Kinsmen Before Christ, Part II

The Anglo-Saxon Transmission

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The first of this pair of articles defined the core of the homiletic motif 'no aid to kin'[1] as '(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 [such as] the locative adverb *þær*'.[2] Using a stemmatic model of motif derivation based on the traditional text-critical method, it proposed that the motif reached Germanic authors by the routes visualised in Figure 1. This second part of the series turns to the motif's dissemination in Anglo-Saxon England, seeking to establish further its routes of transmission and put the model of local stemmatics to the test within the narrower textual confines of Old English homiletics. It concludes with a stemmatic visualisation of the arguments of both articles, and appendices providing a full list of attestations of the motif and an index to the English homilies (including alternative titles to the *Dictionary of Old English* short titles used in the body of this article).

Anglo-Saxon attestations

In a narrower reading of the above definition, the motif is found in eight distinct Old English texts, all homilies, across fourteen manuscripts. I have provided translations of the first two (*HomU 55* (traditionally referred to as the 'Macarius Homily') and *HomM 8*), but in view of the large number of close variants presented in this section, English attestations will not be translated from this point onwards. Readers unable to make out the subtleties of language in these variants are advised to keep these initial translations of the motifs in mind as the argument unfolds.

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[1]   See 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 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2002), pp. 67–80.

[2]   P. S. Langeslag, 'Kinsmen Before Christ, Part I: The Latin Transmission', *Leeds Studies in England*, 45 (2014), 34–48 (p. 35).

Ne mæg þær þonne gefultmian se fæder þæm suna, ne se suna þæm fæder, ac sceal þonne anra gehwilc æfter his agenum gewyrhtum beon demed. (*HomU 55*, ll. 27–29)[3]

('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.')

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, ne þær naht elles nis gehyred butan wanung and granung and gristbitung of toþe. (*HomM 8*, ll. 58–62)[4]

('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, nor is anything heard there but wailing, groans, and the gnashing of teeth.')

Þær se broðor ne mæg þam oðrum helpan ne se fæder þam suna, ne þa neahmagas ne ða maðmgestreon ne þysse woruldæhta ænigne man þær gescyldan magon. Ac Drihten gyldeð anra gehwylcum menn æfter his sylfes gewyrhtum. (*HomS 44*, ll. 98–101)[5]

Þær ne ongyt se fæder þone sunu ne se sunu þone fæder ne wyrðað, ne seo dohtor þa modor ne lufað ne seo modor þære dehter ne miltsað. Ac anra gehwilc hys sylfes yrmða wepað and heofað. (*HomS 44*, ll. 115–18)

Þer se broþer þam oþrum ne mæg gehelpan, ne se fæder þam suna, ne þa neahmagas ne þa madmgestreon. Ne þysse worulde æhta ænigne man þer gescyldan ne mæg oþrum. Ac Drihten gyldeþ anra gehwylcum men æfter his sylfes gewyrhtum. (*HomS 33*, 134.22–26)[6]

Ðer ne ongit se feder þone sunu; ne se sunu þone fæder ne wurðaþ; ne seo dohter þa modor ne lufað; ne seo modor þa dohter ne miltsað. Ac anra gehwylc his sylfes yrmþa heofað. (*HomS 33*, 135.15–18)[7]

Þær þonne ne mæg se fæder helpan þam suna, ne [se] sunu þam fæder, ne nan mæg oðrum. Ac anra gehwylcum men sceal beon demed æfter his agenum gewyrhtum. (*HomU 9* (Vercelli), ll. 69–71)[8]

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[3] 'Der Text der ae. Macarius-Homilie (Hs. A)', ed. by Hans Sauer, in *Theodulfi Capitula in England: Die altenglischen Übersetzungen, zusammen mit dem lateinischen Text*, Münchener Universitäts-Schriften: Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, 8 (Munich: Fink, 1978), pp. 411–16.

[4] '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.

[5] 'Homily 3', ed. by Joyce Bazire and James E. Cross, in *Eleven Old English Rogationtide Homilies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 40–55.

[6] 'Bittwochen-Predigt aus Hatton 116', ed. by Max Förster, in 'Der Vercelli-Codex CXVII nebst Abdruck einiger altenglischer Homilien der Handschrift', in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*, ed. by F. Holthausen and H. Spies, Studien zur englischen Philologie, 50 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1913; repr. as a book, 1913), pp. 20–189 (pp. 128–37). For this text, and in all other citations lacking the specification page, line, or column, referencing is by page and line number.

[7] The unstressed syllable in both occurrences of *dohtor* is the editor's expansion and thus tells us nothing about source or dialect.

[8] 'Homily IV', ed. by Donald G. Scragg, in *The Vercelli Homilies and Related Texts*, Early English Text Society, 300 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 90–107. The second nominative use of *se* is not in the manuscript.

Þær þon*ne* ne mæg se fæder gefultumian þa*m* suna ne se sunu ða*m* fæder ne dohtor þære meder ne nan mæg oðru*m* ac anra gehwylcu*m* m*en* scal beon demed æft*er* his agenu*m* gewyrhtu*m*. (*HomU 9* (CCCC 41), p. 262)[9]

Ðær þonne ne mæg ænig man oðres gehelpan, se fæder þam suna ne se sunu þam fæder, ne seo modor þære dehter ne seo dohtor þære meder, ne nan ne mæg oðrum; ac anra gehwylcum men byð gedemed æfter his agenum gewyrhtum. (*HomU 27*, 149.27–31)[10]

Þær he mæg nan mann oþran gehelpan, ne se fæder þam sunu, ne se sunu þam fæder, ne nan mann þær ne mæg oþrum gehelpan, ac anra gehwylcum menn þær bið gedemed æfter his agenum gewyrhtum. (*HomS 41*, ll. 25–28)[11]

Ne byrhð se gesibba þonne gesibban þe ma þe þam fremdan. (*WHom 3*, ll. 54–55)[12]

Ne byrhð þonne broðor oðrum hwilan ne fæder his bearne ne bearn his agenum fæder ne gesibb gesibban þe ma þe fremdan. (*WHom 5*, ll. 98–100)[13]

The majority of these texts contain all the elements of the motif in its Pseudo-Bedan form:[14] the inability (in Wulfstan's case perhaps unwillingness) of one kinsman to help another, a Judgement Day or last-days setting, and an adverb indicating location or time. Only in *HomM 8* and in the second occurrence of the motif in *HomS 33/44* do we find the infernal setting of the earlier Latin witnesses. A ninth text, the Bodley 340 copy of *HomS 4* (Vercelli Homily 9), uses a more concise implementation of the motif, likewise set in hell:[15]

⁊ ne mæg nan oðres gehelpan. (*HomS 4* (Bodley 340), 111.6)[16]

The Vercelli Book copy of *HomS 4* lacks a leaf at this point in the text, so the presence and form of the motif there cannot be ascertained.[17] An approximation of the motif furthermore shows up without the eschatological timeframe in *The Seafarer*,[18] but the likeness is too vague and any connection too remote for this configuration to be included in the stemmatic analysis. Wulfstan in *WHom 5* and *WHom 3* excerpted above situates the motif during the last days. However, he also included it in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, where the action is set in Wulfstan's own day. The lack of blood loyalty is here intended as evidence that the end-times are at hand:

Ne bearh nu foroft gesib gesibban þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his suna, ne hwilum bearn his agenum fæder, ne broðer oðrum; ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode swa swa he sceolde, ne gehadode regollice, ne læwede lahlice; ne ænig wið oðerne getreowlice ne þohte swa rihte swa he sceolde. (*WHom 20.1*, ll. 56–61)[19]

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[9]   This text is a marginal addition to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41, running across pp. 254–80. It represents a close textual variant of *HomU 9* (Vercelli).

