the infinite blessedness and goodness of a Supreme Being. Its basic terms are _righteousness_ and _sin_, _salvation_ and _damnation_, _virtue_ and _vice_, _happiness_ and _misery_ in relationship to the condition of man.[2]

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[1]Hardin Craig, _English Religious Drama in the Middle Ages_, p. 74.

[2]W. Peterson, "Rediscovery of Eschatology," _Bibliotheca Sacra_, LXXXIX (April, 1932), p. 225.

The living have always been concerned with the problems of facing and fearing death, but not without a hope for immortality.[3] The abstraction of immortality has usually been attended by varied conceptions of the reality of an afterlife in another world--the life of the shades in the Elysian Fields or in Hades, the life of the blessed in heaven, or of the damned in hell. The projected "other world" is a place of judgment, rewards, and punishments in which the soul realizes the good or pays the penalty for the evil toward which its earthly career was inclined.[4]

According to anthropologists, even the early savage and barbaric peoples believed in some type of existence after death for those who were considered to be righteous individuals.[5] Some of these primitive people believed their "other world" to be located upon earth; others believed it to be somewhere in the sky, on the sun, or on the moon; but the majority specified it to be located under the surface of the earth.[6] Some regarded life in this

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[3]Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, II, p. 361.

[4]Peterson, op. cit., p. 225.

[5]Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, Sociology, p. 138.

[6]W. Schmidt, The Origin and Growth of Religion, pp. 264-76.

mysterious place as a "dull, shadowy" existence; others, as a continuation of the active life, only upon a more idealistic plane.[7] Some tribes judged the righteousness of an individual by a measurement of his physical prowess exemplified in his skill or bravery in war or in the hunt.[8] Others measured an individual's worthiness by standards of elevated concepts of moral duties. Only among the most degraded savages have scholars found some type of retribution to have been entirely lacking.[9]

In the great poems of antiquity, as well, one finds the imagery and detail of the pagan concept of a life hereafter. For example, both Odysseus and Aeneas make visits to the underworld and discourse with the departed, listen to their reminiscences, or hear their prophetic notions of the future. However, and perhaps significantly, the distinction which Virgil makes between Elysium and Tartarus corresponds closely to the later Christian distinction between heaven and hell. In fact, scholars have cited Book VI of Virgil's Aeneid as the unquestionable source of

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[7]Loc. cit.

[8]Ibid., p. 274.

[9]Ibid., p. 275.

the medieval Christian concept of these two domains.[10] In Virgil, Tartarus (the domain of the condemned) is described as surrounded by "A river of running fire, Phlegethon's torrent," filled with the sounds of punishment.[11] On the other hand, Virgil thinks of Elysium as a

> . . . happy place, the joyful dwelling,
> The lovely greenery of the groves of the blessed.
> Here ampler air invests the fields with light,
> Rose-colored, with familiar stars and sun.[12]

In Elysium, the inhabitants, in contrast to the unfortunates who lodge in Tartarus, pass their time in peace and pleasure.

Technically, theologians consider eschatology in terms of two major divisions--that of the individual, and that of the race and universe as a whole. They explain that at the end of an individual life come death and a deliverance into heaven or hell; at the end of the collective life (humanity) and the life of the cosmos comes final judgment followed by a cosmic re-creation.[13] The eschatology of the individual, the doctrine of "personal

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[10]John E. Hankins, "The Pains of the Afterworld: Fire, Wind, and Ice in Milton and Shakespeare," PMLA, LXXI (June, 1956), pp. 488-89.

[11]Rolfe Humphries (tr.), The Aeneid of Virgil, p. 163.

[12]Ibid., p. 166.

[13]Peterson, op. cit., p. 225.

immortality" or eternal survival in some form, seeks to determine the "fate or condition, temporary or eternal," of individual souls.[14] It considers to what degree one's future status depends upon his present life. The broader concept of eschatology concerns the whole human race, on the other hand, and deals with such events as the general resurrection and judgment and the moral and physical order that precede or accompany such events.[15]

The eschatological view underlies the entire Biblical history both of Israel and of mankind. The doctrine of "last things" in Jewish eschatology deals, primarily, with the final destiny of the Jewish nation and the world in general and, secondarily, with the future of the individual. On the other hand, in Christian philosophy, each doctrine receives a proportionate recognition.[16] The principal concerns of the Hebrews were the state of Israel and the ultimate victory of God's truth and justice on earth.[17] The object of Israel's Messianic hope was, and continues to be, a conversion of all the earth's peoples

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[14] The Catholic Encyclopedia, V, p. 528.

[15] Loc. cit.

[16] Loc. cit.

[17] The Jewish Encyclopedia, V, p. 209.

into a union dedicated to promoting the will of God.[18] According to this doctrine, the kingdom of God will have been established only after all violence has been eliminated from the world. The Jewish theology teaches that, because of Adam's sin or by means of the fall of the angels, the world is now controlled by evil powers and will be eventually destroyed in combat between God and the powers of evil, either above or below the earth. This belief presupposes that before the eventual downfall, the entire world will develop into a state of rebellion, manifest in plagues, famines, earthquakes, and fires; but far greater than the turmoil in nature will be the moral disintegration of the people (Daniel XII.1). This view, originally discovered in the predictions of Teutonic and Greek legends, is rooted in an ancient belief in the constant decline of the world (from the ages of gold and silver to those of brass and iron) until the world is dissolved in violent conflagration.[19]

Israel's final combat with the combined forces of the heathen nations under the leadership of Gog holds an

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[18] Loc. cit.

[19] Ibid., p. 211.

important place in Jewish eschatology.[20] The Messiah is the one chosen to lead the righteous in this attempt to annihilate all wickedness, to cleanse the Holy Land, to build the new and pure House of the Lord, and to become the Redeemer of Israel, the permanent focal point of God's kingdom.[21] Jewish theology depicts the Messiah as a being who existed before the time of creation and who has since existed in a state of concealment for thousands of years. This theology asserts that, upon revelation, His immortal companion, Elijah the prophet, will appear with Him and, acting as a high priest, will bring about Israel's repentance and the resurrection of the dead. Jewish belief maintains that the days of the Messiah will see the fulfillment of the prophecy which claims that, through the reign of a son of the house of David, the golden age of bliss will occur in the form of a world that boasts of a perfect peace and harmony among all creatures (Isaiah XI.1-10; LXV.17-25).[22]

The Resurrection and the Last Judgment, which, under Persian influence, were eventually synthetized

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[20] Ibid., p. 212.

[21] John E. Steinmueller and Kathryn Sullivan, Catholic Biblical Encyclopedia Old Testament, p. 544.

[22] The Jewish Encyclopedia, V, p. 209.

in Jewish eschatology, will follow this Messianic era.[23] In the Jewish doctrine, the Messiah will die after His four hundred years' reign, and all mankind and the world will, thereafter, be plunged into silence for seven days, at the end of which span, the renewed earth will then deliver up its dead, and God will begin His task of judging the world.[24] Furthermore, this philosophy explains that the Book of Sin will be opened to expose the secret thoughts of all men. Then, the names of those deemed to be righteous will be recorded in the Book of Life; the wicked souls will be punished; while those with equal merits and demerits will remain in the middle realm until salvation by the intercession of meritorious men. A regeneration of the world will, then, take place, following the conflagration in which all, including Belial, will have been consumed. In the regeneration of the world, the earth will produce new fruits daily, women will painlessly bear children daily, and people will live for one thousand years.[25] In this new world there will be no strife or illness; instead, there will be peace, health, and happiness. The sun and the moon

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[23]Loc. cit.

[24]Loc. cit.

[25]Ibid., p. 217.

will regain their splendor, ruined cities will rise, Jerusalem will be rebuilt of precious stones and will shine like the sun itself. Evil desires will no longer exist, and peace will reign.[26]

A counterpart of the Messiah and an opponent to God Himself is the Antichrist, one of the most important personages in the evolution of Christian eschatology. As in the case of the greater part of early Christian eschatology, the Antichrist originated in Jewish theology.[27] The name, Antichrist, occurs for the first time in Johannean Epistles--I John II.18,22; IV.3; II John 7.[28] Some scholars believe that the Hebrews adopted the Antichrist from the Babylonian Chaos-myths.[29] The fact remains, however, that the Jewish in the pre-Christian period, expected one of Satan's lieutenants, Belial, to appear, if not Satan himself. Furthermore, the activities of this evil one were imagined to have been almost identical to those of the Antichrist described in Thessalonians.[30] Disguised as

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[26]Loc. cit.

[27]The Jewish Encyclopedia, I, p. 625.

[28]The Catholic Encyclopedia, I, p. 560.

[29]The Jewish Encyclopedia, I, p. 625.

[30]Ibid., p. 626.

Christ, he will appear upon the earth to tempt and corrupt the righteous before Christ's Second Coming and the Judgment Day. As God is to be represented by the Messiah in the battle between good and evil, so Satan is to be represented by Antichrist, who at a very early time became identified with Gog.[31]

The later idea that Nero would be the Antichrist evolved out of the Hebrews' bitter feeling against Rome in the hundred years, 30 to 130 A.D.[32] The Jewish Sibyl, writing about 80 A.D., stated that Nero was at that time in concealment in the land of the Parthians and prophesied that he would remain there for decades, only to return to instigate a universal war.[33] Indeed, one finds that Nero became the true devil or Antichrist in accounts written by another Jewish Sibyl about 120 or 125 A.D.[34] It may be significant for scholars to determine if this same idea were prevalent among the Christians when they were suffering under Roman rule. However, one suggests that the task may prove to be exceedingly difficult since oral tradition

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[31]The Catholic Encyclopedia, I, p. 560.

[32]The Jewish Encyclopedia, I, p. 625.

[33]Loc. cit.

[34]Loc. cit.

considerably altered the legend of the Antichrist, while passages in the New Testament concerning him were misunderstood at an early date.[35] Consequently, the concept of the Antichrist held by the early and medieval Christians is one that is apt to be very much involved, whenever found.

When it emerged into the world out of its surrounding Greek paganism, however, Christianity rested upon this Hebrew foundation. Therefore, Catholic or early Christian eschatology, for the purpose of systematic treatment, must be divided into (a) individual and (b) universal and cosmic eschatology. In general, individual eschatology alludes to four "last things": (1) death, sometimes involving purgatory; (2) judgment; (3) heaven; and (4) hell. For the individual, death, explained as the separation of the soul and body, is the primary consequence of Adam's sin. In this Christian view, man at death had ended his period of probation, during which time he had shaped the events which later were to determine his eternal destiny. In this same doctrine, one observes that there is a particular judgment of each soul at the time of death, followed by an immediate entry into heaven, purgatory, or hell.[36]

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[35] The Catholic Encyclopedia, I, p. 561.

[36] Ibid., V, p. 533.

In Christian thought, heaven is the domain of the blessed, who, after their resurrection, will be elevated by "the light of glory" so that they, with the angels, will enjoy the vision of God. Similarly, in Catholic eschatology there are also degrees of glory to be attained to. Christian theology describes purgatory as an "immediate state of unknown duration" in which those, imperfect at the time of their death, may now undergo an act of purification to qualify themselves for entry into heaven. It is at this time that these souls may be benefited by the prayers and good works of the living. On the other hand, those who die in "unrepented mortal sin" are denied access into purgatory. By contrast, hell is the state belonging to both men and angels, who, because of their sins, have been eternally excluded from an experiencing of the Beatific vision. Similarly, there are degrees of punishment in the state of hell corresponding to the degrees of guilt.[37] Finally, Holy Writ locates hell within the bowels of the earth and represents it as an abyss into which the wicked descend as the earth opens (Numbers XVI.31; Philippians XIV.10).

Universal and cosmic eschatology mention (1) the approach of the end of the world, (2) the resurrection

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[37]Joseph H. Fichter, Christianity, pp. 236-41.

of the body, (3) the General Judgment, and (4) the final consumation of all things.[38] Theologians agree that nine signs will precede the act of General Judgment:[39]

(1) The general preaching of the Christian religion (Matthew XXIV.14)

(2) The conversion of the Jews (Romans XI.25,26)

(3) The return of Elias and Henoch[40] (Matthew XVII.11; II Thessalonians ii.3)

(4) The reign of the Antichrist (II Thessalonians ii.3)

(5) A great apostasy, a revolt by which there will be a great reduction in the number of faithful through the abandonment of the Christian religion by many nations (Luke XVIII.8)

(6) The extraordinary perturbations of nature (Matthew XXIV.6,29)

(7) The universal conflagration (I Thessalonians V.2)

(8) The trumpet of resurrection (I Thessalonians IV.16; Matthew XXIV.31)

(9) The appearance of the sign of the Son of Man (Matthew XXIV.30)

Although Christ did not prescribe the exact time for the end of the universe (Mark XIII.32), early Christians believed that, because of contemporary

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[38] The Catholic Encyclopedia, V, p. 533.

[39] Paraphrased from The Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, pp. 552-53.

[40] Also spelled Helyas and Elijah.

occurrences in the realm of natural phenomena, the end of the world was imminent.[41] According to the Scriptures, social calamities and "terrifying physical convulsion" would be manifest as signs of the approaching end; however, even so, the end would be unexpected. Then the materialization of Christ would be the signal for the rising of the dead, the wicked, and the just, once more in the form of their earthly bodies.[42] Consignment to appropriate stations would next occur. The just would then be called to God's right hand; the unjust, to His left. The present heaven and earth would be destroyed to be replaced by a new heaven and a new earth. Christ's militant reign would come to an end when He had accomplished His mission as Judge (I Corinthians XV.24). He would continue, nevertheless, to reign forever in glory as King of those whom He had saved.[43]

While the subject is vast and detailed, in this present study the author will cite only two Christian philosophers through whose teachings these ancient eschatological views have persisted into the Christian religion.

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[41] Young, op. cit., II, p. 361.

[42] The Catholic Encyclopedia, V, p. 534.

[43] Loc. cit.

For example, Saint Augustine (354-430 A.D.) in The City of God described the characteristics of two cities—the city of God and the city of the devil.[44] He explained that, although the heavenly city exists in one place on earth, nevertheless, it attracts peoples from all nations to earthly peace, regardless of differences in manners, laws, and institutions. Augustine explained that the only requirement for life in the heavenly city is an obedience to God's commandments.[45] Furthermore, he proclaimed that the supreme good is an eternal life, while the supreme evil is an eternal death. To attain to the one and escape the other, he cautioned that one must live righteously.[46] Saint Augustine also warned that Christ will come in the Last Judgment to judge the quick and the dead and, with "the breath of His mouth," kill the Antichrist, subjecting to misery all who dwell in the city of the evil one.[47] Furthermore, he maintained that, since the beginning of human history, God has judged not only the masses (condemning the race of devils and the race of men to misery

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[44]Marcus Dods (tr.), The City of God by Saint Augustine, Books X-XX, pp. 303-762.

[45]Ibid., p. 696.

[46]Ibid., p. 676.

[47]Ibid., p. 730.

because of the original sin of these races), but also the "voluntary and personal acts of individuals."[48] On the other hand, Augustine promised that the righteous will dwell forever with the Lord. Finally, he asserted that, when the Judgment was finished, the world would cease to be, and in its place a new heaven and earth would appear:

> For as soon as those who are not written in the book of life have been judged and cast into eternal fire--the nature of which fire, or its position in the world or universe, I suppose is known to no man, unless perhaps the divine Spirit reveal it to some one--then shall the figure of this world pass away in a conflagration of universal fire, as once before the world was flooded with a deluge of universal water. And by this universal conflagration the qualities of the corruptible elements which suited our corruptible bodies shall utterly perish, and our substance shall receive such qualities as shall, by a wonderful transmutation, harmonize with our immortal bodies, so that as the world itself is renewed to some better thing, it is fitly accommodated to men, themselves renewed in their flesh to some better thing.[49]

It is important for one to realize, in addition, that Saint Augustine's views are expressed in a Catholic tradition maintained since the time of the Apostles and developed from St. Paul's Epistles and St. John's Apocalypse.

Moreover, the Venerable Bede (d. 735), considered the most learned Western European scholar of his period,

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[48] Ibid., pp. 710-11.

[49] Ibid., p. 735.

echoed the words of Saint Augustine in a sermon on the occasion of All Saints:

> Now, therefore, brethern, let us enter the way of life; let us return to the celestial city, in which we are citizens, enrolled and inscribed. . . . Let us consider, therefore, the felicity of that heavenly habitation, in so far as it is possible to consider it . . . .[50]

In another sermon, Bede emphasized the importance of living always in "watchfulness" in order for the individual to be ready for the coming of the Judgment Day:

> Therefore, my brethern, I beseech you, that they who are in the habit of good works would persevere in every good work; and that they who are evil would amend themselves quickly, before sudden death come upon them. While therefore we have time, let us do good to all men, and let us leave off doing ill, that we may attain to eternal life.[51]

Early English poets, as well, repeat the eschatological thought and imagery in their works. An example to illustrate the completeness with which the early poets handled this theme is found in Cynewulf, an English poet of the late eighth century, often credited with the authorship of the "Last Judgment," a religious treatise which some scholars have assigned to the third section of the Old

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[50]Quoted in J. M. Neale, Medieval Preachers and Medieval Preaching, p. 4.

[51]Quoted in ibid., p. 16.

English poem, Christ.[52] The poem is contained in the Exeter Book immediately following Cynewulf's signed poem, "Ascension." The principal source for the "Last Judgment" is the alphabetical Latin hymn on Doomsday quoted by Bede in his De Arte Metrica.[53] Scholars have shown that the Latin hymn is expanded with borrowings from various sources, and Kennedy has traced the passage of Christ's stern indictment of man's ingratitude to a sermon of Caesarius of Arles.[54] Other materials in the poem have been taken from Ephraem Syrus, Gregory's homilies, and various scriptural sources.[55]

A consideration of sections of the poem will serve to illustrate how closely it parallels the eschatological principles. For example, the poem predicts that the end of the world will come unexpectedly and ". . . fall suddenly on carefree men bound in slumber." The angels, sounding their trumpets, will summon all mankind to the final Judgment:

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[52]Charles W. Kennedy, Early English Christian Poetry, p. 254.

[53]Ibid., p. 255.

[54]Loc. cit.

[55]Loc. cit.

þonne from feowerum foldan sceatum
þam ytemestum eorþan rices
englas sel-beorhte on efen blawaþ
byman on brehtme beofaþ middan-geard
hruse under haelepum hlydaþ tosomne
trume and torhte wiþ tungla gong
singaþ and swinsiaþ suþan and norþan
eastan and westan ofer þealle gesceaft
weccaþ of deaþe dryht-gumena bearn
eall monna cynn to meotud-sceafte
eges-lic of þaere ealdan moldan hataþ hy up-pastandan
sneome of slaepe þy faestan þaer mon maeg sorgende fole

Then from the world's four corners,
from the uttermost regions of the realm of earth,
resplendent angels shall loudly, with one accord,
sound their trumpets, and midearth shall quake,
and the region under men.
Boldly and gloriously shall they blow together toward the stars' career,
and sing and chant from south and north,
from east and west, o'er all creation,
and wake from death unto the final doom
aghast from the old earth, the sons of warrior-men
and all mankind, and bid them arise
forthwith from their deep sleep.

