

THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report

of

Committee on Examination

This is to certify that we the undersigned, as a committee of the Graduate School, have given Sister Mary Eugene Woolsey final oral examination for the degree of Master of Arts . We recommend that the degree of Master of be conferred upon the candidate.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

May 31 1920

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Report
of
Committee on Thesis

The undersigned, acting as a Committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Sister Mary Eugene Woolsey for the degree of Master of Arts.

They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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The Liturgical Source of the Antichrist and
Last Judgment Plays.

A Thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Minnesota

by

Sister Mary Eugene Woolsey

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

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STATEMENT OF THESIS

The religious drama originated in the sanctuary, and its form in its earliest stage of development was that of a pageant, called an ordo or officium, designed to commemorate some lesson taken directly from the church service. The pageant soon developed into an actual drama having the essential characteristics of drama, and in this stage of development we find the earliest Antichrist or Last Judgment Play.

In this paper, it is my aim to show not only that the Antichrist or Last Judgment Play was taken from the liturgy of Advent, which suggested material for such a play, but also that in the liturgy of Advent there was in Medieval times a norm suggesting a complete Antichrist or Last Judgment Play and that the two themes were originally one theme, the Antichrist being simply a part of the Last Days.

Secondly, the theme suffered in Germany an abnormal separation into two parts. This separation was due either to political enthusiasm or to personal prejudice, but there is enough of historical material still extant to show that the Antichrist or Last Judgment theme in its entirety was considered the normal play.

Thirdly, in England there is evidence to show that the theologically correct cycle appeared with the Antichrist or Last Judgment play as one continuous theme.

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SECTION I.

Sources of the Antichrist Legend.

A. Study mainly in Scripture and in Service Books.

Chapter I.

Antichrist in Tradition.

The first ages of the Christian Church had a complete Antichrist legend. It probably had for its immediate suggestion the "filius perditiones" of St. Paul's epistle, but there was existing as a remote suggestion in the centuries before Christ, a Jewish Antiehrhist Messiah legend.

St. Paul's
Eschatology

By the "man of sin" and the "son of perdition" all Christian antiquity understood that superlatively wicked man, Antichrist. The end of the world, therefore, will not come until after this man's appearance. The way is to be opened for his coming by two preludes or circumstances which are stated in St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians:¹

1. "And we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of our gathering together unto Him,
2. "That you be not easily moved from your mind, nor be frightened, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by epistle sent from us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand.
3. "Let no man deceive you by any means: for unless there come a revolt first, and the man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition,
4. "Who opposeth and is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he sitteth in the temple of God, show^{ing} himself as if he were God."

Here St. Paul assures the Thessalonians that the last day is not near at hand. He assures them that previous to the last day there shall be a "revolt" and the revealing of "the man of sin", the "son of perdition". The "revolt" denotes, as the interpreters of the scripture have generally understood it, a defection from

1. St. Paul, 2 Thess. II. 1-8.

faith.^{1.}

The second circumstance which will announce the coming of Antichrist is obscurely expressed by St. Paul in the following verses:

6. "And now you know what withholdeth, that he may be revealed in his time.
7. "For the mystery of iniquity already worketh: only that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way.
8. "And then that wicked one shall be revealed whom the Lord Jesus Christ shall kill with the spirit of His mouth and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming."²

The doctors of the early Church thought that these verses pointed to the destruction of the Roman Empire, which was to take place before the Antichrist should be revealed. Commenting on Verse 6, Tertullian says:

"Who holds, but the Roman Empire? the division of which into ten kingdoms will bring on Antichrist: and then according to the apostle, that wicked one shall be revealed."³

St. Jerome commenting on Verse 8, "only that he who now holdeth, do hold until he be taken out of the way", writes thus:

"The apostle by this expression, 'He who now holdeth', indicates the Roman Empire: he says it in obscure terms, because if he had spoken openly he would have imprudently raised the rage of the persecutors against the Christians, and against the Church, which was then beginning to rise."⁴ The same learned doctor in another place, explaining the same passage, says: "Only that the Roman Empire which holds, now, all nations under its power be taken away, and then Antichrist will come."⁵

1. Abbe Fouard, St. John and The Church of the Apostolic Age, 118.
Cardinal Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, 55.

2. St. Paul, 2 Thess. II, 1-8.

3. Tertullian, De Resurrect. Carnis, Cap. 24. P.L. 2:837.

4. St. Jerem, C. 25, P.L. 24:705.

5. St. Jerem, Epist. 151. ad Algas.

Lactantius speaking of the last period of the world's history supplies an additional thought; viz., that the empire will return into Asia; the East will domineer again, and the West be subdued.¹

According to St. Cyril of Jerusalem, "The devil will raise up a famous man, who will seize upon the dominion of the Roman Empire."² St. Augustine has explained the text in the same sense.³

The third important point in the eschatology of St. Paul is the conversion of the Jews. St. Paul says:

"I say, then, hath God cast away His people? God forbid....

"God hath not cast away His people, which He foreknew.....

"For I would not have you ignorant of this mystery, (lest you should be wise in your own conceits), that blindness in part has happened in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles should come in."

"And so all Israel should be saved, as it is written, 'There shall come out of Sion he that shall deliver, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.'

"'And this is to them my covenant: when I shall take away their sins.'⁴

St. Paul might have used many other passages from Old Testament writers upon which to base his argument. Isaiah in many places enforces his belief in the final salvation of the Jewish race.⁶ The same thought is expressed by Osee,⁷ Jeremiah,⁸ Ezechiel,⁹ Azarias,¹⁰ and Micheas.¹¹ Micheas says:

"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared in the top of mountains, and high above the hills: and people shall flow to it.

"In that day, saith the Lord, I will gather up her that halteth: and her that I had cast out I will gather up: and her whom I had afflicted.

"And I will make her that halted a remnant: and her that had been afflicted, a mighty nation: and the Lord will reign over them in Mount Sion, from this time now and forever."

1. Lactantius, 2 Thess. Hom. 4, Lib. 7, C.15, P.L.6 4. Isa., XI. 10-12.

2. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 15. 7. Osee, III. 4, 5.

3. St. Augustine, P.L. 40:1131 8. Jeremiah, XXX. 23, 25 & XXXI. 1.

4. Isa., LIX. 20, 21. 9. Ezechiel, XXXV. 24.

5. Rom. XI, 1, 2, 25-27. 10. 2. Paralip. XV. 3, 4.

11. Micheas, IV. 1, 6, 7.

In summing up St. Paul's eschatology we find that Christ's second coming will be heralded by three signs: general apostacy, the appearance of Antichrist, and the conversion of the Jews.

By the time the Antichrist belief had come down to the Middle Ages, a complete life-history of the impious prince had been formed.

Life-history
of
Antichrist.

He is to come from the tribe of Dan. This prophecy, which occurs in Genesis, is based upon the prophecy of Jacob concerning his son, Dan.^{1.}

There was, however, a disagreement on the point of origin of Antichrist: some writers held these two verses from Genesis as an infallable index; upon these lines from Genesis St. Augustine says, "When Jacob gave his last blessing to his sons, he spoke in such manner of Dan, as to give reason to think that Antichrist will be born of that Tribe."^{2.}

Other writers base his ignominious beginning upon the prophecy of the "little horn" in the Book of Daniel.^{3.} Others, again, base their argument upon the signing of the tribes of Israel in the Apocalypse.^{4.}

He is to make his appearance publicly at twelve years of age and then to retire.^{5.}

Every step in the life of Antichrist was based either upon the writings of the church-fathers or upon prophecies and revela-

1. Gen., XLIX. 16, 17.

2. St. Augustine, In. 2 in Josue. P.L. 38:

3. Daniel, VII. 8.

4. Apoc., VII. 4.

5. Hildegarde's Visions, P.L. 197

tions. Antichrist will be the chief of all hypocrites.¹ The seducer will pretend to sanctify that he may draw others into iniquity.² He will falsely assume the name of Christ and by that name will seduce the Jews.³ Masked under the title of their glorious Messiah, he will flatter them with promises of restoring them to their ancient inheritance, the possession of the whole country of Judea, and in particular to their beloved city of Jerusalem. He will promise to rebuild their temple and re-instate the Mosaic religion in its primitive splendour. To give greater weight to all his fictitious pretences, the imposter will place himself at Jerusalem, where the Jews expect that their Messiah will hold his residence. Thither he will invite them. Thus allured, they will repair thither in great numbers, and will acknowledge him as their Messiah.⁴

According to tradition, when the Antichrist is at the climax of his power, Enoch and Elias will appear suddenly and convert the Jews. This belief in the coming of the two prophets is voiced by many of the early fathers of the church. St. Justin,⁵ Tertullian,⁶ St. Hyppolitus,⁷ St. Ephrem,⁸ Lactantius,⁹ St. Hilary,¹⁰ St. Jerome,¹¹

1. St. Gregory the Great, Job. lib. 25, C.15, P.L. 75:863.

2. Ibid " C.14, "

3. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 15; St. Ambrose, Luc.12, P.L.15:

4. St. John, V. 43.

5. St. Justin, Dial cum Tryph. P.G.6:472-800.

6. Tertullian, De anima, C.50, P.L. 2:779.

7. St. Hyppolitus, Orat. de Anticristo, P.G.5.

8. St. Ephrem, Serm. de Antichr. P.G.86:2104-2109.

9. Lactantius, Instit. lib. 7, C.17, P.L.6:792.

10. St. Hilary, Cap. 17 in Matt. P.L.9:1012,

11. St. Jerome, In Matth. XI and P.L. 26:126.

In Cap. 4 Zach. P.L. 34:

St. Ambrose,¹ St. Augustine,² St. John Chrysostem,³ St. Prosper,⁴
 St. Gregory the Great,⁵ - all testify to their belief in the re-
 turn to earth of Elias and Enoch. But they base their assertions
 on passages from the New Testament as well as from the Old.⁶ The
 Antichrist will put both of the prophets to death,⁸ but not, how-
 ever, until after their preaching has had its wonderful effects,
 for they will have turned the Jews and many Gentiles from Anti-
 christ. The dead bodies of these two holy prophets will lie three
 days⁹ in the street, and then they will rise from the dead¹⁰ and be
 carried into heaven by the angels.

Antichrist's reign will come to a sudden close. He and the
 false prophet,¹¹ his constant attendant, will meet with a sudden and
 horrible death.¹² Then the final judgment will follow.

The review of this traditional life-history of the Anti-
 christ brings out this fact: writers of the holy scripture treat
 the Antichrist in connection with the end of the world. He is
 the arch-seducer of the Jews, previous to their conversion and re-
 instatement as a nation, which is to take place a short time be-
 fore the Final Judgment.

1. St. Ambrose, In Psalm 45. P.L. 14:1193.
2. St. Augustine, De civ. Dei lib. 20, C.19, P.L.40:734.
Ad cap. 6 Gen. P.L.
3. St. John Chrysostem, In Matth. hom.58, P.G.7.
4. St. Prosper, Dimid. Temp. C.13, P.G.51.
5. St. Gregory, In Job. lib. 9, P.L. 75:863.
6. St. Matth. XVII. 11. 7 Zach. IV. 14.
7. Malachy, IV, 5,6. 11. Apoc. XIX. 20.
Ecclesiasticus, XLVIII. 4,9,10. St. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. 1 C.28, PG.5.
Ibid. XLIV. 16. Tertullian, De Resur. Carnis,
C.25, P.L. 2:839.
8. Apocalypse, XI. 3. 12. 2 Thess. II. 2.
Ibid. XI. 4,5,6. Isai. XI. 4.
9. Apoc. XI. 7. Ps. XXXVI. 35.
10. Ibid. XI. 8,9. Apoc. XIII. 10.
11. Ibid. XI. 11,12.

The patristic writers, keeping logically close to the writers of scripture, discuss the Antichrist as a fore-runner of the Last Judgment and do not separate the two. The tendency of these church-fathers is to give the Anti-Messiah a connected life-history. They discuss his birth as "son of perdition", his training, and his character as "man of sin", his power based on false miracles, his deceptions, and his death. But always he is the main instigator in the "revolt", and he is the link between the "revolt" and the coming of Elias and Enoch to convert the Jews and Gentiles before the second coming of Christ.

CHAPTER II.

A Study in the Liturgy.

