

# The Adaptation of the *Visio Sancti Pauli* in the West: The Evidence of Redaction VI\*

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*Abstract:* This article examines the earliest surviving adaptation of the Long Latin *Visio Sancti Pauli* in the West with a view to shedding light on the context and *milieu* in which this text was transmitted and adapted. It is argued that the text points to transmission in an Hiberno-Frankish *milieu* in which the *paenitentialia minora* also circulated, together with an Insular collection of homilies. Based on the text as it stands in *StG*<sup>1</sup>, Rhaetia or Northern Italy after 721 AD may be the likeliest place for the earliest reception and adaptation of the *Visio Sancti Pauli*.

*Keywords:* Visio Sancti Pauli, Redaction VI, penitential handbooks, private penance, kinship, Caesarius of Arles, Boniface, Milan, Apocrypha

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The *Visio Sancti Pauli*, by which I mean the Latin versions of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, is at once one of the most controversial and influential texts in the development of popular eschatological literature in western Europe. The text purports to relate how St Paul witnessed the ‘going-out’ of the souls at the time of death and was taken on a tour of the hereafter. He was allowed to see the rewards of the righteous and the punishments of sinners, and ultimately obtained temporary respite for the latter.<sup>1</sup> The premise for this journey is Paul’s comment in 2 Corinthians 12 that a man known to him (usually taken to indicate himself)<sup>2</sup> was taken up to the third

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Hilhorst & Theodore Silverstein (eds), *Apocalypse of Paul: a new critical edition of three Long Latin versions*, Cahiers d’Orientalisme 21 (Geneva 1997); James Keith Elliott, *The apocryphal New Testament: a collection of apocryphal Christian literature in English translation based on M. R. James* (Oxford 1993) 616–44.

<sup>2</sup> James Buchanan Wallace, *Snatched into Paradise* (2 Cor 12:1–10): *Paul’s heavenly journey in the context of early Christian experience*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

heaven, where he heard ‘things unutterable’. Paul himself is not known to have divulged these unutterable things, leading to the widespread rejection of *Visio Sancti Pauli* [hereafter *VSP*] among ecclesiastical scholars and authorities.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, this passage sparked one of the most popular and enduring literary productions of the medieval period. While the origins of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, usually placed in third-century Egypt, are as yet shrouded in mystery,<sup>4</sup> the influence that the Latin translation had on eschatological literature, such as vision literature, Sunday sermons, and body-and-soul dialogues, in the period following its arrival in the West, in the late fifth or early sixth century, is unmistakable. Its own transmission is no less impressive. Alongside the transmission of the text in full, it was adapted into numerous brief tracts, known as the ‘Redactions’, which are based almost exclusively on the *VSP*’s most popular section: that describing the punishment of sinners.<sup>5</sup> Recent work by Lenka Jiroušková has radically altered our perception of the relationship between the individual Redactions; nevertheless, little is known concerning the earliest transmission and adaptation of the *VSP* in the West. My purpose is to shed some light on this process by analysing the earliest now extant Redaction of the *VSP*. This text, known as ‘Redaction VI’, is a much-abbreviated account of Paul’s journey, recast as a brief tract with penitential overtones.

Redaction VI [hereafter *RedVI*] has most recently been dated to the mid-eighth century.<sup>6</sup> It is preserved in three manuscripts, of which St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 682, pp 193–204 (*StG*<sup>r</sup>) contains the only complete copy. This manuscript is

und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 179 (Berlin 2011) 1–23.

<sup>3</sup> Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli: the history of the Apocalypse in Latin together with nine texts*, Studies and Documents 4 (London and Toronto 1935) 3. Such critics include Sozomen and Augustine, as well as Aldhelm and Alcuin. E.g. Austine Casiday, ‘St Aldhelm on apocrypha’, *Journal of Theological Studies* 55/1 (2004) 147–57.

<sup>4</sup> The date of composition is contested, but is most often placed in the late second or early third century AD. For a summary of the relevant scholarship see Hilhorst and Silverstein, *Apocalypse of Paul*, 11, 18–19; cf. Theodore Silverstein, ‘The date of the *Apocalypse of Paul*’, *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962) 335–48.

<sup>5</sup> The Redactions were originally numbered as they were discovered, so that traditionally we speak of Redactions I–XI, though their names do not reflect their relationship to one another. Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, chapters four and five, is the first and, until recently, only full-length study of the Redactions. It is now superseded by Lenka Jiroušková (ed), *Die Visio Pauli: Wege und Wandlungen einer orientalischen Apokryphe im lateinischen Mittelalter und der Einschluss der altschechischen und deutschsprachigen Textzeugen*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 34 (Leiden 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l’âme dans l’au-delà d’après la littérature latine (V<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle)*, Collection de l’École française de Rome 189 (Rome 1994) 275–76. As the work does not have a fixed title in the manuscripts, I have opted to continue to refer to it as ‘Redaction VI’. It is headed by *Incipit castigatio sanctae paulae de hominis peccatoris [sic]* in *StG*<sup>r</sup>, by *In christo nomene incipit uita sancti pauli in V<sup>o</sup>*, and by *Visio sancti pauli apo[...]* in *De*. Carozzi (*Le voyage*, 269 n. 548) thinks the title *uita* must be an aberration and suggests it should without a doubt be corrected to *uia*. I see no reason to emend. Cf. Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 921; Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 215.

