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Kinsmen Before Christ, Part I

The Latin Transmission

P. S. Langeslag¹

Introduction

In some of the more widely read genres of early medieval literature, source studies are commonly approached from a text-static perspective in which one editorially codified text is compared to another. While this approach has led to many perfectly valid intertextual connections, it tends to yield deceptively direct lines of transmission. It sidesteps such complexities as a plurality of redactions on the part of the source text or a multi-stage, multi-author development of the target text. This situation is not helped by the fact that much of the early vernacular poetry, for instance, survives in single manuscript witnesses, leaving critics with no positive data on which to base a more nuanced account of a work's composition and development.

This classical literary model of direct derivation contrasts with the stemmatic reconstruction carried out by the text-critical editor faced with the task of uncovering a single work's transmission history in the face of many witnesses. Investigations of this kind, though often aimed at finding a single best text, award transmission the focal primacy and treat at least the *form* of a text as fluid: each new transcript is likely to introduce small corruptions or innovations in spelling, diction, and syntax. On the basis of such variation, the stemmatic method produces a treelike overview of influences and divergences, yielding a great deal of insight into the development of the text and differences between sibling branches.

A limitation of the text-critical model of stemmatics is its inability to account for intertextual dissemination. Since the basic unit of this approach is the whole text, the analysis cannot incorporate cognate passages appearing in other texts. Editors will note such connections in their commentary if they are sufficiently striking, but a systematic consideration of motifs and arguments appearing in other works is beyond the scope of the text's stemmatic analysis.

¹ This article and its sequel, P. S. Langeslag, 'Kinsmen Before Christ. Part II: The Anglo-Saxon Transmission', *Leeds Studies in English*, 46 (forthcoming), have profited tremendously from the insights of Rob Getz and Stephen

To do justice to the intertextual spread of shorter passages, one has to abandon the text as a basic unit and acknowledge that motifs, arguments, and sections within a work may travel horizontally between texts and redactions — that the structural *content* of a text, too, is fluid, and that these elements may be added, shed, or changed as the compiler sees fit. In a process of intertextual exchange, each able scribe in the chain of transmission is at liberty not only to compare redactions of a passage and choose the better one, but indeed to supply a more satisfying formulation of the same idea found in a different work or in his approximate recollection of such a work, as well as to interpolate new material from a preexisting source or from his own imagination.

The intertextual recombination of passages was common practice in the scriptoria that produced the many Latin and vernacular homilies extant from the early Middle Ages. In a genre of this sort, characterised by works that are composite in nature and whose structures are punctuated by numerous recognisable topoi, the stemmatic method may usefully be applied at the local level of the individual motif in order to uncover routes of intertextual influence and attain greater horizontal insight into a motif's dissemination. An investigation of this nature will be demonstrated below with reference to a homiletic topos described elsewhere as 'no aid to kin'.² This article seeks to uncover how this motif reached the Old English homiletic tradition, where it is especially prevalent. Its dissemination within the Anglo-Saxon tradition will be taken up in the next volume of this journal.

The Old English form of the theme may be exemplified by its attestation in the so-called Macarius homily (hereafter *HomU 55*):³

Ne mæg þær þonne gefultmian se fæder þæm suna, ne se suna þæm fæder, ac sceal þonne anra gehwile æfter his aenum gewyrhtum beon demed. (ll. 27–9)

(‘A father will then not be able to help his son there, nor a son his father, but each will then be judged according to his own works.’)

Generic though it may sound, this sentence represents a specific motif with a limited dissemination, whose core consists of (1) one kinsman being unable or unwilling to help another in (2) an eschatological setting referenced by way of (3) a deictic word or phrase (in *HomU 55* the locative adverb *þær*).⁴ Apart from this passage in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201, these specifics are repeated in a range of further homiletic texts and redactions. At least eight distinct Old English texts contain the full motif, while more than a dozen answer to a looser definition, including a late text whose language is more appropriately classified as early Middle English.⁵ Meanwhile, the High German tradition turns up a small

Pelle. I am grateful also to the staff of the e-codices project, who gave me advance access to their facsimile of Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek MS 199 (638).

² Patrizia Lendinara, ‘“frater non redimit, redimet homo...”: A Homiletic Motif and its Variants in Old English’, in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. by Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 252 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2002), pp. 67–80.

³ *Dictionary of Old English* short titles will be employed throughout this paper to refer to Old English texts. For *HomU 55* I follow *Theodulfi Capitula in England: Die altenglischen Übersetzungen, zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text*, ed. by Hans Sauer, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften: Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, 8 (Munich: Fink, 1978), pp. 411–16.

⁴ The eschatological use of *þær* is otherwise especially common in descriptions of heaven, as described in Hildegard L. C. Tristram, ‘Stock Descriptions of Heaven and Hell in Old English Prose and Poetry’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 79 (1978), 102–13 (pp. 102–05).

⁵ The motif's presence in Anglo-Saxon homiletics was first noted in Gustav Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichtes*, Studien zur englischen Philologie, 31 (Halle:

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number of attestations with varying degrees of divergence from the classical pattern. The closest match of this group is concisely contained in the Old High German *Muspilli* (c. 830):⁶

57 Dar ni mac denne mak andremo helfan uora demo muspille.⁷

(‘There one kinsman will not then be able to help another before the *muspilli*.’)

A less exact Old High German parallel has been identified in Otfrid’s *Evangelienbuch* (863×71),⁸ and a further echo may be found in a Middle High German homily. All these Germanic occurrences of the motif will be printed and discussed in part two of this series. This first part seeks to document how the motif reached Germanic authors in the first place.

Nodes and Transmission

The motif has a biblical-prophetic ring to it, but no exact biblical parallel exists. Ziolkowski in his discussion of another, Latin attestation of the pattern⁹ attributes it to Ezekiel 18:20:

Anima quae peccaverit ipsa morietur. Filius non portabit iniquitatem patris et pater non portabit iniquitatem filii.¹⁰

(‘The soul that sins will itself die. A son will not bear the iniquity of his father and a father will not bear the iniquity of his son.’)

This is arguably the closest biblical analogue to the motif as defined above, but it is no exact match. *Iniquitatem portare* (‘to bear [someone else’s] iniquity’) could certainly be semantically relaxed into *helfan/gefultumian* (‘help’) in transmission, but since there are multiple vernacular instances that bear witness to this development, a closer, shared Latin model should be presumed in the first instance. Moreover, the setting here is legal-theocratic rather than eschatological. The verse furthermore lacks a deictic specification *ibi/ubi*, and finally there is an inversion of the order in which father and son are mentioned.