In Italy, the home of the liturgical drama, we find the Antichrist and the Last Judgment in one drama. The earliest Italian eschatological drama recorded is the Perugian Antichrist Play of the 13th century.¹ Here is an index to the conclusion that the two arose together in eschatological drama. In this 13th century play, the Antichrist pageant is not a disconnected part, but blends with the Last Judgment pageant making one continuous dramatic representation.

Since they exist together in liturgical drama, they must have arisen together in the liturgy. The heading of the Perugian Antichrist Play is "In dominica de Adventu incipiunt duo Reges qui veniunt cum Antexpo".

1. A. D'Ancona, "Origini del Teatro Italiano". D'Ancona Ret. 1:259.

This is not only an indication but is an assurance that this play, at least, was an Advent play.

The liturgy of the last weeks of the Pentecost season, and the liturgy throughout the season of Advent affords abundant material for plays on eschatological subjects.

The last weeks of Pentecost close the church year, and during this time the Church contemplates the passing away of all things; hence, in her liturgy, she selects those passages from scripture which tell of the final days of the world, and suggest subjects for meditation on the happenings at the close of time.

In the Roman Missal for the last three Sundays of Pentecost the following texts are selected as gospels in the Mass:

The Parable of the Cockle and the Wheat,	Matt. XIII. 24-30.
" " " " Mustard-seed,	Matt. XIII. 31-35.
The Last Judgment,	Matt. XXIV. 15-35.

The Parable of the "Cockle and the Wheat" suggests the reaping of the harvest of souls at the end of time. In the explanation of the Parable, Our Lord says:

"The harvest is the end of the world. And the reapers are the angels.

"Even as cockle therefore is gathered up, and burnt with fire: so shall it be at the end of the world.

"The Son of man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals, and them that work iniquity.

"And shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

"Then shall the just shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." ¹

The gospel in St. Matthew XIII. 31-35, consists of two parables; namely, the Parable of the Mustard-seed, and the Parable of "The Kingdom of Heaven is like to leaven". Both of these parables teach the great eternity of heaven and suggest the end of time.

¹ Matt. XIII. 39-42.

"The Last Judgment" gospel begins: "When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel, the prophet, standing in the holy place: he that readeth let him understand". Upon these words of our Savior, St. Chrysostom says:

"For three years and six months the Christian sacrifice must be taken away by Antichrist, and the Christians flying before him into the deserts, there will be no one to frequent the Church, or to offer the oblation to God." ¹

St. Chrysostom bases his statement upon the prophecy of Daniel: "From the time when the continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination unto desolation shall be set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred ninety days". ²

"The Christian sacrifice", "the oblation", and "the continual sacrifice" all mean one thing; namely, the sacrifice of the altar where Christ is personally adored as God. The "abomination unto desolation is set up"; that is, the abominable worship of a man, Antichrist, is set up in the place of God.

The closing verses of this Last Judgment gospel pictures the coming of Christ to judge the world.

There is thus an appreciable union of the Antichrist theme and the Last Judgment theme in these three Gospels of the closing weeks of the season of Pentecost.

¹ St. Chrysostom, Homil. 49 in Matth. 24. P.G. VII.

² Dan. XII. 11.

The Sunday
Gospels
for
Advent.

According to the Missale Romanum, the Gospels
for the Sundays of Advent are:

"Signs of the Judgment,"	St. Luke, XXI. 25-33.
"Character of the Baptist,"	St. Matth. XI. 2-10.
"Testimony of the Baptist,"	St. John, I. 19-28.
"Preaching of the Baptist,"	St. Luke, III. 1-6.

The Gospel for the first Sunday gives the dramatic picture of the signs preceding the Last Judgment, and the "Son of man coming in a cloud with great power and majesty". The thought content of the last three texts suggests the coming of Elias.

According to the "Missale usum Sarum", the Lectio for Friday of the third week of Advent is Isaias, XI. 1-3. These verses suggest the approach of the spiritual kingdom.

In the "Breviarum ad usum Sarum", the Lectio for Friday of the third week of Advent is the first five verses of the eleventh chapter of Isaias. Again the approach of the spiritual kingdom is enforced upon the attention and in the words "et percutiet terram virga oris sui et spiritu labiorum suorum interficiet impium" is the tragic death of the Antichrist. The next verse names "Justitia" and "Fides" as the most necessary virtues in those terrible days of Antichrist and Last Judgment.

In the Sarum Breviary in Lectio II, Feria V, the same thought is enforced. The verses are from Isaias XI, and are 3 to 5:

"Non secundum visionem oculorum iudicabit neque secundum auditum aurium arguet sed iudicabit in justitia pauperas, et arguet in aequitate pro mansuetis terrae: et percutiet terram virga oris sui et spiritu labiorum suorum interficiet impium. Et erit justitia cingulum lumborum ejus et fides cinctorium renum ejus."

Here the Church adds the words: "Haec dicit Dominus Deus,
Convertimini ad me: et salva eritis.

"Ad Tertiam", again is Isaias XI. 3,4. repeated in the Capitulum: "Non secundum.....promansuetis terrae; et percutietimpium."

We are not left in doubt as to the interpretation put upon the verses by scripture commentators of the Medieval Church.

Signor Pastorini says:

"At the terrible appearance of Christ descending through the skies with his army, his enemies are struck with dread and consternation; and by his order the beast Antichrist is seized and made captive; and with him the great imposter, his false prophet, who by delusive signs and wonders had seduced such numbers to become the beast's votaries. Christ with the sole breath of his mouth hurls down Antichrist alive into hell-fire, 'that wicked man' whom, as St. Paul informs us, 'the Lord Jesus will kill (or exterminate) with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming'. The prophet Isaias had likewise said, 'with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked man', XI. 4."²

Thus far we have seen the union of Antichrist and Last Judgment in the liturgy of Advent. In the first part of the Mass for Ember Saturday in the third week of Advent, we find the exact norm for the drama of Antichrist.

The "Officium" of this Mass is a prayer for help: "Come, O Lord, thou that sittest upon the cherubim; show us the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole."³

Lectio I is Antichrist as the oppressor: "In those days: They shall cry to the Lord because of the oppressor, and he shall send them a Savior and a defender to deliver them."⁴

1. St. Paul, 2 Thess. II. 8.

2. Pastorini, History of Christian Church, Chap. XI. P.286. Pastorini.

3. Ps. LXXX. 1,3.

4. Is. XIX. 20-23.

Lectio II¹ is the prophecy concerning the abundance to be showered upon the earth at Christ's coming. It also tells of His divine power, - the healing of the lame and the blind and the dumb. This picture is made use of in the Antichrist drama: the false Messiah takes all these powers unto himself, and by force of magic makes the earth yield its abundance. This fact indicates that writers of the liturgical drama of Antichrist referred to this day's liturgy.

In Lectio III, the promised God of strength is coming. This seems to point to the second coming of Christ for He is not an Infant God of peace. The words of the Lectio are:

"Get thee up upon a high mountain, thou that bringest good tidings to Sion: lift up thy voice with strength, thou that bringest good tidings to Jerusalem: lift it up, fear not. Say to the cities of Juda: Behold your God! Behold the Lord! God shall come with strength and His arm shall rule: behold His reward is with Him, and His work is before Him." ²

The Antichrist in the various plays makes use of these prophecies in his appeals to the kings and to the people, especially to the Jews.

The Graduale which follows this Lectio is significant:

"Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts: shew the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole.

V. Stir up thy strength, and come and help us." ³

This prayer is frequently used as a deliverance from any great calamity.

In Lectio IV⁴ is the powerful God, again; the Ruler who gives power to his appointed ones to subdue nations, and "to turn

1. Is. XXXV. 1-7.

2. Is. XL. 9, 10.

3. Ps. LXXIX.

4. Is. XLV. 1-9.

the backs of kings": "I will go before thee, and will humble the great ones of the earth: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and will burst the bars of iron. And I will give thee hidden treasures and the concealed riches of secret places: that thou mayest know that I am the Lord who call thee by thy name, the God of Israel."

All of this the Antichrist imitates.

The Antiphon of the Graduale which follows is a repetition of the previous Versicle: "Stir up thy strength, O Lord, and come and help us". The V. in response is: "O thou Shepherd of Israel, thou that leadest Joseph like a sheep; shew thyself, thou that sittest upon the cherubim, before Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasses."^{1.}

These points are worthy of note; viz., that this last Versicle is used as the Officium of the Mass and also that it is used as a Graduale and again as a Tract; secondly, that the prayers in this psalm, from which so many quotations are made, for this Mass apply to the restoration of Israel, and the psalmist grounds his appeal to God on His old relation to Israel with express reference to the last blessing of Jacob,^{2.} and on His continued presence in the Temple between the Cherubim.

The next Collect is an appealing prayer for mercy.

Lectio V. is taken from the "Song of the Three Holy Children". It is an act of adoration and an acknowledgment of the justice of God in visiting His just punishments upon the City of Jerusalem because of the sins of its people.^{3.}

1. Ps. LXXX. 1, 2.
2. Gen. XLVIII. 15.
3. Dan. III. 26-28.

The following direction follows: "Two clerks of the second rank in surplices at the step of the choir shall sing the Tract, the clerks singing each verse, and the choir each refrain."

This Tract is a fitting adaptation of six verses from the "Song of the Three Children". The clerks praise God's power over the heavens, the earth, and the depths; they adore His divinity in the Temple, and in His spiritual kingdom, and they thank Him for His omnipotence and His omnipresence.¹ The Refrain sung by the choir is a reverberation of the song of the clerks.

This direction follows: "Then shall the clerks recommence the first verse of the Tract, which will be sung through by the choir. And afterwards the priest shall say, 'The Lord be with you', and 'Let us pray'".

The Collect which now follows is a prayer for mercy and forgiveness.

The foregoing Lectio V, the Tract, and the Collect with the directions in the Missal are suggestive of the climax scene of the Antichrist Play. In the original Antichrist or Last Judgment Plays, the climax scene represents Antichrist at the height of his power, with the body of the people as his followers. Here is a remarkable analogy: up to this crucial point in the Mass, the reign of an Antichrist has been unmistakably described. Further, in the Antichrist tradition and in the plays, when Antichrist is at the zenith of his power, Elias and Enoch suddenly and unexpectedly appear and preach the true God to the deluded people.

¹. Dan. III. 29-34.

In the Mass the two clerks in white surplices are probable representatives of these two prophets, who came back in the flesh, the white surplices suggesting that these two prophets are alive. In the play, their first function is to rejoice in the power of the Most High. In the Mass, they perform this function in the "Song of the Three Holy Children".

That this "song" and its original attendant circumstances suggested Antichrist to the Mediaevalist is authenticated in Honorius Augustodunensis' "Sacramentarium".^{1.}

In the dramatic representation, when Enoch and Elias have converted the people, they all thank God in a hymn of praise; in the Mass this is suggested in the following: The choir sings alone the same Tract that the two prophets have sung for them and with them. The next point is significant; namely, the priest at the altar says: "Dominus vobiscum". This is the first time in the Mass that the officiating priest has turned to the people and said, "Dominus vobiscum". This is a probable suggestion that the people are now thoroughly converted by Enoch and Elias and have accepted God as their portion, hence the priest may fittingly say, "The Lord be with you".

The Epistle follows the Collect. This Epistle is St. Paul's testimony concerning the "man of sin", the "son of perdition".^{2.} In the Missal this direction follows: "Two clerks of the second rank in black copes, that is to say, in their ferial habit, standing at the step of the choir, shall say together the following Tract wholly and entirely."

1. P.L. 172. Cap. 48:772.

2. St. Paul, 2 Thess. II. 1-8.

Tract.

"Hear, O Thou Shepherds of Israel, Thou that leadeth Joseph like a sheep!

V. Show thyself also, thou that sittest upon the cherubims, before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasses.

V. Stir up thy strength, O Lord, and come and help us."

The Gospel is the voice of John the Baptist preaching in the words of Isaias: "Prepare ye the way of the Lord: make straight His paths. Every valley shall be filled and every mountain and hill brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways plain; and all flesh shall see the salvation of God".^{2.}

The Offertory could not be more appropriate for the theme thus far developed:

"Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Sion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold thy king cometh unto thee: he is holy, and having salvation.

V. We shall speak peace unto the heathen, and his dominion shall be from sea even to sea, and from the river even to the end of the earth".^{3.}

From the Epistle to the Offertory the completed drama is suggested. In the play, the Antichrist has the two prophets put to death after they have preached the true Messiah; in the Mass, this is represented in the two clerks in black copes who pray so steadfastly for their people to the God who "sitteth upon the cherubim".