dated to the second quarter of the ninth century, with a provenance in Germany, possibly in the Fulda region, and it shows signs of having been copied from a Merovingian exemplar.<sup>7</sup> Besides *RedvI* this manuscript contains *capitula*, a series of homilies mostly attributed to St Caesarius of Arles or St Augustine, excerpts from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, and a copy of the Ps-Bede and Ps-Egbert penitential known as the *Additivum*; the text here follows a long homily on the creed concerning virtues and vices<sup>8</sup> and is followed by two Hiberno-Latin eschatological homilies, known as the Three Utterances and the Ps-Augustinian Doomsday homily.<sup>9</sup> Two other manuscripts contain fragmentary copies. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Pal. Lat. 216, fol. 126<sup>v</sup> (*V*<sup>2</sup>), while slightly older, contains only the first three paragraphs of the text. The relevant section of the manuscript (fasc. II) is dated to c. 800 and was likely written in Reims but had a later provenance in Lorsch.<sup>10</sup> The early ninth-century copy in Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (Bibliotheca Albertina), MS. 1608, fol. 6<sup>r-v</sup> (*Le*) only runs as far as §5. It is preserved as part of a collection of fragments and is of unknown provenance. The leaf (fol. 6<sup>r-v</sup>) was previously pasted to the backing plate of a twelfth-century manuscript housed in the Albertina library in Leipzig.<sup>11</sup> *RedvI* has

<sup>7</sup> St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 682, DOI 10.5076/e-codices-csg-0682, online at eCodices (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0682>), accessed 05.04.2015; Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 214; Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 141. For ease of reference, this article uses the manuscript sigla provided by Jiroušková.

<sup>8</sup> No. 2 (*Sermo de symbolo et virtutibus*) in Susan O'Keefe, *Explanationes fidei aevi Carolini* (*Symbola*), CCCM 254 (Turnhout 2012), edited from Wolfenbüttel, HAB, MS. Weiss. 91, fols 104<sup>v</sup>-106<sup>r</sup>. This is no. 9 in her *A catalogue of works pertaining to the explanation of the creed in Carolingian manuscripts*, IPM 63 (Turnhout 2012).

<sup>9</sup> Charles Darwin Wright, 'Latin analogues for the two deaths: The three utterances of the soul', in John Carey, Emma Nic Cárthaigh & Caitríona Ó Dochartaigh (eds), *The end and beyond: medieval Irish eschatology*, 2 vols (Aberystwyth 2014) i, 113-38; Charles Darwin Wright, 'A Doomsday passage in an Old English sermon for Lent, revisited', *Anglia – Zeitschrift für englische Philologie* 128/1 (2010) 28-47. For more on the manuscript contents see the discussion below.

<sup>10</sup> Elias Avery Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 12 vols (Oxford 1934-1969) 1 86; Bernhard Bischoff, *Die Abtei Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften*, *Geschichtsblätter Kreis Bergstraße*. Sonderbd. 10 (2nd rev. ed. Lorsch 1989) 58, 120 f.; Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and libraries in the age of Charlemagne*, *Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* 1, trans. Michael Gorman (Cambridge 1994, repr. 2007) 28, n. 37 (= Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols [Stuttgart 1966-1967, 1981] i); Michael Kautz, 'Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 216' (Universität Heidelberg 2013), online at *Biblioteca laureshamensis digital* (urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-diglit-44647), accessed 05.04.2015.

<sup>11</sup> Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 139-40. The catalogue description is available online at *Manuscripta Mediaevalia* (<http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/dokumente/html/obj31569307>), accessed 05.04.2015. This leaf was originally in MS. 253; the number is noted in the bottom margin of fol. 5<sup>r</sup> and the right margin of fol. 6<sup>v</sup>. Such a leaf is mentioned in Rudolf Helssig, *Katalog der lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig*, 1: *Die theologischen Handschriften*

been edited twice: Theodore Silverstein printed diplomatic editions from *StG* and *V*<sup>2</sup>,<sup>12</sup> and recently Lenka Jiroušková printed a synoptic edition of all three.<sup>13</sup> The copy in *Le* was first discovered in 1949.<sup>14</sup> Aside from these editions, the text has been discussed in detail only by a handful of scholars, primarily in relation to Irish vision literature or in discussions on the origins of purgatory.<sup>15</sup> Selections from *StG* have been printed or translated in some of these previous discussions,<sup>16</sup> but to date, to the best of my knowledge, no full translation has been published, possibly because the text has been transmitted in corrupt Latin. I have provided a text from *StG*, with variants from the other manuscripts, together with my best attempt at a translation in the appendix to this article.<sup>17</sup>

### *Redaction VI and the Visio Sancti Pauli*

To put this text in perspective, I shall briefly refer back to the *VSP*. The Latin translation of the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which probably dates to sometime between the middle of the fifth and the early sixth century,<sup>18</sup> is commonly referred to as the ‘Long Latin’ text. It is based on the revised ‘Tarsus’ recension of the early fifth century, which adds an introduction stating that the text was discovered in Tarsus after Paul revealed in a dream that it was hidden under the floorboards of the house where he used to live. The ‘Long Latin’ text is now extant in three recensions, one of which (known as *L*)<sup>19</sup> circulated in parts of Italy, where it was known to the

*ten*, 1 (*MS 1–500*) (Leipzig 1926) 355–56, where he, however, describes a leaf containing extracts from Donatus’s *Ars grammatica* (?). Bischoff dates this leaf to the first half of the ninth century and posits France as the place of origin; *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, 4 vols (Wiesbaden 1998–2018) ii, 68 (no. 2267).

<sup>12</sup> Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 214–18.

<sup>13</sup> Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 921–24.

<sup>14</sup> Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 277 n. 96. She refers to Albert Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Munich-Pasing 1949) 46 n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> David N. Dumville, ‘Biblical apocrypha and the early Irish: a preliminary investigation’, *PRIA* 73 C 8 (1973) 299–338; David N. Dumville, ‘Towards an interpretation of *Fis Adammán*’, *Studia Celtica* 12/3 (1977) 62–77; Carozzi, *Le voyage*; Isabel Moreira, *Heaven’s purge: purgatory in Late Antiquity* (Oxford 2010); Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘Can we prove that *Visio S. Pauli*, Recensio VI, is Irish?’. Paper read at the XIV International Congress of Celtic Studies, National University of Ireland, Maynooth 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Carozzi translated various individual phrases in his discussion; Moreira translated §6; and Ó Corráin printed §§3, 4, 7–9 and 12, and partially translated §§3–4 on his handout.