Other Bible passages that may be considered include the following:

Non occidentur patres pro filiis, nec filii pro patribus, sed unusquisque pro suo peccato morietur. (Dt 24:16)

Niemeyer, 1908), pp. 240–42. Many individual instances not discussed by Grau have been independently identified by Lendinara. For a full list of attestations, see Langeslag, ‘Kinsmen Before Christ II’ and its Appendix 1.

⁶ For the dating of *Muspilli* see Wolfgang Golther, *Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter: 800 bis 1500*, rev. edn (Wiesbaden: Marix, 2005), p. 37; Herbert Penzl, *Althochdeutsch: Eine Einführung in Dialekte und Vorgeschichte*, Germanistische Lehrbuchsammlung, 7 (Bern: Lang, 1986), §162.2. The *Muspilli* connection too was first noted in Grau, pp. 240–42.

⁷ ‘Muspilli’, ed. by Wilhelm Braune, in *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*, 17th edn rev. by Karl Helm and Ernst A. Ebbinghaus (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), pp. 86–89.

⁸ Otfrid’s participation in the motif is mentioned in Lendinara (p. 75); the correspondence between Otfrid and *Muspilli* was recognised by such early scholars as Piper (*Otfrids ‘Evangelienbuch’*, ed. by Paul Piper, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Freiburg and Tübingen: Mohr, 1882–87), 1, notes to V. 19, ll. 47–50). For the dating, see Linda Archibald, ‘Otfrid of Weissenburg’, in *German Literature of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Brian Murdoch (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2004), pp. 139–56 (p. 139).

⁹ *The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)*, ed. and trans. by Jan M. Ziolkowski, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, A66 (New York and London: Garland, 1994), p. 227, note to stanza 20, ll. 3–4. The text in question is discussed below, pp. 43–45.

¹⁰ All biblical citations are from *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. by Robert Weber, 5th edn rev. by Roger

(‘Fathers will not perish on behalf of their sons, nor sons on behalf of their fathers, but each will die on account of his own sin.’)

Qui confidunt in virtute sua, et in multitudine divitiarum suarum gloriantur, frater non redimit. Redimet homo? Non dabit Deo placationem suam et pretium redemptionis animae suae. (Ps 48:7–9 *iuxta* LXX)

(‘Those who rely on their strength, and glory in the abundance of their riches, a brother does not redeem. Will man redeem? He will not appease God and pay him the price of the redemption of his soul.’)¹¹

The first passage concerns punishment on account of sin, but here too the context is legal-theocratic rather than eschatological. The Psalm does reference death and hell in its theme of the transience of worldly riches, and it uses a verb with a beneficial sense approximating ‘help’. Accordingly, Lendinara considers it ‘likely’ that several of the Old English attestations derive the motif directly from this verse.¹² This is surely a hasty conclusion: the Psalm in any translation is rather a remote approximation of the motif, lacking as it does even the elements of father and son, the most persistent two agents in the Old English subset of the tradition. Moreover, the deictic specification is absent from all three biblical passages. Of course, biblical matter may well have inspired the first inception of the motif; the verses from Deuteronomy and Ezekiel are especially likely to have informed it, along with turns of phrase from further scriptural passages.¹³ However, the form of the motif as here defined is not found in Scripture, which must therefore be left out of the chain of transmission at this stage.¹⁴

The name that has most persistently been associated with the kinsmen motif is that of Ephraem the Syrian, though the work of interest here is suspected merely to have circulated

Gryson (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), with punctuation and capitalisation added according to context.

¹¹ One of the central difficulties in the Vulgate reading follows from a corruption proper to the text of the Septuagint. The above punctuation and translation serves grammaticality but fails to convey the intent of the ultimate Hebrew source, and it is questionable whether the Greek translator had this reading in mind. McClellan explains that the first finite verb in the sequence ‘redimit redimet’ in fact renders a Hebrew infinitive absolute like that translated by the ablative in *morte mori*, whose sense is not so much ‘die (by means of) death’ but rather ‘surely die’: W. H. McClellan, ‘Obscurities in the Latin Psalter [VI]’, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 2.2 (April 1940), pp. 173–78 (pp. 176–77). Jerome had access to the Hebrew text or a grammatical intermediary: he rendered it more accurately in his translation from the Hebrew, which reads ‘qui fiduciam habent in fortitudine sua, et in multitudine divitiarum suarum superbiunt: fratrem redimens non redimet vir, nec dabit Deo propitiationem pro eo, neque pretium redemptionis animae eorum’ (‘those who have confidence in their strength, and take pride in the abundance of their riches; a man will certainly not redeem his brother, nor will he appease God on his behalf, nor pay him the price of redemption of their souls.’ The relative clause at the beginning of the quotation originally had an antecedent in verse 6, but the antecedent does not survive in the Latin versions.) The *Vetus Latina* tradition as represented by Sabatier’s edition is a close match to Jerome’s translation from the Septuagint: *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae, seu vetus italica*, ed. by P[ierre] Sabatier, 3 vols (Rheims: Reginaldum Florentain, 1743–49). There are several further difficulties in the Psalm, which deserves a textual and reception study of its own. Lendinara, who considers the passage of influence on the English branch of the kinsmen motif, does not discuss the textual problems contained in the biblical sequence, nor does she offer a translation (Lendinara, pp. 77–78).

¹² Lendinara, pp. 73, 76–78.

¹³ e.g. Is 9:19; Mt 10:21; Mc 13:12; Lc 21:16.

¹⁴ The same is true of a series of extrabiblical texts pointed out to me by Stephen Pelle. Rather than pursue their relationship to the kinsman motif here, I will merely provide a few references: Pseudo-Ephraem, *Sermo de fine mundi*, ll. 55–59, ed. in Daniel Verhelst, ‘Scarpsum de dictis Sancti Efre[m] prope fine mundi’, in *Pascua mediaevalia: Studies voor Prof. Dr. J.M. de Smet*, ed. by R. Lievens, E. van Mingroot, and W. Verbeke (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1983), pp. 518–28 (ll. 55–59); Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber exhortationis*, ch. 49,

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under that name. Charles Wright has pointed out the close indebtedness of the opening section of *HomU 55* to the Ephraemic Latin homily *De paenitentia*,¹⁵ itself a translation of a metrical Greek original that may not have had a Syriac model.¹⁶ The Latin text contains the following sentence:

Ibi non liberabit frater proprium fratrem, nec iterum pater filium suum, sed unusquisque stabit in ordine suo, tam in vita quam in incendio. (p. 108)¹⁷

(‘A brother will not free his own brother there, nor indeed a father his son, but everyone will stand in his own place, both in life and in the fire.’)

