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VISIO SANCTI PAULI

THE HISTORY OF THE APOCALYPSE IN LATIN
TOGETHER WITH NINE TEXTS

BY

THEODORE SILVERSTEIN, PH.D.

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PREFACE

The limits of the present work are indicated by its sub-title. With the non-Latin Long versions and their descendents, and with the Western vernacular Redactions which flourished in the centuries just preceding the Renaissance, it deals only incidentally and as they help to bridge the gaps in the Latin history. Chapters One and Two in Part One attempt to recount what may be called the external history of the book in the West. The rest of this part treats in detail the growth and relationship of the Latin texts and the sources and meaning of the more important interpolations.

Of the nine texts published in Part Two only three have appeared previously in print: the 'Vienna Fragment' and Redactions I and V. Redaction I and the Vienna Fragment are extant in the same manuscript, written continuously as if they were a single work. As a result Brandes, in his edition of 1885, partly confused the two. They are here studied anew from the codex and separated. The third text, Redaction V, was printed from a single Berlin codex by Šepelevič, and excerpts from an English manuscript appear as an appendix to Jones and Rhŷs, *The Elucidarium*, in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, vol. VI. It is now edited from a more complete text in *MS. Rawlinson C 108*, with the variants from the Berlin codex and the Jones and Rhŷs fragments recorded in the notes. The other six Latin forms of the Apocalypse are published for the first time.

It will be observed that no text of the highly important Redaction IV is printed here. Representative versions have already been published five times, it is true, by Brandes, Meyer, van Os, and in Migne's *Patrologia latina*; but this is not the reason for its omission. None of these editions uses more than a few of the extant codices: a complete and critical edition of it is much needed. However, the problems of the Redaction are so extensive that it seemed best to reserve the printing of such a text for a separate work. In the meantime Redaction IV has not been entirely neglected. Most of its manuscripts have been consulted for this study, pertinent textual variants being recorded in the proper places throughout; and its place in the general scheme of the Latin Redactions is fully considered in Part One.

The terms used to distinguish the various forms of the Apocalypse

need some explanation. 'Long texts' is used for all those versions, both Latin and non-Latin, which approximate, in the fullness and the nature of their contents, to the third- and fourth-century originals. This name is applied also to the St. Gall Text and the Vienna Fragment, which, though in reality abbreviations, are most conveniently grouped with the completer forms of the book. 'Redaction' is used specifically to refer to the body of late mediaeval abbreviations, descendents of the Long Latin, which circulated in the West beginning with the ninth century. For the individual Redactions I have followed the numerical designations of Brandes, adding the letters a, b, c, and d to distinguish the variant versions of Redaction III, most of which he did not know, and the numbers VII and VIII for the two new Redactions. This is inconsistent, since I–V (and now VII and VIII) indicate relationship and to some extent relative chronology, whereas VI is given to a text older than any other of the Redactions and unconnected with them. But Brandes's terminology has become established among students of the Apocalypse, and to disturb it would only add confusion to an already complicated subject.

The large debt of this monograph to previous works in the same field is indicated in the body of the book. I wish here to acknowledge obligations of a more personal nature. Professor Rudolph Willard of Yale first called my attention to the M^1 and *CC* texts of Redaction III and furnished me with transcripts of them and of a fragmentary Old English version of the Long Latin. Professors Leo Wiener and Samuel H. Cross of Harvard have provided translations of the Old Russian Long text; and Professor Harry Wolfson has answered many questions concerning Hebrew lore. I am indebted to Professor George Lyman Kittredge for many things: amongst others for encouragement and guidance when, five years ago, I began my investigation of this subject and for the care that he has spent on the proofs. To Professor and Mrs. Lake, the editors of the series in which the book appears, I am grateful first of all for a kindness and understanding that have gone far beyond the limits of mere editorial duty. And I am grateful for all their meticulous scrutiny of manuscript and proofs. I wish also to thank the Committee of the Fund for Research in the Humanities of Harvard University for the grants of money that have made possible the present publication.

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I

THE HISTORY OF THE APOCALYPSE

Chapter One

THE WESTERN TRADITION

The Apocalypse of Paul was written in Greek, probably by an Egyptian,[1] as early as the third century, and was reissued some time after the year 388 with a preface that sought to support the authority of the book by relating the story of its miraculous discovery in Tarsus.[2] It is therefore considerably later than the Apocalypses of Peter, Elias and Zephaniah, which were apparently its chief sources,[3] and has not the interest with which their greater age invests them. Yet it served as a means of transmitting to posterity much that they and the other apocrypha of their time contained. Related in content to homilies of Origen and Macarius of Egypt on the fate of the souls at death,[4] and to the Revelation of Esdras,[5] it was also the direct source of the Apocalypse of the Virgin,[6] perhaps in part of the Slavonic *Enoch*,[7] and it influenced the Testament of Abraham[8] as well as several of the visions that were current in the West during the late Middle Ages. Thus it linked the other-world lore of the first Christian centuries with that of the twelfth to the fifteenth.[9] Only *Peter*, among the writings of this sort, possibly surpassed the Apocalypse of Paul in popularity during its earlier career, and by the Middle Ages the influence of the older work was markedly declining.[10] The importance of *Paul*, on the contrary, increased from the eighth century, so that it became one of the chief formative elements in the development of the later legends of Heaven and Hell which culminated in the Divina Commedia of Dante, who seems to have known some form of the Apocalypse at first hand.[11] Echoes of it can also be heard in the works of Chaucer, who was influenced indirectly through the Purgatory of St Patrick,[12] its English-Irish pendant.

But this wide-spread influence was won only in the face of constant opposition on the part of ecclesiastical authorities. If the quotation from Origen in the Nomocanon of Gregory Barhebraeus is to be credited, the original Apocalypse enjoyed at least a fair measure of acceptance during the middle of the third century.[13] When, however, one hundred and fifty years later it began to circulate in its revised form, it met with doubt from Sozomen and condemnation from St Augustine, who set a tone of disapproval which was maintained throughout the Middle Ages.[14]

Of the main body of the work Sozomen has little to say. He confines his attention rather to questioning the authenticity of the preface, that is, the account of the discovery at Tarsus, basing his doubt on the opinion of an old man, a priest of the city, who said that the story was not true, for he had lived a long time and knew that nothing of the kind had happened there, and he wondered whether it were not an invention of heretics.[15]

Augustine, on the contrary, ignores the prefatory narrative and suggests no such heretical association, but discredits the contents of the book directly. 'Qua occasione,' he says in reference to II Corinthians xii 2–4, 'vani quidam Apocalypsim Pauli, quam sane non recipit Ecclesia, nescio quibus fabulis plenam, stultissima praesumptione finxerunt; dicentes hanc esse unde dixerat raptum se fuisse in tertium coelum et illic audisse ineffabilia verba quae non licet homini loqui. Utcumque illorum tolerabilis esset audacia, si se audisse dixisset quae adhuc non licet homini loqui: cum vero dixerit, quae non licet homini loqui; isti qui sunt qui haec audeant impudenter et infeliciter loqui?'[16]

The motives for this attack are not immediately clear. There is nothing in the Apocalypse as we know it that need have made it especially repugnant to the orthodoxy of the day. But Augustine seems to have been hostile to all books outside of the canon, and here he is evidently annoyed by the attempt of its sponsors to draw authority for their revelation from II Corinthians, which states expressly that such revelations are forbidden.[17]

It should be noted, moreover, that whatever may be the trustworthiness of Sozomen's witness as to the heretical connections of the book,[18] it got into bad hands soon enough. For in the year 590, according to the twelfth-century Armenian chronicler Samuel of Ani, a group of Syrian Christians who passed for Nestorians, but whose apparently eclectic views—to judge from their strange literature—would have been as distasteful to Nestorius as they are to the twelfth-century historian, went into Armenia carrying with them a number of their 'fallacious books,' among which was the Apocalypse of Paul.[19]

Disapproval, whether by Sozomen and Augustine or by those who followed them, did not avail to check the spread of the work. The very number of the objections indicates the strength of its appeal.[20] Within three centuries of the time of its reissue it had penetrated to Armenia in the East, and to England in the West, where Aldhelm echoes the traditional disapproval—but not, as it seems, without a little regret.[21] Perhaps the best measure of its influence is the variety of the languages and the dates of the codices in which the book is extant. Even apart

from those Redactions which modified the work radically by interpolation as well as by abbreviation (and they include the chief languages of nearly every part of Europe),[22] there are versions approximating to the original in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, and Slavic, in manuscripts ranging between the eighth and the seventeenth century.[23]

Nor are the reasons for this popularity entirely obscure. The Apocalypse is both ill-proportioned and full of repetitions, and its author seldom rose above a blundering and barely disguised plagiarism.[24] These considerations are, however, irrelevant. The world to which the work appealed cared neither for its artistic proportions nor for its author's originality. What it did care for were the contents. And with all its shortcomings the author's plagiarizing method succeeded in effecting a combination of the materials of several apocalypses that lent to *Paul* an inclusiveness attained by no one of its predecessors. Moreover, since it was alleged to consist of the apostle's own inspired words, the fact that its contents were similar to those of other current apocrypha can only have been an additional guarantee of its truth. Finally, not the least important reason for its wide appeal was its preoccupation with those conditions in the other-world which face the soul immediately after death and are therefore a matter of imminent concern to the living. Even in *Peter*, where the descriptions, particularly of the places of torment, are touched with equally vivid detail, they generally refer, not to the present, but to the time when the world is to end.[25] The Apocalypse of Paul found a ready audience, because it offered a complete Baedeker to the other-world, embodying beliefs and legends already familiar to its readers from other current writings, and giving information as to the fate of the soul, in a relatively straightforward exposition which avoided the subtleties of theology, and stressed with a concreteness that was readily comprehensible the justice of God, Christ's mercy, and the simple relationship between earthly morality and the rewards and punishments of the life to come.

But whatever the reasons and circumstances, the Apocalypse was in fact successful, especially in western Europe. Here, at first in the Long texts which preserved with some fullness the contents of the fourth-century original, and later in a group of abbreviated Redactions, its career proceeded without interruption for more than a thousand years. The simplest indication of this continuity is to be found century by century in the evidence of texts and manuscripts or of references in various ecclesiastical writings.

Of this evidence the first concerns the Long texts. The oldest surviving Latin manuscript of the Apocalypse of Paul (Paris *B.N.*, *Nouv.*

acq. Lat. 1631) was written during the eighth century.[26] But a comparison with later manuscripts proves that it is not the archetype of the Latin translation which it represents.[27] This, as the language of the Paris codex shows, was probably older by at least two hundred years. It was a fairly close rendering of its Greek source, and was made not later than the beginning of the sixth, and perhaps as early as the last years of the fourth century, not long before St Augustine's condemnation.[28] In the Middle Ages this Long Latin version was the main source of any accurate knowledge of the original Apocalypse.[29]

The gap between the sixth and eighth centuries, dividing the making of the translation from the writing of the copy now in Paris, is bridged by Aldhelm's quotation in his prose treatise *De laudibus virginitatis*. Here, in a passage that betrays an acquaintance with a considerable number of Apocryphal Acts, he describes briefly the miraculous adventures which were the experience of St Paul. '. . . nonne ob purae integritatis praerogativam,' he cries, 'tertium polum peragrans, supernorum civium arcana castis obtutibus contemplatur, et coelestis militiae abstrusa ineffabili rerum relatu rimatur, licet Revelatio, quam dicunt Pauli, in nave aurea florentis paradisi delicias eundem adisse garriat. Sed fas divinum vetat catholicae fidei sequipedas plus quidpiam quam canonicae veritatis censura promulgat credere, et caetera apocryphorum deliramenta velut horrisona verborum tonitrua penitus abdicare et procul eliminare, orthodoxorum Patrum scita scriptis decretalibus sanxerunt.' (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* LXXXIX, 121–122)

Aldhelm's education and associations suggest the possibility of his having known the Apocalypse directly from the Greek, but on this point there is no evidence.[30] Clearly, however, the *Paul* to which he here refers was not one of the abbreviating Redactions, but, Greek or Latin, an example of the Long texts; for the golden ship of Paradise, which he mentions, appears in the account of the apostle's first journey to the dwellings of the righteous, and this is found only in them.[31]

A St Gall codex carries the history of the Long Latin into the ninth century.[32] Though similar in language and contents to the Paris text, it is not based upon that manuscript,[33] so that it serves as an independent witness to the sixth-century Latin translation, and shows that the transmission of the Latin to the later Middle Ages did not depend upon the precarious survival of a single copy.

For the tenth and eleventh centuries England provides evidence in the Blickling Homilies, 'Wulfstan,' and Aelfric. But complications arise. The Blickling homilist and the writer of the pieces ascribed to Wulfstan, both of whom quote the Apocalypse as if it had the authority of Scripture,[34] show a knowledge which implies the shorter Redactions as well

as the Long texts. In some cases, however, it is possible to distinguish between their sources; and for the immediate task of tracing the evidences of the unbroken progress of the Long texts, rather than exhausting the instances of their use by any single writer, it is sufficient to notice the few passages certainly pertinent to this purpose.

In the Blickling Homilies the clearest reference to the Long Latin describes the punishment of those who forsook their church and neglected the songs of God: 'Swa Sanctus Paulus cwæþ þætte God héte ealle þa aswæman æt heofona rices dura, þa þe heora cyrican forlætaþ, & forhycggaþ þa Godes dreamas to geherenne.'[35] This is evidently based upon the account in the Long texts of those people who were proud on earth and who therefore must dwell outside the gates of the City of Christ until the second coming of the Lord.[36]

'Wulfstan' gives somewhat more extensive evidence of the use of the Long texts. As with Aldhelm and the Blickling Homilies, the decisive quotations are from the opening sections of the Apocalypse, which the Redactions uniformly omit or abbreviate.[37] Of these passages two suffice to show 'Wulfstan's' debt.

(i) The description of the assembly of the devils and the angels before God at sunrise and at sunset, which is adapted from the similar account in the Long texts of the daily report by the angels of the just and wicked men:

'Wulfstan'	*Paul*
ðonne is hit gecweden on halgum bocum, þæt ælc man hæfð twegen lareowas on dæg and twegen on niht, oðer us læreð to heofona rices wuldre, þæt is godes engel, oþer us lærð to hellewites brogan, þæs nama is deofol. ðonne to sunnan upgange þonne bringað hy gode on gewrite, se engel eall, þæt we on dære nihte to gode gedoð, and se deofol eall, þæt we to yfel gedoð and gefremmað, and wile oferstælan þone engel, gif he mæg, mid þam yfelum weorcum. and hy cumað to sunnan setlgange and bringað gode eall, þæt we to gode gedoð and eac to yfele. (Homily XLVI, ed. Napier, I, 233)	Propterea ergo, filii hominum, benedicite dominum deum inc<es>sabiliter omnibus diebus; magis autem cum hocciderit sol: hac enim ho<ra> omnes angeli proficiscuntur ad dominum <ado>rare eum et offerre opera hominum que operatur unusquisque <ho>mo a mane usque ad uesperam, siue bona siue mala. Et est quidam angelus qui procedit gaudens de homine quem inhabitat. Cum ergo occiderit sol prima hora noctis, in eadem hora angelus uniuscuiusque populi et uniuscuiusque uiri et mulieris, qui protegunt et conseruant eos, quia imago dei est homo; similiter etiam et hora matutina quae est duodecima noctis, omnes occurrunt deo angeli uirorum et mulierum adorare deum et offerre omnem operam quam operatus est unusquisque homo siue bona siue mala. (James, *Visio Pauli*, p. 13, ll. 19–31)

(ii) The account of the going-out of the souls at the time of death, a passage of peculiar interest because of its relation to the popular legend of the Body and Soul.[38] In the comparison which follows, the lines in the Paris text of *Paul* have been supplemented with a pertinent passage from the St Gall codex, since each of these examples has its own peculiar defects, and 'Wulfstan's' quotation, derived from a text which was more correct than either, contains some of the details of both:

'Wulfstan'

Scs Paulus apostolus wæs sprecende and sæde, þæt him godes engel æteowde sume arlease sawle and swyđe synfulle ut gangende of þam earman lichaman. and he geseah, þæt þær wæron micel menju engla and deofla; and þa fuhton swiđe þearle þa englas and þa deoflu ymbe þa earman sawle[39]; and þa deoflu hy genaman æt þam englum and oferstældon hy mid hire yfelan weorcum, þe heo wyrcende wæs. and þa wæron þa englas swyđe sarige on heora mode. and þa deoflu hy potedon and þoddetton þa earman sawle and heton hy ut faran rađe of þam lichaman swyđe heardlice. and se lichama wæs þa gyt sprecende, and he ongan swiđe yfele and bæd his deađes and sæde, þæt him næfre ǣr nær swa wǣ, swa him þa wæs; and him andswaredon þa deoflu, and hy sædon, þæt him wære micele mare and wyrse yfel toweard . . . đa cwæđ se engel eft to Paule: 'folga me, þonne ætowe ic đe sumes sođfæstes mannes sawle ut gangende of þam lichaman.' đa eoden hy. þa ymbe lytel þa clypode se engel to Paule and cwæđ him to: 'loca hider.' þa locade he þider; đa geseah he þa halgan sawle ut of þam godan lichaman gangende, and he geseah micele menigu engla and deofla, and hy fuhton stiđlice ymbe þa halgan sawle. and þa englas hy genamon æt þam deoflum and oferstældon hy mid hire godum dædum; and þa deoflu wendon sceamigende aweg, and hy wæron on miclum unsælum; and þa englas wæron on swiđe micelre blisse, and hy heton byrigean þone gôdan lichaman and þus cwædon:

Paul

[*Paris*] Et ait mihi: Iterum aspice deorsum in terram et expecta animam impii exeuntem de corpore, que inritauit dominum die hac nocte dicens: Nichil aliut noui in hoc mundo, manduco et bibo et fruor que sunt in mundo. . . . Et iterum respexi et uidi omnem contemptum peccatoris et omnia que egit, et in unum asteterunt ante eum in hora necessitatis: et factum est ei in illa ora qua minabatur de corpore eius ad iudicium, et dixi: Melius erat ei si non fuisset natus. Et post haec uenerunt simul sancti angeli et maligni et anima peccatoris, et sancti angeli locum non inuenerunt in ea. Maligni autem angeli comminati sunt ipsius; qui cum educerent eam de corpore commonuerunt eam angeli tercio, dicentes: O misera anima, prospice carnem tuam unde existi: necesse est enim te reuertere in carne tua in diem resurreccionis, ut recipias peccatis tuis condignum, et impietatum tuarum. . . .

(James, pp. 17–18, sec. 15)

Ego uero cum hoc audissem suspirans fleui, et dixi angelo: Volebam expectare animas iustorum et peccatorum, et uidere quo scemate exeunt de corpore. Et respondens angelus dixit mihi: Iterum aspice in terram . . . et inspexi et uidi q<uen>dam hominem moritur <um>, et dixit mihi angelus: Hu<nc> quem uides iustus est. . . . Et ite<rum> aspexi et uidi om<nia> opera eius quecunque fecerat propter nomen dei, et omnia studia eius quorum memini<t> et quorum non memini <t>, omnia steterunt in conspectum eius in

'Wulfstan'	*Paul*
'*Benedicat omnia opera eius dominus.*' ðaet is on englisc: gebletsige eall hire weorc ælmihtig drihten. (Napier, pp. 235–237)[41]	hora necessitatis; et uidi iustum profecisse et inuenisse refectionem et fiduciam, et ante quam exiret de mundo asteterunt sancti angeli simul et impii: et uidi eos omnes, set impii non inuenerunt locum habitacionis in eum, sancti autem dominati sunt anime eius, gubernantes eam quo usque exiret de corpore: . . . (James, p. 16, sec. 14)[40] [*St Gall*] Posthaec uidi animam iustam introeuntem in caelum, . . . Et omnes potestates exierunt in occursum eius, et inuenerunt nihil suum in ea. Respondit eis angelus, et spiritus dixerunt, 'Conuertimini erubescentes, quia non ualuistis decipere animam istam constitutam in carne.' (Below, p. 131)

Though the Blickling homilist and 'Wulfstan' thus accept the Apocalypse of Paul, Aelfric takes the opposite and more orthodox position. 'Humeta rædað sume men,' he asks, 'ða leasan gesetnysse, ðe hí hatað Paulus gesihðe, nu hé sylfe sæde þæt hé ða digelan word gehyrde, þe nán eorðlic mann sprecan ne mót?'[42] Aelfric nowhere quotes the contents of the work,[43] and the nature of his objection recalls St Augustine. But the words 'Humeta rædað sume men' suggest that his is no mere traditional argument in the absence of his opponent. It is perhaps not certain that he had read the book himself, but we can at least be sure that he knew at first hand of its circulation among the more credulous of his countrymen.

The growth of interest in the Apocalypse of Paul from the eighth to the eleventh century was not confined merely to the copying and quoting of the Long texts. During this same period Latin Redactions were made by authors displaying considerable originality both in reshaping the older materials and in adding numerous interpolations. Of these Redactions the oldest was written in the ninth century or even earlier, and went farthest in modifying the character of the original.[44] Its contents possess an uncommon interest of their own, though they are not connected with the main stream of the later vision literature. This stream flowed through a group of younger Redactions, apparently no fewer than ten in number, of which seven have survived.[45] These texts, extant in manuscripts ranging from the twelfth to the fifteenth century,[46] were one of the chief storehouses from which the

writers of the end of the Middle Ages drew the substance of their visions of Heaven and Hell.

Internal criticism has been used to investigate the indebtedness of most of these Redactions to the longer versions of the Apocalypse,[47] but the external evidence of their connection has generally been neglected. Consequently, the misconception has never been wholly dissipated that the writers of the abbreviated versions lacked direct access to the contents of the older Long texts in a written Western tradition.[48] The newest promulgator of this theory,[49] Miguel Asín Palacios, has been misled by the dates of the manuscripts, by failure to investigate the survival of the Long Latin versions, and by familiarity with only one of the numerous abbreviations—the relatively late Latin Redaction IV and its vernacular translations—so that he can find a connecting link between the Long texts and the abbreviations only by postulating an oriental tradition which reached the West by way of Arabic adaptation. For the present I confine myself to correcting the erroneous implications of this theory for the transmission of the older materials to the late Middle Ages, postponing the important problem of the origin of the interpolations, which is here involved, to the more detailed treatment of the Redactions.[50]

Latin Redaction IV was, no doubt, the work of a writer who knew nothing at first hand of the Long texts.[51] But it was also the culmination of a series of five successive abbreviations (and the kin of five others)[52] of which the language is so obviously like that of the Long Latin as to prove that at least the first of them was immediately indebted to it.[53]

To the evidence from continuity of language can be added the argument from opportunity, showing that the Redactions were current in a country where the Long version was in use, and at the same time.

The manuscripts of the Redactions yield two facts of the utmost significance:

(i) Though no one of them was written down before the twelfth century, two of the earliest codices contain texts of Redaction IV[54]; thus most of the versions which preceded that Redaction were undoubtedly written before the year 1100.

(ii) Of the forty-seven extant manuscripts of the Redactions twenty-one, or nearly one half of the total number, are English; which points, if not to the origin of the abbreviated versions, at least to their special popularity in England.

Moreover, from England comes further evidence of their date in —once more— the Blickling homilist and 'Wulfstan.' In his sermon 'To Sanctae Michaheles Maessan,' the homilist describes the icy branches

of Hell which St Paul saw during his visit to the northern regions of the earth: 'Swa Sanctus Paulus wæs geseonde on norðanweardne þisne middengeard, þær ealle wætero niðergewitað, & he þær geseah ofer þæm wætere sumne hárne stán; & wæron norð of ðæm stáne awexene swiðe hrimige bearwas, & ðær wæron þystrogenipo, & under þæm stáne wæs niccra eardung & wearga. & he geseah þæt on ðæm clife hangodan on ðæm ís gean bearwum manige swearte saula be heora handum gebundne; & þa fynd þara on nicra onlicnesse heora gripende wæron, swa swa grædig wulf; & *þaet* wæter wæs sweart under þæm clife neoðan. & betuh þæm clife on ðæm wætre wæron swylce twelf míla, & ðonne ða twigo forburston þonne gewitan þa saula niðer þa þe on ðæm twigum hangodan, & him onfengon ða nicras. Ðis ðonne wæron ða saula þa þe her on worlde mid únrihte gefyrenode wæron, & ðæs noldan geswican ær heora lifes ende.' (Ed. Morris, pp. 209, 211)

Morris has called attention to the reminiscences of the Beowulf in this description,[55] but the Anglo-Saxon epic furnished merely a transforming suggestion. The main foundation of the passage was the account of the unrepentant sinners hanging on fiery trees, which appears in all but three of the abbreviated versions of *Paul*.[56] 'Wulfstan' seems likewise to have been influenced by one of these texts, though it is not clear whether he knew any of them directly. In Homily XLIII he sounded for the first time in English the theme of the inexpressible infinitude of Hell-pains, which appeared in four of the Latin Redactions and later became a commonplace in vision literature: ' "ne mæg nænig man wordum asecgan fram þam susle, þe in þære helle is." ða cwæd se deofol to þam ancre: "þeah ðe seofon men sittan on middanearde, and heo mihton sprecan on æghwylcere þeode, þe betwux heofonum and eorðan wære (þara is twa and hundseofontig) and þara manna æghwylc â to life gesceapen wære, and þara æghwylc hæfde seofon heafda, and þara heafda gehwylc seofon tungan, and þara tungena gehwylc isene stemne, ne magon heo arîman ealle þa wita, þe on helle syndon." ' (Ed. Napier, I, 214–215)[57]

There is no mention here of 'Scs Paulus,' and the reference to an 'ancre' rather indicates as the immediate source an account of some nameless mediaeval monk's adventure with the devil; but the influence of the Redactions is clear enough, since the motif itself, in the form in which it is here presented, seems to have been brought originally into the stream of Christian vision literature by the first of the ten abbreviations of *Paul*,[58] in the text that fathered all the later Redactions, of which one at least was already known to the Blickling homilist in the tenth century. The lines in neither the Blickling Homilies nor 'Wulfstan' furnish a clue to the dating of any particular Redaction, since the

details which they quote were common to several texts.[59] But taken together they serve to define a little more closely the inferences that have already been drawn from the manuscripts themselves.

Thus we can be certain that most of the Redactions were written between the tenth and the twelfth century; that they were based upon the sixth-century Latin translation, and were especially well known in England at the very time when that version was likewise current there. The connection between the older and the newer forms of the Apocalypse could not be more direct.

Ready to hand as it was throughout the Latin Middle Ages, the Apocalypse of Paul must have exercised on the popular conceptions of the other-world an influence far more deep-seated than that which is manifest from mere quotation and adaptation. But so far as the original contents are concerned, whether transmitted by the Long versions or less perfectly by the Redactions, its direct contribution to the substance of other visions is difficult to define accurately. The Apocalypse is, we are reminded, of the earlier revelations 'all compact.' Many of its most striking features must thus have reached the West by devious paths from numerous and indistinguishable sources. Nevertheless in three details at least its influence is unmistakable, and each of them furnished a major motif to the current eschatology.

Two of these have often been noted: (i) the Body and Soul Legend, of which the culmination was the Anglo-Saxon Address of the Soul to the Body and the corresponding Middle English Debates,[60] and (ii) the Sabbath-day respite of the damned, a belief which by the end of the ninth century was already well developed among the Irish, in whose monastic schools the Apocalypse was read at an early date.[61] But the dependence of the third motif on *Paul* still awaits adequate recognition. This is the specific manifestation of the wide-spread theory of the appropriateness of punishment to sin, and of the torment of like sinners with like—'similes cum similibus.' It describes the chastisement of the souls of the wicked by immersion in a fiery stream, each to a depth that accords with the nature of his transgression, and is found at the opening of the account of Hell in the Long texts of the Apocalypse,[62] whence it was carried over, with some modification, into the Redactions, in which it served as a sort of epitome of sin and of Hell-pain: 'Et uidit ibi multos homines dimersos in flumine ignito: alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad umbilicum, alii usque ad labia, alii usque ad supercilia erant mersi. Tunc fleuit Paulus et suspirauit, et interrogauit angelum qui essent dimersi usque ad genua. Et dixit angelus, "Hii sunt qui furtum fecerunt et rapinam et luxuriam, et inde penitenciam non egerunt et ad ecclesiam non uenerunt." "Domine, qui sunt hii qui usque ad

umbilicum?" Respondit angelus, "Hii sunt qui fornicantur et postquam assumpserunt corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Iesu Christi, et non sunt reuersi ad penitenciam usque ad mortem." "Domine, qui sunt hii qui usque ad labia?" "Hii sunt detractores et falsi testes et qui murmurauerunt in ecclesia et non audierunt uerbum domini." "Qui usque ad supercilia?" "Hii sunt qui fictum animum habent in corde et anuunt mala proximis suis, dum fidem habent ad illos. Et unusquisque homo qui hoc peccatum facit, si non penitebit, cadit in infernum, sicut illi fecerunt." ' (Below, p. 153)

The original suggestion for this torment may have been derived from *Peter*, where various of the damned suffer immersion.[63] But neither in *Peter* nor in any other early apocryphon are these sinners brought together into one characteristic group. And such a work as the Revelation of the Virgin, where this feature does appear, is demonstrably indebted to *Paul*.[64] In the West the distinctive group of immersed sinners occurs notably in the Vision of the Abbot Sunniulf recounted in the seventh century by Gregory of Tours,[65] in the description by the bishop Boniface of the vision seen by a monk at Wenlock Abbey,[66] in a fragmentary revelation to be found among the correspondence of the Englishman Lull, eighth-century bishop of Mentz,[67] in the tenth-century Vision of Charles the Fat,[68] in the Purgatory of St Patrick[69] and the Vision of Alberic,[70] both of the twelfth century, and, finally, in the Divina Commedia.[71] It will be remembered that when Dante and his guide reach the seventh circle of the Inferno, they see there, among the damned whose anger and cupidity on earth had led to deeds of violence, a group of souls in the bloody Phlegethon:

Io vidi gente sotto infino al ciglio;
    e 'l gran Centauro disse: 'E' son tiranni
    che dier nel sangue e ne l' aver di piglio.
Quivi si piangon li spietati danni;
    quivi è Alessandro, e Dionisio fero,
    che fè Cicilia aver dolorosi anni.
E quella fronte c' ha 'l pel così nero,
    è Azzolino; e quell' altro ch' è biondo,
    è Opizzo da Esti, il qual per vero
fu spento dal figliastro su nel mondo.'
    Allor mi volsi al poeta, e quei disse:
    'Questi ti sia or primo, e io secondo.'
Poco più oltre il Centauro s' affisse
    sovr' una gente che 'nfino a la gola
    parea che di quel bulicame uscisse.
Mostrocci un' ombra da l' un canto sola,
    dicendo: 'Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
    lo cor che 'n su Tamici ancor si cola.'

Poi vidi gente che di fuor del rio
tenean la testa ed ancor tutto il casso;
e di costoro assai riconobb' io.
Così a più a più si facea basso
quel sangue, sì che cocea pur li piedi;
. . . . . .

Commentators have perceived in this passage its relationship to the Vision of Alberic, as well as to other works.[72] But the question of immediate source is a secondary consideration here. The motif itself is readily discernible in its wider connections. It stands as a palpable witness to the pervasive presence of the Apocalypse of Paul in the Middle Ages.

The Redactions with their interpolations, as distinct from the Long texts, likewise exercised a profound formative power over the flourishing other-world literature that was the concomitant of the cultural ferment of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Moreover, their popularity continued unabated until well into the fifteenth century, despite the appearance of a large group of visions which were first created during this period.

Of these new works the twelfth-century Vision of Tundale, representative of the type in its extravagant embroidery of detail, was the most successful, if the great number of its surviving manuscripts has any significance. Yet beside its fifty-four Latin manuscripts the forty-seven codices of the Latin abbreviations of *Paul* stand only second.[73] A minute evaluation of the importance of the Redactions as the sources for this later literature of the other-world, would take us far beyond the limits of the Latin history of the Apocalypse, since their effect was frequently exercised through the complicating medium of vernacular translations and paraphrases.[74] But the fact of their effect is obvious enough. Conspicuous evidence of it is given by the Purgatory of St Patrick,[75] already mentioned, and by the later Vision of Lazarus,[76] and by the *Fis Merlíno*.[77]

The influence of the Apocalypse of Paul on the popular lore of Heaven and Hell ceased only when, under the influence of the Renaissance, that lore itself lost its popularity. By the end of the twelfth century the want of distinctive references already testifies to the declining power of the Long versions and the gradual disappearance of their texts; and after the fifteenth century the Redactions likewise lay dormant in the dust of the libraries. But the career of the book was not yet at an end. In the seventeenth century the hope of resurrection was opened to it by the beginning of modern scholarly interest in the pseudepigrapha of the New Testament and in the nineteenth century this hope was fulfilled. That phase of its history must now be considered.

Chapter Two

PROBLEMS

I. Modern Discovery and Criticism

The discovery by Constantine Tischendorf in 1843 of a Long Greek version of *Paul* in a fifteenth-century manuscript at Milan,[1] is the starting point of the modern history of the Long versions of the Apocalypse. Previous to this, as far back as the seventeenth century, the older form of the work had been known only from such remarks as were available in the patristic commentators.[2] Not only did Tischendorf's discovery release scholarly interest from its status of barren conjecture about a book which seemed to have disappeared entirely, but it preceded an extensive list of similar discoveries of Long versions in the chief languages of the Mediterranean basin and the contiguous areas, which gradually provided *Paul* with a body of surviving texts more numerous than that of any other similar apocryphon.

The modern student of the Apocalypse is thus faced with what has become almost an embarrassment of textual riches. Yet no one version furnishes him with the complete book in its original form. That *Paul* was first written in Greek and that Tischendorf's text, as far as it goes, preserves in the main the primitive language, seem to be beyond reasonable question.[3] But this same text is characterized also by considerable abbreviation and occasional interpolation.[4] The other Long versions likewise, besides the fact that they are translations, are similarly marred both by addition and by omission, the most constant defect being the loss of the conclusion.[5] Fortunately they are all mutually independent descendents of the Greek original,[6] which can therefore be reconstructed with some confidence. The basis for its reconstruction must be sought in the Long versions in Coptic and Latin,[7] with the secondary help of the other texts, especially of Tischendorf's Greek, from the occasionally ambiguous language of which variants in the non-Greek versions are to be explained.[8] Short of a philological *tour de force* in the way of a restored Greek original, James's translation[9] and the study by Casey together provide the best substitute we have for a critical text of the Apocalypse in its primitive state.

The Long versions, together with similar apocrypha, have attracted

scholarly interest mainly as the repositories of a large body of the beliefs and legends of the earlier Christian world, and, consequently, for the oblique light which they shed (among other matters) upon the development of the central religious traditions. But the study of the mediaeval Redactions started from a sharply different source. As early as 1698, J. E. Grabe had found an abbreviated Latin text in Merton College, Oxford, but, intent upon the ancient work referred to by St Augustine, he had dismissed it briefly with a conjecture as to the lateness of its origin.[10] Beyond this and the contemptuous record by Senebier of a Latin text at Geneva[11] and the mere noting by Thomas Warton of an English version in the Bodleian,[12] there was, previous to the nineteenth century, no concern at all for the Redactions. The beginning of this century, however, is marked by the quickening of interest in the general body of mediaeval vision literature in its relation to Dante. After about one hundred and fifty years of desultory consideration of the literary background of the Divina Commedia, the discovery of the twelfth-century Vision of Alberic focussed attention on Dante's sources and precipitated controversy concerning them.[13] Once they had been noticed for their connection with Dante, the other-world visions naturally assumed an interest of their own. In this new study the abbreviations of the Apocalypse of Paul, particularly in the vernacular tongues of western Europe, received increasing attention. The first Redaction to appear in print was a French verse translation from a manuscript of the fourteenth century. This was published by A.-F. Ozanam in a work the title of which discloses the nature of his interest—*Dante et la philosophie catholique au xiii siècle.*[14] The fifty years which followed were chiefly employed in the editing of isolated new texts; so that by 1883 twelve western versions of the Apocalypse in its abbreviated forms were available, one each in French, German,[15] Welsh,[16] Danish,[17] Latin,[18] Italian,[19] and Provençal,[20] and five in English.[21]

The studies by Hermann Brandes in 1884 and 1885[22] were the most important single contribution to the literature of the Redactions and the first extensive consideration of their relations. From ten manuscripts dating from the ninth to the fifteenth century, he classified and described the characteristics of six Latin Redactions, three of which he showed to be the sources of the chief western vernacular versions. In addition he defined the connection between the abbreviations and the original Apocalypse as represented by the Long Greek and Syriac texts.[23] But his conclusions were limited by his overlooking the Old Russian Long version, which had been edited by Tichonravov in 1863,[24] and more seriously by the inaccessibility of the Long Latin, which was not printed until eight years after his studies.[25] Šepelevič sought to correct

the resulting defects in 1891 with the additional evidence of the Slavic texts,[26] and in 1905 Edward Wieber reappraised Brandes's conclusions with the aid of the Paris copy of the Long Latin,[27] demonstrating by tests of language the relationship between that text and five of the Latin abbreviations.[28] Since Brandes's time new versions of the Apocalypse have appeared frequently, both of the Long form and of the Redactions.[29] But his investigations, together with the additions of Šepelevič and Wieber, have continued to provide the foundation for all serious treatment of the mediaeval history of the book.

II. The Problem of the Latin Texts

The ten manuscripts of the Latin Redactions which Brandes made the basis for his work were merely a selection from a more extensive group of twenty-two, twelve of which were inaccessible to him.[30] But even the larger group is far from representing adequately the complete body of extant texts. The present study is founded upon an examination of forty-five of the fifty Latin manuscripts and the printed Paris version.[31] It also takes into account (i) several new texts of the book, which throw light upon both the history of the Long Latin and the descent of the Redactions, and (ii) variant copies of already familiar abbreviations which illuminate the pathway of their transmission to some of the vernacular translations.

There remains the question of what we have called the interpolations, —the distinctive contribution of the Redactions. This is no new problem, raised by the discovery of additional manuscripts. Most of the interpolations were already present, in some form, in the texts examined by Brandes. Nor have they been entirely neglected. Since the writers of the visions of the later Middle Ages often knew *Paul* only in its abbreviated forms, they drew upon its contents without distinction between what was old and, as it were, authentic and what the accretion of later times. Consequently students have usually found opportunity to remark the interpolations as the sources of passages in other accounts of Heaven and Hell. In all this, however, with only one considerable exception, there has been no general attempt to consider systematically the genesis of these interpolations, nor, for the most part, to understand their significance.[32]

The exception is *La escatologia musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, by Miguel Asín Palacios,[33] which attempts to demonstrate Dante's general indebtedness to the other-world lore of Islam. In this the Redactions of *Paul*, as part of the large body of 'precursors' of Dante, are subjected to a scrutiny which seeks to discover Arabic parallels for all the interpolations.[34] Asín's argument may be summarized thus: (1) there is no

direct western European contact between the original Apocalypse and the mediaeval abbreviations, all of which were written in the twelfth century or later[35]; (2) the Mohammedan lore in which appear parallels to the interpolations frequently dates in its literary form from the ninth century, in its oral form probably from a much earlier time.[36] 'Entretanto, la consecuencia . . . es que la *Visio Pauli* occidental [i.e. the Redactions] penetró en la Europa cristiana a través de adaptaciones musulmanas de la *Apocalipsis griega.*'[37]

The errors here evident as to the date of the abbreviated versions and their connection with the older forms of the Apocalypse have already been shown,[38] but these are not alone in invalidating Asín's conclusions. Far more serious is the fact that the only Redaction known to him directly is Ozanam's French translation, which he supplements with Graf's and d'Ancona's descriptions of other similar versions[39]; all the texts concerned being representatives, either in the Latin or in the several vernaculars, of but a single abbreviation, namely, Latin Redaction IV.[40] He has thus pictured the problem of transmission as much simpler than it actually is, involving the Greek Apocalypse at one end and Redaction IV at the other, with the Arabic *hadiths* occupying all the space between. But in fact, many of the interpolations of the Fourth Redaction represent a cumulative inheritance from its five predecessors, not the wholesale addition of a single author, and their form in that Redaction is, in many cases, the result of a gradual change through several of the earlier texts.[41]

As a consequence of Asín's failure to investigate this evolution, he has sometimes been unable to distinguish between the essential qualities of an interpolation and the accidental embellishment of an isolated vernacular text. A case in point is his ascription to Arabic influence of the appearance in the texts of *Paul* of that universal feature of the otherworld, the dangerous bridge of Hell, his proof being that the version which he summarizes describes the bridge as 'más sutil que un cabello,' a phrase which he considers a sign of direct plagiarism from a *hadith* ascribed to Abu Said al-Khudri, the companion of Mohammed.[42] But this expression is not a regular feature of any of the versions of *Paul*; it appears only in a late Italian translation.[43] The bridge itself was first added to the Pauline vision by the author of Latin Redaction IV, without the distinctive phrase, and, as we shall see, from an entirely different source.[44] If in this instance the Italian version betrays a contact with Islam, it is a relationship too late for Asín's purpose, coming as it does after the introduction of the interpolation itself into the Redactions, and at a time when the textual development of the Apocalypse was already virtually complete. Yet this example may fairly be

called the only serious evidence which Asín has produced to support his contentions.[45] The fact is that in many respects Musulman and Christian lore are parallel derivatives from a common source, and in the case of the Redactions of *Paul* most of their interpolations, even where they are genuinely similar to Islamic legend, are to be found in accessible western writings, which, whether authoritative or apocryphal, were part of the long tradition of European Christianity.

As is true of all works that have caught the attention of many ages and places, the history of the Apocalypse of Paul is essentially that of the continuous modification of its contents. In a sense one may say, just as in the case of folk tales and ballads, that there is no one text of the work, but rather many texts, in each of which the individual differences have an importance of their own. It is this which justifies an interest in the minutiae of textual development, and which is the *raison d'être* for the present study of the Latin versions.

Chapter Three

THE LONG LATIN VERSIONS

To the textual history of the Apocalypse of Paul in the West the Paris copy (*P*) of the Long Latin furnishes the key. Not only is it the fullest Latin representative of the book, but it preserves substantially the version which lies behind all the later mediaeval Redactions.[1] Thus it provides a convenient centre from which to survey, in the one direction, the development of the Long Latin from the Greek, and, in the other, the growth of the Redactions from the Long texts.

What was the nature of the Greek sources of the Latin? The answer is inevitably complicated by the fact that the Greek original of the book is no longer extant, either in its third-century state, or in its revision of the fourth or fifth century (the 'Tarsus text'): all the surviving versions and editions, including the abridged Greek published by Tischendorf, preserve the work only in varying conditions of incompleteness or modification. Fortunately, however, most of them (i.e. three Armenian, A^1, A^3, A^4; the Greek, *G*; the Old Russian, *R*; the Syriac, *S*; and, of course, *P*)[2] represent mutually independent renderings of the Tarsus text,[3] so that it has been possible, by a comparison of their contents and the critical elimination of their variants, to reconstruct in full at least the subject-matter both of the Tarsus text and, with the additional assistance of the Coptic version (*C*), of the pre-Tarsus original of the third century.[4]

But this is only a preliminary step. In tracing the rise of a particular textual tradition it is necessary to examine the variants twice, first to eliminate them and recover the original, the second time to distinguish the various patterns of their growth. In this case the pattern to be studied is that which left its mark on the Latin texts. This examination shows that, though many of the variants are without doubt to be attributed to the originality or blundering of individual translators or scribes, others are not so to be explained: they are not always isolated phenomena, but are frequently testified to by several texts. It is therefore clear that the Tarsus text, from which the chief Long versions are all separately derived, must itself have circulated early in several differing Greek copies. Hence arises the problem of the origin of the Western tradition: What were the characteristics of the particular Greek

copy of the Tarsus text that was the immediate source of the Latin translation which *P* represents?

There are three further questions which confront us. *P* is an eighth-century copy of a translation made between the fourth and sixth centuries. What were the original features of the translation? How accurately is it represented by *P*? Finally, were the mediaeval Redactions derived from *P* directly, or were there other copies of the Long Latin from one or more of which they were drawn?

To answer satisfactorily any of these questions has hitherto been impossible, because of the lack of materials. The non-Latin Long versions and the Latin Redactions furnish evidence for the beginning and the end of the Western evolution; but neither offers much assistance for the intervening stages. Happily we can now use the testimony of two other Long Latin texts.

The first of these, *St G*, is fully as important as *P*. Generally unknown and hitherto neglected, it is extant in a unique ninth-century manuscript, *Codex 317*, in the Stadtbibliothek of St Gall.[5] It contains within certain limits what is virtually a Long text of the Apocalypse and thus serves as a control for *P*. Moreover its omissions give it a character intermediate between that of the Redactions and of *P* and thus throw a revealing light upon their relations. This text is given on pp. 131 ff.

The second text, known as the 'Vienna Fragment' (*F*), in *Codex 362* of the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, is of less interest. Springing from the Greek, as it does, independently of *P*, *St G*, and the Redactions, it is a useful witness to the Greek original, supplementing at several crucial points the evidence of the non-Latin texts; but its very independence restricts its value for the Redactions. This text is given on pp. 149 ff.

The evidence of *P*, *St G*, and *F* is examined in the following sections of the present chapter, and answers are suggested on pp. 37 ff. for the first three questions stated above concerning the transmission of the Long texts. The last question, the history of the Redactions, is dealt with in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

I. The Evidence of *P*

1. *The Introductory Revelations.* *P* opens with a quotation from II Corinthians xii (Paul's brief reference to his rapture to the third heaven), and with the story of the discovery of the Apocalypse under the foundations of Paul's house in Tarsus in the consulship of Theodosius and Cynegius. The revelation proper, narrated in the Apostle's own words, then begins (§§3–10)[6]: God's voice comes to Paul, directing

him to speak 'populo huic' and to tell them how, on account of their sins, the sun, the moon and stars, the seas, the waters, and the earth all frequently offer to destroy them, but have been dissuaded by God's mercy. The voice describes also how the angels come to adore God at sunrise and at sunset, bringing with them the daily accounts of the deeds of mankind 'siue bona siue mala.'

Despite a considerable difference among all the Long texts in the contents of these opening sections, their collective testimony corroborates the main features of *P*,[7] but in several details the Latin diverges from the original. Three of these, as they characterize to some extent the method of *P*'s scribe or that of his sources, are of special interest.

(1) Most of the non-Latin texts begin the revelation proper with the simple statement: 'The word of the Lord came to me, saying. . . .'[8] This *P* embellishes with 'Qui dum in corpore essem in quo raptus sum usque ad tercium celum,' the equivalent of which appears in *G*, *R*, and *S* at the beginning of the second part of the revelation, when an angel appears to carry Paul into the heavens to witness the going-out of a good and of a wicked soul. The corresponding passage in *P* (§11) opens abruptly: 'Et respondens angelus dixit mihi . . .' Since no angel has hitherto been mentioned, it is clear that the necessary introductory phrase has fallen out and that part of it has been moved to the beginning of the revelation.

(2) *P* (§1) has likewise transformed the opening allusion to II Corinthians xii. *R* and *G*, which start similarly with the scriptural reference, give the passage in abbreviated form and in the third person, as part of the editor's preface; *P* on the contrary quotes the Apostle in full and directly, and then proceeds to join the preface with the revelation proper by means of the inept rhetorical question, 'Quo tempore palam facta est?' Both changes in the Latin disclose an obvious attempt to include the introductory matter in the vision itself and to make the beginning of the revelation proper coincident with the rapture to the heavens.

(3) A third difference among the texts concerns the number of the elements which complain to God of the sins of mankind. *S* gives four separate complaints, one for each great natural power or group of powers (the sun, the moon and stars, the sea and waters, the earth), in which each group seeks to employ its own element to punish the sins committed within its domain. *P* (§§4–6) gives five complaints, separating into two the speech of the sea and waters. All the other texts are marred, each by its own omissions and abridgments; but whatever evidence they offer seems to support *S*.[9] *A*[4], for example, which begins abruptly in the midst of the moon's speech and thus omits the sun,

otherwise corroborates the Syriac[10]; and *R* also parallels *S* in the number of its groups of powers, the combined complaint of sea and waters being designated by the general term 'waters.'[11] It should also be noted, as favoring *S*, that the separate complaint of the waters in *P* is in fact merely a colorless repetition of part of the speech of the sea.[12] Both here and in the two previous passages we may suspect that *P* modified the primitive contents. But whether this was the work of *P*'s scribe or his Latin or Greek source, is not clear.

In the next part of the Apocalypse (§§11–12) Paul is carried by a guiding angel into the third heaven to visit the dwellings of the righteous and the wicked. On the way he sees a band of evil spirits (the 'witnesses'), who dwell under the foundation of the heavens, 'spiritus detraccionis et spiritus fornicationis et spiritus furoris et spiritus audacie, et . . . principes maliciarum,' as well as two groups of angels whose function it is to appear as psychopomps at the bedside of the dying 'in ora necessitatis,' the angels without mercy for the wicked[13] and the angels with shining countenances for the just. 'Necessario iusti et peccatores occurrunt testes cum mortui fuerunt?' asks Paul the Apostle of his guide. 'Vna est uia per quam omnes transeunt ad deum . . .,' the angel answers and takes Paul, at his own request, to see the 'way' by which both the good and the wicked souls approach the divine throne immediately after death.[14]

The entire description of the going-out of the souls, together with that of their judgment before God (§§14–18), deserves more than passing attention, since, except for the visit to Hell, it is the only part of the Apocalypse which survived in the later Latin Redactions, and furnished an important source for the mediaeval theme of the Body and the Soul.[15] Paul sees first (§14) a righteous man at the point of death, with all his good works about him. At his bedside are also the psychopomps, both good and evil, waiting to receive the soul. The good angels take the soul at death (for the evil ones found no place of dwelling in him) and conduct it toward the throne of judgment, amid the encouragement of its guardian angel and the jubilation of heaven. On the way it is challenged by the 'witnesses,' who search it in vain for 'something of ours.' The guardian angel and the spirit give evidence in its favor before God, who commands it to be handed over to Michael and carried into the Paradise of Joy. The going-out of the wicked soul is similar (§§15–16). Evil angels seize the soul and lead it through the heavens. It is claimed by the 'witnesses' and carried to the throne, where God condemns it to the merciless angel Tartaruch and to the outer darkness. Paul then sees the judgment of a second wicked soul (§§17–18), which denies having sinned. Confronted with those whom

it had wronged while on earth, it finally confesses and is sentenced to be given over to Tartaruch until the Day of Judgment.

Throughout this passage there are numerous divergences among the authorities, of which those most noteworthy for *P* concern, first, the removal of the soul from the body by its psychopomps and, second, the challenge by the 'witnesses.'

(1) At the death of the good man, according to *P*, both the good and the evil angels strive to get the soul; '. . . sancti autem dominati sunt anime eius, gubernantes eam quo usque exiret de corpore: et comouerunt[16] animam dicentes: Anima, cognosce corpus tuum unde existi, necesse est enim te reuertere in eodem corpore in die resurrec<tion>is. . . .'[17] A similar account is given of the soul of the wicked, with, of course, the difference that here the evil angels prevail.[18] To this description *S* makes several additions which might at first seem to have a strong claim to authenticity, for they preserve a characteristic feature of the older legends of the separation of the soul and body, chiefly in works of Egyptian origin, to which this passage in the Apocalypse is related, namely, the alluring manner in which the psychopomps remove the soul of the good ('ed estrassero l'anima di lui, blandendola [per condurla] nella pace. Ma di nuovo la fecero ritornare presso di lui, invitandola . . . '),[19] and the violence with which the wicked soul is seized ('E gli angeli cattivi [s'impossessarono] di quell' anima, e la estrassero con rabbia violenta e con furia.').[20] The separation of the soul from the body was always represented as an unpleasant occurrence which the soul was unwilling to experience. The good angels were pictured as offering every allurement to the good soul in order to make the separation as nearly painless as possible; whereas in the case of the wicked, no such consideration was shown, the evil angels being frequently conceived of as employing sharp instruments and whips in order to torture it the more.[21] Despite the fact, however, that the additional details of the Syriac belong quite properly to the Body and Soul tradition, it is impossible to neglect the import of their absence from all the other versions: possibly the Syriac translator has here added on his own authority two familiar details from a well-known legend to which he recognized that this passage in the Apocalypse belonged.[22] In any case, if the non-appearance of these features in *P* is a sign of its imperfection, the defect must be attributed neither to its scribe nor its immediate source, but to the early Greek version which was the original also of *G*, *R*, and the Armenian.[23]

(2) In the challenge by the 'witnesses' during the journey to the throne of judgment, the variation among the Long texts occurs chiefly in the description of the experience of the righteous soul, and there the

differences are such that it is not difficult, by a simple comparison, to determine the original form of the passage with some degree of certainty.

R, supported substantially by the Syriac texts, seems to give the best account: 'And the powers came [i.e. the 'witnesses'], and there went out to meet it its forgotten sin and said, "Whither goest thou, O soul; and art thou so bold as to enter heaven? Stop that we may see; perhaps there is something of ours in thee." And the spirit of deception came to meet it and said, "Woe unto thee, O soul, that we have found nothing of ours in thee! For we see also an aid that is with thee, since thou hast done the will of God while on earth." And an evil spirit came to meet it, and the spirit of fornication; and seeing it they wept and said, "O soul that art escaping us and hast done the will of God, being upon earth!" And all the principalities and the evil powers came to meet it, and they found nothing of their own in it. And the angel answered, and the spirit said to them, "Turn away in shame, for you have not been able to entice the soul when it was in the body."' (Tichonravov, p. 43)[24]

P is clearly modified. The 'witnesses' become vaguely an angel, and the form of the challenge itself is highly condensed: '. . . et ait angelus: Vbi curris, anima, et audes ingredi celum? expecta et uideamus si est aliquid nostrum in te: et ecce nihil inuenimus in te. Video etiam adiutorium diuinum et angelum tuum, et spiritus congaudens est tibi quoniam fecisti uoluntatem dei in terris.'[25]

The history of this passage is strikingly illuminated by the reading of *St G*, which is based, as will later appear, upon the sixth-century Latin translation independently of *P*: 'Posthaec uidi animam iustam introeuntem in caelum. Et audiui uoces angelorum dicentes, "O anima, effugies quia fecisti uoluntatem dei in terris. Et ecce nunc angelus tuus et spiritus congaudent tecum." Et omnes potestates exierunt in occursum eius, et inuenerunt nihil suum in ea. Respondit eis angelus, et spiritus dixerunt, "Conuertimini erubescentes, quia non ualuistis decipere animam istam constitutam in carne."' (P. 131, ll. 1–7) Though this preserves (with the words 'omnes potestates' and the speech, 'Conuertimini erubescentes, . . . in carne') some of the chief features of *R* and the Syriac, and so in part corroborates their authenticity, it is, like *P*, abbreviated. The confusion of the 'witnesses' with an angel is to be charged to the writer of *P*, but some condensation of the form of the challenge itself must already have taken place in the non-extant Latin text from which both *P* and *St G* are derived.

The witnessing of the judgment of the second wicked soul completes the preliminary revelations.

2. *The Dwellings of the Righteous.* Guided by his angel, Paul now makes his first visit to Paradise, the Land of Promise, and the City of Christ (§§19–31).

(1) On their way they come first to the golden gate of Paradise, with its pillars and its tablets whereon are inscribed the names of God's righteous. Inside the gate the Apostle converses with Enoch, the scribe of righteousness, and the sun,[26] and is then taken to see the wonders 'que non licet homini loqui.'

(2) From Paradise he is led, by way of the second heaven[27] and the firmament, to the gate of heaven, passing through which he comes to the Land of Promise whither the souls of the just are sent immediately after death (§22). It is a land flowing with milk and honey, and each of its trees and vines bears tens of thousands of branches, and each branch tens of thousands of fruits. Here dwell those who on earth were married but remained continent. Rewards seven times greater than theirs are in store for the virgins 'esurientibus et sicientibus iusticiam et adfligentibus se propter nomen domini.'

(3) The angel next takes Paul to the City of Christ, conducting him thither in a golden boat across the Acherusian Lake wherein repentant sinners are washed by the Archangel Michael before being admitted to the city. Within the city (§§24–30) Paul goes to the river of honey where he sees the prophets; thence to the river of milk near the banks of which dwell the innocents slaughtered by Herod. At the river of wine he meets the patriarchs among those who were hospitable to strangers, and by the river of oil he sees those humble souls who devoted themselves entirely to God. He witnesses also the thrones and the jewelled crowns prepared for the unlearned and the meek, and in the centre of the city, by a great altar, he finds David singing psalms in praise of God.

Of the visit to the places of the righteous *P* gives generally the best account, as appears from its corroboration by both *C* and *St G*, all the other texts being characterized by omissions and abbreviations.[28] But in a few instances *C* shows noteworthy divergences from *P*.

Thus among the prophets at the river of honey the Latin names Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Micah and Zechariah.[29] The Syriac texts omit Amos, Micah and Zechariah, and add Moses[30]; and *C* differs from *P* by omitting Zechariah.[31] *P*, however, is here supported not only by *St G*,[32] but also by *R*, where all the names appear, except Amos.[33]

Similarly, in the description of the meeting by the river of wine with the just men who were hospitable to strangers, *C* agrees with *R* and the Syriac in naming only Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.[34] To these three names *P* and *St G* add Lot and Job.[35] A significant corroboration of

these two Latin texts occurs in the 'Vienna Fragment' which, as it is independent of all the other Latin versions, thus testifies that the two additional names were inserted into the Apocalypse by none of the Latin translators or scribes, but were present at least in their Greek archetype.[36]

In its treatment of the rivers in the City of Christ *P* offers some further difficulties. On first describing the rivers *C* gives their relative positions: the river of honey is in the west, the river of milk in the south, the river of wine in the east, and the river of oil in the north.[37] *S* likewise states generally that the rivers are distributed according to the cardinal points, but fails to assign each to its particular place.[38] Subsequently, according to *R* and *C*, Paul's journey through the city begins in the west by the river of honey and continues to each of the other streams in turn, southward, eastward and northward, until, having reached the altar in the centre, he has made a complete circuit of the city.[39] *G* omits the location of the streams in its introductory description, but corroborates the account of Paul's tour in *R* and *C*.[40] In *P*, however, the positions of the rivers are not only omitted from the preliminary account (§23), but are confused in the following journey through the city: the situation of the stream of honey and of milk is not noted at all, and that of the remaining two is given incorrectly or ambiguously. Thus, concerning the river of wine, which should be in the east, *P* remarks: 'Iterum adsumpsit me et tulit me ad aquilonem ciuitatis et duxit me ubi erat flumen uini . . . ,' and of the river of oil, which belongs in the north: 'Et iterum tulit me iusta [*sc. iuxta*] flumen olei ab orae [*sic*] ciuitatis.'[41] *St G* likewise is confused. In the introductory account it agrees with *C* and *S* in an attempt to place the rivers, but its text shows the effects of fanciful emendation: '. . . et flumina quattuor circumibant. Et erat a limine ciuitatis flumen mellis, et notus eius flumen lactis et flumen uini, et de ore eius flumen olei.'[42] Moreover, the lines of *St G* recounting the tour of the city exhibit imperfections similar to those of *P*: 'Et iterum adsumpsit me et tulit me ab aquilonem [*sic*] ciuitatis ubi erat flumen uini. . . . Et iterum tulit me iuxta flumen olei arborem [*sic*] ciuitatis.'[43] 'Arborem,' which appears to be an error for 'ad boream,' quite correctly places the stream of oil in the north, but the defective 'ab [ad] aquilonem' for the river of wine remains. From this we may conclude that, in the common Latin source of *P* and *St G*, both the passages dealing with the situation of the rivers were corrupt (the second of them having already been confused in the Greek original), and that the preliminary account was further abbreviated by the writer of *P*.[44]

Paul now leaves the dwellings of the righteous and, returning past

the wondrous trees and across the streams of milk and honey, goes to see the punishment of sinners.

3. *The Dwellings of the Wicked.* Towards the setting of the sun and beneath the foundations of the first heaven is the great water Oceanus that encircles all the earth, and beyond Oceanus lies a land where there is no light, only darkness and sorrow and gloom. Here are punished the wicked, like with like, and each with torments appropriate to his crime. It is this section, teeming with physical horrors, that gave the Apocalypse of Paul its chief appeal during the Middle Ages.[45]

Though all the Long texts frequently differ from one another in the account of the sinners and their torments, their united testimony approves generally the list as given by *P*[46]:

31. In a fiery river are Laodiceans, those who were neither hot nor cold. Each sinner is immersed to the knees, the navel, the lips, or the hair according to the specific nature of his transgression.[47]
32–33. Those who did not trust in God are tormented in a bottomless abyss.[48]
34. A sinful presbyter is strangled by infernal angels,[49] who also pierce his entrails with a three-pronged fork.[50]
35. A wicked bishop is immersed to his knees in a fiery river; and they beat him with stones and wound his face like a tempest.[51]
36. Here are tormented three different classes of sinners. A wicked deacon stands in the river and worms issue from his mouth and ears. An angel casts a lector into the river and cuts off his lips and tongue. Usurers are devoured by worms.[52]
37. In a wall surrounded by fire are groups of souls devouring their own tongues. These were mockers in church.[53]
38. Numerous sinners are being punished in fiery pits: an old man of bloody appearance, a group of sorcerers immersed to their lips, and adulterers and adulteresses with blackened countenances.[54]
39. Here Paul sees those young girls who broke their vow of virginity. They are dressed in black and are dragged into the darkness by fiery chains. Persecutors of orphans and widows are placed, naked and with their hands and feet severed, in a region of ice and snow, where worms devour them. Many famished men and women are suffering the torment of Tantalus: these broke the appointed fasts of the church. Adulterers and adulteresses hang by their hair and eyebrows in a fiery river. Sodomites,

covered with dust and blood, are tormented in a pit of pitch and sulphur.[55]

40. A group of souls dressed in shining robes but blind stands in a pit: they are the pagans who gave alms but knew not God. Suspended on a fiery spit and torn by beasts are infanticides; and false ascetics, dressed in robes of pitch and sulphur with serpents wound about their necks, shoulders and feet, are tormented by angels having fiery horns. Paul weeps for the sinners and is rebuked.[56]

41. The apostle now approaches the worst of all the torment-chambers of Hell, the pit sealed with seven seals[57] and filled with an unbearable stench, wherein are confined the sinners who are lost forever, those who denied the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth[58] and the Real Presence.

42. To the northwest dwells the worm that never sleeps, and there, amid cold and the gnashing of teeth, are tormented those who denied the Resurrection.[59]

Several of the particulars of Hell-torment in *P* require consideration beyond this necessarily brief summary. Among them is the punishment of Laodiceans, which has puzzled commentators. *P* recounts the passage thus: 'Domine, qui sunt isti in flumine igneo? Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Neque calidi neque frigidi sunt, quia neque in numero iustorum inuenti sunt neque in numero impiorum. Isti enim inpenderunt tempus uite suae in terris dies aliquos facientes in oracionibus, alios uero dies in peccatis et fornicacionibus usque ad mortem.... Qui sunt hii, domine, dimersi usque ad ienua in igne? Respondens dixit mihi: Hi sunt qui cum exierint de aecclesia inmitunt se in sermonibus alienis disceptare. Histi uero qui dimersi sunt usque ad umbiculum, hi sunt qui cum sumpserunt corpus et sanguinem Christi eunt et fornicant et non cessauerunt a peccatis suis usque quo morerentur.' (James, p. 28, l. 28–p. 29, l. 4)

G describes these sinners simply as *οἱ ἐν πορνείαις καὶ μοιχείαις ἀμετανόητοι ζήσαντες*[60]; but this is an abbreviation of the original, as is evident from the independent testimony of *C*, A^1, and *S*, all of which support the sense of *P* in designating the souls in the river as 'those who never joined themselves wholly to the righteous, and those who never joined themselves to sinners,' and in listing their transgressions separately.[61] But of *P*'s phrase, 'Neque calidi neque frigidi sunt,' a reminiscence of Revelation iii, 15, there is no trace. 'Something seems wanting in all the texts,' says M. R. James. 'These, who

were neither hot nor cold, should not be in the river, but beside it. In fact, in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin . . . which is copied from this, these souls do sit *beside* the river.'[62] No mere omission can account for the confusion in this passage. For, if we assume that the original contained a group of those neither hot nor cold *beside* the river, we have the additional difficulty that those *in* the river are also Laodiceans. And this is exactly the case with the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin, where the Laodiceans are both beside the river and also immersed in its depths.[63]

A further discrepancy has been found between the grievous nature of the sins of these souls and their separation as Laodiceans from the main body of the wicked.[64] The point seems to be, as *P*'s language suggests, that they are distinguished from the others simply as souls whose performance of conventional Christian duties is balanced by transgression of whatever sort. And this would be a satisfactory distinction, except that it might be applied with equal justice to many of the souls who are classed among the greater sinners.

In order to account for these difficulties, it has been suggested[65] that the passage in the extant texts has undergone radical changes, that either (1) the general description of all these as Laodiceans is the addition of a glossator, or (2) the Laodiceans beside the river and the souls in it were originally two distinct groups, which have become partially confused in the surviving versions. The first suggestion is, however, unlikely, since the significance of *P*'s unique phrase, 'neque calidi neque frigidi sunt,' which is too pointless in its present context to have been added by the Latin as a gloss of 'neque in numero iustorum inuenti sunt neque in numero impiorum,' depends upon an original reading which placed the Laodiceans *beside* the fiery river. We are thus driven to the second suggestion, namely, that there were at first two separate groups. Nevertheless I am inclined to regard the existing confusion between them as itself original, and not the consequence of later change —the confusion being a sign, no doubt, of the blundering composite character of the primitive version, which *P* in this instance represents most fully of all the extant texts.

Of three other passages in the account of Hell-torment where the Long texts show considerable disagreement, *P* is without doubt faulty in two.

(1) In Section 34 *P* describes thus the punishment of a sinful presbyter: 'Respexi adhuc in flumine igneo et uidi illic hominem subfocari ab angelos tartarucos [*sic*] abentes in manibus suis ferrum trium angulorum de quo perfodiebant uiscera senis illius: . . . ' *C*, *G*, *R*, and *S* all contain fuller detail, and their agreement is a witness to the imperfec-

tion of *P*. *C*, for instance, reads: 'Then I looked at the river of fire, and I saw an old man who was being dragged along, and they immersed him up to his knees. And the angel Aftemeloukhos came with a great fork of fire which had three prongs. . . . '[66] *St G*, moreover, corroborates the non-Latin texts, thus testifying that the abbreviation in *P* is the work of its own scribe: 'Et respexi adhuc in flumine igneo, et uidi illic hominem senem deduci et trahi; et demerserunt eum usque ad ienuam. Et aduenit angelus tartaruchus habens ferrum in manibus suis trium angulorum, et de eo pertrahebat uiscera senis illius ex ore.'[67]

(2) In Section 39 *P* depicts a group of adulterers hanging by their eyebrows and their hair: 'Et uidi alios uiros ac mulieres suspensos a superciliis et capillis suis et igneum flumen traebat eos et dixi: Qui sunt hii, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hii sunt comitentes se non propriis uiris ac mulieribus sed mecis, et ideo indeficienter persoluunt proprias penas.'[68] *C* gives this with great elaboration (some of which is no doubt interpolated) and the additional information that these are sinners who used cosmetics to accomplish their desires: 'And I saw some men and some women suspended head downwards; and great torches of fire were burning before their faces, and dragon-serpents were girt about their bodies and were devouring them. And I said unto the angel, "Who are these, my lord, who are suffering in this terrible manner?" And the angel said unto me, "These are the women who used to beautify themselves with the paints and unguents of the Devil, and then go to church to find occasions for committing adultery, and not to seek their lawful husbands; and through their deceitful paints and unguents they made God their enemy. Therefore shall they receive this punishment which shall endure for ever." ' (Budge, p. 1063)

As punishment for painted women who evaded marriage and the rearing of children this torment is appropriate, its authenticity being supported in part by the facts that *P*'s mention merely of adulterers is a repetition of a class which has already been treated elsewhere (§38), and that the description in the Apocalypse of Peter which is apparently the chief source for these lines in *Paul*, likewise deals with those who adorned themselves for sin: *Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι γυναῖκες τῶν πλοκάμων ἐξηρτημέναι ἀνωτέρω τοῦ βορβόρου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀναπαφλάζοντος· αὗτ[αι] δὲ ἦσαν αἱ πρὸς μοιχείαν κοσμηθεῖσαι.*[69] The detail of the burning torches in *C*, omitted from *P*, is to be found also in *St G*, which thereby indicates that once more we are dealing with an omission that is to be ascribed to the writer of *P* himself: 'Et uidi alios uiros et mulieres suspensos a superciliis suis et capillis, et facule ignis tradebant eis [*sic*]. . . . '[70]

(3) With the third variation the case is somewhat different. Among the sorcerers in the fiery pit (§38) *P* places an old man with a bloody

countenance: 'Et inspexi et uidi alium senem deorsum in fouea, et erat aspectus eius sicut sanguis. . . .' *C* speaks, not of an old man, but of a bloody pool: 'And I saw also a pool in the pit which was of the colour of blood.'[71] This reading is supported by the somewhat condensed account of *G*.[72] *P*, on the other hand, has, besides the partial support of *St G*, the valuable testimony of *R*, which reads: 'And I looked in and saw an old man up to his knees in the abyss, and his appearance was as blood.'[73] Evidently this passage must have circulated in both forms in the early Greek texts.