<sup>17</sup> As a translation is given in the Appendix, I will not provide translations of quotes from the text in the body of the article.

<sup>18</sup> Silverstein & Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul*, 12.

<sup>19</sup> This version is the oldest of three recensions and closest to the original Greek. Quotations from this text are given with the relevant manuscript siglum (mostly *P*, the primary witness to group *L*). Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 6; Silverstein & Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul*, 12.

author of the Rule of the Master.<sup>20</sup> The Redactions, which date primarily to the tenth century or later, deal almost exclusively with the regions of the damned and are particularly concerned with the Sunday respite. Jiroušková's study shows that they fall into three separate groups (and subgroups), each with their own characteristic combination of scenes adapted from *VSP* and innovations.<sup>21</sup> However, the texts traditionally referred to as 'Redaction VI' and 'Redaction XI';<sup>22</sup> the two oldest versions, fall outside the categories so established and are considered *Übergangsfassungen* ('Transition versions').<sup>23</sup> Both are also rather unique in that they deviate most from *VSP*, and in that for both of them Irish or Insular connections have been proposed.<sup>24</sup>

*RedVI*, with which I am here concerned, represents both an abridgement and a rewriting of *VSP*. Aside from using Paul as its protagonist, its derivation from *VSP* is borne out in the structure of the text, which follows the ascent-and-journey pattern therein established. We learn in the opening paragraph that Paul was taken to the first heaven (*primo caelo* §2) — a deliberate deviation from Paul's famous statement in 2 Corinthians 12 that he was taken up to the third heaven, but modelled on the clever distinction made in *VSP* between things which Paul might and might not reveal.<sup>25</sup> Following this, the body of the text is made up of a series of

<sup>20</sup> Adalbert de Vogüé (ed & trans), *La Règle du Maître*, 2 vols, SC 105, 106 (Paris 1964) ii, 506, 188–90, 350–51. There is an ongoing debate as to the possibility that the text was also known in Gaul in the sixth century, based on a quotation from *VSP* by Caesarius of Arles. However, the quotation may well derive from the *Rule of the Master*, rather than directly from *VSP*. Germain Morin (ed), *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia*, 2 vols (Maretioli 1937–1942) i, 2 (1937) 1016 and ii (1942) 385 s.v. *impedimentum*; Bonifatius Fischer, 'Impedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseros', *Vigiliae Christianae* 5 (1951) 84–87; Silverstein & Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul*, 20 n. 5. The line quoted by Caesarius is *impedimenta mundi fecerunt eos miseros* [*VSP* §10, as in *P*].

<sup>21</sup> Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*. The groups are named after their opening formula: A *oportet nos*, B *interrogandum est*, and C *dies dominicus*.

<sup>22</sup> Redaction XI survives in a single ninth-century manuscript with Anglo-Saxon affiliations and may have been composed specifically for a house of nuns. See Tomás O'Sullivan, 'Visio Sancti Pauli: Redaction XI', in John Carey, et al. (eds), *The end and beyond: medieval Irish eschatology* (Aberystwyth 2014) ii, 397–415.

<sup>23</sup> According to Jiroušková (277–83) they do not belong to the main body of the Redactions, to which she refers as 'Hölle-fassungen', but rather represent 'Übergangsfassungen', because they contain both elements shared with the Redactions and elements unique in the context of the entire tradition of *VSP*.

<sup>24</sup> O'Sullivan, 'Visio Sancti Pauli: Redaction XI'; Charles Darwin Wright, 'Some evidence for an Irish origin of Redaction XI of the *Visio Pauli*', *Manuscripta* 34 (1990) 34–44; and also his *The Irish tradition in Old English literature* (Cambridge 1993) 106–74; Ó Corráin, 'Can we prove?'

<sup>25</sup> Paul, by his own admission, was not allowed to speak of what he had seen in the third heaven (2 Corinthians 12.4). In *VSP* §21, the angel first shows Paul things he cannot speak of (and which are not described in the text), before continuing to show him things he *should* speak of (which thus form the rest of the text), starting at the foundations of the gates of heaven.



descriptions of punishments. Paul is continuously moving from one scene to the next, each paragraph beginning with the phrase *uenit in alio loco, uidit* 'he came to another place; he saw' [...]. These paragraphs normally consist of the following threefold structure, again derived from *VSP*: a) a description of sinners being punished; b) a question from Paul as to what their sin was; c) the angel's explanation.<sup>26</sup> The locations of these scenes remain unspecified;<sup>27</sup> only two further locations are mentioned in the last two paragraphs. The first one of these is ostensibly the last place visited by Paul, but unfortunately the text appears to be corrupt here, and does not yield much to interpretation: *pleno caelo de pecunia multa* 'a heaven full of riches (?)' (§10). The last paragraph mentions that Paul's family resides *in infernum* (§11). The narrative emphasis undoubtedly lies on the punishments, and geographical details are largely omitted. In fact, in *StG* the text identifies itself specifically as a text concerning Paul's chastisement of sinners (*Incipit castigatio ... de hominis peccatoris*) and opens with the statement that *Sanctus Paulus ductus est in regnum Dei, ut uideret opera iustorum et poenas peccatorum*. There is no attempt to narrow down the location further.