The equivalent sentence in *HomU 55* occurs a little beyond the midway mark of a 468-word opening section based on *De paenitentia*. The text up to the kinsmen motif is a fairly faithful rendering of the Ephraemic text, though there are omissions.¹⁸ Immediately following the motif, however, the correspondences become more sporadic. All the same, given the sheer volume of closely analogous material, Wright cannot be faulted for concluding that the entire opening section derives from Pseudo-Ephraem: he was looking at two texts, one of which is unmistakably a translation of the other. The advantage of local stemmatics over a text-centric approach, however, is that the wording of a short motif may be compared across a large number of attestations to find the closest match. Although the Old English attestation of the kinsmen motif may be judged to be a faithful translation of Pseudo-Ephraem on the whole, *gefultuman* (‘help’) is nowhere else in the *Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus*¹⁹ used to translate *liberare* (‘free’), and there is no reason why it should be. Instead, we expect *alysan*, *(ge)freogan*, *(ge)freolsian*, or *(ge)frīpian*, the typical glosses for this verb. Taking Pseudo-Ephraem as a direct source, one is forced to conclude that the translator here altered the sense of his material, whether intentionally or otherwise. However, this conclusion leaves the problematic question of how the *Muspilli* poet was led to adopt the same imprecise translation when he chose the verb *helfan* (‘help’). This parallel development is a first indication that not all witnesses in the motif’s Germanic tradition represent a straightforward translation of the passage in *De paenitentia*.

Fortunately, a rudimentary Latin dissemination history for the motif had already been established when Wright discovered the Ephraemic roots of *HomU 55*. The sources in question have been associated especially with an Old English homily in Cambridge, University Library

Patrologia cursus completus: Patrologia latina, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844–64), 99, col. 253B (hereafter *PL*); St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 193, pp. 230–65 (p. 262).

¹⁵ Charles D. Wright, ‘The Old English “Macarius” Homily, Vercelli Homily IV, and Ephrem Latinus, *De paenitentia*’, in *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas N. Hall, Thomas D. Hill, and Charles D. Wright (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 210–34.

¹⁶ T. S. Pattie, ‘Ephraem the Syrian and the Latin Manuscripts of *De paenitentia*’, *British Library Journal*, 13 (1987), 1–27 (p. 2); Sebastian P. Brock, ‘The Syriac Background’, in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, ed. by Michael Lapidge, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 30–53 (p. 40).

¹⁷ St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 93, pp. 99–111. The manuscript is here cited as a ninth-century witness to a text not yet available in a critical edition. For the dating see Gustav Scherrer, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1875; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1975), item 93.

¹⁸ See Wright, ‘Macarius’.

¹⁹ Ed. by Antonette diPaolo Healey, John Price Wilkin, and Xin Xiang (2009) <<http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doecorpus/>> [accessed 2 April 2014].

MS li. I.33 designated *HomM* 8.²⁰ This text contains one of the more heterogeneous Old English attestations of the kinsmen motif, which is formulated as follows:

Eala, man þe þis gehyrst þæt ic ðe secge, þæt on þære stowe þe fæder ne gehelpð his suna, ne him to nane gode beon ne mæg, ne suna þam fæder, ne moder þæra dohter, ne nan oðer freond ne mæg to nane helpe.²¹ (ll. 58–61)

(‘O you man who hears this that I am telling you, that in that place a father does not help his son, nor may he be of any use to him, nor a son to his father, nor a mother to her daughter, nor may any other friend [be] of any help.’)

A sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand in the manuscript identifies this text as ‘Augustini sermo’,²² an identification Fadda attributes to its overlap with multiple Pseudo-Augustinian homilies.²³ For our passage, the relevant text circulates as number 68 among an extended collection of the spurious *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*.²⁴ As printed by Migne, its version of the motif runs as follows:

Pensemus, charissimi, quomodo [...] de tam inani hujus mundi pompa, dira gehennalis provenit poena: de qua non liberabit pater filium, nec pro patre filius fidejubebit; ubi non reperitur amicus qui redimat, nec frater qui succurrat. (col. 1355)

(‘Let us consider, dearest men, how [...] the horrendous punishment of hell proceeds from such ostentation in this vain world, from which a father will not free his son, nor will a son offer surety for his father; where a friend is not found who may redeem one, nor a brother who may come to one’s aid.’)

As Willard, Cross, and Murfin point out, however, the correspondences are insufficiently exact to warrant direct borrowing. Cross and Murfin adduce a further text that combines a reworked excerpt from *Sermo ad fratres LXVIII* with parts from *Sermones LXVI* and *LXIX* of that series²⁵ and circulated under Isidore’s name as *Sermo III*.²⁶ Following Migne’s printing, Pseudo-Isidore’s text contains the following version of the kinsmen motif, here reproduced in context:

O fratres, intelligite: dicit psalmista, ‘Non mortui laudabunt te, Domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.’ Fratres, quomodo possunt nominare Deum, qui semper

²⁰ ‘Sermone di Agostino’, in *Nuove omelie anglosassoni della rinascenza benedettina*, ed. and trans. by A. M. Luiselli Fadda (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1977), pp. 139–57; see also Kathleen Much Murfin, ‘An Unedited Old English Homily in MS. Cambridge, U.L. li. I33’ (unpublished MA thesis, Rice University, 1971).

²¹ A main verb *beon* is lacking (see translation).

²² Fol. 207^r, top margin.

²³ Fadda, p. 139.

²⁴ Ed. by Migne, *PL* 40, cols 1354–55. The seventeenth-century Maurist edition on which Migne based his text provides an early index of medieval authors who rejected Augustine’s authorship of virtually all of the *Sermones ad fratres in eremo*: *Sancti Aurelii Augustini hipponensis episcopi opera omnia*, [ed. by Thomas D. Blampin], 2nd edn, 11 vols (Paris: Gaume freres, 1835–38), edition at vi, cols 1977D–79D; introduction at cols 1800–1. The text here relevant is a late addition to that group, considered spurious even within the collection of falsely attributed homilies. The core group of the *Sermones ad fratres* is commonly defined as either the 23 texts so labelled in Jordan of Quedlinburg’s autograph, or the 35 in the containing section of that document. These are of diverse origins, though many seem to have been written in the fourteenth century; see E. L. Saak, *The Sermones ad fratres in eremo*, in *Creating Augustine: Interpreting Augustine and Augustinianism in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Clearly, number 68 has a longer history.