[10]   'XXX', ed. by A. S. Napier, in *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler, 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883; repr. with an appendix by K. Ostheeren, 1967), pp. 143–52.

[11]   'Homily 7', ed. by Bazire and Cross, pp. 90–100.

[12]   'Secundum Lucam', ed. by Dorothy Bethurum, in *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), pp. 123–27.

[13]   'Secundum Marcum', ed. by Dorothy Bethurum, pp. 134–41.

[14]   For a discussion of this parallel see Langeslag, 'Kinsmen Before Christ, Part I'.

[15]   An edition based on the Vercelli witness may be found in Scragg, *Vercelli*, pp. 151–90.

[16]   Ed. by Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex', pp. 100–16.

[17]   See Donald Scragg, 'Napier's "Wulfstan" Homily XXX: Its Sources, Its Relationship to the Vercelli Book and Its Style', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 6 (1977), 197–211 (pp. 203–4).

[18]   Lendinara, pp. 74–75.

[19]   'Larspell', ed. by Bethurum, pp. 255–60.

Two further texts excerpt from this work and copy out the same context for the motif.[20] Finally, Stephen Pelle has pointed me to a further modified match in the second homily found in the twelfth-century manuscript British Library, Cotton Vespasian A. xxii (*VespHom 2*):[21]

> Wat sceol se wrecce don. þe bufon iseȝð his hlaford þe he ȝegremed afed. under him helle muð open. abuuten him all folc. him selfe bi sandlice senne beswapen. þer ne mai non frend oðre helpe. ælc had innoh to donne an him selfe. (*VespHom 2*, p. 239)

The language of this text has undergone greater inflectional levelling than the other English texts in question and may be referred to as Middle English. This late attestation follows several of the Old English texts in its use of a Judgement Day setting.

   In the four Old English texts that situate the motif exclusively at the last judgement, it was borrowed not in isolation but rather as part of a longer passage. The longest parallels to *HomU 55* are found in *HomU 9*, whose passage 'bion we symle sorgfulle […]. Lytel is betwyh mannum ꝺ nytenum butan andgite' (58–77) corresponds to *HomU 55* 'symble beo gesorhfulle […] þa sawle andgyt þæt nafað þæt nyten' (15–33), and *HomU 27*, which shares in the same passage ('hit is ealra wundra mæst […] æfter his agenum gewyrhtum', 149.11–31). *HomS 41* too contains a substantial echo of this episode ('nis us nan þing selre […] æfter his agenum gewyrhtum', ll. 16–28). *HomS 33/44* contrasts with these attestations inasmuch as it borrows only the core motif, 'þær se broðor […] æfter his sylfes gewyrhtum' (*HomS 44* 98–101; cf. *HomS 33* 134.22–26). Its phrasing nevertheless suggests that these two witnesses, *HomS 33* and *HomS 44*, derive the motif from the same vernacular translation that also gave rise to the other attestations. *HomM 8* diverges significantly from the common form: here the adverb has become an adverbial phrase, and the setting is an infernal one, as it is for Pseudo-Augustine and Pseudo-Isidore. These differences warrant the distinct textual history outlined above, and some degree of discussion below in isolation from what will hereafter be referred to as the Macarius group after the traditional editorial name for *HomU 55*.

Situating the texts of the Macarius Group

HomU 55 is a short composite piece on penitence. It is found in between the Latin *Capitula Theodulfi* and their Old English translation in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201, a manuscript written in Exeter in the mid-eleventh century;[22] the homily has been dated to the early tenth century on lexical grounds.[23] It incorporates material from a Latin version of the vision of Macarius but opens, as was seen in the first part of this series, with a substantial section from *De paenitentia*, including the kinsmen motif,[24] for which it also draws on Pseudo-

[20] 'To eallum folce', ed. by Napier, pp. 128–30 (hereafter *HomU 25*); 'Be hæðendome', ed. by Napier, pp. 309–10 (hereafter *HomU 49*). The dependence of *HomU 25* on *WHom 20* is proposed in Richard Becher, *Wulfstans Homilien* (Leipzig: Sturm, 1910), p. 63; Karl Jost, *Wulfstanstudien* (Bern: Francke, 1950), pp. 199–200. For the derivation of *HomU 49* see below.

[21] 'An bispel', ed. by Richard Morris, in *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Early English Text Society, 29, 34, 2 vols (1867–68; repr. in one volume, London: Trübner, 1868), ɪ, 230–41. Morris's text is here reproduced without diacritics.

[22] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), item 50 (pp. 90–91).

[23] Sauer, p. 94 and the literature there cited; 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 (pp. 213–14).

[24] Wright, 'Macarius'.

Isidore. Before Wright identified the Ephraemic source, the received view was that *HomU 55* followed a version of *HomU 9* for this material.[25] Wright assumes that this opinion was based on the fact that the account in *HomU 55* is more concise than that in the Vercelli homily, combined with the understanding that compilers working in this genre are expected to abbreviate rather than expand their material,[26] an inversion of the *lectio brevior potior* principle. The *ubi sunt*-motif of lines 61–63, meanwhile, is found not in *HomU 9*, but in comparable forms in *HomU 27* (148.28–149.9), *HomM 8* (ll. 32–43), Pseudo-Augustine (Migne, *PL* 40, col. 1355), and Pseudo-Isidore (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek MS 199 (638), p. 455; Migne, *PL* 83, col. 1224A).[27]

HomU 9 is best known as the fourth homily in the Vercelli Book,[28] a verse-interspersed homiliary produced in the southeast of England late in the tenth century.[29] Although vernacular sources for *HomU 9* were not identified until quite recently,[30] Scragg in his 1992 edition reasoned that the homiliary as a whole, with the explicit inclusion of *HomU 9*, drew on the same sources as a number of externally attested texts, a recognition that helped him situate its production in a southeastern library, which he suggested was St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.[31] *HomU 9*, though not the Vercelli copy itself, has been cited as a source for other homilies, including *HomU 27* and *HomU 55*.[32] As noted, its relationship to the latter was demonstrated to be the reverse in Wright's 2002 essay,[33] a reversal whose ramifications have yet to be incorporated into discussions of the wider textual field.

These ramifications include the place in the transmission history of a variant text of *HomU 9* found in the margins of CCCC 41, pp. 254–80. This witness is a generally faithful copy of all of *HomU 9* as represented by the Vercelli text, containing only minor divergences. Scragg observes that this witness shares with *HomU 55* the peculiarity that the verb *gefultumian* is used, whereas all other Old English attestations of the motif use *(ge)helpan*; he also points out that CCCC 41 contains errors not found in *HomU 55*. Mistakenly assuming that *HomU 55* followed *HomU 9* in the transmission history, Scragg reasoned that the two shared a branch, but that a parent copy of CCCC 41 must have been the source of *HomU 55*.[34] Given the understanding that the Macarius homily in fact precedes Vercelli IV in the chain of transmission, this particular objection to a direct relationship is now lost, and the aforementioned shared use of *gefultumian* between *HomU 55* and the CCCC 41 copy of *HomU 9* in fact suggests that this representation of *HomU 9* is closer to the source than that in the Vercelli Book.

