Visio Sancti Pauli // Breudwyt Pawl
A bilingual edition of Redaction IV

(Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse, MS 815, fol. 59v)

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"Modern masters of science are much impressed with the need of beginning all inquiry with a fact. The ancient masters of religion were quite equally impressed with that necessity. They began with the fact of sin—a fact as practical as potatoes."

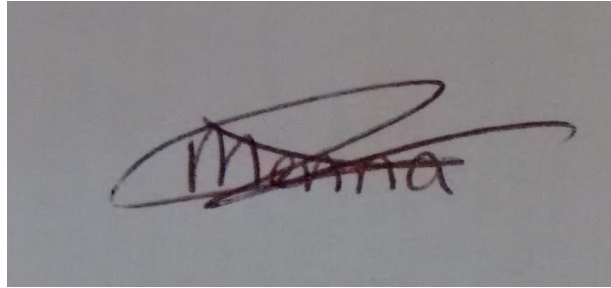Chesterton, Gilbert K., *Orthodoxy* (London 1908): 22.

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Plagiarism statement

I hereby declare that I have not plagiarized anyone's work in the making of this bachelor's thesis.

Menna Rempt

List of abbreviations and terminology

Apocalypse of Paul – used when talking about the text as a whole
Breudwyt Pawl – referring specifically to the Welsh text
Red. IV – Redaction IV of the *Visio Pauli*
Visio (Sancti) Pauli – referring specifically to the Latin text(s)

GM – Evans, Meurig and W.O. Thomas, *Y geiriadur mawr: the complete Welsh-English English-Welsh dictionary*, 6th ed. (Llandysul 1975).
GMW – Evans, D. Simon, *A grammar of Middle Welsh*, Mediaeval and modern Welsh series supplementary volume (Dublin 1964).
GPC – *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (2002). http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html

MSS
Add(itional) 26770 – London, British Library, MS. Additional 26770
Harley (2851) – London, British Library, MS. Harley 2851
JC119 – Oxford Jesus College MS. 119 (Llyvr Agkyr Llandewivrevi)
Llan 27 – National Library of Wales MS. Llanstephan 27
Pen 3 – National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 3.ii
Pen 14 – National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 14
Pen 15 – National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 15
Vienna (Codex) 876 – Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms 876

Introduction

The Apocalypse of Paul is an apocryphal text stemming from ca. 240 AD. In it, the apostle Paul is taken on a tour of Heaven and Hell. This Apocalypse has a very rich textual edition, ranging from the third century, beginning with the original Greek version, to at least the seventeenth.[1] The Latin text was so popular in the early Middle Ages that twelve distinct Redactions were made, which were further translated into a great variety of vernaculars. Of these Redactions, Redaction IV was the most popular,[2] and this is one of the two that were translated into Welsh, and the only one that was translated into Irish. I do not know of any translation of the Welsh text, and the only edition I know of is by Parry-Williams, and dates from 1926.[3] Since then J.E. Caerwyn Williams has published an article in which he looked into the relations between the different Welsh versions.[4] He has also published a transcription of the Irish versions of Redaction IV.[5] Translations of these versions have been published by Seymour,[6] and by Herbert and McNamara.[7]

Considerably more work has been done on the Latin versions, predominantly by Theodore Silverstein, who has published an edition of two of the long texts and seven of the Redactions in 1935.[8] The one Redaction that was known in 1935 that he did not edit was Redaction IV, which had been edited by Brandes in 1884.[9] This edition is also the one I am translating. Most of the editions, translations and literature dates from the nineteenth or early twentieth century. Even though since then new information has come to light, most of it is still very useful, especially since so little work has been done on the *Visio Pauli*. A notable exception is Lenka Jiroušková's *Die Visio Pauli,*[10] which contains, among other things, a multiple text-edition of all known Latin manuscripts of Redaction IV of the *Visio Pauli.*

In this edition I will first briefly discuss the history of the Apocalypse of Paul, from the

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1 The most recent manuscript containing a version of the text which is not a direct copy that I know of is Iolo Morganwg's 1609 manuscript. I am taking this as a sign that the textual tradition was alive for at least that long.
2 Elliott, J. K., The apocryphal New Testament: a collection of apocryphal Christian literature in an English translation (Oxford 1993): 616.
3 Parry-Williams, T. H., 'Breuddwyd Pawl', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 3 (1926) 81-89.
4 Williams, J.E. Caerwyn, 'Welsh Versions of the Visio Pauli', *Études Celtiques* 10/20 (1962) 109-26.
5 Williams, J.E. Caerwyn, 'Irish Translations of the Visio Sancti Pauli', *Éigse* 6/1 (1950) 127–43.
6 Seymour, John D., 'Irish Versions of the Vision of St. Paul', *Journal of Theological Studies* 24/93 (1923) 54-59.
7 Herbert, Máire and Martin McNamara (ed.), *Irish biblical apocrypha: selected texts in translation* (Edinburgh 1989).
8 Silverstein, Theodore, *Visio Sancti Pauli: the history of the Apocalypse in Latin together with nine texts*, Studies and Documents IV (London 1935).
9 Brandes, Herman, 'Ueber die quellen der mittelenglischen versionen der Paulus-vision', *Englische Studien* 7 (1884) 34-65.
10 Jiroušková, Lenka, *Die Visio Pauli: Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apokryphe im lateinischen Mittelalter unter Einschluss der alttschechischen und deutschsprachigen /Textzeugen*, mittellateinische Studien und Texte XXXIV (Leiden 2006).

Greek version to the Celtic versions. Then I will compare the long Latin version with Redaction IV. I will discuss my theoretical framework and methodology, including the methods that are most often used in making editions in Celtic and other medieval studies. I will also give some information about the manuscripts I will be using in my edition. After the editions and translations itself I will give textual and grammatical notes both for the Latin and the Welsh. Finally, I will discuss the translation of the Latin into Welsh. I have also added two appendices. In the first a summary of the Long Latin text is given. In the second the complete text of all manuscripts for three passages of the Welsh text is given. For these passages, the manuscripts disagree so much that they could not be done justice with the alternate readings. As such, I have chosen to represent them in full in the appendix (IIa-IIc).

History of the Apocalypse of Paul

The Greek version of the Apocalypse of Paul was discovered in 1843 by Constantine Tischendorf, and he announced its discovery, with arguments for its date, in 1851.[11] He then published an edition of this Greek version in 1866,[12] and it has been the authoritative edition of the Greek text ever since. This edition is based on fifteenth- and sixteenth century manuscripts, though the text itself is older.[13]

According to R.P. Casey, the primitive original of the Apocalypse of Paul was written, in Greek, between the years 240 and 250, probably in Egypt.[14] The surviving Coptic version of the Apocalypse may have been derived from this version.[15] In the fifth century, probably after the year 420 and perhaps shortly after the year 431, the Apocalypse was circulated again in the Roman East. This time, however, a prefix was added that disclosed its discovery in Tarsus. This Tarsus text was translated into Latin, Syriac, Old Church Slavonic and Armenian. The Greek text itself was transmitted, though slightly modified and shortened, to the version that Tischendorf discovered and edited.[16]

The archetype (A) of all the Latin texts was one of the early variant Greek copies of the Tarsus text. Of this archetype two Latin translations were made, L¹ and L².[17] L¹ was made, according to Silverstein, in the fifth or sixth century.[18] This translation quite accurately represented the contents of the original Greek, but contained several modifications.[19] L¹ gave rise to at least two different texts, P and λ. P, the Paris copy of the text, is the copy that is generally referred to as the 'Long Latin version'. James published an edition of it in *Apocrypha Anecdota* in 1893, and this edition is still the authoritative one.[20] The second text based on L¹, λ, gave rise to the St. Gall text, which was written in the ninth century or earlier.[21] L², the second version made of A, is represented

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11 Tischendorf, Constantine, 'Lüde III', *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 24 (1851) 439-442; Casey, R.P., 'The apocalypse of Paul', *Journal of Theological Studies* 34/133 (1933) 1-32.

12 Tischendorf, Constantine (ed.), *Apocalypses apocryphae: Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis, item Mariae dormitio, additis evangeliorum et actuum apocryphorum supplementis* (Leipzig 1866): 34-69.

13 Silverstein, Theodore, 'The date of the Apocalypse of Paul', *Mediaeval Studies* 24 (1962): 347.

14 Silverstein 1962: 347.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

17 Silverstein 1935: 21; 37-38; Silverstein and Hillhorst discuss a third version, L³, in Hillhorst, Anthony and Theodore Silverstein, *Apocalypse of Paul. A New Critical Edition of Three Long Latin Versions*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 21 (Geneva 1997). Sadly, this work was not available to me. However, in a review of this work, J. Tromp says that he "would have preferred to see it designated as L¹, with readings reflecting another version, L³". (Tromp, J., review of Hillhorst, Anthony and Theodore Silverstein, *Apocalypse of Paul ...* (Geneva 1997), *Vigiliae Christianae* 52/2 (1998): 213-217.).

18 Silverstein 1962: 348.

19 Silverstein 1935: 37; for an in-depth analysis of these modifications please refer to Silverstein 1935: 21-33.

20 James, Montague Rhodes., *Apocrypha Anecdota: a collection of thirteen Apocryphal books and fragments*, Texts and Studies II (Cambridge 1893): 11- 42.

21 Silverstein 1935: 38.

by only one manuscript, the Vienna fragment (F). L² existed at least before 1150, since a German translation was made about that year.[22] Silverstein made the following stemma to illustrate the textual history of the Long texts in the Western tradition:[23]
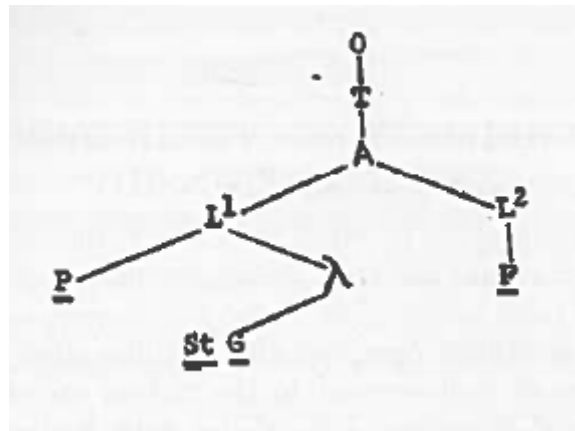
Of these Long Latin texts, λ was the basis for all but one of the Latin Redactions.[24] Currently twelve Medieval Latin Redactions have been identified, and named as Redactions I-XI and Br.[25] The following stemma for their relationship with the Long Latin and with each other is given by Dwyer, adapted from Silverstein:[26]
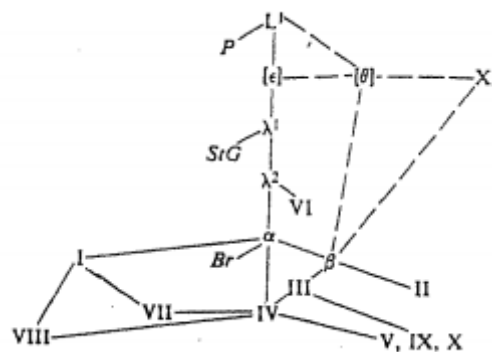
There is no need to go into much detail about all these Redactions at present, since in-depth analyses have already been made by others.[27] Worth mentioning, however, is Redaction VI. According to Silverstein, this Redaction is a complete rewriting of the Apocalypse, whereas the

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22 Silverstein 1935: 38.
23 Silverstein 1935: 39; 0 = the third-century Greek, T = the Tarsus text, A is the Latin archetype.
24 Silverstein 1935: 60; Dwyer, Mary Elizabeth, *Contributions to the textual history of the Medieval Latin redactions of the Visio Pauli* (PhD thesis, University of Tasmania, 2004): 6
25 Dwyer 2004: 5; I-VI were identified by Brandes in 1885, VII-VIII by Silverstein in 1935, IX-X and Br by Silverstein in 1959, and XI by Dwyer in 1988.
26 Dwyer 2004: 6; Silverstein, Theodore, 'The vision of saint Paul: new links and patterns in the Western tradition', A*rchives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 34 (1959 [1960]): 225.
27 See e.g. Silverstein 1935: 40-81 for Redactions I-VIII; Silverstein 1959 for Redactions I, II, IX, X and Br; Dwyer, Mary Elizabeth, 'An Unstudied Redaction of the Visio Pauli', Manuscripta 32 (1988) 121-138 for Redaction XI; Dwyer 2004 for all Redactions except II, VI and XI

other Redactions (that he knows of; i.e. I-VIII) are primarily abbreviations of the Long Latin.[28] Of this Redaction, Wright says that it has a special connections with Ireland.[29] He has also argued for an Irish origin of Redaction XI.[30] About Redaction IV Wright comments that it had special connections with England.[31]

The Latin Redactions were extremely popular in the Middle Ages, as evidenced by their translation in almost all vernaculars that came into contact with them. Silverstein makes the following comment: "The Redactions with their interpolations 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. (…) 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."[32] The *Visio Pauli* had a profound influence on Irish visionary literature, such as the *Fís Merlino*, the Voyage of the Ua Corra and the *Fís Adamnáin*.[33] It also influenced Dante, who probably had firsthand knowledge of a version of the Apocalypse.[34] According to Hillhorst "much of the impact of the Apocalypse of Paul can be explained from the image it paints of the condition of the dead, an image of much more practical importance than the idea of Christ's Second Coming at the end of time".[35] This makes sense, since people would rather know what would or could happen to them after their deaths, than what would happen to them at the Day of Judgement. The long versions of the Apocalypse of Paul include both what would happen to those who spent their lives on earth well, and what would happen to those who did not. This way, everyone who read or heard of the Apocalypse of Paul knew the possibilities of their personal afterlife, so long as they were realistic about their own sins.

Two of the twelve Latin Redactions have been translated into Welsh, Redaction I and Redaction IV. The translation of Redaction I can be found in five manuscripts, dating from ca. 1400 to 1640.[36] One of these has been edited and printed by Parry-Williams.[37] The translation of

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28 Silverstein 1935: 82.
29 Wright, Charles D., *The Irish tradition in Old English literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 6 (Cambridge 1993): 110; see also McNamara, Martin, *The apocrypha in the Irish church* (Dublin 1975): 106-108.
30 Wright, Charles D. 'Some evidence for an Irish origin of Redaction XI of the *Visio Pauli*', *Manuscripta* 34 (1990): 34-44.
31 Wright 1993: 110.
32 Silverstein 1935:14.
33 Seymour 1923: 58; Wright 1993: 109.
34 Silverstein 1935: 3, 13-14, 16; see also Silverstein, Theodore, 'Dante and the Visio Pauli', *Modern Language Notes*, 47/6 (1932) 397-399.
35 Hillhorst, Anthony, 'The *Apocalypse of Paul*: previous history and afterlife', in *The Visio Pauli and the Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul*, ed. Bremmer, Jan. N. and István Czachesz, Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha 9 (Leuven 2007): 20.
36 Williams 1962: 110-117.
37 Parry-Williams 1926: 87-89.