Yet, while *RedvI* shares this preoccupation with sin and punishment with the later Redactions, it does not have many of the characteristic features found in them: for example, it does not substitute the name 'Michael' for 'angel' in the text, nor does it include the section describing souls leaving the body, or open with a typical homiletic prologue.<sup>28</sup> Instead, it preserves the briefest possible account of the Land of Promise, from which it moves to descriptions of the punishments without any noticeable change of scene. *RedvI* further alters the conclusion of *VSP* in a peculiar fashion: the angel Raphael — not Michael — appears and Paul asks him for respite for his own relatives only, instead of for sinners in general. His relatives are then apparently taken out of hell by camels. No mention is made of the Sunday respite. Thus Jiroušková, like Silverstein, concludes that this Redaction is no 'Bindeglied' between *VSP* and the other Redactions, but an independent re-writing.<sup>29</sup> In fact, she observes that only the first two scenes in this text are derived from *VSP*. These include the opening formula, with the description of a fruit-laden tree in §1, which borrows from *VSP* §22; and a scene describing men and women in fiery chains in §2, which borrows from *VSP* §39. She considers the scenes with

<sup>26</sup> Only two paragraphs deviate from this pattern (see below). For the significance of this threefold structure in vision literature in general, see Nicole Volmering, *Medieval Irish vision literature: a genre study*; unpubl. PhD diss., University College Cork (2014), chapter 3 <<http://hdl.handle.net/10468/1968>>.

<sup>27</sup> Also pointed out by Carozzi, *Le voyage*, 269.

<sup>28</sup> For these features see part I of Jiroušková's study.

<sup>29</sup> Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 281–83; Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 82; Cf. Dumville, 'Towards an interpretation', 69.

the unchaste clerics mentioned in §§5 and 6, which, as she notes, draw from *VSP* §§31–36, too singular.<sup>30</sup>

In her comparative work Jiroušková is primarily interested in scene distribution, but I would argue that the link between the two texts is largely structural, and consists more of a conflation of the structure and motifs of the *VSP* with like-minded ideas than true abridgment.<sup>31</sup> For instance, *RedVI* duly imitates the formulaic and repetitive paragraph structure of *VSP*, using key phrases such as *uidi uiros hac mulieres*, Paul's *Qui sunt hii, Domine?*, and the angel's *Hii sunt qui ... (propterea/propter quod) persoluunt proprias paenas*. However, when comparing scenes in detail, the correspondences are far less close. For instance, the only direct correspondence between §2 and *VSP* §39 is a reference to the *cathenas ignis* (*cathenas ignitas P, igneas A*). Jiroušková has suggested that the sin for which the men and women here were punished, which appears to be that of not honouring their father and mother, provides a further connection with *VSP* §39, where the sinners are maidens who lost their virginity unbeknownst to their parents. The changes of type of sin and personae, however, make this connection tenuous at best. An equally tenuous connection between the two texts is *RedVI*'s *stabant ad partem sinistram*. At this point *VSP* §39 reads *ducerunt eos in tenebrarum*. While it seems that a place with a negative connotation must have been intended in both cases, *RedVI* presents a distant echo at best.<sup>32</sup>

*RedVI* §5 and §6 contain two scenes that may be regarded as an assemblage of various ideas from the punishment section in the *VSP*. §5 describes men boiling in lead and pitch, dressed in leaden sackcloths or chasubles. The sinners are bishops and presbyters who lost their chastity, perjured themselves, judged bad judgements, did not care for the poor or for orphans, and accepted bribes. These elements are loosely based on the episodes describing garments of pitch and sulphur in *VSP* §40, the fornicating presbyter in *VSP* §34, the bishop who did not judge justly and did not pity widows and orphans in §35, and those who trusted in their riches and disparaged the Word of God in §37.<sup>33</sup> There are no direct verbal parallels, however.

In §6 Paul witnesses deacons and other clergy immersed in lead to various degrees, who are suffering for breaking their vow of chastity, vomiting out the Eucha-

<sup>30</sup> Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 281–83.

<sup>31</sup> Ó Corráin, 'Can we prove?', noted on his handout that the text consists of 54% interpolation, based on the words used, but I would argue that the link is more tenuous still, since, while they may have many words in common by virtue of describing similar images, there is relatively little textual correspondence with respect to clauses or phrases.

<sup>32</sup> In using this phrase *RedVI* echoes Matthew 25.41 more than *VSP*.

<sup>33</sup> *VSP P* §40 *pannis picem plenis et sulforem ignis*; *VSP P* §34 *manducans et bibens et fornicans*; *VSP P* §35 *non fecit iudicium iustum et uiduae et orfanos non est misertus*; *VSP P* §37 *contententes in diuiciis suis; detraunt in ecclesia uerbo dei*.

rist, perjuring themselves and other sins. This immersion motif is a compound motif deriving from *VSP* §31 quite commonly found in medieval visions<sup>34</sup> and must be considered in the light of its original function as a 'like-for-like' punishment in *VSP*. There it describes four groups of sinners, submerged in a fiery river up to the knees, the navel, the lips, and the hair, who are guilty of idle disputes after church, fornication after taking the eucharist, slander in church, and plotting against their neighbours respectively, and there appears to be a deliberate 'like-for-like' correlation between the sins and the body parts mentioned. In *RedvI*, we might likewise see a link between those immersed up to the navel and the sin of fornication, and between those immersed up to the mouth and the sins of perjury and vomiting out the eucharist. But while the general idea has been preserved, the texts are not verbally close. The scribe can only be said to draw on the *VSP* in a general sense and is shown to take license with the motifs he selects, altering, adding, and replacing details as he sees fit.

### Adaptation

It remains, then, to be determined, whether these adaptations reveal something of the circumstances in which the text was copied, or of the motivations of the copyist. Of particular interest for this enquiry are §6 and §11; two passages in the text which immediately stand out because the scribe notably deviates from the structure of his inherited model.

In §11 we encounter some unusual repetition. The dialogue between Paul and Raphael consists of a question-and-answer scene, but the sequence of speakers in the exchange is reversed twice, shifting from Paul to the angel and back, and from Paul to the Lord himself. Moreover, this time the scene does not begin with a description of punishment or reward, but with Paul's question. Here the logical structure is:

- i. Paul asks where his parents are;
- ii. the angel answers they are in hell;
- iii. Paul weeps;
- iv. the Lord asks Raphael and Raphael asks Paul why;
- v. Paul asks whether he can join them/pleads for mercy on their behalf;
- vi. the Lord's answer is that they will be saved.