(Christ, 878-88)[56]

The poem also describes the wailings of the wicked when the angels and devils meet and emphasizes the unnatural turmoil which eschatology asserts will accompany the end of the world and the Second Coming of Christ:

dyneþ deop gesceaft and fore dryhtne faereþ
waelm-gyra maest ofer widne grund

The great creation shall resound, and before the Lord shall go
the greatest of all raging fires throughout the spacious earth:

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[56]This and the following excerpts from Christ are taken from The Exeter Book, Israel Gollancz, editor.

hlemmeþ hata leg
heofonas berstaþ
trume and torhte tungol of-hreosaþ
þonne weorþeþ sunne
sweart gewended
on blodes hiw seo þe
beorhte scèan
ofer aer-woruld aelda
bearum.
Mona þæt sylfe þe aer
mon-cynne
nihtes lyhte niþer
gehreoseþ
and steorran swa some
stredaþ of heofone
þurh þa strongan lyft
stormum abeatne

hot flame shall roar, the
heavens shall burst,
the steadfast and bright
planets shall fall down;
then shall the sun be changed,
all swart,
to the hue of blood, the sun
which brightly shone
for the sons of men above
the former world:
likewise the moon which
erewhile gave light
for mankind in the night
shall fall down,
and the stars too shall
descend from heaven,
tempest-driven through the
stormy air.
(Christ, 930-40)

It is significant that this section of the poem, describing the signs of the approach of Doomsday, closely parallels its source, Isaiah XIII.9-11:

Behold, the day of the Lord cometh, cruel
both with wrath and fierce anger, to lay the
land desolate: and he shall destroy the sinners
thereof out of it.
For the stars of heaven and the constellations
thereof shall not give their light: the sun shall
be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall
not cause her light to shine.
And I will punish the world for their evil,
and the wicked for their iniquity; and I
will cause the arrogancy of the proud to
cease, and will lay low the haughtiness of
the terrible.

The poem further expounds the details of the eschatological theme with an account of the risen dead who acquire youthful bodies again and, troubled and trembling, await the judgment of God:

þonne crist siteþ on
his cyne-stole
on heah-setle heofon-
maegne god
faeder aelmihtig folca
gehwylcum
scyppend scinende
scrifeþ bi gehwyhtum
eall aefter ryhte
rodera woldend.
þonne beoþ gesomnad on
þa swiþran hond
þa claenan folc criste
sylfum
gecorene bi eystum þa
aer sinne ewide
gearne
lustum laestun on
lyra lif-dagum.
ond þaer wom-sceaþan
on þone wyrsan dael
fore scyppende scyrede
weorþaþ
hateþ him gewitan on
þa winstran hond
sigora soþ cyning
synfulra weorud.
þaer hy arasade reotaþ
and beofiaþ
fore frean forhte swa
fule swa gaet
unsyfre folc arna ne
wenaþ

Then Christ shall sit on
His royal throne,
on His high seat, when the
Almighty Father,
the radiant Creator, God
of the heavenly hosts
shall prescribe all right-
eously
for every man according to
his works.
Then shall be gathered on
the right hand
of Christ Himself the cleanly
folk,
chosen for their virtues,
who in their life-days
had joyfully performed His
word.
And the workers of harm
shall be disposed
before their Maker on the
worser side;
the true King of victory
shall bid the band
of the sinful wend them
unto the left hand
where they, discovered,
shall wail and quake,
afeard before the Lord, as
foul as goats,
an unpure folk, --they may
expect no grace.
(Christ, 1216-31)

As had been taught in early Christian theology, in the poem Christ judges each soul particularly, calling each by name to bear before Him his evil deeds and his good deeds, even the musings of his heart. He specifies that those who bring good deeds shall be of good courage, for they will be called to the Lord's right hand and joy will be the reward for their works. But the "sin-stained" man, with woe in his

heart, will be called to the Lord's left hand where he will "behold the greatest of sorrows." Then, as it is in the Scriptures, the poem lists the requirements for man's entry into a state of bliss, the state in which the chosen ones will dwell in ". . . sweet heavenly joy":

ge þæs earnodon þa ge eorme men
woruld-þearfende willum onfengun
on mildum sefan. þonne hy him þurh minne noman
eadmode to eow arna bædun
þonne ge hyra hulpon and him hleoþ gefon
hingrendum hlaf and hrægl nacedum
and þa þe on sare seoce lagun
aef[n] don ansofte adle gebundne
to þam ge holdlice hyge stapeldaon
mid modes myne eall ge þæt me dydon.

þonne ge hy mid sibbum sohtun and hyra sefan trymedon
forþ on frofre þæs ge fægre sceolon
lean mid leofum lange brucan.

". . . This ye merited when ye willingly received
poor men, the needy of the world,
in gentle mood; when in my name
they humbly prayed you for compassion,
then helped ye them, and gave them sheltering,
bread to the hungry, and garment to the naked,
and those that lay sick in sore pain,
And suffered grievously, bound by disease,
their spirits ye sustained in kindly wise,
yea, with the soul's affection. All this ye did for me,
When ye sought them with goodwill, and aye in comfort
stayed their spirits; wherefore ye shall gloriously
long enjoy reward with my beloved."
(Christ, 1349-61)

To be worthy of being called to Christ's right hand, an individual must have received the poor with compassion, for ". . . inasmuch as ye did it unto / the least of these my brethern, ye have done it / unto me" (Matthew

XXV.40). One will observe that this passage appears in an almost verbatim state in the Judgment plays, presently to be discussed. Similarly, the following quotation, in which Christ admonishes the wicked and reviews His own life and sacrifice for man's salvation, is to be found at the beginnings of most of the Judgment plays:

. . . ic þæt sar for þe þurh eaþmedu eall gepolade	'. . . all that pain, their scorn and harsh reproach, in humbleness
hosp and heard ewide þa he hwæsne beag	I bore for thee. Then they bent a spiny
ymb min heafod heardne gebydon	and sharp crown around my head;
þream biþrycton se wæs of þornum geworht.	with cruelty they pressed it on --'twas wrought of thorns.
þa ic wæs ahongen on heanne beam	Then was I hanged upon a lofty tree,
rode gefæstnad þa hi ricene	and fastened to a rood; with a spear then,
mid spere of minre sidan swat ut- getun	from my side, they poured out on to earth
dreor to foldan þæt þu of deofles þurh þæt	my blood and gore. That thou, thereby, shouldst be delivered from the devil's tyranny,
nyd-gewalde generod wurde	all sinless, bore I then this punishment
þa ic worma leas wite þolade	and sore affliction, till that I sent
yfel earfeþu oþþæt ic anne forlet	the living spirit from my body forth alone.
of minum lic-homan lifgendne gæst	See now the fatal wounds which they once made
geseeþ nu þa feorh- dolg þe gefremedun aer	upon my palms, and on my feet also,
on minum folmun and on fotum swa some	
þurh þa ic hongade hearde gefæstad	by which I hung, fastened full strongly;

meant hêr eâe geseon
orgete nu gen
on minre siden swatge
wunde
hu þaer waes ânefen
racu unc gemaene.
Ic onfeng þin sâr þaet
þu moste gesaelig
mines epel-rices eadig
neotan
and þe mine deaþe
deore gebohte
þaet longe lif þaet
þu leohte siþþan
wlitig womma leas
wunian mostes.

here mayst thou see too,
manifest e'en yet,
the gory wound upon my side.
How uneven was the reckoning there between us two!
I received thy pain, that
thou, blessed,
mightst happily enjoy my
native realm,
and by my death I dearly
bought for thee
long life, that thenceforth
thou mightst
dwell in the light, beauteous and void of sins.
(Christ, 1441-64)

Christ is grieved because, although He has sacrificed His own life to save man from sin, mankind has continued to sin. Therefore, He casts the wicked into hell because they have refused shelter, clothing, and sustenance to those who were needy and ill and who have asked in His name:

faraþ nu awyrgde
willum biscyrede
engla dreames
on ece fir
þaet waes satane and
his gesiþum mid
deofle gegearwad and
þaere deorcan scole
hat and heoro-grim on
þaet ge hreosan
sceolan.

Go now accursed, wilfully
cut off
from angels' joy, into
eternal fire,
which, hot and fiercely
grim was dight
for the devil Satan and
his comrades too,
and all that swarthy shoal;
therein shall ye fall.
(Christ, 1519-23)

The poem describes hell, furthermore, as a bottomless pit of darkness, fire, and chilling terror filled with a mixture of serpents and the souls of the wicked. Heaven, on the other hand, is a never-ending land of bliss, free from sin,

wrapped in light, "safe from sorrows, and glorified with joy." The Scriptural source of the consignment of souls at the time of Judgment is Revelation XXI.4.7-8:

> He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son. But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

Obviously, Cynewulf has incorporated into the poem not only a pagan concept of life hereafter but also the major ideas underlying early Christian eschatology, which may be expressed as follows:

(1) The unexpected end of the world accompanied by "terrifying physical convulsions"

(2) The materialization of Christ and the resurrection of the dead

(3) The Judgment of the risen dead and their proper consignments according to their good deeds and their evil deeds

(4) The description of heaven as a place of eternal bliss; and hell, as a place of eternal torment and punishment through fire, wind, and ice.

Few men in the medieval period had as much to say about the teachings of the Church as did John Wyclif (1324-1384), who, never abandoning these ancient eschatological principles, used the basic pattern of devotion to an eternal world as the best possible motivation for Christian

living.[57] Actually, his chief concern was that all classes of people--rich men and poor men, scholars and peasants--should become familiar with the Gospel and learn its meaning. In "The Translation of the Bible" (1382), he wrote:

> It semyb first bat be wit of Goddis lawe shulde be tau3t in bat tunge bat is more knowun, for bis wit is Goddis word. . . . Also be Holy Gost 3af to apostlis wit at Wit Sunday for to knowe al maner langagis, to teche be puple Goddis lawe berby; and so God wolde bat be puple were tau3t Goddis lawe in dyuerse tungis.[58]

Again in his "Of Feigned Contemplative Life" (1375-1400), he emphasized the fact that God's law was not being taught or kept:

> A Lordi 3if alle be studie and traueile bat men han now aboute Salisbury vse, wib multitude of newe costy portos, antiferners, graielis, and alle opere bokis, weren turned into makynge of bibles, and in studiynge and teehynge berof, how moche schulde Goddis lawe be forbered, and knowen, and kept, and now in so moche it is hyndred, vnstudied, and vnkept.[59]

Wyclif's aim was to obtain a re-dedication on the part of the people of the fourteenth century to prepare themselves for a life after death. He was determined that the people

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[57]Petry, op. cit., pp. 146-48.

[58]Quoted in Kenneth Sisam (ed.), Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose, p. 117.

[59]Quoted in ibid., p. 126.

learn the meaning of the Gospel and begin, thereafter, a preparation for the Judgment which the Gospel prophesies.[60] Although Wyclif called the pope "Antichrist" and denied certain Church doctrines, such as transubstantiation, he held that the Bible contained all truths necessary to salvation and taught that each individual had the right to win that coveted salvation.[61]

It was this hope for an eternity of bliss for the faithful, therefore, that dominated the thinking of the people of the Middle Ages. They were conscious of two different worlds, the one in which they lived on earth and the one in which they expected to dwell after death. These untrained people were concerned with their earthly lives, but they also speculated, within their limited range of philosophy, about a world which lay entirely beyond the scope of their earthly one. At the same time, their Church emphasized the importance of one's readiness for the Judgment Day, when the scrutiny of Christ would determine each soul's place, whether it be everlasting fellowship with the Divine or everlasting communion with the hopelessly evil.

Since Latin was the language of learned culture throughout the Christian world during the Middle Ages,

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[60]Gertrude Hartman, Medieval Days and Ways, p. 246.

[61]Loren Carey MacKinney, The Medieval World, p. 267.

the leaders of the Church, to compensate somewhat for the lack of vernacular editions of the Holy Writ, selected appropriate stories from the Scriptures and the lives of the saints and presented them in visual dramatic form to the uneducated masses.[62] By the fourth century, the dramatic qualities of Christian worship had already become evident in the Mass, the central, solemn rite of the Church; and by the close of the sixth century, the choral portions of the Mass had been compiled and arranged for different seasons of the year.[63] The dramatized subjects were those stories (*lectiones*), taken from the Bible into the liturgy, that told of the exemplary lives of the saints and the Fall and Redemption of man.[64] Hence, the origin of Church drama involves these *lectiones* and their accompanying antiphons, which contained, in familiar form, those matters that underwent dramatization. The liturgy of the Church, therefore, was the "controlling force" which dictated the subjects to be dramatized. For that matter, one suspects that there was little freedom as to choice of subjects to

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[62]Allardyce Nicoll, *British Drama*, p. 20.

[63]Sir E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, pp. 2-7.

[64]Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

be dramatized even after the plays had become secular.[65] Nevertheless, since it is important for one to know when in the liturgical year the lessons were presented, one must consider the significance of the Breviary at this point.

The Breviary, a large book containing the services of the canonical hours throughout the year, was compiled about the eighth century, as the result of an order by St. Benedict, and came into its typical form about the eleventh century.[66] It is divided into two parts: (1) The Temporale, or Proper of the Seasons, which contains daily services in their assigned order in the cursus of the liturgical year, beginning with the Advent and continuing with the Scriptures concerning the Fall and Redemption of Man. This section contains services for all the Sundays and ferial (week) days with proper lessons, Gospels, antiphons, responses, versicles, and other formularies that were adapted to each occasion. (2) The Sanctorale, or Proper of the Saints, consists of lessons, psalms, antiphons, and other formularies appropriate to the feasts of all the saints or those who were honored by special services.[67] The specific division having to do

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[65] Ibid., p. 29.

[66] Loc. cit.

[67] Ibid., pp. 26-28.

with matters of eschatology is the one assigned to the Advent, the first division of the liturgical year. The Advent season begins with the Sunday that falls between November 27 and December 3 and continues through the next three Sundays. During this season of vigils and offices of the dead, the Commendation of Souls, and other matters having to do with life after death and the end of all things, the lessons are drawn from the Book of Isaiah, Matthew, and Mark, and from the Epistles of St. Paul and the Prophecy of Ezekial.[68] The religious plays that grew out of the Advent season are the eschatological dramas, which introduce the Antichrist and portray the events of the Last Judgment. These dramas were the media through which the powerful medieval Church expounded the principles of Christian eschatology, keeping always before mankind the idea of the joys of heaven to be earned during one's sojourn on earth and reminding him of the tortures of hell, the unavoidable consequence of an evil life. The theme emerges in the so-called Judgment plays and the dramas depicting the Antichrist in the Corpus Christi cycles to be considered in the next chapter.

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[68] Ibid., p. 74.

CHAPTER II

EARLY ENGLISH ESCHATOLOGICAL DRAMAS AND THE THEME IN THE CYCLE PLAYS

In early times, there was a disposition to introduce the vernacular into the popular Latin plays, so that the unlettered spectators could understand the dialogue.[69] At first, the vernacular, rather than taking the form of direct translation, was merely choral or explanatory.[70] This characteristic is true of the Sponsus, one of two extant early eschatological plays written in Latin. The other surviving manuscript is that of the Antichristus, to which Craig adds the Judicium; however, he explains that the Antichristus and the Judicium were originally probably one play.[71] These latter plays were performed during Advent, the season of the liturgical year including the four Sundays before Christmas, which was devoted to prayer and meditation on Matthew XXIV and XXV, Mark XIII, and the Prophecy of Ezekial.[72]

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[69]Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 88.

[70]Craig, op. cit., p. 96.

[71]Ibid., p. 74.

[72]Loc. cit.

On the other hand, there is some controversy concerning the exact season in which the Sponsus was presented. Some scholars assign the play to the Advent season on the basis of its theme concerning the coming of the bridegroom.[73] However, Young points out that the references to the "Passion" and to the "Resurrection" (which occur in this play in Gabriel's speech) have been the bases for its eventual assignment, in some instances, to the time of the Easter cycle.[74] One should note, however, that the play is taken from a parable to be found in Matthew XXV.1-13, one of the Scriptures also cited for meditation during the Advent season.[75] Chambers states that the Sponsus is definitely an Advent theme and, consequently, that it must have been performed either in Advent or at Christmas, which latter theme is prophetically attached to the Advent season.[76]

The Sponsus, a play of the wise and foolish virgins, is written partially in Low Latin and partially in Old French or roman and is, therefore, considered to be a

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[73]A. P. Rossiter, English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans, p. 49.

[74]Young, op. cit., II, p. 368.

[75]Craig, op. cit., p. 74.

[76]Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 62.

document written in a transitional form. Actually, one is more correct in saying that the Old French contained in the manuscript is really a form of Vulgar Latin which was in the process of becoming French. Probably, the author (priest?) wrote these portions of the play in what he considered to be, at the time, a language of the common people. Craig agrees with Morf's suggestion that the Latin lines carry the original play.[77]

To allow for a careful study of the movements of this early form of an eschatological drama, the text is reproduced hereafter in its entirety from the eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript in the St. Martialis Monastery at Limoges:

SPONSUS[78]	THE BRIDEGROOM
(Chorus:) Adest Sponsus, qui est Christus, uigilate, uirgines!	(Chorus:) The Bridegroom is here, [He] who is Christ, do not sleep, virgins!
Pro aduentu cuius gaudent et gaudebunt homines.	For Whose arrival they rejoice and men will rejoice.
Venit enim liberare gentium origines,	For He comes to set free the races of peoples,

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[77]Craig, op. cit., p. 75.

[78]The manuscript of the Sponsus has been reproduced from Young, op. cit., II, pp. 362-64.

Quas per primam sibi matrem subiugarunt demones.	[They] whom through the first mother the demons subjugate to themselves.
Hic est Adam qui secundus per propheta(m) dicitur,	This is Adam who follows as it is said to be the prophet,
Per quem scelus primi Ade a nobis diluitur.	Through Whom the evil deed of the first man is washed away from us.
Hic pependit ut celesti patrie nos redderet,	He suffered punishment so that He may return us to the heavenly Father,
Ac de parte inimici liberos nos traheret.	And from the side of wickedness He may draw us, set free.
Venit Sponsus qui nostrorum scelerum piacula	The Bridegroom comes [He] Who laves the sins of our evil deeds
Morte lauit atque crucis sustulit patibula.	With His death and endured the yoke of the cross.
(Accedant) Prvdentes, (et dicat Gabriel:)	The Prudent Ones approach and let Gabriel speak:[79]
Oiet, uirgines, aiso que uos dirum.	Listen, Virgins, what I am going to tell you.
Aiseet presen que uos comandarum.	I order you to sit down.
Atendet un espos, Ihesu Saluaire a nom,	Await your Husband, Whose name is Jesus the Saviour,
Gaire noi / dormet!	Do not sleep any more!

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[79]Mrs. Joy Swift, Instructor of English, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, is responsible for the translations from the Low Latin. Her translations will hereafter be marked *.