Redaction IV can be found in nineteen manuscripts, dating from ca. 1300 to the 18th century, five of which are incomplete. Williams has divided the manuscripts into two classes, Class A and Class B, which left him with three manuscripts that did not fit into either class. The following stemma is the one he made for Class A:[38]
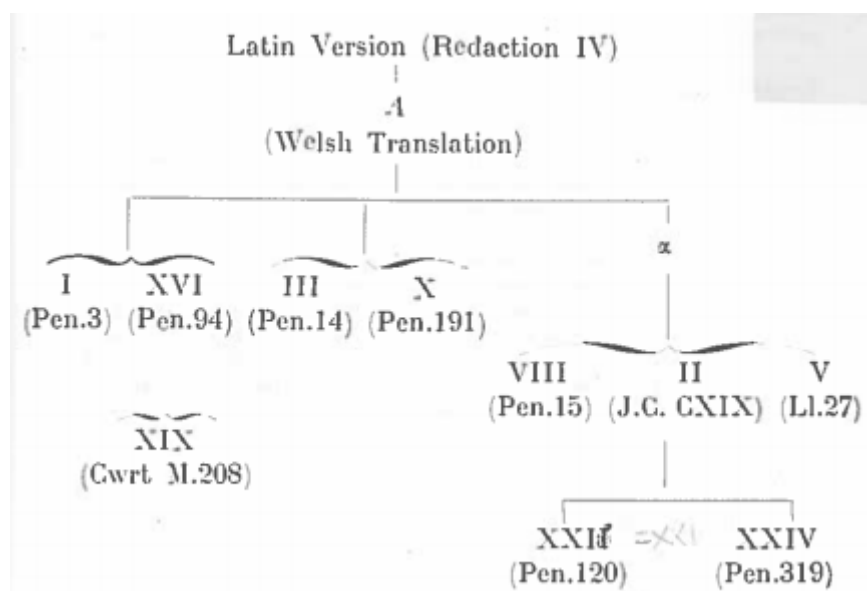
This class includes the oldest manuscripts that contain *Breudwyt Pawl*, and later copies of the text found in those manuscripts. The texts in Class B are later, and Williams suggest that they are derived from a hyparchetype of Class A.[39] Of the three manuscripts that remain, one is a rather late (ca. 1609) rewriting of an earlier text, and one is found in a Iolo Morganwg manuscript and is quite different than all other texts Williams has seen.[40] The last text is comparatively early (ca. 1400), but it diverges so much from the other early texts that Williams assumes that it is the sole representative of a second translation made of Redaction IV.[41]

Redaction IV has also been translated into Irish, as the only one of the Latin Redactions. It is represented in only two manuscripts, dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth century, one of which has an incomplete text.[42] A transcription of both has been printed in Éigse 6 by Williams.[43] A

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38 Williams 1962: 119.
39 Williams 1962: 121; Paul Maas proposed the term 'hyparchetype' for the lost state of the text which in the stemma is situated directly under the archetype: Maas, Paul, *Textkritik*, 4th ed. (Leipzig 1960): 8.
40 This text has been printed in Williams, Taliesin (ed.), *Iolo Manuscripts: a selection of ancient Welsh manuscripts …* (Liverpool 1887): 190-192.
41 Williams 1960: 123; this text has been printed in full by Williams on the next three pages (124-126).
42 Williams 1950: 128-129: It is found in RIA MS 24 P 25 (Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne) and in RIA 23O48 (Liber Flavus Fergusiorum), which contains the incomplete version. Images of both of these MSS are available on *Irish Scripts on Screen* (https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html).
43 Williams 1950: 129-134.

translation of the complete text has been published by Herbert and McNamara,[44] and a translation of the incomplete one by Seymour.[45] Of this last Seymour says that "it is far from being a slavish translation", and that is has "a strong Celtic colouring, as shewn by e.g. the introduction of the interrogatory clauses."[46]

There is another Irish version of the Apocalypse of Paul, or at least a text inspired by it. This text is later in date, and is found in three manuscripts.[47] According to Hyde, "there is no other version of St. Paul's vision that is like this one".[48] In it, Paul is shown to the death-bed of a sinner, whose soul is brought out of his body and taken to Hell. Paul is then taken to Hell and shown its punishments, after which he is briefly taken to Heaven. An edition and translation of this text has been published by Hyde[49], and a more minute summary and brief analysis have been written by Seymour.[50]

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44 Herbert and McNamara 1989: 132-136.
45 Seymour 1923: 55-56; translated by Mary E. Byrne.
46 Seymour 1923: 56; these interrogatory clauses are then answered with *Ni hannsa: ....*
47 Hyde, Douglas, A*bhráin diada ċuige connaċt : The religious songs of Connacht* II (London and Dublin 1906): 319; McNamara 1975: 108. Williams 1950: 129.
48 Hyde 1906: 317.
49 Hyde 1906: 318-349 (edition and translation); Hyde, Douglas, *Legends of saints and sinners: collected and translated from the Irish* (Dublin 1910): 97-109. (translation).
50 Seymour 1950: 56

Summary of the long Latin Version and comparison with Redaction IV

The most recent translation of the long Latin text of the Apocalypse of Paul is the one by J.K. Elliott.[51] Elliott based his translation on James' edition of the text found in Paris MS 1631[52], which he says seems to be the developed and best form of the work.[53] The following summary of the sections is given by Elliott:[54]

> 1-2 Discovery of the Vision
> 3-6 Appeal of Creation to God against sinful man
> 7-10 Reports of the angels to God about man
> 11-18 Death and judgement of the righteous man and the wicked
> 19-30 Paul's vision of Paradise
> 31-44 Paul's vision of Hell; Rest on Sundays for the damned is obtained by Paul
> 45-51 Second vision of Paradise

After paragraph 51 the Latin version abruptly breaks off, as does the Greek, but Elliott has printed the ending of the Syriac and the Coptic, which continue on.

Of the Latin Redactions, only Redactions VI and XI preserve Paul's vision of Paradise.[55] All other Redactions are restricted to Paul's vision of Hell, the reason for which given by Elliott is: "A motive for these recensions was to provide admonitory sermons in which the revisers concentrated on the torments of Hell to the exclusion of the visions of Paradise."[56] Some of the Redactions also preserve the passage where the wicked and the just soul are brought from the body, albeit much condensed. Redaction IV broadly follows the vision of Hell in the long text, but is of course abridged, and the details vary. There are also a number of interpolations, whose origins have been discussed in detail by Silverstein,[57] some of which were introduced to the Apocalypse by Redaction IV.

Redaction IV starts with praise of the Lord's Day, and the reason for Paul's foray into the Underworld. Before the gates of Hell, Paul sees fiery trees with sinners hanging from various body parts from their branches. This is the first of the interpolations, and represents, according to Silverstein, "both the sinners themselves and the evil deeds which have become the instruments of their eternal punishments".[58]

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51 Elliott 1993: 616-644.
52 James 1893: 11- 42.
53 Elliott 1993: 616.
54 Elliott 1993: 619-620; for a more in depth summary see Appendix I.
55 Silverstein 1935: 58; Wright 1993: 110.
56 Elliott 1993: 616.
57 Silverstein 1935: 64-81.
58 Silverstein 1935: 72.

The second interpolation is that Paul then sees a furnace with seven flames of various colours, and seven plagues around the furnace. In the furnace those who did not repent after committing sins are punished.

All the bad things in Hell are then enumerated, such as sorrow without joy, everlasting pain, an abundance of tears, and also a fiery wheel, which is turned a thousand times a day by Tartaruchian angels, and with every turn a thousand souls are tortured. This wheel of torment is an interpolation which first makes its appearance in the Apocalypse in this Redaction.[59]

Paul then sees a river, which seems to be based on the fiery river in the long text, as there are sinners submerged in it up to various body parts. The reasons for their submersion is also the same as those in the long text. Over the river, however, is a bridge that all souls must cross to go to Heaven, which only the just souls can do. This interpolation was also introduced to the Apocalypse by Redaction IV.[60] According to Silverstein, its equivalent in function in the long text was "the ceremony of the going out of the soul at death, the challenge of the 'witnesses' and the trial before God's throne".[61] However, it does not replace the going out of the soul at death, as the Redaction does preserve at least parts of that section.

Paul then sees a dark place with men and women who were eating their own tongues, and these are the usurers. This combines two different sinner/punishment combinations of the long text, as there the usurers were consumed by worms and the ones eating their own tongues disparaged the Word in God while in church.

The next group of sinners Paul sees also combines multiple sections of the long text. He sees black girls with black garments, donned in pitch and sulfur, with fiery dragons, snakes and vipers around their necks, and with four wicked angels around them. They are those who did not keep chaste and thus defiled killed their infants. In the long text, there are girls in black clothes (those who defiled their virginity), with four wicked angels around them, and in another section women 'who defiled the image of God by bringing forth infants out of the womb (…) and their infants addressed the Lord God (…) saying: "(…) they gave us for food to dogs and to be trodden on by swine; others they threw into the river'"[62] and in yet another section people in rags full of pitch and sulfur, with dragons around their shoulders, necks and feet (the hypocritical ascetics). All these sections were combined in this one section in the Redaction.

The next two groups of sinners Paul sees are very similar to the long text: those who harmed orphans and widows and the fastbreakers. However, in the Redaction half of those who harmed

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59 Silverstein 1935: 76.
60 Silverstein 1935: 77.
61 Silverstein 1935: 77-78.
62 Elliott 1993: 636.

orphans burnt, whereas in the long text all of them froze, and the fastbreakers in the long text are hanging over a channel of water, and those in the Redaction just over a broad canal.

The next section, about the negligent bishop, is a combination of all the sections of the clergymen in the long text.

The section about the pit with seven seals is almost the same, only the amount of detail differs.

Paul then sees people being devoured by serpents and worms, without a reason given. This could be taken from any occasion where sinners are devoured by worms in the long text, as there are several.

Then Paul witness the going-out of first the wicked soul and then the righteous soul. These going-outs are abbreviated versions of those in par. 11-18 in the long text, with as the biggest difference that they read the charters upon which their deeds in the world are written, so that instead of being judged by the angels and God the wicked soul condemns himself.

Then the entreaty to God for repose follows. Michael's monologue is shortened considerably in the Redaction, and Christ elaborates more on the punishments that mankind has bestowed upon Him in the long text, but apart from that they are very similar. However, in the repose is one more interpolation in the Redaction: the precise times are named (ab hora nona sabbati usque in prima hora secunde ferie), whereas in the long text it is 'a day and one night of refreshment forever'.[63] According to Silverstein this has to do with the "influence on the Apocalypse of the development of the Lord's Day observance in Western Europe. Originally a time of joyous celebration, the Sunday gradually became a day of rest."[64]

The Redaction concludes with the number of the punishments in Hell, while in the long text the vision of Hell stops after the granting of rest.

Overall, Redaction IV has quite a few similarities with the long text. However, it has been abridged in places, and in other places multiple sections have been combined into one. The order of the sections has also been changed, of which the clearest example is that (an abridged version of) the section about the going-out of the souls has been put in between the tour of Hell and the granting of repose.

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63   Elliott 1993: 639 (§44).
64   Silverstein 1935: 80.

Methodology and theoretical framework

There are many ways in which to make an edition, of which Kevin Murray outlines a number in his article 'Reviews, Reviewers and Critical Texts'.[65] In this article he refers specifically to editions of Medieval Irish texts, but the theory is also applicable to texts in other Medieval languages, including Middle Welsh.

The first type of edition he mentions is a critical edition based on Lachmannian principles.[66] Such an edition is made by first creating a manuscript stemma, or Lachmannian stemma, which is done by comparing various readings of all extant manuscript witnesses to the text in order to posit genealogical relationships between them, based on the concept of a shared error. This stemma can then be used to reconstruct the textual archetype that lies behind the extant manuscript witnesses. This type of edition can also be combined with the use of a copy text model: a single source, which is deemed closest to the author's manuscript, is chosen as the base or copy text, which the editor can rely on for the accidentals (punctuation, spelling etc.) and for readings when no alternate preference can be found among the variants.

The second type of edition Murray mentions is also a type of critical edition, but based on the Bédierist method, also known as 'codex optimus' or 'best-text technique'.[67] For this type of edition the best manuscript of the text that is available to the editor is reproduced, with as little emendation by the editor as possible. The Bédierist method was the dominant one pursued by French medievalists in the twentieth century, and is also common in many other medieval disciplines. This method is often used when normalising a text is not feasible or simply does not suit the editor's goals.

Normalisation is often applied for texts edited specifically for educational purposes, so that the students translating or reading these texts will not be hindered by a myriad of spelling variations. However, it may also "represent an attempt to go beyond the archetype which underlies the extant manuscript witnesses to try to recreate an 'original' text."[68]

The fourth type of edition is one based on a semi-diplomatic model,[69] which entails presenting a transcription of the text, with italics to mark expansion of manuscript contractions and with punctuation and capitalization added. This term is often stretched to include emendations which in other disciplines would be deemed critical.

The last type of edition Murray discusses is the one he himself prefers, the multiple-text

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65 Murray, Kevin, 'Reviews, Reviewers, and Critical Texts', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 57 (2009) 51-70.
66 Murray 2009: 52-54.
67 Murray 2009: 55
68 Murray 2009: 54.
69 Murray 2009: 56.

edition. In his own words, this "seeks to present, where possible, all the extant copies of a text in diplomatic transcription, along with a critical edition."[70] This type of edition can be further refined by using a type of synoptic edition wherein the various diplomatic transcriptions and the critical edition are presented in parallel columns.

For my edition of *Breudwyt Pawl* I have chosen to make a semi-diplomatic multiple-text edition, using alternate readings rather than multiple parallel columns. This way the text is both easily compared with the Latin and, when this comparison raises questions, it is possible to look to an alternate reading to possibly answer that question. The Welsh text of Redaction IV is extant in nineteen manuscripts, some complete and others incomplete. As this is too many to look at within the scope of a BA thesis, I have chosen to look at five of the earliest complete versions, choosing those that are available on Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425.[71] For *Breudwyt Pawl* it has eight different manuscripts, of which two are versions of Redaction I (Shrewsbury 11 and Peniarth 32) and one is an incomplete version of Redaction IV (Llanstephan 4). The remaining five are complete versions of Redaction IV. Of these, I have taken Peniarth 3 as my base text, as this is the oldest version available and thus is most likely to be the closest to the original Welsh translation. I have supplied alternate readings from Peniarth 14, Peniarth 15, Llanstephan 27 and Jesus College MS 119 in the footnotes. For three passages the differences were so great that I have represented them in full in the appendix.

I have not normalised the orthography, and as such have not included mere orthographical differences as alternate readings. On the other hand, where the manuscripts have variant plural forms of the same word the alternate readings have been given. I have not changed the punctuation except in direct speech, and I have capitalised proper names and the beginning of sentences.

The transcriptions on Rhyddiaith Gymraeg have been kept as close to the manuscripts as possible, and all variations of scribal errors, damage to the manuscript and illegible material has been indicated by text in various colours and added symbols. Asterisks are used for readings that seem to be corrupt and idiosyncrasies of the orthography which make understanding difficult, and by hovering over the asterisk a recommendation for the correction is shown. Vertical bars (|) are used to indicate that words should be separated but are not in the manuscript. Interpuncts (·) are used to indicate superfluous spaces.[72] All scribal errors thus indicated have been resolved. Words have been separated with a space or, where appropriate, with an apostrophe.

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70 Murray 2009: 56.
71 Luft, Diana, Peter Wynn Thomas and D. Mark Smith (eds), *Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425* (2013). http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk; Rhyddiaith Gymraeg is a searchable corpus of Medieval Welsh prose, in the form of transcriptions of over 100 texts from 54 different manuscripts, categorised into genres.
72 Luft, Thomas and Smith 2013: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/project.php#transcriptions

For the edition of the Latin text I am indebted to Brandes,[73] who has based his edition on Vienna Codex 876, and supplied alternate readings from MS Additional 26770 and Harley 2851. For ease of reading and comparison I have divided this edition into paragraphs as found in Van Os' reprint[74] of Meyer's edition[75] and have also divided my edition of the Welsh text in corresponding paragraphs.

This edition by Brandes is also the one I have translated. As for the Welsh, I have translated the text from Peniarth 3, only using alternate readings when the original text does not at all fit the context or when the meaning of a specific word or phrase is opaque. In the translations I have used parentheses to indicate words I have supplied. I have also added textual and grammatical notes to both the Latin and the Welsh, ordered per paragraph, which can be found after the edition and translation.

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73   Brandes, Herman, *Visio S. Pauli : ein Beitrag zur Visionslitteratur mit einem deutschen und zwei lateinischen Texten* (Halle 1885): 75-80; this edition is a reprint from Brandes 1884.