The journey through the regions of the damned reaches its climax (§§43–44) when the Apostle, weeping, joins the Archangel Michael and his angels in prayer for the souls in torment. The heavens open and Christ descends in glory. He rebukes the sinners for their neglect of his sufferings for their sake, but finally grants them a respite from their pains on the day of the Resurrection.[74]

4. *The Paradise of Eden.* Paul and his angel now leave Hell and make a second visit to the third heaven,[75] this time to the Paradise of Eden, where Adam and Eve dwelt before their fall (§§45–51). They see the four rivers, the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Here Paul converses with many saints and righteous, including the Virgin, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Joseph and his brethren, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and others of the twelve prophets, Lot, Noah and Job, Elijah and Elisha. Once again *P* furnishes the best text, its chief omission being the description, based on Genesis iii 24, of a 'Cherubim' by the Tree of Life 'with a revolving sword of fire.' This detail appears in *C*, *G*, and *R*.[76]

The end of the Apocalypse in all the versions presents a problem. *G*, *P* and *R* come to an abrupt close in the middle of Paul's conversation with Elijah: ἐγώ εἰμι Ἠλίας ὁ προφήτης ὁ προσευξάμενος εἰς τὸν θεόν, ... πολλάκις γοῦν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι παρεκάλεσαν τὸν θεὸν διὰ τὸν ὑετόν· καὶ ἤκουσα. μακροθυμήσατε, ἕως ἂν ὁ ἀγαπητός μου Ἠλίας προσεύξεται [*sic*], κἀγὼ ἀποστείλω τὸν ὑετὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. . . . *S* contains some additional matter. Elijah departs after his speech, and the revelation ends swiftly with Paul's return to earth. But this also seems too abrupt to be original, as indeed the writer of *S* apparently realized, since he sought to mask the incompleteness of his source by transferring to the end the prefatory account of the document's discovery.[77] In *C*, instead of a sudden breaking off during the conversation with Elijah, the visit to the Biblical Paradise is prolonged by Paul's meeting with Enoch, Zacharias, John, Abel, and Adam, who is taller than the rest.[78] Paul then continues his apocalyptic

experience with visits to still other dwellings of the righteous. *C* comes finally to an account of how Paul is carried by his angel back to the Mount of Olives, where he finds the apostles assembled and declares to them everything he has seen. 'Then the Apostles rejoiced and were glad, and they blessed God, and they commanded us, that is to say me, Mark, and Timothy the disciple of Saint Paul, the Doctor of the Church, to do into writing this holy Apocalypse, for the behoof and benefit of others who shall hear it.'[79] The Saviour then appears, and with his exhortation to Paul to preach the Gospel *C* comes to a close. A part, at least, of this conclusion may very well be the original, since it parallels *Paul's* source, the Apocalypse of Peter, where the revelation is likewise told to the apostles on the Mount of Olives and written down by the scribe Clement.[80] In any case, the agreement of such mutually independent versions as *G* and *R* shows that there was early in circulation a Greek text from which the ending had disappeared. It is from this imperfect version that *P* is derived.

II. The Evidence of *St G*

Like the Paris copy *St G* contains nothing that was not in its Greek archetype. It is characterized rather by the frequent omission of authentic matter and, to some extent, by condensation and rearrangement. It begins abruptly in the middle of the introductory revelations with the challenge of the good soul by the 'witnesses,' the story of the discovery of the book and the complaints of the powers of nature having disappeared entirely. At the conclusion of the passage on the City of Christ it is likewise considerably abbreviated. The original describes David at the great altar, explains the meaning of the *alleluia*, and immediately afterwards tells how Paul is led across the land of the just to the places of torment.[81] Of all this *St G* contains no trace, but a lacuna cuts off the journey through the city in the middle of the description of the altar, and the text continues directly with the account of Hell: '. . . et uidi in medio ciuitatis altare magnum et excelsum ualde. Erat quiddam stans, quo incedens et dixi: Ita, domine. Et dixit mihi: Veni et sequere me et ostendam tibi animas iustorum [*sic*] et peccatorum. . . . '[82]

In its treatment of the regions of the damned *St G* departs often from the form of the original, both by omitting some details and by changing the order of others.[83] Of the omissions, most of which will prove to be significant for the connection of this text with the Redactions, three are especially important: the Laodiceans immersed in the fiery river, the adulterers with blackened countenances, and the young maidens who defiled their virginity (§§31 and 38–39). The torments of the

sorcerers are also omitted (§38), but several phrases from this passage are incorporated in the account of those who committed the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah (§39).[84] Henceforth to the end of the description of Hell *St G* is fairly faithful to its source. But the entire description of Paul's second visit to Paradise is wanting, the text coming to a close immediately after the grant to the sinners of respite from punishment.

About the close relationship of *St G* and *P* there can be no question. This appears, not only from the similarity of their language throughout, but also from the fact that frequently where *P*, on comparison with the non-Latin versions, shows a deviation from the original, the reading of *St G* agrees with that of *P*. One such instance has already been noted in the passage in which both the Latin texts incorrectly place the celestial river of wine 'ad aquilonem.'[85] But an even more striking example of this agreement occurs when Paul first enters into Paradise through the golden gate. Here, in *C*, A^1, A^4, and *S* he meets Enoch and Elijah.[86] In *P*, however, Paul converses with Enoch and the sun: 'Quis est hic, domine? Et dixit mihi: Hic est Enoc scriba iusticiae. Et ingressus sum <in> interiori loci illius, et statim uidi solem et ueniens salutauit me ilarens et gaudens.'[87] This absurdity evidently arose from a confusion of Ἥλιος and Ἡλίας. Now at this point *St G* reads: '"Quis est hic, domine?" Et dixit mihi, "Hic est Enoch scriba iusticiae." Ingressus sum autem in interiora loci illius quem solum inueniens salutauit me hilari uultu gaudens.'[88] It is quite clear, despite the corruption, that 'solum' here is a clumsy attempt to emend the unintelligible 'solem.'

But, though *St G* is thus closely akin to *P*, it is not dependent upon it; for in many instances where *P* is defective, *St G* seems to preserve the form of the original. Four of these points have already been noted: (1) in the narrative of the going-out of the good soul *St G* gives the challenge correctly as being made by the 'witnesses,' (2) in the preliminary account of the rivers of Paradise it describes their location, (3) it recounts fully the torment of the wicked presbyter, and (4) it, together with the Coptic, preserves the burning torches as one of the instruments of torture for adulterers.[89] Two other notable instances may be added to these. *C* describes thus the trees and vines in the land of the just: 'I saw palm trees growing there, and each one was wholly different from the other; some of them were thirty cubits in height, and some of them twenty, and some of them ten, and the ground whereon they were growing was seven times whiter than silver. From the root of each tree up to its heart there were ten thousand branches with tens of

thousands of clusters, and there were ten thousand clusters on each branch, and there were ten thousand dates in each cluster. And thus was it also with the vines. Each vine had ten thousand branches, and each branch had upon it ten thousand bunches of grapes. . . (Budge, p. 1050.) This is given in *P*, but imperfectly: '. . . et uidi ibi palmas cubitorum .XX., . . . Et e<rant> arbores plene fruct<ibus> ar radice usque ad sum<mos> ordines .X. miliorum fru<ctuum> palmarum super .X. milia fructos; uineae autem uitis habebant .X. milia arbusta. In singulis autem uitibus erant .X. milia milia butriones et in miliorum his singuli butr<io>nes. . . .'[90] *St G*, on the contrary, though it is also defective, agrees in some details with *C* and so serves to correct the errors of the longer Latin text: 'Erant plene a radice usque ad summum ordines decem milia ramorum fructuum super ramos. Vinee autem uites habebant .X. milia arbusta; in singulis autem uitibus .X. milia butriones et .X. milia racemi in singulis butrionibus. . .'[91] *P* is likewise wanting in the account of the gate of Paradise with its golden columns: '. . . et intendens uidi, et erat porta aurea, et due columnae aureae plene desuper literis aureis. . . .' But in Paul's question concerning the 'literis aureis' he speaks, not of columns, but of tablets: 'Domine, dic mihi cuius rei gratiam posite sunt aec litere super tabulas istas?'[92] All the non-Latin versions, in their account of the gate itself, mention both columns and tablets. Thus *S*: 'E guardai quella porta: e la vidi somigliante a oro fino, e davanti ad essa [stavano] due colonne come di diamante, e due tavole [che] al dispora erano scritte.'[93] With this *St G* shows a close correspondence: '. . . et intendi et uidi; et erat porta aurea, et due columnae aureae ante eam, et due tabulae aureae super duas columnas plene litteris.'[94]

Thus, it is evident from the similarity of the two Latin texts and from the preservation by *St G* of the original in several places in which *P* is defective, that *St G* is related not to *P*, but to *P*'s Latin source. But *St G* is not derived from that text directly. Its omission of the prefatory story of the discovery at Tarsus and of the second visit to Paradise would have no significance, in view of its general tendency towards abbreviation, were it not that the Latin Redactions, through which the Apocalypse was chiefly known in the later Middle Ages, though independent of *St G*, all agree with it in these omissions.[95] It would seem to follow, therefore, that there existed still another Latin recension, the immediate source of *St G*, which, based upon the text from which *P* also derives, omitted the prefatory matter, as well as the second journey to Paradise, and ended with the episode of the respite for the sinners in Hell.

III. The Evidence of *F*

F begins abruptly at the end of the trial and condemnation of the second wicked soul before God's throne (§17 of *P*) and ends, unfinished, in the midst of the Hell-torment of mockers in church (§37). Furthermore, even within these narrow limits, it is not a true Long version of the Apocalypse, but an abbreviation. Unlike *St G*, however, its method of abridgment is not the shortening or deletion of some passages and the preservation in full of others, but an evenly distributed reduction of the language throughout. Except for the loss of beginning and conclusion, consequent upon its fragmentary state, and the omission of Paul's voyage in the golden boat across the Acherusian Lake (*P*, §§22–23), it retains virtually all the incidents of the original.[96]

The inclusion of *F*, abbreviation though it is, in the present chapter with the Long texts is justified by the fact that it is quite uninfluenced by the translation which gave rise to *P*, *St G* and the later mediaeval Redactions; and thus is a witness to a second Latin tradition. This is suggested by differences in language between *F* and the other texts, of a sort not to be explained merely by *F*'s being an abridgment. For the Redactions are also highly abbreviated, yet their language, as Wieber has pointed out, is strongly reminiscent of *P*.[97]

The differences, largely of vocabulary, are abundantly obvious upon the simplest comparison of texts, and need not be dwelt on here. One example will illustrate sufficiently what appears to be the independent contact of *F* with the Greek. In Section 34 *P* and *St G* call the tormenting angel 'angelus tartaruchus,' their Latin original having taken over directly the phrase which must have stood in its Greek source, ὁ ἄγγελος ταρταροῦχος. But later (§36) they refer to the tormentor as 'angelus qui super penas erat,' this time omitting the adjective and substituting a gloss of its meaning, 'keeping, or inhabiting, Hell.' *F*, on the contrary, uses a characteristic paraphrase in both places, 'princeps tenebrarum,' 'princeps demoniorum,' which suggests that the adjective ταρταροῦχος lay before its author's eyes on both occasions.

Far more convincing than evidence of this sort is the correct preservation of details from the original which both *P* and *St G* (and thus their Latin source also) omit or give imperfectly. *G*, for instance, says of King David: οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Δαυὶδ ὁ προφήτης[98]; and *S* is even more complete: 'Questi è David profeta e re. . . .'[99] *P* and *St G* (§29) have merely, 'Hic est Dauid.' But *F* is as full as *S*: 'Dauid est, qui fuit rex et propheta.' Such details point clearly to *F*'s independence; but the passage on Paul's encounter with the two elders, Enoch and Elijah, near the Gate of Paradise (§20) is demonstrative. Here, as we have

already noticed, *P* and *St G* both contain the error 'sol' for 'Elias,' the result of a confusion of 'Ηλίας with "Ηλιος. *F*, however, gives the passage correctly: Paul meets the two old men, Enoch and 'sanctum uatem Helyam.' It is thus certain that *F* represents a Latin version of *Paul* independent of the source of *P* and *St G*.

IV. Conclusion

Thus the history of the Long Latin versions appears to be that the archetype, A, of all the Latin texts was one of the early variant Greek copies of the Apocalypse in the revised form of the fourth or fifth century (the Tarsus text). It contained both the story of the discovery of the book at Tarsus and the second visit to the dwellings of the righteous, but ended imperfectly in the middle of Elijah's speech in the Paradise of Eden. In the account of the going-out of the souls it mentioned neither the pleasant manner in which the righteous nor the abruptness with which the wicked are removed from the body, and it gave correctly the challenge of the good soul by the 'witnesses.' It was complete and preserved the original throughout, both in the first visit to Paradise and in the journey through Hell, the account of the former belonging to those early copies which named Lot and Job among the hospitable souls by the river of wine, and the description of the latter to those which contained, in the account of the group of immersed sinners, the phrase 'neque calidi neque frigidi sunt,' and, in the passage on the sorcerers, not a pit, but an old man with a bloody countenance. Except for the defect in its ending, the narrative of the second journey to the lands of the righteous was also everywhere correctly given.

L^1. From A was derived a Long Latin text, which, written not later than the early sixth century,[100] translated quite accurately the contents of its original, but contained several important modifications. The challenge of the good soul by the 'witnesses' was given correctly but with some condensation. It mistook the Greek 'Ηλίας for "Ηλιος and thus named Enoch and the sun, instead of Enoch and Elijah. Like A it described the location of the celestial rivers in the preliminary account of the City of Christ as well as during Paul's journey through the city, in both cases, however, giving their situation imperfectly. On the contrary, in its description of Hell and of the Paradise of Eden, it preserved the archetype (A) virtually intact.

L^1 gave rise to at least two different texts, *P* and λ.

P, written in the eighth century, transmits the errors of L^1 and adds several modifications of its own. It abbreviates further the already shortened form of the challenge of the good soul in L^1 and changes the

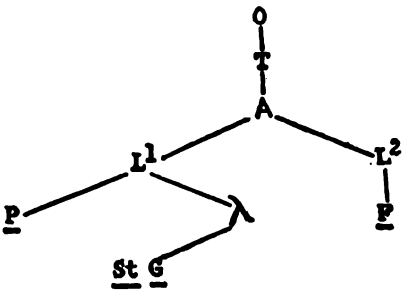
group of 'witnesses' to a single angel, and in the preliminary account of the heavenly rivers it eliminates entirely the mention of their relative positions. Its description of Hell is generally correct, except chiefly for such defects as are found in the narrative of the torments of the wicked presbyter and of those who painted themselves for sin. Three other points may be attributable to it: (1) the attempt to include the prefatory matter of an editor in the apocalypse proper and to make the rapture to the heavens coincident with the beginning of the revelation, (2) the change in the number of complaints of the elements in the introductory revelations, and (3) at the end of the work the omission of the 'Cherubim' near the Tree of Life in the Paradise of Eden.[101]

The second text that sprang from L^1 was λ, which differed from its source chiefly in the omission of the prefatory story of the discovery in Tarsus and of the second visit to the dwellings of the righteous. *St G*, written (as its two manuscripts show) in the ninth century or earlier, is based on this text, of which it is in part both an abbreviation and a rearrangement.

L^2. A second Latin version of A is represented by the independent Vienna Fragment, *F*. Beginning near the close of the passage on the going-out of the souls (§17) and ending with the punishment of mockers in church (§37), it preserves within its narrow limits the contents of the original in fairly accurate abbreviation. Particularly noteworthy, as a mark of its independence, is the fact that, at Paul's meeting with the elders at the Gate of Paradise, *F* correctly names, not Enoch and the sun, but Enoch and Elijah.

It is impossible to discover, from the present evidence, whether L^2 was originally a Long version, from which its representative *F* was in turn abridged; or whether it was itself an abbreviation made directly from the Greek. The manuscript in which *F* has survived is of the fourteenth century, but the occurrence of a German translation which was made about the year 1150 shows that the text of L^2 already existed somewhat earlier in its abbreviated state.[102] Nor is it certain, because of the fragmentary condition of *F*, what was the exact form of L^2's Greek archetype. But the fact that in one point (i.e. the inclusion of Lot and Job among the souls by the river of wine) *F* supports *P* and *St G* against all the other versions,[103] and that in another (i.e. the naming of the rivers of Paradise: Phison, honey; Euphrates, milk; Gihon, oil; Tigris, wine) it corroborates *P*, *St G*, and *R*,[104] may be adduced as evidence supporting the view that A, and not another form of the Greek, was its source.

The rise and growth of all the Long texts in the Western tradition may be illustrated by the following diagram (0 = the primitive Greek of the third century; T = the original Tarsus text)[105]:



Chapter Four

THE LATIN REDACTIONS: THEIR DEVELOPMENT AND RELATIONSHIP

The forty-seven codices in which the Latin Redactions of the Apocalypse of Paul are extant not only testify, by their multiplicity and by the diversity of their provenance, to the wide-spread popularity of the vision in the later Middle Ages, but also exhibit a strong preoccupation with the horrors of Hell-torment to the virtual exclusion of the less impressive joys of Paradise. For, of the eight Redactions, only one (Redaction VI) preserves the journey to the dwellings of the righteous and that in the briefest possible account of the Land of Promise[1]; the rest (Redactions I–V, VII and VIII) dispense with it altogether.

Besides dealing exclusively with the regions of the damned, Redactions I–V, VII and VIII show numerous other traits in common. They omit the discovery of the work in Tarsus and begin with an interpolated exhortation that transforms the Apocalypse into a homily: 'Oportet uos, fratres karissimi, amare delicias paradisi et timere penas inferni. . .'[2] Paul's guide through the under-world, an unnamed 'angelus' in the Long texts, becomes the Archangel Michael.[3] And their account of Hell shows generally both modification of authentic matter and interpolation of much that is new. In connection with the former are to be remarked especially the description of the sinners immersed to varying depths in the fiery river, who appear without their significance as Laodiceans 'neque calidi neque frigidi,' and the omission of the charitable gentiles, robed in white but blind. All seven Redactions conclude the vision with the episode of the respite of the damned.

Redaction VI agrees with the other abbreviated versions in the omission of the story of the discovery and of the second visit to the dwellings of the righteous. This, together with the peculiarity of its interpolations and of its transformation of the contents of the original, marks it out as an independent reworking of the materials of the source from which all the other Redactions were drawn. The precise nature of the mutual relationships of Redactions I–V, VII and VIII must be sought from an examination of their numerous individual variations.

I. Redactions I and II

Redaction I is extant in the fourteenth-century *Codex Vienna 362*.[4] It begins, directly after the brief homiletic preface, with Paul's journey to the River Oceanus (§31)[5] and to the land of darkness and sorrow. Here a passage is interpolated naming the four rivers of the classical Hades: 'nomen loci eius Cochiton; et alia tria flumina que confluunt secum Stix, Flegeton et Acheron,' and giving a description of the great monster Parthemon, with a hundred heads, teeth that flame and eyes as sharp as swords, who devours the wicked princes and satraps of this earth. The narrative then returns to the account of the sinners immersed in a fiery river 'alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad umbilicum, alii usque ad labia, alii usque ad supercilia' (§31), and of those cast into the bottomless abyss who did not place their hope in God (§§32–33). The pains of the wicked presbyter, the bishop, the deacon and the lector (§§34–36) are all left out by the clerical redactor with what seems like deliberate intent, and the passages immediately following undergo a drastic transformation.

First comes the description of those who did injury to orphans and widows and sought usury without mercy: 'Postea uidit locum terribilem et angustum, in quo erat flumen magnum ascendens ad septentrionem. Et uiri et mulieres erant in eo linguas suas comedentes, et uermes in circuitu comedentes eos. Paulus plorans dixit, "Qui sunt hii?" Angelus dixit, "Hii sunt qui orphanis et uiduis nocuerunt, et usuras et lucrum quesiuerunt sine misericordia." Et ignis urebat unam partem, altera frigescebat.' (Below, p. 154, ll. 14–19) This is a patchwork of phrases and details culled from four different sections of the Long versions: the accounts (i) of those who did not hope in God (§32), (ii) of mockers and usurers (§37), (iii) of persecutors of orphans and widows (§39), and (iv) of those who denied the Resurrection (§42).

The torment of fastbreakers, which is next narrated, condenses the original (§39), but accurately. The black-robed maidens, the hanging adulterers and the sodomites (§39), as well as the blind pagans (§40), have all disappeared without a trace. Though the infanticides are included in the list of sinners, their pains are those which the original assigned to the false ascetics (§40): 'Postea uidit mulieres multas in alio loco, indutas pannis et pice et sulphure et igne, et dracones et serpentes circa colla earum; et angeli habentes cornua ignita percuciebant eas. Et dixit Paulus, "Qui sunt hee, domine?" Et angelus, "Hee sunt que maculauerunt se et necauerunt infantes suos, et auguria et diuinaciones fecerunt." ' (Below, p. 154, ll. 23–27)[6]

The Redaction proceeds with the worst of all the torments, the pit

with seven seals in which are confined those who are lost forever. Besides the addition that these sinners are 'gentiles qui non sunt baptizati,' and the omission of one of their heresies, namely, their denial of the Virgin Birth, this narrative expands and to some extent changes the character of the original by making the guiding angel give a description of the pit, and an account of the 'limbus patrum' interpolated from the legend of Christ's descent into Hell, which pervaded the Middle Ages through the influence of the Gospel of Nicodemus: ' "Quis est iste infernus?" Et dixit angelus, "Hic est infernus in quem omnes anime descenderunt ante aduentum domini. Patriarche et prophete et totus mundus inclinatus fuit ad hunc infernum. Sed dominus misericors audiuit gemitum eorum, et descendit et inde partem abstulit et partem reliquit, et sigillauit sigillis septem. Nunquam postea ulla anima descendit in illum locum. Et in die iudicii qui mittetur in illum locum, cum corpore et anima mittetur." ' (Below, p. 154, ll. 35ff.)[7] The episode of the respite from torment (§§43–44), followed by a short homiletic epilogue in which the pains of Hell are enumerated, brings the vision to a close.[8]

Redaction II shows a special kinship with both I and III. It is to be found in the fifteenth-century *Codex 3881* in Vienna.[9] Like I it opens with an exhortation and with the description of Oceanus. Similarly it interpolates, before the account of the sinners immersed in the fiery stream, both the infernal rivers and the monster who devours the wicked princes, but with the differences that of the rivers it names only one, 'Cogiton,' and that it calls the monster 'Bachimach' and gives him three, instead of one hundred, heads.[10] Despite their likenesses, Redaction II is not directly based on I, for it preserves separate accounts, as in the original, of the pains of the usurers, the adulterers and the persecutors of widows and orphans—all of which Redaction I unites into a single composite account; and it retains the description of the wicked bishop and of the black-robed maidens who had violated their vow of chastity,[11] both of which passages Redaction I omits altogether. Behind I and II, therefore, must lie a third Redaction, *a*, no longer extant.

Of the new interpolations in Redaction II several are noteworthy for their appearance in Redactions III–V, and VII and VIII. After the torment of the sinners immersed in the river, it describes at the gates of Hell a group of burning trees, on the branches of which hang other souls in agony, 'quidam per capillos, alii per pedes, alii per manus, alii per lingwas, alii per colla, alii per brachia, alii per membra diuersa.' Nearby Paul sees a furnace 'ardentem per sex flammas in diuersis coloribus; . . . Et sex plage in circuitu fornacis.'[12] A third interpolation, which occurs just before the episode of the respite at the end of the vision, is

picturesque but of less significance. It describes a soul who, to the wonder of the tormenting demons, smiles throughout his punishment in the expectation of his deliverance from the infernal regions after three thousand years.[13] The Redaction ends, incomplete, in the midst of the respite episode, as the sinners begin their cry of thanks to Christ for his mercy.

II. Redaction III

To this abbreviated form of the Apocalypse belong eight manuscripts: four in Munich, *Codd. 1265* (M^1), *12005* (M^2), *22302* (M^3), and *26137* (M^4); two in St Gall, the fragmentary and garbled *Cod. 1050* (S^1) and *Cod. 1012* (S^2); one in Vienna, *Cod. 1629* (*Vi*); and one in Cambridge, *Cod. Corpus Christi 20* (*CC*).[14] By types of text the eight codices may be divided into four groups, each with marked differentiae, but also with minor cross-relationships between the individual texts of different groups which indicate, beyond the filiation of manuscripts, the gradual transformation of the Redaction.

The group IIIa. This group is represented by *Codd.* M^1 and *CC*. Because of the loss of an introductory folio, everything preceding the dragon has disappeared from M^1, which begins in the midst of the description of the monster's eyes. However, *CC* supplies the missing sections.[15] Here the account of Oceanus, which Redactions I and II preserve, has been omitted entirely (as is true of all the versions of Redaction III), and though the fiery trees and the flaming furnace of II both appear, the 'plage' connected with the furnace are designated in detail: '. . . uidit ignem incendentem per septem flammas in diuersis coloribus; et multi puniebantur in eo: alii fame, alii siti, alii igne, alii fetore, alii frigore, alii uermibus, alii fumo.' Furthermore (and this, too, is typical of the other representatives of the Third Redaction), trees and furnace are placed, not, as in II, after the sinners in the stream,[16] but at the beginning of the vision, immediately after the River Cocytus (*CC*: 'Cocheriton') and preceding the dragon, whose name has become Pahtmot in M^1, Pathmet in *CC*. Especially characteristic of this group is a series of phrases which are in both M^1 and *CC*, but absent from all the other codices. These phrases are italicized in the following comparisons, in which *Cod.* M^2 is quoted as typical of the groups IIIb and IIIc.

IIIa	IIIb–IIIc
M^1: 'Hii sunt qui se mittunt sermonibus alienis, alius alium detrahens in ecclesia, *extra ecclesiam, aut in omni loco.*' (Below p. 166, ll. 20ff.)	M^2: 'Hii sunt qui discordiam sciunt et detrahunt multos in ecclesiam.' (Below p. 166, ll. 19–21)[17]

IIIa	IIIb–IIIc
M^1: 'Hii sunt submersi usque ad supercilia oculorum qui nituntur facere mala proximis suis, *dum illi habent fidem contra eos.*' (p. 168, ll. 10–13)	M^2: 'Qui faciunt malum proximis suis et uana uerba locuntur in ecclesiam.' (p. 168, ll. 9–10)
M^1: Postea uidit uiros ac mulieres *in loco glaciali* [*CC*: loco galatu]. . . . (p. 176, ll. 12–13)	M^2: Postea uidit Paulus uiros ac mulieres stantes. . . . (p. 176, ll. 12–13)

It is important to note also that, near the end of the vision and after the respite episode, M^1 and *CC* both interpolate a description of the 'ostiarius inferni, cui nomen est Tenal (et nomen canis eius Cerberus), exaltans caput suum super omnes penas inferni. . . .'[18]

IIIb. A second text is found in *Cod.* M^2 only. It is close to IIIa in language and detail, notably in its inclusion of the 'hostiarius inferni', yet shows important variations besides those just remarked. Its opening parallels that of *CC*, but it calls the river Flegeton in place of Cocytus, modifies the dragon's name to Patinot, and, as an epilogue, adds a warning, unique with this manuscript, to those on earth who do not keep Sunday properly.[19]

IIIc. *Codd.* S^1, S^2 and M^3 form this text, which is akin to both of the preceding groups. Though the name of the dragon is omitted from the St Gall texts, M^3 agrees with IIIb and has Patinot.[20] But all three codices of IIIc are differentiated from IIIa and IIIb by a cluster of omissions, which eliminate: (*a*) the description of the souls, immersed in the fiery water to their eyebrows, who on earth did injury to their neighbors; (*b*) the passage on the oppressors of widows and orphans; and (*c*) the interpolated account of the 'hostiarius inferni,' though the fragmentary state of S^1 leaves open the possibility that the interpolation was originally a part of this garbled text.[21]

IIId. This group, composed of *Codd. Vi* and M^4, is important for its connection with Redaction IV. It is characterized throughout by much more abbreviation than that in any of the other texts of the Third Redaction. In omitting the 'hostiarius inferni,' it resembles the group IIIc, but is peculiar in its omission of the name of the infernal river and in the omission of the fiery dragon. To the end of the vision *Cod. Vi* adds a long passage in praise of the 'dominicus dies,' recounting its many 'benedictiones' in a manner reminiscent of the monitory epilogue of M^2, and associating with this praise a briefer exhortation on behalf of the Friday, 'Veneris dies.'[22]

Besides these eight Latin codices, through which we may conjecture

the original form of Redaction III, we have also the evidence of a fifteenth-century German version in the Stolbergische Bibliothek of Wernigerode (*GS*),[23] which is valuable because it is virtually a word for word translation of a Latin text, primarily of the IIIc type of *Codd.* M^3 and S^2, but with the noteworthy differences that it supports the reading 'Flegeton' of S^1 and M^2 against the rest of the manuscripts,[24] and opens with a long praise of the Sunday, parallel to the list of 'benedictiones' at the conclusion of *Cod. Vi.*[25]

This simple division of the nine texts of Redaction III into four types is but a rough preliminary arrangement. It does not disclose accurately either the original character of the Third Redaction or the complicated lines along which its variant versions grew, as may be inferred from the instances of cross-relationship already remarked between the individual codices of different groups. A more minute examination of their pages yields two additional facts, which throw further light upon the connection of the manuscripts. First, of the nine texts, that in *Cod.* M^1 is on the whole closest to the original Redaction III; and, second, no one codex was derived directly from another, but the intricate relationships existing among all the extant manuscripts are only to be explained by assuming five lost intermediaries, from which the various types of text arose. The evidence for these conclusions is readily discovered but complicated, and may be summarized in the following fashion:

1. M^1 is peculiar among all the extant texts of Redaction III in preserving numerous details from the Long Latin texts, virtually all of which, it is important to observe, are lacking also in Redactions I and II. For example:

L^1 (*P*)	M^1
Aby<s>sus mensuram non habet . . . cum enim mittantur illic anime, *uix post quingentos annos perueniunt in profundum.* (James, p. 29, ll. 20–25)	'Hic est abyssus, et finem non habet. Et cum in eo anima mittitur, *uix perueniet usque ad quinquaginta annorum in profunditatem.*' (Below p. 170, ll. 11ff.)
Ego uero cum audissem ploraui et ingemui *super genus hominum.* Respondit angelus . . . : Quare ploras? (p. 29, ll. 25–27)	Quod cum audisset Paulus, ingemuit et fleuit. Et dixit angelus, 'Quid ploras, Paule, *super humanum genus?*' (p. 172, ll. 1–4)
Et respexi et uidi alios pendentes *super canela aque* . . . , et multi fructus constituti in conspectu corum. . . . (p. 32, ll. 1–3)	Postea uidit uiros ac mulieres *super canalem aque*; et multos fructus ante illos. . . (p. 176, ll. 5–7)[26]

L¹ (*P*)	*M¹*
. . . *dederunt nos in escam canibus et in conculcationem porcis:* alios proiecerunt in flumine. (p. 33, ll. 2–3)	'Iste sunt que occiderunt infantes suos et iactauerunt eos in flumina et in stercora, *et dederunt porcis uel canibus in escam.*' (p. 178, ll. 4–7)
Et uenit angelus anime peccatricis *habens in manibus cirographum,* et dixit: Aec sunt, domine, in manibus meis omnia peccata anime istius. . . . (p. 20, ll. 9–11)	'Ve, misera, que opera fecisti in terra!' Et dixerunt ad inuicem, '*Ista legit septem caracteras suas. . .*' (p. 182, ll. 9–12)
Hu<nc> quem uides iustus est. . . . *Tradatur ergo Michaelo angelo testamenti, et perducat eam in paradiso exultacionis, ut et ipsa fiat co<h>eres cum omnibus sanctis.* (p. 17, ll. 19–21)	Post hec in momento abduxerunt angeli animam iusti de corpore. . . . *Postea portauit eam pius Mychahel in paradisum, ubi erant omnes sancti.* (p. 184, ll. 1–11)

But despite these signs of what is surely to be accounted special fidelity to the older form of III, *M¹* is neither the original itself nor the archetype of any of the remaining examples of this Redaction, because it also omits many older phrases which those texts include. In the examples here given, *CC* is taken as the type of all the other codices:

L¹ (*P*)	*CC*
Et inspexi et uidi alios uiros ac mulieres . . . : *et uidi angelum penarum . . . dicentem: Agnoscite filium dei; . . .* (James, p. 32, ll. 21–26)	Postea uidit in alio mulieres indutas pannis de pice. . . . *Angeli iniqui in circuitu erant. 'Agnosce filium dei, . . .'* (p. 178, ll. 6–7 and n.)
Et iterum aspexi illic uiros ac mulieres incisis manibus et pedibus constitutos ac *nudos* in locum glacie et niue, et uermes comedebant eos. (p. 31, ll. 32–33)	Et uidit Paulus uiros et mulieres *nudos,* et uermes et serpentes eos comedentes. (p. 180, ll. 13–15 and nn.)
Et iterum uidi, et ecce anima que adducebatur a duobus angelis flens. . . . Respondit angelus et dixit mihi: Cognouisti aec omnia? *et dixi: Ita, domine.* (p. 19, l. 25–p. 21, l. 6)	. . . et uiderunt animam peccatoris inter septem diabolos. . . . Et dixit angelus, 'Credis et agnoscis quod sicut fecerit homo in uita sua, sic accipiet?' *Dixitque Paulus, 'Credo.'* [*M²*: 'Credo, domine.'] (p. 182, ll. 5–19 and nn.)

As to *CC*, from the evidence of these passages it is, on the one hand, independent of *M¹*, though a close relative in some respects; and, on the other hand, it is connected with groups IIIb and IIIc. But it is not their source. For *CC* is marred by omissions of its own, where those

groups are whole. One instance is sufficient by way of proof, with M^2 representing both IIIb and IIIc.

L^1 (*P*)	M^2	*CC*
Ve tibi, *misera* anima, pro operibus tuis que fecisti in terra; . . . Tradatur ergo angelo Tartarucho . . . , et mitat eum in tenebris *exterioribus*. . . . (p. 18, ll. 32–33 and ff.)	'Ve, ue, ue, anima *misera*, que opera fecisti in terra!' Et dyaboli susceperunt eam, mittentes eam in tenebras *exteriores*. (Below p. 182, ll. 9–12)	'Ve, ue, anima, que opera fecisti in terra!' Et diaboli susceperunt eam, mittentes eam in tenebris. . . . (p. 182, ll. 9–15 and nn.)

If, therefore, we conjecture that M^1 was drawn from the original III directly, it follows that between *CC* and the original lay a version U, which was, in addition, the general source of IIIb and IIIc.

2. Now IIIb and IIIc in their turn show every sign of being independent of one another. Thus IIIc (*Codd.* S^1, S^2, and M^3) agrees with IIIa and the Long texts in describing the 'uiros et mulieres nigros ualde . . . qui fornicantur proprias. . . .'[27] IIIb leaves out this passage entirely. Besides, though IIIb parallels *Cod.* S^1 in naming the stream of Hell Flegeton, it can hardly have been the source of the other codices of IIIc, S^2 and M^3, since they both specify the Cocytus, in agreement with *CC* and Redaction II.[28] Conversely, IIIc, as we have already perceived, is typified by a series of deletions, among them the account of the 'hostiarius inferni,' whom IIIb describes in company with group IIIa. IIIb and IIIc thus appear to be parallel derivatives from a common original. That original was not U, however, as will at once become plain if we recall the contents of *CC*. This codex records matter from the primitive Redaction III which appears also in M^1, but is missing from the mutually independent IIIb and IIIc.[29] For this reason, such matter must have been contained in U, but was probably not present in the immediate source of the other two groups. It is necessary to assume a second intermediary W, based on U, which perhaps named both the Flegeton and Cocytus, as did the codices of IIIb and IIIc between them, and which was also the source, separately for each of these groups, of their common omissions.

3. Investigation of the manuscripts of IIIc discloses that it really comprises two sub-groups, S^1 and S^2–M^3. Among the several points of disagreement in these texts, it has previously been noted that S^1 speaks of the Flegeton River in opposition to S^2–M^3, which calls it the Cocytus. But more conclusive of the special connection of S^2 and M^3 is the passage on the souls who are tormented in the sealed pit. These S^1 describes as the sinners 'qui non credunt Christum natum de uirgine et qui non sunt baptizati,' as in IIIa, IIIb, and Redaction II.[30] How-

ever, S^2 and M^3 modify this account, designating the transgressors anew as those 'qui non baptizati sunt *et non credunt in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum.*' There are further complications. From this last passage alone it is patent that S^1 is not based on S^2–M^3, just as the fragmentary state and unique rearrangement of its contents eliminate S^1 as the original of its two sister texts. Further, of the manuscripts S^2 and M^3, neither is based on the other, for all their likeness, since each alternately retains, in company with IIIa and IIIb, words and minor details which the other does not have.[31] The archetype of the group IIIc must have been a text X, drawn from W; and from X sprang directly S^1 and a fourth non-extant version Y, which was the source of the modifications in S^2 and M^3, and their immediate original.

4. The German version (*GS*) and the group IIId remain to be considered. *GS*, as has been stated, belongs primarily with *Codd.* S^2 and M^3, matching them almost phrase for phrase, omission for omission. The most remarkable instance of this fidelity occurs in the description of the sealed pit, where, says the angel of *GS* in the words of S^2–M^3, are those 'dy nicht getaufft sind *und nicht gelauben an gott den vater und sun und heiligen gaist.*'[32] *GS* drew also upon at least one other source: it employs minutiae that belong to IIIb or to IIIa. Almost at the outset of its narrative there appears a phrase proper to IIIb (M^2):

GS	IIIb (M^2)
. . . und sant sand Michel mit sand Paull, das er im zaiget dy sunder *und das er uns lernet* fliehen die pein der hell. . . . (Brandes, p. 83, ll. 20–22)	Misit Michahelem cum eo ut ostenderet ei peccatores, *ut doceret nos* timere penas inferni. . . . (Below p. 160, ll. 6–8)

and its list of the varying depths to which the sinners are submerged in the fiery stream is also paralleled by that text only:

Do sach sant Paul vil lȧut und mangerley lȧut in einem fewrein wazzer, ainen an daz *chnei*, dy anderen an den *nȧbel*, dy dritten an den *lebzen*, dy virden *an* dy *augen*, dy .v. *uber* dy *augen*. (p. 84, ll. 22–25)	Et uidit Paulus multos homines in flumine igneo: alii ad *genua*, alii ad *umblicum*, alii ad *labia*, alii ad *oculos*, alii ad *supercilia*. (p. 166, ll. 12–15)

IIIa in turn approximates most closely of all the versions the language of *GS* in the account of the transgressors immersed to their eyebrows:

GS	IIIa (M^1)
'Nu wer sind dy, dy versenckt sind an dy uberpra?' 'Daz sind, dy iren nachsten chain trew tȧnd *und chainen glauben an sie habent.*' (p. 85, ll. 1–3)	'Hii sunt submersi usque ad supercilia oculorum qui nituntur facere mala proximis suis, *dum illi habent fidem contra eos.*' (p. 168, ll. 10–13)

The same group likewise matches the adjacent accounts in *GS*, except for the reversal of the order of the occurrence, of the souls surrounded by a wall of fire and of the 'uiros et mulieres nigros ualde'; IIIb, in contrast, omitting the second, IIIc changing the characterization of the first group of sinners. The passages in *GS* are here reversed for convenience of comparison:

Darnach sach sant Paul ein prinnencz loch on grunt, darinnen man und frawen an czal waren, dy mit mangerlay pen gekestiget wurden. . . . 'Das sind, dy pozhait habent gethan mit hochfahrt, mit geitickeit und mit ungelauben und dy got nicht lieb haben gehabt und dy swerer und valsch gezeugen sind gewesen und neydich.' Do sach er, vil man und frawen, dy gar swarcz waren. . . . 'Das sind dy man, dy irew weib verchauffent, und dy weib, dy irew aigen man verchauffent.' (p. 85, ll. 25–31 and 21–24)	Postea uidit alium locum, et murus igneus in circuitu eius ardebat; et uiros ac mulieres in eo. . . . 'Hii sunt maledici, perfidi, periuratores, falsi testes, inuidiosi, superbi qui non amant dominum.' Et uidit uiros ac mulieres nigros ualde. . . . 'Hii sunt uiri qui fornicantur proprias mulieres, et mulieres que fornicantur uiros.' (p. 174, ll. 3–14)

One other fact must be recalled, namely, that *GS* opens with an account of the benefits of the 'dominicus dies,' similar to that in *Cod. Vi* of the group IIId and related to the admonition which concludes M^2. All these observations together suggest that the second source of *GS* was some version close to IIIb, and intermediate between it and IIIa, such as W. This will be further clarified by the evidence of *Cod. Vi*.

5. Even as a representative of the highly condensed group IIId, the text of *Cod.* M^4 is markedly brief. To the numerous deletions typical of this group, it adds others which eliminate the account of the oppressors of orphans and widows, of the pit with seven seals, and of the going-out of the wicked soul.[33] It ends, unfinished, in the midst of Christ's chiding speech to the sinners who seek relief from their torment. At the same time, as the following two passages demonstrate, M^4 does show traces here and there of authentic details (for they appear in IIIa, IIIb, and IIIc) which *Cod. Vi* omits:

IIIa, b, c	M_4
CC: Oportet nos timere penas inferni et amare delicias paradisi, que ostense sunt Paulo quando in carne fuit. *Et tulit eum Michael in celum et ostendit ei firmamentum celi super flumen aquarum.* (Below p. 160, ll. 8–13)	Necesse est hominibus timere penas inferni et amare delicias paradysii, que ostense sunt Sancto Paulo, *quando tulit eum angelus. Et uidit in firmamento celi super flumen aque.* (p. 161, ll. 5ff. and nn.)

IIIa, b, c	M_4
M^2: 'Hii sunt qui uxores alienas inpiunt, et fornicantur cum eis, *et sumpserunt corpus Christi indigne et sanguinem*. . . .' (p. 166, ll. 22ff.)	'Hii sunt omnes [?] fornicatores *et qui summunt corpus domini indigne*. . . .' (p. 169, ll. 1–2, n.)

It is certain, then, that neither *Vi* nor M^4 alone contains fully the text of IIId, but both go back to at least one earlier version, Z. Now it is difficult, from its very nature, to be certain about the sources of this fourth group. Its agreement with IIIc in omitting the 'hostiarius inferni' is offset by the fact that it tends characteristically to cast aside nearly all of the features by which the first three groups may be distinguished from one another. Mere omissions cannot, therefore, be taken as a sure guide to IIId's source. More informative is the language of the passages which IIId includes. It shows several instances of agreement with IIIa:

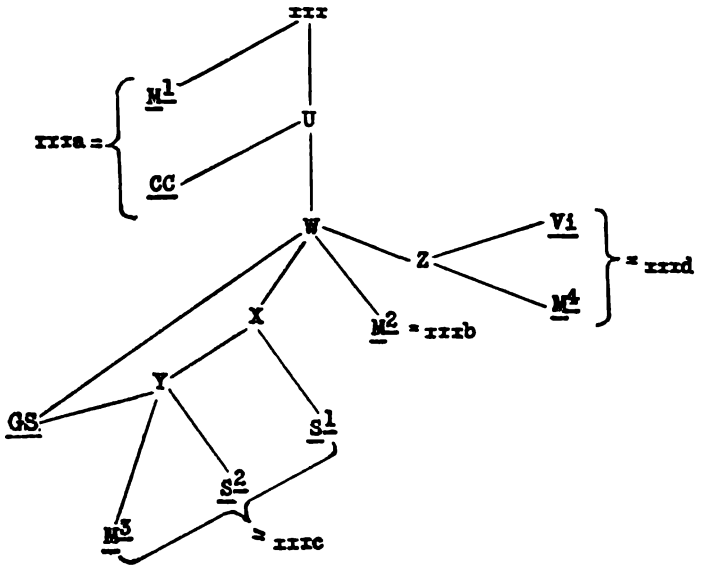
IIIa	IIId
M^1: 'Hii sunt qui se mittunt sermonibus alienis, alius alium detrahens in ecclesia, *extra ecclesiam, aut in omni loco*.' (Below p. 166, ll. 20ff.)	M^4: 'Hii sunt qui utuntur alienis laboribus, qui etiam detrahunt ceteris [?; *Vi*: in ecclesia] *uel extra ecclesiam, et in omni loco consecrato*.'
M^1: Postea uidit uiros ac mulieres *in loco glaciali* [*CC*: in loco galatu]. . . . (p. 176, ll. 12–13)	*Vi*: Iterum uidit uiros et mulieres *in loco gehennali*. . . .

Sometimes it unites with IIIa and IIIb against IIIc, as in this passage, which IIIc omits completely:

IIIa–IIIb	IIId
M^1: 'Hii sunt submersi usque ad supercilia oculorum qui nituntur facere mala proximis suis. . . .' (p. 168, ll. 10–12)	*Vi*: 'Et qui usque ad supercilia?' 'Qui annuunt malum uicis suis.'

But nowhere does it agree essentially with IIIc as against the other groups together. No doubt, then, the source of the group IIId was a text which lay behind IIIb (M^2), that is, either W or U. Further, since *GS* is related to IIIb, which in turn was based on W, and since both *GS* and IIIb contain a discourse on the 'dominicus dies' which matches that of *Cod. Vi*, it was probably W in which the Sunday passage first appeared, and W from which the group IIId was drawn.

On the basis of all these arguments, the following stemma may be constructed for Redaction III:



The filiation of the extant texts of the Third Redaction being now conjecturally established, the chief features of the Redaction in its original state can be reconstructed with a high degree of accuracy. It was at first a version largely like M^1, but without the defects of this manuscript. It included in its narrative the infernal furnace, with four flames as in groups IIIb, IIIc, and IIId, and codex *CC*. The dragon it called by a name (Patinot, Pahtmot, Partimor[34]) which approached closely the Parthemon of Redaction I. As with all its variant texts, it omitted Oceanus, but named the River Cocytus either alone or in company with Flegeton. Just before the episode of the respite it placed a brief description of the going-out of the good and wicked souls taken from the older texts, and just after the respite it interpolated the picturesque account of the 'hostiarius inferni.'

As to the connection between Redaction III and the two previous abbreviations, III demonstrates its independence of I by the absence from its pages of all but one of the condensations peculiar to that text. The exception is the elimination of the separate group of false ascetics and in the account of the infanticides the addition of a description of their pains in both I and III; this is best explained as a trait of their common source, α.[35]

Nor is Redaction III derived from II. Though in general II and III correspond closely enough, they differ notably in that II retains the

great water Oceanus and the account of the wicked bishop,[36] both of which III omits. On the contrary, III alone of the two preserves the reference to the going-out of the souls.[37] We are thus obliged to postulate a second lost Redaction, β, of which II and III are separate derivatives, β itself having been based directly on α, the immediate source of Redaction I. Incidentally, we must not fail to observe that the M^1 text of Redaction III preserves, in those passages where we have found it most faithful to its original,[38] more consistently than either I or II a body of older readings, and is, therefore, in this respect a better witness than either of the other two Redactions to the contents of β and α.

III. Redactions IV and VII

The most important of the abbreviated Latin texts, from the point of view of their popularity, is Redaction IV. Extant in twenty-seven, at least, of the codices,[39] it is also the version which was most frequently translated into the vernaculars and through which the Visio Pauli chiefly left its mark on the general body of vision literature of the later Middle Ages.[40] Linked with it in contents are Redactions V, VII and VIII.

It will be convenient to summarize Redaction IV more minutely than has been done thus far for the other Redactions, and for this purpose the representative text in Vienna *Codex 876* as published by Brandes, with variant readings from the British Museum manuscripts *Additional 26770* and *Harley 2851*, has been chiefly used.[41] It commences with a characteristic sentence: 'Dies dominicus dies est electus, in quo gaudent angeli et archangeli maior diebus ceteris,'[42] and with the statement that St Paul, during his journey to Hell under the guidance of Michael, was the first to seek from God the respite for the damned. The vision proper then begins:

1. At the gates of Hell Paul sees a group of the wicked suspended on fiery trees by various parts of their bodies.[43] A furnace stands nearby, burning with seven flames of different colors,[44] and about it are the seven 'plage,' namely, snow, ice, fire, blood, serpents, lightning, stench.[45] Into the furnace are cast unrepentent sinners. They weep, seeking death, which they do not find, for souls can never die.
2. We must all fear Hell with its abundance of tears and its misery for souls, with its fiery wheel that is revolved a hundred times a day and that torments a thousand souls at a turn.[46]
3. Paul sees a horrible river[47] in which are infernal beasts, who devour sinners as wolves devour sheep. Across the river is a

bridge by which the just souls reach the opposite shore in safety. The souls of the unrighteous, however, fall into the river, each remaining on the bridge for a shorter distance as his sin is greater.[48] Immersed in the river to various parts of the body[49] are the detractors, the adulterers, the quarrelsome, and those who delighted in their neighbor's misfortunes.[50]

4. In a place of darkness are men and women eating their own tongues. These were merciless seekers of usury.[51]
5. Paul is taken to see those girls who were unchaste and who abandoned their children.[52] They are dressed in black robes, covered with pitch and sulphur, and wear fiery serpents about their necks. Four evil angels with flaming horns upbraid them.
6. In an icy place Paul sees the injurers of widows and orphans, and each is tormented in half of his body by fire, in the other half by cold.[53] Near them are men and women above a broad stream of water,[54] before whom hang fruits which they cannot reach. These broke the appointed fasts of the Church.[55]
7. Among four devils in another place is an old man weeping and howling. He, the guiding angel tells Paul, was a negligent and sinful bishop,[56] and will be punished until the day of judgment.
8. Paul weeps and Michael rebukes him, telling him that he has not yet seen the greater pains of Hell. Whereupon the apostle is shown the pit sealed with seven seals,[57] with its horrible stench, in which are confined the utterly lost. In an abyss are men and women heaped upon one another like sheep crowded in a sheepfold, and worms devour them. And the depth of the abyss is as from the earth to Heaven.
9. Paul looks towards the heavens and sees the going-out of an evil soul who, by his own deeds, as they are recorded on a chart, condemns himself to the outer darkness; and of a good soul, whom Michael carries up into Paradise.
10. The sinners in Hell cry out for mercy to Paul and Michael, who pray with them to Christ. The Lord descends from heaven and, after upbraiding the sinners,[58] grants them a respite from pain each week on the Sunday. At this the keeper of Hell, whose dog is named Cerberus, is sorrowful,[59] but all the sinners rejoice and cry out their thanks for the respite of this day, which they value more than all the time that they consumed on earth. 'Ideo qui custodierunt ipsum sanctum diem dominicum, habeant partem cum angelis dei.'
11. The vision ends with the numbering of the pains of Hell, of which there are 144 thousand.[60]

From this synopsis we can observe two fundamental facts about Redaction IV. First, the writer seems to have introduced into the vision many modifications, among which are the shifting of the hortatory preface so that it follows the 'plage,' the increase of the number of 'plage' and flames in the furnace to seven, and the interpolation of the fiery wheel and the bridge of Hell. Secondly, the text clearly bears a special relationship to III. Like that redaction it moves the trees and the furnace to the beginning of the vision and names the 'plage' in detail. It also preserves with III the going-out of the good and wicked souls, which I and II had omitted. But exactly which form of Redaction III was its source is ambiguous. Like the group IIId it omits entirely the rivers of the classical Hades and the monster Pahtmot-Patinot. As in M^2 (IIIb), *Vi* (IIId), and *GS*, its connection with the observance of the Sunday is emphasized; for not only is its characteristic introductory sentence ('Dies dominicus dies est electus . . . ') an obvious summary of the homily in praise of the Lord's Day which is added to those manuscripts, but the homily itself appears as an appendix to the text of Redaction IV in the British Museum *Codex Royal 11. B.X* (fol. 184).[61] It agrees with groups IIIa and IIIb in describing the interpolated 'hostiarius inferni,' whom IIIc and IIId omit. Moreover, it shows several instances of close agreement with M^1 (IIIa) at points where M^1 is unique among the codices of III in preserving the language of the longer Latin texts. Thus these lines, which are to be compared with those from M^1 quoted above, p. 45f.:

Postea vidit viros ac mulieres *super canelia ampnis* et fructus ante illos erant. (Brandes, p. 77, ll. 15–16)

. . . necaverunt infantes suos et *in escam porcis et canibus dederunt* et in fluminibus. . . . (p. 77, ll. 10–11)

'Vide istam animam, quomodo contempsit in terra mandata dei. *Mox illa legit cartam suam,* in qua erant peccata sua. . . .' (p. 78, ll. 16–17)

Post hoc in uno momento adduxerunt angeli animam iustam de corpore. . . . *Postea Michahel collocavit eam in paradiso, ubi erant omnes sancti.* (p. 78, ll. 22–28)

Hence, either Redaction IV is based eclectically on several of the texts of III, or we must postulate as its source still another variant form of the Third Redaction which was in character intermediate between IIIa and IIId.

But the problem of relationship is not yet completely solved, and its solution depends upon the evidence of Redaction VII.

This text, preserved in *Latin Codex 2851* at Paris,[62] consists of two distinct parts, of which the second[63] is of great importance, since it is an independent witness to the lost Redaction α. This is evident on

the one hand from its likeness to Redaction I (for example, it interpolates with all their names the four rivers of Hades, as well as the hundred-headed dragon, whose name, Parphimon, is but a slight variant of that of his prototype Parthemon; and it omits the pains of the bishop, the going-out of the souls, the fiery trees and the flaming furnace); and, on the other, from its preservation, with II and III, of several passages from the Long texts which I omits; for example:

I	II–III	VII
Et uidit ibi locum terribilem. . . . Et nomen loci eius Cochiton. . . . (p. 153, ll. 7–9)	[II] Et uidit ibi Paulus locum terribilem. . . . *Et uidit flumen igneum feruens*, et fluctus eius exaltabatur usque ad celum. Et nomen loci illius Cogiton. (p. 156, ll. 6–8)[63a]	Et uidi ibi locum terribilem. . . . *Et erat ibi flumen igneum feruens*, et fluctus exaltabatur usque ad celum. Et nomen loci illius Cocciton. . . . (p. 205, ll. 26–29)
'Abyssus mensuram non habet. Quicunque ueniunt in locum istum, eternum habent supplicium.' (p. 154, ll. 8–10)	[III] 'Hic est abyssus, et finem non habet. Et cum in eo anima mittitur, *uix perveniet usque ad quinquaginta annorum in profunditatem.*' (p. 170, ll. 11ff.)[63b]	'Hec abissus mensuram non habet, ut et . . . eum *que uix pertingi potest per annum.* . . . (p. 206, ll. 15–16)

The first part of Redaction VII,[64] on the other hand, is as evidently related to Redaction IV. This connection it betrays in its deletion of the great water Oceanus and of the fiery dragon, and in beginning the vision with the fiery trees and the furnace, the number of the flames and 'plage' of which is given as seven. Unlike all the other Redactions it does not contain the passage describing the sinners immersed in the burning stream.[65] From this point forward, except for the omission of the injurers of widows and orphans, and for the reversal of the position of the pit with seven seals and the bottomless abyss, its text follows Redaction IV (§§4–9) both in the order of its contents and in its preservation of the phrases 'occiderunt infantes suos *et proiecerunt porcis et canibus in escam*,' and '*Post hec Michaeli tradita est* [i.e. the good soul] *et ad paradisum deportata et inter sanctos annumerata.*'[66]

But if the first part of Redaction VII thus agrees with Redaction IV, its failure to give any of the interpolations peculiar to the latter, that is, the introductory sentence ('Dies dominicus dies est electus . . . '), the fiery wheel and the slippery bridge, indicates that it is not derived from IV, but that it and IV spring separately from a non-extant common source, γ. This was partly derived from III, and contained the basic

elements but not the special additions of IV. It follows that the dependence, previously remarked, of IV upon III must be through Redaction γ, and that γ borrowed directly such of its elements as are based on Redaction III. But γ had also another source. Both of its derivatives, IV and VII, preserve the torment of the wicked bishop,[67] which all the texts of III omit. This detail occurs in all the longer Latin texts.[68] The only Redactions before IV and VII (and therefore γ also) in which it could have appeared were β (the original of II and III) and its source α. One or the other of these two lost texts must, therefore, have been the second source of γ. That it was α not β appears from the interpolation in Redaction IV of the numbering of the pains of Hell; for this appears also in the direct derivative of α, Redaction I[69]— with which IV and the first part of VII show no other immediate connection— but not in II or III. Hence we may conclude that the interpolation appeared in α; that γ, and through it IV and the first part of VII, are a combination of α and Redaction III.

IV. Redactions V and VIII

Except for an introduction and conclusion of its own and several other small variations, Redaction V follows its source, Redaction IV, almost word for word. It is known through two manuscripts of the fifteenth century, one in Berlin and one in Oxford.[70] The introduction inserts an account of two separate places of torment: an upper and a lower Hell ('duo sunt inferna, scilicet unum superius et aliud inferius'), of which the 'superius infernum' is the purgatorial fire and the 'infernum inferius' the dwelling-places of the damned which Paul saw in his vision. This passage, based on the theory of two infernal regions already to be found in St Augustine[71] and spread through the development of the doctrine of purgatory by Gregory the Great, is evidently drawn directly from the widely-known Elucidarium of Honorius of Autun, who connects the doctrine with the nine pains of Hell and whose work the writer of V no doubt recalled because of the occurrence of the seven 'plage' at the beginning of his own Redaction.[72] The new conclusion in Redaction V is furnished by the hymn 'Veni creator spiritus,' which the redactor inserted bodily.

Of the other differences between IV and V two deserve further attention.

In Redaction IV the 'hostiarius baratri' weeps at the granting to the sinners of a respite from torment: 'Mestus ergo hostiarius baratri, cui nomen canis est Cerberus; eternaliter elevavit caput suum tristis super omnes penas. Vere letati sunt omnes, qui cruciabantur ibi. . . .'[73] But in V he gives thanks with the rest: 'Quando hoc audiuit hostiarius

inferni, qui uocatur Cerberus, et qui cum eo erant in inferno, gracias egerunt deo. . . . '[74] This change the writer of v did not make entirely without assistance, however. It surely springs from such an ambiguity in the text of Redaction IV as exists, for example, in *Cod. Laud Miscellany 527* (fol. 264): 'Et ostiarius inferni qui dicitur Serberus, qui canis est, exaltauit capud suum super omnes qui erant in inferno, et clamauerunt una uoce, dicentes, "Benedicimus. . . ."'

The second difference is of greater significance, since it involves the relationship of v to Redaction III. Brandes's version of Redaction IV names the seven 'plage' near the furnace: 'prima nix, secunda glacies, tercia ignis, quarta sanguis, quinta serpens, sexta fulgur, septima fetor.' In v, however, the details parallel those of III, especially as found in S^2 (IIIc):

III	V
. . . primi fame, alii siti, alii igne, alii frigore, alii uermibus, alii fetore, alii fumo. (p. 163, ll. 14ff.)	prima pena est fames, secunda est sitis, tercia frigus, quarta calor, quinta uermis, sexta fetor, septima fumus ita magnus quod nullus potest uidere alium. (p. 197, ll. 14–16)

Of the many codices of the Fourth Redaction, several vary slightly the list in Brandes's text, without, however, changing its distinctive character[75]; VII follows IV item for item[76]; and Redaction II fails to specify the 'plage' altogether. Thus Redaction v is perceived to have borrowed at least one detail from III, though otherwise it was derived primarily from Redaction IV.[77]

Redaction VIII (Berlin *Codex 422*) also draws largely on IV.[78] In it the opening sentence, the fiery wheel, the bridge of Hell, the torment of the wicked presbyter (bishop), and the going-out of the souls at death, all attest the source; as does the increase of the number of the furnace flames to twelve, the result of an easy confusion between the numerals VII and XII.[79] The principal divergence of VIII from the Fourth Redaction lies in its frequent borrowing of extensive passages from Redaction I with which it augments the corresponding parts of IV or substitutes for them. After the praise of the Sunday ('Dominicus dies preelectus est pre omnibus diebus . . . '), for example, it inserts the homiletic opening of I: 'Oportet uos, karissimi fratres, amare delicias paradisi et timere penas inferni. . . . '[80] In the midst of the passage on the bridge it adds the account of Oceanus and the four rivers of Hell, which, though only one of the rivers is given a name, is taken almost literally from I. Here also appears the fiery dragon, with the name Pantemam, a further variant of Parthemon. From this point on, ex-

cept for the preservation of the pains of the wicked presbyter, IV is completely displaced by I in the account of the souls immersed in the river, and of the torments of the seven-sealed pit, which here as in I is identified with the 'limbus patrum.' Not until the episode of the going-out of the souls[81] does VIII return to the details of Redaction IV.

Thus VIII, by interweaving Redaction I with IV, the most popular of the extant Redactions, brings to completion the group of ten closely interrelated Latin abbreviations.

V. Redaction VI

By virtue of the early date of its manuscripts and the peculiar nature of its contents Redaction VI occupies a special place among the Latin forms of the Apocalypse. It is extant in its complete state in *Codex 682* of the Stiftsbibliothek, St Gall, and fragmentarily in the *Vatican Codex Palatinus 216*, both of the ninth century.[82] Its complete independence of all the other Redactions is patent, as well from what it omits as from its interpolations. It contains neither their homiletic prologue, nor their substitution of Michael for the nameless 'angelus' as the guide to Hell, nor any of the special additions attributable to the different individual redactors; nor does it preserve from the original, as most of them do, the account of the going-out of the souls. Furthermore, we should at this point recall that VI is unique among the Redactions in keeping any reference to Paul's journey to Paradise.[83] This fact alone is evidence that the kinship of VI is directly with the longer Latin texts. The character of its interpolations will appear in a brief consideration of its contents.

After a description of the bounteous trees of the Land of the Just in Heaven (drawn from §22 of the Long texts),[84] Redaction VI passes at once, and without any word of transition, to the places of the damned. There Paul sees first a group of men and women—those who did not honor their mothers and fathers— led in chains by chastising angels, who command many torments to be heaped upon them. This passage was apparently suggested in part by the similar description in the Long texts of the pains of those maidens who dishonored their parents by breaking their vow of chastity.[85] The Redaction continues with an interpolated account of those who gave false testimony and of those spiritual parents who did not practise as they preached to their spiritual children. Then Paul goes to witness the punishment of wicked bishops and presbyters: 'Vidit hominis in paenas ualidas sup plumbum et betumen bullire. Habent sacgas plubias et casulas plumbias, et in suas ardebant. Et dixit Sanctus Paulus, "Istae qui peccauerunt, domine?" Respondit ei angelus, "Isti sunt episcopi et presbyteri qui

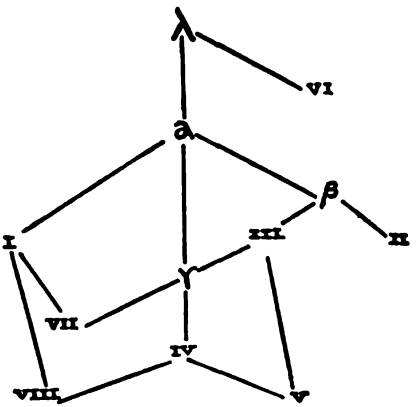
castitatem perdiderunt, et in ecclesias periurauerunt, et causas malas iudicauerunt, et pauperes et orphani inparserunt [?], et diuitias consentierunt, et paenitentiam non egerunt." ' (Below, p. 216, ll. 7–13.) Though the torments themselves are interpolated, the passage as a whole seems to have been based on the account in the Long texts of the sinful presbyter who 'cum erat manducans et bibens et fornicans, offerebat hostiam domino ad sanctum altare eius,'[86] and of the bishop who 'nomen accepit magnum sed non est ingressus in sanctitatem eius qui dedit ei nomen in omni vita sua, quoniam non fecit iudicium iustum, et uiduas et orfanos non est misertus. . . . '[87] Paul sees next a group of deacons and other clerics whose torment, immersion in boiling lead 'alius et usque in benedictione, alius in belliculo, alius usque in gemiculo,' recalls the punishment of Laodiceans by immersion in the fiery river 'usque ad ienua . . . usque ad umbilicum . . . usque ad labia.' From this point forward to the climax of the visit to Hell[88] there appears a group of interpolations of which the other versions of the Apocalypse contain hardly a trace, namely, the punishment by starvation of the unchaste clergy, and the torment of sorceresses, of those who stole beasts of burden, and of those who did injury with tools of iron. In all the other Latin texts the Hell journey reaches its climax, as we have seen, with the plea of the Archangel Michael and of St Paul for mercy for the sinners and with the granting by the Lord of a respite from torment. Redaction VI changes this climax in a startling fashion. Instead of Michael, it is Raphael who appears; Paul seeks mercy, not for all the damned, but only for his friends and relatives; and these sinners are not merely granted respite but are taken from Hell altogether and carried into Paradise.

Redaction VI is thus characterized throughout by the freest use of interpolations, and such of its contents as are based upon the authentic matter of the longer texts are frequently so modified as to be almost unrecognizable.

VI. Conclusion: Relationship of All the Latin Texts

This study of the complicated descent of the Latin Redactions may be concluded with a brief statement of results. The absence from their contents of (1) the story of the discovery of the book in Tarsus and (2) the second journey to Paradise, indicates the kinship of all the Redactions with the similarly abbreviated Long texts λ and *St G*.[89] But of these two *St G* can be eliminated because it omits the description, which the Redactions preserve, of the sinners immersed to varying depths in the fiery stream. Similarly *St G* fails to describe the dark-faced adulterers, the infanticides, and the unchaste maidens, all of

whom appear regularly among the Redactions. We may therefore conclude that the Redactions were all derived from λ, which was thus the medium of their connection with the Apocalypse in its earlier form, L^1. Their relationship to each other and to their original is indicated in the following diagram (see Appendix, p. 61):



The Long Latin text λ had two direct descendents, VI and the non-extant Redaction α. Redaction VI, from the evidence of its codices, was written by the beginning of the ninth century; α about a century later, as the testimony of the Blickling Homilies indicates.[90] Both Redactions modified the materials of their original extensively. But the changes in VI had no effect on the subsequent history of the Apocalypse, since this text appears to have left no descendents.

