THE ENGLISH APOCALYPSE A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF REVELATION FROM COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, MS PLIMPTON ADD. 03

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A publication of the
ROSSELL HOPE ROBBINS LIBRARY
in collaboration with
the University of Rochester
and the Teaching Association for Medieval Studies

by

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
Kalamazoo, Michigan
2024



Abbreviations List

AN Anglo-Norman dialect of Old French

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 277, fols. 370r–375r

BnF Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

CT Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, ed. Benson

EV Wycliffite Bible Early Version, ed. Lindberg

F Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 2, fols. 380r–385r [base manuscript

for Wycliffite LV

Fridner Fridner, ed., An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version [includes both

an Anglo-Norman and Middle English text in parallel]

H London, British Library, MS Harley 874, fols. 2r–31r

LV Wycliffite Bible Later Version (Apocalypse in Appendix A; all other biblical

texts from ed. Lindberg)

MED Middle English Dictionary

MS New York City, Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS

Plimpton Add. 03, fols. 203r–237r [base manuscript for *English Apocalypse*]

P Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498, fols. 226b–263b

Whiting Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases

THE ENGLISH APOCALYPSE

The English Apocalypse is a Middle English translation of the Book of Revelation whose composition dates to the middle of the fourteenth century, ca. 1340–1360. Unlike the more well-known Wycliffite versions of the Bible which translators at the University of Oxford produced starting in the 1380s, the English Apocalypse does not translate Scripture directly from the Latin Vulgate Bible but from an intermediate source, an early fourteenth-century Apocalypse and commentary written in Anglo-Norman, the dialect of Old French primarily spoken in England in the centuries following the Norman Conquest.

Elis Fridner produced the first printed edition of the *English Apocalypse* in 1961 under the title *An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version with a Prose Commentary*. Since then, scholars have given it a variety of titles and names. James Morey refers to it, in his scholarship on non-Wycliffite Bible translations, as the *Apocalips of Jesu Crist* or *AJC*, after its opening line. Walter Sauer and others have called it a "Middle English Apocalypse." But the simple title *English Apocalypse* seems the most appropriate, given that it is the very first translation of the Book of Revelation to appear in its entirety in any dialect of the English language. It also happens to be the title given to the text by Anna Paues, the first scholar to give it serious attention. Paues devoted a chapter of her 1902 doctoral dissertation to the *English Apocalypse*, and she began work on an edition in the 1920s for the Early English Text Society which was never completed. She was also the first to discover the translation's Anglo-Norman origins, and she identified several of its manuscripts, which before that point had been labeled as early drafts of the Wycliffite Bible.³

The English Apocalypse survives in fifteen manuscripts from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which are listed in the section "Other Manuscripts of the English Apocalypse" below. Three manuscripts from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries also reproduce the English Apocalypse⁴ but are not included in this total, as they are simply transcriptions of earlier extant copies. Twelve of the early manuscripts share enough similarities to likely derive from the same source, called Version A, and three represent an alternate rendering, possibly a later revision, called Version B. To produce his 1961 edition of Version A, Fridner collated eleven of the twelve extant manuscripts, from libraries in London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, and it has remained until now the only printed edition of the original text. The present edition is both an update and an extension of the work he began more than sixty years ago. The alternate Version B text has also been edited only once, by Walter Sauer in 1971, in a doctoral dissertation for Heidelberg University in Germany.

¹ Morey, Book and Verse, pp. 351-53.

² Sauer's dissertation, in German, has the title *Die Mittelenglische Übersetzung der Apokalypse* [The Middle English Translation of the Apocalypse].

Fridner, p. xvii.

⁴ Morey, Book and Verse, p. 351.

The one manuscript Fridner did not include in his collation in 1961 — in fact, he made no mention of it whatsoever, either because he was unaware of its existence or because he did not have access to the library where it was held in New York City — is in many ways the most interesting and unusual of all the extant manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse*. Columbia University MS Plimpton Add. 03, held at Columbia's Rare Book & Manuscript Library, is a codex of 265 parchment pages. It contains a complete New Testament in Middle English, which takes up nearly 90 percent of its total volume, followed by a variety of devotional materials, including at least one work, *The Lollard Chronicle of the Papacy*, which is directly related to Lollardy, the anticlerical and heretical movement inspired by John Wyclif in the late fourteenth century. Three other extant copies of the *English Apocalypse* appear in manuscripts alongside Wycliffite or Lollard material, but this is not what makes Plimpton most unique.

The New Testament at the front of the codex features a total of three separate Middle English translations of Scripture, starting with both versions of the Wycliffite Bible — the Early Version (EV), which is a direct word-for-word translation from the Vulgate, and the Later Version (LV), which smooths out the Latinate syntax for English readers and uses more English idioms. Matti Peikola, who has exhaustively catalogued the Plimpton manuscript's features and analyzed it as an example of early Lollard book production, describes its New Testament as representing "the transition phase from the Early to the Later Version." The first two books, the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, begin in EV, followed by a prologue to Luke which runs for one page and five lines (fols. 55r–55v) before it abruptly cuts off and is crossed out with red ink — apparently a discarded draft. A new prologue begins on a separate page, followed by the Gospel of Luke, now in the LV translation. This shift is also accompanied by a change in scribal hands and in layout, from double-column to single-column formatting. According to Peikola, only four other manuscripts out of the 253 Wycliffite Bible manuscripts extant show a similar shift, making the Plimpton New Testament a rare example of a blended biblical text, one that may afford a valuable glimpse into the process of Wycliffite Bible translation and manuscript production.

But the Plimpton manuscript has one final surprise in store after its shift from EV to LV. The New Testament's final book, the Apocalypse, begins as expected with the Wycliffite LV translation for the first sixteen verses, though it includes an interpolated commentary that none of the other New Testament books share. Then, starting in verse 1:17, the biblical text becomes the *English Apocalypse*, the Middle English translation from Anglo-Norman French which predates the Wycliffite Bible by 20–40 years. This shift is accompanied by no change in scribal hand, page layout, or any other signal. The producers of this manuscript, either because their copy of the EV or LV Apocalypse was corrupt or missing, or because their translation was not yet complete, or because they simply found this translation superior for reasons unknown, decided to replace the final book in an otherwise Wycliffite New Testament with the earlier, non-Wycliffite *English Apocalypse* — making it unique among all other extant copies of both the *English Apocalypse* and the Wycliffite Bible.

The earliest manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse* — including British Library MS Harley 874, which provides secondary readings for this edition — do not include the first eight verses of the biblical text as they appear in Vulgate and Old French Bibles but start instead at verse 1:9. Clearly the exemplar from which these copies were made did not include this opening passage, which was either a deliberate decision by the early fourteenth-century translator (the first eight verses of the Book of Revelation comprise

⁵ Dove, First English Bible, p. 3; Johnson, "Middle English Religious Translation," pp. 40–41.

⁶ Peikola, "Lollard (?) Production," p. 1.

Peikola, "Lollard (?) Production," p. 7.

a prologue that can easily be excised) or a necessity because the exemplar was corrupt or missing a leaf. Whatever the reason, five later manuscripts, including Plimpton, replace these verses with their equivalents from the Wycliffite LV — proof that the producers of these *English Apocalypse* manuscripts had multiple translations on hand and felt free to blend them to create the best possible edition.

Plimpton is unique in borrowing from the LV through verse 16, but another late manuscript, British Library Royal 17 A.xxvi, whose Apocalypse appears alongside a Wycliffite Gospel of John, continues with the LV through verse 12. Two others, Oxford University Bodley MS Laud Misc. 33 and Rylands Library English MS 92, extend the LV through verse 11. Two more, British Library Harley 3913 and Cambridge University St. John's College MS G.25, feature biblical verses primarily from the Wycliffite LV and commentary from the *English Apocalypse*, a thorough blending of what must have begun as two separate manuscripts.⁸

In addition, the Plimpton copy of the *English Apocalypse* exhibits influence from the Wycliffite LV that goes beyond the mere substitution of verses. Unlike any other manuscript, Plimpton briefly switches back to the LV for a few verses after the first chapter, in 3:7–22, and throughout the text, stray words and phrases appear to be borrowed from the LV at various points. In other words, the *English Apocalypse* as it appears in the Plimpton manuscript is a blended text in nearly every way, and it offers a unique glimpse into English Bible translation and production at a historic moment of transition. It is a prime example of the ways that boundaries between Wycliffite and non-Wycliffite material were often flexible in late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century manuscripts, as the Lollard producers of English Bibles took up and used earlier material that predated Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel's ban on English translations in 1407, an event discussed below in the section titled "The Influence of Arundel's Constitutions."

The Plimpton manuscript may well have been assembled by a Lollard patron or a community of Lollards in defiance of this ban in the early fifteenth century, as part of their project to make Scripture available in the vernacular to preachers and lay readers. One piece of evidence to support this possibility is the manuscript's entirely nondescript appearance, with no illuminations and very few decorated initials. It is a book which, though clearly produced by professional scribes, does not wish to draw attention to itself from censors or confiscators.

The English Apocalypse includes a prologue, translated from the Anglo-Norman original which is itself a translation of a twelfth-century Latin commentary attributed (probably falsely) to Gilbert de la Porrée, who died in 1154,9 as well as an explanatory commentary, or "glose," which alternates with the text after every few verses. These glosses are "demonstrably Franciscan," which places their date of composition in the mid-thirteenth century at the earliest, after the foundation of the Franciscan order, but anything more about their authorship or date of translation is unknown. The English Apocalypse manuscripts in general, and the Plimpton manuscript in particular, add their own anticlerical flourishes to the glosses, excoriating "false clerkis" (14.¶7, 16.¶11, and 17.¶¶3,9) and highlighting concerns about the corruption of the priesthood and church hierarchy. These anticlerical insertions, which are examined in further detail in the section "The Gloss and Lollard Anticlericalism" below and in the Explanatory Notes, provide another possible explanation, in addition to the quality of the translation itself, for why a Lollard producer of the Plimpton New Testament might have been attracted to this text.

⁸ For Harley 3913, see Fridner, pp. xxiii–xxiv; for St. John's College G.25, see Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 283, and Morey, "The Wycliffites," p. 91.

⁹ Fridner, p. xxxii; Deanesly, *Lollard Bible*, p. 143; Morgan, "Latin and Vernacular Apocalypses," p. 416n60.

¹⁰ Morey, Book and Verse, p. 352.

This new edition of the *English Apocalypse* uses Plimpton as its base text for all of these reasons — because it has never been edited before and remains relatively unexamined among Middle English biblical texts, because it appears at the end of a Wycliffite New Testament unlike any other extant manuscript, because it is a blended text which gives insight to the process of English Bible translation in the late four-teenth century, and because it contains a unique set of additions to the standard gloss. Extensive textual notes catalogue each instance of potential Wycliffite influence; in addition, an Appendix presents a complete edition of the Wycliffite LV Apocalypse for comparison. A second Appendix makes a facing-page comparison of Plimpton's borrowings from the LV in chapters 1 and 3 alongside passages from the earliest copy of the *English Apocalypse*, so readers can see clearly what the producers of the manuscript chose to replace.

The edition thus serves two purposes for two types of readers. For students of Middle English literature and Bible translation, it provides an easy-to-read edition of the *English Apocalypse*, an influential work of Middle English translation which has not appeared in print for more than sixty years. For more advanced scholars of the Wycliffite Bible and the history of Lollard book production, the blended nature of the Plimpton manuscript provides a fascinating glimpse into the craft of medieval Bible translation and production, and the verse-by-verse decision-making process of compilers and scribes as they worked with at least two editions of the same biblical text. It is impossible to know whether the producers of the Plimpton manuscript had a copy of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse and commentary which served as the origin of their Middle English text at hand, but doubtless they had access to the Latin Vulgate. In places where the Plimpton text gives an unusual reading or a unique mistranslation of the text, the notes offer speculation about where the irregularity might be traced and why it occurred.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Columbia University MS Plimpton Add. 03, the base manuscript for this edition, is a codex 25 x 17 centimeters in size with 265 parchment leaves, of which the first 237 are a New Testament composed of three Middle English translations: the Wycliffite EV and LV and the *English Apocalypse* with commentary, which appears at the end of the New Testament on folios 203r–237r. According to Matti Peikola, the manuscript contains at least six scribal hands which can be dated paleographically to the early fifteenth century. Most of the Apocalypse is in a single hand, but one page following the prologue (fol. 204r) is in a smaller and more formal textura hand than the rest of the book. The manuscript is not illuminated, and its rubricated initial letters are typically two lines in height and all in the same red ink.

The Gospels of Matthew and Mark and part of the prologue to Luke are in EV, at which point the prologue cuts off, a new LV prologue to Luke begins on a separate page, and the MS continues in LV for the remainder of the New Testament until the Apocalypse, perhaps because the EV exemplar copy was corrupt or because the LV exemplar was incomplete. As noted above, the number of columns per page changes from two to one at the same point, likely in parallel with the two Wycliffite versions' respective exemplars. The manuscript shifts again at verse 1:17 of the Apocalypse, to the translation referred to here as the *English Apocalypse*, though there is no corresponding change in scribal hand or page layout.

The reasons for the shift to a third translation at the end of the New Testament are as obscure as the reasons for the first shift but may also have involved a corrupt or incomplete LV translation. Peikola observes:

Peikola, "Lollard (?) Production," p. 4.

A manuscript like this would be a good candidate for the Later Version exemplar obtained by the makers of Plimpton after the corrupt text of the Early Version had to be discarded . . . The almost blank page at the end of the Catholic Epistles probably betokens that the exemplar used at that point did not contain any more text . . . Instead, it appears that the makers once again had to start looking for a new exemplar — this time one from which the Apocalypse could be copied. ¹²

A few verses early in the *English Apocalypse*, 1:1–16 and 3:7–22, replace the biblical text with corresponding passages from the LV, perhaps because the exemplar was corrupt or missing a leaf — the length of missing text in both instances corresponds roughly to the amount that would fit on a single page. However, the gloss remains keyed to the complete uncorrupted text, causing its language in a few places not to match the biblical text it explicates. For example, verse 1:13 (1.¶7) refers to "oon lyk to the sone of man," following LV, but the gloss for 1:13 (1.¶8) refers to the same figure as "the maydenesse sone," the phrasing of the original *English Apocalypse* translation as found in earlier uncorrupted copies. In another case later in the manuscript, the gloss interprets the phrase "the two colurrs that ben in the reynebowe" (4.¶2), an image from the second half of verse 4:3, which the manuscript for unknown reasons has dropped altogether. The explanatory notes for this edition thoroughly list and analyze every instance of this type of discrepancy, but as these two examples demonstrate, the producers of the Plimpton manuscript were clearly working with a complete gloss for the *English Apocalypse*, but the exemplar for the biblical text must have been slightly corrupted, perhaps the impetus for the insertion of occasional LV verses.

In at least one intriguing case, the Wycliffite LV appears to have had an influence on a revision of the *English Apocalypse* gloss, a helpful reminder that textual influence does not always flow from older texts to newer, and revisions can be made in both directions. Like several other copies of the *English Apocalypse*, including the earliest, Plimpton mistranslates the Anglo-Norman word "phioles" (vials) in verse 5:8 as "fithelis" (fiddles), apparently by way of the Middle English "viol," which can mean either vial or violin, resulting in the visually striking but inaccurate image of "harpis and fithelis of gold ful of swete smele" (see the explanatory notes for 5.¶3 and 5.¶4). Later manuscripts including Plimpton, while not correcting the mistranslation in the biblical text, add a gloss that is absent from earlier manuscripts and follow the LV in using the accurate, though in this context possibly ambiguous, "violis" (5.¶4).

Fridner locates the Middle English dialect of the earliest manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse* in the East Midlands of England and asserts that "there is no reason why the original dialect should not also have been EM."¹³ Paues, however, lists several "northerly forms" in the early manuscripts which lead her to speculate that the translation originated instead in the North Midlands. ¹⁴ Several of the forms she lists are noticeable in the early MS Harley 874 (H in this edition), such as a preference for the pronoun *thai* over *thei* (Plimpton also uses *thai*, but far less frequently), the conjunction *oither* where Plimpton has *either* (meaning "or"), and the personal pronoun *Ich* for *I* or *Y*. Fridner, contra Paues, claims that these variations are minor and likely reflect local scribal preferences. Plimpton, as with all later copies of the *English Apocalypse*, uses the central Midlands dialect shared by the Wycliffite LV.¹⁵ Perhaps the most noticeable shift from H to Plimpton is in the use of the conjunction *but* in place of the East Midland *ac*, though other shifts are also apparent, such as a complete elimination of the *ne* . . . *naughth* double negative form. How far removed the Plimpton manuscript is from the Wycliffite Bible translators themselves we cannot know — Peikola

¹² Peikola, "Lollard (?) Production," p. 7.

¹³ Fridner, p. xxxiii.

¹⁴ Paues, quoted in Fridner, p. xxxiii.

Fridner, pp. liv-lvi. He discusses here the dialect of later manuscripts in general but not Plimpton.

goes no further than to say it was likely produced in a "metropolitan" context alongside Wycliffite Bibles, in or around Oxford or London. Without more information about the translation's origins beyond what the manuscripts can tell us, a precise location and dialect for the original text of the *English Apocalypse* is impossible to pinpoint.

Prior to the antiquarian George A. Plimpton's acquisition of the manuscript, which he donated to Columbia in 1936, it belonged to the Norwich cathedral priory in Norfolk, a Benedictine house, though it was not likely to have been produced there and its texts contain no obvious connection to the Benedictines. The presence of the Wycliffite translations and other Lollard material indicates that the manuscript cannot have been produced earlier than ca. 1390, and more likely the early fifteenth century. It was bound in vellum over pasteboards at some point in the eighteenth century.

The manuscript contains the following contents:

- 1. Matthew and Mark in EV with prologues and partial prologue to Luke (fols. 2r–55v).
- 2. Luke to Jude in LV with prologues (fols. 56r–202v).
- 3. The *English Apocalypse* with commentary (fols. 203r–237r).
- 4. Proverbial sayings from the Old Testament in paraphrase, non-Wycliffite (fols. 237r-238r).
- 5. Shortened version of the *Lollard Chronicle of the Papacy* (fols. 238r–240r).
- 6. Prophecy of St. Hildegard, also known as *Insurgent gentes* (fols. 240r–241r).¹⁷
- 7. Seven Words of Christ on the Cross with commentary (fol. 241r).
- 8. Ten Commandments with commentary (fols. 241r–241v).
- 9. Short penitential lyric, "God that alle myghtes may" (fol. 241v).
- 10. Old Testament lectionary in LV translation (fols. 242r–265v).

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ENGLISH APOCALYPSE

The *English Apocalypse* is extant in fifteen copies that date from the mid-fourteenth to the early fifteenth centuries. Twelve of these copies are in Version A and three in a possibly later Version B. As noted above, Fridner collated eleven copies of Version A in his 1961 edition but did not include Plimpton. The libraries and shelfmarks for these twelve manuscripts are listed alphabetically by city below, with brief notes about a few of the most significant. Unless otherwise noted, manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse* omit verses 1:1–8; a few later manuscripts, including Plimpton, fill in the missing verses with corresponding verses from the Wycliffite LV.

- 1. Cambridge, Caius College, MS 231/117, fols. 1r–86v. One of the earliest manuscripts, but fragmentary and missing large sections of text, including the prologue, the first chapter through verse 1:20, and more than two chapters later in the text (17:6–20:7), apparently because its parent copy was incomplete.
- 2. Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2498, fols. 226b–263b (P). A later copy (ca. 1400) with no apparent Wycliffite influence, which serves as the second supplementary text for this edition, filling in from verses 3:1–4:6 where H is missing a leaf (see description of H, below).

¹⁶ Peikola, "Lollard (?) Production," p. 1.

For a transcription of this brief text and analysis of its anti-fraternal themes, see Acker, "Pseudo-Hildegard's Anti-Mendicant Prophecy in Columbia University Plimpton Add. MS 3," pp. 261–68.

- 3. Cambridge, St. John's College MS G.25, fols. 17–67. One of two Apocalypses, along with British Library, MS Harley 3913 (listed below), in which the biblical text comes mostly from the Wycliffite LV and its commentary from the English Apocalypse. Mary Dove lists this Apocalypse in her index of Wycliffite Bible manuscripts, but does not include Harley 3913.¹⁸ Morey cites it as the sole example of an English Apocalypse with "text from LV."
- 4. Dublin, Trinity College, MS 69, fols. 55v-65r, 72v-78r.
- 5. London, British Library, MS Harley 874, fols. 2r–31r (H). The earliest known extant copy from the mid-fourteenth century (ca. 1340–1370). H serves as the first supplementary text for this edition. It has been digitized and is available for viewing in high-resolution color scans on the British Library's website. Like all copies of the *English Apocalypse* that predate the Wycliffite Bible and a few later copies, H omits verses 1:1–8. The manuscript contains a lacuna, apparently a single missing leaf, starting in the gloss at the end of chapter 2 and continuing into the gloss that follows verse 4:6. To cover this section of missing text for this edition, P (see above, p. 6) fills in as a second supplementary manuscript.
- 6. London, British Library, MS Harley 3913, fols. 113v–203v. Apocalypse with biblical text primarily from the Wycliffite LV and commentary from the *English Apocalypse*. Fridner collates the commentary from this manuscript in his edition but does not collate the biblical text, since it has been too closely copied from "a Lollard Bible."²⁰
- 7. London, British Library, MS Royal 17 A.xxvi, fols. 67–206. Appears in a manuscript with the Wycliffite EV Gospel of John. Includes verses 1:1–12 in LV.
- 8. Manchester, Rylands Library, English MS 92. Includes verses 1:1-11 in LV, fols. 1r-46v.
- 9. New York City, Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS Plimpton Add. 03, fols. 203r–237r (MS). The base text for this edition. MS appears as the final book of a Wycliffite New Testament which uses EV for Matthew and Mark and LV thereafter. Includes verses 1:1–16 and 3:7–22 in LV.
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 33, fols. 96v–144r. Appears in a manuscript with LV Pauline and Catholic Epistles. Includes verses 1:1–11 in LV.
- 11. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 235, fols. 265r–300r. Appears in a manuscript with EV Gospel of Matthew.
- 12. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.750, fols. 1r–51v. A later copy which is missing multiple leaves; it begins mid-sentence at verse 2:1 and cuts off at 22:16, four verses from the end.

THE WYCLIFFITE BIBLE MANUSCRIPTS (APPENDIX A)

The base manuscript for the Wycliffite LV Apocalypse published here as Appendix A is Oxford University, Bodley MS Fairfax 2, fols. 380ra–385rb (F). The secondary text is Oxford University, Bodley MS 277, fols. 370r–375r (B).

¹⁸ Dove, First English Bible, p. 283.

¹⁹ Morey, "The Wycliffites," p. 91.

²⁰ Fridner, p. xxiv.

Elizabeth Solopova describes the characteristics of F in the catalogue *Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible in the Bodleian and Oxford College Libraries.*²¹ The Apocalypse is the final book of a complete Wycliffite Bible in LV, followed by a lectionary calendar. The biblical texts include occasional marginal glosses, which are noted in the textual notes of this edition. F is internally dated to the year 1408; a note following the end of the Apocalypse reads, "The eer [year] of the Lord M.CCC & viii this book was endid." Clearly the year 1308 is too early for a Wycliffite Bible manuscript, but an erasure following the third C suggests that a fourth C was dropped. Solopova speculates that the date may have been intentionally altered to avoid censorship under Arundel's recently published *Constitutions*. However, she adds that "examination under UV light" suggests a more likely explanation: "that the scribe first wrote 'M.ccc' and the 'and' symbol, erased the latter, wrote it in the right place, and then forgot to insert the fourth 'c.'"²²

F has not appeared in a printed edition before now, but the secondary text for this edition, B, is one of the most extensively edited Wycliffite Bible manuscripts in existence. B serves as the base text for Conrad Lindberg's four-volume edition of the Wycliffite LV titled *King Henry's Bible: MS Bodley 277: The Revised Version of the Wyclif Bible,* completed in 2004. The Apocalypse appears in the fourth volume, which is Stockholm Studies in English, volume 100. Lindberg's title refers to a large woodcut illustration of King Henry VI pasted to one of the final leaves of the codex, with a Latin inscription noting that the king owned the Bible and that it was later donated to the London Charterhouse, a Carthusian monastery. Solopova dates the manuscript to ca. 1415–1425.²³

The text in both F and B is formatted in double columns, and both feature large initial letters in blue and red ink, though B is more lavishly illuminated with decorative borders and gilded initial letters.

THE HISTORY OF FRENCH AND ANGLO-NORMAN BIBLE TRANSLATION

To trace the history that led to the production of the *English Apocalypse* in the mid-fourteenth century, we must start with the translation tradition behind its source text, the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, and the texts in turn that undergird it, in particular the Old French Bible. The history of Bible translation in French begins in the tenth century, not long after Old French itself emerged as a Romance dialect, when translators began converting individual books of the Bible from St. Jerome's Vulgate Latin into the vernacular, but hundreds of years before these efforts coalesced in the production of a full Bible. Relatively few manuscripts from these early years are extant until the twelfth century, a few decades after the Norman Conquest, when an unprecedented explosion of French translations of the Bible were produced, the bulk of them in England. As Paues observes in her 1902 study of Middle English New Testament translations, "It is a remarkable and significant fact that the earliest specimens of the French vernacular Bible are of Norman origin, and that the earliest MSS. in which they have come down to us were executed in England by Anglo-Norman scribes." The first book of the Bible to be translated into the newly emergent dialect of Anglo-Norman was the Psalms, possibly at the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans in the 1140s. 25

A great flourishing of Anglo-Norman Psalters would follow and crescendo in the closing decades of the twelfth century. Also predominant among twelfth-century French productions were illustrated "Bible

²¹ Solopova, Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible, pp. 135–47.

²² Solopova, Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible, p. 146.

²³ Solopova, Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible, p. 50.

²⁴ Paues, ed., A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version, p. xvii.

²⁵ Short, ed., *Trinity Apocalypse*, p. xi.

books," sometimes with commentary, as well as liturgical aids and collections of sermons which included original translations of various biblical passages. A slightly later development originating in Paris were *Bibles moralisées*, described by Ian Short as "profusely illustrated picture books made for the French royal family," which dated from the 1220s and reached England a few decades later. The biblical texts in these *Bibles moralisées* were selected for their moral or typological significance and heavily paraphrased. Though the primary teaching aid in these stunningly beautiful and expensive productions was clearly their colorful pictures, they invariably included commentary translated from Latin as well, which came either from Berengaudus — a writer about whom nothing is known, who may have lived anywhere from the ninth to the eleventh century — or from another anonymous source.²⁹

The popularity of these richly illuminated Psalters and Bible paraphrases on both sides of the English Channel soon extended to other books of the Bible. By the middle of the thirteenth century, picture books of the Apocalypse had become one of the most popular luxury book productions in France and England, as measured by their more than eighty extant manuscripts, including two of the largest and most lavishly decorated, the Trinity Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.16.2, fols.1r–31v) and the Abingdon Apocalypse (London, British Library, Add. MS 42555, fols. Sr–82v).³⁰ The commentary that accompanied the illustrations and biblical text of these Apocalypses came either from the aforementioned Berengaudus, or from one of the other anonymous commentaries in the *Bibles moralisées*, whose original texts do not survive, or from the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the ubiquitous twelfth-century compilation of glosses mainly from patristic sources.³¹ Calling them works of "remarkable prestige and beauty," Daron Burrows argues that "there are few events of greater importance to the history of medieval art and bookmaking than the production of the first illustrated manuscripts of the Apocalypse of St. John . . . This development is also of singular importance to francophone literature, since half of these manuscripts contain vernacular material, with the earliest, most important, and greatest number of these texts copied in Anglo-Norman."³²

Ten of these forty vernacular Apocalypse manuscripts are cast in verse, in roughly octosyllabic couplets. The rest make up what is broadly known as the French Prose Apocalypse, the source text that would be used half a century later by the translators of the *English Apocalypse*. The translation is anonymous and approximately 27,000 words in length, a measure which includes both the biblical text and an interpolated commentary approximately twice its length. Twenty of the thirty extant vernacular texts, including the earliest copies, are in the Anglo-Norman dialect.³³ Both their language and the prominence of their illustrations suggest that the intended audience for these books, far from being the almost exclusively clerical and monastic readers of prior generations, now included the less educated laity.³⁴

Incredibly, no critical edition of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse has yet been published. The standard edition, edited by Léopold Delisle and Paul Meyer in two volumes in 1900 and 1901, is not, in the editors' own words, "une édition critique" but merely a transcription of a possibly corrupt text from the manuscript

²⁶ Sneddon, "Bible in French," p. 254.

²⁷ Short, ed., *Trinity Apocalypse*, p. xii.

²⁸ Sneddon, "Bible in French," p. 256.

²⁹ Short, ed., *Trinity Apocalypse*, p. xii; Morgan, "Illustrated Apocalypses," p. 5.

Morgan, "Illustrated Apocalypses," pp. 3-6.

³¹ Morgan, "Illustrated Apocalypses," p. 5.

³² Burrows, ed., Abingdon Apocalypse, p. 1.

Burrows, ed., Abingdon Apocalypse, p. 1; Burrows, "Learning from an Anglo-Norman Apocalypse," pp. 197–98; Morgan, "Latin and Vernacular Apocalypses," p. 421; Sneddon, "Bible in French," p. 257.

³⁴ Morgan, "Illustrated Apocalypses," p. 15; Morgan, "Latin and Vernacular Apocalypses," pp. 408, 421–22.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 403, fols. 1–45v.³⁵ Burrows elaborates on the frustrations for scholars as a result of this lack:

There is no critical edition of the Prose Apocalypse, nor has there been any study of the textual tradition which would allow one to pronounce with any certainty on affiliations between manuscripts or the possibility of establishing a stemma, and this fundamental philological neglect only exacerbates the uncertainties surrounding other key questions, such as the date of the text's composition, the identity of its anonymous author, the relationship of its "non-Berengaudus gloss" to the vast exegetical tradition on which it clearly draws, and even, despite the predominance of its transmission in Anglo-Norman manuscripts, on which side of the Channel it was originally written. As a result, the Prose Apocalypse remains shrouded by nearly as many mysteries as Jerome famously declared the last book of the New Testament to contain.³⁶

In his edition of the *English Apocalypse*, Fridner echoes Delisle and Meyer's assertion that all available manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, including their own base text, are unreliable to some degree. He quotes M. R. James's observation about one such corrupt Apocalypse manuscript, the lavishly illuminated Bodley MS Douce 180, that it is "so carelessly (though beautifully) written as sometimes to make nonsense." Despite these potential problems, Fridner reproduced Delisle and Meyer's transcription of BnF fr. 403 as a running text in his edition of the *English Apocalypse*, in effect because he had no choice without embarking on an entirely separate project of producing a critical edition of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse himself. My own explanatory and textual notes on the Anglo-Norman text, when its language is relevant to an understanding of the English translator's word choices, are derived from Fridner's copy, though the original text can also be found in Delisle and Meyer's edition.

A complete Bible in French — the first complete vernacular Bible of its kind to be produced in western Europe — was a somewhat later development, and it started with innovations in the presentation of the Vulgate text. As David Lawton points out, "the Bible as we most commonly experience it today, as a single portable volume with its books in a fixed order, and with chapter divisions, was the invention of Paris workshops in the 1220s and 1230s," and was designed to meet the needs of fraternal orders, particularly the Dominicans, "for an individual source of authority, reference, and preaching material." Through the work of an anonymous team of translators in Paris, copies of what came to be known as the Old French Bible were in circulation in both France and England by 1260, with a different type of audience, lay readers, in mind. The translation was based on the Vulgate Latin, with most books featuring a light to moderate gloss, and its goal, according to Clive Sneddon, was "rendering the Vulgate in a clear Old French prose which respected the register and style differences between Bible books and was generally accessible to readers."

³⁵ Delisle and Meyer, eds., L'Apocalypse en Français 2:ccii.

³⁶ Burrows, "Learning from an Anglo-Norman Apocalypse," pp. 199–200.

³⁷ Quoted in Fridner, p. xxxi.

³⁸ See Fridner's explanation of this decision on p. lvii: "The comparatively correct Fr text of [BnF, fr. 403] therefore serves the purpose of making the E text understandable and also to give the reader an idea of the source, and of the manner in which the E rendering was made."

³⁹ Lawton, "The Bible," p. 193.

⁴⁰ Hoogvliet, "Medieval Vernacular Bible," p. 284; Sneddon, "Bible in French," p. 257.

⁴¹ Sneddon, "Bible in French," p. 256.

Three complete manuscripts of the Old French Bible are extant, and surviving fragments suggest that at least twenty-two complete copies were made.⁴²

In the early fourteenth century, copies of the Old French Bible begin appearing in "fusion" with a Bible in the Picard dialect produced by Guiart des Moulin in ca. 1297 called the *Bible historiale*, a hybrid translation known to scholars today as the *Bible historiale complétée*. Margriet Hoogvliet calls the manuscripts of this biblical fusion "one of the great successes of the commercial manuscript production in Paris during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries," with more than 140 partial and complete copies extant. ⁴³ Despite the clear popularity of complete French Bibles in the fourteenth century, readers in England and France would nevertheless have still been most likely to encounter the Bible the same way their predecessors in the early thirteenth century did — through fragmentary forms including illuminated manuscripts with abridgements and commentary, paraphrases, and individual books produced separately from the rest of the Bible.

A complete Bible in Anglo-Norman French did not appear until the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps only a short while before the *English Apocalypse* translators began their work.⁴⁴ It is possible, though unlikely to be proven one way or the other, that the English translators had at their disposal both a copy of the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse, the primary text for their translation, and a supplementary copy of the Old French and/or Anglo-Norman complete Bible which included the Apocalypse.

APOCALYPSE COMMENTARIES

The commentary that appears in the prologue and in the interpolated gloss of the *English Apocalypse*, and in the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse that came before it, participates in a long tradition of Apocalypse commentaries, especially those disseminated by the Dominican and Franciscan orders of friars in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries and taken up in the fourteenth century by English dissidents in the Lollard movement.

Given the complex and mysterious nature of the imagery in the Book of Revelation, it is no surprise that this book of the Bible inspired volumes of commentary from the earliest days of its inclusion in the New Testament canon. In the first centuries of the Common Era, commentaries on the Apocalypse proliferated and eventually broke into two strands — those which used the text to speculate when end times events would occur (usually imminently), and those which gave the text's symbolic imagery a broader, less specifically predictive interpretation. Kevin Poole notes that by the late fourth century, "Revelation had proven itself non-predictive, and many of the major exegetes . . . began to read Revelation as a more symbolical or allegorical text." As Apocalypse editions and their accompanying commentaries exploded in popularity in the later Middle Ages, starting in France in the thirteenth century, this latter approach in Apocalypse commentaries predominated. The biblical text could still be used to speculate about end times events, as the commentary to the *English Apocalypse* makes clear, but just as pertinent were interpretations that gave its images contemporary relevance.

One clear example of this interpretive tradition roughly contemporary with the production of the Plimpton manuscript comes, ironically, from a church official writing in opposition to English Bible translations, in the very document that would ban their production. Archbishop Thomas Arundel, in his

⁴² Sneddon, "Bible in French," p. 257.

⁴³ Hoogvliet, "Medieval Vernacular Bible," p. 283.

⁴⁴ Sneddon, "Bible in French," p. 264.

⁴⁵ Poole, "Western Apocalypse Commentary Tradition," p. 104.

introduction to the *Constitutions* of 1407, writes that just as Satan comes dressed as an "angel of light," so those who wish to destroy the church also come in deceptively pleasant garb:

... by which the emblem in the Apocalypse is verified, "one sitting on a black horse held a balance in his hand." By this heretics are meant, who allure people to them with an appearance of what is right and just under the figure of a balance, but afterwards comes the horse with his black tail scattering poisonous errors ..."⁴⁶

The black horse of Revelation 6:5 appears here not as a figure of end times catastrophe but as a present danger in the contemporary church, a generalized heretic who uses the appearance of justice to mask hypocrisy and lead Christians astray.

The early twelfth century saw the production of the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the compendium of patristic glosses in Latin that was largely the work of French theologian Anselm of Laon and his school. In its wake, the production of Apocalypse commentaries multiplied throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many of the most prominent written by members of monastic and fraternal orders: the Benedictine Rupert of Deutz, the Cistercian Joachim of Fiore, the Augustinian Richard of St. Victor, the Dominican Hugh of St. Cher, and Franciscans such as Alexander of Bremen, Peter John Olivi, and Nicholas of Lyra.⁴⁷

Robert Boenig, in his survey of apocalyptic traditions in medieval England, describes deployments of the Apocalypse in late medieval rhetoric as "counter-cultural," in that they frequently targeted institutional power structures their writers viewed as oppressive.⁴⁸ In the case of the monastic and fraternal orders, one of those targets was the corruption of the institutional church, from which they saw themselves standing apart. The church would also be a ripe target in the commentaries of the Lollards, who had perhaps more of a reason than members of religious orders to view themselves as alienated. The commentary in the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse is almost certainly Franciscan in origin,⁴⁹ and Franciscans in the thirteenth century shared the later Lollard movement's concerns about corruption in the secular priesthood. The Anglo-Norman Apocalypse commentary's frequent invocations of "false prelatis" and "false clerkis" (false prelates and false clerics; see 14.¶7, 16.¶11, and 17.¶¶3, 9) refer not to the friars themselves, of course, but to the clergy and other officials within the church's hierarchy, who need to be raised from their moral degradation lest they face the same divine judgment as hypocrites and heretics. Lollard polemicists were accustomed to attacking not only these hypocritical priests but the religious orders themselves in their sweeping critiques. Their wide-ranging anticlericalism swept up secular priests, monks, and friars alike — which is part of what makes their attraction to an Apocalypse commentary with Franciscan roots noteworthy.

Scholars looking for explanations for the sudden proliferation of Apocalypse books and commentaries in thirteenth-century England and France frequently point, at least in part, to the emergence of apocalyptic ideas among friars specifically. The two most recently established fraternal orders in the thirteenth century, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, had a particular reason to be attracted to the Book of Revelation — they saw themselves in it, particularly in the description of "two witnessis" in chapter 11 who preach for 1,260 days while dressed in sackcloth, shortly before the Beast appears on the earth in the end times (see 11.¶¶4–5 of the *English Apocalypse*, which interprets the two witnesses as the prophets Enoch and Elijah). This passage was important to the new orders, Nigel Morgan writes, because they "saw themselves as the

⁴⁶ Johnson, trans., "Arundel's Constitutions" p. 458.

⁴⁷ For a more exhaustive list, see Morgan, "Latin and Vernacular Apocalypses," pp. 411–12.

⁴⁸ Boenig, "The Apocalypse," p. 297.

⁴⁹ Fridner, p. xxxii; Morey, *Book and Verse*, p. 352.

new apostles of the thirteenth century."⁵⁰ This interpretation can be traced to the writings of Joachim of Fiore, the Cistercian monk who founded his own branch of the order in the late twelfth century and predicted that a new age in the history of mankind, the Third Age or Age of the Holy Spirit, would begin in the year 1260 — an echo of the 1,260 days of Revelation 11:3.⁵¹ Joachim may or may not be primarily responsible for the Apocalypse's surge in interest — after all, lay readers outside the religious orders who likely did not read Joachim engaged with these texts as well — but it was shortly after the dissemination of his prophecies and his death in 1202 that vernacular prose translations of the Apocalypse, with their accompanying commentaries, began to appear in England and France.⁵²

These commentaries did not, as noted above, always keep their interpretations safely ensconced in the future of end times events, but used them to critique people and institutions in the present. The Franciscan Peter John Olivi, for example, drawing on Joachim's prophecies, described in his Apocalypse commentary a "double Antichrist" who would come in the future, but who would capture the papacy because the contemporary institution was already corrupt and open to Satan's wiles — a claim, among others, that led to his posthumous condemnation by Pope John XXII in 1326.⁵³ Much of the interest in the Apocalypse at this time revolved around the figure of the Antichrist, and the question of who in the contemporary world he might represent. One likely candidate in the thirteenth century was Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor who ruled much of Europe and was frequently at war with the papacy. Drawing on language from the Apocalypse, Pope Gregory IX wrote in a letter to Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Rich in 1239, "The beast filled with the names of blasphemy has risen from the sea . . . this beast Frederick, called emperor." But monarchs and nations in conflict with the church were not the only potential targets — by the late four-teenth century, virtually any leader in the church or government might earn the label of Antichrist, either as a prophetic precursor to the figure in the Apocalypse or as the very man.

John Wyclif began referring to the pope as Antichrist as early as the 1370s, in treatises such as *De Civili Dominio* [On Civil Dominion] (ca. 1375), *De Dominio Divino* [On Divine Dominion] (ca. 1376), and *De Ecclesia* [On the Church] (ca. 1378). Pope Gregory XI reigned during this stretch of Wyclif's career, but the papacy itself would soon be divided in 1378, with separate lines at Rome and Avignon, a schism which no doubt encouraged Wyclif, his Lollard followers, and other English anticlerical writers increasingly to view the institution as illegitimate. The Antichrist in their view was not a vague future threat but an active present danger to the church — to be precise, the "ghostly" or spiritual church made up of true Christian believers, to whom the pope and other officials might not even belong. "The high priests of Antichrist," Wyclif wrote in *De Simonia*, "are able to condemn and destroy Christ's members because the latter universally reprove their sins."

The central difference between Wyclif's polemic and that of the Franciscans and other apocalyptically-inclined friars who came before him is that Wyclif's targets included the fraternal orders, whom he believed had fallen from the purity of their founders' original intentions. One of the short texts that accompanies the New Testament in the Plimpton manuscript is a good example of this type of critique — a prophecy attributed apocryphally to the twelfth-century Hildegard of Bingen, which cites Osee 4:8 in predicting that

Morgan, "Illustrated Apocalypses," p. 11; see also McGinn, "Apocalyptic Traditions," pp. 9–11.

⁵¹ McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot*, p. 127.

⁵² Short, ed., Trinity Apocalypse, p. xi.

⁵³ Burr, Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom, pp. 150–51, 243.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Morgan, "Latin and Vernacular Apocalypses," p. 405.

⁵⁵ Wyclif, On Simony, trans. McVeigh, p. 152.

"ther schal rise a maner of folk... holdynge the ordres of begeres, walkyng withouten schame, finding many new wickidnessese," a reference the prophecy's commentary applies to friars. The later Lollards would extend and intensify this type of critique so that by the fifteenth century, the Lollard tract *The Lanterne of Light* would include friars in its depiction of Antichrist as a giant serpent, with the pope at its head, bishops as its body, and the "sects" of religious orders as its tail. The tract gives the following reading to the image of the Beast in Revelation 16:

That is to mene archebischopis and bischopis ben the seet of the beest Anticrist, for in hem he sittith and regneth over othir peple in the derknes of his heresie; and in this thei deliten hem . . . in the court of Rome is the heed of Anticrist and in archebischopis and bischopis is the bodi of Anticrist. But in thise cloutid [rag-tag] sectis, as mounkis, chanouns, and freris [friars] is the venymous taile of Anticrist. So

The commentary in the Plimpton manuscript's *English Apocalypse* is not quite so explicit in making these connections, but it does describe the Antichrist as a type of seductive preacher, drawing followers to him with the power of his speech and false teaching, and it describes some of those followers as various types of clergy. For example, the gloss for verses 13:11–18 that appears in 13.¶9 features a substantial length of commentary that is original to the *English Apocalypse* — it does not have an Anglo-Norman source — centering around the Antichrist and his disciples, all of them "ypocritis and eretikis," and many of them "prelatis," or church officials. These prelates "doone her synne of leccherie priveli" while hypocritically keeping a righteous outer appearance, and the commentary goes on to accuse the church of rampant simony and claim that men "go to the ordre" — join the priesthood or a religious order — "to han bodili delites." The gloss for verses 14:9–10 in 14.¶7 makes a further connection between the Antichrist and the church: "alle that ben drawun to the fals techyng of Anticrist and conformith hym to the vices of his discipils, tho [those] ben the false profetis and false clerkis that ben proud and coveitouse and leccherouse and losengouris [flatterers]." These false prophets and clerics play a role in bringing the future end-times horrors of the book, but they are just as clearly meant to represent contemporary church officials.

The gloss's invocation of the Antichrist, as well as its multi-pronged attack on the clergy's pride, greed, lechery, and other vices (see explanatory note 14.¶7 on the wide range of meanings for the insult "losengouris"), drew inspiration from the French Apocalypse commentaries produced by religious orders in generations past, but it would also have sat comfortably alongside the most strident Lollard critiques of the late fourteenth century — as the Lollard compiler of the Plimpton manuscript clearly intuited.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ENGLISH BIBLE TRANSLATION

Anglo-Norman's popularity as a literary language in England in the centuries following the Norman Conquest explains in part why Middle English translations of Scripture do not appear in great volume until the middle of the fourteenth century. The *English Apocalypse* does not appear until approximately one hundred years after the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse translation, long after the heyday of the great illuminated Apocalypse books in Old French. This history also explains why a Middle English translator might choose a French text as the source for a biblical translation and view it as trustworthy. Neither the class distinctions

Acker, "Pseudo-Hildegard's Anti-Mendicant Prophecy in Columbia University Plimpton Add. MS 3," p. 264 (fol. 240r in Plimpton).

⁵⁷ Dean, ed., "Lanterne of Light," lines 307–09, 319–22.

of the late fourteenth century, which came to see French as primarily a courtly or diplomatic language, nor the anti-French antipathies of the Hundred Years' War, which began in earnest in the 1340s with Edward the Black Prince's incursions into France, were likely to be relevant to an English translator in the first half of the fourteenth century. Translating a biblical text from French to English was clearly not viewed as problematic, either socially or politically. But language practices in England were changing, and the great flourishing of Middle English biblical material that would culminate in the Wycliffite Bible editions at the end of the century was well underway by even the earliest possible date of the first *English Apocalypse* manuscript in ca. 1340.

English translations of the Bible have their own separate historical track, dating back to the emergence of the English language. King Alfred in the ninth century commissioned a Pentateuch and a Psalter in the dialect we now call Old English, and other parts of the Bible such as the Psalms and Christ's Passion survive in Old English as well, though by the fourteenth century, these texts could not be understood by most readers. In Middle English, several verse adaptations of Latin abridgements of Scripture appeared starting in the thirteenth century — for example, the rhyming metrical Genesis and Exodus (ca. 1250) and Iacob and Iosep [Jacob and Joseph] (ca. 1250). The massive Cursor Mundi [Runner of the World] (ca. 1300), with its 29,555 lines of mostly rhyming couplets, covers the entire Bible in paraphrase, as well as an apocryphal account of Jesus's childhood. Many other works of Middle English poetry retell stories from the Bible and on occasion directly translate portions of Scripture. These include the works of the Gawain-Poet, anonymous author of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight as well as Pearl, whose vision of the heavenly New Jerusalem quotes directly from Revelation; Patience, which retells the Book of Jonah and quotes from the Beatitudes; and Cleanness, which recounts several stories of God's wrath from the Books of Genesis and Daniel. Other Middle English biblical translations include Gospel harmonies, Gospel commentaries with quotations and paraphrases, a stanzaic Life of Christ, a translation of Matthew and Acts in a Midlands dialect, a Southwestern dialect translation of the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, a metrical paraphrase of the Old Testament (ca. 1380), and numerous editions of the Psalms, including the Surtees Psalter (ca. 1300) and the Midlands Glossed Prose Psalter (ca. 1350), which features alternating lines in Latin and English.⁵⁸

Psalters of all kinds were immensely popular throughout the fourteenth century and were often produced in stand-alone editions for a variety of liturgical uses. In her book-length study of English psalters in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Annie Sutherland mentions several produced in England which contain both Middle English and Anglo-Norman Psalms alongside their Vulgate originals, to produce a "three-fold Psalter." The popularity of these trilingual biblical productions may provide another glimpse into the origins of the *English Apocalypse*, and further explanation for why an English translator might be interested in translating the biblical text from French. In the early decades of the fourteenth century, both languages appear to have had equal status for a broad range of readers, and occasionally shared space within the same manuscript. The translators of the *English Apocalypse* no doubt had similar goals to the later Wycliffite translators — to make texts that were already widespread and popular, but perhaps becoming inaccessible to a growing number of readers, available to all.

It is unclear which of these earlier translations, paraphrases, and poetic renderings of the Bible the Oxford translators in the late fourteenth century would have known about and read. Any debt they may

See Arngart, ed., Middle English Genesis and Exodus; Napier, ed., Iacob and Ioseph; Morris, ed., Cursor Mundi; Andrew and Waldron, eds., Poems of the Pearl Manuscript; Foster, ed., Stanzaic Life of Christ; Livingston, ed., Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament; and Black and St.-Jacques, eds., Middle English Glossed Prose Psalter.

⁵⁹ Sutherland, English Psalms, pp. 255–56.

owe to them as inspirations or models for their own translations does not appear overtly in the biblical texts. However, one work of English Bible translation we can say with certainty the Wycliffite translators knew, in addition to the *English Apocalypse*, was the Psalter translated by the mystic Richard Rolle of Hampole. Extant in forty manuscripts, Rolle's prose translations were completed sometime shortly before his death in 1349.⁶⁰ They are a valuable resource for any student of medieval translation theory, since in addition to recording Latin and English verses on alternating lines, Rolle also includes commentary on each verse and occasionally on his reasons for particular translation choices.

Rolle's Psalter was a particular favorite of the Lollards, who reproduced the text in their own glossed versions. Nearly half of Rolle's extant manuscripts contain Lollard interpolations in addition to his own commentary, many of which express anticlerical attitudes and heighten Rolle's more generalized suspicion of the institutional church. As a translation that predates the Wycliffite versions, Rolle's work had the benefit for later Lollards of prior approval from church authorities — since his translations long predated fifteenth-century restrictions on new Bible translations, owning and copying and even annotating his works were not practices likely to run afoul of church censors or confiscators. In fact, until the Wycliffite versions appeared roughly forty years later, Rolle's Psalter was, according to Margaret Deanesly, "the standard English version of the psalms." Rolle's Psalter as glossed and expanded by the Lollards provides an interesting parallel to Plimpton's *English Apocalypse*, as in both cases an already popular biblical text was appropriated and placed within a new, and newly dissident, context.

Sutherland explores a range of theoretical positions that guided various translations of the Psalms in the English fourteenth century, from Rolle to the Wycliffite versions. The "close literalism" of Rolle's Psalm translations, for instance, suggests that he had a reading audience in mind who was at least somewhat familiar with Latin and may have used it as a supplement for learning the language. This speculation parallels what some scholars have claimed about the Wycliffite EV and its sometimes awkward Latinate phrasing, for example Henry Ansgar Kelly, who argues against the idea that the EV was merely a first draft and instead was "foreseen as having a permanent value in assisting persons with only elementary Latin, particularly run-of-the-mill clergy, to use as a guide to understanding the Latin text." In the case of Rolle, a reader who found his literal translation confusing could also have recourse to "the more idiomatic translation often embedded in the commentary," an interesting parallel to the more idiomatic English of the Wycliffite LV, which in Kelly's words "systematically de-Latinizes EV." which in Kelly's words "systematically de-Latinizes EV."

In general, though, rather than conceptualizing the English psalter translation tradition as a "chain," with one text simply influencing the next, Sutherland imagines instead "a nexus of connections in which texts have the freedom to respond to each other critically as well as imitatively," often in unexpected ways. 66 A similar imagination must be deployed to understand the potential connections between the *English Apocalypse* and the Wycliffite translations of Revelation. The former was produced definitively earlier in history, and our natural inclination might be to imagine its influence moving chronologically forward toward the later texts. However, despite the Oxford translators' almost certain knowledge of the *English Apocalypse*,

⁶⁰ Fowler, Bible in Early English Literature, p. 145.

⁶¹ Deanesly, Lollard Bible, p. 145.

⁶² Sutherland, English Psalms, p. 74.

⁶³ Kelly, Middle English Bible, p. 43; see also Dove, First English Bible, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Sutherland, English Psalms, p. 74.

⁶⁵ Kelly, Middle English Bible, p. 44.

⁶⁶ Sutherland, English Psalms, p. 87.

it does not appear that they used it in any discernible way as a foundation or model for their own Apocalypse version. If anything, the textual evidence in Plimpton and other manuscripts suggests that influence flowed in the other direction — as scribes used the Wycliffite LV to revise and refine the *English Apocalypse* that was part of their New Testament. The Wycliffite translators were apparently scrupulous about keeping their Latin-to-English translation project separate from the French-to-English translation they likely had access to, even if the compilers and producers of their Bibles were more liberal in their willingness to blend texts.

THE APOCALYPSE AND MIDDLE ENGLISH POETRY

A familiarity with the imagery and themes of the biblical Apocalypse is exceedingly valuable for students of Middle English literature, given the profound influence it had for centuries on the medieval Christian imagination, in particular on the poetic literature composed at roughly the same time as the *English Apocalypse*. The great Middle English dream vision poem *Pearl*, for example, renders the Apostle John's description of the heavenly city of New Jerusalem in highly elaborate poetic verse, in the service of a grieving father's vision of the afterlife. In her analysis of the poem, Susanna Fein discusses the traditional medieval association of the Apostle John with jewelry, derived from his cataloging of the city's precious gems in Revelation 21:18–21 (21.¶¶8–10 in the *English Apocalypse*), a process the "jeweler" narrator of *Pearl* echoes in his own descriptions of the heavenly city. Fein also draws attention to the ways the *Pearl* poet drew visual inspiration from the illuminated Apocalypse volumes in Old French. Ann Meyer's work on medieval allegory and the Apocalypse examines *Pearl* as well and explores the ways that even church architecture, in addition to other cultural and literary productions, can be "understood as earthly representations of the New Jerusalem."

Piers Plowman, William Langland's epic dream vision in alliterative Middle English verse, composed in at least three stages in the final decades of the fourteenth century, also makes numerous allusions to the Apocalypse, as Morton Bloomfield details in his influential study Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse. Bloomfield highlights Langland's role as a social and ecclesiastical reformer, who employs apocalyptic imagery to describe clerical corruption and express hope for a renewal of the church — concerns shared by both the gloss commentary of the English Apocalypse and Langland's Lollard contemporaries. In particular, Bloomfield draws attention to the poem's Harrowing of Hell scene — Christ's descent after his crucifixion to release captive souls, also a popular subject in medieval art and drama — which he describes as a "foreshadowing of the Last Judgment," after which Langland depicts the coming of Antichrist and the triumphant return of Christ.⁷⁰ Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, in a book that both challenges and expands on Bloomfield's work, traces Langland's many predecessors and influences who were both exegetes of the Apocalypse and apocalyptic visionaries themselves — Hildegard of Bingen, Bridget of Sweden, William of St. Amour, and Joachim of Fiore, among others — and outlines Langland's own "ideology of reform" for the church, a new form of apocalypticism which she argues is both apocalyptic and optimistic about the future.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Fein, "Of Judges and Jewelers," pp. 41–42.

⁶⁸ Fein, "Of Judges and Jewelers," p. 43.

⁶⁹ Meyer, Medieval Allegory, p. 21.

⁷⁰ Bloomfield, *Piers Plowman as Apocalypse*, pp. 123–25.

⁷¹ Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism*, p. 18.

As much of the scholarship cited here makes clear, it was not only biblical texts and commentaries but the physical, visual presentation of illuminated manuscripts that spurred the imaginations of Middle English poets — and a consideration of both text and visual art is essential for understanding the enduring resonance of apocalyptic imagery for medieval English readers. In addition to the many digitized images of manuscripts available through institutions such as the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the British Library in London (a complete set of images from the oldest extant copy of the *English Apocalypse*, MS Harley 874, is freely available on the British Library's website), many recent publications have also helped to make this rich primary material more accessible to students and scholars. These include facsimiles and illustrated editions of manuscripts like the Abingdon Apocalypse and Trinity Apocalypse, as well as scholarship on Apocalypse material which features visual reproductions of select manuscript pages.⁷²

PRODUCTION OF THE WYCLIFFITE BIBLE

The English translations of the Bible produced at Oxford University in late fourteenth century, known collectively as the Wycliffite Bible, survive in more manuscript copies than any other work produced in Middle English. These 253 manuscripts include twenty full Bibles and hundreds of partial copies, in many cases constituting only the Old or New Testament, the Psalms, the Gospels, or single books of the Bible, and including four manuscripts that contain the Apocalypse alone. By comparison, the second most well preserved Middle English text, the anonymous poem *Prik of Conscience*, has 131 copies extant in several different versions, followed by Nicholas Love's *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* with sixty-one copies. Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* has fifty-five. Manuscripts of the Wycliffite LV outnumber the EV by more than five to one, but the Wycliffite EV alone still far outstrips most other works of Middle English literature in popularity.

The survival of so many copies of the text speaks to a huge production and distribution network, one that likely could only have been achieved at Oxford with multiple translators and the institutional support of the university. The survival of so many complete New Testaments, Old Testaments, and whole Bibles also attests to a philosophy of translation and biblical completeness and coherence not seen in any Middle English translation project prior to that point. According to Lawton, the Oxford translators' "project of comprehensive vernacular Bible translation was probably an inevitable response to the Paris Bible as disseminated by friars from the 1240s." As with the Old French Bible production of the thirteenth century, the process had to begin with establishing a complete and relatively stable text of the Latin Bible.

The self-named "symple creature" who wrote Chapter 15 of the Wycliffite Bible's General Prologue — who may or may not have been one of the project's translators, as he claims — describes the next step in the translation process as consulting several Bible commentaries, with a possible reference to the *Glossa Ordinaria* or "common gloss":

For complete editions, see Burrows, ed., Abingdon Apocalypse; McKitterick, ed., Trinity Apocalypse; and Short, ed., Trinity Apocalypse. For scholarship that reproduces manuscript pages, see Burrows, "Learning from an Anglo-Norman Apocalypse"; Emmerson, Apocalypse Illuminated; and Hamburger, St. John the Divine.

⁷³ Dove, First English Bible, pp. 1–3, 306.

⁷⁴ Morey, ed., *Prik of Conscience*, p. 1n1.

⁷⁵ Love, Mirror, ed. Sargent, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

⁷⁶ *CT*, pp. 1118–19.

⁷⁷ Lawton, "The Bible," p. 198.

a symple creature hath translatid the Bible out of Latyn into English. First this symple creature hadde myche trauaile with diuerse felawis and helperis to gedere manie elde biblis, and othere doctouris and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe; and thanne to studie it of the newe, the text with the glose, and othere doctouris as he mighte gete \dots ⁷⁸

The simple creature claims that the Bible is translated solely from the Latin, but he also mentions glosses and commentaries which help to establish a stable Latin text. Given that the Wycliffite translators knew of the earlier *English Apocalypse*, it seems at least possible that its gloss is one of these documents — though any evidence from the text of the Wycliffite Apocalypse versions, if it exists at all, is likely impossible to retrieve.

Prior to the late fourteenth century, the institutional church was not hostile to Bible translation into vernacular languages. Pope Innocent III gave the practice explicit approval in 1199, with the caveat that only qualified readers should attempt to interpret Scripture. At around the same time as Pope Innocent's approval, complete editions of the Bible became popular in churches and among the wealthy laity in France, including large two-volume Bibles designed for public reading from church lecterns, and a relatively compact volume for individual readers known as the Parisian Bible. All of these Bibles, however, were in Latin. The appearance of the first Old French Bible is a mystery, as no preface explains where or why it was produced, but it was likely connected with the University of Paris and completed at least a few years before its earliest extant manuscript copy in ca. 1260. The Old French Bible thus predated the Wycliffite Bible by more than a century, and it was used both by readers in France and French-speaking readers in post-Conquest England, as was the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse and the *English Apocalypse* when they appeared in the fourteenth century, with no apparent condemnation from the church.

The English church's eventual hostility toward vernacular Bible translation in the late fourteenth century had less to do with any threat from the Bibles themselves and more to do with the perceived threats of the men who produced them, and their heretical positions on theological subjects only indirectly related to Bible translation. The Blackfriars council of 1382, convened by Archbishop of Canterbury William Courtenay, condemned twenty-four positions of Wyclif and his followers as erroneous, starting with their belief that the elements of the Eucharist retained their "substance" as bread and wine after consecration — the first three of the council's condemnations dealt with this heretical position against the doctrine of transubstantiation. Other errors that followed in the list included the belief that priests could not effectively administer sacraments while in a state of mortal sin (a heresy known as Donatism), that the pope has no authority if he is evil, that every Christian may preach the gospel without license from the church, that civil authorities have the right to dispossess clergy of their possessions, that monastic and fraternal orders are illegitimate, and that friars should live by the work of their hands rather than by begging for alms. 81 None of these condemnations made any mention of English Bible translation. Only when some of the same men whose views had been condemned by the council — John Purvey, Nicholas Hereford, John Trevisa, and possibly Wyclif himself — became involved in producing an English Bible translation at Oxford did church officials take notice and add it to the long list of Lollard errors they believed endangered the orthodox faithful.

⁷⁸ Hudson, ed., *Selections*, p. 67.

⁷⁹ Boyle, "Innocent III," p. 97.

⁸⁰ Sneddon, "Old French Bible," p. 24.

Workman, John Wyclif 2:416–17; Hudson, Premature Reformation, p. 71.

Wyclif was not formally charged by the Blackfriars council nor even named in their condemnation, ⁸² and he would not be convicted of heresy in his lifetime, though the Council of Constance would declare his works heretical in 1415, more than twenty years after his death. Nevertheless, the Blackfriars condemnation forced him to resign his position at Oxford and he retired to his parish at Lutterworth. In the months that followed, his associates Nicholas Hereford and Philip Repingdon, in the words of historian John Dahmus, "proceeded to turn Oxford into a hotbed of Lollardy." Hereford, Repingdon, and Purvey were all eventually found guilty of heterodox beliefs and imprisoned, and under threat of death they eventually recanted — though Purvey would later recant his recantation and flee, possibly to join forces with the famous Lollard rebel Sir John Oldcastle. ⁸⁴ This history set the stage for Arundel's *Constitutions* in 1407, which expressed the church's new fear of a heretical uprising directly connected to the new English Bible translation and its disseminators.

THE INFLUENCE OF ARUNDEL'S CONSTITUTIONS

The precise connections between Wyclif's teaching on subjects such as the Eucharist and civil dominion and his championing of an English Bible are fraught and debatable to modern scholars, but to church officials in the early fifteenth century, the link between Wyclif's heresies and Bible translation seemed to become increasingly clear. The extent of his involvement in the translation project itself is doubtful — this question will be addressed more thoroughly in the next section below — but the Oxford philosopher had an explicit and persistent belief in the importance of biblical material being made available to lay readers directly, in part to counteract what he viewed as corrupt interpretations from officials in the church, from parish priests to monks and friars and even to the pope. In his treatise *On the Truth of Holy Scripture* from ca. 1378, Wyclif argues that "in order to prevent some pseudo-disciples from pretending that they have received their understanding directly from God, God established a common Scripture which is perceptible to the senses, by means of which the catholic sense should be comprehended." The General Prologue to the Wycliffite LV offers a similar defense of the English translation project as beneficial for the "lewd" or uneducated laity:

For though couetouse clerkis ben wode [driven mad] bi symonie, eresie and manie othere synnes, and dispisen and stoppen holi writ as myche as thei moun [can], yit the lewid puple crieth aftir holi writ to kunne [learn] it and kepe it with greet cost and peril of here [their] lif.⁸⁶

Wyclif and his followers pitted themselves directly against the church's representatives — and if the connection between the translation project and Wyclif's sacramental heresy was tenuous, the church would nevertheless err on the side of caution. Spurred by the perceived threat of Lollardy, Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel presided over a convocation at Oxford in November 1407 which published ten proclamations against the Lollards known as Arundel's *Constitutions*. Among other strictures, the *Constitutions* ruled that both ownership of the new English translation of the Bible and production of any future English

⁸² Cole, Literature and Heresy, p. 4.