74   Van Os, Arnold Barel, *Religious Visions: the development of the eschatological elements in mediaeval English religious literatur*e (PhD thesis, Amsterdam 1932): 264-266.

75   Meyer, Paul, 'La descente de Saint-Paul en enfer', *Romania* XXIV (1895) 357-375.

About the manuscripts

The Latin text of Redaction IV can be found in almost fifty manuscripts, of which a complete list, with dating, can be found in Jiroušková.[76] However, I will here give some information about the ones Brandes used for his edition:

Vienna Codex 876: dated to the thirteenth century. *Visio Pauli* can be found on ff 142r - 143r.[77]

British Library MS. Harley 2851: dated to circa 1300 by H.L.D. Ward[78] and to the second half of the thirteenth century by the British Library.[79] *Visio Pauli* can be found on ff. 58-60.[80]

British Library MS. Additional 26770: dated to the early fourteenth century by Ward[81] and to the thirteenth to fourteenth century by Jiroušková.[82] *Visio Pauli* can be found on ff. 88b - 89b.[83]

The Welsh version can be found in nineteen manuscripts, of which five contain an incomplete version.[84] Of the remaining fourteen I will only discuss the five that I looked at: Peniarth 3, Peniarth 14, Peniarth 15, Llanstephan 27 and Jesus College MS 119. For all of these an online transcription is available at Rhyddiaith Gymraeg 1300-1425,[85] which I will use as the basis for my edition.[86]

NLW MS. Peniarth 3.ii

Peniarth 3 is the oldest manuscript that contains *Breudwyt Pawl*.[87] It consists of two parts. Part i, formerly Hengwrt MS 411, is dated to ca. 1230-1250. Part ii, formerly Hengwrt MS 8, is dated to ca. 1300.[88] Part i (pp 1-12) contains poetry. Part ii (pp. 17-40; pp 13-16 are blank) contains texts of various genres. Pen 3.ii was written by an unidentified scribe. The text *Breudwyt Pawl* starts on page 25, line 17 and ends on page 29.[89]

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76 Jiroušková 2006: 651-652.
77 Jirouškova 2006: 651.
78 Ward, H.L.D., *Catalogue of romances in the Department of manuscripts in the British museum* II (London 1893): 401.
79 British Library, 'Detailed record for Harley 2851', *Catalogue of Illuminated manuscripts*. http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7348&CollID=8&NStart=2851.
80 Ward 1893: 401; Jiroušková 2006: 652.
81 Ward 1893: 403.
82 Jiroušková 2006: 652.
83 Ward 1892: 403; Jiroušková 2006: 652: ff. 88va - 89va.
84 Williams 1962: 109-114; see also 'History of the Apocalypse of Paul' earlier in this thesis.
85 Luft, Thomas and Smith 2013: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/texts.php?genre=religious.
86 See also 'Methodology and theoretical framework'.
87 Williams 1962: 109.
88 Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, *Report on manuscript in the Welsh language* I (London 1898): 303-304.
89 Luft, Thomas and Smith 2013: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Pen3ii.

Oxford Jesus College MS. 119

Jesus College 119 is better known as *Llyvr Agkyr LLandewivrevi* (The book of the anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi). It gets its name from the scribe who identified himself as "the Anchorite of Llandewibrefi". He also included a colophon that dates the manuscript to 1346, as well as the name of the one he wrote it for: Gruffudd ap Llewelyn ap Phylip.[90] It was written in Llandewibrefi in Cardiganshire. It contains a collection religious prose, among which *Buchedd Dewi* and *Efengyl Ieuan*. It has been reproduced by Morris Jones and Rhŷs in *The Elucidarium and other tracts*, with notes.[91] Part of it is also available as photographs on the 'Early Manuscripts at Oxford University' website.[92] *Breudwyt Pawl* starts on f. 129r, line 3, and ends on f. 132v, line 3.

NLW MS. Peniarth 14

Peniarth 14 also consists of two manuscripts, in four parts. Parts i-iii (pp. 1-100), formerly Hengwrt MS 25, are dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. Part iv (pp. 101-195), formerly Hengwrt MS. 13, is dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and it is slightly damaged at the beginning and end.[93] Only this last part is available on Rhyddiaith Gymraeg. It contains various religious texts, such as *Mabinogi Iesu Grist* and *Ystoria Judas*, as well as book seven of the *Brut y Brenhinoedd* and a fragment of *Peredur*. Peniarth 14 is written in four different hands, all of unidentified scribes. All texts of part iv are written in the same hand. *Breudwyt Pawl* starts on page 151, line 16, and ends on page 161, line 9.[94]

NLW MS. Peniarth 15

Evans dates Peniarth 15 to the fourteenth century,[95] Huws dates it from ca. 1375 to ca. 1425.[96] It is written in three different unidentified hands, the third of which is a later one that added a fragment of the Grail story. Pen 15 contains mostly religious material. Evans speculated that pages 1-123 may be a transcript of Jesus College 119, with some additional material.[97] Williams, however, argues at least for *Breudwyt Pawl* that the two text probably derived from a common original

90 Huws, Daniel, *Medieval Welsh manuscripts* (Cardiff 2000): 14, 46, 54.
91 Morris Jones, J. and John Rhŷs (ed.), *The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi, A.D. 1346 (Jesus College MS 119)*, Mediaeval and Modern Series VI (Oxford 1894).
92 'Jesus College MS. 119' in *Early Manuscripts at Oxford University*, http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=jesus&manuscript=ms119.
93 Evans 1898: 332.
94 Luft, Thomas and Smith 2013: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Pen14.
95 Evans 1898: 334.
96 Huws 2000: 60.
97 Evans 1898: 334.

translation rather than the one being a copy of the other.[98] The pages are not secured very well,[99] and in places the text is difficult to read because of fading and staining.[100] *Breudwyt Pawl* starts on page 7, line 38 (although the only line on this page is the incipit) and ends on page 11, line 6.[101]

NLW MS. Llanstephan 27

   Llanstephan 27 is also known as the Llyfr Coch Talgarth (The Red Book of Talgarth), together with Peniarth 12 and pages 101-112 of Cardiff 3.242. It is dated to the late fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth by Huws.[102] It is mostly written in the hand of Hywel Fychan, though a few pages were written by another hand ('B'). It contains a collection of religious texts, some saints' lives and a series of apocryphal texts. It also contains some poetry, proverbial material and pseudo-scientific material that deals with the interpretation of dreams and signs, all of which has not been transcribed on Rhyddiaith Gymraeg. There are also some later additions in a fifteenth-century hand, among which some Triads and poetry by Dafydd ap Gwilym. It is in good condition, although some pages are missing between ff 130-131, and one folio is missing between ff 146-147. *Breudwyt Pawl* begins on f. 52r, line 6 and ends on f. 54v, line 22.[103]

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98 Williams 1962: 118.
99 Evans 1898: 334.
100 Luft, Thomas and Smith 2013: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Pen15.
101 Ibid.
102 Huws 2000: 60.
103 Luft, Thomas and Smith 2013: http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Llst27.

Edition and translation

1. Dies dominicus dies est electus, in quo gaudent angeli et archangeli maior diebus ceteris. Interrogandum est, quis primus rogaverit deum, ut anime habeant requiem in penis inferni. Id est beatus apostolus Paulus et Michahel archangelus, quando iverunt ad infernum, quia deus voluit, ut Paulus videret penas inferni.

2. Vidit vero Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas et peccatores cruciatos et suspensos in eis. Alii pendebant pedibus, alii manibus, alii capillis, alii auribus, alii linguis, alii brachis.

3. 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. Et in illa anime peccatorum puniuntur, qui non egerunt penitenciam post peccata commissa in hoc mundo.

4. 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.

5. Timendus est nobis locus inferni, in quo est tristicia sine leticia, in quo est dolor sempiternus, in quo est gemitus cordis, in quo est bargidium magnum, in quo est habundancia lacrimarum, cruciatio et dolor animarum, 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.

1. Diw sul ysyd[1] dyd etholedic[2] gan Duw[3] yn yr hwnn y llawenhaa yr eneidiev yn vwy noc yn y[4] dydyeu ereill.[5] A gwybydet bawb panyw Pawl ebostol a Mihanghel y dangosses Duw vdunt boeneu vffern.[6]

2. Ac yna Pawl a weles[7] gyr bronn porth[8] vffern deri tanllyt[9] ac wrth eu keigkyeu eneidyeu[10] pechadurieit yg kroc. Rei[11] erbyn[12] blew eu penn. Ereill erbyn eu pennev.[13] Ereill erbyn eu breuuantev.[14] Ereill erbyn eu tauodeu.[15] Ereill erbyn eu dwylaw[16] ac[17] eu breichyeu.[18]

3. Ac odyna[19] y gweles Pawl[20] fwrn danllet[21] yn llosgi, a seith flam amliw yn kyuodi ohonei, a llawer yn eu poeni yndi.[22] A seith bla a oed yg kylch y fwrn.[23] Kyntaf oed eiry a rew.[24] Yr eil oed ya. Tryded oed dan.[25] Petwared oed waet. Pymet oed seirff a phryfet drwc.[26] Chwechet oed vellt. Seithuet[27] drewyant. Ac y'r fwrn honno yd anuonir[28] eneidyeu pechaduryeit[29] ny wnel[30] eu penyt[31] yn y byt hwnn.[32]

4. Rei[33] yn wylaw. Ereill yn vdaw.[34] Ereill yn kwynaw.[35] Ereill yn keissyaw agheu ac nys kaffant, kany byd[36] marw eneit byth.[37]

5. Wrth[38] hynny lle ofynawc yw vffern. Yn y lle[39] y mae tristyt[40] hep lewenyd. A dolur tragywyd. Ac amylter o dagrev a chwynuan callonnev.[42] Ac oeruel mawr drwy losgedigeath yr[43] eneidiev. Yno y mae rot o dan mil o yrd[44] arnei. A dyewl[45] a'y try vnweith beunyd. Ac ar bop gweith[46] y llosgir[47] mil o eneidyev.

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1. Pen 15 & Llan 27 no ysyd; JC119 yw   2. Llan 27 & JC119 detholedic   3. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no gan Duw   4. Pen 14 yn dydyeu   5. Llan 27 & JC119 (yn yr hwnn) y caffant yn y dyd hwnnw yr eneidyeu a vont yn y poenev orffowys yn diboen trwy lewenyd   6. Pen 15 (yn yr hwn) y danvones dvw viangel y dangos trwy vrevdwyd bawl ebostol yr hyn a ydoed yn damvnaw y welet. Sef oed hynny poenev uffern. A phan yttoed bawl yn mynet dybyget ef ygyt a Mihagel   7. Pen 15 Ef a welas; Pen 14 y gweles Pawl ebostol   8. Pen 14 no porth; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 pyrth   9. Pen 14 tanllyt kanghawc   10. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no eneidyeu   11. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 rei onadunt   12. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 here and all instances geir   13. Llan 27, Pen 15 & JC119 blew eu penneu   14. Pen 15 no breuuantev   15. Pen 15 adds Ereill y ger y mynyglev   16. Llan 27 & JC119 dwylaw before breuuantev   17. Pen 14 ereill erbyn; Pen 15 ereill geir; Llan 27 & JC 119 ac ereill gyr   18. Pen 14 adds ereill erbyn eu traet yngkroc   19. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 yna   20. Pen 14 a Phawl a weles; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add yn lle arall   21. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC 119 no danllet   22. yn y fwrn honno   23. Llan 27 & JC119 Ac yng kylch y ffwrn yr oedynt seith pla; Pen 14 adds honno   24. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no a rew   25. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 switch ya and dan   26. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no a phryvet drwc   27. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add oed   28. Pen 14 & Llan 27 anuonit   29. Llan 27 no pechaduryeit; Pen 15 y rei   30. Pen 14 wnelwynt; Llan 27 wnelynt; JC119 wnelont   31. Pen 15 adds a ossoter arnvnt   32. Pen 15 yma   33. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add ohonunt   34. Pen 15 grithvan   35. Pen 14 switches vdaw and kwynaw; Pen 15 no kwynaw   36. Pen 15 ny byd   37. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 yn dragywydawl   38. Pen 15 ac am   39. Pen 14 no yn y lle; Pen 15 yn lle   40. Pen 14, Pen 15 & JC119 tristwch   41. Pen 14 tragywydawl   42. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 callon   43. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no yr   44. Pen 15 yrev   45. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC 119 dieuyl   46. Pen 15 tro   47. Pen 15 y llysc; JC119 llosgit; Pen 14 adds arnei

THE VISION OF SAINT PAUL

1. Sunday is the chosen day, on which angels and archangels rejoice more than on other days. The question is[1], who first asked God, if the souls in Hell have repose from their punishments. It is the blessed apostle Paul and the archangel Michael, when they went to Hell, because God wanted Paul to see the punishments of Hell.

2. Paul truly saw, before the gates of Hell, burning trees, and sinners who were tortured and suspended on them. Some hung by their feet, others by their hands, others by their hairs, others by their ears, others by their tongues, others by their arms.

3. And then he saw a furnace with fire burning by means of seven flames in various colours, and sinners were punished in it. And seven plagues were around it. The first (was) snow, the second ice, the third fire, the fourth blood, the fifth snakes, the sixth lightning, the seventh stench. And in it souls of sinners, who have not repented[2] after committing sins in this world, are punished.

4. There they are tortured and everyone receives according to their works. And some weep, others howl, others groan, others burn and ask[3] for death, which they do not get, for souls cannot die.

5. We must fear the place of Hell,[4] where there is sorrow without joy, where there is everlasting pain, where there is lamentation of the soul, where there is great wailing,[5] an abundance of tears, torment and pain of souls, where there is a fiery wheel, having a thousand rotations.[6] With a thousand turns on one day it is rolled by an angel of the Tartarus, and on every turn a thousand souls are tortured on it.

THE DREAM OF THE APOSTLE PAUL

1. Sunday[1] is the day chosen by God, on which the souls rejoice more than on the other days. And let everyone know that it is the apostle Paul and Michael to whom God showed the punishments of Hell.

2. And there Paul saw in front of the gate of Hell fiery oak-trees, with the souls of sinners hanging on their branches. Some by the hair of their head. Others by their heads. Others by their necks. Others by their tongues, others by their hands and arms.

3. And then Paul saw a fiery furnace burning, and from it seven flames of various colours rose up, and many suffered in it. And seven plagues were around the furnace. The first was snow and coldness. The second was ice. The third was fire. The fourth was blood. The fifth was serpents and evil vermin. The sixth was lightning. The seventh stench. And to that furnace the souls of sinners who do not do[2] their penance in this world will be sent.

4. Some are weeping, others wailing, others lamenting, others asking for death,[3] and they do not get it,[4] because a soul will never be dead.

5. Because of this Hell is a frightful place. There where there is sorrow without joy, and suffering everlasting. And an abundance of tears and lamenting of hearts.[5] And a great coldness because of the burning of the souls. There where there is a wheel of fire on which (are) a thousand hammers. And devils spin it once every day. And on every turn a thousand souls are burnt.

6. Postea vidit flumen orribile, in quo multe bestie dyabolice erant quasi pisces in medio maris, que animas peccatrices devorant sine ulla misericordia quasi lupi devorant oves.

7. Et desuper illud flumen est pons, per quem transeunt anime iuste sine ulla dubitacione, et multe peccatrices anime merguntur unaqueque secundum meritum suum.

8. 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." Tantum vero potest quisque per pontem illum ire quantum habet meritum.

9. Ibi vidit Paulus multas animas dimersas, alie usque ad genua, alie usque ad umbilicum, alie usque ad labia, alie usque ad supercilia, et perhenniter cruciantur.

10. Et flevit Paulus et suspiravit et interrogavit angelum, qui essent dimersi ad genua. Cui angelus dixit: "Qui se mittunt in sermonibus alienis aliis detrahentes."