After the plainly marked Last Judgment in the Gospel, there comes the Offertory of rejoicing. These verses from Zechariah are predicative of the prosperity of the Jews in the Maccabean times; and in a higher sense of the Messiah's advent and kingdom. It can, however, hardly be severed from the promise of divine protection to the Jews. The Antichrist and Last Judgment Plays in imitation

1. Ps. LXXX. 1,2.

2. St. Luke, III. 1-6.

3. Zech. IX. 9,10.

of this Offertory always close with sweet harmonies.

Thus far we have followed the liturgy through the third week of Advent. Turning to the "Breviarum ad usum Sarum" the office of the fourth week of Advent reveals a continuation of the Last Judgment theme.

For "Dominica Quarta Adventus" in Lectio secunda, ad Matutinas, the conversion of the Jews at the end of the world is prophesied:

"Et erit in illa die: non adjiciet residuum Israel et hi que fugerint de domo Jacob, inniti super eo qui percutit eos: sed innitetur super Dominum sanctum Israel. In veritate reliquiae convertentur: reliquiae, inquam, Jacob ad Deum fortem."¹

In Lectio III, ad Vesperas, Feria II, the dramatic death of Antichrist is repeated in verse four: "Percutiet terram virga oris sui: et spiritu labiorum suorum interficiet impium".²

After the death of the Arch-deceiver, divine peace follows on the Holy Mount, such that in the words of the prophet: "Non nocebunt neque occidunt in universo monte sancto meo: quia repleta est terra scientia Domini: sicut aquae maris operientis".³

In Lectio prima, ad Vesperas, Feria III, is the prophecy of Isaias concerning the Lord's sepulchre just before the last Judgment:

"In die illa radix Jesse qui stat in signum populorum: ipsum gentes deprecabuntur: et erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum." Again is reiterated the gathering together and the conversion of the remaining Israelites: "Et erit in die illa, adjiciet Dominus secundo manum suam ad possidendum residuum populi sui quod relinquetur ab Assyriis et ab Egypto et a Phetros, et ab Ethiopia, et ab Elam, et a Sennaar, et ab Emath, et ab insulis maris. Haec dicit."⁴

¹Isaias, X. 16,21.

²Isaias, XI. 4-9.

³Isaias, XI. 9.

⁴Isaias, XI. 10,11.

Lectio secunda ad Vesperas, Feria III, continues the topics begun in Lectio prima: "Et elevabit signum in nationes, et congregabit profugos Israel, et dispersos Juda colliget, a quattuor plagis terrae." ^{1.}

Lectio III is a canticle of thanksgiving for the mercy and loving providence of Christ. ^{2.}

In Lectio I ad Vesperas, Feria IV, Isaias is storming against Antichrist and his kingdom. ^{3.}

In Lectio II ad Vesperas, Feria IV, the second coming of Christ is the subject: "Ecce dies Domini veniet crudelis et indignationis plenus, et irae furoris que: ad ponendam terram in solitudinem, et peccatores ejus conterendos de ea: quoniam stellae caeli et splendor earum non expandent lumen suum. Obtenebratus est sol in ortu suo: et luna non splendet in lumine suo. Et visitabo super orbis mala: et contra impios iniquitatem eorum. Et requiescere faciam superbiam infidelium: et arrogantiam fortium humiliabo. Haec." ^{4.}

In Lectio III, ad Vesperas, Feria VI there is an accurate description of the character of Antichrist: "Detracta est ad inferos superbia tua: concedit cadaver tuum. Subter te sternetur tinea: et operimentum tuum erunt vermes. Quomodo cecidisti de caelo, Lucifer: que mane oriebaris? Corruisti in terram qui vulnerabis gentes: qui dicebas in corde tuo. In caelum conscendam, super astra Die exaltabo solium meum: sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus aquilonis ascendam super altitudinem nubium, similis ero Altissimo. Veruntamen ad infernum detraheris in profundum lacu. Haec." ^{5.}

Antiphon. Dies Domini sicut fur veniet in nocte: ita et vos estote parati quia qua hora non putatis filius hominis veniet. Psalm. Benedictus.

Summary of
Antichrist
in the
Liturgy.

During the last weeks of Pentecost and all during Advent the Church, in her liturgy, refers continually to the Last Days. The "Missale Romanum" gives the seven gospels in which are the signs of the Last Days, the coming of Antichrist to the Temple, and the second coming of Christ to judge the world. The "Breviarum ad

1. Isaias, XI. 11-14.

2. " XI. 15; XII. 6.

3. " XIII. 1-8.

4. Isaias, XIII. 9-11.

5. " XIV. 11-15.

usum Sarum" refers us to the approach of the spiritual kingdom, and gives the coming of Antichrist with an accurate description of his character and his violent (or sudden) death; the virtues necessary in the days of this pretender; the return of the Jews to Jerusalem; and their conversion; the glorifying of Christ's sepulchre just before the Last Judgment; the signs preceeding the Last Judgment; the coming of Christ with His army in the clouds; the punishment of the wicked and the rewarding of the good: all these are in the Office for Dominica Quarta Adventus and the days following, even up to the day before Christmas Eve. The "Missale usum Sarum" reveals a complete lesson-whole on the Last Days; this is the Antichrist or Last Judgment norm.

Conclusions,
I and II.

I. Theologically, Antichrist was accepted as a regular and proper part of the Last Day. The two were associated as a complete service in the minds of the religious writers and we should not ordinarily expect that either one would exist alone as a dramatic office since either one by itself is theologically incomplete.

II. This theme belongs mainly to the service of Advent.

SECTION II.

B. Antichrist or Last Judgment Plays.

List of Plays.

"Perugian Antuchristus".

"Final Guidicio"

"Sulla venuta dell Anticristo ovvero Il' Guidizio universale"

Tegernsee "Ludus de Adventu et Interitu Antichristi"

"Comedia de Antichristo et Extremo indicio" at

Frankfort-on-the-Main.

"Alte Groze spil uff und untergange des Antichrist"

at Xanten.

"Munchener Fastnactspiel"

"Kunzelsauer Frohnleich nams spiel"

"Spil von dem Herzogen von Burgund"

Dortmund "Entkrist"

Ehur "Entkrist"

Luzerner "Anticrist"

Chester "Antichrist" and "Doomsday"

Coventry "Doomsday"

Towneley "Juditium"

York "The Judgment Day"

CHAPTER III

Italian Field.

The oldest Antichrist play of which we have any record is one previously mentioned which has the following heading: "In dominica de Adventu incipiunt duo Reges qui veniunt cum Antexpo".¹ This play is written in the dialect of Perugia and comes down to us from the 13th century. In this the "Guidizio universale" theme follows the "Antexpo" theme without a break in the action. The same blending of "Antexpo" and "Guidizio universale" characterize the other two eschatological plays in the Italian field; viz., "Final Guidicio",² and "Sulla venuta dell Anticristo ovvero Il' Guidizio universale".³

The 13th century play, following the liturgical presentation of Antichrist, presents him in the opening scene in the act of winning the people to his false doctrine. Two kings who come with Antichrist make the introductory speech. They declare that Antichrist is the true Son of God, for if he were not he could not work miracles, nor would the earth, sea, and the abyss be subject to him.

Here a stage direction says: "At this moment let the sun be darkened and the moon be bloody. The people of Jerusalem marvel at this and say to each other:

"Prodigies in heaven we have seen, so great
That we are all in fear:
That sun without splendor,
It's light is darkened:
The moon looks like blood,
And it seems that many stars and the heavens fall".

1. A. D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano*, Vol. I:259
2. *Ibid.*, I:182
3. *Ibid.*, 240

The Antichrist sees that he has won the people, but calls for a declaration of their faith in him. They give it; he then tells them that he has come to take them into his kingdom. He promises them great favors and assures them that they shall be his elect, but to those who refuse to believe in him he threatens dire sufferings.

To show greater power than he has shown heretofore, he makes the withered trees produce flowers and raises the dead to life. Just at this juncture, an angel appears and foretells the destruction of the world and the final judgment. Enoch and Elias immediately come on the scene and preach to the people to adore the true God and to do penance for their sins before the final day: then nothing will avail if they are found stained with sin. Antichrist orders the death of the two prophets. Christ says to the Angel:

"Go, O Gabriel, strike
The Antichrist with your sword,
And give him great paid.
Drive Satan away;
He made these people believe errors to be truth
By his false preaching."

The angel with a sword of fire kills Antichrist, telling him at the same time that death has come to him because he has usurped God's place. The angel calls Satan to take him to hell. Satan with other devils come and as they carry the false Messiah away, Satan bids the devils torture him to the uttermost of their power. The people seeing themselves deceived bemoan their sad fate.

Here the Last Judgment blends with the Antichristus scenes.

The angels announce that Christ is coming and that soon the whole world will be present, each person in his individual place assigned to him. Two angels call loudly to the dead to come forth from their sepulchres. Then they admonish the people to stay where they are and not to try to hide from their once merciful Savior: for now He is to be their judge.

Christ appears¹ with His Blessed Mother. He announces His purpose in coming: to judge each soul individually, and to reward it according to its merits. Then He shows His five wounds and reviews the scenes of His bitter passion. He tells the Just to stand on His right, and the Unjust on His left. He calls the Apostles to the twelve seats assigned them. This is their reward, He tells them, for abandoning the things of time to follow Him in poverty of spirit. He calls the Just to their reward and condemns the Wicked to everlasting pain. The division is made on the basis of charity done to the neighbor in the person of Christ, and upon devotion to His sacred passion and death on the cross.

The Damned Souls beg for mercy and when it is denied them by Christ, they turn to the Blessed Virgin. She asks her Divine Son to save these poor sinners, but He refuses, telling her that their sins have condemned them. Then they beg for a lighter punishment, and Christ refuses.

Lucifer and a very large devil, Beelzebub, accompanied by the troops of devils, with prongs and pitch-forks drive the Damned Souls to hell. Thus ends the play.

"Final Guidicio" The "Final Guidicio" manuscript is at pre-

1. Apoc. Chap. I. 7.

sent in "Dall Arch. di Strato di Parma". There is no name attached to the manuscript, hence we do not know the author of this particular version. An account of a presentation of this play is given in "Origini del Teatro Italiano" in the form of a letter dated February 24, 1574. This "Final Guidicio" was given in the Jesuit College at Rome by special permission of Pope Gregory XIII. The permission was necessary since the pope, the previous year, had forbidden the presentation of all "comedie" in seminaries and colleges. In this case, he made an exception and gave the Jesuits permission to present this play.

The account runs as follows: After the Prologue, the false Messiah makes his appearance. God, by an angel, sends His sceptre to Lucifer in hell, thus giving Satan power over the elements, - the sky, the earth, the water. The Antichrist places himself under the direction of Lucifer, and they together plan the seduction of the world. After the Antichrist is killed, Enoch and Elias and St. John appear, suddenly, preaching penance and warning the people that Christ's second coming is near at hand.

At this point the Final Judgment Play begins, and comes to an end when all have been sentenced either to heaven or to hell. The close is most impressive: the throne on which Christ and His Blessed Mother are seated with myriads of angels in attendance, slowly ascends to heaven while there are heard sweetest harmonies, seemingly issuing from heaven and all parts of the earth. Here the account in the letter ends.

1, A. D'Ancona. Origini del Teatro Italiano, Vol. II. 185.

2, Ibid.

Vol. II. 183-185.

"Anticristo
Il' Guidizio
universale"

The latest presentation of this "Sulla venuta
dell' Anticristo ovvero Il' Guidizio universale"
recorded was in Terno in the year 1819 as a "Maggio"
or May festival-play. It was first put in print
by a publishing house at Volterra in the 19th century. Lang^h tes-
tifies that this play was not written later than the 17th century
and that it may have been written much earlier. We may say, then,
with a degree of certainty that this "Anticristo" has the same
origin as the Perugian "Antexpo", as there is nothing in the play
to give basis for a contrary decision.

The first scene is in the apartments of the pope. Two
allegorical figures present themselves; viz., Just Christian and
False Christian. An angel announces the Antichrist's advent and
urges the pope to remain faithful and the Christians to pray for
perseverance. Just Christian takes his place by the pope's side
but False Christian says that he has business in the city, and be-
sides he has not had enough of the pleasures of the world; however,
he'll come back in time to be converted before Judgment Day. As
the scene closes the Pope and Just Christian are seen going to the
Church.

