

6. Medieval Traditions about the Site of Judgment

Thomas N. Hall

In his cryptic answer to a disciple's question "What shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the consummation of the world?" Christ issues the ominous remark that "of that day and hour no one knoweth, no not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone" (Matthew 24:36; cf. Mark 13:32),¹ a statement that has provoked endless speculation about the time of Christ's return and the signs that will announce it. ² Chronologies of the second coming and of Judgment form a staple of Christian eschatology and are so widely reflected in medieval art and literature that it might be said that medieval eschatology as a whole is dominated by questions of time and history.³ Chiliastic beliefs in a messianic interregnum, prophecies of a Last World Emperor, patterns of decline and renewal, the progressive shortening of time, the number and sequence of the signs of Doomsday, the chronicling of Christ's return in terms of world ages and the cosmic week these are among the themes that recur with greatest frequency in medieval discussions of the last things, and all are centrally concerned with time. Much rarer is it to encounter the question of *where* the last events are to take place, but this is not to say the issue was never a cause for discussion, since the problem of the location of Judgment figures repeatedly in medieval sources given to a faithful and complete account of the end of the world.⁴ In the medieval West, generally speaking, there were two dominant, carefully formulated answers to the question of where Judgment will occur, as well as aberrant and idiosyncratic developments of each, all relying on scriptural foundations. Tracing the histories of these answers can tell us much about the erratic and unstable character of medieval eschatology and can alert us to the doctrinal allegiances of many important texts. In the limited survey that follows, I would like to review the origins and dissemination of these traditions and comment on their relation to a broader problem in medieval eschatology,

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namely the role of exegesis in supplying answers to unanswerable questions.

We can begin with the very elusiveness of Christ's answer in Matthew 24, his claim that no one knows the finer details of God's plans for the end of time. This assurance that even the most basic truths about Judgment are beyond human knowledge accounts not only for the mystery and intrigue of the subject but also for the rhetorical modes of response it elicits, particularly in works that present themselves as working within the biblical tradition. Most early apocalypses, both Jewish and Christian, show no concern whatsoever for the location of Last Judgment for the obvious reason that these texts, when concerned with Judgment at all, tend to engage in allegorical or symbolic language that places future events in a realm outside the physical, experiential universe. The ecstatic visions of Judgment in the *Apocalypse of Peter* or the New Testament Revelation of John, for instance, move oneirically through disjointed sequences of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic imagery in patterns Amos Wilder has characterized as "kaleidoscopic rearrangements of a numinous repertoire."⁵ By its very nature, the language of apocalypse thus distances itself from personal experience, and the events it describes are unlocalizable.

Even when places are mentioned by name, such as Babylon or Sodom, they invariably resonate with symbolic significance. Works in an apocalyptic tradition typically entail a vision not of physical geography but of an imaginary geography, or more often of an imaginary cosmography that takes the seer far from the known world. In those cases where apocalyptic texts do concentrate on the events of this world, they prove overwhelmingly interested in the chronology of cataclysmic signs leading up to the End, or in the likelihood of a messianic kingdom inaugurated by the second coming and lasting until the End. They consistently overlook the End itself. The emphasis of medieval apocalypses such as the *Apocalypse of Thomas* or the Byzantine *Apocalypse of Daniel* rests entirely on the sequence of marvels prophesied to take place during the last days in anticipation of Judgment, but as if impelled by a rhetorical

strategy of approach-avoidance, they stop short of the very event they prophesy. In visionary apocalypses like 4 Ezra or the *Apocalypse of Paul* (and its medieval Latin offspring the *Visio Pauli*), the greater part of the seer's energy is expended on descriptions of heaven and hell and the abodes of the souls after Judgment. Again the moment of Judgment itself escapes analysis. Much the same is observable in medieval drama and the visual arts, which tend to represent the Last Judgment, as Pamela Sheingorn has observed, as a "visionary scene, lacking reference to linear time or the solid, three-dimensional matter of earth, its landscapes, or inhabitants."⁶ For this reason, iconographic depictions of Judgment frequently rely on architectural symbolism to portray the hierarchical relation of the three cosmic regions of heaven, earth, and hell, or on metaphorical and indirect models such as the parables of the wise and foolish virgins or of the good shepherd separating his sheep from his goats. Rarely do medieval artists present the Last Judgment as an event that takes place on earth,

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much less at a specific site on earth. In apocalyptic and visionary literature as well as in medieval art, therefore, the result is a mature tradition of sidestepping the question of where the events of the last days will be centered. This of course means that anyone in the Middle Ages who raises the question and proposes an answer is an exception.

The Valley of Josaphat

When patristic and medieval authors do profess belief in a universal Judgment that can be localized geographically, they do so most often in fulfillment of the eschatological vision of the Old Testament prophet Joel, whose third chapter opens with the words, "For behold in those days, and in that time when I shall bring back the captivity of Juda and Jerusalem: I will gather together all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Josaphat.... Let them arise, and let the nations come up into the valley of Josaphat: for there I will sit to judge all nations round about" (Joel 3:1-2, 12). For Joel and his earliest audience the identity of the Valley of Josaphat (or Jehosaphat) as the site of the Last Judgment was secured by the etymology of the phrase "valley of Josaphat" (emeq yehosapat) itself, which in Hebrew means "the valley where Yahweh judges." This much was affirmed for medieval audiences by Jerome, who in his commentary on the Book of Joel reduces the Hebrew etymology to a succinct equation, "Josaphat, id est, Domini iudicium."⁷ If such a place existed at the time of Joel's writing its location remains unknown.⁸ A popular tradition traceable back to at least the fourth century identifies it with the Kidron Valley just to the east of Jerusalem across from the Mount of Olives,⁹ and this is where from the fourth century on Jewish, Christian, and Moslem authors alike have sought to situate the Last Judgment.¹⁰