<sup>34</sup> Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 633. For the origins of this motif in the apocalypses, see Martha Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell: an apocalyptic form in Jewish and Christian literature* (Philadelphia 1983; repr. 1985) chapter 3.



The apparent repetition, here marked with A and B, appears to consist of three question-and-answer series, in which the text moves from a mediated dialogue to direct communication with the Lord, with subtle nuances marking each shift:<sup>35</sup>

**A** Et interrogauit sanctus Paulus: Domine, ubi sunt parentes mei?

Respondit ei angelus: In infernum usurantur.<sup>36</sup>

**B** Et dixit sanctus Paulus: Domine ubi est pater meus et mater mea et fratris mei et amici mei et cumpatris mei uel parenticula mea grandis et parui?

Respondit ei angelus: In inferno usurantur.

Et eiectauit se sanctus Paulus super inferno et coepit amariter plorare.

**A** Et interrogauit Dominus angelus Raphahel: quid ploras frater Paulus?

**B** Venit Raphahel angelus ad sancto Paulo: Quid tam grauiter pluras frater Paulus?

**A** Et ille dixit: Agat pius Deus. Licet me propter parentes meos intrare in inferno.

**B** Et ille dixit: Habeant ueniam. Ego spatiosus et multo misericors et pius fui super uos.

Dominus dixit ad sancto Paulo: Certo tibi dico, parentes tuos usque ad nono genuculo missus est camelos in euangelio uocatur finis multis qui parentes sancti Pauli traxerunt de inferno.

The first micro-dialogue is an actual doublet, in which Paul asks the same question twice, with more specific reference to particular family members the second time. This raises the question whether this issue was considered to hold special significance or whether the scribe may have had two different versions of this text.<sup>37</sup> The next micro-dialogue also repeats the question, but now communication initiates with the Lord and is mediated by Raphael to Paul. It follows from this revelation that the Lord has presumably been observing Paul's progress. The final micro-dialogue is ambiguous in that *ille* (B) could hypothetically refer to either Paul or the Lord — here I have taken it to refer to the Lord. In this case, then, the Lord answers Paul's supplication directly. The inspiration for line B is doubtless the intercession scene in *VSP* §§43–44 in which Paul, assisted by the archangel

<sup>35</sup> A similar representation of its structure has been previously printed by Ó Corráin on a hand-out for his lecture 'Can we prove?'

<sup>36</sup> Read *uruntur* (see the Appendix below for notes on the text).

<sup>37</sup> There is some further evidence for this, which I discuss in the Appendix below.

Michael, is invoking the Lord's mercy to obtain respite for the sinners.<sup>38</sup> There are, however, significant differences. Whereas in *VSP* Paul utters a very general plea on behalf of the sinners, in *Redvt* he invokes the Lord's mercy to obtain respite for his relatives *only*. Line A is even more peculiar and I have not found a parallel to date: rather than seeking their release, it appears that Paul seeks to enter hell, presumably in order to intercede on behalf of his relatives (rather than actually join them). The significance of the passage lies in the shift from a general concern for sinners in the *VSP*, to a concern with one's relatives in *Redvt*. This shift signifies a deliberate change of eschatological focus on the part of the author or redactor, whose concern was not only with the consequence of sins committed in this world for the individual's afterlife, but with the possibility of obtaining personal intercession on behalf of one's direct relatives.

The other paragraph that stands out is §6. In this paragraph we also find three question-and-answer sequences before the scene comes to an end. This deviation from the established pattern serves to allow Paul to ask more detailed questions concerning sinful clergy. These questions do not immediately bear on the scene of torture in front of him, but rather explain the rules of penance for those who require them from a theoretical standpoint. The scene itself describes clergy partially submerged in lead, who are guilty of such sins as breaking vows of chastity, swearing falsely in church and war-like (?) behaviour. When Paul, in the second sequence, asks how they may make amends for their sins,<sup>39</sup> the angel answers that they ought to do penance while alive (*agat paenitentiam dum aduixerit*). Paul then again asks how these grades of clergy (*presbyter aut diaconus aut subdiaconus aut uirginis aut sponsa Christi*) may make amends for their sins, to which the angel answers:

(§6) *Annos quattuor iaceas a terra pura, duas super lapide, et ipsos annos iniusto paciant famem apud panem et sale et aqua et parcat ei Dominus peccatum suum.*

The answer, in effect, provides very specific details regarding the ritual of penance by which one may cleanse oneself from these sins. This information does little to illuminate the punishment scene itself, and in fact takes us out of the eschatological context altogether.<sup>40</sup> Rather, the focus shifts back to earth, in order to discuss how to prevent punishment through penance. The only parallel I have been able to find

<sup>38</sup> *VSP P* §§43–44 *Et suspirauit Paulus et dixit: Domine deus, miserere plasmae tuae, miserere filiis omnium, miserere imagini tuae.*

<sup>39</sup> He asks specifically how those who break their vow of chastity make amends, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the quotation of the first-mentioned sin in the sequence is here intended to invoke all of them by extension.

<sup>40</sup> As such one might doubt the originality of these two paragraphs, though, lacking another witness, we must take the text at face value.

for this section of the text in penitential handbooks and collections of canon law is that already referred to by Claude Carozzi: canon 11 from the Welsh penitential known as the *Excerpta de libro Davidis*, a sixth-century text preserved in the early ninth-century Breton Codex Bigotianus, and the ninth-century manuscript Cambrai, Bibliotheque municipale, MS. 625.<sup>41</sup>

*Excerpta* §11 *Nunc autem presbyteri ruentis poenitentia est diaconique et subdiaconi uirginisque ... triennium: primo anno super terra, secundo lapidi capud inponendum, tertio super axem iaceat; solo pane et aqua et sale et leguminis talimpulo uescatur.*

Now, however, the penance of a presbyter, deacon, a subdeacon or a virgin who falls, ... is three years. During the first year he shall lie upon the ground; during the second his head is to be laid upon a stone; during the third upon a board; and he shall eat only bread and water and salt and some peas porridge.