The rest of the play follows the ordinary lines of Anti-
christ and Last Judgment Plays. The False Messiah appears in
majesty, accompanied by his false prophet - in this case a demon,
and they go to the King of Babylon, who is easily won as a follow-
er of Antichrist. This Babylonian King is made Antichrist's vicar.

/. A. D'Ancona, "Origini del Teatro Italiano," Vol. II. 309.

The Christians who refuse to be vassals of the Arch-deceiver are persecuted. True to the traditions, Enoch and Elias present themselves to convert the people. They refuse to be won over by Antichrist's rich offers and hence are tortured.

The third part of the play is given over to Last Day scenes. The trumpet is heard, and the angels separate the saints and sinners into two groups. Christ and His Mother appear in judgment. All this is in the Valley of Josephat.¹ The judged souls resume their bodies: the Elect their glorified bodies, and the Damned their putrid flesh. As the play comes to a close the Elect are heard chanting the praises of a merciful God above the voices of the Damned cursing the unmerciful God.

Summary of Italian Plays

These plays are true in general lines to the liturgical presentation of the normal theme of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment. A brief summarizing comparison makes this fact sufficiently clear:

In the Plays

Antichrist appears in the height of his power as oppressor.

He wins the great ones of the earth, and then tries to win the people by rich gifts and promises.

In the Mass

Officium,² Lectio I.³

Lectio III,⁴ Lectio IV.⁵

1. Joel, III. 12-14.

2. Ps. LXXX. 1, 3.

3. Is. XLIX. 20-22.

4. Is. XL. 9, 10.

5. Is. XLV. 1-9.

In the Plays

He performs miracles and has command over the elements.

At the height of his power Enoch and Elias appear, praising the true God, and preaching penance.

The Antichrist revealed.

Death of Enoch and Elias.

The days of penance and the promised coming of the God of Strength at the end of time to the Jews and the conversion of the heathen.

The close is a hymn of rejoicing.

In the Mass

Lectio IV.¹, Lectio II.²

The appearance of the two clerks in white surplices, Lectio V.³

Epistle.⁴

The two clerks in black copes.

Gospel.⁵

The Offertory fulfills this function.⁶

A trifle unusual is the appearance of Enoch and Elias with St. John, in the "Final Guidicio", after the Antichrist has been killed. This can, however, easily be accounted for, since in the norm, the liturgical representation, St. John appears in the Gospel,⁷ preaching penance. It is also in accordance with the "Song of the Three Children".⁸

Furthermore, these three representative plays show the union of the Antichrist and Last Day plays and the sacred character of the presentations. The Italians seem to have kept the Antichrist out of Carnival: they kept him reserved for the place in their Church where liturgically he belonged.

1. Is. XLV. 1-9.

2. Is. XXXV. 1-7.

3. Dan. III. 26-28.

4. 2 Thess. II. 1-8.

5. St. Luke, III. 1-6.

6. Zach. IX.

7. St. Luke, III. 1-6.

8. Dan. III. 26-28.

It is interesting to note the terminology of the references to Antichrist Plays in the Italian literature. The 13th century play is alluded to as "Anticristo"; another one as "Final Giudicio", both have Antichrist and Last Judgment scenes. Again, the third is entitled "sulla venuta dell' Anticristo, ovvero Il Giudizio universale". "Ovvero" (or, or else, alias) is used, not "ed" (and). Antichrist has not been separated from the Last Judgment in the Italian mind.

CHAPTER IV.

Antichrist Tradition in Religious Writers of Western Europe.

The figure of Antichrist continued to be of interest throughout the Middle Ages. The advent and death of this Anti-Messiah engaged the attention of writers on theological and doctrinal subjects, and as the centuries went by the tendency of these writers was to give him a life-history. But, whether he is treated as the oppressor of the people or as the arch-deceiver, he is always connected with the Second Coming of Christ.

By the end of the 9th century there was a unified Antichrist Legend. One example of this is to be found in "Expositio" in "epistolam II Ad Thessalonicenses" by Rabanus Maurus, master of the Benedictine School, at Fulda. He based his writings on the exegetical writings of St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory the Great, St. Isidore of Seville, Origen, and St. Ambrose.

1, Migne, P.L. Vol. 112, Liber Vicesimus Secundus, N. 569-74.

Adso of
Toul.

The political tradition was as a whole introduced into Western Europe by Adso, a Benedictine monk, who in 954, sent to Queen Gerberga his "Libellus de Antichristo"

The "Libellus"² is a compilation of materials which he drew from the writings of St. Augustine and other early writers on Antichrist, and also from the "Sibylline Oracles", probably of the 4th century.

Adso begins his "Libellus" by contrasting Christ and Antichrist: "Christus venit humilis, ille venturus est superbus, Christus humiles venit erigere, peccatores justificare; ille a contrario humiles deficiet, et peccatores magnificabit, impios exaltabit et semper vitia quae sunt contraria virtutibus, docebit. Legem evangelicam dissipabit, daemonum culturum in mundum revocabit, gloriam propriam quaeret, et omnipotentem se nominabit".

He declares to Queen Gerberga that what he writes concerning the Antichrist he has found in "libris authenticis". This evil prince will come from the tribe of Dan. For proof he uses the following prophecy: "Fiat Dan coluber in via, et cerastes in semita, mordens unguam equi, ut cadat ascensor ejus retro".³ He will be born of wicked parents. He will be wholly in the possession of the devil from his birth, thus deserving the name "filius perditiones". His birthplace will be a city of Babylon, and he will receive his early training in Bethsaide and Corozaim, those cities of which our Lord speaks in the Gospel, saying: "Vae tibi, Corozaim, vae tibi, Bethsaida".⁴

1. Uxor Ludovici Transmarini, soror Ottones I. imp (Erodoardus).

2. P.L. Vol. 101: 1291.

3. Gen. XLIX. 17.

4. Matt. XI. 21; Luc. X. 13.

Concerning his teachers and education, "Habebit autem Antichristus magos et ariolos et maleficos et incantatores et divinos, qui eum (diabolo inspirante) nutriunt et docebunt, et imbuent in omni iniquitate et falsitate et nefaria arte" He will have companions and courtiers, all inspired by the devil.

He will try to win the Christians, and those who do not yield to his false charms he will torture and put to death. He will then place his throne in the holy temple. Solomon's temple he will rebuild, and restore it in all its ancient splendor. He will strengthen his position by cutting off all unbelievers. At this height of power he will declare himself "Filius Dei omnipotentis".

"Reges autem et principes primum ad se convertet, et deinde per illos caeteros populos. Loca vero per quae Dominus Jesus Christus ambulavit, et ipse perambulavit: sed prius destruet quae Dominus illustravit".

Then throughout the whole world he will send "nuntios et praedicatores suos", whose business it will be to represent him as God to the nations. He will perform great wonders and miracles:

"Facies quoque signa multa et miracula magna et inaudita. Facies ignem de coelo terribiliter descendere, arbores subito florere et crescere, mare turbari et subito tranquillari: naturas etiam in diversis figuris mutari, aquas contra cursus et ordinem converti, aera ventis, commotionibusque multis agitari, et caetera quoque mirabilia et stupenda, mortuos scilicet in conspectu hominum resuscitari, ita ut in errorem inducantur, si fieri potest, etiam electi".

Those who are not won to him by wonders and miracles, he will try to win through fear. Others he will win with gold and silver and rich presents. In time all his concealed treasures he will reveal to those who believe in him. Then great tribulation will come upon the earth, such as the world has never experienced.
/ Matt. XXIV. 14.

Those who are in fields will flee to the mountains, saying, "Fall upon us"; and with the hills cover us", and those on the housetops will not descend into the house that they may take anything out of it, but give instant flight.¹ Then the Faithful shall see salvation. Even those who have denied Christ through fear of the sword, or through fear of fire, or through fear of serpents, or through fear of any of those death-inflicted tortures, shall be saved if in the end they return to God.

"Haec autem tam terribilis et timenda tribulatio tribus annis et dimidio manebit (in toto mundo) 'Tunc abbreviabuntur dies propter electos';² nisi enim Dominus abbreviasset dies, vix salva esset omnis caro".

At this very time the Antichrist will begin to reveal his true character, for it is in the day of the Just he is to be revealed. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Thessalonians, makes this plain, for he says, "Nisi venerit discussio primum, et revelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius perditionis, et cetera".³

But according to the doctors, this Antichrist is not to come until all the peoples of the earth are subject to Rome and serve Rome and pay tribute to that power. And according to St. Paul, Antichrist's reign is not to come upon the earth "nisi venerit discessio primum". This "discessio" places the Roman sceptre in the hands of a king of the Franks, and he will be the greatest of all kings. Then Antichrist will suddenly make his appearance, and then "revelabitur ille homo peccati". He is the "homo peccati". He is the "filius perditiones", the son of the

¹ Matt. XXIV. 16 seq.

² Matt. XXIV. 22.

³ 2 Thess. II. 3.

devil "non per naturam sed per imitationem", because he yields in all things to the will of the devil and possesses diabolical power in its plenitude.

Adso continues to explain St. Paul: "Quo adversatur" because this "filius perditiones" is contrary to Christ; "et extollitur", because he is exalted in pride; "supra omne quod dicitur Deus",¹ that is above all the holy ones; "Ego dixi, dii estes".² He exalts himself above all the Gods of the pagan, viz., Hercules, Appollo, Jore, Mercury, and not only above these, but also "supra omne quod colitur", that is above the Holy Trinity. "Ut templo Dei sedeat ostendens se, tunquam sit Deus". He will assure himself of this position by saying to the Jews: "Ego sum Christus vobis repromissus, qui ad salutem vestram veni, ut vos, qui dispersi estis, congregem et defendam". All the Jews will flock to him, thinking that they are receiving the longed-for Messiah, but in reality they are receiving the devil.³

At this point in his letter Adso leaves his much quoted doctors and gives⁴ a glimpse of the Sibylline prophecies: "Sicut in Sibyllinis versibus habemus, tempore praedictae regis, cujus nomen erit C. rex Romanorum totius imperii, statura grandis, aspectu decorus, vultu splendidus, et per singula membrorum lineamenta compositus decenter, erunt divitiae magnae, et terra dabit fructum suum, ita ut tritici modius denario uno venundetur vini et olei similiter". But this time of peace and plenty is

2. Psalm LXXXI. 6.

1. St. Paul, 2 Thess. II. 3.

3. St. John, V. 43.

not to last. From Aquilonia will come trouble: those peoples which Alexander included in Gog and Magog will rise in strength. There are twenty-two kingdoms of the people, and the inhabitants are as numerous as the sands of the sea-shore. But this wonderful king of the Romans will completely annihilate them.

He will then convert the whole world to the cross of Christ. The Jews will also be converted.¹ Then "Impletis autem centum duodecim regni ejus annis veniet Hierusalem et ibi ut dictum est, deposito diademate relinquet Deo Patri et Filio ejus Christo Jesu regnum Christianorum, et erit sepulcrum ejus gloriosum".

After this digression he takes up the thread of his discourse again. Enoch and Elias, the prophets, will be sent into the world to instruct and to comfort and to prepare the "Electos" for the final judgment. Then will be fulfilled the Scripture which said: "Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel sicut arena maris, reliquiae salvae fient".²

Antichrist will kill the two holy ones,³ and after three days the Lord will resuscitate them. But Antichrist, nevertheless, will return to the attack upon the faithful. He will gain some apostates, and his followers he will sign on the forehead with his sign. In all, his reign will last three years and a half. At the close of this brief but terrible period his own death will come.⁴ "Quem Dominus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illustratione adventus sui." "The doctors say and

1. St. Jerem, XXIII. 16.

2. St. Paul, Rom. IX. 27.

3. Apoc. XI. 7.

4. St. Paul, 2 Thess. II. 8.

St. Augustine affirms", Adso tells us, that the Archangel Michael will kill the Antichrist on the Mount of Olivet. But Adso, himself, thinks that they mean by this that Michael is clothed in divine light and so looks like God, but in reality simply announces God's sudden coming.

Adso refrains from giving here an account of the Final Judgment which, he thinks, will follow, because he says St. Augustine in his "Nolumus vos ignorare de dormientibus" has given a fund of knowledge on that great event, and Hieronymus in his exposition, "Septem tubarum ad Evervinum" has given "magnae scientiae documenta".