As a topic of geographical lore, the location of Judgment in the Valley of Josaphat was first established in the sixth-century *Breviary of Jerusalem*, which completes its tour of the environs of Jerusalem with a view from the Mount of Olives: "There on the right-hand side is the Valley of Josaphat; there will the Lord judge the just and the sinful. And there is a small stream which will spew forth fire in the conflagration of the world."¹¹ This description was eventually adopted as a commonplace in medieval itineraries and was affirmed, for example, by an anonymous pilgrim of the eleventh century,¹² by the mid-fourteenth-century *Guide Book to Palestine*,¹³ and with characteristic delight in the mysteries of sacred geography in *Mandeville's Travels*, which situates the Valley of Josaphat between the Mount of Olives and Mount Tabor, the site of the Transfiguration:

In þat hill [Mount Tabor] 7 in þat same place at the day of doom .iiij. Aungeles with .iiij. trompes schull blowen 7 reysen all men þat hadden suffred deth sith that the world was formed from deth to lyue. And schull comen in body and soule to juggement before the face of oure lord in the vale of Iosaphath.¹⁴

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For the Mandevillian narrator and other medieval geographers, it was no coincidence that the other main reason to memorialize the Valley of Josaphat was that this was also the site of the Virgin Mary's tomb, a belief traceable to the

fifth-century apocryphal *Transitus Mariae* and an idea absorbed into popular lore long before the high Middle Ages.¹⁵ Medieval authors frequently exploit the overlap of these two traditions for narrative and thematic cogency. In the Voluminous *Wanderings* of Felix Fabri (c. 1480-83) the coincidence of the two events in the Valley of Josaphat assumes doctrinal import, as it proves the nature of Mary's role at final Judgment:

Nor ought we to think that it was by chance that the most blessed Virgin Mary chose her place of sepulture in the valley of Jehoshaphat, but to the intent that the sinner who fears to stand in this valley on the dreadful day of Judgment which is to come, may now take up his place beforehand in that valley, and pray to the Mother, show forth his obedience to her, and thus cease to fear being called into the valley a second time if he shall obtain the favour of the Mother who will be his judge.¹⁶

On the day of Judgment, Felix goes on to say, "those sinners who are damned shall stand in the valley of Jehoshaphat," a valley itself accursed because "devils used to be worshipped in it, and divination was practised in it" (cf. 2 Chronicles 28). Nor should we be troubled, he explains, by the narrowness of that valley, because when the moment of Judgment arrives, the valley will be broadened into an immense plain that will easily accommodate all the sinners in the world.¹⁷

Given the prominence of these teachings about Judgment at the Valley of Josaphat in medieval itineraries, it comes as some surprise that Jerome's musings on the place name's Hebrew etymology were repeated by few early Christian exegetes. Julian of Toledo and Haymo of Auxerre are the only writers I find before the twelfth century who invoke Jerome's comments as doctrine.¹⁸ But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was an impressive revival of interest in the topic, particularly among sermon writers and scholastic theologians bent on compiling an exhaustive inventory of Christian teachings about Judgment. Within a span of just over a hundred years, the Valley of Josaphat was proclaimed the future site of Judgment by, among others, Honorius Augustodunensis, Rupert of Deutz, Robert Pullen of Oxford, Peter Lombard, Richard of St. Victor, Magister Bandinus, and Martín of León.¹⁹ These authors read Joel's prophecy in remarkably different ways, some endorsing it as a sign of future reality, others opposing it to alternative biblically sanctioned explanations for the site of Judgment, some finding it necessary to reconcile this belief with different traditions altogether. For Werner II of Küssenberg, abbot of Saint-Blaise (d. c. 1126), the verses from Joel yield a topographical allegory of

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the site of Judgment in which the valley betokens the world and the mountains surrounding it betoken the kingdom of heaven:

For Judgment will take place in the Valley of Josaphat, as it is said. The Valley of Josaphat is said to be the *valley of Judgment*. A valley is always next to a mountain. The valley is this world; the mountain is heaven. Thus Judgment will take place in the valley, that is in this world, which is to say in the air, where the just will be positioned to the right of Christ like sheep, while the impious will be placed to his left like goats.²⁰

Werner's qualification that Judgment will take place *in the air* at the Valley of Josaphat conflates two biblical themes, one already obvious, the other taking support from Christ's comment that on the day of Judgment, "then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven . . . and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with much power and majesty" (Matthew 24:30). These two originally distinct beliefs are often opposed by medieval authors, while some (like Werner) see in them two compatible tenets of a unified doctrine. Christian Druthmarus of Corbie juxtaposes these ideas to argue against a literal reading of the verses from Joel: "Many have supposed that the future

Judgment will take place in the Valley of Josaphat, which is a place in Judea; but this is not at all true, even though Josaphat means 'judgment,' for it will be in the air, as Paul says, 'We will be taken into the air, and then we will be with the Lord forever'.²¹ The full form of the verse cited here, 1 Thessalonians 4:15-17, was critical to this argument: "For the lord himself shall come down from heaven with commandment, and with the voice of an archangel, and with the trumpet of God: and the dead who are in Christ, shall rise first. Then we who are alive, who are left, shall be taken up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ, into the air, and so shall we be always with the Lord."

By far the most influential statement on the relation of these two eschatological doctrines is that of Peter Lombard, who finds a means of reconciling them but in the process introduces a new twist to the question of where Judgment will take place. He locates it at the junction of three sites: the air, the Valley of Josephat, and the Mount of Olives:

Some people maintain that the Lord will descend for Judgment at the Valley of Josaphat, the one spoken about by the prophet Joel: *I will gather together all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Josaphat, and I will dispute with them there*. Some childishly take this to mean that the Lord will descend for Judgment at this valley, which is to the side of the Mount of Olives; but this is ridiculous, because it will not be on earth that he will sit but in a region of the air across from the site of the Mount of Olives, from which he ascended. On the other

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hand, the Valley of Josaphat is translated as "judgment of the Lord." Thus in the Valley of Josaphat that is the valley of the judgment of the Lord all the impious will congregate. The just, truly, will not descend into the valley of judgment, that is into damnation; but they will be raised into the clouds to meet with Christ.²²