⁸³ Dahmus, Prosecution of John Wyclyf, p. 135.

⁸⁴ McFarlane, John Wycliffe, p. 152.

⁸⁵ Wyclif, On the Truth, trans. Levy, p. 203.

⁸⁶ Hudson, ed., Selections, p. 67.

translations would be restricted to those who secured a license in advance. After passing at Oxford, the *Constitutions* were confirmed at a later convocation in London and published on April 13, 1409.⁸⁷

The sixth of Arundel's *Constitutions*, which sets the limits on English Bible translation, is worth quoting at length, to determine what exactly it purports to ban and under what circumstances:

It is dangerous, as St. Jerome declares, to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one idiom into another, since it is not easy in translations to preserve exactly the same meaning in all things . . . We therefore command and ordain that henceforth no one translate the text of Holy Scripture into English or any other language in a book, booklet, or tract, and that no one read any book, booklet, or tract of this kind lately made in the time of the said John Wyclif or since, or that hereafter may be made either in part or wholly, either publicly or privately, under pain of excommunication until such translation shall have been approved and allowed by the diocesan of the place, or (if need be) by the Provincial Council. He who shall act otherwise let him be punished as an abettor of heresy and error. ⁸⁸

The eighteenth-century English translator of the *Constitutions*, John Johnson, whose editorial commentary indulges in anti-Catholic polemic, observes that the language of "book, booklet, or tract" (*libri*, *libelli*, *aut tractatus*) could potentially encompass texts beyond mere Bible translation and is both broad and vague enough that "this net seems to be made for the catching or letting go whomsoever and whatsoever they pleased." At the same time, the decree does not appear to condemn Wyclif directly, but merely any translation made "in his time" or afterward. The *Constitutions* do not condemn all English Bible translations, only unlicensed ones, and even then the potential crime is not owning them but "reading" them before they have been approved by proper authorities. Arundel's central motive appears to be preventing future translation efforts that might introduce heretical elements into the text. What is unclear, and a running debate for historians of the early fifteenth century, is whether existing translations, namely the Wycliffite Bible versions which do not feature openly heretical material, are meant to be included in the strictures. Was it dangerous, after 1409, to produce or own a manuscript with an already existing English translation of Scripture?

In a hugely influential 1995 article entitled "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," Nicholas Watson made the case that Arundel's decrees were "the linchpin of a broader attempt to limit religious discussion and writing in the vernacular," and that their dissemination marked a major shift from the late fourteenth century, when works of vernacular theology flourished, to the early fifteenth century, when self-censorship hampered this burgeoning literary movement. Debates about Arundel's legacy since then have tended to position themselves in relation to Watson's argument. While many have quibbled over the contention that vernacular theology all but disappeared after 1409, for reasons detailed below, most agree that something happened to change the landscape for vernacular religious writers.

The anthology *After Arundel*, the published culmination of an Oxford University conference on the *Constitutions* on their 600th anniversary, spotlights a variety of perspectives on Arundel's legacy. The volume's co-editor Vincent Gillespie, while making the case that Arundel's successor Archbishop Henry Chichele ultimately exercised more lasting influence on the English church, concedes that the *Constitutions*

⁸⁷ Johnson, trans., "Arundel's Constitutions," p. 475.

Translation by Francis Aidan Gasquet, qtd. in Kelly, *Middle English Bible*, p. 72; see also Johnson, trans., "Arundel's Constitutions," pp. 466–67.

⁸⁹ Johnson, trans., "Arundel's Constitutions," p. 468nc.

⁹⁰ Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change," p. 824.

nevertheless "cast a long shadow across the following decades and encourage a sense that the role of the vernacular in innovatory religious writing was diminished, and its advocates cowed and anxious." One institution in which the *Constitutions*' influence could be seen immediately was Oxford, which the tenth constitution had singled out as "blemished with the new damnable brand of Lollardy, to the great scandal of the university itself" — Arundel used the biblical imagery of an infected vineyard, sour grapes, and a crumbling wall to describe the university's departure from orthodoxy. In response, Oxford presented its own self-directed program for reform in 1414, which included attempts to curb "simony, the appropriation of benefices, exemptions, plurality of benefices, the abuse of privileges, clerical apostasy, and the holding of secular office." Gillespie observes the irony that "most of these had been on Wyclif's own reform agenda."

The concerns with clerical and institutional corruption expressed by the gloss of the *English Apocalypse* and echoed by Wyclif and the Lollards were clearly not the concerns merely of a heretical group or a minority of agitators, but issues that were being discussed, with an eye to reform, within the church itself and across a broad swath of the laity. Though the church and the university were also clamping down on Lollardy and highly aware of the movement's dangers in the early fifteenth century, particularly its heterodox sacramental theology, the substance of their critiques implied that "the calls for reform made by Wyclif himself, particularly in his earlier work, remained valid and needed addressing." 94

Kelly, in an alternate view of Arundel's censorship and the Wycliffite Bible more broadly, speculates that it may not have been Wycliffite Bibles themselves that prompted Arundel to hold the convocation that led to the *Constitutions*, but specifically the treatise on English translation that appears in its General Prologue, which he titles *Five and Twenty Books*. Selly pushes this suggestion further into speculation about the church's tolerance of the translation project that had already been accomplished:

I suggest that Arundel and his colleagues were familiar with both EV and LV, and, recognizing their orthodoxy, believed them to antedate, at least in their inception if not completion, the Wycliffite stratagem of making a new translation, and therefore to fall outside the mandate to be vetted by bishops. The bishops and clergy were to be on the alert for any translations that, unlike EV and LV, distorted the text in ways that would promote Wyclif's malignant teachings. 96

Perhaps the strongest evidence in favor of Kelly's view is that the sixth constitution speaks first of future translations and the need to license them in advance, and only afterward makes reference to recent translations. The fourth constitution forbids any public or private debate at Oxford on the church's teachings on the sacraments, and the fifth bans the teaching of any "book or treatise composed by John Wicklif" without prior examination by a university council, 97 but it is unclear, and in fact seems unlikely, whether the already existing Oxford Bible translations would fall in the category of books "composed by John Wicklif" — they certainly do not, even upon close scrutiny, belong in the same category of sacramental heresy as Wyclif's treatises which openly state his opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation.

⁹¹ Gillespie, "Chichele's Church," p. 13.

⁹² Johnson, trans., "Arundel's Constitutions," p. 470.

⁹³ Gillespie, "Chichele's Church," p. 17.

⁹⁴ Gillespie, "Chichele's Church," p. 19.

⁹⁵ Kelly, Middle English Bible, p. 75.

⁹⁶ Kelly, Middle English Bible, p. 80.

⁹⁷ Johnson, trans., "Arundel's Constitutions," pp. 464–65.

There is also little evidence to suggest that owners of Wycliffite Bibles were persecuted for that ownership alone. Records of the interrogations of Lollard dissidents, such as William Thorpe, Walter Brut, and Hawisia Moone, 8 to the extent that their transcriptions are accurate, indicate that while their access to banned materials might have been a concern and the material might have been confiscated, Arundel and other church officials were primarily interested in their beliefs and their engagement in "sowynge . . . fals doctryne" through preaching with these texts, rather than mere ownership. 9 In his personal examination of Thorpe in 1407, for example, Arundel lists the heresies the Lollard preacher is accused of spreading — denying the sacrament of the altar, opposing pilgrimages, etc. — but the list includes no mention of English translation of Scripture. Arundel mentions having confiscated Thorpe's Psalter — presumably an English translation, since Thorpe claims to know no Latin — but says he will return it if Thorpe agrees "fulli to be gouerened by holi chirche." 101

The Oxford call for reforms in 1414 included a section titled "de anglicatione librorum" (on the Englishing of books), which called for the confiscation of incompetent translations that would mislead the laity, at least until superior translations could be produced by Oxford's scholars. Gillespie notes that this request "probably reflected the aspiration in chapter 6 of Arundel's decrees for a university-based system of examination and distribution of such texts through exemplars held by university stationers" and that Oxford's leaders were arguing "only for a deferral of translation, not a prohibition of it." ¹⁰² It also implies that access to English translations of Scripture and other religious texts was widespread among the laity and not being vigorously prosecuted, even five years after Arundel's ban.

English Bible production also did not completely cease in the years following the *Constitutions*. If nothing else, the sheer number of surviving copies serves as evidence that many people either secured the Archbishop's approval for ownership or were simply tolerated — as noted above, King Henry VI himself owned a copy, and Lawton observes that "Wycliffite Bibles were preserved without great risk in otherwise aristocratic households." The Carthusian monk Nicholas Love secured Arundel's approval, and according to Love his blessing and encouragement, to produce and distribute his translation of an Italian commentary on the Gospels titled *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* in 1410. Love's expanded commentary included attacks on the Lollards, and according to Kantik Ghosh's assessment of the text, Love hoped his *Mirror* would become "an official alternative to the Lollard Bible." 104

All the same, the Wycliffite Bible manuscripts of the fifteenth century do tend to have a muted appearance, at least in comparison to Bible productions in Latin or other languages like the lavishly illuminated French *Bibles moralisées* or Apocalypse books described above. Illuminated Wycliffite Bibles like Bodley MS 277 — King Henry's Bible — with its decorated borders and gilded initial letters, are the rare exception. The Plimpton manuscript is far more typical — a small codex containing a New Testament with no illuminations and only small rubricated initials, the biblical text embedded within other tracts and sermons

See Hudson, ed., "Testimony of William Thorpe,"; Hudson, ed., Selections from English Wycliffite Writings, which includes Hawisia Moone's "Confession" on pp. 34–37; and Hudson, "'Laicus Litteratus,'" pp. 222–36, which examines Walter Brut's trial.

⁹⁹ Hudson, ed., "Testimony of William Thorpe," lines 182–83.

¹⁰⁰ Hudson, ed., "Testimony of William Thorpe," lines 627–31.

¹⁰¹ Hudson, ed., "Testimony of William Thorpe," line 895.

¹⁰² Gillespie, "Chichele's Church," p. 21.

¹⁰³ Lawton, "Englishing the Bible," p. 459.

¹⁰⁴ Ghosh, Wycliffite Heresy, p. 147.

so that only a close examination would reveal the book's contents. Whether the book was literal contraband, or whether its production was merely pared down in a precautionary way, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the *Constitutions*, or at least the threat of church sanction, had an adverse effect on the production of Plimpton and other English Bibles.

THE GLOSS AND LOLLARD ANTICLERICALISM

Though the Wycliffite Bible would come to bear his name in popular parlance, the level of John Wyclif's actual involvement with the Oxford Bible translation project is an open question. Dove begins her study of the Wycliffite Bible with the speculation "that Wyclif instigated the project, that work began in the early 1370s, in the Queen's College, Oxford, and that Wyclif, [Nicholas] Hereford, and [John] Trevisa all played a part in the translation."¹⁰⁵ David Fowler takes a more cautious view, observing that only two Wycliffite Bible manuscripts contain any attributions of authorship at all, to "N," "J and other men," and "Nicholay de herford," and he concludes, "The most that can be said from manuscript evidence is that the Early Version was made by Nicholas Hereford, J.____, and other men."¹⁰⁶ The first fourteenth-century reference to Wyclif as a translator appears only after his death, in the Augustinian canon Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* (ca. 1390), in the context of warning about his dangerous heresies:

Master John Wyclif translated from Latin into the English language — very far from being the language of angels! — the gospel that Christ gave to the clergy and doctors of the church, for them to administer sweetly as mental nourishment to laypeople and to the infirm, according to the necessity of the time and the people's need. As a consequence, the gospel has become more common and more open to laymen and even to women who know how to read than it customarily is to moderately well-educated clergy of good intelligence. Thus the pearl of the gospel is scattered abroad and trodden underfoot by swine. ¹⁰⁷

Debates between Lollards and church officials over the orthodoxy and desirability of English Bible translations would rage in the following years, but Knighton's early response summarizes well the church's primary objections — the English language is less suitable than Latin as a conduit for Scripture, the right and duty to convey Scripture to the people and interpret it belongs solely to the clergy, and the laity should only access it directly as necessity demands, since they are incapable of understanding or rightly using the knowledge it contains. The note of anxiety about "laymen and even . . . women" gaining access to the gospel over "moderately well-educated clergy" serves as a reminder that the Lollard movement's leaders, despite their veneration of Wyclif and other figures connected to Oxford as their intellectual forebears, were themselves much less educated, and their ranks included many women.

From the perspective of Wyclif and his Lollard followers, the education of the laity through unmediated Scripture was a positive development. As early as his treatise *De Ecclesia*, which predates the EV by several years, Wyclif had presented an anti-papal argument for why every Christian should be thoroughly familiar with the Bible. Scripture, he argued, is "the glass by which heretics may be discerned," including the pope, and it is the layman's duty to determine whether the pope's commands are in accord with Scripture and

¹⁰⁵ Dove, First English Bible, p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Fowler, Bible in Early English Literature, pp. 154–55.

¹⁰⁷ Translated by Dove, *First English Bible*, p. 6; the corresponding Latin passage appears in Knighton, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Martin, pp. 242–44.

therefore lawful. ¹⁰⁸ Wyclif viewed the primary purpose of biblical education among the laity as protection from heresy, especially from "pseudo-disciples" in the clergy who would claim direct authority from God, ¹⁰⁹ a view echoed by the Wycliffite Bible's General Prologue, which claimed it was the fear of being caught in simony, heresy, and "manie othere synnes" that motivated the clergy's opposition to English translation. ¹¹⁰

If one of the central motivations of Wycliffite translators was suspicion of the corrupted clergy, and a desire to circumvent their monopoly on biblical interpretation by making Scripture available to the laity directly, the decision of the Plimpton manuscript compilers to use the *English Apocalypse* and its commentary as the concluding text of the New Testament makes perfect sense. As the gloss was translated from Anglo-Norman into Middle English, it was revised and expanded with additions that amplified its anticlerical critiques. The Lollard producers of the Plimpton manuscript made even further changes; unlike the biblical text, which required a high level of accuracy and fidelity to the original, the gloss could serve as a platform from which they expressed the concerns of their movement. The most prominent of these is the critique leveled at "prelates," a catch-all term for officials of any rank in the church hierarchy.

As the Explanatory Notes detail, the first reference to "holi prelatis" in the gloss (1.¶11) describes their duty to preach and "conseile men after Goddis lawe," the Plimpton manuscript's revision of the commentary's original description of priests hearing confessions and absolving congregants of sin through the sacrament of penance. This curious alteration may reflect a general Lollard suspicion about the necessity of sacraments, especially those performed by a priest in mortal sin, and a corresponding veneration of preaching and teaching as the most important elements of a clerical vocation. Later additions to the gloss unique to Plimpton spell out exactly how a priest might fall into the sin that would corrupt his office — the gloss in 13.¶9 describes "false profetis" and "prelatis that doone her synne of leccherie priveli [privately]"; who earn money from "londis" and "rentis" and "symonye," the selling of church offices; who join "the ordre" (whether the priesthood itself or a monastic or fraternal order is unclear) so that they can "han bodili delites"; who are "Anticristis discipils and his ypocritis and eretikis"; and who, like their leader Antichrist who appears as an angel of light on the outside but is a devil on the inside, ultimately "disceyven the folk and leden hem to perdicioun." A later gloss describes clerks and prelates as beholden to three of the Seven Deadly Sins, "pride, coveitise [greed], and leccherie," and compares their false preaching to the croaking of foul "froschis [frogs]" (16.¶11). In a gloss on the biblical passage in which merchants weep over the destruction of Babylon, Plimpton rejects the original gloss's interpretation of the merchants as usurers, a sin that anyone lending money could commit, and instead accuses them of "symonyes" (18.99), a sin specific to high-ranking clergy, who enrich themselves by selling ecclesiastical offices for money.

One final example of an anticlerical passage, unique to the English translation of the gloss though not to Plimpton, gives a striking glimpse into the author's sense of the priesthood's absolute corruption:

His [the Antichrist's] profetis been coveitouse men of holi chirche, proude men and losengeris [flatterers], men lecchoures. But the losengeris ben worst of alle that maken hem [themselves] holi outher [either] for drede outher fore love, outher for ler [loss]. That thei hopen thei schulden nothing han of hem [their parishioners?] yif thei seiden hem the sothe [truth]. These han taken undirhond [in hand] to speke the develis langage to disceyven Goddis children and binyme [rob] God his eritage, and which ben strenger and werse than any devel in helle. (20.¶3)

¹⁰⁸ Wyclif, De Ecclesia, ed. Loserth, p. 41.

¹⁰⁹ Wyclif, On the Truth, trans. Levy, p. 203.

¹¹⁰ Hudson, ed. Selections, p. 67.

The precise sense of a few phrases in this passage is obscure, and the explanatory note in the text presents a few interpretive possibilities. But its overall message is that these proud flatterers and lechers have taken holy orders for all the wrong reasons — out of fear or a desire for flattery or material gain — and that they tell lies to God's people knowing that the truth will not earn them as much. The final sentence of the passage in particular is crystal clear — the clergy who deceive God's children in this way are worse than any devil in hell.

In addition to conveying many of the central concerns of anticlerical polemicists in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, these examples from the gloss illustrate another key aspect of the Lollards' practice of biblical interpretation, already mentioned in the section on "Apocalypse Commentaries" above. Like the Franciscans and other Apocalypse commentators before them, the Lollards did not view the Book of Revelation as merely a set of obscure prophecies about futuristic end times, unrelated to their daily concerns. Rather, they believed that it contained a set of teachings with direct relevance to their contemporary lives. With the production of translations like the *English Apocalypse*, lay readers could now access biblical texts directly, without the potentially corrupt mediation of false teachers those very texts warned them against.

CONCLUSION: WHY THE PLIMPTON MANUSCRIPT?

In some respects, using the Plimpton manuscript as the base text for a new edition of the *English Apocalypse* is an unusual choice. It is not the oldest extant copy of the text — that distinction likely belongs to British Library MS Harley 874 (H), dating from roughly 1340 to 1370, which Fridner used as the base text for his 1961 edition and which this edition uses for secondary readings. As noted above, none of the early manuscripts that predate the Wycliffite Bible contain verses 1:1–8, and many contain other lacunae — H, for instance, is missing what appears to be a full leaf, which required Fridner to use a secondary manuscript for that section of the text, Cambridge University, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2498 (P). P is a later manuscript production, possibly as late as 1400, but its text does not appear to have been influenced by Wycliffite material. Another possible candidate for earliest manuscript, Cambridge University, Caius College MS 231/117, starts at verse 1:21 and is missing enough pages throughout to be considered fragmentary. These gaps are not insurmountable obstacles to producing a critical edition, of course, and Fridner is remarkably thorough in cataloging manuscript variants, apart from the absence of Plimpton. They illustrate, however, that there is no perfectly stable base text, and that any edition of the *English Apocalypse* in its original form — to the extent that an original form is possible to access — will be to some degree a patchwork of multiple witnesses.

Among the later manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse* which draw on Wycliffite material to create a more complete hybrid text, however, Plimpton is a strong candidate for the base text of a critical edition, even apart from its unique placement within a blended Wycliffite New Testament. It represents a complete version of the *English Apocalypse*, not in spite of its reliance on Wycliffite material but because of it — any potential gaps in its copy text are plugged with passages from the Wycliffite LV, and even seemingly minor issues with the parent text are occasionally papered over by what appears to be scribal consultation with the Wycliffite text. For an example, see the explanatory notes for 5.¶3 and 5.¶4, as well as the note above in the section "The Manuscript" about the biblical text's mistranslation of the Anglo-Norman "phioles" (vials) as "fithelis" (fiddles), and its subsequent correction in the gloss with apparent assistance from the LV. For a similar scenario in reverse, see the explanatory note for 10.¶2, where the biblical text in verse 10:4 follows the LV in using "marke" (seal, conceal) while the gloss remains keyed to its Anglo-Norman source. Also see the explanatory note for 12.¶2, where Plimpton alone among *English Apocalypse* manuscripts follows the

LV in using "aperide" (appeared) rather than "shewed," in a section that may parallel the LV more generally. On other occasions, Plimpton offers wholly unique translations — for a compelling and somewhat mysterious example, see the explanatory note for Prol.¶2, where an unusual word, "asilen" (assail?), appears to serve as both a thematic and visual parallel to the later word "arisen" (arise).

With all of these emendations in mind, an appropriate alternate title for this edition might be *The English Apocalypse in Transition*. It is not an authoritative text from a single uncorrupted source with an unbroken line of transmission, but rather a snapshot of the Apocalypse as it was being produced in England at a specific moment in time — an especially intriguing moment, as a popular and influential new translation was emerging but simultaneously being suppressed, and as scribes and manuscript compilers had access to multiple English translations, which had travelled a variety of paths through the languages of Europe, and which they could now fit together to form the strongest possible version of the *English Apocalypse* in their judgment. The text is complete, but it is also contingent, neither permanent nor the last word in the Apocalypse's development in England.

As the histories of both French and English Bible translation make clear, the concept of a "Bible" as a single, stable volume of divinely inspired texts, while it may have been a conceptual ideal, has rarely reflected the practical reality of manuscript and book production. From the emergence of the early Christian church to the late fourteenth century in England, the experience of most Christian readers with biblical texts was most often fragmentary and mediated. Even Wycliffite Bible texts, the most standardized biblical productions of their era, frequently appear in manuscripts that contain just one or only a few books of the Bible, often alongside paraphrases, Gospel harmonies, poems, devotional works, polemics, and/or liturgical aids, to create what Mary Raschko calls "an alternative form of New Testament."

The Plimpton manuscript as a whole obviously fits squarely in this category. But so does Plimpton's copy of the *English Apocalypse* specifically — an apocalyptic Scripture originally written in Greek and translated to Latin, translated again to Anglo-Norman French (with the possible intervention of Old French in between), then again to Middle English, revised with the aid of another Middle English edition translated directly from the Latin by a group of dissident university scholars and newly declared heretics, with a commentary featuring freshly sharpened critiques of the institutional church and its clerics, all contained within a potentially contraband codex with two more English translations of biblical material, proverbs, a prophecy against the friars, sermons, poetry, a lectionary calendar, and a Lollard polemic against the papacy. Could there be a text more representative of its time and place, a fractured and fractious England at the close of the fourteenth century?

EDITORIAL PRACTICE

This edition follows the METS practice of silently converting all Middle English letters and scribal abbreviations to modern English equivalents, adding modern punctuation, and standardizing certain spellings for ease of reading, as detailed below.

¹¹¹ Raschko, "Taking Apart the Wycliffite Bible," pp. 466–67.

modern English equivalents. The main texts of the edition replace all Middle English letters, but the textual notes that quote the secondary manuscripts retain them.

The letter u is replaced with v when its modern English equivalent does so.

Ampersands (&) are replaced with the word and.

Proper names, such as "God," "Jesus," "Israel," "Patmos," etc. are inconsistently capitalized in the manuscripts; this edition capitalizes them in every case. Capitalized proper names include the word "Apocalips" when it refers to the title of the biblical book, but do not include personal pronouns for God and Jesus, which are left in lowercase.

Throughout the Apocalypse manuscripts and many other religious texts in Middle English, the name for Jesus is often written $ih\bar{u}$, with a penstroke called a tilde over the u to indicate an abbreviated es. This edition changes the initial letter to a capital J and expands the abbreviation: Jhesu. In other places, the manuscripts spell the name jesu without abbreviation, and this edition follows by simply capitalizing the initial letter: Jesu.

Scribal abbreviations in the primary and secondary manuscripts, including superscript letters to indicate insertions, short and long tildes to indicate *en* or *em*, crossbars below *p* to indicate *per* or *pro*, and crossbars across double-*l* to indicate a terminal *e*, are silently expanded. The edition occasionally ignores scribal abbreviations for the sake of consistency and readability, if the additional letters do not change the meaning of the word. For example, the words *erthe* (earth) and *prechour* (preacher) occasionally include a superscript *r* to indicate an insertion, but since the notation is applied inconsistently and the additional letters would not change the meaning of the word, the edition ignores the notation and standardizes their spelling.

Chapter divisions in the Apocalypse are marked in all of the manuscripts and follow chapter divisions in the Vulgate, which are mirrored in the Vulgate's modern English translation, the Douay-Rheims version of the Bible. In two instances, the openings of Chapters 12 and 13, the chapter divisions are slightly different from those in many modern editions of the Bible, and these are explained in the Textual Notes. Verse numbers, however, are not marked in the original manuscripts, and for these the edition follows the Douay-Rheims. Chapter headings appear in bold at the start of each chapter, and verse numbers appear in brackets before each verse.

The indented paragraph breaks in this edition do not appear in the original manuscripts and are fully editorial decisions. In some cases, the paragraphs break to conform with modern dialogue convention — starting a new paragraph for each speaker in a dialogue exchange — and in other cases, the breaks are simply thematic transitions to enhance readability. Paragraphs also break in the transitions from the biblical text to the glossed commentary and back, and each of these sections is marked with the heading "Texte" or "Glose," respectively. The manuscript marks the beginning of each section of biblical text (with the exception of chapter beginnings) with the word *texte* or *tixte* in red; this edition standardizes the spelling. The manuscript is less consistent about placing the word *glose* at the start of each glossed section, but this edition silently adds the heading for consistency wherever it is missing.

Because the *English Apocalypse* alternates between biblical passages and commentary, the edition uses paragraph numbers rather than verse numbers in citations. The paragraphs are numbered in bold at the start of each indented line, and Textual and Explanatory Notes are keyed to these paragraph numbers — for example, a note on chapter 1, paragraph 5, is cited as 1.¶5.

Extratextual elements in the manuscript, such as enlarged capital letters, rubrication, and marginalia, are not represented visually in the edition but are catalogued in the Textual Notes. The edition largely ignores the punctuation that appears in the original manuscripts — including slashes, interpuncts or middle dots, and colons — and silently replaces it with modern English punctuation — periods, commas,

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quotation marks, paragraph indentation, etc. All punctuation in the text is an editorial decision made solely for ease of reading, and any interpretation of the text that relies on that punctuation is therefore speculative.

THE ENGLISH APOCALYPSE

Prologue

1

2

- [fol. 203r] Seynt Poul the apostil seith that alle tho that wilne pitousli lyven¹ in Jhesu Crist schullen suffre persecucioun and anguyschis. But oure swet Lord Jhesu Crist wil not that his chosen faile² in tribulaciouns. Therfor he coumfortith hem³ of hymself and geveth vertue⁴ to his grace and seith to hem, "Have ye no drede. I am with you al dayes to the endyng of this world, and I gyve you holi write⁵ to techen you," that thourgh suffraunce⁶ and coumfort of hooli write we schal han hoppe in hym that seith, "Affeith⁵ in me, for I have overcomen the world." And oure swete Fader of heven that wist⁶ and seeth alle thinge beforun it where maad, and seeth and understondith and seeth the tribulaciouns that holi chirche shulde suffre in this deedly liyf, and ordeyned hem with the Sone and the Hooli Gost, thre persones in o⁶ God almyghti, and schewed hem thorugh Jhesu his Sone and thorugh his mildenesse overecame hem.
- And he to his servant Seint Joon ewangelist that maad this book that is clepid¹⁰ Apocalips, that is to seie shewynge in goost,¹¹ he sent to hym bi his aungele for that he shulden tellen that God sent to hym holi chirche, and that is to wite¹² of this world to the endyng and to the tyme on¹³ Anticrist, for the tribulaciouns schulen be so greet that alle tho that schulen be dampned¹⁴ schulen be chaungid,¹⁵ and it shewed hym the grete goodes¹⁶ that it¹⁷ shulde reseyve in this lyf and the grete medis¹⁸ that it shulde reseyve in

wilne pitousli lyven, wish to live devoutly

² lose faith

³ them

⁴ strength

⁵ holi write, scripture

⁶ patient endurance

⁷ Have faith

⁸ knows

⁹ one

one

¹⁰ called

¹¹ shewynge in goost, spiritual revelation

¹² know

¹³ of

¹⁴ damned

¹⁵ changed

¹⁶ blessings (gifts)

¹⁷ the church

¹⁸ meeds (rewards)

the other world whanne sche¹⁹ shal be joynede to hire spouse Jhesu Crist in blisse. For right²⁰ as the adversitees asilen²¹ us bothe on the one half²² and that other, right so arisen the goodes of grace and of glorie.

- Werfore this book omonge other bookys of the new lawe is clepid prophecie, for that Seynt Joon saw it in gostli²³ sightis, the privetees²⁴ of Jhesu Crist and of holi chirche, and a gret part ben comen and shulen comen. But for Seynt Joon saw it in gost,²⁵ holi chirch distinctith²⁶ it in thre maner sightis. Goode is to understonde how he saugh it in gost. For a sighte is goostly whane we seen it, in slepe either wakynge, semblant of²⁷ eny thinge that other bodili thingis ben bitokened by, as Pharo saugh in Egipt in slep, as it tellith in Genisis. And [fol. 203v] as Moises saugh waking a grene busche brennyng and brent not, as is writun in Exodi. Thridde manere of sightis so is clepid intellectus. That is, whan the gost lightith the understondynge of the soule and makith to seen with spiritual eiye the vertuez and the privetés of God, as miche as his wille is to shewe hym, as Seint Poule was rawyschide²⁸ into the thride hevene and saugh the privetés of God that it fallith²⁹ no man to syne.³⁰
- And Seynt Joon saugh on this maner not oneli the figuris, but he understode what it was to menen,³¹ and wrot it in a yle³² of the see that men clepen³³ Patmos. Thider a cruel emperoure Domicie³⁴ hadde flemed³⁵ hym, for Goddis wordis that he prechid to the folk. And for that he bare witnessyng of Jhesu Crist, and that was on enchesoun³⁶ for that he shulde write this book. For as myche and as longe as he was flemed, ther wexen many manere vices and of heresies in holi chirches of Asie³⁷ that he had to kepe undir God. And specially the mater of this book drawith to the chirches of Asie and comounli of alle holi chirche, namly that it suffre in this lyf and that it shal resceyve in the tother. His entent is

3

¹⁹ she (the church)

²⁰ exactly

²¹ assail

²² side

²³ spiritual

²⁴ sacred mysteries

²⁵ spirit

²⁶ divides

²⁷ semblant of, similar to

²⁸ transported

²⁹ befalls

³⁰ be able to see

³¹ mean

³² island

³³ call

³⁴ Domitian (Roman emperor)

³⁵ banished

on enchesoun, one reason

³⁷ Asia Minor (see note)

5

to amonesten³⁸ into paciens, for though alle the tribulaciouns or anguysches be stronge to suffre sumtyme, the mede therfor is endeles.

His writynge is on this manere. On the frist, he settith a litille prolog. There he settith the name of the booke whan he seith, "the Apocalips," and how the sight is shewed hym bi the aungele. And aftir he blisseth alle that it redith and herith the wordis of the prophecie, and gretith the seven chirchis of Asie, and shewith oure swet Lord Jhesu Crist hou he shal come to the jugement, and how thei that there ben shulen seen hym peyned³⁹ and pleynen⁴⁰ hem on alle ertheli men, and after he shewith that he is gynnynge and endynge that is and was and is to comen almyghti. And after this he tellith his talle wheder of he makith this book that is departid on⁴¹ sevene sightis, so that ech man may bi hymsilf understonden and tellen.

Chapter 1

1

2

3

[fol. 204r] [1] Apocalips¹ of Jhesu Crist which God gaf to hym to make open to hise servauntis, whiche thingis it bihoveth to be maad soone. And he signyfiede sendynge bi his aungel to his servaunt Joon, [2] which bar witnessynge to the word of God and witnessing of Jesu Crist in these thingis whatever thingis he say.² [3] Blessid is he that redith and he that herith the wordis of this prophecie and kepith tho thingis that ben writun in it, for the tyme is nygh.

[4] Joon to sevene chirchis that ben in Asie: grace and pees to you. Of hym that is and that was and that is to comynge, and of the sevene spiritis that ben in the sight of his trone, [5] and of Jhesu Crist, that is a feithful witnesse, the firste bigetun³ of deed men, and prince of kingis of the erthe whiche lovyde us and wasshide us fro oure synnes in his blood, [6] and made us a kyngdom and prestis to God and to his Fadir, to hym be glorie and empire, into worldis of worldis, Amen.

[7] Lo, he cometh with clowdis, and ech iye⁴ shal se hym, and thei that prickiden⁵ hym and alle the kynredis⁶ of the erthe shulen biweile⁷ hemsilf on hym, yhe⁸ Amen.

³⁸ admonish

³⁹ tortured

⁴⁰ lament

⁴¹ departid on, divided into

¹ Apocalypse (see t-note)

saw

³ begotten (born)

[‡] eve

pierced (crucified)

⁶ peoples

⁷ lament

⁸ yea

- 4 [8] "Y am alfa and oo," the bigynnyng and the ende," seith the Lord God, "that is and that was, and that is to comynge, almyghti."
- [9] I, Joon, youre brother and partener in tribulacioun and kingdom and pacience in Crist Jhesu, was in an yle¹⁰ that is clepid Pathmos, for the word of God and for the witnessing of Jhesu. [10] Y was in spirit in the Lordis dai and Y herde bihynde me a grete vois as of a trumpe¹¹ [11] seiynge to me, "Write thou in a book that thing that thou seest and sende to the sevene chirchis that ben in Asie: to Efesus,¹² to Smirma¹³ and to Pergamus¹⁴ and to Tiatira¹⁵ and to Sardis and to Philadelfia and to Loadicia."

Glose:

The undoinge¹⁶ of Seynt Joon bitokeneth prelatis¹⁷ of holi chirche that undirstondith the vois of the Gospels and the thretyngis of the jugement that is bitokened bi the trumpe and amonestith hem¹⁸ that they do in werk alle that thei seen in hooly writ and teche othere thorugh goode ensaumple to do wele.

Texte:

[12] And Y turnede that Y shulde se the vois that spak with me, and Y turnede and Y say¹⁹ sevene candilstikis of gold. [13] And in the myddil of the sevene goldun candilstickis, oon lyk to the sone of man clothid with a long garment and gird at the tetis²⁰ with a goldun gyrdil. [14] And the heed²¹ of hym and his heeris²² weren whyte as whyte wolle²³ and as snow, and the iyen of hym as flawme of fier, [15] and hise feet lyk to latoune²⁴ as in a brennynge chymeney, and the vois of hym as the vois of many watris. [16] And he hadde in his right hond sevene sterris,²⁵ and a swerd sharp on ever either syde²⁶ wente out of his mouth, and his face as the sunne schyneth in his vertu.²⁷

```
omega
   island
   trumpet
   Ephesus
   Smyrna
   Pergamum
   Thyatira
   interpretation
   prelates (church officials)
   them
   saw
   chest
   head
   hairs
   wool
   alloy of copper, tin, and other metals
   swerd sharp on ever either syde, double-edged sword
<sup>27</sup> strength
```

The undoynge²⁸ of this. By the sevene candilstikis that Seynt Joon saugh bytokeneth 8 hooly chyrche that is lyghtid of the sevene graces of the Hooly Goost. That he saugh oon that was lyk the maydenesse sone bytokeneth the bileeve²⁹ of the Resureccioun. Though alle that the fleissche of Jhesu Crist wer er³⁰ the Resureccionne, it is now another maner, for it is glorified. By the garnement that he was claad ynne righte doune to the erthe is bitokened chastité of fleisshe. By the gyrdil that he was gird with is bytokenede chastitee of herte, by his heede the goode prelatis of hooly chirche. By the heere, the men of relygioune that schulen ben whiyte thorugh hoolynesse and of goode liyf. Als the wolle is whiyte, for they helpen the othere thorugh goode ensaumple and ben whiyte as snow, for they quenchen the brennynge of vyres³¹ and [fol. 204v] vices and of synne thurgh vertu and thurgh penaunce. Bi the eyen ben bitokened the wise men of holi chirche that lighten the othere thurgh techynge and techen hem thourgh goode exsamples of goode werkys that that doun. Bi the feet ben bitokenede the symple folk of holi chirche that ben in the ovenes mouthe of Godis wirchynge³² and thurgh that thei amende hem of syne. Bi his vois is bitokened the prechynge of holi chirche that is clene of syne as water of the cold wele. Bi the seven sterris ben bitokened the prelatis that owen to lyghten the lewde³³ puple of goode leveyng³⁴ that ben in derknessis of unkunnynge.³⁵ That the sterris were in his right honde bitokeneth the gud prechours. By the swerde that kittith³⁶ on boith half bitokeneth Goddis word that on half departith³⁷ the soule fro his desire and on the other half departith the flesche fro hys delites. Bi his face bitokeneth hem that down penaunce bi thei schynen as the sunne to geven light of goode ensaumples to other, boothen gude and yvele.

Texte:

10

- 9 [17] And as I hadde seen this, I fel to the erthe as deed. And he laide his right honde overe me and seid to me, "Nyl³⁸ thu dreden. I am the frist and the last, [18] and I am alyve and was deed and now I lyve forevermore and have the keies of helle and of deith.
 - [19] "Writ ther than that thu hast seen and tho thinges that now ben present and tho that moten³⁹ comen afterwarde. [20] The seven sterris that thu hast seen in my right

²⁸ interpretation

²⁹ faith

³⁰ before

³¹ fires

³² power

³³ ignorant

³⁴ goode leveyng, right beliefs

³⁵ ignorance

³⁶ cuts

³⁷ parts

³⁸ Do not

³⁹ must

honde ben sevenn prelatis of holi chirche and seven candilstikis ben seven chirchis of Asie."

Glose:

11 That Seynt Joon whann he hadde seen felle to the Lordis fette⁴⁰ bitokeneth holi prelatis that gyven hem to ryt bileve⁴¹ and understonden hem in Goddis worde and gyven that entent to conseile men after Goddis lawe. That he is as he were deed bitokeneth hem that forsakith the blesse⁴² of this world. That the Lord sette his right honde on hym bitokeneth that the Lord gyveth to such prelatis strengthe and myghte to suffre persecuciouns. And that he seith he hath the keies of deeth and of helle bitokeneth that he makith hem so hardi that thai ne dout⁴³ devel ne tirant agen the wille of God.

1

Chapter 2

- [fol. 205r] [1] After that comaundith oure Lord to Seynt Joon that he schulde writ to the bischop of the chirche of Effesie, for the synnes of the puple. "This saith he that hast the sevene sterris in his right hond amyddis¹ the sevene golden candelstikis: [2] I wote² thi werkis, thi travelle,³ thi pacience, and that thou maist not suffren the wicked, and how thu hast asayede⁴ and ataynt⁵ of falsnesse hem that maken hem apostelis and ben not. [3] I wot the adversitees that thu hast suffrede for me.
- [4] "But o thyng there is, that thu hast forsake the charité that thu haddist at the bigynyng. [5] Therfor bythenke thou what thou art and do penance and the werkis that thu didist first. But⁶ thou do, I schal come soone and remove thi candilstike out of his stede,⁷ but if thu do penance. [6] But this hast thou, for thou hast hatide the werkis of Nicholaitis⁸ that Y hate.

⁴⁰ feet

⁴¹ belief (faith)

⁴² bliss

⁴³ fear

in the middle of

² know

³ travail

⁴ tested

⁵ convicted

⁶ Unless

⁷ place

⁸ the Nicolaitans (heretics)

3 [7] "That han eris⁹ to here, ¹⁰ here what the Holi Gost seith to chirchis. To hem that overcometh, I schal gyve mete¹¹ of the tree of liyf that is in paradis of my God."

Glose:

That oure Lord bad that he shulde write to the bischop of Effesy for the synne of the folk bitokeneth that oure Lord schal axen¹² of the prelatis the soulis of sugetis. That he seith, "I wot thi werkis and thi travele and of his pacience," amonestith us that we tak good exaumple. That he undirnymeth¹⁴ hem, that thai han lorne¹⁵ ther charité that thai hadden biforen, bitokeneth that the postel Seynt Poule seith, "Though I have as myche strengthe that I may stire¹⁶ hilles fro o stede to another and gyve my bodi to brenne, and I have not charité, al is not worthi to me." That he thretith that he shal remove his candilstike but if thai do penaunce, that is to seie but if thei amende hem, he schall binemen¹⁷ hem the graces that thai han. That he seith, "He that hath eres to heren, here," bitokeneth that oure Lord seith in the gospelle, "That Y seie to oon, I seie to alle." That he bihotith¹⁸ hem that thai shulen eten of the tre of lyf bitokeneth that he shalle gyven hem the frute of the cros in his Fader blis.

Texte:

[8] "To the chirche of Smyrma write this, seith he that is gynnynge and endynge, was deed and lyveth. [9] I wote thi tribulacioun and thi povert, but thu art riche, and art blasfemed of hem that seien¹⁹ that thei ben Jewis and ben not, but thei ben the synagoge of Sathanas.²⁰ [10] Drede thu nothing of these thingis whiche thu schalt suffre, but have thu no drede, for the devel schal do doun²¹ summe of you into prysoun to asayen²² you and [fol. 205v] ten dayes ye shulen han tribulaciouns. Be trewe ryt to the deeth. I shal give a crowne of lyf, [11] and he that overcometh schal han no drede of the seconde deeth."

⁹ ears

¹⁰ hear

¹¹ food

¹² ask

¹³ their subjects (parishioners)

¹⁴ rebukes

¹⁵ lost

¹⁶ move

¹⁷ take away

¹⁸ promises

¹⁹ say

²⁰ Satan

²¹ do doun, cast down

²² test

By the asaute of fals men bitokeneth the asaute of coveitise. ²³ By the tribulacioun of the fende, ²⁴ that bitokeneth the asaute of pride and thurgh tribulacioun and temptacioun of the flesch. To hem that wille suffre povert and overcome coveitise, oure Lord bihotith ²⁵ hem richessis, and he that thurgh lownesse ²⁶ overcome prid, oure Lord bihotith hem coroun of lyf, and to hem that thurgh abstinence overcometh tribulacioun, oure Lord bihotith hem esse ²⁷ in the other lif, and in that he setith hymself exsaumple that he seith, "I was deed and I lyve."

Texte:

- [12] "To the bischop of the chirche of Pergame, write thu thes thinges, seith he that hath the swerde sharpe on bothe half.²⁸ [13] I wot wele that ye woneth²⁹ in the power of Satanas and thu holdist my name and denyest not my feith, and in tho dayes was Antifas³⁰ my feithful witnesse that was slayn at you³¹ where Satanas dwellith. In as moche ye have forsake my lawe.
- 8 [14] "But o thinge there is among you, that holdith the techyng of Balam, that taught the kyng Balac³² to do the childer of Israel synnen, that one corumpide³³ the other thurgh yvel ensaumple of leccherie and to eten of the sacrificis of ydolis [15] and to holden the techyng of Nicholaitis. [16] Therfor do ye penaunce, and but ye doun,³⁴ I shalle come and fighten wit³⁵ the yvele doande³⁶ wit the swerde of my mowth.
- [17] "And to hym that overcometh I schalt gyven hym manna hyd³⁷, and I shal gyven hym an harde ston, and in the hard stoun a new name shal be writtun no man wot what but he that reseveth it."

²³ covetousness (greed)

²⁴ fiend (devil)

²⁵ promises

²⁶ humility

²⁷

²⁷ ease

²⁸ sides

²⁹ dwell

³⁰ Antipas

³¹ at you, among you

³² Balak of Moab (see note)

³³ corrupted

³⁴ but ye doun, unless you do

³⁵ with

³⁶ yvele doande, evildoers

³⁷ hidden

10

Glose:

Here is bitokened thre maner of synnes that ben in many that han resayved the bileve³⁸ and holden it not. Ech fordoith³⁹ othere thurgh evel counceyle that thai han goven othere, thurgh exsaumple of lecherie, the thred⁴⁰ thurgh exsaumple of glotonye. To hem that thurgh sobirnesse overcometh glotonye, oure Lord bihotith hem the swete blisse of heven, and that is manna. To hym that thurgh chastité colith⁴¹ his flesch, he bihotith hym stedfastnesse of flesch and of light, and that is the hard stooun that is bricte⁴² and clere. To hem that with strengthe bridilen⁴³ ther tunge fro yvel speche, oure Lord byhotith hem the glorie of God to herien⁴⁴ hym wit tunge, and his newe name writen in the stooun. That he seith he shalle come sone and shalle fighten with the evele doers with the swerd of veniaunce⁴⁵ bitokeneth that in litil tyme he [fol. 206r] departith the bodi fro the soule thurgh boodili deeth, and that is the scharpe of the swerde on that on half. And at the day of jugement he shale depart the bodi and the soule fro the blissed compani of his chosene and out of his blisse, and that is the scharpe of the swerde on that other half.

Texte:

12

[18] "To the bischop of the chirche of Tiatire, write that is seide bi this 46 that hath the eyen as the flawme of fier and the fete that semeden as cledes. 47 [19] I wot thi werkis and thi dedis and thi charité, and how thou art go thurgh amendement.

[20] "But o thinge it is, that thou suffrist a womman Jezabelle that seith sche is a prophetesse, that sterith⁴⁸ my servantis to lecherie and to ete of the sacrificis of ydols. [21] And I have goven hem space to repenten hem, and thei wil not. [22] And therfor I shalle leyn hir in bedde and hem that han felawschiped with hir, that thei shulen be in gret tribulacioun but thei amenden hem. [23] And hir schildren I schal sleen.⁴⁹ And witen⁵⁰ wele shulen alle chirchis that I seche⁵¹ the renes⁵² and the hertis and yelde⁵³ mede after that ye serven.

³⁸ faith

³⁹ destroys

⁴⁰ third

⁴¹ cools

⁴² bright

⁴³ bridle (restrain)

⁴⁴ praise

⁴⁵ vengeance (wrath)

⁴⁶ him (the Son of God)

⁷ live coals

⁴⁸ stirs

⁴⁹ slav

⁵⁰ know

⁵¹ search

⁵² passions

⁵³ bestow

[24] "To you I seie that ben not of the develis techynge, that I charge yow no more. [25] But the techyng that yee han, holdith it to the deeth. [26] And he that overcometh shal han power over the misbilevande, 54 and [28] after I schalle given hym the dai sterre."55

Glose:

Bi Jazabelle ben understonden the maister heretikis that lyven after the wille of hir flesch and techen agen the gospel. Suche shulden not Cristen men suffre among hem. After that thei be lastende⁵⁶ in hir folie. That oure Lord seith that he hath leide hir in a bede bitokeneth hem that lyn⁵⁷ longe in hir synnes and wil not amenden hem, and lettith hym gon at her⁵⁸ wille and gyven hem to ertheli thingis. That he seith that he schal sechen the hertes and the renes bitokeneth that he shal taken veniance of hem that lyven in evel lif, and to the godde that han pousté⁵⁹ of hir lyves and holden hem underfote. He bihoteth power to governe othere, and to hem that lighten othere thurgh goode techynge bihotith hem the brightnesse of the Resurreccioun of Jhesu, that is the day sterre.

Chapter 3

- [1] "And to the aungele of the chirche of Sardis, write thu that is that he seith that hath seven sterris. I wot wel thi werkis, for that men seyn thu art deed and thou lyvest. [fol. 206v] [2] Therfor wake and conferme¹ hem that ben dyeande,² that I fynde not youre werkis foule biforn God. [3] And therfor bithenke yee hou ye have harde³ and kepe it and do penaunce. And if that thou wolt not, I shal come to thee as a theef whanne thou shalt witen no word.
- 2 [4] "But a fewe ther ben in youre chirche that han not defoulid ther clothinge, and thai shul go with me in aubis.⁴ For thai ben worthi [5] that overcometh, so he shal be clade in whiyt clothinge and I shal not putten out his name of the book of lyf, and I shal preisen hem biforn my Fadir and his aungels."

⁵⁴ unbelievers

⁵⁵ dai sterre, morning star

⁵⁶ continuing

⁵⁷ lie (remain)

⁵⁸ their

⁵⁹ power

¹ strengthen

² dying

³ heard

⁴ *albs* (white vestments)

Bi that, that thei have the name of goode lyf and ben dead, bitokeneth the ypocritis that han werkis of holynesse and entent of yvel. He hem thretith that ho⁵ shalle come as a theef and binymen hem her goodis that thai have and sleen hem thurgh the deith that ever shal laste, but if⁶ thei waken in her werkis thurgh right undirstondynge. Thei that han not her bodies filde with lecherie ne werkis of evel entent, that thurgh yvel wil, her bodies shulen be with Jhesu Crist and her werkis fayre in the felawschipe of Jhesu Crist. And her names shulen not be down out⁷ of the booke of lyf that is her loes⁸ of good and mede everlastende as the werkis of ypocritis shulen be down awey, for thei ben likned to the false theves that destroyen men.

Texte:

- [7] "And to the aungele of the chirche of Filadelfie, write thou thes thingis, seith the holi and trewe that hath the keiye of David, the whiche openeth and no man closith; he closith and no man openeth. [8] I wot thi werkis, and lo, I gaf bifor thee a dore opened, the whiche no man mai close. For thu hast a litel vertu and hast kept my word and denyedist not my name. [9] Lo, I shal gyve to thee of the synagoge of Sathanas, the whiche seyne hem to ben Jewes and ben not, but lien. Lo, I schal maken hem that thai come and worschepe biforn thi feet, and thei shal wite for I lovede thee, [10] for thu keptist the word of my pacience. And I shal kepe thee fro the oure9 of temptacioun that is to comen into alle the world to tempten men dwellende in erthe.
 - [11] "Lo, I come soone. Holde that thu hast that no man take thi coroune. [12] And hym [fol. 207r] that shal overcome I shal make a piler in the temple of my God, and he shal no more go out, and I shal write on hym the name of my God and the name of the cité of my God, of new Jerusalem that cometh doun fro heven of my God, and my newe name."

Glose:

5

That oure Lord bihotith the dore open for that he hath a litil vertue and hath kepte the feith bitokeneth that oure Lord opened heven and holi write to hem that han litil kunnynge¹¹ and kepen his comaundement. That he hotith¹² that he shal do¹³ come the folk to

⁵ he (Jesus)

⁶ but if, unless

doun out, removed

⁸ reputation

⁹ hour

¹⁰ crown

¹¹ understanding

¹² promises

¹³ make

fallen to his feet bitokeneth that is seid in holi writ, "Lo, I schal make thine ennemys fale¹⁴ bifore thi feet." That he shal kepen hem fro the grete temptacioun bitokeneth that at the comynge of Anticrist, folk shalen turnen to the bileve¹⁵ and not chaunge for no miracle that he doith, ne for no turment. That he bihotith and to hym that overcometh to maken hym a piler bitokeneth hem that ben aparayled¹⁶ to suffre turment for the right bileve of holi chirche to holden it up. Hem shalle not oure Lord suffre to gon oute¹⁷ thorough synne. That he seith he schal write the thre names bitokeneth the thre glories that thei shulen han. The on is the knowynge of God, the othere is the felawschip of aungels, the thredde the sight of Jhesu, God and man.

Texte:

[14] "And to the aungele of the chirche of Loadice, writ thou these thinges, seith Amen that is verili the feithfulle witnesse and trewe, the whiche is the bigynnynge of Goddis creature.\(^{18}\) [15] I wott thi werkis, for nether thou art colde, nether thou art hote. I wolde that thou were coold ether hoot. [16] But for thou art lewe\(^{19}\) and neither cold neither hote, I schal bigyne for to cast thee out of my mouthe. [17] For thou seist that 'I am riche and ful of goodis and I have no nede of no man,' and thou woost not for thou art a wrecche and wreccheful, and thu art pore and blynde and nakid. [18] I counsele thee for to bie\(^{20}\) of me gold firid and preved\(^{21}\) that thou be maad riche and be clothid with whiyte clothis that the confusioun\(^{22}\) of thi nakidnesse appere not. And anoynte thyn iyen with a colerie,\(^{23}\) that is medicyne for iyen gaderid of dyverse eerbis\(^{24}\) that thou see.

[19] "Whom I love, I reprove and chastise. Therfor sue²⁵ or love and do penaunce. [20] Lo, I stonde at the dore and knoke. If any man schal here my vois and opene the gate, I schal entre to him and soupe²⁶ [fol. 207v] with hym and he with me.

[21] "I shal gyven to hym that shal overcome to sitten with me in my trone, as I overcam and satt with my Fader in his trone. [22] He that hath eris, here what the spirit shal seyn to chirchis."

8

9

¹⁴ fall

⁵ faith

¹⁶ prepared

¹⁷ gon out, fall away

¹⁸ creation

¹⁹ lukewarm (lacking in zeal)

²⁰ buy

²¹ proven (refined)

²² shame

²³ salve

²⁴ herbs

²⁵ pursue

²⁶ sup (dine)

10

Glose:

Bi hym that is cold is bitokened he that kan²⁷ not of the beleve. Bi the hote is bitokened hem that han right feith in werkis of charitee. Bi the deef heed²⁸ bitokeneth hem that have bileve withoute werk. The castyng out at the mouthe bitokeneth that thei ben put out of the coumpanye of holy. That he seith he bigynneth to casten hym oute bitokeneth that oure Lord gyveth hem space to amende hem. That he seith that thai ben riche and have no mister²⁹ of noght bitokeneth that fals Cristen men ben wers³⁰ than tho that ben oute of the lawe, that ben Jewis and Sarasenes³¹ that ben mysbylevende men for defaute³² of techynge. Bi the gold fired is bitokened penaunce. Bi the whiyt clothinge is bitokened clennesse of fleisch. Bi the onementis³³ is bitokenede werkis of merci. That he stant at the dore and knokkyth bitokeneth that the grace of God is ever redi to entren to the synner, and amonestith hym thorough prechynge and thorough tribulacioun. To openne the gate is bitokened levynge of seine³⁴ forevere. And thanne oure Lord entreth into hym whan he taketh to wilne³⁵ his werkis. He soupith with oure Lord whan he hath wil to do wel and in that endith his lyf. That bihotith that he shal be with hym in his troone bitokeneth that he shal be glorified in fleisch as the sunne is. There he shal be at the jugement; ther the poure shulen juge othere. That he seith, "He that hath eres to heren, here that the gost seith to chirchis" bitokeneth that oure Lord seith in the gospel, "That I seie to on, I saie to alle."

Chapter 4

1

[1] And after saw Seynt Joon a dore open of hevene and the vois that he herde first as the voice of a trumpe seide to hym, "Cum up hidir and I shal shewe thee the thingis that ben to comen sone after this." [2] And as soone he was ravesched up to heven and saugh [fol. 208r] a sege¹ sette in heven, and on the sege he saugh a sitter. [3] And the Lord that saat semede as it were to the sight of jasper and sardines.²

²⁷ knows

²⁸ deef head, deafness

²⁹ need

³⁰ worse

³¹ Saracens (Muslims)

³² lack

³³ ointments (salves)

³⁴ sin

³⁵ taketh to wilne, gains a desire for

¹ throne

² sardonyx

2 That Seynt Joon saugh the dore open of hevene bitokeneth that the goode prelat that hath the undirstondynge of holi writ and understondith the olde lawe monestith hym to bataile agen vices and synnes, and that is the frist voice as it were of a trumpe. The stiyynge up³ bitokeneth the heeghnesse of goode lif after the techyng of the gospelle. The schewynge of thingis that shulden comen bitokeneth that thei shul smele the swetnesse of the lifthat ever shal lasten. That he was spired in gost bitokeneth that he that hath the grace of God doith hymself out of the ydel thoughtis of ertheli thingis. That he saugh the sege sette in hevene bitokeneth that he seteth his thoughtis into juggement. Bi the sege is bitokened the holy⁵ that restith in God. Bi the colour of the stoune bitokeneth the two kyndis⁶ of God almighti: the godhede and the manhede. And bi the hardnesse of the stoon bitokeneth that he shal be harde agen his ennemys. And bi the coluorrs that ben plesaunt to mannes sight bitokeneth that he shal love able⁷ to his frendis. And bi the two colurrs that ben in the reynebowe bitokeneth two juggementis in whiche God saveth hise.8 The friste was thorough Noes flod. The other shal be at endynge of this world thurgh fier. Either⁹ it bitokeneth that alle that han receyved Cristendam and dien in synne shulen comen at the juggement biforn Jhesu Crist and sweren of 10 his blod that he shede for hem.

Texte:

3 [4] Aboute¹¹ the sege ben foure and twenté segis, and on the foure and twenté segis sitten foure and twenté greete¹² or olde covered in whit clothinge and hadden on her hedes crownesse of gold. [5] And out of the trone cam lightynge and thundrynge, and sevene laumpis brennende ben biforun¹³ the trone that ben the sevene spiritis of God. [6] And biforun the sege als a see¹⁴ of glas that semed as it were cristalle.

Glose:

Bi the foure and twenti grete ben bitokened the twelve patriarkis and prophetis and the twelve apostlis and the holi [fol. 208v] seyntis that shul sitte at the juggement to jugen the other. The whiyt clothinge bitokened that her bodies ben glorified. The crounes of

³ stiyynge up, ascending

⁴ inspired

⁵ holy ones

⁶ natures

⁷ love able, be loving

⁸ his people (see note)

⁹ O

¹⁰ sweren of, answer for

¹¹ Surrounding

¹² elders

in front of

¹⁴ sea

gold bitokenen the victorie that thai have in werkis of charité. Bi lightynge that the spirit doith is bitokened the miraclis that God diede¹⁵ for hem to lighten mennes hertis to the bileve. Bi the voisis is bitokened predicaciouns,¹⁶ the thundre the thretyng of oure Lord that he makith thorough the tribulaciouns that he sendith biforun the juggement. Bi the seven laumpis bitokeneth the seven graces of the Holi Gost that lighten and spiren¹⁷ the hertis that God restith in. Bi the cristalle that wexeth¹⁸ hard in the water as stooun bitokeneth the Cristen men that ben confermed thorough tribulacioun to the right bileve and in goode lyf.

Texte:

5

In myddis the sege and abouten ben foure bestes ful of eyen bihynde and biforun. [7] The firste beste semede a leoun¹⁹ and the other an oxe, and the thride hadde a face as a man. The ferthe was leche²⁰ to an egle. [8] And eche of thes foure hadde sixe wynges and aboute and withinnen weren ful of eyen, and withstynten²¹ not to seyne, "Holi, holi, Lord God almighti, that art and were and shalt come."

Glose:

Bi these foure bestes ben bitokened the foure gospeleris²² that speken of the manhede of Jhesu Crist and of his godhede and of his deeth and of his Resurreccioun. For the lioun is dede²³ whan he is borun, and the thridde day he cometh to lif thurgh the cry of his fadir. And oure Lord that died on the roode²⁴ for us, on the thridde day he cometh to lyf thurgh the cry of his Fader. And oure Lord that died on the roode for us, on the thridde dai roos fro deeth to lyve. And bi the oxe is bitokened Seynt Luke, for he spekith specialy²⁵ of the sacrifice that was maad of Jhesu Crist on the roode for oure synnes. For in the olde lawe, it was comaundede to make sacrifice of oxen for synnes of the folk. Bi liknesse of man is bitokened Seint Mathew, for specialli he spak of the manhede of Crist. Bi the egle is bitokened Seint Joon, for he spak heighest of the Passioun of Jhesu Crist. For the egle is a bred²⁶ that heighest may fleen²⁷ [fol. 209r] and clerest is of sight. Bi the two wyngis biforun is bitokened meknesse withyne in hert and charité. Bi the wyngis amydde,

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15 did
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¹⁶ preaching

¹⁷ inspire

¹⁸ grows

¹⁹ lion

²⁰ like

²¹ cease

²² Gospel writers (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John)

²³ dead

²⁴ cross

²⁵ especially (more than others)

²⁶ bird

²⁷ fly

clennesse of hert and chastité of flesche. Bi the two wenges above, the love of God and his even Cristen. That thai ben fulle of eyen biforun and bihynde bitokeneth the gospelleris that serchen the synnes that man hath doun and to fle hem that ben to comen. That thai weren ful of yyen withynnen and withouten bitokeneth that the apostle seith that we shulden be "bisi³0 to do wel not oneli bifor God but also biforne the folk." That thai styntyn not to sey, "Holy, holy, holy" bitokeneth that thei that holden the ruele of the gospelis shulen everemore in alle her werkis heryen³¹ the Trynité and yelden³² worschipe to God, for he maad us and boughte us agen and saved us, and for the godis³³ that he doith us now and shal down us in that other lif. Bi the leoun bitokeneth hem that ben stronge and hardi to suffren harmes for the love of holi chirche. Bi the oxe ben bitokened hise³⁴ that ben scharpe in penaunce. Bi the man bitokeneth the men that ben light and mylde to drawen hem to goode. By the egle ben bitokenede men of religion that ben in good lyfe or in thought of God or in other manere for these foure figuris that ben four vertues. Bi the leoun, strengthe. Bi the oxe, temperance and mesure.³⁵ Bi the man, rightfulnesse.³⁶ Bi the egle, quentise.³⁵

Texte:

[9] And as the foure bestis yelden grace and worschipe and blissynge to the Lord that sat on the trone and lyveth withouten ende, [10] the foure and twenti greet fellen doun biforen the trone and honoureden hym and leiden ther crownes biforn the trone and seiden, [11] "Oure Lord God, thu art worthi to resceyven blissynge and worschipe and vertue, for thu madist alle thing and bi thi wille alle thinge is maad."

Glose:

That the foure and twenti greete fellen biforn the trone bitokeneth that the holi men thenken on the juggement. That thai leiden her crounes biforn the trone bitokeneth that thai beknowen³⁸ that the maistrye that thai han over the fende is his and not her,³⁹ fore he overecame hym with his Passion. That thei seyn that he is worthi to resceiven worschipe and vertu and honour bitokeneth that thai gladiden⁴⁰ of the glorie of Resureccioun and

²⁸ even Cristen, fellow Christians

²⁹ flee

³⁰ busy

³¹ praise

³² bestow

³³ good things

his people

³⁵ moderation

³⁶ righteousness

³⁷ wisdom

³⁸ confess

³⁹ theirs

⁴⁰ become glad

1

the honour of the Assencioun,⁴¹ [fol. 209v] vertu of gret myght that he hath with his Fadir and shal han at the juggement.

Chapter 5

[1] Seynt Joon sawe at the right half¹ of the Lord on the trone a booke writen withouten and withynne sealid with seven claspis. [2] And I saw an aungele prechen with loude cry, "Who is worthi to undo the book and unbynden the claspis?" [3] And non myghte oondo the book to loken theron in hevene ne erthe ne undir erthe. [4] And he wepte, for non was worthi to undon this book. [5] And on of the grete saide to hym, "Ne wepe thou. Lo, the leon of the kynde of Juda² that is roote of Davith hath overcome to opene the booke and undo the claspis."

Glose:

2 Bi the right half of the Lord is bitokened Goddis Sone. Bi the trone that he settith upon is bitokened the flesch that he tok of the Vergyn Marie, there³ the godhede restith. Bi the book is bitokened the saveour to bien man agen.⁴ The writynge withinne bitokeneth the olde lawe that techith derkly with figuris. Bi the writyng without bitokeneth that techith openli. The seven claspis ben bitokened the seven sacramentis of holi chirche or the seven giftis of the Holi Gost. Bi the stronge aungel is bitokened the olde fadres of the old lawe. Bi the prechynge of grete vois is bitokened the grete desire of the comynge of oure saveoure. That ther was non in heven to undo it, that is seide bi⁵ the aungele. Ne in erthe, that is seide bi the mann. Ne undir erthe, that is seide bi the soule out of the bodi. Bi the wepynge of Seint Joon, that is bitokened the same thing that is. Bi the cry of the stronge aungele, the gret desire that the olde hadden to the bileve. Bi oon of the olde, eche of the prophetis that coumfortith of the old lawe and bihighte⁶ hem that Goddis Sone wold come and take flesch and blod to delivere hem and hidden his godhede thurgh the manhede, that the proude might not know hym, as the lion doith awey his trace⁷ with his tayle whan he fleeth bi the mownteynes that he be not founden. And as the lion slepith and hath his eyen opyne, so died he on the roode as to the flesch and lyved as to the godhed.

