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The Theme of the 'Penitent Damned' and its Relation to *Beowulf* and *Christ and Satan*

Robert J. Hasenfratz

Some readers of *Beowulf* have felt sorry for Grendel – but why? Grendel is after all of the brood of Cain, a ravager, murderer, and a cannibal. The poet depicts him as a hideous monster with eyes like fire and steel-sharp talons. On the face of it, there seems very little to pity in a ghoul like Grendel, especially if we picture him as pure beast. Many scholars, however, have claimed sympathetic qualities for him.

In 'Alas, Poor Grendel' Robert Chapman writes that 'Where one would expect an assured, unequivocal condemnation of the manslayer, one finds instead a curious ambivalence. The poet execrates the monster, yet feels and expresses sympathy for him'.[1] Chapman goes on to suggest that the *Beowulf* poet (as a Pelagian) had 'an incomplete commitment to the doctrine of Providence' – that the poet is, more or less, on Grendel's side.

Joseph L. Baird stresses Grendel's dual role as monster and exile and concludes that it is as an exile that Grendel commands the sympathies of men: 'Grendel's condition as man-exile [is] a condition which would have entered into the deepest feelings of the Germanic audience'.[2] Further, in 'Monster-Man in *Beowulf*', S. L. Dragland finds the monster Grendel somewhat human, but also the human Beowulf somewhat monstrous: 'Admitting the primacy of the monstrous, repugnant aspect of Grendel and the other monsters, then, more might be made of their human associations, and of the heathen, monstrous side of human beings in *Beowulf*'.[3]

In a similar vein, Margaret Bridges finds a certain kind of sympathetic quality in the Satan of *Christ and Satan*. He has become a figure of pathos like the exiled warrior in *The Wanderer*:

> From having been coextensive with God, the speaker [Satan] has put himself in the position of the Wanderer, who wistfully

> recalls how he 'kissed and embraced his lord, laying hands and head on his knee' . . . . Is there not a sense in which this exile, for all his plaintiveness and lack of heroic affirmation, shows us that not only a heroic Lucifer provides an opportunity for imaginative identification?[4]

The pathos of Satan in exile – in contrast to his heroic qualities – represents another way of rousing the audience's interest in the character.[5]

One way to explain these sympathetic readings of patently evil characters is to declare them plainly wrong-headed – modern sensibilities foisted upon medieval phenomena. The alternative – that something in the text and its historical setting may be conditioning these sympathetic responses – is the subject of this paper.

Some Anglo-Saxon homilists show the damned suffering gruesome physical and mental agonies and actually undergoing a sort of belated penitence in hell for their sins on earth – a penitence, however, which can bring no absolution. The situation represents what might be called the theme of the 'penitent damned'. The message is, roughly, that one must not postpone remorse for one's sins: one must do penance in this life or be forced to do eternal penance in the next.

Such is the substance, I believe, of a warning about hell in a homily contained in Cambridge, University Library Ii.1.33:[6]

> Hwæt, þær manig earm man secð georne, & him wisceð deaþes ende. & hi hwæðere þær næfre sweltan ne magon, & þær hig woldan dædbote don heora synna, ac hym þær nan behreowsung ne gefultumað forþan hi noldan ær nane don þa hig on þisum life wæron swa swa we nu syndon, & hig þa mihton eaþe gescyldan wið þyllic wite gif hig woldan.
> [Lo, there (*sc.* in hell) many a lost man seeks eagerly the end of death and wishes it upon himself, but nevertheless they are never permitted to die, and there (*sc.* in hell) they want to do penance for their sins, but there repentance gives them no help because they did not want to do any before when they were in this life just as we are now, and they could have easily protected themselves from such torture if they had wanted.]

The damned will actually be repentant, but it is a repentance that brings no help or

absolution since they had no change of heart before, during their life on earth.

Homily IX of the Vercelli collection contains a similar statement:

> Wa þam mannum þe beoð geteohhode to ðære stowe, forðan þær is wop buton frofre 7 hreownes buton reste 7 þær bið þeowdom buton freodome 7 þær bið unrotnys buton gefean 7 þær bið biternys buton swetnysse 7 þær bið hungor 7 þurst 7 þær bið granung 7 geomrung 7 micel wroht. 7 hi wepað heora synna swiðe biterlicum tearum. 7 on heom sylfum beoð ealle heora synna gesene, þa ðe hi ær geworhton, 7 ne mæg nan oðres gehelpan. Ac hi þonne onginnað singan swiðe sorhfulne sang 7 swiðe wependre stemne.
>
> [Woe to the men who are ordered to that place (*sc.* hell) for there is weeping without consolation and repentance (or penitence) without rest and there is servitude without freedom and there is contrition without joy and there is bitterness without sweetness and there is hunger and thirst and there is groaning and sadness and great reproach. And they bewail their sins with bitter tears, and all their sins, which they did before, are made manifest to themselves, and no other person can help. But then they begin to sing a sorrowful song, with a very weeping voice.][7]

The key phrases here are 'hreownes buton reste' and 'unrotnys buton gefean'. *Hreownes* generally means 'contrition, penitence, or repentance', and thus is important in the vocabulary of penance; *unrotnys* usually means 'sadness' but can also take on penitential overtones when it denotes 'contrition'.[8] The question is whether or not *hreownes* and *unrotnys* have the more generalized meaning of 'remorse' or 'sadness' or whether they carry the more technical, penitential meaning. The close proximity of two words common to penitential vocabulary might suggest that the technical meanings are a possibility and that the damned are indeed penitent in the same way as those described in Cambridge U.L. Ii.1.33 are. In fact, the homilist clearly says that the damned 'bewail their sins with very bitter tears and all their sins are made manifest to them'.

Further evidence is contained in the phrase 'wependre stemne'. Vercelli IX shows the damned here groaning bitterly for their sins with a 'weeping voice', just as penitents were encouraged to do. The prologue to the Old English version of the

Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert, for example, says that when a man goes to his confessor, he should 'hine biddan *wependre stefne*, þæt he him dædbote tæce allra þæra gylte þe he ongean godes wyllan gedon hæbbe'.[9] [He should ask him *with a weeping voice* to teach him repentance for all the sins which he has committed against God's will.]

Weeping bitter tears for one's sins in hell can produce no result, however. For as the homilist warned a bit earlier, quoting the first penitential psalm (6. 5):[10]

> cwæð se sealmscop þurh Dryhtnes gife: 'Hwylc man is on deaðe þætte he sie Dryhtnes gemyndig, oððe hwylc is ðætte hyne on helle andette!' (p. 4, ll. 23-25)
> [The psalm-poet spoke through God's gift: 'What man is there in death that he is mindful of the Lord, or what man is there that can confess himself in hell?']