For the idea that Christ will return at the Mount of Olives, whence he ascended, one need turn only to Acts 1:11, "This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven." The symmetry of this belief no doubt had wide appeal among Christian exegetes accustomed to thinking in terms of typological balance and recapitulation. Aquinas writes that Christ will return at the parousia "probably in the vicinity of the Mount of Olives" because this was the site of the ascension.²³ An early medieval question-and-answer dialogue similarly asserts in response to the question "How will the resurrection take place?" that all will be resurrected (in the form their bodies had when they were thirty years old) on the Day of Judgment, which is to take place at the Mount of Olives, the site of Christ's ascension and the center of the world.²⁴ Other writers found additional reasons for assigning the Mount of Olives an important role in the geography of Doomsday. In his commentary on the Book of Daniel, Jerome states that as a prelude to the final days, Antichrist will fix his tents on the Mount of Olives,²⁵ a comment later writers evidently took to mean that much of Antichrist's career, including his demise, was to be associated with this site. The *Tuburtine Sibyl* and Adso's *Letter on the Antichrist* both declare that as a prerequisite for final Judgment, Antichrist will be slain by the Archangel Michael on the Mount of Olives across from the spot where Christ ascended.²⁶

Ultimately, however, these arguments by Peter Lombard and others that Judgment would take place in the air across from the Mount of Olives, or at the Mount of Olives itself, proved little more than quibbling alternatives to the more commonly held view that Judgment would be located just next to the Mount of Olives in the Valley of Josaphat, a tradition widely represented in vernacular sermons and mystery plays,²⁷ in *Joca monachorum* dialogues,²⁸ in commentaries on the text of Joel,²⁹ and even in an anonymous sixteenth-century volksbuch entitled the *Wahrhaftige Beschreibung des Jüngstens Gerichts im Thal Josaphat*.³⁰ In Canto 10 of the *Inferno*, Dante has Virgil tell the pilgrim-narrator that all the lids of the open sepulchres he sees before him in hell will be closed for good once the cursed spirits return from the Valley of Josaphat after Judgment with the bodies they left above.³¹ In Middle English literature, the Valley of Josaphat is identified as the "place of dome" in *Piers Plowman*,³² in the *Cursor Mundi*,³³ and perhaps most conspicuously in the *Pricke of Conscience*, which devotes some ninety lines to a description of the site

of Judgment alone.[34](#)

This first tradition, then, locating universal Judgment at the Valley of

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Josaphat, takes its inception from a prophecy of Joel which became reinforced and disseminated chiefly through itineraries and exegetical commentaries relying on Jerome's explanation of the place name's Hebrew etymology. It appears not to have been widely repeated before the twelfth century, but from that point on becomes a virtual commonplace and is often compounded with another topic of geographical lore, the location of Mary's tomb. Occasionally writers objected to the idea of Judgment in the Valley of Josaphat because they found it to contradict two other ideas with scriptural roots that Judgment would occur in the air, or at the Mount of Olives. But in the end these seemingly contradictory notions were reconciled in the common belief that Christ would return to judge mankind seated on a cloud in the air at the Valley of Josaphat across from the Mount of Olives, whence he ascended. The seriousness with which many have held to this belief is nowhere more evident than in the concentration of Christian, Jewish, and Muslim graves still observable in the Kidron Valley at the southwestern end of the Mount of Olives and on the other side of the valley beneath the temple walls. Popular guidebooks still declare that "the dearest wish of the Jew is to find a grave in the Valley of Josaphat," where one will be assured of witnessing the Messiah's descent.[35](#) As a literary topos, the enduring vitality of this tradition may be best illustrated by a passage in Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist* just before the chilling sermon on hell and judgment in chapter 3, where the brooding Stephen reflects on the terrors of his catechism:

The last day had come. Doomsday was at hand. . . . The archangel Michael, the prince of the heavenly host, appeared glorious and terrible against the sky. With one foot on the sea and one foot on the land he blew from the archangelical trumpet the brazen death of time. The three blasts of the angel filled all the universe. Time is, time was but time shall be no more. At the last blast the souls of universal humanity throng towards the valley of Jehoshaphat, rich and poor, gentle and simple, wise and foolish, good and wicked.[36](#)

Mount Sion

Apart from this tradition inherited by Joyce, the only competing idea that occurs with enough regularity to merit the term "tradition" is the belief that God will assemble the hosts of mankind for Judgment at the other mountain flanking the Valley of Josaphat, Mount Sion. An example familiar to readers of Old English occurs at the opening of *Christ III*, where we are warned that at midnight Doomsday will come like a thief in the night and the blessed will be called together on Mount Sion:

Swa on Syne beorg somod up cymeð

mægenfolc micel, meotude getrywe,

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beorht ond bliþe. Him weorþeð blæd gifen! (875-77)[37](#)

(Then a great multitude will ascend Mount Sion together, those faithful to the Lord, bright and joyful; to them will glory be given.)

In the lines that follow, the poet declares that angels will trumpet the advent of Judgment from the four corners of the earth. The dead will rise, and once again a sign will be given from atop Mount Sion, where Christ will appear in majesty:

þonne semninga on Syne beorg
suþaneastan sunnan leoma
cymeð of scyppende scynan leohtor
þonne hit men mægen modum ahycgan,
beorhte blican, þonne bearn godes
þurh heofona gehleodu hider oðyweð.
Cymeð wundorlic Cristes onsyn,
æpelcyninges wlite, eastan fram roderum,
on sefan swete sinum folce,
biter bealofullum, gebleod wundrum,
eadgum ond earmum ungelice. (899-909)

(Then suddenly on Mount Sion, from the southeast, the radiance of the sun will come shining from the Creator, brighter than men can imagine in their minds, gleaming bright when the Son of God reveals himself here through the vaults of the heavens. Christ's wondrous figure, the form of the noble King, will come from the east from out of the skies, sweet to the minds of his own folk, bitter to the wicked, wondrously diverse and different to the blessed and the wretched.)