The modification of α, on the contrary, determined the form of the abbreviated texts for the next five hundred years. It eliminated the section narrating the first visit to the dwellings of the righteous, and, besides condensing throughout the language descriptive of the Hell journey, it omitted from this part of the revelation the account of the blind pagans and confused the torment of the false ascetics with that of the infanticides. It preserved an abbreviated reference to the going-out of the souls, which, however, was transferred from the beginning of the vision to the end of the infernal journey. Into the authentic matter of the Apocalypse it introduced a homiletic prologue, an account of the rivers of the classical Hades and of the many-headed fiery monster, and a conclusion which numbered the pains of Hell.

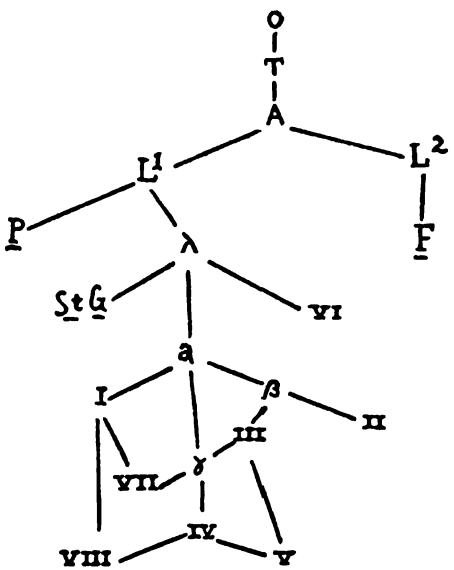
From α were derived Redaction I and the lost β. The latter followed its source closely, but added the flaming trees and the furnace of Hell and omitted the new conclusion of α in which the number of

Hell torments was disclosed. All these features β passed on to Redactions II and III, and, through III, to the lost Redaction γ. But γ returned in part directly to α, restoring the conclusion which β had eliminated. Only the transformation of the vision by Redaction III into a homily in praise of the Sunday may be added to these as a major change in the form established by α.

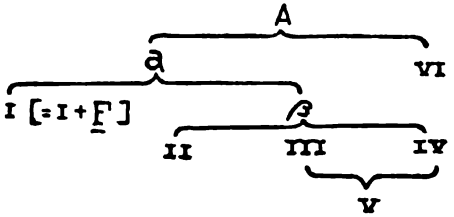
Thus the non-extant Redaction α was the archetype, either directly or through its derivatives I, β and γ, of all the Latin Redactions excepting VI, and, therefore, ultimately of the large body of vernacular translations in which, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, the Visio Sancti Pauli spread its influence through Ireland, England and Wales, France, Provence and Italy, Germany and Denmark.

APPENDIX

With the present diagram compare the conclusions of Brandes (p. 41), Šepelevič (*Etiody o Dantě*, II, 24), and Wieber (*De Apoc. S. P. Codd.*, p. 38). Since Brandes and Šepelevič knew none, and Wieber only one (*P*), of the Long Latin texts, they omit completely or in part the development of the Latin which took place *between* the Greek archetype and the Redactions. It is therefore necessary, in making a comparison of the conclusions of the present work with those of the other three writers, to unite the diagram of the Redactions here with that for the Long texts in chap. III. Thus:

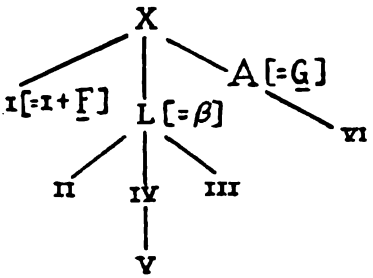


Cf. Brandes's diagram:



(Both here and in the Šepelevič diagram below, whenever their designations differ from mine, I have added in square brackets my symbols to which theirs are equivalent). With only *S* and *G* of the Long texts before him, Brandes is unable to distinguish the peculiar Greek archetype (A) of the Latin much beyond the statement that A 'durchaus nicht mit dem Tischendorfschen texte identificiert werden darf.' He overlooks the special connection of IV with III, hence makes II, III, and IV all parallel derivatives from β. For the direct drawing of VI from A he gives this reason (p. 40): 'Aus dem angeführten passus [i.e. p. 216, ll. 10–12, below] erhellt zugleich, dass dem verfasser der VI. redaktion ein griech. text vorlag, denn keine der lat. bearbeitungen nennt der bischof einen ungerechten richter oder einen schädiger der waisen.' But both *P* and *St G* do so characterize the bishop; James, p. 30, ll. 11–12, and below, p. 142, ll. 23–27.

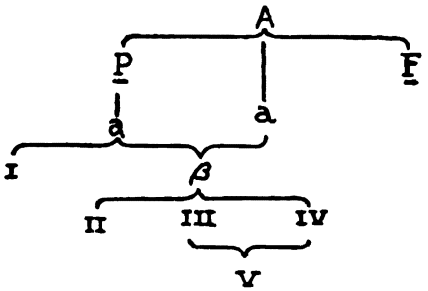
Šepelevič:



(In the original VI is not shown in this diagram, but in another which illustrates the relationship of the Long texts; it is here added to the diagram of the Redactions for convenience of comparison). The Greek archetype, called X instead of A, is distinguished more sharply than in Brandes from *G* and is further identified with the general source of the Long texts *G*, *S*, and the Slavic. The borrowings of V from III are neglected; and VI is derived from X by way of *G* (here called A), Brandes's argument for a Greek source being accepted. Like Brandes also, Šepelevič takes I and the 'Vienna Fragment' (*F*) together as forming a single text, I; and, having discovered the evidences of a special connection of the *F* part with the Long versions (*Etiody o Dantě*,

II, 5–9), he derives the entire combined text from X, independently of the rest of the Latin, and hence omits α.

This last error was eliminated by Wieber (*De Apoc. S. P. Codd.*, pp. 33 ff.), who was the first to show, on grounds of language, the connection of the true Redac. I with the other Redactions and with the Long Latin. In his diagram he correctly separates I and *F*, takes into account the then recently published *P*, and adds a second source 'a' drawn directly from the Greek, for the lost Redac. β:



He entirely omits VI from his treatment, by implication acquiescing in Brandes's view of its direct Greek derivation; *De Apoc. S. P. Codd.*, p. 37 and n. 2. For the inclusion of the conjectured a, he gives the following reasons (pp. 37–38):

Formae I–V . . . cohaerent cum textu Parisino [i.e. *P*]. . . . Ceterae autem res, quae ex priore apocalypsis parte sumptae sunt, similitudines vix exhibent. Huc pertinet etiam descriptio tormentorum, quibus episcopus impius punitur, in formis II et IV exhibita. Quare mihi certum videtur talia ex alio libro esse hausta, praesertim cum hae res alio loco in hisce formis commemorentur atque in archetypo. Unica, quae harum rerum nihil continet, est forma I, unde colligo in libro α nihil eius modi exstitisse. Liber β a libro α dependet, auctus autem est illis rebus, quas ex alio libro [i.e. 'a'] fluxisse supra conclusi.

But Wieber scarcely saw everything. The passages in question are missing from some of the dependents of β, as well as of α. The punishment of the wicked bishop, for example, which he here states is omitted only from Redac. I, is absent also, as we have seen (p. 51f. above), from III. The other passages to which Wieber must in addition be referring are the accounts of the going-out of the souls. But these too are eliminated from II as well as I. Since all the Redactions from their nature involve originality in the selection and arrangement of contents, and since the two details omitted from I do not appear uniformly in Redacs. II–IV, there appears to be no need for the assumption of a second source for β which α did not have.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE REDACTIONS: HISTORY AND MEANING OF THE INTERPOLATIONS

To the man of the twelfth or thirteenth century who read the Vision of Saint Paul in one of the innumerable collections of homilies and saints' legends, or heard its terrifying words thundered at him from the pulpit, it must have been hardly distinguishable in content from the vast number of Revelations of which his own age and those immediately preceding had produced so many. The longer form of the Apocalypse, with the fullness of its treatment of Paradise and all its other preliminaries to the description of Hell, was, as we have seen, not yet inaccessible; but the Vision which he probably knew and surely preferred was one of the abbreviations, Redaction III or IV or some other closely related version, which treated its materials with a compression and an emphasis that were more in keeping with the spirit of his time. In some cases the Redactions had already influenced other well-known contemporary Visions, in other cases they contained interpolations taken from the common stock of vision literature with which he was familiar.

But this familiarity with the interpolated materials in the Redactions is deceptive. Because of it the modern student of comparative vision literature, preoccupied with the search for analogues and traditional *motifs*, has, in dealing with *Paul*, neglected the exact source for the merely general parallel. By it he has been led to overlook the striking originality of several of the interpolated passages. For, though it is true that some interpolations represent a simple borrowing from previous writers, others appear for the first time in the Redactions with all their distinctive details, and represent a combination of various older materials in a synthesis of new significance.

There are seven interpolations or groups of interpolations in the main body of Redactions (I–V, VII and VIII) which require special elucidation: (1) the infernal rivers and the enumeration of the torments, (2) the dragon, (3) the burning trees upon which sinners hang, (4) the furnace with its flames of divers colors, (5) the fiery wheel, (6) the dangerous bridge across the stream of Hell, and (7) the granting of respite for the damned souls, which, though inherited by the Redactions from the

primitive Apocalypse, underwent changes that likewise challenge consideration.

Redaction VI, in its interpolations, as in virtually every other aspect of its history, presents a group of peculiar problems, and demands separate treatment.

I. The Rivers of Hell and the Men with Tongues of Iron—Vergilian Influence

To the considerable body of infernal paraphernalia derived by the Long texts of the Apocalypse, directly or indirectly, from the Graeco-Roman Hades, the Redactions added several borrowings of their own from the same source. At the threshold of Hell lies the world-encircling river Oceanus, placed there by the primitive third-century text and handed on by means of λ to Redaction α. Beside this great water α placed the four rivers of the classical Hades, each with its name, as is shown by the separate testimony of Redactions I and VII.

The infernal streams were a matter of common knowledge to the Latin Middle Ages, but here we observe a peculiar detail which suggests strongly that the α redactor had Vergil in mind as he worked. When in Book VI Aeneas has safely passed the monstrous phantoms just within the jaws of Hell, he perceives the merging waters of Acheron and Cocytus as they whirl aloft:

> Hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas,
> Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
> Aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.

So also in Redaction I St Paul, when first he approaches the inferno, discerns the whirling, mingling waves of the fiery rivers: 'Et uidit ibi locum terribilem, et non erat lumen in illo, sed tenebre et mesticie et suspiria. Et nomen loci eius Cochiton; et alia tria flumina que confluunt secum Stix, Flegeton, et Acheron. Et erant stillicidia super peccatores uelut mons igneus.' The rising of these lofty streams is recounted also in three other Redactions (II, III, VII). It is therefore to the pen of redactor α that must be attributed what we may suspect to be a heightened paraphrase of the Aeneid.

Suspicion turns to certainty with another interpolation. Redaction α and its derivatives I, γ, IV, V, and VIII, all ended the vision, as we have seen, with the numbering of the pains of Hell. According to I the torments amount to 144,000, and in this the texts of the Fourth Redaction concur.[1] Now in all the five Redactions alike the mere numbering was amplified by an example which sought to illustrate the vast infinitude of the infernal torments: '. . . si essent .c. viri

loquentes ab inicio mundi et unusquisque .c.iiij. linguas ferreas haberent [*sic*], non possent dinumerare penas . . .'[2] In just this form the passage represents a *motif* which became common in the later vision literature, particularly that of England. 'Wulfstan,'[3] Richard Rolle,[4] *Sawles Warde*[5] echo its phraseology, as does also the Vision of Lazarus, which is based on Redaction IV.[6]

The general *motif* of the endless number of the pains of Hell was widespread in the later Middle Ages. But only Vergil could have furnished Redaction α with its distinctive phrase, '. . . si essent .c. viri . . . et unusquisque .c.iiij. linguas ferreas haberent. . . .' In the conclusion to what might almost serve as a summary of the Pauline inferno, proof leaps from the pages of the Aeneid:

> Saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum
> Districti pendent; sedet, aeternumque sedebit,
> Infelix Theseus; Phlegyosque miserrimus omnis
> Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras:
> 'Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere divos.'
> Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
> Imposuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit:
> Hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos.
> Ausi omnes inmane nefas, ausoque potiti.
> *Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum,*
> *Ferrea vox, omnis scelerum conprendere formas,*
> *Omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.*
> (*Aen.*, vi, 616–627)[7]

II. The Dragon Parthemon

(Redactions α, β, I, II, III, VII, VIII)

The fiery dragon which Paul sees at the beginning of his visit to Hell is described by Redaction I as 'centum capita habens in collo eius et mille dentes in unoquoque capite, et ut leo unusquisque dens ardebat. Et erant oculi eius quasi gladii acuti, semper ore aperto et degluciebat animas. Et erat nomen eius Parthemon. Ab eo procedunt copie ranarum et omnia genera uermium. In ore eius mittuntur satrape omnes qui iniquitatem faciunt in terra cum principibus. Vnde et Salomon, "Qui offert," inquit, "sacrificium de rapina pauperum, tamquam qui filium in conspectu matris mortificet." '[8] Redaction II makes the beast three-headed, like Cerberus or the serpent in the apocryphal Apocalypse of John.[9] But this cannot be the form in which the animal was introduced by Redaction α, since VII offers independent evidence in support of the Hydra-headed monster of Redaction I.[10]

Parthemon is a synthetic creature.[11] For his other features, the worms which issue from his mouth, his teeth that gleam like lions, his

eyes as sharp as swords, there were numerous scattered suggestions and parallels in the Scriptures and elsewhere in Western tradition. The issue of snakes and worms, for example, recalls the Shepherd of Hermas, of which the Latin version was known in the West at least from the fifth to the twelfth century, where Hegrin, the dragon of the abyss, is portrayed as breathing forth scorpions of fire.[12] It recalls also Apoc., xvi 13–14, 'Et vidi de ore draconis et de ore bestiae et de ore pseudoprophetae spiritus tres immundos in modum ranarum. Sunt enim spiritus daemoniorum facientes signa et procedunt ad reges totius terrae congregare illos in proelium ad diem magnum omnipotentis Dei,' the pertinence of which is the more striking in view of Parthemon's function as the ruler over the wicked princes and satraps.

The flaming, lion-like teeth are probably taken from several Scriptural monsters. Leviathan's teeth are terrible round about, and out of his mouth go burning lamps like sparks of fire (Job, xli 5 and 10). Apoc., xiii 2, says of the beast with seven heads that his mouth is as the mouth of a lion, and of the locusts from the bottomless pit (ix 8) that their teeth were as the teeth of lions.

Perhaps the most extraordinary of Parthemon's features are his eyes, 'quasi gladii acuti.' Eyes that gleam or give forth fire are frequent among the monsters of Christian eschatology; but eyes that are as sharp as swords appear to be virtually peculiar to the Redactions of *Paul.*[13] They also may have originated from a combination of Biblical passages. The phrase is evidently related to Psalms, lvi 15, which, however, refers to tongues not eyes: 'et lingua eorum gladius acutus.' But if, with these words in mind, the writer of α remembered Job, xvi 10, reading it, not in the Vulgate but in the Old Latin rendering, he found fertile suggestion for his figure: 'Iracundia enim usus defecit me, fremuit super me dentibus . . . *acie oculorum irruit.*' For the word 'acie' in the phrase 'acie oculorum,' meaning the sharpness, the keenness, the flash of the eyes, was also used commonly for the edge of a sword (as in St Zeno's explanation of Apoc., i 16, 'et de ore eius gladius utraque parte acutus exibat': 'Gladius enim spiritus . . . contestans duas acies, id est duo testamenta gerens'), and thus might readily have suggested the transformation in the Redactions.[14] Moreover, though these lines from Job have in their context no more than an implied reference either to the tyrants or to the devil, the commentators readily made the connection direct. Gregory the Great allegorizes the passage to mean both the oppressors, who are the instruments of Satan, and the devil himself: '*Diaboli dentes, persecutores; oculi, qui eos consiliis suis regunt.* . . . Antiquus ergo ejus adversarius fremit contra eam dentibus suis, dum per crudeles reprobos in ea insequitur vitam bonorum. Intuetur

hanc terribilibus oculis, qui pravorum consiliis non cessat mala exquirere, in quibus hanc semper deterius affligat.'[15]

The lot of the wicked princes in Hell is frequently described in the Jewish and Christian vision literature. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, during his visit to the nether regions, sees the wicked princes of the world under the rule of Pharaoh, who was the type of the arch-tyrant among the Jews.[16] To Pharaoh, as the symbol of tyranny, Christian lore added Herod. Thus it is he who appears in Pharaoh's rôle in the apocryphal Apocalypse of Esdras: *καὶ ἔδωκέν μοι Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ καὶ ἄλλους τριάκοντα τέσσαρας ἀγγέλους, καὶ κατέβην ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε βαθμούς, καὶ κατήγαγόν με κάτω βαθμοὺς πεντακοσίους, καὶ ἴδον πύρινον θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν καθεζόμενον γέροντα, καὶ ἀνίλεως αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις . . . καὶ εἶπόν μοι· οὗτος ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς καιρὸν γενόμενος βασιλεύς, καὶ ἀπὸ διετούς καὶ κατώτερον ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελεῖν τὰ βρέφη.*[17]

To both of these scenes the dragon passage in the Redactions of *Paul* is analogous, despite its vivid reptilian transformation. For the sin for which the wicked princes and satraps are tormented primarily is *superbia*,[18] which Judeo-Christian lore represented by a great beast, under the influence partly of the portrayal of Satan as a serpent and of the description of Behemoth-Leviathan in the Book of Job, where these monsters serve for a discourse on pride and the humbling of the proud. From this it was a short and natural step for the commentators to identify the serpent and Leviathan with Pharaoh[19]; to set up Herod as the type of *superbia*[20]; for Gregory in his *Moralia in Job* (which furnished the Middle Ages with the fullest portrait of the devil that it knew) to associate Behemoth's tail with Antichrist and, through him, with another historical type of tyranny, the king Antiochus.[21]

In the Redactions the mouth of the fiery dragon is forever open, like the jaws of Hell itself, to devour souls, and thus symbolic of the tormenting of pride. Parthemon is as voracious as Behemoth, whose thirst for the waters of the Jordan is as insatiable as the hunger of the Devil for those who seek the glory of earthly things: 'Propheta quippe attestante cognovimus,' says Gregory, '*quia esca ejus electa.* Neque enim mirum deputat, si eos absorbeat, quos superbia erigit, avaritia tabefacit, voluptas dilatat, malitia angustat, ira inflammat, discordia separat, invidia exulcerat, luxuria inquinans necat. Absorbebit ergo fluvium, et non mirabitur, quia pro magno non aestimat cum eos devorat, qui per ipsa suae vitae studia deorsum currunt. . . .'[22]

The name of the dragon, Parthemon, in Redaction I is unique. But its origin may be conjectured from the nature of the beast, unless, of course, we are dealing with a hopeless corruption.

We are likely to be misled at the outset by Redaction II. In this text the name is Bachimach, evidently a variant of Behemoth, the appropriateness of which appears to favor its authenticity.[23] Once again, however, as with the number of the dragon's heads, Redaction VII corroborates I, with Parphimon. The forms Patinot, Pahtmot, Pathmet, and especially Partimor, which occur in the various texts of III, likewise point to an original in *α* like that of I. Bachimach must be relinquished as an ingenious emendation by a writer who was puzzled by the name which he found in his source.[24]

The original of Parthemon may perhaps be the Hebrew word פרתמים (partĕmim), meaning princes, which occurs three times in the Old Testament (Daniel, i 3; Esther, i 3, and vi 9). The commentary of Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrra, on Daniel explains *partemim* (*φορθομμίν*, *πορθομμίν*, *πόρθμιν*) as signifying virgins, relating it to the Greek *παρθένος*; the Septuagent renders it as *electos*.[25] But the Vulgate gives the word as 'tyrants,' a somewhat heightened paraphrase of the Hebrew; and its difference from the previous translations calls for a special comment by St Jerome: '. . . pro *φορθομμίν*, quod Theodotio posuit, LXX et Aquila *electos* transtulerunt, Symmachus *Parthos*, pro verbo nomen gentis intelligens, quod nos juxta editionem Hebraeorum quae *κατ' ἀκρίβειαν* legitur, in *tyrannos* vertimus.'[26]

As the designation of the dragon who devours the wicked rulers in Hell, the term Partemim, Phorthomin, Porthomin, signifying tyrants, would form the basis for an unusual and highly appropriate name.[27]

III. The Hanging Sinners

(Redactions *β*, II, III, *γ*, IV, V, VII, VIII)

Hanging is a common torment in the earlier Christian vision literature. It occurs in such representative works as the Apocalypse of Peter,[28] the Slavonic *Enoch*,[29] the Ethiopic text of the Apocalypse of the Virgin,[30] and in the Long versions of the Apocalypse of Paul, where those women who beautified themselves for sin and evaded the rearing of children are described as being suspended by the hair and eyebrows.[31]

The interpolation in the Redactions has only a remote connection with these instances. It shares with none of them its two distinctive characteristics, which are the key to its rise and peculiar meaning: (1) Instead of describing, as they do, isolated souls suspended by one part of the body, it brings all the hanging sinners together into a single group comparable to the multitude immersed in the fiery river. (2) It adds the fiery trees at the gates of Hell on which the souls are suspended: 'Et postea Paulus ductus ad portas inferni. Et uidit ibi

arbores igneas, in quarum ramis peccatores cruciati pendebant: quidam per capillos, alii per pedes, alii per manus, alii per linguas, alii per colla, alii per brachia, alii per membra diversa.'[32]

An early occurrence of this punishment in which the souls are grouped together, is in the Greek text of the Acts of Thomas, where the woman raised from the dead recounts her journey through Hell: *"Αλλο μοι χάσμα ἔδειξεν, εἰς ὁ παρακύψασα εἶδον ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν κρεμαμένας διὰ τῆς γλώττης, τὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν πλοκάμων, τὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν, τὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ποδῶν κατὰ κεφαλῆς, καὶ καπνὸν καὶ θεῖον καπνιζομένας· περὶ ὧν ἀπεκρίνατό μοι ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὤν· Αἱ μὲν ψυχαὶ αὗται αἱ κρεμασθεῖσαι διὰ τῆς γλώσσης διάβολοί εἰσιν, καὶ ψευδεῖς λόγους καὶ αἰσχροὺς φθεγγόμεναι, καὶ μὴ αἰδούμεναι. . . καὶ γυμνοκέφαλοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ περιάγουσαι· αἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κρεμασθεῖσαι αὗται [Cod. P: κρεμάμεναι οὗτοι] εἰσιν αἱ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀφελόμεναι καὶ κλέψασαι, καὶ μετρίοις μὴ ἐπιδοῦσαι μηδέποτε μηδέν, μηδὲ ἐπαρκήσασαι τοῖς τεθλιμμένοις, αλλὰ τοῦτο ἐποίουν τὰ πάντα λαμβάνειν θέλουσαι, καὶ μηδὲ ὅλως τῆς δίκης καὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας φροντίδα ποιησάμεναι· αἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν ποδῶν διάστροφοι κρεμάμεναι [Cod. P: κρεμάμενοι] αὗταί εἰσιν αἱ κούφως μὲν καὶ προθύμως τρέχουσαι ὁδοῖς πονηραῖς καὶ πορείαις ἀτάκτοις . . . .*[33]

Similar to this is a fragmentary Latin Apocalypse of Elias, preserved at the University of Wurzburg in the *Codex Burchardi*, a manuscript not later than the eighth century: 'Paciuntur aliqui pendentes natura, alii autem linguis, quidam uero oculis, alii inuersi pendentes; et foemine mammillis suis cruciabuntur et iuuenes manibus pendentes; quaedam in craticula uirgines uruntur et quaedam figuntur animae perpetuae poenae. Per ipsa uero uaria supplicia ostenditur uniuscuiusque actus. Naturalium dolores utique adulteri sunt et pederasti; qui autem linguis suspenduntur blasphemi sunt, falsi etiam testes; qui oculis uero cremantur hii sunt qui in uidendo scandalizati sunt, respicientes in concupiscencia reatu gesta; qui uero inuersi pendebant, hii sunt odientes iusticiam dei, praui consilii, nec quisquam fratri consentit, merito et in poenis sentenciae uruntur. Nam quod foeminae mammillis torqueri iubentur, istae sunt quae in ludibrio corpus suum tradiderunt masculis: ideoque et ipsi iuxta erunt in tormentis manibus pendentes propter hanc rem.'[34]

The Greek origin of this passage is betrayed by the line 'qui oculis uero cremantur hii sunt qui in uidendo scandalizati sunt,' in which the verb 'cremantur,' a mistranslation of *κρεμάμενοι*, parallels the forms *κρεμάμεναι, κρεμάμενοι* in the Acts of Thomas. If *Thomas* is itself not the direct original of the Latin fragment, their relationship is unquestionable[35] and a valuable indication of the road by which the *motif* reached Western Europe.[36]

The fiery trees at the gates of Hell are wholly new with the Redactions of *Paul*. In the twelfth-century Vision of Alberic, which has been described as a dependent of the Apocalypse of Peter,[37] the women who failed to give their children nourishment are hanged upon trees with leaves like swords.[38] It has been argued[39] that the trees must therefore have appeared in *Peter*, but this is not borne out by any of the texts of *Peter* itself or of its early derivatives. The only parallel to the Redactions of *Paul* is in a late Greek text of the Apocalypse of the Virgin, which describes the blasphemers as hanging from an iron oak tree.[40] If this passage had any influence on the Redactions, it was transformed by them almost beyond recognition with assistance from an entirely different source.

The clue to that source may be discovered in Brandes's hesitating suggestion that the trees at the gates of Hell were modelled after those at the entrance to the City of Christ in the Long versions: 'Diese bäume scheinen den hohen fruchtlosen bäumen nachgebildet zu sein, die . . . im griech. text [i.e. *G*] am eingange der stadt gottes den aufenthaltsort der hochmütigen und derer bezeichnen, die es liebten, mit ihren guten taten zu prahlen. Dass diese bäume an den eingang der hölle versetzt werden, ist um so seltsamer, als die sünder, die unter ihnen weilen, ursprünglich gar nicht als besonders schwer belastet angesehen werden, denn beim einzuge des heilands sollen sie auf bitten der gerechten in die stadt gottes eingelassen werden.'[41]

But the transfer of the trees of the proud to Hell is not so strange as Brandes found it, since the Long texts of *Paul* tell us, in this connection, that 'radix omnium malorum est superbia'; and in the mediaeval scheme of sins pride became the basis of all transgression. Moreover, the author of the interpolation may have known that Gregory the Great compares Lucifer, who fell from heaven because of pride, to a large and flourishing tree.[42] And the transfer to the nether regions might have been further expedited by the recollection of the tree at the entrance to the Vergilian Hades, among the branches of which sit Empty Dreams, and nearby Sleep and Care and Disease and other horrid spectres.[43]

The chief difficulty with Brandes's suggestion lies in the fact that the interpolation was probably added to *Paul* by the author of Redaction β, and there is no evidence that he knew any of the Long texts of the Apocalypse, in which alone the trees of the City of Christ occur. For all this, however, we are on the right track. Though the Long versions may not themselves have exerted any influence, their account of the mild humiliation of the proud in heaven will lead us directly to the source and meaning of the infernal trees.

The specific sins for which the souls are suspended are not mentioned in any of the Redactions. But it is clear from the parallel accounts in *Thomas* and the Latin Apocalypse of Elias that hanging by divers parts of the body is arranged according to the nature of the delinquency, and that, as in those texts, the souls here represent the commission of various sins. From a literal interpretation of the word 'radix' in the phrase 'radix omnium malorum est superbia,' there developed among the ecclesiastical moralists the figure of the tree of sin, of which the root and trunk were pride. From pride sprang all the subsidiary sins, as branches and twigs from the trunk of a tree. Gregory again furnishes the example: 'Scriptum est namque: *Omnis peccati initium superbia.* . . . Quamvis etiam per hoc quod in imo ponitur vitiorum radix esse monstretur. Sicut enim inferius radix tegitur, sed ab illa rami extrinsecus expanduntur, ita se superbia intrinsecus celat, sed ab illa protinus aperta vitia pullulant.'[44] The figure was highly elaborated in the later Middle Ages and acquired a permanent literary association in the Parson's Tale of Geoffrey Chaucer.[45] No doubt it played the major rôle in the shaping of the interpolation in Redaction β.

One other factor remains to be considered. The Redactions call the trees 'arbores igneae,' as is natural for anything in Hell. But it is tempting, in view of the significance of the trees, to find a reminiscence of Matthew, iii 10: 'Omnis arbor quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur et in ignem mittetur.' For this, too, underwent literalization. In the Shepherd of Hermas the visionary sees a multitude of barren trees in the other-world: these are the sinners who are to be consumed by fire.[46]

The account of the group of souls hanging near the infernal gates is, as it were, an epitome of sin and Hell-torment. The fiery trees represent both the sinners themselves and the evil deeds which have become the instruments of their eternal punishment.

IV. The Furnace

(β, II, III, γ, IV, V, VII, VIII)

The furnace which Paul sees after the fiery trees also represents the fitting of punishment to sin. Its flames of divers colors indicate, though they are not so characterized explicitly, the variation in the tormenting quality of its fire according to the nature of the transgression. This is apparent from the first part of Redaction VII, and from Redactions IV and V, where the flames and the 'plage' associated with them are seven in number, and represent an accommodation of the figure to the scheme of the Seven Deadly Sins: 'Et iterum vidit

fornacem ignis ardentem per septem flammas in diversis coloribus, et puniebantur in eo peccatores. Et septem plage erant in circuitu eius: prima nix, secunda glacies, tercia ignis, quarta sanguis, quinta serpens, sexta fulgur, septima fetor.... Ibi cruciantur et recipiunt omnes secundum opera sua. Et alii flent, alii ululant, alii gemunt, alii ardent et querunt mortem, quam non inveniunt, quia anime non possunt mori.'[47] Some of the variant treatments of the Vision of Lazarus, which was based originally on IV, go a step farther and rearrange the entire system of infernal torment to coincide with this scheme.[48]

All these texts are late, however. They may be used as a guide to the meaning of the furnace, but they probably do not preserve the interpolation exactly as introduced by β. In Redaction III the flames are four and the 'plage' six. Redaction II makes both flames and torments six in number, and this may be a reference to one of various sixfold schemes of vices which occur in the Scriptures and in the earlier Church writers[49] before the conception of the *deadly* sins was either formally developed or fixed in the scheme of seven in which Gregory the Great introduced it to the West.

Lacking positive proof, we may at least suspect that Redaction III, from its conservative tendency in other respects,[50] is closest to the original here. The increase of the number of flames from four to six in Redaction II, and to seven in Redactions γ, IV, V and VII, would then be explained as the result of an assimilation to the number of the 'plage.' In any case, if the four flames be accepted as correct, the furnace acquires a powerful eschatological significance.

For the number four possesses numerous connections in Western eschatology, whether derived from the Graeco-Roman concept of the four πάθη, or from the Judeo-Christian accounts of the Day of Wrath, when the world will be smitten with four scourges, when the four angels, four winds, four horsemen will appear for the destruction.[51]

The πάθη, the tormenting fires of which become the punishment of the souls in Hades, considerably affected the earlier Christian discussions of vice and sin.[52] But they were best known to the Middle Ages in Vergil, either directly or by way of the allegorical expositions of Servius, Macrobius, Fulgentius, and the three anonymous compilers of mythological manuals, the so-called Vatican Mythographers. Among these commentators, who are here echoing the rationalization of the neo-Pythagorean expositors,[53] the infernal streams become the burning fire of human vice and passion. And as their flaming waters served to shape the physical appearance of Hell, so their significance determined its moral topography. 'Antequam studium philosophiae circa naturae inquisitionem ad tantum vigoris adolesceret,' writes Macrobius, 'qui

per diversas gentes auctores constituendis sacris ceremoniarum fuerunt, aliud esse inferos negaverunt quam ipsa corpora, quibus inclusae animae carcerem foedum tenebris, horridum sordibus et cruore patiuntur. hoc animae sepulchrum, hoc Ditis concava, hoc inferos vocaverunt: et omnia, quae illic esse credidit fabulosa persuasio, in nobismetipsis, et in ipsis humanis corporibus assignare conati sunt: oblivionis fluvium aliud non esse asserentes quam errorem animae obliviscentis majestatem vitae prioris, qua, antequam in corpus truderetur, potita est, solamque esse in corpore vitam putantis. Pari interpretatione Phlegetontem ardores irarum et cupiditatum putarunt; Acherontem, quicquid fecisse dixisseve usque ad tristitiam humanae varietatis more nos paenitet; Cocytum, quicquid homines in luctum lachrymasque compellit; Stygem, quicquid inter se humanos animos in gurgitem mergit odiorum.'[54]

To this the characteristic Christian parallels centre in the Fire of Doom. According to the Church authorities the Judgment Fire was one, but its purgatorial qualities accommodated themselves to the fault of the erring soul. St Augustine, for example, writes, on the line 'supercecidit ignis, et non viderunt solem (Psalms lxvii)': '*Ignis supercecidit*: ignis superbiae, ignis fumosus, ignis concupiscentiae, ignis iracundiae'—thus distinguishing the various natures of the fire as four.[55] Similarly the Vision of Furseus, recorded by Bede in the Ecclesiastical History, describes the flame arising from the four quarters of the earth to burn the sinner according to his sin, whether falsehood, covetousness, discord, or iniquity: 'Quod non incendisti, inquit, non ardebit in te: nam etsi terribilis iste ac grandis esse rogus videtur, tamen juxta merita operum singulos examinat; quia uniuscujusque cupiditas in hoc igne ardebit.'[56] Gregory also, in the *Moralia in Job*, offers an explanation of the words 'Halitus ejus prunas ardere facit,' which, though not expressly applied to the Judgment Fire, is particularly noteworthy in the present connection: 'Alias namque superbiae, alias invidiae, alias luxuriae, alias avaritiae facibus inflammat.' Like the fire which arises from the infernal furnace of the Redactions, these flames described by Gregory are kindled in a pot of coals.[57]

The use of colors to distinguish the tormenting qualities of the flames arises from the color-symbolism of vice and torment. In the Vision of Thespesius, which Plutarch relates, the four πάθη are indicated by gowns of different hues worn by the souls in the other-world: "Ορα δὲ, εἶπε, τὰ ποικίλα ταῦτα καὶ παντοδαπὰ χρώματα τῶν ψυχῶν· τὸ μὲν ὄρφνιον καὶ ῥυπαρὸν, ἀνελευθερίας ἀλοιφὴν καὶ πλεονεξίας· τὸ δὲ αἱματωπὸν καὶ διάπυρον, ὠμότητος καὶ πικρίας· ὅπου δὲ τὸ γλαύκινόν ἐστιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀκρασία τις περὶ ἡδονὰς ἐκτέτριπται μόλις· κακόνοια δ'ἐνοῦσα μετὰ φθόνου τουτὶ τὸ

ἰῶδες καὶ ὕπουλον, ὥσπερ αἱ σηπίαι τὸ μέλαν, ἀφίησιν. Ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ μὲν κακία τῆς ψυχῆς τρεπομένης ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τρεπούσης τὸ σῶμα τὰς χρόας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καθαρμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως πέρας ἐστὶ [τὸ] τούτων ἐκλεανθέντων, παντάπασι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐγοειδῆ καὶ σύγχρουν γίνεσθαι.[58]

This vision was known to the earlier Christians, but the road by which it may have reached the Middle Ages is obscure. More directly accessible to the scribes of *Paul* was the color lore associated—once again—with the Last Judgment. The canonical Book of Revelation describes the four horses of the Day of Wrath as white, red, black and pallid. And in the Shepherd of Hermas the dragon Hegrin bears upon his head four colors which symbolize the torments and fire through which mankind is destined to pass at the End: 'habebat autem illa bestia super caput colores quatuor: nigrum, deinde rubeum et sanguinolentum, deinde aureum, deinde album . . . interrogavi eam de illis quatuor coloribus, quos habebat bestia in capite. . . . "Audi," inquit, "illud nigrum mundus est, in quo commoramini, igneum autem et sanguinolentum, quoniam oportet seculum hoc per sanguinem et ignem deperire. aurea autem pars vos estis, qui effugistis seculum hoc. sicut enim per ignem aurum probatur et utile fit, sic et vos probamini, qui habitatis in illis, qui igitur permanserint et probati fuerint ab eis, purgabuntur, et sicut aurum emundatur et remittit sordem suam, sic et vos abicietis omnem tristitiam et angustiam et emundabimini in structuram turris, alba autem pars superventuri seculi, in quo habitabunt electi dei, quoniam immaculati et puri erunt electi dei in vitam aeternam." '[59]

To these conspicuous uses of four colors in connection with the Last Judgment may be added the allegorical interpretation, pervasive in the Middle Ages, of the colors of the rainbow. A homily ascribed to Augustine discovers their meaning in the Fire of Doom, and in its forerunner the Deluge which brought down judgment upon the contemporaries of Noah.[60] In varying forms this interpretation found expression in such writers as Gregory, Rabanus Maurus, Garnier and Richard of St Victor, and in a work ascribed to Hugh of St Victor.[61]

Thus, from a large body of suggestive materials, the writer of Redaction β constructed a figure of more than ordinary significance. Furnaces are a commonplace feature of many of the Hells of vision literature. But a furnace with four flames of divers colors represents a special eschatological tradition. Within its neat compass it recalls the purgatorial lore of the Day of Judgment and much of the moral topography of the Christian Hell.

V. The Wheel of Torment

(Redactions IV, V, and VIII)

The fiery wheel occurs first in the Christian vision literature in the Apocalypse of Peter,[62] whence it passed into the Second Book of Sibylline Oracles[63] and the Greek and Syriac texts of the Acts of Thomas.[64] But no trace of it appears in *Paul* in either the Long versions or the Latin Redactions previous to IV. Redaction IV describes it in the homiletic passage on the fear of Hell: 'Timendus est nobis locus inferni, . . . in quo est rota ignea habens mille orbitas. Mille vicibus uno die ab angelo tartareo volvitur, et in unaquaque vice mille anime cruciantur in ea.'[65]

The ecclesiastical writers occasionally mention the wheel as an instrument of torture of the early Christian martyrs[66]; and its place in Tartarus for the punishment of Ixion was familiar to the Middle Ages in Vergil[67] and the commentary of Servius,[68] and in the allegorizing explanations of Macrobius and the later mythographers, where it was associated with the vicissitudes of fortune and thus furnished the torment of the souls of those who squandered their lives in pursuit of worldly goods.[69] None of these treatments, however, seems specifically to have been in the mind of the redactor, if we may judge from the language of IV. At most they indicate the nature of the general mediaeval background.

A fragmentary Priscillianist apocalypse in a Reichenau manuscript of the eighth or ninth century[70] throws important light upon the source of the interpolation. According to M. R. James,[71] this apocalypse is of Celtic origin; and Seymour argues that it represents an epitome of a longer work, the contents of which were known independently to the writer of the Irish version of the Fís Adamnán which occurs in the fourteenth-century *Lebor Brec.*[72] In it the unnamed visionary sees the fiery wheel of the sixth heaven, called Seloth: 'In medio eius rotam et angelo tartarucho cum uirgis ferreis perçutientis rotam et inde uoluitur in gyru et flumine tres; ponitur homo peccatur super rotam, XII annis tormentatur. Centum scintille procedit de rotam & centum pondus in uno scindule & centum anime percremant.'[73]

The phrases 'centum scintille,' 'centum pondus in uno scindule,' and 'centum anime percremant,' indicate the relationship with Redaction IV ('mille orbitas,' 'Mille vicibus uno die,' 'mille anime cruciantur'), as does the term 'angelo tartarucho,' to which the 'angelo tartareo' of IV corresponds. 'Tartaruchus,' which is a transliteration of the adjective ταρταροῦχος,[74] is as rare in Latin as it is in Greek[75]; and its simplification by the puzzled mediaeval scribes to a more readily comprehensible

derivative of the noun Tartarus was natural. In the Greek text of *Paul* (*G*), for example, the second wicked soul is condemned at God's throne to be given to ταρταρούχῳ ἀγγέλῳ[76]; but in *P* it is commanded to be placed 'in manibus *Tartari*.'[77] A similar change occurs in the Irish version of the *Adamnan*, where the line, 'Hanc animam multo [*sic*] peccantem angelo *Tartari* tradite et demergat eam in infernum,'[78] parallels, except for the one difference, another passage in the Priscillianist apocalypse: '. . . tradatur hunc ad angelum *tartarucho*. Et angelum dimergit eum in infernum.'[79] By an analogous modification, the 'angelus tartaruchus' who presides over the fiery wheel became the 'angelus tartareus' of Redaction IV.[80]

VI. The Bridge of Hell

(Redactions IV, V, and VIII)

The bridge by which the souls, both good and bad, are obliged to cross the fiery river of Hell, was also introduced into the Apocalypse by Redaction IV, from which it was taken over by the texts of Redactions V and VIII, and by the vernacular versions based on IV.

As in the Vision of Tundale and St Patrick's Purgatory, the popularity of which served to give the bridge wide currency from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, the vernacular translations of *Paul* frequently emphasize its narrowness and slipperiness.[81] Thus Ozanam's French text says of it:

> Desoz le flun a un grant punt
> Qui bien est halt contremunt.
> Mult est li puns lunc et estreit,
> N' i a laor de plain deit.[82]

The Italian version published by Villari likens its narrowness to the breadth of a single hair, paralleling the account of the Musulman *hadith* ascribed to Abu Said al-Khudri.[83] But the Latin text of IV contains no such elaboration. It describes the bridge simply as 'pons, per quem transeunt anime iuste sine ulla dubitacione, et multe peccatrices anime merguntur [i.e. in the stream] unaqueque secundum meritum suum,'[84] leaving its appearance to the inference of the reader from its power to distinguish the righteous from the wicked. The expanded descriptions of the vernacular translations, therefore, whatever additional layers of influence they disclose, cannot be used as a clue to the source of the original interpolation.

None of the early Christian apocalypses contains the bridge.[85] Its function as a sort of winnowing fan is performed by other means: in the Long texts of *Paul* by the ceremony of the going-out of the soul

at death, the challenge of the 'witnesses,' and the trial before God's throne; in the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles, derived from the Apocalypse of Peter, by the fiery river itself[86]; and in the Passion of St Perpetua by the dangerous ladder that leads from the abyss to heaven.[87]

The bridge first appears in the West in the Fourth Book of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great[88]; thereafter in Latin clerical writings at least twice before the twelfth century: in the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours[89] and the Vision at the Abbey of Wenlock (A.D. 717), preserved in the English correspondence of St Boniface, the apostle to the Germans.[90] Both Boniface and Gregory of Tours dwell on the narrowness of the bridge. The Vision at Wenlock describes it as 'lignum pontis vice,' and the *Historia* says that it hardly bears the breadth of a single footprint. Gregory the Great, however, like the Fourth Redaction of *Paul*, calls it simply 'pons,' and later goes on to give an account of its ability to separate the wicked from the good: 'Haec vero erat in praedicto ponte probatio ut quisquis per eum vellet injustorum transire, in tenebrosum foetentemque fluvium laberetur: justi vero quibus culpa non obsisteret, securo per eum gressu ac libero ad loca amoena pervenirent.'

The great popularity of the Dialogues throughout the Middle Ages makes it a likely source for the interpolation in *Paul*. But it happens that there is evidence which proves that the writer of Redaction IV had Gregory before him as he wrote. He added a passage on the mansions of Hell and the grouping together of sinners according to their transgressions, connecting it directly with the bridge: 'Ibi sunt multe bestie dyabolice multeque mansiones male preparate, sicut dicit dominus in ewangelio: "Ligate eos per fasciculos ad comburendum; id est similes cum similibus, adulteros cum adulteris, rapaces cum rapacibus, iniquos cum iniquis." '[91] Now in Gregory's account the opposite bank of the river which is spanned by the bridge, contains a group of beautiful mansions and a multitude of other dwellings touched more or less by the foul vapour which arises from the stream: 'Ibi mansiones diversorum singulae, magnitudine lucis plenae. Ibi quaedam mirae potentiae aedificabatur domus, quae aureis videbatur laterculis construi, sed cujus esset, non potuit agnosci. Erant vero super ripam praedicti fluminis nonnulla habitacula, sed alia exurgentis foetoris nebula tangebantur, alia autem exurgens foetor e flumine minime tangebat.' And of these mansions Gregory writes further in his introduction to the visions of Hell where the bridge occurs: 'Multae ergo mansiones sunt, in quibus distincti bonorum ordines, et propter meritorum consortia communiter laetantur, et tamen unum denarium omnes laborantes accipiunt (Matth., xx 9). Qui multis mansionibus distinguuntur; quia et una

est beatitudo quam illic percipiunt, et dispar retributionis qualitas, quam per opera diversa consequuntur. Quae nimirum veritas judicii sui diem denuntians, ait: *Tunc dicam messoribus: colligite zizania, et ligate ea in fasciculos ad comburendum* (Matth., xiii 30). Mesores quippe angeli zizania ad comburendum in fasciculos ligant, cum pares paribus in tormentis similibus sociant, ut superbi cum superbis, luxuriosi cum luxuriosis, avari cum avaris, fallaces cum fallacibus, invidi cum invidis, infideles cum infidelibus ardeant.'[92]

The assembling of transgressors in their proper infernal mansions is a theme which the literature of the West treated frequently and in these very words.[93] But only Gregory suggests the association with the bridge of Hell. From the Dialogues directly the writer of Redaction IV took the bridge, the mansions of Hell, and the orderly binding together of wicked souls.

VII. The Sunday Respite

The climax of Paul's journey to Hell in the Long texts is the granting to the sinners of a periodical respite from pain. '. . . *δίδωμι ὑμῖν*,' says the Lord in Tischendorf's Greek text (*G*), '*νύκταν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἁγίας κυριακῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἠγέρθην ἐκ νεκρῶν, εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν*.'[94]

From these words Arturo Graf, in his pioneer treatment of the subject, concluded that the respite was to be annual at Easter.[95] But this is highly doubtful. The incident is related to and probably based on the rabbinical tradition of a Sabbath-day rest in Hell which appears to have been in circulation by the third century,[96] and represents the transference to the Christian Sunday of the power and sanctity of the Sabbath. A weekly respite must therefore have been intended by the author of *Paul*. In support of this we can advance the statement of the Coptic version, which alone of all the extant texts may represent the pre-Tarsus (i.e. third-century) state of the work, that the relief from torment is for the fifty days following the Resurrection and for each Sunday.[97]

Nor is there anything in *G* which forbids this meaning. The Lord's Day, *ἡ κυριακή*, was from the beginning associated with the Resurrection. Ignatius and the Epistle of Barnabas both mention the fact that on it the Lord arose from the dead as one of the chief reasons for which the day is memorable.[98] And by the time of St Augustine, the Resurrection furnishes its whole meaning.[99] Thus, from the phrase *τῆς ἁγίας κυριακῆς, ἐν ᾗ ἠγέρθην ἐκ νεκρῶν*, with its ambiguous adjective *ἁγίας*, one cannot be sure whether *G* means each ordinary Sunday as the weekly representative of the day of the Resurrection, or the Easter Day itself, for which the more distinctive name would be *τῆς μεγάλης κυριακῆς*.

The ambiguity is, however, not to be attributed to the scribe of *G*. From the evidence of some of the non-Greek Long versions, it apparently existed in the earlier Greek texts. The Old Russian, for example, says merely, 'I give you a day and a night for a rest.'[100] In *P* the Lord's words are: '. . . in die enim qua resurrexi a mortuis, dono uobis . . . noctem et diem refrigerium in perpetuum,' as if based on a Greek phrase reading, *δίδωμι ὑμῖν τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ᾗ ἠγέρθην ἐκ νεκρῶν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν.* It is true that the sorrowful exclamation of the evil angels which follows the granting of mercy may be understood as assuming the relief to be weekly ('Anc autem magnam percepistis gratiam nocte et die dominice refrigerium . . .'[101]), but if this is its meaning, the interpretation is, as it were, an afterthought which only makes plainer the ambiguity of the Lord's words.

In contrast to this is the explicitness of the Latin Redactions, beginning especially with Redaction III, where the respite is described as being weekly 'ab hora nona sabbati usque in prima hora secunde ferie.' The change is not accidental, nor, as has been suggested, the result of a contact with non-Christian lore; but it indicates the influence on the Apocalypse of the development of the Lord's Day observance in Western Europe.[102]

Originally a time of joyous celebration, the Sunday gradually became a day of rest. Coincidentally with the reiterated insistence of ecclesiastical authorities that the *dominicus dies* had superseded the Sabbath in holiness,[103] the Sunday acquired increasingly the character of the Sabbath. This appears most clearly in the large body of formal legislation designed to preserve its special sanctity by the prohibition of work of various sorts. Typical are the edict of the Emperor Constantine requiring urban business to stop[104]; the *Lex Alamannorum* and the laws of Ina king of Wessex, both of the seventh century, forbidding all 'opera servilia'[105]; the chapter *De operibus in die dominico non faciendis* of the ninth-century Council of Rome[106]; and the Irish treatise *Cáin Domnaig*, which, in an Epistle of Jesus on the proper observance of the Lord's Day, condemns such works as splitting firewood and riding on horseback. '. . . whatever horse is ridden on Sunday,' says the Epistle, 'it is a horse of fire in the fork of its rider in Hell.'[107] Its influence appears in the *Voyage of the Ui Corra*, where the traveller to the otherworld sees a gigantic man on a fiery steed: he had stolen his brother's horse and ridden it on Sunday.[108]

Parallel with the prohibitory legislation there arose a literature of glorification, in which the day was associated with the chief events of Judeo-Christian history. The second-century writer of the Epistle of Barnabas had reminded his readers that on this day occurred the crea-

tion of light, as well as the Resurrection.[109] In Isidore of Seville the list of 'benedictions' is much expanded: 'Apparet autem hunc diem,' Isidore writes, 'etiam in sacrosanctis Scripturis esse solemnem; ipse enim primus est dies saeculi, in ipso creati sunt angeli, in ipso quoque a mortuis resurrexit Christus, in ipso de caelis super apostolos sanctus descendit spiritus, manna in eodem die in eremo primum de caelo datum est.'[110] The pretended Acts of a Council of Caesarea under Pope Victor, composed in England in the sixth or seventh century,[111] enumerate the following benedictions: the first appearance of light, the crossing of the Red Sea, the sending of the manna, the ordering by Moses of the observance of the first and last day of the week, the blessing in Psalm cxvii 34, and the Resurrection. Isidore's list appears again in the tenth century in the *De divinis officiis* of pseudo-Alcuin.[112] And some two centuries later we find a similar though more elaborate enumeration in an Old English homily *In die dominica*.[113]

The effect on the Redactions of *Paul* of this preoccupation with the sanctity of the Lord's Day was to produce a transformation. In the Long versions the granting of the respite is the climax of the Hell-journey, but no excessive emphasis is placed upon the episode. With Redaction III, however, the respite becomes the centre of the narrative and furnishes the opportunity to give the Pauline vision a strongly Sabbatarian turn. The Vienna manuscript (*Vi*) of Redaction III (IIId) tells us that Paul's infernal journey itself took place on the *dominicus dies*, and Redaction IV begins with praise of the day. In all the forms of III and in its derivatives a blessing is pronounced for those who keep the Lord's Day properly, and in some texts, as we have already observed, long passages are added, either condemning the violators of the Sunday rest or enumerating the long list of traditional benedictions.

The Apocalypse of Paul is now not merely an account of the world to come and an exhortation to righteousness. It has acquired the more special character of a homily on the *dominicus dies*, in honor of which it adds its note to the general mediaeval paean of praise.

Chapter Six

THE INTERPOLATIONS: REDACTION VI

The method of the author of the Sixth Redaction, which distinguishes his work from the other descendents of the λ text, has already appeared briefly in the summary in Chapter Four. Redactions I–V, VII and VIII are primarily abbreviations of the Long Latin, supplemented by a series of insertions which do not modify essentially those parts of the original that have been retained. Redaction VI, on the contrary, is a complete rewriting of the Apocalypse. In it not only are there interpolations that are readily isolated from the older materials, but the original incidents themselves are in general merely starting-points for an elaboration which entirely changes their appearance and meaning.

To understand the significance of these changes is made difficult by the highly abbreviated state of the text and its frequent corruption, whereby entire sections are rendered obscure. However, some light may be shed on many of the important passages by occasional reference to the Apocalypse of Peter, and—more remarkably—to the descriptions of Hell in a group of early Irish revelations—the Visions of Laisrén and Adamnán, the Voyage of the Ui Corra, and the Celtic versions of the *Transitus Mariae*—the origins of which have been traced to a period before the tenth century.[1]

I. False Witnesses and the Abusers of Iron Tools (§§3 and 10)

After the torment of those who dishonored their parents, with which Redaction VI begins its account of the inferno, Paul sees a group of sinners having their tongues and jaws pierced and their eyes transfixed by flaming pegs. These were false witnesses. Nothing of this appears in the Long Latin; but only the description of slanderers and contentious persons immersed in the fiery stream, and of blasphemers condemned to gnaw their tongues.[2]

The idea for the castigation of false witnesses was furnished ultimately, no doubt, by Proverbs xxv, 18: 'As a maul, and a sword, and a sharp arrow, so is a man that beareth false witness.' But the Akhmîm and Ethiopic texts of the Apocalypse of Peter, the earliest of the extant Christian revelations in which it appears, embody the suggestion of these verses in a highly modified form. There blasphemers and

slanderers gnaw their tongues and have heated iron set against their eyes, and false witnesses have flaming fire in their mouths.[3]

Closer in some respects both to the suggestion of the Proverb and to Redaction VI are a number of passages in the early Irish visions. *Laisrén*, for example, gives an account of the sinners in a flaming sea: 'Some of the souls had fiery nails through their tongues, which were sticking out of their heads; others through their ears, others through their eyes. . . . . "The folk whom thou seest with the fiery nails through their tongues, those are they who have not often been praising God or blessing and worshipping Him, but who have more frequently been uttering falsehood and wailing . . . and perjuring themselves and blaspheming, and talking vaingloriously. . . . " '[4] *Adamnán* describes similar torments for thieves and liars, treacherous and rapacious persons, the unjust judges and the contentious, sorceresses, and those who practised heresy.[5] Especially noteworthy, in connection with the Proverb, is the statement in the *Transitus Mariae* that false teachers and unjust judges have fiery swords or darts in their mouths.[6]

But none of the Celtic texts can represent the unmodified source of Redaction VI. They do not speak specifically of false witnesses, and their extension of the torment to many other classes of sinners is clearly a sign of later elaboration, in which the original significance of the passage was obscured. Whether, on the contrary, Redaction VI was the basis of the Irish visions is a consideration that will be more conveniently discussed when several other interpolations have been examined.

In the meantime it should be observed that, despite its Scriptural basis, the torment of false witnesses by the piercing of the eyes, or ears, or tongue was not common in the Christian vision literature. Among the earlier apocalypses only *Peter* contains it.[7] It is, therefore, possible that both the Irish texts and Redaction VI are here indebted to some Western descendent of *Peter*; but if so, it was a version that was fuller than either the Akhmîm Fragment or the Ethiopic text, a version that perhaps supplemented the meagre account of its original with a fresh reference to Proverbs xxv, 18.

The extension in the Celtic texts of the torment of false witnesses to various other sorts of erring souls, is paralleled by Redaction VI in §10, the account of those who sinned by means of iron tools: they have boiling knives in their eyes, and 'ferracturas dearatras & destrabos & thastaros. & alias in oculis ipsorum mittebat apud sulphor & plumbum & betumen.'

The corruption of these lines renders their meaning doubtful. If

'dearatras & destrabos & thastaros' be read 'de aratris et de scabris et [de] rastris,' the passage may be understood as meaning that the sinners are transfixed by the metal parts of various weapons and farming implements. It then appears to be an application of materials inherited from previous visions to local conditions. This is supported by the fact that in the adjacent section (§9) the description of horse thieves and thieves of other animals bears similar marks of realistic adaptation.[8]

II. Spiritual Parents Who Did Not Keep Their Trust (§4)

Immersed in fire, beneath pitch and bitumen and sulphur, are the men and women who undertook the task of being godparents and spiritual sponsors of children, but did not fulfill their obligations. This is based on the account in the Long Latin (*P*, §40) of the infanticides and those who practised abortion, whose mistreated children cry out to the infernal angel for revenge; but its modifications involve some other source.

The tormenting of parents by children occurs in *Peter*. There the infants not only cry out accusations, but lightning flashes forth from them and smites the eyes of their sinning mothers.[9] In addition, in the Ethiopic text and the fragments preserved by Clement of Alexandria, the milk of the mothers is described as engendering snakes, which devour them.[10] These passages reappear in the Ethiopic Apocalypse of the Virgin,[11] the Apocalypse of Esdras,[12] and, in the late Middle Ages, in the Vision of Alberic.[13] The punishment is applied invariably to parents for physical murder or neglect.

Only the Irish visions parallel the change in Redaction VI to godparents and spiritual neglect. In the version of the *Transitus Mariae* which occurs in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, 'ignorant priests who did not understand the Canon of the Lord, nor how to give penance aright' are tormented in Hell by the burning of their hands and by 'little infants in flames (hanging) out of their sides (breasts?) sucking at them.'[14] This curious description is obviously dependent on *Peter* and represents an amalgamation of the snakes and the children of the Ethiopic text and the Clementine fragments. The Vision of Adamnán likewise describes a similar body of sinning clergy, bound in fiery chains and alternately borne up to the firmament and dashed down into the depths of Hell. 'Moreover, the children that are tearing the men in orders, are they who were committed to them for amendment, but they amended them not, neither reproved them for their sins.'[15]

These passages together illuminate the meaning of the somewhat abbreviated account in Redaction VI.

III. The Idolaters and Sorcerers (§8)

In a passage corrupt almost beyond understanding is an interpolated description of men and women in flaming robes; '& crutiatur ei cum grande igne;... Isti sunt qui malesides portauerunt & succederunt menses & alia fructa & numquam paenituerunt.' 'Malesides,' which stands perhaps for 'malas ideas,'[16] seems to indicate that the sinners in question were idolaters, a group for which the Long texts of *Paul* give no hint. This is borne out further by the words '& crutiatur ei cum grande igne,' which may be an echo of the account in the Akhmîm and Ethiopic texts of the Apocalypse of Peter of the idolaters, who are described characteristically as being tormented in a place 'full of much fire.'[17]

Now the rest of the phrase in VI,—'& succederunt menses [= *catamenia*?] & alia fructa'—, suggests that the redactor considered the idolaters (who are a separate group in the Apocalypse of Peter) also as sorcerers and those who practised magic, and possibly that the purpose of their diabolical enterprise was the prevention of childbirth. This is the crime for which the sorcerers are chiefly tormented in *Peter* and, by implication, in the Long texts of *Paul*; in both of these revelations the sorcerers are placed with adulterers and those who destroyed their children. It was probably known, moreover, to the redactor as a problem which engaged the attention of both the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities of his times. For example, the sermon *De castitate conjugali*, ascribed to St Augustine, but more characteristic in style of the sixth-century writer Caesarius of Arles, condemns those who take diabolical potations in order to cause abortion.[18] And in the *Lex salica* there occurs a statement of the penalties for engaging in magic or sorcery for this purpose.[19]

The flaming garments which the sinners are condemned to wear occur in neither *Peter* nor the older versions of *Paul*, though these books distinguish usurers, those who were unchaste, and false ascetics by tattered or dark or filthy robes,[20] and the writer of VI may have derived an initial suggestion from such passages. More noteworthy is the description in the Vision of Adamnán of a multitude 'clad in red and fiery mantles down to their middle [*or* down to the ground].' For thus, among loathers of piety and those who failed to give proper spiritual guidance to the children entrusted to their care, are punished 'impostors who have deceived and seduced the multitude, and have undertaken miracles and wonders which they are not able to perform.'[21] These sinners bear the same relationship to the magicians and sorcerers of the Long texts of *Paul* that the erring spiritual parents do to the

natural parents guilty of murder and physical neglect. Their presence here perhaps points to an earlier account which, like the Sixth Redaction, robed its wizards and sorcerers in garments of fire.

IV. The Horse-Thieves (§9)

Among the inhabitants of the inferno are men and women who ride upon animals of metal, which flame like fire. They are the souls of those who stole mares and stallions and other quadrupeds. This is a class of sinners which does not appear either in the earlier Christian vision literature or, with two exceptions, elsewhere in that of the Middle Ages. The language of the passage is reminiscent of such statements about horse and animal stealing as are found in the Salic and Visigothic Laws, which testify by their discussion to the prevalence of the evil.

The two mediaeval exceptions are in the Vision of a Cistercian Novice, reported by Vincent of Beauvais, and in the Irish Voyage of the Ui Corra. Vincent, who places the Vision in the middle of the twelfth century, tells of a man seen by the visionary in Hell 'super equum ardentem clipeum igneum gerentem, & super collum equi sui trahebat habitum Monachi. Hic, inquit Angelus, pauper homo fuit, semper de rapina viuens. Capram rapuit vnam à quadam paupere faemina, circa finem vitę suae volunt fieri Monachus non vere paenitendo. . . .'[22] The *Ui Corra* does not provide so close a parallel to VI as this, but the probable early date of its contents gives the Celtic an added interest in connection with the sources of the Redaction. In it the voyagers encounter 'a huge horseman on the sea. At one time a wave would overwhelm him, and at another time he was screaming.

' "What causes that, O man?" say they.

' "I will tell you," quoth he. "I stole a horse from a brother of mine, and I rode it on a Sunday, and I am being punished therefor, with a horse of fire between my legs continually; and that is the punishment of every one who rides on a Sunday." '[23]

Now it will be observed that the sinner in this quotation is guilty of two sins, the violation of the Sunday and horse-stealing, but that he is punished only for the former. This shows the prime interest of the author in the sanctity of the *dominicus dies*. Furthermore, the details of the passage betray its relationship with the Irish treatise on the Lord's Day, the *Cáin Domnaig*, where we are warned that 'Every horse that is ridden on Sunday will be a horse of fire in the fork of the rider in Hell.'[24] But the reference to horse-stealing suggests that this section of the Ui Corra may be composite, the result of a Sabbatarian adaptation of an earlier account which resembled the horse-thieves passage in Redaction VI.

V. The Intercession Episode (§12)

The granting of a respite to sinners at the prayer of St Paul, which ends the Hell-journey in the Long texts, is a specialized form of the intercession *motif* that occurs in various guises among other early apocrypha.[25] *Paul* embellished the general theme by the introduction of Michael as a fellow-suppliant with the Apostle—a reference to the Judeo-Christian cult of the Archangel as the guardian of the Chosen People and their advocate before the Divine Throne.[26] To it the book also added, in the substitution of the Sunday respite for entire release from torment, a Sabbatarian emphasis reflecting a similar preoccupation of Jewish lore.[27]

These peculiar elements the author of Redaction VI modified or discarded. For Michael he substituted the Archangel Raphael[28]; and, by causing Paul's prayer to gain the complete freedom from pain of tortured souls, he reverted to the more general form of the intercession.

There is also a third change, affecting the relationship of the intercession passage to the rest of the account of torment. It introduces into the Redaction an inconsistency of doctrine, placing side by side two conflicting eschatological views.

In the older Christian eschatology there was no clear distinction, of the sort developed by Gregory the Great, between Hell and Purgatory. Hell was the abode not only of sinners who were to remain there forever, but of others who were to be saved, either at the Day of Doom or, through the intervention and prayers of the righteous on earth, at some earlier time. This view is reflected in part by the older Eastern authorities St John Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem.[29] The blending of Purgatory and Hell which it effects is the theory of the Greek Church at the present time.[30] In Western Europe it was represented, before the tenth century, by the eschatology of the Irish Church, where, together with the Celtic views on the tonsure and the celebration of the Easter, it is a mark of the pre-Gregorian character of early Irish Christianity.[31] The mediaeval Latin Church, on the contrary, with the development of the Doctrine of Purgatory, made a sharp cleavage between Purgatory and Hell. In Hell are the souls who are lost forever; for them no intercession will avail.[32] Only the sinners in Purgatory may hope for deliverance from pain.

The Long texts of *Paul* tacitly assume the older view, with its vaguely-defined limits to Hell. But they contain hints that made them readily adaptable to the belief held by the Latin Church. The statements, for example, that the sealed pit is full of pains seven times greater than

those which have preceded, that in it are placed unbelievers whose very memory will be lost to God,[33] would permit this place to be understood as Hell, and to be separated from the rest of the land of darkness, which would represent Purgatory. Evidences of this sort of interpretation are, in fact, to be discovered in the Vision of Drihthelm, recounted by Bede, and St Patrick's Purgatory, where apparently the same need existed to adjust older materials to contemporary belief.[34] As to the granting of the respite, the Long texts do not state whether it is denied to those in the pit or not; but the words, 'nunquam commemoracio eius fit in conspectu patris et filii et spiritus sancti,' in which they describe the sinners' doom, suggest that this was their meaning. So understood, the respite episode would not have seemed contrary to the Latin belief in the eternity of Hell-pain.

Of these hints the writer of VI availed himself freely. He reshaped the account of the lower world to fit the clear Western distinction between Hell and Purgatory. He omitted the sealed pit, and in its place added the section on Paul's relatives. When the Apostle asks where his parents are, the angel answers, 'In infernum usurantur.' Then the text continues, 'Et eiectauit se sanctus paulus super inferno & coepit amariter plorare.' In this fashion the redactor made Hell a place distinct from all the preceding regions of pain, which he intended to represent Purgatory, as appears from the occasional references to God's sparing penitent sinners after a specified time of punishment.[35]

But at this point the redactor entirely abandoned the Long texts. Besides changing the result of Paul's prayers from a mere respite to complete release from torment, he applied the deliverance, not to the souls in Purgatory, who might on his theory be so spared, but to sinners in Hell. Possibly he recognized the inconsistency, but felt (perhaps on the false analogy of Christ's deliverance of the patriarchs and prophets in the Harrowing of Hell) that the strictness of the doctrine of eternal torment might be relaxed in the case of the parents of the Apostle; possibly too intent on achieving a climax of striking interest, he overlooked the conflict of doctrines altogether; but clearly his source was a work of pre-Gregorian or Eastern origin, in which, as in the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles, based on *Peter*, the intercession of the righteous causes God to 'grant them to save men out of the fierce fire and the eternal gnashing of teeth. . . .'[36]

The use in Redaction VI of the Scriptural camel as the instrument of the deliverance from Hell ('camelos in euangelio uocatur . . . qui parentes sancti pauli traxerunt de inferno'), deserves a word of mention. Paul's relatives are characterized by the guiding angel as usurers,

and are therefore appropriately the beneficiaries of this fantastic adaptation of the words of Matthew xix.

The incident recalls another example of the employment of the camel of the Gospel to effect an entry for a rich man into Heaven. It occurs in one of the versions of the Acts of Peter and Andrew. There, in order to persuade a certain Onisephorus to abandon his wealth for the sake of salvation, the Apostles twice cause the camel to step through the eye of a needle.[37] But this, strictly speaking, is not a parallel. The incident in Redaction VI is unique.

VI. Conclusion

The similarities between Redaction VI and the Irish visions are both numerous and obvious, but their significance is a matter for conjecture. If they are not the result of coincidence (and this is unlikely from the frequency of their occurrence where so short a work as VI is concerned), then the Celtic texts and the Redaction must have a closer connection with each other than merely that of illustrative parallels.

The Irish visions, both in the non-occurrence among other early mediaeval apocalypses of many of their details and in their close agreement with one another, bear the marks of dependence on a single source, which resembled Redaction VI more closely than any one of them,—for they show signs of subsequent modification, as in their grouping together classes of sinners that were originally separate.