This theme is closely related to a widely-dispersed penitential motif surveyed by M. R. Godden.[11] Godden summarizes the basic elements of the motif in this way: 'it is better to be shamed before one man (the confessor) in this life than to be shamed before God and before all angels and before all men and before all devils at the Last Judgement'.[12] This passage, common to many Old English penitential homilies, suggests the possibility of a kind of repentance after Judgement Day. The pains of shaming one's self before a confessor (one man) are like the pains of having one's sins revealed before all creation at Judgement Day. But though they are outwardly alike in their remorse and pain, penitence in hell can accomplish no change (*emendatio*), but has become a means of torture (*poena*). The process of penance continues, but arrives at no end.

At first, perhaps, it may seem incredible that the damned could be penitent in the same way that a not-yet-dead believer could. A passage in *Juliana*, however, confirms that it is possible for even a demon to perform some acts of 'penance' (i.e. some sort of contrition and confession) – though, of course, absolution is impossible. As Robert C. Rice points out St Juliana, by virtue of her spiritual prowess, captures one of the demons attempting to torment her in prison and makes him 'confess' ('ondettan', l. 456) a long series of crimes. Juliana plays the role of forceful confessor, while the demon (as 'penitent') reveals more and more about his sins.[13] Like the damned in Vercelli IX, this demon is also tortured by sorrow: 'Ongan þa hreowcearig/ siðfæt seofian, sar cwanian,/ wyrd wanian' [The penitent

one then began to mourn his journey, lament his sorrow, bemoan his fate] (ll. 536-38).

Other poems and homilies contain elements related to this theme. *Christ III* describes at length the three sorrows of the damned, while in Vercelli XV, the wailings of the lost are so poignant that St Peter cannot bear to look on them. He faces away as he throws the key into hell: 'Ðis he deð forðam þe he ne mæg locian on ðæt mycle sar 7 on ðam myclan wanunge 7 on ðam myclan wope þe þa earman sawla dreogað mid ðam deoflum in helletintrego' [He does this because he cannot look on the great sorrow and on the great wailing and on the weeping which the wretched souls suffer with the devils in hell-torment].[14] The examples could be multiplied from a number of Pseudo-Wulfstanian homilies as well as others in the Vercelli collection.

The *Visio Pauli* is surely the main inspiration if not the direct source for such ideas about the damned.[15] In a notorious passage, the damned weep, in unison with St Michael and St Paul, for a reprieve. Christ allows them rest from their tortures (*pena*) on every Sunday until the Judgement Day. Immediately following the reprieve, Christ blesses Paul and gives him a commandment: 'Tunc benedixit dominus Paulum beatum, et dixit ad eum ut predicaret omni populo ueram confessionem et ueram penitenciam, ne intrarent in illas penas'[16] [Then the lord blessed St Paul and said to him that he should preach true confession and true penitence to all people, so that they not enter into these pains]. Such patently heretical material has a serious purpose. The listener is to have true confession and true penitence rather than the 'late' confession and penitence of the sufferers in hell. The text may emphasize this point by juxtaposing 'penitenciam' with 'penas'. The listeners must exercise *penitencia* nor or suffer it (in the form of *pena*) later on.

The Old English materials we have been surveying, however, remain within the bounds of orthodoxy by stressing that sorrow after death can produce no reprieve. But interestingly, the standard Old English word for the damned is not *awiergda*, the translation of the usual Latin term *damnatus*. Instead, in the terminology of the homilies, *earm* (wretched, miserable, pitiable one; see modern German *arm*) is the normal way of referring to the damned, perhaps in part because it alliterates with *eadig*, the blessed or saved.

In much of Anglo-Saxon writing, then, the damned are sad creatures (*earman*), wracked by guilt and even genuine remorse. As I hope to show, sympathetic readings of Grendel and Satan may not be unfounded especially if their depiction is related in some general way to the theme of the 'penitent damned'.

In so far as Grendel and Satan suffer 'penance' in this way, one might expect them to take on sympathetic, human qualities, especially if the purpose of showing their agony is to alert the Christian audience of its own likely peril. Indeed, one of the most striking human characteristics of both Satan and Grendel is their depiction as exiles.[17] In 'Figures of Evil in Old English Poetry', Joyce Hill notes that all figures of evil are exiles in a sense. They are banished from the heavenly comitatus: 'although the poets conformed closely to the Christian tradition, they were yet able to convey the nature of the sinners' perversion with great vividness through their exploitation of the secular *topoi* of *comitatus* and exile'.[18] By introducing the element of exile from Germanic experience, the poets make an attempt to reach their audiences with 'an easily comprehensible illustration' of evil.[19]

Moreover, as Joseph Baird claims in 'Grendel the Exile', the exile theme also introduces a certain kind of pathos:

> the theme of man-exile, in agreement with the enemy of God images, would likely bring up associations of repulsion and hatred, for the outlaw was often a dangerous, desperate man who had committed some violent act. But it also, incongruously perhaps, called up the emotions of pity and fear. The mere mention of Grendel as man-exile would have engaged emotions contradictory to those aroused by Grendel as *wiht*.[20]

One need only think of the pathetic scenes of exile in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* where the homeless castaways dwell at length on the misery of their lordless states. The pathos of isolation is the key to the elegiac nature of these poems. David Williams stresses that Grendel is an exile because of his lineage: God punished his ancestor Cain specifically by making him an exile.[21]

Both Satan and Grendel are called *aglæca*. This word has perhaps one of the most contested etymologies in the corpus of Old English vocabulary.[22] What seems certain is that it possesses several meanings ranging from 'monster' to 'warrior' to 'wretch'. I suggest that particularly when it is used in conjunction with *earm* ('pitiable, wretched, lost'), *æglæca* takes on some of the meanings of its near relative *æglac*, which according to Bosworth-Toller is defined as 'misery, grief, trouble, vexation, sorrow, torment'. So that 'earm æglæca' (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 70, 446, 578, 712) might have 'pitiful, sorrowful wretch' as one among its range of meanings. This shade of meaning would agree with the generally sad natures of both Grendel and Satan, though the word *earm* does not occur together with

æglæca in *Beowulf*. Perhaps *æglæca* can contain both meanings ('monster' and 'wretch' or 'sufferer') at the same time. If so, it could indicate a mingling of horror and pity.

In homilies and poems which represent the penitent damned, pity for the damned has definite bounds, and I do not suggest that the poets of *Christ and Satan* or *Beowulf* somehow attempt to gloss slyly over the crimes of Satan and Grendel. After all, both demons are justly condemned to hell. In fact, in both poems, the heinousness of their crimes co-exists with pity for their suffering so that each poem offers a twofold, shifting image of its villain – just as the word *æglæca* seems to do. When they suffer, both Satan and Grendel command a certain amount of sympathy as human-like characters. When they appear as sinners (Satan as tempter or Grendel as mad ravager), however, both become gruesome and bestial.[23]

In a sense, it is natural for a poet to depict a demon in the act of challenging God as a repulsive figure, or the suffering demon as somehow human-like. Both imply a didactic stance: the demon who suffers must be enough like a human being to draw the human audience into the emotional drama of sin – to inspire the right attitude of sorrow when the audience's vision turns inward. The demon who appears as the enemy of God must, on the other hand, repel.