Aisel espos qui uos hor atendet.	That Husband Whom you await today.
Uenit en terra per los uostres pechet,	He came to earth for your sins,
De la uirgine en Betleem fo net,	He was born of the virgin in Bethlehem,
E flum Iorda lauet e bateet,	Purified and baptized in the river Jordan,
Gaire (noi dormet!	Wake up!
Aisel espos que uos hor atendet).	That Husband Whom you await today.
En fo batut, gabet e laideniet,	Christ was beaten, insulted, and whipped,
Sus e la crot batut e claufiget,	On the cross beaten and nailed,
En monumen desoientre pauset,	He now rests within the tomb,
Gaire (noi dormet!	Sleep no longer!
Aisel espos que uos hor atendet)	That Husband Whom you await today
E resors es, la scriptura o dii.	He is risen, so says the Scripture.
Gabriels soi, eu (m'a) trames aici.	Gabriel himself, sent by God, brought me here.
Atendet lo, que ia uenra praiei,	Wait for Him Who will come soon,
Gaire (noi dormet!	Sleep no longer!

Aisel espos que uos hor atendet).	That Husband Whom you await today.[80]
Fatve:	(The Foolish Ones)
Nos uirgines que ad uos uenimus,	We virgins also come to you,
Negligenter oleum fundimus;	Needlessly we pour out the oil;
Ad uos erare, sorores, cupimus,	We [your] sisters desire to speak to you,
Ut ad illas quibus nos credimus.	As to those in whom we trust.*
Dolentas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dormit!	You are lazy and weak and you have slept too long!**
Nos co/mites huius itineris	We [are] companions of this journey
Et sorores eiusdem generis,	And sisters of the same people,
Quamuis male contigit miseris,	And ever so much evil befalls [these] wretched [ones],
Potestis nos reddere superis.	You are able to return us to the high [road].*
Dolentas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dormit!	You are lazy and weak and you have slept too long!**

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[80]The Old French passages were translated by visiting Professor Dr. Jean M. Leblon and the French informants of the 1963 NDEA Institute of the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia: Mlle Marguerite Mathieu, Mlle Raymonde Silvestre, Mme Jacqueline Curtis, Mlle Christine Poirout, M. Francois Brady, and M. Michel Beillet. These Old French translations will be henceforth marked**.

Partimini lumen lampadibus;	You divide the light in [your] lamps
Pie sitis insipientibus,	[That] you may be acting piously to us foolish [maidens],
Pulse ne nos simus a forbus,	Lest at [His] knocking we be away from the doors,
Cum uos Sponsus uocet in sedibus.	When the Bridegroom summons you into [His] dwelling.*
Dolentas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dormit!	You are lazy and weak and you have slept too long!**
Prvdentes:	(Prudent Ones)
Nos precari, precamur, amplius	We pray that we may pray the more
Desinite, sorores, ocius.	Stop, sisters, [your] idleness.
Uobis enim nil erit melius	For you, indeed, nothing will be better*
Dare preces pro hoc ulterius.	To give prayers for that later.**
Dolentas, (chaitiuas, trop i auet dormit!)	You are lazy and weak and have slept too long!**
Ac ite nunc, ite celeriter,	But go, go quickly,
Ac uendentes rogate dulciter	And ask the vendors pleasantly
Ut oleum uestris lampadibus	That oil for [your] lamps
Dent equidem uobis inertibus.	They may give, indeed, for your needs.
Do(lentas, chaitiuas, trop i auet dormit)!	You are lazy and weak and have slept too long!**

Fatuae:	(Foolish Ones)
A! misere, nos hic quid facimus?	Ah me! Alas, what do we do here?
Uigilare numquid po/tuimus?	Were we never able to stay awake?
Hunc laborem, que(m) nunc perferimus,	This hardship, which now we bear,
Nobis nosmet ipsae contulimus	We ourselves took upon us.*
Dol(entas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dormit)!	You are lazy and weak and have slept too long!**
Et de(t) nobis mercator ocius	And the vendor gives to us
Quas habeat merces, quas socius;	These wages he may have;
Oleum nunc querere uenimus,	Now we go to seek oil,
Negligenter quod nosmet fudimus.	Which, heedlessly, we ourselves poured out.*
Dol(entas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dormit)!	You are lazy and weak and have slept too long.**
Prudentes:	(Prudent Ones)
De mostr'oli queret nos a doner.	She asks that you give them of your oil.
Ne'n quret pont, alet en achapter	You shall not have any, to buy some
Deus merchaans que lai ueet ester.	God, Who wishes to be the merchant for you.

* * * * * * *

Dol(entas, chaitiuas, trop i auet dormit)!	Lazy and weak ones, you have slept too long!**

Mercatores:

Domnas gentils, no uos couent ester,

Ni loiamen aici a demorer.

Cosel queret, nou uos poem doner;

Queret lo Deu, chi uos pot conseler.

Alet areir a uostras sins seros,

E preiet las per Deu lo glorios

De oleo fasen socors a uos;

Faites o tost, que ia uenra l'espos./

Fa(tuae):

A! misere, nos ad quid uenimus?

Nil est enim illut quod querimus.

Fatatum est, et nos uidebimus;

Ad nuptias numquam intrabimus.

Dol'entas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dornit)!

Modo veniat Sponsus. (Fatuae decant:)

(The Merchants)

Gentle ladies, we cannot satisfy you,

It is not permitted to you to stay here.

The thing she wants, we cannot give it to you;

Let her ask God Who can console you.

Return to your home, since it is late,

And pray there for the love of God

To help you by giving you oil;

Hurry, for the Bridegroom is coming soon.**

(Foolish Ones):

Ah! Unhappy ones whom can you ask for help?**

Indeed, nothing is that which we seek.

It has been decreed, even we shall see;

Never shall we go within to the nuptials.*

Lazy and weak ones, you have slept too long!**

Let the Bridegroom come in this way. (The Foolish Ones speak:)

Avdi, Sponse, uoces plangentium:	Hear, Oh Bridegroom, the voices of those bewailing:
Aperire fac nobis Ostium	Open for us the entrance
Cum sociis (ad dulce prandium;	With [our] comrades to the [——— ———]:
Nostrae culpae) prebe remedium!	For [our] negligence provide a remedy!*
(Dolentas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dormit!)	Lazy and weak ones, you have slept too long!**
Christus:	Christ:
Amen dico, uos ignosco, nam caretis lumine,	Truly I say, I do not know you, for you lack the light,
Quod qui perdunt procul pergunt huius aule limine.	Because they who destroy* those who lose, lose forever the kingdom of their light.
Alet, chaitiuas, alet, malaureas!	Go away, weak ones, go away, cursed ones!
A tot iors mais uos so penas liureas;	Your troubles will always be heavy;
En efern ora seret meneias!	From now on you will be taken to hell!**
Modo accipiant eas Demones, et precipitentur in infernum.	Now let them receive the devils, and be hurled into hell.*

A careful analysis of this first known eschatological play extant may reveal a pattern which could serve as a standard for other later dramas with the same theme. The play opens with a Latin chorus proclaiming that the Bridegroom is coming and, at the same time, warning the

virgins to be watchful. Gabriel, then, addresses the virgins in four stanzas of Old French, repeats the proclamation of the arrival of the Savior, reviews His birth, crucifixion, and resurrection, and warns the virgins to be watchful. Each stanza ends with a refrain which Chambers believes was probably sung chorally:[81] "Gaire noi dormet! / Aisel espos que uos hor atendet." Then follows a lyric dialogue written in Low Latin, in which the Fatuae, who have foolishly wasted their oil, attempt in vain to replenish their supply, first from the Prudentes and, then, from the Mercatores. This dialogue, too, is accompanied by a refrain in Old French: "Dolentas, chaitiuas, trop i auem dormit!" The Sponsus arrives, to whom the Fatuae finally appeal, and replies that He does not know them because they lack the necessary light and, consequently, casts them into hell.

In essence, the play of the Sponsus may be considered to have six distinct actions or movements as outlined in the following skeleton of the plot:

(1) The chorus predicts that the Bridegroom will come and warns the virgins to be watchful.

(2) Gabriel alerts the virgins and warns them of the Advent.

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[81] Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 61.

(3) Gabriel reviews Christ's birth, His crucifixion, and His resurrection.

(4) The Fatuae attempt to replenish their supply of oil from (a) the Prudentes, (b) the Mercatores.

(5) The Sponsus appears and does not recognize the Fatuae, for they lack the necessary light.

(6) The Fatuae are cast into hell.

The warning, the frantic attempt to rectify the situation, and finally the Judgment and the punishment show a progression of dramatic concept of events. The author (whoever he was) worked with this basic plot in mind, and the play achieves interest through the simple matter of audience anticipation of the expected arrival of the Sponsus. Secondly, in the symbolism involving the lack of illumination the play achieves a stature of medieval allegory. Light is symbolic of knowledge, vision, or perception; the lack of light signifies negligence. "Time" and "light" cannot be wasted if one is to be ready for the final reckoning. Therefore, the play focuses the interest upon the Fatuae and emphasizes their negligence as the result of their having slept too long. It clearly stresses that they had not been watchful, and, therefore, were not prepared for the Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. The refrains, "Sleep no longer," and "Lazy and weak ones, you have slept too long," echo the stern command of the Church

to the people to be watchful in order to be ready for the Judgment Day, which will come upon them unexpectedly.

A comparison of this play with the parable which inspired it points up the original elements in this drama.

THE PARABLE OF THE WISE AND FOOLISH VIRGINS

Matthew, XXV.1-13

Tunc simile erit regnum coelorum decem virginibus, quae accipientes lampades suas exierunt obviam sponso et sponsae.	Then the Kingdom of heaven will be similar to the ten virgins, which promised brides, having received each her own lamp, go forth to meet the bridegroom.
Quinque autem ex eis erant fatuae, et quinque prudentes	Five, however, were foolish, and five were prudent.
Sed quinque fatuae, acceptis lampadibus, non sumpserunt oleum secum.	But the five foolish ones, when they received their lamps, did not take oil with them.
Prudentes vero acceperunt oleum in vasis suis cum lampadibus.	The prudent ones, to be sure, did take oil in the vessels with their lamps.
Moram autemfaciente sponso, dormitaverunt omnes et dormierunt.	But the bridegroom delayed, and all fell asleep and rested.
Media autem nocte clamor factus est: Ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei.	Midway in the night, moreover, the cry was raised: "Behold the bridegroom comes, go forth to meet with him."
Tunc surrexerunt omnes virgines illae, et ornaverunt lampades suas.	Then all those virgins arose, and fitted out their lamps.

Fatuae autem sapientibus dixerunt: Date nobis de oleo vestro, quia lampades nostrae extinguuntur.	And the foolish ones said to the wise ones: "Give to us from your [supply] of oil, since our lamps have gone out."
Responderunt prudentes, dicentes: Ne forte non sufficiat nobis et vobis, ite potius ad vendentes, et emite vobis.	The prudent ones speaking answered: "But perhaps there may not be enough for us and you both, rather you go to those who sell and buy for yourselves."
Dum autem irent emere, venit sponsus; et quae paratae erant, intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias, et clausa est janua.	But during the time they went out to buy, the bridegroom came, and they who were prepared, went in with him to the nuptials, and the door was closed.
Novissime vero veniunt et reliquae virgines, dicentes: Domine, Domine, aperi nobis.	Finally the remaining virgins came saying: "Master, Master, open to us."
At ille respondens ait: Amen dico vobis, nescio vos.	But he answering said: "Truly I say to you, I do not know you."
Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem neque horam.	And so be watchful, since you do not know the day nor the hour.[82]

The parable stresses the failure of the Fatuae to provide themselves with an ample supply of oil; whereas the play itself emphasizes the negligence of the Foolish Virgins as a result of their having slept too long. The items missing from the parable but found in the play are an

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[82]Mrs. Swift's translation from the Low Latin of Matthew, XXV.1-13.

indication of what the author himself may have invented:

(1) The chorus, its prediction of the Bridegroom's coming, and its warning to be watchful

(2) Gabriel, his warning, and his story of Christ's life

(3) The Fatuae's attempt to obtain oil from the mercatores

(4) Christ's command that the Fatuae be cast into hell

(5) The devils appearing to carry out the command

In fact, Young asserts that the last line of the drama, "Now let them receive the devils and be cast into hell," and the devils' execution of these commands are evidence of the additions made by the playwright and are not amplifications of the Gospel concerning the Fatuae.[83] Furthermore, Young believes that the devils in liturgical drama make their debut in the Sponsus, wherein they are used with "grim seriousness."[84] Finally, he sees no evidence of the attachment of this play to the liturgy or of its having been developed from liturgical pieces and remarks that the play may, or may not have been performed in the Church.[85] Craig, on the other hand, suggests that

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[83]Young, op. cit., II, p. 366.

[84]Ibid., p. 367.

[85]Loc. cit.

one can readily see, by ignoring the lines in Old French, that the Sponsus began as a liturgical ordo, since it is clearly a play designed to emphasize the importance of an individual's being fully prepared for the Judgment, and at its time, it could have come into existence from no other source.[86] As for the matter of staging the Sponsus, Young conjectures that if there were a hellsmouth, there were also booths for the merchants, a door to the wedding apartment, vessels of oil for the virgins, and wings for Gabriel used in the performance of the play.[87]

The theme of the other early eschatological drama, the Antichristus (including the Judicium), goes back to Jewish eschatology in the character of the False Messiah, the devil disguised as Christ, who appears upon the earth to tempt and corrupt the righteous before the Second Coming of Christ and the Judgment Day.[88] The Book of David also prophesies that the Antichrist will be a king who with armies will persecute and destroy mankind. Furthermore, Young considers the Sibylline prophecy, introduced in the fourth century, to be of importance to this play. This

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[86]Craig, op. cit., p. 75.

[87]Young, op. cit., II, pp. 367-68.

[88]The Jewish Encyclopedia, I, p. 626.

prophecy declares that the last emperor of Rome before the advent of the Antichrist will obtain dominion over the entire world and, at the end of his reign, come to Jerusalem and lay down his crown.[89] Christians have accepted this Jewish concept in full, except for the fact that Christian authors have changed the False Messiah into a person who seeks to gain recognition through signs and wonders rather than through force.[90]

A warning of the coming of the Antichrist may be found in Matthew XXIV.4,5,24:

> And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you.
> For many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many.
> For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect.

The warning is repeated in Mark XIII.22:

> For false Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall show signs and wonders, to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect.

Although apocalyptic passages from Daniel and from the Gospels have been used for the expansion and elaboration of this play, its primary source is II Thessalonians

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[89] Young, op. cit., II, p. 370.

[90] Ibid., p. 369.

ii, which, one notes, was the Scripture for devotion on the Saturday of the fourth week of the Advent:[91]

> Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him,
> That ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.
> Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition;
> Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.
> Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things?
> And now ye know what with-holdeth that he might be revealed in his time.
> For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way.
> And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming:
> Even him whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders,
> And with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.
> And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie:
> That they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.
> But we are bound to give thanks alway to God for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation

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[91] Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 62.

> through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth:
> Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to the obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.
> Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.
> Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace,
> Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every good word and work.

In The City of God, Saint Augustine explained that this passage was undoubtedly written about the Antichrist, but he confessed that he did not know the exact meaning of the Scripture. According to him, some believed that the Apostle Paul was referring to the Roman Empire in a vague kind of language for fear that he incur the hostility of the incumbent government.[92] Thus, the "mystery of iniquity," which was already at work, may allude to the wicked Nero, who, it was thought, would arise as Antichrist, or emerge from concealment to be restored to his kingdom.[93] Further, Augustine explained that some believed the phrase, "mystery of iniquity worketh," referred only to the wicked ones and to the hypocrites within the Church, whose number would increase to furnish Antichrist with a great army with

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[92]Dods (tr.), op. cit., p. 739.

[93]Loc. cit.

which to subjugate the world.[94] He supported this conjecture with a quotation from I John ii.18,19:

> Little children, it is the last time: and as ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us.

However, in spite of his various suppositions, Augustine was also certain that Christ would not come to judge the quick and the dead unless Antichrist, His adversary, first came to seduce those who were already dead in soul.[95] Satan would be released through the Antichrist, who would ". . . work with all power in a lying though a wonderful manner." Therefore, Augustine felt that human beings must be made aware of the powers of Satan given to him by God:[96]

> For God shall send, because God shall permit the devil to do these things, the permission being by His own just judgment, though the doing of them is in pursuance of the devil's unrighteous and malignant purpose, 'that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.' Therefore, being judged, they shall be seduced; and, being seduced, they shall be judged. But, being judged, they shall be seduced by those secretly just and justly secret judgments of God, with which He has

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[94] Loc. cit.

[95] Ibid., p. 740.

[96] Loc. cit.

> never ceased to judge since the first sin of the rational creatures; and, being seduced, they shall be judged in that last and manifest judgment administered by Jesus Christ, who was Himself most unjustly judged and shall most justly judge.[97]

Scholars agree that the Antichristus was performed at Advent and that the services of the Advent season formed the background of the religious thought from which the play emerged. However, Craig states that, although indications of an origin ". . . within the church and out of the service are not too numerous or too clear," he believes that the play arose as did other Latin religious dramas.[98]

Chambers agrees with Young that the immediate source of the Antichristus was probably the Libellus de Antichristo, written in the tenth century by Adso of Toul.[99] Craig, however, concedes that this play is the source of the later amplified versions of the Antichristus, but declares that it could not possibly be the source of the originals.[100] In Craig's opinion, one may properly assume that a dramatic office of Antichrist arose from the festivities of the Advent, and that an early vernacular

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[97] Loc. cit.

[98] Craig, op. cit., p. 75.

[99] Chambers, op. cit., II, pp. 63-64.

[100] Craig, op. cit., p. 76.

play from Italy with a preface by D'Ancona is the source of the original Antichristus.[101] It is this primitive play which unites the two episodes of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment and forms one play. The two plots are to be found still united in the Lucerne play of the Bürgerbibliothek, dated 1549.[102]

Young sketches the essential content of Adso's play, which, like the others of the same theme, depicts the Antichrist as the direct antithesis of Christ. It maintains that the Antichrist, born in Babylon and educated by magicians, will come to Jerusalem to torment those whom he cannot corrupt, to proclaim himself Son of God, and to occupy the throne in the Temple, from whence he will perform all manner of miracles.[103] He will put his sign, the first letter of his name, on the foreheads of all, including Christians and Jews, whom he is able to win to his cause.[104] Directly preceding this advent, the Roman Emperor, who has been successful in extending his rule throughout the entire world, will surrender his

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[101] Loc. cit.

[102] Loc. cit.

[103] Young, op. cit., II, p. 370.

[104] Loc. cit.

crown at Jerusalem. Enoch and Elijah will expose the False Messiah and influence the faithful to resist his powers. The prophets and their followers will be put to death, but will rise after three days through the power of God, which event also will end the reign of the Antichrist, for Christ, at this time, will slay him with the breath of His mouth.[105]

Since Adso's Antichrista is one of the earliest extant plays of the Antichrist, one suggests that an outline of the movements of this play is important:

(1) Antichrist comes to Jerusalem to torment those whom he cannot corrupt.