The reference to bread, water, and salt is a characteristic feature of this penitential, though it also occurs occasionally in the Irish *P(aenitentiale) Vinniani*. While the *Excerpta* served as a source for the seventh-century *P. Cummeani* and the sixth-century *P. Ambrosianum*, this particular canon is not included there.<sup>42</sup> Both the *P. Cummeani* and the *P. Ambrosianum* were potentially written in Ireland, but have an exclusively continental transmission.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, the *Excerpta*, together with three other Welsh texts, circulated on the continent alongside selections from the *Canones Hibernenses* and the *Canones Adamnani* by the second quarter of the ninth century. However, too little is as yet known concerning the distribution of these texts to surmise where the *Excerpta* (or perhaps a copy of the other penitentials including canon 11) may have circulated, and so it remains uncertain in what context our scribe might have had access to this source — if, indeed, this was his source.

The importance of sin and penance, speaking from §6 and §11, is emphasized throughout much of *Redvt*, which repeatedly states that the sinners did not do penance (*paenitentiam non egerunt*; after §6 *numquam paenituerunt*), neither public, nor private (*non publice, non absconsa* §2, 3). The term I have translated as ‘private’, *absconsa*, must here be taken to refer to a non-ritual (or at least not

<sup>41</sup> Ludwig Bieler (ed & trans), *The Irish penitentials*, SLH 5 (Dublin 1967; repr. 1975) 3, 12–13, 70–73; Carozzi, *Le voyage*, 274–75. The Codex Bigotianus was written in the first quarter of the tenth century by the Breton scribe Maeloc; while Cambrai MS. 625 dates to the second quarter of the ninth century and is placed in northern France, possibly coming from Cambrai itself.

<sup>42</sup> Ludger Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bußbücher*, *Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter* 7 (Sigmaringen 1993) 15–27.

<sup>43</sup> Körntgen, *Studien*, 9–13; Bieler, *The Irish penitentials*, 20–24. For an introduction to the penitential handbooks, see now Rob Meens, *Penance in medieval Europe, 600–1200* (Cambridge 2014).

publicly witnessed) form of penance, pointing to an environment supporting an individualistic approach to penance. I have (so far) only encountered it in the *P. Vinniani* (§10),<sup>44</sup> one of the earliest Irish penitential handbooks, dating to the sixth century.<sup>45</sup> Claude Carozzi previously adduced parallels for many of the sins listed here from the penitential handbooks.<sup>46</sup> Some of these, like giving false witness, breaking one's vow of chastity, and perjury, even that of vomiting up the eucharist, also mentioned here, are too ubiquitous in the early penitentials to be of help in ascertaining potential sources. For one, however, that of stealing iron tools, I have not yet found a parallel.<sup>47</sup> But others provide more specific details. I will mention, for instance, the sin of perjuring oneself *in church* (§6). It is mentioned in the *Excerpta* (§16), the *Old Irish Penitential* (IV.12),<sup>48</sup> and the *Paenitentiale Theodori* (*Umbrense*).<sup>49</sup> The sin of stealing quadrupeds in §8 is mentioned in multiple capitularies and penitentials, which appear to be more or less derived from the *P. Columbani* (B.7 and 19), and from the *Collectio Hibernensis* (cap. 3), which does not yet use the term *quadrupedia*, however.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Dicimus enim in absconso absolui esse peccata per penitentiam et per studium diligentius cordis et corporis*. Bieler, *The Irish penitentials*, 76–77.

<sup>45</sup> This penitential was used as a source for many of the later handbooks, including the *Pen. Columbani*, which does not, however, include the relevant phrase.

<sup>46</sup> Carozzi, *Le voyage*, 265–71.

<sup>47</sup> But see the miracle concerning the theft of iron tools in Walahfrid Strabo's *Vita sancti Galli* II 30 (c. 833–834 AD), edited by Bruno Krusch, 'Vita sancti Galli triplex', in MGH SS rer. Merov. 4 (1902) iv, 242–246: 331.

<sup>48</sup> Bieler, *The Irish penitentials*, 258–77.

<sup>49</sup> *Paenitentiale Theodori* IV 1. Paul Willem Finsterwalder (ed), *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen*, Untersuchungen zu den Bussbüchern des 7., 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts I (Weimar 1929) 285–334; trans. in John Thomas MacNeill & Helena Margaret Gamer (eds), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal 'Libri Poenitentiales' and Selections from Related Documents* (New York 1938, repr. 1990) 179–215. See now also the edition by Michael Elliot for the Anglo-Saxon Canon Law project <<http://individual.utoronto.ca/michael Elliot/>>, accessed 24.05.2015. The *P. Bigotianus* quotes this canon from Theodore.

<sup>50</sup> *P. Columbani* (Bieler, *The Irish penitentials*, 98–106) B. 7 (cleric) and B. 19 (layman): [B. 7]: *Si quis clericus furtum fecerit, id est bouem aut aequum aut ouem aut aliquod animal proximi sui furauerit, si semel aut bis fecit, reddat proximo suo primum et anno integro in pane et aqua paeniteat; si hoc consuevit et reddere non potuerit, iii annis paeniteat cum pane et aqua*. 'If any cleric has committed theft, that is, has stolen an ox or a horse, a sheep or any beast of his neighbour's, if he has done it once or twice, let him first make restitution to his neighbour, and do penance for a whole year on bread and water; if he has made a practice of this, and cannot make restitution, let him do penance three years on bread and water. (NB. the punishment for a layman is slightly less.); *Collectio Hibernensis De furto* cap 3 *De furto graviter puniendo: Si quis furatus fuerit bovem aut ovem vel vendiderit, quinque boves pro uno bove restituet ...* (Hermann Wasserschleben, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung* [Leipzig 1874; repr. 1885], 99). See now Roy Flechner, *The Hibernensis*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, 2 vols (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2019) cap. 28.3. The *minora* and the Anglo-Saxon penitentials tend to use the word *quadrupedia*. The