As medieval eschatological doctrine goes, the placement of the parousia and final Judgment at Mount Sion is comparatively rare. But it is an idea nonetheless firmly rooted in Ancient Near Eastern cosmology and in echoes of that teaching in biblical prophecy and early apocryphal apocalyptic. In Canaanite and Old Testament literature, theophanic events are frequently situated at a sacred mountain, a monumental axis along which the three cosmic regions of heaven, earth, and hell are aligned and where communion between them is made possible.³⁸ Moses thus receives the law of God atop Mount Sinai, the garden of Eden is identified as a holy mountain in Ezekiel 28, and numerous Psalms describe a violent theophany centered on a mountain (e.g., Psalm 17:8-20 [= 2 Kings 22:8-20]; Psalm 49). Nowhere, however, is the symbolism of a cosmic mountain so vividly presented as in beliefs surrounding Mount Sion, the place Isaiah 2:2-4 distinguishes as the house of God and the future site of Judgment:

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In the latter days, established shall be the mountain of the house of Yahweh. At the head of the mountains (it shall be high), and it will be higher than the hills. And all the nations shall flow to it. And many people will come and say, "Come, and let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh, to the house of the God of Jacob, that he may teach us his ways, and we may walk in his paths." Surely from Sion shall come forth the Law, and the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem. And he shall judge between the nations, and shall decide for many peoples. And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not take up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Elsewhere Mount Sion is the focus of judgment and destruction in the Psalms, Abdias, Hebrews, and Jubilees,³⁹ while in New Testament literature Mount Sion is most explicitly and dramatically associated with Judgment in Apocalypse 14:1, a verse still invoked from time to time as a key to the events of the last days: "And I beheld, and lo a lamb stood upon mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty-four thousand, having his name, and the name of his Father, written on their foreheads." The pseudepigraphal 4 Ezra, which occasionally circulated in medieval copies of the Vulgate, similarly culminates in a rhapsodic vision of the elect being received into glory on Mount Sion. A multitude of the faithful, clothed in white and singing praises to the Lord, ascend Mount Sion, where they are crowned by the Son of God and are seated at the heavenly banquet.⁴⁰ These verses from biblical and pseudepigraphal texts support an idea quite independent of teachings about Judgment at the Valley of Josaphat, that at the end of time the elect will congregate for Judgment at Mount Sion. Against this background, the opening of *Christ III* emerges as a passage anchored in biblical as well as pseudepigraphal tradition and with dilute echoes of ancient Near Eastern cosmology, but with a rhetorical force indebted wholly to the conventions of Old English religious verse. Its emphasis in the first few lines on Mount Sion as the site of Judgment provides a momentarily stable focus for the tumultuous patterns of imagery that follow and marks the text from the outset as a learned specimen of occult prophecy cast in poetic form.

Irish Traditions

In medieval vernacular literature, the most cogent analogues for the opening scene of *Christ III* are exclusively in early Irish sources, a connection Frederick Biggs recently established in an article that relates the opening of the poem to a nexus of eschatological motifs in Irish and Hiberno-Latin. As Biggs points out, what the Old English poet actually says is *not* that a universal Last Judgment will take place at Mount Sion, where the blessed and damned will be judged together, but that the blessed alone will congregate there in glory. If the cursed are to be judged separately, it presumably must be elsewhere a

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reflection, Biggs argues, of the more sophisticated doctrine of a fourfold division of the good, bad, very good, and very bad souls prior to Judgment itself. This is an idea remarkably well represented in early insular literature, and in arguing for its possible influence on Old English poetry, Biggs calls attention to several Irish works that specify Mount Sion as both the requies sanctorum and the site of Judgment.⁴¹ An unusually lucid example comes from the Irish version of the "Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday":

This is the token of the Day before Doom, to wit, the pure King of Glory, the only Son of the King of heaven and earth and hell, with a countless multitude of angels and archangels, to wit, the nine ranks of heaven, in his company [will go] on that day to the summit of mount Sion to judge their deeds, both good and evil, for Adam's impure race.⁴²

This example, together with an impressive series of related ones from the *Amra Coluim-Cille*, the *Evernew Tongue*, and the Irish pseudo-Jerome commentary on Matthew, leads Biggs to speculate that the opening scene of *Christ III* makes use of a distinctively insular brand of eschatology drawn probably from Latin sermons written in an Irish or Irish-influenced milieu.⁴³

An analogue Biggs does not cite but that illustrates perfectly the conviction of early Irish authors that Judgment will occur at Mount Sion is the little-known Middle Irish story in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* which Paul Grosjean titled "A Tale of Doomsday Colum Cille Should Have Left Untold."⁴⁴ The story relates a prophecy ascribed to St. Columba about the manner in which the Irish and the Irish alone--will be judged. On the Day of Judgment, the Irish will assemble at Clonmacnois in the presence of St. Patrick. The line of men and women will stretch from Clonmacnois all

the way to Dun Coilli in Scotland. The bell in Croagh Patrick will ring out, and the dead will rise to join them. Then Patrick and the Irish, both living and dead, will journey to Mount Sion, where they will encounter Saints Peter, Paul, and Martin and will together await universal Judgment. But in a last-minute deviation from this plan, St. Patrick will urge Peter, Paul, and Martin to remain atop Mount Sion to convene with Christ, while the Irish will continue separately to the Mount of Olives for their own self-appointed judgment at the hands of St. Patrick himself. Patrick's emissary, St. Ailbhe, will meanwhile stay behind on Mount Sion to negotiate with Christ over the peculiar fate of the Irish, and this is how the negotiation will begin:

The Lord will give him welcome, and Christ will ask: "Where is the lightning of the western world today? He is long in coming to this assembly." "He will come," quoth Ailbhe. Christ will say: "He brought many sinners with him and many bad men." "That is not as

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he thinks," quoth Ailbhe; "[according to him] they are penitents, who have been under the waves of the sea for the space of seven years." "Tell him," quoth Christ, "to leave behind the third part of the host, whoso is worst, and let the other two-thirds come with him." "That is not a command I can take," Ailbhe will say, "because the fellow [i.e. Patrick] is wrathful and choleric, and no one of the men of Ireland who are with him will dare bring him such a message."⁴⁵

As the negotiation ensues, Ailbhe bargains with Christ over what percentage of the Irish are to be judged by Christ and what percentage by Patrick. But no matter what arrangement Christ proposes, Patrick turns him down, holding stubbornly to the opinion that all the Irish, regardless of their sins, deserve to go to heaven. In the end, a frustrated Christ insists that at least the druids, satirists, lampooners, and heresiarchs should be left behind for judgment along with everyone else. But again Patrick refuses, and Christ reluctantly allows the hosts of Ireland to pass, without judgment or penance, into the nine hierarchies of heaven. And this, the story concludes, is why Colum Cille's prophecy should never be told on earth: because the uncommon fate of the Irish is to be known only among the saints of heaven.