I

It may sound odd to propose that Satan could become an object of pity in Christian poetry. The idea of Satan as a repulsive man-beast (as in the Harrowing of Hell scene in the Tiberius Psalter – Cotton Tiberius C.vi. fol. 14 – for example), complete with claws fangs, and horns is certainly part of the main-stream Christian view of Satan. Yet *Christ and Satan* seems to work by holding up a largely pathetic view of Satan, whose own sorrow at his lot forms part of the poem's scheme to induce the same sorrow in its audience. In an odd way, the listeners are to identify with Satan. However, when he appears as proprietor of hell or as tempter, Satan becomes more repulsive.

In this sense, *Christ and Satan* has affinities to the theme of the 'penitent damned'. One of the ways in which the poem accomplishes its goal is to present Satan (especially in the first section) as a wretched, pitiable sufferer – a conquered, human-like adversary, not a fiend. Thus, Satan resembles in many ways the remorseful damned in homilies like Vercelli IX and XV, Napier XXIX (among others), as well as *Christ III*.

The Satàn of section one resembles this profile closely. He bemoans several times the tortures of hell:

> Ðis is ðeostræ ham ðearle gebunden
> fæstum fyrclommum; flor is on welme,
> attre onæled. Nis nu ende feor
> þæt we sceolun ætsomne susel þrowian,
> wean and wergu.
>
> (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 38-42)
>
> [This is a dark home, bound severely with heavy fetters of fire; the bottom is aflame, kindled with venom. The end is now not far off when we must suffer torment together, woes and suffering.]

And again,

> Hwæt, her hat and ceald hwilum mencgað;
> hwilum ic gehere hellescealcas,
> gnornende cynn, grundas mænan
> niðer under næssum; hwilum nacode men
> winnað ymb wyrmas. Is þes windiga sele[24]
> eall inneweard atole gfylled.
>
> (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 131-36)
>
> [Behold! here hot and cold sometimes mix; sometimes I hear hell's minions, the mourning race, bemoan the abysses, down under the cliffs; sometimes naked men struggle with dragons. This windy hall – inside, it is all filled with horror.]

Here Satan is the tortured, not the torturer. The direct speech helps to reinforce the fearsome and pitiable nature of Satan's sufferings. The demons too are no longer wicked minions, but that 'mourning race'.

Like the damned of *Christ III* and Vercelli XV, Satan cannot hide the shame of his sin. He laments, 'Is ðæs walica ham wites afylled;/ nagan we ðæs heolstres þæt we us gehydan mægon/ in ðissum neowlan genipe' [This woeful home – it is filled with punishment; we have no refuge where we might hide ourselves in this obscure darkness] (ll. 99-101). Further, Satan clearly recognizes that it was his sin, his desire to own the glory of heaven[25] that brought him to hell:

Þa ic in mode minum hogade
þæt ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman,
bearn helendes, agan me burga gewald
eall to æhte, and ðeos earme heap
þe ic hebbe to helle ham geledde.
Wene þæt tacen sutol þa ic aseald wes on wærgðu
(*Christ and Satan*, ll. 84-89)

[Then I in my mind thought that I would throw over the light of glory, the Son of the Saviour, own for myself the power of the forts completely as a possession, as well as this poor troop, which I have led to hell-home. I understand it as a clear sign since I was given into tortures.]

For similar admissions, see ll. 122-24, 186-87, and 228-30. In this Satan is quite different from other Satans in Old English poetry. In *Genesis B*, for example, Satan never admits his guilt, remaining resolute in the manner of Milton's Satan. He claims that 'Nis me wihtæ þearf/ hearran to habbanne' [There is no need at all for me to have a lord] (*Genesis B*, ll. 278-79).[26] He never admits to having done wrong: 'he [God] us ne mæg ænige synne gestælan,/ þæt we him on þam lande lað gefremedon' [He cannot accuse us of any sin that we performed loath against him in that land] (*Genesis B*, ll. 391-92). Unlike the rebel Satan of *Genesis B*, the Satan of *Christ and Satan* both recognizes and to some extent sorrows for his sin (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 181-88).[27] He regrets having tumbled his poor companions (the 'earme heap') into hell.

Finally, like the sinners in *Christ III*, Satan is tortured by the bliss of heaven. Here Satan is not so much forced to look upon the saved as to remember his once glorious position in heaven. In fact, this is the strongest thematic emphasis in the first section and the source of Satan's remorse. Many passages bear it out, but perhaps the most dramatic one comes in his third lament:

Ne mot ic hihtlicran hames brucan,
burga ne bolda, ne on þa beorhtan gesceaft
ne mot ic æfre ma eagum starian.
Is me nu wyrsa þæt ic wuldres leoht
uppe mid englum æfre cuðe,
song on swegle, þær sunu meotodes
habbað eadigne bearn ealle ymbfangen

seòlfa mid sange.

(*Christ and Satan*, ll. 137-44)

[Nor might I enjoy a more joyful home, forts or buildings, nor on bright creation may I ever more look with my eyes. It is now for me worse that I ever knew the light of glory up with the angels, song in the heaven, where the Son of the Measurer himself has encompassed the happy man all about with song.]

The bright joys of heaven are here portrayed in Germanic terms (*ham* 'home', *burg* 'castle, fort', *bold* 'building, hall'), and it is not surprising to find an elegiac tone running throughout the poem. Satan is excluded from the warm circle of the heavenly comitatus, and he appears explicitly as an exile in the lament beginning at line 163. This remarkable section begins with an emotionally-charged series of *Eala* phrases which resemble similar series in *The Wanderer*[28] and in Blickling Homily VIII, which has connections with the elegies.[29]

Eala drihtenes þrym! Eala duguða helm!
Eala meotodes miht! Eala middaneard!
Eala dæg leohta! Eala dream godes!
Eala engla þreat! Eala upheofon!
Eala þæt ic eam ealles leas ecan dreames.

(*Christ and Satan*, ll. 164-67)

[Alas the Lord's glory! Alas, the protector of the troop! Alas, the Measurer's might! Alas, middle earth! Alas, the day of lights! Alas, the joy of God! Alas, the throng of angels! Alas, high heaven! Alas, that I am utterly deprived of eternal joy.]

An element of pathos normally associated with the elegies enters into the depiction of Satan in this lament. He says that he is separated from the bright troop (l. 176) and traces his downfall to his lack of loyalty to his Lord (ll. 180-84). Satan refers twice to his exiled state: 'sceal nu wreclastas/ settan sorhcearig, siðas wide' [Sorrowful, I must now set off on the exile-tracks, wide journeys] (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 187-88; see also l. 257).