Whether Redaction VI was itself their original cannot be settled definitely. But this is not probable, since the abbreviation that is characteristic of the Redaction sometimes modified passages sufficiently to have prevented their giving rise to the analogous parts of the Irish texts. Such is the case with the account, in VI, the Vision of Adamnán and the *Transitus Mariae*, of the negligent spiritual parents, which resembles *Peter* in causing the transgressors to be tormented physically by their children. Here the *Transitus Mariae*, with its children hanging out of the sinners' sides (or breasts), shows a clearer connection with *Peter* than does Redaction VI. One must not forget, of course, that the difficult state of the text of VI, in the one manuscript in which it appears at any length, is obviously the result of the blundering of the ninth-century copyist, who apparently had before him a Merovingian original which he did not fully understand.[38] But this would account only for the errors and for occasional omissions. It would not explain the regular reduction of language and incidents which distinguishes the entire work. Extensive abbreviation must originally have been a trait of the Sixth Redaction.

From all these considerations it seems reasonable to guess that the

Irish visions and Redaction VI are independent debtors to a third and non-extant work. That work, moreover, in its turn owed some, though not all, of its materials to the Apocalypse of Peter. From it the writer of VI supplemented the incidents of the λ text of *Paul*, on which he primarily based his Redaction.

But though observations on the sources and literary relations of the Sixth Redaction must remain in some degree conjectural, those on the author need not be. He was a cleric who cared nothing at all for the developing Sabbatarianism of his times: he fails to record any concern for the sanctity of the *dies dominicus*, not only in the horse-thieves passage which the Irish texts may have adapted to that interest, but in the intervention episode of his climax, which he substituted for the Sunday respite *motif* of the Long texts of *Paul*. His work shows the influence of the doctrine of Purgatory and the resultant sharp division between Purgatory and Hell which distinguishes the eschatology of the West. But he does not hesitate to violate, by means of the curious incident of the camels effecting the release of Paul's parents and relatives from Hell, the concomitant belief in the eternity of Hell punishment.

Like the third-century monk who wrote the archetypal text of *Paul*, he is evidently more concerned with morality than theology. We may add that he takes greater pains to set down an effective narrative than to display strict doctrinal consistency.

NOTES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1] This seems likely from the unquestioned Egyptian origin of the book's chief sources; see n. 3 below. Tischendorf, *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, XXIV (1851), 442, thought that it was written in Jerusalem, but this rests largely on the doubtful evidence of the preface; see n. 2. In a recent article, *The Apocalypse of Paul and the 'Iranisches Erlösungsmysterium,'* in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXIV (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), 209 ff., C. H. Kraeling has sought to localize the work in Antioch or on the Syrian coast. His study, in which he gathers together Zoroastrian and Mandaean parallels, is limited to only one section of the Apocalypse, namely, that dealing with the going-out of the souls at death (see above, Chap. III, pp. 23–25), and is, unfortunately, based on the Syriac text, which is at this point partly confused, and throughout shows frequent evidence of modification (Chap. III, above, *passim*). But his conclusion is vitiated not so much by this as by his failure to consider both the part played by Egypt in the development of the theme of the going-out of the souls (M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham* [Texts and Studies, II, 2, Cambridge, 1892], p. 122, note to Recension A, p. 87, l. 3, mentions the *Pistis Sophia*, *Zephaniah*, and a spurious homily of Macarius, as containing elements of this theme; cf. Louise Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* [Baltimore, 1911]), and, more important, the Egyptian origin of the immediate sources of the Apocalypse.

[2] See R. Casey, *The Apocalypse of Paul*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXIV (1933), especially pp. 28 and 24–26, who suggests that the remainder of the work was written between the years 240–250. The older and still generally held opinion regards the Tarsus preface as original and follows Tischendorf (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, XXIV, 442) in placing the *terminus a quo* for the entire book at the year 380 (or 388; for the discrepancy, see below, n. 7, Chap. III). This view fails, however, to account properly for a passage in Origen on the Epistle to the Hebrews, as reported by Gregory Barhebreus (see n. 13 below), which names *Paul* and thus places it before the middle of the third century. The latest editor of the Syriac version of *Paul*, Giuseppe Ricciotti, *L'Apocalisse di Paolo Siriaca* (Brescia, 1932), I, 25–26, is puzzled by this quotation and leaves unsolved the problem which it creates. Zahn, *Armenische Verzeichnisse kanonischer und apokrypher Bücher* (Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, V, 1, Leipzig, 1893), p. 111, n. 4, even suggests, but without foundation, that there is an error in Barhebreus, and that Origen actually meant to name the Apocalypse of Peter. Casey's solution, placing *Paul* in the third century and regarding the Tarsus preface as secondary, has many circumstances in its favor besides the Origen passage: a remark, for example, in Sozomen's *Historia ecclesiastica*, which characterizes the preface as anachronistic (see below, n. 15), and, much more important, the absence from the book of all reference to the doctrinal controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. Nor is the

last fact contradicted by the mention in the extant Greek text of the Nestorian heresy, which was condemned in the year 431 (*καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ ὡμολόγησαν θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν*, Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, p. 62); for, unsupported by any of the other versions of the book (they all refer merely to those who denied the Virgin Birth, as in the Latin: 'Ii sunt quicunque non confessus fuerit Christum uenisse in carne et quia genuit eum Maria uirgo', James, *Visio Pauli*, in *Apocrypha anecdota I* [Texts and Studies, II, 3, 1893], p. 34), this is obviously an interpolation and dates the Greek editor rather than the original. See Israel Lévi, *Le répos sabbatique des âmes damnées*, in *Revue des études juives*, XXV (1892), 9–10, who partly anticipates Casey in raising questions about the age of the book, but not his conclusions.

For a discussion of the original language of the book, see below, n. 3, Chap. II.

[3] James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 525 and n. 2, and the notes to his translation of *Paul* on pp. 527, 530, 534, 538, 540. Cf. Casey pp. 7–8, 10, 12–13, 20–21. The Apocalypses of Elias and Zephaniah were published by Georg Steindorff, Texte und Untersuchungen, neue Folge, II, 3 (Leipzig, 1899), 155–169 and 149–155 respectively. Steindorff calls *Zephaniah* merely an 'anonymous Apocalypse'; I follow James in naming it here. For the Egyptian origin of these two works see Steindorff, pp. 18–20 and James, *Testament of Abraham*, p. 25. The Apocalypse of Peter is not so certainly localized; but its Greek text was found at Akhmîm (Panopolis) in Upper Egypt, and it was quoted at least four times by Clement of Alexandria at the beginning of the third century (*Eclogae ex Scripturis Propheticis*, xxxix–xl, xli, xlviii, xlix). See J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (London, 1892), pp. 15, 42, and 94–96.

[4] Origen, *Homilia V in Psalmos*, ed. Lommatzch, XII, 233; and Macarius, *Homilia XXII*, Migne, *P. G.*, XXXIV, 659–660. James (*Testament of Abraham*, p. 19) believes the passage in Origen, the theme of which appears also in *Abraham*, to have been derived from the Apocalypse of Peter, but none of the texts or adaptations of *Peter* hitherto discovered contains it. Casey (p. 27) argues reasonably that *Paul* is Origen's source. This must, however, not be pressed too far, since the theme was widespread in varying forms in other works of Egyptian provenience, and may possibly have reached the homilist independently of either Apocalypse. See also another homily, ascribed to Macarius, but spurious, *τοῦ ἁγίου Μακαρίου τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως λόγος περὶ ἐξόδου ψυχῆς δικαίων καὶ ἁμαρτωλῶν, τὸ πῶς χωρίζονται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πῶς εἰσιν* (Migne, *P. G.*, XXXIV, 385–392).

[5] Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, pp. 24–33. It has as its central theme the intercession of a prophet with God for sinning humanity, which is paralleled also by the Testament of Abraham and furnishes the climax of the journey to Hell in *Paul* (above, p. 32). It is otherwise virtually a cento of fragments frequently reminiscent of *Paul*; as, for example, in God's rebuke to the sinners (*πῶς ἔχω αὐτοὺς ἐλεῆσαι; ὄξος καὶ χολήν με ἐπότισαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τότε ἐμετενόησαν*, ed. Tischendorf, p. 26), which recalls the words of Christ to the damned in *Paul*: 'Aecquid opus fecistis ut postuletis a me refrigerium? . . . Aquam petiui pendens in crucem, et dederunt mihi acetum cum felle mixtum: lancea aperuerunt latus meum dextrum: propter nomen meum seruos meos prophetas et iustos hocciderunt; et in his omnibus dedi uobis locum penitencie, et noluistis.' (James, *Visio Pauli*, p. 36, ll. 6–13)

[6] The Ethiopic text edited and translated by M. Chaine, *Scriptores Aethiopici*,

Series prima, tom. VII (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Rome, Paris, Leipzig, 1909). It is listed by Casey (p. 4) as virtually an Ethiopic version of *Paul*. In his edition of one of the Greek versions James (Texts and Studies, II, no. 3, 115–126) notes its borrowings from *Paul* in the margins of the text. See also James, *Apocryph. N. T.*, pp. 563–564.

[7] *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, ed. Morfill and Charles (Oxford, 1896). The connection between this work and *Paul* lies chiefly in their accounts of the Paradise of Eden; cf. James, *Visio Pauli*, p. 37, §45, and *Enoch*, pp. 7–9, §§viii–ix. Casey (pp. 22–23) thinks that *Enoch* is the source of *Paul*, but this is based on Charles's view that *Enoch* is a book of the early Jewish apocalyptic period. Mrs. Maunder, however, in *The Observatory*, XLI (1918), 309–316, and J. K. Fotheringham in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIII (1921), 49–56, point out that the calendarial chapters of *Enoch*, which form an integral part of the work, are part of the Easter *computus* as developed in the seventh century. The book can therefore not be older than this. If, as seems likely, *Paul* and *Enoch* stand in the relationship of source and derivant, it is *Enoch* which is the debtor.

[8] James, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 44–46.

[9] See nn. 11 and 12 below, and pp. 12–14 above.

[10] It continued to be copied in Jerusalem as late as the ninth century, and its 'Akhmîm (Gizeh) Fragment' has been dated between the eighth and twelfth centuries though it may be earlier (cf. Robinson and James, *The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*, p. 46); but for the West we have only a brief quotation in a Latin homily on the Ten Virgins (ed. Dom Wilmart, *Bulletin d'anc. litt. et d'archéol. chrét.*, I [1911], 35–49), and possibly echoes in a fragmentary Latin Apocalypse of Elias (ed. de Bruyne, *Revue bénédictine*, XXV [1908], 153–154) and in the twelfth-century Vision of Alberic. Cf. Casey, p. 20, n. 9, and E. J. Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell* (Johns Hopkins Dissertation, Baltimore, 1899), pp. 47–49.

[11] Dante's knowledge of *Paul* has been frequently treated, but see especially Šepelevič, *Etiody o Dantě, Apokrifičeskoje 'Viděnie Sv. Pavla,'* II (Kharkov, 1891), 76–96; Ricciotti, I, pp. 27–30; and my *Dante and the Visio Pauli*, in *Modern Language Notes*, XLVII (1932), 397–399. Cf. F. d'Ovidio, 'Dante e San Paolo,' *Studii sulla Divina Commedia* (Milano-Palermo, 1901), pp. 326–355.

[12] Becker, *A Contribution*, pp. 91–93; St John Seymour, *Irish Visions of the Otherworld* (London, 1930), pp. 181–182; M. A. Stanford, *The Sumner's Tale and Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIX (1920), 377–381; Theodore Spencer, *Chaucer's Hell*, in *Speculum*, II (1927), 195 ff., and above, p. 13 f.

[13] *Nomocanon*, vii, 9, ed. Bedjan (Paris, Leipzig, 1898), pp. 104–105; translated by Ricciotti, I, 25, and Casey, p. 27. Cf. A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* (Rome, 1838), X, 2ª, 54.

[14] Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (2nd ed., Hamburg, 1719), I, 943–953, brings together many of the objectors in a convenient collection. See also, for the condemnations in the *Decretum Gelasianum* and the 'List of Sixty Books,' Preuschen, *Analecta* (Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893), pp. 153, 159; and von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (Texte und Untersuchungen, XXXVIII, Leipzig, 1912), pp. 14, 35, 73, 83, 302. Cf. the remarks of the Englishmen Aldhelm and Aelfric, above, pp. 6 and 9.

[15] . . . . τὴν δὲ νῦν ὡς Ἀποκάλυψιν Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου φερομένην, ἣν οὐδεὶς ἀρχαίων εἶδε, πλεῖστοι μοναχῶν ἐπαινοῦσιν. ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἰσχυρίζονται τινες ταύτην ηὑρῆσθαι τὴν βίβλον. λέγουσι γὰρ ἐκ θείας ἐπιφανείας ἐν Τάρσῳ τῆς Κιλικίας κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν Παύλου, μαρμαρίνην λάρνακα ὑπὸ γῆς εὑρεθῆναι· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν βίβλον εἶναι· ἐρομένῳ δέ μοι περὶ τούτου ψεῦδος ἔφησεν εἶναι Κίλιξ πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἐν Τάρσῳ ἐκκλησίας. γεγονέναι μὲν γὰρ πολλῶν ἐτῶν, καὶ ἡ πολιὰ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδείκνυεν. ἔλεγε δὲ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἐπίστασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς συμβάν· θαυμάζειν τε, εἰ μὴ τάδε πρὸς αἱρετικῶν ἀναπέπλασται.—*H. E.*, vii, 15.

[16] *Tractatus in Joannem*, xcviii, 8 (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXV, 1885). Written in the year 416.

[17] Casey (p. 29) suggests that Augustine may also have found objectionable *Paul*'s representation of a doctrine of free will and repentance which ignores grace and the sacraments.

[18] D. Serruys, *Une source gnostique de l'Apocalypse de Paul*, in *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, XXXV (1911), 194–202, has argued unsuccessfully for Gnostic influence on the Apocalypse. Cf. Ricciotti, I, 25, n. 1; and Casey, p. 1 and n. 2. There is, of course, evidence that the Cainites used an apocalyptic work ascribed to the Apostle which they called Ἀναβατικὸν τοῦ Παύλου (Epiphanius, *Libri adversus haereses*, xxxviii, 2 D, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XLI, 656), but this can hardly have been our apocalypse. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, V, 8 (*Werke*, ed. Wendland [Leipzig, 1916], III, 93), in discussing the celestial gates which occupied so large a place in the doctrines of the Naasenes, says of these gates: ταύτην, φησί [i.e. the Naasenes], τὴν πύλην Παῦλος οἶδεν ὁ ἀπόστολος, παρανοίξας ἐν μυστηρίῳ καὶ εἰπὼν "ἡρπάσθαι ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου καὶ γεγονέναι ἕως δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον αὐτόν, καὶ ἑωρακέναι ἃ ἑώρακε, καὶ ἀκηκοέναι ῥήματα ἄρρητα ἃ οὐκ ἐξὸν ἀνθρώπῳ εἰπεῖν." And this is similar to *Paul*, where (in the Latin and Coptic versions: see p. 26 and below, p. 105, n. 27) the apostle visits the third heaven to see the Golden Gates of Paradise, and then descends to the second. Despite this similarity Casey (p. 27, n. 2) would equate such a Naasene work possibly with the Ἀναβατικόν, but not with *Paul*. Ricciotti, I, 24–25, distinguishes between the Ἀναβατικόν and the Naasene apocalypse, and seeks to explain the coincidence between *Paul* and the latter by arguing that in Theodosius's time (i.e. 380 or later) some Catholic compiler, in order to combat the Naasene book, got out an orthodox edition, in which the theology was modified to a state of sufficient acceptability. This suggestion, however, runs contrary to the evidence of the Origen quotation, which places *Paul* in Palestine during the third century in circles unquestioned by him; and it is contradicted, moreover, by a complete absence from *Paul* of the anti-Gnostic sentiment which, were it correct, we should expect to find there. Whatever the theological differences between heretics and orthodox, their apocalypses, even when completely independent of one another, would draw on a common fund of legend and literature, and thus inevitably coincide in some particulars. This may explain the passage in Hippolytus.

[19] Samuel of Ani, *Chronicle*. The passage is translated in Ernest Renan, *Journal asiatique*, 5ième serie, II (1853), 430; and by Casey, pp. 30–31, who also discusses the character of these 'Nestorians.' Cf. Zahn, *Armenische Verzeichnisse*, pp. 111 ff.

[20] See n. 14 above.

[21] Above, p. 6.

[22] Above, pp. 16–17, and below, pp. 99–101, nn. 14–21 and 29.

[23] For mss and dates, see Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, 'Prolegomena'; James, *Visio Pauli*, p. 2; N. Tichonravov, *Pamjatniki Otrechennoj Ruskoi Literatury*, II (Moscow, 1863), 40; Ricciotti, I, 19–20; P. Vetter, *Die Armenische Paulus-Apocalypse*, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, LXXXVIII (1906), 570 and LXXXIX (1907), 65–66; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915), pp. lix–lxi, clxii, clxiii; and Casey, pp. 2–5.

[24] James, *Testament of Abraham*, p. 21; and *Apocryph. N. T.*, pp. 525–526 and 555.

[25] See especially the 'Bodleian Leaf,' the Ethiopic text, and the Second Book of the Sibylline Oracles, which is based on *Peter*. James, *Apocryph. N. T.*, pp. 510–524.

[26] Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois* (Paris, 1888), pp. 108–109; and James, *Visio Pauli*, p. 2. It is one of the codices stolen by Libri from Orléans, and probably came originally from the Abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire. By far the oldest manuscript in existence is a Greek fragment in large rude uncials, now numbered *Gr. th. g. 2.* (*P*) in the Bodleian, which contains a few lines corresponding to parts of secs. 45 and 46 of the Long Latin text, 'with an offset of part of c. 47.' It is described in the *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, vol. for nos. 31001–37299, p. 84, under the no. 31660: 'In Greek, on parchment: written in the "6th cent.": under glass, 4¾ x 4½ in.' In the copy of the *Catalogue* at the Bodleian a pencilled note emends the date to '4th (?) cent.'

[27] See Chap. III.

[28] Eduard Wieber, *De Apocalypsis S. Pauli codicibus* (Dissertatio inauguralis, Marburg, 1904), pp. 40 ff., and especially 72–73. Here should be noted the reference in Prudentius, *Cathemerinon*, v, 125 ff., to the respite granted to the souls in torment, which has been thought to have been derived from *Paul*. See A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, I (Torino, 1892), 'Il riposo dei dannati,' 245–246; Lévi, *Le répos sabbatique*, p. 7; and S. Merkle, *Die Sabbatruhe in der Hölle*, in *Römische Quartalschrift*, IX (1895), 489 ff. The *Cathemerinon*, which is referred to as an old work in 404, was probably written before 402. Casey (pp. 28–29) thinks that both Prudentius and Augustine knew *Paul* in a Latin version, and that it may have been the translation of which the Paris manuscript is a copy. If this is true, then the Latin translation can be placed between 388 (the date referred to in its preface; see n. 7, Chap. III, p. 103, below) and 402. From these evidences it is also likely that the translation was made in Africa. Merkle's suggestion (*Römische Quartalschrift*, IX, 492) that the Apocalypse was brought to Spain from Egypt by Paulicians has no foundation in fact, so far as I am aware. It rests apparently in part on the late and untrustworthy ascription of the book to Paul of Samosata by Theodosius of Alexandria; see Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. N. T.*, I, 954–955.

[29] See Chap. III, especially pp. 37 ff.

[30] For Aldhelm's knowledge of Greek, see the *Life* by Faricius in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIX, 66, cap. 1. Cf. M. R. James in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, Chap. v, 72–73.

[31] See Chap. IV, especially pp. 40 and 58.

[32] It is described below, p. 131.

[33] Pp. 34–35.

[34] 'Cwæþ Sanctus Paulus,' 'Swa Sanctus Paulus cwæþ,' 'Ða cwæþ se æþela lareow,' 'Scs Paulus apostolus wæs sprecende,' 'ðonne is hit gecweden on halgum bocum,'—thus these two writers regularly introduce their quotations from *Paul*.

[35] *Homily IV*, 'Dominica III in quadragesima,' ed. Morris (E. E. T. S. LXXIII, 1880), p. 41.

[36] James, *Visio Pauli*, §24, pp. 24–25. The homilist also quotes the account of the torment of a priest and a bishop; and this, too, probably comes from the Long versions: 'þonne sægde *Sanctus* Pauwlus *þæt* he gesawe naht feor from þæs mæssepreostes sidan, þe we ær bufan emb spræcon, *þæt* he wære getogen mid þon isnan hôce on þære picenan eâ, oþerne ealdne man; & þone læddon feower awyrgde englas mid mycelre reþnesse, & hine besencton on þa fyrenan eâ æt his cneowa; & hie hine hæfdon geþreatodne mid fyrenum racentum *þæt* he ne moste gecweþan, "Miltsa me, God." . . . Se engel him to cwæþ, "Hit is ân biscop se dyde mare yfel þonne gôd; . . . " ' (ed. Morris, p. 43). Both these clerics appear in some of the shorter texts, but of the details here mentioned, namely, 'þon isnan hôce,' the immersion 'æt his cneowa,' and the cry 'Miltsa me, God,' only the Long texts preserve all three.

[37] Chap. IV, pp. 40, 58, *et passim*.

[38] Louise Dudley, *An Early Homily on the 'Body and Soul' Theme*, in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII (1909), 225–253, treats in detail a Latin work on this subject which appears in translation in Wulfstan as Homily XXIX (ed. Napier, I, 140–141), but confines her interest in Wulfstan to this piece only. Cf. the same writer's, *The Egyptian Elements*, pp. 91–113. See, however, n. 41 below.

[39] See Chap. III, n. 22.

[40] In order to facilitate comparison, the order of the going-out of the good and wicked souls in *Paul* has here been reversed to correspond with Wulfstan's arrangement.

[41] This passage, completely overlooked by students of the Body and Soul legend, contains several modifications of *Paul* which make it significant for the development of that legend. In the oldest forms of the Legend, as in the Long texts of *Paul* (see above, pp. 23–25), the going-out of the souls involves two separate processes: first, its removal from the body by the psychopomps at the bedside, and, second, the challenge on the road to God's throne by the spirits of the air ('testes,' or, as the St Gall texts calls them, 'potestates'). These were soon telescoped, however, and the two separate groups of celestial beings confused; see Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements*, pp. 59–63. This confusion is reflected here in Wulfstan, where the 'deoflu' play the part of both psychopomps and 'testes' at once. In this connection an unpublished fragment of an Old English translation of *Paul* in *MS. Junius 85* in the Bodleian should be noted, which follows the Apocalypse closely, except for its confusing the psychopomps and spirits as in Wulfstan.' It is, therefore, intermediate in character between the Long Latin texts of *Paul* and the English homilist, as the following extract shows:

> [*fol.* 7] And Paulus ða eft locode, and he geseah ealne middangeard, on ðyostrum gesetted, and sume soðfæste sawle of lichaman utgangende, and hire ða ongan coman ða godan gastas. And he geseah hi wepende, and hige cwædon, 'Eala, ðu sawul, bu ðu us nu beflihst, forðan ðe ðu gewrohtest Godes willan on eorðan.' And se ængel, ðe ðare sawle hyrde on worulde wæs, cegde to ðæm dyoflum and cwæð, 'Cyrrað on bæcling, scamigende, forðan ðe ge ne mihton ða sawle beswican, ðaðe hyo on lichaman wæs.' . . . [*fol.* 8v] And se ængel ðe lædde Paulus him to cwæð, 'Loca ofdune.' And Paulus ða locade on yorðan [*sic*] and he ġeseah sumes arleases mannes sawule

of lichaman utgangende, . . . [*fol. 9*] And Paulus ða locade and cwæð, 'Ic geseah on ðære tide ðe hire sawul of hire lichaman eode, ealle hire synna and hire yfel beforan hire licgean. And on ðare tide ðe heo sweolt, swa yfel dom be hire wæs geworden swa hire selfre wære selre þæt heo næfre geboren ne wurde. And ðær ætsomne coman ða halgan ænglas and ða godan [*sic*] gastas, ac ða haligan gastas nan geweald on ðara sawle næfdon. . . . ' For calling this translation to my attention and for a transcript of it, I am indebted to Professor Rudolph Willard of Yale University, who is preparing an edition of the entire fragment in a collection of Old English homilies.

Another modification in 'Wulfstan,' the addition of the brief altercation between the devils and the *body* of the wicked man, with a speech by the body ('and se lichama wæs þa gyt sprecende . . . '), touches on the central action of the Old and Middle English *Debates*, namely, the dialogue between the soul and the body. Speeches are found among the earlier treatments of the theme but only in very primitive form; and in nearly all of the instances that have come to my attention (the exception is a passage in the *Necrosima* of Ephraem Syrus), the soul or the spirit speaks, but not the body. See T. Batiouchkof, *Le debat de l'âme et du corps*, in *Romania*, XX (1891), 11, n. 2, and 36–37; and Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements*, pp. 104–110.

[42] *Homilies*, ed. B. Thorpe (Aelfric Society, London, 1843–1846), II, 333.

[43] Becker, *A Contribution*, pp. 67–68, however, finds two passages of similar content which he thinks are taken from *Paul*. Aelfric is speaking of the punishment at the end of the world: 'Byrþenmælum hi gadriað þa synfullan fram þam rihtwisum: þonne ða manslagan beoð togædere getigede innon þam hellicum fyre, and sceaþan mid sceaþum, gytseras mid gytserum, forliras mid forlirum; and swa gehwylce mánfulle geferan on þam ecum tintregum samod gewriþene cwylmiað; and se clæna hwæte bið gebroht on Godes berne . . . '(ed. Thorpe, I, 526); cf. Thorpe, I, 133. But this *motif*, though it is found in some of the Redactions of *Paul*, is also common to many other of the mediaeval treatments of eternal punishment; see below, p. 124, n. 93. It appears, for example, in the *Dialogues* of Gregory, whom Aelfric draws on frequently and from whom he probably derived it here. Cf. my article, *The Vision of Leofric and Gregory's Dialogues*, in *Review of English Studies*, IX (1933), 187, n. 6.

[44] Chap. IV, pp. 58–59 *et passim*.

[45] See Chap. IV.

[46] 'Lists of Texts and Manuscripts,' pp. 220 ff.

[47] Especially by Brandes, Šepelevič, and Wieber; see above, pp. 16–17.

[48] See, for example, Becker, *A Contribution*, pp. 78–79; and C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (London, 1908), p. 230.

[49] See above, p. 17 f.

[50] In Chap. V.

[51] I.e., it is based directly on other abbreviated Redactions and shows no evidence of indebtedness to the Long versions.

[52] See the diagram on p. 60.

[53] Wieber, *De Apoc. S. P. codd.*, pp. 32–34, 36–37.

[54] 'Lists of Texts and Manuscripts,' p. 220 f. An Old English adaptation of *Paul*, the homily 'In diebus dominicis,' from the twelfth-century *Lambeth Ms. 487* (ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., XXIX [1868], 40–47) is perhaps to be considered a witness for an even earlier origin for Redaction IV. The collection in which it appears represents a compilation from older documents of the eleventh cen-

tury (Morris, p. xi). Essentially the homily appears to be based on some form of Redaction III (see Chap. IV, p. 43 f.). However, its description of the fiery oven with *seven* flames and the Sea of Hell with *seven* waves, parallels Redaction IV (see Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, p. 75, ll. 9–14), and this may be a sign of a contamination already present in the eleventh-century original.

[55] *Blickling Homilies*, pp. vi–vii.

[56] It does not occur in Redacs. I and VI, and probably was not present in Redac. α. See above, pp. 60–61. J. S. Westlake in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, chap. VII, 115, calls attention to this detail, but states erroneously that it is found 'in all other versions of this ancient legend.'

[57] Cf. Homilies XXIX and XXX, Napier, I, 138, ll. 23–25, and 147, ll. 13–18.

[58] By Redac. α; see above, p. 65 f.

[59] Pp. 65 f. and 69. Cf. above, n. 56.

[60] The fullest studies are by Batiouchkoff, *Romania*, XX, 1–55, and 513–578; Louise Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements, passim*, especially pp. 135–139; and R. Willard, *Two Apocrypha* (Beiträge zur engl. Philol., XXX, Leipzig, 1935), pp. 31 ff.

[61] St John Seymour, *Irish Visions*, pp. 32–33; Batiouchkoff, *Romania*, XX, 518 ff. Cf. the studies of Graf, Lévi, and Merkle in n. 28 above.

[62] Above, p. 28 f.

[63] Especially §§ 23 and 27; James, *Apocryph. N. T.*, pp. 509, 510, 514, 516, *et passim*.

[64] Chap. III, p. 30 and n. 63. Cf. n. 6 above.

[65] *Historia Francorum*, iv, cap. 33 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXI, 296).

[66] Ed. Duemmler, *Epistolae merowingici et karolini aevi* (Mon. Ger. hist., Epistolarum tomus III), I, 254, ll. 34–36.

[67] Duemmler, p. 404, ll. 1–2.

[68] Hariulf, *Chronicon centulense*, iii, cap. 21 (ed. F. Lot, Collection de textes pour servir a l'étude et a l'enseignment de l'histoire, Paris, 1894, p. 146). For the date of the vision, see 'Introduction,' p. XXIX.

[69] See, for example, C. M. van der Zanden, *Étude sur le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice* (Amsterdam, 1928), p. 113, ll. 885–894, and p. 168.

[70] Ed. F. Cancellieri, in *Osservazione intorno alla questione promossa . . . sopra l'originalità della Divina Commedia di Dante* (Rome, 1814), § 3, pp. 150, 151.

[71] *Inferno*, xii, 103–125.

[72] See, for example, *Divina Commedia*, ed. C. H. Grandgent (Revised ed., Boston, 1933), p. 108.

[73] For a list of the mss of *Tundale*, see Wagner, *Visio Tnugdali* (Erlangen, 1882), pp. X ff.

[74] Below, pp. 99 ff., nn. 14–29.

[75] See above, the references to Becker and St. John Seymour, in n. 12.

[76] Max Voigt, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Visionenliteratur im Mittelalter* (Palaestra, CXLVI, Leipzig, 1924), especially, pp. 9–13.

[77] St John Seymour, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIV (1923), 57.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[1] *Theologische Studien u. Kritiken*, XXIV, 441. Since the text was not published until 1866, Tischendorf was able to add the evidence of a more recently discovered manuscript of the thirteenth century (*Apocalypses apocryphae*, 'Prolegomena'), and to compare the Greek with an English translation of a Syriac version by J. Perkins, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, VIII

(1864–66), 183–212. A German rendering of a similar Syriac text appeared in 1871: P. Zingerle, *Heidenheims Vierteljahrschrift*, IV, 139 ff. The Greek in turn was translated in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Buffalo, 1886), VIII, 575–581.

[2] See, for example, the remarks of Ellies Dupin, *Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1693), I, 5, and n. b; J. Grabe, *Spicilegium SS. Patrum* (Oxford, 1698), I, 85; Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. N. T.*, especially pp. 942, 948 (the references are to the 2nd ed.; the first appeared in 1703); and Bernard Elsing, *Dissertatio historico-critica de Pseudepigraphis S. Pauli Apostoli* (Leipzig, 1707), p. 22, §xvi.

[3] See Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, p. XVII. Casey (p. 2, n. 3) points out that a Greek original is probable from the great variety of versions and upon a comparison of the proper names in them. Even Ricciotti, who (I, 22–23) accepts Tischendorf's view with 'un' ampia reserva,' can urge in favor of a Syriac original only the fact that the extant Syriac texts seem to be recensions of an earlier Syriac archetype. Arthur-Marie LeHir, *Études bibliques*, II (Paris, 1869), 'Apocalypses apocryphae,' 125 ff. (with Israel Lévi, *Revue des études juives*, XXV, 9 and n. 3, following him), argues for an Aramaic source. This he does on the basis of errors in Tischendorf's Greek text, of which the following instance is typical. At Paul's encounter with the first group of souls in the City of Christ, the angel tells him: *οὗτοί εἰσιν πάντες οἱ προφῆται, καὶ αἱ ᾠδαὶ αὗται πασῶν τῶν προφητῶν* (Tischendorf emends: *προφητειῶν*). Abbe Le Hir and Lévi explain the word *ᾠδαὶ* as the result of a translator's confusing שירא, song, with what is assumed to have been the true reading, שיארא, band or troupe. A comparison, however, of the other texts of *Paul* shows that the sense should be, not 'These are the bands of all the prophets,' but, as in the Latin (James, *Visio Pauli*, p. 25, l. 27), 'Haec est *uia* prophetarum.' Obviously the Greek does not contain a mistranslation from the Aramaic, but merely a simple scribal blunder, *ᾠδαὶ* for *ὁδοί*. The original must have read: *αἱ ὁδοὶ αὗται πασῶν τῶν προφητειῶν* (or *πάντων τῶν προφητῶν*).

[4] See Casey, pp. 6–24, *passim*, and Wieber, *De Apoc. S. P. codd*, pp. 9–21, *passim*.

[5] The same. Cf. above, p. 32 f. and below, p. 108, n. 80.

[6] Chap. III, n. 3.

[7] Casey, p. 5. Cf. above, Chap. III, *passim*.

[8] For example, the instances noted by Casey, pp. 9–10 and 17.

[9] James, *Apocryph. N. T.*, pp. 526–555. The translation is based on the Latin, but with notes and parentheses from the Greek, Syriac and Coptic.

[10] *Spicilegium*, I, 85.

[11] *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits* (Geneva, 1779), pp. 121–122.

[12] *History of English Poetry* (London, 1774), I, 19.

[13] See Cancellieri, *Osservazioni*, especially pp. 25 ff., and the discussion of this work in the *Edinburgh Review*, XXX (1818), 317 f. Cf. Becker, *A Contribution*, pp. 6–7, and H. W. L. Dana, *Mediaeval Vision Literature* (unpublished Harvard University dissertation, 1910), 'Introduction,' pp. I–XIII.

[14] Paris, 1839, pp. 343–355; reprinted 1840; new eds. 1845, 1859, pp. 425–437. Cf. the same writer's *Études sur les sources poetiques de la D. C.* (1845), pp. 104 ff., and Migne, *Dictionnaire des legendes du Christianisme*, col. 1035. See the corrections of this text by Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 46–47. The text was reprinted also in P. Molinelli's translation of Ozanam (Milan, 1840), pp. 321–332.

[15] T. G. von Karajan, *Deutsche Sprachdenkmale des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1846), pp. 109–112. *Paul* is printed continuously with an unnamed piece on the Body and Soul theme. Reprinted separately by Carl Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Halle, 1894), pp. 38–41; cf. pp. 187–191.

[16] Taliesin Williams, *Iolo Manuscripts* (Welsh Mss Society, Llandovery, 1848), pp. 190–192, and 603–605.

[17] *Herr Ivan Lejon-riddaren, en Svensk rimmad dikt*, ed. J. W. Liffman and George Stephens (Stockholm, 1849), pp. cxii ff.

[18] *Homilia C* in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XCIV, 501–502; among the spurious homilies of Bede.

[19] Pasquale Villari, *Antiche leggende e tradizioni che illustrano la Divina Commedia* (Pisa, 1865), pp. 77–81.

[20] Karl Bartsch, *Denkmäler der provinzalischen Litteratur* (Stuttgart, 1856), pp. 310–313.

[21] Richard Morris, *Old English Homilies, First Series* (E. E. T. S., XXIX, 1868), pp. 41 ff.; the same editor's *Old English Miscellany* (E. E. T. S., XLIX, 1872), pp. 147 ff., 210 ff., and 223 ff.; Carl Horstmann, *Die Vision des h. Paulus*, in [*Herrigs*] *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, LII (1874), 35 ff., and LXII (1879), 403 ff.; and Horstmann, *Englische Studien*, I (1878), 293–299. Cf. Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 58–62.

[22] *Ueber die Quellen der mittelenglischen Versionen der Paulus-Vision*, in *Englische Studien*, VII (1884), 34–65; and *Visio S. Pauli* (1885).

[23] See the diagram in the Appendix to Chap. IV, p. 62 above.

[24] In *Pamjatniki Otrechennoj Ruskoj Literatury*, II, 40–58. This version had also eluded the attention of Tischendorf, whose Greek text was not printed until 1866. See n. 1 above.

[25] James's transcript of the Latin was made in 1890, but not published until 1893; Texts and Studies, II, 3, p. 2. An English translation by Andrew Rutherfurd, based on this version, appears in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IX (New York, 1896), 151–166.

[26] *Etiody o Dantě*, especially II, 1–27, and 28–54. For a further treatment of the Slavic texts of the Apocalypse, see G. Polivká, *Zur Visio Pauli*, in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XVI (1894), 611–617; and Bonwetsch in Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1893), I, 910–911. Here may be mentioned likewise the Rumanian versions, of which one, related to the Slavic, was published by B. P. Hasdeu, *Apocalipsul Apostolului Paul*, in *Cărţile poporane ale românilor in secolul XVI* (Cuvente de bătruni, Limba româna vorbita, II, Bucharest, 1879), pp. 415–425, and others were discussed by Moses Gaster, *Literatura populară romăna* (Bucharest, 1883), pp. 357–361. It should be noted that Šepelevič (II, 97–135) also printed an additional Latin and two French Redactions.

[27] Cf. Brandes's and Wieber's diagrams, Chap. IV, Appendix, p. 62 f. above.

[28] *De Apoc. S. P. codd.*, especially pp. 32–37.

[29] Of these the Eastern texts may be mentioned first. Four Armenian recensions, published by the Mechitarist Fathers in 1904 in their Venice collection of New Testament apocrypha (pp. 62–100), were translated and studied by P. Vetter, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, LXXXVIII (1906), 568–595, and LXXXIX (1907), 58–75. The Coptic version appears in Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, original on pp. 534–574, translation on pp. 1043–1084. The translations of the Syriac by Perkins and Zingerle were (except for a brief extract by the

former in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, VIII, 211–212) unaccompanied by a text of their originals, of which the first publication was by Ricciotti, *Apocalypsis Pauli syriace iuxta codices vaticanos*, (Orientalia, nova series, II, nos. 1 and 2); translated by the same writer in *L'Apocalisse di Paolo Siriaca*, I, 'Introduzione, traduzione e commento,' 35–81. A second, and entirely different, Syriac version, now in the Semitic Museum at Harvard University (*Sem. Mus. 398b*), remains unedited; see Casey, pp. 3–4, *et passim*. Here may be noted a number of Arabic texts which have never been collected or studied. See *Analecta Bollandiana*, XXVI (1907), 12, no. 6; E. von Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum*, p. 302, n. 2; Casey, p. 4; Ricciotti, I, 17, and nn. 1–3; and M. D. Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Studia Sinaitica, III, London, 1894), *Codex 461*. *Codd. 447*, *531*, and *556* also contain visions of St. Paul, but these are apparently of St. Paul the Hermit. Another Rumanian text has been edited by N. Drăganu, *Două manuscripte vechi: Codicele Todorescu şi Codicele Martian* (Bucharest, 1914), pp. 208–212; and further discussions of the Apocalypse in eastern Europe appear in Eufrosina Simionescu, *Monumente litterare vechi: Codicele dela Cohalm 1592* (Iaşi, 1925), p. 17, and N. Cartojan, *Cărţile populare în literatura românescă*, I, 62–70. See the review of this last work by C. Tagliavini in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XCV (1930), 132 ff., which calls attention also to the influence of the Apocalypse in Hungary. An Old Serbian text is printed in Milivoje M. Bašić, *Iz Stare Srpske Književnosti* (3rd ed., Belgrade, 1926), pp. 100–102.

Among the Western texts is a sixth English Redaction published by E. Kölbing, *Eine bisher unbekannte m. e. Version von Pauli Höllenfahrt*, in *Englische Studien*, XXII (1895), 134–139. A French version, in parallel columns with a representative of its Latin source, was edited by P. Meyer, *La descente de Saint-Paul en enfer*, in *Romania*, XXIV (1895), 357–375; the Latin text reprinted in A. B. van Os, *Religious Visions: The Development of the Eschatological Elements in Mediaeval English Religious Literature* (Amsterdam dissertation, 1932), pp. 264–266. See also P. Meyer, *Romania*, VI (1877), 11–16. Other French texts appear in L. E. Kastner, *Les versions françaises inédites de la descente de Saint-Paul en enfer*, in *Revue des langues romanes*, XLVIII (1905), 385–395, and XLIX (1906), 49–62, 321–351, and 427–449; and in the same writer's *The Vision of Saint Paul by the Anglo-Norman Trouvère Adam de Ross*, in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, XXIX (1905–06), 274–290. An unpublished Master's thesis by Mr. Walter Meiden, treating of the filiation of the French manuscripts, is deposited in the library of the Ohio State University. A Provençal version is printed in A. Jeanroy and A. Vignaux, *Voyage au purgatoire de St Patrice, Visions de Tindal et de St Paul* (Bibl. méridionale, premiere série, tome VIII, Toulouse, 1903), pp. 123–128; cf. my article, *The Source of a Provençal Version of the Vision of St Paul*, in *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 353–358. For the Celtic texts see J. Morris Jones and John Rhŷs, *The Elucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, VI, Oxford, 1894), pp. 152–156 (cf. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philol.*, VII, 220; Jones and Rhŷs, pp. 235 ff., also print fragments of the Latin Redaction published by Šepelevič); Douglas Hyde, *The Religious Songs of Connacht* (London, 1906), II, 318–349 (translation in his *Saints and Sinners*, London, 1915, pp. 97–109); and an English rendering of an Irish version in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, II, fol. 38 [47], by M. E. Byrne in St John Seymour's *Irish Versions of the Vision of St Paul*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIV (1923), 55–56.

[30] *Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 20–23.

[31] See 'List of Texts and Manuscripts,' pp. 220 ff.

[32] Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 91–101, for example, contents himself with pointing out a few parallels in other visions of the late Middle Ages. Becker, *A Contribution*, p. 78, dismisses the problem entirely: 'It would prove a thankless task to attempt to determine exactly what new elements were added to the Pauline vision by its thirteenth century [*sic*] resuscitators'; confines his attention to the English translations of Redaction IV; and, consequently, makes the error (p. 18) of attributing its interpolation, the bridge of Hell, to the fourth-century form of the Apocalypse. A. B. van Os, *Religious Visions*, p. 131, is guilty of the same mistakes, and of the other interpolations says merely (p. 45) that they are 'stock features in the mediaeval visionary literature of most European countries and also occur in the eschatologies of other religions.' Graf's important study of the episode of the respite for the sinners from torment, 'Il riposo dei dannati,' in which he points out that the yearly respite of the Greek text of *Paul* has become weekly in the late mediaeval texts, fails to account properly for some of the chief elements which effected the modification, and neglects the development within the texts of the Latin Redactions of *Paul*.

[33] Real Academia Española, Madrid, 1919.

[34] See especially pp. 236–240, and 282–287.

[35] P. 236. Asín's statement is somewhat obscure: 'Antes del siglo IX no comienzan a difundirse entre los cristianos de occidente leyendas sobre este tema paulino; las que ofrecen forma de visión datan ya del siglo XII, y las más literarias no son anteriores al XIII . . . La relación entre las redacciones occidentales y la griega primitiva es oscura. . . . ' I am not certain what is meant by 'las que ofrecen forma de visión,' but I assume this refers to the abbreviated versions, as distinguished from the longer texts.

[36] Pp. 237–238 and notes.

[37] P. 239.

[38] Above, pp. 10–12.

[39] Asín, p. 232 and n. 1, and p. 236, n. 4, *et passim*.

[40] Asín's summary of *Paul* is made without exact reference to any single text, but a comparison with Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 75–80, will show it to be based on some form of this Redaction.

[41] See Chap. V above.

[42] Asín, p. 237.

[43] Villari, *Antiche leggende*, p. 78: 'E quive si è uno ponte sottile come uno capello. . . . ' The manuscripts are all of the fourteenth century; Villari, p. 77, n. 1.

[44] Above, pp. 77 ff.

[45] It should be noted that Asín has twice failed to distinguish between details of the primitive form of the Apocalypse which appear also in the later Redactions, and the mediaeval interpolations: i.e. in the case of the group of sinners immersed in a fiery stream according to their sins, and in the instance of the going-out of the good and wicked souls. For these also (p. 238 and nn. 3 and 4, and p. 140) he gives Islamic parallels. The first detail is, as already noted above, characteristic of *Paul*, and it appeared in the earliest texts in association with the Laodiceans, those who were neither righteous nor wicked (see above, Chap. III, pp. 28–30). This last *motif* occurs also in the Persian Ardâ-Virâf, Chap. 6 (ed. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887, p. 17), which is like *Paul* in other respects and,

being not earlier than the fourth century, may have borrowed from the older Christian work, through the Syriac; see Casey, p. 32. Since the legends of Mohammed's visit to Hell appear to depend on Persian sources, some of the similarities here noted by Asín are perhaps a sign of *Paul's* influence on Islam.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1] See Chap. IV, especially the diagrams on p. 60 and on p. 61, Appendix. Cf. Wieber, *De Apoc. S. P. codd.*, pp. 32 ff.

[2] See 'List of Texts and Manuscripts,' p. 219 f. Cf. Casey, pp. 2–5; and Ricciotti, I, 18–20.

[3] The evidence of their independence is clear enough. Both *P* and *R* represent direct renderings of Greek originals which were completer than the extant *G*; and though three of the four Armenian texts, i.e. A^1, A^3 and A^4 (A^2 is abbreviated from A^1), are separate translations from the Syriac, their originals were different from the present *S*; see Vetter (1906), pp. 571–72, and (1907), pp. 58–59, 59–60, 65–66. Ricciotti (I, 22–23) believes that *S* itself, from the nature of its suppressions and expansions, may be a recension of an earlier Syriac version. Whether this was also the source of the Armenian texts is uncertain. The indications that all these versions derive from the Tarsus text, and not from the earliest form of the Apocalypse, are given below, p. 108, n. 80; where the special considerations applying to the Coptic are also discussed.

[4] Casey, pp. 6–26, gives a reconstruction of the earliest texts. With this compare especially Tischendorf, 'Prolegomena,' pp. xvii–xviii, and his notes to the text of *G*; Brandes, pp. 2–19; Wieber, pp. 9–24; James, *Apocryph. N. T.*, pp. 526–555, *passim*; and the notes to Ricciotti's translation of *S*.

[5] It is mentioned by Brandes (p. 22) and James (*Visio Pauli*, p. 3), but neither seems to have examined it.

[6] The references to *P* follow the numbering in James's edition. For *S* ordinarily Ricciotti alone is referred to, the Perkins and Zingerle translation only in special cases.

[7] The discovery at Tarsus is not in *R* or in the Armenian, but is supported by *G*, *S* and Sozomen, who summarizes it. See Chap. I, n. 15. In *S* it is placed at the end of the book, a new preface being substituted (Ricciotti, I, 19–20 and n. 1; and Perkins, pp. 184–187). The names of the two consuls occur only in *P* and *G* (*S* names only Theodosius), and in both texts the second name is corrupt. *G* has Κωντιανοῦ (= Γρατιανοῦ, Tischendorf); *P* has Quinegius (= Cynegius, James). Theodosius was consul with Gratianus in 380, with Cynegius in 388.

For other differences, see Casey, pp. 6 and 25–26. The evidence of *C* is lacking for the first fifteen sections of the book, part of the manuscript being lost.

[8] Thus *G*, *S*, *R*, A^3 and A^4.

[9] Not *P*, as Casey states (p. 7).

[10] Vetter (1907), pp. 66–69.

[11] Tichonravov, pp. 40–41. Casey mistakenly cites *R* as favoring the Latin. It is true, however, that in the language of the passage, though not in the number of the complaints, *R* is closer to *P* than to the paraphrastic rendering of *S*.

Another Syriac version (S^2), unpublished and quite different from *S*, supports, according to Casey (p. 7), the combination of sea and waters; as does also A^3, though the combining tendency of this text (sun, moon, and stars also become one group) makes its evidence untrustworthy: see Vetter (1907), p. 60 f., §§2 and 3. *G*, with its omission of waters and earth (Tischendorf, pp. 36–37), adds nothing to the solution.

[12] *Sea*: 'Domine deus omnipotens, intaminauerunt homines sanctum nomen tuum in me; permitte me exurgam et cooperiam omnem siluam et arbusta et omnem mundum, donec deleam omnes filios a facie tua, ut cognoscant quoniam tu es deus solus.'—James, p. 12, ll. 23–27.

Waters: 'Domine deus omnipotens, fili hominum contaminauerunt omnes sanctum nomen tuum.'—James, p. 12, ll. 32–33.

[13] *G* and A^4 fail to distinguisb these angels from the evil spirits. (Tischendorf, p. 40; Vetter, 1907, p. 70, §7).

[14] With the question 'Necessario iusti . . . fuerunt?' James (*Apocryph. N. T.*, p. 530, §12) finds some difficulty; for he renders it thus: 'Do the righteous and the sinners of necessity meet (witnesses) when they are dead?' To which he adds the note, 'Probably the sense was: Must the righteous meet the sinners or their dreadful angels?' The great variation among the other versions makes their testimony of little value in determining the authenticity of *P*, or its meaning. *S* has merely, 'Questa è la vita [i.e. via] di ogni uomo presso Dio?—E mi disse: Quanto ai giusti, noi siamo con loro, chè noi siamo angeli di soccorso, ed essi non hanno commozione nè temono quando costoro vanno incontro ad essi e li accompagnano davanti al solio di Dio.' (Ricciotti, I, 41, §9 and n. 2.) A^1 modifies the question entirely and seems to make it refer to the merciless psychopomps: 'Wenn jene furchtbaren Engel sich einstellen sollten, was werden sie den Gerechten antun?' (Vetter, 1906, p. 575, §6.) A^3 reads, 'Begegnen denn die Gerechten und die Sünder einander?' (Vetter, 1907, p. 62, §7); and this seems to be the sense of *R* also. *G* omits the question entirely. But there is no real doubt as to the meaning of *P*. For in the account which just precedes of the evil spirits (as distinguished from that of the psychopomps of the wicked), *S* describes them as those 'che erano adunati *in testimonio*, così pure tutte quegli Spiriti cattivi che sono sotto il cielo.' (Ricciotti, I, 40, §8—*P* has been abbreviated here, reading merely: 'hec uidi sub firmamento caeli.') The 'testes' in *P*'s question is thus perceived to refer to the band of evil spirits, 'spiritus detraccionis . . . et . . . principes maliciarum,' and the sense of the question is obviously this: 'Is it necessary that *both* the righteous and the sinners meet the 'witnesses' when they are dead?' This is borne out by the angel's answer, 'Vna est uia per quam omnes transeunt ad deum . . . '; and by the sections which follow (14–18), where, in the best texts, righteous and sinners alike are indeed confronted by the 'witnesses.'

[15] See Chap. I, p. 12 and p. 98, n. 60.

[16] *Sc.* commonuerunt. Cf. the account of the soul of the wicked (James, p. 18, l. 8): 'commonuerunt eam angeli tercio . . . '

[17] James, p. 16, ll. 20–24.

[18] James, p. 18, ll. 7–11. It should be noted that *C* begins in this section with the speech of the guardian angel to the wicked soul, and that it interpolates a separate speech of the spirit, which does not occur elsewhere. (Budge, pp. 1043 and 556, f. 24a).

[19] Ricciotti, I, 42–43, §10.

[20] I, 47, §13.

[21] James, *Testament of Abraham*, pp. 64 ff., cites several examples of the soul's unwillingness to die. Cf. Louise Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements*, 'Appendix A,' pp. 151–160. For a full treatment of the theme of the going-out of the souls, see Dudley, pp. 18–28.

[22] In the account of the good soul *S* adds also a strife between the psycho-

pomps (Ricciotti, I, 44). This is unique among the texts of *Paul*, but finds parallels in the West in accounts of the going-out of souls; for example, the struggle for the soul of Stephen in Book Four of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great (Migne, LXXVII, 385) and especially 'Wulfstan's' description, based on this section of *Paul*. (See above, p. 8 f.). Since there is no trace of the struggle in any of the Western texts of the Apocalypse, the agreement of *S* and 'Wulfstan' can only be explained as the result of independent borrowing from similar traditions. Cf. Willard, Beiträge zur engl. Philol., XXX, 58 and 85 f.

[23] An interesting point arises in connection with the reception of the good soul after its release from the body. *P* (James, p. 16, l. 26) speaks of the psychopomps saluting it 'quasi cotidie sibi notam,' and this is the sense of *G* and *S* (*ὡς γνώριμον οὖσαν*, Tischendorf, p. 43; 'come se avesse avuto familiarità con loro,' Ricciotti, I, 43, §11). If this is not merely an accidental simile, the common source of *P*, *G*, and *S* appears to have been garbled here, since it is the guardian angel, and not the psychopomp, who associates daily with the soul. *R* may have seen this discrepancy and thus substituted another reading, which suggests correctly one of the functions of the psychopomps: 'they took the soul from the body and kissed it as if they knew it, having had it the day before and the day before.' (Tichonravov, p. 43.) This apparently signifies a three days' association with the soul, that is, the interval between death and the ascension to the Throne of Judgment, during which the soul made a tour of the universe, visiting earth, Hell, and Paradise under the guidance of the psychopomps. In the *Apocalypse of Elias*, ed. G. Steindorf, p. 150, we read, for example: 'Sie schweben drei Tage lang mit ihnen in der Luft umher, bevor sie sie nehmen und in ihre ewige Strafe werfen.' Cf. p. 43 of the same work. A second tradition makes the tour seven days long, as in the *Fourth Book of Ezra*, ed. R. L. Bensly (Texts and Studies, III, no. 2), vii, vv. 100 ff.: 'Et respondi et dixi: ergo dabitur tempus animabus, postquam separatae fuerint de corporibus, ut uideant de quo mihi dixisti? Et dixit mihi: septem diebus erit libertas earum ut uideant septem diebus qui praedicti sunt sermones, et postea congregabuntur in habitaculis suis.' This form of the tradition appears in the subsequent passage in *Paul* where the second wicked soul, having been carried to the Throne of Judgment, complains, '. . . hodie enim septem dies habeo ex quo exiui de corpore meo, et tradita sum duobus angelis istis, et perduxerunt me ad ea loca que nunquam uideram.' (James, p. 19, ll. 27–29) Cf. Louise Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements*, pp. 74–90; and James, *Testament of Abraham*, note to Recension A, §ix, p. 87, l. 3.

[24] For *S* see Ricciotti, I, 44, §11. *G* (Tischendorf, pp. 41–48) and the Armenian texts all condense the accounts of both the good and evil souls. The Armenian also omit the second wicked soul; and, in addition, A^3 leaves out the first bad soul, and A^4 the good soul. (Vetter, 1906, pp. 575–577, and 1907, pp. 63 and 71.) *C* interpolates a terrifying description of the appearance of the 'witnesses.' (Budge, pp. 1043–1044 and 556–557, ff. 24b–25a)

[25] James, p. 17, ll. 2–6.

[26] See above, p. 34.

[27] So also A^1 and A^4. (Vetter, 1906, p. 583, and 1907, p. 71) *C*: 'And he brought me out from this gate, and took me to the Second [Gate]. . . . ' (Budge, pp. 1049 and 561.) But *S*: '. . . mi elevò fino al terzo cielo.' (Ricciotti, I, 52).

[28] See Casey, pp. 14–17.

[29] James, p. 25, ll. 24–25.

[30] Ricciotti, I, 61, §26. Casey (p. 16) inadvertently omits Isaiah.

[31] Budge, pp. 1054 and 566, fol. 31b.

[32] Below, p. 139.

[33] Tichonravov, p. 48.

[34] Budge, pp. 1054 and 534–535, fol. 8a; Tichonravov, p. 48; Ricciotti, I, 62, §27.

[35] James, p. 26, ll. 6–7; and below, p. 140.

[36] Below, p. 151. Casey's statement (p. 16) that the addition of Lot and Job is a gloss of *P*'s Latin original overlooks the testimony of *F*.

[37] Budge, pp. 1052 and 564, fol. 30b.

[38] Ricciotti, I, 59, §24.

[39] Budge, pp. 1054–1055, and p. 566, fol. 31b, and pp. 534–535, foll. 8a–9a; and Tichonravov, p. 48 f. In *S* (Ricciotti, I, 61–63, §§26–28) Paul takes the same route, but again the rivers are not specifically associated with particular locations.

[40] Tischendorf, pp. 53–55. These passages are omitted by A^3 and A^4, but in A^1 (Vetter 1906, pp. 580–585, §§10–22) they appear, condensed and completely rearranged.

[41] James, p. 26, ll. 5–6 and 17. James emends 'flumen olei ab orae ciuitatis' to 'flumen olei ab oriente ciuitatis,' which infers correctly that the river of wine, just visited by Paul, is in the east, but leaves unexplained the further erroneous statement that the same river is 'ad aquilonem.' Wieber (p. 17) emends to 'a borea ciuitatis.'

[42] Below, p. 138.

[43] Below, p. 140.

[44] For other variations in the naming of the rivers, see Casey, p. 16.

[45] See Chap. IV, especially p. 40.

[46] The references for the variants in the notes throughout the section on Hell are: for *G* to Tischendorf, pp. 57–62; for *S* to Ricciotti, I, 66–72; for *C* to Budge, pp. 1057–1067, and pp. 538–547, ff. 10b–17a; and for *R* to Tichonravov, pp. 49 ff. The Armenian versions show frequent rearrangement and interpolation, for which see Vetter (1906), pp. 586–592, and (1907), pp. 64 and 73–74, where the correspondence between them and the Latin is shown by the numbers of the sections of *P* placed in parenthesis beside those of the sections in the Armenian. The variants remarked in the present work are, for the Armenian, chiefly those of A^1, but its changes in the order of the contents are not noted.

[47] *G* omits lips; *S* omits hair; A^3 and A^4 omit the entire passage. *C* prefaces this section with a long, interpolated account of several pits of torment.

[48] *G* οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ κλέπται καὶ λοίδοροι καὶ συκοφάνται, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔθεντο τὸν θεὸν βοηθὸν αὐτῶν.

[49] I.e. 'angelos tartaruchos'; *G* ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ τεμελοῦχος; *C* 'the angel Aftemeloukhos'; *R* 'Itmeliukh.'

[50] *R* 'a rod sharp in four parts.'

[51] *C* '. . . and they immersed him . . . to his knees, and flashes of fire were beating upon his face like these storm winds. . . . ' So also *R*: '. . . and the fiery waves smote upon his face like a storm.'

[52] *G* omits all but the deacon; A^1 omits the lector and confuses the usurers with the mockers in church of §37; *S* substitutes those who trusted in riches for the usurers.

[53] *C* substitutes for the wall a region parched by a hot wind. *S* has merely: '. . . mi mostrò un alto luogo ch' era molto più duro e crudele di quello precedente: . . . '

[54] *G* condenses this section and also adds a brief mention of the persecutors of widows and orphans, who belong in §39; A^1 omits the entire section; and *S* leaves out all but the usurers and sorcerers.

[55] *S* omits this completely; *G* retains only the false virgins; and *C* leaves out the sodomites. A^1 omits the black robes and fiery chains of the false virgins, describing them thus: 'Ich sah eine andere Klasse, die wurden gepeinigt, ohne dass ihnen Ruhe gelassen wurde.' It omits also the ice and snow of the oppressors of orphans and widows, and leaves out the fast-breakers and hanging adulterers entirely.

[56] *G* confuses the blind pagans with the infanticides: *καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκας φορούσας στολὰς λευκάς, τυφλὰς δὲ οὔσας, καὶ ἐπιστήκοντας ἐπάνω ὀβελίσκων πυρίνων*; and it omits the false ascetics. A^1 omits the charitable gentiles (but A^3 and A^4 include them) and adds a series of variants of the false ascetics; *C* changes the robes of the gentiles to black; and *R* calls the false ascetics 'Black Monks.'

[57] *S* 'quel pozzo era sigillato con tre sigilli.' A^1 modifies the pit radically on the analogy of the description of the Gates of Paradise: 'ein Gewölbe an welchem kupferne Töre und eiserne Gewichte waren, und eine Schrift war auf ihnen geschrieben. . . . '

[58] For the modification in *G* significantly connecting this passage with the Nestorian heresy, see above, p. 91 f., n. 2.

[59] *S* omits this section, having already included its sinners with those in the pit (§41); *C* omits the worm, as does also A^1 (but A^4 describes 'eine Grube voll von nicht sterbendem Gewürme'). A^1 likewise leaves out the heresy for which these sinners are punished.

[60] Tischendorf, p. 57.

[61] Budge, pp. 1058–1059, and 538–539, ff. 11a–11b; Vetter (1906), pp. 586–587; and Ricciotti, I, 66, §32.

[62] *Apocryph. N. T.*, p. 542, n. 2. Cf. the next note below.

[63] 'Et ibi vidi planitiem nil habens lucis, et flumen ignis illam implebat. Et interrogavi filium meum et dixi: "Quaenam est significatio istius fluminis, et quinam sunt sedentes prope istud?" Respondit mihi et dixit: "Eorum qui non omnino frigidi sunt *hoc flumen est civitas*, qui nec omnino frigidi nec omnino calidi sunt." Et ibi vidi magnam multitudinem hominum et feminarum et iuvenum. Quosdam autem vidi immersos usque ad os, quosdam usque ad pectus, quosdam usque ad collum, quosdam usque ad labia et quosdam usque ad caput. . . . . "Quinam sunt isti homines?" et respondit mihi: "*Qui usque ad pectus et genua immersi, tempore orationis segnes fuerunt et non quales dixi tibi*; *in medio diei et noctis omnes laudabant Dominum*, mane gratias agebant Domino propter noctem quae discessit et propter diem qui advenit, *sed hora diei tertia, sexta et nona, et tempore solis cadentis, preces praetermiserunt*, et hoc est supplicium eorum usque in saecula. Qui usque ad umbilicum immersi, cum mulieribus fornicati sunt in ecclesia; qui usque ad os, verba otiosa in ecclesia dixerunt, qui usque ad pectus, post receptionem eucharistiae locuti sunt antequam aliquid refrigerantis vel panis vel aquae sumpsissent; qui usque ad labias immersi, confabulati sunt in ecclesia cum proximo suo, omni tempore; qui usque ad caput immersi, in proximos suos in ecclesia oculis nictaverunt." '—Translated by M. Chaine, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, series prima, tomus VII (*Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, Rome, Paris, Leipzig, 1909), 61–62. I have italicized the words which best illustrate the confusion, or which are especially related to *P*. Incidentally, the emphasis here on the monastic hours implies that *P* and the Apoc. of Virg. represent versions intended for monks, not laymen.

[64] See Zingerle, p. 181, n. 75. Brandes (*Visio S. Pauli*, p. 14, n. 2) explains this difficulty by a phrase of the Syriac as rendered by Zingerle (p. 164): 'Ihr Leben verging in dumpfer Gedankenlosigkeit. . . . ' But Ricciotti (I, 66 and n. 2) points out that the Syriac really means, 'anzi consumarono la loro vita nelle aberrazioni,' and adds, ' . . . *aberrazioni* (*vie fallaci*, in senso materiale e morale), che dice molto di più che *dumpfe Gedankenlosigkeit.*'

[65] By Ricciotti, *loc. cit.*

[66] Budge, pp. 1060, and 540, fol. 12a. Cf. Tischendorf, p. 58; Tichonravov, p. 50; and Ricciotti, I, 68, §35.

[67] Below, p. 142.

[68] James, p. 32, ll. 7–11.

[69] J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (London, 1892), p. 91, §9, ll. 11–13. James (*Apocryph. N. T.*, p. 505) now believes this to be part of the *Gospel of Peter*, which is here quoting directly the Apocalypse. Cf. *R* (Tichonravov, p. 52): 'And I saw other men and women hanging by their eyebrows and their hair; and they were dragged with iron hooks. . . . "These are they who decked themselves out for adultery." '

[70] Below, p. 141.

[71] Budge, pp. 1062 and 542, fol. 13a.

[72] Tischendorf, p. 60. *S* omits the passage completely.

[73] Tichonravov, p. 53. Cf. *St G*, below, p. 143.

[74] For a discussion of this passage see above, Chap. V, pp. 79 ff. and pp. 87 ff. *S* omits the granting of a respite; and in A^4 God orders Hell to be destroyed and all the sinners released. (Vetter, 1907, p. 75)

[75] The Armenian texts all omit this, ending with the conclusion of the Hell journey. See below, n. 80.

[76] Budge, pp. 1071 and 551, f. 20a; Tischendorf, p. 64; and Tichonravov, p. 57. Casey (pp. 21–23) discusses other variants.

[77] Ricciotti, I, 78 ff., §§50 ff.

[78] Budge, pp. 1076–1077 and 566–567, foll. 32a–32b.

[79] The same, pp. 1082–1083 and 572–573, foll. 36b–37a.

[80] This is the suggestion of Casey (pp. 24–25), who also explains (p. 26) the disappearance of the 'Mount of Olives setting' from most of the texts as the result of its having been displaced by the new Tarsus preface of the revised edition. James (*Apocryph. N. T.*, p. 555), on the contrary, thinks that nothing in *C* after the appearance of Adam can be original, and that the Apocalypse probably ended here with a short conclusion in which Paul returned to earth. He continues:

> With so ill-proportioned and inartistic a book it is not perhaps worth while to spend much time on conjectural restoration. Yet another possibility should be pointed out. The climax of the Apocalypse is reached when the Sunday is granted as a day of rest from torment. Paul has seen Paradise and hell, and there is no more for him to do. Everything after ch. 44 [i.e. the granting of the respite] is an otiose appendix.

And in support of this view James cites the Apocalypse of the Virgin, both in the Ethiopic and in one Greek version, where the respite marks the end. He concludes:

> It may be the case, then, that the Apocalypse of Paul as first issued ended here, and that it was reissued with the appendix about Paradise (45–end). In the shorter Latin recensions there is no trace of anything after ch. 44:

but this does not furnish a conclusive argument. More to the point would be the discovery of a copy of the full text ending with 44.

What is virtually such a copy may be reconstructed as the source of the late Latin Redactions and the independent *St G*. (See above, p. 38 and p. 59.) But this source was itself derived from *P*'s original, in which, of course, the second visit to Paradise did appear. In short, if this proves anything, it is just the opposite of what James expected. The fact that A^1, A^3, and A^4, mutually independent and drawn from sources unrelated to the Latin, all end with the episode of the respite, shows no more than that the dropping of the second visit to Paradise was a natural and easy abbreviation.

[81] James, p. 27, l. 14–p. 28, l. 15.

[82] Below, p. 141.

[83] See the order of the sections in *St G* as printed below. Their numbers are the same as those of the corresponding sections of *P*.

[84] Below, p. 143.

[85] Above, p. 27.

[86] Budge, pp. 1048 and 561, f. 28a; Vetter (1906), pp. 583–584, and (1907), p. 72; Ricciotti, I, 54, §19. *G* has Enoch only; Tischendorf, p. 50. *R* substitutes Isaiah for Elias (Tichonravov, p. 47), but, according to Šepelevič (I, 77), this is corrected by a related Bulgarian text.

[87] James, p. 21, ll. 30–32.

[88] Below, p. 136.

[89] See pp. 25, 27, 31.

[90] James, p. 22, l. 33–p. 23, l. 4.

[91] Below, p. 137.

[92] James, p. 21, ll. 9–15.

[93] Ricciotti, I, 53, §18.

[94] Below, p. 136.

[95] Above, Chap. IV, p. 59.

[96] Wieber, *De Apoc. S. P. codd.* (pp. 29–31) discusses this text in detail.

[97] Wieber, pp. 32 ff.

[98] Tischendorf, p. 55.

[99] Ricciotti, I, 64.

[100] See above, p. 6 and p. 95, n. 28.

[101] These last changes, however, may have been made by L^1 or A.

[102] Carl Kraus, *Deutsche Gedichte des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, pp. 38–41, and 187 ff. Cf. T. G. von Karajan, *Deutsche Sprach-Denkmale des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, pp. 109–112.