Other aspects of the text are more problematic. In §4 we find men and women boiling in fire and being tortured by their spiritual children, because they neglected their duties as co- and godparents:

*et excrutientur cumpatri apud cummatris filiulis spiritalis et matrinis ... Iste sunt, qui conpatratum fecerunt et non custodierunt.*

The continental penitentials and capitularies protect the sacred relationship between co- and godparents and their wards and denounce marital or sexual relations between them from early on,<sup>51</sup> and it seems likely that our text must be understood against this background, despite its less explicit description. Aside from this, the closest parallels scholars have adduced at this point are two later Irish texts, namely *Fis Adomnáin* and a homily on the life of the Virgin Mary, which describe those in holy orders neglecting their charges.<sup>52</sup>

Textual parallels with Irish texts have also been suggested for a number of motifs in this text. For §3, on the false witnesses pierced by flaming nails, for instance, Silverstein has pointed to parallels in the Irish *Vision of Laisrén*, *Fis Adomnáin* and the Irish *Transitus Mariae*.<sup>53</sup> The passage is problematic, but the nails through the tongues make a fitting 'like-for-like' punishment for sins of speech:

penitentials, according to Marilyn Gerriets, show relatively little adherence to Mosaic law, from which stems the concept of manifold restitution, which is prevalent in texts such as the *Collectio Hibernensis* and *Bretha im Gatta*; Marilyn Gerriets, 'Theft, penitentials, and the early 'Irish laws'', *Celtica* 22 (1991) 20–23.


<sup>51</sup> The *Concilium Romano* of 721 AD already prescribes these relations (Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova amplissima collectio* 12 (Florence 1766) 263). This regulation was enshrined in Frankish law since the middle of the eighth century; see e.g. *Concilium lifinense* (743 AD), MGH Concilia 2/1 Concilia aevi Karolini, 6. In addition to this prohibition, the duties of a *compater/commater* are also enshrined in the *Concilium Moguntinense* [Mainz] of 813 AD, c. 47 and 60; MGH Concilia 2/1 Concilia aevi Karolini, 272–73.

<sup>52</sup> *Fis Adomnáin* §47: 'Infants are wounding them and slashing at them perpetually from every side. ... Those whom the infants are wounding, however, are the folk in holy orders, i.e., they are the folk who were entrusted to them for their improvement, and they did not improve them and they did not chastise them for their sins.' Trans. John Carey, '*Fis Adomnáin*: the vision of Adomnán', in Martin McNamara, Máire Herbert, Pádraig Breatnach, Caoimhín Breatnach, John Carey, Uáitair Mac Gearailt & Cairtriona Ó Dochartaigh (eds), *Apocrypha Hiberniae II: Apocryptica 2* (Turnhout 2019) 15–170; the note to §47, 7–13 further points to a nearly identical passage in a homily on the life of the Virgin Mary. Cf. Caoimhín Breatnach, 'An Irish homily on the life of the Virgin Mary', *Ériu* 51 (2000) 23–58 §19, 46–47. It seems evident that either a copy of *Redvt* or a copy containing similar motifs must have been available in Ireland, but one cannot rule out that these motifs travelled independently.

<sup>53</sup> The similarities between these passages has previously been discussed by Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, 82–83; Ó Corráin, 'Can we prove?'; Carey, '*Fis Adomnáin*', note to §45, 10–11. The Irish texts tend to attribute the punishment to more than one kind of sinner. Note that my paragraph numbering is slightly different from Silverstein's.

*linguas foras maxillas foras confixas de tres clauibus bulientes in oculis ipsorum cum pici et plumbum et betumen et sulphor*

In the roughly contemporary *Vision of Laisrén*, the angel clarifies *decoir na pian* ('the distinction of the punishments') for Laisrén:

§13 *Ind-í at-chi-siu tra cusna cluib teintidib .i. as ann-sin naruo menic oc molad De t oca bennachad acus a adrad 7 rop menci immurgu oc goi 7 oc gol 7 ac brath 7 ethech 7 rad uabair 7...* 

Those whom you see, then, with the fiery nails [through their tongues]: those are folk who were not frequent in praising and blessing and worshipping God, but they were frequent in lying and wailing and perjury and slander and vainglorious speech and...

The editor, John Carey, suggests that the phrase *tria tengtha* (through their tongues) has likely fallen out here, but is preserved in *Fis Adomnáin*, and argues that the Irish *dianechtair* is here reminiscent of the Latin *foras*: *Araile, cloí theined triana tengthaib, araile triana cennaib dianechtair* ('others have nails of fire through their tongues, others through their heads from the outside').<sup>54</sup> While we cannot exclude the possibility that such punishment motifs traveled independently, these parallels do suggest that *RedVI* likely circulated in an Irish *milieu* at an early stage, or, given that the *Vision of Laisrén* is roughly contemporary to *RedVI*, was composed in such a *milieu*. Indeed, Donnchadh Ó Corráin has recently proposed Irish authorship for this text. In his opinion, certain phrases in the text, such as *amici mei, parenticula mea* and in particular the reference to Paul's relatives to the ninth degree (*parentes tuos usque ad nono genuculo*) are hibernicisms, with the latter reflecting the Old Irish socio-legal expression *co nomad n-ó*.<sup>55</sup> This concept of familial kinship does not occur on the continent, where contemporary law codes and *concilia* often refer to the fifth, sixth or seventh degree,<sup>56</sup> but is attested in Irish sources.