⁴¹ Ascension (of Christ)

¹ side

² kynde of Juda, tribe of Judah

where

⁴ bien man agen, ransom mankind (buy mankind again)

⁵ seide bi, said by

⁶ promised

⁷ tracks

Texte:

[6] And I sawe, seith Seynt Joon, amyddis the trone and myddis the foure [fol. 210r] 3 and twenti grete, a Lomb⁸ stondden as it were slayn, and seven hornes and seven eyen that ben the seven spirittis of God and he sente into alle londis. [7] And the Lomb cam and took the book of the right half of hym that sat on the trone. [8] And as he hadde opened the book, the foure bestis and the foure and twenti grete fellen bifore the Lomb. Alle hadden harpis and fithelis⁹ of gold ful of swete smele, tho ben the preyeris of seyntis, [9] and sungen and seyden, "Lord God, thou art worthi to opene the book and undo the claspis, for thou were slayn and thou boughtist agen with thi blood to God of alle kyndis and tungis and folkis and naciouns, [10] and thou hast made us a rengne to oure God and prestis, and we shulen regne on erthe."

Glose:

That the Lomb took the book on the right half of the Lord bitokeneth Goddis Sone, bi the right half that he maried¹¹ hym clen to flesch withouten synne. That is bitokened bi the Lomb that tok the batel for us agen the fende in myledenes, 12 and bi the wisdam that is bitokened bi the book. That the Lomb stode as he were deed and sat bitokeneth that he suffreth passioun in his manhede and in his godhede was hole¹³ as to hymself, outher he is deede in erthe in his lymes¹⁴ thorough tribulaciouns and in blisse he is holliche.¹⁵ That hade seven hornes that ben upward and seven eyen that ben seven spiritis of God sent into alle londis bitokened the seven giftis of the Holi Goost that Jhesu Crist hade, as Ysaye¹⁶ saith, and the giftis to his asaute of her ennemys that came fro high thure¹⁷ pride and tribulaciouns of tirantis of the world and thurgh temptaciouns binethen 18 as the asaughtis of coveitise¹⁹ and of flesly likyngis and of eretikis. The openynge of the book bitokeneth the comynge of Jhesu Crist thurgh his werkis in erthe. The foure bestis bitokeneth the foure prechours of the Gospels on foure half²⁰ of the world. The foure and twenti grete bitokenen hem that shul sitten with Jhesu Crist at the juggement to jugen hise. That thei fellen biforn the Lomb bitokeneth that the holi men lowen hem21 whan thai remembre hem of that Jhesu Crist suffred that was withouten synne. That thei han herpis bitokeneth

Lamb

fiddles

kingdom

united

mildness

whole

limbs

whole

Isaiah

through

beneath

greed

parts

lowen hem, humble themselves

hem [fol. 210v] that slowen²² her flesche wiseely on the crosse of penaunce, as the corde²³ is atempre²⁴ sett in the tree of the harpe to gyve godde soon.²⁵ That thei hadden the violis²⁶ of gold ful of swete odoures bitokeneth that thei hadde the hertis fully of gladnesse and michil²⁷ in the affeccioun of charité that thai spreden out to loven her enemyes and to bidden²⁸ for hem. That thai songen new songis bitokeneth the heryyng²⁹ that thai maad to Jhesu Crist and gladiden³⁰ that he is worthi to undo the book. For he oneli was man withoute eche maner of synne and boughte us with his preciouse blod. And whanne the kyngdame of his fadir, thar we shul regne with joye and blisse withouten eny ende.

Texte:

[11] And I sawe and herde a voise of many aungels about his trone, and the foure and twenti grete and the foure bestis [12] that seiden with gret vois, "The Lomb that is slayn is worthi to resceyven vertu, wisdam, and strengthe, honour, glorie, and blisinge." [13] And alle creaturis hym honour. [14] And the bestis seiden, "Amen." And the foure and twenti gret fellen in her faces and worschipeden hym that lyveth withouten ende.

Glose:

The vois of many thousynde aungelis bitokeneth the joye that the aungelis in heven and the holi men in holi chirche of mankynde and of alle the graces that God gyveth to holi chirche. Oweth man³¹ yelde worschipe to Jhesu Crist thorough whos meryt that it is, and that is confermynge³² of the foure bestis that seiden, "Amen."

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22 slew
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Chapter 6

1 [1] And I saugh that the Lomb openede oon of the sevenne claspis, and I herde that on of the foure bestis seide to me as it wer a vois of thundris, "Cum see." [2] And I saw a whiyt hors comen out, and he that sat theronne hadde a bowe, and a coroune was goven to hym. And he came out overcomende to overcomen.

²³ harpstring

²⁴ in balance

²⁵ sound

²⁶ vials

²⁷ much

²⁸ pray (plead)

²⁹ praise

³⁰ were glad

³¹ Oweth man, Mankind ought to

³² confirmation

overcomende to overcomen, coming over to conquer

Bi the whiyt hors is bitokened holi chirche that is clene of synne thurgh the baptem thurgh the deeth of Jhesu Crist. He that sat theronne bitokeneth Goddis Soone. Bi the bowe is bitokened holi writ that thretith the yvel doeres thorough jugement. Bi the coroune that is goven hym bitokeneth the Saresynes² that ben turned³ to hym. That he went out overcomende to overcome bitokeneth that he shal torne⁴ his⁵ thurgh hem that he schal senden agen⁶ the endynge of the world.

Texte:

3 [3] And as he openede the othere claspe, I herde that other best that seide to me, "Come see." [4] And I saugh a reede hors comynge out, and to hym that satt there upon is goven to take pees fro the erthe and eche slowen⁷ othere. And a gret [fol. 211r] swerde was goven to hym.

Glose:

Bi this reed hors is bitokened the tirauntis that schedden the blud of martiris. And he that sat theron bitokeneth the devel to whom was goven power to greven⁸ al holi chirche. The greet swerde bitokeneth ertheli might.

Texte:

[5] And as he opened the thridde seal, I sawe the thride beste that seid to me, "Come see." And I saugh a blak hors comende out, and he that sat therone hadde a balaunce in his honde. [6] And I herd as it were a wois⁹ amyddis the foure bestis that seide, "Two bilibres¹⁰ of whete for a peny and thre bilibris of barli for a peny. Wyn and oyle do no harme."

Glose:

Bi the blac hors is bitokened eretikis in whiche the devel regneth. Bi the balaunce is bitokened discrecion¹¹ that thei seyen that thei han holi writ. But the prechynge of the gospelle defendith hem that thai do no harme to hem that oure Lord boughte with his blood, and that is he that seith, "Two mesuris of whete for a peny." Bi the whete ben

² Saracens (Muslims)

³ converted

⁴ turn (convert)

⁵ his people

⁶ in preparation for

⁷ slew

⁸ harm

⁹ voice

¹⁰ two-pound measures

¹¹ good judgment

7

bitokened holi men in holi chirche to maken two mesures for two manere men, Jewis and Sarisynes, ether for these two vertues that thai han stedfast bileve and goode werkis. Bi the barli bitokeneth the symple folk that ben savede thurgh the bileve of the holi Trinité. Bi the peny wherof thei ben boughte is bitokened Jhesu Cristis blod. And bi the wyn and oyle ben bitokened the olde lawe and the new.

Texte:

[7] And as he opened the ferthe seal, I harde the vois of the ferthe best that seide to me, "Come see." [8] And thane I saugh a dun¹² hors comende oute, and he that saat on hym was clepith Deith, ¹³ and helle folewide. And hym was goven myght on the four partis of erthe to sleen with swerde and with hunger and of the deeth of the bestis of erthe.

Glose:

Bi the dun hors ben bitokened ypocritis and the devel that wonneth¹⁴ in hem that is Deeth. Thurgh hem the devel may lightli¹⁵ disceyve the folk, for that he is privey,¹⁶ the more he may greven.¹⁷ For the helle folowith hym is bitokened that the ypocritis ben coveitouse and moune¹⁸ not be filde¹⁹ in here coveitise. That hym is goven power on the foure half²⁰ of the erthe bitokeneth that he hath lordschipe of the Jewes and of the Sarasynes, of eretikis and of false Cristen men. The swerd that he sleeth with bitokeneth ertheli myght that thei slen with false jugis. Hungir bitokeneth defaute of techynge. The Deeth bitokened false lore.²¹ The bestes of the erthe bitokeneth glotonye and leccherie.

Texte:

9 [9] And as he opened the fift seal, he saugh undir the auter²² the soulis that were sleyn [fol. 211v] for Goddis word and the witnesse that thai hadden. [10] And thai crieden with a gret cry, "Lord God, holi and sothfast,²³ hou long wilt abide that thou ne wreke²⁴ oure blod of hem that wonen²⁵ in erthe?" [11] And men gaf ech a stole²⁶ whiyt,

¹² grayish brown

¹³ Death

¹⁴ dwells

¹⁵ easily

¹⁶ secret

¹⁷ harm

¹⁸ will

¹⁹ satisfied

²⁰ parts

²¹ teaching

²² altar

²³ true (righteous)

²⁴ avenge

²⁵ dwell

²⁶ robe

and it is seide to hem that thai shulen resten hem a while, til the noumbre was fulfilled of her britheren that ben to be slayn yit.

Glose:

10

Bi the auter is bitokened Jhesu Cristis flesche. That he saith²⁷ the soulis under the auter bitokened that the soulis of holi²⁸ as longe as ther bodies ben in erthe and seen Jhesu Crist glorified in flesche, and that is the whiyt stole that hym was goven. And thei crieden with grete crie that he venge hem bitokeneth the gret desire that thei han of the jugement, for the desire that thai han of the rerynge²⁹ of her bodies in whiche thei hadden³⁰ another stole and shulen ben her³¹ above the autere, that is to seie that thai shulen han ful knowyng of Jhesu Crist in his godhede and than shalle here joiye ben double, thane thai shul be glorified in bodi and soule. That men saide to them that thai rest a while til that the nombre of ther bretheren wer fulfillid bitokeneth solase³² and the coumforte that thai han of her abidynge for the gret company that thai abiden to han in glorie.

Texte:

12

[12] And whane he hadde openede the sixte claspe, thanne I sawe that ther was a grete erthe stirynge,³³ and the sune was maad blak as the sak of an hayre³⁴ and the mone³⁵ is maad as blod [13] and the sterris fellen to the erthe as it were the fruyte of the figer³⁶ that fellen with the wynde. [14] And the heven partide as a book folden and eche mountayne and yle ben stiride of ther stede.³⁷

[15] And kyngis and princis and the cheventeynes³⁸ and the riche and the stronge and alle thrallis³⁹ and free hidden hem in dichis⁴⁰ and in rochis⁴¹ [16] and seyn to mounteyns and to rochis, "Fallith on us and hiddith us fro the face of hym that sittith on the trone and fro the wrathe of the Lomb! [17] For the greet day of here wraththe is comen and whoo may stande?"

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<sup>27</sup> saw
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²⁸ the righteous

²⁹ raising

³⁰ will have

³¹ here (in that place)

³² solace

³³ erthe stirynge, earthquake

³⁴ sak of an hayre, sackcloth made of animal skin (haircloth)

³⁵ moon

³⁶ fig tree

³⁷ stiride of ther stede, moved from its place

³⁸ chieftains (governors)

³⁹ slaves

⁴⁰ ditches

⁴¹ rocks

The greet erthe stirynge bitokeneth the greet percecusion of Anticrist. That the sonne wexe blak bitokeneth that Jhesu Crist shal be derk to hym and to miraclis that he doith. And his membris⁴² that shul be than in tribulacions, that bitokeneth the harde haire. ⁴³ But he shal saven his, and that bitokeneth the blod. That the mone is blod bitokeneth that holi chirche shal be than in gret tribulacioun overal for the tirauntis that shulen slee the goode and spillen her blode. That the sterris fallen doun bitokened hem that semeden [fol. 212r] religiouse shulen haten thanne the right bileve to saven her bodies. That the figir cast his frute with the wynde bitokeneth that holi chirche shal delyvere hir of false Cristen men for the percecucioun that thane shal ben. That heven shal departen hir as a book turneth bitokeneth the defaute of sothefast⁴⁴ prechynge that thane shal be. And the mountenes and the yles ben stired oute of here stede bitokeneth that the good shule than be departid fro the wicke. Bi the hidynge is bitokened the grate lownesse of holi⁴⁵ and many maneres that thai shulen ben in thanne and the prieres that thei shulen make to fleen the wraththe of the jugement.

Chapter 7

1

2

- [1] After I sawe foure aungels stonden on the foure corners of the erthe that helden the foure wyndis of the erthe that that blew not on the erthe ne on the see ne on the trees. [2] And I saw anothere aungele stiyende¹ up fro the risyng² and hade the mark of God lyvende³ and cried with gret vois to the foure aungels that han resceyved the power to greve⁴ the erthe and the see and seide, [3] "Willith not to greven the erthe ne see ne trees til that we marke the servauntis of oure God in ther forhedes." [4] And I herde the noumbre of the markid: an hundride foure and fourti thousende of eche kynde⁵ of the sones of Israel.
- [5] Of the kynde of Juda, twelve thousende signede.⁶ Of the kynde of Ruben, as manye. Of the kynde of Gaad, as manye. [6] Of the kynde of Aser, as many. Of the kynde of Neptalym, as manye. [7] Of the kynde of Simeon, as manye. Of the kynde of Levy, as many. Of the kynde of Ysachar, as manye. [8] Of the kynde of Zabulon, as manye. Of the

⁴² his membris, Jesus's followers

⁴³ harde haire, haircloth

⁴⁴ true

⁴⁵ the righteous

¹ coming

² east (rising sun)

³ God lyvende, living God

⁴ harm

⁵ tribe

⁶ marked

kynde of Joseph, as manye. Of the kynde of Benjamyn, as many. Of the kynde of Manasse, as manye.

Glose:

The foure aungelis that helden the foure wyndis bitokeneth the develis that shulen distroien the prechynge and Gospelis that thei stere⁷ not the reynes⁸ of grace to dwellen in the herte of the synful. That the aungele went forth into the estwarde and defendith hym bitokeneth that Jhesu Crist came doun to bynyme⁹ the fende of his power that he myght not noyen¹⁰ as myche as he wolde. In the markenge in the forhede bitokeneth that the sothfast¹¹ Cristen man makith on hym the cros to shew that the bileve of the cros is in his herte as he is aknowe¹² with his mouthe withoute shame. That [fol. 212v] he saugh the noumbre of the markide bitokeneth that alle shul be savede that han percecucioun with gud wille of herte. Thousoundis bitokeneth overcomyngis, and temptaciouns that bitokened hundrid, and soithfaste penance bitokeneth fourti, and the feith of the Gospelis foure.

Texte:

[9] After I sawe a gret asemblé that noon myght telle¹³ of alle manere of men that stonden bifore the trone in sight of the Lomb, hilid¹⁴ with whit stolis and palmis in her hondis, [10] and crieden with gret vois, "Helthe to oure Lord God that sitte on the trone and to the Lomb." [11] And alle the aungelis stoden aboute the trone, and alle the grete and the foure bestis fellen bifore the trone in her faces and onoureden God [12] and seiden, "Amen. Blessynge, clerté,¹⁵ wisdam, grace, and honoure, vertu and strengthe be to oure Lord withouten ende."

Glose:

The gret multitude that no man myght noumbren that that stoden biforn the trone bitokeneth hem that after that Anticrist is fordoun¹⁶ shulen stonden in holi chirche and after the jugement in heven. The goode Cristen men that thurgh goode lif han overcome the tribulacioun of the world, that is bitokened thurgh peyne thei shulen yelden grace¹⁷ to

⁷ guide

⁸ passions

⁹ take away

¹⁰ harm

¹¹ true (righteous)

is aknowe, acknowledges

¹³ count

¹⁴ covered

¹⁵ glory

¹⁶ destroyed

¹⁷ love

8

God, for that he hath savede hem thurgh his Sone. That thai fallen biforne the trone and honoureden God bitokeneth the gret joye that aungelis shulen han of the greet compenye of holi men and wymmen in blesse wherthurgh¹⁸ thei shulen yelden grace to God.

Texte:

- 6 [13] And oon of the grete answerde and seide to me, "These that ben covered with whiyt stolis, what ben thai, and whennes camen thei?"
- 7 [14] And I seide to hym, "My lord, thu wost." 19
 - And he seyde to me, "It ben thei that ben comen fro gret tribulacioun and han waschen ther stolis and maade hem whiyte in the blod of the Lomb. [15] And therfor thai ben biforn Goddis trone and serven hym day and nyght in his temple. And he that sitt in the trone woneth on²⁰ hem [16] that thai shulen never han hungris ne thriste ne the sunne shal not fallen on hem ne noon hete, [17] for the Lomb that sittith amyd the trone shal coverne²¹ hem, and he shal leden hem to the wellis of watre of lif and shal wepyn²² awey eche tere fro ther eyen."

Glose:

9 Bi the spekynge of the grete is bitokened holi writt that techith us and monestith us to suffre tribulaciouns in this lif and to wasche bodi and soule thurgh schrifte²³ and witen²⁴ hem thurgh goode werkis in the bileve of Jhesu Criste in hope of the goodis that evere shal lasten.

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18 for which
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Chapter 8

1

2

- [fol. 213r] [1] And as the Lomb opened the seventhe claspe, silence is maad in heven as it were the space of half an our. [2] And I saugh sevene aungelis stonden biforen the face of God and hem ben goven seven trumpis.
- [3] And another aungel comende¹ stodde biforn the autere and hadde a censer of gold in his honde, and manye encensis ben govun to hym that he shuld give of the orisones² of alle halowen³ upon the autere of gold that is biforn the trone. [4] And the smok

¹⁹ know

woneth on, dwells with

²¹ govern (protect) (see note)

²² wipe

²³ confession (penance)

²⁴ whiten (purify)

¹ coming

² prayers

³ saints

of the encens of preieris of alle halowen wente up fro the aungeles hond biforn God. [5] And the aungele took the censer and fild it ful of the fier of the autere and sente it into the erthe. And there weren made thoundryngis and voices⁴ and lightnyngis and grete styrynge of erthe.

Glose:

Bi the silence that is maad in heven as bi the space of half an oure bitokeneth the pees that holi chirche shal have after the distrecioun⁵ of Anticrist, and after shal soone comen the jugement. The seven aungelis with seven trumpis bitokeneth alle the prechours in holi chirche that ben taughte thurgh the grace of God and the seven giftis of the Holi Goost. That other aungele that stode bifore the autere bitokeneth Goddis Sone in manhede. The senser of gold bitokeneth holi chirche that ensensith⁶ the praiers of the seyntis. The smok of the encens that stiyeth up bitokeneth the compuccioun⁷ of hertis that wexith of orisones. That he fild the censer of the fier of the auter bitokeneth that he techith the hertis that han mynde of his Passioun. That he sent into the erthe bitokeneth that he sent his disciplis to prechen the gospel. Bi the thundir ben bitokened the thretyng that he thretith us with, the jugement that God shal make thurgh the prechours. Bi the vois, the bihest of glorie. Bi the lightynge, the miraclis. Bi the gret erthe sterynge bitokeneth the gret lownesse.⁸

Texte:

4 [6] And the seven aungelis that hadden the seven trumpis maden hem redi to syngen⁹ in trumpe. [7] And at the trumpynge of the firste aungele is maad hail with fier mengid¹⁰ with blood and is sente into erthe. And the thridde part of the erthe is brent and a gret part of trees and grene hey.¹¹

Glose:

The trumpynge of the first aungel bitokeneth the first prechynge that was maad to the Jewes that weren goven to the love of ertheli thingis. And that the hail and the fire was menged with blood bitokeneth the wicke wordis and the felonye of the Jewis whan thei spilten Jhesu Cristis blod and his halewes. ¹² Bi the erthe that the thridde part is brent [fol. 213v] bitokeneth coveitouse men. Bi the trees, the proude men, the thridde part

⁴ rumblings

⁵ destruction

⁶ instructs (enlightens)

⁷ repentance

⁸ humility (obedience)

⁹ play

¹⁰ mixed

¹¹ grass

¹² saints

ben dampned. The grene heigh¹³ bitokeneth the delices¹⁴ of the world that ben goven to delites of flesche that turnen hem more to evel than good. And therfore al is brent and thane is the gret part dampned.

Texte:

[8] And at the trumpynge of the secounde angele is as it were an hille brenande sent into the see. And the thridde part of the see is maad blod, [9] and the thridde part of the creatures that hadden soulis in the see and the thridde part of the schippis perischid.

Glose:

The trumpynge of the secounde aungel bitokeneth the frist prechinge that was prechide to the Jewes, turned afterward to the panymes.¹⁵ That the brennende hil is sente into the see bitokeneth the enwye¹⁶ that the devel hath to prouden,¹⁷ the erroure to noye.¹⁸ The world is bitokened the see. That the thridde part bicame blod bitokeneth that o part of panymes dwellen in her synnes of misbilevyng. That the thridde part of creatures benn deed¹⁹ bitokeneth of hem that ben turned²⁰ to the bileve that shulen ben lorne²¹ a gret part, thourgh wicke life that thei loveden in wicke workis that thai doun. Bi the schippis ben bitokened prelatis²² in this world that shulden beren the othere²³ to the revers²⁴ of savacioun. A gret part shulen be lorn of hem.

Texte:

[10] And the thridde aungele blewe his trumpe, and a greet sterre fel fro heven brennand as a bronde²⁵ and tok the thride part of the rivers and fel into wellis. [11] And the name of the sterre is seide Wermwede,²⁶ and the thridde part of the watris is maad wermwed,²⁷ and manye shul die of the watris for the biternesse.

¹³ grass (hay)

¹⁴ delights

¹⁵ pagans

¹⁶ envv

¹⁷ become proud

¹⁸ harm

¹⁹ dead

²⁰ converted

lost

²² prelates

²³ others

²⁴ rivers

²⁵ firebrand

²⁶ Wormwood

²⁷ bitter

Bi the watris ben bitokenede holi writt of the olde lawe and of the newe. Bi the wellis ben bitokened the gospelis. That the sterre felle and maade hem bitter bitokened that after Jhesu Crist hadde taughte the right bileve in holi chirche thurgh holi writ and is resceyvede, the devel made heretikis to woxen²⁸ more and more and corumpen²⁹ holi writ thurgh false understondynge and evel techynge and maken hem alle bitter as wermwede and lest³⁰ manye of that techyng.

Texte:

[12] And the ferthe aungele blew his trumpe, and the thridde part of the sune and of the moone and of sterris is smyten with derknes so that o part schon not night ne day. [13] And I sawe and herde an egle fleegh thurgh the heven and seide with gret vois, "Wo, wo, wo to hem that wonen³¹ in erthe."

Glose:

That the thridde part of the sunne and mone and sterris ben smyten in derknesse bitokeneth hem that the fynde³² may not blynden thurgh mysbileve. He binymeth³³ hem grace [fol. 214r] thurgh evel werkis bothe of the grete and of the smaller and of the smallest so that thai amenden hem nought thourgh helthe ne thurgh harmes that thai han, that bitokeneth day and nyght. Bi the egle ben bitokened prechours that comen fro fere³⁴ and warnen holi chirche of gret tribulaciouns that it shal han at the commynge of Anticrist, nameli to hem that han goven over myche her love alle to ertheli thingis.

Chapter 9

1

[1] And the fifte aungele blew his trumpe, and I saugh that a sterre feel fro heven to erthe, and hym was goven the keiye of the depe pit.¹ [2] And he opened the pit and the smoke of the pit went up as a grete ovene and maade the sune derk and the erthe. [3] And out of the smok came locustus into the erthe, and hym was goven power to don harm as the scorpioun. [4] And hem is comaundid to do non harme to the heigh² of the erthe,

²⁸ grow

²⁹ corrupt

³⁰ lost

³¹ dwell

³² fiend (devil)

takes away

³⁴ afar

depe pit, abyss (see note)

² grass

neither no grene³ nether no tree ne no man but hem that hadden not the mark of God in here forhedis, [5] and bad that thei shulden not slen hem but turmenten hem fyve monethis,⁴ and her turment is as the turment of scorpions whan he smyteth⁵ man. [6] And in tho dayes, men shulen seken deeth and thei shulen not fynden it, and thai shulen desiren to dien and deeth shal fleen fro hem.

Glose:

Bi the sterre that fel fro hevene bitokeneth the fendis that opened the pite of the deippe⁶ that is the sotile⁷ eresie⁸ that ben in the eretikis discipils. The smoke that derketh the sunne bitokeneth the evel techynge that thai techen that maken derk the bileve. Bi tho that mow not fleen highe⁹ ben bitokened Antcristis discipils that mowe not fleen highe thurgh right undirstondynge ne gon not sikirli¹⁰ thurgh goode werkes. Bi the heigh¹¹ and the grene and the trees ben bitokened thre degrees in holi chirche: tho that be newe comen to the bileve, and tho that werken wele,¹² and tho that ben of heighl³ lif, that oure Lord wil not suffre that thai ben harmed in soule, though he sende hem tribulacioun to the bodi. That thei desiren the deeth bitokeneth the grete drede that the gud¹⁴ shulen han to comen and to fallen in tribulaciouns that shul be so gret.

Texte:

[7] And locustus semen as it weren hors¹⁵ that weren dight¹⁶ to baitaile and on her heides thai han corounes that semen as it were gold, and her faces as mennes faces. [8] And thei shulen han here¹⁷ as it were of a woman, and her teeth as of a leoun [9] and haburiounes¹⁸ as it [fol. 214v] were of yren, and the wois¹⁹ of here wengis as the vois of chares²⁰ of manye hors that rennen into bataile. [10] And thei shulen han tailis as the scorpion and

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green plants
months
stings
pite of the deippe, abyss
subtle (intellectual)
heresy
tho that mow not fleen highe, those that cannot fly high (the locusts)
securely (assuredly)
grass
werken wele, do good works
holy
good people
horses
prepared
hair
hauberks (coats of armor)
sound
chariots
```

scharpe prikis²¹ in her tailis, and her myghte is to greven²² the folk fyve monethes. And thei han [11] a kynge overe hem, the aungele of the pit to whome the name in Ebrewe is Abadoun, in Greke Apollion, in Latyn *Exterminans*.²³

4 [12] And thane passith o wo, and yit comen two woes.

Glose:

By the hors dight to batayle is bitokened the pridde and the cruelté that ben in Anticristis prophetis. Bi the corownes that semen as it were gold and that thei that hadden faces as it were of men, that is bitokened two manere of ypocrisye, on²⁴ his in herte techyng, another in her lyvynge. And that thai han heris as it were a womman bitokeneth that thai ben nesche²⁵ and light²⁶ to turne to evel. Bi the teeth as a leoun is bitokened her bileve. Bi the habiriounes as it wern of iren is bitokened the hard hertis that thai han agen²⁷ sothefastnesse.²⁸ Bi the soun of her wengis is bitokened the gret pride that thai haven of her science.²⁹ That thai haven the tailis as of the scorpion ben bitokened worldly thingis that thei haven.

Texte:

7

[13] And the sixte aungele blewe his trumpe, and I herde a vois of the foure corneres of the auter of gold that is bifore Goddis eyen [14] that seide to the sext aungele, "Unbynde the foure aungelis that ben boundunn in the flood of Eufraten." [15] And the foure aungelis ben unboundunn that were redi to sleen the thride part of men, and bi an oure and bi a day and bi a moneth and bi a yeer. [16] And I saugh many thousande knyghtis on hors, and I herde her noumbre, twenti thousende sithis ten thousende.

[17] And thei hade haburiounes of fire and of jacinit³² and of brenneston,³³ and the hedes of the hors weren as hedis of leonnes, and out of her mouthe camen fire and smoke and brunstoun [18] thurgh whiche the thride part of men weren slaun. [19] For the myght of hors is in her mouthes, and in her taylis that semen neddris.³⁴

²¹ stingers

²² torment

²³ Destroyer

²⁴ one

²⁵ soft (self-indulgent)

²⁶ fickle

²⁷ against

²⁸ truth (righteousness)

²⁹ knowledge

³⁰ flood of Eufraten, Euphrates River

³¹ multiplied by

³² jacinth (precious stone)

³³ brimstone (sulfur)

³⁴ poisonous snakes

The auter of gold bitokeneth the flesche of Jhesu Crist. Bi the foure corneris bito-8 keneth the foure gospelleris that drowen of foure thingis oure savacioun: the Nativité of oure Lord, the Passioun, the Resureccioun, the Assencioun. And the foure aungelis that ben in the gret flode of Eufrate that the voice bad unbynden bitokeneth the princes on foure half the world. The undoynge is the suffraunce that oure Lord suffreth hem to mysdon³⁶ that tyme. [fol. 215r] For aforhonde³⁷ shulen preche priveli,³⁸ and after thei wiln putten hem forth apertli³⁹ agen⁴⁰ holi chirche. The hors bitokeneth the tirauntis of this world, the knyghtis the eretikis that maken the other to mysdoun thurgh her techynge. Bi the fire that cam out of the hors mouthis ben bitokened coveitise⁴¹ to whiche turneth of prechynge of eretikis. Bi the smok is pride bitokened, bi the brunstoun lecherie. Bi these foure synnes be corumpid⁴² a gret hep⁴³ of the folk in this world, that is to seie eresie, coveitise, pride, and lecherie. That the myght of the hors ben in ther mouthis and in her tailis ben bitokened that thourgh false techyng and wike⁴⁴ werkis and thourgh evel exsaumple, thei gilen⁴⁵ the other.

Texte:

[20] And these other men that ben not slayn in these woundis⁴⁶ and that takith not 9 penaunce of the werkis of her hondis, and that thei honored not⁴⁷ the devel ne ymagerie of gold ne of silver ne of bras ne of ston ne of trees that mow not seen ne heren ne goun, 48 [21] ne takenn no penaunce of ther mensleyngis⁴⁹ ne of her venym doyngis⁵⁰ ne of her fornicaciouns ne of her thiftis.

drowen of, wrote about

do wrong

beforehand (previously)

secretly

publicly

against

greed

corrupted

multitude

wicked

beguile

plagues (see note)

honored not, did not stop worshipping

murders

⁵⁰ venym doyngis, *potion making (sorcery)*

Chapter 10

1

[1] And I sawe another aungele comende doun fro heven covered with a cloude and the bow of heven¹ in his hede and his face was as the sune and his feet as pilerers² of fire [2] and hade in his hond a book open and sette his right foot on the see and his lifte foot on the erthe [3] and cried with gret vois as a leoun whan he roreth. And to his crie spaken seven thundris her voisses. [4] And I herde a vois of heven that seide to me, "Marke³ the wordis of the seven thundres and writ hem not."

Glose:

2 The aungele comende doun fro heven bitokeneth Goddis Sone that lowed hym4 to the kynde⁵ of mann. The cloude bitokeneth the flesch that he tok of oure ladi Marie. The aungele bitokeneth the acorde and the byndynge bitwene God and mann. Bi the face ben bitokened goode menn of religioun that ben likened to hym in hardinesse⁶ of lif. Thei ben as the sunne for thei lightenn the othere thurgh goode exsaumple. Bi the feet ben bitokenede the good prechoures that gon fro o place to anothere to prechen the bileve. Thei ben pilerers of fire and thei owen⁷ to susteyne the feble⁸ and undirnymmyn⁹ the colde and heten¹⁰ hem with fier of love. That he had a book in his honde bitokeneth that he seith in the gospel, "I am not come to brek the law, but I am [fol. 215v] comen to fulfillen it." That the book was open bitokeneth that he openeth¹¹ holi writte thurgh his comynge and gaf understondynge to his chosene. Bi the see is understonden hethen men, bi the erthe the Jewis. To turne¹² to bileve the hethen men, he sente his stronge prechours, that is bitokened bi the right foot, and to the Jewis the febled, and that is bitokened the lift fott. And that he cried as a leoun when he roreth bitokeneth that thurgh his prechynge he holdith hise in here bileve, that thai dure, ¹³ not gon out. ¹⁴ Bi the seven thundris that answerden to his crie, here 15 voises bitokenede the goode prechours in holi chirche after apostils. That

bow of heven, rainbow

² pillars

³ Seal (Conceal)

⁴ lowed hym, lowered himself

⁵ nature

⁶ courage

⁷ ought

ougni 8 feeble

⁹ rebuke

^{10 /}

¹⁰ warm (inspire)

¹¹ makes clear

¹² convert

¹³ endure

¹⁴ gon out, fall away from faith

¹⁵ their

5

the vois saide that he shuld heele¹⁶ that the thundris spaken and that he write hem not is bitokened that at the commyng of Anticrist, the prechynge of the gospel shal sesen.¹⁷

Texte:

- [5] And the aungele that I soo¹⁸ saugh stonde on the see and on the erthe liftid up his honde in to hevene [6] and swor bi hym that liveth withouten ende that made hevene and erthe and see and alle thingis that therinne ben that tyme shal last no lenger. [7] But to the tyme of the seven aungele whane he schale bigyne to blawe¹⁹ shal be endide the privetis²⁰ of God, as he has prechid bi his holi prophetis and his servantis.
- 4 [8] And the vois that I herde fro heven eft²¹ spak to me and seide, "Go and take the book that is open of the aungelis hond that stant on the see and on the erthe."
 - [9] And I wente to the aungele and bad hym take²² me the book. And he seide to me, "Tak and swelewe²³ it in, and it shal maak thi wombe²⁴ bitter, but in thi mouthe it shal be swete as hony." [10] And I tooke the book of the aungelis hond and swelewed it in, and it was swet in my mouthe as hony and in my wombe bitter.

Glose:

Bi the liftyng up of the aungelis honde is bitokened the upstiyng of oure Lord. Bi that that he swore that the world shulden lasten no lenger and the privetés of Gode schulden ben endide bihotith²⁵ the stedfast bileve of glorie that oure Lord gyveth to hem that ben in persecucioun of Anticrist. The book open that the aungele held in his honde bitokeneth hem that desiren the understondynge of holi write and taken it²⁶ God comaundith hem that thei do it in werke. That the book was maad [fol. 216r] swete in his mouthe and bitter in his wombe bitokeneth that Goddes word is plesant to man to hern it and prechen it, but it is ful herd²⁷ to doon in werk.

¹⁶ conceal

¹⁷ cease

¹⁸ so (in that way)

¹⁹ blow the trumpet

²⁰ mysteries

²¹ again

²² give

²³ swallow

²⁴ stomach

²⁵ promises

²⁶ taken it, understood that

²⁷ hard

Chapter 11

- 1 [10:11] And also the aungele seide to me, "Thou most¹ prechen to manye diverce folkis and to many kyngis."
- 2 [11:1] And he gaf me a reed that semed as it were a yerde² and seide to me, "Dight³ thee and mete⁴ the temple and the autere and hem that honoren⁵ therinne. [2] The porche⁶ that is withouten the temple, cast it oute. Mete it not, for it is gove to misbilevende⁷ that shal defoulen the holi citee two and fourti monethis."

Glose:

Bi the reed that semed as it were a yerde is bitokenede holi writ, bi the yerde chastisynge of flesche that thai owen to haven⁸ that knouen holi writ and prechynge as the apostille Seynt Poule seith, "I chastise my bodi and make it soget⁹ to my soule, lest happeli¹⁰ whan I preche to othere I be maad reprevable."¹¹ That he bad hym risen to mete the temple bitokeneth that the prechours owen to drawen hem to goode werkis and prechen to othere after that thei mowen undirstonde and joynen¹² hem penance after that thei mowen bere. Bi the porche withoute the temple is understonden bi fals Cristen men to whom men owen not to prechen of the comyng of Anticrist but puten hem out thurgh techynge. That thei misbilevende shulen han myght to defoulen the citee two and fourti monethis bitokeneth that Antecrist shal han power to defoulen holi chirche with manye percecuciouns three yere and an half, that is the tyme that is tolde biforn. Bi an houre, that is bitokened bi half a yere, and bi a day a yere, by a moneth a yere, and by a yer a yeer. And that shale be sette biforn¹⁴ bi two tymes and half a tyme.

Texte:

4 [3] "And I shale gyve to my two witnessis, and thei shulen prechen bi a thousende dayes too¹⁵ hundrid and sixti, covered with sackis." ¹⁶ [4] Thes ben two olyves¹⁷ and two

```
1 must
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² measuring rod

³ *Go*

⁴ measure

⁵ worship

⁶ courtyard

⁷ unbelievers

⁸ owen to haven, ought to receive (owe as a debt)

⁹ subject

¹⁰ by chance

¹¹ blameworthy

¹² enjoin (impose)

¹³ after that thei mowen bere, according to what they can bear

shale be sette biforn, will be written later (see note)

¹⁵ two

¹⁶ sackcloth

¹⁷ olive trees

candilstikis stonden in the sighte of the Lorde of erthe. [5] And who that wile noien¹⁸ hem, fire shal come out of hir mowthis and shal devoren her enmyes. And who that wil do them harm, the fire of her mouthe shal slen hem. [6] Thei han power to close hevene that it reyne not in the dayes of her prophecie, and thai han powers on watres to turnen hem into blod and to smyte the erthe with eche wounde¹⁹ hou often thei wiln.

Glose:

These two witnessis ben Enok and Elie that bitokeneth prechours to whom oure 5 Lord sendith his grace and monestith²⁰ that thei faile not in so litil [fol. 216v] wo whan thei duren²¹ in so great persecucioun. That thei weren covered with sackis bitokenen that prechours and prelatis owen to given othere exsaumple to do penance. That thei ben two olyves bitokeneth that thei shul be ful of merci. That thei ben candilstikis schynynge bitokeneth that thei shulen lighten the othere thourgh holi techynge and thourgh good ensaumple. That thei ben stondende bitokeneth that thei shul not taken of ertheli thingis but for her sustinaunce, as the apostile Seynt Poule seith, "If that we han that we may be feed²² with and hilid,²³ be we paied²⁴ with that." That the fiere shal comen out at her mouthis and devoren her enmyes bitokeneth that thei shulen fighten with gostli swerd that is Goddis word that is fire, not thurgh erthli myght. Bi the reyn of heven bitokeneth the manas²⁵ of the proude mighti that good prechours han myghte to closen²⁶ that thei be not drede. Bi the watres ben bitokened the lecherous that the goode prechours turnen into blood whan thei maken hem to ben aknowe²⁷ ther filthis. Bi the erthe is bitokened coveitise that the godd prechours smyten with alle woundis whan thei doun hem forsake the yvel and suffren alle manere mysese²⁸ for the love of God.

Texte:

[7] And whan thei han endide her witnesse, the best²⁹ that cometh up of the depnesse shal fighte with hem and overecomen hem and shal sleen hem. [8] And her bodies shulen lyn in the gret citee that is gosteli clepid Sodom and Egipte, there³⁰ that here Lorde

wile noien, would harm

¹⁹ eche wounde, every plague

²⁰ admonishes

²¹ endure

²² fed

clothed

²⁴ satisfied

²⁵

myghte to closen, power to shut out (see note)

²⁷ ben aknowe, admit

²⁸ misery

²⁹ beast

³⁰ where

was don³¹ on the rood. [9] And men shul seen her bodies aboven erthe three dayes and an half. And thei shul not suffre that thei be leide in erthe. [10] And thei that wonen in erthe shulen joien³² and gladen of hem and senden giftis the oen³³ to the othere, for these two prophetis turmentiden hem that wonen in erthe.

- [11] And after thes thre dayes, the gost³⁴ of lyf shul entre onto hem thurgh God, and thei shul stonden on her fete, and alle that shulen seen this shulen han gret drede [12] and shulen heren a gret vois fro hevene that shalle seiye to hem, "Cometh up hider." And thei shulen weenden³⁵ up in a clowde, and her enmyes shul seen hem.
- [13] And in that tyme shal be maad a gret erthe movynge,³⁶ and the tenthe part of the citee shal fallen, and ther ben slayn in erthe stirynge the names of men seven thousende. And the othere be sent into drede and given heryinge³⁷ to God of heven.
 - [14] And than endith the tother wo, and the thride wo shul come sone.

Glose:

7

8

9

Bi the [fol. 217r] best that came out of the pit bitokeneth Anticrist that shal come agen ³⁸ Enoc and Elie and shal slen hem, and it bitokeneth the fend that cometh up thurgh her hertis that ben derk thurgh synne agen Goddis folk that doun hem harme in ertheli thingis as he dide Job. The grete citee bitokeneth the world that is cleped Sodom gosteli, that is an othere ³⁹ to herien God, and Egipt that is a derknesse, that is that hath no knowing of God. The bodies of Elie and Enok shul be seen lyynge in stretis dead, that bitokeneth that the folk of the world shulen ben agast ⁴⁰ of the advercitees and angwische that Goddis halowis ⁴¹ shulen suffren. But that is wronge, for the Lord of halewis was turmentid and doun ⁴² on the roode. That thai suffreden not to birien ⁴³ the bodies bitokeneth that the folk han no remembraunce of the holi ⁴⁴ that han ben. And that thei gladeden of her deeth and thei senten eche to othere bitokeneth that ech gladeth whan thei seen worldly goodis fallen fro a gud man that was wont to chastise hem of her wickednesse, and seyn the oon to the othere, "Now we ben vengid of this papelard." ⁴⁵ That the gost of lif schal entre into hem bitokeneth that thai dieden for the love of God shale risse to blisse. That thai stoden

³¹ killed

³² rejoice

³³ one

³⁴ breath

³⁵ wend (travel)

³⁶ erthe movynge, earthquake

³⁷ praise

³⁸ against

³⁹ an othere, opposed

⁴⁰ frightened

⁴¹ saints

¹² killed

⁴³ burv

⁴⁴ righteous people

⁴⁵ hypocrite (traitor)

on her fete bitokened the stedfastnesse that thei have, that no man may don hem harm. That thei wenten up in a cloude bitokeneth that the flesche is glorifiede. The stirynge of the erthe bitokeneth the grete drede that the tirauntis shulen han that turmenten hem in this lyf. That the tenthe part of the citee fel bitokeneth the dampnacioun of hem that weren asignede⁴⁶ as clerkis and prelatis in the world that be slayn. The stirynge of the erthe bitokeneth the simple folk that ben lorn⁴⁷ thurgh these othere. That thes othere ben aferd and yelden glorie to God bitokeneth that echoon⁴⁸ schulen be chastised bi the other and don her penaunce mekeli.⁴⁹

Texte:

12

- [15] And the seventh aungele blew his trumpe and made his gret cry in heven that seide, "Made is the rynge⁵⁰ of this world oure Lord and Jhesu Cristis his Sone. He shale rynge withouten hende."⁵¹
 - [16] And the foure and twenti olde that sitten on seges biforn Godis face fellen and honoureden hym and seiden, [17] "We yelden grace to thee, oure Lord God almyghti, that art and shal ben and hast resseyved vertu and hast regned. [18] And the folk ben wroththe, and thi wraththe is comen and thi tyme to jugen the deade and yelde mede to [fol. 217v] thin halewis, prophetis, and other that dreden thi name, litil and mochel, ⁵² and distroyen that filen ⁵³ the erthe."

Glose:

The grete vois in hevene bitokeneth the gret joye that holi chirche shal han aftir Anticrist is fordoun,⁵⁴ of the pees⁵⁵ than that schal be gove to hir. Bi the foure and twenti grete ben bitokened the prelatis of holi chirche. That thei fellen on knees and worschipiden God bitokeneth that thei lowen hem⁵⁶ to do penaunce in this lif and thankeden God of the goodis that he hath geve hem and that he hath deliverid hem of her enmys.

⁴⁶ ordained

⁴⁷ lost

⁴⁸ each one

⁴⁹ meekly (humbly)

⁵⁰ reign

⁵¹ end

⁵² great

⁵³ defile

⁵⁴ destroyed

⁵⁵ peace

⁵⁶ lowen hem, humble themselves

Chapter 12

- 1 [11:19] And the temple of God in hevene is opene and whiche of his testament¹ is comen into his temple, and lettingis² ben maade and voises³ and thundres and erthe movynge and haile.
- 2 [12:1] And a greet tokene⁴ in hevene aperide, a womman coverede with the sunne and the moone undir hire fete and on hire hede a coroune with many sterris, [2] and grete with childe, and cried and was turmentid in childe berynge.

Glose:

The hevene bitokeneth holi chirche. The temple of God bitokeneth the Holi Gost that aperede in holi chirche, thurgh whiche the privetés of God ben schewede. The whiche of his testament bitokeneth Jhesu Crist, thurgh whiche his hestis ben feld. The lightnynge bitokeneth his miraclis. The vois bitokeneth the predicaciouns, the stirynge of erthe tribulaciouns that oft comen and gon. The woman bitokeneth holi chirche that is clade with Jhesu Crist that is the sunne thourgh his grace. Bi the moone that is under hir fete bitokeneth ertheli thingis wherwith holi chirche owith to be susteyned in this dedeli lyf and owith not coveiten, the twelve sterres tho holi soulis that ben wonnen thourgh apostlis, and the heed of holi chirche is Jhesu Crist. The seed that sche was gret with bitokeneth Goddis word. The angwische that sche had to beren childe bitokeneth the scharpnesse of lif that the holi prechours hadden to converten othere. The crie bitokeneth prechynge.

Texte:

[3] And anothere token is seen in heven, a grete dragoun reed⁹ that hadde seven hedis and ten hornes. [4] And his taile drow¹⁰ down the thride part of the sterris of heven and hadde¹¹ hem into the erthe. And the dragoun stode biforn the womman that shuld childen¹² to devoren hir childe whan it was borun. [5] And sche childide a knave¹³ childe

whicehe of his testament, Ark of his Covenant

² lightning flashes

³ rumblings

⁴ sign

⁵ commands

⁶ carried out

⁷ preaching

⁸ ought

⁹ red

¹⁰ drew

¹¹ brought

¹² give birth

¹³ male

that was to governe alle men in yerde of iren.¹⁴ And [fol. 218r] hir childe is ravyschide¹⁵ to God and to his trone. [6] And the womman fleigh¹⁶ into desert. There sche had a sted¹⁷ dighte¹⁸ of God. Ther men shal feden hir a thousande and two hundride and sexti dayes.

Glose:

The dragon bitokeneth the fend that is of gret power and is reed thurgh slaughter. Bi the seven hedis ben bitokened seven tirauntis thourgh whiche he wirkith that ben the seven hed synnes, 19 the ten hornes the richesse of the world wherwith the princis putten doun²⁰ the Ten Comaundementis. Bi the taile that drowgh doun the thride part of the sterris of heven bitokeneth leccherie, thurgh whiche he makith miche folk to be lorun.²¹ That he sendith hem to the erthe bitokeneth that he settith coveitise²² to meynteynen²³ lecherie. That the dragon stode bifore the womman to devoren hir childe bitokeneth that the devele is ever redi and waytith to devoren childer thourgh synne whan thei ben borun thurgh baptem. The knave child bitokeneth Jhesu Crist that is borun of holi chirche for that he governeth the folk with right and is ravyschide to God his Fadir at his upstiynge.²⁴ That the womman flede into desert bitokeneth that holi chirche departith hir fro delites of this world and the noise into life of penaunce, and there fedith God gostli with brede as many dayes as amounten thre yeer and an half that Anticrist regneth. That is alle the dayes of this lif, for so long the devele hath power to greven²⁵ mann.

Texte:

- [7] And a grete bataile is maade in hevene, and Michael and his aungelis foughten with the dragoun. [8] And the dragon and his aungelis myghten not agenstonden²⁶ hym, and thei shule never more be seen in hevene. [9] And this grete dragoun, the olde eddre²⁷ that is cleped the devel and Sathanas that disceyveth alle the world, is caste into the erthe, and his aungelis ben sent with hym.
- 7 [10] And I herde a grete vois of hevene that seide, "Now is helthe and vertu and kyngdam of oure God and myght of Jhesu Crist. And the accuseris of oure bretheren ben cast

¹⁴ yerde of iren, iron rod

¹⁵ transported

¹⁶ fled

¹⁷ place (dwelling)

¹⁸ prepared

¹⁹ seven hed synnes, Seven Deadly Sins

putten down, rejected

²¹ lost (damned)

²² desire (greed)

³ support

²⁴ ascension into heaven

²⁵ torment

²⁶ stand against

²⁷ snake

doun that accuseden hem bifore Goddis face day and nyght. [11] And thei overcamen hem thurgh the blode of the Lombe and thourgh the word of his witnesse. Thei han not lovede her soulis unto the deeth. [12] Therfor glade yee, hevenes and that wonen²⁸ in hem, and wo to the erthe and see, for the devel is comen down to you with gret wraththe and wot²⁹ that he hath littil tyme."

Glose:

8

That the grete bataile is doun in heven agene³⁰ the grete dragon bitokeneth that whanne the feende asaylith [fol. 218v] holi chirche, Goddis aungelis comen fro heven doun to helpen us and overcomen hym. That the dragon is cast into erthe and his aungelis with hym bitokeneth that whane the devele temptith holi men in holi chirche and wendith awey overcomen³¹ for that thei ben amendid thourgh her temptaciouns, that he asaileth men and wymen that han sette to her hertis in erthli thingis. He asaileth hem the harder and the scharplyer³² for that he is agreved that he is overcomen. The gret vois in hevene is the joyes and the graces that holi chirche yeldith to God whan the fende is overcomen and his temptaciouns thourgh meknesse. And that greved the feend, for he is overcomen thourgh the Passioun of Jhesu Crist and thurgh the bileve and thourgh penaunce. That the vois seide that the devele was come doun with gret wraththe that he hath litil tyme bitokeneth that ech old man and woman owith strongli to kepen hem, for the ner³³ that thei neighen³⁴ ther deeth, the more he agreveth the fende and the more is³⁵ aboute to encombren³⁶ hem with synne. For than hath he beste³⁷ tyme, for his tyme is schortest.

Texte:

9 [13] And whane the dragoun saugh that he was cast into the erthe, he pursued the woman that bare the knave childe. [14] To the woman is geven two wingis of an eclee³⁸ to fleen into desert into hir stede,³⁹ there⁴⁰ sche is noreschide⁴¹ bi a tyme fro the face of a serpent. [15] And out of his mouthe the serpent sent a water as it were a flode after

²⁸ that wonen, those who dwell

²⁹ knows

³⁰ against

³¹ having been overcome

³² more harshly

³³ nearer

³⁴ draw nigh to

³⁵ he (the devil) is

³⁶ encumber (burden)

best (see note)

³⁸ eagle

³⁹ prepared place

⁴⁰ where

⁴¹ nourished

10

the woman to maken hir bytraped⁴² of the flode. [16] And erthe halpe⁴³ the woman and opened his mouthe and swelewide⁴⁴ the flod that the dragoun sent out at his mouthe. [17] And the dragoun was wrothe to the woman and wente and faughte with hir kynde⁴⁵ that kepten Godis comaundementis and han witnesse of Jhesu Crist, [18] and stode hymself on the gravele⁴⁶ of the see.

Glose:

That the dragoun faught with the woman after he was cast into erthe bitokeneth thowgh the fende be ones⁴⁷ overcomen, he lettith not⁴⁸ to asailen another tyme. Bi the two wenges of the egle that ben gove to the womman bitokeneth the two lawis thourgh whiche techyng holi chirche doith penaunce and put hir fer⁴⁹ fro the serpent, cast out at his mouthe after the woman resceyvede in holi chirche. That the erthe opened bitokeneth holi men that ben in erthe thourgh holinesse and stedfastnesse and priers fordon⁵⁰ the tribulaciouns that the fende sendith sumtyme⁵¹ in holi chirche, that he may not distroien hir bi tribulacioun. [fol. 219r] That the erthe opened, that ben the coveitous that swelewen the richesse that the good men of holi chirche leten⁵² and lyven in povert and given to kepe⁵³ to hem. That the dragoun wrathe to the woman and goth and fightith with othere of hir kynde bitokeneth that I seide biforn: whan he asailith goode men of high⁵⁴ lif and thei agenstonden⁵⁵ hym, that he goith to men of lower⁵⁶ lyf and temptith hem the harder that ben in the bileve of Jhesu Crist. And kepen hem⁵⁷ out of deadli synne and hem overcometh he not,⁵⁸ but oneli hym that ben ydil in goode werkis. That is bitokened that he restith on the gravele of the see.

⁴² ensnared

⁴³ helped

⁴⁴ swallowed

⁴⁵ offspring

⁴⁶ shore (sand)

⁴⁷ once

⁴⁸ lettith not, does not desist

⁴⁹ far

⁵⁰ drive out

⁵¹ at times

⁵² give away

⁵³ care

⁵⁴ righteous

⁵⁵ stand against

⁵⁶ less righteous

⁵⁷ kepen hem, they keep themselves

⁵⁸ hem overcometh he not, he does not overcome them

Chapter 13

1 [1] And I saugh a best¹ comynge out of the see that had sevene hedis and ten hornesse and on the ten hornes ten diademes, and on his hedis names of blasfemye. [2] And the best was like to a liberde² and hadde feete as a bere³ and mouthe as a leoun. And the dragoun gaf hym his power and his vertu⁴ and his gret myght.

Glose:

That the best came out of the see bitokeneth that the fende takith felaschipe of the princes of the world, and with hem he strengthith his bataile agen holi chirche, that is goode Cristen men. Bi that that the best semede as a liberde of divers colours bitokeneth the eretikis and ypocritis that ben of divers undirstondingis in her errours and in her wikidnesse and semen goode withouten. Bi the feet as a bere bitokeneth these ravenours. Bi the mouthe as a lyoun bitokeneth the manaces of proude men and myghti. That the dragoun gaf the best his vertu and his grete power bitokeneth that the fend shal putten in Anticrist and in his discipils as myche evel as he may to noyen othere. And hym is geven power two and fourti monethis.

Texte:

- 3 [3] And I sawe oen of the hedis of the best as it were slayn, and the heede deede⁸ was helid and all the othere wondreden and followeden the best [4] and worschippiden hym and the dragoun, for he gave suche power to the best, and seiden, "Who is liyk to the best? And who myght fighten with hym?"
- [5] And hym is goven leve⁹ to speken loude and to gyve blas femy [fol. 219v], and power is gove to hym to doon evel two and fourty monethis. [6] And the best opened his mouthe into blasfemyes agen God to blasfemen his name and his tabernacle and hem that wonen in hevene. [7] And hym is goven leve to do bataile with the holi and overecomen hem. And hym is goven power in alle kyndis and in alle langages of men. [8] And alle that wonen in erthe shulen honoren¹⁰ hym, whiche that the names ben not written in the book of lyf of the Lomb that is slayn fro the bigynnynge of the world.

¹ beast

² leopard

³ bear

⁴ strength

⁵ on the outside

⁶ threats

⁷ torment

⁸ heede deede, deadly wounded head

⁹ goven leve, given leave

¹⁰ worship

5 [9] He that hath eres, here. [10] He that ledith into caitifté, ¹¹ into caitifté shal go. He that with swerd sleith mot ¹² be slayn with swerd.

Glose:

6 The best that semede deede and slayn bitokeneth Anticrist that shal feynen¹³ hym as he were deede and shal comen agene the thridde day to lyf and thourgh that many folk schullen bileven that he is God and shulen honouren hym and the feend in hym. That hym is gove leve to speke loude bitokeneth that he schal seyn that he is God and thourgh enchauntement he schal make that the develis ber hym up into the sky as if he went up to hevene. That hym is gove leve to do bataile with the holi and overcome hem bitokeneth that oure Lord gave hym leve to tormenten the bodi of holi men and wymmen in his tyme to heghen¹⁴ her soules. As it is written in Job, "The erthe is goven into the hondis of the unpitous." 15 That thei that wonen in the erthe schullen ben obedient to hym, that bitokeneth hem that ben gyven to 16 myche to worldli richesse. That her names ben nought writen in the book of lyf bitokeneth that thei coumforten hem not in the cros. That the Lomb is slayn fro gynnynge of the world bitokeneth that oure Lord and his chosen weren tormentid from the gynnynge of the world, as in Abel the first man that was sclaynn.¹⁷ That he biddith us that we drede no bodili peyne ne geve noon evel ensaumple to other, for evel doeris shulen han peyne, and thei that suffren peyne and tormentis and persecuciouns in paci|ence [fol. 220r], thei schullen han heigh coroun for here stedfast bileve and suffrance.

Texte:

[11] And I saugh anothere best comynge out of the erthe and hadde two hornes as it were of the Lomb, and spak as the dragoun, [12] and dide al the myght¹⁸ of the tother best that was helid of the wounde of deth, [13] and dide manye miraclis, and dide the fier come doun fro hevene into erthe that alle men myghte seen, [14] and disceyvede hem that weren in erthe for the miracles that hym is gove leeve to doun¹⁹ in the sighte of the beste, and seide²⁰ to hem that woneden²¹ on erthe that thei maden²² a ymage of the best that hath the wounde with the swerd and liveth. [15] And to the ymage of the best he

¹¹ captivity

¹² must

¹³ feign

¹⁴ raise up

¹⁵ unrighteous

¹⁶ too

¹⁷ slain

dide al the myght, exercised all the power

¹⁹ do (perform)

²⁰ commanded

²¹ dwelled

²² should make

gaf a spirit and made hym to speken, and bad that alle that honoureden²³ not that best shulden be slayn. [16] Litil and myche, riche and pore, free and bonde,²⁴ he comaundide that alle schulden han the marke of the best in the right honde or in the forhede, [17] and no man myght bien²⁵ or sellen but if he hade the marke of the best or his name or the noumbre of his name.

[18] Heer is wisdam. Whoso kan undirstonden, telle he²⁶ the name of the best, for the noumbre of man is and his noumbre is vic, lx, and vi.²⁷

Glose:

8

9 Bi the best that cam out of the erthe ben bitokened the techyng of Antecristes disciplis that given hem to prechyng for ertheli goodis. That he had two hornes bitokeneth the two lawis of God that thei schulen falsli han, either²⁸ it bitokeneth clene lyf and rightful techinge that thei shuld do men to understonden that thei han and han it not. That he spak also as the dragoun bitokeneth that her prechinge schal be to disceyven othere as the serpent disceyved Eve. That he dide fier fallen into the erthe among folk bitokeneth that thei shulen do men to understonde that the Holi Gost descendith in hem in the liknesse of fier as it dide in Ihesu Cristis discipils. But thei schulen doon it openli, and Jhesu Cristis discipils diden it priveli. And bi these wonynge in erthe is bitokened these men and wymmen that setten her hertis in ertheli thingis. Bi the ymage of the best is bitokened the [fol. 220v] false profetis that doon bi the counseils and the enticementis of hem that seken erthli thingis. That he gyveth power to the best to speke bitokeneth the power that thei han to misdoun²⁹ thourgh encheson³⁰ of her dignité.³¹ That thei ben slayn that wolen not onouren his ymage bitokeneth that thei schulen cursen hem that wolen not consenten to the fals prelatis and wickid. That the beste dide marken alle in hir ryght hond or forhede bitokeneth that alle shulen folowen Anticrist and now gyven hem to his prelatis that doone her synne of leccherie priveli, and thane han thei his mark in her hond and afterward openli. And thane thei han the marke in the forhede and than shal no mann speken of God. That no man may bien no sellen but if he have the marke or the name of the best bitokeneth that noon schal han power in holi chirche to gyve londis ne rentis ne resceyve but yif he have the marke of his kynrede, that is to seie that he be comen of gret kynrede or that he be in gret lordis servyse or that he be come therto thurgh symonye³² or he go to the ordre³³ to han bodili delites. Alle these ben Anticristis discipils and his

²³ worshipped

²⁴ in servitude (in bondage)

²⁵ buy

²⁶ telle he, *let him calculate*

vic, lx, and vi, six hundred, sixty, and six

²⁸ 0

²⁹ do evil

thourgh encheson, by means

³¹ high rank

³² simony

³³ priesthood or religious order

ypocritis and eretikis. That he seith the noumbre of his name of sixe hundrid sixti and sixe bitokeneth also as it doth Godis Sone and his comynge to saven us, that was and is verrey light that lighteth alle that wolen bileven in hym thourgh his grace. Ryght so the sone of perdicioun whan he schal come to disceyven the folk and leden hem to perdicioun shal be cleped light falsli for the vertu³⁴ that he shal do and for the ensaumplis that he shal gyven. The noumbre of his name: D bitokeneth fyve hundrid, C an hundrid, L fifti, X ten, V fyve, I on. The noumbre of his name is it dic. That is "to sei light," for Anticrist shal falsli bi clepid light, as Jhesu Crist is clepid sothfast light.

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34 powerful works
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Chapter 14

[1] And I saugh a Lomb stondynge on the mount of Syon and with hym an hundrid and fourti [fol. 221r] and foure thousand that han the name of the Lombe and the name of his Fader writen in her forhedes. [2] And I herd a voice of hevene as it were the vois of manye watris and as gret thundre, and that vois that I herde was as of harperis harpynge in her harpis, [3] sungen as it were a newe song biforn the sege and the foure bestis and the foure and twenti gret. And noon myghte seyn¹ that ilke² song but the hundrid and foure and fourti thousand that ben bought fro the erthe. [4] Tho ben thei that ben not defoulid with wymmen; thei ben virginis. Thei folowen the Lomb there that he goth.³ [5] And lesyng⁴ is not founden in her mouthis, and thei ben withoute wem⁵ biforun the trone.

Glose:

By the Lomb is bitokened Jhesu Crist that is sacrified for us. By the mount Sion is bitokened holi chirch to whiche the Lomb cam to his body. Bi the hundrid and foure and fourti thousand that hadden the name of the Lomb and the name of his Fader in her forhedes ben bitokened the holi men and wymmen that ben in holi lyf that stede-fastlyche holden the bileve of the Resureccioun and of the Trynité and meynteynnen it ageyn the tirauntis in this world. By the vois of many watris is bitokened hem that wepen her synnes in this lyf thourgh verré⁶ repentaunce. The vois of gret thundir is bitokened

³⁵ one

³⁶ say

³⁷ light

³⁸ truly

¹ speak

² very

³ there that he goth, wherever he goes

⁴ lvino

⁵ blemish

⁶ earnest

hem that dreden God and the vois of the manas⁷ of the jugement in this lyf and letten⁸ to doun evele for drede of God. The vois of hem that harpen bitokenen hem that loven God sweteli⁹ in this lyf, and to comen to his love thei setten hem in penance of the goode men of religioun. The song that thei songen bitokeneth the joyis of paradis that evere is newe and fresch. That noon may syngen it but thei that ben take fro the erthe bitokeneth that noon hath delit but thei that hopen in the Passioun of Jhesu Crist oure Lord. That thei ben not filid¹⁰ with womman bitokeneth that thei han noon delit in fleschli filthis ne of the world. That thei folewen the Lomb bitokeneth that thei conformen her lyf to Jhesu Cristis lyf here in erthe. That no lesyng was founden in her mouthis [fol. 221v] bitokeneth that thei usiden¹¹ aright her tungis and taughten wel her neighboris thorough good techyng and thorough good ensaumple. That thei ben without wemme¹² bifore the trone bitokeneth that thei ben clene in concience and also in clene lyf.

Texte:

[6] And I sawgh another aungel fliynge in the middil of hevene that hath the gospel that alwey schal laste and preche to hem that sitten on the erthe and to alle folk and linage and langage and puple, [7] and seide to hem with gret cri, "Anourith¹³ oure God and worschipith hym and dredith hym, for the tyme of his jugement cometh. And honourith hym that made hevene and erthe, see and alle thingis that ben in hem and the wellis of watris."