²⁵ Rudolph Willard, ‘The Address of the Soul to the Body’, *PMLA*, 50 (1935), 957–83 (p. 960); J. E. Cross, ‘*Ubi sunt* Passages in Old English: Sources and Relationships’, *Vetenskaps-Societetens i Lund Årbok* (1956), 25–44 (pp. 33–36); Murfin, pp. 11–14; cf. Fadda, pp. 139–40.

²⁶ Ed. by Migne, *PL* 83, cols 1223–25.

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sunt in tenebris, et in loco tenebroso, et semper clamant, ‘Vae tam tenebrosum locum, tam tenebrosam foveam, tam obscuram cavernam, tam amarum locum, tam miserimam vitam, tam dolorosam mansionem!’? O miseri, de tam parva vita tam longam mortem, de tam parva consolatione tam longam captivitatem, de tam parva laetitia tam longam tristitiam, de tam parvo lucro tam grave damnum, de tam parvo honore tam longos dolores, de tam parva jucunditate tam amaras lacrymas, tam immensa suspiria, tam luctuosos gemitus, tam magnam iram et tristitiam. Ibi non adjuvat pater ad filium, nec filius ad patrem; ibi non invenitur amicus qui redimat amicum, neque frater qui succurrat fratri. Ibi amatur poenitentia, sed tarde agitur. Vae! duram mansionem, tam cruciabilem flammam, tam immensa tormenta. (col. 1224B)

(‘O brethren, understand: the Psalmist says, “The dead will not praise you, O Lord, nor will all those who go down into hell.” Brethren, how can they call God by name, those who are always in the dark, and in a dark place, and continually call out, “Alas! such a dark place, such a dark pit, such a dim cave, such a bitter place, such a most wretched life, such a painful dwelling!”? O wretches! Such a long death following from such a brief life; such long captivity from such brief comfort; such long sadness from such brief joy; such grave harm from such brief gain; such long sufferings from such brief honour; such bitter tears from such brief delight; such boundless sighings, such mournful groans, such great anger and sadness. A father does not help his son there, nor a son his father; a friend is not there found who may redeem a friend, nor a brother who may come to a brother’s aid. There penitence is loved, but slow to be accomplished. Alas! the harsh dwelling, such excruciating flame, such boundless torments.’)

Murfin points out that *HomM 8* as a whole shares a considerable number of details with Pseudo-Augustine, while others agree with Pseudo-Isidore. She concludes that the Old English homily is a close translation of an intermediary, which she identifies as an earlier version of Pseudo-Isidore that would have constituted a more faithful but expanded reworking of the three Pseudo-Augustinian excerpts.²⁷

Based on the witnesses in *PL*, it may be observed that Pseudo-Augustine, like Pseudo-Ephraem, uses the verb *liberare*, whereas Pseudo-Isidore’s revision uses *adiuvare*, a more than plausible model for *gehelfan* in *HomM 8* but also for *helfan* in *Muspilli* and *gefulumian* in *HomU 55*. This innovation may certainly have been inspired directly by Pseudo-Augustine, who uses *adiuvare* a few lines down, in the passive construction ‘nec ob hoc sic poenitens adjuvatur’ (‘nor is the penitent thereby helped against this’, col. 1355), part of a sentence omitted in Migne’s text of Pseudo-Isidore. The substitution of *adiuvare* for *liberare* should thus be expected to have been present in Murfin’s intermediary.

Since neither Pseudo-Augustine’s nor Pseudo-Isidore’s homily has been critically edited or subjected to extensive text-critical investigation, scholars of the kinsmen motif have cited *Patrologia latina* without investigating either Migne’s sources or independent variants, a practice that has been demonstrated to hinder source analysis in similar cases.²⁸ For Pseudo-Augustine’s homily, Migne relied on the seventeenth-century Maurist edition of Augustine’s works, whose editor refers loosely to a manuscript then in the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in present-day Paris,²⁹ and thus presumably transferred to the Bibliothèque nationale

²⁷ Murfin, pp. 11–12.

²⁸ Wright, ‘A Doomsday Passage in an Old English Sermon for Lent, Revisited’, *Anglia*, 128 (2010), 28–47.

²⁹ Blampin, vi, part 2, cols 1803–4.

during the French Revolution.³⁰ The Maurist edition notes that the compiler of that exemplar took a rather liberal approach to his material.³¹ Migne's source for Pseudo-Isidore's text was probably Faustino Arévalo's 1797–1813 edition of Isidore's works,³² which presumably builds on one or more Roman manuscripts.³³ However, even a perfunctory query yields more than a dozen manuscript items in almost as many libraries with corresponding incipits to those of the homilies attributed to Augustine and Isidore (since these differ in word order only), and more can surely be found given a systematic consultation of the catalogues. Although an account of the texts' transmission history will have to wait until all manuscripts have been consulted, the evidence of even just a few variants sheds a good deal of light on the transmission of both the homily and the kinsmen motif, and they suggest that the *PL* text is a condensed and isolated variant rather than a representative recension.³⁴

The redaction on pages 452–59 of Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek MS 199 (638) is instructive for present purposes. This text generally follows the argument and wording of Pseudo-Isidore's *Sermo III* according to Migne but occasionally agrees with Pseudo-Augustine's *Sermo LXVIII* against it. Its version of the kinsmen motif is worth citing in context:

Dic ubi *sunt* regis, ubi principis, ubi imperatores? Ubi *sunt* diuites, ubi aurum & ornamenta eorum? Ipsi uelud umbra transierunt & ut somnium euanuerunt. Aurum & argentum eorum & ornamenta eorum remanserunt in hunc mundo et ille sine fine cruciantur in infernum ubi uermis eorum non moriuntur & ignis eorum non extinguntur, quia sicut scriptum est, 'Potentes potenter tormenta patiuntur'. Uę tam tenibrosa mansione, tam obscura cauerna; de tam breue uita tam lo\nga morte; de *tam* parua consulatione *tam* longa captiuitate; de tam breue *laetitia tam* longa tristitia; de tam breue luce *tam* longas tenibras; de tam breue *lucrum tam* grande damnu, & *tam* forte periculum de tam breue temporis potentia; *tam* longa sine fine tormenta; de *tam* parua iocunditate *tam* longas & *tam* amaras lacrimas; ubi non adiuuat pater filium nec filius patrem; ubi amicus non inuenitur qui redimat neque frater qui succurrere debeat; ubi multi querunt finem mortis & mori non possunt; ubi amara penitentia tarde agitur sed [paenitens]³⁵ non adiuuatur. (pp. 455–56)