[103] See above, p. 26 f.

[104] James, p. 24, ll. 18–20; below, p. 138; and Tichonravov, p. 48.

[105] Cf. the diagrams in the Appendix to Chap. IV.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1] See p. 215 and p. 116, n. 84.

[2] Thus Redaction I, below p. 153. Cf. the other Redactions, pp. 156, 160–161, 197, 209; and Brandes, p. 75, ll. 19 ff.

[3] Though not Paul's guide in the Long texts, Michael appears twice: first, at the going-out of the souls, to carry the good soul into Paradise (§14, James, p. 17, ll. 19–21); and secondly, to pray with Paul for mercy for the sinners in Hell (§§43–44, James, pp. 34, l. 34 ff.). This is in agreement with his functions,

mirrored in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (ed. Charles, Oxford, 1912, p. 43), as the angel 'set over the best part of mankind and over chaos.' Cf. the Slavonic *Enoch*, xxii, 6; xxii, 9; and xxxiii, 10 (ed. Morfill and Charles, pp. 28, 48, and notes *ad loc.*). Based on three passages in the Book of Daniel (x, 13; x, 21; and xii, 12), this became universal in Jewish tradition (Ethiopic *Enoch*, ed. Charles, note on xx, 5); and, colored further in Christian lore by the account of the driving of the serpent from heaven in Revelation, served as the chief feature in the development of a Michael cult; see Wilhelm Lueken, *Michael* (Göttingen, 1898). This cult flourished particularly among the Copts. Here he appears, not only as the archon of God through whom the earth bears its fruits and the handiwork of man prospers, but also as the angel who makes supplication to God for the sinners; Budge, 'Preface,' p. xix, and pp. 736, 756, 757. In a discourse of Timothy, archbishop of Alexandria, Michael is said to lower his wings three times into the lake of torment, each time carrying away from punishment a great multitude of souls upon them; Budge, pp. 1022–1026. In the mediaeval Redactions of *Paul*, the position of Michael as also the guide, appears to be a simple and natural extension of his functions in the Long texts. But it is significant that this additional duty is given him likewise in the Ethiopic *Enoch*, lxxi, 3 (ed. Charles, p. 143); and that in the Greek Apocalypse of the Virgin, based on the Long texts of *Paul*, when Mary appeals to Gabriel to plead for the sinners and to conduct her through Hell, preserving the Gospel tradition of her association with him through the Annunciation, it is Michael who appears and becomes her guide; ed. James, Texts and Studies, II, 3, pp. 115, 125–126.

[4] 'List of Texts and Manuscripts,' p. 220. The Redaction is printed on pp. 153–155.

[5] Throughout this summary of Redaction I the section numbers in parenthesis refer to James's edition of *P*.

[6] This joining together of two groups occurs also in Redaction III; above, p. 51 and n. 35.

[7] Cf., for example, *Evangelium Nicodemi Pars II; sive Descensus Christi ad Inferos*, ed. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1876), Greek and Latin A, capp. ii (xviii)–viii (xxiv), pp. 324–331, 391–403; and Latin B, capp. ii (xviii)–x (xxvi), pp. 422–431.

[8] Brandes, p. 24, confuses Redaction I and the 'Vienna Fragment' (*F*) and thus at this point (pp. 68 ff.) adds to the text of I a part of *F*. Cf. the note to *F*, below, p. 220.

[9] 'List of Texts and Manuscripts,' p. 220. Printed on pp. 156–159.

[10] For the significance of this variation in details, see Chap. V, p. 66.

[11] P. 157, ll. 10–22, and p. 154, ll. 14–19.

[12] P. 156, ll. 29 ff.

[13] P. 158, ll. 18–31.

[14] 'List of Texts and Mss'; the Redaction printed on pp. 160–195.

[15] Pp. 160–164.

[16] Redac. II, p. 156, ll. 16 ff. below.

[17] In general, during the present discussion of Redac. III, the exact reference is given for the immediate quotation only. By its means the pertinent sections in the other manuscripts of the Redaction may be found readily for comparison, since the texts are printed below in parallel columns and with variants at the foot of each page, arranged according to the corresponding paragraphs.

[18] Thus M^1; but *CC*: 'Hostiarius inferni [?] est nomen Hay, et ipse exaltans capud suum super infernum et contristatus est ualde.' Below, p. 192, ll. 1–5, nn.

[19] P. 194.

[20] P. 165, l. 12 and note.

[21] Cf. pp. 168, 169, §5; 176, 177, §12; 192, 193, §20.

[22] P. 195, §21. For this cf. the *miserere* of the Sunday respite episode in *Paul* (i. e. *P*, *St G*, §§43, 44) with the *improperia* of the Good Friday Office. See Cabrol et Leclercq, *Dictionnaire*, art. *Impropères*.

[23] *Codex Z. b. 10*, fols. 11v–15; printed by Brandes, pp. 83–88.

[24] Brandes, p. 84, l. 2.

[25] The same, p. 83, ll. 1–15. Another vernacular translation of Redac. III, a French version of the thirteenth century in *MS. fr. 2094*, fols. 199v–204v, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is from the present point of view a less interesting, because less faithful, rendering of its Latin original. It was published in part by Brandes, pp. 51–54; and completely by L. E. Kastner in *Revue des langues romanes*, XLIX (1906), 49–62. Brandes, p. 55, mistakenly states that it was based primarily on Redac. II, with borrowings from the Fourth Redaction, and Kastner, p. 49, repeats this error. The translation was in fact made from a text of the IIIa type. Like all the forms of III it omits the account of Oceanus (Kastner, p. 52, vv. 91 ff.), shifts the trees and furnace to the beginning of the Hell journey (pp. 52–53, vv. 104 ff.), and lists the 'plage' in the furnace in detail (p. 53, vv. 143 ff.); and like IIIa it omits the list of 'benedictiones' of the Sunday, but interpolates the 'hostiarius inferni':

Quant Cerberus li fel entant
Des pecheors l'alegemant
De maltalant lieve la teste.
Mout resambloit hideuse beste.
Onques ne fu de nule rien
Plus correciez, ce sachiez bien,
..... (Kastner, pp. 61–62, vv. 467–472)

It is this reference to Cerberus which leads both Brandes (p. 54) and Kastner (p. 49) to postulate an influence from Redac. IV, where the interpolation also occurs. Neither writer was acquainted with forms IIIa and IIIb. However, Redac. IV may indeed have played a part, though at another point. The French numbers both the flames and the 'plage' of the furnace as seven (Kastner, p. 53, vv. 139–142), in accordance with Redac. IV; and the detailed list of the 'plage' can only have come from IV:

De noif est li tormanz premiers,
Li seconz de glace, et li tierz
De feu qui rant trop grant ardor,
Et li quarz de pesme chalor,
Li quinz de boz et de sarpanz
Qui as asmes font gries tormant,
Et de fumiere est li sisoimes,
Et de puor est li septoimes.
(Kastner, p. 53, vv. 143–150)

See above, p. 52, §1 and p. 113, n. 45. Perhaps the most important single feature of this French text is its name for the fiery dragon: Partimor; Kastner, p. 54, v. 173. Similar to the 'Parthemon' of Redac. I, this is probably closer to the original name than that in the other texts of Redac. III; see above, p. 69.

[26] Cf. Redac. II: 'uiros et mulieres currentes *super calidissimam aquam*.' This is the only phrase of the group which either I or II preserves from the original together with M^1.

[27] P. 175, ll. 11–15.

[28] Cf. IIIb and S^1 with S^2–M^3, p. 162, l. 5, p. 163, l. 5, and notes *ad loc.*; and with Redac. II, p. 156, l. 8.

[29] I.e. M^1: 'Postea uidit uiros ac mulieres *in loco glaciali* [*CC*: *in loco galatu*],' based on the long Latin (*P*): 'Et iterum aspexi illic uiros ac mulieres . . . *in locum glacie et niue* . . . ' (James, p. 31, ll. 32–33).

[30] P. 181, note to l. 6 f.; and p. 180, §15. For II, see p. 158, ll. 6–9.

[31] Thus, for example, M^3 abbreviates the description of the infanticides: 'Iste sunt que occiderunt pueros suos et iactauerunt eos; et dixerunt, "Agnoscite . . . " '; which S^2 gives fully, as in the other texts: ' . . . occiderunt infantes suos et iactauerunt *in flumina et stercora*; *et angeli in circuitu earum increpantes eas et dicentes*, "Agnoscite. . . . " ' On the contrary M^3, in the account of the unbelievers and the uncharitable, gives the prayer: 'Miserere nobis, fili Dauit,' which groups IIIa, IIIb, and IIId also contain, but which S^2 omits; p. 170, p. 171, ll. 2–4 and n., and p. 169, l. 17 and n.

[32] Brandes, p. 86, ll. 17–18. Cf. below, p. 181, ll. 6–8.

[33] See the notes to IIId below, pp. 177, §12, and 179 f., §14 f.

[34] See n. 25 above.

[35] See n. 6 above. Redac. II furnishes corroboration in part, though it abbreviates the passage still further by omitting the pains, for it also deals with the infanticides only; p. 157, ll. 28–31.

[36] P. 156, ll. 4–5; and p. 158, ll. 10–17.

[37] Pp. 182 ff.

[38] See above, p. 45 f.

[39] 'Lists of Texts and Mss,' p. 220. The mss marked 'Unclassified' (p. 221 f.) may also belong to this Redaction.

[40] For the influence of IV upon the vernacular versions, see especially Brandes, pp. 55–62; the same writer in *Englische Studien*, VII (1884), 52–65; E. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXII (1895), 134; L. E. Kastner, *Revue des langues romanes*, XLVIII (1905), 388, and XLIX (1906), 321, 428; the same writer in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, XXIX (1906), 275–286, publishes a version without indication of source, but it is obviously based on IV; St John Seymour, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIV (1922), 55–57. The sources of the Italian versions have never been carefully studied, but a glance at the text printed in Villari, *Antiche leggende e tradizioni*, pp. 77–81, and at those in the Florence manuscripts *Bibl. nat. centrale, Palatina LXXIII*, and *Bibl. Riccardiana, n. IV*, shows them also to be drawn from the same Latin original; and this is true of the Welsh version in Taliesin Williams, *Iolo Manuscripts*, pp. 190–192. As to the influence of the Fourth Redaction on the mediaeval visions in general, see Becker, *A Contribution*, pp. 91–93, 100, *et passim*; Seymour, *Irish Visions*, p. 181 f., and Voigt, *Visio Lazari*, pp. 8–13.

[41] Brandes, pp. 75–80. Cf. Paul Meyer, *Romania*, XXIV (1895), 365–75; A. B. van Os, *Religious Visions*, pp. 264–266; and Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XCIV, 501–502 (referred to in the footnotes to the following summary simply as Migne).

For a version so frequently copied as this the variant readings are relatively few; and in general, as it did not undergo anything like the remarkable change and development which so greatly complicate the treatment of Redac. III, the problem of its original form does not arise. The variants in all the unpublished manuscripts have, however, been studied, and the chief of those which throw light on other, dependent, Latin Redactions and on the vernacular translations

are noted either here in the footnotes to the summary, or elsewhere in the present chapter.

For the manuscripts see 'List of Texts and Mss,' pp. 220–221.

[42] This sentence is lacking in several of the manuscripts, e.g. London, *B. M.*, *Royal 11. B. III*; Paris, *B. N.*, *lat. 5266*; Cambridge, *Pembroke 103*; and Oxford, *Bodleian*, *Laud Misc. 527* fol. 191ᵛ (referred to henceforth as *Laud 527ᵃ*).

[43] Brandes, p. 75, ll. 8–9: 'Alii pendebant pedibus, alii manibus, alii capillis, alii auribus, alii linguis, alii brachiis.' The list in Paris, *Bibl. Mazarine*, *MS. lat. 1731* is mutilated by the loss of part of the leaf, but what remains corresponds exactly with Brandes: 'Alii capillis, . . . auribus, . . . linguis, . . . brachiis.'

London, *B. M.*, *Arundel 52*; Oxford, *Balliol 228* and *Merton 13*; and Migne are all close to Brandes, except for the substitution of 'colla' for 'auribus'; Dublin, *Trinity 519* adds 'labia' after 'colla' and at the end 'testiculos' and 'aures.' *Royal 11. B. III* reduces the number of parts of the body: 'pedes, . . . manos, . . . linguas'; as do also *B. M. Additional 26770*: 'colla, . . . linguas, . . . brachia'; *Laud 527ᵃ*: 'brachiis, . . . capillis, . . . auribus'; and *Laud 527*, fol. 263 (henceforth called *Laud 527ᵇ*): 'pedes, . . . manos, . . . brachia.' All the other codices vary both in the order and in the occasional omission of single details. It is noteworthy that the lists in Redactions VII, VIII and V, all based upon IV, do not correspond with that of any of the manuscripts of IV which I have examined: see below, p. 204, ll. 5–6; p. 209, ll. 9–10; and p. 197, ll. 1–2.

[44] Brandes, p. 75, ll. 10–11: 'septem flammas in diversis coloribus.' *Royal 11. B. III*: '*quatuor* flammas diuersis coloribus.' *B. N.*, *lat. 10729*: 'septem flammas in diuersis *columpnis*.' Migne: 'ardentem septem flammis.' For Redac. VIII, see below, p. 209.

[45] *B. N.*, *lat. 16246* omits 'ignis' and 'sanguis' and substitutes 'fames.' *B. N.*, *lat. 10729* gives 'serpens' twice, the first time for 'ignis.' *Royal 11. B. III* and *Merton 13* substitute 'sulphuris' for 'fulgur.' *B. N.*, *lat. 5266* omits all but 'sulfuris' (for 'fulgur') and 'fetoris.' *Arundel 52* gives 'angustus' for 'sanguis,' 'feruor' for 'fetor.' *Royal 8. B. X* reverses 'nix' and 'glacies.' *Royal 8. F. VI*, *Royal 8. F. XVII*, and Cambridge, *Pembroke 258* reverse 'sanguis' and 'ignis' and omit 'fulgur.' *Royal 8. C. VII* expands the list: 'prima nix, secunda glacies, tercia ignis et calor ignis, quarta frigus et sanguis, quinta serpentes, sexta fumus et fulgur, septima fetor.' Cf. the further expansion in Redac. VII, below, p. 204, ll. 8–10.

[46] *B. M.*, *Harley 2851* moves this to a place just preceding the pit in §8.

[47] *Royal 11. B. III*: 'uidit postea unum *furnum*.'

[48] *Harley 2851* omits entirely the river and the bridge.

[49] Brandes, p. 76, ll. 16–18; 'animas dimersos, alie usque ad genua, alii usque ad umbilicum, alie usque ad labia, alie usque ad supercilia.' *Royal 11. B. III*: 'supercilia, . . . genua, . . . labia, . . . umbilicum.' *Royal 8. C. VII* adds 'colla' after 'umbilicum'; *St Johns 95* omits 'umbilicum'; and *B. N.*, *lat. 16246* omits 'umbilicum' and 'labia.'

[50] *Royal 11. B. III* reverses the order of treatment of the four groups. *Laud 527ᵃ* omits the second, *Munich*, *lat. 12728* omits the third, and *Arundel 52* omits the last two of the groups.

[51] In Cambridge, *Pembroke 103*; *Royal 11. B. III*; and *B. N.*, *lat. 5266* the order of the sinners in §§4–6 is changed thus: the unchaste girls who abandoned their infants, the seekers of usury, fastbreakers, those who injured widows and orphans.

[52] Brandes, p. 77, ll. 9–10: 'He sunt, que non servaverunt castitatem usque ad

nuptias et maculate necaverunt infantes suos.' But *B. M., Addit. 26770*: 'He sunt qui non seruauerunt . . . et qui maculauerunt se cum parentibus suis et necauerunt infantes. . . . ' Cf. *Royal 8. E. XVII; Royal 8. F. VI; Pembroke 103; Pembroke 258; St Johns 95; Balliol 228; Merton 13; Trinity 519; B. N., lat. 16246, 10729, 5266; Munich, lat. 12728; Laud 527ᵇ;* and Migne. See Redac. v, p. 199, ll. 13 ff., below; and the English prose version in *MS. Addit. 10036*, ed. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXII (1895), 135: 'þe whiche were noȝt chast to here weddynge. & þo that deled wiþ here kyn.'

[53] This is omitted by *B. N., lat. 16246*.

[54] Brandes, p. 77, ll. 15–16: 'viros ac mulieres super canelia ampnis.' *Bibl. Maz., lat. 1731*: 'super carnalia [*sic*] ignis.' *B. N., lat. 5266; B. M., Royal 11. B. III; B. N., lat. 5266*; and *Pembroke 103*: 'super canalia [*Pembroke 103*: 'canelia']. Thus also Redac. VIII; below, p. 211, l. 18; cf. Redac. v, below, p. 199, l. 19: 'super camena.' *Munich, lat. 12728*: 'super camilos [*or* canulos] aque.' *Arundel 52; St Johns 95; Balliol 228; Laud 527ᵃ; Laud 527ᵇ;* and Migne: 'super camelos.' This last variant is carried over into two Middle English translations of the Fourth Redaction: the version by the Shropshire poet, John Audelay, ed. Morris, *An Old English Miscellany*, Appendix II, vv. 144–145: 'moche more/Men and wemen on kamels rydyng'; and the prose version in *Addit. 10036*, ed. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXII, 135, ll. 44–45: 'wymmen aponn camayles & afore hem moche fruyt.' *Royal 11. B. X, Addit. 26770, B. N., lat. 10729, Merton 13*, and *Trinity 519*: 'uiros ac mulieres in quodam loco.' *Royal 8. C. VII* combines this with the previous variant: 'uiros et mulieres in quodam loco quasi super camelos sedentes.' *B. N., lat. 16246*: 'super littus aque.' *Royal 8. F. VI*: 'uiros et mulieres superbos uolantes et morientes fame'; cf. *Pembroke 258. Royal 8. E. XVII*: 'uiros et mulieres super alenantis aque [*sic*] morientes fame.' 'Alenantis' here is evidently a form of 'alenhare,' a variant form of 'anhelare'; see Du Cange, *Glossarium* (Niort ed., 1883, I, 174), *s. v.*: '*Alenhare*. Ad usum suum ligna caedere. . . . Est enim pro *Halener*, Anhelare, halitum emittere, seu anhelitu suo inficere. . . . *Allené* vero apud Monstrelet. vol. 3 fol. 57ᵛ dicitur de eo cui spiritus deficit. Gall. Qui est hors d'haleine: Pour ce que les François estoient de pied, et fort Allenez et travaillez. . . . ' *St Johns 159*: 'super arenam.'

[55] Following this *Royal 8. C. VII* inserts a unique account of the torment of sorceresses and diviners.

[56] Brandes, p. 77, ll. 20–21: 'Episcopus negligens fuit.' But Migne; *Balliol 228; Arundel 52; Laud 527ᵇ;* and *Munich. lat. 12728* all omit the word 'episcopus': 'Hic fuit negligens.' Cf. the English version, *Addit. 10036*, ed. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXII, 135, l. 48: 'þis was necligent.' The omission evidently arose through the abbreviation of 'episcopus' in many of the manuscripts. Thus *Trinity 519*: 'Epūs fuit negligens'; *Pembroke 103, Pembroke 258*: 'epc negligens fuit'; and *St Johns 159*: 'hic spc [*sic*] negligens fuit.'

[57] Brandes, p. 77, ll. 26–27: 'puteum signatum .vij. sigillis.' But *Pembroke 258, Royal 8. E. XVII*, and *Royal 8. F. VI*: 'signatum septem flagellis.' Migne: 'signatum septem foribus.' *Balliol 228*: 'quatuor sigillis sigillatum.' *B. N., lat. 16246* omits the number of the flames.

[58] In the course of his rebuke Christ says (Brandes, p. 79, ll. 12–13): 'Ego pro vobis me ipsum in martirio dedi, ut *vinceretis* mecum.' The word 'vinceretis' is corroborated by *Bibl. Maz., lat. 1731*. Cf. also Meyer's ed. in *Romania*, XXXIV, 373, and van Os, *Religious Visions*, p. 266, §28. The other manuscripts, however, have 'uiueretis'; as in *B. N., lat. 5266*: 'ut uiueretis mecum.' Both readings

are preserved in the English versions: English III (ed. Morris, *O. E. Miscellany*, pp. 223–232; and Horstmann in *Englische Studien*, I, 293–299), vv. 305–306: 'I ȝaf my-self for ȝou to be,/For ȝe schulde *ouer-come* wiþ me'; and English IV (ed. Morris, *O. E. Miscellany*, pp. 210–222), vv. 282–283: 'And I put my-self to þe deþ fore ȝow,/þat ȝe schul euer *haue leuyd* with me.' Cf. Brandes in *Englische Studien*, VII, 62–63. Cf. also the reading of Redac. V: 'ut et uos mecum ueniretis.'

[59] The variants of the beast's name are numerous and interesting. *Laud 527*[b] reads 'Serberus.' *Balliol 228*: 'Ostiarius inferni, qui est canis, contristatus, qui Terbarus [MS. t'barus] dicitur.' *Trinity 519*: 'Tunc ostiarius inferni cum clauibus eius tribus, cui nomen est canis, scilicet, Cerberus.' *Royal 11. B. III*: 'Hostiarius uero inferni qui uocatur Erner, et canis eius Cerberus.' *Royal 8. C. VII*: 'Tunc hostiarius inferni, cui nomen Hestronel, et canis eius, cui nomen Cherberius.' *Royal 8. F. VI*: 'Et hostiarius, cui nomen est Nalis et nomen canis Cerberos'; cf. *Royal 8. E. XVII*; and *Pembroke 258. B. N., lat. 5266*: 'Et hostiarius inferni, qui uocatur Acharon, et canis eius, qui uocatur Cherberus.' *Royal 11. B. X; B. N., lat. 10729; Addit. 26770*, and *Merton 13* all omit the names. *Arundel 52* and *St Johns 159* leave out the entire passage; cf. the English version in *Addit. 10036*, ed. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, XXII, 136. *St Johns 95* omits the 'hostiarius' passage and substitutes the phrase: 'diaboli uero contristati sunt ualde'; cf. the Italian version in Florence, *Bibl. Ricc., MS. n. IV*, fol. 72[v]: 'Et erano molti dolenti li demoni.' See also the further variants in IIIa and IIIb, below, p. 192, §20.

[60] *Royal 8. C. VII*: 'pene inferni sunt .C.XI mille millia.' *Arundel 52*: '.C.XL. IIII.' *Laud 527*[b]: '.C.L. milia.' *St Johns 95* omits the numbering of the pains.

[61] This cannot have been an isolated instance, since the French version of Redac. IV by Henri d'Arci (*B. N., fr. 24862*; ed. Kastner, *Revue des langues romanes*, XLVII, 386 ff.) has at its end, vv. 230–260, (and the Italian texts in Florence, *Bibl. nat. centrale, Palatina LXXIII*, and *Bibl. Ricc., n. IV* have at their beginning) the same homily with its list of 'benedictiones.'

[62] 'List of Texts and Mss,' p. 221; printed on pp. 204–208.

[63] I.e. p. 205, l. 23–p. 208.

[63a] Cf. the Long Latin (James, p. 28, l. 25): '*Et uidi illic fluuium ignis feruentem, . . .*'

[63b] Cf. the Long Latin (James, p. 29, ll. 20–25): 'Aby<s>sus mensuram non habet. . . . Cum enim mittantur illic anime, *uix post quingentos annos perueniunt in profundum.*'

[64] I.e. p. 204–p. 205, l. 22.

[65] It does, however, characterize the men and women devouring their tongues (the seekers of usury in IV; Brandes, p. 76, l. 28–p. 77, l. 2) in a phrase compounded from the separate descriptions of those who in IV are immersed in the river to the knees, the lips, the eyebrows; Brandes, p. 76, l. 21, ll. 24–26, and ll. 26–27. Cf. below, p. 204, ll. 15–18.

[66] Below, p. 204, ll. 20–21, and p. 205, ll. 18–19.

[67] Brandes, p. 77, ll. 18–24; and below p. 204, ll. 24–29.

[68] For example, *P*, §35; James, p. 30, ll. 3–13; and *St G*, below, p. 142, ll. 19–28.

[69] Below, p. 155, ll. 18–20. Cf. Brandes, p. 79, l. 30–p. 80, l. 4.

[70] 'List of Texts and Mss'; printed pp. 196–203.

[71] *Enarratio in Psalmum LXXXV*, 12, 13: '*Eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiore*; intelligimus tanquam duo inferna esse, superius, et inferius: nam unde

infernum inferius, nisi quia est infernum superius?' Cf. Cassiodorus, *Expositio in Psalterium* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXX, 615–616); Julianus Toletanus, *Prognosticon Libri Tres*, II, cap. iv (Migne, XCVI, 477); Bede, *In Psalmorum Librum exegesis* (Migne, XCIII, 942–943); Haymo Halberstatensis, *Explanatio in Psalmos* (Migne, CXVI, 489); Remigius Antissiodorensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Migne, CXXXI, 597–598); and Gerhohus Reicherspergensis, *Commentarium in Psalmos* (Migne, CXCIV, 524).

[72] *Elucidarium*, III, 4 (Migne, CLXXII, 1159–1160): 'D. Quid est infernus; vel ubi?—M. Duo sunt inferni: superior, et inferior. Superior, infima pars hujus mundi, quae plena est poenis; nam hic exundat nimius aestus, magnum frigus, fames, sitis, varii dolores corporis; et verbera animi, ut timor et verecundia. De hoc dicitur: *Educ de carcere*, hoc est, de inferno *animam meam* (Psal. cxli. 8), id est vitam meam. Inferior vero est locus spiritualis, ubi ignis inexstinguibilis, de quo dicitur: *Eruisti animam meam de inferno inferiori*. . . . In quo novem species poenae esse leguntur.

'D. Quae sunt illae?—M. Prima ignis. . . . Secunda poena est intolerabile frigus. . . . Tertia, vermes immortales, vel serpentes et dracones. . . . Quarta, fetor intolerabilis. Quinta, flagra caedentium, ut mallei ferrum percutientium. Sexta, tenebrae palpabiles. . . . Septima, confusio peccatorum. . . . Octava, horribilis visio daemonum et draconum . . . , et miserabilis clamor flentium et insulantium. Nona, sunt ignea vincula, quibus in singulis membris constringuntur.'

Incidentally, it should be observed that a Welsh version of *Paul*, which is evidently based on Redac. v, occurs in the same manuscript with a Welsh rendering of the *Elucidarium*: *LLyvr Ancr Llandewivrevi* (14th century); pp. 4b–68b, *Hystoria Lucidar*; pp. 129a–132a, *Breudwyt Pawl Ebostol*; ed. J. Morris Jones and J. Rhŷs, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Mediaeval and Modern Series, VI, Oxford, 1894), pp. 3–76, and 152–156.

[73] Brandes, p. 79, ll. 22–24.

[74] Below, p. 202, ll. 11–13.

[75] See n. 45 above.

[76] Below, p. 204, ll. 8–10.

[77] v also contains (below, p. 197, ll. 19–20) the homiletic phrase, 'Oportet nos, fratres carissimi, amare deum et delicias paradisi et metuere penas inferni,' which occurs in I, II, and III, and uniquely in *MS. Pembroke 103* of Redac. IV. But in II, III, and *Pembroke 103* the order of the words 'amare . . . paradisi' and 'metuere . . . inferni' is reversed. Has v borrowed also from Redac. I, or is the order of its phrases accidental in a passage which otherwise it might be expected to have drawn from III?

[78] 'List of Texts and Mss'; printed on pp. 209–213.

[79] The increase in the number of flames may be the result of an error in, or a misreading of, the scribe's original. But it cannot be a mere slip of his pen, since he does not represent the number by numerals, but writes the word out: 'duodecim.'

[80] Below, p. 209, ll. 4–5.

[81] P. 212, ll. 10 ff.

[82] 'List of Texts and Mss.' Cf. the introduction to the text, below, p. 214.

[83] See the next note.

[84] Brandes, p. 39, states erroneously, 'Sie handelt ausschliesslich von den strafen der verdammten . . . '; and Wieber, *De Apoc. S. P. codd*, p. 37, makes the same mistake.

[85] *P*, §39, James, p. 31, ll. 24–31.
[86] The same, §34, p. 30, ll. 1–2.
[87] The same, §35, p. 30, ll. 9–12.
[88] Below, p. 216, l. 22–p. 217, l. 23.
[89] See Chap. III, p. 38, above.
[90] See pp. 10 ff.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Brandes, p. 80; Meyer, *Romania*, XXIV, 375, §31; van Os, *English Religious Visions*, p. 266, §31. Cf. above, p. 115, n. 60.

[2] Redaction IV, Brandes, p. 80. For the other Redactions see below, pp. 155, 202, 213.

[3] Homily XLIII; above p. 11.

[4] *Pricke of Conscience*, ed. R. Morris (Berlin, 1863), vv. 647 ff.

[5] Ed. Wilhelm Wagner (Bonn, 1908), p. 16, vv. 318–325.

[6] Voigt, *Beiträge*, p. 13.

[7] According to Macrobius this passage was in turn suggested by the words of Homer about the chieftains of the Greeks:

πληθὺν δ'οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω
οὐδ' εἰ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
φωνὴ δ'ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη.

See *Saturnalia*, V, vii, §16 (ed. Eyssenhardt [Leipzig, 1893], p. 274).

[8] Cf. Redaction VIII: 'Unde Salomon inquit, "Qui offert sacrificium de inopia pauperum, tamquam qui maculat filium in conspectu patris." ' This is a rough quotation of Ecclesiasticus, xxxiv 24; but the ascription to Solomon shows that the interpolator had confused that book with Ecclesiastes.

[9] Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, p. 94, n. 28 (*MS. E*).

[10] Below, p. 205, l. 32.

[11] Even though at first glance he may appear to be a direct descendent of Anti-Christ. For Anti-Christ is tantalizingly like, yet unlike, Parthemon. His right eye, not his teeth, gleams like a lion; his fingers, not his eyes, are as sharp as sickles. Witness the apocryphal Apocalypse of John: τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ζοφῶδες, αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὀξεῖαι ὡς βέλη, οἱ ὄφρυες αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἀγροῦ, ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ δεξιὸς ὡς ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ πρωϊ ἀνατέλλων, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ὡς λέοντος, τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ ὡς πῆχυν μίαν, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σπιθαμιαῖοι, οἱ δάκτυλοι αὐτοῦ ὡς δρέπανα, τὸ ἴχνος τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ σπιθαμῶν δύο. . . . (Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, pp. 74–75).

A connection has been suggested (for example, by Seymour, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIV, 58–59) between Parthemon and the chained monster in the Vision of Tundale, Lucifer, whose many sharp-fingered hands are considered as possibly a development from the many heads of the beast in *Paul*; see Wagner, pp. 35–37. But Lucifer is in fact a direct elaboration of the description of Anti-Christ, bound in chains, as described in the Apocryphal Apocalypse of Esdras (Tischendorf, pp. 28–29). His hands are the hands of Anti-Christ, with fingers as sharp as scythes, modified perhaps by contact with the multi-handed Briaraeus of the Aeneid. For the beast in O. E. see Willard, Beiträge, XXX, 24 f., and n. 121.

[12] *Hermae Pastor*, ed. Hilgenfeld (Leipzig, 1873), Visio IV, p. 31: 'et ecce video bestiam magnam veluti cetum, et ex ore eius locustae igneae procedebant.'

[13] The only direct parallel which I have found occurs in one of the *carmina* (CCXXV, 'Hucusque de adventu; hinc de poenis inferni') of Peter Damian, written in the eleventh century. Here, in a description of the pains of Hell,

which in many respects is reminiscent of the Redactions (see n. 47 below), the poet describes the infernal dragons 'Quorum oculi sagittas / Jaculantur igneas; /' (Migne, *P. L.*, CXLV, 980 C).

[14] Zeno, *Tractatus*, II, 13, 1 (Migne, *P. L.*, XI, 428). For a large number of further examples of these two and other related uses of 'acies,' both in classical and Christian writers, see *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (Leipzig, 1900), I, 400–402, *s. v.* acies, II, A and B.

The Hebrew phrase for the line in Job is also suggestive: ילטוש עיניו he will *whet* his eyes. Cf. Psalms, vii, 13: חרבו ילטוש, he will *whet* his sword.

[15] *Moralia in Job*, XIII, x, §13 (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXV, 1023). Cf. Odo of Cluny, *Epitome Moralium S. Gregorii in Job*, XIII, 16 (Migne, *P. L.*, CXXXIII, 249), and Walafrid Strabo, *Glossa ordinaria*: *Liber Job*, xvi (Migne, *P. L.*, CXIII, 800).

[16] 'He entered the fifth compartment and found it full of smoke. There were all the princes, chiefs, and great men, and Pharaoh the wicked presides over them and watches at the gate of hell, . . . '—Transl. M. Gaster, *Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, XXV (1893), 604.

[17] Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, p. 28.

[18] With this the redactor readily associated *avaritia*, as the quotation from Ecclesiasticus suggests; see n. 8 above.

[19] For example, Rabanus Maurus, *De universo*, III, i (Migne, *P. L.*, CXI, 51), and *Commentarium in Ezechielem*, I, 22 (Migne, *P. L.*, CX, 821). Cf. Ezekiel, xxix.

[20] Bede, *Super Parabolas Salomonis allegorica expositio*, II, xi (Migne, *P. L.*, XCI, 974).

[21] *Moralia*, XXXII, xv, §26 (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVI, 651–652).

[22] *Moralia*, XXXIII, §13 (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVI, 679). It should be noted that the beast in the Vision of Tundale who devours the covetous and is analogous to Parthemon, is characterized by a reference to the same passage in Job which Gregory is explaining here: '. . . vidit bestiam magnitudine incredibilem et horrore intolerabilem. . . . Oculi vero ejus ignitis assimilabantur collibus. Os vero ejus valde patens erat et apertum, quod, ut sibi videbatur, capere poterat novem milia hominum armatorum. . . . Ista enim bestia vocatur Acherons, que devorat omnes avaros. De hac bestia scriptura loquitur: *Absorbebit fluvium et non mirabitur et habet fiduciam, quod influat Iordanis in os ejus.*' (ed. Wagner, pp. 16–17)

[23] See James, *Visio Pauli*, p. 8, n., and Willard, Beiträge, XXX, 25, n. 121.

[24] Several early Irish visions in which occur descriptions of the dragon that may be based on *Paul*, throw no light upon the present problem. The monster appears, voracious and multi-headed, in the Voyage of the Ui Corra, the Tidings of Doomsday, the Fifteen Tokens, and in a passage in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, II, 32 [42], but without a name. See St John Seymour in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, XIV, 187. In the Vision of Tundale the monster who devours the covetous (see n. 22) is called Acherons, and this may also represent an attempt to make an unintelligible name intelligible. Asín (*La Escatologia musulmana*, p. 241) and van Os (*English Religious Visions*, p. 57) assume it to be a simple borrowing from classical mythology and a transference to the monster of the name of the river which symbolized all of Hades. Cf. Becker, *A Contribution*, p. 86. The representation of Hell as a devouring beast was, of course, common in both classical and Judeo-Christian lore, but the interpretation of the name Acheron by the commentators offered no help to the writer of Tundale: 'sine

gaudio,' 'sine salute,' 'tristitia.' See Servius, on Aen. vi, 295 (ed. Thilo and Hagen, II pars I, 53); Vatican Mythographer III, fabula 6, §2 (ed. G. H. Bode, *Scriptores rerum mythicarum latini tres*, Cellis, 1834, I, 175); Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis*, I, x. (Macrobius's interpretation appears also in the twelfth-century commentary on the Aeneid by Bernard Silvester, neo-Platonist of Tours. His work has been printed by Wilhelm Reidel, Greifswald, 1924, but I have been unable to see a copy of this edition. In the manuscript of Bernard in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Latin 16246*, the passage in question appears on f. 54ᵛ.) It is therefore tempting to suggest that the author of Tundale may have had before him some explanation of the related infernal terms Χαρώνεια, Ἀχερόντεια, such as is found in the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville (ed. Lindsay, XIV 9, 2 and 3), where their meaning is illuminated by an example from the wild beasts, whose ever open mouths display their voracity: 'Spiracula apellata omnia loca pestiferi spiritus, quae Graeci Χαρώνεια apellant vel Ἀχερόντεια . . . et spiracula ex eo dicuntur loca qua terra spiritum edit. Hiatus praeruptio terrae profunda, quasi itus. Proprie autem hiatus est hominis oris apertio, *translata a feris quarum aviditas oris adapertione monstratur.*'

[25] *In Danielem*, i, 3 (Migne, *P. G.*, LXXXI, 1273–1274).

[26] Migne, *P. L.*, XXV, 496.

[27] If the writer of α had even such a passing acquaintance with Hebrew as could have been gleaned from a glossary of the Hexapla, he might have found the name doubly appropriate by etymologizing it as Par (פר) thamim (תמים), meaning 'great' or 'whole' ox,—a term which appears in Leviticus, iv 3—, thus associating it with Behemoth, the beast of pride.

[28] Robinson and James, *The Gospel . . . and the Revelation of Peter*, p. 91, §§7 and 9; cf. James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 509, §§22 and 24, and p. 514.

[29] Ed. Morfill and Charles, pp. 5–7.

[30] Transl. Marius Chaine, p. 64.

[31] See above, p. 31.

[32] Redaction II. For the other Redactions, see below, and Brandes, p. 75, ll. 6–9. In support of his argument for Mohammedan influence, Asín (*La Escatologia musulmana*, p. 237 and n. 1) points out that the hanging of sinners by various parts of the body is frequent in Arabic lore. But none of his examples contains these two special features.

[33] Ed. Max Bonnet (Acta apostolorum apocrypha, Leipzig, 1903), p. 172 f., §56, ll. 13 ff. This passage does not appear in the Syriac; for which see W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (London and Edinburgh, 1871), II, 195. In the opinion of many scholars the Syriac may be the original of the Acts of Thomas, and is certainly nearer to it than the extant Greek.

[34] Ed. De Bruyne, in *Revue bénédictine*, XXV (1908), 153–154. For the date and significant features of the manuscript see the introduction, pp. 149–151.

[35] Cf. *Peter*; Robinson and James, *The Gospel . . . and the Revelation of Peter*, p. 91, l. 5. The indebtedness to a Greek source is noted by James and De Bruyne (see *Revue bénédictine*, XXV, 154), but neither calls attention to the Acts of Thomas.

[36] If the Latin fragment is identical with the Egyptian work published by Steindorff, it is based ultimately on *Peter*; cf. Casey, p. 20, n. 9. If not, Casey suggests that it is a derivative of *Paul*. But this is unlikely, since there is no evidence that any of the Redactions in which the group of hanging sinners first appears can be as old as the eighth century.

A Jewish parallel exists in a vision ascribed to the third-century Rabbi Joshua

ben Levi. It is not only closely similar to the episode in the Acts of Thomas and the Elias fragment, but also adds the detail, which they do not have and which appears in the Redactions of *Paul*, that the sinners are suspended near the gate of Hell. See M. Gaster, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., XXV, 600. A similar episode occurs in the Revelation of Moses; Gaster, p. 581. The story of Rabbi Joshua's infernal journey received its present literary form in *Midrasch Maseket Gehinnom*, ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha' Midrasch: Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der älteren jüdischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1853–77), I, 148, which was written down some time between the sixth and tenth centuries. But the passage on the hanging sinners can be dated somewhat closer than this, since it appears in a manuscript from the 'Genizia' in Cairo which Gaster, *Chronicles of Jeraḥmeel* (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, II, London, 1899), pp. lxvi–lxvii and 34, regards as of the ninth, perhaps of the eighth, century.

[37] Becker, *A Contribution*, pp. 47–49.

[38] Ed. Cancellieri, *Osservazioni . . . sopra l'Originalità della Divina Commedia*, pp. 150–152, §4.

[39] By Becker, pp. 35–36.

[40] Texts and Studies, II, 3, 113.

[41] *Visio S. Pauli*, p. 27.

[42] *Moralia in Job*, XXXII, xxiii, §47 (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVI, 664–665).

[43] *Aeneid*, vi, 273–289.

[44] *Moralia*, XXXIV, xxiii, §47 (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVI, 744).

[45] *The Canterbury Tales*, X (I), 387–399 (ed. F. N. Robinson, Boston, etc., 1933, p. 285). Cf. *La Somme des Vices et de Vertues* of Frère Lorens (Wilhelm Eilers, *Dissertation on 'The Parson's Tale' and the 'Somme . . . ,'* in *Essays on Chaucer*, V, Chaucer Society, Second Series, 1884, 510 ff.); and Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. R. Morris (E E T S, Orig. Series, XXIII, 1866), pp. 17–70. See also Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du xiiie siècle en France* (6th ed., Paris, 1925), pp. 107 ff.

[46] Ed. Hilgenfeld, Simil. IV, pp. 74–75.

[47] Redaction IV; Brandes, p. 75, ll. 9–18. Some of the verses in Peter Damian's *carmen* 'Hucusque de adventu; hinc de poenis inferni,' though they lack the furnace, bear a remarkable resemblance to these lines:

Rediviva septem plagae
Renovant supplicia,
Fumus, fetor, algor, ardor,
Fames, sitis ignea,
Vermes nunquam satiantur,
Qui corrodunt viscera.
. . . . . .
Molis trabeae dracones
Laxa pandunt guttura,
Quorum oculi sagittas
Jaculantur igneas;
Caudae chelas scorpionum
Plantae produnt viperas.
Tendunt quidem ad non esse,
Sed non esse desinunt:
Vivunt morti, volunt mori,
Sed omnino nequeunt:
. . . . . .

(Migne, *P. L.*, CXLV, 980 B and C)

The *motif* which Damian and Redaction IV (and its lost source γ) here preserve, —the listing of the pains together with the statement about the vain search of the damned for death—, is a commonplace of the Christian discussions of Hell. (See, for example, Apoc. ix, 6; *Sermo LXVIII ad fratres in eremo*, Migne, *P. L.*, XL, 1355, ascribed to St Augustine; Gregory's Dialogues, IV, xiv, Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVII, 405, and *Moralia*, IX, 66, Migne, *P. L.*, LXXV, 915; Chaucer's

'Parson's Tale,' vv. 213–216 ed. Robinson, p. 277; and Honorius of Autun, *Elucidarium*, iii, §4, Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXII, 1159–1160. It appears also in the Hebrew Revelation of Moses; Gaster, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S, XXV, 582, §40.) But their resemblance is close enough to suggest direct relationship. Damian cannot have drawn the passage, unsupplemented, from Redaction IV or γ, since the possible prototype of the dragons with eyes that cast forth darts did not appear in those texts, but in all the earlier Redactions. On the contrary, Redaction γ, the source of IV, did not draw solely from Damian, though the dates are not—so far as the present evidence goes—incompatible with such borrowing; since furnace, 'plage,' and the fleeing death *motif*, all appear in the earlier Redactions, beginning with β. If there is an immediate connection between Damian and γ or IV, Damian must have borrowed from the earlier Redactions, modifying what he took to fit the scheme of the Seven Deadly Sins. In turn γ, basing its lines primarily on Redaction III, could have been influenced by the words of Damian only in so far as to increase the number of 'plage' and flames to seven.

[48] Voigt, *Beiträge*, pp. 4 ff., and 24.

[49] For example, Ephes., v 3 and 4; Coloss., iii 8 f.; Macarius of Egypt, Homily XV, §50 (Migne, *P. G.*, XXXIV, 609–610); Tertullian, *De patientia*, v (Migne, *P. L.*, I, 1256–1258), and *De pudicitia*, xix (Migne, *P. L.*, II, 1020). Cf. Matth., xv 19. In a sermon ascribed to the sixth-century Caesarius of Arles, the struggle with the six Canaanitish nations (Joshua, xi 3, and xii 8) is explained as symbolizing the opposition between six virtues and six vices; Sermo XXXIV, Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIX, 1812. For a suggestive discussion of the development of the conception of the deadly sins, see Otto Zöckler, *Das Lehrstück von den Sieben Hauptsünden*, in *Biblische u. kirchenhistorische Studien* (Munich, 1893).

[50] See above, p. 52.

[51] Ezekiel, v 17, vii 2, and xiv 21; and Apoc., vi 2–8, vii 1, and ix 14 and 15.

[52] They are mentioned, for example, by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, II, xx, 20, 108 (ed. Dindorf, *Opera*, Oxford, 1869, II, 215): "Οθεν ὡς ἔλεγεν Ἀριστων "πρὸς ὅλον τὸ τετράχορδον, ἡδονήν, λύπην, φόβον, ἐπιθυμίαν, . . ." Cf. the Platonic-Stoic scheme in Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 111 (ed. Hicks, Loeb Library, II, 216); and Stobaeus, *Eclogae*, II, vi, §6 (ed. Gainsford, Oxford, 1850, II, 580, ll. 42–44), and II, vi, §5 (ed. Gainsford, II, 554, ll. 28–29). Among the Latin writers, see Cicero, *Tuscul.*, IV, vii, §§15 and 16 (ed. King, Loeb Library, pp. 342–345); Horace, *Epist.*, I, vi, l. 12; and Vergil, *Aen.* vi, 733. Cf. the comment of Servius (ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, pars i, 103), and Augustine, *De civitate dei*, XIV, 3 and 4.

[53] Franz Cumont, *Lucrèce et le symbolisme pythagoricien des enfers*, in *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, XLIV (1920), 230 *et passim*.

[54] *In Somn. Scip.*, I, x. Cf. Servius, comment on Aen. vi, 295 and 539 (ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, i, 53 and 67); Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. Lindsay, XIV, ix, §§6–8; Vatican Mythographer III, fabula 6, §§2 and 4 (Bode, I, 175 and 176); and Bernard Silvester, *MS Lat. 16246*, ff. 49v, 54v, and 55v. For the influence of this tradition on the Divine Comedy, see my *Dante and Vergil the Mystic*, in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XIV (1932), pp. 54–59.

[55] *Enarratio in Psalmum*, LVII, §19 (Migne, XXXVI, 688).

[56] III, xix (Migne, *P. L.*, XCV, 147).

[57] *Moralia*, XXXIII, xxxvii, §67 (Migne, LXXVI, 716). Several instances in the Mediaeval visions of four-fold divisions of Hell or schemes of torment have

some connection here. In the Vision of Bonellus, recorded by the seventh-century Spanish writer Valerius (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXVII, 433 ff.), Hell is divided into four stages. Cf. the late *Passion de Notre Seigneur* (Bibl. Saint-Geneviève), ed. Achille Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du quinzième siècle* (Paris, 1837), II, 171–174. St Patrick's Purgatory (Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXX, 992–993; John Colgan, *Trias thaumaturga*, Louvain, 1647, 276–277, §§VII–VIII; van der Zanden, *Purgatoire de saint Patrice*, Amsterdam, 1928, pp. 165–167, and 104–111, vv. 561–800) describes four plains of punishment, and this is true also of the Vision of Thurcill, in which each plain has a number of cauldrons that are possibly based on the furnace in *Paul*. See Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Hewlett (Rolls Series), II, 30–31; and Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Luard (Rolls Series), II, 507–508. St Patrick's Purgatory, if not Thurcill, probably depends in part on earlier Irish accounts of Hell, where the four rivers of torment are described, a modification, no doubt, of the details of the classical Hades. See especially the Ui Corra, *Revue celtique*, XIV, p. 33. Cf. Seymour, *Irish Visions*, p. 37.

[58] *De sera num. vind.*, xxi (Dübner, I, 683). To this Becker (p. 93) relates the robes of the *blessed* in St Patrick's Purg. But see colors of Christian theological virtues: cf. Gregory's *Moralia*, xxx, 24, on Exodus xxxv, 23.

[59] Ed. Hilgenfeld, Visio IV, p. 31, ll. 18–19, and p. 33, l. 9–p. 34, l. 4.

[60] *Expositio in Apoc.*, hom. II (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXV, 2420).

[61] Gregory, *Homilia in Ezechielem*, I, viii (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVI, 867 f.); Rabanus Maurus, *De univ.*, IX (Migne, CXI, 278 f.); Garnier of St Victor, *Gregorianum*, VIII, xviii (Migne, CXCIII, 325); Hugh of St Victor, *Allegoriae in Vet. Test.*, (*Exegetica dubia*, Migne, CLXXV, 643); and Richard of St Victor, *In Apoc. II* (Migne, *P. L.*, CXCVI, 746 f.).

[62] The Ethiopic text; James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 517.

[63] *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 523 f.

[64] *Acta Thomae*, ed. Max Bonnet, p. 171; Wright, II, 195.

[65] Brandes, p. 75, l. 19–p. 76, l. 5.

[66] For example, St. Catherine's wheel. See Migne, *P. G.*, CXVI, 295–298; Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, ed. Duo monachi solesmenses (Paris, 1910), I, 286; *Bibl. casinensis*, III (1877), *Floril.*, p. 186; H. Varnhagen, *Zur Geschichte der Legende der Katharina von Alexandrien* (Erlangen, 1891), p. 15; H. Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina* (Halle, 1890), pp. 293ff.; Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda aurea*, clxxii (rec. Graesse, ed. secunda, Leipzig, 1850, p. 793).

[67] *Aeneid*, vi, 616–617.

[68] Ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, pars i, 86–87. Cf. the comment on *Aen.*, vi, 596.

[69] Macrobius, *In Somn. Scip.*, I, x; Vatican Mythographer III, fabula 6, §§5–6 (ed. G. H. Bode, I, 176–177); and Bernard Silvester, *MS B. N., Lat. 16246*, f. 68r. The wheel occurs frequently in the later Mediaeval vision literature; for example, in the Vision of the Boy William (Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXVII, lxxxiv), the Vision of the Cistercian Novice (*Speculum historiale*, XXIX, ix), and the Vision of Lazarus (Voigt, *Beiträge*, p. 9). See n. 80 below. For Dante's use of this *motif*, see my *Dante and Vergil the Mystic*, pp. 63–65.

[70] De Bruyne, *Fragments retrouvés d'apocryphes priscillianistes*, in *Revue bénédictine*, XXIV (1907), 323–324. For the date of the manuscript, p. 318.

[71] *Journal of Theological Studies*, XX (1918), 15 f.

[72] Seymour, *Irish Visions*, p. 114 f. The text is published by Ernst Windisch, *Irische Texte* (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 169–195. For the date see p. 165.

[73] De Bruyne, p. 323, ll. 11–15. Cf. the O. E., Willard, Beiträge, XXX, 5, 20 ff.

[14] See above, Chap. III, p. 36.

[75] The only Greek examples noted in E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914), *s. v.* ταρταροῦχοι, are from the text of *Paul* itself, and from Hippolytus: *Sermonum fragmenta*, IX (Migne, *P. G.*, X, 868); and *Philosophoumena*, X, 34.

[76] Tischendorf, p. 48.

[77] James, p. 20, l. 36.

[78] Windisch, *Irische Texte*, p. 183 [L Br:], ll. 19–20.

[79] De Bruyne, p. 323, ll. 18–19. Cf. Seymour, *Irish Visions*, pp. 114–115.

[80] In the Latin text of St Patrick's Purgatory published in Migne, CLXXX, 989–1002, the fiery wheel is revolved by angels called 'ministri tartaraei,' evidently a modification of the words in Redaction IV. This phrase does not appear in Colgan, nor in the Bamberg text. See *Romanische Forschungen*, VI, 139 ff.

[81] For Tundale see *Visio Tnugdali*, ed. Wagner, p. 15, ll. 6–10, and p. 19, ll. 15–19, and p. 140, vv. 644–649; *La Vision de Tondale*, ed. Friedel and Meyer (Paris, 1907), p. 13, ll. 3–5, and p. 17, ll. 3–9. For St Patrick's Purgatory see Colgan, *Trias thaumaturga*, p. 277, §XV; Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXX, 995, viii, §53; and van der Zanden, *Purgatoire de saint Patrice*, p. 170, and pp. 118–119, vv. 1091–1123.

[82] *La philosophie catholique*, p. 355 f., vv. 57–60.

[83] See above, p. 102, nn. 42 and 43.

[84] Brandes, p. 76, ll. 8–10.

[85] The *idea* of a bridge occurs in IV Ezra, vii; see n. 89. In *Peter* (Ethiopic) the torment of those who did not honor their parents is described thus: 'The men and women whose feet slip, shall go rolling down into a place where is fear. And again the fire that is prepared floweth, they mount up and fall down again and continue to roll down.' 'This suggests,' says M. R. James (*Apocr. N. T.*, p. 517), 'a narrow bridge over a stream of fire which they keep trying to cross.' This is, however, not at all clear; and, in any case, the passage seems to have had no influence on any of the texts of *Paul*.

[86] James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 523.

[87] The Latin and Greek texts ed. J. Armitage Robinson (Texts and Studies, I, 2), pp. 66 and 67, §IV. Cf. the Vision of the Cistercian Novice, in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, XXIX, vii. In the Vision of Alberic (Cancellieri, *Osservazioni*, p. 152, §5) there is a ladder of glowing iron, and in Tundale a *column* of fire (ed. Wagner, p. 33), by which souls attempt to escape from torment. The figure of the ladder as the means by which to reach heaven, derived ultimately from the Scriptural account of Jacob's Dream, is frequent in the Church writers, notably the burning ladder of Gregory VII and the mystical ladder of Bernard of Clairvaux. See also the work ascribed to both St Augustine and Bernard, *Scala paradisi* or *Scala claustralium* (Migne, XL, 997 ff., and CLXXXIV, 475 ff.); and C. R. Morey, *East Christian Painting in the Freer Collection*, pp. 17 ff. For non-Christian sources see *Revue archéologique*, 5e s., V (1917), 101 f.

[88] Cap. xxxvi (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVII, 385).

[89] IV, xxxiii (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXI, 296). With this passage compare the description of the narrow approach to the bounteous city in IV Ezra, the importance of which for the genesis of the bridge in Western lore has apparently been neglected hitherto:

> introitus autem eius angustus et in praecipiti positus, ut esset a dextris quidem ignis, a sinistris vero aqua alta;
>
> semita autem est una sola inter eos posita, hoc est ignis et aqua, *ut non capiat semita illa nisi solummodo vestigium hominis.*

(vii, 7–9; see Bruno Violet, *Die Esra-Apokalypse*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, XVIII, Leipzig, 1910, I, 128–130.)

[90] Mon. germ. hist., Epistolae selectae (ed. Tangl, 1916), I, 11.

[91] Brandes, p. 76, ll. 11–15.

[92] Cap. xxxv (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXVII, 380–381).

[93] See, for example, *Sermo CCL* (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIX, 2209), and *Sermo LXVIII ad fratres in eremo* (Migne, *P. L.*, XL, 1355), both ascribed to Augustine, but the first perhaps by Caesarius of Arles; Caesarius of Arles, *Homilia XVII* (Migne, *P. L.*, LXVII, 1080); *Sermo XXIV De sancta quadragesima VIII* ascribed to St Ambrose (Migne, *P. L.*, XVII, 653); Gregory, *Moralia*, IX, lxv (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXV, 913–914); Isidore of Seville, *Sententiarum liber I*, xxix (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXIII, 598); and the seventh-century Vision of Barontus (*Act. SS. Bolland.*, March, III, 573).

[94] Tischendorf, p. 63.

[95] *Il riposo dei dannati*, I, 247.

[96] Lévi, *Revue des études juives*, XXV (1892), 3–4. To the various *midraschim* quoted by Lévi should be added several Jewish visions of Hell in which the respite appears: the Revelation of Moses and the Hell-journey of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi; M. Gaster, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., XXV, 584, 604. Cf. the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, XV (7), 35.

[97] Budge, p. 1070, ll. 2–5.

[98] Ignatius, *Ep. ad Magnes.*, ix (Migne, *P. G.*, V, 670); and Barnabas, xv (Migne, *P. G.*, II, 771–772).

[99] See St Augustine's commentary on Psalm CL (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXVII, 1960): 'In illo enim observatur sabbatum, quod significat quietem (Exod. xx 10); in isto dominicus dies, qui significat resurrectionem.' Cf. Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, I, xxv (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXIII, 761).

[100] Tichonravov, p. 56.

[101] James, p. 36, §44, ll. 34–35.

[102] Asín, *La escatologia musulmana*, p. 282, follows Graf in his statement that the respite was originally annual, and seeks unsuccessfully to show that the change to a weekly rest was the result of Islamic influence: 'La diferencia [i.e. between the annual and the weekly respite] es capital para explicar la génesis de estas últimas redacciones por contagio islámico, puesto que tal creencia de un reposo semanal en el suplicio de infierno, si tiene su plena justificación en la dogmática mahometana . . . , carecía de todo fundamento tradicional en la cristiana, y mucho más en el occidental, donde fué siempre más unánime la doctrina de la eternidad de las penas.' This view assumes incorrectly a loss of direct contact between the Long versions and the abbreviated versions which would have made it necessary for the redactors to find the respite episode outside of the Apocalypse, and fails to take into account the Judeo-Christian Sabbath lore, by which the Mohammedan weekly rest was also affected. Asín's example is a parallel, not a source.

[103] See, for example, *S. Ephraem Syri hymni et sermones*, ed. Lamy (Malines, 1882), I, 542, no. 4; and in the West especially the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIX, 2238 and 2274, no. 2. For the attribution of this last homily to Caesarius, see H. Dumaine in Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrètienne et de liturgie*, IV, i, *s. v.* Dimanche, col. 940, n. 6. Cf. Isidore of Seville, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, I, xxv (Migne, *P. L.*, LXXXIII, 761, no. 2).

[104] *Codex Justinianus*, III, xii, 2 (3) (ed. Krueger, Berlin, 1877, p. 248).

[105] Mon. ger. hist., Leges I, Leges nat. ger., V, pars i (ed. Lehmann, 1888), 98. For Ina, Mansi, *Concilia*, XII, 56. Cf. especially among many others the English Sunday laws from the seventh to the tenth century: the Synod of Berghampsted (697), which prohibits all servile labor 'a vespera diei solis post occasum eius usque ad occasum vesperae diei lunae' (Mansi, XII, 112 f.); the laws of Alfred the Great, Edward, and the Danish king Guthrum (906) (F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Cambridge, 1922). See, also, Wilhelm Thomas, *Der Sonntag im frühen Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1929), pp. 100–106, *et passim*; and Max Levy, *Der Sabbath in England* (Kölner anglistische Arbeiten, Leipzig, 1933), especially pp. 42–70.

[106] (Mon. ger. hist., Legum III, Concilia, II, pars ii, 1908), 557 f.

[107] Ed. and transl. J. G. O'Keeffe, in *Ériu*, II, ii (1905), 195, 201–203, *et passim*.

[108] Ed. and transl. Whitley Stokes, *Revue celtique*, XIV (1893), 22 ff. Those who used to dig and those who carried fagots on Sunday are also punished appropriately.

[109] xv (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, II, 771–772).

[110] 'De sabbato,' *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, I, xxv, no. 3 (Migne, LXXXIII, 761).

[111] Mansi, *Concilia*, I, 709–717. For the date, see B. Krusch, *Studien zur christlich-mittelälterlichen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 303 f.

[112] Migne, *P. L.*, CI, 1226–1227.

[113] Ed. R. Morris, *Old English Homilies, First Series*, (E. E. T. S., Orig. Series, XXIX, XXXIV), p. 138 ff. For other examples of this tradition, see H. Dumaine, in Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire*, IV, pars i, 985 ff. Cf. Thomas, *Der Sonntag*, p. 118 f.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

[1] The manuscripts of all these works are of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, but their contents betray a far greater age. *Laisrén* (ed. and transl. Kuno Meyer, *Otia Merseiana*, I, 113–119) is assigned by its editor (p. 113), on grounds of language, to the latter half of the ninth, or the early tenth, century. *Adamnán* (transl. C. S. Boswell, *An Irish Precursor of Dante*, pp. 28–47; cf. Whitley Stokes, in *Fraser's Magazine*, February, 1871) has been variously dated. Stokes considers that 'it is not older than the eleventh century,' but Windisch (*Irische Texte*, I, 167 ff.) holds that it was written in the tenth century, possibly in the ninth. The question has been settled, it seems to me, by St John Seymour (*Irish Visions*, pp. 24 ff.), who points out, following Boswell, p. 176, that the work is a composite of two distinct parts. The first (sections 1–20 in Boswell's translation) he relates to the eighth-century Priscillianist fragment published by de Bruyne in *Revue bénédictine* for 1907; see above, Chap. V, p. 76. The second (sections 21–29), in which occurs the description of Hell with which we are concerned, he considers on eschatological grounds to be in the main 'a very old Irish vision, in its original form possibly not later than the tenth century.' This is further borne out by the similarity of the account of Hell to that in *Laisrén* and in the *Transitus Mariae* in the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*, II, 48 (99) (résumé and partial transl. by Seymour, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIII [1921], 36–39). The Voyage of the Ui Corra (ed. and transl. Whitley Stokes, in *Revue celtique*, XIV [1893], 22 ff.) is held by Zimmer to have been written originally in the eighth century, but to have been rewritten for the present text in the thirteenth century. Stokes (pp. 24–25) would date the source of the extant version in the eleventh century.

[2] *P*, §§31 and 37.

[3] James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 509, §§28 and 29, and pp. 515–516.

[4] *Otia Merseiana*, I, 118–119.

[5] Boswell, p. 41, §27.

[6] *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIII, 38. In a manuscript of *Adamnán* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (P), but not in Boswell's text (L. U.), fiery *swords* are likewise used to torment false judges; see Seymour, *Irish Visions*, p. 37.

[7] A partial parallel occurs in the late Apocalypse of Esdras (Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, p. 28), where those who would not listen have fiery pivots turning in their ears. For Arabic parallels see Asín, *La escatologia*, pp. 9, 11, 18.

[8] In the *Ui Corra* the torment of dishonest braziers and smiths, reminiscent of the false witnesses in *Peter*, may have some connection with the abusers of tools in Redaction VI: 'Dishonest braziers and smiths are we . . . and our tongues are blazing in our heads as a penalty for every one's shame by reason of our handiwork.' (*Revue celtique*, XIV, 53 and 55.) Is this related to II Timothy, iv 14, and i 20 (Alexander the coppersmith)?

[9] James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 506, excerpt 1b from Clement of Alexandria's *Prophetical Extracts*, p. 509, §26, and p. 515.

[10] *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 506, extract 2 from *Prophetical Extracts*, and p. 515.

[11] Transl. Marius Chaine, *Scriptores Aethiopici*, p. 65.

[12] Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, p. 29.

[13] Cancellieri, *Osservazioni*, pp. 150–153, §4.

[14] *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIII, 38.

[15] Boswell, p. 42, §28. Cf. the unjust tutors in Moslem lore; Asín, p. 18.

[16] See DuCange, *Glossarium*, *s. v. Idea:*

> Imago. Vetus Inquesta apud Puricellum in Ambrosiana Basilica pag. 1037: *Veniunt ad Ecclesiam majorem, antequam Missa major ibi incipiatur, in Dominicis diebus et praecipuis festivitatibus, et adportant arcam et Ideam.*
>
> Ordo eccl. Ambros. Mediol. ann. circ. 1130. apud Murator. tom. 4. Antiq. Ital. med. aevi col. 910: *Portant Ideam ad praedictam ecclesiam cum scala, . . .*

[17] James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 510, §33, and p. 516. Cf. Robinson and James, *The Gospel . . . and the Revelation of Peter*, p. 93, §18: *τόπος ἦν πυρὸς πλείστου γέμων . . .*

[18] Migne, *Patr. lat.*, XXXIX, 2298, Sermo ccxcii, 2, *Nil mulier ad abortum accipiat. Quam rea quae facit unde non possit concipere.*

[19] Cap. xix, 'De maleficiis,' especially § Add. 2, ed. Richard Behrend (Weimar, 1897), p. 37.

[20] James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 509, §30, and pp. 516 and 517. For *Paul* see *P*, §§39 and 40.

[21] Boswell, pp. 41–42, §28, and p. 41, n. 3.

[22] *Speculum historiale*, XXIX, ix. In the Vision of Walkelin (Odericus Vitalis, *Hist. eccles.*, VIII, xvii) sinners are forced to ride on horses with saddles of fiery spikes; but they are women who are being tormented for their filthy, luxurious living.

[23] *Revue celtique*, XIV, 53.

[24] See above, Chap. V, p. 80.

[25] The theme is related to the idea, Jewish in origin (i.e. from Abraham's intercession for Sodom and Gomorrah, Genesis xviii), that the Patriarchs are the special defenders and ministers of the faithful, a Christianized example of which is the account by the Long texts of *Paul* (*P*, §47) of the Apostle's encounter in the Biblical Paradise with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, where he is told that 'nos quoque abuimus deuocionem ad dominum quem tu praedicas testamento

ut omnes anime credencium ei adsistamus et ministremus. . . .' For further examples, see Texts and Studies II, 2, 72–75. In Recension A of the Greek Testament of Abraham, §§xiii–xiv, Abraham, by his word, saves a neutral soul from Hell and all the sinners whom he (Abraham) had destroyed; Texts and Studies, II, 2, 93 ff. A fragment of the Coptic Apocalypse of Zephaniah (ed. Stern, *Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache*, 1886, p. 121), states that the three Patriarchs entreat the Lord Almighty daily for all the sinners in torment. The Apocalypse of Esdras (Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, especially pp. 24–26, 31–33) speaks of a similar function for Esdras. In the Apocalypse of Peter the specific connection with the Patriarchs or a particular prophet or saint has disappeared, and the power is granted to all the righteous; see below, n. 36.

[26] See Wilhelm Lueken, *Michael*, especially pp. 13–30, 48–52, 100–108, and 119–131. Cf. above, Chap. IV, p. 109, n. 3.

[27] See Chap. V, p. 79, and p. 124, n. 96.

[28] This change is striking, since Raphael seldom plays a large part in the mediaeval visions. It is worth noting, in this connection, that he appears as the defender and consoler of the soul during its flight to the other-world in the seventh-century Vision of Barontus of Pistoja (*Act. SS. Bolland.*, March, III, 570–571), and as the guide to Hell and Paradise in the later Vision of a Cistercian Novice (*Spec. hist.*, XXIX, viii–x).

[29] Joseph Tixeront, *History of Dogmas* (St Louis, 1914), II, 198.

[30] Nicolaus Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* (Oeniponte, 1897), II, 322; F. Gavin, *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought* (Hale Lectures for 1922, Milwaukee: Morehouse Publ. Co., 1923), p. 408.

[31] See Seymour, *Irish Visions*, especially pp. 39–61.

[32] For a compendious view of the pronouncements of the Latin Fathers on this subject, see *Index de inferno*, III, 'Aeternitas inferni,' Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CCXX, 246–248.

[33] *P*, §§40 and 41.

[34] Drihthelm (*Hist. eccles.*, V, xii) sees a land of torments which he imagines to be Hell. But it is not, the guide informs him. Hell is the pit from which, as in *Paul*, stench and flames arise. Similarly in St Patrick's Purgatory, after viewing the purgatorial torments, Owain sees a pit. 'Puteus iste flammivomus,' the demons explain, 'inferni est introitus, hic habitaculum nostrum est: et quoniam nobis hucusque studiose deservisti, hic nobiscum sine fine manebis . . .' (Migne, CLXXX, 995, Cap. viii, §52). Later, when Owain has escaped from the pit, the devils say that they had lied, that this is not Hell. But the passage is, as it were, an afterthought, and betrays the author's clumsy attempt to adapt his source materials. It must not be forgotten that Redaction α of *Paul* (as is evident from the other Redactions that are its descendents) described the pit as 'infernus' and identified it with the Hell from which Christ had freed the Patriarchs; but it made no further distinction between Hell and Purgatory. Redaction v, in fact, in its introduction, calls the entire land that Paul visited the lower Hell, and describes the upper Hell as the Purgatorial fire. See above, Chap. IV, pp. 42 and 56.

[35] See, for example, §7.