Glose:

Bi that othere aungel that fligh thorough hevene ben bitokened the goode prechours that thorough the wyngis of good techyng and wel worchyng¹⁴ bien hier¹⁵ than othere in holi chirche and goun frome place to place to preche Goddis word for to come to the lyf that evere shal laste to alle men, and to love God and drede hym and leten¹⁶ alle yvelis for his love, and worschip hym with gud lyf.

Texte:

[8] And anothere aungel folewide hym and seide, "Fallen is Babiloyne the greet citee that maade alle men drunken of the welle of wraththe of his leccherie."

⁷ threat

⁸ slows (stops)

⁹ tenderly

¹⁰ defiled

¹ used

¹² blemish

¹³ Honor

wel worchyng, good works

¹⁵ higher

¹⁶ stop

[9] And the thride aungel folewide the tother and seide with gret crie, "Alle that onouren the beste and his ymage and resseiveth his mark in her hond ether in her forhede, [10] thei schulen drynk of the wyn of Goddis wraththe that is meyned¹⁷ with clere wynn in the cuppe of his wraththe and shal be turmentid with fier and with brymstoun bifore the aungele and bifore the Lomb. [11] The smok of her turment shal encreesse withouten ende. And thei schulen have no rest dai ne nyght that anourith the beest and his ymage and taken his merk." [12] This is the pacience of holi chirche, that keppen Goddis comaundementis and the feith of Jhesu.

Glose:

Bi the secounde aungele that seide, "Fallen is Babiloyne" bitokeneth that the prechours warnen holi chirche and seien that to the folk of the world that is bitokened bi Babiloyne schulen falle in dampnacioun of bodies and of soulis for her synnes that thei doun and thorough yvel ensaumple that thei given, wherthorough¹8 thei maken [fol. 222r] the tother drunken. That the thridde aungele seide with greet vois that alle that onouren the beste and his ymage and alle that resseyven his mark in the hond ether in the forhedes, that thei schulen drynke of the wraththe of God, bitokeneth that alle that ben drawun to the fals techyng of Anticrist and conformith hym to the vices of his discipils, tho ben the false profetis and false clerkis that ben proud and coveitouse and leccherouse and losengouris,¹9 thei schulen drynk of the troble²0 drynke of helle. And for the delite that thei haven here, thei schulen have the fier of helle for her brennyng coveitise that thei han here, and the stynk of helle for her lecherie that thei delitten hem inne that schal last withouten ende.

Texte:

8 [13] And I herde a vois fro hevene that seide to me, "Writ thou: thei that dien²¹ in oure Lord ben blissid for this tyme forth now, seith the Spirit, that thei resten of her travels, ²² for the werkes of hem suen²³ hem."

Glose:

9 That the vois seith tho that dien in oure Lord ben blissid bitokeneth the soulis of the sothfast Cristen men that dien in sothfast schrift and sorewe of herte thorough deth comen to rest right so in hooli chirche. Thei that suffren tribulaciouns, sorewis, and

¹⁷ mixed

¹⁸ through which

¹⁹ *flatterers* (see note)

²⁰ stirred up (full of dregs)

²¹ die

²² travails (work)

²³ follow

angwischis, thei han gret joies in here²⁴ hertis. But be thei war her²⁵ of ther ben manye that gon froward²⁶ God thorough tribulaciouns that thei han. And that her werkis schal folowe hem bitokeneth that oure swete Lord gyveth gretter blis than thei may disserve.

Texte:

10

[14] And I saugh a whiyt ski,²⁷ and upon that cloude I saugh the maidenes sone Marie²⁸ and hadde on his heede a coroun of gold and in his hond a scharp sikil. [15] And another aungele came out of the temple and cried with greet cri to hym that sat upon the cloude, "Sette thi sikil on the corn,²⁹ for the tyme of repyng is comen. For the corun of the erthe is ripe." [16] And he that sat upon the cloude sette his sikil on the erthe and rape³⁰ the erthe.

Glose:

The whiyt cloude bitokeneth the clene fleisch of Jhesu Crist, either it bitokeneth the hooli whiche he restith hym inne and jugen with hym. Bi the coroun of gold is bitokened the kunnyng of God bi which he overcam the devel. Bi the scharp sikil is bitokened the jugement that is kervynge.³¹ Bi that other aungel ben bitokened tho men and [fol. 222v] wymmen. That thei wenten out of the temple bitokeneth that thei schulen take her blis. That thai weren holdun litil bi in this world and unworthi bitokeneth that thei desiren the cumpeny of holi men and wymmen that ben in erthe and acorden to³² the rightwisnesse of God. That the corn is alle ripe bitokeneth that the creuelté and malice of wickid men and wymmen is highed fer ynow.³³ That he settith his sikil in the erthe bitokeneth that oure Lord at the jugement schal depart the gode fro the yvele, and that is the corun that he schal do³⁴ in his berne,³⁵ that is in blisse with hym. And thei that gyven hem stidfastli rotid³⁶ in ertheli thingis schulen be pullid up bi the rootis and cast into fier to brenne.

²⁴ their

²⁵ be thei war her, they should beware

²⁶ away from

²⁷ cloud

the maidenes sone Marie, the Virgin Mary's son

²⁹ grain

³⁰ reaped

³¹ cutting

³² acorden to, agree with

³³ is highed fer enow, has grown far enough

³⁴ place

³⁵ barn

³⁶ rooted

Texte:

[17] Another aungel came out of the temple that is in hevene, and he hath a scharp sikil. [18] And another aungele came out of the auter and hath power over fier and water, and cried with a greet crie to hym that hath the sikil, "Kit up³⁷ the grapis of the vyn of the erthe, for thei ben ripe." [19] And the aungel sette his sikil in the erthe and karf up the vynes of the erthe and leide hem in the grete diche³⁸ of the wraththe of God [20] and ben defoulid³⁹ out⁴⁰ of that citee. And there came out blood of the lakes⁴¹ to the bridil of horsis.⁴²

Glose:

That othere aungele that hadde the scharp sikil as that othere first aungele bitokeneth that the holi seyntis schulen juge with oure Lord. Bi that othere aungel that came out of the auter and hath power over fier and watir ben bitokened the hegheste seyntis as the postils⁴³ and martris and confessouris⁴⁴ that maden sacrifice of her bodies and hadden power for to bynde and unbynde. Bi the vyne, that bitokeneth hem that ben highe in kunnyng⁴⁵ in holi chirche, bi the erth the symple puple. That he bad kerve up the vynes bitokeneth that men schal departe⁴⁶ the wickid fro the good at the jugement and don⁴⁷ hem to the greet pit of helle. The defoilyng⁴⁸ bitokeneth the gret paynes and the gret schame that thei schulen have that han taken high digneté and gyven her hertis to ertheli thingis and to wickid delite. That he seith oute of the citee bitokeneth that it is not peyne of Purgatorie, for it is evermore lastinge. That the blod came out of the lake to the bridil [fol. 223r] of horsis bitokeneth that the peynes and the sorewis schulen stie⁴⁹ up to hevene of hem that schulden kepe here othere⁵⁰ that ben her princes and grete prelatis, and othere that han cure of soulis,⁵¹ and that is the thousynde pas⁵² and sixe hundrid.

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38 ditch (pit)
39 trampled
40 outside
41 winepresses (see note)
42 to the bridil of horsis, up to horses' bridles
43 apostles
44 persecuted Christians (see note)
45 skill
46 separate
47 send
48 trampling
49 rise
```

kepe here othere, care for their people

52 paces (unit of measure)

cure of soulis, spiritual responsibility (ecclesiastical office)

Kit up, Cut away

Chapter 15

1

[1] And I saugh anothere tokene in hevene gret and wondurful: sevene aungels that han the sevene wondis, the sevene last in whiche the wraththe of God is endide. [2] And aftir I saugh a see cleer as glas mengid with fier. And thei that hadden overcome that beste and his ymage and the noumbre of his name stonden upon the see cleer as glas, and hadden harpes of gold [3] and sungen the song of Moises, Goddis servant, and sungen it to the Lomb and seiden, "Lord God almyghtful, thi werkes ben grete and wondurful. And Lord and kyng of alle the world, thi weies ben rightful and sothfast. [4] Who is it that ne shal drede thee and herien this name? For thou oneli art ful of pité, and therfor alle folk schulen come and onouren thee, for thi jugementis ben openli don."

Glose:

Bi the seven aungelis bitokeneth the sevene prechours of the bileve that schal dampne⁴ 2 hem that wolden not resseyve it. The see is clere as glass bitokeneth the baptym there⁵ the synnes ben waischen. In that it is mengid with fier bitokeneth the grace of the Holi Gost. That thei hadden overcome the beste and his ymage and the noumbre of his name bitokeneth that thei that overcomen the temptaciouns of the world and of Anticrist and of the fend, thei schulen resseyve the innocence of baptym thorough sothefast penaunce that is bitokened bi the harpis, and for to kepe the Old Testament and the Newe, and that is the syngyng of the song that Moises song and of the Lomb that thei gladiden. That the werkis of oure Lord ben gret and wondurful bitokeneth that thei schulen understonde parfitli⁶ of his makyng that ben wondurful. And that thei seiden that hise weies ben rightful and suthfast bitokeneth that thei schulen undirstonde that thei ben saved thorough sothfast bileve and thorough kepynge of his comaunde mentis [fol. 223v] in right lyf. Bi that he seith that ther is noon that ne aughte7 drede the Lord bitokeneth that thei ne dreden not8 God, as on the oon half.⁹ To beren hym reverence, it schal turne¹⁰ to the halewen¹¹ into withouten ende in the love that thei have in hym. That thei seiden he oneli is merciable bitokeneth that thei schulen felen¹² that oure Lord of his gret grace yeldith more meede in blisse and lesse peyne than a man hath deserved, and therfore alle folkis schulen honouren hym.

wounds (plagues)

² mixed

³ praise

⁴ damn (condemn)

⁵ where

⁶ perfectly

⁷ noon that ne aughte, no one that should not

⁸ ne dreden not, do not fail to dread

⁹ oon half, one part (the faithful)

it schal turne, their belief will become

to the halewen, for the saints (see note)

¹² feel (understand)

Texte:

[5] And after I saugh the temple open in hevene. [6] And sevene aungelis wenten out that hadden the sevene woundes¹³ and clad in a clene stone¹⁴ and whit, and weren girden in girdelis of gold. [7] And oon of the foure bestis gaf to the sevene aungelis sevene violis¹⁵ of gold ful of Goddis wrathtthe, lyvynge withouten ende. [8] And the temple is fulfillide of¹⁶ the smoke of the magesté of God and of his vertu, and noon may entre into his temple til the sevene woundis of the sevene aungelis been endide.¹⁷

Glose:

The openyng of the temple bitokeneth the privetés of holi chirche that been schewed 4 thourgh the prechoures that ben went out to alle londis. The clothing of the stoon clene and whit bitokneth the clannesse of herte and the vertu that thei han to suffren evel. The girdyng of the girdil of gold bitokeneth the wisdam of God that thei han, with whiche thei withdrawen hem fro evele willis, and it is clennesse in gost. That oon of the foure bestis gaf the violis to the sevene aungelis bitokeneth that the foure Gospelis been oon¹⁸ and therfore he that wole not undirstonde the techyng that is open hem¹⁹ and taken ensaumple of holi mennes lyves, thei ben worthi to be dampned. That the temple is fulfild²⁰ of the smok and of the magestie of God and of his vertu bitokeneth that oure Lord and hise,²¹ though alle that thei come to the jugement in brightnesse and in blisse to the goode, thei schulen seme to the othere derke and hidous.²² That noon may entren into the temple til that the veniaunce²³ [fol. 224r] wer taken bitokeneth that the bodies of alle halewis schullen resten til the jugement, til that we rise fro deth to lyf with hem or in othere manere. Bi the smok is understonde that noon til that tyme shal wite²⁴ the privetés of the jugement thorough which he cheseth²⁵ sum men to blisse and othere to dampnacioun.

¹³ plagues

¹⁴ stole (robe) (see note)

¹⁵ vials

¹⁶ fulfillide of, filled with

¹⁷ completed

¹⁸ one

¹⁹ to them

o filled

²¹ his people

²² terrifying

²³ vengeance

²⁴ know

²⁵ chooses

Chapter 16

- 1 [1] And I herd a gret vois in hevene that seid to the sevene aungelis, "Goth and schede¹ yee the sevene violis of the wraththe of God in erthe." [2] And the first aungel wente out and schedde his viole into the erthe, and ther is maad gret wounde² to men that han the mark of the best and to hem that honouren his ymage.
- 2 [3] And the tother aungele schede out his viol in the see and it bicam blood as it were of a deed man, and alle that hadden lyf in soule been deed in the see.
- 3 [4] And the thridde aungel schede his viole in the wellis and on the ryvers, and thei bicome blood. [5] And I herde the aungel of the water that seide, "Lord, rightful thou art that hast geven these juges and jugid, [6] that thei that schedden the blood of thin halewis, that thou geve hem blod to drynke as thei han disserved." [7] And I herde another that confermede it and seide, "Ye,3 Lord, rightful and sothfast ben thi jugementis."

Glose:

4 The grete vois of hevene that seide to the sevenn aungelis, "Goth and schedith the sevene violis of the wraththe of God" bitokeneth the commaundement that God schal comaunde his aungelis to take veniaunce of mysdoeris in erthe. Bi the felle4 wonde that is maad to men that hadden the maark of the beeste ben bitokened the temptaciouns of hem that for erthly thingis and delit of her flesch, for the love that thei hadden therto, thei wolden nothing be buxum⁵ to Goddis comaundement but token hem⁶ to Anticrist, and that is the marke of the best. That the viol of the secound aungele is schede in the se⁷ and that it bicame to blod is bitokened thei of this world schullen be dampned that wraththeden⁸ and tormenteden holi men in erthe and spilden her blod. Her peyne schal ben withouten ende. And that the wellis and ryveres bicame blod bitok eneth [fol. 224v] that thei schulen be dampned that corumpen holi writ and han tourned the swetnesse of gosteli understondynge into filthe of fleschli wit. Tho ben these eretikis and tho that prechen for worldli thingis and thei that tournen the Gospelis to pleten¹⁰ with hym. Bi the aungel of the water is bitokened the holi halowen of hevenn that han joye of the rightwisnesse of oure Lord. That other that is aungil of wynd bitokeneth the tribulacioun of gode men that herien¹¹ God and yelden hym graces whan that thei ben tormentid for holi chirche, for thei understonden that is for her goode.

¹ pour out

wound (see note)

³ Yea

⁴ grievous

⁵ obedient

⁶ token hem, committed themselves

⁷ sec

⁸ harassed

⁹ fleschli wit, earthly reason

¹⁰ argue

¹¹ praise

Texte:

- [8] And the ferthe aungil schedde his viole in the sunne, and hym is gove leve to tormente men with hete and with fier. [9] And it hetith men of grete hete, and thei blasfemeden the name of God that hath power and myght over these woundis, and thei han not do penaunce to yelden grace to God.
- [10] And the fiftthe aungel schedde his viol on the cete¹² of the beste, and his kyngdames ben maad derk, and thei eten her tungis for sorowe [11] and blasfemeden God in hevene for her sorewis and her woundis, and thei diden not penaunce for her werkis.
- 7 [12] And the sexte aungele schede his viol in the greet flood of Eufraten, and the water bicam drie and maden redi the weyes of kyngis to the estward.¹³

Glose:

The ferthe aungele that schedde his viole in the sunne bitokeneth the dampnacioun of Anticrist and of alle that thourgh his techinge forsaken the right bileve and repenten hem not afterward and don penaunce. That the fifte aungele schede his viol on the sete of the beste bitokeneth the dampnacioun of Anticristis disciplis that is bitokened bi his sete, for he regneth in hem. His regne is maad derk for the derknesse of mysbileve that thei ben in. That thei eten her tungis bitokeneth the envye that thei han to the holi, and therfore thei blasfemen God when he schal chastisen hem thorough peyne at the laste, for thei come not to repentance. That the sexte aungel schedde his viol in the grete flod Eufraten bitokeneth the dampnacioun of tirauntis and of riche men of these that deliten hem her in worldli goodis but [fol. 225r] at the deth schulen resceyven povert for richesse, and whane thei ben put doun, 14 the weie of the right bileve is delivered to goode Cristen men and wymmen, and it is bitokened bi the kyngis of the est.

Texte:

9 [13] And I saugh out of the dragounnes mouth and out of the bestis mouth and out of the false profetise mouth foule spiritis comen out as it were froschis. ¹⁵ [14] For thei ben spiritis doynge wondres, and thei schulen gon biforun to the kyngis of alle erthe to gedren ¹⁶ hem to bataile to the grete day of God almyghti [15] that seith, "Lo, I come as a thef. Blessid be he that wakith and kepith his clothing that he go not nakid and that men see not his foulnesse."

¹² throne

¹³ to the estward, from the east

¹⁴ put doun, treated as inferior

¹⁵ frogs

¹⁶ gather

[16] And thei schulen gedren hem togider to the stede¹⁷ that is clepid in Ebru¹⁸ Ermaledon.¹⁹

Glose:

11 The mouthe of the dragoun bitokneth the entisement of the fende. The mouth of the beste bitokeneth the wordis of Anticrist. The mouthe of the false profetis bitokeneth the false prechinge of false eretikis. Oute of thees thre comen thre foule gostis:²⁰ it ben pride, coveitise, and leccherie. These seemen froschis²¹ for thei wonen in foule stedis, and thorough the crie of her false techynge, thei bynymen othere²² her reste. That thei doun wondres and gedren kyngis togidre into bataile bitokeneth that right as the devel thorough Anticrist and his desiplis schulen make her conjourisons²³ that schulen semen as if it weren miracles and schulen stere²⁴ the princes agen Cristene men. Right so it fareth in holi chirche that the fend thorough false prelatis in holi chirche and false clerkis doth wondres as of a child that cannot kepyn an appil.²⁵ Thei maken hym kepere²⁶ of manye thousande soulis and corumpen the princes thorough evel ensaumple. The wakynge that oure Lord monestith us to bitokeneth right understondynge and good lyf that we be clepid²⁷ not in wickid delices in ertheli thingis ne in delit of flesch. The clothing bitokeneth the vertu that man resceyveth at his cristnynge and afterward recovereth hym thorough verrey²⁸ penaunce. That he seith he cometh as a thef bitokeneth that he schal come sodenli to the jugement. The stede that is cleped in Ebrew Ermaledon bitokeneth this world and the fendis, for Anticrist and his profetis schulen do come togidre these kynglis [fol. 225v] and these princes and setten hem in temptaciouns, and schal maken hem to risen agen God and holi chirche and ageyn the right bileve, and that is bitokned bi this word Ermaledoun, that is as miche to seie as "risynge temptatiouns."

Texte:

12 [17] And as the seventhe aungil schedde out his viole in the eyr, a gret vois came out of the temple and of the trone and seide, "It is doun." [18] And ther ben maad lightyngis and voises²⁹ and thundris and stirryngs of erthe so gret that nevere yit was noon suche

¹⁷ place

¹⁸ Hebrew

¹⁹ Armageddon

²⁰ spirits

²¹ frogs

²² bynymen othere, take away from others

²³ conjurations (sorcery)

²⁴ mov

²⁵ kepyn an appil, keep an apple (see note)

²⁶ protector (guard)

²⁷ called

²⁸ true

²⁹ rumblings

sithen³⁰ that man wonede in erthe. [19] And the gret cité that is departid on thre parties³¹ and the gret citees of men fellen. And God hath bithought hym on the grete Babilon to gyve to her the cuppe of the indignacioun of his wrethe. [20] And eche yle fleigh³² and mounteynes weren not founden. [21] And gret hayl as a talent³³ cam doun fro the hevene into men, and men blasfemeden Gode for the plage of the hayl.

Glose:

That the seventhe aungel schedde his viol in the eir³⁴ bitokeneth the dampnacioun of 13 feendis in the eir, there thei wonen for that thei ben of sotil science.³⁵ The gret vois that came out of the temple bitokeneth the gret myght of Goddis word that he schal schewen at the jugement. That he seith, "Doon is" bitokeneth that the veniance of God schal be brought to the ende. The lightyngis and the voises and the thundris and the grete stiryng of the erthe bitoknen the grete tempestis of the jugement. That the grete citee is departed on thre parties bitokneth that the thre partis of the world schulen be dampned: the Jewis and the Saracenes and false Cristene men. And the peynes³⁶ weren divided after diverseté of synnes. The coppe of the indignacioun of the wraththe bitokeneth the mesure of peynes that God schal gyve to the synneres of the world that is bitokned bi Babilon, that he gyveth to ech as he hath disserved. That the iles fledden bitokeneth the goode Cristene men that ben beset al aboute with tribulaciouns in here lyf. As thei fledden heer³⁷ the kumpanye of synneres, so thei schulen fleen the peynes. That the mounteynes ben not founden bitokeneth that the holi men schulen not be founden in the cumpanye of wickid. That the gret haile fel fro hevene into men bitokeneth the scharpe wordis and the hevye³⁸ that oure Lord schal speke to hem that ben [fol. 226r] dampned. And men schulen blasfemen God for the gret anguysch of the hail, for it is maad gret hastili, bitokeneth that the dampned in helle ben alto prowen of 39 that oure Lord hath gret power to tormenten hem.

³⁰ since

departid on thre parties, divided into three parts

³² fled

³³ ancient measure of weight, ~100 pounds

³⁴ sk1

³⁵ sotil science, airy substance (deceitful craftiness)

³⁶ punishments

³⁷ here

³⁸ serious

³⁹ ben alto prowen of, have fully experienced

Chapter 17

- 1 [1] And oon of the aungelis that hadden the sevene violis spak to me and seide, "Cum, and I schal schewen thee the dampnacioun of the grete bordelrye¹ that sittith on many waters, [2] and there the kyngis of erthe han down here leccherie."
- 2 [3] And he bare me in gost² into desert, and I saugh a woman sittynge on a reed best³ and ful of names of blasfemye and hadde sevene hedis and ten hornes. [4] And this womman was in purpre⁴ and bordured aboute with gold and of precious stones and gemmes and hadde in hir honde a coppe of gold ful of abhominaciouns and of filthe and leccherie, [5] and hadde writen in the forhede the name of hir, Mysterie Babilon, the gret moder of fornicaciouns and of abhomynacions of erthe.

Glose:

The grette see of leccherie and of abhominaciouns that the aungel schewide to Seynt 3 Jon bitokeneth that oure goode Lord makith the goode prelatis to understonde the grete dampnacioun of Anticrist and his disciplis for her ydolatrie that is maumetrie⁵ and coveitise and leccherie. For bi the bordelrie that sittith on manye watris is bitokened Antichrist that regneth on myche folk. And the false prelatis that coveiten the grete richessis, that ben bitokned bi the watris and that thei wolen be worschiped in erthe more than fallith to hem. That the princes of erthe had don her leccherie with the bordelrie bitokneth that the lewide taken ensaumple of Anticrist and of false profetis and of false clerkis to lyven in delices of the wyn of that bordelrie thorough whiche thei ben drunken. That wonen in erthe bitokeneth the wisdam and the kunnyng that these coveitouse han to worldly thingis to fleschli delices. The woman that satte on the redde best bitokeneth Antichrist and hem that leden deliciouse lyf in this world. The best that berith hym bitokeneth the fend that meynteyneieth hem. That she was clade in purple and ourned⁸ with gold [fol. 226v bitokneth that thei seme wise men to men of this world that knouen litil goode for the worschipe and richesse that thei han. The precious stones and jemmis bitokneth the vertu that thei han and her faire berynge and her goode werkis that thei putten forth withouten to the folk of the world. The coppe of gold that sche hath in hir hond bitokeneth holi write that thei turnen⁹ and expounnen after her likyng. That the name of priveté is writen in her forhede bitokeneth that oure Lord seith in the gospell of ypocritis, "Bi her frut yee schulen knowen hem," that is bi her wordes and bi here werkis, after that thei proficien in good. That he seith Babilon the gret modir of fornicaciouns of erthe bitokeneth

¹ brothel

² spirit

³ reed best, red beast

⁴ purple cloth

⁵ *false religion* (see note)

⁶ ignorant (foolish)

⁷ sensuous (luxurious)

⁸ adorned

⁹ misinterpret

6

7

8

that thorough the fend and vanytees of the world and wickidnesse of the wicked men cometh mysbileve and alle maner of synnes in erthe that drawen to confusioun.

Texte:

- 4 [6] And I saugh the womman drunke of blode of holi men and wymmen of Jhesu Cristes martires, and gretli I wondre whane I hadde seen hire.
- [7] And the aungil seid to me, "Whi wondrist thou? I schal sei¹⁰ thee what the womman bitokeneth and the best that bereth hir that hath sevene hedis and ten hornes. [8] That best that thou hast seen was and is not and schal go out up of the deppe¹¹ and schal go to distroccioun. And thei schulen woundre that wonen in erthe, whiche that the names ben not writen in the book of lyf fro the bigynnynge of the world.
 - [9] "Here is to witte,¹² that the sevene hedis ben sevene mounteynes on whiche the womman sit and ben sevene kyngis, [10] of whiche fyve ben fallen, and the sixte is and the seventhe is not yit, and whan he cometh, he mote dwele a litil tyme. [11] And the best that was and is not is the eighthe and ner the latere oon of 13 the sevene.
 - [12] "And the ten hornesse that thou seie ben ten kyngis that han not yit resseyved her kyngdames but thei schulen resceyven, after the best, power as kyng is oon our. ¹⁴ [13] Thei han o¹⁵ counseil and o vertu, and her power thei schulen gyve to the beste. [14] Thei schulen fighte with the Lomb, and the Lomb schal overcomen hem, for he is Lord of lordis and Kyng of kyngis. And thei that ben with hym ben clepid and chosen trew."
 - [15] And [fol. 227r] the aungele seide to me, "The watris that thou hast seien wher the bordelrie sittith been dyverse folkis. [16] And the ten hornes that thou seie in the beeste shulen haten the bordelrye of the womman and schulen maken hir discoumfortid and nakid and schulen eten hir flesh and brenne hir in fier. [17] God hath set in her hertis that thei doon her wille and that thei gyve her kyngdam to the beste til Goddis word be endide. [18] And the womman that thou seie is the grete citee that hath power of the kyngis of erthe."

Glose:

9 The womman that was drunken of the blod bitokeneth the grete veniaunce that God shal take of tyrauntis that schedden the blood of good Cristen men, outher it bitokneth the grete veniaunce that oure Lord schal taken of the grete lecherie and of the grete bobaunce that these false clerkis maken. The wondryng that Seynt Joon made bitokeneth the grete compassioun of goode men of holy chirche that schulen seen tho synful men stiyen up in synne to her owne dampnacioun. Al holi writ, that is bitokned bi the aungil that techeth

¹⁰ tell

¹¹ abyss

¹² to witte, to know (the meaning)

¹³ ner the latere oon of, nevertheless one of

is oon our, for one hour

¹⁵ one

¹⁶ boasting

hem that it is rightwisnesse of God and for her synnes that thei han discerved, that thei be maad more bi understondyng. That the beeste was and is not and schal come out up of the depnesse bitokeneth that thorugh the comynge of oure saveoure was the myght of the devel in erthe abatid, and schal comen anothere tyme in Anticristis tyme. "But oure Lord schal distrue¹⁷ hym thorough the vertu of the spirit of his mouth," Isaye¹⁸ seith. That thei that wonen in erthe ben wondrid of hir bitokeneth hem that folowen hym schul be gove alle to erthli thingis and to delite of flesh. The sevenn mountis on which the beeste sat bitokeneth the sevene dedli synnes thorough which the develle makith men to pruden¹⁹ and risen ageyne here creature.²⁰ The sevenn kyngis thorough which the devel governeth alle hise and ledith hem into helle ben the fyve wittis21 of man, and the sext is yvel wil. The sevenethe that is not yit is Anticrist, and he is the eightithe that passith alle othere in synnes and in peyne, 22 and he is oon of the sevene for the felawschip that he berith to synne and in sorowing of peyne. And these ben the kyngis that undirlyngis²³ been to Anticrist and bitokeneth the grete lordyngis of this world that thorough envye weren²⁴ agenn Goddis comaundement. Alle thei han oon counseil, that is the counseil of the world, to taken with right and with wrong of her undirlyngis and of here neghhebores. Her vertu and her power [fol. 227v] thei schulen delyveren to the beeste, for alle here age and al here with thei han dispendid²⁵ in the develis service. And as the kyngis schulen and Anticrist fighten agenne the Lomb and his membris to bynymen²⁶ hem the right bileve that thei han in Jhesu Crist, right as thei that werren now holi chirche and not oonli in bodili thingis but in goostli also. For thorough the taliage²⁷ that thei maken, thei bryngen the symple folk into synne. But the Lomb schal overcome hem at the jugement, for alle the jugementis ben goven to Goddis Sone, and his jugementis ben trewe. That the watris that the womman sat on been many manere of folk bitokeneth that the moost part of the folk schulen folowen Anticrist and his disciplis that now geven hem to fleschli likyng. The tene hornesse schulen hate the bordelrye, that bitokenen hem that been dampned that thei schulen haten hem and repreven hem thorough whiche thei comen thider, as Isaye seith. That thei schulen etten fleisch bitokeneth that thei schulen deliten hem in torment of hem thorough which thei ben dampned. That he seith that the bordelrie schal be discoumfortid and nakid bitokeneth that thei schulen understonde that her peynes schulen han noon ende, ne no werk that thei deden here that hem thoughte goode schal never helpen hem. That he seith that God hath sette in here hertis to doon that hem likith bitokeneth that summe han here wille and that thei ben underlyngis to the fend for her

destroy

Isaiah

be proud

creator

fyve wittis, five senses

punishment

²³ disciples

spent (squandered)

²⁶ take away

²⁷ tax

1

synnes to be his disciplis in erthe til that holi writ be fulfillid. The grete cité that is bitokenede bi the womman bitokeneth the grete multitude of wickide men of the world, and that he hath power on erthli kyngis and not on goostli kyngis.

Chapter 18

[1] And after I saugh an aungele comynge doun fro hevene that hath grete powere and lightede the erthe with his glorie. [2] And he criede strongli, "Fallen, fallen is Babilon the grete, and it is made the wonnynge stede¹ of develis and it kepith al foule spiritis and eche foule brid.² [3] For that alle folk han drunken of the wyn of leccherie, the marchaundis³ of erthe been maad riche of hir delices.⁴"

Glose:

Bi the myghtful angil that cam doun fro hevene that seide, "Fallen is Babilon the grete" bitokeneth Goddis Sone that came here into the erthe and lightede holy chirche thorough his techynge that he taughte bothe with word and werkis. The dampnacioun of hem that geven hem⁵ to the world in bodi and in soule for thre synnes that thei han in hem. Coveitise is bitokened the wonnyng [fol. 228r] stede of the devele, and leccherie is bitokened bi the kepyng of wickid spiritis, and bi the foule briddis ben bitokenede pride. Bi the marchaundis is bitokened hem that lyven in these thre synnes and corumpen othere thorough evel ensaumple. And bi the wyne of fornicacioun is bitokened fleischli wisdam that is for wynnynge,⁶ and that is coveitise. And bi the fornicacioun of kyngis is bitokenede leccherie, bi the vertu of delices ambicioun, and that bitokeneth pride.

Texte:

3 [4] And I herde anothere vois that seide, "Go yee out of Babilon, my folk, and be ye not partener of hir dilyces⁷ that ye take not of hir woundis.⁸ [5] For hir synnes been stiyed up⁹ to hevene, and the Lord hath recordid of hir synne. [6] Yeldith to hir as sche yeld to hem, and double hir double after hir werkis. The drynk that sche medlede¹⁰ to you, mengith¹¹ hir double. [7] The more that sche glorifiede hir¹² and was in delices, as myche

wonnynge stede, dwelling place

² bird

³ merchants

⁴ delights

⁵ themselves

⁶ material gain

⁷ delights

⁸ plagues

been stiyed up, rise

¹⁰ mixed

¹¹ mix

¹² herself

gove yee hir tormentis and wepyngis. For that sche seith in hir herte, 'I sitte as a quene, and I am not widewe, and I schal never more see thing that I schal been yvele at ese¹³ thorugh.' [8] Therfore schullen hir woundis come fro God on o¹⁴ day, deth and wepyng and hungir, and in fier sche schal be broyled, for strong is God that schal jugen hem.

[9] "And there schulen wepen and pleynen¹⁵ on hir the kyngis of erthe that with hir han doun fornicacioun and han lyved in here delices, whan thei schulen seen the smoke of hire brennyng, [10] and thei schulen stonde afer¹⁶ for drede of hir tormentis and schul sein, 'Wo, wo, this grete cité Babilon, this grete stronge citee, that in oon our is comen jugement and it is distroyyed."

Glose:

5

That the vois monestide¹⁷ Goddis folk to wendene¹⁸ out of Babilone bitokeneth that holi wryt techith us and monestith us that wee schulen not conforme oure lyf nether oure werkis to the multitude of the world. That men seyn that me19 schal doublen hym up his werkis bitokeneth hem that tormenten Jhesu Cristis frendis in bodi and doun hem torment. Thei schulen gyven hem to torment in bodi and in soule, and for the peyne that thei diden hem in an oure,²⁰ thei schal go to peyne that evere schal last. That the vois seide that as myche he gloriede hym and was in delices, as myche gif hym torment and peyne, that bitokeneth that after the diversité of synnes and after the mychilnesse²¹ of synnes schal ben [fol. 228v] the gretnesse of peynes and of torment. That he seith he sat as a quene bitokeneth that the synneres of the world gloryen²² hem in heighnesse.²³ That he seith, "I am not widowe" bitokeneth that he gloriez hym in delit of flesh. That sche seith, "I schal nevere see thing that schal do me harme" bitokeneth that sche glorieth hir in richesse, and therfore at the day of jugement or at the day of deith, thei schul be lowid, that is bitokenede bi the wepynge. And hem schal come defaute²⁴ of alle goodis, that is bitokened bi the hungir. These thre thingis schulen be dampned han withouten ende ageyne these thre thingis that thei glorien in this world: heighnesse, pride, and fleshli delit, and plenté of erthli goodis, that thei schulen han the depnesse of helle and anguysh of torment and defaut of goodis, and with alle these the fier of helle schal brennen hem, for the brennynge wil in evel,²⁵ and that schal lasten withouten ende. For the juge is stronge and may

¹³ yvele at ese, uneasy (in pain)

on o, in one

¹⁵ lament

¹⁶ far off

¹⁷ admonished

¹⁸ walk

¹⁹ men

²⁰ hour

²¹ enormity

²² boast

²³ pride

²⁴

²⁴ empty

²⁵ evil (see note)

not flecchen²⁶ for preyere ne fore gifte ne for noon othere thing, as it is writen in the book that Salomon maad. That the kyngis of the erthe pleynen hem of the distruccion of Babilon bitokeneth the sorowes that grete lordis han whane thei schulen departen out of this world, for the richessis and delit that thei schulen leten.²⁷ The smoke of the grete brennynge is the grete siknesse that ben messageris of Deith and of the fier whidir thei schulen goon. That thei stonden fere²⁸ for drede of the tormentis bitokeneth the orrour²⁹ and drede that thei han of the deth for the peynes that abiden³⁰ hem. That thei seyn, "Wo, wo, the cité that was so grete and strong" bitokeneth the grette pleynte³¹ that thei schulen leesen, ³² and here erthli power and here synnes thei schulen pleynen littil or nought.

Texte:

- 6 [11] "And the selleris of erthe schul wepe on hir and make dool,³³ for ther is no man to bien³⁴ her marchaundise, [12] gold no selver ne preciouse stones, margaritis,³⁵ bis,³⁶ purpre.³⁷
- 7 [15] "And alle othere marchaundise³⁸ schulen stond fer³⁹ fro hir fore drede of the torment and schulen wepen [16] and seyn, 'Allas, allas, this grete cité that was frettid⁴⁰ with bis, purpre, gold, and silvere and jemmes, [17] and so many richessis, thei ben distroiyed in an oure.'
- "And ech governoure⁴¹ and alle that rowen in swete water⁴² and maryneres and thei that werken in the see schulen [fol. 229r] stonden aferre [18] whan thei seen the stede of the brennynge and seiden, 'Suche a citee was nevere,' [19] and leiden powder⁴³ on her hedis and schulen wepen and crie and seyne, 'Allas, allas, this grete cité in whiche alle been maad riche, that hadden schippis in the se, that in oon our is distruyed.' [20] Joieth

²⁶ waver

²⁷ give up

²⁸ far away

²⁹ horror

³⁰ await

³¹ lament

³² release

³³ dole (grief)

³⁴ *buy*

³⁵ pearls

³⁶ linens

³⁷ purple cloth

³⁸ merchants

³⁹ far

⁴⁰ loaded

⁴¹ ship captain

⁴² swete water, fresh water

⁴³ dust

upon hym, yee hevenes and apostlis and profetis, for God hath demed⁴⁴ youre dome⁴⁵ of hir."

Glose:

The marchaundis and the selleres and eretikis and ipocritis that thorough veynglorie of the world don here goode dedis, these marchaundis and the biggers⁴⁶ bitokeneth symonyes. Thei han grete sorowen and drede whane the deth cometh and pleynen⁴⁷ hem and waymenten⁴⁸ for the false goodis⁴⁹ that thei schulen forgoon for the grete harmes that thei schulen resceyven at the jugement. The governouris and the maryners bitokenen the prelatis of holi chirche, litil and mychil, that loven richesse of this world. That thei leyden poudre on her hedis bitokeneth that thei leyden erthli richessis on here hertis and in here thoughtis, either it bitokeneth late repentance. That the aungil bad the apostlis and the profetis and the holy maken joye of the distruccioun bitokeneth that the hooly halowen consenten to God at the jugement at the dampnacioun of the wickid that ben schent,⁵⁰ and holi chirche yeldith grace to God whane he sendith tribulacioun to chastisen synneris of erthe.

Texte:

10

[21] And a strong aungil lifte up a greet stoon as it were a grete mylne stoon⁵¹ and caste it into the see, and seide, "With so grete a frusch⁵² schal be cast in it the grete cité Babiloun. And schal never more be founden in it [22] vois of harperie, of pipe, neither of trumpe, ne schal nevere more ben herde in hir ne founden the vois of mynstralsie.⁵³ [23] And the light of the lanterne schal no more lighten hir. And vois of the spouse⁵⁴ and of the spousesse⁵⁵ schal nevere ben herde in it. For hir marchaundis weren princes of erthe and for that in hir venym doyngis⁵⁶ alle folkis han errid. [24] And the blod of profetis and of holy men is founden in it."

⁴⁴ judged (commanded)

⁴⁵ judgment

⁴⁶ builders

⁴⁷ complain

⁴⁸ lament

⁴⁹ goods (material things)

⁵⁰ harmed

⁵¹ mylne stoon, *millstone*

⁵² violence

⁵³ singing (merriment)

⁵⁴ husband

⁵⁵ wife

⁵⁶ venym doyngis, *sorcery*

Glose:

That the aungile caste the stone into the see bitokeneth that Jhesu Crist schal casten 11 into helle hem that hadden the herte harde⁵⁷ in coveitise and robbeden⁵⁸ al aboute to wynne erthli thingis and schulen be tormentide withouten ende for diverse richessis that thei hadden. The vois of harpe bitokeneth the delit of this world that hath diverse tor mentis. [fol. 229v] Bi the harpe and bi the menstralcies been bitokened sotile engynes⁵⁹ and curioustés⁶⁰ to wynnen.⁶¹ Bi the vois of the hurlyng of the mylne stone⁶² is bitokened deliciouse metis⁶³ and drynkis. Bi the light of the lanterne is bitokened bobance⁶⁴ and faire servyse in house. Bi the vois of spouse and of spousesse is bitokened the delit of fleisch. That the marchaundis weren princes bitokeneth that the grete lordis of the world taken with strengthe ther⁶⁵ thei schulden not taken but fore here servyse as knyghtis to kepe the pees and defend the prechoures and the prelatis to techen Goddis folk, outher it bitokeneth hem that aughten to techen and governen and kepen the othere, ben quenchid66 bi preysyng and lordschipe. Bi the errour of hir venym is bitokened that the oon is corumped bi the othere thorough evel exsaumple. That the blood of the profetis and hooli men is founden in it bitokeneth the cruelté of grete lordis of this world that thei han don to Goddis halewen.

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57 hardened
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Chapter 19

1

2

- [1] After that, I herde a grete vois as it were a grete multitude of folk that seiden in heven, "Heriynge¹ and glorie and vertu be to oure God. [2] For his jugementis been sothe² and rightful that hath maad right of his grete bordelrie³ that corumpide the erthe with hir grete bordelrie and hath vengide the blod of his hooli halowen." [3] And often thei seiden, "Alleluia! And the smok of hym steigh up withouten end."
- [4] And the foure and twenti grete and the foure bestis fellen doun biforne the trone and honoureden God and seyden, "Amen, Alleluia!"

⁵⁸ plundered

⁵⁹ deceits

⁶⁰ sophistries (magic tricks)

⁶¹ make profit

vois of the hurlyng of the mylne stone, sound of the grinding millstone

⁶³ foods

⁶⁴ vain display

⁶⁵ where

⁶⁶ ben quenchid, and be satisfied (see note)

¹ Praise

² true

³ brothel

3 [5] And a vois came out of the trone and seide, "Gyveth heriynge to oure God, all his halewen, and that ye dreden hym litil and michil."

Glose:

The vois that Seynt Joon herde in hevene bitokeneth the grete joye in holy chirche in hevene and in erthe, and yelden heriynge to God for the victorie that Jhesu Crist hath had overe the feend for his deth and for his blisse of his resurrectioun, and for the vertu of his jugement that is myghtful and rightful. The vois that came out of the trone bitokeneth the vois of the Gospelis that monestith us that in sothfast bileve and right liyf, we yelde heriyng to God for the grete goodnesse that he hath down us in this lyf and schal in the tother.

Texte:

- [6] And I herde a vois⁴ as it were a grete troupe⁵ and as it were of many watris [fol. 230r] and a voise of many greet thundris of hem that seiden, "Alleluia! Fore oure Lord God almyghti schal regne. [7] And make we joye and blisse and gyve we heriynge to hym for the weddyngis of the Lomb been comen. And his wyf hath dressid hir, [8] and it is gove to hir that sche clothe hir with bisse⁶ clene and whit, that is the justifiyngis of holi halewen."
- [9] And he seide to me, "Blessid ben thei that been clepid⁷ to the soper⁸ of the bridales⁹ of the Lomb. These been the sothfast wordis of God."
- 7 [10] And I fel to the aungelis feet to honouren hym. And he seide to me, "Lok thou do not! I am Goddis servant as thou, and thi britheren that beren witnesse of Jhesu. Worschip thou God."

Glose:

And as the joye was aforn of the overcomynge of the fend, so this joye is of helth in holi chirche, of the blisse that thei han that ben savede. And the grete that ben bitokened bi the thundris, and the litle that ben bitokened by many watris. The spouse of the Lomb bitokeneth holi chirche, and that Jhesu Cristis spouse tiffede thir bitokeneth baptem and schrift. Clere and whit bitokeneth the vertu that sche is ourned with. The souper of the Lomb bitokeneth the joye of paradise. That he seith thei ben blessid that been clepid

⁴ rumbling

⁵ multitude

⁶ fine linen

invited i

⁸ supper

⁹ wedding feast

aforn of, prior to

¹¹ dressed

¹² confession (penance)

¹³ adorned

bitokeneth that thei ben clepid that been maad worthi in this lyf, tho ben that stedfastli beleven and wele lyven and worthili resceyven the sacrament of the auter. ¹⁴ That Seynt Joon fel to the aungelis feet bitokeneth the meknesse and obedience of holi chirche. That the aungele defendide that he dide no more so bitokeneth that man schal ben bi the aungil in blisse and with the aungil worschipen God and herien hym withouten ende, and he schal be blessid.

Texte:

[11] And I saugh hevene open, and tho 15 I saw a whit hors, and he that satt theroon, his name was Trewthe and Sothfast. And he jugith and fitith 16 agene the unrightful. [12] And his iyeen 17 been as flawme of fier and on his hede many corownes, and hath a name writtyn that noman knowith but hymself. [13] And he is clothid in a robe redid 18 with blod, and is clepid Goddis Sone. [14] And the oste 19 of hevene folowide hym on white hors and been clad in the lynnen cloth of hym whit and clene. [15] And out at his mouth came a swerd kervynge to distruen the misbilevynge, and he schal governe the folk in an yren yard. 20 And he tredith the pressoure 21 of the wyne of Goddis wraththe [16] and hath writen on his robe and on his hipe: 22 "Kyng of Kyngis and Lord of Lordis."

Glose:

[fol. 230v] The white hors bitokeneth Jhesu Cristis fleisch clene of synne that wonneth²³ with the godhede. His iyen bitokenen the grace of the Holy Goost. That he semede as flamme of fier bitokeneth that he lighteth men to lyven²⁴ aright and hotith²⁵ hem to do good werkis. That he had on his hede many corounes bitokeneth that bi vertu of his godhede he hath power to corounen his chosen after that thei han discerved. The clothing redid with blod bitokeneth the holi martires that schedden her blod for his love in erthe here. The oost that is in hevene that folewed hym on white hors and the whit clothing bitokeneth hem that wolen fighten ageyn the fend thorough lownesse and bi quentise,²⁶ ageyn the world bi pacience in advercité, bi prudence in prosperité, ageyn the fleisch bi

¹⁴ sacrament of the auter, Eucharist (Communion)

¹⁵ right then

¹⁶ fights

¹⁷ eyes

¹⁸ reddened

¹⁹ host (army)

yren yard, iron rod

yren yara, non rot

²¹ winepress

²² hip

²³ dwells

²⁴ believe

²⁵ commands

²⁶ wisdom

discressioun and abstinence and austerité²⁷ of penaunce and in clene clothis of vertues and of good werkis. That out at his mouth cam a swerd kervynge on boith parties bitokeneth hem that resseyven not the prechynge of the right bileeve schulen be dampned in bodi and soule. That he hath defoulid the pressoure of the wyn of Goddis wraththe bitokeneth that hymself suffrede the anguysh of deth on the rode²⁸ to bien²⁹ man fro deth to lyf that evere schal lasten and maken hem clene of synne and delyveren hem fro peyne. That he hath writen in his robe and on his hipe "Kyng of Kyngis and Lord of Lordis" bitokeneth that he schewith in his manhed that he was and is almyghti, outher it bitokeneth the goode children of holi chirche that been as robes that ben clade with right bileve stedfastli that he is bothe God and man.

Texte:

11

12

[17] And I saugh an aungil stondynge in the sunne and criede with grete vois and seide to alle the foules³⁰ that fleen thorough hevene, "Cometh and gedere togidere to the grete soper of God [18] to ete the fleisch of kyngis and the fleisch of the hors and of hem that sitten on hem and fleisch of the free and of thral,³¹ and of litil and of mykil."

[19] And I sawgh the beest and the kyngis of erthe and here oost to do bataile agen hym that sat on the white hors and with his oost. [20] And the beest is takyn and the false profetis with hym and he that dide the wondris thorough which he betrayede hem that resseyveden the marke of the beeste and honoureden his ymage. These two ben cast into the pit with fier and brennynge brunston.³² [21] And the other ben slayn with swerde that camen out of the mouth of hym that sat on the hors, and alle foulis been fulfillid³³ of here fleisch.

Glose:

[fol. 231r] Bi the aungele stondynge in the sunne ben bitokened the prechours that wele worchen in the bileve of Jhesu Crist. Bi the fowlis is bitokened the halewis that setten here hertis to thyngis that is above. The soper of God to the which thei been somoned bitokeneth the blisse of hevene. The etynge of the fleisch of the oon and of the other bitokeneth the grete delite that the hooli men and wymmen schulen have at the grete jugement of the tourmentis that dampned men shulen have. The beest bitokeneth Anticrist, the kyngis of the erthe his apostlis. The batayle bitokeneth the persecucioun that he schal doun to Cristen folk, but Jhesu Crist shal distruyen hym thurgh his word. As Ysay³⁴ seith, "He shal sleen the wickid thurgh the spirit of his lippis," and shal caste hym and his disci-

²⁷ harshness

²⁸ cross

²⁹ purchase (redeem)

owls (birds)

³¹ enslaved

³² sulphur (brimstone)

³³ satiated

³⁴ Isaiah

1

2

plis into the brennynge fyer of helle, and in the stynk that is bitokened by the brunstoun, and the othere that bileven in hym that shulen be dampned. But thei shulen not be in so grete peyne, and of this distruccioun shal holi chirche have grete joye in hevene and in erthe, and that bitokeneth that alle the fowlis in hevene ben fulfillid of her fleisch.

Chapter 20

- [1] And I saugh an aungele comynge dowun fro heven and hade the keye of the pitte of depnesse¹ and a grete chayne in his hoond. [2] And he tok the dragoun, the olde serpent that is clepid the feend and Sathanas, and bond hym for a thousand yer [3] and caste hym into the pitte, and bischytte² hym and sete a seel on hym, that he schuld not disseyve the folc til a thousand yeer weren goon. And after that, he mot be unboundoun a litil tyme.
- [4] And I saugh the segis and that seete on hem, and the jugement is govun to hem. And I saugh the soules that her heedis weren smyten off for that thei beren witnesse of Jhesu Crist and for Goddis word. And thei that han not honouride the beeste ne his ymage ne resseyveden his marke in her right hond ne in here forhede shulen lyve and regne a thousand yeere. [5] The othere that ben dede schulen not lyven til a thousand yeere ben goon, and that is the first risyng agen.³ [6] Blissid be he that hath part of the first rysyng agen. He schal not be hurt of the secounde deith, but thei schulen be Jhesu Cristis prestis and shulen regne with hym a thousand yeere.

Glose:

The aungele that cam doun fro hevene bitokeneth Jhesu Crist. That he had the key of the pit bitokeneth that he openede the prisoun of helle to delyveren hise, and that he openeth yut⁴ ech day the synnful mannes herte that [fol. 231v] is derk thorough synne and makith hym light thorough his grace to resseyven hym. The grete cheyne in his hond bitokeneth the gret myght of his Passioun and of his Resureccioun. That he bond the devele a thousande yere bitokeneth that he bynam⁵ hym his power til the commyng of Anticrist. The seel that he sette on hym bitokeneth the cros with which Cristen men defenden hem fro temptaciouns. The put⁶ he caste hym in bitokeneth the peyne that he hade that he myght not disceyve the folk as he dede biforhonde. After the thousand yeere been goon, Anticristis profetis schul regne and comen more and more and corumpen Goddis lawe and tourne it after her lyvynge. For than schal the feendis power rise more and more in holi chirche. His profetis been coveitouse men of holi chirche, proude men

¹ pitte of depnesse, abyss

² locked up

³ risyng agen, resurrection

⁴ vet

⁵ took away [from]

⁶ pit

and losengeris, men lecchoures. But the losengeris ben worst of alle that maken hem holi outher for drede outher fore love, outher for ler.8 That thei hopen thei schulden nothing han of hem yif thei seiden hem the sothe. 10 These han taken undirhond 11 to speke the develis langage to disceyven Goddis children and binyme God his eritage, and which ben strenger and werse than any devel in helle. Therfor ech man that wole plese God kepe hym fro suche, be it man, be it womman, or thei schulen go with hem to her lord, that is the fend of helle. That he saugh sitteris on her segis bitokeneth that as long as Sathanas is bounden, holi chirche regneth and is free to serve God and obedient to the prelatis. And thei wenten out of this lyf thorough sothfast schrift and repentance and sorewe for her synnes, her soules schulen regne with Jhesu Crist. And thei that dien in deedli syne, her soulis goon to peyne. The frist resureccioun is of the soule that riseth out fro dedeli syne thorough the grace of God. Thorough schrifte and sorewe of herte and penaunce doyng risith to lyf of grace, and this is the secounde resureccioun that thei han part in. That is to seie thei schulen risen at the jugement in bodi and soule into lyf of blisse. And that is the blessyng that thei schulen han, for thei schulen be glorifiede in lyf and ecke¹² in soule and herien¹³ God withouten ende. That is that he seith thei schulen been Goddis prestis and Jhesu Cristis and schulen regne with hym a thousand yeere, that is withouten ende.

Texte:

[7] Whane a thousand yeere ben passid, than schal Sathan been unbounden and schal goun out of his prisoun and schal bitrayen the folk on foure half¹⁴ the world. Gog [fol. 232r] and Magog he schal semblen¹⁵ in batale. The noumbre schal be as the gravel of the see. [8] And thei schulen sitte on the heyghest of erthe, and thei schulen be setten alle aboute holi mennes houses and the citee that God loveth. [9] And fier schal come doun fro hevene and devouren hem. And the devele that bitrayed hem schal be sent into the pond of fier and of brunstoun with the beste¹⁶ [10] and with the false profetis, and schul ben tormentid nyght and day withouten ende.

⁷ flatterers (hypocrites)

⁸ los

⁹ That thei hopen, What they hope for

¹⁰ truth

¹¹ in hand

¹² also

¹³ praise

¹⁴ parts of

¹⁵ assemble

¹⁶ beast

Glose:

The prisoun that the feend cam out of to bitrayyen the folk bitokeneth the hertes of synneres. There he was afornhond¹⁷ beschut¹⁸ in that he might not noyyen¹⁹ as myche as he wolde. And that bitokeneth the name of tweie manere folk, Gog and Magog. For Gog is mychel to seie as²⁰ thing that is hid and Magog as thing that is unhid. Bi these tweie maner folk that he bitrayyed preveli, that bitokeneth Anticristis disciplis. Bi Gog is bitoknede hem that hiden here synnes, as these eretikis and ypocritis. And by Magog ben bitokned the fals prophetes that afterwardis schulen prechen openli, and the tirauntis that schulen sleen hem that wolen not forsaken the beleve of Jhesu Crist. That thei schulen wenden overale the erthe bitokeneth that he schal senden his disciplis overal to prechen, that thei schulen setten her power ageyn the bileve of holi chirche as bi prechynge and miraclis, bi manas²¹ and torment. That is that he seith thei schulen envyrowen²² the houses and the cité that God loveth. The fier that cometh doun fro hevene bitokeneth apert²³ veniaunce that God schal take of hem that wolen not amenden hem.

Texte:

[11] And I saugh a grete trone alle whit and he that satte theron. Fro his sighte flede hevene and erthe and ne founden no stede²⁴ where thei myghten reste. [12] And I saugh the dede and the qwyk²⁵ stonden bifore the trone. And a book is open, and another book is open that is of lyf. And the deede been jugid of hem that been writen in the book of lyf after her werkis. [13] And the see gaf the dede that werren in hym. And Deth and helle han yolden²⁶ her deed men that thai hadden. And ech ben jugid after her werkis in helle. [14] And thei²⁷ been sent into the pond of fier that is the secounde deth. [15] And he that is not founden in the book of lyf writen, he is sent into the pond of fier.

Glose:

The grete trone that is whit is bitokened holi chirche that Jhesu Crist restith hym in at the jugement. That the erthe and hevene schulen fleen bitokeneth the drede [fol. 232v] that the coveitouse men and the lecchoures schulen han. That the bookis been opened bitokeneth that the goode conscience schulen been opened apertli²⁸ to alle folk

¹⁷ formerly

¹⁸ shut in

¹⁹ torment

²⁰ mychel to seie as, in other words

²¹ menace

² surround

²³ clear (public)

⁴ place

²⁵ living

²⁶ given up

thei, i.e. hell and death

²⁸ publicly

how thei han kept the comaundementis of God. That the book of lyf is opened bitokeneth that Jhesu Crist schewith hym in myght of his godhede, and the dede schulen been jugid after that Jhesu Crist suffrede in his manhede and after the gospele and after the understondyng of her werkis. The se²⁹ castith the deede that weren in hym bitokeneth that the men of the world schulen come out to ben jugid that thei gyven al here herte to temporal thingis. That Deth and helle han yolden her deed and schulen be sent to the peyne of helle bitokne that twey maner of folk schulen be dampned in bodi and soule, nameli thei that dien in mysbileve and he that dieth in deedly synne. That he that is not founden in the book of lyf writen schal be sent into the pond of fier bitokeneth that alle been dampned to the fier of helle at the jugement that han noon warant³⁰ of the Passioun of Jhesu Crist.

Chapter 21

- [1] And I saugh hevene newe and erthe newe. The firste hevene and the firste erthe wenten awey, and the se is no more seen. [2] And I saugh the cité of Newe Jerusalem comyng doun fro hevene tiffid¹ of God as the spouse ourned² of hir lord. [3] And I herde a grete vois out of the trone that seide, "Loo, the tabernacle of God with men. And he schal wone³ with hem and schal been here⁴ God, and thei schulen been his folk. And he God schal been with hem here God. [4] And he schal doun awey alle teeres fro her eiyen, and never after schal be deth, wepyng, ne cry ne sorewe. For thei ben alle passid."
- 2 [5] And he that sat on the trone seide, "I have alle thing maad newe." And seide to me, "Writ thou, for these been most trewe wordis and verrey." 5
 - [6] And he seide to me, "It is doon. I am bigynnynge and endynge and schal gyven hem that been athirst of the wele of water of lyf and of grace. [7] He that overcometh schal welden⁶ these, and I schal been his God, and he schule be my sone. [8] But to the dredefule⁷ and to the mysbelevynge and to the lieres and to the omycydis⁸ and to lecchoures and to hem that loven huntyng and alle that honouren maumetrie⁹ and to venym doeres¹⁰ and thei that ben cursede, her part schal been in the pond of fier brennynge with brunstoon that is the [fol. 233r] secounde deth."

²⁹ sea

³⁰ assurance

¹ dressed

² adorned

³ dwell

⁴ their

⁵ trustworthy

⁶ possess

⁷ cowardly

⁸ murderers

⁹ false religion

venym doeres, sorcerers

Glose:

The newynge¹¹ of hevene and and erthe bitokeneth the grete joye that the aungelis 4 schulen maken and the hooli halowen in the resureccioun and in the glorifiying of her bodies. That the see is no more seen bitokeneth that the bodies schulen no more felen¹² tribulaciouns of the world. The holi citee Jerusalem bitokeneth holi chirch, the comyng doun fro hevene that he understonde that alle the goodis that he hath comen fro God above. The tiffyng bitokeneth the licnesse¹³ that sche schal have with hir spouse Jhesu in glorifiynge of fleisch. The vois of the trone that Seynt Joon herde bitokeneth the good understondynge that God gyveth to the goode prelatis of his privetees. The tabernacle of God bitokeneth the flesch of Jhesu Crist, in which he schal be with hise, not oonli in his manhede but in his godhede, and that is that he seith he schal been with hem her God. That he seith he schal do awey alle teres fro her eiyen bitokeneth that he schal yelden riche mede for the tribulaciouns that thei han suffrid for hym. That he seith that deeth schal no more been bitokeneth the sekirnesse¹⁴ that thei han and schulen han for alle way,¹⁵ and been passid synnes and peynes. 16 That is to seie, thei schulen never han wepynge of contricioun ne crie of schrifte ne sorewe ne travaile to amenden hem. That he seith, "Writ," bitokeneth that oure Lord monestith¹⁷ us thorough his messageris and thorough hooli writ to the verrey goodis that been above, that we do that that we owen¹⁸ to do to hym. The water of lyf that he bihotith¹⁹ to hem that ben buxum²⁰ to his comaundementis and desiren her helthe that he seith and thorough grace bitokeneth that thorough his grace we been savede, and makith us to stonde ageyn synne and agenne the fende and overcomen and delyveren us fro deth to lyf, and schal glorifien us in bodi and in soule and schal maken us to seen sothli²¹ that we now belevene. But now oneli we schulen seen it, but we schulen han it of his grace, God and man in the blisse of his Fadir. And that is that he seith, he schal welden²² alle his thing. And as he is Goddis sone thorough kynde,²³ he hath maad us to been Godis sones thorough goode desire and thorough grace in blisse. And that is that he seith, "I schal been to hem God, and thei schulen benn my sones." Bi the dreedful²⁴

¹¹ renewing

¹² feel

¹³ likeness (resemblance)

¹⁴ security

¹⁵ alle wey, always

¹⁶ been passid synnes and peynes, sins and pains have passed away

¹⁷ admonishes

¹⁸ ought

¹⁹ promises

²⁰ obedient

²¹ truly

²² possess

²³ nature

²⁴ cowardly

ben bitokened hem that han so arewe²⁵ hertis that thei doren²⁶ no goode leren.²⁷ Bi the mysbilevynge ben bitokened thei that wolen not [fol. 233v] resceyve the right bilevene. That thei ben acursid been bitokned hem that thorough here trespas and her synnes been dampned fro God and holi chirche and wolen not amenden hem. Bi the homycides been bitokenede hem that sleen her neighebores bothe bodyly and goostly. The lecchoures been bitokened alle that han to doon with woman out of wedlak or in other synnen thorough delit of fleisch. Bi the hunteris been bitokened hem that corumpen other thorough evel ensaumple and thorough false techyne and evel counseile ageen Goddis wille. The ydolateris bitoknen hem that honouren false goddis or more loven worldly thingis than God. The lieres bitoknen alle that knowlechen²⁸ Jhesu Crist with mouthis and doon not his werkis, and alle that thorough falsnesse disceyven her neighebores ageyn right. Bi the pond of fier brennynge with brunstoun bitokeneth the put²⁹ of helle brennynge and stynkynge, there alle wrecchis schulen be dampned and tormentid withouten ende in bodi and in soule. And that is the secounde deth, for ther is noon raunsoum. For the rightful juge Jhesu Crist may not flecchen,³⁰ ne the jugement been withclepid³¹ for gifte ne preier.

Texte:

[9] And there cam oon of the seven aungelis that hadden the sevene violis of the sevene laste woundis, and spak to me and seide, "Cum with me, and I schale schewen to thee the spose of the Lomb." [10] And he lad me in goost up to a gret hile and high and schewed me the holy citee of Jerusalem cominge doun fro hevene [11] and hade the brightnesse of God and ferde³² as pressyous stoon, as the stoon of jasper and of cristalle, [12] and hade a grete walle and heighe and hade twelve gatis and in the gatis twelve margaritis,³³ and the names of the twelve kyndis³⁴ of the sones of Irael³⁵ been writen thereon. [13] To the estwarde thre gatis and to the westward thre gatis and to the northhalf³⁶ thre gatis. [14] And to the cité hadde twelve foundementis³⁷ and in hem the twelve names of the apostlis and of the Lomb.

²⁵ timid

²⁶ dare

²⁷ learning

²⁸ acknowledge

²⁹ pit

³⁰ waver

³¹ withdrawn

³² seemed

³³ pearls

³⁴ tribes

³⁵ Israel

³⁶ northern side

³⁷ foundations

[15] And he that spak to me hadde a yerde³⁸ of a rede³⁹ of gold to meten⁴⁰ with the cité and the gatis and the wal. [16] And the citee was squar and the lengthe of it as myche as the brede.⁴¹ And he mat⁴² the citee with a rede overgilt⁴³ twelve thousand paas⁴⁴ aboute, and the lengthe and the brede and the height been right so.⁴⁵ [17] And he mat the wallis an hundrid and foure and fourti cubitis⁴⁶ bi mesure of man and aungil.

Glose:

7 That the aungil ladde Seynt Joon to a greet hil and high to seen the spouse of the Lomb bitokeneth hem [fol. 234r] that thorough the grace of God ben led into high⁴⁷ lyf for to have knowyng of the blisse that hooli chirche abidith after. The light that semede as preciouse stoon jasper and cristal bitokeneth that the vertu⁴⁸ of holi chirche is confermed⁴⁹ in the vertu of the bileve and in brightnesse of the clennesse of baptem and in brightnesse of werkis of schrift. The grete walles and highe bitokneth Jhesu Crist that kepith alle. The twelve gatis bitokneth the twelve apostlis. The twelve names writen bitokneth the twelve fadris of the old lawe, the patriarkis and tho profetis that profeciedenn⁵⁰ er the apostlis camen to prechen. The thre gatis to the estward bitokeneth the bileve of the Trinité that was prechid to the Jewis, that Jhesu Crist tok fleisch and blod of mayden Marie, and in at tho thre gatis may a man comen whane he is cristned. In nomine Patris and Filii and Spiritus Sancti, 51 Amen. The thre gatis to the northward bitokeneth the prechyng that was prechid to the Saracenes. 52 At the thre gatis may a pore mann comen thorough hungir, thirst, and cold if he be paciente therin. The thre gatis to the southward bitokeneth the predicacioun⁵³ that was prechid after the Incarnacioun, and there may a riche man comen in thorough these thre thingis: thorough fastynge and bedis bedyng⁵⁴ and almesse dedis.⁵⁵ The thre gatis to the westward bitokeneth the prechynge that schal be prechid to hem that lyven in the last ende of the world that Elye and Ennok shulen turnen to the right bileve, and at

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38 measuring rod
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³⁹ reed

⁴⁰ measure

⁴¹ breadth

⁴² measured

⁴³ gilded

⁴⁴ paces

⁴⁵ right so, the same

⁴⁶ ancient measure (arm's length)

⁴⁷ righteous

⁴⁸ strength

⁴⁹ strengthened

⁵⁰ had prophesied

In nomine Patris and Filii and Spiritus Sancti, (Latin) In the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit

⁵² Muslims

⁵³ preaching

⁵⁴ bedis bedyng, praying prayers

⁵⁵ almesse dedis, deeds of charity

tho gatis may a man entren thorough other thre thingis, that is sothfast schrift, penaunce, and sorewe of herte. The twelve foundementis that weren in the wal and the twelve names of the apostlis and of the Lomb bitokneth the twelve patriarkis that helden the lawe of Jhesu Crist that in her tyme was to come, and the twelve apostlis helden it after his comynge that we holden now. The reed of gold bitokeneth holi writ, in which the wisdam of God is bitokned bi the gold. The mesure of the citee bitokneth that oure Lord gyveth the feith in holi chirche up that ech man may beren, and ordeyneth diverse degrees in holi chirche in which a man may saven hym,⁵⁶ as in maydenhed⁵⁷ and widewehede⁵⁸ and right weddyng, that noon may be saved but if he be founden in on of these thre. The four half of the citee bitokeneth the right bileve and sothfast charité and blessidhed.⁵⁹ For the more that a man leeveth, 60 the more he hopith. The more he hopith, the more he loveth and the more he doith in werk. And that is in length and heighte of citee. Bi the length is bitoke ned [fol. 234v] lastynge in these foure. That the aungele mat 2 the wal an cxliiii 3 cubitis bitokeneth perfeccioun of goode werkis after the Ten Comaundementis and the Gospelis thorough which man cometh to perfeccioun of aungil. And that is that he seith, "The mesure of man and aungil."

Texte:

[18] And the wal is of jasper and the citee of gold pure and clere as glas. [19] The 8 foundement of the cité is ourned⁶⁴ of alle manere preciouse stone. The first foundement is jasper. The second is safeer, 65 the thride calcedoyne, 66 the ferthe emeraud, 67 [20] the fifte sardonycle, ⁶⁸ the sixte sardoyne, ⁶⁹ the seventhe crisolit, ⁷⁰ the eightethe beril, ⁷¹ the ninthe topasie, 72 the tenthe crysopas, 73 the eleventhe jacinte, 74 the twelvethe the amatist. 75

himself

virginity

widowhood

holiness

believes

continuing

measured

¹⁴⁴

adorned sapphire

chalcedony

emerald

sardonyx

sard (carnelian)

chrysolite

beryl

topaz

chrysoprase

jacinth

⁷⁵ amethyst

Glose:

9 That the wal is jasper and the citee gold bitokneth that thei that schulen governen othere in hooli chirche owen to been of fastere⁷⁶ bileeve and of heighere⁷⁷ lyf, as a preciouse ston is richere than gold. That the foundement of the cité of God was ourned with alle manere prescious stoon bitokeneth that the patriarkis weren and the profetis ful of alle manere vertue. The jasper that is clene⁷⁸ bitokeneth stedfast bileeve as Abraham hadde. Saphire that hath coloure as the eir⁷⁹ bitokneth hem that been in highe hope, as Seynt Poule that seyde, "Oure conversacioun⁸⁰ is in heven." Calcedoyne that hath the colour pale⁸¹ bitokeneth hem that lyvene scharp⁸² lyve. Emeraud that is grene and clene bitokeneth hem that ben in verrey feith. Sardonycle that is of thre coloures, blak bynethe and clere amyddis⁸³ and above grene, bitokeneth hem that been meke and myld and of clene conscience and of greet bryghtnesse. Crisolit that hath the colour of gold sparclynge bitokeneth the wise that been wise in Goddis wisdam and therwith techen to the othere and monesten hem to goode. Beril that clemeth⁸⁴ as water there⁸⁵ the sunne smyt⁸⁶ bitokneth hem that wel worchen and monesten othere thorough goode ensaumple to do wele. Topasy that hath the colour of the cleer eire that wexith derk thorough cold bitokeneth the wise religioun⁸⁷ that setten here hertis to the goodis above and gyven nothing of here herte to the world. Crisopas that is grene medlyd88 and the colour of gold and cometh forth in Ynde⁸⁹ bitokeneth hem that been in good bileeve and charité and folowen the tracis⁹⁰ of Jhesu Crist that came out of the est.⁹¹ Jacyncte that chaungith with the eir and is bright in brightnesse and in derk wedir⁹² derk bitokeneth wise men in holi chirche that kunnen⁹³ confermen⁹⁴ diverse men to the right bileeve. [fol. 235r] Amatist that is a purpure that hath the colour mengid95 as the violet and of rose and castith flawm96

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firmer
   more righteous
   pure (sparkling) (see note)
   dwelling (company)
   whitish (pale yellow)
   harsh
   in the middle
   gleams
   where
   strikes
<sup>87</sup> religious believers
   mixed
   India (includes all of southern Asia)
   path
91
   east
   weather
   strengthen
   mixed
96 flame
```

fro hym bitokeneth hem that han mynde of the heighe kyngdom of hevene and desiren the felawschip of aungelis and of martires and confessoures,⁹⁷ that is purpre medlid with violet and with rose, and putten her charité to her enemyes and bidden⁹⁸ for hem.