11. "Alii dimersi sunt usque ad umbilicum?" "Hi sunt fornicatores et adulterantes, qui postea non recordantur venire ad penitenciam."

12. "Alii mersi usque ad labia?" "Hi sunt, qui lites faciunt inter se in ecclesia non audientes verbum dei."

13. "Alii usque ad supercilia?" "Hi sunt, qui gaudent de malitia proximi sui."

14. Et flevit Paulus et dixit: "Ve his, quibus preparantur tante pene!"

6. Odyna y gweles[48] auon[49] arythyr yn llawn o bryuet diaflic[50] megis pysgawt y mewn[51] mor yn llygku eneidyeu pechaduryeit[52] mal[53] bleidiev yn llygku deueit.

7. Ac ar yr avon honno[54] yd oed bont yd ei[55] eneidieu kyuyaw[56] yn diarfwyt[57] idi[58]. A'r[59] pechadurieit a digwydynt[60] yndi.[61]

8. Llawer[62] ysyd y[63] bresswyluaeu drwc[64] yn vffern. Megis y dywedir[65] yn yr euenghil.[66] Rwymwch wynt yn faglev[67] yw[68] llosgi. Yno llosgir ac[69] y poenir kyffelyb gyt[70] a'y gyffelyb. Got ygyt a godyon.[71] Treissywr gyt[72] a threiswyr.[73] Enwir gyt[74] ac enwir.[75] A phawp[76] a gerdei[77] y'r[78] bont honno[79] herwyd y gobrynei.[80]

9. Yno[81] y gweles Pawl lawer o eneidyeu gwedy eu llosgi.[82] Rei[83] hyt eu glinyev. Ereill hyt[84] eu bogel.[85] Ereill hyt eu kewilyd.[86] Ereill hyt eu gweussev.[87] Ereill hyt eu[88] haelyeu. Ereill hyt yg gwarthaf eu pennev.

10. Yna[89] yd wylawd Pawl ac y gouynnawd y'r aghel pwy oed[90] yn y poeneu[91]. [92]"Y rei a wely di hyt eu glinyeu a oganant[93] ereill pan delont[94] y'r eglwyssev."

11. "Y[95] rei a wely di[96] hyt ev bogel[97] a wnaeth[98] odinep[99] ac nys penydyassant kyn[100] agheu."

12. "Y rei a wely di hyt eu gweusseu a gentachant[101] yn yr[102] eglwyseu hep warandaw[103] geiriev Duw."

13. "Y rei a wely di hyt eu haelodeu ac eu haelyeu a lawenhaant[104] o gwympeu eu kymydogyon."

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48. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add Pawl   49. Pen 14 no auon   50. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 kythreulic   51. Pen 15 & JC119 yn y; Llan 27 nofiaw yn y   52. Pen 15 dynyon   53. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 megys   54. Pen 14 no honno   55. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC 119 aei; Pen 14 ai   56. Pen 14 ffydlawn   57. Pen 14 diarswyt   58. Llan 27 kyfyawn idi yn diargywed; Pen 15 & JC119 kyfyawn idi yn didramgwyd   59. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ac eneideu y   60. Llan 27 syrthynt   61. Pen 14 yn yr auon; Pen 15 dros y bont   62. Pen 14 llawered   65. Llan 27 & JC119 o   64. Pen 14 & Pen 15 o bresswyluaeu drwc ysyd   65. Pen 15 diweit   66. Pen 15 adds am yr eneidev drwc   67. Pen 14 flammeu   68. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 o'e   69. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no llosgir ac   70. Pen 15 y gyt   71. Pen 14 godyon gyt a godyon; Pen 15 godinebus gyt a godinebus; Llan 27 godinebus a godinebus; JC119 godinebus y godinebus   72. Llan 27 y gyt   73. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 threiswraged   74. Llan 27 y gyt   75. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 enwiryon   76. JC119 phawt   77. Pen 14 gerda; Llan 27 gerdynt   78. Pen 14 y   79. Pen 14 & Pen 15 no honno   80. Pen 14 gobryno   81. Pen 15 ac; Llan 27 ac yna; JC119 ac yno   82. Pen 15 ym poen yno; Llan 27 ym poeneu; JC119 ym poen   83. Pen 15 & JC119 ohonvnt; Llan 27 onadunt   84. **Llan 27 no hy**t   85. Pen 15 & Llan 27 bogeleu   86. Pen 14 switches bogel and kewilyd; Pen 15, Llan 27 and JC119 no Ereill hyt eu kewilyd   87. Pen 14 gydueu   88. Pen 14 adds llygeit a'e   89. Pen 14 ac yna   90. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oedynt   91. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 y rei hynny; Pen 14 yn y boen honno   92. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add heb (yr) angel yna   93. Pen 14, Pen 15 & Llan 27 oganassant   94. Pen 14 doethant; JC119 delont   95. Pen 15 a   96. Pen 15 no di; Llan 27 ditheu   97. Pen 14, Pen 15 & Llan 27 bogeleu   98. Pen 14 wnaethant; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 wnaethant pechawt   99. JC119 godinebus   100. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 hyt   101. Pen 14 sonyasant; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oganassant   102. Pen 15 mewn; JC119 yn   103. Pen 14 adds dim o   104. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 hyt eu haelyeu a lawenassant

6. Then he saw a dreadful river, in which many diabolical beasts are as fish in the middle of the sea, which devour sinful souls without any mercy, as wolves devour sheep.

7. And over the river is a bridge, by means of which the righteous souls pass over[7] without any hesitation, and many sinful souls are drowned, each one according to their merits.

8. There there are many diabolical beasts and many badly prepared dwellings, as the Lord says in the Gospel: 'Tie them into bundles to be burned; it is the similar with the similar, adulterous with adulterous, rapacious with rapacious, unkind with unkind.' Each one is truly only able to go over the bridge as much as he has merit.

9. There Paul saw many souls submerged, some up to their knees, others up to their navel, others up to their lips, others up to their eyebrows, and they are everlastingly tortured.

10. And Paul wept and sighed, and he asked the angel who those submerged up to their knees were. To which the angel said: "Those who tell others of conversations of others, dragging them down."[8]

11. "The others who are submerged up to their navel?" "These are the fornicators and adulterers, who afterwards don't remember to come to penitence."

12. "The others submerged up to their lips?" "These are, who quarrel[9] with each other[10] in church, not listening to the word of God."

13. The others up to their eyebrows?" "These are, who rejoice over the badness of their neighbour."[11]

14. And Paul wept and he said: "Woe unto those, for whom such great punishments are prepared!"[12]

6. Then he saw a dreadful river full of diabolical creatures like fish in the sea, devouring the souls of sinners like wolves devouring sheep.

7. And on that river was a bridge over which the righteous went fearlessly.[6] And the sinners fell into it.[7]

8. Many are the evil dwelling-places in Hell. As is said in the Gospel: 'Tie them in torches to be burnt.' There like is burnt and punished with its like. Adulterer together with adulterers. Usurpers together with usurpers. (The) heinous together with (the) heinous. And all traverse that bridge by virtue of their merits.

9. Then Paul saw a lot of souls that had been burnt. Some as far as their knees. Others as far as their navel. Others as far as their private parts. Others as far as their lips. Others as far as their eyebrows. Others as far as the top of their heads.

10. Then Paul wept and he asked the angel who were being punished.[8] "Those you see as far as their knees deride others when they come to the churches."

11. "Those you see as far as their navel committed adultery and they did not do penance before death."

12. "Those you see as far as their lips quarrel in the churches without listening to the words of God."

13. "Those you see as far as their private parts and their eyebrows rejoice over the ruin[9] of their neighbours."

15. Deinde vidit alium locum tenebrosum plenum viris ac mulieribus comedentes linguas suas. De quibus ait angelus: "Hi sunt feneratores pecuniarum, qui usuras querunt et non sunt misericordes. Propterea sunt in hac pena."

16. Et vidit alium locum, in quo omnes pene erant, erantque ibi puelle nigre habentes vestimenta nigra, indute pice et sulfure et dracones igneos et serpentes atque vipere circa colla sua.

17. Et erant .iiij. angeli maligni increpantes eas habentes cornua ignea, qui ibant in circuitu earum, dicentes: "Agnoscite filium dei, qui mundum redemit."

18. Et interrogavit Paulus, que essent. Tunc sic respondit angelus: "He sunt, que non servaverunt castitatem usque ad nuptias et maculate necaverunt infantes suos et in escam porcis et canibus dederunt et in fluminibus vel fecerunt."

19. Post hoc vidit viros ac mulieres in loco glaciali, et ignis urebat de media parte et de media frigebat. Hi erant, qui orphanis et viduis nocuerunt.

20. Postea vidit viros ac mulieres super canelia ampnis et fructus ante illos erant. Quibus non licebat aliquit sumere ex eis. Hi erant, qui solvunt ieiunium ante tempus.

15. Odyna[105] a gweles Bawl[106] lle ofynawc[107] yn gyflawn o[108] wyr a gwraged yn knoi eu tauodeu. "Llyma," hep yr[109] anghel wrth Bawl[110], "yr vsurwyr[111] a wnaethant vsur[112] ac a'e keissiassant[113] ac ny buant drugarawc wrth[114] weinnyeit ac wrth[115] hynny y bydant yn y boen honn[116] hyt dyd brawt."

16. A[117] Phawl[118] a weles lle arall a[119] phop ryw boen yndaw. Ac yno yd[120] oed[121] morynnyon duon a gwiscoed duon pyclyt[122] amdanunt.[123] A dreigyeu tanllyt a seirff a nadred gwenwynic yn dorchev[124] am ev mynyglev.

17. A naw kythreul ysgithrawc a chyrn tanllyt arnunt[125] yn eu hareilyaw ac yn eu hangreifftyaw ac yn dywedut wrthunt: "[126]Etnebedwch chwi[127] vap Duw[128] y gwr a brynawd y byt o'y[129] vawr weirthyawc waet."[130]

18. A gouyn a oruc Pawl[131] pwy oedynt.[132] "Llyma," hep yr anghel[133], "y rei[134] ny chetwis eu diweirdep ac a bechassant wrth eu karant[135] ac a dorrassant eu priodasseu[136]. Ac a ladassant eu plant ac a'y bwryassant yn vwyt y[137] bryuet neu y mewn dwfyr y'w bodi[138] neu yg kyfyrgill arall. Ac ny wnaethant[139] eu penyt kyn anghev."

19. Odyna y gwelei bawb[140] gwyr a gwraged y mewn tan ac ya. A'r tan y llosgei y neill hanner vdunt. A'r[141] oeruel yn kyrrydu[142] yr hanner[143] arall[144] ac yn y gyruachv.[145] "Llyma," hep yr anghel, "y nep[146] a argywedawd y'r rei[147] ymdiueit ac y'r[148] gwraged gwedw."[149]

20. Ac ef a welei Bawl[150] gwyr a gwraged yn eu[151] seuyll yn veirw o newyn a llawer o vwyt[152] gyr eu bronn ac ny cheffynt wy[153] dim.[154] "Llyma," hep yr anghel, "y nep ny chetwis eu hvnpryt."[155]

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105. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add ef   106. Pen15, Llan 27 & JC119 no bawl   107. Pen 14 no lle ofynawc   108. Pen 14 llawer o   109. JC119 no yr   110. Pen 15 no wrth bawl   111. Pen 15, Llan 27, JC119 ockyrwyr   112. Pen 15 ockyr; Llan 27 & JC119 usur ac ockyr   113. Pen 15. no a'e keissiassant; Pen 14 no a wnaethant (…) a'e keissiassant   114. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add y   115. Pen 14 y tlodyon ac am   116. Pen 15 y byd y poenev hyn arnvnt; Llan 27 y bydant wynteu yn y poeneu hynn; JC119 y bydant wy yn y poen hwnn   117. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC 119 odyna   118. Pen 14 ef   119. JC119 o   120. Llan 27 yr   121. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oedynt   122. Pen 14 no pyclyt; Llan 27 morynnyon duon pyclyt a gwisgoed duon; Pen 15 & JC119 morynnyon duon pyclyt a gwisgoed duon pyclyt   123. Pen 15 & JC 119 amdanadunt   124. Pen 14 doreu   125. Pen 14 am eu mynygleu   126. Pen 14 adds Paham na wnaethoch chwitheu dim da ac nat   127. Llan 27 no chwi   128. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add byw ; Pen 14 adds byw goruchel   129. Pen 15 yr y   130. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 werthvawr waet   131. Pen 15 & JC 119 add yna y'r angel; Llan 27 adds y'r angel yna   132. Llan 27 adds y rei hynny   133. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ef   134. Pen 14, Llan 27 & JC119 y neb   135. Pen 14 & Pen 15 karesseu   136. Pen 14 priodas   137. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 y'r   138. Pen 14 oc eu bodi   139. Pen 14 hep wneuthur   140. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 Odyna ef a welei; Pen 14 Ac odyna a gwelei Bawl   141. Pen 14 ac   142. Pen 14 yr ya yn crwpachu; Llan 27 yn crydu; Pen 15 & JC119 yn y crydu   143. Pen 15 & JC119 o'r tu   144. Pen 14 & Llan 27 add udunt   145. Pen 14 no ac yn y gyruachv   146. Pen 14 no y nep   147. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no rei   148. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ymdiueit a'r   149. Llan 27 & JC119 gwedwon   150. Pen 14 no Bawl   151. Pen 14 no eu   152. Pen 14 ffrwyth   153. Pen 14 no wy   154. Pen 14 adds ohonaw   155. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 omit whole paragraph

15. Then he saw another dark place full of men and women eating their own tongues. The angel said about them: "These are usurers of money,[13] who ask usuries and are not compassionate. For that reason they are in this punishment."

16. And he saw another place, where all punishments were, and there there were black girls having black garments, donned in pitch and sulfur, and fiery dragons and snakes and vipers were around their necks.

17. And there were four wicked angels, having fiery horns, chiding them, who went around them, saying: "You must acknowledge the Son of God, who has redeemed the world."

18. And Paul asked who they were. Then the angel replied thus: "These are, who have not kept their chastity until marriage and having been defiled, they have killed their babes and given them in food to pigs and dogs and they have thrown them in rivers or other perdition and they have not done penance afterwards."

19. Hereafter he saw men and women in an icy place, and a fire burned half of it and froze half. These are, who have harmed orphans and widows.

20. Then he saw men and women above a broad[14] canal[15] and there were fruits in front of them, for whom it was not allowed to take anything from them. These are, who break the fast before the time.

15. Then Paul[10] saw a frightful place full of men and women chewing their tongues. "Behold," said the angel to Paul, "the usurers who did usury and who sought it and who were not compassionate to (the) poor and therefore they will be thus punished until the Day of Judgement."

16. And Paul saw another place with every type of punishment in it. And there there were black maidens with pitch-black cloaks around them, and fiery dragons and serpents and poisonous snakes coiled up around their necks.

17. And nine fanged demons with fiery horns on them were watching them and chiding them and saying to them: "You must recognize the Son of God as the man who redeemed the world[11] through His precious blood."

18. And Paul asked who they were. "Behold," said the angel, "those who did not keep their chastity and sinned against their relatives and broke their marriages. And they killed their children and threw them as food for the worms or into water to drown them or into other perdition. And they did not do their penance before death."

19. Then Paul[12] saw men and women amidst fire and ice. And the fire burned the one half of them. And the coldness shook the other half and it grew numb. "Behold," said the angel, "the ones who did harm to those orphaned and to the widows."

20. And Paul saw men and women standing lifelessly[13] from hunger with a lot of food in front of them and they could not get anything. "Behold," said the angel, "the ones who did not keep their fast."