[36] James, *Apocr. N. T.*, p. 524; cf. p. 521.

[37] Tischendorf, *Apoc. apocr.*, 'Additamenta ad *Acta Apostolorum Apocr.*,' pp. 165 ff.

[38] See below, p. 214.

II

TEXTS

NOTE

The following practice has been observed in all the texts except Redaction VI, for which see p. 214.

Unambiguous abbreviations are silently resolved. Capitalization and punctuation have been normalized, everywhere so far as possible in accordance with the indications of the manuscripts; for *St G* the occasional deviations from the codex which affect the sense are remarked in the footnotes. Emendation is generally confined to the correction of obvious scribal errors, all such changes being indicated by italics or, where there is an omission, by an asterisk; and the original readings are placed in the notes. An oblique line [/] marks the end of a page of the ms.

The paragraphing of *St G* (for which there is no indication in the manuscript except in one instance) follows that of James's edition of *P*, and, for convenience of reference, his numbering of sections is also used both in *St G* and *F*.

THE ST GALL TEXT (*St G*)

[The manuscript, St Gall, Stadtbibliothek (Bibliotheca Vadiana) *Codex 317* (*vide* Gustav Scherer, *Verzeichniss der Manuscripte und Incunabeln der Vadianischen Bibliothek*, pp. 84–86), consists of eighty-six leaves, of which the first seventy-seven are in quarto, the last nine in large octavo. It is a miscellany of several originally separate parts, written in various hands of the ninth and tenth centuries, consisting of the following pieces: (1) ff. 1–13, *S. Basilii admonitiones*, (2) ff. 13–15, a group of six hymns, (3) ff. 16–23, *Vita S. Findani*, (4) ff. 24–55, *Acta apostolorum*, (5) ff. 56–68, *Ammonitio S. Pauli* [i.e. the *St G* text of *Paul*], (6) ff. 70–77, *Cassiodorus de anima*, and (7) ff. 78–86, *Andreae presbyteri chronicon.*

The text of *Paul* appears in a section of fourteen leaves, of which the last is blank, except for miscellaneous scribblings and practice letters. It is written in single columns, twenty-eight lines to the page, in a well-formed ninth-century Carolingian minuscule of medium size. The division of words is faulty; groups of letters are frequently and indiscriminately joined by their horizontal strokes. Except for several question marks, punctuation is entirely by means of the single point placed either on the line for a minor, or above the line for a major stop; but this principle is not consistently carried out according to the sense. Of the abbreviations the most noteworthy, as an indication of the *terminus a quo*, is the '2' form for the passive, which occurs several times.

The parchment has in some instances become crumpled at the inner edges near the binding, with some injury to the text. A corrector, apparently contemporary, has gone through the first part of the work; in the case of most of his erasures the original letters are still visible.]

INCIPIT AMMONITIO SANCTI PAVLI QVALITER DEMONSTRAVERAT EI DOMINVS VIDERE BONVM ET MALVM

[14] Posthaec uidi animam iustam introeuntem in caelum. Et audiui uoces angelorum dicentes, 'O anima, effugies quia fecisti uoluntatem dei in terris. Et ecce nunc angelus tuus et spiritus congaudent tecum.' Et omnes potestates exierunt in occursum eius, et inuenerunt nihil
5 suum in ea. Respondit eis angelus, et spiritus dixerunt, 'Conuertimini erubescentes, quia non ualuistis decipere animam istam constitutam in carne.' Posthaec audiui uoces in excelso cęli dicentes, 'Offerte animam istam quę fecit uoluntatem dei in terris. Ecce nunc angelus suus et

7. carne] carnem ; m *erasum.* excelso] excelsum ; m *eras.*, o *super* u *scriptum.*

spiritus congaudentes.' Et omnes potestates exierunt in occursum eius et inuenerunt nihil suum in ea. Respondit eis angelus, et spiritus dixerunt, 'Conuertimini erubescentes quoniam quidem non ualuistis decipere animam istam constitutam in carne.' Posthaec audiui uoces in excelso cęli dicentes, 'Offerte animam istam quę fecit uoluntatem dei, ut credat et cognoscat quia est uerus deus quem adorat.' Cum ergo ingressa esset caelos, statim audiui milia milium angelorum clamantium; ammirati sunt enim uidentes eam tenentem signum crucis filii dei. Et proclamauerunt ei omnes una uoce, 'Viriliter age, anima, et confortare; omnes enim congaudebimus tibi, / quia fecisti uoluntatem dei in terris.' Et deduxerunt eam dum usque adoraret in conspectu dei. Quem cum audissent Michahel et omnis exercitus angelorum, statim et ipsi procidentes adorauerunt scabellum pedum eius, et ostenderunt animae dicentes, 'Hic est omnium deus qui fecit te ad imaginem et similitudinem suam.' Precurrit autem angelus ante eam et indicauit dicens, 'Deus, memor esto laborum eius; haec est cuius tibi cotidiae opera referebam, facie*ns* secundum tuum iudicium.' Et spiritus similiter ait, 'Ego sum spiritus uiuificationis aspirans et habitans in ea. Habui apud eam refectionem in tempore quo habitaui in ea; fecit secundum tuum iudicium.' Et facta est uox dei et dixit, 'Quemammodum me non contristauit, nec ego contristabo eam; sicut enim misericors est mihi, ita miserebor ei: ut tradatur Michaheli angelo testamenti, et perducat eam in paradiso exultationis, ut sit ibi usque in diem resurrectionis, ut et ipsa fiat coheres cum omnibus sanctis.' Et audiui post haec uoces milia milium angelorum et cherubym et uiginti quatuor senior*um* hymnum dicentium et glorificantium dominum et clamantium, 'Iustus es, domine, et iusta iudicia tua, et non est personarum acceptio apud te, et retribue*s unicuique secundum tuum iudicium.' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Credidisti quoniam quęcumque fecerit unusquisque uestrum *uidet* in hora necessitatis suae?' Et dixi, 'Ita, domine.'

[15] Et ait mihi, 'Iterum aspice deorsum in terram et expecta ista*m*

4. carne] carnem ; m *eras.*
9. confortare] confortamini ; mini *deletum*, re *insertum.*
10. tibi] tecum ; cum *eras.*, te *delet.*, tibi *super* te *script.*
11. conspectu] conspectum ; m *eras.*
17. facie*ns*] facies
19. ea] eam ; m *eras.* fecit] feci ; t *ins. corrector* [?]
25. senior*um*] seniores
28. retribue*s] retribuens
30. *uidet*] *om MS. ; cf. P, James, p. 17, l. 28.*
31. ista*m*] ista

alia*m* animam exeuntem de corpore, quae inritauit / dominum die ac nocte dicens, 'Non aliut noui nisi hunc mundum; manduco et bibo et furor. Quis enim est qui descendit ad infernum et ascendens denuntiauit nobis quia est iudicium illic?' Conspexi uero et uidi omnem contemptum et omnia peccata et fornicationes quas fecit, quę scit et quę nescit, omnia in unum. Adsteterunt ante eum in hora necessitatis, et facta est in illa iudicium, et bonum erat ei si natus non fuisset. Et post hęc uenerunt sancti angeli et maligni, et anima defuncta uidit utrosque et quidem sancti locum non inuenerunt in ea. Maligni dominati sunt eam usque quo duxerunt. Cum ergo exisset de corpore, commouerunt eam dicentes, 'O misera anima, prospice carnem tuam et cognosce domum tuam unde existi. Necesse est te reuerti in carnem tuam in die resurrectionis, ut recipias peccatis tuis condigna et impietatum tuarum.' [16] Et cum produxissent eam, consuetus angelus ait ad illam, 'O miserrima anima, ego sum angelus adherens tibi et referens cotidiae domino omnia opera maligna quaecumque egessisti nocte uel die; et si fuisset meae potestatis, ne una quidem die ministrassem tibi, sed nihil horum ualui facere. Deus enim misericors est et iudex iustus, et ipse precepit mihi ut non cessem ministrare quousque penitemini. Tu autem perdidisti tempus penitentiae; et ego prae tibi alienus factus sum hodie, et tu mecum. Perges usque ad iudicem iustum; non te dimittam *antequam* a hodierna die scio quia alienus tibi factus sum.' Et spiritus contendebat eam, et angelus contribulabat eam. Cumque ergo peruenisset ad potesta/tes, cum iam ingredi caelum haberet, labor inpositus est ei malus super laborem. Nam obliuio et susurratio obuiauerunt ei, et spiritus fornicationis et reliqua. Potestates dicebant ei, 'Quo pergis, O misera anima, et audes praecurrere in caelum? Sustine, et uideamus si habemus aliquid in te nostrum.' Et dixerunt, 'Inuenimus et habemus in te peculiaria nostra, et non uidemus tibi sanctum adiutorem.' Et post hęc audiui uoces in excelso cęlorum dicentes, 'Offerte miseram, et cognoscat quis est deus quem contempsit.' Cum ergo ingressa esset caelum, uiderunt eam

1. alia*m*] alia
3–4. ascendens . . . illic?] ascendens? . . . illis·
6. Adsteterunt] adstiterunt *scrip. corrector.*
10. quo duxerunt] quae duxerint ; ae *delet.*, o *super* ae, u *super* i *script.*
12. reuerti] reuerte ; i *super* e *scrip. corrector.*
13. die] diem ; m *eras.* ut] et ; u *super* e *script.*
22. *ante*qu*am*] Et qui ; *cf. P, James, p. 18, l. 21.*
30. tibi] te ; tibi *super* te *ins. corrector.*
32. ingressa esset] ingressaef ; f *correx.*, set *ins. corrector.*

omnes angeli milia milium et exclamauerunt una uoce dicentes, 'Vę tibi, miserrima anima, pro operibus tuis quae fecisti in terris. Qu*od* responsum datura es deo cum acceseris adorare eum?' Et respondit angelus qui erat cum ea et dixit, 'Flete mecum, mei dilectissimi, requiem non inueni in hac anima.' Et responderunt angeli et dixerunt, 'Auferatur talis de medio nostrum; ex quo enim ingressa est fetor pertransit ad omnes angelos.' Et post hęc ablata est ut adoraret in conspectu dei, et demonstrauit ei deu*m* quis eam fecit secundum imaginem et similitudinem suam. Angelus autem eius pręcucurrit dicens, 'Domine deus omnipotens, ego sum angelus istius cuius opera tibi referebam die ac nocte. Fac ei secundum tuum iudicium.' Et spiritus similiter ait, 'Ego sum spiritus qui habitabam in ea, ex quo facta est in sęculo; et non secuta est meam uoluntatem. Iudica eam secundum tuum iudicium.' Et facta est uox dei ad eam / et dixit, 'Vbi est fructus pro bonis quę feci tibi? Numquid posui distantiam inter te et iustum uel unius diei? Numquid non faciebam oriri solem super te sicut et super iustum?' Illa autem conticuit, non habens quid responderet. Et facta est uox iterum dicens, 'Iustum iudicium dei, et non est personarum acceptio aput deum; quicumque enim fecerit misericordiam eius, ipsius miserebitur. Tradatur angelo tartari qui prępositus est poenis, et mittat eum in tenebras exteriores; ibi est fletus et stridor dentium, et sit ibi usque in diem magnum iudicii.' Et has audiui uoces angelorum et archangelorum dicentium, 'Iustus es, domine, et iustum iudicium tuum.'

[17] * Et iterum uidi, et ecce alia anima adducebatur a duobus angelis flens et dicens, 'Miserere mei, deus iudex iustus et uerax; hodie septem dies habeo ex quo mortua sum, et tradita sum duobus angelis istis, et perduxerunt me ad qu*od* numquam uidi.' Et ait ei deus, iudex iustus, 'Quid fecisti? Puto enim quia misericordiam numquam feceris, et propterea tradita es talibus angelis qui non habent misericordiam; et quia non fecisti rectum, ideo neque hii tecum pie gesserint hora occursionis tuae.' Et iratus est furore dominus deus, iudex iustus, dicente ea,

2. Qu*od*] quem
5. hac anima] hanc animam; n *et* m *eras.*
6. nostrum] nostro ; um *super* o *script.*
6. est] *ins. corrector.*
8. deu*m*] deus
12. ea] eam ; m *eras.*
21. ibi] ubi ; u *in* i *versum.*
25. *] III *in marg. script., significans* tertia anima [?].
28. qu*od*] quem

'Non peccaui'; quoniam esset mentita. Et dixit, 'Adh*uc* rep*utas* in seculo cummanere, sicut unusquisque uestrum illic peccat, celans et abscondens proximo suo? Hic uero non ita. Cum uero ueniunt adorare in conspectu dei throni, tunc et opera / bona uniuscuiusque et peccata eius manifestantur.' Et hec audiens conticuit, non habens responsionem. Et audiui iustum iudicem dicentem, 'Veni, angelus animae huius.' Et statim uenit in medium habens in manibus graffum, et dixit, 'Haec sunt in manibus meis omnia peccata anime istius a iuuentute eius usque in hodiernum diem, ab annis natiuitatis eius ex quo cepit esse annorum quindecim.' Et dixit dominus, iustus iudex, 'Tibi dico angelo: non te exploro rationem ex quo quindecim coepit esse annorum uel decem, sed expone peccata eius ante annorum quinque quam moreretur et quam huc ueniret. Per memet ipsum enim iuro, et per sanctos angelos et per uirtutem meam, quoniam si penituisset ante unum annum priusquam moreretur et antequam huc ueniret, propter unius anni conuersionem obliuio nunc fieret omnium quae perpetrauit retro malorum, et indulgentiam et remissionem acciperet nunc a me.' Et respondit angelus animae ipsius et dixit, 'Iube angelum istum exhibere animas illas.' [18] Et eadem hora exhibitae sunt in medium et cognouit animas peccatorum. Et dixit dominus, iustus iudex, 'Dicito opera tua et confiteri quod gesseris in his quas uides cum esses in mundo.' Et respondit et dixit, 'Domine, nondum completus est annus ex quo hunc interfeci et sanguinem eius fudi in terram, et cum alia fornicatus sum. Non solum autem: et nocui eam ualde, sustuli enim et facultates.' Et dixit dominus deus, iustus iudex, 'Aut nesciebas quia qui uim alio facit, si prior mortuus fuerit / qui uim sustinebat, seruatur locum usque moritur et nocens, et tunc adsistunt in conspectu iudicis, et recipiet unusquisque sicut fecerit?' Et audiui uocem dicentem, 'Tradatur anima ista in manibus tartari deorsum ad inferos, et include eam in carcere inferorum, et mittat ibi in tormentis et relinquatur illic usque ad diem magnum iudicii.' Et iterum audiui uoces milia milium archangelorum hymnum dicentium deo et clamantium, 'Iustus es, domine, et iusta iudicia tua.'

[19] Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Vidisti haec omnia?' Et dixi, 'Ita, domine.' Et dixit mihi, 'Sequere me, et ostendam tibi locum iustorum.' Et secutus sum angelum, et sustulit me usque ad tertium

1. Adh*uc* rep*utas*] Adhoc tepotes ; *cf. P, James, p. 20, ll. 1, 2.*
15. priusquam] quam *ins. corrector* [*?*].
18–19. animas illas] animam illam
21. quas] quae
22. respondit et dixit] respondi et dixi
26. sustinebat] sustinebit

caelum, et steti ad ianuas porte. Et intendi et uidi; et erat porta aurea, et due columne aureae ante eam, et due tabulae aureae super duas columnas plene litteris. Conuertit se angelus ad me et dixit, 'Beatus es si ingressus fueris in his portis, eo quod non omnibus conceditur ingredi nisi his solis qui habent bonitatem et innocentiam corporis.' Et interrogaui angelum et dixi, 'Domine, dicito mihi cuius gratia positae sunt iste littere super tabulas istas.' Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Hec nomina sunt iustorum ministrantium deo ex toto corde inhabitantes terram.' Et iterum dixi, 'Domine, ergo nomina eorum scripta sunt in caelo constitutos eos in seculum?' Et respondit et dixit mihi, 'Non solum nomina eorum, sed et uultus eorum; et similitudo ministrantium deo in seculo est, et noti sunt angelis ministri dei qui sunt ex toto corde priusquam exeant de mundo.'

[20] Cum ergo fuisset ingressus in interiora / porta*e*, exiit in occursum eius homo senior cuius uultus lucebat sicut sol. Et amplexus est Paulum et dixit, 'Aue, Paule, dilectissime dei.' Et osculatus est eum hilari uultu satis, et postea coepit plorare. Et dixit ei, 'Pater, quare ploras?' Et iterum suspirans et plorans dixit, 'Noceor ab hominibus et contristans ualde. Multa bona sunt quę preparauit deus hominibus magne repromissionis, sed multi non recipiunt eam.' Et interrogaui angelum, 'Quis est hic, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hic est Enoch scriba iusticiae.' Ingressus sum autem in interiora loc*i* illius quem solum [*sic*] inueniens salutauit me hilari uultu gaudens. Et cumqu*e* ui*di*sset, auertens se fleuit et dixit, 'Paule, utinam uel tu percipias labores tuos quos pateris in genere humano; quoniam quidem uidemus magna et multa bona quae preparauit deus magnae repromissionis. Sed plures non recipiunt eam, et post multos labores uix ingrediuntur in hec loca.'

[21] Et respondit iterum angelus et dixit mihi, 'Vide quaecumque ostendero tibi in hoc loco ne indices hominibus in terris. Adhuc sequere me, et monstrabo tibi; enarra et palam profer.'

Inde exiui primum caelum, et deduxit me in celum *a*lium. Et iterum deduxit me de firmamento, et duxit me super ianuas caeli. Et aperuit hostium, et erat initium eius fundatum super flumina quae erant super omnem terram. Et interrogaui angelum dei, 'Quis est hic fluuius aque?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hic est Oceanus.' Et subito exiui celum et intellexi quod lumen caeli est quod lucet omni terrę / illic. Erat autem terra

14. porta*e*] porta
22. loc*i*] loca
23. cumqu*e* ui*di*sset] cum qui euissent ; n *delet*. *Cf. P, James, p. 21, l. 33.*
31. *a*lium] .lium

illa clarior argenti sepcies. Dixi, 'Quis locus hic est?' Et dixit mihi, 'Haec est terra repromissionis. Aut non audisti quod scriptum est: "Beati mansueti, quoniam ipsi hereditabunt terram?" Animae autem iustorum cum exeunt de corpore, in hunc locum interim dimittuntur.' Et dixi angelo, 'Ergo hec terra manifestabitur post tempus?' Respondit angelus et dixit, 'Quando uenerit Christus quem tu adoras ut regnet, tunc sententia dei dissoluitur terra prima. Et hec terra adaperiet eum sicut ros aut nebula; et sic manifestabitur et cognoscetur deus. Et tamen omnes sanctos suos qui habitauerunt in ea, regnabit Christus super illos mille annis et manducabunt de bonis sicut nunc ostendam tibi.'

[22] Et circumspexi terram illam, et uidi flumen currentem lac et mel. Et erant in litore illius fluminis arbores plantate plene fructibus; unaqueque arbor erat afferens fructus duodecies in annum uarios et diuersos. Et aperui ostium loci illius, et uidi omnem facturam dei. Et uidi ibi palmas cubitorum ·XXX·, alias autem cubitorum ·X·. Terra autem illa clarior erat sepcies argenti. Erant plene a radice usque ad summum ordines decem milia ramorum fructuum super ramos. Vinee autem uites habebant ·X· milia arbusta; in singulis autem uitibus ·X· milia butriones, et ·X· milia racemi in singulis butrionibus; singule autem arbores ferebant milia fructuum. Et dixi angelo, 'Quare unaqueque arbor milia fructus fert?' / Et respondit angelus dei mihi, 'Quoniam habundans affluenter prestat dona condignis, quia et illi proprio uoto uiolauerunt semetipsos; constituit eos in mundum omnia facientes propter nomen sanctum eius.' Et dixi iterum angelo, 'Haec sunt sole repromissiones quas promisit deus sanctis suis?' Et respondit, dixit, 'Non, sunt enim maiora septies. Ego autem dico tibi, quia si iustis exierint repromissiones et bona que preparauit eis deus, adhuc iterum suspirabunt et plorabunt dicentes, "Vtquid uel uerbum produximus de ore nostro ad inritandum proximum uel una die?"' Ego interrogaui et dixi ei iterum, 'Haec sunt repromissiones dei?' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Hec quae nunc uides nuptarum est et seruantium castitatem nuptiarum; uirginum autem et esurientium iustitiae et uiolantium se propter nomen dei, dabit maiora his septies quae nunc ostendam tibi.'

Et post hec adsumpsit me, et aperuit ostium loci illius; aqua candida uidi desuper lacum. Dixi angelo, 'Quid est hoc?' 'Hic est Acherusius

1. sepcies] species
6. adoras] adhoras ; h *eras.*
17. sepcies] species

lacus. Et aperuit hostium huius ciuitatis Christi, sed non omnes permittuntur ingredi in ciuitatem illam. Hoc est uero iter quod docet ad eam uenire*. Si quis est fornicator uel impius et conuertens penituerit *a*tque fierit fructum penitentiae, primum quidem statim cum exierit de corpore, traditur Michahelo et baptizat eam in Acherusium lacum; et sic iam inducunt eam in ciuitatem Christi iuxta eas qui nihil peccauerunt.' / Ego autem ammiratus sum et benedixi deum in omnibus que uidi.

[23] Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Sequere me, et inducam te in ciuitatem Christi.' Et eram super Acherusium, et inmisit me in nauem auream, et angeli quasi tria milia hymnum ante me dicentes dum peruenerimus usque in ciuitatem Christi. Inabitantes autem in ciuitatem gauisi sunt ualde propter me euntem ad eos. Et ingressus uidi ciuitatem Christi. Et erat lumen eius super aeris lumen, lucens mundi huius super numerum et modum; et erat tota aurea; et duodecim pir*g*i interiores, et singuli muri habent singula stadia in circuitum. Et dixi angelo, 'Domine, quantum est stadium?' Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Quantum inter deum et homines in terris.' Sol enim [*sic*] et ·XII· porte erant in eum ornate omne* pulchritudine*, et flumina quattuor circumibant. Et erat a limine ciuitatis flumen mellis, et notus eius flumen lactis et flumen uini, et de ore eius flumen olei. Et dixi angelo, 'Domine, quae sunt flumina haec circumientia ciuitatem hanc?' Et ait, 'Hec sunt quattuor flumina quę currunt sufficienter his qui in terris sunt quorum nomina sunt haec: *flu*men mellis dicitur, id est, Fison, flumen lactis Eufraten, et flumen olei Gion, et flumen uini Tigris. Qui ergo iusti in seculo constituti sunt *non* usi sunt potestatem hanc, sed esurierunt et uiolauerunt se propter deum; ideo ingredientibus his in hanc ciuitatem retribuet eis deus super numerum et super modum.' /

[24] Ego uero ingrediens portam uidi arbores magnas et al*t*as ante ianuam ciuitatis positas non habentes fructum nisi folia solum. Et uidi paucos uiros dispersos in medio arborum illarum qui plorabant ualde cum uiderent ingredi aliquem in ciuitatem. Et arbores ille penitebant pro ipsis, humiliantes et inclinantes se. Ego uidi et fleui cum hoc esset; interrogaui angelum et dixi, 'Domine, qui sunt isti qui non sunt

2. iter] inter
3. uenire*] ueniret
4. *a*tque] etque
15. pir*g*i] piri
17. terris.' Sol enim] *P:* terris, quia sola est enim magna ciuitas Christi.
18. omne* pulchritudine*] omnem pulchritudinem
23. *flu*men] plomen
25. *non*] *om MS. Cf. P, James, p. 24, l. 21.*
28. al*t*as] alias

permissi ingredi ciuitatem?' Et dixit mihi, 'Flere necesse est hos pre ceteris hominibus.' Et dixi, 'Qui sunt?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt qui abrenuntiauerunt studentes nocte et die in ieiuniis, sed cor superbum habuerunt pre ceteris hominibus, semetipsos glorificantes et laudantes et nihil facientes proxim*is*. Alios enim salutabant amicabiliter, alios uero nec aue dicebant; et quidem cui uolebant aperiebant ianuam monasterii et faciebant modicum boni; erga proximos inflammabant se.' Et dixi, 'O domine, ergo superbia prohibuit eos ingredi in ciuitatem Christi?' Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Radix omnium malorum superbia est. Numquid meliores sunt filio dei qui uenit in magna humilitate?' Et interrogaui, 'Quomodo arbores humiliant se et erigunt?' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Tempus omne quod exierunt de terris istis seruientes deo, propter confusiones hominum fecerunt [*sic*]; er*a*nt erubescentes et humiliantes se, *sed* non contristantes se neque penitentes ut crederent / propter superbiam quę erat in eis.' Et iterum interrogaui, 'Cuius gratia dimissi sunt ante ianuam ciuitatis?' Respondit angelus et dixit, 'Propter multam bonitatem d*ei*; quoniam hic est ingressus omnium sanctorum eius ingredientium in ciuitatem, propterea derelicti sunt in hoc loco. Et quando ingreditur cum ipsis Christus rex aeternus, introeunte eo omnes iusti petant ab eo pro suis. Tunc cum illo ingrediuntur ciuitatem, sed tamen non ualent illorum habere fiduciam qui in humilitate seruierunt deo in omni uita sua.'

[25] Ego autem incedebam ducente me angelo, et tulit me super flumen mellis. Et uidi illic Isaiam, et Iheremiam, et Hezechiel, et Amos, et Micheam, et Zachariam, prophetas maiores et minores; et salutauerunt me in ciuitatem. Et dixi angelo, 'Quae est uia hec?' Et dixit, 'Hec est uia prophetarum. Omnis qui contristauit animam suam et non fecit propriam uoluntatem propter deum, spreuerit mundum, et fugerit a*d* deum ut adoret illum, tali traditur Michahelo, et inducit eum in locum hunc prophetarum. Et salutant eum sicut amicum, et sicut proprium membrum diligunt, quoniam fecit uoluntatem dei. Propterea ipsius ciuitatem hereditabit.'

[26] Et duxit me de noto ciuitatis ubi erat fluuius lactis. Et uidi omnes infantes in eo quos occidit rex Herodes propter nomen Christi; et salutauerunt me. Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Omnes qui seruant castitatem et puritatem, cum / exierunt de corpore eunt adorare

5. proxim*is*] proximum
12–15. Tempus . . . eis.] *James, p. 25, ll. 8–12.* 13. er*a*nt] Erunt
14. *sed*] *om MS. Cf. P. James, p. 25, l. 11.*
17. d*ei*] Dixit *; cf. P, James, p. 25, l. 15.*
29. a*d* deum] adeum

eum. Et postea traduntur Michahelo et ducuntur ad infantes, et salutant eos dicentes quia "fratres nostri sunt et amici et membra, et cum ipsis hereditabimus dominum deum." '

[27] Et iterum adsumpsit me et tulit me ab aquilonem [*sic*] ciuitatis ubi erat flumen uini. Et uidi illic Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, et Loth et Iob et alios sanctos; et salutauerunt me. Et interrogaui, 'Quis est hic locus?' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Omnes qui humani sunt et susceptores peregrinorum, cum exierint de mundo adorant primum deum, et inde traduntur Michahelo et per hanc uiam inducuntur in ciuitatem. Et omnes iusti salutant eos sicut filios aut fratres et dicunt eis, "Quoniam seruastis humanitatem et susceptionem peregrinorum, uenite, hereditamini ciuitatem domini dei nostri." Et unusquisque secundum proprium actum accipiet in ciuitatem dei.'

[28] Et iterum tulit me iuxta flumen olei a*d* borea*m* ciuitatis. Et uidi illos uiros exultantes et psalmos dicentes, et dixi, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et ait, 'Hii sunt qui dederunt se deo ex toto corde, non habentes in se superbiam. Omnes enim qui exultant in domino et psallunt toto corde ei, hii inducuntur in hanc ciuitatem.'

[29] Et tulit me in medium ciuitatis iuxta duodecimum murum. Erat autem excelsior aliis. Et interrogaui et dixi, 'Domine, si est hic locus precedens in ciuitatem in Christi honore?' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Est secundus; melior est ter/tius et pretiosior illo; unus unum precedit in gloriam usque ad duodecimum murum.' Et dixi, 'Ob quam rem, domine? Significa mihi.' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Omnes qui habent in se uel modicam detractionem aut zelum aut superbiam, euacuabitur illis aliquid de gloria ipsius etiamsi in ciuitatem Christi esse uidentur.'

Et conuertens uidi thronos aureos, et in ipsos diademas et zonas positas. Et respexi et uidi in interiora duodecimum murum alium ordinem thronorum qui in multa gloria uidebantur, ita ut nemo ualeat enarrare laudem eorum. 'Qui sunt qui sessuri sunt super thronos?' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt throni eorum qui bonitatem et innocentiam habent et intellectum cordis, qui semetipsos stultos fecerunt propter deum, nescientes scripturas multas neque psalmos plures, sed unius capituli memores de preceptis dei, et audientes hec operati sunt in his in minuta diligentia, et studium rectum habentes cora*m* dominum.' Et ammiratio adprehendit omnes sanctos de his, loquentes enim ad alterutrum dicunt, 'Expectate et uidete imperitos

7, 8. susceptores] susceptures
14. a*d* borea*m*] arborem
37. cora*m* dominum] cor ad dominum

qui nihil amplius sciunt, quomodo a deo meruerunt tantum et talem indumentum et tantam gloriam propter innocentiam.'

Et uidi in medio ciuitatis altare magnum et excelsum ualde. Erat quiddam stans quo incedens. . . .

[31] . . . Et dixi, 'Ita, domine.' Et dixit mihi, 'Veni et sequere me, et ostendam tibi animas iustorum [*sic*] / et peccatorum, ut cognoscas qualis locus. Et profectus sum cum angelo, et tulit me per occasum solis, et uidi principium celi fundatum super flumen aquę magnum. Et interrogaui, 'Quis est hic fluuius aque?' Et dicit mihi, 'Hic est Oceanum qui circuit orbem terrae.' Et cum fuissem ad exteriora Oceani, aspexi, et non erat lumen in illo loco, sed tenebrae et tristicia. . . .

[39] . . . eis est, et sufficienter persoluunt propriam poenam.'

. . . et mulieres incisis manibus et pedibus constitute in loco glaciali et niuis nudas, et eas uermes comedebant. Videns et ploraui et audiui, et interrogaui, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt qui orphanos et uiduas et pauperes nocuerunt. Non sperauerunt in deo. Propterea indeficienter persoluunt propriam poenam.'

Et aspexi et uidi alios uiros et mulieres pendentes super flumen aque, et linguas eorum comedebant, et nullus inerant eis fructus. Ideo diuiserunt in conspectu oculorum suorum et non sinebat eos superius ingredi. Et interrogaui, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt qui ante constitutas horas absoluunt ieiunium: propterea indeficienter persoluunt poenas.'

Et uidi alios uiros et mulieres suspensos a superciliis suis et capillis, et facule ignis tradebant eis. Et dixi, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Haec sunt comedentes propter uiros proprios et propter sua uirilia [*sic*]; et ideo indeficienter persoluunt propriam penam.' /

Et uidi alios uiros ac mulieres. . . .

[32] . . . ad septentrionem fluminis alium locum uariarum et diuersarum poenarum repletum, uiros ac mulieres, et flumen igneum decurrebat in eis. Inspexi autem et uidi eas in profundum ualde et has animas plures unam super unam. Et erat profunditas loci illius quasi ·XXX· milia stadiorum. Et uidi eas gementes et flentes et clamantes, 'Miserere nobis'; et nemo misertus est. Et interrogaui, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt qui non sperauerunt in deum, quod possent eum habere adiutorem.' Et interrogaui eum et dixi, 'Domine, si fuerint euntes ·XXX· generationes manentes una*

14. incisis] incirris
26–28. facule . . . uirilia] *Cf. P, James, p. 32, ll. 8–10, et C, Budge, p. 1063.*
38. una*] unam

super unam, profunditas fouee quanta sit?' Et dixit mihi, 'Abissus mensuram non habet; feruet etiam sicut ignis; aut si forte quis accipiat lapidem et mittat in puteum ualde profundum et post multum orarum spatium perueniet ad terram, sic et abyssus. Cum enim mittuntur illic animae, uix post quingentis annis pertingunt in profundum.' [33] Ego uero cum audissem ploraui et ingemui super genus hominum. Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Quare ploras? Numquid tu magis misericors es deo; bonus et sciens quoniam poene patiuntur genus hominum [*sic*], dimittens unumquem*que* propriam uoluntatem in tempore quo habitat in terram?'

[34] Et respexi adhuc in flumine igneo, et uidi illic hominem senem dedu/*ci* et trahi; et demerserunt eum usque ad ienuam. Et *aduen*it angelus tartaruchus habens ferrum in manibus *suis* trium ang*u*lorum, et de eo pertrahebat uiscera senis illius ex ore. Et interrogaui, 'Domine, quis est hic senex cui talia apponuntur tormenta?' Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Istum quem uides presbiter fuit qui non consummauit ministerium suum bene. Dum enim fuit uiuus manducans et bibens et fornicans offerebat hostias deo.'

[35] Et uidi alterum non longe alio sene, quem adducebant cum festinatione currentem quattuor angeli maligni, et dimerserunt eum usque ad ienua in flumine igneo; et lampades igneae percutiebant faciem eius sicut pr*o*cella; et non permisserunt dicere, 'Miserere mei.' Et interrogaui, 'Quis est hic, domine?' Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Hunc quem uides episcopus fuit, et non consumauit bene episcopatum suum, sed quidem nomen accepit magnum et non est egressus in sanctitate eius qui donauit ei nomen; et in omni uita sua non fecit iudicium iustum, et uiduis et pupillis non misertus est. Nunc autem retributum est ei secundum opera sua.'

[36] Et uidi alium hominem *a* latere eius in flumine igneo usque ad ienua. Erant autem manus eius extense et coinquinate in sanguinem, et uermes comedebant et exhibant de ore eius et de naribus. Erat gemens et plorans et clamans, et dicebat, 'Miserere mei, quoniam ego notior pre ceteris qui sunt in poena.' / Et interrogaui, 'Que est ista, et quis est, domine, hic?' Dixit mihi, 'Istum quem uides diaconus fuit qui edebat oblationes, et fornicator, et rectum non fecit in conspectum

8. sciens . . . hominum] *Cf. P, James, p. 29, ll. 28, 29.*
9. unumquem*que*] unum quem
12. deduc*i*] deducere *aduen*it] respondit
13. *suis*] incis [*pro* incisis ?] ang*u*lorum] angelorum
22. pr*o*cella] precella
29. *a* latere] latera

dei; propterea incessabiliter persoluit poenam istam.'

Et inspexi, et uidi alium hominem a latere eius quem exhibuerunt cum festinatione; et proiecerunt eum in flumine igneo, et erat usque ienua. Et uenit angelus qui *est* super penas, habens nouaculam grandem ignitam, et in ea rumpebat labia hominis illius et linguam similiter. Et suspirans ego ploraui, et interrogaui, 'Quis est iste, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Istum quem uides lector fuit qui docebat populum. Ipse autem precepta dei non seruauit.'

[37] Adhuc quoque inspexi, et uidi aliam multitudinem fouearum in eodem loco. Erat in medio fluminis illius plenitudo uirorum et mulierum, et uermes comedebant eos. Ego ploraui et suspirans interrogaui, 'Domine, qui sunt isti?' Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Hii sunt qui usuras usurarum exigentes, contendentes in diuiciis suis, non sperantes in deo habere adiutorem posse.'

Aspexi autem iterum et uidi alium locum angustum ualde, et erat in circuitu eius sicut murus igneus, et intus uiros ac mulieres commanducantes linguas suas. Et interrogaui, 'Qui sunt isti, domine?' Et dixit, 'Hi sunt qui detractant in ecclesia, uerbum dei non adtendentes, sed quasi pro nihilo facientes deum et angelos eius; propterea / nunc propriam persoluunt penam.'

[38, 39] Et aspexi et uidi alios senes puluerulentos, et aspectus eorum tamquam sanguis; et erant in foueam picis et sulphuris, et decurrebat sicut flumen igneum. Et interrogaui, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt qui fecerunt impietatem Sodome et Gomurrę, masculi in masculis, propter quod indeficienter persoluunt propriam poenam.'

[40] Et inspexi et uidi alios uiros et mulieres induentes uestimenta clara, cecos oculos, constitutos in foueam ignis. Et interrogaui, 'Qui sunt hi, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Sunt de gentilibus qui fecerunt elemosinas, deum non cognoscentes; propter quod indeficienter persoluunt propriam poenam.' Et inspexi et uidi alios uiros et mulieres super obeliscum igneum, et uestes discernentes eos, et dicebant, 'Miserere nobis.' Et uidi angelum poenarum ualidissime *poenam* superponentem eis et dicentem, 'Agnoscite filium dei. Predixit enim uobis et non audistis, et cum legerentur uobis diuine scripture non adtendistis; propter quod non eritis iusti ad iudicium dei. Adprehendistis actus uestros . * . ipsi adduxerunt uos in his poenis.' Ego autem suspiraui et fleui, et interrogaui, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et respondit, 'He*e* sunt mulieres comma-

4. *est*] se
32. *poenam*] *om MS. Cf. P. James, p. 32, l. 25.*
35. * . .] *verbum quod legi non potest.*
37. He*e*] Hec

culantes plasmatura dei uiui, proferentes ex utero infantes, et hii sunt uiri concubentes cum eis. Infantes autem illorum interpellauerunt deum et angelum qui super poenas erat, dicens, "Defende nos a genitoribus nostris; ipsi enim cummaculauerunt plasmaturam / dei, nomen
5 dei habentes, sed precepta eius non obseruauerunt; et dederunt nobis hos [*sic*] in escam: alias uero proiecerunt in flumen infantes." Ipsi autem traditi sunt angelo tartarucho qui erat super poenas ut duceret eos in locum spatiosum misericordiae. Patres autem et matres strangulati in perpetuam poenam.'

10 Et post hec uidi alios uiros et mulieres indutos pannis et sulphure, et in eis dracones circumuoluta colla erant et humeros et pedes. Trahebant eos angeli habentes ignea cornua, et ex his percutiebant eos et detruncabant nares eorum, quia cognouerunt tempus in quo iustum erat penitere et seruire deo et non fecerunt. Interrogaui, 'Qui sunt
15 isti, domine?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt qui uidentur abrenuntiare seculo tantum, habitum nostrum induentes, sed mundi impedimenta fecerunt eos miseros non exibentes agapem unam; et uiduis et orphanis non sunt miserti, et non suscipientes oblacionem ne una quidem die obtulerunt, neque miserti sunt proximis orationum earum, ne una quidem oratio
20 ascendit ad deum; multa impedimenta et mundales cure inpedierunt eos ut non facerent rectum in conspectu dei.' Angeli autem circuibant cum ipsis omnibus poenis. Videntes autem qui erant in poenis, dicebant eis, 'Seculares constituti sumus, ideo negleximus. Vtquid et uos similiter?' Et perduxerunt eos in alium locum et ipsi quidem similiter /
25 dixerunt ad eos, 'Nos cum in seculo essemus sciebamus nos peccatores esse; uidebamus uos in sancto habitu et beatificabamus uos dicentes, "Hii sunt iusti et serui dei." Nunc ergo cognouimus quoniam uanum uocastis nomen dei; propter quod ipsi perpetuam exsoluitis poenam.'

Et suspiraui et fleui, et dixi, 'Ve ue generi humano, ue peccatoribus;
30 *ut*qui*d* nati sunt?' Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Quare ploras? Numquid tu magis misericors potes esse ut deus est? Deus benignus est, et cognoscis quia rectum iudicium dimittit unumquemque qui *facit* propriam uoluntatem, quod eis placet constitutis in terris.' Et iterum ploraui ualdissime, et dixit mihi, 'Ploras, cum necdum uideris maiora
35 supplicia? Sequere me, et uidebis his maiora septies.' [41] Et tulit me ad septemtrionem locum omnium penarum, et statuit me super puteum, et inueni eum signatum septem signaculis. Et respexit angelus qui

5–6. dederunt . . . escam] *Cf. James, p. 33, l. 2.*
14. erat] erant ; n *delet.*
30. *ut*qui*d*] etqui
32. *facit*] *om MS.*

mecum erat et dixit angelo preposit*o* loci illius, 'Aperi os putei ut uideat dilectissimus dei Paulus, quia data est ei potestas omnes uidere poenas.' Et dixit ad me angelus, 'Sta longe, quia non uales sustinere foetorem l*o*ci.' Cum ergo apertum fuisset, statim surrexit fetor quidam durus et malignus ualde qui superauit penas. Et respexi deorsum in eum et uidi quasi massas igneas ardentes ex omni parte, et angustia putei capacitas unius hominis erat tantum. Et respondit angelus et dixit, 'Si quis missus fuerit in hunc puteum et sigillo / signatum fuerit super eum, numquam commemoratio eius fit in conspectu patris et filii et spiritus sancti, nec in sanctorum angelorum.' Et dixi, 'Qui sunt hii, domine, qui mittuntur in hunc puteum?' Et respondit angelus et dixit mihi, 'Quicumque non confessus fuerit quia Iesus uenit in carne et quia genuit eum Maria uerum deum; et dicunt panem heucharistiam et calicem benedictionem non corpus Christi et sanguinem ipsius.'

[42] Et respexi ad septemtrionem ad occasum omnium quod expectaui, et uidi uermem inquietem in locum ubi erat stridor dentium. Habebat autem uermis mensuram cubitum unum et capita dua. Et uidi illic uiros et mulieres in frigore et stridor*e* dentium. Et interrogaui et dixi, 'Qui sunt hii, domine, in hunc locum?' Et dixit mihi, 'Hii sunt qui dicunt quia Christus non resurrexit a mortuis et quoniam hec caro non resurget.' Et interrogaui, 'Domine, non est ignis neque calor in eo loco?' Et dixit mihi, 'In hunc locum nihil est nisi frigus et nix.' Et iterum dixit, 'Si sol oritur super eos, non calefaciunt illius loci propter superhabundans frigus [*sic*].'

Haec autem audiens extendi manus meas et fleui et suspirans dixi, 'Melius erat si nati non fuissemus nos peccatores.' [43] Omnes autem qui erant in eodem loco uiderunt me flentem cum angelo, et ipsi exclamauerunt et fleuerunt. Et post hec uidi celum apertum et Michahelem angelum testament*i* descendentem de celo et cum eo omnis exercitus angelorum, et descenderunt *ad* omnes qui erant / in suppliciis constituti; et uidentes eos iterum iterum exclamauerunt dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, angele Michahel testamenti misericors. Tu enim testimonium es ferens pro genere humano, et propter tuas orationes adhuc terram istam uidemus. Nunc iudicium cognouimus, quia possibile fuit filio dei ante occurrere nobis quam incideremus in hunc locum. Audiuimus enim quale est iudicium priusquam de mundo exiremus, sed impedi-

1. preposito] prepositus 4. loci] luci
18. stridore] stridor
23–24. non . . . frigus.] *Cf. James, p. 34, l. 28.*
29. testamenti] testamentum
30. *ad*] *om MS.*

menta et cure uite secularis penitere non permiserunt.' Et respondit Michahel et dixit eis, 'Audite, qui estis in poenis, audite Michaheli loquenti*. Ego consisto in conspectu dei omni hora. Viuit deus ante cuius conspectum adsisto, quia non derelinqui una die uel una nocte
5 orans indeficienter pro humano generi. Et ego quidem oro pro eis. Ipsi autem facientes facinora non cessauerunt et fornicationes, et non adfuerunt mihi in bono constituti in terris, et consumpserunt tempus in uanitate in quo debuerunt penitere. Ego oraui et precor modo uos maturos, ego deprecor ut pluuia destinatur super terram, ego etiam oro
10 ut terra producat fructus. Et quidem dico uobis: quoniam si quis fecerit modicum boni, ego certabor pro ipso protegens eum dum usque euaserit iudicium poenarum. Vbi sunt orationes uestrae, ubi penitentiae uestrae? Perdidistis tempus competen*tes*. Nunc autem flete, et ego flebo uobiscum / et qui mecum sunt sancti angeli cum dilectissimo
15 Paulo, forte misereatur misericors deus et uobis refrigerium prestet.' Audientes autem uerba hec exclamauerunt et fleuerunt ualde, et dixerunt omnes una uoce, 'Miserere nostri, filius dei.' Et suspirauit Paulus et dixit, 'Domine, miserere plasmatio*ni* tua*e*, miserere fili*is* hominum, miserere imagini tuae.'

20 [44] Ego uero aspexi et uidi mouere caelum sicut arbores a uento commotas. Subito autem proiecerunt se in conspectu throni, et uidi ·XX·IIII^or^· seniores et ·IIII^or^· animalia adorantia. Et uidi altare et uelamen et thronum, et er*a*nt omnia exaltantia; et eleuatus fumus boni odoris iuxta altare throni dei. Et audiui uoce*m* dicent*is*, 'Cuius
25 gratia deprecamini, nostri angeli, nostri ministri?' Exclamauerunt, 'Deprecamur uidentes bonitatem tuam magnam in genere humano.' Et post haec uidi filium dei descendentem de celo, et diadema in capite eius. Videntes autem eum qui erant constituti in poenis, exclamauerunt omnes una uoce dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, filius dei excelsi. Tu es qui
30 omnibus refrigerium prestas in celis et super terram, et nostri similiter miserere: ex quo enim uidimus te refecti sumus.' Exiuit uox filii dei per omnes poenas dicens posthaec, 'Quid opus fecistis ut postuletis refrigerium? Sanguis meus propter uos effusus est, et nec penituistis. Propter / uos coronam de spinis in capite portaui manusque meas con-
35 fixerunt clauis, et nec condoluistis. Aquam petiui pendens: dederunt

3. loquenti*] loquentem
13. competen*tes*] competens
18. plasmatio*ni* tua*e*] plasmatio tua fili*is*] filios
23. er*a*nt] erunt
24. uoce*m* dicent*is*] uoces dicentes

mihi acetum cum felle mixt*um*. Lancea aperuerunt latus meum dextrum propter nomen hominum. Seruos meos, prophetas et iustos occidistis. Propter uos de his omnibus dedi locum penitentiae, et noluistis. Itaque propter Michahelem angelum testamenti, et propter angelos qui cum ipso sunt, et propter dilectissimum meum Paulum quem nolo contristari, et propter fratres uestros qui in mundo sunt et offerunt oblationes, et propter amicos uestros facientes precepta mea, et magis propter meam ipsius bonitatem, *in die qua* resurrexi a mortuis dono uobis omnibus qui in poenis estis noctem et diem dominice refrigerium in perpetuum.' Exclamauerunt omnes et dixerunt, 'Benedicimus te filium dei qui dedisti nobis noctem et diem hanc in refrigerium, quoniam istud omnem superat poenam.'

1. mixt*um*] mixto aperuerunt] aparuerunt ; e *super* a *script*.
8. *in die qua*] *om MS*.

THE VIENNA FRAGMENT (*F*)

[Vienna, *Cod. 362*. See Bibliography I B, under *F*, below, p. 220.]

[17] Et locuta est uox domini, et dixit, 'Per memetipsum et uirtutem meam iuro, et per angelos meos iuro, si hec anima uno anno antequam moreretur sua emendaret peccata, obliuiscerer illorum omnium.' [18] Tunc clamabant milia angelorum, 'Iustus es, domine, et rectum iudicium tuum!' 5

[19] Et dixit angelus ad Paulum, 'Vidisti et audisti hoc?' 'Audiui,' inquit. Et ille, 'Sequere me, et ducam te ad locum iustorum.'

Et duxit eum ad tercium celum et monstrauit ei auream portam et duas columpnas que erant plene omnibus bonis. Et dixit Paulo, 'Beatus es, Paule, si liceat tibi per hanc portam intrare, quam nullus 10 intrabit nisi bonus et innocens.' Et interrogauit angelum quid in tabulis esset scriptum. 'Hii sunt,' inquit, 'qui perfecto corde suo domino seruierunt in terra.' Tunc Sanctus Paulus, 'Que,' inquit, 'est causa ut in celo scribantur nomina eorum?' 'Vt hii,' inquit, 'qui die et nocte assistunt domino sciant bonitatem illorum.' 15

[20] Deinde duxit eum prope portam, et obuiauit ei senex primum, cuius facies sicut sol e*n*ituit. Et osculatus est eum, gaudens quamuis fleret. Et Paulus, 'Cur,' ait, 'pater, fles?' Et *ille*, 'Nos homines ualde tristamur, quia promissiones dei magne sunt, et pauci suscepturi sunt eas.' Et requisiuit Paulus ab angelo quis esset senex. 'Hic est,' in- 20 quit, 'Enoch primus scriba.' Hinc habuit obuiam sanctum uatem Helyam, qui, post magne dilectionis oscula, compleuit dicens, 'Vtinam, Paule, tuorum labiorum merces iam nunc tibi esset attributa, quam tu meruisti humano generi subueniendo! Quam innumera bona parata sunt hiis qui per tuam doctrinam crediderunt! Sed pauci sunt qui eam 25 suscepturi sunt, quia proprias uoluntates multi secuntur.'

[21] Item angelus, 'Frater,' inquit, 'uide ne archana que uides cēlestia, incaute manifestes hominibus. Sequere me, et tibi talia demonstrabo que tu decenter possis dicere.'

Et duxit eum in altum celum, cui erat fundamentum de lapide 30 saphiro, et riuus aque introcurrebat. Et Paulus inquisiuit nomen aque. Et angelus, 'Hic est Occeanus, qui circuit orbem terre.' Tunc in aliud celum duxit eum, unde fulget lux super terram omnem. [22] Hinc aspexit quendam terram omni auro pulcriorem, et fluuius lacteus et melleus currebat per eam, et palme pulcerrime in ripa stabant ex diuersis 35 coloribus. Et interrogauit Paulus angelum an hic esset locus quem

17. e*n*ituit] emituit
18. Et *ille*, 'Nos] Et nos

deus preparauit sanctis suis. Et respondit angelus, 'Septempliciter pulcrior est locus ille ubi est requies beatorum. Tantum cum fuerint primum educte de corporibus anime, huc ueniunt iusti.'

[23] Post hec duxit eum in ciuitatem pulcram nimis, ubi terra erat aurea et lux clarior luce priori; habitatores quoque eius splendidiores auro. Et in circuitu eius duodecim muri, / et duodecim turres in ea, et quatuor flumina intus currencia. Et sciscitatus est Paulus nomina ipsorum fluminum. Et angelus ait, 'Vnum dicitur Phison de melle, alterum Eufrates, quod et lacteum est, tercium Geon de oleo, quartum Tygris de uino. Qui in mundo recti sunt, ad hos riuos perueniunt post mortem. Hic remunerantur a domino.'

[24] Ante urbem autem ipsam multe magne et alte arbores stabant, in quibus nullus erat fructus preter folia, super quas sedebant homines multi lacrimantes. Et cum uidissent eum ingredi ciuitatem, ceperunt eedem arbores tremulare. Hos ut uidit Paulus, cum eis cepit lacrimare, et qui essent angelum inquirere et cur non permitterentur introire. Et angelus ait, 'Isti sunt qui seculum reliquerunt, ieiunauerunt, uigilauerunt, et tamen inde superbi erant. Quibus uoluerunt bona fecerunt, ac de benefactis suis humanas laudes quesiuerunt; sibi ipsis placuerunt. Hii per solam superbiam ab ingressu arcentur illius ciuitatis, quia radix omnium malorum est superbia.' Percunctatur et Paulus cur arbores tremuerunt in commocione. Respondit ei angelus, 'Arborum commocio significat uariacionem mortuorum, quibus nulla erat stabilitas nisi superbia, que est inicium peccati.' Paulus dixit, 'Quare tamen prope sunt porte, cum non permittantur introire?' Angelus respondit, 'Propter magnam clemenciam dei factum est hoc, et quia hic est introitus omnium sanctorum, hic relicti sunt ut, quando dominus noster Iesus Christus cum omnibus sanctis ingressus, hic sit ut ipsi tandem ingrediantur.'

[25] Tunc assumpsit angelus Paulum et transduxit eum per melleum flumen. Et ibi cernebat delectabilem uiam, in qua recognouit sanctum uatem Ysaiam et Ieremiam et omnes prophetas dei. Et osculati sunt eum. Et interrogauit Paulus angelum que esset hec uia splendida. Et dixit ei, 'Omnes qui in hoc mundo proprias uoluntates relinquunt, traduntur Sancto Michaeli post obitum uite et deducuntur per hanc uiam et suscipiuntur ab hiis senioribus.'

[26] Deinde transduxit eum per alueum qui lacte manabat. Hic pueros illos uidit quos Herodes impius occidit, et ipsi susceperunt eum amicabiliter. Et ait angelus, 'Omnes, O Paule, qui mundi sunt corpore, cum de hoc mundo transierint, istis sociantur in gaudio.'

[27] Tunc transduxit eum per flumen quod uino uidebatur redundare. Et uidit Abraham, Ysaac et Iacob, ac Loth necnon et Iob multosque patres, qui omnes salutabant eum amicabiliter. Et dixit Paulus, 'Quis est iste locus?' Et angelus, 'Quisquis fuerit humilis, peregrinis hospitalis, misericors, cum obierint a Sancto Michaele huc ducuntur.'

[28] Et uidit multos homines letantes et cantantes, 'Gloria tibi domine!' Et interrogauit Paulus angelum qui essent hii. Et respondit angelus, 'Isti sunt qui se deo uouerunt et uota persoluerunt, et non suam uoluntatem sed dei impleuerunt.'

[29] Et postea duxit eum in mediam ciuitatem, et uidit ibi innumeras sedes pulcre paratas. Et, 'Qui,' ait Paulus, 'in istis sedibus collocabuntur?' Ait angelus, 'Qui in hoc mundo stulti uidebantur, sed bonitatem in se habentes, quicquid boni audierunt retinendo seruauerunt.'

Deinde uidit altare altum et igneum, et uirum pulcriorem sole super illud stantem; et habebat psalterium in manu sua, alta uoce cantans, 'Alleluia!' Et omnes intus responderunt illi similiter, 'Alleluia!' ita ut * confunderentur templi fundamenta. Et interrogauit Paulus angelum quis esset uir ille qui pulcrior ceteris uidebatur. Et dixit angelus, 'Dauid est, qui fuit rex et propheta, et multa mirabilia fecit in terra. Et ciuitas ista uocatur Ierusalem superna. Cum uenerit sanctus sanctorum Christus cum magna gloria et potencia, tunc cantabit ipse ante eum, et ceteri seniores, sicut modo fecerunt. Et hec est laus dei et sanctorum angelorum.'

[31] Tunc duxit eum in locum ubi occidit sol super amnem quendam magnum. Et inquisiuit Paulus nomen aque. Et angelus, 'Hic est Occeanus, qui circuit terram.' Et uidit Sanctus Paulus locum terribilem in parte occidentali ipsius aque. Et erant ibi tenebre et tristicie multe et afflictio multa animarum.

Ibi multi riui sulphuris et picis fluebant, et magna hominum turba submersa: alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad umbilicum, alii usque ad labia, alii usque ad supercilia, alii usque ad capillos. Et interrogauit Paulus angelum quid illi haberent peccati quos talia uidit pati. 'Quos,' inquit angelus, 'uides usque ad genua dimergi, hii sunt qui ad ecclesias euntes et redeuntes et in ipsa ecclesia exercuerunt eloquia.' 'Qui usque ad labia?' 'Hii sunt qui proximis detrahunt.' 'Qui usque ad umbilicum?' 'Hii sunt qui corpus et sanguinem domini immundi susceperunt.' 'Qui usque ad capillos?' 'Hii sunt qui sibimet ipsis et proximis suis maledicebant.'

[32] Deinde uidit fossam animarum plenam, et una super alteram

16. ut*] ut non

sedebat. Et requirenti de hiis Paulo dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui in deum non bene crediderunt nec sperauerunt. Profunditas autem huius fosse ultra quadrigentas fertur uertigines esse.' [33] Cum hec audisset Paulus, eleuata uoce flebat super tormenta miserorum. Et ait angelus, 'Paule, quid fles? An / nescis quod homines he sibi imminere sciunt qui dei iussa contempnunt?'

[34] Introgressus autem stetit senex usque ad umbilicum dimersus; et requisitus, angelus ait, 'In seculo erat prespiter qui suum non bene custodiuit officium, insuper fornicator et superbus fuit.' Et princeps tenebrarum perforauit uentrem eius et os de ferro.

[35] Item uidit senem quem quatuor demones cum flamma contra os percuciebant, ne posset dicere, 'Deus, miserere mei!' Et interrogatus, angelus respondit, 'Hic erat episcopus arrogans, de tanto nomine superbiens, et non seruauit Christi preceptum, qui sibi dedit honorem, nec fuit misericors uiduis et orphanis.'

[36] Et uisus est alius stans in tormentis, manibus extensis et cruentatis, et uermes egressi sunt de ore eius et naribus; et ingemiscens et flens sepe dicebat, 'Miserere mei, domine, quia plus ego tormenta sustineo quam omnes alii.' Et angelus, interrogatus, respondit, 'Hic fuit dyaconus qui communicauit indignus, insuper fornicator fuit et nichil boni gessit.'

Et uidit alium iuxta illum stantem, ad quem currebant demones, et intingebant eum fortiter in ignem. Et uenit illuc princeps demoniorum cum rasorio ualde acuto et perscidit ei labia et linguam. Et plorauit Sanctus Paulus et quis esset interrogauit. Et angelus, 'Hic,' inquit, 'lector fuit qui populum docere debuit et ipse mandatum dei non seruauit.'

[37] Et uidit ibi multos utriusque sexus in ipsis tormentis, quos comedebant uermes. Et ait angelus, 'Hii sunt qui pecuniam suam dabant ad usuram et plus de pecunia quam de deo habuerunt curam.'

Et uidit multos proprias linguas comedentes. Et dixit angelus Paulo, 'Hii sunt qui in ecclesiis dei uerbum non audiunt nec alios audire permittunt.'

REDACTION I

[Vienna, *Cod. 362*. See Bibliography I B, under *F*, below, p. 220.]

VISIO BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI APOCRIPHA

Oportet uos, fratres karissimi, amare delicias paradisi et timere penas inferni, que ostense sunt Paulo apostolo, quando fuit in carcere in hoc mundo. Tulit eum Michael archangelus in spiritum domini, et ostendit ei celum et terram atque infernum.

[1] Et duxit eum super flumen magnum aque. Et interrogauit eum Paulus quis esset hic fluuius. Et dixit angelus, 'Hic est Occeanus, super quem girant sidera celi; et circuit orbem terre.' Et uidit ibi locum terribilem, et non erat lumen in illo, sed tenebre et mesticie et suspiria. Et nomen loci eius Cochiton; et alia tria flumina que confluunt secum Stix, Flegeton et Acheron. Et erant stillicidia super peccatores uelut mons igneus.

[2] Intrinsecus laci *draco igneus* centum capita habens in collo eius et mille dentes in unoquoque capite, et ut leo unusquisque dens ardebat. Et erant oculi eius quasi gladii acuti, semper ore aperto et degluciebat animas. Et erat nomen eius Parthemon. Ab eo procedunt copie ranarum et omnia genera uermium. In ore eius mittuntur satrape omnes qui iniquitatem faciunt in terra cum principibus. Vnde et Salomon, 'Qui offert,' inquit, 'sacrificium de rapina pauperum, tamquam qui filium in conspectu matris mortificet.'

[3] Et uidit ibi multos homines dimersos in flumine ignito: alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad umbilicum, alii usque ad labia, alii usque ad supercilia erant mersi. Tunc fleuit Paulus et suspirauit, et interrogauit angelum qui essent dimersi usque ad genu*a*. Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui furtum fecerunt et rapinam et luxuriam, et inde penitenciam non egerunt et ad ecclesiam non uenerunt.' 'Domine, qui sunt hii qui usque ad umbilicum?' Respondit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui fornicantur et postquam assumpserunt corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Iesu Christi, et non sunt reuersi ad penitenciam usque ad mortem.' 'Domine, qui sunt hii qui usque ad labia?' 'Hii sunt detractores et falsi testes et qui murmurauerunt in ecclesia et non audierunt uerbum domini.' 'Qui usque ad supercilia?' 'Hii sunt qui fictum animum habent in corde et anuunt mal*a* proximis suis, dum fidem habent ad illos. Et unusquisque homo qui hoc peccatum facit, si non penitebit, cadit in

12. *draco igneus*] *om MS.*
23. genu*a*] genu
32. mal*a*] male ; e *correct. ad* a [*?*]

infernum, sicut illi fecerunt.'

[4] Tunc uidit ibi locum plenum uiris et mulieribus. Et erat fouea alta in profundo laci plena animabus, et unaqueque super aliam sedebat. Et erat profunditas laci illius trecenta milia cubitorum. Gementes et flentes ibi anime et clamantes, 'Miserere nobis, fili Dauid!' Tunc fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui non sperauerunt in deum nec fidem habuerunt in illo.' Et dixit Paulus, 'Profunditas loci istius que est?' Et dixit angelus, 'Abyssus mensuram non habet. Quicunque ueniunt in locum istum, eternum habent supplicium.' Cum hoc audisset Paulus, ingemuit et fleuit. Et dixit angelus, 'Quid ploras? Vis plus esse misericors filio dei, qui redemit uos et dimisit unicuique propriam uoluntatem et dedit eis tempus pentencie, et non penituerunt?'

[5] Postea uidit locum terribilem et angustum, in quo erat flumen magnum ascendens ad septentrionem. Et uiri et mulieres erant in eo linguas suas comedentes, et uermes in circuitu comedentes eos. Paulus plorans dixit, 'Qui sunt hii?' Angelus dixit, 'Hii sunt qui orphanis et uiduis nocuerunt, et usuras et lucrum quesiuerunt sine misericordia.' Et ignis urebat unam partem, altera frigescebat.

[6] Et tunc uidit multos homines ante se multos fructus habentes, et non sinebantur ex illis sumere. Paulus dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Angelus dixit, 'Hii sunt qui absoluerunt ieiunium ante tempus.'

[7] Postea uidit mulieres multas in alio loco, indutas pannis et pice et sulphure et igne, et dracones et serpentes circa colla earum; et angeli habentes cornua ignita percuciebant eas. Et dixit Paulus, 'Qui sunt hee, domine?' Et angelus, 'Hee sunt que maculauerunt se et necauerunt infantes suos, et auguria et diuinaciones fecerunt.'

[8] Paulus fleuit et dixit, 'Ve, ue, ue, peccatoribus! Vtquid nati sunt?' Et angelus, 'Quid ploras, Paule? Nondum uidisti maiora hiis supplicia sepcies.'

[9] Et tulit eum ad septentrionem super puteum sigillatum sigillis septem. Et dixit angelus, 'Vade longe, si non possis sustinere fetorem loci.' Et apertum est os putei, et surrexit quidam / fetor super has omnes penas. Et uidit muros igneos eleuantes se ex utraque parte. Et dixit Paulus, 'Quis est iste infernus?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hic est infernus in quem omnes anime descenderunt ante aduentum domini. Patriarche et prophete et totus mundus inclinatus fuit ad hunc infernum. Sed dominus misericors audiuit gemitum eorum, et descendit et inde partem abstulit et partem reliquit, et sigillauit sigillis septem. Nunquam postea ulla anima descendit in illum locum. Et in die iudicii

34. muros] mures

qui mittetur in illum locum, cum corpore et anima mittetur.' Et Paulus dixit, 'Domine, qui sunt hii?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt gentiles qui non sunt baptizati nec crediderunt Christum in carne uenientem, et qui non acceperunt corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Iesu Christi. Hii punientur sine fine.'

[10] Tunc illi qui fuerunt in inferno, audientes Mychaelem et Paulum, clamauerunt dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, Mychael; et Paule, interpella Christum pro nobis!' Et ait angelus, 'Flete, et flebo uobiscum, et omnes angeli dei mecum, et Paulus nobiscum; et deus forte fiet uobis misericors.' Qui erant in penis clamauerunt dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, fili Dauid!' Tunc deus misertus est pro peticione Mychaelis et Pauli, et dedit eis refrigerium omnibus diebus dominicis et noctibus usque in diem iudicii. Tunc clamauerunt anime dicentes, 'Benedictus es, dei filius, quia plus est nobis refrigerium istud quam omne tempus uite nostre.' Tunc benedixit dominus Paulum beatum, et dixit ad eum ut predicaret omni populo ueram confessionem et ueram penitenciam, ne intrarent in illas penas.

[11] Tunc Paulus scripsit multas penas; et sunt numero quasi centum xliiii. Si fuissent centum uiri ab inicio mundi, et unusquisque habuisset ferream linguam, nunquam possent unam penam enarrere inferni.

[12] Expauescete, fratres karissimi, et benefacite in quantum possitis, et timete deum, et date gloriam et honorem deo et omnibus sanctis eius, ut uos exaltet in opere bono et perducat in uitam eternam; 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.

REDACTION II

[Vienna, *Cod. 3881*]

VISIO SANCTI PAULI

Karissimi, oportet nos timere penas inferni et amare delicias paradisi, que ostense sunt Paulo sancto quando fuit in carcere in hoc mundo, etc.

[1] Tulit illum Michael in spiritum in celum et ostendit ei fundamentum celi super flumen magnum. Tunc interrogauit quid hoc esset. Tunc respondit angelus, 'Occeanus, qui circumierat omne mundum.' / Et uidit ibi Paulus locum terribilem; et non erat lumen in illo loco, sed tenebre et tristicie. Et uidit flumen igneum feruens, et fluctus eius exaltabantur usque ad celum. Et nomen loci illius Cogiton. Et erant stillicidia stillancia super peccatores uelud montes ignei.

[2] Et draco igneus in medio loci et habens in collo eius capita tria et mille dentes, et unusquisque dens quasi gladius acutus et oculi quasi gladii acuti; semperque aperto ore stabat ut absorberet animas. Et erat nomen eius Bachimach. Et ab eo procedebant serpentes et rane et omnia genera uermium. In os uero eius mittuntur anime satrape terre qui iniquitatem fecerunt, et actores eorum.

[3] Et uidit Paulus multos homines, et diuersos in flumine igneo: aliqui usque ad li*n*gwam, aliqui usque ad genua, aliqui usque ad umblicum, aliqui usque ad labia, aliqui usque ad supercilia. Tunc ingemuit Paulus et interrogauit angelum quid hoc esset. Respondit Michael, 'Hii qui sunt ad li*n*gwam sunt hii qui seminant discordiam in populo. Qui autem ad labia sunt qui lites seruant et inter alios eis non loquendo. Qui autem ad genua sunt hii qui frequentes sunt in chorea et in tripudio. Qui autem ad umblicum sunt fornicatores, et qui uiolant thorum proximi sui, et qui non egerunt penitenciam in hoc mundo. Qui uero ad supercilia sunt hii qui de ruina et de lesione aliorum gaudent.'

[4] Et postea Paulus ductus ad portas inferni. Et uidit ibi arbores igneas, in quarum ramis peccatores cruciati pendebant: quidam per capillos, alii per pedes, alii per manus, alii per li*n*gwas, alii per colla, alii per brachia, alii per membra diuersa. Et iterum uidit Paulus fornacem ardentem per sex flammas in diuersis coloribus; et multi puniebantur

18. supercilia] supercilicia
17, 20. li*n*gwam] ligwam
28. li*n*gwas] ligwas
30. multi] multum

in eo. Et sex plage in circuitu fornacis. Et in ipsam fornacem mittebantur anime. Alie flent, alie ullulant, alie gemunt, alie ardent, alie querunt mortem et non inuenient, quia numquam moriuntur.

[5] Iterum uidit alium locum uiris ac mulieribus plenum, et profunditas loci illius trecenti mili*a* cubitorum. Semper gementes et flentes, dicentes, 'Miserere nostri, filii Dauid!' Tunc fleuit Paulus et dixit ad Michaelem, 'Domine, qui sunt hii?' Respondit Michael, 'Hii sunt qui non sperauerunt in dominum, nec corpore nec sangwine Christi sunt procurati. Propterea perierunt.'