The first half of the 11th century gives us Damianus. "Opusculum Quinquagesimum Nonum De Novissimis et Antichristo". It was written by Damianus, who died in 1072. At the beginning of this treatise of four chapters, the author gives his argument, as follows: "Ostendit primo difficile esse loqui de rebus novissimis; deinde utilem esse earum meditationem, ad res humanas despiciendas; tertio disputat de Antichristi regno et morte; denique de quindecim signis quae ex sancto Hieronymo diem iudicii praecedent".

The "Opusculum" was evidently written for the use of Damianus' fellow religious as a help in meditation on the last things. In "Caput Primum", he states the difficulties in the way of meditating on eschatological subjects. In "Caput II", he urges meditation on these subjects. He recommends to his readers St. Augustine's "De Civitate Dei", Jerome's "Expositionem in

Danielem prophetam", "Apocalypsim", and their commentaries: these books contain, with the Scriptures, sufficient knowledge for meditation on the Antichrist and the Last Judgment. The remainder of this chapter gives a life-history of the Antichrist. The last two chapters give the Last Judgment with the fifteen signs preceeding it.

Otto of Freising Shortly before the "Ludus de Adventu et Interitu Antichriste" of Tehernsee was staged at Schauplatz, a very interesting set of volumes was completed at Freising, by Otto of Freising. The "Chronicon seu rerum ab initio mundi ad sua usque ab initio mundi ad sua usque tempora 1146 libri VIII", and "Gesta Frederici I imperatores usque ad 1156 libri II" made up this set of volumes, which was the author's principal work.

The "Chronicon" is a universal history in eight books. Otto's work is by no means a chronicle in the ordinary sense. He himself did not call it a chronicle but gave it the title "De duabus civitatibus", since, as he asserted, he did not wish merely to enumerate the different events, but to combine as in a tragedy a picture of the evil which abounded in his time.

He adheres closely to St. Augustine's teaching of two states as elaborated in the "De Civitate Dei". Although the doctrine of the two states can be variously interpreted, he undoubtedly wished to represent the conflict between the "Civitas Dei" and the "Civitas diaboli", between the children of God and "vices Babyloniae mundique amatores". Evidently his belief is, that after Christ

the conflict between the mundane state of Babel and the divine state of Israel changed into a conflict between Christianity and paganism or heresy. After the complete victory of Christianity, however, he treats almost exclusively of the "civitas Dei" which merges into the Church.

Guided by these views he gives a narrative in the first seven books, extending from the creation of the world to the year 1146; the eighth book depicts the Antichrist, the Second Coming, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Last Judgment, the end of the mundane and the beginning of the divine state. Thus, through a unifying conception, he succeeded in representing the entire range of history in a connected whole.

Although a unifying thought is not so apparent in the "Gesta Frederici", it is not difficult to perceive that Otto desired to prove that happiness in this world depends upon the harmonious co-operation of church and state.

Summary of the four Medieval Writers.

Rabanus Maurus, of the 9th century, has in imitation of his masters in the subject, connected the Antichrist with the Last Days. With one exception, Adso's "Libellus de Antichristo" of the 10th century agrees in all points with St. Augustine's "De Antichristo". Adso's "Libellus" has an extract based on the Sibylline Verses which St. Augustine's "De Antichristo" has not. Thus far, from St. Augustine down to Adso of Toul, we have in all their dissertations on the Antichrist, the Anti-Messiah considered in connection with the coming of Christ to judge the world. Again, we find this significant connection in the "Opusculum de Novissimis

et Antichristo" of the 11th century. The work of Damianus marks the mind-content of the 11th century on this theme; namely, that the two were connected. Otto of Freising, of the 12th century, is occupied throughout the eighth book of his "Chronicon" in depicting the Antichrist and the Second Coming of Christ.

In these four writers there is an evolution of the Antichrist tradition and legend from a spiritual standpoint. But in addition, there is a strong tendency to use this spiritual field as a vantage ground for erecting a political structure.

The Kaiser legend is given a strong impetus by Adso of Toul. Otto of Freising in his "Chronicon" takes for his subject matter the history of the world, but his theme is the conflict between "Civitatis Dei and "Civitatis diaboli". In his "Gesta Frederici" his patriotism knows no bounds. His theme connecting the "Gestae" is the harmonious co-operation of church and state.

CHAPTER V.

Antichrist in German Eschatological Drama.

Tegernsee Ludus. The Tegernsee "Antichristus" is a direct outgrowth of this spiritual-political evolution of the Antichrist legend in Germany. It was written by a poet who was convinced of the right of the German emperor to the world-wide power, and also of the ability of the German emperor to carry it into effect. The Tegernsee Ludus is at the core political, hence it is an artificial production and special in its nature. This Ludus opens with "Gentilitas" and

"Synagoga" and "Ecclesia" in conflict. Both "Gentilitas" and "Synagoga" oppose "Ecclesia"; here is Otto of Freising's "Civitas diaboli" and "Civitatis Dei". At the close of the first part of the play, the "Imperator" with the strong assistance of an angel of God has made peace in the world. Here is a masterly touch of the poet's belief in his Emperor. The "Imperator" has the entire world at his feet, and has succeeded in bringing about the harmonious co-operation of church and state. In a spirit of humble triumph, he lays his crown on the altar in the temple at Jerusalem. Here is Adso's "rex Romanorum", his Kaiser who unifies the world and goes to "Hierusalem et ibi ut dictum est, deposito diademate relinquet Deo Patri et Filio ejus Christo Jesu regnum Christianorum, et erit sepulcrum ejus gloriosum". Here, too, is the Tegernsee poet's dramatization of Otto of Freising's complete victory of Christianity; for in the Ludus Tegernsee the King of Babylon, the King of Jerusalem, and all the Christian kings pay allegiance to the Christian world-ruler, the "Imperator".

The advent of Antichrist opens the second part of the Ludus. The play is liturgical in its conception, surely, for the Antichrist appears in the strength of his manhood "turns the backs of kings", performs miracles, is the oppressor, is the deceiver, all in accordance with the liturgical treatment of the Anti-Messiah. Enoch and Elias appear and praise the true God; they preach penance to the Jews and Gentiles, and are put to death by the Antichrist. Then comes the revelation of the "man of sin". All this part is truer to the liturgical treatment of Antichrist than to Adso's treatment of him. But even this part is artificial

and special in its development; for the post-monk uses his characters to parade his prejudices against rulers, prelates, and people. In his admiration of Frederick Barbarossa, he gives "Apostolica" a silent role. "Ecclesia" refuses to believe in Antichrist and runs to "Apostolica" for refuge, never-the-less "Apostolica" is not given the dignity befitting pope and clergy; here is the poet's belief in "Ecclesia", but his personal thrust at the secular clergy. "Ecclesia" brings the drama to a triumphant close: this symbolizes the beginning of Otto of Freising's "Divine State".

The Tegernsee Ludus stands alone as an Antichristus play, and yet the author cannot lose sight of the integral union of Antichrist and the Second Coming of Christ, and he reveals it in the words he puts into the speech of Enoch and Elias:

"Hic seculum per ignem iudicabit,
 universos in carne suscitabit,
 A reprobis salvandos separabit,
 malos dampnans bonos glorificabit!
 Vere scitis, quid scripture loquantur:
 Enoch vivum et Heliam testantur".¹

The "Synagoga" ask, "Where are they?", to which the prophets reply:

"We are they in truth
 In whom the ends of the ages have arrived;
 This is Enoch and I am Elias,
 Whom the Messiah has preserved thus,
 Who now comes."²

In the next few lines they remind the Jews that the "first of Israel" are to be converted and, too, that the "man of perdition" has come and "He is not Christ".

Thus the Tegernsee "Antichristus" is a play built on the liturgical Antichrist, but is used to exploit the author's patriotism and personal prejudices.

1. Froning, "Das Drama des Mittelalters, I: 206; ll. 365-370.
 2. " " " " I: 206; ll. 370-380.

The Tegernsee play is an elaborate spectacle. It requires the following stage arrangement: "Templum domini et VII sedes regales primum collocentur in hunc modum:

Ad borientem templum domini; huic collocantur sedes regis Hierosolimorum et sedes Sinagoge.

Ad occidentem sedes imperatoris Romani; huic collocantur sedes regis Theotonicorum et sedes regis Francorum.

Ad austrum sedes regis Grecorum.

Ad meridiem sedes regis Babilonie et Gentilitatis.

The play opens in a spirit of triumph. Gentilitas with the King of Babylon come out singing. They declare their belief in a plurality of Gods. The second four lines give an idea of the theme:

"Stulti sunt et vere fatui
qui deum unum dicunt,
quia antiquitates ritui
proterve contradicunt."

Gentilitas et rex Babilonie ascendunt in sedem suam. Tunc sequitur Synagoga cum Judeis cantans. Their theme is the hatred of Jesus as a man who could perform miracles, but could not help himself. The first stanza gives the main thought:

"Nostra salus in te, domine!
nulla vite spes in homine:
error est in Christi nomine
spem salutis estimari".

Then follows Ecclesia, after Synagoga and the Jews have taken their places. Ecclesia defends her teaching with emphasis:

"Conditoris alto consilio,
his, qui eam secuntur, ad singulos
versus respondentibus:
Hec est fides, ex qua vita,
in qua mortis lex sopita
quis quis est qui credit aliter,
hunc dampnamus eternaliter."

Thus closes the prologue.

The principal act now follows; it is divided in two parts. The first part ends in the triumph of the Emperor; the second, the triumph of Ecclesia.

In Part I. the Emperor asserts his right to monarchy. He determines to strengthen the empire: to do this he sends his military ambassadors, his "nuntios" to each king, commanding him to surrender. First he sends his "nuntios" to the King of the Franks, saying:

"Sicut scripta tradunt hystorio gravorum,
totus mundus fuerat fiscus Romanorum;
hoc primorum strenuitas elaboravit,
sed posterorum desidia dissipavit:
sub his imperii dilapsa est potestas,
quam nostre repetit potentie majestas.
reges ergo singuli prius instituta
nunc Romano solvant imperio tributa.
sed quod in militia valet fens Francorum,
armis imperio rex serviat eorum:
huic, ut hominum cum fidelitate
nobis in proximo faciat, imperate!"

But the King of the Franks does not recognize the right of the Emperor, but claims that right for himself, for "Illus enim seniones Galli possederunt atque suis posteris, nobis, reliquerunt," etc. His arrogance is immediately punished; German arms conquer him in battle. However, the generosity of the German ruler leaves him his kingdom, but he must be a vassal.

"Tunc Imperator dirigens nuntios suos ad regem Grecorum cantat: Sicut scripta tradunt hystorio graphorum, quicquid habet mundus, fiscus est Romanorum!" The Greek King submits to the demand without a word of complaint.

The King of Jerusalem graciously receives the command and himself ascending to the Emperor's throne, sings:

"Romani nominis honorem veneramur,
tributum cesari reddere gloriamur", etc.

Now all of Christendom is under German power. But this Emperor has an unexpected foe to encounter. The Emperor returning to his "sedem", with the whole Ecclesia subject to imperial Rome, the King of Babylon starts up in the midst of his men and sings:

"Ecce superstitio novitatis vane,
quam error adinvenit secte christiane,
fere destruxit ritum antiquitatis
et diis subtraxit honorem deitatis!
quorum cultum prosus deleri ne sinamus!
nomen christianum de terra deleamus
quod ab eo loco debemus inchoare,
unde primo cepit hec secta pullulare".

And forthwith he orders his army and prepares to attack Jerusalem. The King of Jerusalem, in fear and trembling, sends for help to the Emperor. The "nuntios venientes ad Imperatorem cantant coram eo: Defensor ecclesia, nostri miserere, etc." The Emperor promises immediate assistance. While he is collecting his army, an angel of the Lord suddenly appears, singing: "Judea et Jerusalem, nolite timere!"

The battle is fought and the King of Babylon overcome. Now world-power is in the Emperor's hands. He takes the crown from his head, and going into the temple, he places this sign of royalty "cum sceptro et imperio" on the alter, singing:

"Suscipe quod offero, nam corde benigno
tibi regi regnum imperium designo,
per quem reges regnant, qui solus imperator
dici potes et es cunctorum gubernator!"