The language here is similar to that in *The Wanderer*'s opening lines:

Oft him anhaga are gebideþ,
Metodes miltse, þeah þe he mod-cearig

geond lagulade longe scolde
hreran mid handum hrimcealde sæ,
wadan wræclastas.
(*The Wanderer*, ll. 1-5)
[Often the solitary one experiences favour, the Measurer's mercy, although he, a sorrowful one, must stir with hands the frost-cold sea, wander the exile-tracks.]

Though the Wanderer has the expectation of God's mercy, Satan has none. Otherwise, both are sad ('sorhcearig' and 'modcearig') and both travel the 'wræclastas'.[30]

The depiction of Satan in this first section implies an attitude toward sin which the audience is invited to accept in two homiletic sections. In the first one, Satan is an explicit exemplum:[31]

Forþan sceal gehycgan hæleða æghwylc
þæt he ne abælige bearn waldendes.
Læte him to bysne hu þa blacan feond
for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon.
Neoman us to wynne weoroda drihten,
uppe ecne gefean, engla waldend.
(*Christ and Satan*, ll. 193-98)
[Thus every man should consider that he not enrage the Son of the Ruler. Let it be a lesson to him how the black enemies utterly perished for pride. Let us take the Lord of hosts as our joy, the eternal joy up above, the Ruler of angels.]

The poet asks the audience here and in the following lines to accept the brightness and joy of heaven's ruler and to avoid the sufferings of Satan. The image of heaven which follows is in distinct contrast to hell: 'hihtlicra ham' [more joyful home] (*Christ and Satan*, l. 214, also used by Satan in l. 137) in contrast to the 'ðeostræ ham' [dark home] of hell (*Christ and Satan*, l. 38).

The second homiletic passage (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 279-314) begins by taking a warning from the sorrowing demons' example:

Swa gnornedon godes andsacan
hate on helle. Him wæs hælend god

wrað geworden for womcwidum.
Forþon mæg gehycgan, se ðe his heorte deah,
þæt he him afirre frecne geþohtas,
laðe leahtras, lifigendra gwhwylc.
(*Christ and Satan*, ll. 279-84)

[Thus God's adversaries grieved, hot in hell. God the Saviour had become angry with them for their blasphemy. Therefore, each of the living should consider, whoever wishes to avail his heart, that he keep himself far from perilous thoughts, loathsome vices.]

The example of Satan should give pause to every living soul. Like Satan, the audience should mourn their sins – only they should do so now, not when mourning will be of no avail. The reward will be great. In place of fiery hell, the poet presents again a picture of the bright home of heaven, the 'trumlic ham' [glorious home] (*Christ and Satan*, l. 293), where instead of being 'dreamum bedelde' [cut off from joys] (*Christ and Satan*, l. 68) like Satan, the saved are 'sorgum bedælde' [cut off from sorrows] (*Christ and Satan*, l. 295).

As the accursed demons sink into hell, the tone is one of sorrow (ll. 319, 331 ff.), and the cries 'hlude and geomre' [loud and sad] (*Christ and Satan*, l. 339) of the damned spirits resemble the lamentable sound of the damned in Vercelli XV.[32] Again, however, this vision of hell is immediately contrasted with the brightness of heaven (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 348-64).

As the section closes, the poet tells us that Satanus (formerly the bright star-bearer Lucifer) is actually sorry for his sin, using a word ('gehreaw') with penitential overtones:

Þa Satanus swearte geþohte
þæt he wolde on heofonum hehseld wyrcan
uppe mid þam ecan. Þæt wæs ealdor heora,
yfeles ordfruma. Him þæt eft gehreaw,
þa he to helle hnigan sceolde.
(*Christ and Satan*, ll. 370-74)

[Then Satan thought darkly that he would construct a high hall in heaven, up above with the Eternal One: that was their leader, the prince of evil. He repented of that afterward when he had to sink into hell.]

If the audience are to take Satan's fate as a warning, they must be able to feel the sorrow that he feels at being eternally damned. They must repent of their sins beforehand ('ær'),[33] as Satan does too late.

The closing lines of the poem bring this idea home vividly. As he gropes along the floor of hell, attempting to measure its hopelessly large expanse, his fellow demons curse him: 'La, þus beo nu on yfele! Noldæs ær tealа!' [Lo, be thus now in misery! you did not want (to act) rightly before] (*Christ and Satan*, l. 729). This statement, seemingly a reproach for Satan, is aimed directly at the audience – Satan's fate will befall them if they do not do well in this life. In phraseology, it is similar to the admonishment about hell in Cambridge, U.L. Ii.1.33., where the damned did not want to do any penance: 'hi noldan ær nane don'.[34] Both here and in *Christ and Satan*, the word 'ær' hints at a double time frame: the Judgement Day (or the equivalent for Satan) plays itself out in the fictional present, while the real present is fictional past. By this device, the audience can without danger identify closely enough with Satan to take this admonishment for themselves.

We do see the other more bestial side of Satan in the closing sections of the poem, however – particularly in the temptation scene. When he takes Christ to the top of the temple, Satan seems much more frightening, dangerous, and less human:

> Þa he mid hondum genom
> atol þurh edwit, and on esle ahof,
> herm bealowes gast, and on beorh astah,
> asette on dune drihten hælend.
> (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 679-82)
> [Then horrible through scorn, he seized (Christ) with hands and lifted (him) to his shoulder, malicious spirit of evil, and climbed up onto the mountain, set down the Lord God.]

Instead of the mourning spirit, Satan becomes here the malicious spirit of evil (*Christ and Satan*, l. 681). The poet repeats 'atol' here and in l. 725, giving added emphasis to Satan's horrific nature. He is also the 'blac bealowes gast' (l. 718) [black spirit of evil].

The poem in general distances itself from Satan in this last section. The first person narration of the earlier sections generates a certain amount of sympathetic feeling. But Satan is not allowed to speak in the closing sections. He does not speak but he is spoken to and reprimanded by Christ as well as by the demons and described by the poet in his deepest debasement. Christ several times refers to him

especially in the temptation section as 'awyrgda' [accursed] (ll. 674, 690) which occurs seldom in the opening sections.

The Satan of *Christ and Satan* has two faces. On the one hand, as a sufferer, he takes on almost sympathetic, human-like characteristics. On the other hand, as a sinner and tempter, he becomes bestial and loathsome. The poem contains both views.

II

Though *Beowulf* is at a further remove from strictly hortatory homilies and poems than *Christ and Satan* is, Grendel nevertheless seems in some senses to take on the characteristics of the 'penitent damned'.[35] But like Satan (in *Christ and Satan*), he also has a horrific, bestial side.