(‘Tell me: where are the kings, where the princes, where the emperors? Where are their riches, where their gold and trappings? They have passed like a shadow, and they have dissolved like a dream. Their gold and silver and trappings have remained in this world, and they are tormented without end in hell where their worms do not die and their fires are not extinguished, as it is written, “The powerful suffer torments powerfully.” Alas! such a dark dwelling, such a dim cave; such a long death following from such a brief life; such long captivity from such brief comfort; such long sadness from such brief joy; such long darkness from such brief light; such great harm from such brief gain, and such severe destruction from power so brief of duration; such long torments without end; such long

³⁰ Cf. Léopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1868–81), II, 40–103, with an index of lost Latin manuscripts at pp. 54–56. I have been unable to identify the manuscript used by the Maurists with the help of the BnF catalogue and digital reproductions.

³¹ Cols 1803–4.

³² *S. Isidori hispalensis episcopi hispaniarum doctoris opera omnia*, ed. by Faustino Arévalo, 7 vols (Rome: Antonius Fulgonius, 1797–1803), VII, 313–16. Arévalo does not reference a base manuscript.

³³ The editor gives an account of his methods in I, 3–5.

³⁴ Most readily available at the time of writing are St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 614, motif at p. 44; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 682, at p. 182; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 6342, at fol. 160^r; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 17059, at fol. 46^r; and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek MS 199 (638), at p. 456. The Munich manuscripts are accessible at <<http://www.digitale-sammlungen.de>> [accessed 2 April 2014]; the others at <<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch>> [accessed 2 April 2014].

³⁵ ‘paenitens’ not in MS; cf. the text in Migne cited above.

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and bitter tears from such brief delight; where a father does not help his son, nor a son his father; where a friend is not found who may redeem one, nor a brother who would be under obligation to help; where many seek an end through death, and they cannot die; where bitter penitence is slow to be accomplished, but [the penitent] is not helped.')

The first thing to note is that, like Migne's text of Pseudo-Isidore, this redaction uses *adiuvare* for *liberare*. However, it also retains the presumed model for this transformation, the passive form 'adiuuatur' shortly after, suggesting that this redaction is closer to the Pseudo-Augustinian source than that in Migne.³⁶ Equally important is the form of the *ubi sunt* formula and the subsequent *vae tam* sequence. Although the rhetorical questions of Pseudo-Isidore's *ubi sunt* contain roughly the same elements across Migne and the Einsiedeln, St Gall, and Munich manuscripts consulted, the Latin quotation in *HomM 8* is closer in word order to all five manuscripts than to Migne; it matches most closely Cod. Sang. 682,³⁷ which lacks only the familiar relative clause 'qui ante fuerunt', present in *HomM 8* but absent from all Latin manuscripts consulted. The *vae tam* lamentation that follows in the Latin text does not recur in full in *HomU 55*, but nine of the ten elements (five pairs) of the rhetorical sequence in the Old English text have counterparts in the Einsiedeln, Munich 17059, and Cod. Sang. 614 manuscripts. Migne's copies of Pseudo-Augustine and Pseudo-Isidore match seven of these elements each, as does Munich 6342; Cod. Sang. 682 matches eight but also shares with *HomU 55* the omission of three elements retained in the other Latin versions. By this metric, then, four of the manuscripts consulted approximate more closely than either *PL* text the source of the motif in *HomU 55*, and all five manuscript witnesses are closer to *HomM 8* than the *PL* texts. Accordingly, Migne had best be abandoned in this connection and representative manuscript redactions cited instead until a critical edition of *Sermo III* materialises.

While Pseudo-Isidore's *Sermo III* may thus be identified as a source of the core Anglo-Saxon kinsmen motif, none of the Pseudo-Isidorian manuscripts consulted offers a model for the second half of the *HomU 55* attestation, 'ac sceal þonne anra gehwilt æfter his agenum gewyrthum beon demed' ('but each will then be judged according to his own works'). Given that the *HomU 55* compiler was working with a text of *De paenitentia* for much of the surrounding passage, this clause was likely inspired by Pseudo-Ephraem's 'sed unusquisque stabit in ordine suo' ('but everyone will stand in his own place'), and perhaps contaminated by a recollection of the relevant scriptural analogues.³⁸ How should these mixed correspondences be explained?

This is where the longer structure of each text may offer clarification. It has been observed already that the section in *HomU 55* preceding the kinsmen motif is unquestionably derived from Pseudo-Ephraem; it may here be added that there is nothing in the Pseudo-Augustinian group of texts to match it. The final clause of the kinsmen motif in the Old English homily likewise agrees with *De paenitentia* against the other pseudo-Church Fathers. However, the core element of the Germanic motif as here defined must in the majority of cases derive from Pseudo-Isidore's homily if we are to explain why it consistently seems to translate *adiuvare*

³⁶ The same reading is found in the Munich manuscripts. Cod. Gall. 682 has the active construction 'sed non adiuuat eis' (p. 183), while the incomplete variant on pp. 42–44 of St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 614 breaks off due to a missing leaf immediately after the verb of the kinsmen motif, here 'adiuuatur', suggesting that its scribe omitted the text between 'adiuuat' and 'adiuuatur' through eyeskip, so that this witness too postdates the change of verb. Interestingly, Migne's text (cited above) may have retained a more authentic reading for this clause, as the manuscript versions lack a subject.

³⁷ pp. 180–81.

³⁸ e.g. Job 34:11; Ps 61:13; Prv 24:12; Mt 16:27; Rm 2:6; 2 Cor 5:10; Apc 2:23.

rather than *liberare*, while the same derivation is favoured by the Anglo-Saxon primacy of father and son rather than a fraternal pair.³⁹ The solution must therefore be that the translator or compiler behind *HomU 55* on encountering the kinsmen motif in his Ephraemic source was reminded of Pseudo-Isidore's phrasing of the same motif. He adopted this not from memory, but from a copy physically available to him, since he adapted also parts of Pseudo-Isidore's *vae tam* sequence along with the *ubi sunt*.⁴⁰ Preferring the phrasing in Pseudo-Isidore's text, which in his model must have contained *adiuvare* for *liberare* as well as the chiasmatic combination of father and son, the compiler chose to substitute it for the Ephraemic wording. He then returned to Pseudo-Ephraem for the conclusion of the motif but took a freer approach to his model for the remainder of the section, and possibly modified the Ephraemic conclusion of the motif to reflect a handful of biblical passages.