Part II. of the principal act introduces the Antichrist. He comes in with "Hypocriti a dextris et Heresi a sinistris," He announces his coming reign and immediately sends his Hypocritis to win the laity, and Heresi to win the clergy. They promise

allegiance and help. The great ones of the earth must be won, too. Antichrist sends false prophets to each king in turn. The King of Jerusalem is the first victim to fall into the meshes of Antichrist. At this point Ecclesia takes refuge at the throne of Apostolica. Now, the kings of Christendom must be won. Greek King obeys at once. The King of the Franks is won with presents. The King of the Teutons with great indignation refuses to submit, and sends the "Ypocritas" away. He fears not the battle which he must fight with this presumptuous opponent. He is victorious in the struggle, but he is forced to submit at length, for he is not equal to the intrigue and treachery of Antichrist.

"Tunc Ypocrite adducunt claudum coram Antichristo. Quo sanato rex Teotonicorum hesitabit in fide, Tunc iterum adducunt leprosum, et illo sanato rex plus dubitabit. Ad ultimum important feretrum, in quo jacebat quidam simulans se in proelio occisum. Jubet itaque Antichristus, ut surgat, dicens:

'Signa semper querunt rudes et infideles:
surge, surge velociter, quis sim ego, reveles!'"

And from the letter comes a voice proclaiming Antichrist's divinity.

Rex Teotonicorum is convinced. Then he surrenders, and even wins for his new master the pagan world, the Turk, by his great fighting ability.

Finally, Synagoga and Jews surrender, for they feel that he is the Messiah. Now the empire of Antichrist is world-wide, but not firm. Soon appear messengers from God's kingdom. These prophets are Elias and Enoch. They convert the Jews. Antichrist is enraged and has the two prophets put to death. In vain, now, he calls upon the kings to help him. They hurry to his throne, but his reign is ended. "Statim fit sonitus super caput Antichristi, et eo, corruente et omnibus suis fugientibus Ecclesia cantat:

"Ecce homo, qui non posuit deum ad suum! ego autem sicut oliva fructifera in domodes". All return to the faith of Ecclesia, and the play closes with "Laudem dicite deo nostro!"

Frankfort
Presentation
of
Antichrist

There was presented at Frankfort-on-the-Main, in 1468 and again in 1469, a four-day presentation of an Antichrist play.¹ The texts are lost, and hence we have no information as to the content of the play, but the extreme length of this presentation has caused much comment. Creizenach² is of the opinion that the Last Judgment play followed the Antichrist play, otherwise the four-day presentation could not be explained. Froning³ has come to the conclusion that this four-day "Antichrist" was really a Passion Play and that the "Antichrist" and "Last Judgment" closed the performance and was called "Antichrist" because, for the spectators, the Antichrist play was a new performance. It is not necessary to explain the length on this score, for there easily could be enough material in an Antichrist and Last Judgment Play for a four-day performance.

Xanten
Antichrist

The next dates for Antichrist plays in Germany are 1473 and 1481. The "Alte Groze spil vom uff- und untergange des Antichrist"³ was played in Xanten in 1473 and in 1481. The texts are lost.

The German writers of eschatological dramas have failed at times to keep the Antichrist and Last Judgment Plays closely linked in the dramatic field. During the 15th century, the Anti-

1, Creizenach, "Das Neues Drama" 237.

2, Froning, "Das Drama des Mittelalters, 2:536.

3, Creisenach, "Das Neues Drama", 237..

christ was taken out of his setting and used as a figure in Fastnachtspiel. There are three notable instances of this; viz., "Der Entkrist" of the Munich Carnival Play;¹ "Entkrist" from the Corpus Christi Play, or the "Kunzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel";² and the "Spil von dem herzogen von Burgund".³

This Munich "Entkrist" is known by other titles:

Munich "Entkrist" "Muncheuer Fastnachtspiel" and "Der Entkrist Vasnacht"

Following is the content of the play:

A herald opens the play; Enoch and Elias enter; Enoch gives warning against the machinations of Antichrist. A crier of Antichrist urges the people to believe in his master, who then appears. Elias sharply refuses to accept him and refuses to believe his teachings. Then the Antichrist has the two prophets killed by his executioners. Now the Jews pay him great homage. He seeks to win the Emperor for himself by promising him people and land, and also promises to work miracles. The counselors are consulted; only one of them, the brave Dagenhart, warns the Emperor against the deception of the new Messiah, but in vain, for the Emperor decides to follow the majority. The ruler's father, at the demand of Antichrist, rises from the dead. He advises his son to follow the Entkrist. Then this credulous man accepts the sign of the wonder-worker; the lame and the blind are cured. Gugelweit, the Bishop, is next won. He accepts Entkrist with less persuasion than it took to win the Emperor. He is won by a diocese and money. The abbots,

¹ K. Reuschel, "Die deutschen Weltgerichtspiele des Mittelalters" 41.

² Creizenach, "Das Neues Drama" 246.

"Germania", 4:338.

³ No. 20 of Keller Collection.

Godlein, Waltschlanch, and Schludreich, are won over by promises of feasting and drinking and trifling little gifts.

A pilgrim who turns against the enemy of the Church has to suffer death, but he is permitted to return to life and, of course, is converted. Finally, Gluttony comes forth and praises Antichrist for giving him such great feasts, and the crier ends the piece, while he makes excuses for the trick he plays. The end becomes a Carnival Play, a farce.

In this play, the Kunzelsauer Fronleichnam-
Kunzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel spiel, the prominent roles are given to the Jews. After the "rector processionis" gives the argument, Antichrist appears with his twelve apostles. The Anti-Messiah makes the usual promises to his followers, and threatens the Christians with the severest punishments if they remain obstinate in their Christian faith. The apostles of the Entkrist praise their master; the devils rejoice that their arch-servant has appeared on earth. The Jews proclaim their belief in the fulfillment of the long-looked-for coming, - the coming of their Messias. They receive him with open arms and beg of him to take revenge on the hated Christians. With boastful arrogance the Hebrews now rise, since their strong leader has come and their salvation is secure.

Enoch and Elias warn the deluded people against the false Messias. The Entkrist has them put to death, but the Angel Gabriel calls them back to life after three days, and now they announce the fulfillment of the promises. The Entkrist is led by Lucifer to hell.
/, "Germania", 4:338.

Carnival
"Entkrist"

Another recorded Antichrist play of the 15th century is the "Spil von dem herzogen von Burgund".

Antichrist enters and represents himself as Christ.

The Sibyl calls him a deceiver. To justify himself, he makes a wager with the Duke of Burgundy on the wheel of fortune. Antichrist goes down. Then for his boldness he is punished in the most shameful manner, and all of his court-followers share a similar treatment, as do also all of his race, the Jews.

Summary

of
15th Century
German Plays

In the Munich "Entkrist", we have only a fragment of a much more comprehensive whole. There is wanting an account of the resurrection of the prophets and the death of Antichrist. "Gluttony" may suggest that the Seven Capitol Sins came in. The reviser of the 15th century who prepared the drama-fragment for Carnival use, knew well why he used only the one, "Gluttony"; it served his purpose for the days of revelry.

In the "Kunzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel", the author has made use of the most popular of the traditions. But there is a decided Antisemitic tone which mars the religious theme of the play.

The legendary tradition is only touched upon in the "Spil von dem herzogen von Burgund". The composer is a fierce enemy of the Jews, and seems to have written the Fastnachtspiel simply to deride them. He has revived all the ugliest accusations he could

/ No. 20 of Keller Collection.

/ Creizenach, "Das Neues Drama". 458.

find against them, and uses the lines of the play to give vent to these accusations. On the whole, it is the coarsest of the German Carnival plays. It cannot be considered a normal Antichrist play in any sense of the term.

The few plays recorded from the 16th century indicate that the original tone of the Antichrist and Last Judgment play was not, however, lost.

In 1513, on St. Dorothea's Day, there was played
Dortmund in the market place at Dortmund an Antichrist play.
Antichrist There were six "burgen" prepared: a citadel or stage
for John the Baptist, Sts. Peter and Paul, with angels
very costly fitted out and adorned with precious stones; a second
stage was for the pope, cardinals, and bishops; a third for the
Kaiser, kings, princes, and lords; a fourth for Entkrist and his
company; a fifth for the Jews and their followers; a sixth for hell
with its horrible devils.

This play was in the hands of the clergy, and the most respectable men of the city took the parts.

A little play termed "Entkrist" was staged in
Ehur in 1517.² On the whole it was without political
"Entkrist" touches and held to the popular traditions of Anti-
christ. Entkrist introduces himself as the Messiah
and demands divine honor. Those who recognize him as divine, he
will reward with great liberality. To his chosen ones he will
uncover great hidden treasures. He threatens unbelievers with
A. Creizenach, "Das Neues Drama", 458.
A. K. Reuschel, "Die deutschen Weltgerichtspiele des Mittelalters", 54.
A. K. Reuschel, 56; Creizenach, 237.

revenge. He announces that he has come for the Jews, especially. "Mosse", a Hebrew, greets him at once as the expected Messiah, and shows his homage by kissing his feet. The Entkrist demands that his faithful ones keep the Sabbath holy, as Moses ordered, and to eat "Lattuc" and unleavened bread. "Mosse" thanks him in the name of the Jews and declares their submission.

Another zealous follower is "Superbos"; not, less willing to serve are "Avarius", "Luzuria", "Ira", and "Gula". One of the crowd also expresses his trust in Entkrist.

Naturally, his opponents are there, who would rather be martyrs than renounce their faith. To convince all of his divine mission, the arch-deceiver decides to ascend into heaven. The simple stage direction "Post ruinam ipsius" tells us that the attempted ascent was unsuccessful. One of his followers complains loudly that he has been deceived, and just at this climax, Elias prays, seemingly from his place in paradise, for divine assistance to save these deluded souls. Then he turns to the people to convert them. Enoch acts in the same manner.

In Luzerne[!], the Easter Plays of 1549 were interrupted by a two-days presentation of the Last Things; Antichrist on the first day and on the second, the Last Judgment.

/. Creizenach, 237.

The plot of the "Antichrist" consists of three parts:
Lucerne the "Forhandlung", the "Haupthandlung", and the close.
Play

The "Forhandlung" is made up of an Introduction and a "Forspiel". A Prologue of two hundred and fifty-eight lines delivered by Fendrich, "proklamator", and long speeches by Isaias, Ezekial, Daniel, and Zacharias open the play. In the "Forspiel", Christ heals the palsied Lazarus, and preaches from the 25th chapter of St. Matthew. Then comes the sacrifice of Simon and Anna. Our Savior holds a conversation with His disciples about the splendor of the temple and its fall. The disciples beg for information concerning the end of the world. Now that the thought-content of the complete drama is brought out, the transition to the main act is put in the mouths of St. Matthew and St. Jerome. These last speeches are really sermons.

The "Haupthandlung" has three main parts: Beginning of Antichrist; Antichrist's display of power; and Antichrist at the height of his career, and his fall. The "Beginning of Antichrist" consists of a Hell scene, where the devils plan his coming to earth; Antichrist's declaration, viz., that he is the Son of God; his performance of sham miracles.

St. John opens the second part of the "Haupthandlung" with an address of one hundred and three lines. Antichrist chooses his disciples and sends them out into the world. Gog and Magog are called to the court of Antichrist; the temple is erected and Antichrist receives homage there; he wins new followers by means of false miracles; he wins the Kings of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

/. Published by Reuschel, "Die deutschen Weltgerichtspiele".

St. Ambrose and St. Jude Thaddeus break in at this point with speeches of one hundred and fifty-six lines. King Darius is asked to do homage to Antichrist. Again, there are long addresses, this time by St. John, St. Gregory, St. Augustine, and for the third time, St. John. This part closes with a grand reception at the court of the Antichrist and another one at the court of King Darius.

In the third part of the "Haupthandlung" Christ sends Michael to get the prophets, Elias and Enoch out of their earthly paradise. Christ gives them their mission. Darius and his court and followers pay homage to Antichrist. The false Messiah blesses all who believe in him and has them signed with his sign. Enoch and Elias come in and preach to the people. Antichrist orders the two prophets to be put to death without delay. He then raises a man from apparent death, and Antichrist and some of his close companions have a banquet. Enoch and Elias are recalled to life by Our Savior, and they ascend into heaven. This converts many who have been following Antichrist. Cleophas preaches a sermon against the arch-deceiver and many more are converted. Just as he prepares for his ascension, Christ commands Raphael to slay him.

The close, consisting of three hundred and fifty-five lines, is divided between St. John's address and an epilogue by Fendrich, the proclinator.

Summary of
16th century
German & Swiss
Plays.