In his sorrow, Grendel is like the penitent damned in the homiletic tradition. Admittedly, *Beowulf* is not a homily – though some perhaps harbour the secret wish that it were. Yet the poem contains some lines which seem very similar to those in the Old English hell homilies in both style and content. After the poet deplores the heathen practices of the Danes, for example, we hear a gnomic passage which sounds very familiar:

> Wa bið þæm ðe sceal
> þurh sliðne nið sawle bescufan
> in fyres fæþm, frofre ne wenan,
> wihte gewendan! Wel bið þæm þe mot
> æfter deaðdæge Drihten secean
> ond to Fæder fæþmum freoðo wilnian!
> (*Beowulf*, ll. 183-88)
> [Woe to him who must through cruel affliction thrust his soul into the embrace of fire, expect no comfort, nor any change at all. Happy is he who might seek the Lord after his dying day and ask for peace in the embrace of the Father.]

Almost every Anglo-Saxon homily on hell and the Last Judgement, it seems, uses a similar 'woe'-construction. A few examples should suffice to make the parallel clear. The passage from Vercelli IX quoted above begins with a 'woe' phrase which stresses (like that in *Beowulf*) the fact that there is no comfort or rest in hell. There

is another parallel from Vercelli IX: 'Wa bið þam sawlum þe on helle beon sceolon, forðan þe þæt hellehus is mid swiðe laðlicum gastum afylled' [Woe to the souls that must be in hell, because that hell house is filled with hideous spirits].[36] And again, 'Wa ðam sawlum þe þe ðær bion sculon' [Woe to the souls who must be there (i.e., in hell)].[37] Vercelli XV uses the phrase with reference to the horrors of each day preceding the Last Day: 'Wa ðam þe ðis eal sceal gebidan! Ðis sindon þæs feorðan dæges tacnu' [Woe to him who must suffer all this. These are the signs of the fourth day].[38] And in the positive from a homily in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201, pp. 78-80, 'Wel þam þonne þe Gode ær gecwemedan swa swa hi scoldan' [Happy are they then who pleased God before, as they should].[39] And in a homily edited by Fred C. Robinson, 'Wel is þam æfre to worulde þe on þere stowe wunian mot' [Happy is he forever who may dwell in that place (i.e. heaven)].[40] A homily edited by Bruno Assmann from CCCC 302 and Cotton Faustina A.ix contains a section relating to the Soul and Body materials which has the damned soul utter a series of 'Wa is me' phrases, while the saved soul blesses its body with a series of 'Wel þe' phrases.[41] Other such examples might be cited.

In phrasing similar to the *Beowulf* passage, *Christ III* warns that 'Earm bið se þe wile/ firenum gewyrcan, þæt he fah scyle . . . under helle cinn in þæt hate fyr' [He is poor (or lost) who wants to act in sin so that, fated, he must go into that hot fire among hell's progeny] (*Christ III*, ll. 1615-16, 1619). Napier XXX says that 'þurh ða ofermodignesse mære englas on heofonum wurdon geo forsceapene to atelicum deoflum and besceofene on helle grund' [through pridefulness, renowned angels in heaven were once deformed into horrific devils and thrust down into hell].[42]

The connection between *Beowulf* and Blickling Homily XVII makes more plausible the suggestion that other elements of the vernacular homiletic tradition may be echoed in *Beowulf*. It is known that the description of Grendel's lair (*Beowulf*, ll. 1357 ff.) is related in some way to a description of hell in Blickling Homily XVII, based in part on the *Visio Pauli*. But as Rowland Collins argues, it now seems possible, on the basis of stylistic evidence, that the *Beowulf* poet was influenced by the Blickling homily (in some form) rather than the other way around.[43] As Collins points out, such a relationship need not assume a late date for *Beowulf* if one considers these echoes to be part of tenth-century additions to a living poem. Charles Wright argues that both Blickling XVII and *Beowulf* share a common source related closely to a redaction of the *Visio Pauli*.[44] Both interpretations of the relationship between *Beowulf* and Blickling XVII suggest the possibility that the poet knew other homiletic materials, some of which came to be

gathered in the Blickling and Vercelli collections. However, since the *Visio Pauli* is clearly the ultimate source for this passage and for other motifs related to the penitent damned, one need not posit a late (or early) date for *Beowulf* since the *Visio* was known in Anglo-Saxon England at least from the time of Aldhelm and probably before.

Nevertheless, it would be rash to claim that Grendel is a strict allegorical representation of the damned soul or that the Grendel episode contains a homiletic treatment of the Last Judgement. Instead, one might suggest that the penitent damned motif reverberates throughout this section of *Beowulf*. The setting is not the same as in the homilies, which exploit the eschatological motifs for hortatory purposes. Grendel, nevertheless, bears a number of similarities to the penitent damned at Judgement Day or after death.

Both Grendel and the damned are sorrowful creatures. We are told specifically that Grendel is a 'wonsæli wer' [an unhappy man] (*Beowulf*, l. 105). The same word is used of the damned in *Christ III*, where the poet describes the third sorrow of the damned:

> Ðonne bið þæt þridde þearfendum sorg,
> cwiþende cearo, þæt hy on þa clænan seoð,
> hu hi fore goddædum glade blissiað,
> þa hy, unsælge, ær forhogdun
> to donne þonne him dagas læstun.
>
> (*Christ III*, ll. 1284-88)
>
> [Then the third sorrow for those needy ones, muttering in cares, is that they look on the pure, rejoicing gladly before their good deeds, which they, those unhappy (*unsælge*) ones, despised to do before, during their days on earth.]

Further, in Napier LX, the damned are called 'unsæligan yrmingas' for precisely the same reason:

> ða earman synfullan sceolon þonne sare aswæman fram ansyne ures drihtnes and ealre haligra and fram wlite and fram wuldre heofona rices and þanon gewiton in þa ecan tintegru helle wites.[45]
>
> [The wretched sinners must then very sorrowfully depart from the face of our Lord and of the saints and from the beauty and

the glory of the kingdom of heaven and go from thence into the eternal torture of hell-punishment.]

In both these cases, the damned are unhappy because of the joy of the blessed. Interestingly, Grendel's sorrow seems to have the same source. He is first roused to violence by the songs of joy and creation in Heorot. These joys of heaven cause him pain and unhappiness:

Ða se ellengæst earfoðlice
þrage geþolode, se þe in þystrum bad,
þæt he dogora gehwam dream gehyrde
hludne in healle.

(*Beowulf*, ll. 86-88)

[Then the foreign spirit suffered painfully (or sorrowfully) for a time, he who dwelt in darkness, because every day he heard joy loud in the hall.]

In some accounts of Last Judgement discussed by Rudolph Willard,[46] the damned souls are even made to go through the realms of the blessed, presumably to increase their sorrow at seeing the joys of the saved. This is the case in Napier XXIX, where the damned are forced to look at the joys of heaven before being thrown into the jaws of a gigantic dragon who spews them into the midst of hell.