[25] *Die Vercelli-Homilien: 1.–8. Homilie*, ed. by Max Förster (1932; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964), pp. 72, n. 1; 75, n. 16; 79, nn. 46–47; Ker, item 50, article 2 (pp. 90–91); Scragg, *Vercelli*, p. 87.

[26] Wright, 'Macarius', pp. 213–14.

[27] *Patrologia cursus completus: Patrologia latina*, ed. by J. P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844–64). As in the first part of this study, the abbreviation *PL* will hereafter be used to introduce new texts in this series, whereas the designation 'Migne' will be used when contrasting the *PL* redactions of Pseudo-Augustine and Pseudo-Isidore with manuscript readings.

[28] Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare MS CXVII, fol. (fols 16ᵛ–24ᵛ).

[29] Scragg, *Vercelli*, xxxvii–lxxix.

[30] Cf. the empty 'sources' column in Milton McC. Gatch, 'Eschatology in the Anonymous Old English Homilies', *Traditio*, 21 (1965), 117–65 (p. 139).

[31] Scragg, *Vercelli*, pp. lxxiv–lxxix; cf. xxxvii–xxxviii.

[32] Scragg, 'Napier XXX'; *Vercelli*, pp. 87–89.

[33] Wright, 'Macarius'.

[34] Scragg, *Vercelli*, p. 87.

CCCC 41 was produced in the first half of the eleventh century, and the homily was added no later than the middle of that century, along with several further marginal texts in the same hand.[35] It thus postdates the composition of the Vercelli Book. In addition to its use of the verb *gefultumian*, CCCC 41 is of interest because it adds the phrase 'ne dohtor þære meder', otherwise found only in *HomU 27* and, with the reverse syntactic relationship, in *HomM 8*.

HomU 27 has received a good deal of attention for its composite nature. Among its proposed sources are *HomU 26*, *HomU 55*, four Vercelli homilies including *HomU 9* and *HomS 4*, the prose *Solomon and Saturn*, *The Rewards of Piety*, various homilies associated with Wulfstan, and possibly *Judgement Day II* in loose paraphrase.[36] Crucially, it echoes several of Wulfstan's last writings, so that it cannot have been written before about 1020.[37] Accordingly, it was put together considerably later than the late tenth-century Vercelli Book,[38] where several of its sources come together.[39] Becher and Whitbread have suggested that *HomU 27* was compiled in Worcester, where its sole surviving copy was written in the third quarter of the eleventh century[40] and where many of the sources were available. While Becher proposes that the Worcester monk Wulfgeat both compiled the text and entered it into MS Hatton 113 about the middle of the eleventh century, Whitbread points out that the text shows no influence from material postdating Wulfstan, and that it was probably composed prior to the time of Wulfgeat's literary productivity, which began in the 1050s.[41] On the other hand, Godden takes issue with the Worcester attribution, instead suggesting mid-eleventh century Winchester as the setting for its compilation, on the grounds that an associated text was available there.[42] It is clear at any rate that *HomU 27* must be placed nearer the end of the motif's Anglo-Saxon transmission history.

The next parallel of this group to the *HomU 55* passage, *HomS 41*, uses, among other things, material from (Pseudo-)Wulfstan and especially Ælfric, including passages from the Lives of Saints.[43] Moreover, Godden has shown that *HomS 41* draws on what seems to have been a version of *HomU 27*, now lost.[44] The manuscript in which *HomS 41* survives, Cambridge, University Library MS Ii. 4. 6, was compiled in mid-eleventh century Winchester at the New Minster.[45] The homily immediately preceding *HomS 41* in the manuscript, Ker item 27,[46] which seems to have been composed by the same individual,[47] was clearly not copied straightforwardly from an exemplar but received its current form as it was being written into the manuscript. On the basis of this evidence, the composition of both homilies seems to

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[35] Ker, item 32 (pp. 43–45).

[36] Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, pp. 208–10; L. Whitbread, '"Wulfstan" Homilies XXIX, XXX and Some Related Texts', *Anglia*, 81 (1963), 347–64; Angus Fraser McIntosh, *Wulfstan's Prose*, Proceedings of the British Academy, 34 (London: British Academy, 1949); Scragg, 'Napier XXX'. Scragg makes a strong case against the text's dependence on either *HomU 26* or *The Rewards of Piety* ('Napier XXX', 209–10).

[37] Whitbread, p. 362; Scragg, 'Napier XXX', pp. 205–7.

[38] Ker, item 394 (pp. 460–64); Scragg, *Vercelli*, pp. xxxviii–xlii.

[39] Whitbread, pp. 354–56, 351.

[40] Ker, item 331 (pp. 391–99).

[41] Becher, p. 67; Whitbread, p. 362.

[42] Malcolm Godden, 'Old English Composite Homilies from Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 4 (1975), 57–65 (pp. 63–64).

[43] Bazire and Cross, pp. 90–93; Godden, esp. pp. 59–62.

[44] Godden, pp. 59–60, and see below.

[45] Ker, item 21 (pp. 31–35); Terence Alan Martyn Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. xv, n. 2; see also Godden, p. 58.

[46] Ker, pp. 39–40.

[47] Godden, p. 62.

have coincided with the compilation of the manuscript itself, at the Winchester New Minster around the middle of the eleventh century.[48]

The text designated *HomS 33* and *HomS 44* occurs in the homiliaries Hatton 116 (s. xii[1])[49] and CCCC 162 (c. 1020). Max Förster dated their composition to the beginning or middle of the tenth century on stylistic grounds.[50] Late eleventh-century additions to the text of Corpus 162 suggest a southeastern connection, while some of its large initials resemble those in a later eleventh-century manuscript produced in Canterbury.[51] The Hatton manuscript is in a twelfth-century West of England hand, and glosses in the tremulous hand of Worcester provide evidence as to its location in the early thirteenth century.[52]

HomS 33/44 makes use of the Latin *Apocalypse of Thomas*[53] and deploys the kinsmen motif twice, both times in isolation from the material surrounding it in other Old English witnesses. The first use of the motif fits in seamlessly with the focus in this part of the homily, which mentions the opening of the book (*HomS 44*, ll. 96–98) and the souls' bringing forth of their works (ll. 102–9). The second occurrence, just a few lines down, differs considerably in expression and configuration, and is explicitly set in hell. These differences suggest that they may derive from different sources, one closer to the other texts of this group than the other. This question will be considered in greater detail below.

Interrelations within the Macarius Group

As will be clear from the previous section, several homilies in this group have already been subjected to a considerable degree of source analysis. Known connections will now be combined with a developmental analysis of the kinsmen motif to come to a more detailed understanding of its dissemination.