We do not know the content of the Dortmund Antichrist. All we have is the above account which is preserved in "Croniken der deutschen Städte". But we may surmise that although it was

staged during the Carnival season, there was a certain dignity in its presentation. We may conclude, too, judging from its "burgen", that there was a certain religious quality in the performance, and that there was an appreciable following of the traditional Anti-christ.

In the Ehur "Entkrist", the usual features of the Anti-christ are introduced, but only the most important points of the legend are made use of. There is one deviation from the old tradition; namely, Enoch and Elias begin their mission after the death of Antichrist. This deviation is not original in the writer of this play for it is also found in the Italian "Final Guidicio". The "Entkrist" is not political in spirit, neither is it prejudiced in tone. This and its vocabulary give evidence that it was written in Switzerland. In all probability, it was followed by Last Judgment scenes, for the two plays are bound together in the same manuscript.

Again, in the 16th century we find the union of the two plays in the Luzerne "Last Things". In the Lucerne "Antichrist", the Last Judgment theme is introduced in the Prologue and pervades the whole play, finding its completion in the "Last Judgment" Play.¹ The Antichrist, in accordance with the liturgical Anti-Messiah, appears in the strength of his manhood, wins kings and followers, performs miracles, causes Enoch and Elias to be put to death, meets a sudden and unexpected death at the hands of an angel, just when he is at the zenith of his power.

¹ Raupachel,
1. Luzerner Handschrift der Burgerbibliothek, Herrigs Archir, 75:384.

General
Summary
of
German Field.

In accordance with information thus far obtained concerning the German eschatological plays, the following general remarks sum up the appearance of Antichrist. He appears in Antichrist Plays without the Last Judgment Play as a complement in the Tegernsee "Antichristus", the "Muncheuer Fastnachtspiel", the "Kunzelsauer Fronleichnamspiel", the "Spil non dem herzogen von Burgund"; all these plays are exceptional in some way; they were played to exploit personal patriotism, or personal prejudices, or to add to the revelry of the Carnival season. Hence, they are not normal Antichrist plays. The normal Antichrist play is a sacred presentation, scriptural as to source and religiously dignified in tone.

The Xanten texts of the "Alte Groge spil vom uff-und unterganze des Antichrist" have been lost, hence we do not know the content; there may have been a Last Judgment play. The Dortmund "Antichrist" text is also lost. Since all we have is the description of the "burgen", we cannot say with any certainty that there was no Last Judgment scenes to complete the Antichrist theme.

In the following plays, the Antichrist scenes are followed by Last Judgment scenes: Frankfurter "Antichrist", Ehur "Entkrist", Luzerne "Antichrist". These plays show the spirit of the normal eschatological drama in their oneness of theme. The text of the Frankfurter play is lost, but we may conclude from the following brief annal: "Anno 1468 comedia de Antichristo et Extremo iudicio exhibetur rector fuit dominus Ioannes Bach vicarius ecclesiae nostrae interfuerunt, persone 265". that the plays were under the

immediate supervision of local Church authorities, and hence in their content-matter were dignified in tone. The texts of the "Entkrist" of Ehur, and the Luzerne plays follow the traditional Antichrist in content-matter.

CHAPTER VI.

English Field.

In the English field there are three independent Statement of Last Judgment plays, and one Antichrist with its complement, a Last Judgment play: Coventry has a "Domesday", Towneley has the "Juditium", York has "The Judgment Day", and Chester has "Antichrist" and "Doomsday".

Antichrist is at the height of his power in the beginning of the play. To give dignity and force to his opening lines, he speaks them in Latin: "De celso trono poli, pollens clarior sole² - Age vobis monstrare descendi vos iudicare. Reges et principes sunt subditi sub me visientes. Sites sapientes vos, semper in me credentes, Et faciam flentes gaudere atque dolentes; Sic omnes gentes gaudebunt in me sperantes." He claims God-head; he is the long-awaited for Messiah; he is Christ, the Savior.

His principal claims asserted, he now speaks in English. He addresses "All ledys in londe" and tells them that he is the Messiah "ioy". To prove to them that he is the true Messiah, he

1. Manly, Specimens of Pre-Shakesperian Drama, 1:170.

2. Ibid., 1:170, II., 1-6.

tells them that Moses, Dawd and Isaiah prophecied concerning him, and to make his position the more firm he quotes in Latin from Ezekial concerning the coming Messias.

He makes the usual promises; viz., the Jewish race he will conquer; he will rebuild the temple, and as God, sit therein. He tells the women that according to Daniel a great number of women will follow him. He will be generous with his gifts, -honorable positions, lands, and riches.

Then he turns to the four kings who have come with him and asks them for their testimony concerning him. They in turn, ask him for visible signs, to prove that he is the Messias. He promises them miracles; that he will raise the dead to life; make dead trees blossom and bear fruit. He will die, himself, and of his own power rise again. He does not hesitate; he calls to life two dead men; they honor him as God. He will now die, and his body must be placed in the tomb in the temple, and after his resurrection, he will send his "ghost" upon them. With the words, "I dye, I dye, nowe am I dede"! he dies. The four kings bemoan their sad loss and place his body in the tomb. "Quartus Rex" bids him rise. "Tunc Antichristus leuat caput suum surgens" and bids them do reverence to him as God. The kings express their gladness to do as he wishes. They escort him to the throne and offer a lamb in sacrifice to him. He receives the sacrifice, and in recompense for their divine honors, sends his "ghost" upon them, and presents them with great domains. He says:

"To the I gyffe lambarde;
And to the, denmarke and hungrye;
And take patmouse and Italye,
And Rome hit shall be hyse."

They thank him for his gifts and Antichrist warns them to be faithful.

At this point in the drama, Enoch and Elias appear. The two prophets pray in turn. Enoch's prayer is for strength to convert his people whom the Antichrist has deceived. He also prays God to help his brother, Elias. Elias asks for light for his people that they may know that this false Messiah is a base deceiver. He then announces that he is Elias, and his co-worker is Enoch. At first the kings do not believe that these two strangers are the two prophets, Enoch and Elias. Primus Rex says:

"Yff that we Redye wytt monn,
By preues of Disputacion,
That ye haue skyl and Reason,
With you we will Abyde".

Secundus Rex says:

"And if youre skyllys may do hym downe,
To dye withe you we wilbe bowne,
In hope of Sawle saluacioun,
What so euer betyd".

Ennoke agrees:

"To do hym downe we shall Assay,
Thruh myght of Ihesu borne of A maye,
By Right and Reason, as ye shall pay,-
And that ye shall well here".

They dispute upon the Holy Trinity, and when the Antichrist finds himself non-plussed he calls upon a Doctor, who speaks nine lines, in which he advises the Antichrist to kill "Yender heretykes". Antichrist offers them "bles" if they will believe in him. Enoch lays down conditions for his belief.

"Bryng ffurthe those men here in our syght
That thou hast Raysyd Agayn the Ryght;
Yf thowe be of so mycle might
To make theym ete and drynke,
ffor verey god we wyll the knowe,-
such A sygne yf thow wyll shewe,-
And do the Reuerence on A Rowe,
All at thy lykyng."

Antichrist raises the two dead men, and bread is given them to eat.
Elias proves the falseness of the miracle by blessing the bread
with the sign of the cross. Primus Mortuus sees the "Pryntte" on
the bread and begs to have the bread removed where he cannot see it.
Secundus Mortuus says:

"To loke on hit I am not light,
That brede to me yt ys so bryght,
And ys my ffoe bothe day and nyght
And puttys me to grete dere".

"Tunc Antichristus occidet Enoke et Eliam et omnes conversos cum
gladio, et Redebit ad Chathedram; cui dicat Michaell cum gladio in
manu sua dextra: 'Antecrist, nowe ys comyn thy day'".

While he is killing him, Michael continues to upbraid him
for leading souls astray. He reviews Antichrist's life for the
benefit of the people, also to show that he is slaying the wicked
deceiver only by an order from God. He closes his speech:

"iii yere and An halffe on, wytterlye
Thowe hasse hadde leue to distrye
Goddys people wykky dlye
Thrughe thy fowle Redde;
Nowe thowe shalt knowe and wytt in hye
That more ys goddys Maystrye
Than eke the devuls + thyn therebye
ffor nowe shalt thowe be dede.

Antichrist calls for the devils to help him, but they come only
to carry him to hell, and while they carry him off the first devil
tells of his sinful origin. 4 As soon as the Antichrist and the

demons are gone, Enoch and Elias rise from the dead. The Arch-angel, Michael, takes them to heaven.

"Doomsday" follows. Deus opens the play with the words: "Ego Sum Alpha et O, Primus et Novissimus". He decides to have Judgment Day. "Therefore, my Angells", He continues, "fayre and bryght wake every worldly wight for whom I have shed my blood. Shew them the Cross, Crown of Thorns, Sponge and Spear and Neiles" This "sight shall steare" the "most stoutest".

Angelus primus promises to obey. Angelus secundus says: "Take we our Beames and fast blow; to bring them all to the final rechoning".

"Tunc Angeli Tubas accipient et flabunt; et Omnes mortui de Sepulchris resurgent quorum Primus Papa Saluatus dicat *vt* sequitui:"

Papa saluatus declares that it has been three hundred and three years since he was put in the grave. He comes now in flesh and blood to testify to God's goodness. God gave him the highest place on earth, but he yielded at times to the promptings of the flesh, and for his sins he has suffered for three hundred three years, purgatory "as hard as hell", save one thing, -he had hope. He closes his long speech with a prayer for mercy.

Imperator saluatus is the second to give testimony. He says that he has suffered one thousand years in purgatory, because he coveted "Riches and renowne". He suffered "Hard paynes, as hard as are in hell". His consolation during his intense purgatory was that it would come to an end. He implores mercy.

Chester Plays, Part 2. E.E.T.S. ex. Ser. 115. Ed. by Dr. Mathews.

Rex saluatus adores God and admits his guilt. He thought that because he had "purple and riche weed", he did not need God, and hence committed sin, but God in His mercy, made his "rotten foule body whole". The union of his soul and body, he tells the world, is due to God's word. He had contrition for his sins in his dying moments and hence did not go to hell.

Regina saluata testifies that her flesh was as powder, but God reunited body and soul. Her sin was "Lechery". She neither prayed nor fasted. Alms-deeds and repentance for her sins saved her from hell.

Tunc venient Damnati.

Papa Damnatus speaks first. "Conning", "Coueteousnes" and "Simonye" were his chief sins. But his greatest sorrow is to give that great "accoumpt" of the souls damned through his bad examplé. He knows that it is, now, useles to pray.

Imperator Damnatus bemoans that he was born. He is suffering in hell for "manslaughter couetuousness, Glotony, misgotten money," and for "nurturing traitors". Now he knows the heinousness of his crimes.

Rex Damnatus never pitied the poor when he was on earth. He did not visit the sick. He was guilty of "Lechery, Couetuousness" and "filth in deed and in thought". He says:

"fye on
Pearles, pryde, gowne, gnyde,
these harrowen me to hell.
Where are the ones who admired me?"

Justiciarius Damnatus took "false causes" for "siluer" and "robbed religion", but God knows the "hart and Thought", hence this "Justiciarius" is in hell, he says, paying the penalty for

his sins.

Marcator Damnatus says: "Body and Soule together now I see". "All stinketh full of sinne". He purchased "landes" falsely, swore falsely and was guilty of unjust sale of "Marchandyze". He never went to Church, and his place of torture in hell is "In the devilles Belly".

Finilis Lamentationibus mortuorum, descendet Iesus, quasi in nube, si fieri poterit. Quia secundum Doctorum Opiniones in Aere prope terram indicabit filius Dei. Stabunt Angeli eum Cruce, Corona Spinea, lancea, aliis-que Instrumentis, omnia demonstrantes.

Ihesus speaks: "I am here to judge, to do Righteousness". He then tells them all the sufferings He endured for sinners: He shed His blood; He suffered at the hands of the Jews; He was rent from head to foot. He closes with "And se my Blood fresh out flee that I bledd on rode tree for your Saluation". (Tunc emittet Sanguinem de Latere suo) "How could you do amiss at sight of My Blood?"

Papa Saluatus, Imperator Saluatus, Rex Saluatus, Regina Saluata all acknowledge their guilt. Ihesus welcomes them into His kingdom: "Come hither to me, my Darlings, dere", reward take for deeds of mercy". He then tells them that they clothed Him, they fed Him, they gave Him drink and shelter. Papa Saluatus and Imperator Saluatus cannot remember ever having done such deeds of mercy to Jesus. Ihesus tells them that when they clothed the naked, and fed the poor, they performed these deeds of mercy to Himself. Then He calls the angels to take His chosen ones into "Bliss". Angelus Primus will do this willingly. Angelus Secundus knows which "bodies" to take.