21. Mox vidit in alio loco unum senem inter .iiij. dyabolos plorantem et ullulantem. Et interrogavit Paulus, quis esset. Dixitque angelus: "Episcopus negligens fuit; non custodivit legem dei, non fuit castus de corpore vel de verbo nec cogitacione vel opere, sed fuit avarus et dolosus atque superbus. Ideo sustinet innumerabiles penas usque in diem iudicii."

22. Et flevit Paulus. Et dixit ei angelus: "Quare ploras, Paule? Nondum vidisti maiores penas inferni." Et ostendit illi puteum signatum .vij. sigillis et ait illi: "Sta longe, ut possis sustinere fetorem hunc." Et aperto ore putei surrexit fetor malus et durus superans omnes penas inferni. Et dixit angelus: "Si quis mittatur in hoc puteo, non fiet commemoracio eius in conspectu domini." Et dixit Paulus: "Qui sunt hi, domine, qui mittuntur in eo?" Et dixit angelus: "Qui non credunt, filium dei Christum venisse in carnem nec nasci ex Maria virgine et non baptizati sunt nec communicati corpore et sanguine Christi."

23. Et vidit in alio loco viros ac mulieres et vermes et serpentes comedentes eos. Et erat anima una super alteram quasi oves in ovili. Et erat profunditas eius quasi de terra ad celum. Et audivit gemitum et suspirium magnum quasi tonitruum.

21. Odyna y gwelei Bawl[156] yn lle arall henwr yn rwym yrwng[157] petwar diawl.[158] Ac[159] ynteu yn vdaw ac yn wylaw.[160] Pawl[161] a ouynnawd pwy oed[162] hynny. "Esgob gwallus vu hwnn," hep yr anghel, "[163]ny chetwis gyfreith[164] Duw. Ac ny bu diweir nac o vedwl[165] nac o eir nac o weithret[166] namyn kybyd vu a[167] thwyllwr a chamryuygus.[168] Ac am[169] hynny y byd arnaw ynteu aneirif o boenev[170] hyt dyd brawt."

22. Ac yna y dyuawt Pawl: "Och, Och, Och,[171] gwae wynt y pechaduryeit oc[172] eu geni." Yna[173] dyuawt yr anghel wrth Bawl: "Paham yd wyly di, Bawl,[174] ac yd ochy?[175] Ny weleisti[176] eton dim[177] o boenev uffern.[178]" Ac yna dangos pydew idaw.[179] A seith inseil arnaw. "Saf o bell[180]," hep yr anghel, "kany elly[181] diodef[182] drewyant y pydew.[183]" A phan egoret[184] y pydew[185] y kyuodes dreweant ohonaw[186] mal y tebygei[187] Bawl y uot yn waeth no holl boenev vffern. "Pwy bynnac," hep yr anghel, "a digwydo yn y pydew hwwn. Ny byd[188] cof amdanaw[189] vyth gyr bronn Duw. Y rei[190] hynny," hep yr anghel, "ny chymerassant vedyd yn enw Duw ac ny chredassant knawt ohonaw na'e eni o veir wyry. Ac ny thalassant degwm yr eglwys. Ac a dremygassant eu kyfnesseiuieit. Ac ny chymerassant gymvn o gorff Yessu Grist nac o'y waet."[191]

23. Odyna[192] y gweles Pawl gwyr a gwraged[193] noethyon a phryuet a nadred yn eu bwyta. A hynny pob vn ar benn[194] y gilyd[195] megis deueit y mewn keil.[196] A chyn dyfynet[197] oed y[198] lle yd oedynt yndaw ac o'r nef hyt y[199] llawr. Ac ef a glywei gwynuan[200] ac wylaw[201] megis taran.[202]

156. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ef a welei   157. Pen 14 adds gan   158. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 kythreul   159. JC119 adds ynn

160. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 switch yn vdaw and yn wylaw; Pen 14 no ac ynteu (…) yn wylaw   161. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 a Phawl   162. Pen 14 no oed   163. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 esgob gwallus heb yr angel yw   164. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 kyfreitheu

165. Pen 14 no nac o vedwl   166. Pen 15 o eir nac o weithret na medwl; Llan 27 nac o'e eir nac o'e weithret nac o'e uedwl; JC119 o eir nac weithret na medwl   167. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no vu a   168. Pen 14 chungorynus; Llan 27 adds uu   169. Pen 14 wrth

170. Pen 14 no o boenev   171. Llan 27 no Och, Och   172. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no oc   173. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ac yna y   174. Pen 14 no Bawl   175. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 paham yd ochy di Bawl   176. Llan 27 weleist di   177. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 eto nemawr   178. Llan 27 adds kanlyn di vi a thi a'e gwely   179. Pen 14 y dangosses yr angel ydaw pydew; Llan 27 dangos pydew a oruc yr angel idaw; Pen 15 & JC119 dangos pydew a oruc idaw   180. Llan 27 ym pell   181. Llan 27 adds di   182. Pen 14 adds y

183. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add hwnn   184. Pen 15, Llan 27 &JC119 add geneu   185. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add ef   186. Pen 14 diodef drewyant a daw ohonaw   187. Pen 14 tebyckych   188. Llan 27 ny daw y; Pen 15 & JC119 add y   189. Llan 27 no amdanaw; Pen 15 & JC119 ef   190. Pen 14 ar   191. see appendix II.a   192. Pen 14 ac gwedy hynny   193. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add yn

194. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 warthaf   195. Llan 27 adds onadunt   196. Pen 15 & JC119 phalt; Llan 27 ffalt   197. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 dewet   198. Pen 14 o'r   199. JC119 yr gwyr   200. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add a griduan   201. Pen 15 & JC119 wyllovein; Llan 27 wylofein   202. add yn yr awyr

21. Soon afterwards he saw in another place an old man between four devils, crying out and weeping. And Paul asked who he was. And the angel said: "He was a negligent bishop; he did not take heed of the word of God, he was not pure of body or of word nor thought or work, but he was greedy and deceitful and haughty. For that reason he undergoes innumerable punishments until the Day of Judgement."

22. And Paul wept. And the angel said to him: "Why are you crying, Paul? You have not yet seen the greater punishments of Hell." And he showed him a pit sealed with seven seals and he said to him: "Stand far away, so that you are able to endure this stench." And from the mouth of the pit, after it was opened, an evil and severe stench rose up, surpassing all the punishments of Hell. And the angel said: "If anyone is sent into this pit, no remembrance of him will be done in the presence of the Lord." And Paul said: "Who are they, lord, who are sent into it?" And the angel said: "Those who do not believe that the Son of God Christ has come into flesh nor that He is born of the Virgin Mary, and those who have not been baptized nor have communicated of the body and blood of Christ.

23. And he saw in another place men and women and worms and serpents devouring them. And one soul was on top of the other as sheep in a sheepfold. And their depth was as if from the earth to the sky.[16] And he heard a groan and a great sigh like thunder.

21. Then Paul saw in another place an old man in bonds between four devils. And he was shouting and weeping. Paul asked who that was. "This was a negligent bishop," said the angel, "who did not keep the law of God. And he was not pure, neither of mind nor of speech nor of action but instead he was a miser and a cheat and arrogant. And therefore a multitude of punishments will be on him until the Day of Judgement."

22. And then Paul said: "Oh, oh, oh, woe unto them, the sinners, because they were born."[14] Then the angel said to Paul: "Why are you weeping, Paul, and sighing? You have not seen anything of the punishments of Hell yet."[15] And then he showed him a pit with seven seals on it. "Stand far away," said the angel, "because you cannot endure the stench of the pit." And when the pit was opened a stench rose up from it as Paul thought to be worse than all the punishments of Hell. "Whosoever," said the angel, "may fall into this pit, about him will never be a memory before God. Those ones," said the angel, "who did not take baptism in the name of God and who did not believe in His incarnation[16] nor that He was born of the Virgin Mary. And who did not pay the tithe of the church. And who scorned their neighbours. And who did not take Holy Communion from the body of Jesus Christ nor of His blood."

23. Then Paul saw naked men and women and insects and snakes were eating them. And they were each on top of one another like sheep in a sheepfold. And the place in which they were was equally deep from the sky to the ground.[17] And he heard lamentation and weeping like thunder.

24. Et postea aspexit in celum a terra ac vidit animam peccatoris inter dyabolos .vij., quum [sic.] ululantem deducebant eo die de corpore. Et clamaverunt angeli dei contra eam dicentes: "Ve, ve, misera anima, que operata es in terra?" Dixerunt ad invicem: "Vide istam animam, quomodo contempsit in terra mandata dei. Mox illa legit cartam suam, in qua erant peccata sua, et se ipsam iudicavit." Tunc eam demones susceperunt mittentes in tenebras exteriores. Ibi erit fletus et stridor dencium.

25. Et dixit ei angelus: "Credis et agnoscis, quia sicut homo fecerit sic accipiet?" Post hoc in uno momento adduxerunt angeli animam iustam de corpore portantes ad celum. Et audivit vocem milium anglorum letancium ac dicencium: "O anima leta, felicissima, o beata, letare, quia fecisti voluntatem dei tui." Deinde dixerunt hoc simul: "Levate eam ante deum et ipsa leget opera sua bona." Postea Michahel collocavit eam in paradiso, ubi erant omnes sancti. Et clamor factus est contra animam iustam, quasi celum et terra commoverentur.

24. Ac edrych a wnaeth[203] ef[204] o bell[205] y wrthaw ac ef a welei[206] eneit pechadur yn rwym gan seith diawl[207] yn y[208] dwyn yr awr honno o'r korff. Ac yntev yn vdaw ac yn gweidi.[209] Ac enghylyon nef yn dywedut ac yn lleuein[210]: "Och, Och, Och, gwae di[211] eneit truan. Pa beth a ry[212] wneithosti? "Ie," medei i[214] dievyl. "Llyma yr eneit a dremygawd gorchymynneu Duw.[215]" Ac yna darllein[216] sartyr[217] a'e[218] bechodeu[219] yn ysgriuenedic yndi. A'y weithredoed[220] yn y varnu y'r poenev.[221] A'r dieuyl yn y gymryt ac yn y anuon[222] y'r tywyllwc eithaf yn lle[223] yd[224] oed wylaw a chrynua danned a thristyt[225] a thrueni.[226]

25. Ac yna y dyuawt yr aghel[227]: "Kret ti Bawl[228] ac etnebyd[229] panyw megis[230] y gwnel dyn yn y byt[231] y keiff eilchwyl.[232]" Ac yna[233] y gwelei Bawl[234] eghylyon yn dwyn eneit glan o'r corff manach gwirion[235] ac yn y arwein[236] y'r nef. Ac yna y klywei Bawl llef mil[237] vilioed o eneidyeu ac[238] eghylyon[239] yn llawenhav wrthaw ac yn dywedut[240]: "O yr[241] eneit detwydaf. Byd lawen hediw[242] kan[243] gwnaethost ewyllys Duw." Ac yna y dyuawt yr eghylyon:[244] "Dyrcheuwch[245] y'r eneit[246] gyr[247] bronn Duw y[248] darllein y gweithredoed da a wnaeth.[249]" Ac yna y duc mihaghel yr eneit y baradwys yn y[250] lle yd oed[251] yr holl[252] egylyon yn erbyn[253] yr eneit[254] gwirion.[255] A gawr o lewenyd a dodassant[256] mal pet uei[257] yr heul a'r lloer a'r awyr[258] a'r daear yn kyfroi.

203. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oruc   204. Pen 14 no ef; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 Pawl   205. Llan 27 ym pell   206. Llan 27 arganuot   207. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 kythreul; Pen 15 adds ac   208. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 (g)wedy'r   209. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 switch yn vdaw and yn gweidi   210. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 switch yn dywedut and yn lleuein   211. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no och gwae di   212. Pen 14 no ry   213. Pen 15 & JC119 hyeu   214. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 un o'r   215. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add a'e gyfreithyeu   216. Llan 27 adds a orugant wy   217. Pen 15 & JC119 chartyr; Llan 17 syartyr   218. Pen 14 adds holl   219. Llan 27 pechodeu   220. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 a'e weithredoed drwc yn ysgriuennedic yndi   221. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 yng kyfuyrgoll   222. Pen 14 arwein   223. Pen 14 yny   224. Llan 27 yr   225. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 tristwch   226. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 heb lewenyd   227. Pen 14 adds wrth Bawl   228. Pen 14 no Bawl   229. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no ac etnebyd   230. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 val   231. Pen 14 no yn y byt; Pen 15 & JC119 add yma   232. Llan 27 rac llaw Pen 15 & JC 119 ef rac llaw   233. Llan 27 odyna ef   234. Llan 27 no Bawl; Pen 15 & JC119 ef   235. Pen 14 eneit manach gwirion o'e gorff; Pen 15, Llan27 & JC119 eneit mynach gwynn o'e gorff   236. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 annvon   237. Pen 15 & JC119 add o   238. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no eneidyeu ac   239. Pen 14 switches eneidyeu and eghylyon   240. Pen 14 adds ual hynn   241. Pen 15 dyty; Llan 27 & JC119 no yr   242. Pen 15 no hediw   243. Pen 14 kanys   244. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no y dyuawt yr eghylyon   245. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 dyrchauel   246. Pen 14 adds gwirion   247. Llan 27 rac   248. Llan 27 a orugant wrth   249. Pen 15 no a wnaeth; Llan 27 & JC119 ry wnaethoed; Pen 14 adds yn y byt hwnn herwyd Duw   250. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no yn y   251. Llan 27 & JC119 oedynt   252. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no holl   253. Pen 14 derbynnyeit; Llan 27 & JC119 erbynnyeit   254. Llan 27 & JC119 eneidyeu   255. Pen 15 a'r eneidev da n y erbynnyeit   256. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 rodassant   257. Pen 15 y tebygat bot; JC119 pei vot   258. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 nef

24. And then he looked to the sky and earth and he saw the soul of a sinner, which[17] was weeping, between seven devils who brought (him) that day from the body. And the angels of God shouted against him, saying: "Oh, oh, wretched soul, what have you worked on earth?" They said by turns: "See that soul, in what way he has scorned the commandments of God on earth. Soon he reads his charter, in which his sins were, and he has condemned himself." Then the demons took him up, sending him to the utmost darkness. There there will be tears and gnashing of teeth.

25. And the angel said to him: "Do you believe and recognize, that just as a man has done, thus he will receive?" Thereafter in one moment the angels brought a righteous soul from the body, bringing it to Heaven. And he heard the voice of thousands of angels rejoicing and saying: "O happy soul, most fortunate, oh blessed one, rejoice, for you have done the will of your God." Then they said this simultaneously: "Raise him up before God and he himself will read his good deeds." Thereafter Michael settled him in Paradise, where all the saints were. And a shout was produced against the righteous soul, as if the sky and the earth were moved.

24. And he looked far away from him and he saw the soul of a sinner in bonds, with seven devils bringing him at that moment from the body.[18] And he howled and screamed. And the angels of heaven said and wept: "Oh, oh, oh, woe unto you wretched soul, what have you done?" "Yea," said one of the devils,[19] "behold the soul that disobeyed the commandments of God." And then they read a charter in which his sins were written. And his deeds condemned him to the punishments. And the devils took him and sent him to the uttermost darkness in the place where there is[20] weeping and gnashing of teeth and sorrow and suffering.

25. And then te angel said: "Believe, Paul, and know that just as a man does in the world he will receive again." And then Paul saw angels bringing a pure soul from the body of a sinless monk and escorting him to Heaven. And then Paul heard the voice of a thousand thousands of souls and angels rejoicing about him and saying: "O most blessed soul. Be joyous today for you have done the will of God." And then the angels said: "Lift the soul up before God to read the good deeds he has done." And then Michael leads the soul to Paradise where all the angels were meeting the sinless soul. And they uttered (such) a shout of jubilation (that it were) as if the sun and the moon and the sky and the earth were moving.