The composite homily *HomS 41* has been shown to depend on a version of *HomU 27* for the kinsmen motif and the surrounding text, while that passage in turn relies on a version of *HomU 9*.[54] Crucially, however, Godden remarks that the *HomU 27* redaction used by the compiler of *HomS 41* must have differed from the surviving text, because *HomS 41* is in places closer to the antecedent source, *HomU 9*. Indeed, part of his evidence relies on the transmission of the kinsmen motif, as he observes that the words in *HomU 27* 'ne seo modor þære dehter ne seo dohtor þære meder' (149.28–29) are absent from the sequence in both *HomS 41* and *HomU 9*, at least in the Vercelli copy.[55] It may be observed, however, that the CCCC 41 redaction of *HomU 9* does contain this element, but in the abbreviated form 'ne dohtor þære meder', lacking the reciprocity which characterises this part of the motif in *HomU 27* and which is found in at least the father-and-son element in *HomU 9* (both witnesses), *HomU 55*, *HomU 27*, *HomS 41*, and *HomM 8*, but not in *HomS 4* or *HomS 33/44*. A straightforward explanation for this distribution of female agents is that CCCC 41 and

[48] Ibid., p. 63.
[49] Ker, item 333 (pp. 403–6).
[50] Max Förster, 'A New Version of the *Apocalypse of Thomas* in Old English', *Anglia*, 73 (1955), 6–36 (pp. 11–13).
[51] Ker., item 38 (pp. 51–56).
[52] Ibid., p. 406.
[53] See the discussion in Förster, 'The Apocalypse of Thomas'; Mary Swan, 'The Apocalypse of Thomas in Old English', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 29 (1998), 333–46.
[54] Godden, pp. 59–60.
[55] Ibid.

HomU 27 share a common ancestor, a redaction of *HomU 9* within the CCCC 41 branch and a sibling to Vercelli. If this specification is kept in mind, Godden's stemma, deriving *HomS 41* from *HomU 9* by way of *HomU 27*, is indeed borne out by the kinsmen motif, as may be seen in its concluding clause:

> *HomU 9*:   ne nan mæg oðrum
> *HomU 27*:   ne nan ne mæg oðrum
> *HomS 41*:   ne nan mann þær ne mæg oþrum gehelpan

The development of this clause seems to have been as follows. The reading found in *HomU 9*, though clearly meaning 'nor [can] any kinsman [help] another [kinsman]' in context, is obscure when read in isolation. Either the compiler of *HomU 27* or the scribe of an intermediate copy mistook the noun *mæg* 'kinsman' for the third-person present singular form of the auxiliary verb *magan* and added the now-required negator *ne* to correct the syntax following the principle of minimal intervention. It would be unlikely for a second copyist working from the same exemplar to make both the same error and the same syntactic modification to the clause. Instead, it must be concluded that a scribe of *HomS 41*, faced with the reading of *HomU 27*, simply filled in the omitted elements of the new construction, yielding the clause quoted above. Thus these two texts are clearly closely related, both deriving from *HomU 9* through what may have been an earlier version of *HomU 27*.

Although the surviving copy of *HomS 33*, in Hatton 116, is about a century later than the CCCC 162 text of *HomS 44*, the two are mostly identical, with spelling accounting for the bulk of the variation. They diverge somewhat towards the end, a sign that a copyist gradually allowed himself to intervene more actively in the text. The text has thematic parallels elsewhere in the Old English corpus, but I have been unable to find verbal parallels, so that divergences cannot be compared against a third witness. However, *HomS 33* contains a few corrupt readings against intact readings in *HomS 44*. Thus for *HomS 44* 'næbbe ic ænig wedd to syllenne buton mine sawle' (95–96), *HomS 33* omits 'sawle' (134.19), and for *HomS 44* 'þær is ece blis and engla sang ungeswyðrod' (125–26), *HomS 33* reads 'ðer is ece bliss ⁊ engla sangum geswiþerod' (135.29). In this second passage, *HomS 33* deviates grammatically as well as conceptually, the dative form *sangum* making no syntactic sense. A derivation of *HomS 33* from *HomS 44* likewise seems warranted when 'þær is deað buton life and þystru butan leohte and hreownys butan wæstmum and sar buton frofre and yrmðu butan ende' (*HomS 44*, ll. 114–15) is shortened, conceivably by homoeoteleuton, to 'þær is deað butan life ⁊ þeostru buton leohte ⁊ hreow buton frofre ⁊ yrmþe buton ende' (*HomS 33* 135.14–15).

The first occurrence of the kinsmen motif in *HomS 33/44* differs substantially from all others, but its conclusion is a genetic match to the Macarius reading. In the core motif, *HomS 33/44* begins with fraternal aid, an element not otherwise found in the vernacular attestations except in Wulfstan, before introducing the father/son couple; in this it follows Pseudo-Ephraem. It follows up with *neahmagas* ('near relations'), resembling *mæg* as found in *HomU 9* and its descendants but not *HomU 55*, but then adds *maþmgestreon* ('treasure') and *woruldæhta* ('worldly possessions'), words found nowhere else in the kinsmen motif proper but strongly reminiscent of the sentiment found just prior to it in Pseudo-Ephraem, and displaced to a little after in *HomU 55*, that gold and silver cannot free one from or help against the torments of hell (*De paenitentia* p. 108;[56] *HomU 55*, ll. 37–40). Finally, the text

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[56]   St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 93, pp. 99–111.

declares that the Lord will repay every man according to his works: 'ac drihten gyldeð anra gehwylcum menn æfter his sylfes gewyrhtum' (*HomS 44*, ll. 100–1; cf. *HomS 33*, 134.25–26). This statement is found in all members of the Macarius group, but only in *HomS 33/44* is the active voice used, while this text furthermore substitutes *gyldan* for *deman* and 'sylfes' for 'agenum'. These differences have all the earmarks of independent translation from the same Latin model, for which Pseudo-Ephraem is the natural candidate. Two problems remain, however, one of greater magnitude than the other. The lesser objection is that the setting of this first occurrence is emphatically Judgement Day, a match with the Macarius group but not the central eschatological image in Pseudo-Ephraem. Since some Judgement Day references do occur in *De paenitentia*, however, it is no great surprise if the *HomS 44* compiler chose to incorporate this motif into his discussion of the event. The greater problem is that *HomS 33/44* substitutes for Ephraem's conclusion to the motif the same sentiment found also in *HomU 55* and its derivatives, turning 'unusquisque stabit in ordine suo' ('everyone will stand in his own place') into an observation that God will repay everyone according to his own works. The wording is fairly close to that of the other Old English texts: the only two elements consistently different in the Macarian witnesses are the use of the active voice and the reliance on an auxiliary *sculan*. This close agreement limits the likelihood of a shared Latin model to one with rather specific Latin wording, adapting the Ephraemic text to accommodate any of the biblical 'reddet unicuique secundum opera eius' ('he will give to each according to his works') passages. However, T. S. Pattie records no such variant reading in the manuscripts of *De paenitentia*, of which he consulted nineteen.[57] Admittedly, a full collation of the 90-odd extant witnesses[58] could yet turn up such a model. However, the sources of *HomS 33/44* may more easily be determined by considering its second implementation of the motif.