(Tunc Angeli cantabunt euntes ac renientes "Laetamini in Domino vel Salvator mundi Domine" † tunc omnes Salvati eos sequentur, Postea venient Demones quorum primus dicat).

Demon Primus says: "I'll prove these men for mine". He calls upon the "Righteous Judge" to pass sentence upon the Pope first, because he knew the right from the wrong, but did not do the right; the emperor second, because he was guilty of heresy; the "Kings and Quene" next, because they gave no alms.

Demon Secundus calls upon Jesus to relinquish all claims upon these who have done "amys". He demands that they be judged according to the 27th verse of the 16th chapter of St. Matthew. He declares that he can speak Latin, and to prove it he recites: "Filius hominis venturus est in gloria patris sui cum Angelis suis, et tunc reddet unicuiquam secundum Opus suum". He tells the Damnatos that he cannot find one good deed to their credit.

Demon Primus turns to Jesus: "You said that at the day of judgment the angels would separate the good from the bad. I will rehearse the words to the clerks here present: "Sic erit in Consummatione Seculi; exhibunt Angeli et separabunt malos de medio instorum, et mittent eos in Caminum Ignis, ubi erit Fletus et Stridor Dentium". (Math. XIII, 49,50). Jesus is forced to condemn them for their refusal to perform deeds of mercy to Him.

Papa Damnatos and Imperator Damnatos cannot remember when they refused to clothe Jesus or to give Him shelter and food. Demon Primus is anxious to take them to hell to be "delivered never" but Demon Secundus reminds him that there are "tewes mo" to be taken; namely, the "Justice" for his falsehood, and the "Marchant".

(Tunc Demones exportabunt eos et venient Evangelistae).⁹ The four evangelists speak the closing words. They agree that condemnation is just, and the condemned souls deserve it. The play closes in the usual way with "Laus maxima omnipotente".

Summary of Antichrist and Doomsday. The Chester "Antichrist" follows the traditional Antichrist very closely. It has all the salient points; namely, his sinful origin, his pride, his power to win souls to himself, through his devilish arts, his desire and power to rule. He gains the kings of the world and enriches their domains. At the summit of his power, Gabriel kills him with his flaming sword. The false prophet, the Antichrist's inseparable companion is represented in the Chester "Doctor". Enoch and Elias preach to the people, are killed by the Antichrist, and rise again to be assumed into heaven. In general structure, the Chester "Antichrist" is similar to the Antichrist scenes in the Perugian "Anticristo". In both of these plays, Antichrist makes his first appearance in the strength of his manhood.

There is a striking analogy between the climax scene in the Chester play and the climax scene in the Perugian "Anticristo". In both scenes, while the Archangel is killing the Antichrist with a sword of fire, he is upbraiding the deceiver for misleading the people and leading souls away from God. He explains to Antichrist that it is by God's express command that he is killing him. Then he calls the demons to take Satan's representative to hell. The only difference between the two lies in the brevity of the statements in the Italian play and the lengthy statements in the English play.

The "Doomsday" is markedly like the Last Judgment scenes of the Italian "Anticristo". The angels blow their trumpets; all souls come to judgment and the judgment proceeds in the same general manner. Christ addresses the world of souls before Him. He tells them why He has come. Then He recounts all his sufferings for sinners, and shows his five wounds. In the Italian play, He says, "Behold the wounds still fresh". Then He calls attention to the instruments of his cruel passion. In the Chester play, Jesus explains why He has come, and after calling attention to the instruments of His passion and to His five wounds, He says, "And se my Blood fresh out flee that I bledd on rode tree for your Saluation". (Tunc emittet Sanguinem de Latere suo). "How could you do amiss at sight of My blood?" There is this note before the appearance of Jesus:

"Finilis Lamentationibus mortuorum, descendet Iesus, quasi in nube, si fieri poterit. Quia secundum Doctorum Opiniones in Aere prope terram indicabit filius Dei. Stabunt Angeli eum Cruce, Corona Spinea, lancea, aliisque Instrumentis, omnia demonstrantes".

The judgment proceeds: the just are rewarded by Christ for doing deeds of mercy to His suffering members in His person; the wicked are condemned for neglecting to minister unto Christ in the person of His poor and afflicted; the angels take the Just to heaven amidst great rejoicing; the wicked are forced into hell by demons.

There is one characteristic in the Italian Last Judgment that we do not find in the English, "Domesday"; namely, the appeal of the Damned to the Blessed Virgin. This may be accounted for on the basis of the emotional devotion of the Italians to the

Mother of God. Or, perhaps, it was inserted to teach a lesson; this fruitless appeal to the Blessed Virgin taught the sinner that even this powerful Queen could not obtain for the sinner a remittal of just punishment for sins wilfully committed. The English temperament, not so emotional as the Italian, immediately saw the theological unsoundness of such an appeal and accordingly left it out. The English, thus, keep closer to the liturgical "Antichrist" and "Last Judgment" by leaving this appeal out.

In both plays the apostles are present to assist in passing the final sentence; in the Italian, the twelve; and in Chester, the four evangelists.

The metre and the style are the same throughout the Chester "Antichrist" and "Doomsday". Their division into two parts is a natural one if they were to be acted as scenes, or pageants in a grand Corpus Christi play.¹ They are part of the total piece and go back to a simple original in which they were combined.

The York "Judgment Day"² follows the same structural lines as does the Chester "Doomsday".

Content of
York
"Judgment Day"

The persons of the play are:

1, 2, 3 Angelus	1, 2 Apostolus
1, 2 Anima Bona	1, 2, 3 Diabolus
1, 2 Anima Mala	Deus

Deus rehearses His creation of the world. He sent His Son, who shed His blood for sinners; He harrowed hell; after all He has done for men, he finds irrepentant souls:

1. Craig, H., *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 13:589.
2. Smith, P. 497 ff.

"Sethan haue thei founde me full of mercye,
Full of grace and for-giffenesse,
And thei als wrecchis, witterly,
Has ledde ther liffe in lithirnesse.
Ofte haue thei greued me greuously,
Thus haue thei quitte me my kyndinesse,
Ther-fore no lenger, sekirlye,
Thole will I there wikkednesse".

The angels blow the trumpets to call all souls to judgment. Deus orders the angels to separate the Good Souls from the Bad Souls. Then the Primus Angel bids all rise and "fecche youre flessh". The second angel summons all to justice. The souls all rise. The Good Souls ask for mercy; the bad ones shudder at the sound of "this hydous horne". The angels separate the good from the bad, and Jesus immediately comes to earth, in the flesh, to sit in judgment.

In the second scene the apostles hear the voice of Jesus calling th them to come and help Him judge the world. The three devils prepare to fight for the bad souls, their property.

Christ rehearses the story of redemption, and shows His five sacred wounds. He rewards the good for their deeds of mercy done to himself in the person of His creatures. He condemns the wicked because they did not minister to His poor and needy; they did not see God in His creatures; "Et sic facit finem cum melodia angelorum transiens a loco ad locum".

In this play, and in the Italian "Final Guidicio", there is the same musical effect carried out, - "melodia angelorum transiens a loco ad locum".

/, Smith, Lines 41-88.

Content
of
"Juditium"

The "Juditium"¹ is similar to the York "Judgment Day", being in fact, one and the same play. In a comparison of the two plays, many passages are exactly parallel. The opening lines of the "Juditium" are lost; in all probability, over one hundred lines are gone, for the seventeenth line of the "Juditium" is almost a fac-simile of the one hundred and forty-fifth line in the York "Judgment Day", and from this point about forty lines of each play are similar, not only in thought but also in wording. There is an extra devil-scene in the "Juditium" between a "Tutivillus" and the demons. A good soul speaks the closing lines, thus giving a fitting close to the play. As usual in Last Judgment Plays, music is heard, and so this play closes with "Te Deum Laudamus".

Content of
Ludus Coventriae
"Doomsday"

This play² begins with a stage direction:
"Hic incipit dies Judicii, et Jhesu descendente cum Michaele et Gabriele Archangeletis Michaelus dicet, etc." Michael opens the play with,
"Surgite! alle men aryse, Venite ad Judicium!" Gabriel summons all to come, from the pope down to the devils in hell. "ffor all your dedys here xal be sene, opynly in syght", he tells them. The judgment proceeds in the same set Judgment Play fashion based upon deeds of mercy done in the name of Jesus. The closing lines of the play are missing.

¹Marriott, English Miracle - Plays, p. 173.

²Ludus Coventriae, ed. by J.O. Halliwell, p. 401.

Summary
of
the three
isolated
Judgment Day
Plays.

The York "Judgment Day" follows closely the second part of the 13th century Perugian Antichrist Play. And, too, there is an allusion to Antichrist in the "Transfiguration" pageant.¹ Elias says:

"Itt is Goddis will þat we þou wys
Of his werkis as is worthy,
I haue my place in Paradise,
Ennok my brodyr me by
Als messenger withouten mys
Am I called to this company
To witnesse þat goddis sone is þis,
Euyñ with hym mette and all myghty.
To dede we wer nocht dight,
But quyk we come,
With Antecrist for to fight,
Beffore þe day of dome".

In both plays, the York and the Perugian, the angels call the souls to judgment; Christ tells the souls that it is only just to have the final judgment before the whole world; He calls the apostles, who have forsaken all the world's honors and goods, to come and to help Him judge the world; Christ shows His sacred wounds and tells how He has suffered and how indulgent He has been to sinners. The basis for the division of good souls and bad souls is the same; viz., the doing of deeds of mercy and charity in the name of Jesus. The good are rewarded and the bad condemned. Both plays close in the same way; the blessed ones ascend to heaven from whence issue angelic harmonies.

The general structural similarities which characterize the Towneley "Juditium" and the York "Judgment Day" show plainly that the two plays developed from a common liturgical source. Miss Lyle says: not only from a common liturgical source, but also from a common vernacular source.² The one difference between the two plays

¹ Smith, 188. 11. 109-120.

² Lyle, Marie C., The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles p. 3, 100.

is the scene in which Tutivillus appears; this scene is in "Juditium" and is without doubt a later development.

The stage direction "Hic incipit dies Judicii", at the beginning of the Ludus Coventriae "Doomsday" seems to point to an introductory pageant very closely connected in subject-matter to the Last Judgment. It is hardly probable that after the beautiful scene of the Blessed Virgin's Assumption that the beholders would be plunged into last judgment scenes. And furthermore, Halliwell¹ says that the "Assumption" pageant is inserted in a hand of the time of Henry VIII.¹ It is in a different hand from that of the rest of the cycle and is different in tone and much more elaborate than any of the other plays.²

Mr. Craig gives us a normal Corpus Christi play which was played on St. Anne's Day. In this play the "Assumption" is in its appropriate place; the order being, "Noah, a play containing kings, an Ascension, and an Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin."³

As the English cycles stand, it is evident that there was a borrowing of plays, and it is probable that in order to complete the cycle merely a Domesday Play was borrowed and not an "Anti-christ". Therefore, Chester alone represents the perfect stage. This would point to its greater age in accordance with tradition, and would indicate the method in which cycles were built. Cycle-building was a definite conscious literary act, though the materials employed were in large part already at hand in the various

¹Ludus Coventriae or Coventry, Mysterus, ed. by J.O. Halliwell, p. 393.

²Swenson, Esther L., An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae, p. 60.

³Craig, H., University of Minnesota, Studies in Language and Literature, 1:78.

places where cycles were formed.

Conclusions.

Possible
Conclusion
I.

The Chester Cycle is the only one theologically complete and therefore represents an ancient situation and a correct situation from the point of view of theological development. The plays are in meter and style also of one piece.

Conclusion
II.

The other three Judgment Plays are of one type, and obviously put in their respective places to give a proper conclusion to their respective cycles.

Final Conclusion.

The Antichrist and Last Judgment theme is found united in the liturgy of Advent; the norm for the Antichrist and Last Judgment play of Mediaeval times is found in the liturgy of the Saturday Mass of the third week of Advent. In Italy, the Antichrist or Last Judgment theme remained united in sacred drama. In Germany, the theme is found united in sacred drama, being disunited only when Antichrist was taken out of his setting for purposes of revelry or to exploit prejudice. In England, the theme remained united in the one theologically complete cycle, the Chester Cycle.

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