Later, using language common to the elegies, the poet says that Grendel's journey to Heorot (resulting in his journey to hell) is a 'geocor sið' [sad journey] (*Beowulf*, l. 765), just as the journey of the damned is 'se sara sið' [the sorrowful journey] in CCCC 201.[47]

Further, we see the sadness of both Grendel and the damned in their weeping. When finally caught, Grendel wails so hideously that the Danes are transfixed with horror:

Norð-Denum stod
atelic egesa, anra gehylcum
þara þe of wealle wop gehyrdon,
gryreleoð galan Godes andsacan,
sigeleasne sang, sar wanigean
helle hæfton.

(*Beowulf*, ll. 783-88)

> [Gripping terror seized the North Danes, each and every one of those who heard the weeping from the wall, heard God's adversary singing a terror-song, a song without victory, bewailing his pain, hell's captive.]

In the homilies related to the theme of the penitent damned, the lost weep for themselves profusely. In Vercelli IX, for example, 'hi þonne onginnað singan swiðe sorhfulne sang 7 swiðe wependre stemne' [they then begin to sing a very sorrowful song and with a very weeping voice].[48] As pointed out above, the phrase 'wependre stefne' describes the attitude of the penitent in the Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert. In *Christ III*, the sinful weep at the coming Judgement: 'Beornas gretað,/ wepað wanende wergum stefnum,/ heane, hygegeomre, hreowum gedreahte./ . . . Dær bið . . ./ gehreow and hlud wop' [Men wail, weep with weary voices groaning, abject, sad of mind, tormented by remorse . . . . There is . . . remorse and loud weeping] (ll. 991-93, 997, 998). Their weeping, it should be noted, is connected with *gehreow* ('remorse, penitence'). Again, in Vercelli IV, the audience is to weep now so that it will not have to 'wepan þone ungeendon wop' [weep the unended weep].[49] For the damned, this weeping represents belated penitence.

In defeat, Grendel resembles the penitent damned in more key details. In Beowulf's mighty hand-grip, he becomes 'forht on ferhðe' [afraid at heart] (*Beowulf*, l. 754) just as the damned do on Judgement Day. In *Christ III*, Christ appears 'egeslic ond grimlic' [horrible and grim] (l. 918) to the damned who become 'forht on ferðe' [afraid at heart] (l. 924), as Grendel does. This phrase is of course formulaic and does not suggest direct influence. Nevertheless, Grendel's fear parallels that of the damned.

Like the damned, Grendel wants to flee for cover: 'Hyge wæs him hinfus, wolde on heolster fleon' [His thought was eager to depart, wanted to flee into refuge] (*Beowulf*, l. 755). Several homilies mention the fact that the damned seek to hide themselves at the Judgement Day – of course to no avail. Vercelli XV, for example, has the damned repeat a verse from Revelation 6, where the people of earth attempt to hide themselves in mountains and caves and call the rocks to fall down on them to hide them from the judgement of God. At the Judgement Day, the souls of the wicked become like glass, and even though they wish to hide themselves in shame, they cannot.[50] In *Christ and Satan*, Satan laments his lack of *heolstor* or 'refuge' (l. 100).

Like the penitent damned, Grendel becomes pitiable and miserable (in the etymological sense of the word). The poet describes him with the word 'earmlic'

[miserable, pitiable] (*Beowulf*, l. 807), *earm* being the usual term for the damned in the Old English homiletic lexicon.

It is significant that Grendel not only suffers physical defeat at the hands of Beowulf but, like the damned, he is made to realize the fact that his body cannot avail him: 'Ða þæt onfunde . . ./ þæt him se lichoma læstan noldan' [Then he discovered . . . that his body would not serve him] (*Beowulf*, ll. 809, 812). Again like the damned, he must finally face the fact that his last day on earth has come: 'wiste þe geornor,/ þæt his aldres wæs ende gegongen,/ dogera dægrim' [He knew the more surely that the end of his life had come, the final day-count of days] (*Beowulf*, ll. 821-22).

The damned in Vercelli XV must make a similar realization: '7 nu we magon geseon 7 witan witodlice ðæt nu nealæceð ure endedæge' [and now we must see and know certainly that our end day is approaching].[51] Blickling X contains a parallel statement: 'Magon we þonne nu geseon & oncnawan & swiþe gearelice ongeotan þæt þisses middangeardes ende swiþe neah is' [Let us then now see and recognize and very eagerly perceive that the end of this earth is very near].[52] A series of warnings in direct address in Napier XLIX includes the following statement: 'hwæt, þu to lyt hogedest ymb þone ende þines lifes' [Lo, you thought too little about the end of your life].[53] A homily for a Monday in Rogationtide appeals to the listeners, 'Magon we nu ongitan, men þa leofstan, þætte ure ealre ende swiðe mislice toweard nealæceþ' [Let us now perceive, beloved, that end of each of us is nearing very swiftly (hectically?)].[54] *Judgment Day I* similarly announces the end time, when 'feores bið æt ende/ anra gehwylcum' [life is at an end for each and every one] (*Judgment Day I*, ll. 2-3).

Thus, the 'sympathetic' Grendel which scholars have recognized may be no modern illusion: the fitful sympathy extended toward him seems to echo the pathos of the damned from the homiletic tradition.

Of course, it is impossible to forget that Grendel has a loathsome, bestial side as well. He ravages Heorot and slays countless warriors. The poet is careful to give him monstrous qualities, like the glowing eyes: 'him of eagum stod/ ligge gelicost leoht unfæger' [a hideous light, most like fire, glinted from his eyes] (*Beowulf*, ll. 726-27). Later, his power to do harm is personified in his beast-like arm: 'foran æghwylc wæs,/ stiðra nægla gehwylc style gelicost,/ hæþenes handsporu hilderinces' [in front each (*sc.* of the fingers) was a strong nail, most like steel, the heathen hand-claw of the battle warrior] (*Beowulf*, ll. 984-86). Grendel terrifies most as a rapacious devourer of human flesh.

Grendel is a figure of pathos and terror, precisely the emotions on which homilies and poems on the Last Judgement depend. Like the Satan of *Christ and Satan*, he becomes more human in his suffering. But of course, he is still the monstrous enemy of God. The ambivalence comes to the surface when the poet tells us, 'No his lifgedal/ sarlic þuhte secga ænegum' [Not at all did his parting from life seem sorrowful for any of the men] (*Beowulf*, ll. 841-42), for it has been exceedingly sorrowful for Grendel himself, who

> siððan dreama leas
> in fenfreoðo feorh alegde,
> hæþene sawle; þær him hel onfeng.
> (*Beowulf*, ll. 850-52)
> [afterwards, destitute of joys, he laid down his life in the fen-refuge, the heathen soul; there hell received him.]

Though the force of this section is not predominantly hortatory, the many parallels to the homiletic literature imply that the poet has transmuted material from Anglo-Saxon lore of hell and Judgement into poetic form.