Texte:

11

10 [21] And the twelve gatis been twelve margaritis,⁹⁹ ech gate a margarite. And the stretes of the citee been of gold as clere as glas glistrynge.¹⁰⁰

[22] And I saugh no temple in the citee, for the Lord almyghtful is his temple, and the Lomb. [23] And the citee hath no myster¹⁰¹ of sunne ne of mone, for the brightnesse of God hath lighted it and the Lombe is his lanterne. [24] And the folkis of erthe schulen goon in his light, and the kyngis of erthe schulen beren to hym her glorie and honour. [25] And the gatis schulen not be schute bi daye, and nyght schal not be there. [26] And thei schulen bryng glorie and honour of hethene men into hir. [27] Ne foule thing schal come therein, ne abhomynacioun ne lesyng¹⁰² ne noon but here names been written in the book of lyf and of the Lomb.

Glose:

That in the gatis been twelve margaritis bitokeneth hem that shulen wissen¹⁰³ othere to techen hem the right bileve owen¹⁰⁴ to been cleen of vertu and bright.¹⁰⁵ The stretis of the cité ben bitokened the symple¹⁰⁶ in holi chirche that ben abrod in the world and han here wyves and the richesse. Thei owen to been bryght as gold thorough the werkis of charitee, and that thei doon do it in clene conscience, and so thei schulen been cleer as the glas thorough innocente of baptem or thorough sothfast shrift and right bileve. That he saugh no temple in the cité bitokeneth that holi chirche schal han no myst¹⁰⁷ to preiere ne to sacrifice whan that schal been alle glorified. Ne it schal han no mist of sonne ne of mone, that is to seie whanne it is glorified it schal han no myste of prechynge ne of techere ne of kepere.¹⁰⁸ That the kingis and the folk schulen goon in his light bitokneth that agenn¹⁰⁹ the endynge of this world the religious of God schulen wexe¹¹⁰ more and men schulen

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97 persecuted Christians
98 pray
99 pearls
100 glittering
101 need
102 lying
103 instruct (guide)
104 ought
105 morally pure (see note for 21.¶10)
106 innocent
107 need
108 guard
109 against
110 grow (in number or in faith)
```

forsaken worldli blisse for hope of blisse above that evere schal last. That the gatis schulen not be schit¹¹¹ bi day bitokeneth that tribulaciouns ne sorewes schulen not disturblen¹¹² man to serve God as it doith now here in this lyf. That no foul thing schal entre ne noon but his name be writen in the book of lyf and the Lomb [fol. 235v] bitokneth that noon schal entre but if he be clene thorough the blod of Jhesu Crist and thorough the sacrament of hooli chirche and bot if that he conferme¹¹³ his lyf to Jhesu Cristis lyf in erthe here that was write for us on the cros.

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<sup>111</sup> shut
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Chapter 22

1

[1] And he schewide to me a ryver of water of lyf cleer as cristalle and came fro the sege of God and the Lomb [2] and amyddis the strete of the citee. And on bothe half the ryver was the tre of lyf that berith twelve fruitis, and ech moneth he castith his fruyt. And the leves of the tree been heelth to men. [3] And ech cursid thing schal no more be. And the seege of God and of the Lomb schal been in the tree, and his servauntis schulen serven hym. [4] And thei schulen seen his face, and his name schal been in her forhede. [5] And nyght schal been no more. And thei schulen han no mester of lyght ne of sonne, for the Lord God schal lighten hem. And thei schulen regne with hym withouten ende.

Glose:

The rever of the water of lyf is bitokened the joye that never schal faylen. Bi the sege is bitokned the hieghst halowen⁶ thorough which othere comen to grace and to blisse, and that is the ryver that cometh fro the sege of God and of the Lomb. Bi the water of lyf that is clere as cristalle is bitokenede blisse, for thorough the water of baptem man wan⁷ it. The o part⁸ of the ryver bitokneth the folk er⁹ the baptem cam. And after also, on both half the ryver was the tre of lyf. For both on the too part¹⁰ and on that othere, sume¹¹ been saved thorough bileve of the cros that is prechid to hem thorough the twelve apostlis. That he

¹¹² frighten

¹¹³ set (establish)

¹ sides

² month

³ drops (yields)

⁴ healing

⁵ need

saints

⁷ won (gained)

⁸ o part, one side

⁹ before

¹⁰ too part, other side

¹¹ some

yeldith ech moneth his fruyt bitokneth that thorough the patriarkis and apostlis weren in ech tyme summe brought to the bileeve. The leves of the tree bitokneth the comaundementis of Jhesu in his Gospel that been goode to helpe of men if thei been kept. That nevere schal be no cursid thing bitokned that there schal nevere more be synne ne peyne for synnes. That Godis sete and the Lambis schal been in the tree bitokneth that alle we been savede thorough Jhesu Cristis Passioun that he suffrede on the cros and his glorie and his blis of hevene gyven to us. And we been his servauntis, and there we schulen servenne hym with his aungelis withouten ende. That he seith thei schulen seen his face and his name schal be writen in here forhedis bitokneth that is writen in the Gospele, "That is lyf withouten ende, that thei schulen knowen hym oneli God sothfast and Jhesu Crist whom he sent." In anothere sted¹² in the Gospel seith Jhesu [fol. 236r] Crist, "He that avoweth¹³ hym to me bifore men, I schal avowen hym biforn my Fader in hevene." And that is that he seith his name schal be writen in her forhedis. That he seith he schal han no myster of light ne of lanterne ne of sune is expouned¹⁴ bifore.

Texte:

- [6] And the aungele seid to me, "These wordes been trewe and sothfast, and the Lord God of spiritis sente his aungele to the profetis and schewide to his servauntis thingis that sone mote¹⁵ be doon. [7] Loo, I come hasteli. Blessid ben thei that keppen the profecye of this book."
- [8] And I, Joon, after that I hadde herde and seen, fel a knees biforn the aungelis fet to honouren hym that had schewid this and told. [9] And he seide, "Lok thou do it not! For I am Goddis servaunt and thin and thi britheren profetis," and hem that kepen the profecie of this book. Gife worschippe to God." It is expouned biforn.
- [10] And the aungil seide to me, "Hide not these word of the profecie, for the tyme is nygh. [11] He that noiez, 17 noghe yit, 18 and he that is in filth, wax ful 19 yit, and he that is just, be justied 20 yit, and he that is holi, be halewid 21 yit.
- [12] "Lo, I come soone and my yeldynge²² with me, to yeld²³ to eche after his werkis. [13] I am the first and the last, bigynnynge and endynge. [14] And thei been blessid that waschen here stolis²⁴ in blod of the Lomb, that her myght be in the tre of lyf, and that

¹² place

¹³ acknowledges

¹⁴ explained

¹⁵ must

thin and thi britheren profetis, yours and your brothers the prophets

¹⁷ does harm

¹⁸ noghe yit, let him harm still

¹⁹ foul

²⁰ justified

²¹ hallowed (made holy)

²² reward

²³ give

²⁴ robes

7

comen in by the gatis into the citee. [15] But hundis²⁵ schulen ben withoute, and thei that poysounnen othere and the foule and the homycides and thei that serven to maumetrie²⁶ and ech that loveth and makith lesyngis.²⁷"

Glose:

That the aungele defendede²⁸ Joon to hiden this²⁹ bitokeneth that man schal not letten³⁰ to seyn the sothe for enpeyryng³¹ of the wickid. For if the goode³² been hurt in bodi for³³ the wickid been sterid,³⁴ it tourneth hem to goostli profit, for thei weschen heer stolis in blod of the Lomb. Thei that doon penance in the myght of Jhesu Crist, heer myghtes been in the tree of lyf. That setten not here trust in her penaunce ne in her werkis but oneli in the Passioun of Jhesu Crist, thei schulen entre into the citee bi the gatis, that thorough techinge of the apostlis and thorough the sacrament of hooli chirche passen out of this world thorough the right bileve. But hundis schulen not comen therin, that been mysbilevynge men and wymmen that scryven hem³⁵ and resseyven God and han no wil to leven her synnes. Thei doon as the hond doith, castith³⁶ that he hath etyn, and whan he is hungry, [fol. 236v] goth ageyn therto. So doon thei that schryven hem and goon ageen to here synne, for thei been not sory for here synnes. And thei that poysunnen othere thorough wickid deede or speche or ensaumple, that foloweth the expowned biforn. Of lesyngis³⁷ and homecides and hem that been leef³⁸ to heren lesyngis, he makith lesyngis with word and with deede that his wil is to here hem.

Texte:

8 [16] "And I, Jhesu, have sent myn aungil to witnesse these thingis to you that been in hooli chirche. I am rote³⁹ and kynd⁴⁰ of Davyth, clerre stere⁴¹ in the morowenyng⁴² schynynge."

```
hounds
  false religion
   lies
   warned
   this book
   impairing
  righteous people
33 because
   stirred (roused)
  scryven hem, make confession
   vomit
   liars
   lief (willing)
   root
  clerre stere, bright star
42 morning
```

9 [17] And the Spirit and the spouse seith, "Kum." And he that thursteth come, he that wil resceyven the water of lyf of pure grace.

Glose:

That Jhesu sent his aungil to witnessen these thingis bitokeneth that oure Lord sent hooli writ to beren witnesse to undo⁴³ the folk the privetees of God. That he seith he is rote bitokneth that he susteyneth and kepith alle thing as to his godhed, and he is kynd of Davyth as to the fleisch. And the stere that lightith the world thorough his techynge and the morewe stere,⁴⁴ for thorough the Resureccioun that was doon in the morowenynge, he brought tithyng⁴⁵ of oure brightnesse, for he gaf good ensaumple to alle the world. That the spirit and the spouse seith, "Cum thu to me," bitokeneth that the Trinité in holi chirche monestith us to understonden holi writ and to doon it in werk. And thei that undirstonden it amonesten othere. That he seith, "He that hath thrist, come," bitokneth that thei that desiren sothfast blisse in hevene, thei owen to doon it in deede and affien⁴⁶ hem not in eny thing that thei wel doon, but ooneli in grace. And that is that he seith, "Reseve ye water of lyf."

Texte:

- [18] I aferme the profecye of this book to alle that heren it. If eny do more⁴⁷ therto, God schal doon upon hym the woundis⁴⁸ of this book writun. [19] If eny lasse⁴⁹ the wordis of this book and of this profecye, God schal bynymen⁵⁰ hym the book of lyf and of the holy citee and fro hem that been writen in this book.
- [20] He seith that berith witnese of these thingis, "Amen. I come sone." Amen. Kum, Lord Jhesu.
- 13 [21] The grace of oure Lord be with you alle. Amen.

Glose:

Heerin been acursid the wickid stynckyng⁵¹ that agenseien⁵² the profecye of this book writen and the eretikis mysbilevynge that corumpen thorough false understondynge,

⁴³ reveal to

⁴⁴ morewe star, morning star

⁴⁵ tidings

⁴⁶ have faith

do more, add

¹⁸ plagues

lessen (remove)

⁵⁰ take away

⁵¹ stinking (moral corruption)

⁵² gainsay (speak against)

and the false discretifris⁵³ that tournen hooli writ that is gostli to pleten⁵⁴ with [fol. 237r] worldli thingis, and the false profetis that prechen to been preised of the world or to wynnen erthli goodis. That he seith, "I come sone," and seith not whane bitokneth that he seith in the Gospel, "That day ne that houre no man wot, ne aungil of hevene, but oneli the Fader," whan the day of jugement schal comen. And therfore he seith, se55 thorough right bileve and makith thorough goode werkis and biddith⁵⁶ to God thorough devocioun. For ye witten nevere whan he schal come. And therfor it is nede to been alle wey redy and to lyven so right as man schulden right now go the jugement. That he seith, "Kum, Lord Jhesu," bitokneth the grete desire that holi chirche hath to be glorified thorough the comyng of Jhesu Crist at the jugement. That he seith, "The grace of oure Lord be with us alle," bitokneth the lyf of grace that oure Lord hath gove to holi chirche thorough the deth of Jhesu Crist and of his Resureccioun til that thei come to the lyf of blisse. Jhesu Crist, Goddis Sone and Maries also, that is o God almyghtful with the Fadere and the Holi Goost, lighte oure herte with stedfast bileve and bynd it with trust⁵⁷ hope and send us his grace of love and charité, and send us grace to bilevene and dien in hym, that we may come with hym into blisse in bodi and soule and dwele with hym withouten ende. Amen.

decretists (those who read papal decrees) (see note)

⁵⁴ argue

⁵⁵ see

⁵⁶ pray

⁵⁷ trustworthy

Prologue, Paragraph 1

Seynt Poul the apostil. Saint Paul the Apostle, one of the most influential leaders in the early Christian church, is the named author of thirteen books in the New Testament, including the Second Epistle to Timothy, which is quoted here. Though modern scholarship disputes Paul's authorship of the Epistles to Timothy, it was unquestioned in religious writing of the fourteenth century.

alle tho that wilne . . . suffre persecucioun and anguyschis. 2 Timothy 3:12.

I am with you al dayes to the endyng of this world. Matthew 28:20. The precise sources for the remainder of the quotation are unclear, but for *Have ye no drede*, see Luke 12:32.

"Affieth in me, for I have overcomen the world." John 16:33.

appear which have no clear connection to the Anglo-Norman text they are ostensibly translating. In many cases, these are simply mistranslations, and the source of the error can be found with reasonable certainty by comparing alternatives from AN and Middle English, and from the Vulgate if applicable (for example, see notes for 5.¶3 and 21.¶7, below). In other cases, the English translator deliberately revises or makes additions, for reasons that may or may not be clear (see notes for 13.¶9, noon schal han power and that is to seie, and 20.¶3 below). In still other cases, such as this one, the appearance of an independent phrase is simply a mystery. It appears to be either a mistranslation or a revision of the AN en sa humanité [in his humanity] (Fridner, p. 2), but the reason for the change is unclear.

Prologue, Paragraph 2

alle tho that schulen be dampned. In this case, a mistranslation gives the phrase a precisely opposite meaning. The AN les esliz Damnedeu (Fridner, p. 2) are "the chosen of God," not the damned.

asilen . . . arisen. The word asilen is not attested in the MED. H uses assailen [assail], and clearly the same meaning is intended here. The unusual construction may be intended as a visual parallel with the word arisen in the manuscript line below it. The long hooked s(f) of asilen resembles in shape the r of arisen, and the l of asilen is nearly identical to the long s of arisen.

The parallel image of the two words mirrors the parallelism in the sentence — when adversities "assail" the righteous, at that moment the blessings of grace and glory "arise."

Prologue, Paragraph 3

thre maner sightis. Though no source is mentioned, the prologue may be referring here to St. Augustine's categorization of three types of vision — bodily, spiritual, and intellectual — from his commentary *De Genesi ad litteram* [*The Literal Meaning of Genesis*] (2:185–86). The prologue does not explicitly list bodily vision as one of the *thre maner sightis*, but it does describe two types of *goostly* or spiritual visions (sleeping and waking) and another type of sight called *intellectus*, a spiritual understanding within the soul, given by God through revelation.

Prologue, Paragraphs 3-4

as Pharo saugh . . . but he understode what it was to menen. Perhaps following Augustine's categories, the prologue provides two biblical examples of "ghostly" or spiritual sight — Pharaoh, who saw dream visions in his sleep (Genesis 41:1–38) and Moses, who saw a vision while awake (Exodus 3:1–6) — and one biblical example of "intellectual" sight in the Apostle Paul, who ascended to heaven spiritually and saw the secrets of God with his "spiritual eye" (2 Corinthians 12:2–4). The vision of John in the Apocalypse, the prologue says, is an example of this latter category of intellectual sight, since John both saw visions and understood what they meant.

Prologue, Paragraph 4

holy chirches of Asie. The seven churches the angel instructs John to address in chapters 2–3 of the Apocalypse — Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea — are all located in Asia Minor, the southwestern peninsula of modern Turkey.

Chapter 1, Paragraph 2

sevene spiritis. The "seven spirits" that gather around God's throne appear here and three more times in the opening chapters of the Apocalypse — in 3:1 (though both manuscripts of the English Apocalypse drop this mention which appears in the Vulgate; see textual note for 3.¶1, And to the aungele), 4:5 (4.¶3), and 5:6 (5.¶3). These spirits are apparently separate from the seven angels of the churches in Asia Minor, as they are sente into alle londis in 5:6, but what they are is a matter of theological interpretation and debate. The gloss in chapter 5 provides one of several traditional interpretations for their identity — they are "the seven giftis of the Holi Goost" as listed in Isaias 11:2–3 (see note for 5.¶4, the seven giftis, below).

Chapter 1, Paragraph 8

sevene graces of the Hooly Goost. The seven graces, or spiritual gifts, of the Holy Spirit which the gloss says the seven candlesticks represent are listed in Romans 12:6–8: prophecy, service, teaching, admonishing, giving, sovereignty (power or authority), and mercy. They are not to

be confused with the seven "gifts of the Spirit" from the Book of Isaias, which the gloss assigns to the spirits around the throne (see notes for 1.¶2, above, and 5.¶4, the seven giftis, below).

the maydenesse son. A translation of the AN le fiz de la Virge (Fridner, p. 7), from an interpretation of the Vulgate Filio hominis. In verse 1:13 of MS, the angel who visits John is described as oon lyk to the sone of man, following the LV, but the gloss follows H and other earlier manuscripts of the English Apocalypse in calling him the maidens son. This may be evidence that the biblical copy text the Plimpton scribe worked from was incomplete or corrupted, requiring the LV to fill in gaps, though the gloss accompanying it was complete. Alternatively, the scribe may simply have preferred the LV translation in certain sections of the biblical text, but did not make corresponding changes in the gloss. See also notes for 2.¶6, 4.¶4, Bi the voisis, 10.¶2, heele, 13.¶6, That he biddith us, 17.¶3, delices of the wyn, 18.¶2, and 18.¶11, vois of the hurlyng, below.

CHAPTER 1, PARAGRAPH 10

prelatis. MS and H use the same word here for the AN prelat [church official] in place of the Vulgate angeli [angels] and LV aungelis. It is the first example of a translation decision that will run throughout chapter 2 of the AN and English Apocalypse — referring to the angels of the seven churches in Asia Minor, to whom the Apostle John is tasked to bring messages, as prelates or bishops (see notes for bischop in 2.¶¶1, 5, 7, and 11, below). The Plimpton manuscript begins to follow the Vulgate in using aungele starting in 3:1, but P continues to use bisschop or simply the chirche throughout chapter 3 as well (see textual notes for And to the aungele in 3.991, 4-5, and 7-9). These are not mistranslations; they represent rather a decision to incorporate an interpretation of the text into the text itself at the expense of literal meaning. The interpretation in question is not an unusual or controversial one — clearly the intended audience for John's messages to the churches is not angels but the leaders of those churches. St. Jerome makes this point in his prologue to the Apocalypse, which appears in translation at the start of the Wycliffite LV: Joon writeth to sevene chirchis of Asye and to her sevene bysshops of the forseide thingis (Pro.¶7). The LV, however, stays faithful to the literal words in the Vulgate and does not incorporate this interpretation into its translation. The gloss commentary of the English Apocalypse also makes frequent reference to bishops and prelates and reflects on the qualities of a faithful church leader, for example in the gloss that follows this passage (1.911).

Chapter 1, Paragraph 11

holi prelatis that gyven hem to ryt bileve . . . conseile men after Goddis lawe. Given the generally anticlerical tone of the gloss (see multiple notes for 13.¶9 — now gyven hem to his prelatis, noon schal han power, and that is to seie — as well as 16.¶11, a child that cannot kepen an appil, 18.¶9, and 20.¶3, below), within a manuscript that contains Lollard material, it may be significant that the MS alters H's reference here to church officials shriving congregants through the sacrament of penance (see textual note) — that is, hearing confession, prescribing works of satisfaction, and absolving from sin — and instead focuses solely on the priest's duty to preach and conseile men after Goddis lawe. Late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century Lollards tended to be suspicious of the priestly office in general and debated its necessity and role in

performing sacraments like penance, especially if the priest in question had fallen into mortal sin. For example, John Wyclif argues in his late tract *De Blasphemia* that "It is of no use, and is even hurtful, to confess to a simoniacal priest," and recommends that if all available priests are sinful, the parishioner "ought then to prefer to confess to one of the faithful laity" (Wyclif, *De Blasphemia*, ed. Dziewicki, pp. 117, 125). Later Lollards echo this argument, for example in conclusions 8 and 9 of the *Thirty-Seven Conclusions*, a public document defending their beliefs before the English Parliament in 1395 (Forshall, ed., *Remonstrance*, pp. 18–22). The gloss makes many other references to *schrift* and *penaunce* which MS leaves unchanged, but H's reference here to *prelatis* who *shryven hem* is its most direct description of priests performing the sacrament.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 1

bischop of the chirche of Effesie. See note for 1.¶10, above.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 4

"Though I have as muche strengthe . . . al is not worthi to me." 1 Corinthians 13:2–3.

"That Y seie to oon, I seie to alle." Mark 13:37. See also note for 3.¶10, below.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 5

the chirche of Smyrma. MS and H do not make reference to a bishop here, but they drop the Vulgate and LV reference to an *aungel*. See note for 1.¶10, above.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 6

By the asaute of fals men. The gloss here follows the translation of verse 2:9 that appears in H and other early manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse*, rather than MS which follows LV (see textual note for 2.¶5, and art blasfemed). See note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 7

bischop of the chirche of Pergame. See note for 1.¶10, above.

Antifas. Little is known about the early Christian martyr Antipas beyond what can be gleaned from the Apocalypse text — that he was a leader in the church at Pergamum, that it was an evil place (where Satanas dwellith), and that he was martyred. Eastern Orthodox tradition, which venerates Antipas as a saint, adds that he was the bishop of Pergamum appointed by John the Apostle himself (which might explain his mention in the text), and that he died by burning.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 8

the techyng of Balam, that taught the kyng Balac . . . sacrificis of ydolis. Balaam is a prophet whose story is told in the Book of Numbers, starting in chapter 22. King Balak of Moab bribes him to curse Israel, but he refuses. However, the text later blames Balaam for the idolatry and sexual sins of the Israelites, which lead to a deadly plague (Numbers 31:16). The Apocalypse cites him here as an example of one who leads others astray and compares him to the Nicolaitans, a group of heretics whose exact sin is not named.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 9

manna hyd...new name shal be writtun. For a description of manna, the bread from heaven which God uses to feed the Israelites as they wander in the desert, see Exodus 16:4–35. The manna the angel refers to here is hyd [hidden], reserved for those in the churches who overcome the persecutions and heresies mentioned in preceding verses. The harde ston on which God writes the names of those who have overcome is a translation of the AN blanche dure pierre [hard white stone]. The Vulgate has et dabo illi caclculum candidum [and I will give him a white stone/marble], and LV follows: whyt stoon. It is unclear why AN adds that the stone is hard or why the English Apocalypse drops that it is white, but the sense is that the stone is like a monument with words etched into its face.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 11

bischop of the chirche of Tiatire. See note for 1.¶10, above.

cledes. A translation of AN archal or orchal (Fridner, pp. 7, 18) from the Vulgate auricalco [copper or brass]. The same word is translated in 1:15 as latoune, where MS follows the LV. H translates both instances of the word as gleedes or gledes [live coals], since the angel's feet are as in a brennynge chymeney.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 12

a womman Jezabelle that seith sche is a prophetesse. Little is known about the woman Jezebel who appears in the Apocalypse, beyond what can be intuited from the text — that she styled herself a prophetess and led the Christians of Thyatira astray with forbidden sexual practices and idol worship. Her name is likely an epithet, since it is also the name of an ancient queen of Israel whose reign is recounted in the Book of 3 Kings, chapters 18–21, and her death in 4 Kings chapter 9. Queen Jezebel was married to the evil King Ahab, led Israel in worshipping Canaanite gods, persecuted the prophet Elijah, and died by defenestration in fulfillment of a prophecy that she would be eaten by dogs (4 Kings 9:32–37). The fate promised to the "Jezebel" of the Apocalypse is no less gruesome — those who have slept with her will be in torment, and her children (likely referring to her followers) will be killed.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 13

the develis techynge. Apparently a reference to the teaching of the aforementioned prophetess Jezebel. The *English Apocalypse* condenses several verses in 2:24–29, and here it cuts a further explanation about this teaching which the LV preserves (see textual note for 2.¶13). LV describes it as *the highnesse of Sathanas, hou thei seyn* [as they call it], perhaps a mocking reference to the followers of Jezebel calling their teaching "the highness of God."

misbilevande. All manuscripts of the English Apocalypse follow AN in saying that those who overcome will have power over "misbelievers." LV, however, uses the more generic term folkis [peoples, mankind] to translate the Vulgate gentes [nations], origin of the word "Gentiles" (see note for 11.¶2, below). The English Apocalypse translator is not misreading or mistranslating a word here, but rather incorporating an interpretation into it.

CHAPTER 3, PARAGRAPH 1

I shal come to thee as a theef. See Matthew 24:42–44, Luke 12:39–40, and 1 Thessalonians 5:1–3. See also note for 16.¶9, "Lo, I come as a thef..." below.

whanne thou shalt witen no word. The Vulgate in verse 3:3 reads et nescies qua hora veniam ad te [and you will not know what hour I will come to you]. LV: and thu shalt not wite in what our I shal come to thee. The unusual phrasing in every manuscript of the English Apocalypse derives from an apparent mistranslation in the AN: quant vos ne saverez mot [when you will not know a word] (Fridner, p. 21).

Chapter 3, Paragraph 2

clade in whiyt clothinge. The soiled clothing represents sin and defilement, whereas white clothing represents purification and righteousness. See Zacharias 3:3–4; Matthew 22:11–13.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 3

thei have the name of goode lyf and ben dead. The gloss here does not match the biblical passage above, which says simply that men seyn thu art deed (3.¶1). H follows the Vulgate in verse 3:1 in saying men seien that thou art ded and thou lyvest, but MS drops the final phrase about living, perhaps a scribal error caused by the folio break (from fol. 206r to fol. 206v). Alternatively, this may be another example of the biblical copy text being corrupt where the gloss is complete.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 6

"Lo, I schal make thine ennemys fale bifore thi feet." Psalm 109:1 in the Vulgate; Psalm 110:1 in the King James Version and most modern editions of the Bible. See also Luke 20:43, Acts 2:35, and Hebrews 1:13.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 10

ben wers . . . defaute of techynge. Whiting cites "to be worse than a Jew" as a proverbial English phrase, and one quotation includes "a Sarsyn" (Whiting, J42, p. 310). The proverb reflects the idea the gloss expresses here — that Jews and Muslims are less culpable for their unbelief in Christ than Christians who become unbelievers, because they have not received the same teaching.

onementis. A translation of AN oignement (Fridner, p. 28). The same word appears in 3:18 in AN as collire (Fridner, p. 26), from the Vulgate collyrio [lotion or salve], and MS translates it there as colerie, that is medicyne for iyen gaderid of dyverse eerbis, following the LV. P translates the word in the biblical text and the gloss as oyle and oynementez, respectively.

"That I seie to on, I saie to alle." Mark 13:37. See also note for 2.¶4, above.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 2

the two colurrs that ben in the reynebowe. The gloss here interprets the second half of verse 4:3, which the MS biblical text omits. This is also the case for H and every other manuscript of the *English Apocalypse*, further evidence that its biblical copytext was incomplete or corrupted in comparison to its gloss. See note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

God saveth hise. The translator frequently uses hise as an absolute pronoun, rather than as a possessive followed by a noun. In most cases, the subject is God or Jesus, and hise refers to his people or followers. See MED, his (pron.2), sense 1a(c), "his people, his subjects, his followers or disciples."

Chapter 4, Paragraph 4

twelve patriarkis and prophetis and the twelve apostlis and the holi seyntis. The twelve patriarchs are the twelve sons of Jacob, who are listed in Genesis 35:22–26 and correspond to the Twelve Tribes of Israel: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, Benjamin, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher. These tribes will be named in Apocalypse 7:4–8, but in a different order and with the tribe of Manasseh (an offshoot of Joseph) replacing Dan (see note for 7.¶2, below). It is unclear whether the gloss intends the word prophetis to refer to the patriarchs, or if this is a separate group, perhaps the authors of the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible — in which case they would not count toward the total of 24 elders on thrones in the passage. The Twelve Apostles are the twelve disciples of Jesus listed in Matthew 10:2–4, Mark 3:16–19, and Luke 6:13–16: Simon Peter, Andrew, James, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, Thaddeus, Simon the Zealot, and Judas Iscariot, with Matthias here replacing Judas (Acts 1:26). The holi seyntis, like the prophetis, might refer to the Apostles or be a separate group.

Bi the voisis. Neither MS nor P include the reference to "voices" in 4:5, though the word appears in the Vulgate, AN, and one late manuscript of the English Apocalypse (see textual

note for 4.¶3, *lightynge* and thundrynge). The gloss's reference to it here is further evidence that the gloss is keyed to a separate and less corrupt biblical text than the biblical copy text for Plimpton. See note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 6

the lioun is dede... the cry of his fadir. The belief that lion cubs were born dead and brought to life after three days when their father breathed on them, and with it the interpretation of lions as symbols for Christ, was commonplace in biblical commentaries by the fourteenth century. Its earliest iteration may be traced to the second-century Greek text *Physiologus* (Curley, ed., pp. 3–4), translated into Latin in the fifth century, whose descriptions of the allegorical meanings of various animals were often referenced, with or without citation, in medieval bestiaries. See also note for 5.¶2, as the lion doith awey, below.

And bi the oxe . . . clerest is of sight. The association of Gospel writers with various creatures is traditional — Luke with an ox, Matthew with a man (or angel), and John with an eagle. The gloss does not mention the association of Mark with a lion, possibly because the lion has already been mentioned as a figure of Christ a few lines earlier (see note for the lioun is dede, above), or because the AN copy text was corrupt. Fridner notes that a few copies of AN include the line Par le leon est signefié seint Marc, pur ceo qu'il parolle especiaument de la resurrectiun [By the lion is signified Saint Mark, for he speaks especially of the resurrection] (Fridner, p. 219).

the olde lawe. The "Old Law" refers to the Law of Moses, the legal code for ancient Israel which begins with the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20 and includes all of the sacrificial and purification regulations that follow in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. As the gloss illustrates here, Christian theologians viewed Christ's death on the cross as a type of blood sacrifice that satisfied the requirements of the Old Law for Christian believers and instituted a New Law rooted in the teachings of Jesus.

"bisi to do wel not oneli bifor God but also biforne the folk." 2 Corinthians 8:21.

CHAPTER 5, PARAGRAPH 1

the leon of the kynde of Juda that is roote of Davith. Both Jesus and his ancestor King David belonged to the Israelite tribe of Judah, and Jesus is named here the "lion of Judah," a reference to Genesis 49:9–10, which associates the tribe of Judah with a lion and foretells that it will produce a line of kings. Jesus is also named here the "root of David" in reference to a prophecy in Isaias 11:1–10 that a messianic figure will arise from the "root of Jesse," David's father — in other words, from the lineage of King David. The Apostle Paul explicitly identifies this figure as Christ and calls him the "Root of Jesse" in Romans 15:12. See also note for 22.¶8, below.

Chapter 5, Paragraph 2

the saveour to bien man agen. The direct biblical reference for the gloss's description of Jesus "buying mankind again" — paying a ransom or redemption price — might be 1 Peter 1:18–19, which speaks of Christian believers being redeemed not by silver or gold but by Christ's blood; the Vulgate redempti [redeemed] is translated by the Wycliffite LV as bought agen. The specific financial metaphor of Christ "buying" humanity's salvation with his sacrifice appears elsewhere in the New Testament epistles, for example in 1 Corinthians 6:20, ye ben bought with greet pris (LV). But the general metaphor of sin as a financial debt that must be repaid to God or forgiven runs throughout the Bible, including the well-known phrase from the Lord's Prayer, "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors" (Matthew 6:12; Luke 11:4), and the parables of Jesus that use debt as an analogy for sin (see Matthew 18:21–34; Luke 7:36–50).

the seven sacramentis of holi chirche or the seven giftis of the Holi Gost. The gloss gives two possible interpretations for the seven clasps (better known in modern English as the "seven seals"). The first possibility is that they are the seven sacraments of the church, the most important rituals of the Christian faith through which God extends grace to mankind — baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist (or Communion), penance (which includes confession, satisfaction, and absolution), extreme unction (or anointing), ordination, and marriage. The other potential interpretation the gloss provides for the seven clasps is that they are the seven "gifts of the Spirit" from Isaias 11:2–3 (see note for 5.¶4, below).

as the lion doith awey his trace with his tayle . . . lyved as to the godhed. The belief that lions swept away their own tracks with their tails to hide and slept with their eyes open can be traced to the second-century *Physiologus*, in the same passage which claims that lion cubs are born dead for three days (see note for 4.¶6, above). The gloss uses these traits to draw parallels between the lion and Christ, who hid his divine nature from "the proud" and was both dead in the flesh and alive in spirit at the same time after the Crucifixion. In a similar way, the *Physiologus* says that Christ, "the spiritual lion of the tribe of Judah . . . hid his intelligible tracks (that is, his divine nature), from the unbelieving Jews," and that he "physically slept on the cross, but his divine nature always keeps watch in the right hand of the Father" (Curley, ed. and trans., pp. 3–4).

Chapter 5, Paragraph 3

harpis and fithelis of gold ful of swete smele. The word fithelis [fiddles] appears in both MS and earlier manuscripts, including H and P, and is an apparent mistranslation of the AN phioles (Fridner, p. 40), from the Vulgate phialas [vials]. LV translates the word as viols, an alternate spelling of MED, fiole (n.), sense 1a, "A small glass or metal bowl or cup for liquids, incense, etc." However, the Middle English viol can also refer to a violin or fiddle (see MED, viol [n.]), which might explain the translator's confusion. Adding to the potential confusion with phioles is the word's pairing with a musical instrument — harpes in AN, translated directly to Middle English as harpis — though the phrase ful of swete smele should make clear that the phioles, unlike the harps, are objects that can be filled with perfume or incense. Only one later manuscript of the English Apocalypse, Bodley Laud Misc. 33, accurately translates the word as fiolis

[vials] (Fridner, p. 40). Since *fithelis* is attested in the earliest manuscripts, its usage in MS did not likely originate with the LV.

and sungen. MS and H both omit the object of the verb "sing," which appears in the Vulgate as canticum novum [new song], AN as chaunçon novele [new song], and LV as "a new song." Three other manuscripts of the English Apocalypse, including two of the earliest copies, contain some variation on new songes (Fridner, p. 40), and the gloss below also refers to new songis (see 5.¶4) — an instance of MS and H departing together from what was likely the original translation.

Chapter 5, Paragraph 4

the seven giftis of the Holi Goost that Jhesu Crist hade, as Ysaye saith. Many of the prophecies of Isaiah, from the book of the Hebrew Bible that bears his name, were interpreted by later Christian writers as foretelling the life of Jesus Christ. Isaias 11:2 lists seven "gifts of the Spirit," which the Apocalypse commentary here notes were all possessed by Jesus; this passage in Isaias as a whole describes a figure traditionally interpreted by Christian theologians as Christ. The gloss here also supplies an identity for the sevene spiritis around the throne of God, which first appeared in 1:4, and says they embody the seven gifts (see note for 1.¶2, above). The LV translates the seven gifts as wisdom, undurstondyng, counsel, strengthe, kunnyng [knowledge], pitee [piety], and drede [fear] of the Lord.

violis. The biblical text uses *fithelis* [fiddles] to describe these receptacles of perfume (see note for 5.¶3, above), while the gloss follows the LV in using *violis*, which can mean either "vials" or "violins." See *MED*, *viol* (n.) and alternate spellings for *fiole* (n.). This may be a rare example of the LV's influence on the gloss in addition to the biblical text. H, P, and other early manuscripts omit the phrase in the gloss which contains the word (see textual note, *That thei hadden the violis*), whereas six later manuscripts in addition to Plimpton use *phioles* or *viols* (Fridner, p. 42).

Chapter 6, Paragraph 7

with swerde and with hunger and of the deeth of the bestis of erthe. The Vulgate includes the conjunction et [and] after morte [death] to make clear that the horseman brings four distinct types of destruction: the sword (war), hunger (famine), death (translated "plague" or "pestilence" in modern editions), and the beasts of the earth. AN and LV follow suit. By dropping the conjunction — a mistranslation that appears in all manuscripts — the English Apocalypse appears to reduce the types of destruction to three, with "the death of the beasts of the earth" as the third. The gloss, however, separates them again, and regards deeth and the bestes of the erthe as betokening two separate things (6.¶8). Modern editions which translate the original Greek rather than the Vulgate also make the pronoun hym at the start of this sentence plural, to indicate that each one of the four riders, traditionally known as the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, carries a means of destruction, rather than the last rider carrying all four. For example, the King James Version of 1611 reads: "And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth."

Chapter 6, Paragraph 11

And the heven partide as a book folden. This unusual image appears in both MS and H and the AN original. The word partide translates the Vulgate recessit, "receded" or "departed." However, since the AN and Middle English translators have replaced the original biblical metaphor of a scroll being rolled up with that of a book, partide also suggests the image of heaven opening like a book's pages.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 13

And his membris that shul be than in tribulacions, that bitokeneth the harde haire. The biblical text above (6.¶11) describes the darkening of the sun with the metaphor of the sak of an hayre — a piece of sackcloth made from coarse animal skin with hair, also called a haircloth. See MED, her(e (n.2), sense 3, which notes that haircloth could be used to make a shroud, the awning of a boat, or an altar covering, any one of which fits the metaphor of the sun being covered or shaded. The gloss extends this metaphor further, with a reference to another common use for haircloth — as an uncomfortable garment or hairshirt, which could serve as an aid in penance (see sense 2). The apocalyptic tribulations that Jesus's followers will undergo are like the "hard" or rough cloth of a penitential garment that will lead them to greater righteousness.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 2

Of the kynde of Ruben . . . Of the kynde of Manasse, as manye. The twelve kyndes listed here are twelve tribes of Israel, descended from the twelve sons of Jacob listed in Genesis 35:22–26 (see note for 4.¶4, twelve patriarkis, above). However, the tribe of Manassah, which along with the tribe of Ephraim was descended from a son of Joseph (see Genesis 41:51–52), replaces Dan in the list of twelve. The biblical text gives no explanation for the absence of either Dan or Ephraim, but the two tribes may be excluded because they led a rebellion which caused the kingdom of Israel to divide following King Solomon's death, and their lands served as the locations of two golden idols which the northern half of the kingdom established in competition with the Temple at Jerusalem (3 Kings 12:25–30). The English Apocalypse translation follows a slightly different ordering than the AN and Vulgate in placing Manassah last in the list (see the textual note for this passage), perhaps to emphasize the replacement.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 3

soithfaste penance bitokeneth fourti, and the feith of the Gospelis foure. The association of penance with the number forty is a traditional one, as it is the number of days the Flood of Noah lasted (Genesis 7:12), the number of years the nation of Israel wandered in the desert (Exodus 16:35), and the number of days Jesus spent fasting in the wilderness before starting his public ministry (Matthew 4:2; Mark 1:13; Luke 4:2). In the church calendar, the season of Lent, the period from Ash Wednesday to Easter which is associated with fasting and penance, is also forty days excluding Sundays. The number four is here associated with "the faith of the Gospels" because there are four Gospel accounts in the New Testament: the Books of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 4

a gret asemblé that noon myght telle of alle manere of men. The "great assembly" here may include the 144,000 members of the tribes of Israel mentioned previously, but it is distinct from them and so vast as to be uncountable. The phrase of alle manere of men is a translation of AN de tutes manieres de genz [of all manners of people] (Fridner, p. 56), which is an abridgement of the Vulgate ex omnibus gentibus, et tribubus, et populis, et linguis [from all nations and tribes and peoples and languages]. This international multitude will later be identified, in verse 14, as martyrs and other victims of persecution (7.¶8).

palmis in her hondis. Palm branches were traditionally associated with victory, and they recall Jesus's Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem the week before his Crucifixion, when crowds waved palm branches and laid them in the road as he rode a donkey in the manner of a conquering king. All four Gospels recount the event, but only John specifically notes that the branches were from palm trees (John 12:12–15).

Chapter 7, Paragraph 8

coverne. A translation of AN gouvernera (Fridner, p. 58) and Vulgate reget [shepherd]. H uses governe, and the MS spelling is unusual. However, see alternate spellings for MED, governour (n.) and governing(e, (ger.). In the passage, the Lamb on the throne protects his people from the sunne and noon hete, which may have prompted the scribe to think of the similar word coveren [cover], which can also imply protection (see coveren [v.1], sense 10b).

Chapter 8, Paragraph 2

voices. See *MED*, *voice* (n.), sense 2a: "The sound or noise of thunder... a thunderclap."

Chapter 9, Paragraph 1

the depe pit. The bottomless pit or abyss referenced here may be associated with hell, but it might also be considered a specific place where demons are held prisoner. Demons in a scene from the Gospel of Luke express their fear of it when Jesus threatens to send them there (Luke 8:31), and the Apostle Paul uses the same word to describe where Jesus goes after his death (Romans 10:7). It will be described later in the Apocalypse as the place from which several tribulations will arise, such as the smoke and giant locusts in verses 2 and 3 and the Beast in 11:7 (11.¶6), and as the place where Satan will be imprisoned in 20:1–2 (20.¶1). The demon Abaddon will be described as the *aungele of the pit* in 9:11 (9.¶3), in the Vulgate *angelum abyssi* [angel of the abyss].

Chapter 9, Paragraph 2

Bi the heigh . . . heigh lif. The translation plays with the double meaning of the Middle English homonym heigh in the gloss. The heigh [hay, or grass] will not be harmed by the plague of locusts, in the same way that God will not allow spiritual harm to come to those of heigh

[high, or holy] life. This wordplay is unique to the Middle English, as the AN original uses the words *fein* [hay] and *haute* [high, holy] (Fridner, p. 68). Punning on the literal and figurative meanings of "high" can also be seen in the preceding sentence, in the description of the locusts themselves, which *mow not fleen highe* [cannot fly high], in the same way the Antichrist's disciples cannot *fleen highe* figuratively, in spiritual understanding or good works.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 3

in Latyn Exterminans. The original Greek text of the Apocalypse lists the Hebrew (Abaddon) and Greek (Apollyon) names for the demon. The Latin name Exterminans, which also means "destruction," originates with the Vulgate.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 6

foure corneres. A mistranslation of the Vulgate cornibus [horns], which originates with the AN and is followed by all manuscripts of the English Apocalypse (Fridner, p. 71). The LV also has foure corners here, possibly evidence of influence from the earlier Apocalypse, but just as likely an independent mistranslation, perhaps the result of confusion with the proverbial phrase "four corners of the earth" used elsewhere in the text — see 7:1 (7.¶1) and 20:7 (20.¶4).

and bi an houre . . . and bi a year. H and several other manuscripts omit the first and in this series, but the sense is nevertheless confusing. The Vulgate *qui parati erant in horam* [who were ready for an hour] indicates that the angels are prepared and waiting for these lengths of time before they strike.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 9

woundis. For the use of "wounds" to mean "plagues," see *MED*, wound (n.), sense 5b. Two of the four illustrative quotes in this *MED* entry are verse 11:6 of the Apocalypse (11.¶4), one from an *English Apocalypse* manuscript, Bodley Rawlinson C.750, and the other from the Wycliffite EV. The text will use *woundis* to mean "plagues" throughout, but see note for 16.¶1, below, for one example of *wounde* meaning a literal physical wound.

Chapter 10, Paragraph 2

"I am not come . . . to fulfillen it." Matthew 5:17.

heele. The earliest manuscripts of the English Apocalypse, including H and P, use this term for "conceal," both in the biblical text verse 10:4 (see textual note for 10.¶1) and in the gloss. MS follows the LV in using marke in the biblical text, which means to seal or conceal; see MED, marken (v.1), sense 5. MS uses heele in the gloss, however, providing further evidence that though the biblical text may be influenced by the LV, the commentary remains keyed to the earlier translation. See note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

CHAPTER 11, PARAGRAPH 2

misbilevende. MS's word for "unbelievers," which H renders as mysbilevande men, is a translation of AN mescreanz [heretics, unbelievers] from the Vulgate gentibus, a word which literally means "the nations," referring to all nations besides Israel, and from which the word "Gentiles" derives. Though gentil as a word for non-Jews was available in the fourteenth century (see MED, gentil [n.], sense 3), LV translates the Vulgate here as hethen [heathen] men. Later translations such as the Douay-Rheims and the King James Version use "Gentiles." See also note for 21.¶11, below.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 3

"I chastise . . . maad reprevable." 1 Corinthians 9:27.

puten hem out thurgh techynge. MS and H both depart from the AN original here in saying that the Antichrist's disciples will be driven out by techynge, not by escomengement, or excommunication (Fridner, p. 80). Since the alteration appears in the earliest manuscripts of the English Apocalypse, it is not specifically Lollard in origin, but the Lollard compiler of the Plimpton manuscript would certainly have approved the emphasis on good teaching and preaching rather than on the church's institutional processes.

two and fourti monethis . . . two tymes and half a tyme. MS is incomplete in this passage, so H supplies nine missing words to make the description comprehensible (see textual note, a yere). The gloss here interprets the 42-month period of persecution described in 11:2 (see 11.¶2) and links it to the tyme that is tolde biforn; that is, the earlier description of an angel slaying one-third of mankind bi an oure and bi a day and bi a moneth and bi a yeer (see 9:15; 9.¶6). By interpreting the "hour" as half a year and the other three time periods as full years, the gloss reaches the three-and-a-half year total which corresponds with 42 months, and also with 1,260 days in the passage that immediately follows (see 11:3; 11.¶4). The gloss also looks forward to a later passage that shale be sette biforn, in which a woman representing the church will hide from a dragon representing the devil, for oo tyme and two tymes and half a tyme (12:14), or three-and-a-half years. This later phrase will be omitted in MS, though it does appear in H (see textual note for 12.¶9, bi a tyme). Both MS and H also appear to have omitted a necessary phrase in this passage, as neither the two tymes and half a tyme of MS nor the o tyme and half a tyme of H fully add up.

CHAPTER 11, PARAGRAPH 5

Enok and Elie. The two prophets referenced here are Enoch and Elijah. Enoch is a patriarch in the Book of Genesis, the great-grandfather of Noah, and supposed author of the non-biblical apocalyptic text the Book of Enoch; Elijah was a prophet of ancient Israel who was persecuted by King Ahab and Queen Jezebel (see note for 2.¶12, above). The gloss presents both figures as a model for preachers who *duren* [endure] *in so great persecucioun*. What they also have in common in biblical accounts is that both ascend directly to heaven without suffering physical death (Genesis 5:21–24; 4 Kings 2:1–12).

"If that we han . . . paied with that." 1 Timothy 6:8.

han myghte to closen that thei be not drede. What exactly the good prechours have the power to do to counteract the manas [menace] of the proude mighti is unclear, since the word closen has a wide variety of potential meanings — see MED, closen (v.). In subsequent lines in the gloss, the good preachers are able to turn lecherous people to blood by making them aware of their filth, and to smite covetous people with woundis [plagues] by revealing their sin, both presumably figurative actions. "Closing" the menace of the mighty might mean shutting it out of the church (senses 1, 10), refuting or embarrassing it (sense 5b), imprisoning or entombing it (senses 5b, 6a), or covering it up (sense 8a, 11b).

Chapter 11, Paragraph 10

as he dide Job. A reference to the Book of Job, which tells the story of a righteous man afflicted with torments by Satan to test his faith (see Job 1:1–2:8).

Chapter 11, Paragraph 12

biforn Godis face fellen. A slight mistranslation of the Vulgate, in which the elders sit in conspectu Dei [in the sight of God] and ceciderunt in facies suas [fell on their faces]. In the AN from which the MS translates, the elders who sit devant la face Deu cheïrent adenz [before the face of God fell facedown] (Fridner, p. 88). Compare with the LV, which translates directly from the Vulgate: in the sight of the Lord fellen on her facis.

CHAPTER 12, PARAGRAPH 2

aperide. Plimpton is the only one of the *English Apocalypse* manuscripts to follow the LV in using the word *apperide* here, rather than *shewed*. Verses 11:19 and 12:1, both of which appear at the start of chapter 12 in the MS, seem to have been influenced by LV generally in their word choices (see textual notes for 12.¶1, *voises and thundres*, and 12.¶2, *aperide*).

Chapter 12, Paragraph 4