The second occurrence of the core motif is found a little further down (*HomS 44*, ll. 115–18; *HomS 33*, 135.15–18), but this time the configuration of elements matches the Macarius group rather than Pseudo-Ephraem, containing as it does chiasmatic pairs of father and son, mother and daughter. The concluding statement in this text is 'ac anra gehwilc hys sylfes yrmða wepað and heofað', echoing the 'anra gehwilc' of *HomU 55*, or its impersonal derivative as found in *HomU 9*, *HomU 27*, and *HomS 41*. The mother-and-daughter pair, meanwhile, occurs not in *HomU 55* but in *HomU 27* (in the reverse order) and in CCCC 41 (without reciprocity). Remarkably, while the first occurrence has more in common with Pseudo-Ephraem but adopts the Judgement Day setting of the Macarius tradition, this second application does the opposite, following the Macarius reading but situating it in hell. A combined analysis of the two versions of the motif in *HomS 33/44* thus suggests that the compiler used both Pseudo-Ephraem and a Macarian source, not just in the creation of his text as a whole but also for each of his two applications of the motif.

The variation of verbs in the second implementation of the motif is interesting in the light of the Pseudo-Augustinian group of witnesses discussed in the companion-piece to this article, whose diction varies more than that of the Germanic attestations ('liberabit […] fidejubebit; […] redimat […] succurrat' (Pseudo-Augustine, col. 1355); 'adiuuat […] redimat […] succurrere debeat' (Pseudo-Isidore (Einsiedeln), p. 456); 'adjuvat […] redimat […] succurrat' (Pseudo-Isidore (Migne), col. 1224B)). Since none of the Old English verbs accurately translates any of the Latin concepts, however, while the configuration of elements

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[57] T. S. Pattie, 'Ephraem the Syrian and the Latin Manuscripts of *De paenitentia*', *British Library Journal*, 13 (1987), 1–27 (pp. 13–16).
[58] Ibid., p. 10.

resembles rather the Macarius formula, the Anglo-Saxon compiler probably did not have Pseudo-Augustine in mind. Instead, a connection may exist with certain Latin texts left out of consideration here because they contain more distant analogues to the motif,[59] whose choice of verbs (*diligere*, *honorare*) does overlap substantially with those found in *HomS 33/44* (specifically *lufian*, *weorþian*). It is certainly possible that the Anglo-Saxon compiler chose to incorporate the lexical variation of this secondary motif into his adaptation of the tradition here discussed and contained in his primary sources.

With Latin witnesses of the Pseudo-Augustinian group discarded as possible sources, we are left in *HomS 33/44* with echoes of Pseudo-Ephraem (for the core motif of the first implementation and the setting of the second) and the Macarius group (for the conclusion and setting of the first implementation and the configuration of the elements in the second), supplemented perhaps with the associated motif found in Paulinus of Aquileia and others (for the choice of verbs in the second implementation). The author did not follow any one source slavishly but freely allowed lexical and grammatical modifications, making it especially difficult to determine his precise models. Nevertheless, the closest matches to the second implementation are *HomU 27* and CCCC 41. The closest match to the conclusion of the first implementation is *HomU 27*, since it too lacks the auxiliary *sculan*. A reliance of *HomS 33/44* on this branch of the tradition may therefore tentatively be posited, with the understanding that the compiler was either working from memory or deliberately paraphrasing his Macarian source.

Given this reading of the *HomS 33/44* derivation, one issue remains. If *HomS 33* is indeed a copy of *HomS 44*, this raises the question how it came to participate in the variation around the verb *magan* discussed above with reference to *HomU 9*, *HomU 27*, and *HomS 41*:

> *HomS 44*:   ne þysse woruldæhta ænigne man þær gescyldan magon
> *HomS 33*:   ne þysse worulde æhta ænigne man þer gescyldan ne mæg oþrum

Considered in isolation, it may seem this variation supports the precedence of *HomS 44*, as it provides a grammatical reading while *HomS 33* does not. However, the unexpected element resides in the latter's sequence 'ne mæg oþrum', which is not only grammatically confused but also identical to the tail end of the *HomU 27* reading 'ne nan ne mæg oðrum'. One is left with the impression that the *HomS 33* copyist had separate access to this text alongside his primary exemplar, though there is no need to assume he checked his memory against a manuscript of *HomU 27*.

The abbreviated occurrence of the motif in the Bodley 340 version of *HomS 4* is of some value in reconstructing the theme's transmission. As Scragg points out,[60] the genitive form 'oðres' in 'ꝺ ne mæg nan oðres gehelpan' is shared between this text and *HomU 27*, though the form of the clause there is 'ðær þonne ne mæg ænig man oðres gehelpan' (149.27). This peculiarity is just striking enough to suggest a genetic connection. *HomU 27*, however, despite being the later of the two, contains a much fuller version of the motif, which could not have been reconstructed on the basis of the Bodley 340 wording alone. The explanation must be one of two. The first is that the copy of *HomS 4* used by the *HomU 27* compiler had a fuller form of the motif also containing 'oðres', which was truncated, but not corrected, in the production of Bodley 340. The second explanation is that the *HomU 27* compiler, who is known to have

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[59]   Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber exhortationis*, ch. 49, *PL* 99, col. 253B; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Sang. 193, pp. 230–65 (p. 262).
[60]   Scragg, 'Napier XXX', pp. 203–4.

worked with a large number of sources, copied the motif from *HomU 9* but turned to *HomS 4* for the genitive object only. This latter scenario is proposed by Scragg, who points out that this method (which he suggests is carried out 'unthinkingly') is employed elsewhere in the homily as well.[61] If this sounds unnecessarily complicated, it should be remembered that the first explanation does not permit us to bypass *HomU 9* either, as *HomU 27* shares with this text the substantial passage that precedes the motif. No matter how we look at it, then, the *HomU 27* compiler made use of *HomU 9* and probably *HomS 4*, but its analogue to the latter does not extend beyond the phrasal level. The most straightforward interpretation is therefore Scragg's, namely that a turn of phrase from *HomS 4* came to the compiler's mind while he was adapting material from *HomU 9*.

HomM 8

HomM 8 assumes a special position in the tradition because it clearly betrays a lineage distinct from that of the main group of Old English attestations. As was seen in the first part of this series, it reveals a close association with both Pseudo-Isidore and Pseudo-Augustine following Migne, but the manuscript evidence for the passage under investigation suggests rather that a redaction of Pseudo-Isidore closer to that in Cod. Sang. 614 was its model. The sole manuscript in which *HomM 8* is found, Cambridge, University Library MS Ii. 1. 33, was compiled late, in the second half of the twelfth century.[62] Nevertheless, Murfin adduces a balanced range of orthographical evidence to suggest that the translation was made before the twelfth century and probably before the Norman Conquest.[63]

With regard to its configuration of the kinsmen motif, *HomM 8*'s most distinctive characteristic resides in its setting. Whereas *Muspilli*, *De contemptu*, and nearly all the Old English homilies discussed above bring the motif into their discussion of Judgement Day, this text situates it in hell. The infernal setting is not surprising in the light of its generally close correspondence to the Pseudo-Augustinian tradition. It does, however, add to the evidence that it acquired the kinsmen motif separately from the other vernacular texts.