26. Et exclamaverunt peccatores, qui erant in penis, dicentes: "Miserere nobis, Michahel archangele, ac tu, Paule, dilectissime dei, intercedite pro nobis ad dominum." Quibus sic ait angelus: "Flete et flebo vobiscum et Paulus fleat, ut, si forte misereatur vestri, oremus, ut vobis donet misericors deus aliquid refrigerium."
27. Audientes hoc, qui erant in penis, exclamaverunt una voce et Michahel archangelus et Paulus apostolus et milia milium angelorum. Tunc audito sono eorum in quarto celo dicencium: "Miserere, Christe, filiis hominum," Deus descendit de celo et dyadema in capite eius. Quem ita deprecantur, qui in inferno erant, una voce dicentes: "Miserere nobis, fili Davit excelsi."
28. Et vox filii dei audita est per omnes penas: "Quit boni fecistis? Quare postulatis a me requiem? Ego crucifixus fui pro vobis, lancea perforatus, clavis confixus, acetum cum felle mixtum dedistis mihi in potum. Ego pro vobis me ipsum in martirio dedi, ut vinceretis mecum. Sed vos fuistis fures et avari et invidiosi, superbi et maledicti, nec ullum bonum egistis nec penitenciam nec ieiunium nec elemosinam, sed mendaces fuistis in vita vestra."

26. A[259] lleuein a oruc[260] y pechaduryeit[261] o'r poeneu, a dywedut: "Trugarhaa wrthym Vihagel archangel[262], a thithev garedicaf[263] Bawl ebostol, eiriawl[264] drossom ar Duw. Kanys ni a wdam[265] y mae[266] drwy awch[267] gwediev[268] chwi y kynhelir y nef a'r daear." "Ie," hep yr angel,[269] "wylwchwi[270] a minnev a wylaf[271] gyt a chwi a mi a'r engylyon ysyd gyt a mi a Phawl ebostol[272] yny[273] drugarhao Duw wrthywch ac yny rodo[274] nodua ywch.[275]"
27. A lleuein a oruc y nifer a oed[276] yn y[277] poenev[278] a lleuein a wnaeth[279] Mihanghel a Phawl[280] a mil vilioed o eneidyev glan ac engylyon[281] yny glywit eu llef yn y perweryd nef yn dywedut: "Arglwyd[282] Grist trugarhaa wrth ueibion y dynyon." Ac yna a gwelei Bawl[283] y nef yn kyfroi a Duw a'y goron am y benn. A'r niuer a oed[284] yn[285] uffern yn lleuein arnaw:[286] "Trugarhaa wrthym uab[287] Duw byw goruchel.[288]"
28. Ac y[289] klywei Bawl[290] llef yn dywedut wrthunt: "Paham na wnaethawch chwitheu[291] dim o'r[292] da[293] val y gallewch[294] erchi y minneu[295] vendith a gorffowys? Myvy a dodet ar y groc eroch chwi, ac a'm tyllwyt a'r gwaew, ac a bwywyt yr hoelyon yn vy nwylaw a'm traet, ac a rodet ym winegyr a phystyl y'w yuet. Mi a ymrodeis vy hyn y angheu eroch chwi. A chwitheu gennawc vuoch a lladron a chynorvynnus, a balch, a distriw eglwysseu, ac attal degymev, a phop ryw drwc a wnaethoch hep wneithur dim o'r da. Na phenyt, nac vnpryt, na alussen."[296]

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259. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ac yna   260. Pen 14 wnaeth; Llan 27 orugant   261. Pen 15 y rei   262. Pen 15 no archangel   263. Pen 15 no thithev garedicaf; Llan 27 & JC119 wynvydedic   264. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 eiryolwch   265. Pen 14 wdom   266. Llan 27 panyw   267. Pen 15 JC119 ych   268. Llan 27 gwedi   269. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no Ie hep yr angel   270. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add chwitheu   271. Pen 14 ni a wylwn; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ninheu a wylwn y   272. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 omit a mi (…) phawl ebostol   273. Pen 14 hynny   274. Llan 27 & JC119 add Duw   275. Pen 15 ac wrthyn ninhev   276. Pen 14 & JC119 oedynt; Llan 27 no a oed   277. Llan 27 o'r   278. Pen 14 yn uffern; Pen 15 no A lleuein (…) yn poenev   279. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oruc   280. Pen 14, Llan 27 & JC119 add ebostol   281. Pen 15 milyoed i engylyon a'r niver oed n y poenev ygyt ac wynt; Llan 27 milyoed o engylyon ygyt ac wynteu; JC119 milyoed o engylyon ygyt ac wynt   282. Llan 27 adds Iessu   283. Pen 14 y gweles   284. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oedynt   285. Llan 27 & JC119 add y   286. Pen 15 yn y wediaw ac yn dywedvt; Llan 27 & JC119 yn gweidi ac yn dywedyt   287. Pen 14 no uab   288. Pen 14 goruchaf   289. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add yna   290. Pen 14 no Bawl   291. Pen 15 & JC119 wnaethawchwi; Llan 27 wnaethawch chwi   292. Pen 14 no o'r   293. Pen 14 adds tra uuoch yn y byt hwnn   294. Pen 14 adds chwitheu   295. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no y minneu   296. see Appendix II.b

26. And the sinners, who were in the punishments, exclaimed, saying: "Have mercy on us, archangel Michael, and you, Paul, most loved by God, intercede on our behalf with the Lord." The angel said thusly to them: "You must lament, and I will lament with you and Paul may lament, so that, if He would perhaps have mercy on you, we may pray, so that the merciful God may give you some consolation."

27. Hearing this, they who were in the punishments exclaimed with one voice with the archangel Michael and the apostle Paul and a thousand thousands of angels. Then, hearing their voice in the fourth heaven, saying: "Have mercy Christ, on the sons of men," God descends from the sky with a crown on His head. Those who are in Hell pray thus to him, saying with one voice: "Have mercy on us, Son of the exalted David."

28. And the voice of the Son of God was heard through all the punishments: "What good have you done? Why do you ask rest from me? I was crucified for you, pierced with a lance, fastened with nails, you have given Me vinegar mixed with gall in a drink. I have given Myself to martyrdom for you, so that you conquer with Me. But you have been thieves and greedy and haughty and slandering, you have not done any good, neither penance nor fasting nor charity, but you have been deceitful in your life."

26. And the sinners wept from the punishments, and said: "Have mercy on us archangel Michael, and you, most beloved apostle Paul, intercede on behalf of us with God. Because we know that it is through your prayers that the heaven and the earth are sustained."[21] "Yea," said the angel, "you must lament with me and I will lament together with you and I with the angels that are with me and the apostle Paul so that God may have mercy on you and so that He may give sanctuary to you."

27. And the crowd that was being punished exclaimed and Michael and Paul and a thousand thousands of souls and angels exclaimed until their cry was heard in the fourth heaven, saying: "Lord Christ have mercy on the sons of men." And then Paul saw the sky moving and God with his crown on his head. And the crowd that was in Hell entreated him: "Have mercy on us, Son of the living God Almighty."

28. And Paul heard a voice saying to them: "Why have you not done anything good like you were able to request blessing and rest of me? I was put on the cross for you, and I was pierced with the lance, and the nails were struck in My hands and My feet, and vinegar and gall[22] were given to Me to drink. I surrendered Myself to death for your sakes. And you have been faithless[23] and thieves and envious and haughty and the ruin of churches and withholding tithes and you have done every bad thing without doing anything good. Neither penance, nor fasting, nor charity."

29. Post hoc prostravit se Michahel et Paulus et anglorum milia milium ante filium dei, ut requiem haberent die dominico omnes, qui erant in inferno. Et ait dominus: "Propter Michahelem et Paulum et angelos meos et bonitatem meam maxime dono vobis requiem ab hora nona sabbati usque in prima hora secunde ferie."

30. Mestus ergo hostiarius baratri, cui nomen canis est Cerberus; eternaliter elevavit caput suum tristis super omnes penas. Vere letati sunt omnes, qui cruciabantur ibi, ac clamaverunt dicentes: "Benedicimus te, fili Davit excelsi, qui donasti nobis refrigerium in spacio unius diei et noctis. Nam plus est nobis remedium huius diei et noctis quam totum tempus vite, quod consumptum est super terram." Ideo qui custodierunt ipsum sanctum diem dominicum, habeant partem cum angelis Dei.

31. Et interrogavit Paulus angelum, quot pene sint in inferno. Cui ait angelus: "Sunt pene .c. xliiij. milia, et se essent .c. viri loquentes ab inicio mundi et unusquisque .c. iiij. linguas ferreas haberent, non possent dinumerare penas inferni." Nos vero, karissimi fratres, audientes ista mala convertamur ad dominum, ut regnemus cum ipso et vivamus in secula seculorum. Amen.

29. Ac yna y gostyngawd Mihanghel[297] a Phawl[298] a mil vilioed[299] o eneidieu[300] gyrbron Duw y adolwyn idaw[301] rodi gorffowys diw sul[302] y'r eneidieu a oed[303] yn vffern. "Mi a'e[304] rodaf ywch,[305]" hep yr arglwyd,[306] "yr Mihanghel a Phawl[307] a'r enghylon[308] ac yr vy naeoni vy hun[309] orfowys vdunt[310] o awr nawn diw sadwrn hyt[311] awr brim diw llun."

30. Ac yna dyrchauel[312] ev pennev[313] y ar y poeneu[314] a oruc[315] Eternal[316] dryssawr uffern a Cerberus[317] y gi a thrystav yn vawr.[318] A llawenhaeu a oruc[319] y nep[320] a oed[321] yn vffern a dywedut ygyt[322]: "Ni[323] a dywedwn[324] dy uot ti yn vap[325] Duw byw goruchel[326] kan rodeist nod[327] yn diw sul e hun.[328]" Wrth[329] hynny pwy bynnac a gatwo[330] y[331] sul ef a vyd kyfrannawc ar orffowys gyt[332] ac engylyon nef.

31. Ac yna y gouynnawd Pawl[333] pa sawl poen ysyd[334] yn vffern. A'r angel[335] a dyuawt: "Pet vei[336] bedeir mil ar dec[337] a deu vgein mil a chan mil[338] yn riuaw poenev vffern. A phetwar tauawt haearn[339] y bop vn[340] ny pherheynt yn riuaw poeneu uffern." Wrth hynny pwy bynnac ohonam[341] a glywo y drygev hynn. Ni a dylywn ymchwelut ar yn arglwyd Duw ni[342] megis y kaffom ygyt[343] ac ef buched dragywyd hep drang hep orffen.[344] Amen.

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297. Llan 27 & JC119 add archangel   298. Llan 27 & JC119 add ebostol   299. Pen 14 ac ar ny ellit eu kyfrif; Pen 15 no mil vilioed; Llan 27 & JC119 milyoed   300. Pen 15 a'r engylyon; Llan 27 & JC119 o engylyon   301. Pen 14 adds trugarhau wrth y pechaduryeit a 302. Pen 14 adds e hun   303. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oedynt   304. JC119 a   305. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no ywch 306. Llan 27 & JC119 add Iessu   307. Pen 14 no a Phawl; Llan 27 & JC119 add ebostol   308. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no a'r enghylon 309. Pen 14 adds a rodaf   310. Pen 14 switches orfowys and vdunt   311. Llan 27 adds ar   312. Pen 15 y drychavawd ef   313. Pen 14 y benn; Pen 15 odi ar y pennev; Llan 27 & JC119 no ev pennev   314. Pen 14, Pen 15 & JC119 no y ar y poeneu   315. Pen 15 no a oruc 316. Pen 15 & JC119 etyrval   317. Pen 14 erberius; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 Cerebius   318. Pen 14 adds a orugant; Llan 27 adds a oruc   319. Pen 14 & Llan 27 orugant   320. Pen 14 yr eneidieu; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 y nifer   321. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 oedynt   322. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add oll   323. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 nyni   324. Pen 14 a wdom   325. Pen 14 no vap; Llan 27 & JC119 vap y   326. Pen 14 goruchaf; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 no goruchel   327. Pen 14 nodua; Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 (ti) ynni orfowys   328. Pen 15 & JC119 no e hun   329. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 Ac wrth   330. Pan 15 a ynrydeddho; Llan 27 a anrydedo; JC119 a henrydedho   331. Pen 14, 15, Llan 27 & JC119 dyw   332. Llan 27 y gyt   333. Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add y'r angel 334. Llan 27 a oed   335. Llan 27 adds yna   336. Pen 15 & JC119 petei   337. Llan 27 & JC119 no ar dec   338. Pen 15 no bedeir mil (…) mil a   339. Llan 27 haearnawl   340. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 ym penn pob vn ohonunt   341. Pen 14, Pen 15, Llan 27 & JC119 add ni   342. Pen 14 arglwyd ni Yessu Grist   343. Pen 14 gyt   344. see Appendix II.c.

29. Thereafter Michael and Paul and a thousand thousands of angels prostrated before the Son of God, so that all who were in Hell would have rest on Sunday. And the Lord said: "Because of Michael and Paul and My angels and especially (because of) My benevolence I give you rest from the ninth hour of Saturday until the first hour of Monday."

30. Thus the porter of Hell was sorrowful, whose dog is named Cerberus; he raised his sorrowful head eternally above all punishments. Truly all who were tortured there rejoiced and they exclaimed, saying: "We praise Thee, Son of the exalted David, who has given consolation to us in the space of one day and one night. Because we have more aid of this day and night than the whole time of our life, which was spent on earth." Therefore those who have upheld the holy Sunday itself, may have part (of it) with the angels of God.

31. And Paul asked the angel how many punishments there are in Hell. To which the angel said: "There are 144.000 punishments, and if there were a hundred men speaking from the beginning of the world, and each of them had 104 iron tongues, they would not be able to enumerate the punishments of Hell." Truly, dearest brethren, when hearing that evil let us return to the Lord, so that we reign with Him and live unto the ages of ages. Amen.

29. And then Michael and Paul and a thousand thousands of souls bowed before God to entreat Him to give the rest of Sunday to the souls who were in Hell. "I will give to you," said the Lord, "for the sakes of Michael and Paul and the angels and for the sake of My own goodness, rest[24] [to them][25] from the ninth hour of Saturday until the first hour of Monday."

30. And then Eternal[26] lifted their heads from the punishments, the stench of Hell and his dog Cerberus with great sorrow. And the ones who were in Hell rejoiced and said together: "We say that You are our Son of the living God Almighty because You gave mercy on Sunday itself." Therefore whosoever may keep the Sunday will be partaking of rest together with the angels of Heaven.

31. And then Paul asked how many punishments there are in Hell. And the angel said: "If the punishments of Hell amounted to 158.000 and (there were) four iron tongues to every one they would not cause enumerating of the punishments of Hell." Therefore whosoever of us sees this evil, we ought to return to our Lord God so that we may receive together with Him eternal life without end. Amen.

Textual and grammatical notes

With the Latin
§1
   1. *interrogandum est*: lit. 'it is to be asked' or 'it has to be asked'.

§3
   2. *non egerunt penitenciam;* lit. 'they have not done repentance'.

§4
   3. *querunt*: 3pl. present indicative active of *quaero* 'to ask'; this form is easily confused with the 3p. present indicative active (deponens) of *queror* 'to lament'.

§5
   4. *Timendus est nobis locus inferni*: this can also be translated as 'The Hell is a frightful place for us', if *timendus* is taken to be an adjective instead of a gerundive.
   5. *bargidium* cannot be found in any Ancient or Medieval Latin dictionary or word-list. According to Dwyer it is a variant of *bardigium*, which is found in *Canones Hibernenses* I.26.[104] Bieler translates it as 'wailing'[105], and he says that it is "a common Celtic word that was known also to the ancients".[106] I have used this translation as it fits the context.
   6. *mille orbitas*: *orbita* can mean either 'orbit, rotation' or 'track' (one made by a wheel). Neither fits the context particularly well, but I have taken it to mean 'rotation'. In this translation it can be seen as an anticipation on *mille vicibus volvitur*, for the wheel will be turned a thousand times, so that it has a thousand rotations.