seven hedis and ten hornes. MS and H both omit the phrase that follows in the Vulgate: et in capitibus ejus diademata septem [and on his heads seven crowns]. LV includes the phrase, translated as and in the heedis of him seven diademes, and one late manuscript of the English Apocalypse, Bodley Rawlinson C.750, follows suit (Fridner, p. 91). The original translation may have mistakenly dropped the phrase because the AN French words for "horns" (cornes) and "crowns" (corones) look nearly identical. The gloss that follows (12.¶5) makes no mention of the crowns either, but see verse 13:1 (13.¶1), a parallel passage which includes ten diademes.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 5

seven hed synnes. The gloss interprets the dragon's seven heads as a series of tyrants who commit the Seven Deadly Sins (pride, greed, lust, envy, gluttony, wrath, and sloth), with a pun on hed as "chief" or "primary." The gloss then links the dragon's actions directly to two of the Deadly Sins, coveitise [greed] and lecherie [lust], with the former "maintaining" or supporting the latter. Commentaries on the Seven Deadly Sins frequently described the ways the various sins interacted with one another in this manner. For example, the Parson's sermon in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales lists the fifth of the Deadly Sins as "Avarice and Coveitise" and quotes the Apostle Paul in 1 Timothy 6:10 saying "the roote of alle harmes is Coveitise" (CTX[I].738). In its discourse on "Lecherie," the seventh of the Deadly Sins, the Parson's sermon draws a link similar to the gloss, describing the way the physical temptation of lust flows from the broader spiritual sin of greed: "for the coveitise of eyen [eyes] folweth the coveitise of the herte" (852).

to devoren childer thourgh synne whan thei ben borun thurgh baptem. See 1 Peter 5:8–9 for the biblical image of the devil as a lion looking to devour Christian believers. The "children" that the gloss refers to here may be literal children or, with the reference to being borun thurgh baptem, any members of the church who have experienced rebirth through the sacrament of baptism (see, for example, the imagery of baptism as rebirth in John 3:3–5 and Romans 6:3–4). The gloss clearly does not view baptism as an automatic protection from sin; in fact, it may even serve as an allurement for the devil, who wishes to lead Christians astray.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 8

For than he hath beste tyme, for his tyme is schortest. The passage of commentary that concludes with this line gives several examples of the devil being frustrated by righteous people, who resist his temptations, set their hearts on spiritual things, act with meekness, and practice penance. The final example of righteous people thwarting the devil is the *old man and woman* on their deathbeds who resist the devil's final attacks on their faith. The phrase For than he hath beste tyme is not in the AN original, which notes simply that the devil tries to encumber people with sin when he knows his time is short (Fridner, p. 96). The meaning of beste in this context is not fully clear — it might imply that the devil is more successful in these attacks because he is more vigorous, or it may mean that this near-death time is simply the most important or the most urgent, both for the devil and for the one resisting him.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 2

a liberde of divers colours. The biblical text in the preceding paragraph does not explicitly mention the leopard's colors or spots, but its interpretation as a symbol for hypocrisy or deceit is traditional. *The Book of Vices and Virtues* (ca. 1400) comments on this same passage: "The body of the best, as seith seynt John, was lik a liberd, for right as a leopard hath dyverse coloures, right so hath the devel dyverse suteltees and giles" (Francis, ed., *Book of Vices and Virtues*, p. 10).

And hym is geven power two and fourti monethis. The gloss comments here on a passage the biblical text has not yet reached, verse 13:5 (see 13.¶4).

Chapter 13, Paragraph 6

"The erthe is goven . . . the unpitous." Job 9:24.

Abel the first man that was sclaynn. A reference to the story of Cain and Abel, the first murder in human history according to the Book of Genesis. Cain kills his younger brother Abel over jealousy that Abel's animal sacrifices are pleasing to God (Genesis 4:1–8), which the gloss presents as evidence that God's chosen people have always been persecuted.

That he biddith us . . . stedfast bileve and suffrance. This sentence glosses verse 10 of the biblical text above (13.¶5). However, its description of people suffering peyne and tormentis and persecuciouns in pacience is clearly a reference to the second half of the verse about the pacience and the feith of seyntis, which has been dropped from the MS (see textual note for 13.¶5, swerd) — another indication that the copy text for the biblical translation was likely corrupt while the gloss was more complete. see note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

Chapter 13, paragraph 8

telle. This translation of the Vulgate computet [calculate] and AN acunte [account] (Fridner, p. 105) expresses a wide range of meanings in Middle English; see MED, tellen (v.), which lists eighteen senses. The primary meaning in the gloss appears to be MED sense 17a, "To count, reckon" or 17e, "To calculate," but a variety of secondary meanings may be relevant, including to say, tell a story, write, disclose, announce, describe, preach, prophesy, report, argue, discern, and judge. The LV acounte, which is closer to the AN acunte, has a similar range of meanings as the modern English "account," which can mean to "make an accounting" or "give an account"; see MED, accounten (v.), which lists six senses. In context, the passage says that only those with proper understanding can "tell" the number of the beast — calculate it, report it to others, and discern its significance.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 9

as the serpent disceyved Eve. A reference to the story of the Fall of Mankind in Genesis, in which a serpent (often associated with Satan) persuades Eve to eat a forbidden fruit by casting doubt on the truthfulness of God's words (Genesis 3:1–7). The gloss links the dragon of the Apocalypse to this serpent, and to false preachers who similarly deceive.

the Holi Gost descendith in hem in the liknesse of fier. A reference to the day of Pentecost in the Book of Acts, in which the Holy Spirit descends like tongues of fire onto Jesus's followers and allows them to speak in other languages (Acts 2:1–4). It is unclear why the gloss describes this event as occurring *priveli* [secretly], since the Pentecost scene is a very public one involving people from all nations (2:5–13), and it concludes with a public sermon from Peter to thousands of people (2:14–41). However, in the chapter before this scene, Jesus privately

promises the disciples he will send the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:4–5), and in the Gospel of John, Jesus bestows the Holy Spirit on his disciples while they are hiding in a locked room, though it appears as a breath rather than fire (John 20:22). The gloss draws a contrast between these manifestations of the Holy Spirit, meant to instill faith in Christian believers, and the public spectacle of the Antichrist raining fire onto the earth and performing other miracles for the purpose of deception and power.

now given hem to his prelatis . . . speken of God. This passage is an English interpolation not found in the AN original (Fridner, p. 107), which expresses traditional concerns about hypocritical priests and other church officials who appear righteous but commit sexual sins in private.

noon schal han power in holi chirche to gyve londis ne rentis ne resceyve. MS adds the phrase in holi chirche, which is not in H or in the AN original (see textual note), in order to focus the critique on church officials who earn money from "lands and rents," a highly contentious issue in the fourteenth century especially among monastic orders, whose members were not technically allowed to own property but could do so through the legal loophole of communal ownership. John Wyclif and his Lollard followers came to believe that monastic orders, whom they called "possessioners," and any church officials whose wealth came from land ownership, should be dispossessed by the government if they fell into mortal sin. Wyclif argues that this condition describes the entire contemporary church, which warrants forcing all clergy to return to a state of poverty (see Wyclif, *De Civili Dominio*, ed. Loserth, 3:49–60). The poet William Langland echoes the sentiment in *Piers Plowman*:

"A medicyne moot [is needed] therto that may amende prelates, That sholden preie for the pees; possession hem letteth [hinders]. Taketh hire landes, ye lordes, and let hem lyve by dymes [tithes]; If possession be poison, and inparfite hem make, Good were to deschargen hem for Holy Chirches sake, And purgen hem of poison, er [before] more peril falle." (Langland, *Piers Plowman*, ed. Schmidt, 15.561–66)

The MS scribe may also have added the phrase in anticipation of the anticlerical passage to follow in the gloss. (See the next note, below.)

that is to seie that he be comen ... ypocritis and eretikis. This passage, which is an English interpolation not found in the AN original, expresses traditional concerns about corrupt priests and other "prelates" or church officials who have become wealthy through simony, the selling of ecclesiastical offices for money, so named for Simon the Magician in Acts 8:9–24, who attempts to purchase the power of the Holy Spirit from the Apostle Peter. The passage also expresses a common anticlerical suspicion that young men go to the ordre, a reference to the priesthood and also possibly religious orders of monks and friars, for the purpose of satisfying the bodili delites of gluttony and lust. For example, a late fourteenth-century Lollard sermon entitled "On the Leaven of the Pharisees," after listing several of the sexual sins priests and friars engage in, complains that young men are attracted to these orders and their hypocritical vows of celibacy for this very reason: "It semeth the devyl gedreth [gathers] siche lumpis of

yonge men, fatte and lykynge [healthy, amorous] and ydyl, and byndith hem fro wyves" (Matthew, ed., *English Works*, pp. 6–7). Linking priests, members of religious orders, and popes with the Antichrist is also a hallmark of John Wyclif's writings and sermons starting in the 1370s, and a theme taken up vigorously by his followers in the Lollard movement. For example, the early fifteenth-century Lollard tract *The Lanterne of Light* (Dean, ed. *Medieval English Political Writings*) describes Antichrist metaphorically as a serpent, with the pope at its head and other church officials making up its body and tail: "in the court of Rome is the heed of Anticrist and in archebischopis and bischopis is the bodi of Anticrist. But in thise cloutid [ragtag] sectis, as mounkis, chanouns, and freris [friars] is the venymous taile of Anticrist" (lines 319–22). In a commentary on Revelation 16, the tract also includes "the pseudo-prophete or fals prechour" as part of Antichrist's tail (lines 399–400). As the *English Apocalypse* demonstrates, this anticlerical strain in English religious writing predates Wyclif and his followers, but it may help to explain why the compiler of the Plimpton manuscript, which contains Lollard material in addition to the Wycliffite New Testament, was drawn to this version of the Apocalypse in the first place.

The noumbre of his name . . . sothfast light. The gloss engages in somewhat tortuous numerology to find meaning in the beast's number 666, by taking its Roman numerals, DCLXVI, and arranging them to form the Latin phrase dic lux, "to say light" which the gloss takes to mean "so-called light" or "alleged light." The beast's number thus represents the Antichrist, whose false light contrasts with the true light of Christ.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 5

Babiloyne the greet citee. The ancient city and empire of Babylon was an enemy of Israel, and much of the history, prophecy, and poetry of the Hebrew Bible revolves around Babylon's conquering of Israel, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Israelites who went into exile in the city of Babylon under the rule of King Nebuchadnezzar (4 Kings 25:1–12). The Book of Daniel, among others, also recounts the fall of Babylon a generation later (Daniel 5:1–31). By the time of the New Testament, Babylon had not existed for more than 500 years, but it appears in the Apocalypse as both a general figure of decadence and decay, represented as a prostitute and contrasted with the city of New Jerusalem that descends from heaven in 21:2 (21.¶1), and as a specific metaphor for Rome, whose fall is prophetically predicted throughout the Apocalypse. See, for example, verses 16:19 (16.¶12), 17:16–18 (17.¶8), and 18:2 (18.¶1).

his leccherie. The pronoun his in Middle English can have either a male or female antecedent, though the restrictively feminine hir is often preferred when the antecedent is female (not to be confused with the plural possessive her or here, "their"). H is relatively consistent in using his to refer to Babylon, the city which is represented throughout the Apocalypse as an immoral woman, but also occasionally uses plural pronouns. MS consistently uses feminine pronouns for Babylon in the biblical text but at times uses less restrictive pronouns in the gloss. See also note for 18.95, below.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 7

losengouris. The *MED* entry for *losengour* (n.), senses 1a to 1e, cites a wide range of possible meanings for this general term of abuse, including flatterer, liar, backbiter, calumniator, deceiver of women, hypocrite, evil counselor, rascal, coward, and idler.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 11

That thai weren holdun litil bi in this world and unworthi. This phrase in MS and H does not appear in the AN original, which instead interprets the imagery of the sickle and harvest as God's desire for the company of his saints (see Fridner, p. 117). Three manuscripts of the English Apocalypse simply omit any phrase here, and another, Cambridge University St. John's College G.25, translates the AN more accurately, though it describes the saints themselves as requesting the harvest so that they can join one another's company: pat pei bidden oure lord sende his sikel on pe corn (Fridner, p. 117). The image of people who are "held little by the world and unworthy" does not have an obvious connection to anything in the biblical passage the gloss is interpreting here, and it is unclear where it originates.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 12

diche . . . lakes. These words for "ditch" and "lakes" translate the AN fosse [pit] and lai [lakes] (Fridner, p. 118), but both are the same word in the Vulgate: lacum/lacu [lake]. In context, the pit or lake where the harvested grapes are being collected and trampled is obviously a wine-press. The word diche in Middle English does not in itself appear to carry this connotation, but see MED, lak(e (n.1), sense 3d, which quotes this passage from H and the Wycliffite EV.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 13

confessouris . . . bynde and unbynde. In context alongside the martyrs and apostles, the "confessors" in this passage are clearly those referred to in MED, confessour (n.), sense 1, "One who avows Christianity in the face of persecution and torture." However, the group's ability to "bind and unbind" is a reference to Matthew 16:19, in which Jesus gives the disciple Peter "keys to the kingdom," traditionally interpreted as the spiritual authority of Christian priests. Thus confessouris seems also to refer to priests more generally, as in MED sense 2, "A priest who hears confessions, prescribes penance, and grants absolution."

not peyne of Purgatorie, for it is evermore lastinge. The gloss emphasizes that the winepress of God's wrath in the biblical passage above represents eternal hell, not merely Purgatory, the hell-like place of temporary torment for souls burdened by sins that were not absolved through the sacrament of penance during their earthly lives.

and othere that han cure of soulis. "Cure of souls" is the responsibility for pastoral care and spiritual guidance that a church official has for the people in a particular congregation or parish. The gloss is speaking here mainly of powerful prelates in the church and political leaders who should kepe [care for] all the people they have authority over, rather than causing them peynes

and sorewis which will rise to heaven and stir God's wrath. But the "others" who have cure of souls might also include low-ranking parish priests and lay leaders.

the thousynde pas and sixe hundrid. The gloss interprets a phrase that is missing from verse 14:20 (14.¶12) above — that is, the measure of distance that the blood flows at 1,600 pas [paces]. The AN gloss does not contain the phrase; it is apparently added by the Middle English translator working from the Vulgate. The Vulgate in 14:20 gives the measurement of the blood's flow in stadia, a phonetic rendering of a word from the Apocalypse's original Greek. The precise length of an ancient Greek stadion is unknown, but estimates are in the range of 600 feet (see MED, stadial [adj.], sense 1). LV translates stadia as furlongis [furlongs], an unrelated English measure which happens to be similar in length at one-eighth of a mile, or 656 feet. The word pas in the MS means a pace or stride, an inexact measurement but significantly shorter than the stadion or furlong. See MED, pas(e, (n.1), sense 4a, "A unit of linear measure of approximately five feet." In comparative terms, the Vulgate and LV measure the blood as flowing nearly 200 miles, the MS approximately one and a half miles. See also note for 21.¶6, below.

Chapter 15, Paragraph 1

harpes of gold. A mistranslation of AN les harpes Deu [harps of God] (Fridner, p. 120), or perhaps a scribal error that changed *God* to *golde*. LV: *the harpis of God*.

Chapter 15, Paragraph 2

In that it is mengid with fier . . . Holi Gost. The Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity, is often depicted in the New Testament with images of fire, for example in Acts 2:3, when it appears as "tongues of fire" over the disciples at Pentecost. The dual image of the waters of baptism and the Holy Spirit's fire, which the gloss uses to interpret the "sea of glass mingled with fire" in Revelation 15:2, also recalls John the Baptist's prophecy that the coming Christ will "baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire," in Matthew 3:11 and Luke 3:16.

To beren hym reverence, it schal turne to the halewen into withouten ende in the love that thei have in hym. The meaning of this sentence is obscure, in part because it is not fully clear what it refers to — it appears to be something that will turne or shift into something eternal, withouten ende, for the saints. The AN original may provide some insight here, as it says reverence for God remeindra as seinz pardurablement ove l'amur qu'il unt vers lui [will remind the saints eternally of the love they have for him] (Fridner, p. 122). The sense of the English translation may be that the belief the saints have in God (their sothfast bileve, earlier in the passage), or their reverence for him, will ultimately transform into a love that endures eternally.

Chapter 15, Paragraph 3

clene stone. The word apparently meant here is stole [robe], a translation of the AN purpre [fine cloth] (Fridner, p. 123) or Vulgate lino [linen], but since stone is attested in all manuscripts of the English Apocalypse, it does not appear to be a scribal error. The adjective clene as

applied to stones means "bright, shining; gleaming, sparkling" (*MED*, *clene* [adj.], sense 4b), and the apparent meaning is that the angels are "clothed" or bedecked in precious jewels, but the source of this image or potential error is unclear.

CHAPTER 16, PARAGRAPH 1

wounde. Though the AN plaie [plague] and its Middle English translation wounde are used for "plague" here and several times above (see note for 9.¶9, above), the Vulgate word here is different — vulnus [wound] rather than plaga [plague]. The affliction given to the people who follow the Beast appears to be a physical wound, perhaps sores or a skin disease. The gloss does not give any further insight to the word's literal meaning, but it interprets the wound as temptaciouns . . . for erthly thingis and delit of her flesch (16.¶4).

Chapter 16, Paragraph 3

schedden the blood. The Middle English word schedden has the double meaning of "pouring out" and "shedding," as in shedding blood (MED, sheden [v.], senses 6 and 7). Thus in addition to the poetic justice of the punishment described here, that those who shed blood are forced to drink blood, the language itself contains an ironic echo starting in verse 16:4, as the angel schede his viole [poured out his vial] in punishment on those who schedden the blood of saints. The same echo can be heard in the Vulgate, with effudit phialam [he poured out the vial] and sanguinem ... effuderent [they shed blood], and in the AN, with espandi [poured out] and espandu [shed] (Fridner, p. 126).

Chapter 16, Paragraph 4

aungil of wynd. The "angel of wind" who accompanies the "angel of water" in verses 16:5–6 above (16.¶3) apparently refers to the unidentified voice in verse 7 which speaks in agreement with the first angel: "Ye, Lord, rightful and sothfast ben thi jugementis." The association with wind, which is not in the biblical text, might reflect that the voice is disembodied.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 8

his techinge. Both MS techinge and H prechyng depart from the AN tormenz [torments] (Fridner, p. 129). Fridner proposes that prechyng is a misreading of the AN variant turment as serment [sermon] (p. 235n), but all three words make sense in context — both the physical torments of the Antichrist and his false preaching and teaching might cause people to forsake their faith.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 9

the grete day of God almyghti. The "day of the Lord" — also known in English as Judgment Day or Doomsday — is described in the Apocalypse and several other places in the New Testament as a period of time at the end of human history when Jesus will return to earth and pass

divine judgment on humanity. See, for example, 1 Thessalonians 5:2 and 2 Peter 3:10. Apocalypse 6:17 above refers to it as *the greet day of here* [God and the Lamb's] *wraththe* (6.¶12).

"Lo, I come as a thef... men see not his foulnesse." The theme of Jesus returning suddenly, like a thief, and bringing judgment to people who may not be prepared is mentioned above in verse 3:3 (3.¶1) and runs throughout the four Gospels, particularly in parables. See, for example, Matthew 24:42–44 and Luke 12:39–40, in which Jesus's return is compared to the owner of a house keeping watch, not knowing when a thief will break in. In a parallel to this parable, Mark 13:32–37 describes the master of a house setting his servants to guard the door while he is away — though in this case, they are warned to watch out not for thieves but for the master's own return, whose time is unknown. Elsewhere in the New Testament, 1 Thessalonians 5:2 says the day of the Lord (see note for the grete day of God almighti, above) will come as a theef in the night (LV). Nakedness here represents unpreparedness, whereas clothing represents righteousness (see Isaias 61:10; Ephesians 6:11–17).

Chapter 16, Paragraph 11

froschis... bynymen othere her reste. The observations that frogs live in foul or muddy water and have loud croaks which keep people awake were commonplace in medieval bestiaries. For example, Isidore of Seville's Etymologies (seventh century) says, "Frogs (rana) are named from their garrulity (compare rancare, 'roar') because they fill their native swamps with noise, and make their voices resound in unruly croaking" (ed. and trans. Barney, et al., 12.6.58; p. 263). The gloss associates the frogs' loud croaking with false preaching that does not give people rest.

a child that cannot kepyn an appil. The origin and exact mechanics of this trick involving a child and an apple are unclear, though Whiting cites several proverbial English phrases about children loving apples that date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: "A Child loves an apple more than a castle," children "love an apple more than gold," and "A Child's love is lost for an apple" (Whiting, C204, C207, p. 82). It is one of many examples in this glossed passage of the devil working through false "clerks" and "prelates" — that is, priests and other officials in the church's hierarchy — to feign spiritual authority and lead people astray. These clergy are described as beholden to three of the Seven Deadly Sins — pride, coveitise [greed], and leccherie [lust] — and their false preaching is compared to the croaking of frogs in the night, which robs people of their rest (see note for froschis, above). The apple trick is one example of the wonders and false miracles that win over worldly "princes" or rulers, and "steer them against" ordinary Christians. This concern that the Antichrist's priestly followers would lead people astray and corrupt both the church and secular authorities was a common theme in fourteenth-century English religious writing, and it would become even more prominent after the 1370s with the popularity of John Wyclif's anticlerical writing and the rise of the Lollard movement, whose anticlericalism was often even more extreme. Though the English Apocalypse predates the Lollards by several decades, the spirited anticlericalism of passages like this one is likely one reason the compiler of the Plimpton manuscript selected it for inclusion at the end of the otherwise Wycliffite New Testament. James Morey writes that "for many reform-minded medieval clerics, the Apocalypse was not so much the last book of the Bible

that recounts the end of time but an allegory of how the Antichrist represents the Pope," and points to this passage in particular as one that "would resonate with the most strident Lollard" (Morey, "The Wycliffites," p. 93).

this word Ermaledoun . . . "risynge temptatiouns." The Hebrew place name Har Megiddo, rendered here as Ermaledoun and in most modern English translations as Armageddon, refers to a mountain or raised fortification near Megiddo, an ancient city and battlefield north of Jerusalem (see Judges 5:19; 4 Kings 23:29–30). The gloss here gives an interpretation of Har, or "raised place," in the word's etymology, to mean "rising temptations." H has a slightly different reading, risyng to temptacioun, which MS may also have intended (see textual note), but the general sense is similar.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 13

sotil science. The word sotil, equivalent to the modern "subtle," has a range of meanings, and in the context of this passage about devils dwelling in the air seems to have a primarily physical meaning, that the devils' bodies are light or ethereal (see MED, sotil [adj.], sense 3c). However, sotil can also mean sly, treacherous, or deceitful (sense 2b), crafty in the manner of the "subtle serpent" in the Garden of Eden, especially when paired with science, whose primary meaning is knowledge or skill but can also mean cleverness or craftiness (see MED, science [n.], sense 4). In fact, the MED cites this line from Fridner's edition of H as an example of sense 2b. Both the tangible and abstract meanings make sense in context, and both may be intended here — the devils are airy in substance and deceitful in their craftiness.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 3

maumetrie. A term of abuse derived from Mahomet, the Old English name for the Prophet Mohammed; see MED etymology for maumetri(e (n.), Old English mahometerie. In some contexts, it refers specifically to the religion of Islam, but here the term is generalized and refers to any type of false or idolatrous religion.

delices of the wyn . . . thei ben drunken. The gloss references here the second half of verse 2, which was dropped above (17.¶1), further evidence that the biblical copy text was incomplete or corrupt while the gloss was not. See note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

"Bi her frut yee schulen knowen hem." Matthew 7:16.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 9

"But oure Lord . . . his mouth," Isaye seith. Isaias 11:4. (See also Isaias 30:27–28.)

thei schulen haten hem . . . as Isaye seith. It is unclear which passage in Isaias the gloss is citing here, but the image of the damned hating and reproving those whom they believe responsible for their pain echoes Isaias 8:21, in which people suffering from hunger express anger toward God and their king.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 2

the fornicacioun of kyngis is bitokenede leccherie. The gloss references here the second half of verse 3, which was dropped above (18.¶1), further evidence that the biblical copy text was incomplete or corrupt while the gloss was not. See note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 3

dilyces. This word for "delights," spelled delices elsewhere in MS, is a mistranslation here. The confusion appears to come from a misreading of the Vulgate's delictorum [sins], which the AN accurately translates as mesfez (Fridner, p. 148).

Chapter 18, Paragraph 5

he sat as a quene. As this passage demonstrates, the Middle English pronouns he, hym, and hys can have either male or female antecedents. H is relatively consistent in using these pronouns for the feminine figure of Babylon, whereas MS tends to use the feminine pronouns sche and hir for Babylon in the biblical text and occasionally, as here, the less restrictive pronouns in the gloss. See also note for 14.95, above.

the fier of helle schal brennen hem, for the brennynge wil in evel. The syntax here is obscure, but the sense appears to be that the fires of hell are poetic justice for the unrighteous souls who had a "burning will to do evil."

For the juge is stronge ... book that Salomon maad. It is unclear which passage or which of "Solomon's books" (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, or Ecclesiasticus) is referred to here, but see Ecclesiasticus 35:14–15.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 9

these marchaundis and the biggers bitokeneth symonyes. The gloss in MS gives this passage a more anticlerical interpretation than H, as it compares the merchants who weep over the destruction of Babylon to simony, the corrupt practice of selling ecclesiastical offices for money, whereas H compares the merchants to gavelers or usurers, those who lend money at interest. Simony and usury were both viewed as sins of a similar type, in that both involved the misuse of money, but simony was typically limited to priests or other church officials. Both usury and simony were also traditionally linked to the sin of "sodomy," a broad term for any non-procreative sexual practice; for example, the Lollard proclamation *Thirty-Seven Conclusions of the Lollards* refers to simony as "gostli [spiritual] sodomie and eresie" (Forshall, ed., *Remonstrance*, p. 7). John Wyclif argues in the treatise *On Simony* that "just as sodomy in the time of the law of nature was one of the most serious sins against nature, so simony in the time of the law of grace is one of the most serious sins against grace" (Wyclif, *On Simony*, trans. McVeigh, p. 36).

Chapter 18, Paragraph 11

vois of the hurlyng... and drynkis. The gloss references here the second half of verse 22, which was dropped above (18.¶10), further evidence that the biblical copy text was incomplete or corrupt while the gloss was not. See note for 1.¶8, the maydenesse son, above.

the grete lordis of the world . . . preysyng and lordschipe. The phrasing in this passage is difficult, but the gloss is addressing the issue of proper limits on a lord's or a knight's power. The grete lordis of the world are meant to use their power for only two things: keeping the public peace and defending the church. Alternatively, the gloss says, the biblical text could be applied to those who have the responsibility to techen and governen and kepen [protect] other people, that they should be quenchid [satisfied] with the praise and authority they have received and not seek to gain more, leading to corruption and cruelty. H has an interesting mistranslation of clerkes for knyghtis in this passage (see textual note), a reading that focuses the critique on potentially corrupt church officials.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 8

And the grete . . . by many watris. The grete and litle in this gloss are references to the litil and michil in verse 5 (19. \P 3).

worthili resceyven the sacrament of the auter. The "sacrament of the altar" is the Eucharist, or Communion, the ritual of eating and drinking Christ's body and blood in the form of a bread wafer and wine, which took place at the altar in the front of a church and was the centerpiece of all medieval Christian worship services. The priest would elevate the wafer, also known as a "host," and the chalice of wine above his head and then partake, but most non-clerical Christians would take the Eucharist only once or twice a year, for instance on Easter Sunday. The gloss's insistence on people "worthily receiving" the sacrament is likely a reference to 1 Corinthians 11:29, the Apostle Paul's warning that partaking unworthily could result in judgment, and to the church's requirement that communicants go through confession and the process of penance before partaking the sacrament. The Eucharist was not the ritual that cleansed people of their sin, but rather one which united a church body with Christ through his presence. The Eucharist was also a flashpoint in anticlerical and philosophical debates in the late fourteenth century, as John Wyclif and his later followers the Lollards denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, the belief that bread and wine became the literal body and blood of Christ, and questioned whether the sacrament would lose its power if the priest himself had unconfessed sins. See also notes for 1.¶11, holi prelatis, 5.¶2, the seven sacramentis, and 13.¶9, that is to seie, above.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 11

"Cometh and gedere togidere . . . and of mykil." This invitation from the angel to carrion-eating birds to attend a feast of dead bodies recalls several biblical passages in which God feeds birds with the flesh of armies or other groups he has destroyed. See, for example, Psalm 78:2, Jeremias 19:7, and Ezechiel 39:4, among many others. See also 1 Kings (1 Samuel in most modern

editions) 17:44–46, in which David and Goliath each threaten to kill and feed the other to the birds, and Job 39:27–30, where after a poetic description of horses excitedly charging into battle, an eagle feeds its young with the blood of the slain. The profane feast in this passage also parodies the *soper of the bridales* [wedding feast] *of the Lomb* in verse 9 above (19.¶6), as well as the "heavenly feast" Jesus describes several times in the Gospels, both directly and in parable form. See, for example, Matthew 8:11 and 22:1–14, and Luke 13:29 and 14:15–23.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 12

and he that dide the wondris. The conjunction here and in AN changes the meaning of the Vulgate slightly. Rather than the false prophet himself performing wonders, there appear to be three people or groups — the Beast, false prophets, and one performing wonders. However, the next sentence says, *These two ben cast into the pit*, indicating that the translator knows there are only two people, the Beast and the false prophet. LV: the fals profete that made signes.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 13

the grete delite . . . that dampned men shulen have. The question of whether the blessed in heaven are able to observe the damned in hell — and if so, what their reaction might be — was a matter of debate among early Church Fathers. The gloss follows Thomas Aquinas in asserting that the righteous not only do not pity the damned but actively "delight" in their torments. In the Summa Theologica (ca. 1274), Aquinas argues that since souls in heaven are fully knowledgeable and perfectly happy, "Nothing should be denied the blessed that belongs to the perfection of their beatitude . . . Wherefore in order that the happiness of the saints may be more delightful to them and that they may render more copious thanks to God for it, they are allowed to see perfectly the sufferings of the damned" (Aquinas, Summa Theologica, trans. Fathers of the Dominican Province, Third Part Supplement, 94.1, p. 107).

"He shal sleen . . . spirit of his lippis." Isaias 11:4.

But thei shulen not be in so grete peyne . . . grete joye in hevene and erthe. The gloss emphasizes that though the church will endure the painful persecution Antichrist schal doun [do] to Cristen folk, it will not be as painful or permanent as the sufferings of the damned, and it will be offset by the pleasure of seeing the wicked's destruction. See note for the grete delite, above.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 3

The put he caste him in . . . that is the fend of helle. This section of commentary is an English interpolation that does not appear in the AN original (Fridner, pp. 170–71, 244n). It contains anticlerical themes likely to be attractive to the Lollard compiler of the Plimpton manuscript, including the statement that hypocritical preachers who deceive their flocks are werse than any devel in helle.

His profetis . . . seiden hem the sothe. This passage within the English interpolation is clearly anticlerical, as it describes the devil's prophets within the church, including prideful men, lechers, and *losengeris* [flatterers]. However, its precise sense is unclear at a few points. The phrase *maken hem holi* might refer to the flatterers making themselves holy, by establishing themselves in holy orders through ordination, or it might mean they confer holiness upon their wealthy and powerful parishioners, perhaps through flattery or through absolution within the sacrament of penance. Either way, they do so for wrong reasons, either for *drede*, fear of those parishioners, for *love*, or for *ler*, loss. MS repeats *love* twice in a clear scribal error; H uses the alliterative phrase *for love oither for ler*. Fridner proposes *lof* [praise] as the intended word in place of *love* (p. 244n), which makes more sense in context — the flattering priests do their dishonest work in the church out of fear, or in order to win praise, or because they will face loss if they do not. The next sentence continues this theme and appears to reference the priests' dishonesty in preaching, as they will not gain anything they hope from their parishioners if they *seiden hem the sothe* [tell them the truth].

Chapter 20, Paragraph 4

Gog and Magog . . . gravel of the see. Gog and Magog were ancient kings or kingdoms, which warred against Israel and were the subject of several prophecies of Ezekiel (see Ezechiel 38–39). In the Apocalypse, Gog and Magog become general symbols for the enemies of God's people. Gravel of the sea [sand on the seashore] is a biblical metaphor for a massive uncountable army — see, for example, Josue 11:4 and Judges 7:12.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 6

the dede and the qwyk. A mistranslation of the AN les morz granz and petiz [the dead great and small] (Fridner, p. 175). LV: dede men greete and smale.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 3

and of grace. A mistranslation of the Vulgate gratis [freely] which originates with AN: et par grace [and of grace] (Fridner, p. 178). The full verse translated accurately in LV reads: I shal gife freli [freely] of the welle of qwik [living] watir to him that thirsteth. The mistranslation, however, allows the subsequent gloss to discourse at length on the subject of God's saving grace in Christ (21.94).

and to hem that loven huntyng. A mistranslation of the AN ces qui enveniment [those who poison] (Fridner, p. 178). This verse and the gloss that follows (21.¶4) are the only places MS includes hunters among the list of sinners; H does so here and also in 9:20 and 22:15 (see textual notes for 9.¶9 and 22.¶6). Fridner speculates that the translator drew a connection between the AN venefique [poisoner] and venëor [hunter], from the Latin venator (pp. 226–27). MS adds the more accurate venym doeres [poisoners, sorcerers] to the list as well, which H does not.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 5

margaritis. All manuscripts of the English Apocalypse contain this description of pearls in the twelve gates of the heavenly city. It might appear at first to be a mistranslation of the AN angeles [angels] (Fridner, p. 184) and Vulgate angelos, which the LV translates angelis. However, pearls also appear in the twelve gates a few verses later, in 21:21 (21.¶10), rendered in the Vulgate as margaritae [pearls]. While it is unclear exactly why the Middle English translation cuts the angels from verse 12 and replaces them with pearls, the word choice should be viewed as an interpretive translation that looks ahead in the text rather than a mistranslation. For more on the symbolic significance of pearls, see the note for 21.¶10, below.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 6

twelve thousand paas. The translation of the AN pas [paces] (Fridner, p. 185) gives a significantly smaller sense of size than the Vulgate *stadia*, which are roughly 600 feet, or the LV translation's *furlongis*, at 650 feet (see note for 14.¶13, *the thousynde pas*, above). It is unclear why the translators chose a shorter measure, but in comparative terms, the heavenly city in the Vulgate and LV is approximately 1,500 miles long; in the AN and *English Apocalypse*, it is less than twelve miles long.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 7

vertu. A mistranslation of AN *verdur* (Fridner, p. 185). The Middle English *verdure* [green, flourishing] would be a better choice, as it would give a double meaning to the jasper's green color, in the same way that the crystal's physical *brightnesse* represents the spiritual brightness of baptism and penance.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 9

That the wal is jasper . . . and bidden for hem. The list of symbolic meanings for the twelve gemstones in the heavenly city draws from the tradition of medieval lapidaries, reference works on the properties of precious and semi-precious stones. Though the tradition was ancient and often associated with astrology and magic, Christian lapidaries produced by such writers as Isidore of Seville (seventh century) and Marbod of Rennes (twelfth century) were popular in the Middle Ages and focused on biblical references, including this passage from Apocalypse 21:18–21. Gemstones in the Bible, when they are given explicit interpretations, typically represent wisdom. See, for example, Job 28:12–19, which lists several gemstones, along with silver and gold, and concludes that wisdom is more valuable than all of them. See also the descriptions of the heavenly city in the late fourteenth-century poem *Pearl*, which are taken directly from the Apocalypse and include a rhyming list of the twelve stones (Andrew and Waldron, eds., *Poems of the Pearl Manuscript*, pp. 101–02; lines 985–1020).

stedfast bileeve as Abraham hadde. The patriarch Abraham, through whom God makes a covenant with the people of Israel that they will inherit the Promised Land of Canaan (Genesis 15:1–20), is held up by the Apostle Paul in the New Testament as a paragon of faith. In

Romans 4:1–25 and Galatians 3:6–9, Paul draws a distinction between Abraham's faith and his works, using Genesis 15:6 to argue that Christians are counted righteous in God's eyes the same way Abraham was, for their faith in Christ. See also James 2:21–24, which uses Abraham's faith to make a different argument about faith and works, and Hebrews 11:8–19, which recounts the life of Abraham as one of several ancient heroes of faith. In the gloss, Abraham's *stedfast bileeve* is compared to the "cleanness" of the gemstone jasper. The word *clene* in its literal sense means physically pure or clean (*MED*, *clene* [adj.], sense 1), when applied to a gemstone "bright, shining; gleaming, sparkling" (sense 4b), and in its figurative sense "morally clean, righteous, pure" (sense 2a).

"Oure conversacioun is in heven." Philippians 3:20. For the definition of conversacioun, a translation of the Vulgate conversatio and AN conversation (Fridner, p. 190), see MED, conversacioun (n.), senses 2a and 3. LV translates it as living.

Sardonycle that is of thre coloures. The three-layered stone described here is sardonyx, the fifth stone listed in verse 21:20 (21.¶8). The sixth stone, sardoyne [sard, carnelian] is missing in the gloss's list and does not receive an interpretation. H lists the three-colored stone as sardoyne, an apparent error caused by the two stones' nearly identical spelling; carnelian is typically solid in color, and as Fridner observes, "sardonyx... is required here because it is layered" (p. 247). Two manuscripts of the English Apocalypse — Cambridge, Caius College 231/117 and Manchester, Rylands Library English 92 — supply an interpretation for a sixth stone called sardins, which is simply an alternate spelling for sardonyx (see MED, sardin(e [n.] and also verse 4:3 [4.¶1]). Their descriptions, however, seem to fit better with the red carnelian, a confusion no doubt again due to the similar spelling of sardonycle and sardoyne. The gloss in Rylands Library English 92 reads: Sardins is of reed colour as he brynnyde [as if it burned]. This colour techeth men how Crist conforteth mennes charité [inspires people's love] and maketh hem bolde to be martires [martyrs] and shede her blood for his love (Fridner, p. 190).

cold. A mistranslation of AN froter [rubbing] (Fridner, p. 191); the translator likely read froid [cold]. Topaz does not change color in the cold, but rubbing may cloud and darken its natural light color, a metaphor the commentary applies to the wise who do not give their hearts to the world.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 10

margaritis. Pearls held a wide range of symbolic meanings in Christian literature of the four-teenth century. Two of these potential symbols are noted in the gloss for this verse (21.¶12), where the cleanness and brightness of a pearl represents virtue and purity. The Middle English word bright, whose literal meaning refers to the physical brightness or a light or jewel (MED, bright [adj.], sense 1), carries the figurative sense of "morally pure, free of sin," "enlightened," or "splendid, glorious" in virtue (sense 5). An excellent source for exploring the multifaceted significance of pearls is the late fourteenth-century poem Pearl (Andrew and Waldron, eds., Poems of the Pearl Manuscript, pp. 53–110). The "pearl" of Pearl is both a young girl who has died, who appears to the narrator as a queen of heaven in a dream vision, and the recurring image of a precious jewel that represents spiritual truths to the Dreamer, who frequently

refers to himself as a "jeweler." The pearl is "wemlez [flawless], clene, and clere, / And endelez rounde [eternally round]" (lines 737–38), representing righteous perfection, truth, and eternity. The poem references Jesus's parable of the Pearl of Great Price (Matthew 13:45–46), in which a merchant sells everything to obtain a pearl which may represent wisdom (see also Matthew 7:6), salvation, heaven, or Christ himself (lines 729–35). Some commentators have also noted that the size, shape, and color of the pearl recalls a Eucharistic wafer, the sacramental element of Christ's body (see Baldwin, "Sacramental Perfection in *Pearl*, *Patience*, and *Cleanness*," p. 129).

Chapter 21, Paragraph 11

hethene men. Verse 21:26 does not appear in the Anglo-Norman Apocalypse (Fridner, p. 248) and may be translated directly from the Vulgate or borrowed from LV. There is no commentary for it in the gloss below. The word MS translates as hethene men and H as the folk (see textual note, thei schulen bryng glorie) is the Vulgate gentium, meaning "the nations" and often translated in modern editions as "the Gentiles." See note for 11.¶2, above.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 2

the cros. The cross of Jesus's Crucifixion is frequently referred to in Middle English literature as a "tree," or the "tree of death," in ironic contrast with the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden and in the New Jerusalem of the Apocalypse. See *MED*, *tre* (n.), sense 1b.

"That is lyf... whom he sent." John 17:3.

"He that avoweth . . . my Fader in hevene." Matthew 10:32.

is expouned biforn. The absence of sun, moon, and lantern in the heavenly city is interpreted above in the gloss for verse 21:23 (21.¶12): whanne it is glorified it schal han no myste [need] of prechynge ne of techere ne of kepere [guard].

Chapter 22, Paragraph 7

Thei doon as the hond doith . . . for thei been not sory for here synnes. See 2 Peter 2:20–22. The analogy of a dog returning to eat its own vomit comes from Proverbs 26:11. See also Whiting H567 (p. 295).

Chapter 22, Paragraph 8

"I am rote and kynd of Davyth." See note for 5.¶1, above.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 14

false discretifris . . . to wynnen erthli goodis. The gloss includes among those who are subject to the Apocalypse's curses discretfris, experts in papal decretals known as "decretists." See MED,

decretiste (n.), which notes that the term is "used contemptuously." The gloss says that these experts, with their overly subtle readings, turn the *gostli* or spiritual insights of scripture into a means by which they can win worldly wealth.

"That day ne that houre . . . oneli the Fader." Mark 13:32.



H (the earliest extant manuscript of the *English Apocalypse*) and P (another early copy which predates the Wycliffite LV) supply alternate readings for apparent scribal errors in MS. Significant deviations from MS are also noted here, including those places where MS exhibits influence from LV. LV Apocalypse quotations in these notes are taken from the edition that appears as Appendix A in this volume.

Prologue, Paragraph 1

Seynt. The first word of the Prologue and of each chapter begins with a rubricated initial letter.

chosen. So H. MS: chosne.

and seeth and understondith and seeth the tribulaciouns. So MS. H: seiz and understood þe tribulaciouns and þe sorouzes.

Sone. So H. MS: sonee. Apparent scribal error.

Prologue, Paragraph 2

to his servant. So MS. H: took his servaunt.

schulen be chaungid. So MS. Marginal insertion.

asilen. So MS. H: assailen. (See explanatory note.)

Prologue, Paragraph 3

wakynge. So MS. H: makyng.

Prologue, Paragraph 4

he understode. MS: it understode.

Prologue, Paragraph 5

is on this. So H. MS: on bis.

"the Apocalips." MS: be pocalips. Emended for sense. H: bapocalips.

sevene sightis. MS: sevene sevene siztis. Scribal error. MS has a note in the bottom margin which is apparently a correction: sevene sizts.

tellen. So MS. H adds: And God almiztful be at oure bigynnyng zif it be his wille. Amen.

CHAPTER 1, PARAGRAPH 1

Apocalips. The first word of each chapter begins with a rubricated initial letter. The first page of the biblical text, fol. 204r, features a second scribal hand with a smaller and tighter textura script, which runs from verse 1:1 to the middle of the gloss following verse 1:16 (1.¶8). The following page, fol. 204v, returns to the original scribal hand from the Prologue, which continues to the end of the Apocalypse.

God. As noted in the introduction to this edition, the Plimpton manuscript in general does not contain illuminations, and even its rubricated initial letters tend to be understated. The one slight exception to this rule is this first page of the biblical text (fol. 204r), which is written in a more formal textura hand than the rest of the Apocalypse. The stems of several letters on the top line have flourishes which curve into the margin, in particular the two iterations of the word which(e) and the initial s of servauntis. The h in Jhesu, appropriately, extends above the top line and curves into a shape resembling a shepherd's crook. The d of God becomes a circle with what appear to be two eyes, a nose, and a frowning face. (See Figure 1 on p. vi.)

to be maad. MS: to to be maad. Scribal error.

Chapter 1, Paragraphs 1-4

Apocalips of Jhesu Crist . . . to comynge, almyghti. So MS, following LV. H, P, and other early manuscripts of the English Apocalypse omit verses 1:1–8. MS continues to follow LV in verses 1:9–16 and 3:12–22 (see textual notes, below, for 1.¶5, 1.¶7, And Y turnede, 3.¶4–5, And to the aungele, and 3.¶¶7–9, And to the aungele; these textual notes provide alternate readings from H, whose translation predates LV).

Chapter 1, Paragraph 5

I, Joon, youre brother . . . to Loadicia. So MS, following LV. H verses 1:9–11: [9] Ich, Johan, youre broher and partinere in tribulaciouns and duelle in pacience in Jhesu Crist, was in an yle of the see that is cleped Pathmos and was exiled for Goddes wordes and for I bare witnesse of Jesu Crist. [10] And on a Sonenday, in gost Ich herd a grete voice biside me as it were be soune of a trumpe [11] bat seide to me, "Write in be book bat bou seest and sende it to be seven chirches of Asye, bat is to wyte to Ephesie, Smirme, Pargame, Tiatire, Carde, Philadelphe, & Laodice."

Chapter 1, Paragraph 6

Glose. MS marks the start of glosses here and in 1.¶8 with the word *glose* in red. The glossed sections are inconsistently labeled thereafter; this edition standardizes them.

trumpe and. So MS. H: *buscyne* [trumpet] *that.*

Chapter 1, Paragraph 7

Texte. MS marks the beginning of each section of biblical text with the word *texte* or *tixte* in red; this edition standardizes the spelling. The one exception is chapter beginnings, which are marked with a rubricated initial capital and the chapter number in the margin.

And Y turnede . . . in his vertu. So MS, following LV. H verses 1:12–16: [12] And I tourned me to see he voice hat spaak to me, and I seiz seven candelstickes. [13] On hat semed the maidens son hat was clohed in an aube rizth unto the erhe and gird under his tittes wih a girdel of golde. [14] His heued and his here was white as wolle and as snow, and his eizen as flaume of fyre, [15] and his feet as gleedes brennande. His voice was as voice of many watres, [16] and he had in his rizth honde seven sterres, and out at his mouhe com a swerd kervyng on bohe parties. And his visage was as he sonne whan it shyneh brizttest.

Chapter 1, Paragraph 8