Even with the reading *adiuvare* for *liberare*, the Latin sources consulted thus far differ from the Germanic texts in two noteworthy details. The first of these is the setting, which in Pseudo-Augustine and Pseudo-Isidore is hell, whereas in *Muspilli* and *HomU 55* (though not in *HomM 8*) it is Judgement Day. Pseudo-Ephraem actually references both locales. His central aim is to call his audience to repentance before it is too late; the distinction between judgement and punishment is of no great value to this proposition. However, the imagery he uses is mostly infernal both in the immediate vicinity of the motif and in the work as a whole. Pseudo-Augustine's focus on hell is accordingly true to its source, but it would hardly be surprising if a text building directly on Pseudo-Ephraem were to concentrate on Judgement Day instead. An author working from Pseudo-Augustine or Pseudo-Isidore could do the same, of course: the *HomU 55* translator saw fit to use both *De paenitentia* and *Sermo III* and adapt them to a Judgement Day setting. All the same, an identifiable setting can serve as a clue when deciding between possible routes of transmission, and for this purpose it is worth noting that the majority of Germanic witnesses contrast with at least Pseudo-Augustine and Pseudo-Isidore.

The second point of contrast is that the Latin sources contain no auxiliary verb *posse* to match Germanic *magan* ('be able', lacking only in the initial clause of *HomM 8*): the Latin homilists observe simply that one kinsmen will (or rather 'does', a present indicative) not help another, inability being understood. These differences form no major objection to the Germanic occurrences deriving directly from Pseudo-Isidore's homily, as the innovations are minor and could conceivably have taken the same form independently between *HomU 55* and *Muspilli*. For the setting, however, it may be worth considering the role played by a further Latin text, one that does share with the majority of Germanic attestations a Judgement Day context.

The Pseudo-Bedan acrostic poem on the fleeting nature of life on earth sometimes entitled *Versus de contemptu mundi* has received limited attention in the context of the kinsmen motif.⁴¹ Dating to the Merovingian era,⁴² it contains the following stanza and refrain:

20 Veniet dies iudicii
 et erit fortis districtio,

³⁹ Cf. Appendix 1 in part two of this series.

⁴⁰ *HomU 55*, ll. 61–69.

⁴¹ Its participation in the kinsmen motif is briefly noted in Lendinara, n. 29 on p. 76.

⁴² Ziolkowski, p. 226.

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ubi non adiuuat⁴³ pater filium
nec filius defendit⁴⁴ patrem.
Adtende homo, quia de terra factus es
et in terra ponendus eris.⁴⁵

(‘The day of judgement will come, and there will be great severity, in which a father does not help his son, nor does a son defend his father. Give heed, man, because you were made of soil and you will be deposited in the soil.’)

The poem uses Pseudo-Isidore’s verb *adiuvare* rather than Pseudo-Ephraem’s *liberare*, and the parties involved are limited to father and son in the same chiasmatic configuration found in Pseudo-Isidore. Moreover, the two lines in question are identical with the motif in Pseudo-Isidore excepting the verb *defendit*, which two editors have proposed to omit because it renders the line metrically deficient.⁴⁶ Pseudo-Isidore also decries the sentiment ‘juuinis sum & tempus habeo mundo fruiere’ (‘I am young and have time to enjoy the world’, Einsiedeln, p. 455), whose refusal is the object of *De contemptu*. The relevant stanza of the poem may thus confidently be derived from Pseudo-Isidore. Compared to that text, the setting is the only innovation. Although *districtio* (‘severity’) could be read as a reference to the punishments reserved for the wicked,⁴⁷ the term is just as commonly used with reference to a court pronouncement as with the imposed penalty.⁴⁸ Since Judgement Day is announced in the preceding line, this instance of the motif may safely be understood to share with the majority of the vernacular attestations a Judgement Day setting, against the infernal locale of the other Latin witnesses and that in *HomM* 8. A shift in setting thus takes place when Pseudo-Isidore’s text is adapted by the *HomU* 55 homilist, but also when it is adapted by Pseudo-Bede.

It should be emphasised that this twofold parallel shift in setting is an all but unavoidable conclusion. Although a single chain of transmission with a one-time shift in locale would normally be more likely, the circumstances in this case preclude it. *HomU* 55 contains too many details from Pseudo-Isidore to have derived from Pseudo-Bede instead. The only alternative that cannot be ruled out is that its compiler may have known both. The reverse transmission, from *HomU* 55 to Pseudo-Bede, would require *HomU* 55 to have been composed no later than the very early ninth century, a hundred years earlier than hitherto assumed.⁴⁹ Moreover, such a reading would require positive evidence of the poem’s English origins. Although the earliest two manuscripts containing *De contemptu* do indeed have substantial Insular connections (Cologne 106, for instance, contains three Anglo-Saxon hands,

⁴³ A variant ‘ut’ is found for ‘ubi’. This, however, requires the subjunctive form ‘adiuuet’, so emended by Ziolkowski, who translates ‘such that a father may not help his son’.

⁴⁴ Var. *liberat*; Mone and Meyer have proposed omitting the verb altogether on metrical grounds and changing the word order, not the sense, of the remainder of the couplet: Franz Joseph Mone, ‘Versus de contemptu mundi’, in *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, 3 vols (Freiburg: Herder’sche Verlagshandlung, 1853–55), item 288 (I, 396, apparatus for ll. 79–80); Meyer, ‘Versus de contemptu mundi’, ed. by Karl Strecker, in *Rhythmici aevi Merovingici et Carolini*, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Poetae Latini Medii Aevi, 4 part 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), pp. 495–500 (apparatus for stanza 20, p. 499).

⁴⁵ Ed. by Strecker.

⁴⁶ See note 44 above.

⁴⁷ Such is its usage, for instance, in *PL* 17, col. 977D, and *PL* 52, col. 693C.

⁴⁸ See, e.g., *PL* 23, col. 1425B; *PL* 52, cols 717C, 731D; *PL* 99, col. 883A; *PL* 119, col. 963C. The term does not occur in the Vulgate, but was in common use in medieval Latin: *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, 17 vols, ed. by R.A. Latham and others (London: Oxford University Press, 1975–2013), s.v. *districtio* (III (1986), 700–1).