(2) Antichrist proclaims himself to be the Son of God, occupies the Temple, and performs miracles.

(3) Antichrist stamps the first letter of his name on the foreheads of those whom he has won to his cause.

(4) The Roman Emperor surrenders his crown at Jerusalem.

(5) Enoch and Elijah expose the Antichrist and influence the faithful to resist him.

(6) The prophets and their followers are put to death but rise after three days.

(7) Christ, with the breath of His mouth, slays the Antichrist.

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[105] Ibid., p. 371.

One observes, also, that the play closely follows the Scripture which is its primary source. However, it contains the following elaborations:

(1) The Roman Emperor surrenders his crown at Jerusalem (from the Sibylline prophesy of the fourth century).

(2) Antichrist stamps the first letter of his name on the foreheads of his victims.

(3) Enoch and Elijah expose the Antichrist.

(4) The prophets and their followers are put to death but arise through God's power after three days.

Adso's Antichristo is the form of the play which Young deems as a standard for the Middle Ages.[106] The theme is dramatized in the Tegernsee play of Antichrist, Ludus de Adventu et Interitu Antichristi, which Craig dates in the twelfth century and which he thinks is a most "remarkable and precocious" play.[107] It uses the emblematic figures of Gentilitas (heathendom), Synagoga (Jewry), Ecclesia (Christianity), Hypocrites, and Heresy, who, in this play, make what is possibly their first appearance upon the medieval stage.[108] In addition to an expanded dramatis personae, one notes that this play obviously

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[106] Loc. cit.

[107] Craig, op. cit., p. 76.

[108] Young, op. cit., II, p. 395.

contains internal evidence to show that a rather elaborate (for the time) type of stagecraft was required in its production. For example, because of the large number of actors and the space needed for marching, countermarching, and warfare, Chambers thinks the performance of this play must have taken up the entire nave of a large church.[109] He believes that the sedes were set at intervals against the pillars, compelling spectators to watch from the aisles.[110] Young, on the other hand, believes it absurd to think that this play was ever performed in a church, because he believes that the necessary playing-space would have exhausted all facilities. He suggests, rather, that there may have been an impressive use of platforms in performing the play, especially as the production grew more elaborate, and suggests the following kind of playing space: The platea, representing the world, is bordered by eight structures--one for the Temple of the Lord and seven for other particular characters. The platform for the Temple is located on the east, and near it are the sedes for Synagoga and the King of Jerusalem. On the west side are three platforms--one each for the Roman Emperor,

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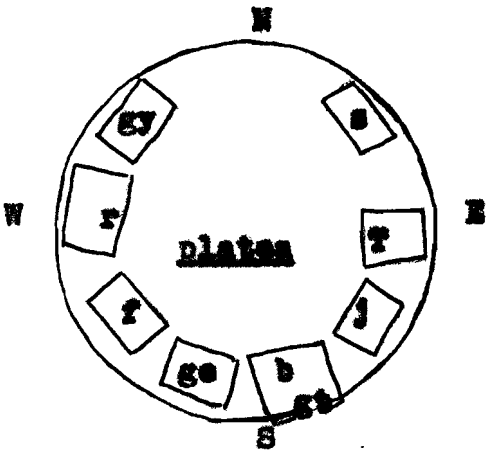
[109] Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 79.

[110] Loc. cit.

the King of Germany, and the King of France. The two structures on the south side are reserved for the King of Greece and for the King of Babylonia and the Gentilitas. The north side is kept free, presumably for spectators.[111]



gy--King of Germany
s--Synagoga
T--Temple
j--King of Jerusalem
b--King of Babylonia
gt--Gentilitas
ge--King of Greece
f--King of France
r--Roman Emperor

The performance begins with the prologue, during the reciting of which the various kings and companies, entering from off-stage, take their places. The action starts with the Roman Emperor's proclamation that all the earth shall pay tribute to the Roman Empire. The King of France yields only after a battle; the kings of Greece and Jerusalem offer no resistance; the King of Babylonia attempts complete destruction of Christianity through a military assault upon the King of Jerusalem. The city is saved by the Roman King, who enters the Temple, and, placing his crown and other

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[111]Young, op. cit., II, p. 404.

imperial insignia before the altar, proclaims Christ to be the true ruler. He who was the Roman Emperor now returns to his former post, while Ecclesia remains in the Temple. The Hypocrites enter, winning the laymen and the King of Jerusalem. Antichrist follows, accompanied by Hypocrisy and Heresy, who are to corrupt the clergy and the laity. Antichrist overcomes the King of Jerusalem, who seeks aid from the Teutons and Ecclesia. Antichrist attempts to subjugate all kings. The Teutonic King rejects all gifts and drives back the army of Antichrist, who ultimately wins him with tricks and miracles. The Teutonic King with Antichrist's army, then, conquers Gentilitus and Babylonia. Antichrist dominates the world when Synagoga, through the help of Hypocrites, yields to him. When Enoch and Elijah arrive, declaring the principles of Christianity and thus converting Synagoga, the two prophets and their followers are put to death. At the moment in which Antichrist commands the living to proclaim him the one true god, thunder clashes, he falls, and his followers desert him. The prophets arise and, with Ecclesia, lead the remaining ones back into Christian faith, and the play ends with praises to God.[112]

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[112] Ibid., pp. 387-90.

In addition to the prologue and the emblematic figures not present in Adso's tenth-century Antichristo, the Tegernsee Antichristi contains the following action:

(1) The Roman Emperor seeks to subjugate (a) France, (b) Greece, and (c) Jerusalem.

(2) The King of Babylonia attacks Jerusalem in an attempt to destroy all of Christianity.

(3) The Hypocrites win the laymen and the King of Jerusalem.

(4) Antichrist, Hypocrisy, and Heresy overcome the King of Jerusalem.

(5) The Teutonic King attacks the Antichrist, who ultimately wins him with tricks and miracles.

(6) Synagoga yields to Antichrist, who now dominates the world.

Chambers considers the Tegernsee Antichristi to be a ". . . subtle vindication of the Empire against the Papacy," as well as the Teuton King against the King of France. He assigns to the play the probable date of 1160, explaining that it was at this time that Frederick Barbaressa was at the pinnacle of his struggle against Alexander III, who was being supported by Louis VII of France.[113]

In addition to the Tegernsee Antichristi and the similar play from Lucerne, Craig calls attention to a

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[113]Chambers, op. cit., II, p. 64.

fourteenth-century Entkrist from Munich, a Frankfurt Antichristspiel of 1468-9, and an Antichrist episode in the Kunzelsauer Frohnleichnamspiel, among others.[114] He considers the Lucerne play with its use of Ezekiel and the other prophets, its Antichristus and its Judicium to be an exact parallel, in a more amplified form, to the last three pageants in the Chester Cycle, presently to be discussed.[115]

The subjects of Antichrist and the Last Judgment are linked, also, by Saint Augustine, who, in The City of God, refers to Daniel's prophecy that the Antichrist will precede the Last Judgment.[116] Daniel's prophetic vision reveals four beasts, interpreted as four kingdoms, the fourth of which is conquered by a certain king who is recognized as Antichrist. The kingdom of Antichrist will fiercely, though for a short time, assail the Church before the Last Judgment of God will bring the eternal rule of the saints. After the reign of Antichrist, all peoples of all nations shall rise; some, who have done good deeds, to an

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[114]Craig, op. cit., p. 77.

[115]Ibid., p. 76.

[116]Deds (tr.), op. cit., p. 748.

everlasting life; and they, who have done evil, will find only shame and everlasting confusion.[117]

About the fourteenth century, the Judicium began to exist independently when it was borrowed from the second final episode of the Antichristus and made to serve as an end to full-scope dramas such as the Corpus Christi Cycle.[118] Surviving texts of these elaborate cycles are found in the York, the Towneley (Wakefield), the Coventry, and the Chester cycles. One notes that matters of eschatology are portrayed in the last play of each cycle, with the exception of the Chester cycle in which the last three plays are devoted to the subject. For example, the twenty-second play, Ezechiel, deals with the prophecies of the end of the world and the fifteen signs of doom. The twenty-third is The Coming of the Antichrist, while the subject of the twenty-fourth is Doomsday.

The earliest extant notice of the presence of such plays in York is 1378, when the Bakers were ordered to pay incurred fines, half to the city chamber and half to the ". . . pagine des ditz Pestours de corpore cristi."[119]

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[117]Ibid., p. 749.

[118]Craig, op. cit., p. 77.

[119]Quoted in Lucy Toulmin Smith (ed.), York Plays, p. xxxii.

From this and similar notices, one concludes that these plays had by this time been in existence for many years.[120] However, Craig dates the cycles in this order: the Chester cycle, 1327-8; the York cycle, 1378; and the Coventry cycle, 1392.[121] Clark assigns the composition of the extant Towneley (Wakefield) cycle to the early years of the fifteenth century, explaining, however, that possibly some of the plays in the cycle have an earlier origin.[122]

The texts of all the cycles closely follow their respective Biblical sources, with occasional noteworthy additions taken from certain apocryphal legends of the day.[123] Although there are many references to the Last Judgment to be found in the Psalms, Isaiah, and I John, the source of the Judicium proper is Matthew XXV.31-46, a text which, one recalls, was read at the end of Advent:

> When the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory:
> And before him shall be gathered all nations; and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats:
> And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.

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[120] Loc. cit.

[121] Craig, op. cit., p. 130.

[122] Sidney W. Clark, The Miracle Play in England, p. 28.

[123] A. W. Pollard, English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes, pp. xxix-xxx.

Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand,
Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom
prepared for you from the foundation of the world:
For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was
thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger,
and ye took me in:
Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited
me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.
Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord,
when saw we thee an hungred, and feed thee? or
thirsty, and gave thee drink?
When saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or
naked, and clothed thee?
Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came
unto thee?
And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily
I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto
the least of these my brethren, ye have done it
unto me.
Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand,
Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,
prepared for the devil and his angels:
For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat: I
was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink:
I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked,
and ye clothed me not: sick, and in prison, and
ye visited me not.
Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord,
when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a
stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and
did not minister unto thee?
Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily I say
unto you, Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the
least of these, ye did it not to me.
And these shall go away into everlasting punishment:
but the righteous into life eternal.

The first cycle play of the Last Judgment to be considered is the relatively unaltered The Judgment Day, acted by the Mercers of York, the forty-eighth pageant in their collection of Corpus Christi plays. The play opens with God's speaking from His throne, lamenting His creation of the world and of man because of man's

disobedience to His commandments. In essence, He is grieved because, although He has sent His Son into the world to atone for man's sins, and although Christ has harrowed hell to save the miserable wretches, mankind continues to sin. God, resolved to end man's folly, commands the angels to sound their trumpets to summon all creatures--the blessed to His right hand and the cursed to His left, an action which, one remembers, was predicted in the Scriptures and described in the eighth-century poem, Christ (ll. 1216-31). God's commandment accomplished, the risen Good Souls praise Him, repent their sins, and ask for grace. The Bad Souls, terrified because they can bring to God no good deeds and because all their secret sins will be revealed, are convinced that for their wickedness they will be damned in hell. Jesus descends to earth to show the wounds He had acquired in saving men's souls. The center of the next scene is the judgment seat of Christ, wherein He declares that His promise will be fulfilled. His apostles proclaim their love and loyalty to Him, and He proceeds to the seat of judgment, amid the singing of the angels. A brief glimpse into hell reveals the devils preparing to seize their victims. The risen souls, both the good and the evil ones, take their places at the judgment seat where Christ shows His wounds, reviews the

story of the crucifixion, and proclaims happiness in heaven for the blessed who, in turn, have never rejected Him in His distress, but rather have fed, clad, pitied, comforted, and lodged Him each time they have helped the needy. Turning to the Bad Souls, He declares that their bitter sorrows will never cease because of their sins and wicked deeds, and charges them with neglecting Him in His time of need. None of them has lessened His sorrow; therefore, He now forsakes them. He calls His chosen ones to Him and casts the wicked souls into hell. The play ends with the following stage direction:

> Et sic facit finem cum melodia angelorum transiens a loco ad locum.
>
> And thus He makes an end with melodies of angels crossing from place to place.[124]

The York cycle Judgment play involves the following noteworthy developments since the time of the Sponsus of the eleventh or twelfth century:

(1) God laments His creation of the world and resolves to end mankind's folly with a general reckoning.

(2) The angels, sounding their trumpets, bid all the dead to rise.

(3) The Good Souls are assigned to the right hand of God; the Bad Souls, to His left hand.

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[124] John Matthews Manly (ed.), Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama, I, p. 211.

(4) Christ, with His apostles, approaches the judgment seat.

(5) Christ explains how the Good Souls have benefited Him in His time of need and in what way the Bad Souls have failed to serve Him.

One observes that the focus has shifted from the preparation for the Judgment (dealt with in the Sponsus) to the Judgment itself in The Judgment Day. In the latter play, the dramatic events are the summons, the Judgment, and the punishment; and the suspense created by Christ's judging the risen souls sustains interest. On the other hand, the chorus, Gabriel, and the Mercatores of the Sponsus are absent from the less symbolical York play, which includes three angels and two apostles not found in the Sponsus. Moreover, in The Judgment Day, the two Bad Souls replace the Fatuae, and the two Good Souls supersede the Prudentes in the dramatis personae. While the devils appear only at the end of the Sponsus to carry out Christ's command, The Judgment Day allows one a glimpse into hell to observe the devils as they are preparing to seize their victims. Finally, it is Gabriel in the Sponsus who reviews Christ's life; whereas in The Judgment Day, it is Christ Himself.

As for the manner of staging The Judgment Day, one can envision the medieval imagery (including Jesus coming on the clouds, trumpets sounding, angels in white garments, a valley of corruption, and a lake of fire) which is

associated with such plays.[125] Therefore, one concludes that the production of this play requires four stations: God's throne, Christ's judgment seat, the earth, and hell. God speaks from His throne, which, if the play was produced upon a pageant, was the higher platform. The action of the angels and the good and the bad souls occurs in the realm of the risen dead, presumably on the earth, or the lower platform. Jesus descends to the earth (from the higher to the lower platform), where the dialogue between Him and His apostles takes place. By contrast, the dialogue among the devils occurs in hell, located on the ground beside the lower platform. The last scene revolves around the judgment seat of Christ with the good and the bad souls. Christ's speech, "Therfore till erthe nowe will I wende, / Mi-selue to sitte in magestie. / To deme my domes I woll descende," (The Judgment Day, ll. 179-81) indicates that Jesus descends to earth before proceeding to the judgment seat. Consequently, one assumes that the judgment seat may have been located on a dais on the lower platform. On the other hand, if the play were being produced in a manner such as Southern suggests, it would have required a sedes for God's throne (heaven scaffold) and, directly opposite

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[125] E. Bevan, "Christianity and the Beyond," Spectator, CXLIII (December 14, 1929), p. 898.

it, the hell-scaffold, used in its entirety with the hellsmouth occupying the lower story. The platea would then have become the earth, the realm of the risen dead and the scene of the judgment seat.

The dramatis personae of the Iudicium,[126] the thirtieth and last play of the Towneley cycle, shows an expansion to include thirteen characters: Primus Malus, Secundus Malus, Tercius Malus, Quartus Malus, Primus Demon, Secundus Demon, Tutiuillus, Primus Angelus, Jesus, Primus Bonus, Secundus Bonus, Tercius Bonus, and Quartus Bonus. Although the opening lines of the Iudicium are lost and the first existing sixteen lines are additions to the text of the York play, The Judgment Day, the two plays are in part parallel.[127] Beginning with l. 17 of the Towneley play, the next three stanzas (with the exception of the last half of the fourth stanza) conform to the York stanzas nineteen to twenty-one. Then, a unit of thirty-two lines follows spoken by the Quartus Malus, a character not found in the York play. The next unit of fifteen lines are parallel, after which follows in the Towneley play a unit of thirty-two stanzas (ll. 89-384) of broad comedy among the

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[126]Sometimes spelled Judicium.

[127]Smith, op. cit., p. 497.

demons, a passage replaced in the York play with forty-three lines (ll. 185-228) the greater part of which is composed of speeches by Jesus and the apostles. The parallel texts begin again after l. 185 in the Towneley (l. 229 in the York text) and continue throughout the whole of the Judgment scene proper, with only two exceptions: ll. 512-15 are found in the Towneley text but not in the York; ll. 343-44 are found in the York play but not in the Towneley. Then, The Judgment Day ends with Jesus as He speaks eight more lines proclaiming that the sorrows of the wicked will never cease, but that those who mended their ways while there was still time would abide forever in His blessing. However, the Towneley text continues (ll. 532-612) with comedy and satire between the demons and Tuitiuillus, who are gloating over their victims. The Towneley play ends with the Good Soul's thankful praises to God (ll. 612-20). The following table shows the parallel texts beginning with l. 16 of the Iudicium and l. 142 of The Judgment Day:

TABLE I

Towneley	=	York	Differences
ll. 17-29		ll. 142-56	(T. ll. 30-32) differs from (Y. ll. 157-60)[128]

[128] Y. is the York The Judgment Day; T., Towneley Iudicium.

TABLE I (continued)

Towneley	=	York	Differences
			T. ll. 40-72--Malus Quartus speaks
ll. 73-88		ll. 169-184	(T. ll. 89-228--broad comedy of demons) replaces (Y. ll. 184-228--principally speeches by Jesus and apostles)
ll. 386-531		ll. 229-372	T. ll. 512-15 not in the York play Y. ll. 343-44 not in Towneley T. ll. 532-612 not in York Y. ll. 373-80 not in Towneley

It is evident that the devils have a greater role to perform in the Towneley play than they do in the York play. In fact, one notes that angels are compelled to drive the demons away from the righteous as Christ descends from heaven for the Judgment in the Judicium. Only the voice of Christ, reviewing the story of His suffering for mankind, can quell the greedy demons.

The Coventry Domesday, more serious in religious tone, adds the characters, Gabriel, Michael, and Peter.

This play begins as Jesus descends with Michael and Gabriel, and Michael summons all men to the Judgment. When Gabriel pronounces "endless hell" for those found in "deadly guilt," the earth quakes, and the world is consumed by fire. Demons cry, "Harrow and out!" All risen souls plead for mercy as God appears on high, calls His children to Him, blesses them with His right hand, and cleanses them. Peter opens the gates of heaven and welcomes the Saved Souls to God's right hand. The Damned Souls' cry for mercy is mocked first by God and then by the First Devil, who puts his mark, as did the Antichrist, on the forehead of his victims. God admonishes the Wicked for their failure to give meat, drink, shelter, clothing, pity, and mercy to the needy who have asked in His name. The second, third, and fourth devils echo the remonstrances. The Damned Souls admit their guilt and again ask for mercy. Unfortunately, the last speech, after the devils have carried off their prey, is lost.

Although the Coventry Domesday has approximately the same movements as the Judgment plays of the York and the Towneley cycles, there are certain noteworthy innovations:

(1) Jesus descends with Gabriel and Michael.

(2) Michael summons all men to the Judgment (a task assigned in the York and Towneley plays to angels not named).