§7
   7. that is, they pass over the bridge.

§10
   8. i.e. they are gossipers who spread conversations they overheard to drag the ones who had those conversations down.

§12
   9. *lites faciunt*: lit. 'they make quarrel'.
  10. *inter se*: lit. 'between them'.

§13
  11. that is, badness that befalls their neighbours.

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104 Dwyer 2004: 136.
105 Bieler, Ludwig (ed.), *The Irish Penitentials*, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae V (Dublin 1963): 162-163.
106 Bieler 1963: 37.

§14

    12. This paragraph does not occur in the Welsh text; see also 'notes on the translation and some general conclusions': category 2.

§15

    13. *feneratores pecuniarum*: can also be translated as 'moneylenders'.

§20

    14. *ampnis = amnis.*
    15. *canelia = canalia.*

§23

    16. i.e. the place was so packed with souls that it seemed as if they filled all the space from the earth to the sky.

§24

    17. *quum = quam.*

With the Welsh
§1

    1. *Diw sul*: here and elsewhere read *Diw Sul* or *Diwsul.*

§3

    2. *ny wnel*: 3sg pres. subj. of *gwneuthur*; the subjunctive is used "to denote the unreal or impossible, where negation is expressed".[107]

§4

    3. *agheu* for *angheu* 'death'; the *n* before the *g* has been omitted. This is a common feature in Middle Welsh, as described in GMW: "[ŋ] is denoted by *g* and *ng*"[108]. More examples of this phenomenon in this text are: *llygku* in §6; *aghel* in §10, 25; *eghylyon* in §25.
    4. *nys kaffant*: 3pl. pres. ind. of *caffael* with 3sg infixed object pronoun *'s* after negative particle *ny*.

§5

    5. *callonneu*: pl. of *calon* 'heart'; usually written *calonneu.*

§7

    6. *yn diarfwyt*: probably a misspelling of *diarswyd* 'fearless' (cf. Pen 14).[109]
    7. that is, they fall into the river.

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107 GMW: 112 (§123)
108 GMW: 8 (§9).
109 *Diarswyd* does not occur in GPC, but it does in GM.

§10

8. *yn y poeneu*: lit. 'in the punishments'.

§13

9. *gwympeu* could also mean 'deaths'.

§15

10. *Bawl*: subject lenition after the 3sg. pret; object lenition is more common in Middle Welsh. Where subject lenition does occur, it is usually after forms of *bod* or after the 3sg impf. and plupf. (which end in *-ei*).There is another occurrence of subject lenition after the 3sg. pret. of *gwelaf* in the Mabinogion: *A fan welas Uranwen y mab*.[110] For more information about post-verbal subject lenition, see also Paulus van Sluis' MA thesis.[111]

§17

11. *y gwr a brynawd y byt*: lit. 'the man who bought the world'; Lat. *redemit*: 3sg perf act ind. of *redimo*, lit. 'to buy back' (*red + emo*); cf. Dutch 'vrijkopen' as in "Want de Heere heeft Jacob vrijgekocht, en hij heeft hem verlost uit de hand desgenen, die sterker was dan hij" (Jeremiah 31:11).[112] In the Vulgate: "redemit enim Dominus Iacob et liberavit eum de manu potentioris".[113]

§19

12. *bawb*: translated as *Bawl* (Pen 14), as this fits the context better. This translation also agrees with the Latin as no equivalent of *bawb* is to be found there.

§20

13. *yn veirw*: pl. of *marw* used adverbially.

§22

14. *oc eu geni*: lit. 'on account of their being born'.
15. *eton*: variant spelling of *eto*.
16. *ny chredassant knawt ohonaw*: lit. 'they did not believe in His flesh'; translated as *kymryt knawt ohonaw* 'His taking flesh', i.e. 'His incarnation' (Pen 15, Llan 27, JC119).

§23

17. *a chyn dyfynet a oed y lle*: see also Latin n16.

§24

18. that is, bringing the soul from the body.

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110 GMW: 17-18 (§21).
111 Sluis, Paulus van, *The development of postverbal lenition in Middle Welsh* (MA thesis, Utrecht University 2014): 53.
112 *Bijbel: Dat is de ganse Heilige Schrift bevattende al de canonieke boeken des Ouden en Nieuwen Testaments* (Amsterdam 1948).
113 St. Jerome (trans.), *Bibilia Sacra Vulgata*: http://www.latinvulgate.com/lv/verse.aspx?t=0&b=28&c=31

19. *Ie medei i dievyl*: *medei* is 3sg imperf. of the defective verb *med* 'says'[114]; translated as *un o'r dievyl* (Pen 15, Llan 27, JC119).

§25

20. *oed*: lit. 'was'.

§26

21. *kynhelir*: pres. impers. of *cynhaliaf* 'to sustain'; not to be confused with *kynhelwaf* 'to support, to praise'.

§28

22. *phystyl = bustl*.
23. *gennawc = geuawc*

§29

24. *gorffowys*: variant spelling for *gorffwys*.
25. *Mi a'e rodaf ywch (...) orfowys vdunt*: either *ywch* or *vdunt* is superfluous in this sentence. Since Christ is talking to the souls, I took *vdunt* to be the superfluous one. *Ywch* also agrees with Latin *vobis*.

§30

26. *Eternal*: in most Latin MSS the porter of Hell is called 'Eternal' or a variant of that when he is named.[115] Alternatively *eternal* could possibly be a rendering of La. *eternaliter*, but it does not occur in the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* as such. Therefore I have taken it to be a name, and to represent the porter of Hell that is mentioned in the Latin version.

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114 GMW: 154 (§172).
115 Jiroušková 2006: 843-845.

Notes on the translation and some general conclusions

To see if the Welsh translator made many changes to the text, I will go through it and go over the most striking differences. I have divided these into five categories: category one: things that appear in all Latin MSS and not in the Welsh; category two: things that appear in the Welsh that do not appear in Brandes' edition but do in other Latin MSS; category three: things that appear in the Welsh that may have been influenced by a Latin version other than Brandes' edition, but that are not direct translations; category four: Welsh innovations; category five: scribal errors. Reordering of lists, *Duw* for *Dominus* and similar small differences will not be discussed, as this does not change the meaning of the text. All differences found between Brandes' edition and the Welsh have been checked against Jiroušková's multiple-text edition[116] to minimize the chance that seeming innovations are the result of me using a different Latin text than the Welsh translator. Jiroušková refers to Redaction IV as "Gruppe C: 'Dies Dominicus'", and she has divided the different manuscripts into four subgroups: C1, C2, C3 and C/bes.'[117] I will refer to the groups when most or all manuscripts in a group agree on the phrase in question, and to a specific manuscript if it is the only one that has that phrase.

§	Latin	Welsh	group (MS)
1	Interrogandum est, quis primus rogaverit deum, ut anima habeant requiem in penis inferni.	–	–
7	secundum meritum suum.	–	–
30	Nam plus est nobis remedium huius diei et noctis quam totum tempus vite, quod consumptum est super terram.	–	–
31	et se essent .c. viri loquentes ab inicio mundi	–	–
	karissimi fratres	–	–

Category 1: omissions in the Welsh

For the second category, see the table on the following page. One more difference that is not included in the table occurs in paragraphs 10-13. In the Latin Paul asks for every group of sinners "(Qui essent) alii dimersi usque ad …", whereas in the Welsh Paul asks who they are only one time: "y gouynnawd y'r aghel pwy oed yn y poeneu". This is also the case in subgroup C1 in the Latin.

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116 Jiroušková 2006: 653-859.
117 Jiroušková 2006: 651-652; Vienna Codex 876 is part of subgroup C2.

§	Latin	Welsh	Group (MS)
4	(Brandes)[118] ibi cruciantur et recipiunt omnes secundum opera sua	–	C1
8	(Br.) multe bestie dyabolice [et]	–	C1, C2 (C^9, C^{10}, C^{11})[119], C/bes
14	(Br.) Et flevit Paulus et dixit: "Ve his, quibus preparantur tante pene!"	–	C1, C/bes (except L^{12}, L^4)[120]
17	sanguine suo; precioso sanguine suo	o'y vawr weirthyawc waet	C1, C3 (D^3, O^3, Ag, Pr^4)[121]; C3 (K^2)[122]
22	(et/tunc flevit Paulus) et dixit: "Ve (ve) peccatoribus, qui nati estis!"; (…) "Ut quid nati sunt?"; (…) "Cur nati sunt?"	Ac yna y dyuawt Pawl: Och, Och, Och, gwae wynt y pechaduryeit oc eu geni.	C1 (M^4)[123]; C1 (C^6, D^4, Be^3, P^{10})[124], C3 (Et, Ag, Pr^4, K^2)[125]; C/bes (Br)[126]
23	nudos	noethyon	C1 (C^6, Be^3, C^5, L^7, L^8)[127], C3 (O^5, Ag, Pr^4)[128]
24	(Br.) in celum a terra; longius	o bell	C1, C2 (Ag)

Category 2 (a): correspondence of other Latin versions with the Welsh

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118 Latin text preceded by (Brandes), hereafter (Br.), is the text as found in Brandes 1885.

119 Jiroušková 2006: 651: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.8.26; Cambridge, University Library, MS. Add. 2829; Cambridge, University Library, MS. L1.1.15.

120 Jiroušková 2006: 652: London, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, MS. 8; London, British Library, MS. Harleian 2851.

121 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Dublin, Trinity College, TCD MS. 519; Oxford Merton College, MS. 13; Angers, Bibliothèque publique, MS. 236 (277); Praha, Národni knihovna CR, IX.F.4.

122 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 701 Nr. 166.

123 Jiroušková 2006: 651: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 12728.

124 Jiroušková 2006: 651: Cambridge, St. John's College, MS. D.20 (95); Dublin, Trinity College, TCD MS. 667; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS. theol. lat. oct. 122; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 16246.

125 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Erfurt, Stadt- und Regionalbibliothek, Cod. Amplon.

126 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Brno, Státni Vĕdecká Knihovna, Mk 99 (I. 29).

127 Jiroušková 2006: 651: Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS. 258; London, British Library, MS. Royal 8.E.XVII; London, British Library, MS. Royal 8.F.VI

128 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Misc. 527.

§	Latin	Welsh	Group (MS)
25	(Br.) credis et agnoscis; crede et agnosce/cognosce	Kret ti Bawl ac etnebyd	C1, C3 (Ag), C/bes (Br)
26	et angeli, qui mecum sunt	a'r engylyon ysyd gyt a mi	C1 (except C^6, L^5, P^{10})[129], C3 (except O^1, Et, C^7, L^3, Pr^4)[130], C/bes (L^{12})
27	(Br.) Deus descendit de celo; tunc/et vidit (Paulus) celum (subito) moveri et filium dei	ac yna y gwelei Bawl y nef yn kyfroi a Duw	C1, C3 (except C^7), C/bes (except Mk^1, Mk^2)[131]
28	(Br.) Quit boni fecistis?; Cur/Quare non fecistis bonum?	Paham na wnaethach chitheu dim o'r da?	C1 (D^4, Be^3, C^5, L^8, P^{10}),
	nec rectam decimam dedistis nec sanctam ecclesiam dei honorastis	a distriw eglwysseu, ac attal degymev	C/bes (Br)
31	(Br.) .c. iiij. Linguas ferreas; quattor linguas ferreas	phetwar tauawt haearn	C1 (Be^3, C^5, L^7, L^8), C2 (Bg, P^1)[132], C3 (O^1, O^3), C/bes (L^9, M^5, P^8)[133]
	(Br.) regnemus	–	C1 (C^5, L^8)

Category 2 (b): correspondence of other Latin versions with the Welsh

129 Jiroušková 2006: 651: London, British Library, MS. Royal 8.B.X.

130 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Oxford, Balliol College, MS. 228; Cambridge, St. John's College, MS. F.22 (159); London, British Library, MS. Arundel 52.

131 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Melk, Stifstbibliothek, Ms. 1649 (661, L 91); Melk, Stiftsbibliothek Ms. 1706 (97, B 65).

132 Jiroušková 2006: 651: Brugge, Openbare Bibliotheek, Ms. 162; Paris, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, Ms. 503.

133 Jiroušková 2006: 652: London, British Library, MS. Royal 11.B.III; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14348; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 5266.

§	Welsh	Latin	Group (MS)	Explicatory notes
9	lawer o eneidyeu gwedy eu llosgi	(Br.) multas animas dimersas; flumen igneum, in quo erant anime innexe	C/bes (Mk[1], Mk[2])	Souls submerged in a river of fire would indeed get burnt.
16	morynnyon duon a gwiscoed duon pyclyt amdanunt	(Br.) puelle nigre habentes vestimenta nigre, indute pice et sulfure	–	The pitch that the maidens were donned in, has been moved forward to qualify *duon*.
18	ac a bechassant wrth eu karant	et cum suis parentibus fornicate sunt	C1	To fornicate with your parents could be classified as sinning against your relatives, so this could be seen as a form of euphemism.
24	a thristyt a thrueni	et ululatus magnus; et ululatus multus; et fletus gemitusque magnus	C1 (D[4], C[5], L[8], M[4]); C3 (D[3], O[5], Ag, Pr[4], K[2]); C/bes (Br)	Sorrow and suffering can be inferred from great wailing, and especially from weeping.
26	Kanys ni a wdam y mae drwy awch gwediev chwi y kynhelir y nef a'r daear.	Scimus enim, quod per vestras oraciones aliquid remedii habere possumus!; (…) oraciones miserebitur deus nobis!; (…) oraciones aduc stat terra!	C1 (D[4], Be[3]); C1 (C[3], L[7], L[8]); C3 (Ag)	In the Welsh it is mostly the great power of Paul's prayer that is emphasized, without explicitly referencing the repose the souls are requesting, as in the Latin. In Ag that power is again emphasized, but slightly differently.
27	uab Duw byw goruchel	(Br.) fili Davit excelsi; fili dei excelsi; filii dei vivi	C1 (Except C[6], M[4]); C/bes (P[7])[134]	This could have been influenced by these Latin phrases, but the epithets 'living' and 'Almighty' are very common in the Bible, so it is likely that it stems from the translator's knowledge of the Bible and other religious works.
30	a oruc Eternal	(Br.) hostiarius baratri; hostiarius, cui nomen Eternal(is)	C1 (C[5], L[7], L[8]); C2 (C[11]); C3 (K[2]); C/bes (D[2], P[6])	Although the name 'Eternal' has been taken into the Welsh (albeit with some confusion, as it has turned into *etyrval* in Pen 15 and JC119), the fact that he is the porter of Hell has not been passed on. This may well have played a part in the origination of the confusion about this name.

Category 3: influences of other Latin versions

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134 Jiroušková 2006: 652: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 3529A.