[6] Post hec uidit alium locum uiris ac mulieribus plenum qui comedebant li*n*gwas suas. Tunc fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Cui dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt susurratores et adolatores qui non egerunt penitenciam, et qui querunt usuras in ecclesia.'

[7] Et iterum uidit in eodem igne uiros et mulieres nigros. Et dixit Paulus, 'Qui sunt hii?' Cui angelus, 'Hii sunt qui nimis fornicati sunt in propriis mulieribus.' Et erant ibi nigre puelle, et habuerunt nigra uestimenta et chatenas circa colla e*a*rum. Tunc interrogauit qui essent. Cui angelus, 'Hee sunt qu*e* non seruauerunt castitatem ad nupcias.'

[8] Tunc duxit eum procul angelus, ubi uidit in loco glaciali uiros et mulieres quos ignis urebat una parte et ex altera parte frigebat, nimis ullulantes. Et interrogauit qui essent. Cui angelus, 'Hii qui dei ecclesias destruxerunt et uiduas et orphanos spoliauerunt.'

[9] Tunc iterum processit. Et uidit uiros et mulieres currentes super calidissimam aquam, et f*r*uctus ante eos. Illi autem esuriebant et non sinebant*ur* sumere ex eis quicquam. Et interrogauit qui essent. Cui angelus, 'Hii sunt qui non soluerunt ieiunium statutis temporibus, et qui non porrexerunt manus suas pauperibus.'

[10] Iterum uidit mulieres in alio loco indutas pice et sulphure; et canes et serpentes circa colla e*a*rum, et comedebant eas fortiter. Et dixit Paulus, 'Qui sunt h*ee*?' Cui angelus, 'Hee sunt qu*e* neccauerunt pueros suos.'

[11] Iterum fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Ve, ue, ue peccatoribus, ut qui nati sunt!' Dixit ei angelus, 'Nondum uidisti maiora supplicia.'

5. mili*a*] milibus
11. li*n*gwas] ligwas
17. e*a*rum] eorum
18. qu*e*] qui
24. f*r*uctus] fluctus
25. sinebant*ur*] sinebant
29. e*a*rum] eorum
30. h*ee*] hii qu*e*] qui

[12] Et duxit eum angelus et statuit eum in septentrionem super puteum signatum septem sigillis igneis. Et dixit angelus ad Paulum, 'Sta longius, ut possis sustinere fetorem.' Et apertum est os putei, et quidam fetor suspirat et *super**ans omnes penas inferni. Et dixit angelus, 'Si quis in puteum istum mittitur, numquam amplius memoria eius erit in conspectu domini.' Et dixit Paulus, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt gentiles et Iudei et omnes qui non crediderunt in filium dei, nec baptizari uoluerunt, nec Christum natum de Maria uirgine aut passum pro salute mundi.'

[13] Et iterum uidit in alio / loco senem sedentem inter decem dyabolos, plorantem et ullulantem. Et interrogauit quis esset. Et dixit angelus, 'Episcopus negligens fuit qui non custodiuit legem dei sui, nec fuit castus in corpore suo nec uerbo nec opere, sed fuit auarus et superbus; et ideo sustinebit miserabiles penas usque in diem iudicii.' Et increpantes eum dyaboli et dicentes, 'Agnoscite filium *dei*!' Inde fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Ve, ue uobis sacerdotibus qui preestis aliis, quare legem dei non predicatis populo!'

[14] Post hec ductus est Paulus in alium locum horribilem, ubi, inter multitudinem demonum, uidit multas animas que cruciebantur penis horribilibus; inter quas uidit unam ex intimis ridere suppliciis propter nimios cruciatos demonum, que cordis leticia* letum wultum protulit incessanter. Tunc mirabantur et omnes demones ipsam penam inhabitantes; et postquam a risu cessauit, requisita a demonibus cur, tantis tribulacionibus occupate, ridere potuisset. Tunc leto uisu respondit, 'De misericordia dei *quam* mihi ostendit per suum angelum sanctissimum Mich*a*elem, qui michi indicat me ab isto tormento redimi debere post lapsum trium milium annorum. Post quod spacium de mea consangwinitate linia consurgent duo homines, de quorum sangwine nascitur masculus quem deus promouebit ad gradum sacerdotalem dignitatis: ex eius oracione in prima missa ego ab istis tormentis educor ad gaudia eterna.'

[15] Tunc anime, uidentes Michaelem et Paulum, clamabant omnes una uoce dicentes, 'Michael archangele dei, miserere nostri; et tu, dilecte Paule, intercede pro nobis ad deum! Scimus omnes quod, propter oraciones uestras factas in terra, redimiemur.' Et ayt Michael, 'Flete,

4. *super**ans] seruans *uel* feruans
15. *dei*] *om MS.*
21. leticia*] leticiam
25. *quam*] *om MS.*
26. Mich*a*elem] Michalem

et flebo uobiscum, cum dilectissimo Paulo, si forte misereatur uestri misericors deus.' Audientes anime, clamauerunt omnes, 'Miserere nostri, filii Dauid!' Et ayt dominus, '.⁂. Tunc per Michahelem et Paulum et fratres uestros qui in mundo sunt offerentes pro uobis oblaciones, dabo uobis requiem eternam.' Ac ille clamabant omnes, 'Benedicamus domino, etc. . . . '

3. .⁂.] *aliquid quod legi non potest.*
5. clamabant] clamabunt

REDACTION III (a and b)

[The text of IIIa is that of Munich *Cod. 2625* (M^1), with the missing lines at the beginning supplied by *Cod. Corpus Christi 20* (*CC*). IIIb is printed from Munich *Cod. 12005* (M^2).]

a

[1] [*CC*: Interrogandum quis primus rogauit ut anime requiem haberent in inferno. Id est Sanctus Paulus et Michael archangelus q*uando* exierant ad infernum, quia uoluit deus ut Paulus uideret penas/inferni. Et misit deus Michaelem cum Paulo *ut* ostenderet eis peccatorum penas. Oportet nos timere penas inferni et amare delicias paradisi, que ostense sunt Paulo quando in carne fuit. Et tulit eum Michael in celum et ostendit ei firmamentum celi super flumen aquarum.

b

[1] Interrogandum est quis primus homo rogauerit ubi anime requiem haberent in inferno: Sanctus Paulus et Sanctus Michahel archangelus, quando deus uoluit quod Paulus uideret penas inferni. Misit Michahelem cum eo ut ostenderet ei peccatores, ut doceret nos timere penas inferni et amare delicias paradisi, que ostense sunt Paulo quando fuit in carne. Et tulit eum Sanctus Michahel usque ad tercium celum et ostendit ei fundamentum celi super flumine aque.

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4. q*uando*] qm̃
7. *ut*] et
9. ostense] ostensa

REDACTION III (c and d)

[IIIc is based on St Gall *Cod. 1012* (S^2), IIId on Vienna *Cod. 1629* (*Vi*). Variants from St Gall *Cod. 1050* (S^1) and Munich *Cod. 22302* (M^3) for IIIc, and Munich *Cod. 26137* (M^4) for IIId, are recorded in the footnotes.]

c

[1] De Paulo incidente interrogandum est quis prius rogauerit ut anime haberent requiem. Et dicendum est quod Sanctus Paulus et Michael archangelus fuerunt in celo, quia uoluit deus ut uideret penas illarum. Et misit Michaelem cum Paulo, ut ostenderet ei peccatores. Oportet *enim* nos timere penas infernales et amare delicias paradysi, que ostense sunt Paulo quando fuit in carne. Et tulit Michahel eum in celum et ostendit ei fundamentum celi super flumine aque infernalis.

d

[1] Paulus uero, cum erat in carne, per uoluntatem dei ab angelo Michaele ductus est in infernum ut uideret illic peccatores; et hoc in die dominica. Vnde oportet nos timere infernales penas et amare paradisi delicias, que sumse fuerunt Paulo cum in carne esset.

1–2. De Paulo . . . est] Queritur S^1 / Interrogandum M^3
2. prius] primus M^3 / prius dominum S^1
3. haberent] habeant M^3
3. requiem] requiem in inferno S^1M^3
3–5. Et dicendum . . . celo] dicitur quod sanctus michahel et sanctus paulus quando exiuerunt ad infernum S^1 / Dicimus quod paulus et Michahel M^3
6. deus] dominus S^1
6. ut] ut paulus S^1M^3
6. illarum] infernales S^1 / inferni M^3
7. Michaelem] dominus michahellem S^1 / Michahel M^3
8. *enim*] n. / ergo S^1 / *om* M^3
9. infernales] inferni M^3
10. que] quando S^1
12. Michahel eum] eum michahel S^1
13. super flumine] super fluuiuum S^1 / et flumen M^3
14. infernalis] *om* S^1

1–4. Paulus . . . dominica.] *om* M^4
5. Vnde . . . nos] Necesse est hominibus M^4
5–6. infernales penas] penas inferni M^4
6. paradisi delicias] delicias paradysii M^4
7. sumse fuerunt Paulo] ostense sunt sancto paulo M^4
7. cum . . . esset.] quando tulit eum angelus M^4

a

[2] Et uidit ibi locum terribilem ualde, ubi non erat lumen, sed tenebre et tristitia et suspiria. Et ibi erat flumen igneum feruens, et flatus eius exaltatus erat ad celum. Et nomen loci era*t Cocheriton.

[3] Et uidit Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas, et peccatores suspensos in illis: alii pedibus ligati, alii manibus, alii linguis, alii capillis, alii brachiis, alii collo. Et iterum uidit ignem incen*den*tem per quatuor flammas in diuersis coloribus; et multi puniebantur in eo: alii fame, alii siti, alii igne,

b

[2] Et uidit ibi locum terribilem, ubi non erat lumen, sed tenebre et tristicia et suspiria. Et erat ibi flumen igneum fluens, et luctus exaltabatur. Et nomen eius Pireflegeton.

[3] Et uidit Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas, et peccatores suspensas in illis: alii pedibus erant ligati, alii manibus, alii li*n*gwis, alii capillis, alii brachiis, alii collo. Et iterum uidit ignem ardentem per quatuor angelos diuersis coloribus; et puniebant*ur* multi in eo: primi fame, alii siti, alii

6. er*at] erant
12. incen*den*tem] incentem
10. li*n*gwis] ligwis
13. puniebant*ur*] puniebant

c

[2] Et uidit locum terribilem, ubi non erat lux, sed tenebre et tristicie et suspiria. Et erat ibi flumen igneum feruens, et fluctus illius exaltatur usque ad celum. Et nomen illius Concitus.

[3] Vidit Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas, et peccatores suspensos in eis: alii pedibus, alii manibus, alii linguis, alii cappillis, alii brachiis, alii collo. Et / uidit fornacem igneam per quatuor partes flammas diuersis coloribus emittens; et multi puniebantur in ea: primi fame, alii siti, alii igne, alii

d

[2] Et uidit in inferno locum terribilem, ubi non erat lumen, sed tenebre et tristicia et suspiria. Et erat flumen feru*ens*, et flatus eius erat usque ad celum exaltatus. 5

[3] Vidit ac ante portas inferni peccatores suspensos in igneis arboribus: alii pedibus ligati erant, alii manibus, alii linguis, alii capillis, alii brachiis, alii 10 collo. Et intus uidit ignem ardentem per quatuor flammas in diuersis coloribus; et mult*i* puniebantur in ea. Prima pena inferni est fames, secunda

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1. Et uidit] et uidit ibi S^1 / Vidit ipse M^3
2. lux] lumen S^1
2–3. tristicie et suspiria] suspiria et tristicia S^1 / tristicia atque suspirium M^3
3–4. erat . . . feruens] flumen igne ardens S^1 / erat igneum M^3
4. fluctus . . . usque] fluctus eius exaltatus usque S^1 / flatus eius exaltatus M^3
5. illius Concitus] eius flegeton S^1 / loci cayton M^3
7. Vidit] Viditque S^1
8–9. peccatores . . . eis] in eis peccatores suspendentes S^1 / peccatores . . . in illis arboribus M^3
9. pedibus] erant pedibus ligati S^1 / pedibus erant ligati M^3
10. brachiis] brachio M^3
11. uidit . . . igneam] iterum uidit ignem ardentem in fornace maximum S^1 / uidit paulus ignem ardentem M^3
12. partes] *om* M^3
13. emittens] *om* S^1M^3
14. ea] eo S^1M^3
14. primi fame] *om* S^1 / alii fame M^3
14. alii siti] *om* M^3
14. igne] calore S^1

1. Et uidit . . . locum] Et uidit in firmamento celi super flumen aque . . . [*uerbum quod legi non potest*] Vidit locum M^4
3. tristicia] tristicie M^4
3–4. erat . . . flatus] erat ibi flumen igneum et feruens et fletus M^4
4. feru*ens*] ferucem
4–5. eius . . . exaltatus] *om* M^4
7. Vidit ac] Et uidit M^4
7–8. peccatores . . . arboribus] arbores igneos et peccatores suspensos in illos M^4
8. igneis] ignis
9. ligati . . . manibus] *om* M^4
10. linguis] ligwas M^4
11. ignem ardentem] fornacem igneum ardentem M^4
13. mult*i*] multa
13. ea] eis M^4

a

alii fetore, alii frigore, alii uermibus, alii fumo. Et illic mittuntur anime peccatorum qui non egerunt penitentiam in hoc mundo. Alii flent, alii ardent, alii querunt mortem et non inueniunt, quia anima nunquam morietur.

[4] Et erat ibi draco ingens, habens mille capita, et mille oculos et mille dentes *in* uno*qu*oque capite; et erant] oculi eius quasi gladii acuti. Semper ore aperto absorbebat animas. Et

b

uermibus, alii igne, alii frigore, alii fumo. Et in ipsam fornacem mittuntur omnes anime peccatorum qui non egerunt penitenciam in hoc mundo. Alii flent, alii ardent, alii querunt mortem et non inueniunt quare, quia anima numquam moritur.

[4] Et erat ibi draco igneus, habens in collo mille capita, mille oculos, mille dentes; et in unoquoque capite erat oculus eius quasi gladius acutus. Insuper ore aperto et *a*bsorbebat

10. *in* uno*qu*oque] et unocoque
11. Semper] et semper *CC*
12. absorbebat] absorbeat omnes *CC*
12. *a*bsorbebat] obsorbebat

c

frigore, alii uermibus, alii fetore, alii fumo. Et in ipsam fornacem mittuntur anime peccatorum qui non egerunt penitenciam in hoc mundo. Alii flent, alii rident, alii querunt mortem et non inueniunt, quia anima numquam moritur.

[4] Et erat ibi ingens draco, habens mille capita; mille oculos, mille dentes in unoquoque capite; dentes eius et oculi eius quasi gladius acutus; et ore aperto semper absorbens animas cunc-

d

sitis, tercia ignis, quarta frigus, quinta uermis, sexta fumus. Et in ipsa fornace mittuntur anime peccatores que non penitenciam egerunt in hoc seculo. Alii ardent, alii flent, alii querunt mortem et non inueniunt, quia anima numquam moritur.

[4]

1–2. alii fetore . . . fumo] *om* S^1

2. Et in ipsam] in quam S^1

2–4. mittuntur anime peccatorum . . . in hoc mundo] peccatores penitenciam non agentes in hoc mundo S^1 / mittuntur peccatores . . . penitenciam. M^3

4–6. Alii flent . . . inueniunt] et ipsi queruntur mori et mors fugiet ab eis S^1

5. rident] ardent M^3

7. moritur] morietur M^3

8. Et . . . habens] Et uidit alibi draconem magnum et igneum habentem S^1

9–10. mille capita; mille . . . in unoquoque . . . dentes eius et] *om* S^1 / in capite . . . et in unoquoque . . . dentes et M^3

11. oculi eius . . . acutus] oculas quasi gladius acutus S^1 / oculi quasi gladii acuti M^3

11–12. et ore . . . absorbens] et semper ore aperto absorbebat S^1M^3

12–1f. animas cunctas] animas S^1 / animas cunctas. et nomen eius patinot M^3

14p–2. Prima pena . . . fumus.] et fames nimia ignis frigus uerma [?] mala fetor fumus M^4

2–3. ipsa . . . anime] ipsam fornacem mittunt animas M^4

4. penitenciam egerunt] egerunt penitenciam M^4

4. seculo.] mundo M^4

5–7. Alii ardent . . . moritur] Alii flens Alii ardens Alii querent mortem et non inuenient quia mors semper fugit ab eis quia non morientur M^4

a

erat nomen eius Pahtmot. Ab eo procedunt serpentes; et conspuit in terram, et de eo ueniunt rane et omne genus uermium. In ore eius mittebantur omnes satrape et accusatores terre, cum malis senioribus suis.

[5] Et Paulus uidit ibi multos diuersos homines in fl*u*mine igneo: alios usque ad genua, alios usque ad umbilicum, alios usque ad labia, alios usque ad os, alios usque ad nares, alios usque ad oculos, alios usque ad supercilia. Et plorauit Paulus et suspirauit, et interrogauit angelum qui essent dimersi usque ad genua. Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui s*e* mitt*u*nt sermonibus alienis, alius alium detrahens in ecclesia, ex-

b

omnes animas peccatorum. Et nomen eius Patinot. Ab eo procedunt omnes serpentes quos conspicimur in terra. Ab eo procedunt omnia genera uermium per quos corriguntur peccatores: mali iudices, ueneratores, usurarii, auarii, perfidi; hoc nomen de quo scriptum est, 'Domine, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum.' Et iterum scriptum est, 'Ne tradas bestiis animas confitencium te.'

[5] Et uidit Paulus multos homines in flumine igneo: alii ad genua, alii ad umblicum, alii ad labia, alii ad oculos, alii ad supercilia. Et plorauit Paulus, et interrogauit Sanctum Michahelem, dicens, 'Domine, qui sunt hii qui dimersi sunt ad genua?' Ayt Sanctus Michahel, 'Hii sunt qui discordiam sciunt et detrahunt multos in ecclesiam.' 'Qui sunt hii qui submersi sunt ad umblicum?' 'Hii sunt qui uxores

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1. Pahtmot] pathmet *CC*

1–4. procedunt . . . uermium.] procedunt omnia genera uiperium *CC*

4. In] et in *CC*

4–6. mittebantur . . . suis.] mittuntur omnis satrape terre et eraclitatores et male ministratores. et accusatores cum malis seruitoribus suis. *CC*

12. Paulus uidit ibi] uidit ibi paulus *CC*

12–13. diuersos homines] homines diuersos *CC*

13. fl*u*mine] flamine

14–17. genua . . . umbilicum . . . labia . . . os . . . nares . . . oculos . . . supercilia.] labia . . . genua . . . umbiculum . . . supercilia *CC*

19. dimersi] diuersi *CC*

21. s*e* mitt*u*nt] summittant [?]

22. alius . . . detrahens] et qui detrahunt multos *CC*

c

tas. Ab eo et procedunt omnes serpentes et omnia genera uermium. In os eius mittuntur satrape, exactores, mali ministratores, et accensatores, cum malis moribus suis.

[5] Et uidit ibi Paulus multos homines dimersos in flumine *ig*neo: alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad collum, alii usque ad umblicum, alii usque ad labia, alii usque ad oculos. Et plorauit Paulus et suspirauit, et interrogauit angelum qui essent hii qui dimersi sunt usque ad genua. Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui se intromittunt de sermonibus alienis et qui detrahunt multis in ecclesia.' 'Dimersi autem usque ad

d

[5] Et uidit Paulus diuersos in igne*o* flumine: alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad umbiculum, alii usque ad labia, alii usque ad buccas, alii usque ad supercilia, alii usque ad pectus. Et cum uidit istud, plorauit et interrogauit angelum quod peccatum fecissent illi qui erant submersi usque ad genua. Et angelus dixit, 'Hii sunt qui aliis sermonibus se miserunt et qui detrahunt multa in ecclesia et extra ecclesia.'

1–5. Ab eo . . . suis.] et serpentes et malos ministrantes *S*[1]

1. et] *om M*[3]

3. satrape] omnes satrape terre *M*[3]

3–4. exactores . . . accensatores] exauditores mali et accusatores *M*[3]

5. suis.] eorum. *M*[3]

12–16. Et uidit . . . oculos] *om S*[1]

13. *ig*neo] agoneo

14. alii . . . collum] *om M*[3]

15. usque . . . umblicum] autem . . . umbilicum *M*[3]

16–19. Et plorauit . . . genua] hec uidens beatus paulus suspirauit et plorauit et interrogauit angelum qui sunt isti qui sic cruciantur *S*[1]

18. hii . . . sunt] dimersi *M*[3]

19–8f. Hii sunt . . . pacifici.] Hii sunt qui intrant ecclesias et in omni loco uane locutiones et cogitaciones *S*[1]

20–21. qui se . . . alienis] qui de de [*sic*] sermonibus alienis *M*[3]

22. Dimersi autem usque] Hii sunt qui dimersi *M*[3]

12–13. Et uidit . . . flumine] Vidit etiam ibi multos homines in quodam flumine magno et igneo *M*[4]

12. igne*o*] igne

14. umbiculum] umblicum *M*[4]

14. usque] *om M*[4]

14–16. alii . . . pectus.] Alii ad nares ad oculos *M*[4]

16–17. Et cum . . . plorauit et] Deinde suspirans sanctus paulus *M*[4]

18–20. quod peccatum . . . genua. Et angelus dixit] qui essent illi usque ad genua Respondit angelus *M*[4]

20–22. aliis . . . ecclesia.] utuntur alienis laboribus qui etiam detrahunt ceteris [*? uel* ecclesiis] uel extra ecclesiam et omni loco consecrato *M*[4]

a

tra ecclesiam, aut in omni loco. Hii sunt dimersi ad umbilicum qui fornicantur postquam sumpserunt corpus domini et sanguinem, non reuertentes ad penitenciam usque ad mortem.' 'Alii dimersi usque ad labia?' 'Hii sunt qui litis faciunt inter se et alios, in ecclesia, extra ecclesiam, non audientes uerbum dei; nec alios dimittunt / audire. Hii sunt submersi usque ad supercilia oculorum qui nituntur facere mala proximis suis, dum illi habent fidem contra eos.'

[6] Et uidit alium locum plenum uiris et mulieribus, et erat ibi fouea alta in profundum. Loca illius plena animabus, una super aliam, et serpentes lin-

b

alienas inpiunt, et fornicantur cum eis, et sumpserunt corpus Christi indigne et sanguinem, et absque confessione et penitencia uixerunt usque ad mortem. Alii submersi sunt ad labia, et sunt hii qui lites faciunt et nolunt uerbum dei audire in ecclesiam, *nec* sinunt ceteros.' 'Qui sunt hii submersi ad supercilia?' 'Qui faciunt malum proximis suis et uana uerba locuntur in ecclesiam.'

[6] Et uidit Paulus alium locum plenum uiris et mulieribus, et erat fouea alta plena animabus; et serpentes comederunt illic lingwas eorum. Et ipsi

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1. extra] multos extra *CC*
1. aut] et *CC*
2. sunt . . . umbilicum] diuersi usque umbiculum *CC*
3. postquam] et *CC*
4–5. et sanguinem . . . penitenciam] indigne et ita absque confessione uixerunt *CC*
6. Alii] *om CC*
6–10. Hii . . . audire.] sunt hii qui lites inter se faciunt et qui in ecclesia nec extra ecclesiam uerba dei audire noluerunt nec alios sinunt audire et non sunt pacifici *CC*
10–12. sunt submersi . . . suis] dimersi usque ad supercileum sunt qui faciunt proximis mala *CC*
12. illi] *om CC*
13. eos] illos *CC*
15. et erat ibi] Eratque *CC*
15–16. in . . . illius] *om CC*
16–17. animabus . . . aliam] animalibus *CC*
2. corpus] corus
4. penitencia] pmia *uel* pncia
7. *nec*] et
17. illic lingwas] illis ligwas

c

umblicum?' 'Hii sunt qui fornicantur et sumunt corpus et sanguinem domini in/digne, et ita uixerunt usque ad mortem.' 'Dimersi uero ad labia?' 'Hii sunt qui faciunt lites, et qui non intrant *in* ecclesiam, nec extra ecclesiam uolunt audire uerba dei nec alios audire permittunt, et non sunt pacifici.'

[6] Et uidit alium locum plenum uiris et mulieribus, et foueam altam plenam animabus; et serpentes comedebant linguas earum. Et fleuit Paulus et

d

'Et hii mersi usque ad umbiculum?' 'Hii sunt qui fornicati sunt.' 'Qui usque ad labia?' 'Hii sunt qui lites faciunt inter se et ecclesiam, et uerbum dei audire noluerunt nec alios siuerunt, et iperaciti sunt.' 'Et qui usque ad supercilia?' 'Qui anuunt malum uicis suis.'

[6] Iterum uidit alium locum plenum mulieribus et uiris, et erat fouea profunda plena animabus; et serpentes comodebant linguas eorum. Et ad

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1. Hii sunt qui] qui *M*[3]
2. sumunt] sumpserunt *M*[3]
3. indigne] immundi *M*[3]
3. ita] ita absque confessione *M*[3]
4. Dimersi uero] Alii dimersi usque *M*[3]
5. faciunt lites] lites inter se faciunt *M*[3]
5–8. non intrant *in* . . . permittunt] *in om MS.* / in ecclesia uerbum dei audire nolunt. et alios audire non sinunt. *M*[3]
14–15. uiris et mulieribus] uirorum et mulierum *M*[3]
15. et foueam altam plenam] altam *om S*[1] / ubi erat fouea alta. plena *M*[3]
16. serpentes] serpentibus qui *S*[1]
16. comedebant] commedebant *S*[1] / comederunt *M*[3]
17. linguas earum] lingwas eorum et semper clamabant ad dominum miserere nostri domine fili dauid *S*[1] / eorum linguas. et semper clamabant ad dominum. Miserere nobis fili dauit. *M*[3]

1–2. Et hii . . . fornicati sunt.] Qui ad umblicum hii sunt omnes fornicatores et qui summunt corpus domini indigne et sine contricione *M*[4]
3. usque] *om M*[4]
4–6. ecclesiam . . . iperaciti sunt.] proximum et qui in ecclesiam uerbum dei dedignantur audire Qui ad oculos hii sunt qui nolunt dimmittere proximis suis de corde *M*[4]
6–8. Et qui . . . suis.] *om M*[4]
14. Iterum] Et *M*[4]
15–2f. mulieribus . . . et dixit] ronis [*uel* ranis] et mulieribus in fouea et serpentes igneos ipsos cruciantes Tunc suspirans paulus ait *M*[4]

a

guas suas *comedebant*. Et erat profunditas quasi de terra ad celum. Et gementes flebant et clamabant, dicentes, 'Miserere nostri, filii Dauid!' Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui non sperant in deum, nec credunt in illum, nec fide*m* nec caritatem habent nullum.' Et dixit Paulus, 'Quanta est loci illius profunditas?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hic est abyssus, et finem non habet. Et cum in e*o* anima mittitur, uix perueniet usque ad quinquaginta

b

clamabant ad dominum, 'Miserere nostri, filii Dauid.' Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui non crediderunt in domino nec fide*m* habuerunt in eo.' Et dixit Paulus, 'Quanta est profunditas illius loci?' Respondit angelus, 'Hic locus non habet mensuram; feruet siquidem omnibus diebus; cum anima mittitur in hunc locum, numquam perueniet ad finem.' Cum uidisset Paulus talia, ingemuit et fleuit. Dixit ei angelus, 'Quid ploras? Hii sunt

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17p–1. serpentes . . . *comedebant*.] comedebant *om MS./* serpentibus qui comederunt eorum linguas *CC*

1–2. Et . . . celum.] *om CC*

3–4. gementes . . . dicentes] semper clamauerunt ad dominum. *CC*

4. nostri] nobis *CC*

6. Et dixit angelus] *om CC*

7–9. sperant . . . nullum.] credunt in dominum nec caritatem habent in illum *CC*

8. fide*m*] fide

10. loci illius] istius loci *CC*

11–1f. est abyssus . . . profunditatem] non habet mensuram sed feruet in omnibus et cum anima mittatur in illo numquam euadet *CC*

12. e*o*] ei

5. fide*m*] fid

c

dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui non crediderunt in Christum dominum nostrum, nec fidem nec caritatem habebant in illum.' Et dixit Paulus, 'Quanta est profunditas loci illius?' Respondit, 'Abyssus est non habens mensuram et feruens omnibus diebus. Cum anima in hunc locum mittitur, numquam fundum tangit.' Hec Paulus audiens, ingemuit. Et dixit angelus, 'Quid ploras, Paule? Hii sunt quos dominus redemit sanguine suo. Et dedit eis

d

dominum clamabant, 'Miserere nobis, fili Dauid!' Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii?' Et angelus respondit, 'Hii sunt qui non crediderunt in deum, nec caritatem habuerunt.' Et dixit Paulus, 'Quanta est illius loci profunditas?' Et angelus respondit, 'Hic abyssus est non habens mensuram, et feruet omnibus diebus. Cum anima mittitur in illa, *numquam* tangit profundum.' Cum hoc audisset Paulus, fleuit. Et angelus dixit, 'Quid ploras? Hii sunt quos dominus redemit proprio san-

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17p–1. et dixit . . . domine?] *om* S^1

1. Et dixit] Dixit M^3

2–4. Hii sunt . . . in illum.] Hii sunt qui in deum caritatem non habent S^1 / Hii sunt qui non crediderunt in dominum. nec fidem nec caritatem habuerunt in illum. M^3

5–6. Et dixit . . . Respondit] *om* S^1

6. illius?] huius M^3

6. Respondit] Dixit angelus M^3

6. Abyssus est] hic est abyssus S^1/ Hic eciam angelus abyssi M^3

7–8. et feruens . . . diebus] *om* S^1

8–10. Cum anima . . . tangit.] et anime que imponuntur numquam attingunt ad profundum et fuerunt sine fine S^1 / Cum anima mittitur in illum locum. numquam ad fundum attingit M^3

10–11. Hec . . . ingemuit.] Hec audiens paulus ingemuit et fleuit S^1 / Cum paulus audisset ingemuit et fleuit. M^3

11. dixit] ait S^1 / dixit ei M^3

11–12. Quid ploras, Paule?] *om* S^1 / Quid ploras? M^3

12–13. quos . . . suo.] quas redemit dominus propria sangwine S^1/quos redemit dominus proprio sanguine suo M^3

13. eis] unicuique S^1M^3

3. Et angelus] *om* M^4

4. crediderunt] credunt M^4

5. nec caritatem] nec fidem nec caritatem M^4

5–15. Et dixit . . . neglexerunt.] *om* M^4

8. mensuram] mesuram

10. *numquam*] *om* MS.

a

annorum in profunditatem.' Quod cum audisset Paulus, ingemuit et fleuit. Et dixit angelus, 'Quid ploras, Paule, super humanum genus? Nunquid magis es misericors filio dei, qui uenit redimere eos suo sanguine, et dimisit unicuique propriam uoluntatem et tempus penitencie; et neglexerunt se, et non egerunt penitenciam?'

[7] Postea uidit / locum terribilem angustum, et flumen magnum igneum, et uiros ac mulieres conmedentes linguas suas, et uermes conmedentes eos. Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt mali diuites qui misericordiam non habuerunt in pauperibus, et auari, et diuites, et qui usuras faciunt et miseri-

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quos Christus redemit proprio sanguine. Dedit unicuique propriam uoluntatem et tempus penitendi, et neglexerunt agere penitenciam.'

[7] Postea uidit Paulus terribilem locum et angustum, et in illo erat flumen igneum ardens. Et erant ibi uiri et mulieres li*n*gwas suas comedentes; uermes in circuitu eorum et deuorabant eos. Et fleuit / Paulus. Et dixit ei angelus, 'Hii sunt mali diuites qui misericordiam non habuerunt in pauperibus, auari et fornicatores qui usu-

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1–2. Quod . . . Paulus] hec cum dixisset *CC*

4. super . . . genus?] *om CC*

4–6. Nunquid . . . dimisit] hii sunt quos redemit dominus de proprio sanguine et dedit *CC*

8. penitencie] penitendi *CC*

8. se] *om CC*

8–9. non . . . penitenciam?] penitenciam non egerunt. *CC*

10. terribilem] terribilem et *CC*

11–13. et flumen . . . suas] In illo loco erat flumen igneum et ardens. Et erant ibi uiri ac mulieres linguas comedentes *CC*

13. uermes conmedentes] uermes in circuitu eorum comedentes *CC*

14. Et] *om CC*

14–15. et dixit . . . domine?] *om CC*

15. sunt] malifici sunt et *CC*

17. pauperibus] pauperes *CC*

18. diuites] fornicatores *CC*

18. usuras faciunt] usuram acceperunt *CC*

13. li*n*gwas] ligwas

c

propriam uoluntatem, et tempus penitencie neglexerunt.'

[7] Postea uidit terribilem locum ubi erat flumen nigerrimum et ardens, in quo erant uiri et mulieres linguas suas commedentes. Et angelus dixit Paulo, 'Hii sunt diuites mali qui misericordiam non habuerunt in pauperes, et auari et fornicatores et qui usuras accipiunt.' /

d

guine, et dedit eis propriam uitam et tempus penitencie, et neglexerunt.'

[7] Postea uidit locum terribilem et angustum, in quo flumen niger ardens erat. Et erant ibi anime linguas suas comedentes. Et fleuit Paulus. Dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui maledixerunt, qui non habuerunt misericordiam in populo, uel auarii et aestwarii [*sic*] qui misericordes non fuerunt.'

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1. propriam] *om M³*
1–2. tempus penitencie] ipI [*?*] penitenciam *S¹*
2. neglexerunt.] et neglexerunt. *M³* / neglexerunt si penitenciam egerunt *S¹*
10–6f. Postea . . . incantatrices.] *om S¹*
10. terribilem locum] locum terribilem *M³*
11. nigerrimum] nig'ei^m / igneum *M³*
13. commedentes.] comedentes. et in circuitu eorum uermes comedentes eos. *M³*
13. angelus dixit] dixit angelos [*sic*] *M³*
14. diuites mali] mali diuites *M³*
16. accipiunt.] acceperunt. *M³*

10–12. Postea . . . ardens erat.] post hoc uidit alium locum angustum et terribilem in quo erat fluuius igneus ardens *M⁴*
11. angustum] angelum
11. niger] nigrem
12–13. anime . . . fleuit Paulus.] uiri et mulieres commedentes lingwas suas et uermes in circuitu eorum commederunt eos Tunc dixit paulus Ve Ve Ve . . . mi [*aliquid quod legi non potest*] qui sunt hii *M⁴*
13. Dixit] respondit *M⁴*
14–17. qui maledixerunt. . . fuerunt.] iudices iniqui et mali diuites qui non fuerunt misericordes Tunc etiam ibi Auari usurarii Adulterii periurii falsarii et qui uerbum [*?*] locuntur coram hominibus *M⁴*

a

cordes non sunt.'

[8] Postea uidit alium locum, et murus igneus in circuitu eius ardebat; et uiros ac mulieres in eo conmedentes linguas suas. Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt maledici, perfidi, periuratores, falsi testes, inuidiosi, superbi qui non amant dominum.'

[9] Et uidit uiros ac mulieres nigros ualde. Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt uiri qui fornicantur proprias mulieres, et mulieres que fornicantur uiros.'

[10] Et uidit ibi puellas nigras, et uestimenta nigra, et quatuor angelos malignos tenentes catenas igneas in manibus, quas mittebant in ceruicibus

b

ras acceperunt et misericordes non fuerunt.'

[8] Postea uidit Paulus alium locum quod murus igneus ardebat in circuitu uirorum et mulierum; et comedebant lingwas suas. Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii?' Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt malefici et perfidi, periuratores, falsi, inuidi, superbi qui deum non amauerunt.'

[9]

[10] Et uidit Paulus nigras puellas in uestimento nigro, et angelos malos tenentes cathenas, quas mittebant in ceruices earum. Et Paulo dixit an-

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4. in . . . ardebat] ardebat in circuitu eorum *CC*
5. uiros ac] *om CC*
5. conmedentes] comedentes *CC*
6. fleuit Paulus] paulus fleuit *CC*
7. Qui sunt] Quid fecerut [*sic*] *CC*
7–8. Et dixit angelus] *om CC*
8–9. sunt maledici . . . inuidiosi] malifici et perditi et perfidi et periuratores inuidi et *CC*
10. non amant dominum.] dominum non amant. *CC*
11. ac] et *CC*
12. uiri] *om CC*
13–14. proprias . . . uiros.] uiri. *CC*
16. ibi] *om CC*
16–17. et uestimenta nigra] cum nigris uestimentis *CC*
18–19. catenas . . . manibus] cathenas igneas *CC*
19. mittebant in ceruicibus] mittent in ceruices *CC*
19. Paulo] paulus

c

[8] Postea uidit alium locum, ubi murus igneus ardebat, in quo erant mulieres linguas commedentes, que designabant incantatrices.

[9] Rursumque in alio loco uidit uiros et mulieres nigros ualde. Et dixit angelus Paulo, 'Hii sunt qui fornicantur proprias mulieres, et hee sunt que fornicantur proprios uiros.'

[10] Et uidit ibi puellas nigras, et quatuor angelos nigros ac malignos tenentes cathenas igneas, quas mittebant in ceruices earum. Et dixit an-

d

[8] Postea uidit locum, et murum in circuitu; et mulieres erant in eo comedentes linguas suas. Quas uidens Paulus, 'Quid fecerunt hii?' Et angelus *dixit*, 'Malefici et perfidi, falsatores et immundi et superbi qui deum non amauerunt.'

[9]

[10] Iterum uidit tres puellas nigras et uestimenta nigra, et quatuor dyabolos tenentes cathenas in manibus suis, quibus ceruices ea*rum* ligabant.

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3. ubi] et *M*[3]
5. commedentes] suas comedentes. *M*[3]
6. designabant] designant *M*[3]
11-15. Rursumque . . . uiros.] *S*[1], *cf. infra, p. 183, n. 5-8.*
11. Rursumque] Rursum *M*[3]
14. proprias mulieres] uxores proprias *M*[3]
14. sunt] sunt mulieres *M*[3]
15. proprios] *om M*[3]
16-11ff. Et uidit . . . estis?] *om S*[1]
17. nigros ac malignos] malos *M*[3]
18. cathenas igneas, quas] in manibus igneos gladios quos *M*[3]

3-9. Postea . . . amauerunt.] post er tergum [*sic*] male Inuidi superbi *M*[4]
7. *dixit*] uidit
16. Iterum uidit tres] Deinde uidit *M*[4]
17. uestimenta nigra] uestes eorum niger *M*[4]
17-18. dyabolos] demones *M*[4]
19. ea*rum*] eas

a

earum. Et dixit Sanctus Mychahel, 'Iste sunt false / puelle que non seruabant castitatem nec uirginitatem.'

[11] Postea uidit uiros ac mulieres super canalem aque; et multos fructus ante illos, et non *poterant* sumere ex illis. Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui soluunt ieiunium ante tempus et non custodiunt castitatem.'

[12] Postea uidit uiros ac mulieres in loco glaciali; et ignis urebat eos de una parte, et alia parte frigebant. Et dixit Mychahel, 'Hii sunt qui orphanis et uiduis nocuerunt.'

[13] Postea uidit alium locum; et multas mulieres indutas pice et sul-

b

gel*us*, 'Iste sunt false puelle que non seruauerunt castitatem.'

[11] Postea uidit uiros ac mulieres; hiis positus erat cibus dulcissi*m*us, et non poterant ex eo sumere. Et dixit angelus Paulo, 'Hii sunt qui non ieiunauerunt nec elemosinam propter deum non dederunt.'

[12] Postea uidit Paulus uiros ac mulieres stantes; et ignis urebat eos in una parte, et altera parte frigebat eos. Et dixit angelus, 'Hii sunt qui uiduis et orphanis nocuerunt et oppreserunt.'

[13] Postea uidit in alio loco mulieres indutas pice et sulphure et igne; et

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1. Et . . . Mychahel] Tunc paulo dixit angelus. *CC*
2–3. seruabant] seruant *CC*
5. ac] et *CC*
6–7. super . . . illos] et prepositum eis cibum dulcissimum *CC*
7. *poterant*] *om MS.*
7–8. sumere ex illis] ex eo sumere *CC*
8–9. sunt . . . ieiunium] qui non solent ieiunare *CC*
9. et] *om CC*
10. custodiunt castitatem.] seruant castitatem neque post tempus. *CC*
12. ac] et *CC*
13. glaciali] galatu *CC*
13. de] ex *CC*
14. alia parte] alia *CC*
14–15. Et dixit Mychahel] *om CC*
15–16. orphanis . . . nocuerunt.] uiduis et orphanis nocent et opprimunt *CC*
17–18. alium . . . multas] in alio *CC*
18. pice] pannis de pice *CC*

1. angel*us*] angelo
6. dulcissi*m*us] dulcissius

c

gelus Paulo, 'Iste sunt false puelle que non seruabant castitatem et uirginitatem.'

[11] Postea uidit uiros et mulieres; et positus erat eis cibus dulcissimus, et non poterant ex eo sumere. Hii sunt qui non custodiunt ieiunium.

[12]

[13] Postea uidit in alio loco mulieres indutas pannis et pice et sulphore, et

d

'Quid fecerunt?' Paulus. Angelus respondit, 'Iste sunt false puelle que non seruauerunt castitatem nec uirginitatem.'

[11] Postea uidit tres uiros et mulieres; et propositus erat eis cibus delicatissimus, et non poterant ex eo quicquam sumere. 'Quid fecerunt?' Paulus. Angelus dixit, 'Qui aliquando bonum opus faciunt, comedunt et bibunt.'

[12] Iterum uidit uiros et mulieres in loco gehennali; et ignis urebat eos ex una parte, et frigebant ex alia. Et angelus dixit, 'Hii sunt qui nocuerunt uiduis et orphanis.'

[13] Iterum uidit mulieres indutas pice et igne et sulphure, et drachones

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1. Iste] Hee *M*[3]
2. seruabant] seruantes *M*[3]
2. et] nec *M*[3]
6. positus] propositus *M*[3]
7. Hii] et dixit angelus. Hii *M*[3]
8. custodiunt ieiunium.] seruant ieiunia. *M*[3]
17. in . . . mulieres] multas *M*[3]
18. pannis] pannis coloratis *M*[3]

18p–4. in manibus . . . uirginitatem.] igneas per quas trahebant eas per collum Et dixit angelus Iste sunt que coram hominibus portabant signum uirginitatis in capite sed mente et corpore corrupte Et ibi sunt qui alium uxorem [?] sibi tolerando usur [*sic*] post quod deus in nouissimo die requiret Et quod flos numquam formauit nec creauit *M*[4]

5. Postea uidit tres] Post hoc *M*[4]

6–7. et . . . delicatissimus] quibus appositus erat cibus dulcissimus *M*[4]

7. non poterant] nemo poterat *M*[4]

8–11. Quid . . . bibunt.] Et dixit Angelus Hii sunt qui ieiunium suum non seruauerunt et uerbum dei quicquam[?] cibus anime fastidiabant *M*[4]

12–16. Iterum . . . orphanis.] *om M*[4]

17. Iterum] Post hoc *M*[4]

18. pice . . . sulphure] pannis uilibus pice et sulphure et igne *M*[4]

18. drachones] dracones *M*[4]

a

phure et igne, et dracones circa colla earum, et serpentes; et angeli iniqui cornibus igniis percuciebant eas. Et dixit Sanctus Mychahel, 'Iste sunt que occiderunt infantes suos et iactauerunt eos in flumina et in stercora, et dederunt porcis uel canibus in escam.'

[14] Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Ve nobis peccatoribus! Vtquid nati sumus?' Et dixit Sanctus Mychahel, 'Quid ploras, Paule? Nondum uidisti maiores penas inferni. Sequere me, et uidebis maiora tormenta, peiora prioribus.'

[15] Et ostendit ei puteum sigillatum septem sigillis. Et dixit / Sanctus My-

b

dracones et serpentes circa earum colla rudebant, et angeli iniqui. Occiderunt infantes suas, et proiecerunt eos in flumina et palludibus, et sepelierunt inhoneste. Et angeli iniqui in circuitu earum increpantes eas et dicentes, 'Agnoscite filium dei, qui uos redemit sanguine suo.'

[14] Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Ve, ue, ue uobis peccatoribus! Ad quid nate fuistis?' Et dixit angelus, 'Paule, quid ploras? Nondum uidisti magna tormenta, et sepcies peyora uidebis. Sta in loco et uide si possis fetorem sustinere.'

[15] Et apertum est os putei, et surrexit fetor durissimus peyor in inferno.

1–2. dracones... serpentes] dracones et serpentes circa colla sua *CC*

3. cornibus igniis] cum igneis cornibus *CC*

4. Sanctus Mychahel] angelus *CC*

4. sunt] sint

4. que] qui *CC*

5. iactauerunt] proiecerunt *CC*

6. eos] ea/ *om CC*

6–7. in stercora . . . escam.] stercora angeli iniqui in circuitu erant. Agnosce filium dei qui uos redemit proprio sanguine. *CC*

9. Ve] ve ue *CC*

10. peccatoribus] *om CC*

10–11. sumus?' Et] fuistis *CC*

11–12. Sanctus Mychahel, 'Quid] angelus. Cur *CC*

12–13. Nondum . . . penas] Non quid uidisti maiora tormenta *CC*

14–15. maiora . . . prioribus.] maiora et sepcies periora [*sic*] *CC*

17. Et . . . Mychahel] dicens *CC*

1. earum] eorum

3. proiecerunt] proicerunt

c

ingredientes serpentes circa *colla* sua; et angeli iniqui cornibus suis igneis percuciebant eas. Iste sunt que occiderunt infantes suos et iactauerunt in flumina et stercora. Et angeli in circuitu earum, increpantes eas et dicentes, 'Agnoscite filium dei, qui uos redemit sanguine suo!'

[14] Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Ve, ue uobis peccatoribus! Vtquid nate estis?' Dixit angelus, 'Quid ploras, Paule? Numquid maiora supplicia uidisti? Sequere me, et / uidebis sepcies maiora tormenta.'

[15] Et ostendit ei puteum signatum uel sigillatum septem sigillis. Et

d

et serpentes circa colla sua. Et angelus dixit, 'Hee sunt mulieres que maculauerunt infantes suos in utero, que et prurientes proiecerunt eos inter paganos, alios in flumina, alios in latebris uel alia turpia loca.'

[14] Tunc fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Ve uobis peccatoribus, ue! Quidnam dei meretricis?' [*sic*] Tunc angelus Paulo plorante dixit, 'Quid ploras, Paule? Maiora tormenta inferni non adhuc uidisti. Sequere me, et uidebis peiora hiis sepcies.'

[15] Et ostendit ei puteum inferni. Et dixit ei angelus, 'Sta in hoc loco, et

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18p–1. sulphore . . . serpentes] sulphure et igne. et dracones et serpentes *M*[3]

1. *colla*] *om MS.*

2. cornibus suis igneis] cum cornibus suis *M*[3]

3. eas] eos *M*[3]

4. infantes] pueros *M*[3]

4. iactauerunt] iactauerunt eos *M*[3]

4–6. in flumina . . . eas] *om M*[3]

6–7. dicentes] dixerunt *M*[3]

9. Ve, ue] Ve ue ue *M*[3]

10–11. estis?] estis uel fuistis *M*[3]

11. Dixit angelus] Et iterum dixit angelus ad paulum *S*[1]

11–12. Quid . . . Paule?] *om S*[1]*M*[3]

12–13. Numquid maiora . . . uidisti] *om S*[1] / Numquid uidisti maiora tormenta inferni. *M*[3]

13–14. sepcies maiora tormenta.] maiora et peiora *S*[1] / sepcies peiora tormenta aliis. *M*[3]

16–17. puteum signatum . . . sigillis.] puteum et dixit sta in hoc loco et uide si potes sustinere hius [*sic*] putei fetorem *S*[1] / puteum sigillatum septem sigillis. *M*[3]

1. colla sua] colla sua cruciantes eas *M*[4]

1–6. angelus dixit . . . loca.] dixit angelus Isti sunt que paruulos interroguunt [*sic*] . . . [*aliquid quod legi non potest*] modo siue in anima siue in corpore *M*[4]

9–10ff. Tunc fleuit . . . uita fecisti!] *om M*[4]

a

chahel, 'Sta in loco isto, ut scias si poteris os istius putei sustinere.' Et apertum est os putei, et surrexit fetor magnus. Et uidit muros igneos iactantes ex utraque parte. Et dixit angelus, 'Si quis mittitur in hunc puteum, nunquam fiet conmemoracio eius in conspectu dei. Hic mittuntur qui non babtizantur; non credunt Cristum natum de Maria Virgine, eius resurrectionem non credunt, et qui non accipiunt corpus et sanguinem Cristi.'

[16] Et uidit Paulus et Mychahel uiros ac mulieres, et uermes ac serpentes conmedentes eos. Et erat una super unamquamque animam quasi oues mille in ouile. Et erat profun-

b

Et dixit ei angelus, 'De hoc puteo scriptum est, "Non me demergat tempestas aque, nec *u*rgeat super me puteus os suum." Si quis mittitur in hunc puteum, numquam erit de eo redempcio. Illi mittuntur in hunc puteum qui non baptizati sunt et qui non crediderunt ex illibata uirgine Christum natum.'

[16] Et uidit Paulus uiros ac mulieres nudos in puteo, et uermes et serpentes eos comedentes. Profunditates putei erant quasi de celo usque ad terram. Quando os putei est apertum, audiui*t*

1–2. loco isto . . . putei] hoc loco et uide si potes fetorem *CC*
3. os] ostium *CC*
3–4. fetor magnus] quidam fetor durus et peior inferno *CC*
4–5. iactantes] iactantes se *CC*
6. mittitur] mittatur *CC*
7–8. conmemoracio . . . dei.] de eo memoria *CC*
8. Hic mittuntur] hii sunt *CC*
9. babtizantur] baptizati sunt et qui *CC*
9. credunt Cristum] crediderunt in christum nec ullum *CC*
10. Maria] *om CC*
10–12. eius . . . Cristi.] *om CC*
13. et Mychahel] *om CC*
14. ac mulieres] et mulieres nudos *CC*
14. ac] et *CC*
15. conmedentes eos.] eos comedentes *CC*
15–17. Et . . . ouile.] *om CC*
17. erat] *om CC*
3. *u*rgeat] ergeat
17. audiui*t*] audiui

c

apertum est os putei, et surrexit quidam fetor durus, peior inferno. Et uidit muros igneos iacentes se ex utraque parte. Et dixit angelus, 'Si quis mittitur in puteum istum, numquam fiet de eo memoria. Hii sunt qui baptizati sunt et qui non crediderunt in patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum.' Et erat profunditas putei illius quasi de celo ad terram; et quando os eius apertum est, auditus est sonitus tamquam tonitrua magna.

[16]

d

uide si poteris sustinere fetorem huius putei.' Et apertum est os putei, et surrexit terribilis fetor et pestis; ac muri huius putei sunt ardentes undique. Et dixit angelus, 'Quicum*que* mittitur hic numquam exhibit, nec de eo memoria ulla. Hii sunt uiri qui baptizati non fuerunt.' Profunditas ac illius loci est quasi de celo ad terram; et quando os putei fuit apertum, audiuit eos Paulus qui intus erant ululantes.

[16]

17p–1. Et . . . surrexit] et apperuit puteum et ascendit S^1

1–2. quidam fetor] fetor equidem M^3

2. durus, peior] durior et peior S^1 / durus et peior M^3

3. uidit muros igneos] muros igneos uide [*sic*] S^1 / uidit muros M^3

3. iacentes se] *om* S^1

4. dixit] dixit ei S^1

5. puteum istum] hunc puteum S^1 / puteum hunc M^3

6. de eo memoria] de eo saluatio S^1 / commemoracio de eo M^3

6. qui] qui non M^3

6–8. baptizati . . . sanctum.] non credunt christum natum de uirgine et qui non sunt baptizati Et iterum uidit paulus mulieres et uiros et iudeos ardentes et serpentes eos comedentes S^1

7. qui] *om* M^3

9. erat] *om* S^1

9. putei illius] illius loci S^1

9–10. quasi . . . terram] quasi de terra ad celum S^1 / de cela quasi ad terram M^3

10. eius] putei S^1

11–12. auditus . . . magna.] audiuit eos loquentes et flentes et gementes ut tonitrua S^1

5. Quicum*que*] qui cum

a

ditas loci illius quasi de terra at celum. Et audiebant eos gementes et flentes quasi tonitruum.

[17] Tunc Paulus et Mychahel aspi-
5 ciebant in celum et in terram, et uidebant animam unius peccatoris inter dyabolos septem ululantes, deducentes eam de corpore. Et angeli contra eam clamabant, dicentes, 'Ve, misera, que
10 opera fecisti in terra!' Et dixerunt ad inuicem, 'Ista legit septem caracteras suas, in quibusquumque erant peccata sua, et se ipsam iudicat.' Et diaboli suscipientes eam, duxerunt eam
15 in tenebras / exteriores. Ibi erit fletus et stridor dencium et ululatus. Tunc dixit angelus Mychahel, 'Credis et cognoscis, Paule, quia secundum quod meretur, homo suscipiet?'

b

peccatores gementes et flentes quasi tonitrua.

[17] Et Paulus et Sanctus Michahel aspicientes in celum, uiderunt animam peccatoris in aere uolantem, et dyabolos septem educentes eam de corpore. Et clamabant omnes angeli in celo, dicentes, 'Ve, ue, ue, anima misera, que opera fecisti in terra!' Et dyaboli susceperunt eam, mittentes eam in tenebras exteriores. Et ululatus factus magnus est in inferno. Et dixit angelus ad Paulum, 'Credis et agnoscis quod secundum fecerit homo, sic accipiet?' Et Paulus dixit, 'Credo, domine.'

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1. loci illius] illius loci *CC*
1. at] ad *CC*
2. Et audiebant] et os putei apertum et audiuit *CC*
3. tonitruum] tonitrua *CC*
4. Tunc] Et *CC*
4. Mychahel] michael *CC*
5. celum . . . terram] elum . . . terram/ celo . . . terra *CC*
5–6. uidebant] uiderunt *CC*
6. unius] *om CC*
7–8. dyabolos . . . eam] septem diabolos ducentes eam *CC*
8–9. Et angeli . . . misera] et clamabant omnes angeli Ve Ve anima *CC*
10–13. Et dixerunt . . . iudicat.] *om CC*
14. suscipientes] susceperunt *CC*
14. duxerunt] mittentes *CC*
15. tenebras exteriores] tenebris *CC*
15. Ibi erit] ubi erat *CC*
16. ululatus] ululatus magnus. *CC*
16–17. Tunc . . . Mychahel] Et dixit angelus *CC*
17–19. cognoscis . . . suscipiet?] agnoscis quod sicut fecerit homo in uita sua sic accipiet. dixitque paulus credo *CC*

c

[17] Et Paulus et Michael aspiciebant in celum et in terram, et uidebant animam peccatoris inter dyabolos septem ululantem, deducentes eam de corpore; et clamabant angeli, dicentes, 'Ve, ue, misera anima, que opera fecisti in terra maligna!' Et dyaboli susceperunt eam, mittentes in tenebras exteriores, ubi erat fletus et *stridor dencium. Et ululatus magnus erat in inferno. Et dixit angelus, 'Crede quia sicut fecit, sic fiet ei.'

d

[17] Cum ibi Paulus et angelus morarentur, uiderunt animam cuiusdam peccatoris a putei uicinia migrantem inter dybolos ululantes; et angelos domini clamantes et dicentes illi anime, 'Ve tibi, anima misera, quare opera mala in uita fecisti!'

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4. Michael] Michahel M^3

5–8. in celum . . . Ve, ue] et uiderunt animas ullulantes et dicentes ue ue ue pater misericordiarum suma spes et uidit paulus uiros uale [*sic*] nigros et dixit angelus hii sunt qui fornicantur uxores proprias et mulieres nigras que fornicantur uiros proprios etc. S^1 ; *cf.* S^2 : Rursumque . . . uiros, *supra, p. 175, ll. 11–15. Explicit* S^1.

5. et in terram] *om* M^3

6. peccatoris] peccatricis M^3

8. angeli, dicentes] omnes angeli M^3

8. Ve, ue] ue ue ue M^3

10. susceperunt] ceperunt M^3

11. mittentes] mittere M^3

11. exteriores] *om* M^3

12. et *] et et

13. erat] et fuit M^3

14–15. Crede . . . ei] Credis quia sicut homo fecerit sic fiet ei et accipiet. Credo M^3

a

[18] Post hec in momento abduxerunt angeli animam iusti de corpore, portantes eam ad celum. Et audita est uox milia milium pro ea dicencium, 'O beata, letabunda sponsa Cristi, gaude hodie, quia fecisti hodie uoluntatem dei tui!' Et dixerunt ad inuicem, 'Leuetur ante dominum, et legatur opera sua bona.' Postea portauit eam pius Mychahel in paradisum, ubi erant omnes sancti.

[19] Tunc omnes qui erant in inferno, uidentes animam iusti et angelos descendentes in paradisum, clamauerunt quasi celum et terra conmouerentur. Et fleuit Paulus et Mychahel, et ille flebant de inferno dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, Criste, filius hominum.' Et

b

[18] Et postea adduxerunt sancti angeli animam iusti de corpore, portantes eam ad celum. Et audierunt uocem milium angelorum pro ea letancium et dicencium, 'O beata, felicissima sponsa, O beata in Christo, letare hodie, quia fecisti uoluntatem dei!'

[19] Et clamabant omnes qui in inferno erant, uidentes animam iustam et angelos descendentes cum ea in paradisum. Et clamor magnus factus est in inferno quasi celum et terra mouerentur. Mouebatur celum, et filius dei descendit de celo; et dyademam habe-

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1. Post . . . abduxerunt] Postea adduxerunt *CC*

2. angeli] angeli dei *CC*

2–3. de corpore . . . ad] in *CC*

3–5. audita . . . gaude] audierunt uocem mille angelorum dicencium et laudancium. o anima leta. o felicissima o beata in christo letare *CC*

6. quia fecisti hodie] que fecisti *CC*

7. tui] *om CC*

7–11. Et dixerunt . . . sancti.] *om CC*

12. Tunc . . . inferno] Et clamabant omnes qui in inferno erant *CC*

13–15. angelos . . . quasi] angeli ducentes dei eam in paradisi gaudia et talis clamor factus est in inferno quod *CC*

15. conmouerentur] conmoueretur

16–18. et Mychahel . . . hominum.] Et dixit angelus quid ploras paule hii sunt qui redemit dominus proprio sanguine. Tunc autem [?] flentes omnes qui erant in inferno clamabant ululatu magno *CC*

14. descendentes] descendente

16–17. mouerentur] moueretur

c

[18] Postea cito adduxerunt angeli animam iusti de corpore, portantes ad celum. Et audita est uox, milia milium angelorum laudancium et dicencium, 'O anima fidelissima, O leta sponsa, O beata sponsa in Christo, letare hodie, quia fecisti uoluntatem dei!'

[19] Et de omnibus qui erant in inferno / uidentibus animam iusti et angelos ascendentes in paradysum, tunc clamor factus est quasi celum et terra commouerentur. Et fleuit Paulus, et omnes qui in inferno erant clamabant et ululabant. Et ecce mouebatur

d

[18] Postea dyaboli uiderunt angelos domini animam cuiusdam de corpore migrantem ad celum portantes; milia milium angelorum letancium et postea dicentium, 'O anima leta, O anima felicissima, O beata, letare in Christo quia uoluntatem dei fecisti!'

[19] Et uidit Paulus dyabolos qui erant in inferno tribulantes et dolentes, quare uidebant angelos dei ducentes animam iustam in paradiso. Clamor factus est magnus in inferno quasi celum et terra mouerentur. Et tunc filius dei descendens, habebat dyadema

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1. adduxerunt angeli] deduxerunt angeli dei *M*[3]
2. portantes] portantes eam *M*[3]
4. laudancium] letancium *M*[3]
5. fidelissima] leta *M*[3]
5. leta] felicissima *M*[3]
6. beata sponsa] beata *M*[3]
7. dei!] domini nostri ihesu christi *M*[3]
12. de omnibus] omnes *M*[3]
12–13. erant . . . uidentibus] in inferno erant uidentes *M*[3]
14. ascendentes] descendentes *M*[3]
14. paradysum] paradysum cum ea. *M*[3]
14–16. tunc . . . commouerentur.] *om* *M*[3]
17. omnes] angelus et omnes *M*[3]
18. et ululabant] ululatu magno *M*[3]

1–6. Postea . . . felicissima] Vidit etiam quod sancti angeli duxerunt animam iusti et audiuit uocem milia milium dicencium O anima dulcissima felicissima *M*[4]
7. quia . . . fecisti!] quia fecisti uoluntatem domini *M*[4]
12–15. Et uidit . . . paradiso.] *om* *M*[4]
15–16. Clamor factus est] Et factus est clamor *M*[4]
17. mouerentur.] commouerentur Ita quod tanta gloria priuati essent *M*[4]
17–18. Et tunc . . . habebat] Tunc flens sanctus paulus uidit filium dei descendentem de celo cum multitudine angelorum et sanctorum et *M*[4]

a

uiderunt subito celum moueri, et filium dei descendentem de celo, et diadema in capite eius. Et clamauerunt omnes qui erant in inferno una uoce, dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, fili dei altissimi!' Et uox filii dei audita est super omnes penas inferni dicens, 'Quare estis in pena? Quid boni fecistis? / Cur postulastis a me requiem? Crucifixus fui pro uobis, lancea uulneratus, clauis confixus; sanguis et aqua exiit pro uobis. Vos non redemi auro nec argento, sed meo corpore. Acet*um* mixt*um* cum felle potat*us sum*, et me ipsum in mortem dedi pro uobis, ut uos uiueretis mecum.

b

bat in capite suo. Et iterum clamabant omnes anime peccatricum, 'Miserere, miserere nobis! Prosit, domine, aduentus tuus!' Vox domini dixit, 'Quare estis in pena? Cur poscitis a me requiem, cum nil boni feceratis? Quid passi estis pro me? Crucifixus sum pro uobis, lancea perforatus, clauiculis affixus. / Insuper et mortuus sum pro uobis: uos non redemi argento uel auro, sed meo preciosissimo sangwine; dedi me morti, ut uos uiueretis. Vos fuistis fures, auari, superbi, infidi, mendaces, adulteri, homicidi, raptores, cupidi in terrenis actibus.' 'Miserere nobis, Michahel; et tu, Paule dulciss-

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1. uiderunt . . . moueri] ecce mouebatur celum *CC*

1–2. filium dei descendentem] filius dei descendebat *CC*

3. in capite eius.] hebat [*sic*] in capite suo *CC*

3–7. clamauerunt . . . dicens] iterum clamabant omnes anime morientes miserere nobis domine. miserere christe prosit nobis aduentus tuus. tunc ait christus. *CC*

8. pena?] penis. *CC*

8–10. Quid boni . . . requiem?] *om CC*

11. uulneratus] perforatus et *CC*

11. confixus] fixus *CC*

11–12. sanguis . . . uobis.] *om CC*

12–13. Vos non redemi] morti traditus non redemi uos *CC*

13. nec] uel *CC*

13–16. sed meo . . . mecum.] sed proprio sanguine meo dedi me pro uobis morti ut uiueretis *CC*

14. Acet*um* mixt*um*] Aceto mixto

14–15. potat*us sum*] potasti me

c

celum. Et filius dei descendebat de celo, et dyademam habens in capite eius. Iterum clamabant anime omnes mortuorum, 'Miserere nobis, domine, miserere! Prosit nobis aduentus tuus, domine.' Mox Christus dixit, 'Quare estis in penis? Cur postulastis a me ueniam cum nil boni fecistis? Quid passi estis pro me? Crucifixus sum pro uobis, lancea perforatus, clauibus fixus; mortuus sum pro uobis. Vos redemi non auro uel argento, sed meo sanguine. Vos fuistis fures, auari, superbi, inuidiosi, mendaces, cupidi in terrenis rebus.' Et iterum clamabant, 'Miserere nobis, Michael, et dulcissime

d

in capite suo. Et clamauerunt omnes anime que erant in inferno dicentes, 'Miserere nostri, fili Dauid! Prosit nobis aduentus tuus.' Quibus Christus ait, 'Cur postulatis a me requiem cum nichil *boni* fecistis in uita uestra? Quid passi fuistis pro me? Crucifixus sum pro uobis, lanceariis perforatus sum, clauis confixus, mortuus. Vos uero redemi non quidem auro uel argento, sed corpore et sanguine meo, et me morti dedi pro uobis ut uiuetis. Vos autem fuistis auari et superbi, luxuriosi, inuidi, mendaces, cupidi, terrenis subditi, celestia contempnentes.' Iterum clamauerunt anime,

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2. et dyademam] dyadema *M*[3]
3. eius.] suo. *M*[3]
3. Iterum] et iterum *M*[3]
3–4. anime omnes mortuorum] omnes anime morientes *M*[3]
5. miserere!] miserere nobis. *M*[3]
6. Christus dixit] dixit christus *M*[3]
8. ueniam] requiem *M*[3]
9. pro] propter *M*[3]
10. sum] fui *M*[3]
11. clauibus] clauis *M*[3]
11. sum] fui *M*[3]
12. redemi non] non redemi *M*[3]
13. sanguine.] corpore. *M*[3]
14. superbi] *om M*[3]
14–15. in terrenis rebus.] terrenis actibus inhyantis. *M*[3]
16–1f. Michael . . . deum!] Michahel et tu paule ora pro nobis. *M*[3]

1–3. clamauerunt . . . Dauid!] clamabant quedam anime de inferno miserere nostri fili dauid miserere nostri *M*[4]
4–5. Quibus . . . ait] Qui. respondit dominus quare estis in pena *M*[4]
5. postulatis . . . requiem] postuletis ueniam *M*[4]
6. *boni*] *om MS.*
6. fecistis . . . uestra?] feceritis *M*[4]
7. passi fuistis] passe estis *M*[4]
8–9. lanceariis . . . mortuus.] *om M*[4]
9–12. Vos . . . uiuetis.] Vos non redemi argento et auro sed corpus meum dedi in mortem ut uos uiueretis *M*[4]
13–16. Vos . . . contempnentes.] Vos fuistis fures Auari superbi adulteri mendaces fornicatores Ardere ergo in igne isto per sentenciam meam sine spe saluandi Rogemus *M*[4] ; *explicit M*[4]

a

Mendaces fuistis, et fures et auari et inuidi et superbi, maledici. Necquicquam boni fecistis in uita uestra, non penitenciam, non ieiunium, non elemosinam.' Et clamauerunt omnes, dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, Mychahel; et tu, Paule dulcissime, interpella pro nobis ad dominum! Sci enim quia propter tuas preces adhuc stat terra.' Et ait Mychahel, 'Nunc flete, et ego flebo uobiscum, et angeli sancti qui mecum sunt, cum beatissimo Paulo electo dei, ut misereatur et propicius sit nobis omnipotens deus, et det uobis refrigerium.' Audientes hec qui erant in tenebris, clamauerunt una uoce, dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, fili dei!' Et

b

ime dei, interpella pro nobis!' Et ayt Michahel, 'Conflecto, et ego flebo uobiscum.' Et Paulus et omnes angeli dei dicebant, 'Misereatur et propicius sit nobis deus, et det nobis refrigerium.' Audientes hec qui in penis erant, clamabant iterum, dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, filii Dauid!' Et dixit iterum Christus, 'Quid boni fecistis?' Prostrauit se Paulus et Sanctus Michahel et milia milium angelorum ante filium dei, ut requiem haberent in die dominico anime. Et ayt Christus, 'Nunc propter Michahelem et Paulum dilectum, et propter omnes fratres meos qui offerunt mihi oblaciones, et iterum pro uiuis et pro defunctis et maxime pro mea mi-

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1–5. Mendaces . . . elemosinam.] uos fuistis fures auari superbi inuidi cupidi mendaces ambiciose et semper inhesistis terrenis et parum celestibus. *CC*

5–6. clamauerunt . . . dicentes] iterum clamabant omnis anime *CC*

6. Mychahel] o michael *CC*

7. tu] o *CC*

7. dulcissime] dulcissime dei *CC*

7. interpella] interpellate *CC*

8–9. Sci . . . terra.] *om CC*

10. ait Mychahel] michael ait *CC*

11. flebo] *om CC*

11. angeli sancti] omnis angeli *CC*

11–13. qui mecum . . . dei] *om CC*

13. misereatur] misereatur uestri misericordia dei *CC*

13–14. propicius . . . et det] deus sit uobis propicius ut det *CC*

14–15. refrigerium] refrigerium et requiem *CC*

15–17. hec . . . dicentes] hoc qui in penis erant clamabant uoce magna dicentes ita *CC*

17. nobis . . . dei!] mei fili dauid. *CC*

6. hec] hic

c

Paule, interpelle pro nobis ad deum!' Et ait Michael, 'Nunc flete, et ego fleo uobiscum, et omnes angeli dei et Paulus, ut propicius sit nobis.' Audientes hec que in penis erant, clamabant una uoce dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, fili Dauit!' Et dixit iterum Christus, 'Quid boni fecistis?' Mox prostrauit se Paulus in oratione, et Michael; sunt milia milium angelorum ante filium dei, et ut anime requiem die dominico haberent petebant. Statim dixit dominus, 'Nunc propter Michahelem et Paulum, et propter omnes sanctos qui offerunt oblaciones in terra pro uiuis / et defunctis, do uobis requiem omnibus qui estis in penis in nocte dominica usque

d

'Miserere nobis, Michael et tu Paule, intercedite pro nobis ad deum!' Et ait Michael, 'Nunc flete, et cum lacrimis ego et Paulus et omnes uobiscum, ut misertus et propitius sit deus omnipotens, ut det uobis requiem et quietem.' Audientes hoc illi qui erant in peccatis, clamauerunt uoce magna dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, filii Dauid!' Et iterum dixit, 'Quid boni fecistis?' Prostrauit autem angelus se et Paulus et milia milium angelorum apud filium dei ut anime requiem haberent in die dominica. Et ait Christus eis, 'Propter M*ichaelem*, et propter Paulum dilectum meum et omnes sanctos meos qui offerunt oblaciones pro uiuis et

2. Michael] Michahel *M*[3]

3–4. et Paulus . . . nobis.] ut misereatur et propicius sit nobis deus. et refrigerium det uobis *M*[3]

9. Paulus . . . sunt] angelus et paulus. et *M*[3]

11–12. requiem . . . haberent] in die dominico habeant requiem *M*[3]

13. Michahelem] Michahel *M*[3]

14. propter omnes sanctos] omnes angelos. et *M*[3]

15. in terra] *om M*[3]

15–16. defunctis] mortuis et defunctis. et maxime pro mea misericordia. *M*[3]

17. dominica] diei dominice. *M*[3] ; *explicit M*[3]

15. M*ichaelem*] me

a

dixit illis Cristus, 'Quid boni egistis?' Prostrauit se Mychahel et Paulus et angeli sancti, milia milium angelorum, ante filium dei, ut haberent requiem in diem dominicum qui erant in inferno. Et ait Cristus, 'Nunc propter Mychahelem archangelum et Paulum dilectissimum meum, et propter omnes fratres uestros / sanctos qui in mundo offerunt oblaciones pro uiuis et defunctis, maxime autem per meam misericordiam et propter bonitatem meam, do uobis requiem omnibus qui estis in penis nocte dominice diei, et refrigerium usque in perpetuum, de hora nona sabbati usque ad secundam feriam.'

b

sericordia, do uobis omnibus requiem in die sancto dominico qui estis in pena nocte dieque usque in perpetuum, de hora nona sabati usque ad horam primam secunde ferie.'