The peculiarly Irish cast of this story, devoted as it is to the exploits of Patrick and Ailbhe, is heavily colored by features of traditional Irish eschatology organized around two motifs borrowed from early Patrician hagiography. Ailbhe's statement that Patrick viewed the Irish as penitents who had spent seven years under the sea is an oblique allusion to one of the three (or four) famous petitions which Patrick made to God on Croagh Patrick on the day of his death and which God accordingly granted. Five Lives of Patrick dating from the seventh century to the twelfth (Tírechán's *Collectanea*, the *Vita tertia*, the *Vita auctore Probo*, the tripartite *Bethu Phátraic*, and the *Gloucester Vita*) explain, in various degrees of detail and consistency, that on his deathday Patrick entreated God to submerge Ireland in the sea seven years prior to Doomsday so the Irish would avoid persecution by Antichrist.⁴⁶ A parallel tradition, first recorded in Muirchú's seventh-century *Vita s. Patricii* and repeated elsewhere, adds that in fulfillment of a second petition before God, Patrick alone would be allowed to judge the Irish on Doomsday.⁴⁷ These two petitions were fundamental in establishing the familiar folk themes of God's special dispensation for the Irish and of Patrick's role as national patron saint and intercessor.

In adapting these two hagiographic motifs to a uniquely Irish vision of Judgment, the "Tale of Doomsday Colum Cille Should Have Left Untold" alienates itself from what we might think of as the mainstream eschatology of the medieval Latin West. But it does provide a striking corollary to Biggs's thesis that Mount Sion was favored as the site of Judgment in early insular tradition, a tradition dominated by Irish and Hiberno-Latin texts but with at

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least one prominent Anglo-Saxon example in Christ III. Where these two works differ most conspicuously, of course, is

that in Christ III only the elect assemble at Mount Sion, whereas in Colum Cille's tale Mount Sion provides the setting for a universal Judgment of everyone good and bad so long as they are not Irish. The Irish meanwhile assemble separately at the Mount of Olives before passing unimpeded into heaven. In this respect, the Irish "Tale of Doomsday" presents itself as a satirical commentary on a basic tenet of insular eschatology by depicting a division of souls at Judgment along nationalistic lines (Irish vs. non-Irish) rather than along moral or soteriological ones (elect vs. damned, or good vs. bad vs. very good vs. very bad). At the same time, the tale can be seen from an even broader comparative perspective to draw simultaneously on two conflicting eschatological traditions by advocating two sites of Judgment, one for the Irish at the Mount of Olives, the other for the rest of the world at Mount Sion. When combined with the cartoonish exchange between Christ and Ailbhe and the enormously complicated logistical scheme of getting everyone to his or her proper place for Judgment (and the logistics are even more complicated in the parts of the tale I have not discussed), these features make it possible to read the entire story as a whimsical and irreverent critique of the vagaries and inconsistencies inherent in medieval teachings about Doomsday. Not only have the Irish managed to negotiate their way through every loophole in the system, but the person who comes across as least in charge on Judgment Day is Christ. Even the closing injunction that the tale should never be told outside heaven pokes fun at the revelatory pretenses of apocalyptic prophecy.

Both the larger traditions I have been discussing (Judgment at the Valley of Josaphat and at Mount Sion) and the lesser ones as well (Judgment in the air and at the Mount of Olives) depend to a great extent on the rigidly historical interpretation of biblical verses. This leads me to a closing observation about the conservative exegetical impulse of much medieval eschatology, an impulse guided largely by the form and genre of the works that embody it. Bernard McGinn has attempted to strike a broad contrast between ultimately Eastern eschatology and ultimately Western eschatology by observing that on the whole, Eastern eschatology is dominated by pseudonymous visions, while medieval Western authors were more likely to express their eschatological views through the medium of sermons, scriptural commentaries, and theological treatises.⁴⁸ One can always find exceptions to such a rule, but in virtually all the texts cited in this paper, the answer to a question about future events has been sought and found not through theophanic visions or ecstatic prophecies but through scriptural interpretation of a fundamentally historical character. An author such as the Christ III poet might still engage in imaginative and original expositions of his subject, but his primary models remained biblical literature generally (including apocryphal and pseudepigraphal texts) and its commentaries. Where medieval traditions about the site of Judgment prove most

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imaginative and original, on the other hand, is in discussions by authors such as Peter Lombard and in comic narratives such as the Irish "Tale of Doomsday" which recognize the contradictions inherent in biblical eschatology but find ways to harmonize them exegetically and even adapt them to native traditions, occasionally with humor. Works such as these however rare are governed by an exegetical principle less literal or derivative than synthetic, less dogmatic than speculative, and on the whole most successful in finding answers to questions raised in scripture by plumbing the depths of scripture itself.

Notes

1. Here and elsewhere, English quotations from the Bible are from the Douay-Rheims. Unless otherwise stated, translations from Latin and Old English are mine.
2. This verse was also the focus of a vigorous patristic debate over the limitations of Christ's foreknowledge of the events of the last days: see Jules Lebreton, "L'Ignorance du jour du jugement," *Recherches de science religieuse* 8 (1918), 281-89.
3. Lest this seem an obvious point, one might contrast it with the views of modern theologians such as Rudolf Bultmann, for whom the concerns of eschatology are not time, history, and the cosmos, but the atemporal realization of the eschatological event in the life of the believer: see Bultmann, "History and Eschatology in the New Testament," *New Testament Studies* 1 (1954-55), 5-16, and *The Presence of Eternity* (New York, 1957).
4. To my knowledge, the most comprehensive statement on the history of teachings about the site of Judgment in Christian tradition is the brief notice on "Circonstances du jugement général: Lieu du jugement" within the article on "Jugement" by J. Rivière, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* (Paris, 1908-50), 8: 1721-1828, at col. 1819. Of some use for this survey is the index "De tempore et loco iudicii" in PL 220: 293-95.
5. Amos N. Wilder, "The Rhetoric of Ancient and Modern Apocalyptic," *Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology* 25 (1971), 436-53 (at p. 437), cited by Michael Lieb, *The Visionary Mode: Biblical Prophecy, Hermeneutics, and Cultural Change* (Ithaca and London, 1991), p. 6.
6. Pamela Sheingorn, "'For God is Such a Doomsman': Origins and Development of the Theme of Last Judgment," in *Homo, Memento Finis: The Iconography of Just Judgment in Medieval Art and Drama*, ed. David Bevington, Early Drama, Art and Music Monograph Series 6 (Kalamazoo, 1985), pp. 15-58 (at p. 40).
7. Jerome, *Commentarius in Joelem* (on Joel 3:2, 12), ed. Marc Adriaen, *S. Hieronymus. Commentarii in prophetas minores*, CCSL 76 (Turnhout, 1969), p. 199, lines 35-36, p. 204, line 235 (PL 25: 979D, 984B). Also,