⁴⁹ Sauer, p. 94 and the literature there cited; Wright, ‘Macarius’, pp. 213–14.

diverse works by Alcuin and Bede, and is bound in the Insular manner),⁵⁰ in each case there is nothing connecting the poem itself with England, even if attempts to associate it with Ireland and Mozarabic Spain have been unconvincing.⁵¹ Surely a conceptual association between the last judgement and hell is easier to demonstrate than a textual one between Pseudo-Bede and England. *De contemptu* and *HomU 55* thus independently come to share a judicial setting.

It is time now to investigate the High German attestations, in order that their relationship to the Latin and Old English traditions may be understood. The longest of the German matches is found in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*:

Ni mag thar manahoubit helfan hereren uuiht,
 kind noh quena, in uuare, — sie sorgent iro thare —
 Odo iauuht helpfan thanne themo filu richen manne:
 50 sie sint al ebanreiti in theru selbun arabeiti. (V. 19, ll. 47–50)⁵²

(‘A serf cannot help his lord there at all, nor his child or wife in truth — they will worry for themselves there — or anything help the very rich man then: they will all be equal in the same misery.’)

Otfrid's use of the motif diverges from the precise definition here employed by giving serfdom sequential priority over blood relation; the setting, on the other hand, is again clearly the last day, this being the stated subject of this section of the poem. The verb also is *helfan*, mirroring the majority of Germanic attestations. However, the couplet immediately preceding the motif as quoted makes clear that it was not taken from the Pseudo-Augustinian tradition:

45 Ni losent thar in noti gold noh diuro wati,
 ni hilfit gotowebbi thar, noh thaz silabar in war. (V. 19, ll. 45–46)

(‘Neither gold nor precious vestments will set one free there in one's need, nor will silk or silver help there in truth.’)

The sentiment that gold, silver, and clothing cannot set one free derives directly from the sentence preceding the kinsmen motif in Pseudo-Ephraem's *De paenitentia*:

Aurum & argentum non liberabit nos ab illo igne terribili. Vestes et deliciae in condemnationem nostram erunt. (p. 108)

(‘Gold and silver will not free us from that terrible fire. Clothes and luxuries will be counted towards our damnation.’)

Moreover, the verb *losen* (‘free’) is an accurate translation of *liberare*, not *adiuvare*. The two instances of *helfan* in the lines that follow, including the kinsmen motif proper, must have been

⁵⁰ Leslie Webber Jones, ‘Cologne MS. 106: A Book of Hildebald’, *Speculum*, 4 (1929), 27–61 (p. 29); Bernhard Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998–), item 1919. The contents of the volume also correspond roughly to those of a handbook Alcuin sent to Arno of Salzburg in 802, as described in *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, II, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Epistolae, 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), item 259 (p. 417).

⁵¹ Philipp August Becker, *Zur romanischen Literaturgeschichte: Ausgewählte Studien und Aufsätze* (Bern: Francke, 1967), pp. 107–8; Hans Spanke, ‘Ein lateinisches Liederbuch des 11. Jahrhunderts’, *Studi medievali*, n. s. 15 (1942), 111–42 (pp. 116, 128). The other manuscript with an English connection is St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 1395; see Scherrer, item 1395 (*De contemptu* is found incomplete on the verso of leaf 468, identified in Scherrer as the first of two leaves under unit xiv).

⁵² Ed. Piper, whose text is here reproduced without diacritics.

chosen by Otfrid as a way of varying his diction around the base word *losen*. That these choices brought his text more in line with the parallel Pseudo-Isidorian and Old English tradition must be a consequence of the semantic relationship between verbs for liberate and help. Otfrid's text thus depends directly on Pseudo-Ephraem, despite its similarities to the Pseudo-Isidorian family of texts. As noted above, it is not especially surprising that it adopts a Judgement Day setting, as this context has a minority presence in *De paenitentia*.

Since the *Muspilli* attestation is especially concise ('dar ni mac denne mak andremo helfan uora demo muspille', l. 57), its exact derivation cannot be established beyond doubt. Ruled out at the outset is a dependence on Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, which not only postdates *Muspilli* but also aims the motif in the first instance at an obligation from serfdom, not blood relation. Beyond that, it comes down to a calculation of probabilities. Between Otfrid and Pseudo-Isidore, as was seen, *liberare* is twice independently altered to a verb with the more general sense of 'help'; between Otfrid, Pseudo-Bede, and *HomU* 55, the setting is three times independently moved from hell to Judgement Day, the last two attestations of this set deriving from a model with a purely infernal setting. This demonstrates that there is a shared conceptual logic to these innovations, and makes clear that a further instance of each in *Muspilli* is certainly possible. However, it remains more likely that the poet had knowledge of a text with *adiuvare* and a Judgement Day setting already in place. *De contemptu* is such a text, and it had a German presence by the early ninth century,⁵³ early enough to influence the *Muspilli* poet. Accordingly, although an immediate reliance of *Muspilli* on Pseudo-Ephraem is not out of the question, the likelier derivation is from Pseudo-Bede.

A more confident genealogy may be posited for the Middle High German attestation of the motif. This text, a homily of the twelfth century⁵⁴ entitled *De virginibus*, holds to a tight focus, identifying in simple terms the various metaphors employed in the parable of the ten virgins. In the context of the husband's coming and the good virgins' refusal to share their oil with the bad virgins, this text reads,

An der stete mac niemen dem anderen niht gehelfen, da moz ein iegelich mensesse uur
sich selben antwrten. (129.3–4)⁵⁵

⁵³ Among the poem's earliest witnesses is Cologne, Dombibliothek MS 106, a product of extensive collaboration from diverse schools, but thought to have been compiled in early ninth-century Werden: Bernhard Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966–81), n. 8 on p. 7; *Katalog*, item 1919; B. C. Barker-Benfield, 'The Werden "Heptateuch"', *ASE*, 20 (1991), 43–64 (p. 58); Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature: 600–899* (London: Hambledon, 1996), p. 242; contrast Wilhelm Arndt, *Schrifttafeln zur Erlernung der lateinischen Palaeographie*, 3d edn, rev. by Michael Tangl (Hildesheim: Olms, 1976), Plates 44–47; W. M. Lindsay, *Palaeographia Latina*, 6 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1923–29), III, 7; Edward Kennard Rand, 'On the Symbols of Abbreviations for *-tur*', *Speculum*, 2.1 (January 1927), 52–65 (pp. 57–58); Jones, 'Cologne MS. 106' *passim*; *The Script of Cologne: From Hildebald to Hermann* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932), p. 42. It also appears in the Cambridge Songs manuscript: Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5.35, fol. 437^r; see further Karl Breul, *The Cambridge Songs: A Goliard's Song Book of the 11th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915); Ziolkowski. While this manuscript was produced in eleventh-century England, the Cambridge Songs are overwhelmingly German in origin, though several have been shown to be French (Ziolkowski, pp. xxxii–xxxvii). At any rate they are all texts that had currency in Germany. For a full list of *De contemptu* manuscripts see Strecker, p. 495, textual apparatus, alongside pp. 448–54, or Francesco Lo Monaco, *Carmina cantabrigiensia: Il canzoniere di Cambridge* (Ospedaletto (Pisa): Pacini, 2009), p. 45, alongside pp. 13–14.