(3) The earth quakes and is consumed by fire when Gabriel pronounces "endless hell" for the guilty.

(4) Peter opens the gates of heaven to welcome the Saved Souls.

(5) The Damned Souls' cry for mercy is mocked by God and the First Devil, who puts his mark (as did the Antichrist) on the foreheads of his victims.

(6) The second, third, and fourth devils echo God's remonstrances of the Wicked.

The last three plays of the Chester cycle, their stage directions written in Latin, deal with matters of eschatology. The twenty-second play, The Prophets and the Antichrist, involves Ezechielle, Zacharias, an Expositor, Daniel, and Iohannes Evangelista. It opens with the prophet Ezechielle's telling the people that God's ghost led him into a field where lay bones without flesh and commanded him to prophesy that God would soon revive them. Ezechielle says that he saw the ghost make men rise out of their graves. The Expositer interprets the prophecy as follows:

> They that shall be saved, shall be as bright
> as seven tymes the Sonne is light;
> the Damned Chester shall be in sight,
> ther Dome to vnderfoe.
>
> Both Saued and damned after that day
> Dye they may not, by no way.
> god geue you grace to doe so aye,
> that blisse you may come to!
> (The Prophets and Antichrist, 41-6)

Zacharias explains that he saw four chariots come out of

two silver hills--red horses drew one chariot; black horses, another; white horses, the third; and horses of different hues drew the fourth chariot. He relates that an angel explained to him that the chariots and the horses represent four winds that will blow in readiness for Christ's coming. The Expositor breaks in to state that the hills signify Enoch and Helyas, who, like silver, will always be steadfast and true. The four chariots he likens to saints of four manners of degree. The horses of different colors he comments upon as follows: The red horses represent all martyrs, the white ones travel above the earth and do not dread death, the black horses signify preachers of God's word, and the horses of different hues are likened to Jews and Paynims. The Expositor prophesies that all people, through faith, shall be reformed when Enoch and Helyas persuade them to seek salvation.

Daniel reports that he saw a wondrous sight--four winds high above the sea and four beasts, one of which was strong with sharp, long teeth and nails. Among the ten horns upon his head, he had one little one above all the others. This horn had a mouth with which to speak and eyes to see. Of the ten horns, the first three were soon consumed. Daniel interprets the ten horns as being ten kings, all of whom fear the one who sprang upward so rapidly.

The Expositor again intervenes with the statement that the Beast will come next Doomsday and that the one horn is Antichrist, who, while controlling the world for three years, will slay three kings and subjugate the other seven.

Iohannes Evangelista declares that his ghost was ravished and that he saw many wondrous things of which he will reveal only one. He relates that he had heard God send two witnesses to defend false faiths that had been raised by His foe. God had called these witnesses,

> Chandlers of great light,
> burning before gods sight;
> fyre out of ther mouthes they should feight,
> theyr enemyes to destroy.
> (The Prophets and Antichrist, 189-92)

The "Chandlers" would have the power to turn water into blood and to overcome their enemies. A great Beast would come from beneath to fight against them and slay them in the Holy City, where Christ had been nailed to the cross. But after three and one-half days, they would all rise and speak and go into heaven to dwell in joy forevermore. The Expositor, then, explains that the two witnesses are Enoch and Helyas, who, when the Antichrist comes to destroy God's people, will convert them again. The Beast about which Iohannes speaks is Antichrist, who has the devil's power. The Expositor describes Enoch and Helyas as two good men

who have been ravished in paradise—one long before Noah's flood; the other, after "many a hundreth yeare."

Beginning with l. 261, the fifteen signs of Doomsday are then listed:

(1) The first day, the sea will rise against nature as a wall high above the hills.

(2) The second day, the sea will subside and almost disappear.

(3) The third day, fishes will lie above the sea and ". . . yelle and rore so hideously," but only God can hear them.

(4) The fourth day, sea and water will burn against nature.

(5) The fifth day, all herbs and trees will be of bloody dew, and man and beast will be dazed. Fowls, each one in his kind, will gather in a field and stand confused, unmindful of food and drink.

(6) The sixth day, all buildings will tumble to the earth. Fire from the sun to the firmament shall strike and gleam.

(7) The seventh day, rocks and stones will break, the sound of which only God will hear.

(8) The earthquake will occur on the eighth day, when all men and beasts will lose their power and fall to the earth.

(9) On the ninth day, hills will become plains, and stone will turn to sand.

(10) On the tenth day, men who have hidden will come out of their caves and flee. They will have no power but will behave as though they were mad.

(11) All graves will open on the eleventh day, and the dead shall rise.

(12) On the twelfth day, the stars will fall and ". . . fyre shoot from them hydeously," and all beasts will ". . . rore and crye, / and neither eate nor drinke."

(13) All men will die on the thirteenth day and rise again.

(14) All, both earth and heaven, will burn on the fourteenth day.

(15) Through God's power, a new earth and a new heaven will be made on the fifteenth day.

In the conclusion (ll. 333-40) the Expositor warns all listeners that the Antichrist will soon come and commends them to prepare themselves.

This play serves as a prologue to the next drama in the Chester cycle, The Coming of Antichrist. The Prophets and the Antichrist borrowed Ezechielle, Zacharias, Daniel, and Iohannes Evangelista from the list of Messianic prophets and changed them to prophets of the Second Coming of Christ and the Doomsday.[129] The play introduces Enoch and Helyas, who, under the rule of the Antichrist, were destined to experience the death which they had escaped during their lives on earth. Finally, as has been seen, this highly symbolical play makes use of the Expositor as a convention of interpretation for the audience.

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[129]Craig, op. cit., p. 193.

The dramatis personae of The Coming of Antichrist (dated approximately 1475) and the twenty-third play of the Chester cycle, includes:[130]

Antechristus	Primus Mortuus	Ennoke
Michaell Archangelus	Secundus Mortuus	Helyas
Primus Rex	Primus Demon	
Secundus Rex	Secundus Demon	
Tercius Rex	Doctor	
Quartus Rex		

The play begins with Antichrist's speaking in Latin (ll. 1-8), proclaiming himself to be the Messiah, who will save all those who believe in him. He calls Jesus the false One Who was slain for His wickedness. He declares that he has come to restore his people, the Jews:

> My peple of Iues he cothe twyane,
> That theyr land come they never in;
> Then on theym nowe most I myn
> And Restoure theym agayn.
> To bylde this temple wyll I not blyn,
> And as god honuryd be therin;
> And endless wele I shall them wyn,
> All that to me bene bayne.
>
> (Antichrist, 33-40)

He assures all that Daniel's prophecy to the effect that women, both young and old, should love him, will come to pass. When he has won his realm

> And that I shulde graunte men poste,
> Ryvyd Riches, lond and ffee;--
> That shall be done, that ye shall see,
> Whan I am hether comen.
>
> (Antichrist, 53-6)

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[130]Manly, op. cit., p. 170.

Antichrist, then, asks the kings if they believe that he is Christ Omnipotent. The first king asserts that they believe that Christ has not yet come, but that if this creature be Christ, he shall sit in the Temple as God. The second and third kings ask for signs, like the performance of miracles, as proof that this presence is Christ. The fourth king declares that the abolition of strife will suffice as such proof. Antichrist, then, assures them that he can perform miracles:

> Now wyll I turne all thrughe my myght
> Trees downe, the Rote vp Right,—
> That ys marvell to youre sighte,—
> And ffrute greing vpon:
> So shall they growe and Multiplie
> Throughe my might and my maistrey,—
> I putt you out of hereyeye
> to here me Apon.
>
> and bodyes that ben dede and slayne,
> Yff I may Rayse theym vp Agayne,
> Thow honorys me with myght & mayn;
> Then shall no man yow gryue.
> ffersothe then after will I dee
> And Ryse Agayn thrughe my poostye.
> Yff I may do thus marvelesly,
> I Redd yow on me leue.
>
> (Antichrist, 81-96)

At his command, the first and second dead rise and honor him. Then, Antichrist states that he himself will die and directs that the kings should bury him in the tomb in the Temple, wherefrom he will rise again:

> And after my resurrecion
> Then wyll I sytt with gret Renoune,

> And my gost sende to yow downe
> In forme of fyer full sone,
> I dye, I dye, nowe am I dede.
> (Antichrist, 129-33)

The kings bury him as he has commanded and resolve that, if he rises from the tomb, they will honor him as God. When Antichrist emerges from the tomb, the kings honor him with sacrifices; whereupon Antichrist promises to send his holy ghost so that all will recognize him as ruler of heaven, earth, and hell. Further, he pledges more lands and riches to the kings and bids them proclaim to their people that he is Christ, assuring them that all who believe in him will receive great wealth. The kings of Lumbardy, Denmark, Hungary, Pathmos, and Italy receive gifts.

Enoch appears in l. 253 with a prayer to God for power with which to save those whom the Antichrist has beguiled:

> Gracius lorde, that arte so gud,
> That who so long in flesshe and blude
> Hasse grauatyd lyue and hevenly ffode,
> Lett never oure thoughtis be fylyde;
> But gyue vs, lorde, might & mayn,
> Orr we of this shrewe be slayne,
> To convert thy peple Agayne,
> That he hasse thus begylyd.
> (Antichrist, 261-68)

Since the world's beginning, Enoch has lived in Paradise, awaiting the Antichrist's reign on earth and destruction of God's people:

To paradyce takyn I wos that tyde
This theffys comyng to Abyd,
And helye, my brother, here me bysyde,
wos after sende to me.
wythe this Champion we most Chyde,
That nowe in worlde walkys wyde,
To dissprove his pompe and pryde
And payre all his poostye.
(Antichrist, 277-84)

Helyas prays that God will give both old and young the wisdom to discern Antichrist's deceit. He warns all the people that he lies who calls himself Christ and Messiah but who is really the devil:

I warne you, all man, wytterly,
This hys Enoche, I am helye,
Ben comyn thys herreurs to distrye
That he to you nowe shewe3.
He callis hym selffe crist & messye;
He lye3, forsothe, Appertelye:
He ys the Devull you to Anye;
And for non other hym knoye!
(Antichrist, 293-300)

The third and fourth kings recall having read about Enoch and Helyas, but the first and second kings demand proof of the prophets' identities. If Enoch's and Helyas's skills exceed those of Antichrist, the kings will pledge their support to the prophets.

Enoch, speaking to Antichrist, accuses him of bewitching and deceiving the people:

Say, thowe verey devuls lyme,
That sittis so grisly and grym,
ffrom hym thowe come & shall to hym,
ffor many A sowle thowe deseyve.
Thowe hasse deseyuyd man mony a day,
And made the peple to thy pay,

And wyshyd theym into A wrang wey
Wykkydly with thy wylys.
(Antichrist, 341-48)

Helyas tells Antichrist that his power is from the devil and will be of short endurance. Then follow bitter exchanges between Enoch and Antichrist and between Helyas and Antichrist.

In ll. 418-21, the Antichrist calls upon the Doctor, to whom he has given wisdom, to speak in his behalf. The Doctor advises him to curse the people who question his integrity, and Antichrist commands all who are not his followers to ". . . walke ye forth in the twenty Devills way!" Antichrist declares the prophets mad when, as he tries to persuade them to believe that he created the day and the night and all living things and demands that all worship him alone, they reply that their God is three persons--the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

In attempting to prove he can perform miracles, Antichrist again calls forth the first and second risen dead, to whom Helyas offers bread which he has blessed to guarantee that Antichrist can have no power over it. Since the bread is too bright for them to behold and the risen dead shrink away from it, the kings are convinced that the Antichrist is false and that he has led them into heresy. At this point, Antichrist prepares to slay all of them, but

Michaell Archangelus intervenes, puts to an end Antichrist's reign of three and one-half years, and sends him back to the devil. The first and second demons appear to take the Antichrist to hell where he will dwell forever in sorrow and pain. The play ends as Michaell calls Enoch and Helyas to heaven to live forever with God.

Although the Chester Antichrist play is similar to the other plays of the same theme, one is conscious of the fact that there are some striking differences. For example, the episodes involving the Roman Emperor which were found in Adso's play and again, but in a more elaborate form, in the Tegernsee Antichristi are not present in the Chester play. In fact, the role of the kings, while important to each drama, is handled differently in each play. The major part of the Chester play is devoted to Antichrist's attempts to prove to the kings, through miracles, that he is the one true god. Moreover, the allegorical figures, so important to the Tegernsee play, are absent from both the Adso and the Chester Antichrist plays. On the other hand, the Chester play introduces the Doctor, not found in any form in either of the other two plays. Furthermore, the overthrow of the Antichrist is accomplished in different ways in each play: (1) In Adso's Antichristo, Antichrist dies, as is predicted in the Scriptures, by the breath of

Christ's mouth. (2) In the Tegernsee Antichristi, Antichrist falls amid clashes of thunder at the moment in which he demands that all proclaim him to be the one true god. (3) The Chester play ends with the intervention of the Archangel Michaell at the moment in which Antichrist is to slay all, and the first and second devils take Antichrist to hell, while Michaell calls Enoch and Helyas to heaven.

The Last Judgment, the last play in the Chester cycle and the third one in this same cycle having to do with eschatology, is here discussed from a manuscript dated 1604.[131] The cast of players includes:

Deus	Papa Damnatus
First Angel	Imperator Damnatus
Second Angel	Rex Damnatus
Papa Saluatus	Regina Damnata
Imperator Saluatus	Iustiziarus Damnatus
Rex Saluatus	Mercator Damnatus
Regina Saluatus	Demon Primus
Jesus	Demon Secundus
Matthew	Pope
Mark	First Thief
Luke	Second Thief
John	

The increased number of characters in this play is indicative of the development it has undergone since the relatively unaltered form of The Judgment Day in the York cycle. The Chester play begins with the command of Deus

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[131] Dr. Matthews (ed.), The Chester Plays, II, p. 453.

to His angels to awaken all men so that He may make a reckoning of the right. He wishes to show the righteous His cross, His crown of thorns, the nails, and the sponge and spear. As the first and second angels appear to carry out the command, the risen Papa Saluatus, approaching his judgment, asks for mercy. The risen Imperator Saluatus, who believes his thousand years in purgatory has cleansed him of his sins, requests permission to go to God's right hand. Rex Saluatus admits his earthly sins but declares that he has repented. Regina Saluatus, confessing that she used luxurious apparel to excite lechery and that she failed to pray except as she desired a favor, asks God to forgive her sins because she has suffered so long in purgatory.

Papa Damnatus, a part of the clergy while he was on earth, mourns for the souls in Christianity who were damned while he had degree. He has long been in hell; his body burns, and he will never be free of sorrow, for prayer does not soothe him. Imperator Damnatus regrets his covetousness, gluttony, and traitorous deeds for which he is now suffering in hell. Rex Damnatus, too, is remorseful because, while he ruled, he had failed to pity the poor and the sick. He, too, is guilty of covetousness and lechery and has no good deeds to show to God. Regina Damnata rues the fact that she was born a woman with a

desire for gowns and pearls and lechery. Iusticiarus Damnatus, while he lived on earth, upheld false causes and robbed the church for which deeds the devil now claims his soul. Mercator Damnatus was damned to the pain of hell on the day he had died for his failure to tithe and for falsely purchasing lands.

Jesus, next, descends to judge the good and the evil, to review His crucifixion, and to admonish the wicked:

> How durst you ever doe anysse,
> when you vnbethoughte you of this?
> that I bledd to bring you to blis,
> and suffered such woe?
>
> (The Last Judgment, 429-33)

Jesus calls Papa Saluatus, Imperator Saluatus, Rex Saluatus, and Regina Saluatus (all of whom have been purged of their sins by their long stay in purgatory) to Him and commends them to heaven for their service to Him while He was on earth. Since they cannot recall when they had done service to Him, Jesus replies:

> Yes, forsooth, my frend[e]s deare,
> Such as poore and naked were
> you cladd and fedd them both in feere,
> and harbored them also.
>
> Such as were also in great danger
> in hard Prison in earth here,
> you visited them in meek manere,
> all men in such[e] woe.

Therfor, as I you ere tould,
you shall be quitt an hundreth fould;
in my Blisse--be you bould--
evermore you shall be,

Ther neither honger is ne could,
but all things as your selves would;
euerlasting ioy to yonge and ould
that in earth pleased me.

(The Last Judgment, 477-92)

It is significant that, in essence, this reply, which parallels its Scriptural source, has been found in all of the cycle Judgment plays.

The first and second angels receive the righteous. The Demon Primus claims the Pope, who knew right from wrong but chose to do the devil's bidding; the emperor, who had lived always in heresy; and the king and queen, who never gave alms to the poor. The Demon Secundus reminds Jesus that, according to Matthew, these sinners belong to the devil. Jesus sends them to the fires of hell because they failed to serve Him. The Demon Secundus claims the two thieves and the merchant. The play ends as Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John testify that they had each previously warned the people to be prepared for the Judgment.

Like the other cycle Judgment plays, this Chester drama faithfully conforms to the Gospel according to Matthew with only a small amount of traditional matter added, and involves the dramatic concepts of the summons, the Judgment, and the punishment. However, the Judgment

play of the Chester cycle, more extensive than the corresponding plays in the other cycles, has the following innovations:

(1) The Good Souls (Saluatus) and the Bad Souls (Damnatus) are each classified as Papa, Rex, Imperator, and Regina. Iusticiarus, Mercator, Pope, and the two thieves complete the list of the Wicked.

(2) The Demon Secundus challenges Jesus for the souls of the Wicked: (a) The Demon Primus claims the Pope, Emperator Damnatus, Rex Damnatus, and Regina Damnata. (b) The Demon Secundus claims the two thieves and the merchant.

(3) Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John conclude the play each with a testimony that he previously had warned the people to be "watchful," for the Judgment Day was soon to come.

One concludes that the similarities, easily recognized among these eschatological dramas, could be due to their origin in a common source, perhaps a remote liturgical Latin play, since the influence of the Christian liturgy is evident. Craig substantiates this supposition by assigning significance to the fact that Antichrist's opening speech in the Chester play is expressed in Latin instead of French.[132] Or perhaps it is possible for one to assume that the plays were derived from the same parent cycle. There is, also, the further possibility that one

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[132]Craig, op. cit., p. 193.

English cycle borrowed from another. However it might have been, the similarities between the dramatic cycles and other kinds of religious literature in the vernacular tend to indicate that the early dramatists, like the early poets in English literature, drew from the common store of English tradition.