§	Latin (context or corresponding sentence/phrase)	Welsh
1	Id est beatus apostolus Paulus et Michahel archangelus, quando iverunt ad infernum, quia deus voluit, ut Paulus videret penas inferni.	A gwybydet bawb panyw Pawl ebostola Mihanghel y dangosses Duw vdunt boeneu vffern.
5	in quo est rota ignea habens mille orbitas.[135] Mille vicibus uno die ab angelo tartareo volvitur	Yno y mae rot o dan mil o yrd arnei. A dyewl a'y try vnweith beunyd.
	in quo est (…) et dolor animarum, in quo est rota…	Ac oeruel mawr drwy losgedigaeth yr eneidyeu. Yno y mae rot…
17	et erant .iiij. angeli maligni	A naw kythreul ysgithrawc
18	He sunt, que non servaverunt castitatem usque ad nuptias et maculate necaverunt infantes suos	y rei ny chetwis eu diweirdep ac a bechassant wrth eu karant ac a dorrassant eu priodasseu
	et in escam porcis et canibus dederunt	ac a'y bwryassant yn vwyt y bryuet
20	viros ac mulieres super canelia ampnis	gwyr a gwraged yn eu seuyll yn veirw o newyn
22	'Qui non credunt, filium dei Christum venisse in carnem nac nasci ex Maria virgine et non baptizati sunt nec communicati corpore et sanguine Christi.'	'Y rei hynny,' hep yr anghel, 'ny chymerassant vedyd yn enw Duw ac ny chredassant knawt ohonaw na'e eni o veir wyry. Ac ny thalassant degwm yr eglwys. Ac a dremygassant eu kyfnesseiuieit. Ac ny chymwerassant gymvn o gorff Yessu Grist nac o'y waet'
24	"Ve, ve, misera anima, que operata es in terra?"	"Och, och, och, gwae di eneit truan. Pa beth a ry wneithosti? Ie," medei i dievyl.
25	animam iuste de corpore	eneit glan o'r corff manach gwirion
	ubi erant omnes sancti	yn y lle yd oed yr holl egylyon yn erbyn yr eneit
	quasi celum et terra commoverentur	mal pet uei yr heul a'r lloer a'r awyr a'r daear yn kyfroi

Category 4: innovations

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135 Jiroušková 2006: 686 n108: (about Vienna Codex 876) "orbitas: *darübergeschriebene Glosse* spaich". However, as Brandes does not mention this gloss and all of the other MSS have *orbitas*, I have chosen to still count this as an innovation.

In the table on the preceding page the innovations I found in the Welsh text have been underlined, as well as the corresponding Latin phrase. If it is an addition the Latin context has been given. Most of these cannot be explained without a more thorough knowledge of the contemporary knowledge and ideas, which falls outside of the scope of this thesis. However, there are a few for which an explanation can be offered.

Yrd for *orbitas* in paragraph 5 probably stems from confusion on the translator's part, so that he supplied a word that fit the context. Another possibility is that the translator misread Latin *orbitas* for Latin *ordo*, which would give Welsh *urdd* 'order'.Latin *ordo* was taken into Old Irish as *ord* 'order', but another OIr. *Ord* exists, meaning 'hammer'. This last word is cognate with Welsh *gordd*, which we find in this text. If there was a confusion of Latin *ordo* and *orbitas* in an Irish context, and then spread to the Welsh, it would account for the appearance of *yrd*. However, both of the Irish versions have *mili casan* 'a thousand pins' for *mille orbitas*.

Naw kythreul for *.iiij. angeli maligni* in paragraph 17 calls forth an association with the Welsh triads.[136] Apart from triads other forms of numerical classification were also in use, including the ennead, a group of nine.[137]

Bwyt y bryuet in paragraph 18 (for *escam porcis et canibus*) is a Welsh expression, according to the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*.[138] Even though the GPC gives its first attestation as being from 1567, it is very likely that the expression was in use before then.

Manach gwirion in paragraph 25 is easily explicable, since the translator was most likely a monk. This innovation would then be a way of reassuring himself and his fellow monks that they were most likely to belong to the righteous souls, rather than to the wicked ones.

In this paragraph another association with the triads can be seen, with *yr heul a'r lloer a'r awyr a'r daear*. One of the triads in the *Trioedd Arbennig* bears a striking resemblance to this phrase:[139]

'Y Teu Tri: y teu dyn yd hiliwyt y byt o nadunt, Ataf ac Eva; a'r dwy seren arbenhic, heul a lloer; a'r dwy gywarthei, nef a dayar.'

'The Two triad: the two persons from whom the world is sprung, Adam and Eve; and the two chief stars: the sun and the moon, and the two equally balanced ones: heaven and earth'.

136 Edited by Bromwich, Rachel, *Trioedd ynys Prydein: the triads of the island of Britain*, 4th edition (Cardiff 2014); see also Owens, Morfydd, 'Welsh triads: an overview', *Celtica* 25 (2007) 225-250.
137 Owens 2007: 248.
138 Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: bwyd.
139 Owens 2007: 229.

§	Latin	Welsh	Notes
22	…in conspectu domini." Et dixit Paulus: "Qui sunt hi, domine, qui mittuntur in eo?" Et dixit angelus: "Qui non credunt…	…gyr bronn Duw. Y rei hynny," hep yr anghel, "ny chymerassant…	augensprung (dixit … dixit)
31	Sunt pene .c. xliiij. milia [144.000]	Pet vei bedeir mil <u>ar dec</u> a deu vgein mil a chan mil yn riuaw poenev vffern. [158.000]	Llan 27 and JC119 have 144.000; perhaps it stemmed from a lack of familiarity with Latin numbers?

Category 5: scribal errors

Most of the differences between the Latin and the Welsh texts in my edition actually arose because the Welsh translator used a different Latin text than I did. Most of these differences can be resolved by looking at the texts in Jiroušková's subgroup C1. There are also some phrases that occur in the Welsh, whose only correspondence can be found in Státni Vědecká Knihovna, Mk 99 (Br). This manuscript is however younger than Peniarth 3,[140] so more knowledge about the history of the text in this manuscript is needed to come to a conclusion about its relationship to the Welsh text. There are also some phrases whose only correspondence can be found in Angers Ms. 236 (Ag), which has been dated to the tenth or eleventh century.[141] However, as with Br, little can be said about the relationship of Ag with the Welsh text without in depth research as to the history of this manuscript and the text in it. All I can say now is that the Welsh translator probably had access to a text containing elements of those in subgroup C1, Ag and Br. It is also possible that he knew multiple versions and put them together.

The differences that did not arise due to the usage of a different Latin text may have been introduced to bring the text closer to the zeitgeist in Wales at the time of translating. D. Simon Evans has noted in his introduction to the Welsh life of St David that "it has certain delicate (but deliberate) touches, apparently calculated to create a more familiar, intimate and less formal atmosphere, the kind of atmosphere suited to the circumstances and aspirations of a Welsh audience".[142] While this is not completely the case with *Breudwyt Pawl*, the changes, and mostly the innovations, are of such a nature that they could make the text more geared towards a Welsh audience in particular.

The Welsh translation of the *Visio Pauli* is certainly not one that follows the Latin text slavishly. Even so, it is abundantly clear that it is indeed a translation, albeit a free one. The changes

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140 Jiroušková 2006: 652: fourteenth century.
141 Jiroušková 2006: 652.
142 Evans, D. Simon (ed.), *The Welsh life of St David* (Cardiff 1988): liii.

are not so great that there is reason to speak of a retelling of the text, and there are also passages that have been translated almost literally, the grammatical changes notwithstanding.

Appendix I: summary of Long Latin text

The Paris text begins with 2 Cor 12: 1-5, which is said to have been the inspiration for creating the Apocalypse.[143]

1-2: These two paragraphs describe the discovery of the Vision in Tarsus, during the reign of Theodosius I (379-395 A.D.)[144]

3-6: The Apocalypse proper starts in the third paragraph, saying that, of all Creation, man alone sins. In par. 4-6 the sun, the moon, the stars, the seas and the earth appeal God to let them deal with these sinful human, so that they may know that God is the God alone. However, God responds the same to all of them: that He knows all and will wait patiently, but 'if they do not return to Me, I will judge them.'

7-10: Paragraph seven says that the angels see all of man's deeds, and that they show God an account of them every day and night. 8-10 give an example of such an account.

11-18: Paul is now taken to heaven by an angel and shown the angels destined to the souls of the impious in the hour of need, and the angels destined to the souls of the just in the hour of need. He then asks to see the souls of the just and sinners going out of the world. He first sees a just soul being led to heaven, received by the holy angels and led into Paradise by Michael. He then sees a sinful soul coming out of his body and being received by the evil angels and handed over to the angel Tartaruchus, who cast him into darkness until the Day of Judgement. Then he sees a third soul, which is judged by God, and on account of his sins is thrown into Hell.

19-30: Paul's vision of Paradise. Paul and the angel have arrived at the gates of Paradise, and they enter. He meets Enoch and Elijah, and is show the third and second heaven, and the Land of Promise. They then enter the City of Christ, and Paul is shown all the different routes along which people of different virtues are led into the City. He is then led to the midst of the City and sees David there. Paul then asks what 'Alleluia' is, and the angels explains it to him.

31-44: Paul's vision of Hell. Paul is led to Hell, which is beyond the limit of the ocean which surrounds all of earth. There he first sees a river of fire, with sinners submerged up to various body parts in it, and he asks who they are and is answered. He then sees a place with various punishments, with very deep pits with sinners in them. Because of these punishments he weeps, and the angel admonishes him, saying that God is good, but that He knows that there are punishments. Paul then sees a sinful priest, a sinful bishop, a sinful deacon and a sinful reader being tortured. He then sees two more men being tortured and is told why. Then he sees a river full of usurers being

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143 Elliott 1993: 616.
144 Woods, David, 'Theodosius I (379-395 A.D.)', in *De Imperatoribus Romanis: an online encyclopedia of Roman rulers and their families*, ed. Richard D. Wright (1998). http://www.roman-emperors.org/theo1.htm

consumed by worms, and in a narrow place people eating their own tongues. He then sees magicians and adulterers being tortured, and girls who did not keep their chastity, those who harmed orphans, the fastbreakers, the unmarried fornicaters, and the Sodomites. He then sees people being punished and infants asking for them to be punished, and the infants are brought to a special place of mercy. Then he sees hypocritical ascetics being punished and he weeps and laments greatly, but again the angel admonishes him, because Paul has not yet seen greater punishments. He is then brought to a well with seven seals, which is opened for him and from it an evil stench rises up, and he sees those in it. Then he sees a cold place where those who renounce Christ's resurrection are put. And Paul weeps again, and the sinners cry out for mercy, after which Michael descends, who says that he will lament for them, if God may somehow have pity on them. And the sinners entreat God to have pity. And then the heaven shakes and Christ descends from heaven, and He gives the sinners a day and a night of refreshment. Then all the souls of sinners bless God for this.

45-51: Paul is again taken to Paradise. He is first shown the Paradise of Adam and Eve, and the tree of knowledge and the tree of life. He then sees the Virgin Mary, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the twelve sons of Jacob, Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Lot, Job, Noah, and Elijah and Elisha.

Appendix II

In this appendix three passages from the Welsh text that are so different among the five manuscripts have been printed in full. This way these passages can be done justice and can be compared more easily.

A: §22: ny chymerassant - nac o'y waet

Pen 3

ny chymerassant vedyd yn enw Duw ac ny chredassant knawt ohonaw na'e eni o veir wyry. Ac ny thalassant degwm yr eglwys. Ac a dremygassant eu kyfnesseiuieit. Ac ny chymerassant gymvn o gorff Yessu Grist nac o'y waet."

Pen 14

ny chredassant kmryt knawt o Duw amdanaw a'e eni o'r wyry ueir ac ny chymerassant uedyd yn enw Duw. Ac ny thalassant eu degwm yr eglwys yn gywir ac ny chymerassant uedyd o gorff Crist nac o'e waet

Pen 15

ny credassant y Grist y gwr a diodefawt anghew yr pobyl y byt. Ac ny chredassant kymryt ohonaw gnawt dyn na'e eni o veir wyry. Ac ny chymerassant vydyd yn enw Duw. Ac ny thallassant wy degemhev y'r eglwyssev. Ac a trymygassant y kynesseiveit. Ac ny chymerassant gymvn o gorff Crist na'y waet

Llan 27

ynt y rei ny chredassant y Grist y gwr a odefawd yr pobyl y byt. Ac ny chredassant kymryt ohonaw knawt dyn na'e eni o ueir wyry ac ny chymerassant vedyd yn enw Duw. Ac ny thalassant degemeu y'r egwysseu. Ac a tremygassant eu kyfnessafyeit. Ac ny chymerassant gymun o gorff Crist na'e waet

JC119

ny credassant y Grist y gwr a diodefawt angev yr pobyl y byt. Ac ny chredassant kymryt ohonaw gnawt dyn na eni o veir wyry. Ac ny chymerassant vedyd yn enw Duw. Ac ny thalassant wy degemhev yr eglwyssev. A trymygassant y kyfnesseiueit. Ac ny chymerassant gymvn o gorff Crist na'e waet.

Appendix II.b: §28: myvy a dodet - na alussen

Pen 3

Myvy a dodet ar y groc eroch chwi, ac a'm tyllwyt a'r gwaew, ac a bwywyt yr hoelyon yn vy nwylaw a'm traet, ac a rodet ym winegyr a phystyl y'w yuet. Mi a ymrodeis vy hyn y angheu eroch chwi. A chwitheu gennawc vuoch a lladron a chynorvynnus, a balch, a distriw eglwysseu, ac attal degymev, a phop ryw drwc a wnaethoch hep wneithur dim o'r da. Na phenyt, nac vnpryt, na alussen.

Pen 14

Myui a dodet ar y groc yrochwi ac am tyllwyt a gwaew. ac a bwrywyt yr hoelyon yn uyn traet a'm dwylaw. ac a rodet ym y gwinegyr ar bystyl o'e yuet mi a amrodeis uu hun y angheu yr awch bywyt chwi a chwitheu geuawc uuawch a lladron a chyngoruynus a balch ac atal awch degwm a gwrthwynep yr eglwys uuoch a phop ryw drwc a wnaethoch hep wneithur dim da na phenyt nac unpryt nac aluseneu

Pen 15

y mi rodet y gwenwyn o'e yvet. mi a wampwyt o'r gwayw. mi a ymrodeis y anghev yr ych bywyt chwi a chwitheu geuawc o'r lledrat a'r kebydyaeth a'r balched a distryw yr eglwysseu ac attal y degemev. a phob amravael drwc heb wneuthvr dim da nac vnpryt nac alvsssen

Llan 27

Myui a rodet ar y groc ac a bwywyt yr hoelyon y'm dwylaw. ac a rodet y gwenwyn ym o'e yuet. ac a'm gwanpwyt a'r gwaew ac a ymrodeis vy hun y angeu yr awch bywyt chwi a chwitheu geuawc uuawch a lladron kebydyon. kynghoruynnus, balch, a distriw yr eglwysseu ac attal y degemeu. a phob amryuael drwc heb wneuthur dim da. nac unpryt nac alussen

JC119

Mi a rodet ar y groc ac a pwywyt yr hoellon ym dwylaw. ac a rodet y gwenwyn ym o'e yvet. Ac am gwnanpwt ar gwayw. ac a ymrodeis vy hyn y anghev yr ych bywyt chwi. a chwitheu geuawc vuawch. A lladron. kebydyon. kynghorvynnus. balch. a distryw yr eglwysseu. ac attal degemmev. a phob amryuael drwc heb wnaethur dim da. nac un pryt nac alussen

Appendix II.c: §31: a glywo - orffen

Pen 3

a glywo y drygev hynn. Ni a dylywn ymchwelut ar yn arglwyd Duw ni megis y kaffom ygyt ac ef buched dragywyd hep drang hep orffen.

Pen 15

a glywho meint poenev cristonogyon agcredadwy a lleenyd yr eneidev bvchedawl. A meint a diodefawd Crist yrhom ni ninhev a dylyhem haeddv y vodyant ef val y kaffem bvched tragywydawl yn teyrnas gwlat nef. Ac yna y dywat yr arglwyd.

Llan 27

a glywo meint poeneu pobyl angkredadwy a meint llewenyd eneidyeu kyfyawn buchedawl. A meint a diodefawd Crist yrom ni. Nyt amgen colli y waet yn wirion yr caryat ar gristonogyon. Ninneu a dylyem haedu y vodyant ef. Ual y kaffem buched dragywydawl gwlat nef.

JC119

aglywho meint poenev cristonogyon agkredadwy. A meint llewenyd yr eneidev kyfyawn buchedawl. A meint adiodefawd Crist yrhom ni colli y waet yn wiryon yr caryat ar gristonogyonn. Nynhev a dylyhem haeddu y vodyant ef val y caffem buched tragywydawl yn teyrnas gwlat nef.

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