⁵⁴ For the dating see *Speculum ecclesiae: Eine frühmittelhochdeutsche Predigtsammlung* (Cgm. 39), ed. by Gert Mellbourn, *Lunder germanistische Forschungen*, 12 (Lund: Gleerup, 1944), pp. vii–xvi, xxii.

⁵⁵ Ed. by Mellbourn, pp. 127–29

(‘In that place, no-one will be able to help the others; everyone will have to answer for himself there.’)

The use of the motif is highly appropriate: the homilist explicitly connects the parable with Judgement Day, using stock eschatological rhetoric such as the call to reflect on the horrors of latter-day events, here the separation of the righteous and wicked souls (129.4–7). The motif’s reference to kinship is omitted, a simplification that is congruent with the elementary nature of the exegesis here practised, and sensible because it avoids confusing the image of the ten virgins with references to blood relations. Nevertheless, the unprompted locative specifications ‘an der stete’ (‘in that place’) and ‘da’ (‘there’) suggest the passage’s indebtedness to the Ephraemic tradition, while the remainder of the second clause is reminiscent of Pseudo-Ephraem’s own conclusion ‘unusquisque stabit in ordine suo’. Indeed, a direct reliance on Pseudo-Ephraem’s *De paenitentia* explains what brought the motif to the homilist’s mind, as this is the only other text in this tradition that makes reference to the parable of the ten virgins (pp. 109–10). It may thus be assumed that the borrowing bypassed both known Old High German attestations and goes back directly to Pseudo-Ephraem. However, this makes it yet another instance of the shift from *liberare* to *adiuvare*. It is also another instance of a new focus on Judgement Day, but this is the less striking of the two innovations, as Pseudo-Ephraem also makes some use of judgement imagery. Although the lexical transformation may seem more significant, the fact that several such shifts have now been identified demonstrates that this innovation is hardly a unique derivational fingerprint. In the present case, it does not outweigh the evidence connecting *De virginibus* directly with *De paenitentia*.

The above considerations yield the stemma in Figure 1.

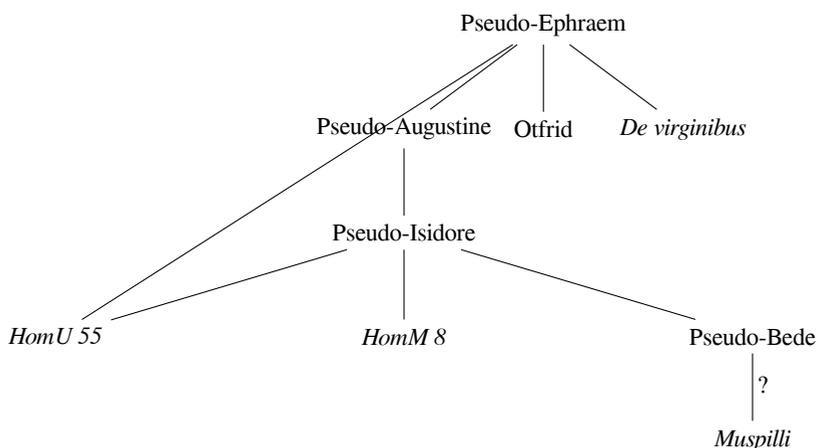


Figure 1: The Latin derivation of the motif’s Germanic branches.

Conclusions

The greatest degree of insight into a culture of textual transmission is to be had if palaeographical and material clues are combined with two dimensions of textual investigation. The default textual axis runs along the length of the text under study and permits the researcher

to investigate variants across a longer stretch of text. This is the most reliable tool by which to determine the stages of a work's development and the relationships between the surviving witnesses, but it assumes these witnesses are all versions of one text. In a genre characterised by the practice of borrowing short motifs in isolation, a valuable secondary tool is the depth-axis, a means of textual comparison on a local level. By comparing the implementation of a short passage between multiple nodes, it is possible to cover a large number of texts and copies and come to an approximation of the relationships between them. The greatest accuracy may be attained only where longer passages are shared between texts, or multiple shorter passages are transmitted along the same route, so that the depth analysis benefits from comparison along the length-axis. Nevertheless, it is local depth analysis that provides the greatest insight into the synthesis of short passages from multiple sources, even if conclusions reached by this route are often conjectural.

The application of local stemmatics to the kinsmen motif has yielded a plausible network of routes by which this formula reached Germanic authors. In addition, the results here obtained may guide our understanding of Pseudo-Ephraem's influence on early medieval literary culture and shed light on the mechanics of motif transmission more generally.

Noteworthy in this regard is the parallel independent development taking place across different branches of the dissemination. As mentioned, Otfrid and Pseudo-Isidore independently replace *liberare* with a word for 'help', while Pseudo-Bede and the Macarius homilist independently shift the motif's setting from hell to Judgement Day, with less pronounced examples of the same pattern visible in Otfrid and *De virginibus*. Both these binaries are useful metrics by which to judge a text's origins, but preferably as elements in a weighed consideration, as they have proved to be remarkably commonplace by themselves. A specific lesson that may be drawn from the lexical shift is that semantic relaxing, or the translation of a specific by a general word, is considerably more likely than the reverse process and accordingly less valuable as a tool of stemmatic analysis. If we saw *adiuvare* ('help') translated as *freolsian* ('free') in multiple texts, we would not hesitate to posit a shared intermediary. The translation of *liberare* ('free') into *gehelfan* ('help') and cognates, by contrast, has been shown to be a common tendency. Accordingly, when multiple texts show evidence of semantic relaxing within the same motif, this increases the likelihood of their close kinship, but it also imposes limits on the ability of one textual relation to help another.