Following is a graphic summation of characters and events added to the eschatological theme by each play herein discussed:

TABLE II

Plays of the Last Judgment	Characters	Events
SPONSUS (eleventh or twelfth century)	Bridegroom (Christ) Prudent Ones Foolish Ones Gabriel Merchants Chorus	Chorus warns of Christ's coming. Gabriel commands all to be prepared. Foolish Ones seek aid from (a) the Prudent Ones, (b) the Merchants. Jesus judges; the unprepared are cast into hell; the ones who have been watchful are received into heaven.
York (1378) THE JUDGMENT DAY	God three angels two Good Souls two Apostles Jesus two Devils	God summons all creatures. Good Souls repent. Bad Souls are terrified. Jesus descends for the Judgment. Apostles reaffirm their love for Him. Jesus reviews His crucifixion,

TABLE II (continued)

Plays of the Last Judgment	Characters	Events
		blesses the Good Souls, whom He receives on His right hand; casts the Bad Souls into hell.
Towneley (early fifteenth century) IUDICIUM	Adds: one devil Tutivillus two Good Souls	Adds: long scene of comedy between devils and Tutivillus. The devils have a greater role.
Coventry (1392) DOMESDAY	Adds: Michael Gabriel Peter	Adds: earthquake and combustible worlds. First Devil puts his mark, as did Antichrist, on the foreheads of his victims.
Chester (1604) THE LAST JUDGMENT	Adds: Pope, Matthew, Mark, John, two thieves, Luke Papa Saluatus Imperator Saluatus Rex Saluatus Regina Saluatus Papa Damnatus Imperator Damnatus Rex Damnatus Regina Damnata Iusticiarus Damnatus Mercator Damnatus	Adds: the four prophets--Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John--who warn all human beings to be prepared for the Judgment.

Plays of the Antichrist	Characters	Events
Adso LIBELLUS de ANTICHRISTO (tenth century)	Antichrist Christians Jews Roman Emperor	Antichrist comes to Jerusalem. Torments those whom he cannot corrupt. Proclaims

TABLE II (continued)

Plays of the Antichrist	Characters	Events
	Enoch Elijah	himself Son of God. Occupies the Temple. Performs miracles. Stamps the first letter of his name on foreheads of victims. Roman Emperor surrenders his crown. Enoch and Elijah expose the Antichrist and influence the faithful to resist.
Tegernsee LUDUS DE ADVENTO ET INTERITU ANTICHRISTI (twelfth century)	Adds: kings of France, Germany, Greece, Teutons Babylonia, Jerusalem; Gentilitas, Ecclesia, Hypocrites, Heresy, Synagoga, Enoch, Elijah	Adds: Roman Emperor seeks to overcome France, Greece, Jerusalem. King of Babylonia attacks Jerusalem in attempt to destroy Christianity. Hypocrites win the laymen and the King of Jerusalem. Antichrist, Hypocrisy, and Heresy overcome the King of Jerusalem. Teutonic King attacks Antichrist, who wins him with miracles. Synagoga yields to the Antichrist, who now rules the world.
Chester (1604) THE PROPHETS AND THE ANTICHRIST	Expositor, Ezechiallis, Zacharias, Daniel, Iohannes Evangelista	Expositor interprets each prophecy. Ezechiallis prophesies the approach of the Judgment Day; Zacharias, that all, through faith, will be reformed by Enoch and Helyas;

TABLE II (continued)

Plays of the Antichrist	Characters	Events
		Daniel, four beasts, one of which is the Antichrist, rose to slay three and subjugate seven kings; Iohannes, that Enoch and Helyas will save God's people. The fifteen signs of Doomsday. Expositor warns people to be watchful.
Chester (1604) THE COMING OF ANTICHRIST	Adds: Doctor Michaell Archangelus	Adds: Kings ask for proof of the supremacy of Antichrist, who pledges riches to all who believe in him. Bitter exchanges between Helyas and Antichrist. Doctor speaks in behalf of Antichrist. Helyas blesses bread as a means of exposing the Antichrist. Michaell Archangelus ends Antichrist's reign and sends him to the devil. Enoch and Helyas are called to heaven.

The added episodes and the increase of the number of characters in the *dramatis personae* of these eschatological plays reveal an ever increasing developmental pattern which indicates a sophistication on the parts of these older dramatists.

The Judgment plays moved from the symbolical Sponsus, involving six characters and six movements, to the much more elaborate Chester play, The Last Judgment, the dramatis personae of which is composed of twenty-three characters and the action of which has been expanded to include at least nine movements. Similarly, the Antichrist plays developed from the relatively simple Adso Antichristo to encompass two entire plays in the Chester cycle. However, one can readily discover a fundamental framework upon which all the variations of these eschatological plays have been superimposed. Especially is this true of the Judgment plays of the cycles. It may be safe, then, for one to assume the existence of a common liturgical source for this particular group. It is well for one to remember, nevertheless, that although the earliest religious drama is almost identical with the simple, highly symbolical services of the Church, the early anonymous play, once it was invented, had an existence of its own.[133] Moreover, in spite of their basic similarities, one should remember that the cycle plays constantly underwent change and emendation, probably as a result of organizational changes in the guilds which

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[133] F. W. Cady, "The Liturgical Basis of the Towneley Mysteries," PMLA, XXIV (1909), p. 421.

produced the plays. For example, Craig believes that the last three plays (XXII, XXIII, and XXIV) of the Chester cycle originally formed one eschatological drama.[134] He suggests that although the events involving the Antichrist and the Last Judgment are elements of the same theme, in the Chester cycle the two parts were separated, probably for local convenience. Moreover, there being no reason for the Antichrist play (since the Last Judgment is the necessary finale of a Corpus Christi cycle), he believes that the other extant cycles omitted the play of the Antichrist. Still another reason for emendation and change was the desire on the parts of the guilds to obtain the approval of religious authorities. Certainly, there is evidence to show that in 1575, the York and Chester plays were thus corrected in the anticipation of the censure of the Archbishop Grindal, who had already attacked the Whitsun plays.[135] Nevertheless, these cycle plays became the essence of the finest knowledge and emotions of the Middle Ages. The medieval folk, because of their strong faith, their earnestness of purpose, and their lack of

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[134]Craig, op. cit., p. 193.

[135]A. W. Cawley (ed.), The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle, p. xiii.

sophistication, effectively dramatized their stories of the joys of heaven, the tortures of hell, and man's salvation.

CHAPTER III

ESCHATOLOGY PROJECTED

The primitive religious pageants of the English town guilds, which concerned the reader in the preceding chapter, although born out of the Church and its festivities, were touched with the real emotions of the English people.[136] The moralities, bearing a supplementary relation to these cycle plays, are a ". . . late remnant of this early drama, rescued at the point where it was ending its primitive growth, soon to give way to an artistic sense of the stage."[137] The earliest moralities have the same fundamental issues that are contained in the Corpus Christi cycles: the conflict between good and evil, the fall of man, and his redemption through Christ.[138] In fact, the moralities are believed to have developed simultaneously along with the miracle plays, which existed beside the liturgical or mystery plays.[139]

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[136]Bates, op. cit., p. 180.

[137]Ernest Rhys (ed.), Everyman's Library, p. xx.

[138]A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman, p. xiv.

[139]Clarence Griffin Child, The Second Shepherd's Play, Everyman, and Other Early Plays, p. xxii.

The morality, sometimes called a dramatized allegory, may be defined as a play in which the characters are ideas personified, and the story is of a non-Biblical derivation, although the moral is based on Christian ethics.[140] Craig, emphasizing that nearly all medieval literature encompasses allegory and/or allegorical figures, warns that the mere presence of allegory or allegorical figures in a mystery or a miracle does not make it into a morality.[141] Allegories, resulting from a dramatist's desire to present themes, which, by their very nature, do not provide a story or characters, contain, instead, personified abstractions, which, through interaction, usually stress a moral or teach a lesson.[142] This literary device had become strongly rooted in England by the time of Piers Plowman.

Therefore, one may expect to find the following differences between the Biblical pageants discussed in

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[140] H. C. Schweikert (ed.), Early English Plays, p. 32.

[141] Craig, op. cit., p. 338.

[142] Child, op. cit., p. xxiv.

the preceding chapter and the present subject, the moralities:[143]

(1) The pageant dramatizes Biblical persons and episodes, while the morality personifies the good and the evil qualities of every man and presents them in conflict.

(2) The pageant, as a part of an entire cycle, represents a phase in the spiritual history of mankind; while the morality, complete in itself, is restricted "to the spiritual biography of the microcosm man."

(3) The pageant plays represent a real world; the moralities, one that is symbolic.

(4) The pageants, the purpose of which was to bolster the orthodox faith of the Church by placing emphasis upon significant stories and characters of the Bible, present lessons in the subject matter upon which the doctrines of the Christian religion are based. The moralities, on the other hand, interpret those doctrines as far as they apply to man's conduct in life.

(5) The morality was consciously didactic, but whatever lesson was to have been drawn from the pageant was by implication from the story itself.

On the other hand, there are many points of similarity between the two types of plays:[144]

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[143] The following information is a paraphrase of the material contained in A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays, pp. xiv-xv; and Schweikert, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

[144] The following information is a paraphrase of the material contained in A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman, p. xiv; and Rhys, op. cit., p. x.

(1) Both use allegorical figures, as has already been seen in the twelfth-century Advent play, Antichristus.

(2) Both show the influence of the sermon and of folk-activities.

(3) Both are more interested in man's spiritual life to come than in his earthly life.

(4) Both are concerned with man's relation to his Creator.

(5) Both are religious in meaning.

(6) Both have been humanized by popular influences.

Cawley also concludes that the moral plays ". . . complement the Biblical play in much the same way as the sermon complements the other offices of Christian worship."[145]

Bates conjectures that the medieval moral plays are a dramatic development of the sermon, just as the New Testament plays of the Corpus Christi cycle are the result of elaboration upon the Easter liturgy, and the Old Testament plays are derivations from the Scriptures.[146] Craig suggests that the morality may have originated in the homily, the play having arisen from the ". . . coincidence of combining the allegory with the dramatic method."[147]

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[145]A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman, p. xiv.

[146]Bates, op. cit., p. 203.

[147]Craig, op. cit., pp. 344-45.

On the other hand, he believes that it may be possible that the morality is a dramatic treatment of the Dance of Death, which was performed in the Church, and, like the drama, was religious in spirit as well as in purpose.[148] The Dance of Death is a "pagan superstition" superimposed upon the literature dealing with the terrors of death and with world-contempt, and can be traced back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[149] The word *macabre*, which dates from 1376, when applied to such literature and art, denotes the ". . . hollow, tattered corpse, often with the 'channering worm' coiling in the putrescent flesh," a figure which was replaced in the fifteenth century by the skeleton.[150] According to Craig, the Dance of Death, lacking only an abstract hero to become a morality, was performed upon a stage provided with *loca* and a door or a sepulcher into which Death's victims disappeared.[151] The performance involved dialogue, impersonation, and a kind of action as Death summoned the high and low orders of society and

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[148] *Loc. cit.*

[149] Rossiter, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[150] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[151] Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

danced with them to the door of the sepulcher.[152] Then, from a pulpit in front of the stage, the priest warned the congregation of the certainty of death and the necessity of preparing for it by the accumulation of good deeds.[153] Craig classifies the Dance of Death as a dramatic spectacle or ceremony rather than as a true drama, and although he is certain that its development into the morality was easy and obvious, he concedes that no one knows exactly when this development might have occurred.[154] One concludes, then, that the morality draws not only upon the theme of death in the sermon but also upon the Dance of Death for part of its pictorial allegory.

Craig disagrees with the current conception that the earliest extant English morality is the Paternoster Play of York, so-named as a result of a medieval idea that each clause of the Lord's Prayer could counteract a dreadful influence of one of the Seven Deadly Sins.[155] However, scholars have shown that this play was in existence prior

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[152] Loc. cit.

[153] Loc. cit.

[154] Loc. cit.

[155] T. R. Allison, "Pater Noster Play and the Origin of the Vices," PMLA, XXXIX (1924), p. 791.

to 1384 and was perhaps a Wycliffite production, since a reference to it exists in Wyclif's De Officio Pastorali.[156] Craig suggests that the Paternoster Play, rather than being a morality, was a cycle of Saints' plays joined by the theme of resistance to the ravages of sin with the aid of the ". . . divinely efficient clauses of the Lord's Prayer."[157] This play, however, supplanted the York Cycle at intervals until 1575, when Archbishop Grindal called it in, presumably for further emendation, after which action it is not heard of again.[158]

According to Cawley, the "summons of death" theme connects only four English plays of the period: The Pride of Life, which most scholars agree is the earliest extant morality; The Castle of Perseverance, the earliest full-scope morality; the episode of the Death of Herod in the twenty-second play of the Ludus Coventriae, dated between 1400 and 1450; and Everyman, the actual composition date of which is a matter of conjecture.[159] The Pride of Life and Everyman

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[156] Ibid., p. 789.

[157] Craig, op. cit., p. 341.

[158] Allison, op. cit., p. 789.

[159] A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman, p. xiv.

are the only two plays to present a unified drama dealing with man's ending, since the Death of Herod is merely the final episode of "The Slaughter of the Innocents" in the Ludus Coventriae (for which reason it will be excluded from this study), and The Castle of Perseverance presents the entire life-cycle of Humanum Genus from birth to death and beyond.[160]

The Pride of Life, which Craig dates 1343, is a fragmentary manuscript, written in two different hands on the back of and within a roll of accounts of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, and may be found in the Irish Record Office in Dublin.[161] With the aid of the prologue, Craig summarizes the action of the extant five hundred lines: The King of Life, defying Death in spite of the warnings of the Queen and the Bishop, summons the aid of Health and Strength, then sends his messenger to challenge Death to combat. Death, victorious in the contest, commands the soul of the King of Life to fiends. However, through the intervention of the Virgin, the King of Life is saved from hell. Then, the familiar debate between Body and Soul

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[160] Loc. cit.

[161] Craig, op. cit., p. 347.

follows.[162] The action of the play resembles that of the Dance of Death. However, Craig believes that the theme of man's struggle for salvation dominates the danse macabre.[163] The Pride of Life is clearly concerned with death, judgment, and immortality.

The Castle of Perseverance, which most scholars agree is dated approximately 1425, is important for the completeness with which it develops the central ideas underlying all the moralities.[164] The object of the play, the theme of which is the struggle of the Good and the Evil forces for the soul of man, is to trace the spiritual history of Humanum Genus (Mankind or Typical Man) from the time of his birth to his appearance at the Judgment Seat of God, where his spirit becomes the subject of debate among the Four Daughters of God. The dramatis personae comprises thirty-three players: World and his attendants Lust and Folly, his treasurer Covetousness, his messenger Backbiter, and his servant Boy; Flesh and his attendants—Lechery, Gluttony and Sloth; the Devil and his attendants—Pride, Wrath, and Envy; Mankind and his advisors, the Good Angel

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[162] Loc. cit.

[163] Loc. cit.

[164] Joseph Quincy Adams (ed.), Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas, p. 265.

and the Bad Angel; the Soul of Mankind; the Seven Virtues--Charity, Abstinence, Chastity, Industry, Generosity, Patience, and Meekness; Confession; Penance; the Four Daughters of God--Mercy, Peace, Truth, and Righteousness; Death; and God.

According to Southern, the play was performed on the platea with the castle rising from the center, and on five sedes--the respective stages of World on the west, the Devil on the north, Covetousness on the northeast, God on the east, and Flesh on the south--grouped at intervals around, but at appropriate distances from, the castle.[165]

The play opens with pompous speeches from the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, each appearing on his own scaffold. Then, from his bed under the castle-tower, crawls little Humanum Genus, hardly a day old, but who is immediately assailed by the Good Angel from the right and the Bad Angel from the left. Confused at first, little Mankind is finally won by the Bad Angel's promises of joy and prosperity. The two approach World's scaffold, where Mankind meets Lust and Folly, ignoring the Good Angel's warning: "Man, pynke on pyn endynge day /

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[165]Southern, op. cit., pp. 125-41.

Whanne þou schalt be closyd vnder clay!" (The Castle of Perseverance, 408-9). Mankind promises to forsake God and follow Lust and Folly, who have promised him riches--"What schulde I reeknen of domysday, / So þat I be ryche and of gret a-ray? / I schal make mery whyl I may" (The Castle of Perseverance, 610-12). Mankind, now attired in expensive garments, encounters Backbiter, whose purpose it is to teach Mankind about the Seven Deadly Sins and to lead him to the scaffold of Covetousness, where he will meet Pride, Wrath, Envy, Lechery, Sloth, and Gluttony. Each Sin bestows his quality upon Mankind. When Mankind is a young man and at the peak of his power, Shrift and Penance appeal to him, whereupon he promises to make amends and asks for a dwelling place safe from the Sins. As a result, he is housed in the castle of Perseverance. Slander hurries with the news to World and Flesh. The Devil leads the Seven Deadly Sins in storming the castle, while the Virtues beat them back with roses, the emblem of Jesus's passion.[166] At World's appeal, Covetousness uses one thousand marks with which to lure Mankind from the castle. Mankind accepts the bribe, leaves the castle, and buries the money as he has

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[166] Ibid., p. 198.

been instructed. When Death appears, the World claims the treasure, and Mankind prepares to die:

> To hell I schal bope fare and fle
> But God me graunt3 of his grace.
> I dey3 certeynly.
> Now my lyfe I hau3 lore.
> Myn hert brekyb. I syh3 sore.
> A word may I speke no more.
> I putte me in Godys mercy.
> (The Castle of Perseverance, 3002-8)

The Bad Angel, after winning an argument with the Good Angel for the possession of the Soul of Mankind, takes the Soul to hell:

> Boy, on bi bak I brynge
> Spedely bou sprynge
> bi placebo I schal synge!
> To deuelys delle
> I schal bee bere to helle.
> I wyl not dwelle.
> Haue good day! I goo to helle!
> (The Castle of Perseverance, 3123-29)

At this point, a dispute arises among the Four Daughters of God as to whether the Soul should be saved or damned. The Daughters, then, proceed to God's scaffold to request His judgment. After hearing the arguments, God answers:

> My jugement I wyl geue you by,
> Not aftyr deseruynge, to do reddere,
> To dampne Mankynde to turmentry,
> But brynge hym to my blysse clere,
> In heuene to dwelle endeleely, . . .
>
> Goo to bone fende
> And fro hym take Mankynde!
> Brynge hym to me!
> And set hym be my kne,
> In heuene to be,
> In blysse with gamyn and gle.
> (The Castle of Perseverance, 3565-78)

Then, the Daughters of God take Mankind's Soul from the Bad Angel and, with it, ascend the throne of God, Who, sitting in judgment, speaks to Mankind's Soul:

> My mercy, Mankynde, geue I þee.
> Cum, syt at my ry̆ hondel
> Ful wel haue I louyd þee,
> Vnkynde þou I þee fonde.
> As a sparke of fyre in þe se,
> My mercy is synne quenchande.
> þou hast cause to loue me
> A-bovyn al þynge in lande,
> And kepe my commundement;
> If þou me loue and drede,
> Heuene schal be þi mede; . . .
>
> þis is myn Jugëment.
>
> (The Castle of Perseverance, 3599-611)

God reminds Mankind that all the states of the world are subject to His rule and explains that, when Michael blows his horn, all men of all nations shall appear before the Judgment Seat of God for their final reckoning:

> þe goode, on the ryde syd schal stond ful sure;
> þe badde on þe lyfte syd, þer schal I set.
> þe vij dedis of mercy, who-so hadde vre
> To fylle--þe hungry for to geue mete;
> Or drynke to þrysty; þe nakyd, vesture;
> þe pore or þe pylgrym, hom for to fette;
> þi neybour þat hap nede;
> Who-so dop mercy to his myþ,
> To þe seke, or in presun pyþ,
> He dop to me--I schal hym gvyþ
> Heuene blys schal be his mede . . .
>
> And þei þat evyl do, þei schul to helle lake,
> In bytter balys to be brent: my jugëment it is.
>
> (The Castle of Perseverance, 3627-41)

Here, as has been found in the cycle Judgment plays as well as in the early English poem Christ and the Scriptures, is

the familiar code for judging the Good and the Bad Souls. The play ends as the actor, still dressed as God but speaking as an actor, pronounces the praises to God: Te, Deum, laudamus![167] Rather than the history of the human race, the play has presented the history of the individual soul, the prize for which the Good Angels continually war against the devils of hell.