```
The undoynge of this. So MS. H omits.

garnement that he was claad. So MS. H: aube pat he was cloped.

helpen the othere. So MS. H adds: forto done wel.

vyres and. So MS. H omits.

wise men. So MS. H: wise clerkes.

wirchynge. So H. MS: wrchynge. Scribal error.
```

kittith. So MS. H: kerveþ.

on half. So H. MS: on pe on half.

puple of goode leveyng. So MS. H omits.

yvele. So MS. H: quede [wicked].

Chapter 1, Paragraph 9

"Nyl thu dreden." So MS, possibly following LV. H: Be bou nouzth adred.

helle and of deith. So MS, possibly following LV. H: hevene and of helle.

Chapter 1, Paragraph 10

of Asie. So MS. H omits, following AN and Vulgate. MS marks the end of many sections of biblical text, starting here, with the word *ende* in red. The label is inconsistently applied; this edition omits it and standardizes *Glose* to mark the beginning of the glossed sections.

Chapter 1, Paragraph 11

after Goddis lawe. So MS. H: and to shryven hem.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 1

comaundith. So MS. H: comeb.

for the synnes of the puple. So MS. H: for pe synnes of pe folk. Every manuscript of the English Apocalypse includes a variation on this phrase, but it is not in the AN or Vulgate. It appears to be an interpretive addition original to the Middle English translator.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 2

thyng. MS: zyng. Scribal error. H: bing.

first. So MS. H: aforne.

But thou do. MS: but bou do but bou do.

thi candilstike. So MS. H: bee and bi candelstik.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 5

and art blasfemed . . . these thingis whiche thu schalt suffre. So MS, following LV. The script from here to the end of the folio page is written in a darker ink and runs into the lower margin, suggesting a later addition or correction. H: be assaut of fals folk bat blasfemen bee.

and he that overcometh. So MS and H. Four manuscripts of the English Apocalypse follow the AN and Vulgate in starting verse 11 with he pat hap eris, here he what pe spirit seip to pe chirchis (Fridner, p. 14).

Chapter 2, Paragraph 6

By the tribulacioun. So MS. H: By be temptacioun.

Lord. So MS. Marginal insertion.

in that he. So H. MS: *in bat bat he.* Apparent scribal error.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 7

ye woneth. MS and H: he wonep.

my name. MS: my my name.

and thu holdist . . . where Satanas dwellith. So MS in a marginal addition, following LV. H omits.

In as moche ye have forsake my lawe. So MS. MS and H translate this line from the AN, but it is not in the Vulgate. It appears to be an interpretive addition original to the AN translator.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 8

o thinge. So MS. H: oo þing. Both follow AN: une chose [one thing] (Fridner, p. 16). LV follows the Vulgate: a fewe thingis. See also textual note for 2.¶12, below.

eten of the. MS: eten of of be be. Scribal error. H: seen be.

holden the techyng. So MS. H: holden be lore.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 9

"And to hym." So MS. H: unto hym. LV follows the Vulgate in starting verse 17 with He that hath eeres, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis, which none of the English Apocalypse manuscripts do. The AN manuscript that Fridner transcribes does not include the start of this verse, but he supplies it from one that does (Fridner, p. 16), so it may be that the Middle English translator was working from a corrupt AN copy.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 10

sobirnesse. So MS. H: mebfulnesse [moderation].

blisse of heven, and that is manna. So MS. H: mete of hevene, and þat is manna aungels mete.

veniaunce. So MS. H: wreche [retribution].

at the day. So H. MS: be at day.

CHAPTER 2, PARAGRAPH 11

thi charité. So MS and H. LV adds, following the Vulgate: and thi service and thi pacience.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 12

o thing. So MS and H, following AN. LV follows the Vulgate: a fewe thingis. See also textual note for 2.¶8, above.

that sterith. So MS. H: for to techen and out drawen.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 13

"To you... the develis techynge." So MS and H, following AN. LV follows the Vulgate in expanding on this phrase: and to other that ben at Tiatire, who ever han not this teching and that knewen not the highnesse of Sathanas, hou thei seyn. See also explanatory note.

yee han. So H. MS: he han.

to the deeth. So MS and H, following AN. LV follows the Vulgate: til I come.

sterre. So H. MS: sterris.

And he that overcometh... dai sterre. MS and H remove a clause from verse 26 and omit verses 27 and 29. LV: [26] "And to him that shal overcome and that shal kepe til in to the ende my werkis I shal gife power on folkis [over mankind], [27] and he shal governe hem in an yren yarde [rod], and thei shulen be broken togider, as a vessel of a potter, as also I resceyvede of my Fadir. [28] And I schal gife to him a morewe sterre [morning star]. [29] He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis."

Chapter 2, Paragraph 14

and lettith. So MS. P: He leteb.

lyves. So H. MS: lymes.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 1

"And to the aungele of the chirche." So MS. P: Unto be bisschop of.

that is. So P. MS: pat is pat is.

seven sterris. So MS and P. Vulgate: septem spiritus Dei et septem stellas [seven spirits of God and seven stars].

and thou lyvest. So P. MS omits, an apparent scribal error. All other manuscripts follow the Vulgate's word order: *vivas et mortuus es* [you live and you are dead] (Fridner, p. 21).

conferme hem that ben dyeande. So P. MS: conferme hem conferme hem.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 2

clothinge. So P. MS: doynge. Apparent scribal error.

aungels. MS and P omit verse 3:6. LV: He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 3

her bodies. So H. MS: heer her bodies. Apparent scribal error.

doun out. So MS. P: putt out.

destroyen men. So MS. P: disceyven men.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 5

newe name. MS and P omit verse 3:13. LV: He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis.

Chapter 3, Paragraphs 4–5

"And to the aungele . . . my newe name." So MS, following LV. P verses 3:7–12: [7] Unto be chirche of Philadelphe, write bis, seib he bat bat seith, be holy and sobfast bat hab David be keye bat openeb and noman ne schettep. [8] I wot zoure werkes, and hath zoven zou be dore open bat non ne may schetten. Forbi bat bou has a litel vertu and haste kepte my word and nouzth forsaken my lawe. [9] Loo, I schal zive bee be synagog of Sathan bat seien bat bai ben Jewes and ne ben nouzth. And I schal do hem comen and fallen before bi feete in worschipp, and bai schullen witen bat bai loven bee. [10] And for bat bou hast kepte be comaundementz of pacience, I schal kepe bee fro be temptacioun bat schal come overal in be werlde bat tempteb hem bat wonen in erbe. [11] Holde bat bou hast non ne take thi coroune. [12] And hym bat Ich bus overcome, I schal make hym piler in be temple of my God, and be name of my God, and be name of be cité newe Jerusalem bat com adoun from hevene, and my newe name.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 6

That he. So P. MS omits.

thre names. So MS. P: bre maneres.

Jhesu. So MS. P omits.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 7

no man. So MS. LV: no thing. P, following AN, also has no ing.

that is medicyne... that thou see. So MS; this definition is added by the LV translators and not in the Vulgate. See textual note for 3.¶5 of Appendix A.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 8

"Whom I love, I reprove and chastise." MS: I whom I love, reprove and chastise. Apparent scribal error. Compare LV: I repreve and chastise whom I love.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 9

with me. MS: with in me. H: by me.

as I. MS: as and I. Scribal error.

Chapter 3, Paragraphs 7–9

"And to the aungele . . . seyn to chirchis." So MS, following LV. P verses 3:14–22: [14] Unto þe bisschopp of Laodyce, write þat seiþ he þat is sooþ witnesse writen trewe and verrey. [15] I wot wel þine werkes for þou art neiþer hot ne colde. [16] Bot for þou art bytwene two, þou makest me to wlaþþen [feel nauseated]. I schal bigynne to cast þee out of my mouþe by þe fore feete. [17] For þou seist þat þou art riche and hast mester [need] of noþing, and þou ne wost þat þou art wrecched and pouere and blynde and naked. [18] And forþi I rede þat þou bye of my golde tried and proved forto bicome riche, and þat þou cloþe men in white cloþing þat þi schame ne schewe nouzth þat þou art naked. And grese þine eizen wiþ þis oyle forto seen. [19] I blame and chastise hem þat I love. And þerfore do penaunce. [20] Stondeþ atte þe dore and beteþ that hereþ my voice and openeþ me þe zate and I schal entre unto hem and make þere my sopere wiþ hem and he wiþ me. [21] He þat overcometh I schal do hym sytte by me in my throne as Ich have overcomen and sytt with my fader. [22] Who þat haþ eren hereþ what þe spiryt seiþ to þe chirche.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 10

deef heed. So MS. P: tewedes [lukewarm]. MS, P, and LV, as well as the AN and Vulgate, make no mention of deafness in the preceding biblical passage.

castyng. So P. MS: castthing. A possible scribal error due to the line break at cast/thing.

amende hem. So MS. P: repenten hem.

knokkyth. So MS. P: beteb.

levynge of seine forevere. So MS. P: *schrift*. MS *seine* is apparently an alternate spelling of *sinne*, though not attested by *MED*.

thanne oure. MS: thanne and oure. Scribal error.

gost seith. So P. MS: gost seib seib.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 1

a dore. So MS. P: be dores.

after this. So MS. P: after bis lyve.

sardines. MS and P omit the second half of verse 4:3. LV: and a reynbowe was in the cumpas of the seete, lyk the sight of smaragdyn [emerald].

Chapter 4, Paragraph 2

love able. So MS. P: schal be lorde.

Either. MS: eizer. Apparent scribal error.

biforn Jhesu Crist and sweren of his blod. So MS. P: and ansueren bifore Jesu Crist of blood.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 3

olde. So MS. P adds: wheher a man wil he may seie and.

lightynge and thundrynge. So MS. H: liztnesse and þondrynge. Neither MS nor H translate the Vulgate et voces [and voices] in the middle of this phrase. AN has voiz (Fridner, p. 31) and LV voicis. Fridner notes that one late English Apocalypse manuscript, Bodley MS Rawlinson C.750, has voyses. See explanatory note for 4.¶4, Bi the voisis.

als. So P. MS: as.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 4

predicaciouns. So MS. P: prechynge.

Chapter 2, Paragraph 14-Chapter 4, Paragraph 4

heretikis that lyven . . . that ben confermed thorough. So MS. H is missing the manuscript page that would contain these lines; P supplies alternate readings for this section.

thorough tribulacioun. H resumes after the missing page with the second half of bo rouz.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 5

to seyne. So MS. H adds: nizth and day.

Lord God almighti. So MS. H: miztful God al weldande.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 6

Resurreccioun. So MS. H: uprist.

lif thurgh. MS: lif be thurz.

meknesse withyne in hert and charité. So MS. H: sorouz of herte and shrift of moube.

the ruele of. So MS. H omits.

the love. So MS. H: be bileve.

temperance. So MS. H: mebfulnesse.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 7

crownes. MS: crowes. H: crounes.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 8

fende. So MS. H: devel.

Chapter 5, Paragraph 1

an aungele. So MS. H: a stronge aungel.

hath overcome. So MS. H omits.

Chapter 5, Paragraph 2

without bitokeneth. So MS. H: wiboute is bitokned be godspell.

olde fadres of the old lawe. MS: olde law of be olde fadres of be old lawe.

Chapter 5, Paragraph 3

of seyntis. So MS. H: of be holy.

Chapter 5, Paragraph 4

holi men. So MS. H: seven holy gostes.

That thei hadden the violis of gold ful of swete odoures bitokeneth. So MS. H omits.

joye. So MS. H: glorie.

ende. So MS. H adds: *Jhesu Crist graunte us grace so forto don þat we mowen comen into his regne and dwellen wih hym. Amen.*

Chapter 5, Paragraph 5

the foure and twenti grete and the foure bestis. So MS and H. Vulgate and AN omit the specific numbers. LV: of the beestis and of the eldir men.

to resceyven vertu. So MS and H. All manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse* omit the next item in the list: Vulgate *divinitatem* [divinity]; AN *devinité* (Fridner, p. 43); LV *godheede*.

honour. MS and H omit most of verse 5:13. LV: And ech creature that is in hevene and that is on erthe and undir erthe and the see and wiche thingis ben in it, I herde alle seynge to him that satt in the troone and to the lomb, "Blessing and onour and glorie and power in to worldis of worldis."

Chapter 5, Paragraph 6

the aungelis. So MS. H adds: maken.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 2

thorough. So H. MS: bouz.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 3

and to hym that satt there upon. So H. MS omits, an apparent scribal error.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 4

might. So MS. H adds: bat God had zoven to be fende.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 5

balaunce. So MS, possibly following LV. H: weize.

of whete. MS: of of whete.

bilibres . . . bilibris. So MS. H: mesures . . . mesures.

of barli. MS: of barli of barli.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 6

balaunce. So MS. H: weize.

to maken two mesures. MS: to maken to mesures. H omits.

two manere. So H. MS: to manere.

and goode werkis. So MS. H omits.

peny. So MS. H: wyne.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 7

opened. So MS. H: undede.

saat on hym. So MS. H: bere on was.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 8

false jugis. So MS. H: be juges.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 9

thai hadden. So MS. H: þai herden.

men gaf. So H. MS: me zaf.

whiyt, and it is seide to hem. So MS. H: and bad of hem.

of her britheren. So MS and H, following AN. Vulgate: conservi eorum et fratres eorum [their fellow-servants and their brothers]. LV: of her felowis and of her bretheren.

to be slayn yit. So MS. H: zut to slen and þai weren stille.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 10

and shulen ben her above. So MS. H: and þat þai shullen zut ben under.

abiden to han in glorie. So MS. H: habben aboven forto have glorie.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 11

stirynge. MS: furynge. An apparent scribal error, in which the scribe crossed the wrong bar to make the long s look like an f and the ti look like a u. The word furynge is not attested in the MED. H: stirizing.

eche mountayne and yle. So MS. H: alle be mountaynes and be hilles.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 12

rochis. So MS. H adds: and in mountaynes.

and fro the wrathe of the Lomb. So MS. H omits.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 13

gret tribulacioun. So MS. H: grete balaunce.

a book turneth. So MS. H: the book oppeneb.

the yles. So MS. H: be hilles.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 1

foure corners of the erthe. So H. MS: foure corners of be foure corners.

stiyende up fro the risyng. So MS, possibly influenced by LV. H: unto be estward.

the servauntis of oure God in ther forhedes. So MS. H: þe tokne of þe Lorde in þe foreheuedes of his servauntz.

an hundride foure and fourti thousende. So MS. H: foure bousande and fourty hundreb.

of the sones. So MS. H omits.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 2

Neptalym, as many . . . Manasse, as manye. So MS. H follows AN and the Vulgate in placing Manasse directly after Neptalym.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 3

came doun. So MS. H: com adoune from hevene.

the sothfast. MS: he sobfast. Apparent scribal error. H: sobfast.

is aknowe. So MS. H: *is biknowen* [confesses].

feith. So H. MS: feib of the feib.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 4

gret vois. So MS. H: heize voice.

onoureden. MS: a onoureden. H: anoureden.

clerté. So MS. H: charité.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 6

answerde and. So MS. H omits.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 7

And I seide to hym, "My lord, thu wost." So MS. H omits.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 8

on hem. So MS. H adds: ne þe mone.

eche tere. So MS. H: alle teres.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 9

holi writt. So MS. H: be techynges of holy writ.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 1

the Lomb. So MS. H: be aungel.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 2

encens. So MS. H: orisouns.

weren made. So MS. H: ben herd.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 3

shal soone. MS: shal soone shal. H: shal sone.

sent into. So MS. H: sent be fire into.

lownesse. So MS. H: noblesse bat be prechours shullen han.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 4

to syngen in trumpe. So MS. H: forto trumpen.

trumpynge of. MS: trumpynge at. H: trumpyng of.

a gret part of trees and. So MS. H: be brid part of be trees and al be.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 6

brenande. So MS. H adds: of fyre.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 7

frist prechinge that was prechide. So MS. H: predicaciouns [preaching] bat weren first made.

brennende hil. So MS. H: grete hilles brennande.

loveden. So MS. H: lyven.

revers. So MS. H: ryvage [shore].

Chapter 8, Paragraph 8

is seide Wermwede . . . and manye. So MS, possibly following LV. H: is made Alors [Wormwood] bat is bitter, and mychel folk.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 9

alle bitter as wermwede and lest manye. So MS. H: often of bitter tast as Alors and leseþ many þat drynken.

Chapter 8, Paragraph 10

in erthe. MS and H omit the second half of 8:13. LV: "... of the other voicis of thre aungelis that shulen trumpe aftir."

Chapter 8, Paragraph 11

smyten in derknesse. So MS. H: made derk.

CHAPTER 9, PARAGRAPH 1

and the erthe. So MS. H: and be ayre.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 2

deippe. So MS. H: abisme.

discipils. So MS. H: of Antecristes deciples.

thre degrees. MS: brre degrees. Scribal error. H: bre manere degrees.

heigh lif. So MS. H: new lyf and heiz.

harmed. So MS. H: hirt.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 3

haburiounes. So MS, possibly following LV. H: hauberkes.

in her. So H. MS: and her.

Exterminans. So MS. H adds: *bat is, myssaieyng* [blasphemy].

Chapter 9, Paragraph 4

woes. So MS. H: wers afterward.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 5

corownes. MS: corowes. Scribal error. H: crounes.

habiriounes. So MS. H: hauberkes.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 6

sithis. So MS, possibly following LV. H: times and.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 7

haburiounes. So MS. H: hauberkes.

neddris. MS and H omit the final phrase in 9:19. LV: serpentis havynge heedis, and in hem thei noien [torment].

Chapter 9, Paragraph 8

hep. So MS. H: partye.

this world. MS: bis word. H: bis werlde.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 9

Texte. This is the only textual passage in the *English Apocalypse* that is not followed by a gloss. Chapter 10 begins immediately after verses 9:20–21 in all manuscripts of the *English Apocalypse* (see Fridner, p. 74).

ther menslyngis ne of her venym doyngis ne of her fornicaciouns. So MS, possibly following LV. H: his unsibes [crimes] ne of his hounters [hunting] ne of his leccherie. MED (unsith [n.], sense 1) cites unsithes as a possible "error for homicide" (omicydes). For more on hounters, see explanatory note for 21.¶3.

Chapter 10, Paragraph 1

roreth. So MS. H: rennes [runs].

"Marke." So MS, possibly following LV. H: Hele [conceal].

Chapter 10, Paragraph 2

feet. So MS. H: swerd.

comynge. So MS. H: *connyng* [skill, knowledge]. Likely a scribal error, since H is the only manuscript with this reading.

hethen men. So MS. H: payens [pagans].

Chapter 10, Paragraph 3

blawe. So MS. H: trumpe.

Chapter 10, Paragraph 5

the aungelis hond. MS: be hond of be aungelis hond.

and it shal maak . . . swelewed it in. So MS. H omits.

Chapter 10, Paragraph 6

liftyng. So MS. H: hevyng.

bihotith. So MS. H: bitokneb.

Goddes word. So H. MS: God.

CHAPTER 11, PARAGRAPH 1

And also . . . many kyngis. MS and H mark the beginning of Chapter 11 here; modern convention assigns this first verse to the end of Chapter 10.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 2

porche. So MS. H: writyng.

CHAPTER 11, PARAGRAPH 3

soget to my soule . . . reprevable. So MS. H: buxum to my soule, and I ne lett nouzth to prechen to obere.

that is. MS: bat is bat is.

a yere, by a moneth a yere, and by. So H. MS omits.

two tymes. So MS. H: o tyme.

CHAPTER 11, PARAGRAPH 4

gyve to my. So MS. H: nyme.

too hundrid. So MS. H: and be tymes.

covered. So H. MS: be covered.

stonden. So MS. H: shinande and stondande.

shal slen. So H. MS: shallen.

Thei han power to close hevene . . . wounde hou often thei wiln. So MS. H: þat han pouste to tourne þe water into blood and forto smyten þe erþe wiþ what wonder þat þai willen.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 5

that bitokeneth prechours to whom. So MS. H: unto whiche.

manas of the proude mighti. So MS. H: manace bat he manaceb be wicked proude bat ben mizthful.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 8

erthe movynge. So MS. H: stiryng of erbe.

ther ben slayn in erthe stirynge the names of men seven thousende. So MS. H: seven þousandes shullen ben sleyn of men.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 10

gosteli. So MS. H omits.

an othere. So MS. H: anoye [offended].

goodis. MS: godis goodis. H: þinges.

that turmenten hem. MS: the turmenten hem. H: of hem bat bai tormenteden.

clerkis and prelatis. MS: clerkis as prelatis. H: prelates and clerkes.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 12

thin halewis, prophetis. So MS and H. AN: a tes serfs prophetes & a seinz [to your servants the prophets and saints] (Fridner, p. 88). Vulgate: servis tuis prophetis et sanctis [your servants the prophets and saints]. LV: this servauntis and profetis and halowis.

and other. MS: and and ober. Scribal error.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 13

gove to hir. So MS. H: zoven hir and bat nevermore ne shal be bynomen hir.

thei. MS: the. Scribal error. H: thai.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 1

whiche. So MS. H: be huche [ark].

voises and thundres and erthe movynge. So MS, possibly following LV. H: voices stiryng.

And the temple . . . and haile. MS and H mark the beginning of Chapter 12 here; the Vulgate assigns this first verse to the end of Chapter 11.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 2

aperide. So MS, possibly following LV (see explanatory note). H: shewed.

many sterris. So MS. H: XII sterres, following AN and Vulgate.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 3

of God bitokeneth the Holi Gost that aperede in. So MS. H: bitokneb.

whicehe. So MS. H: hucche.

tribulaciouns. So MS. H: temptaciouns and be heyl stronge tribulaciouns.

thourgh apostlis. So MS. H: borouz prechyng of be twelve apostles.

CHAPTER 12, PARAGRAPH 4

and hadde. So MS. H: and cast.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 5

the ten hornes the richesse . . . Ten Comaundementis. So MS. H: By þe ten hornes ben bitokned þe Ten Comaundementz of God.

childer. So MS. H: childer of holy chirche.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 6

agenstonden. So MS. H: wibstonden.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 7

soulis. So MS. H: lyf, following AN and Vulgate.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 8

the grete dragon. So MS. H: be fende bat is made in hevene azein be dragoun.

doun to. So MS. H: azeins hym forto.

scharplyer. So MS. H: egrelicher [more sharply].

meknesse. So MS. H: *lowenesse* and *bolemodenesse* [patience in adversity].

to kepen. So MS. H: forto witen.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 9

he pursued. So MS. H: borouz.

bi a tyme. So MS. H: by oo tyme and two tymes and half a tyme, following AN and Vulgate.

And out of his mouthe . . . bytraped of the flode. So MS. H: Phan he serpent sent out at his mouhe a watere as it were a flood forto bitrayen hir horouz.

and stode hymself... the see. MS and H place this sentence at the end of Chapter 12, following the Vulgate; the Authorized Version and most modern versions of the Bible assign it to the first half of 13:1.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 10

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faught. So MS. H: werred.
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whiche. So H. MS: whice.

techyng holi chirche doith. So MS. H: þai don.

cast out at his mouthe after the woman resceyvede. So MS. H: Pe water pat pe serpent sent out at pe moupe after pe womman bitokenep pe tribulaciouns pat pe womman resceyvep.

holinesse. So MS. H: lowenesse.

that he may not distroien hir bi tribulacioun. So MS. H omits.

given to kepe to hem. So MS. H: ne given no kep unto hem.

agenstonden. So MS. H: wibstonden.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 1

on his hedis names of blasfemye. So MS, possibly following LV. H: many blastynges [curses].

Chapter 13, Paragraph 2

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of the. MS: of be of be.
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ravenours. So MS. H: ravisshshoures.

myghti. So MS. H: *niþeful* [envious; spiteful].

power bitokeneth. MS: power bitokeneh bitokeneh.

noyen. So MS. H: deren [hurt].

Chapter 13, Paragraph 3

slayn, and the heede deede was helid. So MS. H: sleyn oiper ded, and pe wounde of pe dede was heled.

and seiden, "Who is liyk to the best?" So MS. H omits.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 4

loude and to gyve . . . and his tabernacle. So MS. H: aloude and to ziven blastyng azeins God and to blastengen his name and his thabernacle.

doon. MS: do doon.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 5

caitifté. So MS. H: chastité.

swerd. MS and H omit the second half of verse 10. LV: This is the pacience and the feith of seyntis.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 6

Job . . . of the unpitous. So MS. H: *Jobes book, "And in pat be erbe is zoven into wickednesse."*

obedient. So MS. H: buxum [obedient].

schullen. MS: scullen.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 7

or his name or the noumbre of his name. So MS, possibly following LV. H: oiher of his name.

Chapter 13, Paragraph 8

vic, lx, and vi. So MS. H: sex hundreh and sexty and sex.

Chapter 13, paragraph 9

given hem. So MS. H: stizen up.

profetis. So MS. H: prelates.

and now. So MS. H: and none.

his mark in her hond . . . marke in the forhede. So MS. H: be merk in be hond privelich and afterward in be forhede openlich.

no mann speken. So MS. H: no man durre [dare] speke.

in holi chirche. So MS. H omits. (See explanatory note, noon schal han power.)

perdicioun . . . leden hem to perdicioun. So MS. H: lernesse [emptiness; fig. perdition] whan he shal come forto desceyven be folk and leden hem to lernesse.

is it lux. So MS. H: mowen men seien bat be noumbre of his name is "dic lux."

CHAPTER 14, PARAGRAPH 1

gret. So MS. H: olde.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 2

delit. MS: dilit. Apparent scribal error. H: delyt.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 3

in the middil of. So MS, possibly following LV. H: amydward be.

and linage and langage and puple. So MS. H omits.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 4

place to place. So MS. H: stede to stede.

gud lyf. So MS. H adds: and done wel.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 5

welle. So MS. H: wyne, following AN and Vulgate.

of his leccherie. So MS. H: Of his leccherie dronken alle men.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 6

wyn of Goddis wraththe . . . the cuppe. So MS. H: wyn and of þe water of God þat is menged [mixed] wib þe bitternesse of þe chalice.

holi chirche. So MS. H: be holy, following AN seinz (Fridner, p. 113) and Vulgate sanctorum.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 8

travels, for the werkes of hem suen hem. So MS. H: werkes, forwhi her werkes shullen folowen hem.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 9

here. So H. MS: heben. Apparent scribal error.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 10

the maidenes sone Marie. So MS and H, following AN come le Fiulz de la virge [like the Son of the virgin] (Fridner, p. 116). Vulgate: similem Filio hominis [like the Son of Man]. LV: lyk the sone of man.

CHAPTER 14, PARAGRAPH 11

kunnyng of God . . . that is kervynge. So MS. H: juggement þat is comande. H drops a line here between two repetitions of the word bitokened which MS preserves, demonstrating that both are working from an earlier copy text.

That thai. So H. MS: Pat.

bitokeneth that thei desiren. So H. MS: bitokeneb bat bat bei desiren.

the corun. The word *pe* is an addition in the left margin of MS whose intended placement in the line is unmarked. This is the only position in the line (*yvele and . . . berne that is*) which makes sense in context, though it may instead be a scribal error repeating *the* from the previous line (*the yvele*). H: *his corne*.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 12

fier and water. So MS and H, following AN. The Vulgate mentions only ignem [fire]. Interestingly, the LV also disagrees with the Vulgate and lists fyr and water, a rare instance of possible influence from the English Apocalypse, in either its Anglo-Norman or Middle English form, on the Wycliffite translators. See also textual note for 19.¶9, Goddis Sone, below.

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"Kit up . . ." So MS. H: and seide, "Kerve of [off] . . ."
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karf up. So MS. H: carf of.

horsis. MS and H omit the last phrase in verse 14:20, following AN. LV follows the Vulgate: bi furlongis a thusand and sixe hundrid. See explanatory note for 14.¶13, the thousynde pas.

Chapter 14, Paragraph 13

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seyntis . . . seyntis. So MS. H: halewen . . . halewen.
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puple. So MS. H: folk.

han taken high digneté. So MS. H: ben connande [wise].

stie. So MS. H: mounten.

pas and sixe hundrid. So MS. H: part and seven hundreh, an apparent error. See explanatory note.

Chapter 15, Paragraph 4

open hem. So MS. H: open.

which. So MS. Marginal insertion.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 3

"Lord, rightful thou art . . ." So MS and H, following AN: Vulgate adds: qui es et qui eras sanctus [who is and who was holy]. LV: that art and were holi.

these juges and jugid. MS: bese juges jugid. H: bis juggement.

And. So H. MS: An.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 4

temptaciouns. So MS. H: dampnacioun.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 5

blasfemeden. So MS. H: blastengen.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 6

blasfemeden. So MS. H: blastengen.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 8

sete. So H. MS: citee.

and therfore thei blasfemen. So MS. H: for her holynesse and forbi bai blastenged.

the est. So MS. H adds: God sende us grace pat we mowen comen to pat waie zif it be his wille. Amen.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 9

And. MS begins this section of biblical text with a rubricated letter *A*, a style normally reserved for chapter beginnings, and erroneously marks it as the start of Chapter 17 with the note *C. xvii tixte*. It marks the true start of Chapter 17 in an identical way two pages later (fol. 226r).

foule spiritis. So MS and H. AN: trois espiriz orz [three foul spirits] (Fridner, p. 130). Vulgate: spiritus tres immundos [three unclean spirits]. LV: thre unclene spiritis.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 11

prechinge of false eretikes. So MS. H: techyng of be prechyng of be eretikes.

wondres. So MS. H: wondres and miracles.

be clepid not. So MS. H: ne slepe nouzth. H translates AN que nos ne saum endormi [that we are not asleep]. MS appears to be a mistranslation, but the reading is attested in another early manuscript, British Library MS Harley 3913.

"risynge temptatiouns." So MS. H: *risyng to temptacioun*. A large blank space between these two words in the MS may indicate that the scribe intended to insert *to*.

Chapter 16, Paragraph 12

"It is doun." So MS. H: "Made is."

eche yle. So MS. H: be hilles.

blasfemeden Gode for the plage of the hayl. So MS. H: blastengen God for his hevynesse [severity].

Chapter 16, Paragraph 13

false. So MS. H: be wicked.

iles fledden. So MS. H: hilles shullen fleen.

men schulen. MS: men sculen.

blasfemen. So MS. H: blastengen.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 1

bordelrye. MS and H follow AN *bordelere* [bordello, brothel], which mistranslates the Vulgate *meretricis* [prostitute]. LV: *hoore* [whore].

here leccherie. So MS. H follows AN in adding: and pai pat wonen in erpe pat ben dronken of pe wyne of his botrye [buttery, wine cellar], but botrye is a mistranslation of AN bordelerie [brothel] (Fridner, p. 137). Fridner suggests that H mistook the word for botelrie [bottle shop], perhaps led by the suggestion of wyne (Fridner, p. 236n). LV: and thei that duellen in the erthe ben made drunken of the wyn of hir leyccherie.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 2

blasfemye. So MS. H: blessynges. An apparent error for blastynges.

with gold. MS and H, following AN, omit the phrase that follows in the Vulgate: *et coccino* [and scarlet]. LV: *and reed* [red].

hir, Mysterie Babilon, the gret moder of fornicaciouns. So MS, possibly following LV. H: pe prince of Babiloyne, pe grete see of pe see of leccherie. The mistranslation prince may be a misreading of privité, which appears in most other English Apocalypse manuscripts (Fridner, p. 139) — Plimpton is the only manuscript to use Mysterie, which parallels the LV. H's see [sea] is likely a misreading of the AN mere [mother] as mer [sea].

Chapter 17, Paragraph 3

The grette see . . . schewide to Seynt Jon. So MS. H: Pat be aungel shewed to Seint Johan bhe dampnacioun of be grete bordelrie.

profetis. So MS. H: religioun.

bordelrie. So MS. H: botrye. (See textual note for 17.¶1, above.)

after her likyng. That the name of priveté. So MS. H: and turnen after her lyvyng. Þat þe name of þe prince.

That he seith. MS: That that he seith.

modir of fornicaciouns. So MS. H: see of leccherie and of abhominacioun.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 4

And. MS begins this section of biblical text with a rubricated letter *A*, a style normally reserved for chapter beginnings.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 5

and schal go out up of the deppe. So MS. H omits.

world. MS and H omit the final phrase in verse 17:8. LV: seynge the beest that was and is not.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 6

sevene. MS and H omit the final phrase in verse 17:11. LV: and shal go into periysshing.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 7

power as kyng is oon our. So MS. H: her kyngdomes, ac kyng is a lite [little] houre.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 8

that thou hast seien wher the bordelrie . . . hornes that thou seie in the beeste. So MS. H: þat þou seiz oure best.

her wille. So H and MS. AN: que lur plest [what they pleased]. Vulgate: quod placitum est illi [what was pleasing to them]. LV: that that is pleasaunt to him.

gyve. So MS. H: divisen.

kyngis of erthe. So MS. H: erþe.

Chapter 17, Paragraph 9

bi understondyng. So MS. H: blynde.

mountis. So MS. H: names.

and Anticrist. So MS. H omits.

of folk. So H. MS: of flok.

that summe. So MS. H: bat God suffreb that summe.

kyngis . . . kyngis. So MS. H: binges . . . binges.

CHAPTER 18, PARAGRAPH 1

leccherie. So MS. H: his leccherie.

the marchaundis of erthe been. MS and H omit part of verse 18:3. LV: and kingis of the erthe and marchandis of the erthe diden fornicacion with hir, and thei ben.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 2

fleischli wisdam that is for wynnynge, and that is coveitise. So MS. H: fleshlich delyt. Wisdom is bitokned coveitise by.

ambicioun, and that bitokeneth. So MS. H: is bitokned.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 3

hath recordid. So MS. H: bereþ witnesse.

Yeldith to hir as sche yeld to hem. So MS. H: 3elde hem as pai zelden to pee. Throughout this passage, H uses both singular and plural pronouns for Babylon. See explanatory note for 14.¶5, his leccherie.

double hir double. So MS. H: dubble.

sche medlede. So MS. H: hy mengen.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 4

fornicacioun. So MS. H adds: pat is leccherie.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 5

techith us. So MS. H: precheb.

"I am not widowe". So MS. H: he can nouzth seen.

the wepynge. So MS. H: þe ded.

hungir. So MS. H: hundreb.

withouten ende. So H. MS: wib ende.

and that. So H. MS: bat.

orrour. So MS. H: errour.

leesen. So MS. H: maken of her heize kynde þat þai shullen lesen.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 6

purpre. MS and H omit the second half of verse 18:12 and verses 13–14, and these also do not appear in most AN manuscripts (Fridner, p. 240n). LV: [12] "... and of silk and coccyn [scarlet cloth] and eche tre tyme [cypress] and alle vessels of yver [ivory] and alle vessels of precious stoon and of bras and of iren and of marbil [13] and canel [cinnamon] and amonye [aromatic plants] and of swete smellinge thingis and oynementis and encense and of wyn and of oile and of flour and of wheete and of werk beestis and of sheep and of horsis and of cartis and of servauntis and other lifes of men. [14] And thine applis of the desir of thi lyf wenten awei fro thee, and alle fatte thingis and ful clere periysshiden fro thee."

Chapter 18, Paragraph 7

and jemmes. So MS. H: and preciouse stones and of gemmes.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 8

ech governoure and alle . . . maryneres and thei that werken. So MS. H: in hym þat governed hem bat weldeb hem alle and þai þat wrouztten.

and seiden. So H. MS omits.

"Suche a citee was nevere." So MS and H, following AN. Vulgate: Quae similis civitati huic magnae? [What is similar to this great city?]. LV: What is lyk this great citee?

Joieth upon hym . . . dome of hir. So MS, possibly influenced by LV. H: Hevene is heizer upon hym and be apostles and be prophetes, whi God jugged zoure juggement upon hem. And bai shullen have joye that God hab venged hem. Fridner (p. 241n) notes that AN contains only a paraphrase of this passage, so H's translation (and mistranslation) is taken directly from the Vulgate.

CHAPTER 18, PARAGRAPH 9

selleres. So MS. H: sellers of erbe ben bise fals prophetes.

symonyes. So MS. H: bise gavelers [usurers].

and the holy maken joye. MS: maken joye and the holy. Emended for sense. H: and þe holy forto make joye.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 10

of pipe. So MS. H: of styve [bagpipe].

vois of mynstralsie. So MS. H: ne voice ne no mynstralcye ne shal neuermore ben herd in hire. MS and H both omit the second half of verse 22. LV: And ech crafti man [craftsman] and ech crafte shal no more be founden in it, and the vois of mylnestoon [sound of the millstone] shal no more be herd in thee.

no more lighten hir. So MS. H: nevermore be seen in it.

in hir venym doyngis alle folkis han errid. So MS. H: he in his vanités florisshep alle men. Fridner notes that H's mistranslation comes from a corruption in AN, which uses vanitez for venims (pp. 157, 241n).

founden in it. So MS. H: founden in hym. MS and H both omit the second half of verse 24. LV: and of alle men that ben slayn in erthe.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 11

diverse tormentis. So MS. H: in divers instrumentz.

Bi the harpe. So MS. H: By be art.

here servyse as knyghtis. So MS. H: pe servise of pe clerkes. Fridner proposes H clerkes is a mistranslation of AN chevaler [knight] (p. 242n).

aughten to techen . . . bi preysyng and lordschipe. So MS. H: shulden governen obere and techen.

hir venym. So MS. H: his comyng.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 1

with hir grete bordelrie. So MS. H omits.

"Alleluia." So MS. H: Allas.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 5

grete troupe. So MS. H: grete trumpe. H accurately translates AN grant boesine (Fridner, p. 160); MS may be a scribal error for troumpe or may be translating Vulgate turbae magnae [great crowds]. LV: greet trumpe.

"Alleluia." So MS. H: Alleluya, id est saluum me fac deus [that is, God save me]. This phrase in H is written in a separate scribal hand and is perhaps a later addition.

the weddyngis of the Lomb. So MS, possibly following LV. H: richesses of soule. H is a mistranslation.

it is gove to hir that sche clothe hir with bisse clene. So MS. H: hir is zoven hylyng of his lyf cloth clere.

justifiyngis. So MS, possibly following LV. H: *riztwisenesse*.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 6

to me. So MS. H: to me, "Write . . . "

clepid. So MS, possibly following LV. H: clobed.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 7

aungelis feet. So MS. H: aungel.

as thou. So MS. H: and bi servaunt.

Worschip thou God. So MS, following LV. H: and worschipen God. MS and H omit the last phrase of verse 19:10. LV: for the wittnessing of Jhesu is spiritt of profecie.

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 8

ourned. So MS. H: honoured.

bitokeneth that thei ben clepid . . . and wele lyven. So MS. H: to his bridale in þis lyve, þoo ben þai þat stedfastlich bileven and wel loven.

CHAPTER 19, PARAGRAPH 9

Goddis Sone. So MS and H, and all other manuscripts of the English Apocalypse, following the AN. However, the Vulgate reads Verbum Dei [Word of God]. Remarkably, the LV also has the Sone of Godde, possibly a rare instance of the English Apocalypse influencing the Wycliffite translators. See also textual note for 14.¶12, fier and water, above.

white hors. MS: *pe white hors*. The marginal addition *pe* is in a separate hand and alters the accurate sense of the passage, that all the host of heaven ride white horses. H: *white horses*.

and. So H. MS: an.

tredith the pressoure of the wyne of Goddis wraththe. So MS. H: hath the pressoure of Goddes wrappe.

on his hipe. So MS. H: in his kepyng.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 10

lyven. So MS. H: bileven. Both words have the same meaning and translate AN croere [to believe].

bi quentise . . . vertues and of good werkis. So MS. H: and wip coveitise azein pe werlde, and wip pacience azein adversites and richesses, fiztten wip queyntise azein the flesshe, and wip discrecioun and abstinence and sternesse of penaunce and in clennesse stonden in vertu of gode werkes.

as robes that ben clade with right bileve. So MS. H: his robes bat he is cloped wib, bileven.

Chapter 19, Paragraph 11

foules. So MS. H: soules. H is an error.

kyngis. So MS. H: kynges and þe flesshe of þe cheventaynes [governors] and þe flesshe of þe stronge, following AN and Vulgate.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 1

And. MS: nd. The large rubricated initial that would normally appear at the start of the chapter is missing here, but three lines are indented to leave space for it.

depnesse. So MS. H: derknesse.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 2

risyng agen . . . rysyng agen. So MS. H: resureccioun . . . resureccioun.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 3

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for ler. So H. MS: for love.
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wole plese God. So MS. H: wil queme [please, serve] God.

sothfast schrift. So MS. H: sobfast bouzth.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 4

sitte on the heyghest of erthe. So MS. H: stizen up [ascended] upon he heizest of he erhe. Each manuscript translates just a portion of the AN original: munterunt & se apoerunt sure la hautesce de la terre [they mounted up and sat themselves on the height of the earth] (Fridner, p. 172). Vulgate: ascenderunt super latitudinem terrae [they ascended over the breadth of the earth]. LV: thei stieden up on the broodnesse of erthe.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 5

feend. MS: feed. H: fende.

And by Magog ben bitokned the fals prophetes. So H. MS omits, a scribal error.

setten her power . . . that God loveth. So MS. H: ben sett al aboute þe holy houses and þe cités þat God loveþ bitokneþ þat þai shullen setten her power azein the bileve and azein alle þe sacrementz of holy chirche as þorouz prechyng and fals wondres and tourmentz.

amenden hem. So MS. H adds: wibouten ende.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 6

thei myghten reste. So MS. H omits.

jugid. So MS. H: noyed.

dede that werren. So MS. H: deb bat was.

deed men. So MS, with a marginal note adding men in a separate scribal hand. H omits.

in helle. And thei been sent. So MS. H: And helle and be dede ben sent. In MS, the word and appears before in helle with a strikethrough, and a slash appears after helle to denote a phrase ending. This could indicate a scribal error or a deliberate revision of the original phrase; in either case, it is a departure from both AN and the Vulgate, which H follows. LV: And helle and deeth weren sente.

secounde deth. So MS. H adds: Pe ponde of fyre.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 7

coveitouse men. So MS. H: coveitouse and be proude.

temporal. So MS. H: werldelich. AN: temporeus (Fridner, p. 176).

nameli thei that dien in mysbileve and. So MS. H omits.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 1

And. The large rubricated initial that would normally appear at the start of the chapter is missing in MS, but three lines are indented to leave space for it, and a small a appears in the left margin.

ourned. So MS, possibly following LV. H: honoured.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 2

"Writ thou, for these been most trewe wordis and verrey." So MS. H: Write. Pise wordes ben faiþful and trewe.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 3

"It is doon." So MS. H: Made is.

been athirst. MS: been a first. H: han brest.

and to venym doeres. So MS. H: and ymagerie.

pond. MS: bond. H: ponde.

that is. MS: pat pat is.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 4

That he seith. So H. MS: Þat þat he seiþ.

schal do awey. MS: do au. H omits awey, but it is attested by several manuscripts (Fridner, p. 180).

verrey goodis. So MS. H: sobfast godes.

and overcomen. So MS. H: and overcomen be werlde and oure flesshe, and bat is bat he seib he shal overcomen. The omission may be deliberate but is likely a copying error.

now oneli. So MS. H: nouzth onlich.

been to hem God, and thei schulen benn my sones. So MS. H: be his God, and he shal be my son.

so arewe hertis. So MS. H: sorouz of herte.

wedlak. So MS. H: spouse.

fleisch. So MS. H adds: azeins God.

lieres. So MS. H: *herizers* [worshipers].

secounde deth. So H. MS: secounde.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 5

brightnesse of God. So MS. H adds: and his lizth.

ferde. MS: is an ferde. An apparent scribal error; see MED, faren (v.), sense 14: "To be, appear, or seem (like something else)." Emended for sense. H: semed.

hade twelve. MS: hade be twelve, with be erased but still legible.

sones of Irael. So MS, possibly following LV. H: childer of Israel.

northhalf. So MS. H: southward pre zates and to pe northward. The omission is a clear error, since MS later comments on the southern gates in the gloss (21.¶7).

Chapter 21, Paragraph 7

of werkis. So MS. H: of be vertu of be werkes.

predicacioun. So MS. H: prechyng.

penaunce, and. So H. MS: penaunce of.

the twelve patriarkis. MS: be be twelve patriarkis.

the right bileve. So MS. H: stedfast bileve and sobfast hope.

loveth and the more. So MS. H: loveb. Þe more he loveb, þe more.

heighte of citee. So MS. H: heiztte of be cité bat ben even.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 9

governen. So MS. H: techen.

and the profetis. So MS. H omits.

verrey feith. So MS. H: good bileve.

Sardonycle. So MS. H: *Sardoyne* [sard, carnelian], an apparent error. See explanatory note, *Sardonycle that is of thre coloures*.

therwith techen. So MS. H: her wytt techen.

of the cleer. So MS. H: of gold and of clere.

wise religioun. So MS. H: wise religiouse.

kunnen confermen. So MS. H: connen confourmen.

colour mengid. So MS. H: colour medle.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 10

And the twelve. So MS. H: And in be twelve.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 11

And the folkis . . . glorie and honour. So MS, possibly influenced by LV. H: And þe kynges of erþe shullen gon into hym into his blis and in her honoures.

daye, and nyght schal not be there. So MS, following LV. H: nizth, for bere ne shal be no nizth.

thei schulen bryng glorie and honour of hethene men into hir. So MS, possibly influenced by LV since AN is missing this verse (see explanatory note). H: *pe folk schal goo into her glorie and into her blis*.

Chapter 21, Paragraph 12

stretis of the cité. So MS. H: sterres of þe cité.

wexe more. So MS. H: were more and more.

schit bi day. So MS. H: shett anizth.

that he conferme. So MS. H: he confourme.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 1

ech cursid thing schal no more be. So MS, following LV. H: wrepping [anger, cursing] ne shal be no more.

serven hym. So MS. A line that follows is struck out: and bei schulen servene hym.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 2

the twelve. So H. MS: be be twelve.

patriarkis and apostlis. So MS. H: be patriarkes and be prophetes.

cursid thing. So MS. H: warizing [cursing].

Chapter 22, Paragraph 4

It is expouned biforn. So MS. H: Pe understondyng of pis may wel ben understonden, for it is seide bifore and perfore it is no myster [need] to writen it. An addition to the Vulgate that originates with AN (Fridner, p. 199).

Chapter 22, Paragraph 5

nygh. He that noiez . . . be halewid yit. So MS, following LV. H: nere honde. [11] Pat anoieþ zete and þat is in filþe, in filþe is zete, and holy shal be holy zete.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 6

thei that poysounnen. So MS. H: be hunters bat poyson.

foule and the homycides. So MS. H: be foule homicides.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 7

Joon to hiden this. So MS. H: forto hide bis book.

goostli. MS: goostl. Scribal error. H: gostlich.

not here trust. So MS. H: nouzth her bileve.

heren lesyngis. So MS. H adds: and loven to heren hem.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 9

Spirit and the spouse. So H. MS: Spirit of be spouse.

seith, "Kum." MS and H omit the sentence that follows. LV: And he that heerith [hears], seie he, "Come thou."

Chapter 22, Paragraph 10

undo the folk. So MS. H: his folk.

"Cum thu to me." So MS. H: Come.

understonden. So H. MS: undstonden.

water of lyf. So MS. H adds: pat evermore shal last.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 11

lasse. So MS. H: *lette* [withhold, hinder].

the book of lyf. So MS. H: be part of be book of lyf.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 13

you. So MS. H: us.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 14

profecye. So MS. H: sobfast lettre.

pleten with. So MS. H: pleden wib al forto wynnen.

and makith. So MS. H: and wake.

nede to been alle wey redy. So MS. H: myster to ben alway redy.

Maries. So H. The word in MS contains an erasure that removes part of the *r* and *i*.

with stedfast bileve and bynd it with trust hope. So MS. H: porouz rizt bileve and bynde it wip stedfast hope.

bilevene and dien. So MS. H: lyven and dyen.

Amen. MS ends here. The following line begins the next text in the Plimpton MS, titled *The Proverbes*, which is a list of proverbial sayings and paraphrases from the Old Testament. H adds: *The Apocalips on Englissh here now makeh ende. / Unto he blis of heven, God grante us grace to wende.*

APPENDIX A: WYCLIFFITE LATER VERSION APOCALYPSE

Prologue

- [fol. 380ra] Se^1 now a prolog on the Apocalips.
- Alle men that wolen life² mekeli in Crist, as the apostil seith, suffren persecucion. Aftir that, thou sone³ that neighest to⁴ the servise of God, stonde thou in rightwesnesse and in drede and make redi thi soule to temptacion. For temptacion is a mannes lyf on the erthe. But that feithful men faile not in hem,⁵ the Lord coumforteth hem⁶ and confermeth seynge,⁷ "I am with you unto the ende of the world, and litel floc nyle⁸ ye drede." Therfor God the Fadir, seynge⁹ the tribulacions wiche holi chirche was to suffre, that was foundid of the apostlis on Crist the stoon, disposid¹⁰ with the Sone and the Holi Goost to shewen hem that me¹¹ dredde hem the lasse. And al the Trinyté shewide it Crist in his manheed, and Crist to Joon bi an aungel, and Joon to holi chirche, of wich revelacion Joon made this book.
- Wherfore this book is seid¹² Apocalips, that is to seie revelacion. For here it is conteyned that God shewide to Joon, and Joon to holi chirche, hou grete thingis holi chirche suffride in the firste tyme, and now suffrith, and schal suffre in the laste tymes of Antecrist, whanne tribulacion shal be so greet, that if it mowe¹³ be, thei that ben chosen ben mefed,¹⁴ and wiche medis¹⁵ she shal resceyve for thes tribulacions now and in tyme to come, that medis that ben bihoten¹⁶ maken hem glad, whom the tribulacions that ben tolde maken afeerd.

¹ Read

wolen life, desire to live

³ son

⁴ neighest to, *enters into*

⁵ faile not in hem, not lose faith because of them (temptations)

⁶ them (faithful men)

⁷ saying

⁸ do not

⁹ seeing

¹⁰ designed

¹¹ mankind

¹² called

¹³ may

¹⁴ moved (away from faith)

¹⁵ meeds (rewards)

¹⁶ promised

Therfore this book among othere scripturis of the Newe Testament is clepid¹⁷ bi the name of profecie, and it is more excellent than profetis. For as the Newe Testament is worthier than the Olde, and the gospel than the lawe, so this profecie passeth other profecies of the Olde Testament, for it shewith sacramentis¹⁸ that ben now aparti¹⁹ fulfilde of Crist and of holi chirche, or ellis for to other is oo²⁰ maner profecie, but to this is thre maner profecie gofen²¹ togider, that is of that that is passid, and of that that is present, and of that that is to come. And to conferme the autorité of it, ther cometh the autorité of him that sendeth, and of him that berith, and of him that resceyveth. He that sendeth is the Trynité, he that berith the aungel, he that resceyveth Joon.

But whanne thes thingis ben shewide to Joon in visioun and ther ben thre kindis of visiouns, it is to seen undir wich kinde this be conteyned. For sum visioun is bodili, as whanne we seen any thing with bodili iyen. ²² Sum is spiritual or ymagynarie, as whanne we slepeng seen or ellis waking we biholden the ymages of thingis bi wich sum other thing is signified, as Farao²³ saw sleping eeris of corn, ²⁴ and Moises waking sawgh the boish [fol. 380rb] brenne. ²⁵ Another vision is of undirstonding, as whanne thrugh revelacion of the Holi Goost, thrugh undirstonding of thought, we conceyven the truthe of misteries as Joon sawgh tho thingis that ben contened in this book. For not oonli he saugh in spiritt the figuris, but also he undirstood in thought the thingis that weren signified bi hem.

Joon saw and wroot in the ile of Pathmos, whanne he was exiled of Domician the most wickid prince, and a cause compellide him to write. For whil he was holden in outlawrie of Domician in the ile of Pathmos, in the chirchis that he hadde governed ther weren sprungen manye vices and dyverse eresies. For ther weren summe eretikis there that seiden that Crist was not tofore²⁶ Marie, for as miche as he was in tyme born of hir, wich eretikis Joon in the bigynnyng of his gospel undirnymeth²⁷ and seith, "In the bigynnyng was the Sone," and in this book whanne he seith, "I am alpha and oo,²⁸ that is the bigynnyng and the ende." Summe also seiden that holi chirche shulde eende tofore the eende of the world, for charge of tribulacions, and that it shulde not undirfonge²⁹ for hir travel³⁰ everlasting mede. Therfore Joon, willing to distroie the errours of thes, sheweth

¹⁷ called

¹⁸ mysteries

¹⁹ partly

²⁰ one

²¹ given

²² eyes

eyes ²³ Pharaoh

²⁴ eeris of corn, heads of grain

²⁵ boish brenne, burning bush

²⁶ before (preexisting)

²⁷ rebukes

²⁸ omega

²⁹ receive

³⁰ travail (labor)

that Crist was bigynnyng and eende, wherfore Ysaie³¹ seith, "Tofore me was no o³² god formed, and aftir me ther shal not be." And that holi chirche thrugh exercise of tribulacions shal not be endid, but shal profiten and for hem resceyven an everlasting mede.

Joon writeth to sevene chirchis of Asye and to her sevene bysshops of the forseide thingis, enformyng and teching bi hem al the general holi chirche. And so the mater of Joon in this werk, specialy of the chirche of Asie and also of al holi chirche, what she shal suffre in this present tyme and what she shal undirfonge in tyme to come, and his entent is to stire³³ to pacience wich is to be kept, for the travaile is short and the mede is greet. The maner of his treting is sich: First he setteth tofore a prolog and a salutacion, wher he makith the hereris³⁴ beningne³⁵ and taking wel tent,³⁶ and whanne he hath sett it tofore, he cometh to the telling, but tofore his telling he shewith that Crist is ever withoute bigynnyng and withouten ende, rehersing him that spekith, "I am alpha and oo, bigynnyng and ende." Aftirward he cometh to his telling and departeth³⁷ it in to sevene visiouns, and whanne thei ben eendid, this book is endid. He settith tofore the prolog and seith "The Apocalips of Jhesu Crist." Undirstonde that this is as it is in othere, the visioun of Ysaie and also the parablis of Saloman.

8 Jerom in this prolog on this Apocalips seith this.

7

Chapter 1

- [1] Apocalips of Jhesu Crist, wich God gaf to him to make open to hise servauntis, wiche thingis it bihoveth¹ to be maad soone. And he signifiede sending bi his aungel to his servaunt Joon, [2] wich baar witnessing to the word of God and witnessing of Jhesu Crist in thes thingis what evere thingis he saw. [3] Blessid is he that redeth and he that herith the wordis of this prophecie, and kepith tho thingis that ben writen in it, for the tyme is nigh.
 - [4] Joon to sevene [fol. 380va] chirchis that ben in Asie: grace and pees to you, of him that is and that was and that is to comynge and of the sevene spiritis that ben in the sight of his trone,² [5] and of Jhesu Crist that is a feithful witnesse, the first bigeten³ of dede⁴ men and prince of kingis of the erthe, wich lovede us and waysshide us fro oure

³¹ Isaiah

³² one

³³ bestir

³⁴ hearers

³⁵ gentle

³⁶ intent

³⁷ divides

¹ is destined

² throne

³ begotten

⁴ dead

synnes in his blood [6] and made us a kingdam and prestis to God and to his Fadir. To him be glorie and empire, in to worldis of worldis. Amen.

- 3 [7] Lo, he cometh with cloudis and ech iye shal se him, and thei that prickiden⁵ him and alle the kinredis⁶ of the erthe shulen biweile⁷ hem silf on him. Yhee,⁸ Amen.
- 4 [8] "I am alpha and oo, the bigynnyng and the eende," seith the Lord God, "that is and that was and that is to comynge almyghti."
 - [9] I, Joon, yor brother and partener in tribulacion and kingdam and pacience in Crist Jhesu, was in an ile⁹ that is clepid Pathmos, for the word of God and for the witnessing of Jhesu. [10] I was in spiritt in the Lordis dai and I herde bihinde me a greet vois as of a trumpe [11] seynge to me, "Write thu in a book that thing that thu seest and sende to the sevene chirchis that ben in Asie, to Efesus, to Smirma, and to Pergamus and to Tiatira and to Sardis and to Filadelfia and to Loadicia."
- [12] And I turnede that I shulde se the vois that spac with me, and I turnede and I saw sevene candilstikis of gold, [13] and in the middel of the sevene golden candilstikis, oon lyk to the sone of man clothid with a long garnement and gird at the tetis¹⁰ with a golden girdel, [14] and the heed of hym and hise heeris¹¹ weren whiyte as whyt wolle¹² and as snow, and the iyen of him as a flawme of fyr, [15] and hise feet lyk to latoun¹³ as in a brennynge chymnei, and the vois of him as the vois of manye watris. [16] And he hadde in his righthond sevene sterres,¹⁴ and a swerd sharp on ever ether¹⁵ side wente out of his mouth, and his face as the sonne shyneth in his vertu.¹⁶
 - [17] And whanne I hadde seen him, I felde doun at his feet as deed, and he puttide his righthond on me and seide, "Nyle¹⁷ thu drede. I am the firste and the laste, [18] and I am alife and I was deed, and loo I am lifinge in to worldis of worldis and I have the keies¹⁸ of deeth and of helle.
- 8 [19] "Therfore write thu wiche thingis thu hast seyn, and wiche ben and wiche it bihoveth to be doon aftir thes thingis. [20] The sacrament¹⁹ of the seven sterris, wiche thu sawest in my righthond, and the sevene golden candilstikis: the sevene sterris ben aungelis of the sevene chirchis, and the seven candilstikis ben seven chirchis."

5

⁵ pierced (crucified)

⁶ kindreds (peoples)

⁷ lament

⁸ Yea

⁹ island

¹⁰ chest

¹¹ hairs

¹² wool

¹³ alloy of copper, tin, and other metals

¹⁴ stars

¹⁵ ever ether, both

¹⁶ power

¹⁷ Do not

¹⁸ keys

¹⁹ mystery

1

3

4

5

- [1] "And to the aungel of the chirche of Efesie, write thu thes thingis, seith he that holdeth the sevene sterris in his righthond, wiche walkith in the middel of the sevene golden candilstikis. [2] I woot¹ thi werkis and travele and thi pacience, and that thou maist not suffre yvele men, and thu hast assaied² hem that seyn that thei ben apostlis and ben not, and thou hast founden hem liers, [3] and thou hast pacience, and thou hast suffrid for my name and failedest not.
- [4] "But I have agens thee a fewe thingis: that thou hast laft³ thi firste charité. [5] Therfor be thu myndeful from whennes thu hast falle and do penaunce [fol. 380vb] and do the firste werkis, ether⁴ ellis I shal come soone to thee, and I shal mofe⁵ thi candilstike fro his place, but thu do penaunce. [6] But thu hast this good thing, that thu hatidist the dedis of Nycholaitis, the wiche also I hate.
- [7] "He that hath eeris, heere he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis. To him that overcometh I shal gife to ete of the tree of lyf that is in the paradys of my God.
- [8] "And to the aungel of the chirche of Smirma write thu thes thingis, seith the firste and the laste, that was deed and lifeth. [9] I woot thi tribulacioun and thi povert, but thu art riche and thou art blasfemed of hem that seyn that thei ben Jewis and ben not, but ben the synagoge of Sathanas. [10] Drede thu no thing of thes thingis wiche thou shalt suffre. Lo, the devel shal sende summe of you in to prison, that ye be temptid, and ye schulen have tribulacion ten daies. Be thu feithful to the deeth, and I shal gife to thee a crowne of lyf.
- [11] "He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis. He that overcometh shal not be hurt of the seconde deeth.
- [12] "And to the aungel of the chirche of Pergamus, write thou thes thingis, seith he that hath the swerd sharp on eche side. [13] I woot where thu duellist, where the sete of Sathanas is, and thou holdist my name and denyest not my feith. And in tho daies was Antifas my feithful wittnes that was slain at 7 you, where Sathanas dwellith.
- [14] "But I have agens thee a fewe thingis, for thou hast there men holding the teching of Balaam, wich taughte Balaac for to sende sclaundir⁸ bifore the sones of Israel to ete sacrifices of idols and to do fornicacion. [15] So also thou hast men holding the teching of Nycholaitis. [16] Also do thu penaunce. If any thing lasse,⁹ I shal come soone to thee and I shal fighte with hem with the swerd of my mouth.

¹ know

² tested

³ left

⁴ or

⁵ remove

⁶ ears

⁷ among

⁸ slander

⁹ less

- 8 [17] "He that hath eeres, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis. To hym that overcometh, I shal gife aungelis mete¹⁰ hid¹¹ and I shal gife to him a whyt stoon¹² and in the stoon a new name writen, wich no man knowith but he that takith.
- 9 [18] "And to the aungel of the chirche of Tiatire, write thu thes thingis, seith the Sone of God, that hath iyen as flawme of fyr and hise feet lyk latoun. [19] I knowe thi werkis and feith and charité and thi service and thi pacience, and thi laste werkis mo than the formere.
- [20] "But I have agens thee a fewe thingis, for thou suffrist the womman Jesabel wiche seith that she is a profetesse, to teche and disceyve my servauntis to do leyccherie and to ete of thingis offride to idols. [21] And I gaf to hir tyme that she shulde do penaunce, and she wolde not do penaunce of hir fornicacion, [22] and lo, I sende hir in to a bed and thei that doon leyccherie with hire shulen be in moost tribulacioun but thei doon penaunce of her werkis. [23] And I shal slee¹³ her sones in to deeth, and alle chirchis shulen wite¹⁴ that I am serchinge reynes¹⁵ and hertis, and I shal gife to ech man of you aftir his werkis.

"And I seie to you [24] and to other that ben at Tiatire, who ever han not this teching and that knewen not the highnesse of Sathanas, hou thei seyn, ¹⁶ I shal not sende on [fol. 381ra] you another charge. [25] Netheles, holde ye that that ye han, til I come.

[26] "And to him that shal overcome and that shal kepe til in to the ende my werkis I shal gife power on folkis,¹⁷ [27] and he shal governe hem in an yren yarde,¹⁸ and thei shulen be broken togider, as a vessel of a potter, as also I resceyvede of my Fadir. [28] And I schal gife to him a morewe sterre.¹⁹ [29] He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis."

12

Chapter 3

1 [1] "And to the aungel of the chirche of Sardis, write thu thes thingis, seith he that hath the sevene spiritis of God and the sevene sterris. I wott thi werkis, for thu hast a name that thou lifest and thou art deed. [2] Be thu waking, and conferme thu othere thingis that weren to diyng. For I finde not thi werkis fulle bifore my God. [3] Therfore have thou in mynde hou thu resceyvedist and herdist, and kepe and do penaunce. Therfore if

¹⁰ aungelis mete, manna

¹¹ hidden

¹² stone

¹³ slay

¹⁴ know

¹⁵ passions

¹⁶ hou thei seyn, as they call it

on folkis, among mankind

¹⁸ rod

¹⁹ morewe sterre, morning star

2

5

6

thou wake not, I shal come as a night theef to thee, and thu shalt not wite in what our I shal come to thee.

- [4] "But thu hast a fewe names in Sardis wiche han not defoulid her clothes, and thei schulen walke with me in white clothes, for thei ben worthi. [5] He that overcometh shal be clothed thus with whiyte clothis, and I shal not do awei his name fro the book of lyf, and I shal knowleche² his name bifore my Fadir, and bifore hise aungelis. [6] He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis.
- [7] "And to the aungel of the chirche of Filadelfie, write thou thes thingis, seith the holi and trewe that hath the keie of David wiche openeth and no man closeth; he closeth and no man openeth. [8] I wot thi werkis, and lo I gaf bifore thee a dore opened wich no man mai close. For thou hast a litel vertu and hast kept my word and denyest not my name. [9] Lo, I shal gife to thee of the synagoge of Sathanas wiche sein that thei ben Jewes and ben not, but lien. Lo, I shal make hem that thei come and worshipe bifore thi feet and thei shulen wite that I lovede thee, [10] for thou keptist the word of my pacience. And I shal kepe thee fro the our of temptacion that is to comynge in to al the world to tempte men that duellen in erthe.
- [11] "Lo, I come soone. Holde thu that that thu hast, that no man take thi corown. [12] And him that shal overcome I shal make a piler in the temple of my God, and he shal no more go out. And I shal write on him the name of my God and the name of the cité of my God, of the newe Jerusalem that cometh doun fro hevene of my God, and my name new. [13] He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis.
 - [14] "And to the aungel of the chirche of Loadice, write thu thes thingis, seith Amen the feithful wittnes and trewe, wich is bigynnyng of Goddis creature.³ [15] I wot thi werkis, for nether thu art coold, nether thu art hoot. I wolde that thu were coold ether hoot. [16] But for thu art lew⁴ and nether coold nether hoot, I shal bigynne to caste thee out of my mouth. [17] For thou seist that 'I am riche and ful of goodis, and I have nede of no thing,' and thu wost not that thu art a wreycche, and wreycchful and pore and blind and nakid. [18] I counsele thee to bye of me brent⁵ gold and preved⁶ that thu be maad riche and be clothid with whiyte clothes, that the confusion of [fol. 381rb] thi nakidnesse be not seen. And anoynte thine iyen with a collerie⁷ that thu see.
 - [19] "I repreve and chastise whom I love. Therfore swe⁸ thu gode men and do penaunce. [20] Lo, I stonde at the dore and knocke. If any man herith my vois and openeth the gate to me, I shal entre to him and soupe⁹ with him and he with me.

hour

² acknowledge

³ creation

⁴ lukewarm

⁵ burnt

⁶ proven (refined)

⁷ salve

⁸ pursue (imitate)

⁹ sup

7 [21] "I shal gife to him that shal overcome to sitte with me in my troone, 10 as also I overcam and satt with my Fadir in his troone. [22] He that hath eeris, here he what the Spiritt seith to the chirchis."

Chapter 4

1

2

3

[1] Aftir thes thingis I saw, and lo, a dore was opened in hevene, and the firste vois that I herde was as of a trumpe spekinge with me and seide, "Stie¹ thou up hider, and I shal shewe to thee wich thingis it bihoveth to be doon soone after thes thingis." [2] Anoon I was in spiritt, and lo a seete was sett in hevene, and upon the seete oon sitting. [3] And he that satt was lyk the sight of a stoon jaspis² and to sardyn,³ and a reynbowe was in the cumpas of⁴ the seete, lyk the sight of smaragdyn.⁵ [4] And in the cumpas of the seete weren foure and twenti smale seetis, and above the troone foure and twenti eldir men sittinge hilid⁶ aboute with white clothis and in the heedis of hem golden crownes. [5] And leitis⁻ and voicisⁿ and thundringis camen out of the troone, and seven laumpis brennynge bifore the troone, wiche ben the sevene spiritis of God.

[6] And bifore the seete as a see of glas lyk a cristal, and in the middil of the seete foure beestis fulle of iyen bifore and behinde. [7] And the firste beest lyk a lion, and the seconde beest lyk a calf, and the thridde beest havynge a face as a man, and the fourthe beest lyk an egle fleynge. [8] And the foure beestis hadden everich of hem sixe wyngis and al aboute and withinne thei weren fulle of iyen, and thei hadden not rest dai and night, seyng, "Holi, holi, holi, the Lord God almighti, that was and that is and that is to comynge."

[9] And whanne the foure bestis gafen glorie and onour and blessing to him that satt on the troone, that lifeth in to worldis of worldis, [10] the foure and twenti eldir men felden doun bifore him that satt in the troone and worschipiden him that lifeth in to worldis of worldis. And thei castiden her crownes bifore the troone and seiden, [11] "Thu Lord oure God art worthi to take glorie and onour and vertu, for thou madist of nought9 alle thingis, and for thi wille tho weren and ben made of nought."

¹⁰ throne

¹ Arise

² jasper

³ sardonyx

⁴ in the cumpas of, round about

⁵ emerald

⁶ covered

⁷ lightning

⁸ rumblings

of nought, from nothing

1

2

3

4

- [1] And I saw in the righthond of the sitter on the troone a book writen withinne and without and seelid with seven seelis. [2] And I saw a strong aungel prechinge with a greet vois, "Who is worthi to opene the book and to undo the seelis of it?" [3] And noon in hevene nether in erthe nether undir erthe mighte opene the book nether biholde it. [4] And I wepte miche, for noon was founden worthi to opene the book nether to se it. [5] And oon of the eldir men seide to me, "Wepe thu not. Lo, a lion of the lynage of Juda, the rote² of Davith, hath overcomen to opene the book and to undoo the sevene seelis of it."
- [6] And I saw, and lo, in the myddil of the troone and of the foure beestis and in the middil of the eldir men, a Lomb³ stondinge as slayn, [fol. 381va] that hadde sevene hornes and seven iyen, wiche ben seven spiritis of God sent in to al erthe. [7] And he cam and took of the righthond of the sitter in the troone the book, [8] and whanne he hadde opened the book, the foure beestis and the foure and twenti eldir men fellen doun bifore the Lomb and hadden ech of hem harpis and golden viols⁴ fulle of odours, wiche ben the priers⁵ of seyntis.
- [9] And thei songen⁶ a new song and seiden, "Lord oure God, thu art worthi to take the book and to opene the seelis of it, for thu were slayn and agenboughtist⁷ us to God in thi blood, of eche lynage and tonge and puple and nacion, [10] and madist us a kingdam and prestis to oure God, and we shulen regne on erthe."
- [11] And I saw and herde the vois of manye aungels all aboute the troone, and of the beestis and of the eldir men, and the noumbre of hem was thusandis of thousandis, [12] seynge with a greet vois, "The Lomb that was slain is worthinto take vertuand godheede and wisdam and strengthe and onor and glorie and blessing."
- [13] And ech creature that is in hevene and that is on erthe and undir erthe and the see and wiche thingis ben in it, I herde alle seynge to him that satt in the troone and to the Lomb, "Blessing and onour and glorie and power in to worldis of worldis." [14] And the foure beestis seiden, "Amen." And the foure and twenti eldir men fellen doun on her facis and worchipiden hem that lifeth in to worldis of worldis.

¹ much

² root

³ Lamb

⁴ vials

⁵ prayers

⁶ sang

⁷ ransomed

1

2

3

4

5

- [1] And I saw that the Lomb hadde opened oon of the sevene seelis, and I herde oon of the foure beestis seynge as a vois of thundir, "Come and se." [2] And I saw, and lo, a whiyt hors, and he that satt on him hadde a bowe and a crowne was gofen to him, and he wente out overcomyng that he shulde overcome.¹
- [3] And whanne he hadde opened the secounde seel, I herde the secunde beest seynge, "Come thu and se." [4] And another reed² hors wente out, and it was gofen to him that satt on him that he shulde take pees³ fro the erthe, and that thei slee togider hemself.⁴ And a greet swerd was gofen to him.
- [5] And whanne he hadde opened the thridde seal, I herde the thridde beest seynge, "Come thu and se." And loo, a blac hors, and he that satt on him hadde a balaunce in his hond. [6] And I herde as a vois in the middil of the foure beestis seynge, "A bilibre⁵ of wheete for a peny and thre bilibris of barlei for a peny, and hurte thu not wyn⁶ ne oile."
- [7] And whanne he hadde opened the fourthe seel, I herde a vois of the foure beestis seynge, "Come thou and se." [8] And lo, a pale hors, and the name was Deeth to him that saat on him, and helle swede⁷ him. And power was gofen to him on foure partis of the erthe for to slee with swerd and with hungir and with deeth and with beestis of the erthe.
- [9] And whanne he hadde opened the fifethe seel, I saw undir the auter⁸ the soulis of men slayne for the word of God and for the wittnessing that thei hadden. [10] And thei crieden with a greet vois and seiden, "Hou longe, thu Lord that art holi and trewe, demest⁹ not and vengist¹⁰ not oure blood of thes that duellen in the erthe?" [11] And white stollis¹¹ for eche soule, a stoole weren gofen to hem. And it was seid to hem that thei shulden reste yit a litel tyme, til the noumbre of her felowis and of her bre thren [fol. 381vb] be fulfilid that ben to be slayne as also thei.
- [12] And I saw whanne he hadde opened the sixte seel, and lo, a greet erthe mofing was maad and the sonne was maad blac as a sacke of heire, 12 and all the mone was maad as blood, [13] and the sterris of heven fellen doun on the erthe as a fige tree sendeth hise unripe figus whanne it is mofed of a greet wynd. [14] And hevene wente awei as a book wlappid in, 13 and alle mounteins and yles 14 weren mofed fro her placis.

overcomyng... overcome, coming over to conquer

² red

³ peace

⁴ themselves

⁵ two-pound measure

⁶ wine

⁷ pursued

⁸ altar

⁹ judge

¹⁰ avenge

¹¹ stoles (robes)

¹² sacke of heire, sackcloth made of animal skin

¹³ wlappid in, folded up

¹⁴ islands

[15] And the kingis of erthe and princis and tribunes and riche and stronge and ech bonde¹⁵ man and fre man hidden hem in dennes and stoones of hillis. [16] And thei seyn to stoones and to hillis, "Falle ye on us and hide ye us fro the face of him that sitteth on the troone and fro the wraththe of the Lomb! [17] For the greet dai of her wraththe cometh, and who shal mow¹⁶ stonde?"

Chapter 7

1

2

3

4

- [1] Aftir thes thingis, I saw foure aungelis stondinge on the foure corners of the erthe, holdinge foure wiyndis of the erthe that thei blewen not on the erthe nether on the see nether on any tree. [2] And I saw another aungel stiynge¹ fro the rising of the sonne that hadde a signe of the lifing God, and he criede with a greet vois to the foure aungelis to wiche it was gofen to noie² the erthe and the see, [3] and seide, "Nyle ye noie the erthe and the see, nether trees, til we marken the servauntis of oure God in the forheedis of hem." [4] And I herde the noumbre of men that weren markid, an hundrid thusand and foure and fourty thusand markid of everi lynage of the sones of Israel.
- [5] Of the lynage of Juda, twelfe thusand markid. Of the lynage of Ruben, twelfe thusand markid. Of the lynage of Gad, twelfe thusand markid. [6] Of the lynage of Aser, twelfe thusand markid. Of the lynage of Neptali, twelfe thusand markid. Of the lynage of Manasse, twelfe thousand markid. [7] Of the lynage of Symeon, twelfe thusand markid. Of the lynage of Levy, twelfe thousand markid. Of the lynage of Isacar, twelfe thousand markid. [8] Of the lynage of Zabulon, twelfe thusand markid. Of the lynage of Joseph, twelfe thusand markid. Of the lynage of Benjamyn, twelfe thousand markid.
- [9] Aftir thes thingis, I saw a greet puple whom no man mighte noumbre of alle folkis and lynagis and puplis and langagis stondinge bifore the troone in the sight of the Lomb, and thei weren clothid with whiyte stoolis, and palmes weren in the hondis of hem. [10] And thei crieden with greet vois and seiden, "Heelthe to oure God that sitteth on the troone and to the Lomb."
- [11] And alle aungelis stooden al aboute the troone and the eldir men and the foure beestis, and thei fellen doun in the sight of the troone on her facis and worchipiden God [12] and seiden, "Amen. Blessing and clerenesse³ and wisdam and doing of thankingis and onour and vertu and strengthe to oure God into worldis of worldis. Amen."
- [13] And oon of the senyours⁴ answeride and seide to me, "Who ben thes that ben clothid with white cloothis? And fro whennes camen thei?"

¹⁵ enslaved

¹⁶ be able to

¹ coming forth

² harm

³ glory

⁴ elders

- 6 [14] And I seide to him, "My lord, thou wost."⁵
- And he seide to me, "Thes ben thei that camen fro greet tribulacion and waiyssheden⁶ her stoolis and maden hem whiyte in the blood of the Lomb. [15] Therfore thei ben bifore the troone of God and serven to him [fol. 382ra] dai and night in his temple. And he that sitteth in the troone duelleth on hem. [16] Thei shulen no more hungre nether thirste nether sonne shal falle on hem ne any heete, [17] for the Lomb that is in the middel of the trone shal governe hem and shal leede forth hem to the wellis of watris of lyf and God shal wipe awei eche teer fro the iyen of hem."

- 1 [1] And whanne he hadde opened the seventhe seel, a silence was maad in heven as half an hour. [2] And I saw sevene aungelis stondinge in the sight of God, and sevene trumpis weren gofen to hem.
- [3] And another aungel cam and stood bifore the auter and hadde a golden censer and manye encensis weren gofen to him that he shulde gife of the preiers of alle seyntis on the golden auter that is bifore the trone of God. [4] And the smoke of encensis of the preiers of the holi men stiede¹ up fro the aungelis hond bifore God. [5] And the aungel took the encenser and fillide it of the fyr of the auter and castide in to erthe, and thundris and voicis² and leitingis³ weren made and a greet erthe mofing.
- [6] And the seven aungelis that hadde sevene trumpis maden hem redi that thei shulden trumpe. [7] And the firste aungel trumpide, and hail was maad and fyr meynd⁴ togidere in blood. And it was sent into the erthe, and the thridde part of the erthe was brent⁵ and the thridde paart of trees was brent and all the grene gras was brent.
- 4 [8] And the seconde aungel trumpide, and as a greet hil brennynge with fyr was cast into the see, and the thridde part of the see was maad blood, [9] and the thridde part of creature was deed that hadden lifes in the see, and the thridde part of shippis periysshide.
 - [10] And the thridde aungel trumpide, and a greet sterre brennynge as a litil brond⁶ fel fro hevene, and it fel into the part of flodis⁷ and into the wellis⁸ of watris. [11] And the name of the sterre is seid Wormod.⁹ And the thridde part of watris was maad into wormod, and manye men weren deede of the watris for tho weren made bitter.

⁵ know

⁶ have washed

¹ rose

² rumblings

³ lightning

⁴ mixed

⁵ burned

brand (torch)

⁷ rivers

⁸ springs

⁹ Wormwood

- [12] And the fourthe aungel trumpide, and the thridde part of the sonne was smiten, and the thridde part of the mone and the thridde part of sterris, so that the thridde part of hem was derkid. And the thridde part of the dai shynede not and also of the night.
- 7 [13] And I saw and herde the vois of an egle flyng bi the middel of hevene and seynge with a greet vois, "Wo, wo, wo to men that duellen in erthe of the other voicis of thre aungelis that shulen trumpe aftir."

1

2

- [1] And the fifethe aungel trumpede, and I saw that a sterre hadde fallen doun fro hevene into erthe. And the keie of the pitt of depnesse¹ was gofen it. [2] And it openede the pitt of depnesse, and a smoke of the pitt stiede up as the smoke of a greet furneis, and the sonne was derkid and the eir² of the smoke of the pitt. [3] And locustis wenten out of the smoke of the pitt into erthe, and power was gofen to hem as scorpions of the erthe han power. [4] And it was comaundid to hem that thei shulden not hurte the gras of the erthe nether any grene thing nether any tre, but oonli men that han not the signe of God in her forheedis. [5] And it was gofen to hem that thei shulden [fol. 382rb] not sle hem, but thei shulden be turmenteid fife monethis,³ and the turmenting of hem as the turmenting of a scorpion whanne he smiteth a man. [6] And in tho daies men shulen seke deeth and thei shulen not finde it, and thei shulen desire to dye and deeth shal fle fro hem.
- [7] And the liknessis of locustis ben lyk horsis made redi into batel, and on the heedis of hem as corownes lyk gold and the facis of hem as the facis of men. [8] And thei hadden heeris as the heeris of wymmen, and the teeth of hem weren as the teeth of liouns. [9] And thei hadden habirions⁴ as iren⁵ habirions and the vois of her wyngis as the vois of chaaris⁶ of manye horsis rennynge into batele. [10] And thei hadden tailes lyk scorpions and prickis⁷ weren in the tailis of hem and the might of hem was to noye⁸ men fyve monethis. And thei hadden on hem [11] a king, the aungel of depnesse⁹ to whom the name bi Ebrew is Iaabadon but bi Greek Apollion, and bi Laten he hath a name *Extermynans*, that is a distroier.
- [12] Oo wo¹⁰ is passid, and lo, yit comen two woos.
- [13] Aftir thes thingis also the sixte aungel trumpide, and I herde a vois fro foure corners of the golden auter that is bifore the iyen of God [14] and seide to the sixte aungel that hadde a trumpe, "Unbinde thu foure aungels that ben bounden in the grete flod

¹ pitt of depnesse, abyss

² air

³ months

⁴ hauberks (coats of armor)

⁵ iron

⁶ chariots

⁷ stingers

⁸ torment

⁹ the abyss

¹⁰ Oo wo, One woe (torment)

Eufrates." [15] And the foure aungels weren unbounden wich weren reedi into our¹¹ and dai and moneth and yeer to sle the thridde part of men. [16] And the noumbre of the oost¹² of horsmen was twenti thousand sithis¹³ ten thousand. I herde the noumbre of hem.

[17] And lo, I saw horsis in vision and thei that saten on hem hadden firie¹⁴ habiriouns and of jacinct¹⁵ and of brimstoon, and the heedis of the horsis weren as hedis of lions, and fyr and smoke and brimstoon camen forth of the mouth of hem. [18] Of thes thre plagis the thridde part of men was slain, of the fyr and of the smoke and of the brimstoon that camen out of the mouth of hem. [19] For the power of horsis is in the mouth of hem and in the tailis of hem, for the tailis of hem ben lyk to serpentis havynge heedis, and in hem thei noien.¹⁶

[20] And the tother men that weren not slayne in thes plagis nether diden penaunce of the werkis of her hondis that thei worshipiden not¹⁷ develis and symilacis¹⁸ of gold and of silver and of bras and of stoon and of tre,¹⁹ wiche nether moun²⁰ se nether here nether wandre, [21] and diden not penaunce of her mansleingis,²¹ nether of her wicchecraftis ether venemyngis,²² nether of her fornicacion, nether of her theftis, weren slayne.

```
11 hour
12 host (army)
13 multiplied by
14 fiery
15 jacinth (precious stone)
16 inflict harm
17 that thei worshipiden not, so they would not worship
18 idols
19 wood
20 can
21 murders
22 poisonings (sorcery)
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Chapter 10

5

6

[1] And I saw another strong aungel comynge doun fro hevene clothid with a cloude and the reynbowe on his heed. And the face of him was as the sonne, and the feet of him as a piler of fyr. [2] And he hadde in his hond a litel book opened, and he sette his right foot on the see and the lift foot on the erthe, [3] and he criede with a greet vois as a lion whanne he roorith. And whanne he hadde cried, the sevene thundris spaken her voicis. [4] And whanne the sevene thundris hadde spoken her voicis, I was to writinge, and I herde a vois fro hevene seynge, "Marke thu whate thingis the sevene thundris spaken, and nyle¹ thou write hem."

2 [5] And the aungel [fol. 382va] whom I saw stondinge above the see and above the erthe lifte up his hond to hevene [6] and swoor bi him that lifeth in to worldis of worldis

¹ do not

that made of nought hevene and tho thingis that ben in it and the see and tho thingis that ben in it and the erthe and tho thingis that ben in it, that tyme shal no more be. [7] But in the daies of the vois of the seventhe aungel, whanne he shal biginne to trumpe, the misterie of God shal be eendid as he prechide bi his servauntis profetis.

- [8] And I herde a vois fro hevene eftsone² spekinge with me and seynge, "Go thu and take the book that is opened fro the hond of the aungel that stondith above the see and on the lond."
- [9] And I wente to the aungel and seide to him that he shulde gife me the book, and he seide to me, "Take the book and devoure it, and it shal make thi wombe³ to be bitter, but in the mouth it shal be swete as hony." [10] And I took the book of the aungels hond and devouride it. And it was in my mouth as swete as hony, and whanne I hadde devowrid it my wombe was bitter. [11] And he seide to me, "It bihoveth thee eftsone to profecie to hethene men and to puplis and langagis and to manye kingis."

Chapter 11

- [1] And a reud¹ lyk a yarde² was gofen to me, and it was seid to me, "Rise thu and mete³ the temple of God and the auter and men that worshipen in it. [2] But caste thu out the foryard⁴ that is without⁵ the temple and mete not it, for it is gofen to hethen men and thei shulen defoule the holi citee bi fourti monethis and tweyne. [3] And I shal gife to my twei¹ wittnessis and thei shulen profecie a thusand daies two hundrid and sixti and shulen be clothid with sackis. [4] Thes ben twey olifes⁰ and twey candilstikis, and thei stonden in the sight of the Lord of the erthe. [5] And if anye man wol anoie¹⁰ hem, fyr shal go out of the mouth of hem and shal devoure her enemyes, and if any wole hurte hem, thus it bihoveth him to be slayn. [6] Thes han power to close hevene that it reyne not in the daies of her profecie, and thei han power on watris to turne hem into blood and to smyte the erthe with everi plage, and as ofte as thei wolen.
 - [7] And whanne thei shulen eende her wittnessing, the beest that stieth up fro depnesse shal make batel agens hem and shal overcome hem and shal slee hem, [8] and the

² soon after

³ stomach

¹ reed

² measuring rod

³ measure

⁴ courtyard

⁵ outside

⁶ bi fourti monethis and tweyne, for forty-two months

⁷ two

⁸ sackcloth

⁹ olive trees

¹⁰ harm

bodies of hem shulen liygge¹¹ in the stretis of the grete citee that is clepid gostli Sodom and Egipt, where the lord of hem was crucified. [9] And summe of lynagis and of puplis and of langagis and of hethen men shulen se the bodies of hem bi thre daies and an half, and thei shulen not suffre the bodies of hem for to be putt in biriels, ¹² [10] and men enhabitinge the erthe shulen have joie on hem and thei shulen make mirie and shulen sende giftis togidere, for thes twey profetis turmentiden hem that duellen on erthe.

- [11] And aftir thre daies and an half, the spiritt of lyf of God entride into hem, and thei stooden on her feet, and greet drede fel on hem that sawen hem. [12] And thei herden a greet vois fro hevene seynge to hem, "Come ye up hider." And thei stieden into hevene in a cloude, and the enemies of hem sawen hem.
- [13] And in that our a greet erthe mo|fing [fol. 382vb] was maad, and the tenthe part of the citee fel doun and the names of men seven thusand weren slayne in the erthe mofing, and the tother weren sente into drede and gafen glorie to God of hevene.
- [14] The secounde wo is goon. And lo, the thridde wo shal come soone.
- 6 [15] And the seventhe aungel trumpede, and grete voicis weren made in hevene and seiden, "The rewme¹³ of this world is maad oure Lordis and of Crist his Sone, and shal regne into worldis of worldis. Amen."
 - [16] And the foure and twenti elder men that saten in her seetis in the sight of the Lord fellen on her facis and worshipiden God and seiden, [17] "We doon thankingis to thee, Lord God almighti, wich art and wich were and wich art to comynge, wiche hast taken thi greet vertu and hast regned. [18] And folk is ben wrooth, and thi wraththe cam and tyme of dede¹⁴ men to be demed¹⁵ and to yelde mede to thi servauntis and profetis and halowis¹⁶ and dredinge thi name to smale and to greete and to distroie hem that corrumpeden¹⁷ the erthe."

3

5

7

Chapter 12

- [11:19] And the temple of God in hevene was opened and the arke of his testament¹ was seyn in his temple, and leitingis weren made and voicis and thundris and erthe mofing and greet hail.
- 2 [12:1] And a greet signe apperide in hevene, a womman clothed with the sonne and the mone undir hir feet, and in the heed of hir a crowne of twelfe sterris. [2] And she

¹¹ lie

¹² tombs

¹³ kingdom

¹⁴ dead

¹⁵ judged

¹⁶ saints

¹⁷ destroyed

¹ arke of his testament, Ark of his Covenant

hadde in wombe and she criede travelinge² of chylde and is turmentid that she bere chyld. [3] And another signe was seyn in hevene, and lo a greet reed dragon that hadde seven heedis and ten hornes, and in the heedis of him seven diademes, [4] and the tail of him drough³ the thridde part of sterris of hevene and sente hem into the erthe. And the dragon stood bifore the womman that was to bering chyld, that whanne she hadde born chyld he shulde devowre hir sone. [5] And she baar a knave⁴ chyld that was to rewling⁵ alle folkis in an iren yarde.⁶ And hir sone was raviysshid⁷ to God and to his trone. [6] And the womman flei⁸ into wildernesse where she hath a place maad redi of God that he fede hir there a thusand daies two hundrid and sixti.

- [7] And a greet batel was maad in heven, and Michhel and hise aungelis foughten with the dragon and the dragon faught and hise aungelis. [8] And thei hadden no might, nether the place of hem was founden more in hevene. [9] And thilke⁹ dragon was cast doun, the greet olde serpent that is clepid the devel and Sathanas, that disceyveth al the world, he was cast doun into the erthe and his aungelis weren sente with him.
- [10] And I herde a greet vois in hevene seynge, "Now is maad helthe and vertu and kingdam of oure God and the power of his Crist. For the accuser of oure brethren is cast doun, wich accuside hem bifore the sight of oure God dai and nighth. [11] And thei overcam him for the blood of the Lomb and for the word of his wittnessing, and thei loveden not her lifes til to deeth. [12] Therfore ye hevenes, be ye glad and ye that duellen in hem. Wo to the erthe and to the see, for the fend is comen doun to you and hath greet wraththe, witinge "11 that he hath litel tyme."
- [13] And aftir that the dragon saw that he was cast doun [fol. 383ra] to the erthe, he purswede the womman that baar the knave chyld. [14] And twey wyngis of a greet egle weren gofen to the womman that she shulde fle into desert into hir place where she is fed by tyme¹² and tymes and half a tyme, fro the face of the serpent. [15] And the serpent sente out of his mouth aftir the womman water as a flood that he shulde make hir to be drawen¹³ of the flood. [16] And the erthe helpide the womman, and the erthe openede his mouth and soop¹⁴ up the flood that the dragon sende of his mouth. [17] And the dragon was wrooth agens the womman, and he wente to make batel with othere of hir seed that kepen the maundementis¹⁵ of God and han the wittnessing of Jhesu Crist.