- Jerome, *Epistola 18, ad Damasum papam*, ed. Isidor Hilberg, *Sanctus Hieronymus. Epistulae*, CSEL 54 (Vienna, 1910), p. 77, lines 13-14 (PL 22: 362-63), and *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, ed. Paul de Lagarde, *S. Hieronymus. Opera Exegetica I*, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1970), p. 111, lines 16-17, p. 136, lines 28-29 (PL 23: 885-86). John P. O'Connell, *The Eschatology of Saint Jerome* (Mundelein, Ill., 1948) argues that even though Jerome gives no indication that he means to take the Valley of Josaphat metaphorically in these passages, "the context . . . leads us to believe that Jerome did not accept it literally" (p. 37).
8. Cf. *Midrasch Tilim* 8 (on Ps 8), as translated by Adolphe Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (Paris, 1868; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 51-52: "La vallée de Josaphat où Dieu, selon les paroles du prophète, jugera les peuples, doit être prise au figuré. Le Midrasch dit: 'Une telle vallée n'existe pas; elle est appelée *Jehoschaphat* à cause du jugement que Dieu y prononcera sur les nations.'...La tradition a conservé ce nom chez toutes les sectes religieuses, et on désigne encore aujourd'hui la vallée de Josaphat comme l'endroit où doit se tenir le dernier jugement."
 9. The earliest such identification is that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, writing c. 333, who locates the Valley of Josaphat to the left of the Mount of Olives: *Itineraria et alia geographica*, ed. R. Weber, CCSL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), p. 17.
 10. For general discussion of this tradition, see J. H. Oswald, *Eschatologie, das ist die letzten Dinge, dargestellt nach der Lehre der katholischen Kirche*, 5th ed. (Paderborn, 1893), pp. 372-74; C. Warren, "Jehosaphat, Valley of," *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. James Hastings (New York, 1900-05), 2: 561-62; F. Vigouroux, "Josaphat (vallée de)," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. Vigouroux (Paris, 1912-26), 3: 1651-55; W. Harold Mare, "Jehosaphat, Valley of," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York, 1992), 3: 668-69; "Jehosaphat, Valley of," *A Dictionary of Biblical*

Tradition in English Literature, ed. David Lyle Jeffrey (Grand Rapids, 1992), pp. 391-92; and Gaetano M. Perrella, C. M., "La 'Valle di Giosafat' e il giudizio universale," *Divus Thomas* 36 (1933), 45-50. I am indebted to these studies for several of the examples cited in this paper.

11. *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, Forma b, lines 134-40, ed. Weber, *Itineraria et alia geographica*, p. 112: "Ad dextera parte ibi est uallis Iosaphat, ibi iudicaturus est Dominus iustos et peccatores. Et ibi est fluius paruus qui ignem uomit in consummationem saeculi."

12. *Anonymous Pilgrim I* par. 3, trans. Aubrey Stewart, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* 6 (London, 1894; repr. New York, 1971), p. 2.

13. *Guide Book to Palestine* par. 83, trans. J. H. Bernard, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* 6, p. 17.

14. *Mandeville's Travels*, ed. P. Hamelius, EETS O.S. 153 (London, 1919), p. 76.

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15. Martin Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge. Étude historico-doctrinale*, *Studi e testi* 114 (Vatican City, 1944), pp. 114, 220, 681-87; Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 13-14, 16. Cf. Ælfric's sermon on the Assumption of the Virgin, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Being the Sermones Catholici or Homilies of Ælfric*, 2 vols. (London, 1844-46; repr. New York, 1971), 1: 442; and *Mandeville's Travels*, pp. 63-64.

16. *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* 7 (London, 1893; repr. New York, 1971), p. 467. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption*, p. 687, cites an early expression of this idea from a vii/viii-century sermon on the Dormition by Modestus of Jerusalem, *Encomium in Dormitionem Deiparae* 14, PG 86: 3312. Both Theodosius, writing A.D. 530 (*Itineraria et alia geographica*, p. 119), and Arculf, A.D. 670 (*Itineraria et alia geographica*, p. 195), claim to be familiar with a church dedicated to Mary located in the Valley of Josaphat.

17. *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, pp. 489, 491-92.

18. Julian (d. 690), *Prognosticum futuri saeculi* 3.2, PL 96: 497-98; Haymo (d. c. 855), *Enarratio in Joel prophetam*, PL 117: 106, and *Expositio in Epist. I ad Thess.* par. 4, PL 117: 772.

19. In roughly chronological order, Honorius (early xii-century), *Sacramentarium* 62, PL 172: 778; Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129), *Commentaria in Ioel* 1.3, PL 168: 242-43; Robert Pullen (d. c. 1146), *Sententiarum libri octo* 8.26, PL 186: 1001; Peter Lombard (d. 1160), *Sententiarum libri quattuor* 4.84.4, PL 192: 956-57; Magister Bandinus (xii-century; see PL 218: 418), *Sententiarum libri quattuor* 4.40, PL 192: 1111-12; Richard of St-Victor (d. 1173), *Adnotationes in Ioelem*, PL 175: 359 (attributed to Hugh of St-Victor in Migne; see P. Glorieux, *Pour revaloriser Migne: Tables rectificatives*, *Mélanges de science religieuse, cahier supplémentaire* [Lille, 1952], p. 67); and Martín of León (d. 1203), *Sermo 2 in Adventu Domini* par. 50, PL 208: 55 (quoting from Peter Lombard). That not everyone was content with this etymological tradition informed by a literal reading of Joel's prophecy is clear from Jerome's late contemporary Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), who in his commentary on Joel contemptuously declares this idea "ridiculous" while those who believe it are "frivolous and inane": *Commentarius in Joelem prophetam*, PG 71: 389-92.