A question that remains is how *HomM 8* came to share with *HomU 27* and the CCCC 41 redaction of *HomU 9* the element of mother and daughter. With a number of witnesses it furthermore shares the grammatical confusion noted above regarding the interpretation of the form 'mæg', used as a noun ('kinsman') in *HomU 9* but interpreted as an auxiliary verb ('be able') from *HomU 27* onwards, and with varying degrees of success:

HomU 9:	ne nan mæg oðrum (noun, correct)
HomU 27:	ne nan ne mæg oðrum (auxiliary, awkward)
HomS 41:	ne nan mann þær ne mæg oþrum gehelpan (auxiliary, correct)
HomS 44:	ne þysse woruldæhta ænigne man þær gescyldan magon (auxiliary, correct)
HomS 33:	ne þysse worulde æhta ænigne man þer gescyldan ne mæg oþrum (auxiliary, contaminated?)
HomM 8:	ne nan oðer freond ne mæg to nane helpe (auxiliary, main verb lacking)

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[61] Ibid.
[62] Ker, item 18 (the homily is article 40, p. 26); Kathleen Much Murfin, 'An Unedited Old English Homily in MS. Cambridge, U.L. Ii. I33' (unpublished MA thesis, Rice University, 1971), pp. 3–4.
[63] Murfin, pp. 4–9.

The participation of *HomM 8* in this confusion raises the possibility that the *HomM 8* translator may have had a preexisting Old English Macarian text physically available to him alongside the Latin source. The *HomM 8* clause may then be construed as an attempt to repair the damage done in *HomU 27*, whose reinterpretation of *mæg* as a verb had left it without a subject. *HomM 8* offers *freond* as a subject, and expands the rather too compact 'ne mæg oðrum' into 'ne mæg to nane helpe [beon]', the main verb having been dropped by a subsequent scribe. This derivation also explains the similarity between *HomM 8* and *HomU 27* in the configuration of agents (son and father, mother and daughter). Thus even the *HomM 8* compiler, who demonstrably used Pseudo-Isidore as his main source, had access to the preexisting Macarian translation of this particular passage, in a shape much like *HomU 27*.

There is another Old English exception to the Judgement Day setting of the motif, but here the shift should be understood as a late innovation. The brief attestation found in the Bodley 340 redaction of Vercelli Homily 9 (*HomS 4*) inserts it into a metrical enumeration of infernal sufferings ('þar is wop […] ꞃ micel wroht', 132–35). Given the brevity of this instance of the motif, it is clear that the clause 'ꞃ ne mæg nan oðres gehelpan' (137) was added to the description of hell because it fits the sentiment. Since the form of the motif in this text places it firmly with the Macarius group, in which the setting is otherwise consistently Judgement Day, it may be assumed that the compiler lifted the clause from a Judgement Day context. Along with the recognition that shifts in setting occurred independently in the transmission between Pseudo-Isidore and Pseudo-Bede as well as between Pseudo-Isidore and *HomU 55*, while Otfrid and the *De virginibus* homilist both foregrounded the last judgement setting that was less prominently present in Pseudo-Ephraem, the shift back to hell in *HomS 4* is further evidence that such a transformation of detail was editorially commonplace.

Wulfstan

The motif occurs in five texts by Wulfstan: *WHom 3*, *5*, *20* (*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*), and two extracts from the last of these, *HomU 25* and *49*. With the exception of the last-mentioned text, all survive in multiple manuscripts. The wording across the five versions is fairly uniform and contrasts with that of all other surviving witnesses. Accordingly, it merits consideration as a distinct group.

Since the status of *HomU 25* and *49* as extracts from *Sermo Lupi* is beyond doubt, Wulfstan's three earlier applications of the motif may be considered first:

> Ne byrhð se gesibba þonne gesibban þe ma þe þam fremdan. (*WHom 3*, ll. 54–55)

> Ne byrhð þonne broðor oðrum hwilan ne fæder his bearne ne bearn his agenum fæder ne gesibb gesibban þe ma þe fremdan. (*WHom 5*, ll. 98–100)

> Ne bearh nu foroft gesib gesibban þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his suna, ne hwilum bearn his agenum fæder, ne broðer oðrum; ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode swa swa he sceolde, ne gehadode regollice, ne læwede lahlice; ne ænig wið oðerne getreowlice ne þohte swa rihte swa he sceolde. (*WHom 20.1*, ll. 56–61)

With the kinsmen tradition in mind, it may seem obvious that *WHom 5* was not distilled from *WHom 3* but builds on a fuller representative of the tradition. Indeed, it seems natural to draw the conclusion that the form of the motif in *WHom 3* derives from that in *WHom 5*: the new, recombined configuration is identical between the two but more concise in *WHom 3*, which

lacks the conventional agents that appear to tie *WHom 5* more firmly to the kinsmen tradition. However, the tenuous but persistent consensus is that *WHom 3* was written before *WHom 5*, an assumption based primarily on the understanding that Wulfstan's later works are more expansive and informed by a richer body of sources.[64] Although a general tendency of this sort does not preclude the later composition of a single less eclectic homily, it will be seen that a reconsideration of Wulfstan's chronology is not necessary to make sense of his sequence of readings.

Making no reference to the kinsmen tradition, Karl Jost in 1932 derived the sequence in *WHom 5* directly from Matthew 10:21:[65]

> Tradet autem frater fratrem in mortem, et pater filium; et insurgent filii in parentes, et morte eos adficient.

> ('But a brother will consign his brother to death and a father his son, and sons will rise up against their parents and put them to death.')

Although this is a plausible source by its own strength, a knowledge of the kinsmen tradition renders Jost's derivation doubtful. Pseudo-Ephraem's *non liberare* and especially the phrase *ne gescyldan* ('not shield/protect') in *HomS 33/44* are closer to Wulfstan's *ne beorgan* ('not protect') than Matthew's *tradere* ('hand over, betray'); moreover, the gospel does not offer a model for the pair *gesibba:gesibban* where *HomS 33/44* offers *neahmagas*, making it the likelier source. However, it is noteworthy that the passage from Matthew occurs also in Mark 13:12, the immediate context of the *WHom 5* pericope. In fact, the elements of *WHom 5* not found in *WHom 3* are precisely the elements contained in the gospel passage, and in the same order: brother:brother, father:son, son:father. As Wulfstan was contemplating the pericope for *WHom 5*, this verse would have reminded him of the similar sentiment he had adapted from a version of *HomS 33/44* in *WHom 3*; it seems he copied this in with the addition of the agents found in the gospel. Thus although a derivation of *WHom 3* from *WHom 5* may seem more straightforward, the reverse is equally plausible and is furthermore backed by the current state of Wulfstan scholarship. Finally, when writing his *Sermo Lupi*, as Jost also recognises,[66] Wulfstan based his final form of the motif on the sequence in *WHom 5*.

The two shorter Wulfstanian texts based on *Sermo Lupi* formulate the motif as follows:

> Ne bearh nu foroft gesib þam sibban þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his bearne, ne hwilum bearn his agenum fæder, ne broðor oðrum; ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode, swa swa he scolde. (*HomU 25*, 128.10–13)

> Ne byrhð se gesibba hwilan gesibban þe ma þe ðam fremdan, ne broðor his breðer oþre hwile, ne bearn foroft his fæder ne meder. Ne na fela manna ne healt his getrywða swa wel, swa he sceolde, for gode and for worolde. (*HomU 49*, 310.7–9)

Like *Sermo Lupi*, these versions use the motif to examine contemporary signs that the end-days are at hand. Both derive independently from that text, as both copy 'swa (swa) he sceolde' while each follows some phrasing of the antecedent text more closely than the other.