3

4

² in labor

³ drew out

⁴ male

⁵ was to rewling, would rule

⁶ iren yarde, iron rod

⁷ transported

⁸ fled

⁹ that same

¹⁰ til to deeth, to have mortal fear

¹¹ knowing

by tyme, for a time

¹³ swept away

¹⁴ drank

¹⁵ commandments

6 [18] And he stood on the gravele¹⁶ of the see.

Chapter 13

[1] And I saw a beest stynge¹ up of the see havynge seven heedis and ten hornes and on hise hornes ten diademes and on hise heedis the names of blasfemye. [2] And the beest whom I saw was lyk a pard² and hise feet as the feet of a bere³ and his mouth as the mouth of a lion. And the dragon gaf his vertu and greet power to him. [3] And I saw oon of his heedis as slain into deeth, and the wounde of his deeth was curid and al erthe wondride aftir the beest, [4] and thei worshipiden the dragon that gaf power to the beest, and thei worshipiden the beest and seiden, "Who is lyk the beest, and who shal mowe⁴ fighte with it?"

[5] And a mouth spekinge grete thingis and blasfemies was gofen to it and power was gofen to it to do⁵ two and fourti monethis. [6] And it openede his mouth into blasfemies to God, to blasfeme his name and his tabernacle and hem that duellen in heven. [7] And it was gofen to him to make batele with seyntis and to overcome hem. And power was gofen to him into ech lynage and puple and langage and folc. [8] And alle men worshipiden it that duellen in erthe whos names ben not writen in the book of lyf of the Lomb that was slain fro the bigynnyng of the world.

[9] If any man hath eeris, heere he. [10] He that leedeth in to caitifté⁶ shal go into caitifté. He that sleeth with swerd, it bihoveth him to be slain with swerd. This is the pacience and the feith of seyntis.

[11] And I saw another beest stiinge up fro the erthe, and it hadde two hornes lyk the Lomb and it spac as the dragon [12] and dide al the power of the formere beest in his sight, and it made the erthe and men dwellinge in it to worshipe the firste beest whois wounde of deeth was curid. [13] And it dide grete signes that also it made fyr to come doun fro hevene into erthe in the sight of alle men. [14] And it disceyveth men that duellen in erthe, for signis wich ben gofen to it to do in the sight of the beest, seynge to men duellinge in erthe that thei make an ymage of the beest that hath the wounde of swerd and lifede. [15] And it was gofen to him that he shulde gife spiritt to the ymage of the beest and that the ymage of the beest speke. And he shal make that whoever onowre⁷ not the ymage of the beest be slayn. [16] And he shal make alle smale and greete, and riche

¹⁶ sandy shore

¹ rising

² leopard

³ bea1

⁴ be able to

⁵ rule

⁶ captivity

⁷ honors

and pore, and fre men and boonde men to have a carecter⁸ in her righthond ether in her forheedis⁹ [17] that no man mai bye¹⁰ ether selle but thei han the carecter ether the name of the beest ether the noumbre of his name.

[18] Here is wisdam. He that [fol. 383rb] hath undirstonding acounte the noumbre of the beest, for it is the noumbre of man. And his noumbre is sixe hundrid sixti and sixe.

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1

2

3

Chapter 14

- [1] And I saw and lo, a Lomb stood on the mount of Sion and with him an hundrid thusand and foure and fourti thusand havynge his name and the name of his Fadir writen in her forhedis. [2] And I herde a vois fro hevene as the vois of manye watris and as the vois of a greet thundir, and the vois wiche I herde was as of manye harperis harpinge in her harpis. [3] And thei songen as a new song bifore the seete of God and bifore the foure beestis and senyours. And no man mighte seie the song but thei an hundrid thusand and foure and fourti thusande that ben boughte fro the erthe. [4] Thes it ben that ben not defoulid with wymmen, for thei ben virgyns. Thes swen¹ the Lomb whidir ever he shal go. Thes ben boughte of alle men the firste fruyytis to God and to the Lomb. [5] And in the mouth of hem, leesing² is not founden. For thei ben without wem³ bifore the trone of God.
- [6] And I saw another aungel flynge bi the middel of hevene havynge an everlasting gospel that he shulde preche to men sittinge on erthe, and on ech folc and lynage and langage and puple, [7] and seide with a greet vois, "Drede ye the Lord and gife ye to him onour, for the our of his doom cometh. And worshipe ye him that made heven and erthe, the see and alle thingis that ben in hem and the wellis of watris."
- [8] And another aungel suede⁴ seynge, "Thilke greet Babilone fel doun, fel doun, wich gaf drinke to alle folkis of the wyn of the wraththe of hir fornycacion."
- [9] And the thridde aungel swede hem and seide with a greet vois, "If any man worshipe the beest and the ymage of it and takith the carecter in his heed ether in his hond, [10] this for shal drinke of the wyn of Goddis wraththe that is meynd⁵ with cleer wyn in the cuppe of his wraththe, and shal be turmentid with fyr and brimstoon in the sight of holie aungelis and bifore the sight of the Lomb. [11] And the smoke of her turmentis shal stie up into the worldis of worldis, nether thei han rest dai and night wiche worshipen

⁸ symbol

⁹ foreheads

¹⁰ buy

¹ follow

² lying

³ blemish

⁴ followed

⁵ mixed

the beest and his ymage and if any man take the carect⁶ of his name." [12] Here is the pacience of seyntis wiche kepen the maundementis of God and the feith of Jhesu.

- [13] And I herde a vois fro hevene seynge to me, "Write thu: blessid be deede men that dien in the Lord, fro hennes forth now the spiritt seith that thei reste of her travelis, for the werkis of hem swen hem."
- [14] And I saw and lo, a whyt cloude, and above the cloude a sittere lyk the sone of man, havynge in his heed a golden crowne and in his hond a sharp sikil. [15] And another aungel wente out of the temple and cride with greet vois to him that satt on the cloude, "Sende thi sikil and repe, for the our cometh that it be ropen, for the corn of the erthe is ripe." [16] And he that satt on the cloude sente his sikel into the erthe and rape the erthe.
- [17] And another aungel wente out of the temple that is in hevene and he also hadde a sharp sikil in his hond. [18] And another aungel wente out fro the auter that hadde power on fyr and water, and he criede with a greet vois to him that hadde the sharpe sikel and seide, "Sende thi sharp sikil and kitte¹0 awey the clustris [fol. 383va] of the vyneyard of the erthe, for the grapis of it ben ripe." [19] And the aungel sente his sikel into the erthe and gederide¹¹ grapis of the vyneyard of the erthe and sente into the greet lake¹² of Goddis wraththe. [20] And the lake was troden¹³ withoute¹⁴ the cité, and the blood wente out of the lake til to the bridelis of horsis, bi furlongis a thusand and sixe hundrid.

5

6

Chapter 15

1

[1] And I saw another signe in hevene greet and wondirful: sevene aungelis havynge the laste sevene vengeaunsis, for the wraththe of God is eendid in hem. [2] And I saw a glasen¹ see meynd² with fyr, and hem that overcam the beest and his ymage and the noumbre of his name stondinge above the glasen see, havynge the harpis of God [3] and synging the song of Moises, the servaunt of God, and the song of the Lomb, and seiden, "Grete and wondirful ben thi werkis, Lord God almighti. Thi weies ben juste and trewe, Lord king of worldis. [4] Lord, who shal not drede thee and magnifie thi name? For thu

⁶ symbol

⁷ reaped

⁸ grain

⁹ reaped

^{10 ...4}

¹⁰ cut

¹¹ gathered

¹² winepress

¹³ trampled

¹⁴ outside

¹ glassy

² mixed

aloone art merciful. For alle folkis shulen come and worshipe in thi sight, for thi doomes³ ben opene."⁴

[5] And aftir thes thingis, I saw and lo, the temple of the tabernacle of wittnessing was opened in hevene. [6] And sevene aungelis havynge sevene plagis wenten out of the temple and weren clothid with a stoole⁵ clene and whyt, and weren bifore girde with golden girdels aboute the brestis. [7] And oon of the foure beestis gaf to the sevene aungelis seven golden viols⁶ ful of the wraththe of God that lifeth into worldis of worldis, [8] and the temple was filled with smoke of the magesté of God and of the vertu of him. And no man mighte entre into the temple til the sevene plagis of sevene aungelis weren endid.

1

2

3

4

2

Chapter 16

- [1] And I herde a greet vois fro hevene seynge to the sevene aungelis, "Go ye and shede¹ out the sevene viols of Goddis wraththe into the erthe." [2] And the firste aungel wente and shedde out his viol into the erthe, and a wounde feers² and worst³ was maad on alle that hadden the carect⁴ of the beest and on hem that worshipiden the beest and his ymage.
- [3] And the secunde aungel shedde out his viol into the see, and the blood was maad as of a deed thing, and ech man liftinge was deed in the see.
- [4] And the thridde aungel shedde out his viol on the floodis⁵ and on the wellis⁶ of watris [5] and seide, "Just art thu, Lord, that art and were holi, that demest⁷ thes thingis. [6] For thei schedden out the blood of halowis⁸ and profetis, and thu hast gofen to hem blood to drinke, for thei ben worthi." [7] And I herde another seynge, "Yhe, Dord God almighti, trewe and juste ben thi dommes." ¹⁰
- [8] And the fourthe aungel shedde out his viol into the sonne, and it was gofen to him to turmente men with heete and fyr. [9] And men swaleden¹¹ with greet heete and

³ judgments

⁴ known (honest)

⁵ stole (robe)

⁶ vials

¹ pour

² fierce

³ most grievous

⁴ symbol

⁵ rivers

⁶ springs

⁷ judges (commands)

⁸ saints

⁹ Yea

¹⁰ judgments

¹¹ burned

blasfemeden the name of God havynge power on thes plagis. Nether thei diden penaunce that thei shulden gife glorie to him.

- [10] And the fifthe aungel shedde his viol on the seete of the beest, and his kingdam was maad derk, and thei eeten togidir her tongis for sorowe. [11] And thei blasfemeden God of [fol. 383vb] hevene for sorowis of her woundis, and thei diden not penaunce of her werkis.
- [12] And the sixte aungel shedde out his viol into that ilke¹² greet flood Eufrates and driede the water of it, that weie were maad redi to kingis fro the sonne rising.¹³ [13] And I saw thre unclene spiritis bi the maner of froggis goo out of the mouth of the dragon and of the mouth of the beest and of the mouth of the false profete. [14] For thei ben spiritis of develis makinge signes, and thei goon forth to kingis of all erthe to gedere¹⁴ hem into batel to the greet dai of almighti God.
- 7 [15] "Lo, I come as a night theef. Blessid is he that wakith and kepith hise clothes, that he wandre not nakid and that thei se not the filthehede¹⁵ of him."
 - [16] And he shal gedere hem into a place that is clepid in Ebrew Hermagedon. 16
 - [17] And the seventhe aungel shedde out his viol into the eir, and a greet vois wente out of hevene fro the trone and seide, "It is doon." [18] And leitingis weren made and voicis and thundris and a greet erthe mofing was maad, wich maner never was sithen 17 men weren on erthe, sich erthe mofing so greet. [19] And the greete citee was maad into thre parties, and the citees of hethen men felden doun and greet Babilone cam into mynde bifore God, to gife to it the cuppe of wyn of the indignacion of his wraththe. [20] And eche ile flei awey, and hillis ben not founden, [21] and greet hail as a talent 18 cam doun fro hevene into men. And men blasfemeden God for the plage of hail, for it was ful greet.

5

Chapter 17

- [1] And oon of the sevene aungelis cam that hadde sevene violes¹ spac with me and seide, "Come thu, I shal shewe to thee the dampnacion of the greete hoore² that sitteth on manye watris, [2] with wiche kingis of the erthe diden fornicacion, and thei that duellen in the erthe ben made drunken of the wyn of hir leyccherie."
- 2 [3] And he took me into desert in spiritt, and I saw a womman sittinge on a reed beest ful of names of blasfemie, havynge sevene heedis and ten hornes. [4] And the womman

¹² same

¹³ sonne rising, east

¹⁴ gather

¹⁵ filthiness (sinfulness)

¹⁶ Armageddon

¹⁷ since

¹⁸ ancient measure of weight

¹ vials

² whore

3

4

5

6

was enviround³ with purpur⁴ and reed and overgilt⁵ with gold and preciouse stoon and perlis, havynge a golden cuppe in hir hond ful of abhomynacions and unclannesse of her fornicacion, [5] and a name writen in the forheed of hir: Misterie, Babilone the greet modir of fornicacions and of abhominacions of erthe. [6] And I saw a womman drunken of the blood of seyntis and of the blood of martiris of Jhesu, and whanne I saw hir, I wondride with greet wondring.

- [7] And the aungel seide to me, "Whi wondrist thu? I shal seie to thee the sacrament⁶ of the womman and of the beest that berith hir that hath sevene heedis and ten hornes. [8] The beest wich thu saw was and is not, and she shal stie⁷ fro depnes⁸ and she shal go into periysshing. And men duelling in erthe shulen wondre whois names ben not writen in the book of lyf fro the making of the world, seynge⁹ the beest that was and is not.
- [9] "And this is the witt¹⁰ who that¹¹ hath wisdam. The sevene heedis ben sevene hillis on wich the womman sitteth. And kingis sevene ben. [10] Fyve [fol. 384ra] han fallen doun, oon is, and another cometh not yit. And whanne he shal come, it bihoveth him to duelle a short time. [11] And the beest that was and is not, and she is the eightthe¹² and is of the sevene, and shal go into periysshing.
- [12] "And the ten hornes wiche thu hast sein ben ten kingis that yit han not take kingdam, but thei shulen take power as kingis oon our aftir the beest. [13] Thes han a counsel and shulen bitake¹³ her vertu and power to the beest. [14] Thes shulen fighte with the Lomb, and the Lomb shal overcome hem, for he is Lord of lordis and King of kingis, and thei that ben with him ben clepid chosen and feithful."
- [15] And he seide to me, "The watris wiche thu hast seyn where the hoore sittith ben puplis and folkis and langagis. [16] And the ten hornes that thu has sein in the beest, thes shulen make hir desolat and nakid and shulen ete¹⁴ the fleiysshis¹⁵ of hir and shulen brenne togidre hir with fyr. [17] For God gaf into the hertis of hem, that thei do that that is pleesaunt to him, that thei gife her kingdam to the beest, til the wordis of God ben endid. [18] And the womman whom thou hast seyn is the greet citee that hath kingdam on the ingis of the erthe."

³ covered

⁴ purple cloth

⁵ covered (gilded)

⁶ mystery

⁷ rise

⁸ the abyss

⁹ seeing

¹⁰ knowledge

who that, for those who

¹² eighth (king)

¹³ give

¹⁴ eat

¹⁵ flesh

¹⁶ kingdam on, sovereignty over

2

3

4

[1] And aftir thes thingis, I saw another aungel comynge doun fro heven havynge greet power, and the erthe was lightid of his glorie. [2] And he criede with strong vois and seide, "Greet Babilon fel doun, fel doun, and is maad the abitacion¹ of develis and the keping of ech unclene spiritt and of ech unclene foul² and hateful. [3] For alle folkis dronken of the wraththe of fornicacion of hir, and kingis of the erthe and marchandis³ of the erthe diden fornicacion with hir, and thei ben made riche of the vertu of delicis⁴ of hir."

[4] And I herde another vois of hevene seynge, "My puple, go ye out of it, and be ye not parceners' of the trespassis of it, and ye shulen not resseyve of the woundis of it. [5] For the synnes of it camen til to hevene, and the Lord hadde mynde of the wickidnesse of it. [6] Yelde ye to it' as she yeldide to you, and double ye double thingis aftir hir werkis. In the drinke that she medlide' to you, menge' ye double to hir. [7] As miche as she glorifiede hirself and was in delicis,' so miche turment gife ye to her and weiling. For in hir herte she seith, 'I sitte a queen and I am not a widowe, and I shal not se¹¹⁰ weiling.' [8] And therfore in oon dai, hir woundis shulen come, deeth and moornyng and hungir, and she shal be brent in fyr, for God is strong that shal deme¹¹ hir.

[9] "And the kingis of the erthe shulen biwepe and biweile hemself on hir wiche diden fornicacion with hir and lifeden in delicis, whanne thei shulen se the smoke of the brennyng of it, [10] stonding fer for drede of the turmentis of it and seynge, 'Wo, wo, thilke grete citee Babilone and thilke strong cité, for in oon our thi doom cometh.'

[11] "And marchaundis of the erthe shulen wepe on it and moorne, for no man shal bie more the marchaundise¹² of hem, [12] the marchaundises of gold and of silver and of precious stoon and of peerl and of bys¹³ and of purpur¹⁴ and of silk and coccyn¹⁵ and eche tre tyme¹⁶ and alle vessels of yver¹⁷ and alle vessels of precious stoon and of bras and

¹ habitation

² bird

³ merchants

⁴ luxuries

⁵ partakers

⁶ Yelde ye to it, *Give back to her*

⁷ mixed

⁸ mix

⁹ luxuries

¹⁰ experience

¹¹ judge

¹² merchandise

¹³ linen

¹⁴ purple cloth

¹⁵ scarlet cloth

¹⁶ tre tyme, sandarac (tree with fragrant wood)

¹⁷ ivory

5

7

of iren and of marbil [13] and canel¹⁸ and amonye¹⁹ and of swete smel|linge [fol. 384rb] thingis and oynementis and encense and of wyn and of oile and of flour and of wheete and of werk beestis and of sheep and of horsis and of cartis and of servauntis and other lifes of men.

[14] "And thine applis of the desir of thi lyf wenten awei fro thee, and alle fatte thingis and ful clere periysshiden fro thee. [15] And marchaundis of thes thingis shulen no more finde tho thingis. Thei that ben made riche of it shulen stonde fer²⁰ for drede of turmentis of it, wepinge and mornynge [16] and seynge, 'Wo, wo, thilke greet citee that was clothid with bys and purpur and reed scarlett and was overgilt with gold and precious stoon and margaritis.²¹ [17] For in oon our, so manye riycchessis ben destitute.'

"And ech governoure and alle that seilen bi ship into place and maryneris and that worchen in the see stooden fer [18] and crieden, seynge²² the place of the brennyng of it, seynge, 'What is lyk this greet citee?' [19] And thei kesten²³ poudir²⁴ on her heedis and crieden wepinge and moornynge and seynge, 'Wo, wo, thilk greet cité in wiche alle that han shippis in the see ben made riche of prices of it, for in oon our it is desolatt.' [20] Hevene and holie apostlis and profetis, make ye ful out joie on it! For God hath demed²⁵ yor doom²⁶ on it."

[21] And oo strong aungel took up a stoon as a greet mylnestoon²⁷ and caste into the see and seide, "In this greet bire,²⁸ thilk greet cité Babilon shal be sent, and now it shal no more be founden. [22] And the vois of harpis and of men of music and synginge with pipe and trumpe shal no more be herd in it. And ech crafti man²⁹ and ech crafte shal no more be founden in it, and the vois of mylnestoon³⁰ shal no more be herd in thee. [23] And the light of lanterne shal no more shyne to thee, and the vois of the hosebonde and of the wyf shal no more yit be herd in thee. For thi marchaundis weren princis of the erthe, for in thi wiycchecraftis alle folkis erriden.³¹ [24] And the blood of profetis and seyntis is founden in it, and of alle men that ben slayn in erthe."

¹⁸ cinnamon

¹⁹ *aromatic plants*

o far away

²¹ pearls

²² seeing

²³ threw

²⁴ dust

²⁵ judged (commanded)

²⁶ judgment

²⁷ millstone

²⁸ violence

²⁹ crafti man, craftsman

vois of mylnestoon, sound of the millstone

³¹ went astray

1

2

3

4

5

- [1] Aftir thes thingis, I herde as a greet vois of many trumpis in hevene seynge, "Alleluya! Heryng¹ and glorie and vertu is to oure God. [2] For trewe and just ben the domes² of him wich demede³ of the greet hoore that defoulide the erthe in hir leyccherie and vengede the blood of his servauntis of the hondis of hir." [3] And eft⁴ thei seide, "Alleluya! And the smoke of it stieth up into the worldis of worldis."
- [4] And the foure and twenti senyours and foure beestis fellen down and worshipiden God sitting on the trone and seiden, "Amen, Alleluya!"
- [5] And a vois wente out of the trone and seide, "Alle the servauntis of oure Lord God, seie⁵ ye heryngis⁶ to oure God, and ye that dreden God, smale and greete."
- [6] And I herde a vois of a greet trumpe, as the vois of manye watris and as the vois of grete thundris seynge, "Alleluya! For oure Lord God almighti hath regned. [7] Joye we and make we mirthe, and gife we glorie to him. For the weddings of the Lomb camen and the wyf of him made redi hirself. [8] And it is gofen to hir that she kyvere⁷ hir with whyt bissyn⁸ shynynge." Forwhi⁹ bissyn is justifyngis¹⁰ of seyntis.
- [9] And he seide to me, "Write thou, 'Blessid be thei that ben clepid¹¹ to the soper of the weddingis of the Lomb." And [fol. 384va] he seide to me, "Thes wordis of God ben trewe."
- 6 [10] And I fel doun bifore his feet to worshipe him, and he seide to me, "Se thu that thu do not! I am a servaunt with thee and of thi brethren havynge the wittnessing of Jhesu. Worshipe thu God, for the wittnessing of Jhesu is spiritt of profecie."
 - [11] And I saw hevene opened and lo, a whiyt hors, and he that satt on him was clepid Feithful and Soithfast. And with rightwesnesse he demeth and fighteth. [12] And the iyen of him weren as flawme of fyr and in his heed manye diademes. And he hadde a name writen wich no man knew but he. [13] And he was clothed in a clooth spreynd with blood, and the name of him was clepid the Sone of God. [14] And the oostis that ben in hevene sweden him on white horsis clothed with bissyn white and clene. [15] And a swerd sharp on ech aside cam forth of his mouth, that with it he smite folkis. And he shal reule hem with a iren yarde, and he tredith the pressour of wyn of strong vengeaunce of

¹ Praise

² judgments

³ judged

⁴ again

⁵ speak

⁶ praises

⁷ cover (clothe)

⁸ fine linen

⁹ Because

¹⁰ righteousness

rigiticousii

¹¹ invited

¹² True

¹³ sprinkled

¹⁴ hosts

¹⁵ followed

the wraththe of almighti God. [16] And he hath writen in his clooth and in his hemme: "King of Kingis and Lord of Lordis."

- [17] And I saw an aungel stonding in the sonne, and he criede with a greet vois and seide to alle briddis that flowen bi the middel of hevene, "Come ye and be ye gederid to the greet soper of God, [18] that ye ete the fleiyss¹6 of kingis and fleiyss of tribunes and fleiyss of stronge men and fleiyss of horsis and of tho that sitten of hem, and the fleiyss of alle free men and boonde men and of smale and of grete."
- [19] And I saw the beest and the kingis of the erthe and the oostis of hem gederid to make batele with him that satt on the horse and with his oost. [20] And the beest was caught and with hir the fals profete that made signes bifore hir in wiche he disceyvede hem that tooken the carect of the beest and that worshipiden the ymage of it. Thes tweyne weren sente quyke into the pool of fyr brennynge with brymstoon, [21] and the tother¹⁷ weren slayn with the swerd of him that satt on the hors, that cometh forth of the mouth of him. And alle briddis weren fillid with the fleiyss of hem.

Chapter 20

1

2

- [1] And I saw another aungel comynge doun fro hevene havynge the keie of depnes and a greet cheyne in his hond. [2] And he caughte the dragon, the oolde serpent that is the devel and Sathanas, and he boond him bi a thousand yeris. [3] And he sente him into depnesse and closede¹ and markide on him that he disceyve no more the folkis til a thousande yeris be fillid. After thes thingis, it bihoveth him to be unbounden a litel tyme.
- [4] And I saw seetis and thei saten on hem, and doom² was gofen to hem. And the soulis of men biheedide³ for the wittnessing of Jhesu and for the word of God, and hem that worshipiden not the beest nether the ymage of it, nether tooken the carect of it in her forheedis nether in her hondis, and thei lifeden and regneden with Crist a thusande yeris. [5] Othere of dede⁴ men lifeden not til a thusande yeris ben endid. This is the first agenrising. ⁵ [6] Blessid and holi is he that hath part in the firste agenrising. In these men, the secounde deeth hath not power, but thei shulen be prestis of God and of Crist, and thei shulen regne with him a thusande yeris.
- [7] And whanne a thou|sande [fol. 384vb] yeris shulen be endid, Sathanas shal be unbounden of his prison. And he shal go out and shal disceyve folkis that ben on foure corners of the erthe, Gog and Magog. And he shal gedere hem into batel, whois noumbre

¹⁶ flesh

¹⁷ others

¹ imprisoned

² power to judge

³ beheaded

⁴ dead

⁵ resurrection

is as the gravel⁶ of the see. [8] And thei stieden up on the broodnesse of erthe⁷ and envirounden⁸ the castels⁹ of seyntis and the loved citee, [9] and fyr cam doun of God fro hevene and devouride hem. And the devel that disceyvede hem was sent into the pool of fyr and of brimstoon where bothe the beest [10] and false profetis shulen be turmentide dai and night into worldis of worldis. Amen.

[11] And I saw a greet whyt trone and oon sittinge on it, fro whois sight the erthe fleigh¹⁰ and hevene, and the place is not founden of hem. [12] And I saw dede¹¹ men greete and smale stondinge in the sight of the trone. And bokis weren opened and dede men weren demed of thes thingis that weren writen in the bokis, aftir the werkis of hem. [13] And the see gaf¹² hise dede men that weren in it, and Deeth and helle gafen her dede men that weren in hem, and it was demed of eche aftir the werkis of hem. [14] And helle and Deeth weren sente into a pool of fyr. This is the secunde deeth. [15] And he that was not founden writen in the book of lyf was sent into the pool of fyr.

Chapter 21

- [1] And I saw new hevene and new erthe, for the firste hevene and the firste erthe wente awei, and the see is not now. [2] And I, Joon, saw the holi citee Jerusalem new comynge doun fro hevene maad redi of God as a wyf ourned¹ to hir hosebonde. [3] And I herde a greet vois fro the trone seynge, "Lo, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shal duelle with hem, and thei shulen be his puple and he God with hem shal be her God. [4] And God shal wipe awei eche teer fro the iyen of hem, and deeth shal no more be, nether moornyng nether cryng nether sorowe shal be over, wich firste thingis wenten awei."
- 2 [5] And he seide that satt in the trone, "Lo, I make alle thingis newe." And he seide to me, "Write thu, for thes wordis ben moost feithful and trewe."
- 3 [6] And he seide to me, "It is doon. I am alpha and oo,² the bigynnyng and eende. I shal gife freli of the welle of qwik³ watir to him that thirsteth. [7] He that shal overcome shal welde⁴ thes thingis, and I shal be God to him and he shal be sone to me. [8] But to

⁶ sand

broodnesse of erthe, the whole earth (breadth of the earth)

⁸ surrounded

⁹ fortified camps

¹⁰ fled

¹¹ dead

¹² gave up

¹ adorned

² omega

³ living

⁴ possess

4

5

feerdful⁵ men and unbileveful⁶ and curside⁷ and manquellers⁸ and fornicatours and to wiycchis⁹ and worshipers of idols and to alle liers, the part of hem shal be in the pool brennynge with fyr and brimstoon, that is the secunde deeth."

- [9] And oon cam of the sevene aungelis havynge viols fulle of sevene the laste¹⁰ vengeauncis, and he spac with me and seide, "Come thu, and I shal shewe to thee the spousesse,¹¹ the wyf of the Lomb." [10] And he took me up in spiritt into a greet hil and high, and he shewide to me the holi citee Jerusalem comynge doun fro hevene of God, [11] havyng the clereté¹² of God and the [fol. 385ra] light of it lyk a preciouse stoon, as the stoon jaspis¹³ as cristal. [12] And it hadde a wal greet and high, havynge twelfe gatis and in the gatis of it twelfe aungelis and names writen in that ben the twelfe names of twelfe lynagis of the sones of Israel. [13] And fro the eest thre gatis, and fro the north thre gatis, and fro the south thre gatis, and fro the west thre gatis. [14] And the wal of the citee hadde twelfe foundementis¹⁴ and in hem the twelfe names of twelfe apostlis and of the Lomb.
- [15] And he that spac with me hadde a golden mesure of a reud¹⁵ that he shulde mete¹⁶ the citee and the gatis of it and the wal. [16] And the citee was sett in square, and the lengthe of it is so miche as miche as is the breede.¹⁷ And he matt¹⁸ the citee with the reud bi furlongis twelfe thusandis, and the heighte and the lengthe and the breede of it ben evene.¹⁹ [17] And he matt the wallis of it of an hundrid and foure and fourti cubitis²⁰ bi mesure of man, that is of an aungel. [18] And the bilding of the wal thereof was of the stoon jaspis, and the citee itself was clene²¹ gold lyk clene glas. [19] And the foundementis of the wal of the citee weren ourned with al precious stoon, the first foundement jaspis, the secounde safirus,²² the thridde calcedonyes,²³ the fourthe smaragdus,²⁴ [20] the

⁵ fearful (cowardly)

⁶ unbelieving (unfaithful)

⁷ damned (wicked)

⁸ murderers

⁹ witches

¹⁰ sevene the laste, the last seven

¹¹ bride

¹² glory

¹³ jasper

¹⁴ foundations

¹⁵ measuring rod

¹⁶ measure

¹⁷ breadth

¹⁸ measured

¹⁹ equal

²⁰ ancient measure (arm's length)

²¹ nure

²² sapphire

²³ chalcedony

²⁴ emerald

fyvethe sardony,²⁵ the sixte sardyus,²⁶ the seventhe crisolitus,²⁷ the eightthe berillus,²⁸ the nynthe topasius,²⁹ the tenthe crisopassus,³⁰ the elleventhe jacinctus,³¹ the twelfthe ametistus.³² [21] And twelfe gatis ben twelfe margaritus³³ bi eche, and eche gate was of³⁴ ech margarite. And the stretis of the citee weren clene gold as of glas ful shynyng.

[22] And I saw no temple in it, for the Lord God almighti and the Lomb is the temple of it. [23] And the citee hath noo nede of sonne nether moone that thei shyne in it, for the clerenesse³⁵ of God shal lightne it, and the Lomb is the lanterne of it. [24] And folkis shulen walke in light of it, and the kingis of erthe shulen bringe her glorie and onour into it. [25] And the gatis of it shulen not be closid bi dai, and night shal not be there. [26] And thei shulen bringe the glorie and onour of folkis into it. [27] Nether any man defoulid and doing abhominacion and leesing³⁶ shal entre into it, but thei that ben writen in the book of lyf and of the Lomb.

Chapter 22

- [1] And he shewide to me a flood¹ of qwik² water shynynge as cristal comyng forth of the seete of God and of the Lomb [2] in the middel of the strete of it, and on eche side of the flood, the tre of lyf bringinge forth twelfe fruyytis, yeldinge his fruyyt bi ech moneth.³ And the leeves of the tree ben to the heelthe of folkis. [3] And eche cursid thing shal no more be. But the seetis of God and of the Lomb shulen be in it, and the servauntis of him shulen serve to him, [4] and thei shulen se his face and his name in her forheedis. [5] And night shal no more be. And thei shulen not have nede to the light of lanterne nether to light of the sonne, for the Lord God shal lightne hem. And thei shulen regne into worldis of worldis.
- 2 [6] And he seide to me, "Thes wordis ben moost feithful and trewe. And the Lord God of spiritis of profetis sente his aungel to shewe hise servauntis whate thingis it

²⁵ sardonyx

²⁶ sard (carnelian)

²⁷ chrysolite

²⁸ beryl

²⁹ topaz

³⁰ chrysoprase

³¹ jacinth

³² amethyst

³³ pearls

³⁴ made of

³⁵ brightness

³⁶ lying

¹ river

² living

³ month

bihoveth to be doon soone. [7] And lo, I come [fol. 385rb] swifteli. Blessid is he that kepith the wordis of profecie of this book."

- [8] And I am Joon that herde and saw thes thingis. And aftirward that I hadde herd and seyn, I fel doun to worshipe bifore the feet of the aungel that shewide to me thes thingis. [9] And he seide to me, "Se thu that thu do not! For I am servaunt with thee and of thi brethren profetis and of hem that kepen the wordis of profecie of this book. Worshipe thu God."
- [10] And he seide to me, "Signe⁴ ether seele thu not the wordis of profecie of this book, for the tyme is nigh. [11] He that noieth,⁵ noie he yit, and he that is in filthes, waxe he foul yit, and a just man be justified yit, and the holi be halowid yit.
- [12] "Lo, I come soone and my mede with me, to yelde to ech man aftir his werkis. [13] I am alpha and oo, the firste and the laste, bigynnyng and eende. [14] Blessid be thei that waiysshen her stoolis, that the power of hem be in the tre of lyf, and entren bi the gatis into the citee. [15] For withoutforth⁶ houndis and wiycchis and unchaste men and manquellers and servynge to idols and eche that loveth and maketh leesing.⁷
- 6 [16] "I, Jhesus, sente myn aungel to witnesse to you thes thingis in chirchis. I am the rote⁸ and kyn of Davith and the shynyng morowe sterre." ⁹
- [17] And the Spiritt and the spousesse¹⁰ seyn, "Come thou." And he that heerith, seie he, "Come thou." And he that thirsteth, come he, and he that wole, take he freli the water of lyf.
- [18] And I wittnesse to ech man heringe the wordis of the profecie of this book, if any man shal putte¹¹ to thes thingis, God shal putte on him the vengeauncis writen in this book. [19] And if any man do awei of the wordis of the book of this profecie, God shal take awei the paart of him from the book of lyf and fro the holi citee and fro thes thingis that ben writen in this book.
- 9 [20] He seith that berith wittnessing of thes thingis, "Yhe, 12 Amen. I come soone." Amen. Come thu, Lord Jhesu.
- 10 [21] The grace of oure Lord Jhesu Crist be with you alle. Amen.
- 11 Here endeth the Apocalips.
- 12 The eer¹³ of the Lord M.CCCC and viii¹⁴ this book was endid.

5

⁴ Seal up in order to hide

⁵ does harm

⁶ outside

⁷ lies

⁸ root

⁹ morowe sterre, morning star

¹⁰ bride

¹¹ add

¹² Yea

¹³ *vear*

¹⁴ M.CCCC and viii, 1408

TEXTUAL NOTES FOR WYCLIFFITE LV APOCALYPSE

Prologue, Paragraph 2

Alle. The first word of the Prologue and of each chapter in F begins with a rubricated initial letter, in blue ink with red flourishes. B features more elaborate rubrication on its first page for the Prologue and Chapter 1, with gilded initial letters and red and blue illuminations around the borders of the text but afterward uses a more basic rubrication similar to F, with initial letters in blue and red.

Prologue, Paragraph 8

this. So F. B adds: Heer endip be prologe and biginnip be Apocalips.

CHAPTER 1, PARAGRAPH 1

Apocalips. F marginal note: pat is, revelacion eper schewing.

Chapter 1, Paragraph 3

prickiden. F marginal note: eber crucifieden.

kinredis. F marginal note: eper lynagis.

CHAPTER 1, PARAGRAPH 6

garnement. F marginal note: eper an awbe [white robe].

latoun. F marginal note: eber dross of gold.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 3

that thei ben. So B. F: bei ben bat.

Chapter 3, Paragraph 5

collerie. F marginal note: bat is, a medicyn for izen gederide of dyverse eerbis.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 1

dore. F marginal note: bat is, be undirstonding of scripturis.

Chapter 4, Paragraph 2

middil of the seete. So F. B adds: and in be cumpas of be seete.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 1

whiyt hors. F marginal note: bat is, holi chirche maad feir with baptem.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 2

reed hors. F marginal note: bat is, opene pursuers.

Chapter 6, Paragraph 3

blac hors. F marginal note: *bat is, hiding hise vicis to sum men wib goode werkis.*

Chapter 6, Paragraph 4

pale hors. F marginal note: bat is, ipocritis shewing hem holie to be peple bouz bei be not.

helle. F marginal note: bat is, men bat never ben fulle of worldli goodis.

Chapter 7, Paragraph 1

fourty. So B. F: twenti.

Chapter 9, Paragraph 6

weren slayne. So F and B. This phrase is not in the Vulgate and appears to be clarifying that this group of evildoers did not die in the plagues.

Chapter 11, Paragraph 1

reud. F marginal note: eber mesure.

twei. F marginal note: bat is, Enok and Elye.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 1

And the temple . . . greet hail. F marks the beginning of Chapter 12 here; modern convention assigns this first verse to the end of Chapter 11.

TEXTUAL NOTES FOR WYCLIFFITE LV APOCALYPSE

Chapter 12, Paragraph 5

maundementis. So B. F: maundement.

Chapter 12, Paragraph 6

And he stood... the see. F places this sentence at the end of Chapter 12, following the Vulgate; the Authorized Version and most modern versions of the Bible assign it to the first half of 13:1.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 4

amonye. F marginal note: *bat is, a swete tree*.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 5

destitute. F marginal note: eber forsaken.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 6

the brennyng of it. So B. F: brennyng be of it.

Chapter 18, Paragraph 7

wiycchecraftis. F marginal note: eber venemyngis.

Chapter 20, Paragraph 3

of God. So B. F: God of.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 5

houndis. F marginal note: *bat is, false prechours*.

wiycchis. F marginal note: eber venemers.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 11

Apocalips. So F. B adds: pat Joon wroot in pe ile of Pathmos, pe whiche is pe ende of pe Newe Testament.

Chapter 22, Paragraph 12

M.CCCC. F: M.CCC, followed by an erasure; the intended date is apparently 1408. Elizabeth Solopova writes, "The date on fol. 385r may have been altered to avoid censorship, but,

according to Watson (1984), examination under UV light suggests that the scribe first wrote 'M.ccc' and the 'and' symbol, erased the latter, wrote it in the right place, and then forgot to insert the fourth 'c'" (Solopova, *Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible*, p. 146).

Appendix B: Comparisons of Two Manuscripts

In two significant passages of the biblical text — verses 1:9–16 and 3:7–22 — the Plimpton manuscript completely replaces the original translation of the *English Apocalypse* with the later Wycliffite Later Version (LV), to make a uniquely blended Apocalypse text (see Introduction, p. 3). The Plimpton version of these passages, which borrow from the LV, is shown on the lefthand page below. The paragraph numbers correspond to those in the main text of this edition; see the footnotes in the main text for glosses.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY MS PLIMPTON ADD. 03

Chapter 1

- [fol. 204r] [9] I, Joon, youre brother and partener in tribulacioun and kingdom and pacience in Crist Jhesu, was in an yle that is clepid Pathmos, for the word of God and for the witnessing of Jhesu. [10] Y was in spirit in the Lordis dai and Y herde bihynde me a grete vois as of a trumpe [11] seiynge to me, "Write thou in a book that thing that thou seest and sende to the sevene chirchis that ben in Asie: to Efesus, to Smirma and to Pergamus and to Tiatira and to Sardis and to Philadelfia and to Loadicia."
 - [...]
- [12] And Y turnede that Y shulde se the vois that spak with me, and Y turnede and Y say sevene candilstikis of gold. [13] And in the myddil of the sevene goldun candilstickis, oon lyk to the sone of man clothid with a long garment and gird at the tetis with a goldun gyrdil. [14] And the heed of hym and his heeris weren whyte as whyte wolle and as snow, and the iyen of hym as flawme of fier, [15] and hise feet lyk to latoune as in a brennynge chymeney, and the vois of hym as the vois of many watris. [16] And he hadde in his right hond sevene sterris, and a swerd sharp on ever either syde wente out of his mouth, and his face as the sunne schyneth in his vertu.

Chapter 3

- [fol. 206v] [7] "And to the aungele of the chirche of Filadelfie, write thou thes thingis, seith the holi and trewe that hath the keiye of David, the whiche openeth and no man closith; he closith and no man openeth. [8] I wot thi werkis, and lo I gaf bifor thee a dore opened, the whiche no man mai close. For thu hast a litel vertu and hast kept my word and denyedist not my name. [9] Lo, I shal gyve to thee of the synagoge of Sathanas, the whiche seyne hem to ben Jewes and ben not, but lien. Lo, I schal maken hem that thai come and worschepe biforn thi feet, and thei shal wite for I lovede thee, [10] for thu keptist the word of my pacience. And I shal kepe thee fro the oure of temptacioun that is to comen into alle the world to tempten men dwellende in erthe.
- [11] "Lo, I come soone. Holde that thu hast that no man take thi coroune. [12] And hym [fol. 207r] that shal overcome I shal make a piler in the temple of my God, and he

APPENDIX B: COMPARISONS OF TWO MANUSCRIPTS

The original translation of the *English Apocalypse* as it appears in two of its earliest manuscripts is shown on the righthand page below. The producer of the Plimpton manuscript may have had access to these passages in the original translation but decided for unknown reasons to replace them with passages from the Wycliffite LV (shown on the lefthand page). The paragraph numbers correspond to those in the main text of this edition; see the Textual Notes (which reproduce these passages with their original Middle English characters) for glosses.

British Library MS Harley 874

Chapter 1

[fol. 2b] [9] Ich, Johan, youre brother and partinere in tribulaciouns and duelle in pacience in Jhesu Crist, was in an yle of the see that is cleped Pathmos and was exiled for Goddes wordes and for I bare witnesse of Jesu Crist. [10] And on a Sonenday, in gost Ich herd a grete voice biside me as it were the soune of a trumpe [11] that seide to me, "Write in the book that thou seest and sende it to the seven chirches of Asye, that is to wyte to Ephesie, Smirme, Pargame, Tiatire, Carde, Philadelphe, & Laodice."

[...]

[fol. 3a] [12] And I tourned me to see the voice that spaak to me, and I seigh seven candelstickes. [13] On that semed the maidens son that was clothed in an aube righth unto the erthe and gird under his tittes with a girdel of golde. [14] His heued and his here was white as wolle and as snow, and his eiyen as flaume of fyre, [15] and his feet as gleedes brennande. His voice was as voice of many watres, [16] and he had in his righth honde seven sterres, and out at his mouthe com a swerd kervyng on both parties. And his visage was as the sonne whan it shyneth brighttest.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MAGDALENE COLLEGE MS PEPYS 2498

Chapter 3

[fol. 230b] [7] "Unto the chirche of Philadelphe, write this, seith he that that seith, the holy and sothfast that hath David the keye that openeth and noman ne schetteth. [8] I wot youre werkes, and hath goven you the dore open that non ne may schetten. Forthi that thou has a litel vertu and haste kepte my word and noughth forsaken my lawe. [9] Loo, I schal give thee the synagog of Sathan that seien that thai ben Jewes and ne ben noughth. And I schal do hem comen and fallen before thi feete in worschipp, and thai schullen witen that thai loven thee. [10] And for that thou hast kepte the comaundementz of pacience, I schal kepe thee fro the temptacioun that schal come overal in the werlde that tempteth hem that wonen in erthe.

shal no more go out, and I shal write on hym the name of my God and the name of the cité of my God, of new Jerusalem that cometh doun fro heven of my God, and my newe name."

[...]

7

8

- [14] "And to the aungele of the chirche of Loadice, writ thou these thinges, seith Amen that is verili the feithfulle witnesse and trewe, the whiche is the bigynnynge of Goddis creature. [15] I wott thi werkis, for nether thou art colde, nether thou art hote. I wolde that thou were coold ether hoot. [16] But for thou art lewe and neither cold neither hote, I schal bigyne for to cast thee out of my mouthe. [17] For thou seist that 'I am riche and ful of goodis and I have no nede of no man,' and thou woost not for thou art a wrecche and wreccheful, and thu art pore and blynde and nakid. [18] I counsele thee for to bie of me gold firid and preved that thou be maad riche and be clothid with whiyte clothis that the confusioun of thi nakidnesse appere not. And anoynte thyn iyen with a colerie, that is medicyne for iyen gaderid of dyverse eerbis that thou see.
- [19] "Whom I love, I reprove and chastise. Therfor sue or love and do penaunce. [20] Lo, I stonde at the dore and knoke. If any man schal here my vois and opene the gate, I schal entre to him and soupe [fol. 207v] with hym and he with me.
- 9 [21] "I shal gyven to hym that shal overcome to sitten with me in my trone, as I overcam and satt with my Fader in his trone. [22] He that hath eris, here what the spirit shal seyn to chirchis."

- [11] "Holde that thou hast non ne take thi coroune. [12] And hym that Ich thus overcome, I schal make hym piler in the temple of my God, and the name of my God, and the name of the cité newe Jerusalem that com adoun from hevene, and my newe name."
 - $[\dots]$
- [fol. 231a] [14] "Unto the bisschopp of Laodyce, write that seith he that is sooth witnesse writen trewe and verrey. [15] I wot wel thine werkes for thou art neither hot ne colde. [16] Bot for thou art bytwene two, thou makest me to wlaththen [feel nauseated]. I schal bigynne to cast thee out of my mouthe by the fore feete. [17] For thou seist that thou art riche and hast mester [need] of nothing, and thou ne wost that thou art wrecched and pouere and blynde and naked. [18] And forthi I rede that thou bye of my golde tried and proved forto bicome riche, and that thou clothe men in white clothing that thi schame ne schewe noughth that thou art naked. And grese thine eigen with this oyle forto seen.
- [19] "I blame and chastise hem that I love. And therfore do penaunce. [20] Stondeth atte the dore and beteth that hereth my voice and openeth me the gate and I schal entre unto hem and make there my sopere with hem and he with me.
- [21] "He that overcometh I schal do hym sytte by me in my throne as Ich have overcomen and sytt with my Fader. [22] Who that hath eren hereth what the spiryt seith to the chirche."

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GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS: **adj.**: adjective; **adv.**: adverb; **comp. adv.**: comparative adverb; **conj.**: conjunction; **imp.**: imperative; **n.**: noun; **n. pl.**: plural noun; **pa.**: past tense; **pa. p.**: past participle; **ppl. adj.**: participial adjective; **pr.**: present tense; **pr. p.**: present participle; **prep.**: preposition; **pron.**: pronoun; **subj.**: subjunctive; **v.**: verb.

abiden await **about(en)** surrounding **acorden** agree; ~ **to**, agree with affeith, affien have faith **afor(n)hond(e)** beforehand, previously **aforn** before; ~ **of**, prior to agast frightened agen(e) (adv.) again agenseien gainsay, speak against agenstonden stand against age(y)n (prep.) against aknowe recognize; is ~, acknowledges; ben ~, admit **almesse** alms, charity **alto** fully amatist amethyst amonesten (v.) admonish **amyd(dis)** in the middle of anourith honor aparayled prepared apert clear, public apertli publicly appil apple arewe timid asau(gh)te assault asayede (pa.) tested; see asayen asayen (v.) test asignede assigned, ordained ataynt convicted **atempre** in balance **aubis** white vestments

augthe should

bad bade ba(i)taile battle baptem baptism bedis prayers bedyng (pr. p.) praying; see bidden **be(e)st(e)** beast **behoveth** *is destined, is necessary* beknowen confess ben be, are **bere** (n.) bear **bere** (pr.) bear **beril** beryl **beschut** (pa. p.) *shut in*; see **bischytte** bestis beasts bidden (pr.) pray, plead **bie(n)** buy; ~ **agen**, ransom, redeem **bifore(n)**, **bifor(u)n** in front of, prior to **bigetun** begotten, born **biggers** builders bihigte (pa.) promised; see bihoteth bihoteth, behotith (pr.) promises bileve, beleve belief, faith

bilibres two-pound measures

binemen, **binyme(n)** (pr.) *take away*

birien bury

bischytte (pa.) locked up

bisi busy
bis(se) linens

bithenke (imp.) *think hard, ponder* **bithought** (pa.) *pondered*; see **bithenke**

blawe blow a horn

blesse bliss

bobaunce boasting

bond (adj) enslaved, in servitude

bond (pa.) bound bordelrie brothel bred, brid bird brede breadth brenne (pr.) burn

brennende, bren(n)and(e) (pr. p.) burning; see

brenne

brenneston, brunstoun brimstone, sulphur

bricte bright; see bright
bridales wedding feast
bridil (n.) bridle

bridilen (v.) bridle, restrain **bright** bright, morally pure **bronde** firebrand, torch **but** but, unless; ~ **if**, unless

buxum obedient

bynam (pa.) *took away*; see **binemen**

bytraped ensnared

clene pure, bright

clepen (pr.) call, name

clepid (pa. p.) called, named; see clepen

clerkis clerics clerté glory colerie salve colith cools comende coming

compuccioun repentance

conferme (pr.) strengthen, set, establish

confermynge (n.) confirmation **confessouris** persecuted Christians

confusioun shame

conjourisons conjurations, sorcery **conversacioun** dwelling, company

coppe cup cord harpstring coroun crown

corumpen (pr.) *corrupt*

corumpide (pa. p.) corrupted; see corumpen

coveitise (n.) greed

coveitouse (adj.) covetous, greedy

coverne govern, protect creature creation, creator crisolit chrysolite crysopas chrysoprase

cumpas scope; **in the** ~ **of**, round about **cure** spiritual responsibility; ~ **of soulis**,

ecclesiastical office

curioustés sophistries, magic tricks

caitifté captivity

calcedoyne chalcedony carect character, symbol castith drops, yields, vomits

cete seat, throne
chares chariots
cheseth chooses

cheventeynes chieftains, governors

childen give birth cledes live coals clemeth gleams dampne damn

dede(n) (pa.) did; see do(u)n

dedis (n. pl.) deeds
deed (adj.) dead
deedly (adj.) mortal
deef deaf; ~ heed, deafness
defaute (adj.) empty
defaute (n.) lack
defendede warned

defoilyng (n.) trampling

defoulid (pa. p.) defouled, trampled

eddre adder, snake

de(i)ppe abyss eerbis herbs delices delights eft again deliciouse sensuous, luxurious eir sky demed judged, commanded either (conj.) or departid divided either (adj.) either depnesse abyss emeraud emerald diche ditch, pit **encheso(u)n** reason; **thourgh** ~, by means diede (pa.) did; see do(u)n encombren encumber, burden dight (imp.) go endide ended, completed dight (pa.) prepared engynes deceits dilyces delights enpeyryng impairing **discretifris** readers of papal decrees ensaumple, exsaumple example dispendid spent, squandered **ensensith** instructs, enlightens disserved, discerved deserved envyrowen surround distinctith divides **er** ere, before distrecioun destruction eres, eris ears distrue destroy **eresie** heresy disturblen frighten **eretikis** heretics do make **erthe** earth; **erthe** movynge earthquake doande doers es(s)e ease; yvele at ~, uneasy, in pain dome judgment estward east dool dole, grief eten eat doren dare evel evil **do(u)n**, **doon** (pr.) do, perform even similar; ~ Cristen, fellow Christians **doun** (adv.) down; **do** ~, cast down; **putten** ~, reject expouned explained **doun** (pa. p.) done, killed; ~ **out**, removed; see eyen, (e)iye(e)n eyes do(u)n dout (pr.) fear **doyngis** doings; **venym** ~, potion making, sorcery **dredefule** cowardly **fale** fall dreden (v.) dread fallith befalls **drow** (pa.) drew fastere firmer **drowen** (pa.) wrote; ~ **of**, wrote about feld carried out dun grayish brown felen feel dure endure felle grievous dyeande dying **fend(e)** fiend, devil ferde seemed **fer(e)** far, afar **ferthe** fourth **ech(e)** each, every **fette** feet echoon each one feynen feign ecke also figer fig tree **eclee** eagle **fild** filled, satisfied

filen (pr.) defile

filid (pa. p.) defiled; see **filen fithelis** fiddles fitith fights flecchen waver fleen fly, flee fleigh (pa.) fled; see fleen flemed banished flood, flode river folk people **fordoith** (pr.) *destroys* fordoun (pa. p.) destroyed; see fordoith **foules** fowls, birds foundement foundation frettid loaded frist(e), first(e) first froschis frogs frowarde away from frusch violence ful full, foul **fulfillide** *filled*, *satiated*; ~ **of**, *filled with* fynde fiend, devil

gaderid (pa. p.) gathered; see gedren gaf (pa.) gave; see geven **gedren** (pr.) gather geven (pr.) give gilen beguile glad(id)en become glad glistrynge glittering gloryen boast godis good things **goode** (n.) righteous people goodes blessings, gifts goon (subj.) go; see go(u)n**go(o)st** spirit; ~ **of lyf**, breath of life go(o)st(e)li spiritual gospeleris Gospel writers **go(u)n** go, walk; **gon out** fall away **goven** (pr. p.) given; ~ **leve**, given leave; see **geven** governen govern, rule governoure ship captain gravele sand, shore

gre(e)te elder, high-ranking person
grene green plants
greve(n) harm
gud good people
gynnynge beginning
gyve(n) (pr.) give; see geven

haburiounes hauberks, coats of armor

had(d)(e) (pa.) had; see han

haire, hayre animal skin, haircloth; sak of an ~, sackcloth **halewid** *hallowed*, *made holy* **half** part, side halowen, halewen saints halpe helped han have happeli by chance **harde** (adj.) hardened **harde** (p.) heard; see **here**(n) hardiness courage **he** he, she **heed** head heele conceal he(e)r (adv.) here **he(e)ris** (n. pl.) hairs **heghen** (pr.) raise up heigh (adj.) high, holy **heigh** (n.) hay heighnesse pride **hem** them, themselves hep multitude **her** her, their, theirs **herd** hard, difficult **here** (n.) hair **here(n)** (pr.) hear here(n) (pron.) their herien (pr.) praise **heryyng** (n.) praise **hestis** commands **heten** (v.) heat, warm, inspire **hevye** serious

hidir here

hier higher highed grown hilid covered, clothed hipe hip

hir(e) her
his his, hers, its

his(e) his, his own, his people, those

ho he

hole whole hollich whole

hono(u)ren (v.) worship **ho(o)li** (adj.) holy

 $\mathbf{ho}(\mathbf{o})\mathbf{li}, \mathbf{holy}$ (n.) holy ones; the righteous

hotith (v.) *promises, commands*

hundis hounds hurlyng grinding hyd (adj.) hidden hym him, her

ilke very, exact iye eye

jacin(i)t(e), jacyncte jacinth jemmis gems joien rejoice joynen enjoin, impose justied justified

kan knows
karf cut; ~ up, cut away
kepe(n) keep, care for
kepere guard, protector
kervynge cutting
kinredis peoples
kit cut; ~ up, cut away
knave male

knowlechen acknowledge, confess

kunnynge understanding, skill **kynde** people, kin, tribe, nature

lakes winepresses

lastende *lasting*, *continuing*

latoun metal alloy

leche like

leef (adj.) lief, willing

leeveth (pr.) believes; see **lyven leide(n)** (pa.) laid; see **leiden**

leiden (pr.) lay leoun lion ler loss leren learn lest lost

lesyng (n.) lying, lie

let(t)en desist, slow, stop, cease lettingis lightning flashes

leveyng (n.) belief

lewe *lukewarm*, *lacking in zeal* **lew(i)de** *ignorant*, *foolish*

liberde leopard

licnesse likeness, resemblance

lien tell a lie light fickle lighten enlighten lightli easily loes reputation lore teaching

lorne, lorun (pa. p.) lost, damned

losengouris flatterers lowen (v.) humble lownesse humility lye (pr.) lie, remain lymes limbs lyn (pr.) lie; see lye

lyoun lion lyven (pr.) believe

lyven (pr.) live

lyvende *living*; **God** ~, *living God* **lyveth** (pr.) *lives*; see **lyven**

myst(er) need

manas menace, threat marchaundis merchants marchaundise merchandise margaritis pearls maried united mark seal, conceal mat (pa.) measured; see mete(n) maumetrie false religion maydenhed virginity me men mede meed, reward medlede mixed **mekeli** meekly, humbly membris followers menged (pa. p.) mixed; see mengith mengith (imp.) mix mensleyngis murders menstralcies singing, revelry mester need **mete(n)** (v.) measure mete (n.) food meyned mixed meynteyn(n)en support michil much misbilevende misbelieving, unbelievers mist(er) need mochel great moder, modir mother mone moon monestide (pa.) admonished; see amonesten **monestith** (pr.) *admonishes*; see **amonesten** morewe star morning star morowenyng morning mot(en) must moune will, may mow can, may mychilnesse enormity myddis amidst **mylne** *mill*; ~ **stoon**, *millstone* mynstralsie singing, revelry mysdo(u)n do wrong mysese misery

ne nor
neddris adders, poisonous snakes
neighen draw nigh to
ner (adv.) never; ~ the latere, nevertheless
ner (comp. adv.) nearer
nesche soft, self-indulgent, effeminate
newynge (n.) renewing
noon none
noreschide (pa. p) nourished
northhalf northern side
nough (imp.) harm; see noy(y)e(n)
noy(y)e(n), noghe (pr.) harm
nyl (imp.) do not

olyves olive trees omycydis murderers o(n), oen, oon one onementis ointment ones once oo omega, end **ordre** religious order, priesthood orisones prayers orrour horror **oste** host, army our(e) hour ourned adorned **outher** or, either **overcomen** overcome, defeat **overcomende** coming over; ~ **to overcome**(**n**), coming over to conquer overgilt gilded owen, oweth, owith ought

paied satisfied
pale whitish, pale yellow

panymes pagans papelard hypocrite, traitor parfitli perfectly pa(a)s paces pees peace peyne punishment peyned tortured pitousli devoutly pleten argue **pleynen** (v.) lament pleynte (n.) lament **porche** courtyard postel apostle poudre, powder dust pousté power predicacioun preaching **prelatis** prelates, church officials pre(s)ciouse precious pressoure winepress prestis priests preved (ppl. adj.) tested, proven priveli secretly **privetees** sacred mysteries privey (adj.) secret **profecie**, **profecye** (n.) *prophecy* profeciedenn (pa. p.) prophesied; see profecien **profecien** (v.) prophesy pr(o)uden become proud **prowen** (pa. p.) tested, experienced purpre purple cloth put (n.) pit putten (v.) put; ~ doun, reject; ~ out erase, remove

quenchid satisfied quentise wisdom qwyk living

rape reaped ravyschide transported rede reed redid reddened reed(e) red renes passions rengne kingdom reprevable blameworthy rerynge (n.) raising resayved, resceyvede (pa.) received; see resceiven resceiven, resseven, reseveth (pr.) receive rightfulnesse righteousness risyng (n.) east robbeden plundered ro(o)de cross roos (v.) rose rotid rooted rynge (n.) reign rynge (pr.) reign

sackis sackcloth safeer sapphire saith (pa.) saw; see se sardonycle sardonyx sardoyne sard, carnelian saugh (pa.) saw; see se saw(e) (pa.) saw; see se s(c)hal shall **scharp(e)** sharp, harsh **scharplyer** more harshly sched(d)e pour out schent harmed schit (pa. p.) shut **schrift(e)** confession, penance **sc(h)ryven** *shrive*; ~ **hem**, *make confession* s(c)hul(l)en shall, will **science** knowledge, substance sclaynn (pa. p.) slain; see sle(e)n seche search se (imp.) see **se(e)** (n.) sea sege throne seide(n) (pa.) said; see sei(e)(n) sei(e)(n) (v.) say, tell

seieth (pr.) says; see sei(e)(n) sterre star seine (n.) sin stire move seist (pr.) say; see sei(e)(n) **stiyende** (n.) rising; ~ **up**, coming sekirnesse security **stiyynge** (n.) *rising*; ~ **up**, ascending selleris merchants stole robe semblen assemble sto(o)(u)n stone semede seemed **stynckyng** (n.) *stinking, moral corruption* sesen cease styntyn stint, cease **sue(n)** pursue, follow **sette** placed **settith** *sets down, writes* sugetis subjects seyn(e) (pr.) say, claim; see sei(e)(n) sun(n)e sun **shewynge** showing, vision, revelation sunne son **shul(den)** shall, should swelewen swallow **sweren** answer; ~ **of**, answer for sikirli securely, assuredly sithen since **swete** *sweet*; ~ **water**, *fresh water* **sithis** *multiplied by* **sweteli** tenderly ski cloud symonye simony slaun, sleyn (pa. p.) slain; see sle(e)n symple innocent sle(e)n, sleeth (pr.) slay slowen (pa.) slew; see sle(e)n smyten (pa. p.) smote, cut; see smyt(eth) **smyt(eth)** (pr.) *strikes, stings* **talent** ancient measure of weight, ~100 pounds soget subject taliage tax sonne sun techen teach soon sound telle count, calculate sothe true tetis chest sothefastnesse truth, righteousness there where sothfast (adj.) true, righteous **thider** to that place sothfast (adv.) truly thin thine, your sotil(e) subtle, airy, deceitful **tho** (adv.) right then soupe (pr.) sup **tho** (pron.) those so(u)per supper thral (adj.) enslaved soupith (pr.) sups; see soupe thrallis slaves spak (pa.) spoke; see speken thred(de) third **specially**, **specialli** especially, more than others thretith threatens speken (pr.) speak thretyng threat spired (pa.) inspired; see spiren thrid(d)e third spiren (pr.) inspire thure, thurgh through spo(u)se husband tiffede (pa.) dressed spousesse wife tiffid (pa. p.) dressed; see tiffede stede place tithyng tidings stere steer, move **tok** (pa.) *took*; ~ **hem**, *committed themselves* sterid (pa. p.) stirred, roused; see sterith token(e) sign sterith (pr.) stirs, moves topasie, topasy topaz

trace (n.) tracks
travel(l)e travail
troble stirred up, full of dregs
tro(o)ne throne
troupe multitude
trumpe (n.) trumpet
trust (adj.) trustworthy
turne(n), torne turn, convert, misinterpret
tweie two

undirhond in hand undirlyngis disciples undirnymeth rebukes undoinge interpretation undo(n) (v.) open unkunnynge ignorance unpitous unrighteous usided used

venia(u)nce vengeance, wrath
venym poison, potion; ~ doyngis, sorcery
verre(y) true, earnest
vertu(e) strength, powerful works
violis vials
violis violins
voices rumblings, thunder
vois voice, sound

wan won, gained warant assurance waymenten (v.) lament weenden wend, travel welden possess wele weal, good works wem(me) (n.) blemish wendene walk wepyn wipe

werfore for this reason wermwed wormwood wer(r)en (v.) war wers worse wexe(n), woxen, wax grow whan(n)(e), when when **whennes** whence, from where wherthorough through which wherthurgh for which wherwith with which whicehe ark; ~ of his testament, Ark of his Covenant whidir whither, where wi(c)ke wicked widewhede widowhood wil(n)(e) wish, will; taketh to \sim , gains a desire for wirchynge power wissen instruct, guide wist know wit reason; fleschli ~, earthly reason; fyve wittis, five senses witen whiten wit(h) with withclepid withdrawn withstynten stint, cease wit(t)e(n) (pr.) know wois voice, sound wolen will wolle wool wolt (subj.) will do; see do(u)n wombe stomach wonede (pa.) dwelt; see wonen **wonen** (pr.) dwell **won(n)eth** (pr.) *dwell;* ~ **on**, *dwells with*; see wonen wo(o)st (pr.) know; see wot(t)(e) **worchyng** (n.) works; **wel** ~, good works wot(t)(e) (pr.) know; see wit(t)e(n)**wo(u)nd(e)** wound, plague wratheden harass wreke avenge writ(e) (n.) writing; holi ~, scripture writ(e) (imp.) write wynnen make profit

wynnynge material gain

yelde(n) give up, bestow
yeldynge (n.) reward
yerde measuring rod
y(h)e yea
yit yet, still
yle island
ynow enough
yolden yielded, given up; see yelde(n)
yvele doende evildoers