The simple, tragic Everyman, a story of progressive abandonment and increasing isolation, is the greatest of all English moralities.[168] Rhys salutes it as the ". . . noblest interlude of death the religious imagination of the Middle Ages has given to the stage."[169] Most scholars assume that the play, completely a product of the medieval mind, was written before the close of the fifteenth century.[170] Its theme is that of the Dance of Death.[171] In Everyman, as in the Danse Macabre, Death summons every man to undertake a long, difficult journey at the end of which he must account to God for his deeds in this world. Both

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[167] Ibid., p. 216.

[168] Loomis and Wells, op. cit., p. 25.

[169] Rhys, op. cit., p. xv.

[170] Adams, op. cit., p. 288.

[171] Craig, op. cit., p. 341.

the Dance of Death and Everyman emphasize that it is vanity to rely on friends, r latives, strength, riches, or beauty in that dread hour of death. Both teach that Good Deeds alone will descend with every man into the grave. Scholars agree that this "abandonment story" can be traced to Barlaam and Josaphat, an ancient collection of fables of oriental (possibly Buddhist) origin.[172] The parable within the legend concerns a man with three friends, only one of whom (symbolizing his good deeds) is willing to accompany him to the Judgment Seat.[173]

Everyman is preserved in only four printed copies, dating from the period between 1508 and 1537.[174] Two are fragmentary copies printed by Richard Pynson; the two complete copies are John Skot's editions.[175] The characters of the play are God, Everyman, Death, Good Fellowship, Kindred, Cousin, Goods, Good Deeds, Knowledge, Confession, Beauty, Strength, Discretion, Five Wits, Messenger, Angel,

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[172]Pollard, op. cit., p. 1.

[173]Craig, op. cit., p. 347.

[174]A. C. Cawley, Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays, p. 205.

[175]Ibid., p. ix; the text from which the play is herein discussed is based principally on the Britwell copy, printed by Skot, 1528-29, now available at the Huntington Library.

and the Doctor. The play begins, as did the Judgment plays of the Corpus Christi cycles, with God's regretting men's ungrateful persistence in sin, reviewing Christ's sacrifices on the cross, and announcing His decision to summon Everyman to a general reckoning. Everyman, unready for such a journey, attempts to bribe Death for more time. His plea, rejected, Everyman thinks of God for the first time:

> O gracyous God in the hye sete celestyall,
> Haue mercy on me in this moost nede!
> Shall I haue no company fro this vale terestryall
> Of myne acqueyntaunce, that way me to lede?
> (Everyman, 153-56)

Death consents to Everyman's taking whomever he can persuade to accompany him on the long journey. Everyman, therefore, first approaches Fellowship, who swears faithfulness forever. However, upon learning of the nature of the sojourn, he replies:

> Now, by God that all hathe bought,
> If Deth were the messenger,
> For no man that is lyuynge to-daye
> I wyll not go that lothe iourneye--
> Not for the fader that bygate me!
> (Everyman, 265-69)

In spite of Everyman's supplications, Fellowship bids him farewell. Next, Everyman calls his Kindred and Cousin, both of whom would rather fast on bread and water for five years or more than accompany him on such a voyage. Cousin's excuse is a "cramp in his toe," while Kindred offers,

instead of himself, his concubine as a traveling companion for Everyman. When Goods is called upon, he answers:

> I lye here in corners, trussed and pyled so hye,
> And in chestes I am locked so fast,
> Also sacked in bagges. Thou mayst se with thyn eye
> I can not styre; in packes, lowe I lye.
> (Everyman, 394-97)

Goods is unsympathetic and admonishes Everyman:

> But yf thou had me loued moderately duryage,
> As to the poore gyue parte of me,
> Than sholdest thou not in this dolour be,
> Nor in this grete sorowe and care.
> . . . . . .
> Naye, Eueryman, I saye no.
> As for a whyle I was lente the;
> A season thou hast had me in prosperyte.
> My condycyon is mannes soule to kyll;
> If I saue one, a thousande I do spyll.
> . . . . . .
> Therfore to thy soule Good is a thefe;
> For whan thou arte dead, this is my gyse—
> Another to deceyue in this same wyse
> As I haue done the, and all to his soules reprefe.
> (Everyman, 431-34; 439-43; 447-50)

Everyman, as a result of his encounter with Goods, experiences shame and seeks Good Deeds, who is too weak to stand:

> Here I lye, colde in the grounde.
> Thy synnes hath me sore bounde,
> That I can not stere.
> (Everyman, 486-88)

Good Deeds, already aware of what is to happen to Everyman, is willing but unable to help him. She commands him to summon her sister Knowledge, who consents to lead him to Confession in the house of salvation, where he receives a "jewel called penance." Confession speaks:

I knowe your sorowe well, Euceryman.
Bycause with Knowlege ye come to me,
I wyll you comforte as well as I can.
And a precyous iewell I wyll guye the,
Called penaunce, voyder of aduersyte;
Therwith shall your body chastysed be,
With abstynence & perseueraunce in Goddes seruyture.
Here shall you receyue that scourge of me,
Whiche is penaunce stronge that he must endure,
To remembre thy Sauyour was scourged for the
With sharpe scourges, and suffred it pacyently;
So must thou or thou scape that paynful pylgrymage.
(Everyman, 554-65)

Confession instructs Everyman to ask God for mercy to find the "oil of forgiveness" which He grants to all men who "scourge themselves of penance." Then, Knowledge advises Everyman to fulfill his penance even though doing so may be painful to him. Following Everyman's ardent prayer for mercy, Good Deeds, now well and strong, rises from the ground to go with Everyman and help him declare his good works. After receiving a "garment of sorrow" to wear on his pilgrimage, Everyman is able to call Discretion, Strength, Beauty, and his Five Wits to accompany him. Having given half of his goods to charity, he proceeds to the priest to receive the seven sacraments. Now, he is ready to continue without further respite. As Everyman approaches his grave, Beauty is the first to forsake him. Then Strength, Discretion, his Five Wits, and, finally, Knowledge--each in succession abandon him, leaving only

Good Deeds to speak for him at his Judgment. Everyman's soul is received by an angel:

> Come, excellente electe spouse, to Iesu!
> Here aboue thou shalte go
> Because of thy synguler vertue.
> Now thy soule is taken they body fro,
> Thy rekenynge is crystall-clere.
> Now shalte thou in to the heuenly spere,
> vnto the whiche all ye shall come
> That lyueth well before the days of dome.
> (Everyman, 894-901)

The play ends, as do some of the cycle Judgment plays, with a repetition of Christ's words to unrepentant sinners, in this play, spoken by the Doctor:

> This morall men may haue in mynde.
> Ye herers, take it of worth, olde and yonge,
> And forsake Pryde, for he deceyueth you in the ende;
> And remembre Beaute, V. Wyttes, Strength, & Dyscre-
> cyon,
> They all at the last do Everyman forsake,
> Saue his Good Dedes there dothe he take.
> But be-ware, for and they be small,
> Before God he hath no helpe at all: . . .
> For after dethe amendes may no man make,
> For than mercy and pyte doth hym forsake.
> If his rekenynge be not clere whan he doth come,
> God wyll saye, 'Ite, maledicti, in ignem eternum.'
> And he that hath his accounte hole and sounde,
> Hye in heuen he shall be crounde.
> Vnto whiche place God brynge vs all thyder,
> That we may lyue body and soule togyder.
> (Everyman, 902-19)

The play has two climaxes, stemming from the abandonment of Everyman by two theologically distinct groups of "friends" in whom he has placed his confidence.[176]

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[176] L. V. Ryan, "Doctrine and Dramatic Structure in Everyman," Speculum, XXXII (October, 1957), p. 725.

(1) His external earthly friends or his gifts of fortune--Fellowship, Kindred, Cousin, and Goods

(2) His friends that are actually properties of himself or his gifts of grace--Good Deeds, Five Wits, Knowledge, and Discretion; and his gifts of nature, Strength and Beauty.

Everyman, therefore, is representative of an average Christian of any denomination in that he is neither extremely good nor extremely bad.[177] His sin is that he has elevated his love for his gifts of fortune above his love for God. Thus, he has wasted these gifts and, with them, has jeopardized his soul. His friends and kinsmen who have encouraged his sinful living have been the first to abandon him to the consequences. Fellowship has led him into sins of the flesh. Moreover, Cousin and Kindred have induced him to place his trust in the love and loyalty of his family when he should have looked to God for this kind of spiritual support. Finally, Goods, whom Everyman has loved the most, has been a jeopardy because, as the play emphasizes, excessive love of worldly goods closes the soul to the love of any higher object (Matthew VI.24). Nevertheless, Everyman experiences a rapid spiritual growth in the presence of Death. At the moment in which his gifts of fortune abandon him, Everyman becomes aware of the fact that his

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[177] A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman, p. 38.

excessive love of earthly things has placed his soul in danger of being cast into hell. Consequently, he is able to realize that his salvation depends upon Christ and His sacraments. Thus, the play reaches its first climax in Everyman's vanity of placing trust in one's earthly "friends" (Everyman, 463-85).[178] At this point, Everyman remembers Good Deeds, who is willing to help, but, because good deeds are of no consequence to a man in the state of sin, she is unable to rise. Therefore, Everyman's hope now lies in Good Deeds' sister, Knowledge, who represents "knowledge of God" or "acknowledgement of one's sins" or "contrition." His utterance, "I gaue the that whiche sholde be the Lordes aboue" (Everyman, 458) is evidence that Everyman has acknowledged his sins and is ready to go to confession, after which action only Christ's mercy can save him. As Everyman carries out his penance, Good Deeds becomes strong enough to rise, placing Everyman in the state of grace, the only state in which mankind is able to recognize his gifts of grace and gifts of nature. Therefore, Knowledge introduces Everyman to Beauty, Strength, Discretion, and Five Wits, who, in turn, extol the seven sacraments, and Everyman is progressing toward a new life

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[178]Ryan, op. cit., p. 727.

of perfection and salvation. This play, then, teaches that a man who lives well must not attribute his sanctity to his own efforts but rather to the free gifts of God's grace.[179] Ryan cites two episodes that emphasize this point:[180]

(1) The digression on the subject of priesthood--Knowledge criticizes the behavior of sinful priests, and the Five Wits, speaking directly to the audience, stress the validity of the sacraments regardless of the moral condition of the minister.

(2) Everyman's final abandonment--The second climax of the play occurs when all except Good Deeds desert Everyman at his grave.

The second group of "friends," although they, like the first, promise to go with Everyman to his grave, are not intentionally deceitful, since each gives his pledge in keeping with the nature of his own character. Therefore, had Everyman listened well to these promises, he would not have experienced shock when he suddenly realized that he could not rely upon his own powers in his final reckoning. Obviously, it is not necessary that Knowledge continue into the grave since, after Judgment has been passed upon him, redeemed man need not repent past transgressions. Moreover, Good Deeds accompanies Everyman into the grave, since good

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[179] Ibid., p. 730.

[180] The following material is paraphrased from ibid., pp. 729-33.

deeds receive their reward after death when the soul has been received into heaven.

The drama is clearly an allegorical presentation of medieval Catholic eschatology, which teaches that each individual must appear twice before God to receive judgment--once at the hour of death when the soul leaves the body and again at the end of the world.[181] The play supports this doctrine with such statements as "Now thy soule is taken thy body fro, / Thy reckenynge is crystall-clere" (Everyman, 897-98), and "That lyueth well before the daye of dome" (Everyman, 901). "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire" (Matthew XXV.41), found in Everyman l. 915, as well as in The Castle of Perseverance between ll. 3637 and 3638, merges the particular judgment of Everyman and the general judgment of all mankind, where the soul and body are reunited (Everyman, 919) and are saved or damned together.[182] However, "That lyueth well before the daye of dome" (Everyman, 901) and "That shall be saued at the daye of dome" (Everyman, 885) remind the reader that the particular judgment of Everyman is to be distinguished from the general judgment.

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[181] The Catholic Encyclopedia, V, p. 528.

[182] A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman, p. 38.

As for the manner of its production, whether the play was originally performed indoors, as were the majority of interludes, or out of doors, as was The Castle of Perseverance, its staging follows the pattern established in the plays previously discussed.[183] Most of the action, being unlocalized, occurs in the platea from which rises one sedes, the house of salvation, where Everyman receives the sacrament of penance from Confession. Cawley believes that from this sedes God speaks to sinful man at the beginning of the play, and to this sedes Everyman's soul returns at the end of the play.[184] Everyman's grave is probably located at the foot of the sedes, so that he can enact his own salvation by entering the grave and then ascending from it to the "heavenly sphere."[185] Ryan suggests that Knowledge is the only character on the stage at the end of the play when the angels announce the reception of Everyman into heaven, thus symbolically emphasizing her significance in the play.[186]

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[183] Ibid., p. xxix.

[184] Loc. cit.

[185] Loc. cit.

[186] Ryan, op. cit., p. 372.

In spite of the many similarities among the moralities, Everyman is distinguished by its ". . . preoccupation with death and its avoidance of any serious conflict between Good and Evil" for the soul of every man.[187] Everyman concentrates upon preparing man for a life after death, while most of the other moralities deal with advice for better living in this world.[188] Furthermore, while other English moralities combine comic scenes and characters with the serious, Everyman preserves a somber tone. The sustained seriousness and the ". . . special doctrinal character" of Everyman one may attribute to these following influences:[189]

(1) The theme of the Dance of Death

(2) The religious treatises on Holy Dying

(3) The Judgment Day plays of the Corpus Christi cycles

(4) The manuals of the religions of the confessional type.

Finally, Everyman is the only moral play in which the epilogue is spoken by a special character.[190] The

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[187] Ibid., p. xvi.

[188] Ibid., p. v.

[189] The following material is quoted from A. C. Cawley (ed.), Everyman, p. xv.

[190] Ibid., p. 38.

precedent of the Doctor in Everyman is the Expositor, who comments intermittently throughout The Prophets and Antichrist, the twenty-second play in the Chester cycle; and in the Sponsus, the chorus which repeats the refrain, "Lazy and weak ones, you have slept too long." These commentaries are, no doubt, the voice of the Church warning the people to be "watchful" in order to be ready for the Judgment Day.

A drama which greatly resembles Everyman is the Dutch (Flemish?) play, Elckerlijc, first printed in 1495.[191] There has been considerable disagreement among scholars (who have presented convincing arguments in behalf of each drama) as to which play came first and as to which is superior. Cawley's thesis is that Elckerlijc is the original and Everyman, the translation, the resemblances between the two plays being numerous enough to preclude the possible common derivation from either a Latin or a French original.[192] However, the acceptance of such priority does not imply that Elckerlijc is superior. Moreover, Everyman is thoroughly English whatever its origin.[193]

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[191] Ibid., p. xi.

[192] Loc. cit.

[193] Joseph Quincy Adams (ed.), Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas, p. 286.

Other moralities which embody the eschatological theme, but which are not included in this study are the following:

(1) Wisdom or Mind, Will, and Understanding (c.1460)
Satan seduces the soul of Anima, who is ultimately saved through the mediation of Wisdom, Who is Christ.

(2) Mankind (1475)
Mercy and Mischief struggle for the soul of Mankind, who yields to the temptations of the devil, Titivillus, in this play a mere clown. Mischief triumphs over Mercy, who eventually rescues Mankind from attempted suicide. This play, although badly degenerated, forms a connecting link between the earlier moralities and their later development.[194] It is an interesting play in that it shows the element of farce that had invaded the morality by the end of the fifteenth century.

(3) The Nature of the Four Elements (1519) by John Rastell
Humanity, wavering between Studious Desire and Sensual Appetite, repents and reforms after being admonished by Nature.

(4) Mundus et Infans (1522)
The abstract hero of this play is first Infans, who becomes Wanton at the age of seven years; Lust and Liking at fourteen; and Manhood at twenty-one. During manhood, he goes to London, where he yields to sin and becomes Shame. After a life of sin, he is called Age. His name is changed to Repentance when, despairing, he seeks Death but is rescued by Perseverance.

(5) Nature (c.1530) by Henry Medwall
The protagonist in this play depicts a man wavering between allegiance to Reason and allegiance

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[194] Pollard, op. cit., p. xlix.

> to Sensuality. Mundus wins and enslaves him to the Seven Deadly Sins. Age, at last, dismisses the Vices and welcomes the Virtues. Man repents and, returning to Reason, achieves salvation.

An interesting fact is that variations of the line of dialogue, "Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss," occur in Everyman (10-12), The Pride of Life (183-86), The Castle of Perseverance (3647-49), and Mundus et Infans (485-86).

Obviously, all of these English morality plays make use of the same universal plot, the conflict between the Good and the Evil forces for the soul of man. In it one recognizes the same theme which is exploited in the mystery play, based upon the Church services of the liturgical year and culminating in the Doomsday play. The framework upon which these plays have been expanded is that of the Sponsus, involving (1) the warning, (2) a desperate attempt to rectify the situation which exists as the result of evil forces or negligence on the part of the protagonist, (3) the Judgment, and (4) the punishment. The inherent Evil forces are an extension of the Antichrist theme, for, as the Scriptures predict, ". . . false Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect" (Mark XIII.22). Consequently, Mankind has become the prey of Covetousness, Pride,

Wrath, Envy, Lechery, Sloth, and Gluttony. Furthermore, all of the plays encompass the Judgment Day theme as the protagonist of each morality faces the Great Leveller. In fact, the beginning and the ending of Everyman perfectly parallel the same segments of most cycle Judgment Day plays. In essence, one may conclude that the morality plays herein discussed, through the implementation of allegorical figures such as were introduced by the twelfth-century Advent play, Antichristi, interpret the eschatological doctrines as set forth in the earlier Antichrist and Judgment Day plays.