20. Werner, *Liber deflorationum* par. 1, PL 157: 748: "Erit autem iudicium in valle Josaphat, ut dicitur. Vallis Josaphat dicitur vallis iudicii. Vallis est semper juxta montem. Vallis est hic mundus, mons est coelum. In valle igitur fit iudicium, id est in isto mundo, scilicet in aere, ubi iusti ad dexteram Christi, ut oves statuentur; impii autem, ut haedi ad sinistram ponentur."

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21. Christian Druthmarus (d. 1046), *Expositio in Matthaem* par. 56, PL 106: 1469: "Multi autem putaverunt in valle Josaphat, qui est locus in Iudaea, futurum esse iudicium, sed nequaquam verum est, quamvis sonet Josaphat iudicium, sed in aere erit, ut Paulus dicit: Rapiemur in aere, et sic semper cum Domino erimus."

22. Peter Lombard, *Sententiarum libri quattuor* 4.48.4, "De loco iudicii," PL 192: 956-57: "Putant quidam Dominum descensurum in vallem Josaphat in iudicio, eo quod ipse per Joelem prophetam sic loquitur, c. 1: 'Congregabo omnes gentes, et deducam eas in vallem Josaphat, et disceptabo ibi cum eis....' Hoc quidam pueriliter intelligunt, quod in valle quae est in latere montis Oliveti descensus sit Dominus ad iudicium, quod friVolum est, quia non in terra, sed in spatio hujus aeris sedebit contra locum montis Oliveti, ex quo ascendit.... Josaphat autem interpretatur iudicium Domini. In vallem ergo Josaphat, id est iudicii Domini, congregabuntur omnes impii. Iusti vero non descendent in vallem iudicii, id est damnationem; sed in nubibus elevabuntur obviam Christo."

23. Aquinas, *In IV Sententiarum* 4.48.1.4, in *Opera Omnia* (Parma, 1852-73; repr. New York, 1948-50), 7.2: 1170; *Quodlibet* 10.2, in *Opera Omnia* 9: 601; and *Summa theologiae* 4.88.4, in *Opera Omnia* 4: 639.

24. *Miscellanea Tironiana aus dem Codex Vaticanvs Latinvs Reginae Christinae 846* (fol. 99-114), ed. Wilhelm Schmitz (Leipzig, 1896), p. 30: "Interrogatio: Quomodo? Responsio: Postquam morior, quod resurgam in die iudicii in triginta annorum aetate et venturus sim ad iudicium in monte oliveti, ubi est medius mundus, unde Christus, filius Dei, ascendit ad Patrem, ubi et ipse venturus est iudicare vivos ac mortuos et reddere unicuique secundum sua." I thank Charles D. Wright for alerting me to this little-known dialogue.

25. Jerome, *Commentarii in Daniele*, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 75A (Turnhout, 1964), pp. 933-35.

26. *Tiburtine Sibyl*, ed. Ernst Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), p. 186, translated in Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*, *Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies* 96 (New York, 1979), p. 50; Adso, *Letter on the Antichrist*, ed. D. Verhelst, *Adso Dervensis: De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976), p. 29, translated in McGinn, *Visions of the End*, p. 87. See also Guibert de Nogent's *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, in McGinn, *Visions of the End*, p. 91.

27. For example, a xii-century sermon ed. volker Mertens, "'Von dem iungsten tage': Eine Predigt aus dem Umkreis des Predigtbuches des Priesters Konrad," *Würzburger Prosastudien I*, *Medium Ævum* 13 (Munich, 1968), pp. 102-21 (at lines 118-20, p. 108; based on Honorius); a xiv/xv-century Palm Sunday sermon, ed. Woodburn O. Ross, *Middle English Sermons Edited from BL MS. Royal 18 B. XXIII*, EETS O.S. 209 (London,

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1940), p. 173 (based on Peter Lombard); a Wycliffite homily on Matthew 24 in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1869-71), 2: 405; and a German mystery play, *Der Jüngste Tag*, dated 1467 from a manuscript of the Rheinau monastery near Schaffhausen, ed. Franz Josef Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters* (Karlsruhe, 1846), 1: 273-304 (at p. 280).

28. Typical is the Adrian and Epictetus exchange in a xii-century ms., "Ubi erit consummatio seculi? In valle Iosaphat": *Das mittellateinische*

Gespräch Adrian und Epictetus nebst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum), ed. Walther Suchier (Tübingen, 1955), p. 35 (AE2 no. 83). For other examples, see Suchier, *Das mittellateinische Gespräch*, pp. 16 (AE1a, no. 66), 17 (AE1b, nos. 50-51), 35 (AE2 no. 82), and Georg Baesecke, *Der Vocabularius Sti. Galli in der angelsächsischen Mission* (Halle, 1933), p. 7 (no. 31). My thanks again to Charles D. Wright for bringing these examples to my attention.

29. In addition to the commentaries cited above in notes 7, 18, and 19, see the running gloss by Hugh of St Cher which is often reproduced in the margins of early printed Bibles: *Biblia latina cum postillis Hugonis de s. Charo*, 7 vols. (Basel, 1498-1504), 5: signature D3v. Other examples are collected by Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in duodecim prophetas minores, secunda editio Veneta* (Venice, 1717), pp. 175-77, 180. See also Thomas de Chobham (d. 1327), *Summa de arte praedicandi* 4, ed. Franco Morenzoni, CCCM 82 (Turnhout, 1988), p. 113, lines 769-71.

30. Ed. Karl Joseph Simrock, *Die deutschen volksbücher* 12 (Frankfurt, 1865).

31. *Inferno* 10.10-12, ed. and trans. Charles S. Singleton, *Dante Alighieri. The Divine Comedy, Bollingen Series 80* (Princeton, 1970), 1: 99, cf. p. 145.