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[64] Bethurum, pp. 101–3, 290; Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 105–16; 'Secundum Lucam', ed. and trans. by Joyce Tally Lionarons, in *Wulfstan's Eschatological Homilies* (2000) <http://webpages.ursinus.edu/jlionarons/wulfstan/> [accessed 1 February 2015], introductory note; *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2010), pp. 49–50.

[65] Karl Jost, 'Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia*, 56 (1932), 265–315 (pp. 302–3, n. 3).

[66] Ibid.

Vespasian Homily 2

The version of the motif contained in *VespHom 2* is brief but unique among its English peers. The context matches neither Pseudo-Ephraem nor the texts of the Macarius group; instead, the core of the motif has been inserted into a dramatic spatial positioning of the sinner at the last judgement, with a vengeful God above, the gaping mouth of hell below, and his fellow humans all around. This content, which is found without the kinsmen motif in a further homily of the same period,[67] has been linked to a similar spatial configuration of God and hell in Anselm of Canterbury's *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem*,[68] which likewise lacks the kinsmen motif.[69] The isolated borrowing of that motif may thus be attributed to the *VespHom 2* compiler.

The second half of the motif in this text departs significantly from the Macarian observation that everyone will be judged according to their own deeds. Though the conclusion in this version of the motif is no less inescapable, its emphasis is on where the individual defendants concentrate their attention rather than on personal responsibility: 'ælc had innoh to donne an him selfe' (*VespHom 2* 239.32–33). This conclusion is strikingly similar to Otfrid's aside 'sie sorgent iro thare' ('they will worry for themselves there', V. 19, l. 48). It is, however, also a common-sense inference. It may be assumed that the two authors reached it independently.

A precise derivation of the sentence in *VespHom 2* is not possible based only on the attestations here collected. Middle English *frend* ('friend; kinsman; in-law') covers equally every type of relationship found in the Latin and Old English versions. The Judgement Day setting brings us no closer to singling out a source, although this scene sets *VespHom 2* a little apart from the attestation in *HomM 8*, which is set in hell. Finally, the conclusion of the motif in the Middle English text has no resemblance to any Old English or Latin counterpart.

The phrasing of the core motif in *VespHom 2* is remarkably close to that found across the Macarius group, yet not so close as to have been copied out verbatim from a text looking very much like any of the surviving versions. Of course, the motif's productive survival into the twelfth century suggests a lost intermediary tradition whose verbal proximity to the surviving text cannot be demonstrated. However, given the short form of the motif in *VespHom 2*, its development of a new and unconnected conclusion, and the precise fit between the motif and its context here, it seems more likely that the compiler while at work transmitting the spatial judgement motif saw fit to copy in an appropriate ancillary motif from memory.

A thematic stemma may now be posited for the kinsmen motif, for which see Figure 2.

Conclusions

By its nature, stemmatics favours simplicity. It seeks to derive a plurality of nodes from a single archetype, and prefers to award every node a single parent. Accordingly, a close analysis of the sort here conducted is bound to conclude that reality is more complex. Part I of this article series drew attention to the existence of parallel independent development across branches of the kinsmen tradition, a pattern that can doubtlessly be found in the transmission history of

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[67] See Stephen Pelle, 'Continuity and Renewal in English Homiletic Eschatology, *ca.* 1150–1200' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 2012), pp. 167–68.

[68] Ed. by F. S. Schmitt, in *S. Anselmi Cantuarensis opera omnia*, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Stuttgart: Frommann, 1984), III, 76–79.

[69] Schmitt, pp. 78–79; Pelle, pp. 167–68.

any widely copied motif. The present article adds to this the high incidence of contamination, when homiletic compilers rely on multiple sources to synthesise different versions of the same motif.

Scragg has previously proposed that contamination took place when the kinsmen motif was transmitted from *HomU 9* to *HomU 27* with memory relay of a grammatical construct from *HomS 4*. I have adduced evidence in the present article that the compiler of *HomU 55* had access to manuscript copies of both Pseudo-Ephraem and Pseudo-Isidore, which he combined in his rendering of the kinsmen motif, while the *HomM 8* compiler seems to have read *HomU 27* as well as Pseudo-Isidore. I have also shown that the *HomS 44* compiler appears to have worked directly with Pseudo-Ephraem but additionally echoes the motif's phrasing as found in the Macarius group, while its copyist in *HomS 33* seems to have had access to a text like *HomU 27* as well. Finally, Wulfstan appears to have merged a shorter version of the motif with elements of a gospel passage, thereby independently restoring it to a fuller length. Thus among the twenty-two textual nodes here consulted, fourteen of which are Anglo-Saxon, at least six may synthesise multiple sources in the transmission of the same motif. This finding sheds light not only on methods of homiletic compilation, but also on the availability of Latin and vernacular homilies in Anglo-Saxon England and the homilists' familiarity with them.

Above all, the complexity of the textual network here uncovered serves as a warning about the pitfalls of textual stemmatics in general and local stemmatics in particular. As the Wulfstan material demonstrates, derivation principles are especially unreliable if applied to short passages; as the kinsmen material at large suggests, authors frequently used more sources than we can account for. Indeed, we will often misread the signs, and my stemma is not meant as a reliable map of this motif's dissemination. Even so, the speculative science of local stemmatics is able to provide some insight into the spread of motifs from author to author, and consequently has a modest role to play in the field of source studies.
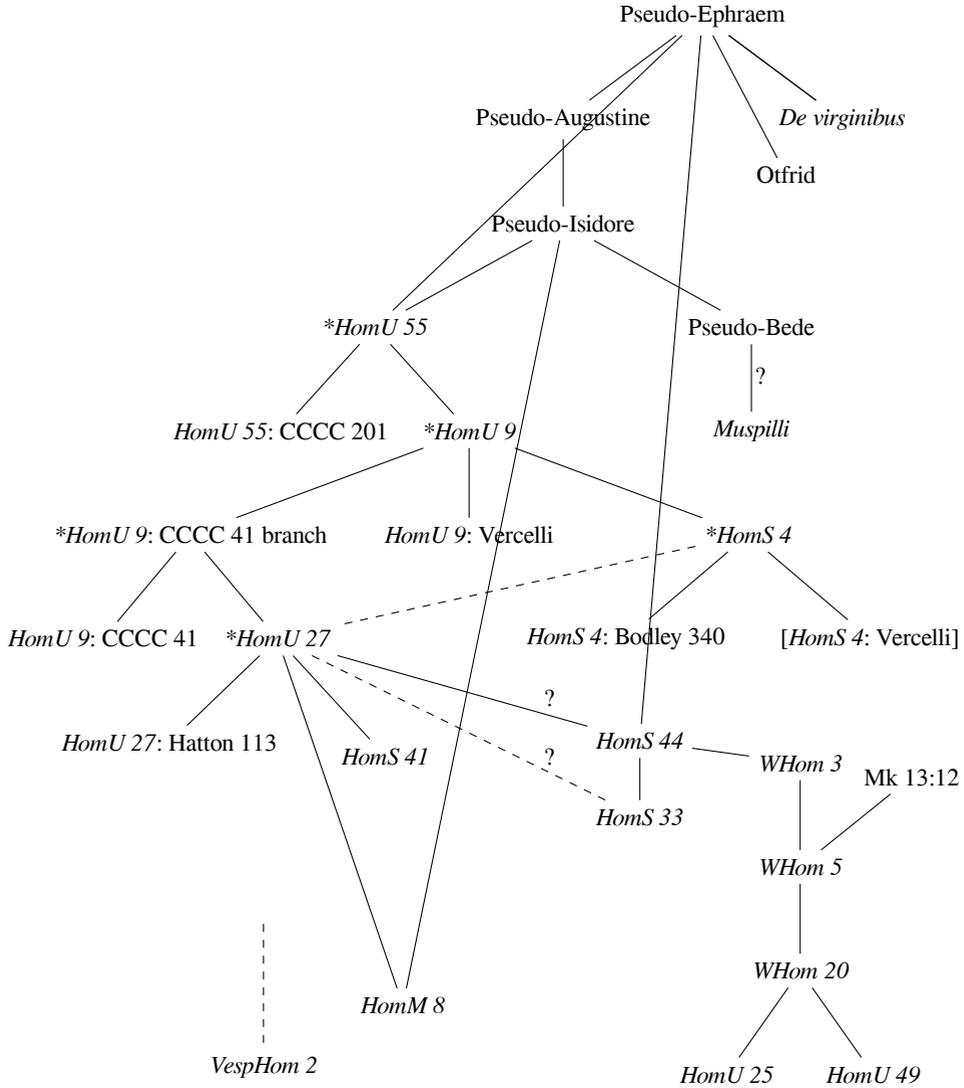
Figure 2: Full stemma. Asterisks indicate reconstructed witnesses; dashed lines indicate transmission by memory; square brackets indicate that the motif does not survive in the Vercelli copy of *HomS 4*. The immediate source of *VespHom 2* is uncertain, but it seems to derive from the *HomU 9* branch.