As I have tried to suggest, the element of pathos in the theme of the penitent damned has a didactic purpose – to help the audience to imagine creatively the pains of hell and thus be able to turn away from evil to the brighter joys of the heavenly hall.

Thus in *Beowulf* as well as in *Christ and Satan*, the figures of evil possess some of the characteristics of the penitent damned. They are sorrowful, sad creatures on the one hand, but on the other, horrific, damned souls. Satan, more than Grendel, acknowledges his sins and has a sort of remorse for them – in the opening sections of *Christ and Satan* at least. Grendel, on the other hand, is merely sad, not remorseful: though he is made to understand the source of his suffering, he does not undergo any belated penitence. More generally, though, he shares the sorrow and terror of the penitent damned.

NOTES

[1] Robert L. Chapman, 'Alas, Poor Grendel', *College English*, 17 (1956), 334.

[2] Joseph Baird, 'Grendel the Exile', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 67 (1966), 380.

[3] S. L. Dragland, 'Monster-Man in *Beowulf*', *Neophilologus*, 61 (1977), 616.

[4] Margaret Bridges, 'The Heroic and Elegiac Contexts of Two Old English Laments of the Fallen Angel: Towards a Theory of Medieval Daemonization', in *Reading Contexts*, edited by Neil Forsyth, Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature, 4 (Tübingen, 1988), p. 130.

[5] Both Charles D. A. F. Abbetmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (Minneapolis, 1903) and M. D. Clubb, *Christ and Satan: An Old English Poem Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary* (New Haven, 1925), trace earlier 'plaints' of Satan in the Latin and vernacular homiletic traditions. Charles Sleeth discusses these analogues in *Studies in Christ and Satan* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 52-54, noting that in Old English literary tradition, Satan could be depicted as either 'plaintive or defiant, according to the context and the authors' intentions' (p. 53).

[6] Fols 207-11. Cited from *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, edited by Antonette diPaolo Healey and Richard L. Venezky (Toronto, 1980). Cambridge, U.L. Ii.1.33 is a late manuscript (twelfth century) containing homilies and saints lives by Ælfric. The text of this homily was edited partially by Rudolph Willard in 'The Address of the Soul to the Body', *PMLA*, 50 (1935), pp. 957-83 and in full by K. M. Murfin, 'An Unedited Old English Homily in MS. Cambridge, U.L. Ii.1.33' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Rice University, 1971).

[7] *Vercelli Homilies IX-XXIII*, edited by Paul E. Szarmach (Toronto, 1981), p. 5, E6-E12. Szarmach supplies text from Oxford Bodley 340, fols 35v-40v, *Dominica .II. post Theophania, et quando uolueris*, where a leaf is missing from the Vercelli codex.

[8] In 'Hreowcearig "Penitent, Contrite" ', *ELN*, 12 (1975), 243-50, Robert Rice shows that the word *hreowcearig* has a specifically religious (indeed, penitential) sense. The word *hreow* 'increasingly took on the sense, in eccleasiastical and religious literature at least, of "penitence, penance, repentance", sharing with *behreowsung*, *dædbot*, *hreowness*, and *hreowsung* the universal rendering of *paenitentia* and its component parts, *contritio*, *satisfactio*, and sometimes *confessio*' (p. 245).

[9] *Die altenglische Version des Halitgar'schen Bussbuches (sog. Poenitentiale Pseudo-Egberti)*, edited by Josef Raith, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 13 (Hamburg, 1913). Second edition (Darmstadt, 1964), p. xli. Emphasis mine.

[10] 'Quoniam non est in morte, qui memor sit tui: in inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi?'

[11] M. R. Godden, 'An Old English Penitential Motif', *ASE*, 2 (1973), 221-39. See also Allen Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, 1983), especially pp. 175 ff.

[12] Godden, p. 222. The most probable source for the motif comes from a homily attributed to St Boniface: 'Et melius est uni homini confiteri peccata, quam in illo tremendo judicio coram tribus familiis, coeli terraeque, et inferorum, publicari, et confundi pro peccatis, non ad emendationem, sed ad poenem perpetuam' (Godden, pp. 235-36).

[13] Rice, pp. 247-48. All references to poetic texts, with the exception of *Beowulf*, are taken from *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, edited by G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, 6 vols (New York and London, 1931-53). References to *Beowulf* are taken from *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, edited by Fr. Klaeber, third edition (Boston, 1950). All translations are mine.

[14] Szarmach, p. 38, ll. 152-54.

[15] *Visio Sancti Pauli*, edited by Theodore Silverstein, Studies and Documents, IV, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Sylvia Lake (London, 1935). A passage similar to that quoted from Vercelli IX above in both style and detail appears at the end of Redaction I: 'ne intretis in infernum, ubi nulla est consolacio, sed tormentorum tribulacio, ubi frigus et nuditas, gemitus et lamentacio, mors sine uita, ignis multus, lacrime ignee, uultus demoniaci, ferocitas bestiarium, magnitudo dolorum, eternitas penarum, fletus oculorum, stridor dencium, sitis labiorum, habitacio demonum, pena sine fine, tenebre sine luce, desperacio sine consolacione' (p. 155). [Do not enter into hell, where there is no comfort, but the agony of torments, where there is cold and nakedness, sighing and lamentation, death without life, much fire, fiery tears, diabolical faces, ferocity of beasts, a multitude of pains, an eternity of punishments, weeping from the eyes, grinding of teeth, thirst of the lips, the habitation of demons, punishment without end, darkness without light, despair without comfort.]

[16] *Visio Pauli*, Redaction I, p. 155.

[17] In 'The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of "Exile" in Anglo-Saxon Poetry', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 200-06, Stanley Greenfield sketches out the connections between Satan, Grendel, and the exiles of the Old English elegies.

[18] Joyce M. Hill, 'Figures of Evil in Old English Poetry', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 8 (1975), 5.

[19] Hill, p. 6.

[20] Joseph Baird, 'Grendel the Exile', p. 379.

[21] David Williams, *Cain and Beowulf: A Study in Secular Allegory* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 25, 44.