32. *Piers Plowman, C-Text*, 20.411-17, ed. Derek Pearsall, *Piers Plowman by William Langland: An Edition of the C-Text, York Medieval Texts, second series* (Berkeley, 1978), p. 337; see Elisabeth Lunz, "The Valley of Jehoshaphat in *Piers Plowman*," *Tulane Studies in English* 20 (1972), 1-10.

33. *Cursor Mundi (The Cursor o' the World). A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century in Four Versions*, ed. Richard Morris, 7 vols., EETS O.S. 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (London, 1874-93; repr. 1966), pp. 1312-13, lines 22963-70.

34. *The Pricke of Conscience (Stimulus Conscientiae): A Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole*, ed. Richard Morris, *Philological Society* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 140-42, lines 5147-5232.

35. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, O. P., *The Holy Land: An Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700*, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York, 1986), p. 106; cf. J. E. Hanauer, *Tales Told in Palestine*, ed. H. G. Mitchell (Cincinnati, 1904), pp. 136-38. Having never been to the Holy Land myself, I am grateful to the peripatetic Timothy Jones for a recent

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eyewitness confirmation of the distribution of cemeteries in the Kidron Valley and for introducing me to Murphy-O'Connor's book.

36. James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Viking Compass Edition (New York, 1964), p. 113.

37. *The Exeter Book*, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, ASPR 3 (New York and London, 1936).

38. Johannes Jeremias, *Der Gottesberg* (Gütersloh, 1919); Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, *Harvard Semitic Monographs* 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

39. *Psalms* 2:6, 47:3, 77:68, 83:8, 86:1, 98:9, 101:17, 124:1, 131:13; *Isaiahs* 24:23; *Abdias* 17, 21; *Hebrews* 12:22; *Jubilees* 1:28, 4:26, 19:13 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City, New York, 1983-1985) 2: 54, 63, 91. The cosmic and theophanic associations of Sion (both mountain and city) in the *Psalms* and *Isaiah*, and their probable origins in a pre-Israelite, common Ugaritic-Canaanite mythology, are discussed by John H. Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 82 (1963), 419-26.

40.4 *Ezra* 2.42-48, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 1: 528. Charles E. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum: Patterns of Future Hope in Early Christianity*, *Oxford Early Christian Studies* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 98-100, interprets this vision as taking place not at the earthly Mount Sion but at a heavenly Mount Sion between the time of Christ's return and the Final Judgment. Frederick M. Biggs, "The Fourfold Division of Souls: The Old English 'Christ III' and the Insular Homiletic Tradition," *Traditio* 45 (1989-1990), 35-51, argues (at p. 43) that these verses in particular may have influenced the Christ III poet.

41. Biggs, "The Fourfold Division," pp. 42-45.

42. Whitley Stokes, "The Fifteen Tokens of Doomsday," *Revue celtique* 28 (1907), 314-15, quoted by Biggs, "The Fourfold Division," p. 44.

43. Some indirect support for Biggs's argument may be had from Brian O'Dwyer Grogan, "The Eschatological Doctrines of the Early Irish Church" (Diss. Fordham University, 1973), pp. 230-31, who finds the idea of a fourfold division of souls present in two other Anglo-Saxon narratives, the *Vision of Drihthelm* (as reported in *Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica* V.12) and the *Vision of the Monk of Wenlock* (in Boniface's letter to Eadburga).

44. The following summary is based on the translation by Paul Grosjean, "A Tale of Doomsday Colum Cille Should Have Left Untold," *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 3 (1931), 73-83. The *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* is generally dated to the second quarter of s. xv, but Grosjean fixes the language of this tale "to the eleventh or twelfth century" (p. 74).

45. Grosjean, "A Tale of Doomsday," p. 80. Bracketed phrases are Grosjean's.

46. *Tírechán, Collectanea* 52, ed. Ludwig Bieler, *The Patrician Texts in the*

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Book of Armagh, Scriptorum Latini Hiberniae 10 (Dublin, 1979), pp. 164-65, lines 8-10; Colgan, *Vita tertia* 85 (BHL 6506-7), ed. Bieler, *Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick, Scriptorum Latini Hiberniae* 8 (Dublin, 1971), p. 180, line 18 - p. 181, line 4; *Vita auctore Probo* 2.20 (BHL 6508), ed. Bieler, *Four Latin Lives*, p. 212, line 31 - p. 213, line 2; *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (BHL 6509), ed. Kathleen Mulchrone (Dublin, 1939), pp. 72-75, lines 1323-74; the *Gloucester Vita*, ed. Bieler, "Eine Patricksvita in Gloucester," in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 346-63, at p. 359 (fol. 150ra, lines 26-28; taken, Bieler suspects, from *Tírechán*). *Tírechán's Collectanea* is mid-to-late vii-century (Patrician Texts, pp. 41-43). Bieler, *Four Latin Lives*, p. 26, dates the *Vita tertia* "between c. 800 and c. 1130"; the *Vita auctore Probo* is variously dated between the ninth and eleventh centuries (p. 40); the ms. of the *Gloucester Vita* is c. 1200. On these texts, see further Michael Lapidge and Richard Sharpe, *Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400-1200* (Dublin, 1985), nos. 301, 367-68, 1184.

47. Muirchú, *Vita s. Patricii* 2.6, ed. Bieler, *Patrician Texts*, pp. 116-17, lines 26-29; *Vita tertia* par. 88, in *Four Latin Lives*, p. 184, lines 12-14 (cf. Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, no. 303); *Bethu Phátraic*, pp. 72-75, lines 1323-74; "Eine Patricksvita in Gloucester," p. 359 (fol. 150ra, lines 29-30). The story of Patrick's petitions, including his request to judge the Irish at Doomsday, is repeated in *Nennius's Historia Brittonum* 54:

Nennius's "History of the Britons", trans. A.W. Wade-Evans (London, 1938), p. 74. Patrick is also implicitly identified as future judge of the Irish ("around thee on the Day of Doom the men of Ireland will go to Judgment") in the Old Irish Hymn of Fiacc, ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes and John Strachan, Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: A Collection of Old-Irish Glosses, Scholia, Prose and Verse, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1903), 2: 307-21 (at p. 319, lines 10-11).

48. *McGinn, Visions of the End, pp. 39-40.*