Appendix 1: configurations of the motif

Text	Setting	Verb	Agents:Beneficiaries
De paenitentia (Pseudo-Ephraem)	hell; (last judgement)	*liberare*	frater:fratrem; pater:filium
Sermo LXVI ad fratres in eremo (Pseudo-Augustine)	hell	*liberare*	pater:filium; filius:patre; amicus; frater
Sermo III (Pseudo-Isidore)	hell	*adiuvare*	pater:filium; filius:patrem; amicus:amicum; frater:fratri
Versus de contemptu mundi (Pseudo-Bede)	last judgement	*adiuvare*	pater:filium; filius:patrem
Evangelienbuch (Otfrid)	last judgement	*helfan*	manahoubit:hereren; kind; quene; themo filu richen manne
Muspilli	last days	*helfan*	mak:andremo
HomU 55	last judgement	*gefultumian*	fæder:suna; suna:fæder
HomU 9: Vercelli	last judgement	*helpan*	fæder:suna; sunu:fæder; nan mæg:oðrum
HomU 9: CCCC 41	last judgement	*gefultumian*	fæder:suna; sunu:fæder; dohtor:meder; nan mæg:oðrum
HomS 4: Bodley 340	hell	*gehelpan*	nan:oðres
HomU 27	last judgement	*gehelpan*	ænig man:oðrum; fæder:suna; sunu:fæder; modor:dehter; dohtor:meder; nan:oðrum
HomS 41	last judgement	*gehelpan*	nan mann:oþran; fæder:sunu; sunu:fæder; nan mann:oþrum
HomS 44, first occ.	last judgement	*helpan*	broðor:oðrum; fæder:suna; neahmagas; maðmgestreon; woruldæhta
HomS 44, second occ.	hell	*ongytan* etc.	fæder:sunu; sunu:fæder; dohtor:modor; modor:dehter
HomS 33, first occ.	last judgement	*gehelpan*	broþor:oþrum; fæder:suna; neahmagas; maðmgestreon; worulde æhta
HomS 33, second occ.	hell	*ongytan* etc.	fæder:sunu; sunu:fæder; dohter:modor; moder:dohter
HomM 8	hell	*gehelpan*	fæder:suna; suna: fæder; moder:dohter; nan oðer freond
WHom 5	last days	*beorgan*	broðor:oðrum; fæder:bearne; bearn:fæder; gesibb:gesibban
WHom 3	last days	*beorgan*	gesibba:gesibban
WHom 20.1	present time	*beorgan*	gesib:gesibban; fæder:suna; bearn:fæder; broðer:oðrum
HomU 25	present time	*beorgan*	gesib:sibban; fæder:bearne; bearn:fæder; broðor:oðrum
HomU 49	present time	*beorgan*	gesibba:gesibban; broðor:breðer; bearn:fæder/meder
VespHom 2	last judgement	*helpen*	non frend:oðre
De virginibus	last judgement	*gehelfen*	niemen:dem anderen

Table 1

Appendix 2: index of English homilies

(*DOE*) Short Title	Traditional Title	Editor; *Manuscripts*	Passages Discussed
HomM 8	Fadda VII	Fadda, pp. 139–57 *CUL Ii. 1. 33*	32–61
HomS 4 (Bodley 340)	Vercelli IX (Bodley 340)	Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex', pp. 100–16 *Bodley 340*	111.6
HomS 33		Förster, 'Der Vercelli-Codex', pp. 128–37 *Hatton 116*	131.3–134.13 134.19–135.4 135.14–18 135.29
HomS 41	Bazire–Cross VII	Bazire and Cross, pp. 90–100 *CUL Ii. 4. 6*	16–28
HomS 44	Bazire–Cross III	Bazire and Cross, pp. 40–55 *CCCC 162*	53–88 95–101 115–18 125–26
HomU 9	Vercelli IV	Scragg, *Vercelli*, pp. 90–107 *Vercelli; CCCC 41*	58–77
HomU 25	Napier 27	Napier, pp. 128–30 *CCCC 201; Cot. Tib. A. 3*	128.10–13
HomU 27	Napier XXX	Napier, pp. 143–52 *Hatton 113*	148.28–149.31
HomU 49	Napier LX	Napier, pp. 309–10 *York Minster*	310.7–10
HomU 55	Macarius Homily; *Ecclesiastical Institutes*; *Canons of Theodulf*	Sauer, pp. 411–16 *CCCC 201*	12–30 55–57 69–112
VespHom 2	Vespasian Homily 2	Morris, ɪ, 230–41 *Cott. Vesp. A. xxii*	1.239
WHom 3	*Secundam Lucam*	Bethurum, pp. 123–27 *3 MSS (see Bethurum, p. 123)*	54–55
WHom 5	*Secundum Marcum*	Bethurum, pp. 134–41 *3 MSS (see Bethurum, p. 134)*	98–100
WHom 20.1	*Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*	Bethurum, pp. 255–60 *5 MSS (see Bethurum, pp. 22–24)*	56–61

Table 2. Short referencing for Old English homilies (but not *VespHom 2*) follows the practice in *Dictionary of Old English: A to G Online*, ed. by Angus Cameron and others (2007) <http://tapor.library.utoronto.ca/doe/> [accessed 1 February 2015].