[22] In his *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, third edition (Heidelberg, 1974), F. Holthausen offers no etymology for *aglæca* and its implied relative, *aglac*, commenting only with the phrase 'unbekannte Herkunft' [unknown origin]. His definition of *aglæca* depends in part, however, on the meaning of *aglac* 'misery, suffering', when he gives 'Elender' [miserable one] as a possible meaning. The other meanings are 'Untier, böser Geist, Feind' [monster, evil spirit, enemy]. In an earlier article, 'Etymologien', *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 20 (1906/7), 316-32,

Holthausen offered 'Lanzenspiel' [play of lances] as the original meaning of the compound, suggesting that the other meanings were easily deducible from it, but he obviously had some doubts about this etymology later. There are too many other proposed etymologies, some less than sensible, to offer a complete summary here. But it seems clear that whatever its etymology, the word had a number of meanings, not obviously related. In 'Old English Etymologies', *JEGP*, 40 (1941), 1-4, C. M. Lotspeich proposes that *aglæca* can be applied both to monsters and human beings because the first element *ag-* means 'stalking, pursuing'. The pursuer may be either good (a hero) or evil (a monster). Doreen M. E. Gillam has attempted to estimate the connotations of this word in various contexts. In 'The Use of the Term "Æglæca" in *Beowulf* at Lines 893 and 2592', *Studia Germanica Gandensis*, 3 (1961), 145-69, she stresses the bestial nature of the *aglæca*, for it most often occurs in reference to monsters and demons, who are seen as sinners and harmers of men. But she also records the implication that the *aglæcan* are wretched and miserable (pp. 160-61). Gillam writes, 'The emotion attached to the implication of wretchedness and suffering is one of mingled horror and pity' (p. 161). When applied to human beings, such as Beowulf and Sigemund, the term seems to mean 'uncanny, mighty, implacable' (pp. 168-89).

[23] Dragland makes precisely this point about Grendel in 'Monster-Man in *Beowulf*', though he goes on to show that by the same token human beings have their monstrous side (p. 616).

[24] The syntax is emphatic here.

[25] Charles R. Sleeth mentions Satan's lust for ownership, evidenced by the poet's repeated use of the words *æht*, and *agan* in connection with Satan. See *Studies in 'Christ and Satan'*, McMaster Old English Studies and Texts, 3 (Toronto, 1982), pp. 16-17.

[26] For the patristic background of Satan's claim, see Thomas D. Hill, 'Satan's Injured Innocence in *Genesis B*, 360-2; 390-2: A Gregorian Source', *English Studies*, 65 (1984), 289-90.

[27] Sleeth claims that Satan's recognition is only a partial one. Satan, he writes, 'condemns pride because of its consequences for him, not because it is wrong in itself' (p. 22). He fails to repent. The same could be said for the penitent damned.

[28] See *The Wanderer*, ll. 92-95:

> Hwær cwom mearg? hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom maþþumgyfa?
> Hwær cwom symbla gesetu? Hwær sindon seledreamas?
> Eala beorht byne! Eala byrnwiga!
> Eala þeodnes þrym!
> [Where is the horse? Where the kinsman? Where the treasure giving?
> Where are the halls of feasting? Where are the hall-joys? Alas, the bright
> goblet! Alas, the mailed warrior! Alas the prince's glory!]

[29] J. E. Cross, ' "Ubi Sunt" Passages in Old English – Sources and Relationships", *Vetenskaps-societeten i Lund Årsbok* (1956), 25-44, traces this kind of repetition, particularly of 'hwær bið' and 'hwær cwom' phrases, to Latin sources.

[30] Of course, the verbal similarities are due in part to oral-formulaic composition – the formulas for describing suffering are the same. See Greenfield, 'The Formulaic Expression of the Theme of "Exile" in Anglo-Saxon Poetry'.

[31] In *Christ and Satan: A Critical Edition* (Waterloo, Ont., 1977) Robert E. Finnegan proposes an exemplum-exhortation structure for the poem (pp. 22 ff.).

[32] Szarmach, p. 38, ll. 153 ff.

[33] The 'ærror' and 'ær' in the homiletic passage (*Christ and Satan*, ll. 198 and 302 respectively) stress the urgency of repentance in the real now (the fictional past or *ærror*), as do the many repeated *ær*-elements in *Christ III*.

[34] See above, p. 46.

[35] To claim such an influence does not necessitate a strict allegorical or patristic reading of the poem. *Beowulf* is surely not overwhelmingly homiletic, but it seems plausible that the depiction of Grendel, taken directly from Judaeo-Christian lore, may be influenced by homiletic traditions about the penitent damned.

[36] Szarmach, p. 6, E22-23.

[37] Szarmach, p. 7, ll. 140-41.

[38] Szarmach, p. 37, ll. 87-88.

[39] E. G. Stanley, 'The Judgement of the Damned (from Cambridge Corpus Christi College 201 and other manuscripts), and the definition of Old English verse', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, edited by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), p. 378, ll. 32-33.

[40] 'The Devil's Account of the Next World: An Anecdote from Old English Homiletic Literature', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 73 (1972), 362-71.

[41] *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, edited by Bruno Assmann, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 3 (Kassel, 1889). Reprinted with a Supplementary Introduction by Peter Clemoes (Darmstadt, 1964), p. 167.

[42] *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugechriebenen Homilien*, edited by Arthur Napier (Berlin, 1883). Reprinted with a bibliographical supplement by Klaus Ostheeren (Dublin, 1967), p. 145.

[43] Rowland Collins, 'Blickling Homily XVI and the Dating of *Beowulf*', in *Medieval Studies Conference, Aachen 1983*, edited by Wolf-Dietrich Bald and Horst Weinstock (Frankfurt am Main, 1984), pp. 61-69. Collins argues that some of the unusual language of the Blickling passage is more typical of the homilies than of *Beowulf*. In summary, 'The homilist cites St. Paul alone because St. Paul is the only source for this passage. The homilist does not tend to rhythmic prose because he is not influenced by poetry; his composition is strong but altogether prosaic. The language of the two passages points toward an influence on Beowulf from Homily XVI and that influence is historically possible and entirely plausible in terms of the extant literature' (p. 69). In referring to the homily as XVI, Collins follows Rudolph Willard's renumbering of the Blickling

homilies. It appears as XVII in Morris's edition (for which, see note 52 below).

44 'Irish and Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: Insular Christian Traditions in Vercelli Homily IX and the Theban Anchorite Legend', (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1984), pp. 118 ff. However, Wright takes up Silverstein's suggestion that the language of the *Beowulf* passage 'probably did influence the Blickling homilist, whose memory of the poet's handling of the scene colored his own rendition of the eschatological source he too was following' (Wright, p. 135).

45 Napier, p. 185.

46 *Two Apocrypha in Old English Homilies*, Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 30 (Leipzig, 1935), p. 29.

47 Stanley, p. 374, l. 25.

48 Szarmach, p. 5, E11-E12.

49 *Die Vercelli Homilien: I-VIII. Homilie*, edited by Max Förster, Bibliothek der angelsächischen Prosa, 12 (Hamburg, 1932; reprinted Darmstadt, 1964), p. 27.

50 See *Christ III*, ll. 1281-83.

51 Szarmach, p. 37, ll. 79-80.

52 *The Blickling Homilies*, edited by R. Morris, EETS, os 58, 63, 73 (London, 1874, 1876, and 1880), p. 107.

53 Napier, p. 260.

54 Rudolph Willard, 'Vercelli Homily XI and its Sources', *Speculum*, 24 (1949), 85.