The morality play is an allegory of the career of mankind; it asserts that man, naturally a sinner, regresses from innocence into wickedness; it teaches that man's reformation cannot, except through God's mercy in the sacrifice of Christ, save him from death and damnation; its principal characteristic is the typification of all mankind by a single character. This type of serious play suited the medieval temperament which prevailed well into the sixteenth century.[195] The English people of this century knew that the constituents of the high levels as well as the low levels of society are equal in the sight of God, that all

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[195]Craig, op. cit., pp. 383-85.

men have souls to save, that Death comes to all, and that each soul will eventually be judged according to its earthly deeds.[196] All Elizabethans were deeply concerned about human destiny, the central theme of the moral play. It is plausible, then, that the morality theme, existing through a century, reappeared in the plays of Shakespeare, as well as in other literature of the Tudor-Stuart period, to restore the vision of Everyman to the world.[197] In fact, what Rossiter calls the "morality habit-of-mind" is a medieval heritage of the first importance to the understanding of the Elizabethan drama in which there is a recurrence of the mutability theme, a kind of ritual of death.[198]

The pattern is clearly discernible in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus (1588-89), which presents the idea of man as a representative of mankind and, therefore, is a perfectly generalized morality with notable images of virtues, vices, and hell.[199] The plot is entirely one of character,

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[196] Ibid., p. 386.

[197] Loc. cit.

[198] Rossiter, op. cit., pp. 80-83.

[199] Craig, op. cit., p. 386.

involving what Faustus says, thinks, feels, and does.[200] The play is the study of a man who aspires to a God-like (Satan-like) concept of things--as Faustus himself says, ". . . to be on earth as Jove is in the sky." His conceit causes him to aspire beyond his reach, and, like the Antichrist, Faustus places himself in the position of being a rival to Christ. Faustus excels in matters of theology, and, acting upon the contention that, where the philosopher stops, there the physician begins, he considers concentrating his efforts in medicine, then changes to law, and finally decides that only through magic can he secure for himself the power which he desires. Therefore, the original sin of Faustus, identical with the original sin of man, is that of the abandonment of the image of God in order to be as God. Moreover, the knowledge that Faustus desires, the same as that which tempted Eve, is the knowledge that will make man more than human.[201] However, the only knowledge and the only power he gains through his bargain with Mephistophilis is that of illusions, false shows, and masquerades. His comical assault upon the Pope, his

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[200]Roland M. Frye, "Marlowe's Doctor Faustus: The Repudiation of Humanity," The South Atlantic Quarterly, LV (July, 1956), p. 322.

[201]Ibid., p. 323.

humorous encounters with the honest knight and the courser, his power to conjure only ". . . spirits as can lively resemble rather than true substantial bodies" (exemplified in the cases of Alexander the Great and his paramour and Helen of Greece)--all emphasize the dissolution of Faustus' human dignity. In fact, whereas he began with the desire to do great things such as to reign ". . . sole king of all our province," Faustus has reduced himself to a position comparable to that of a court entertainer. Furthermore, that Faustus rejects reality is shown by his objection to the ugly shape of Mephistophilis, whom he commands to reappear as a Franciscan friar. Although Faustus believes his magic has caused Mephistophilis to materialize, Lucifer's attendant explains that he hurries to anyone who abjures the Scriptures and Christ, hoping to secure the offender's soul for the Prince of Hell. When Faustus declares that he detects no difference between hell and Elysium, Mephistophilis assures him that all who aspired to pride and insolence fell with Lucifer and are damned in hell and admits that he himself is never out of it:

> Thinkst thou that I who saw the face of God,
> And tasted the eternal ioyes of heauen,
> Am not tormented with ten thousand hels,
> In being depriv'd of euerlasting blisse:
> O Faustus, leaue these friuolous demounds,
> which strike a terror to my fainting soule.
> (iii.322-27)

As in the morality plays, the Good Angel, urging contrition, prayer, and repentence, and the Bad Angel, tempting victims with promises of honor and wealth, appear at various intervals throughout this play. Faustus, nevertheless, sells his body and soul to the devil for twenty-four years of worldliness. Mephistophilis describes hell in much the same way as it was defined in the early English literature. Hell is under the heavens within the bowels of the elements, where men remain and are tortured forever:

> Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscrib'd
> In one selfe place, for where we are is hell,
> And where hell is, must we euer be:
> And to conclude, when all the world dissolues,
> And euery creature shalbe purified,
> All places shall be hell that is not heauen.
> (v.565-72)

In scene vi., Faustus wishes to repent when he beholds the heavens, but since his heart is too hardened, he resumes his interrogation of Mephistophilis, who answers all except the question, "Who made the world?" Faustus, in answering this question for himself, thinks on God and wonders if it is too late to repent. Of course, the Good Angel replies that it is never too late; but when Faustus calls upon Christ to save his distressed soul, Lucifer, Belzebub, and Mephistophilis all appear to expound the reasons why Christ cannot save Faustus' soul. The three devils, then, entertain Faustus with a presentation of the Seven Deadly Sins

in their proper shapes. This scene marks the last time in which Faustus is able to see or hear the Good Angel. However, it is possible that there is still time for his redemption until the scenes of the second blood bond and his demonic desire for Helen.[202] As his twenty-four years draw to a close, Faustus enters into profound despair. An Old Man arrives to guide him (if Faustus will only repent his vile crimes) into a way of life that leads to celestial rest. But Faustus reminds himself that he is damned:

> Damnd art thou Faustus, damnd, dispaire and die,
> Hell calls for right, and with a roaring voyce
> Sayes, Faustus come, thine houre is come,
> (xiii.1315-18)

Mephistophilis gives Faustus a dagger, whereupon the Old Man intervenes, advising Faustus to call for mercy. Faustus, alone, ponders his sins:

> I do repent, and yet I do dispaire;
> Hell striues with grace for conquest in my breast,
> What shall I do to shun the snares of death?
> (xiii.1330-32)

The function of the Old Man is to mediate to Faustus the vision of grace which Faustus himself can no longer see. But Faustus rejects this vision and, requesting Helen as his paramour, seeks pardon from Lucifer rather than from God.

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[202] Ibid., p. 326.

At the end of the play, Faustus stands as one condemned before the Judgment of God and trapped in the clutches of the devils. The prelude to the end is Faustus' cry of anguish:

> Stand stil you euer moouing spheres of heauen,
> That time may cease, and midnight neuer come:
> Faire Natures eie, rise, rise againe, and make
> Perpetuall day, or let this houre be but a yeere,
> A moneth, a weeke, d naturall day,
> That Faustus may repent, and saue his soule, . . .
> The starres mooue stil, time runs, the clock wil strike,
> The diuel wil come, and Faustus must be damnd.
> O Ile leape vp to my God: who pulles me downe?
> See, see where Christs blood streames in the firmament,
> One drop would saue my soule, halfe a drop,
> ah my Christ, . . .
> (xiv.1453-64)

His despair is equal to that experienced by the Damned Souls in the early Judgment plays. However, he desires escape, not for the love of God, but for the fear of hell. Like Hamlet, he wishes to be dissolved into dew:

> Now draw vp Faustus like a foggy mist,
> Into the intrailes of yon labring cloude,
> That when you vomite foorth into the ayre,
> My limbes may issue from your smoaky mouthes,
> So that my soule may but ascend to heauen:
> (xiv.1476-80)

The play ends as Faustus utterly repudiates his own existence:

> Oh soule, be changde into little water drops,
> And fal into the Ocean nere be found:
> My God, my God, looke not so fierce on me:
> (xiv.1503-5)

The devils now seize Faustus and drag him away to the eternal hell for which he has bargained. Faustus' last speech involves time and intense terror as his soul struggles for salvation. Although there is no intercession, the idea of salvation through intercession is ". . . as passionately present in this play as it is in any morality."[203] Marlowe's play clearly bears the eschatological theme in showing that one must, during his lifetime, be concerned about the final destiny of his soul. The play ends as the chorus, the Doctor of the medieval plays, repeats the message of the play. Faustus has been stripped of his delusions, and at this moment, he knows truth. Perhaps the same thing can be said of Shakespeare's Macbeth.

In Macbeth (1606), one again finds a generalization of the experiences of mankind in the protagonist, a professional soldier of courage and ability, well regarded by his king and his compatriots. Macbeth, with the roots of sin in his heart, is tempted by the devil's flattery, thus becoming in the morality play tradition a generalization of man in relation to sin. The pattern of Macbeth's action reflects Shakespeare's view of evil forces in the world.[204] Macbeth accepts evil in I.iii, commits the crime

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[203]Craig, op. cit., p. 387.

[204]Irving Ribner, "Macbeth: The Pattern of Idea and Action," Shakespeare Quarterly, X (Spring, 1959), p. 147.

in II, and during the last three acts, he rises in worldly power and, at the same time, sinks more deeply into evil practices. However, Macbeth, like Faustus and Everyman, finds that his sinful life has been without value or satisfaction. As in Doctor Faustus, there is no redemption, and one is certain of the final damnation of Macbeth and his queen.

In the beginning, evil comes alone to Macbeth. With a prophecy which promises him worldly goods (kingship and power), the witches, who have replaced the devils of the older mystery and the morality plays, incite Macbeth's inherent tendency to sin. Like Satan and Faustus, Macbeth, a highly imaginative man, is ambitious:

> . . . I have no spur
> To prick the sides of my intent, but only
> Vaulting ambition, which o'erleaps itself
> And falls on the other.
> (I.vii.25-28)

Lady Macbeth, ambitious for her husband and the social position which kingship can bring, is fearful of his lack of resoluteness in executing the deeds which will fulfill the witches' promise:

> . . . Yet do I fear thy nature;
> It is too full o' the milk of human kindness
> To catch the nearest way: thou wouldst be great;
> Art not without ambition, but without
> The illness should attend it: what thou wouldst highly,
> That wouldst thou holily; wouldst not play false,
> And yet wouldst wrongly win: thou'ldst have, great
> Glamis,

> That which cries 'Thus thou must do, if thou have it;
> And that which rather thou dost fear to do
> Than wishest should be undone.' Hie thee hither,
> That I may pour my spirits in thine ear;
> And chastise with the valour of my tongue
> All that impedes thee from the golden round,
> Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
> To have thee crown'd withal.
> (I.iv.17-31)

Therefore, Lady Macbeth, in encouraging her husband to commit his sinful acts, assumes the role of the Bad Angel of the morality play. On the occasion in which Macbeth, fearing earthly consequences, hesitates in his criminal intentions of killing the King, Lady Macbeth advises him to muster his courage ". . . to the sticking-place" to insure their success in the murderous adventure. Encouraged by her remarks, Macbeth calls upon the evil forces of darkness to hide him as he commits his wicked deed:

> I go, and it is done; the bell invites me.
> Hear it not Duncan; for it is a knell
> That summons thee to heaven or to hell.
> (II.i.62-64)

Like the Antichrist and like Faustus, Macbeth, through his conceit, has set his own will against God. He has sacrificed the hope of all Christians for an existence in paradise in lieu of his evil ambitions for power:

> . . . that but this blow
> Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
> But here, upon this bank and shoal of time,
> We'ld jump the life to come.
> (I.vii.4-7)

On the other hand, one notes that Macbeth is not completely without fear of justice on this earth when he states:

> But in these cases
> We still have judgment here; that we but teach
> Bloody instructions, which, being taught, return
> To plague the inventor: this even-handed justice
> Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
> To our own lips.
>
> (I.vii.7-12)

Here, his emotion is not one of remorse, but rather one of the fear of punishment in horrible dreams and apparitions. By contrast, Banquo, whom the witches have similarly tempted, is able to withstand these enticements to sin. It is for this reason that Ribner thinks Banquo symbolically represents the good forces (Good Angel) of the morality play and that Macbeth finds it necessary to kill this emissary of good before he can continue in his sinful course.[205] In fact, after his first crime, it is clear that Macbeth willingly and without fear seeks and embraces evil, even as Faustus sought the company of Mephistophilis:

> I have almost forgot the taste of fears:
> The time has been, my sense would have cool'd
> To hear a night-shriek; and my fell of hair
> Would at a dismal treatise rouse and stir
> As life were in't: I have supp'd full with horrors;
> Direness, familiar to my slaughterous thoughts,
> Cannot once start me.
>
> (V.v.9-15)

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[205] Ibid., p. 152.

Macbeth becomes so steeped in crime that he proceeds independently, nevertheless always beseeching darkness to conceal his crimes:

> Be innocent of the knowledge, dearest chuck,
> Till thou applaud the deed. Come, seeling night,
> Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day;
> And with thy bloody and invisible hand
> Cancel and tear to pieces the great bond
> Which keeps me pale!
> (III.ii.45-50)

As he sinks more deeply into evil ways, he abandons his powers of reason and becomes increasingly subject to hallucinations and apparitions, until at last, he stands alone in utter despair:

> I have lived long enough: my way of life
> Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf;
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have; but, in their stead,
> Curses, not loud but deep, mouth-honour, breath,
> Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not.
> (V.iii.22-28)

He, like Faustus, stripped of all his delusions, finally knows the truth:

> Tomorrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
> To the last syllable of recorded time,
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more: it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.
> (V.v.19-28)

Macbeth's voluntary choice of evil forbids his redemption, and, like Faustus, he must end his days in total despair and destruction. However, the witches' deception does not become apparent to Macbeth until the end of the play when Birnam Wood actually comes to Dunsinane and he is confronted by an enemy not born of woman:

> And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
> That palter with us in a double sense;
> That keep the word of promise to our ear,
> And break it to our hope.
> (V.viii.19-22)

Macbeth's utterance is, in essence, the perfect definition of evil and is in keeping with the teachings of the morality plays.[206] The principal emphasis of the play is the disintegration of Macbeth himself. However, one is also made aware of the chaotic results of Macbeth's crimes, not only in nature, but also within the political structure of the state. Unnatural turmoil within the elements follows Duncan's murder, and tyranny, civil war, and the threat of an invading power permeate the land. Only with the destruction of Macbeth, is order restored.

The Porter scene (II.iii), occurring as it does immediately after the scene of the murder of Duncan, seems on the surface to be an interlude of comic relief, but on the contrary, it is thematically relevant to the meaning of

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[206]Craig, op. cit., p. 388.

the play. The Porter, resentful at having been disturbed after a night of drunkenness, begins his play-acting as he approaches the castle gate in response to the knocking. Pretending that he is the Secundus Demon in custody of all the wicked souls in hell and that Macbeth's castle is hell, he imitates the knocking and calls, "Who's there, i' the name of Beelzebub? . . . Who's there, in the other devil's name?" (II.iii.3.4.7.8). He, then, admits three imaginary sinners, each of whom he finds guilty of one of the same vices discovered to a greater degree in Macbeth's character:[207]

(1) The farmer, expecting a good crop, hanged himself because abundant harvest and low prices are not conducive to personal gain--(Macbeth's personal ambition).

(2) The equivocator, guilty of treason, gave ambiguous answers to hide his guilt--(Macbeth's treason, regicide, and his ambiguous answers to place suspicion other than on himself).

(3) The tailor who had stolen material from his customer's already tight breeches--(Macbeth's seizure of the crown and the royal robes).

Then, the game ends, and the Porter opens the castle gates to admit Lennox and Macduff. Since Macduff represents what

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[207]For further discussion of symbolism contained in this scene; see John B. Harcourt, "I pray you; remember the Porter," Shakespeare Quarterly, XII (Fall, 1961), p. 394.

is left of law and order in Scotland and is the one who ultimately destroys Macbeth, he, upon entering the castle, is likened to Christ entering Hellsmouth to challenge and overcome death and evil. One might easily conclude, therefore, that II.iii is in itself a kind of parallel morality based upon the mystery, The Harrowing of Hell, in which Christ also knocks at the gate of hell.

Furthermore, in many of the Tudor-Stuart plays, one may detect within the soliloquies of certain major characters the Good and the Evil Angels disguised within the individual's own conscience, in speeches in which the character himself debates the good and the bad aspects of his own behavior. This struggle between the good and evil forces may be seen in Macbeth's soliloquy uttered when he is wavering in his decision to kill Duncan:

> Is this a dagger which I see before me,
> The handle toward my hand? Come, let me clutch thee.
> I have thee not, and yet I see thee still.
> Art thou not, fatal vision, sensible
> To feeling as to sight? or art thou but
> A dagger of the mind, a false creation,
> Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?
> I see thee yet, in form as palpable
> As this which now I draw.
> Thou marshall'st me the way that I was going;
> And such an instrument I was to use.
> Mine eyes are made the fools i' the other senses
> Or else worth all the rest; I see thee still,
> And on thy blade and dudgeon gouts of blood,
> Which was not so before. There's no such thing:

> It is the bloody business which informs
> Thus to mine eyes. Now o'er the one half-world
> Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse
> The curtain'd sleep; witchcraft celebrates
> Pale Hecate's offerings, and wither'd murder,
> Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
> Whose howl's his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,
> With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
> Moves like a ghost.
>
> (II.i.33-56)

Macbeth sees the dagger and attempts to clutch it. Then his courage wanes, and although he continues to see the weapon, he is still unable to grasp it--action and thought symbolic of his wavering between the good and the evil forces. Indeed, Faustus has a similar dispute with his own conscience:

> Now, Faustus, must
> Thou needs be damned, and canst thou not be saved!
> What boots it then to think of God or heaven?
> Away with such vain fancies, and despair!
> Despair in God, and trust in Belzebub!--
> Now, go not backward; no, Faustus, be resolute!
> Why waverest thou? O, something soundeth in mine ears,
> "Abjure this magic; turn to God again."
> Ay, and Faustus will turn to God again.--
> To God? He loves thee not;
> The God thou servest is thine own appetite,
> Wherein is fixed the love of Belzebub;
> To him I'll build an altar and a church
> And offer lukewarm blood of newborn babes.
>
> (I.v.1-14)

Although there are no such obvious traces of the form of the morality play to be discovered in Macbeth as there are in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, one may be certain

that Shakespeare and his contemporaries were familiar with the morality technique.[208] The theme continues to be one of rebellion against the divine law, as it is manifested in Macbeth and Dr. Faustus, in which the pattern of crime is the same as that which was exploited in the morality play: temptation, sin, discovery, repentance, punishment, and a hope of salvation. Neither Faustus nor Macbeth could ever hope for a personal salvation, but, with the destruction of each of these evil men, God's order was once more restored to the world--a theme reminiscent of the rebirth of the world following the end of the reign of Antichrist.

One may conclude, then, that with the division of Mankind, the morality play hero, into Infancy, Youth, Manhood, and Old Age, a further division would necessarily have resulted in the appearance of those individuals affected by environment, fortune, or creed. Therefore, Mankind, the universally representative character, the fundamental character in the English moralities, lived on into the Tudor-Stuart dramas in heroes like Faustus, Macbeth, and Hamlet, who are, like Everyman, the generalized pictures of men in relation to their sins. These plays, and many others of this period, embrace the

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[208]Craig, op. cit., 388.

eschatological concept of the mighty contest between God and Satan for the soul of mankind, the struggle between the good and the evil forces lodged now in the consciences of the characters and expressed in their soliloquies. The theme, so effectively expounded by the powerful medieval Church, retained its force in the Elizabethan's struggle against evil.

This investigation has revealed, therefore, the prominent role of the early Christian eschatological views in English religious drama and, consequently, in the lives of medieval folk. Moreover, it has established the basic framework of an early extant eschatological drama and has shown its relationship to each succeeding similar play as well as the definite semblances among the cycle plays written around the same theme. Further study has disclosed the theme as it is reflected in the popular morality plays and in its projection of the eschatological principles into the plays of the Tudor-Stuart period. In what form the theme may emerge into future periods in the history of the drama presents a consideration for future study.

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