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1. dixit . . . Cristus] iterum dixit Christus *CC*

1. egistis?] fecistis *CC*

2-3. Prostrauit . . . sancti] Tunc rogabant sanctus paulus et michael angelus et *CC*

4-5. ut . . . inferno.] orantes et deprecantes ut in die dominica anime requiem habeant. *CC*

6. Et ait Cristus] Tunc rex ait. *CC*

6. Nunc] Non *CC*

6-7. Mychahelem . . . et] michaelem nec propter *CC*

7-8. dilectissimum . . . et] meum electum nec *CC*

8-10. omnes . . . oblaciones] fratres meos qui efferunt oblacionem in terris *CC*

10. et] et pro *CC*

11-12. maxime . . . meam] maxime pro mea misericordia *CC*

14. nocte . . . diei] in nocte diei dominice *CC*

14-15. et refrigerium usque] *om CC*

17. feriam.] feriam hore prime *CC*

c

ad in perpetuum de hora nona sabbati ad secundam horam in feria.'

d

defunctis, et pro mea misericordia, do uobis qui estis in pena nocteque dieque in ipso die dominico ab hora nona diei sabbati usque ad horam primam diei ferie secunde.' 5

a

[20] Et ostiarius inferni, cui nomen est Tenal (et nomen canis eius Cerberus), exaltans caput suum super omnes penas inferni, contristatus est ualde. Et letati sunt omnes qui erant in inferno; clamauerunt una uoce, dicentes, 'Benedicimus te, Criste fili dei omnipotentis, qui dignatus es nobis dare refrigerium diei unius et noctis. Plus proficit nobis tempus unius diei et noctis quam omne tempus uite nostre quando fuimus super terram.' Et letabantur omnes, dicentes, 'Benedicimus omnes. . . . ' Et *beati qui* custodiunt diem dominicum; illi enim habebunt partem cum deo et omnibus sanctis eius in secula seculorum. Amen.

b

[20] Et ostiarius, minister infernalis, exaltauit caput suum super infernum et contristatus est ualde. Et letati sunt qui in penis erant, et clamabant uoce magna, dicentes, 'Benedici*m*us te, Christe filii dei uiui, qui dignatus es nobis dare refrigerium. Plus proficit nobis refrigerium diei istius et noctis quam tempus omnibus diebus uite nostre super terram.' Beati qui custodiunt diem sanctum dominicum; ipsi habent partem cum deo et agno in secula seculorum. Amen.

1–3. Et ostiarius . . . Cerberus)] hostiarum inferni [?] est nomen hay et ipse *CC*

3. caput] capud *CC*

3–4. omnes penas inferni] infernum et *CC*

5. letati] laxate *CC*

5. omnes] omnes anime *CC*

6. clamauerunt una uoce] et clamabant uoce magna *CC*

8. omnipotentis] uiui *CC*

9. dare . . . noctis] refrigerium dare huius diei et huius noctis *CC*

10–11. Plus . . . noctis] *om CC*

11–12. omne tempus . . . fuimus] totum tempus quod uiximus *CC*

13–14. Et letabantur . . . Et] *om CC*

14. *beati qui*] *om MS.* / beati ergo qui *CC*

15. dominicum] dominicam *CC*

15. ille enim] quoniam [?] ipsi *CC*

16–17. deo . . . sanctis eius] sanctis *CC*

18. Amen.] *om CC*

5. Benedici*m*us] Benedicius

c

[20] Tunc letati sunt omnes qui erant in inferno, et clamabant una uoce, 'Benedicimus te, Christe fili dei uiui, qui dignatus es nobis dare refrigerium. Plus nobis proficit dies dominicus et nox quam omne tempus uite nostre super terram.' Beati qui custodiunt diem dominicum; ipsi partem habebunt cum deo in secula seculorum. Amen.

d

[20] Tunc anime letantes qui illuc erant clamauerunt uoce magna ad dominum, benedicentes atque dicentes, 'Benedictus sis, Christe filii dei uiui, qui dignatus es nobis dare refrigerium die dominico. Plus enim proerit nobis refrigerium huius diei et noctis quam omne bonum uite nostre super terram.' Beati ergo qui custodiunt diem dominicum; ipsi enim habebunt partem cum domino et angelis suis in regno celorum in secula seculorum. Amen. Amen.

a

[21]

b

[21] Quia nescitis eum timere nec custodire, propterea uenit ira super uos et in labores uestros, et flagella in pecora uestra que uos possidetis; et gens pagana uenit que corpora uestra tenet in captiuitate. Per eo quod non obseruastis diem sanctum dominicum, iam regnant super uos lupi rapaces et canes maligni, qui uos in profundum maris dimergunt; et iam auertam faciem meam a uobis et a tabernaculis que fecerunt manus uestre. Et quodcumque feceritis in mea sancta ecclesia, ego iudicabo; et tradam uos in manus alienorum, et exterminabo et submergam sicut submersi Sodomam et Gomorram. Et qui ambulauit in die sancto dominico in alium locum, nisi ad ecclesiam meam uel ad loca sanctorum ac infirmiorum uisitare, aut discordantes ad ueram pacem reuocare; quia, si aliud feceritis, flagellabo uos duris flagellis, et mittam in uos et in domus uestros omnes plagas et tribulaciones multas.

c

[21]

d

[21] Incredule popule, mortem peccatorum non cupio; ne uolo condempnare si feceritis que precipio, si custodieritis diem dominicum sicut supra dixi. Aperiam uobis caracteres celi, et multiplicabo laborem uestrum, et elongabuntur dies annorum uestrorum, et scietis quod ego dominus sum et non est alius dominus. In die quidem dominico dominus omnia creauit. In die dominico consumauit omnia a quo ceteri incipiunt initium; quia sicut sol est clarior aliis sideribus, ita dies illa est clarior aliis diebus. In die dominico creati sunt angeli ab ore dei. In die dominico sedit archa Noe super diluuium. In die dominico panit dominus quinque milia hominum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus. In die dominico reduxit dominus populum de Egypto. In die dominico dominus manna ad manducandum de celo. In die dominico facit de aqua uinum. In die dominico baptisatus est dominus a Iohanne. In die dominico resurrexit dominus. In dominico die misit dominus spiritum sanctum apostolis. In die dominico erit dies iudicii. Ergo debemus eum obseruare ad unguem.

Oportet ergo nos ieiunare in die Veneris plus quam in aliis diebus, quia in die Veneris intrauerunt filii Israelis in terram Egypti. In die enim Veneris mortuus est Ihesus Christus. In die Veneris mortuus Moyses. In die Veneris occidit Dauid Goliam. In die Veneris mortuus fuit Dauid.

Et sic est finis huius opusculi de uisione beati Pauli, etc. Explicit visio beati Pauli.

REDACTION V

[The text is that of *Cod. Rawlinson C 108*. Variants from Berlin *Cod. Lat. theol. fol. 427* (cited as *Be*) and from the fragmentary printed edition of Jones and Rhŷs in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, med. and mod. series VI, 235–237 (cited as *J*) are printed in the footnotes. See 'List of Texts and Manuscripts,' p. 221.]

VISIO BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI, QUAM EIDEM MONSTRAUIT ET OSTENDIT BEATUS MICHAEL ARCHANGELUS DE PENIS INFERNI

Vultis audire, fratres carissimi, uisionem Sancti Pauli apostoli, quam uisionem ostendit ei Sanctus Michael archangelus per uoluntatem dei? Voluntas dei fuit quod Sanctus Paulus apostolus uidisset duo inferna: unum superius et aliud inferius. Bene debemus scire et credere quod duo sunt inferna, scilicet unum superius et aliud inferius. Superius infernus est ignis purgatorii, ubi sunt anime que expectant misericordiam dei; et ibi penitenciam agunt, ibi purgantur, et ibi sustinent penam per uiginti aut triginta, uel per centum annos uel usque ad diem iudicii; et postea saluantur. Infernus inferius est ubi sunt omnes anime que dampnate sunt, et inde non exibunt usque ad diem iudicii. Et tunc recipient corpora sua ad maiorem penam sustinendam, et habebunt tormentum sine remedio et sine fine. Et melius esset eis quod nati nunquam fuissent.

Cunque peruenisset Sanctus Paulus apostolus per uoluntatem dei ad infernum superiorem, uidit animas eorum qu*i* expectabant misericordiam dei.

Postea uidit in inferno inferiori arbores igneas, ubi sunt anime que dampnate sunt; et in eis arboribus uidit peccatores cruciatos et sus-

1. fratres carissimi] carissimi fratres *Be*. apostoli] *om Be*.
2. Michael] Michahel *Be*.
4. unum superius] unum scilicet superius *Be*.
8. per uiginti] per *om Be*.
9. inferius est] est *om Be*. anime] anime dampnate *Be*.
11. recipient] ibi recipient *Be*.
12. sine remedio et] *om Be*.
12, 13. nati nunquam] numquam nati *Be*.
14. Cunque] Cum *Be*.
15. qu*i*] que/ qui *Be*.
17. uidit] vidit Paulus *J*. inferiori] *om J*.
18. eis] illis *Be*.

pensos: alii pendebant per capillos, alii per colla, alii per linguas, alii per manus, alii per pedes. Cunque hoc uidisset Sanctus Paulus apostolus, magnum pauorem habuit.

Et iterum uidit fornacem ignis ardentem per septem flammas in diuersis coloribus; et in ipsa fornace ponebantur et cruciabantur ac tormentabantur anime peccatorum qui non egerunt penitenciam post peccata commissa in hoc seculo; et ibi recipit unusquisque secundum opera sua. Alii flent, alii ululant, alii gemunt, alii ardent: querunt et desiderant mortem habere, sed non inueniunt, quia anime nunquam moriuntur, sicut facit corpus, quia immortales sunt. Corpora enim materia et terra sunt, et in terram reuertentur. Anime uero spirituales sunt, et numquam mori possunt.

Sanctus Paulus uidit in inferno inferiori septem penas quas habent cotidie anime que dampnate sunt: prima pena est fames, / secunda est sitis, tercia frigus, quarta calor, quinta uermis, sexta fetor, septima fumus ita magnus quod nullus potest uidere alium. Post istas septem penas uidit Sanctus Paulus tantas alias in inferno inferiori quod nemo dicere potest.

Oportet nos, fratres carissimi, amare deum et delicias paradisi et metuere penas inferni, que ostendite fuerunt Sancto Paulo apostolo, quando missus fuit carcere. Et ideo, fratres carissimi, timendus est nobis locus inferni, in quo est dolor et gemitus; in quo est ululatus et planctus, gemitus mortis et tristicia sine leticia, habundancia lacrimarum propter cruciacionem et dolorem animarum; in quo est rota

1. linguas] lingwas *Be*.
2. hoc] hos *J*.
3. pauorem] timorem *Be*.
4. ardentem . . . flammas] ardentem decem et septem flammas *Be*.
5. ponebantur] pendebant *Be*. ac] et *Be*.
7–8. in hoc seculo . . . flent] *om Be*.
8. ululant] ullulant *Be*.
9. sed] et *J*. anime] *om Be*.
10–11. materia et terra] de terra *Be*.
14. cotidie] cottidie *Be*/ quotidie *J*.
15. tercia . . . calor] tercia est . . . quarta est calor *Be*.
16. nullus . . . alium] unus . . alterum *Be*.
19. nos] uos *Be*.
21. carcere] in carcere *Be*.
22. ululatus] ullulatus *Be*.
24. cruciacionem] cruciatum *J*. animarum] animae *J*.

ignea que semper ardet et habet mille orbitas, mille uicibus in uno die percussa ab angelo tartareo, et in unaquaque uice mille anime cremantur.

Postea uidit Sanctus Paulus flumen orribile, in quo sunt multe bestie diabolice que semper animas rodunt et deuorant sine aliqua misericordia, quasi lupi oues; et desuper illud flumen pontem habet, per quem transeunt omnes anime iustorum et peccatorum. Ibi sunt multe mansiones preparate, sicut dominus dixit in euuangelio, 'Ligate per fasciculos ad comburendum': similis cum similibus, adulteri cum adulteribus, iniqui cum iniquibus, rapaces cum rapacibus.

Ibi uidit Sanctus Paulus multas animas demersas usque ad genua, alias usque ad umbiculum, alias usque ad labia, alias usque ad supercilia, et continue cruciabantur. Quando hoc uidit Sanctus Paulus, cepit lacrimare, et dixit ad angelum, 'O domine, qui sunt qui mersi sunt in flumine isto?' 'Hii qui mersi sunt usque ad genua sunt illi qui detrahunt, id est qui detraccionem faciunt seu consensiunt. Alii uero qui mersi sunt usque ad umbiculum sunt illi qui fornicantur et adulterant, et postea non reuertuntur ad penitenciam. Reliqui uero qui sunt demersi usque ad labia sunt qui faciunt lites inter se ad ecclesiam, et nolunt audire uerbum dei. Alii qui sunt demersi usque ad supercilia,

2. percussa] percussas *J*.
2–3. cremantur] cruciantur *Be*.
4. orribile] horribile *Be J*. multe] mille *J*.
5. diabolice] dyabolice *Be*.
7. et] *om Be*.
8. euuangelio] Ewangelio *Be*.
9. adulteribus] adulteris *Be J*.
10. iniquibus] iniquis *Be J*.
11. Ibi] Ita *J*. demersas] diuersas *Be*.
12. ad umbiculum] ad umbilicum *J*/ ad umblicum seu ad umbiculum *Be*.
12. alias usque ad labia, alias] alii . . . alii *Be*.
13. continue] continuo/ continue *Be* /continuo *J*.
14. lacrimare] lacrimari *Be*. mersi] submersi *Be*.
15. flumine isto] flumine isto Alii usque ad genua etc. Respondit angelus et dixit ei *Be*.
15. mersi] submersi *Be*.
15–16. qui detrahunt, id est] *om J*.
17. mersi] submersi *Be*. umbiculum] umbilicum *J*.
18. non] *om Be*. reuertuntur] revertentur *J*.
19. demersi] dimersi *Be*. ad ecclesiam] et ecclesiam *Be J*.
20. demersi] dimersi *Be*. supercilia] suplicia *Be*.

illi sunt qui gaudent de dampno proximi sui.' Tunc dixit Sanctus Paulus, 'Ve hiis qui*bus* preparate sunt tante pene!'

Vidit postea alium locum tenebrosum plenum uiris ac mulieribus qui comedebant linguas suas. Et dixit ad angelum, / 'Domine, qui sunt isti?' Et angelus dixit ei, 'Hii sunt feneratores pecuniarum, et qui usuras requirunt et non sunt misericordes. Propterea sunt in penis.'

Postea uidit Sanctus Paulus alium locum, in quo multa tormenta permanebant. Et erant ibi puelle nigre, que habebant uestimenta nigra, indute pannis, pice et sulphure; et erant dracones, serpentes et uipere circa colla sua; et quatuor angeli mali increpantes eas habentes cornua ignea, et circumdabant eas dicentes, 'Agnoscite filium dei, qui redemit mundum.' Et tunc interrogauit Paulus que erant ille. Et dixit angelus ei, 'Hee sunt que non seruauerunt castitatem in suis parentibus, et maculauerunt ac necauerunt infantes suos, et occiderunt eos et dederunt porcis uel canibus in escam, uel posuerunt in fluminibus aut aliis perdicionibus; et postea penitenciam non fecerunt.'

Postea uidit uiros nudos et mulieres in loco glacee, qui igne urebantur dimidia parte et dimidia parte frigebant. Hii sunt qui orphanis et uiduis nocuerunt. Et iterum uidit uiros et mulieres super camena, et multos fructus ante illos, ex quibus non poterant sumere. Hii sunt qui soluunt ieiunium ante tempus.

Et uidit in alio loco senem unum inter quatuor dyabolos plorantem. Et interrogauit Sanctus Paulus quis esset. Et dixit ei angelus, 'Erat

1. dampno] dampnis *Be*.
1–2. Tunc . . . pene] *om Be*.
2. qui*bus*] qui/ quibus *J*.
3. Vidit postea] postea uidit *Be*.
4. comedebant linguas] commedebant lingwas *Be*.
8. nigre] *om Be*. que] qui *J*.
10. uipere] vipera *J*.
11. Agnoscite] Agnostite/ agnoscite *uel* agnostite *Be*/ Agnosti tu *J*.
12. que] qui *Be*.
13. ei] *om J*. que] qui *J*.
13–14. suis parentibus] parentibus suis *Be*.
14. infantes suos] parentes suos infantes *Be*.
15. uel canibus] et canibus *Be*.
17. glacee] glacie *Be J*.
19. camena] camona [?] *Be*.
21. tempus] tempora *Be*.
23. quis] qui *J*.

quidam episcopus negligens qui non seruauit legem Christi, et non fuit castus corpore uel opere aut uerbo seu cogitacione, sed fuit auarus, dolosus ac superbus. Ideo sustinet innumerabiles penas usque in diem iudicii.'

5 Et fleuit beatus Paulus, et dixit, 'Ve peccatoribus, et qui nati sunt!' Et dixit ei angelus, 'Quare ploras, Paule, super humanum genus? Non uidisti adhuc maiores penas inferni, modo uidebis.'

Et ostendit ei puteum signatum septem sigillis. Et ait illi, 'O Paule, sta longius, ut possis sustinere fetorem.' Et continuo aperuit os putei, 10 tunc exiuit fetor pessimus superans omnes penas. Et dixit ei angelus, 'Si quis mittatur in hunc puteum, nunquam fiet commemoracio eius in conspectu domini.' Et tunc dixit Paulus ad angelum, 'Qui sunt hii, domine, qui mittuntur in eo?' Et ait angelus, 'Omnes / illi qui non crediderunt Christum filium dei uenisse in carne, et qui non baptizantur 15 nec communicantur corpore Christi.'

Postea uidit in alium locum uiros et mulieres, uermes et serpentes comedentes eos; et erant anime una super alteram quasi oues in ouile. Et erat profunditas eius quasi terra ad celum. Et audiuit gemitum et suspirium quasi tonitruum.

20 Et postea aspexit in celum et terram, et uidit animam peccatoris inter dyabolos septem ululantes, deducentes eam eo die de corpore. Et clamauerunt angeli contra eam dicentes, 'O anima misera, quid fecisti in terra, qua*re* non custodisti mandata dei?' Tunc dyaboli susceperunt eam, et miserunt eam in tenebrosis exterioribus, ubi erat fletus et stridor 25 dencium. Et dixit ei angelus, 'Credis et agnoscis, Paule, quia sicut

1. quidam] quidem *J*.
5. fleuit] tunc fleuit *Be*. beatus] sanctus *J*.
6. ei] *om Be*.
8. ostendit ei] astendit *Be*. illi] ei *Be*.
8–9. Et ait . . . fetorem] *om J*.
9. os] et *J*.
10. tunc] et *Be*. superans omnes penas] *om Be*/ super omnes penas *J*.
11. mittatur] injiciatur *J*.
12. tunc] *om Be*.
13. mittuntur] injiciuntur *J*.
17. comedentes] commedentes *Be*.
21. ululantes] ullulantes *Be*. eo] ea *Be*.
23. qua*re*] quasi/ quare *Be J*.
24. miserunt eam] eam *om Be*. tenebrosis exterioribus] tenebras exteriores *Be*.
25. Paule] *om Be*.

facit homo, sic accipiet?' 'Credo, domine.'

Post hec uidit animam iustam de corpore exisse, porta*tam ad celum, et audiuit uocem angelorum letancium et dicencium, 'O anima leta et fidelissima ac beatissima, letare hodie quia fecisti uoluntatem animi tui.' Et dixerunt angeli ad Michaelem archangelum, 'O Michael sancte, leua eam ante dominum, quia opera sua fuerunt bona.' Et continuo Sanctus Michael collocauit eam in paradiso, ubi erant qui Christi uestigia sunt sequti, in magna leticia.

Quando uiderunt hoc omnes peccatores qui erant in penis, dixerunt ad Sanctum Michaelem archangelum, 'O Michael domine, miserere nobis; et tu, Paule dilectissime dei, intercede pro nobis ad dominum!' Et ait angelus, 'Nunc flete, et flebimus uobiscum, et qui mecum sunt angeli cum dilectissimo Paulo, si forte misereatur deus, ut donet uobis aliquod refrigerium.' Quando hoc audierunt qui erant in penis, exclamauerunt uoce magna, et Michael archangelus et Paulus apostolus ac milia milium angelorum clamauerunt ad dominum. Et auditus est sonus eorum uoces in quarto celo dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, fili dei excelsi!'

Et continuo uiderunt filium dei descendentem de celo habentem dyademam in capite suo. Et rursum exclamauerunt ad dominum et dixerunt, 'Miserere nobis, fili dei excelsi!' Et uox filii continuo audita est super omnes dicens, 'Ego crucifixus / fui pro uobis, lancea perforatus,

2. porta*tam] portantem/ portantem *Be*/ portatam *J*.
4. quia] qui/ qui *Be*/quia *J*. animi] domini *J*.
5. Michaelem] michahelem *Be*.
6. dominum] Deum J.
7. paradiso] paradyso *Be*. qui] omnes qui *Be*.
8. sequti] secuti *Be J*.
9. hoc] *om Be*.
10. domine] sancte *J*.
11. dei] *om Be*.
12. ait] *om J*.
13. ut] et *Be*.
14. aliquod] aliquot *Be*.
15. ac] et *Be*.
16. est]*om Be*.
17. uoces] vocis *J*. fili dei] filii *Be*.
19–20. habentem dyademam] et habentem dyadema *Be*.
20. exclamauerunt] clamaverunt *J*.
21. fili] filii *Be*. continuo] continue *Be*.
22. dicens] dicentes *Be*.

clauis confixus. Acetum cum felle mixtum dedistis michi ad potandum; egomet ipsum pro uobis dedi u*sque* ad mortem, ut et uos mecum ueniretis. Sed uos mendaces fuistis, fures, auari, inuidiosi, superbi, maledicti; nec ullum bonum fecistis, penitenciam, ieiunium nec elemosinam; sed iniqui fuistis in omni uita uestra.' Quando audiuit Sanctus Michael, Sanctus Paulus et angeli milia milium, rogauerunt dei filium ut requiem haberent in die dominico omnes qui erant in inferno. Et ait dominus, 'Propter preces Michaelis et Pauli, angelorumque meorum, et maxime pro resurreccione mea, concedo uobis requiem ab hora nona sabbati usque in prima secunde ferie.'

Quando hoc audiuit hostiarius inferni, qui uocatur Cerberus, et qui cum eo erant in inferno, gracias egerunt deo, et dixerunt, 'Benedicimus te, fili dei excelsi, qui nobis donasti refrigerium. Nam plus nobis est remedium diei et noctis quam illud tempus quod consummauimus super terram.' Ideo dies dominicus est dies electus, in quo gaudent angeli et omnes sancti. Et qui custodierit diem dominicum habebit partem cum angelis dei. Qui uero non custodierit, condempnabitur.

Postea interrogauit Paulus angelum, 'Quot sunt pene inferni?' Et dixit ei angelus, 'Pene inferni sunt centum quadraginta quatuor milia; et si essent centum uiri loquentes ab inicio mundi, et unusquisque habuisset quatuor linguas ferreas, non possent dinumerare ceteras penas inferni.'

Nos autem, fratres carissimi, qui* audiuimus tanta tormenta, conuertamur ad dominum deum nostrum, ut dignetur nobis dare uitam eternam in secula seculorum, dicendo:

Veni, creator spiritus,
Mentes tuorum uisita,

1. mixtum] *om Be.*
2. egomet ipsum] Ego memetipsum *Be*/ egomet proprium *J.*
2. u*sque*] ut/ usque *Be J.* et] *om Be.*
3. Sed] Sed et *Be.*
4. ieiunium] jejuniam *J.*
5. Michael] Michahel *Be.*
11. Cerberus] Cerburus *J.*
12. Benedicimus] Benediximus *Be.*
13. fili] filii *Be.* nobis est] est nobis *Be.*
14. consummauimus] consumauimus *Be.*
20. si . . . uiri] si centum centum viri *J.*
21. linguas] lingwas *Be.*
23. qui*] quid/ qui *Be* /quid *J.*
25. seculorum] *hic explicit J.*

Imple superna gracia
Que tu creasti pectora.

Qui paracletus diceris,
Donum dei altissimi,
5 Fons uiuus, caritas
Et spiritalis unccio.

Tu septiformis munere,
Dextre dei tu digitus,
Tu rite promissum patris:
10 Sermonem dicant gutura.

Accende lumen sensibus,
Infunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.

15 Hostem repellas longius,
Pacemque dones protinus,
Ductore sic te preuio
Vitemus omne noxium.

Per te sciamus, da, patrem /
20 Noscamus atque filium,
Te utriusque spiritum
Credamus omni tempore.
Amen.

3. diceris] diceris etc. Explicit Visio Sancti Pauli *Be ; alia desunt.*

REDACTION VII

[Paris, *Cod. B.N. lat. 2851*]

VISIO SANCTI PAULI

Placuit itaque domino ut isdem Paulus per Michahelem archangelum omnis qui erant in penis per eundem Michaelem cognosceret, sicut ipse testatur:

Vidi, ego Paulus, spiritu ductus ante portas inferni, arbores igneas, et peccatores in his cruciari suspensos: alii pedibus alligati, alii manibus, alii linguis, alii uero capillis, alii brachiis, alii collis. Vidi iterum fornacem igneam ardentem per septem flammas *in* diuers*is* coloribus; et multi pu*n*iebantur in ea. Prima flamma erat alba ut nix, secunda ut glacies, tercia ut pix nigra, quarta ut sanguis rubra, quinta ut emittens serpentes, sexta fetorem, septima ut fulgur. Et in ipsam mittuntur peccatorum anime qui in hac uita neclexerunt penitentiam agere. Alii autem flentes, alii ululantes, alii gementes; alii uero erant qui mortem de die in diem desiderabant, sed mori nequiuerunt, quia anime immortales existunt.

Et uidi, ego Paulus, alium locum plenum uiris ac mulieribus comedentibus linguas suas. Et interrogaui qui essent. Et dixit mihi angelus, 'Hi sunt,' inquit, 'qui detrahebant in ecclesia proximos suos, nec audiebant uerbum dei.'

Et uidi ego locum in quo erant pene inferni; et in hoc uiros ac mulieres acriter puniri. Et angelus item, 'Hi sunt,' inquit, 'qui occiderunt infantes suos et proiecerunt porcis et canibus in escam, aut in fluminibus.' Et uidi quatuor angelos in circuitu earum, increpantes eas et dicentes; 'Agnoscite filium dei, qui redemit mundum suo sancto sanguine!'

Et iterum uidi alium locum, et senem inter quatuor diabolos plorantem. Et interrogaui quis esset. Et dixit mihi angelus; 'Iste sepe negli*g*ens fuit nec custodiens legem domini nec castus in corpore, sed auarus et ebriosus et commessator et superbus diabolus aliisque viciis deditus exstitit. Ideo sustinet penas innumerabiles ac sustinebit usque diem iudicii.'

Tunc ego Paulus, flens, dixi, 'Ve, ue, ue peccatoribus! Vtquid nati sunt?' Et ait angelus, 'Nondum maiorem penam inferni uidisti.'

Et uidi, ego Paulus, alium locum; in eo loco uiros ac mulieres nudos, uermes et serpentes commedentes eos. Erantque anime in eo loco una

7. *in* diuers*is*] et diuersas
8. pu*n*iebantur] puiebantur
26. negli*g*ens] negliens

super alteram uelud oues in ouili stricte et erant profunditates loci illius nimis alte. Et ego mecum, 'Quis scit mensuram nisi solus deus?' Audiui eos gementes et flentes quasi tonitruum, ob commestio*nem* uermium et serpentium.

Et aspiciebam in celum et in terram. Interea uidi animam peccato*ris* cuiusdam inter quatuor diabolos ducentes eam ululantem et flentem, et eodem die de corpore exeuntem. Et audiui angelos dei ad inuicem dicentes, 'Hec anima contempsit mandata dei in terris.' Ipsa uero legebat acta sua in quibus peccauit, et se ipsam iudicauit. Diaboli suscipientes eam, miserunt in tenebras exteriores, ubi erat fletus et ululatus magnus. Et dixit mihi angelus, 'Credis, Paule, et agnoscis quia ut homo egerat in terrestri seculo, sic recipiet in futuro?'

Post hec uidi, ego Paulus, angelos dei cuiusdam animam defuncti deportantes ad celum. Et audiui uocem milium angelorum letantium pro ea, et dicentium, 'O anima felicissima, O beata, leta sis hodie, quia fecisti uoluntatem dei uiui et ueri!' Et angeli letantes pre ea, portabant eam ante deum. Et ecce apertus est illi liber, et legit opera bona que fecerat. Post hec Michaeli tradita est et ad paradisum deportata et inter sanctos annumerata. Et clamauerunt anime que erant in inferno, uidentes animam iustam ab angelis in paradisum delatam. Et clamor magnus factus est ita ut celum et terra mouebantur. Et fleuerunt anime infernales, et fleui, ego Paulus.

Et post ea ostendit mihi angelus fundamentum celi, quod est orbis cardo, super flumen magnum. Et inter*r*ogaui quis esset hic fluuius. Et angelus ait, 'Hic fluuius dicitur Occeanu*s* super quem gira*nt* sidera celi, et circuit orbem terre.' Et uidi ibi locum terribilem, in quo non erat lux, sed tenebre et suspiria et mesti*c*ia. Et erat ibi flumen igneum feruens, et fluctus exaltabatur usque ad celum. Et nomen loci illius Cocciton; quo in flumine sunt tria flumina, quorum nomina Flegeton, Cocciton, Rapion. Et erant stillicidia stillantia super peccatores uelud magnus mons igneus.

Et erat ibi draco ingens intrinsecus capita centum habens, et dentes in unoquoque, et leonem in unoquoque dente. Et nomen eius Parphimon. Et ab eo procedunt serpentes et omnia genera uermium. Et in ore eius mittuntur omnis iniquitatem facientes.

1. stricte] stricto
3. commestio*nem*] commestio
5–6. peccato*ris*] peccatorum
24. inter*r*ogaui] interogaui
25. Occeanu*s*] occeanum gira*nt*] girat
27. mesti*c*ia] mestia

Et uidi multipliciter dimmersos in flumine magno igneo. Et fleui, et interrogaui qui essent illi qui ad ienua dimersi erant. Et angelus inquit, 'Hi sunt qui se mittuntur alienis sermonibus et alios detrahentes in ecclesia.' 'Alii autem ad uerbiculum?' 'Hi sunt qui fornicantur postque sumpserunt corpus et sanguinem Iesu Christi uertentes ad mortem, et non egerunt penitentiam.' 'Alii dimersi usque ad pectus?' 'Hii sunt qui semper cogitauerunt mala facere proximis suis.' 'Alii ad girtt [?], alii ad labia?' 'Hi sunt qui spreuerunt ieiunium et qui fecerunt lites in ecclesia et non audientes uerbum domini.' 'Alii ad supercilia?' 'Hi sunt superbi et qui innuunt male proximis suis, dum habent fidem in eis.'

Et uidi alium locum uiris ac mulieribus plenum, cuius profunditas quasi trecenta milia cubitorum. Et qui in eo sedebant, gemebant et flebant et sepe, 'Fili Dauid, miserere!' clamabant. Et hec uidens et audiens, fleui frequenter suspirans. Et dixit angelus, 'Hec abissus mensuram non habet, ut et . . .* eum que uix pertingi potest per annum; et in hoc puniuntur fornicatores et adulteri et homicide.'

Hec cum uidissem rursum ingemui. Et angelus item, 'Quid fles, Paule, super humanum genus? Nonne misericordia tua misericordia dei maior est, qui precioso sanguine suo illud redimere uenit, et unicuique uoluntatem propriam et tempus penitendi dedit, et non peni*tu*erunt?'

Et postea uidi alium locum terribilem et angustiosum, in quo erat flumen magnum ardens in septentrione; et in eo uiros ac mulieres comedentes linguas suas, et uermes in circuitu eorum. Et gemui. Et dixit mihi angelus, 'Hi dicuntur malefici.'

Rursum in eodem loco uidi coadunationem utriusque sexus ceu pix denigratam; et non erat illis mediocris pena. Et hos innotuit mihi angelus fornicatores esse contra legem propriam.

Vidi puellas autem nigras et moniales, et quatuor angelos feruentes manibus tenentes catenas. Et nect*e*bantur ille in ceruices quasi in incerto uagantes uelud in captiuitatem ducebantur. Et dixit mihi angelus, 'Iste uero castitatem in corpore non seruauerunt.'

Post hec paulo inferius, designante angelo, uidi uiros ac mulieres in loco glaciali, quorum superiorem partem medietatis urebat ignis, inferiorem glacies frigebat. Hi erant quorum iudicio orphani et uidue

8. girtt] = girtellam, *pro* girdellam [?]; *cf. Du Cange, Glossarium, s.v.* girdella.
16. . . .*] *aliquid quod legi non potest.*
21–22. peni*tu*erunt] peniterunt
30. *Vidi*] *om MS.*
31. nect*e*bantur] nectabantur

condempnabantur.

Postea uidi, ego Paulus, multitudinem quasi exercitum promiscui generis super ripam aquarum uidentes uniuersi generis fructus ante illos, et non sinebantur quicquam ex eis capere. Et dixit angelus illos soluisse ieiunia ante tempus. 5

Et inde ductus in septentrionem. Ostendit mihi puteum ex quo fetor omnibus peior processit, et per girum eius ducebantur muri ignei ex utraque parte candentes. Et dixit mihi angelus, 'Qui hic intus mittuntur, alienati sunt a misericordia dei et alienabuntur, nec memoria eorum erit ante dominum.' Et ego, 'Qui sunt illi?' Et respondit an- 10 gelus, 'Qui non crediderunt in carne uenisse, nec nasci ex Maria uirgine Christum, et corpori et sanguini non communicauerunt.'

Postque uidissem et audiendo intellexissem hec, flens amare super peccatores, uisi sumus ab eis. Et una quasi sonitus bucinarum innumerabilium uoce extollentes, 'Miserere nobis,' inquiunt, 'Michahel 15 archangele et Paule dei dilectissime!' Ad hanc uocem fundamentum terre contremuit, et celi fundamentum commotum est, et ego ualde expauescebam et flebam. Illi uero flentes rursum exclamauerunt in penis, dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, Michael cum Paulo.' At Michael sanctus et ego prostrati sumus ante dominum, necnon et milia milium an- 20 gelorum. Exaudita est uox nostra in septimo throno dicens, 'Miserere, miserere, Christe fili dei uiui!' Et ecce celum apertum est. Et filius dei descendens de celo, habebat diadema in capite suo. Et terremotus factus est magnus et infernus siluit. Abyssus contremuit, tormenta tartaris prohibita. Omnia in celo et in terra commota timore. Et 25 uidentes qui erant in penis filium hominis, rursum exclamauerunt, 'Miserere, fili Dauid!' Et uox filii dei audita est super omnis qui erant in penis, dicens, 'Quid a me postulatis requiem inferi? Quid boni fecistis? Crucifixus fui pro uobis, perforatus lancea, clauibus confixus, spinis coronatus, in facie percussus, aceto et felle potatus, et ad ultimum 30 mortem subii. Et uos e contrario fuistis mendaces, periurii, fures, raptores, auari, inuidi, superbi, malefici, homicide, sacrilegi, maledicti, fornicatores, detrahentes proximos suos, mihil boni sacerdotibus meis facientes nec pauperibus misericordiam a uobis petentibus, sed in omnibus preuaricatores legis mee exstitistis, nec penitentiam nec ieiunium 35 nec elemosinam ad delenda peccata in uobis uidi. Primicias et decimas mihi non dedistis. Esurientibus, sicientibus, hospitibus, nudis, infirmis, captiuis ob mei amorem non ministrastis.' His dictis, iterum prostrauimus nos humiliter ante tremendam maiestatem dei cum fletibus, postulantes ueniam miseris, ut mererentur habere requiem die do- 40

minico. Tunc pius dominus ait, 'Numquid maiorem in illis feci misericordiam, proprium et uoluntatem dedi eis arbitrium. Voluntatem suam fecerunt, non meam; sed a me declinauerunt.' Rursum peccatores clamauerunt, 'Miserere! A penis libera nos, Christe pius!'

REDACTION VIII

[Berlin, *Cod. lat. 422*]

Dominicus dies preelectus est pre omnibus diebus, in quo gaudebunt angeli et archangeli plus ceteris diebus. Interrogandum quis prius rogauerit ut anime haberent requiem in inferno dominicis diebus. Oportet uos, karissimi fratres, amare delicias paradisi et timere penas inferni, que ostense sunt apostolo Paulo, quando fuit in carcere mundi. Tulit ipsum Michael in spiritum ante deum et ostendit ei celum, terram et infernum.

Vidit uero Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas, et peccatores cruciatos ac suspensos in eis: alii pendebant manibus, alii capillis, alii brachiis, alii linguis. Et inter eos uidit fornacem ardentem per duodecim flammas *in* diuersis coloribus. Et anime puniebantur in ea. Et septem plage erant in circuitu eius: prima plaga erat nix, secunda glacies, tercia ignis, quarta sanguis, quinta serpentes, sexta sulphur, septima fetor intollerabilis. In ipsam fornacem mittuntur anime peccatorum qui non egerunt penitenciam post commissa peccata. Ibi omnes cruciantur et recipiunt supplicium secundum opera sua. Alii flent, alii gemunt, alii ululant, alii ardent: querunt mortem et non inueniunt, quia nunquam morientur.

Timendus ergo nobis locus infernalis, in quo tristicia sine leticia; in quo rota ignea habens *mille orbitas*, mille uicibus in uno die ab angelo *tartareo percussa*; et in una die mille uicibus anime cruciantur et refrigerantur.

Ac postea duxit eum super flumen magnum aque. Et super illud flumen pons, per quem transeunt iuste anime sine ulla dubitacione, et peccatrices secundum merita sua; ubi multe et male mansiones semper preparate sunt. Sicut in ewangelio legitur, 'Ligate fasciculos ad comburendum'; id est, similis cum similibus, adulteros cum adulteris. Et interrogauit Paulus quis esset fluuius. Et dixit angelus, 'Hic est Occeanus, super quem girant sydera celi, et circuit orbem terrarum.' Et uidit ibi locum terribilem, et non erat lumen in illo, sed tenebre, mes-

2. prius] primus *in marg.*
5. ostense] ostensa
9. suspensos] suspensus
11. *in*] et
13. sanguis] saguis
20. *mille orbitas*] *om MS.* *Cf.* Redac. IV, *Brandes, p. 76, l. 3.*
21. *tartareo percussa*] tar/tartareo percussam

ticie et suspiria. Et erat flumen igneum et feruens; fluctus autem eius exaltat se super usque ad nubes et ad celum. Et nomen illius Cochiton. Et alia tria que confluunt sicut in e*um* et grauior*a* erant stillicidio super peccatores, et *ut* mons magnus igneus.

5 Et ibi draco ingens intrinsecus loci centum capita habens in collo, et mille dent*es* in unoquoque capite; ut leo erat unusquisque dens. Et erant oculi eius quasi gladii acuti; semper ore aperto ut absorbeat animas. Et erat nomen Pantemam. Ab eo autem procedunt copie ranarum et omnia genera uermium. In ore eius mittuntur omnes 10 satrape terre qui iniquitatem faciunt cum principibus eorum. Unde Salomon inquit, 'Qui offert sacrificium de* inopia pauperum, tamquam qui maculat filium in conspectu patris.'

Et illic uidit multos et diuersos homines in flumine igneo: alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad * umbilicum, alii usque ad tibia, alii usque ad 15 supercilia. Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Qui sunt hii?' 'Hii sunt qui furtum fecerunt per rapinam, per luxuriam, et inde penitenciam non egerunt; et ideo ad genua mersi sunt.' 'Ad umbilicum?' 'Hii sunt qui fornicantur postquam sumpserunt corpus et sa*n*guinem Christi, et non reuertebantur ad penitenciam, et ita perdurauerunt usque ad mortem.' 20 'Et qui ad latus?' 'Hii sunt detractores et falsi testes, et qui murmurauerunt in ecclesia et dei uerbum non audierunt.' 'Qui ad supercilia?' 'Hii sunt qui fictum animum habent et anuunt mala proximis suis, dum habent fide*m* contra eos. Et unusquisque homo *qui* peccatum facit, si non penitenciam egerit, sic cadit in illud flumen et in infernum, 25 sicut isti fecerunt quos uidisti.'

Et iterum uidi*t* locum plenum uiris et mulieribus. Et erat fouea alta et, in profundo loci, plena animabus, una super aliam. Et erat profunditas loci trecent*a* mili*a* cubitorum. Flentes, gementes et clamant*es*, 'Miserer*e* nobis, fili Dauid!' Quos ut uidit Paulus, / fleuit et dixit, 'Qui 30 sunt hii?' 'Hii sunt qui desperauerunt, nec fidem in deum haberent.' Et dixit, 'Quanta est profunditas loci istius?' Et angelus, 'Abyssus

3. e*um*] eom grauior*a*] grauiori
4. et *ut* mons] et mons
6. dent*es*] dentos
11. de*] deo [*?*], *uel* die [*?*]
14. usque ad*] usque ad usque ad
18. sa*n*guinem] saguinem
23. fide*m*] fid' *uel* ad' [*?*] qui] *om MS.*
26. uidi*t*] uidi
28. trecent*a* mili*a*] trecentorum milium clamant*es*] clamantos
29. Miserer*e*] Misere

mensuram non habet. Et quicunque introeunt in hunc locum, sine fine ardebunt.' Cumque audisset Paulus, ingemuit. Dixit angelus ad eum, 'Quid ploras super humanum genus? Numquid tu maior es illi? Filius hominis uenit redimiere eos, et dimisit unumquemque proprie uoluntati et tempus penitencie dedit, et non penituerunt.'

Et post hec uidi*t* locum terribilem et angustum, in quo erat flumen magnum ascendens ad septentrionem. Et uiri ac mulieres in eo comedentes linguas suas, et uermes in circuitu eorum comedentes eos. 'Qui sunt hii, domine?' Et angelus, 'Hii sunt qui orphanis et uiduis nocuerunt et qui sunt feneratores pecuniarum et usuras quera*ntes*, et misericordes non sunt.' Et ignis urebat dimidiam partem, et glacies frigebat alteram.

Iterum uidit unam animam inter quatuor dyabolos precantem et ululantem. Interrogauit que hec esset. Et angelus, 'Ipse fuit negligens, nec legem dei custodiuit, nec castus fuit corpore nec cogitacione nec opere, sed fuit auarus, dolosus et superbus. Et ideo susti*n*et innumerabiles penas.'

Et postea uidi*t* uiros et mulieres super canalia, et multos fructus ante illos; et non sinebantur sumere ex illis. Et ait ei, 'Hii sunt qui * soluerunt ieiunium ante tempus.

Et post*ea* uidi*t* multas mulieres indutas pannis pice et sulphure et igne; dracones et serpentes circa colla earum, et habebant cornua ignita et percuciebant eas. Tunc dixit, 'Que sunt hee, domine?' Et respondit angelus, 'Hee sunt que occiderunt et neccauerunt infantes suos et in terra suffocauerunt, et diuinaciones fecerunt.'

Et fleuit Paulus et dixit, 'Ve, ue, ue peccatores! Ad quid nati sunt!' Et angelus, 'Quid ploras? Adhuc tormenta maiora uidebis. Sequere me.' Et uidit sepcies maiora quam prius uidebat.

Et duxit eum ad puteum signatum sigillis septem. Et dixit angelus, 'Recede de puteo, quia fetorem eius nullus sustinere potest.' Et apertum os putei, et ascendit quidem malus fetor super*ans* omnes penas prius uisas; et muri ignei ascendentes et eleuantes se ex utraque parte. Et audiuit clamorem in eo quasi tonitruum. 'Hic est infernus in quo anime descendebant ante passionem Christi. Patriarche, prophete et

6. uidi*t*] uidi
10. quera*ntes*] queras
16. susti*n*et] sustiet
18. uidi*t*] uidi
19. qui*] qui non
21. post*ea* uidi*t*] post uidi
31. super*ans*] super

totus *mundus inclinatus* erat ad infernum; sed pius dominus audiuit gementis eorum, descendit et partem inde abstulit partemque reliquit, et puteum signauit sigillis septem. Et usque in diem iudicii nullus descendit in hunc puteum. Et qui tunc immittentur, corpore et anime immittentur; sine fine ibi permansuri.' Et dixit Paulus, 'Qui sunt hii?' Et angelus, 'Hii sunt gentiles; nec baptizati, nec in dominum crediderunt, nec corpus et sa*n*guinem Christi acceperunt, et predicationem respuerunt. Ideo sine fine cruciantur.' Et audiuit gemitum et suspiria eorum quasi tonitruum.

Post hec respiciebat celum et terram, et uidit animam peccatoris inter septem demones ullulantem, eadem die ductam de corpore. Et clamauerunt angeli contra eam dicentes, 'Ve, ue, ue, misera anima, quid operata es car*n*e tua in terra!' Et dixerunt ad in*uicem* quomodo mandata dei contempserit. Mox et ipsa perlegit cartam suam in qua erant peccata sua conscripta, et ita se ipsam diiudicabat. Tunc demones eam cum cachinno susceperunt magno et miserunt in tenebras exteriores, ubi erat fletus et stridor dencium. Et dixit angelus, 'Credis et agnoscis, Paule, quia sicut in terra fecerit sic accipiet?'

Post hec, *in uno* momento, duxerunt angeli dei animam de corpore, ferentes ad celum. Et audiuit uocem angelorum milium letancium et dicencium, 'O anima leta, letare quia fecisti uoluntatem dei!' Et leuata anima ante conspectum dei, et ibi legit omnia opera bona que fecit. Tunc Michael collocauit animam in paradiso, ubi erant omnes sancti.

Et pre gaudio factus est clamor ita ut celum et terra commouentur. Et peccatores qui erant in penis, uidentes Michaelem et Paulum, clamauerunt omnes una uoce dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, Sancte Michael; etsi tu, Sancte Paule, interpelle pro nobis dominum!' Et Michael cum gemitu dixit, 'Flete omnes, et ego flebo uobiscum, et angeli omnes cum dilecto Paulo, si forte miserebitur uobis dominus et det uobis refrigerium.' Audientes hec qui erant in penis, clamauerunt una uoce dicentes, 'Miserere nobis, filii Dauid!' Tunc ait Iesus, 'Plus ergo propter misericordiam meam et preces Michaelis et angelorum qui cum ipso sunt et Pauli dilecti mei, et propter fratres meos qui in mundo sunt offerentes oblaciones et preces pro peccatis hominum et animarum, dabo uobis refrigerium dominicis diebus et noctibus ab hora nona sabbati usque ad horam primam secunde ferie usque ad diem iudicii.' Cla-

1. *mundus inclinatus*] *om MS.* *Cf.* Redac. I, *supra, p. 154, l. 37*
7. sa*n*guinem] saguinem
13. car*n*e] care in*uicem*] in
19. *in uno* momento] memento

mauerunt omnes una uoce dicentes, 'Benedictus est filius dei, qui dedit nobis refrigerium. Plus ualet nobis hoc refrigerium quam omne tempus uite nostre quod consumpsimus super terram.'

Tunc *benedixit* dominus Sanctum Paulum et misit eum in terram, et precepit ei hec omnia humano generi predicare, et agere semper ueram penitenciam et confessionem, ut non intrarent in illas penas quas uidit Sanctus Paulus.

Et Paulus descripsit penas numero c. xliiii. Et si essent centum uiri loquentes ab inicio, et unusquisque haberet quatuor ferreas linguas, non possent dinumerare unam penam de penis inferni.

Expauescite.

4. *benedixit*] *om MS.*
5. predicare] predicari

REDACTION VI

[The one complete copy of this text is extant in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, *Codex 682* (cf. Scherer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek*, pp. 223–224). A fragment containing the first two sections of the work occurs in the Vatican *Codex Palatinus 216*, f. 126ᵛ.

The St Gall manuscript is an octavo (17 × 10½ centimetres) of 410 pages, and contains seven groups of works all written in the same hand: (1) pp. 1–6, *Fragmentum cycli paschalis*, and p. 7, *Excerpta Martini ep. Cap. lxiii de clericis*, etc.; (2) pp. 7–111, *Canones Nicaeni cum Sardicensibus;* (3) pp. 111–168, *Gregorii Magni Rescriptum ad Augustinum in Saxonia;* (4) pp. 168–173, *Gregorii Magni Decreta;* (5) pp. 173–334, *Sermones Augustini et anonymorum* (Redac. VI occurs in this part on pp. 193–204); (6) pp. 334–393, 'Incip. excarpsum domini pethani prbr.,' etc.; (7) pp. 393–410, *Ex decreto papae Gregorii junioris*, 'Sententias de diversis floratibus,' and 'In quibus locis singuli apostoli iaceant.' The hand is a large, clearly-formed minuscule which Scherer dates at the beginning of the ninth century, but the frequent occurrence of the '2' abbreviation for the passive suggests that the codex was written not far from the year 850. From the number of instances in which 'i' is written for 'e' and 'u' for 'o' (i.e. uirginis, patris [uirgines, patres], cultellus [cultellos]), it is indicated that the source of the copy may have been of Merovingian origin.

Corrections appear throughout the text in a hand hardly distinguishable from the original, but a few changes seem to be the work of a second corrector.

Because of its difficulties Redaction VI is printed here with as few changes from the manuscript as are convenient. In most cases abbreviations are expanded silently, since their meaning is clear; but punctuation and errors are left entirely unemended in order to preserve the character of the text. Suggested readings are, however, given in explanatory footnotes. Paragraphing follows largely (though not always) the indications of the codex, which in general marks such divisions carefully in accordance with the sense.]

[*St Gall Stiftsbibl. 682*]

Incipit castigatio sanctae paule de hominis peccatoris. qui peccant et emendant:—

[1] Sanctus paulus ductus est in regnum dei ut uideret opera iustorum et poenas pec/catorum. In primo caelo uidit arborem quae habebat milia arma et habet totum fructum in se; Et interrogauit sanctus paulus. Iste quidem domini. qui habet totus fructus in se; Respondit ei angelus; Isti sunt unde uiuent. iusti et innocentes;

[2] Venit in alio loco. vidit uiros et mulieres. cum cathenas ignis ducebant. illos ligatos diabolos qui stabant ad partem sinistram qui implebuntur omnia multa mala et committunt; Et in/terrogauit sanctus paulus. Isti qui peccauerunt domine; Respondit ei angelus; Isti sunt qui patris et matris tulerunt et paenitentiam non egerunt non publicam non absconsa peccauerunt[b] propriam paenam;

[*Rome Pal. 216*, f. 126v]

IN CHRISTO NOMENE INCIPIT VITA SANCTI pauli

[1] per uerbum dei ductus est in regnum dei ut uiderit regnum et opera iustorum. et penas impiorum In primis uenit ad arborem qui habet .I. mille .d. quinquaginta rama. et habet totus fructus in se et interrogauit sanctus paulus istud quid est domine inde uiuunt iusti et innocentes·,·

[2] Vinit in alio loco. uidit uiros et mulieres in cadenas ferreas. et duceant legatas illas diaboli. qui adimperent omnibus multa mala· committere./ et interrogauit sanctus paulus./ isti qui commisserunt domine/ isti sunt qui pater et mater honores tullerunt/ et inter se ueniam non rogauerunt/ nec[a]

[3] Venit in alio loco. uidit uiros et mulieres linguas foras[c] maxillas foras[c] confixas de tres clauibus bulientes in oculis ipsorum cum pici et plumbum et betumen et sulphor, Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Isti qi peccauerunt domine; Respondit ei angelus; Isti sunt / qui falsum testimonium dixerunt et paenitentiam non egerunt non publica non absconsa propter hoc patiunt propria pęna;

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[a] *Alia desunt.*
[b] *I.e.* patiuntur
[c] foratas

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2. peccatoris] ris *insert.*
3. emendant] emen dant ; *cf. enim dant, p. 216, ll. 23, 27*
6. poenas] s *secunda manu* [?]
11. Isti] Iste ; i *super* e *script.*
18, 20. Isti] Istae ; i *super* e *script.*
24. linguas] linguaas ; a *prius erasum*
25. foras] for ; r *erasum*, ras *insert.*
25. de tres] d&res pici] pi·t·i (ci)
26. Isti] Iste ; i *super* e *script.*

[4] Venit in alio loco. uidit uiros et mulieres. bullire in igne sup pice. et petumen et sulphor et est crutientur cumpatri apud cummatris filiolis spiritalis et matrinis;[d] Et lacrimauit sanctus paulus; Isti qui peccauerunt domine; Respondit ei angelus; Iste sunt qui conpatratum fecerunt et non custodierunt uenia inter se nos trogauerunt.[e] nec paeni/tentiam non egerunt. propter hoc agunt mala;

[5] Venit in alio loco. uidit hominis in paenas ualidas sup plumbum et betumen bullire habent sacgas plubias et casulas plumbias et in suas ardebant; Et dixit sanctus paulus; Istae qui peccauerunt domine Respondit ei angelus. Isti sunt episcopi et presbyteri qui castitatem perdiderunt; et in ecclesias periurauerunt et causas malas iudicauerunt et pauperes et orphani inpsserunt[f] et diuitias consentierunt et paenitentiam non egerunt Nec ieiunia uel elymosinas / non fecerunt. propter hoc mala aguntur;

[6] Venit in alio loco. Vidit diaconum et alios clericos. in paena stare. super plumbum bullire Alius et usque in benedictione Alius usque in belliculo. Alius usque in gemiculo;[g] Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Istae qui commiserunt domine. Respondit ei angelus Isti sunt qui castitatem infrigerunt et sacrificium christi ore debaiolauerunt et in ecclesias periurauerunt furte et belinque fuerunt numquam paenituerunt propter hoc credunt mala paenitentia uel graue pęnę; /

[7] Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Isti sunt qui castitatem propeccant quomodo hoc enim dant.[h] Respondit ei angelus. Agat paenitentiam dum aduixerit parcet ei dominus peccatum suum; Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Dum tinuisti presbyter. aut diaconus. aut subdiaconus. aut uirginis. aut sponsa christi qui posita peccatum facere. quomodo hoc enim dant.[h] Respondit ei angelus. Annos

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[d] < matrina: 'quae aliquem de sacro fonte levat, vel in Ecclesiam introducit, *Gallis* Maraine. . . . ' (DuCange, *Glossarium*, *s.v.* Matrina)

[e] *Sc.* qui conpatratum fecerunt et non custodierunt; uenia inter se non rogauerunt.

[f] inparserunt, *quasi* non parserunt [?]

[g] belliculo, belliculum = simulatum praelium, ludicra pugna (DuCange, *Glossarium*). gemiculo, *pro* genuculo, geniculo < geniculare = adorare (DuCange). *Cf. P* (James, p. 28, ll. 26–28): 'usque ad ienua [*sc.* genua] et alios uiros usque ad umbiculum, alios enim usque ad labia. . . . '

[h] *I.e.* emendant. *Cf.* emen dant, *supra*, *p. 215*, *n. 3*.

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2. est crutientur] *vel* excrutientur [?] ; *MS.* ē crutientur
13–14. propter hoc] hoc *insert.*
15. diaconum] diac
18. commiserunt] commir ; se' *insert.*
19. ore debaiolauerunt] oredeba/iolauer'
25–26. presbyter . . . subdiaconus] prbr. aut diac. aut subdiac.
27. facere] fac

quatuor iaceas a terra pura duas[i] super lapide et ipsos annos iniusto paciant famem apud panem et sale et aqua / et parcet ei dominus peccatum suum;

[8] Venit in alio loco. Vidit uiros et mulieres in lania succedentes et haec ardere qui miser[j] tulerunt et crutiatur ei cum grande igne; Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Istae qui commiserunt domine; Respondit ei angelus. Isti sunt qui malesides[k] portauerunt et succederunt menses et alia fructa et numquam paenituerunt propter agunt;[l]

[9] Venit in alio loco. uidit homines in caballum ereas et iumenta aerea et alia / quadropedia furauerunt[m] et super ipsas ardebant. siq̄[n] flamma ignis; Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Istae qui commiserunt domine; Respondit ei angelus. Istae sunt quia cauallo et iumenta et alia quadropedia inuiolauerunt[o] et numquam paenituerunt propter hoc habent propria paena;

[10] Venit in alio loco. Vidit uiros et mulieres cultellus in oculis ipsorum mittebant bulientes ferracturas dearatras et destrabos et thastaros.[p] et alias in oculis ipsorum mittebat apud sulphor et plumbum et / betumen. et ibi ardebunt; Et interrogabat sanctus paulus; Isti qui commiserunt domine; Isti sunt qui con multa ferramenta inuolauerunt et numquam paenituerunt;

[11] Venit in alio loco; Vidit pleno caelo de pecunia multa; Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Cum rem[q] pecunia multa domine; Respondit ei angelus. Delateres et toritores;

[12] Et interrogauit sanctus paulus; Domine. ubi sunt parentes mei.

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[i] *Sc.* duos [*i.e.* annos?] *vel* dutas [*?*] < duo = circumfluo. *Vide* DuCange' *Glossarium s.v.* Duo: '*περιῤῥέω*, Circumfluo. Gloss. Lat. Graec. Sangerman.'

[j] misere [*?*]

[k] *Quasi* malas ideas. DuCange, *s.v.* Idea. *Cf. supra, p. 126, n. 16.*

[l] *I.e.* propter hoc mala aguntur

[m] *Sc.* quadropedia quae furauerunt. *Cf.* n. *o.*

[n] sicut

[o] *Pro* inuolauerunt. *Cf.* DuCange, *s.v.* Inviolare, 1. *Vide Lex salica*, ed. Behrend, p. 69: 'Si quis caballum aut jumentum furaverit. . . .' 'Si quis equam [jumentum] pregnantem involaverit [furaverit].' *Cf. Archiv. romanicum*, I (1917), 420.

[p] *Quasi* ferracturas de aratris et de scabris et [de] rastris [*?*]

[q] = quamobrem [*?*]

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9. caballum] cabalum ; l *prius secunda manu* [*?*] *insert.*
12. quia] *vel* qui a
13. inuiolauerunt] inuolauerunt ; i *secunda manu* [*?*] *insert.*
18, 19. Isti] Iste ; i *super* e *script.*

Respondit ei angelus. In infernum usurantur; Et dixit sanctus paulus; Domine ubi est pater meus et mater / mea et fratris mei et amici mei. et cumpatris mei uel parenticula mea grandis et parui; Respondit ei angelus. In inferno usurantur; Et eiectauit se sanctus paulus super inferno et coepit amariter plorare; Et interrogauit dominus angelus; Raphahel. quid ploras frater paulus; Venit raphahel angelus ad sancto paulo; Quid tale grauiter pluras frater paulus; Et ille dixit; Agat pius deus licet me propter parentes meos intrare in inferno; Et ille dixit; Habeant / ueniam ego spatiosus et multo misericors et pius fui super uos. Dominus dixit ad sancto paulo; Certo tibi dico. parentes tuos usque ad nono genuculo missus est camelos in euangelio uocatur finis multis qui parentes sancti pauli. traxerunt de inferno;

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I

THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL: LIST OF TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS

Under this heading are included: A. The published texts and translations of those non-Latin versions that are dealt with in Chapter Three. B. All the manuscripts and printed texts in Latin. In group B the codices designated 'Unclassified' have been inaccessible to me.

No attempt is made either here or in the General Bibliography to list separately all the other texts of the Apocalypse, whether the descendents of the non-Latin versions or the Western vernacular translations of the Latin Redactions. For these see pp. 99 ff., especially nn. 12, 14–17, 19–21, 26, 29.

A. THE NON-LATIN VERSIONS

Armenian (A^1, A^2, A^3, A^4):

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Coptic (*C*):

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: British Museum, 1915), text pp. 534–574, translation pp. 1043 ff.

Greek (*G*):

Constantine Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae* (Leipzig, 1866), pp. 34–69. English translation: Alexander Walker in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, ed. Roberts and Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1870), XVI, 477–492; American ed., *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1886), VIII, 575–581.

Old Russian (*R*):

Nikolai Tichonravov, *Pamjatniki Otrechennoj Ruskoj Literatury*, II (Moscow, 1863), 40–58.

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B. THE LATIN TEXTS

Recension L[1]:

P. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *MS. Nouv. acq. lat. 1631*, ff. 3–25. viii c. Published by M. R. James, *Apocrypha anecdota* (Texts and Studies, II, 3, 1893), pp. 11–42. English translations: Andrew Rutherfurd in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, IX (Original Supplement to the American Edition, ed. Allan Menzies, New York, 1896, 151–166); and James (based on *P*, with passages from *C*, *G* and *S*) in *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 526–555.

St G. St Gall, Stadtbibliothek (Bibl. Vadiana), *Cod. 317*, ff. 56–68. ix c. See above, p. 131.

Recension L[2]:

F. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. 362*, ff. 7v–8v. xiv c. Printed by H. Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, pp. 68–71 and 95–96. This text is written in the ms. continuously with Redaction I and is partly confused with it in Brandes. Cf. Wieber, *De Apoc. S. P. cod.*, pp. 25 ff. See next item.

The Redactions:

I. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. 362*, f. 7r, v. Printed by Brandes, pp. 65–68.

II. ———, ———, *Cod. 3881*, ff. 182–183. xv c.

III.

CC. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, *Cod. Parker 20*, ff. 66–68. Early xiv c.

M[1]. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. 2625*, ff. 56–59v. xiii c.

M[2]. ———, ———, *Cod. 12005*, ff. 190–191. xv c.

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S[2]. ———, ———, *Cod. 1012*, pp. 159–164 and 167. xiv c.

Vi. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. 1629*, ff. 102–103v. xiv c.

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v. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. lat. theol. fol. 427*, ff. 231v–233. xv c.
Oxford, Bodleian, *Cod. Rawlinson C 108*, ff. 79–81v. xv c.

Published (from the Berlin ms. only) by Šepelevič, *Etiody o Dantě*, II, 97 ff. Excerpts (from 'Merton Coll. MS. 13') have been printed in J. Morris Jones and John Rhŷs, *The Elucidarium and other Tracts in Welsh* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Med. and Mod. Series, VI, Oxford, 1894), pp. 235 ff.; cf. 'Introduction,' p. xxvii. I have been unable to find this text in the Merton ms.

vi. Rome, Vatican, *Cod. Palatinus 216*, f. 126v. ix–x c.
St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, *Cod. 682*, pp. 193–204. ix c. See above, p. 214.

vii. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Cod. lat. 2851*, ff. 34–38v. xii c. *Vide* Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois* (Paris, 1888), pp. 185–186.

viii. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. lat. 422* [*elec. theol. qu. 61*], f. 226r. v. xv c.

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Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, *Cod. lat. 48*. xiv c. *Vide* Jean Senebier, *Catalogue raisonné des mss conservés dans la Bibl. de la ville et république de Genève* (Geneva, 1779), pp. 121–122. According to authorities of the Bibliothèque this ms. is no longer to be found in Geneva. They have suggested that it was once borrowed from Montpellier and has since been returned. It may, therefore, be identical with the next item below. An excerpt printed by Senebier indicates that the text belongs to Redaction IV or one of its derivatives: 'Erantque ibi puellae nigra habentes vestimenta, induta pice & sulphure & draconibus & igne & serpentibus & viperes circa colla earum, & quatuor Angeli maligni comitantes eas habentes ingentia cornua, & ante eas ibant dicentes, noscite filium Dei qui mundum redemit, & tunc Paulus rogavit quae essent: Tunc sic respondit Angelus, hae sunt quae non servaverunt castitatem usque ad nuptias, & maculatae necaverunt infantes suos, & in escam porcis vel canibus dederunt, & in fluminibus vel in aliis perditionibus conjecerunt, & propterea poenitentiam non fecerunt.' (Cf. Brandes, p. 77, ll. 3–13, and above, p. 199.)

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