Taken together, the parallels with the penitential sources discussed above and the Irish literary motifs suggests that what we have here is an eighth-century redactor who was familiar with an early copy of the *VSP*, who had access to or was familiar with both Insular and Frankish penitential writings, and who operated within the sphere of an Irish literary *milieu*. Unlike Carozzi, I do not detect any

<sup>54</sup> In both the *Vision of Laisrén* and *RedVI* the implication is evidently that the sinners are punished specifically for sins of speech. However, the paragraph in *Fis Adomnáin* conflates a number of sins and punishments, so that the like-for-like aspect of this punishment is lost there.

<sup>55</sup> Ó Corráin, 'Can we prove?'; handout. He refers to Rolf Baumgarten, 'Co nómad n-ó: an early Irish socio-legal timescale', *Peritia* 17–18 (2003–4) 338–56. Dumville, 'Towards an interpretation', 70, hints that this feature might be Irish, but provides no further details.

<sup>56</sup> Ó Corráin, 'Can we prove?'; Baumgarten, 'Co nómad n-ó', 338–56.



elements that unequivocally point to an Anglo-Saxon or southern German *milieu*. While the *P. Ecgberti*, to which Carozzi points as the penitential that bears most resemblance to our text, lists the various grades of clergy, and even mentions bread and water, it contains little to no verbal parallels, nor does it include the majority of sins discussed in *RedVI*.<sup>57</sup> In my opinion, therefore, the text suggests a similar *milieu* to that which produced the early Frankish *paenitentialia minora*, a set of handbooks building on the groundwork laid by the *Penitential of Columbanus*,<sup>58</sup> which combine penitential, canonical, and conciliar law with liturgical and catechetical texts. A well-known example is the Bobbio Missal.

In fact, the St Gallen manuscript, which contains the only complete copy of *RedVI*, may support such a thesis. As mentioned above, the manuscript contains, among other items, the canons of the council of Nicaea, decrees by Pope Gregory, *concordia*, a Ps-Bedan penitential handbook, and various sermons mostly attributed to Augustine and containing material from Caesarius of Arles, Gregory, and Isidore, among which also feature a number of Hiberno-Latin homilies. It is therefore similar in scope to one of the *minora* manuscripts, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 150 (*Paenitentiale Sangallense simplex*), which was likewise written in St Gallen in the second quarter of the ninth century.<sup>59</sup> This manuscript contains a number of penitential handbooks in addition to sermons by Augustine, Caesarius, Cyprian and others.

The homiletic section in *StG<sup>r</sup>* (pp 173–334), among which *RedVI* is placed, provides further evidence of connections with an Insular milieu. In addition to the *Three Utterances* and the Pseudo-Augustinian Doomsday sermon, *StG<sup>r</sup>* contains a number of other homilies from the collection known as *Predicationes palatinae*,<sup>60</sup> a collection with Insular characteristics which seems to have circulated in southern Germany in the early decades of the ninth century, with a considerable portion of this activity taking place in and around Freising.<sup>61</sup> Several other contemporary

<sup>57</sup> Carozzi, *Le voyage*, 275–76. The edition consulted is that by Michael Elliot, available on the Anglo-Saxon Canon Law Project, <<http://individual.utoronto.ca/michaielelliott/>>, accessed 15.02.2016.

<sup>58</sup> Meens, *Penance*, 75–76.

<sup>59</sup> This codex can be viewed at eCodices <<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0150>>, accessed 15.02.2016.

<sup>60</sup> Respectively on fols 219–30 (item 2) T. *Quales sunt Christiani boni et quales mali*; 257–70 (item 3) T. *Incipit sermo in barrochiis satis necessarium* [Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 13, CPPM IA 1050]; 302–06 (item 5, part II) T. *Praedicatio sanctam ad docendam* [In nomine Dei summi IV]; 311–23 (item 6) T. *Praedicatio cottidiana*; 323–30 (item 9) T. *Praedicatio de uita sanctorum et premisorum*; the Doomsday Sermon and the Three Utterances are items 1 and 13 of this collection. See Tomás O’Sullivan, *Predicationes palatinae: the sermons in Vat. Pal. Lat. 220 as an insular resource for the Christianization of early medieval Germany*; unpubl. diss. Saint Louis University (2011).

<sup>61</sup> O’Sullivan, *Predicationes*, 27–28. *StG<sup>r</sup>* further contains a copy of the text *Dies dominica*, which it shares with the primary codex of this collection, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Pal. Lat. 220.

manuscripts contain material from the *Predicationes*, such as Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28135 (Freising, saec. IX<sup>in</sup>) and Clm 6293 (saec. VIII<sup>med</sup>, Northern Italy or Switzerland), and Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 27 (saec. IX<sup>med</sup>, Northern Italy or Switzerland), with which both *StG<sup>r</sup>* and *V<sup>2</sup>* share a copy of Ps-Caesarian homily 17. This copy has close thematic overlap with *RedvT*, so that it is not surprising that it immediately follows the text in *V<sup>2</sup>*.<sup>62</sup> There *RedvT* is likewise placed alongside eschatological sermons. The last fifty folios or so of *V<sup>2</sup>* are almost entirely filled with sermons concerned with penance and morality, many of which are by Caesarius. The text preceding *RedvT* concerns the purgatorial fire. Likewise, on the Leipzig leaf, *RedvT* is preceded by a sermon anticipating the Lord's Nativity that has parallels with Caesarius of Arles's *sermo* 187, and is followed by sermon extracts concerning avarice and other sins.<sup>63</sup> The homiletic portion of *StG<sup>r</sup>* (and to some extent that of *V<sup>2</sup>*) thus ties the manuscript itself to a group of manuscripts containing Insular, largely eschatological material circulating along, broadly speaking, the south-German to north-Italian axis. As such, another potential point of origin or transmission to consider might be the Irish school based around Milan as discussed by Charles Wright in relation to St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 908 (saec. VIII-IX, probably Milan region). This manuscript is notable for the Insular apocryphal lore it contains — including copies of the Doomsday sermon and the Three Utterances. The evidence for the Irish circle there is quite strong from the early ninth century onwards, but there are some indications that there may have been an Irish presence there somewhat earlier.<sup>64</sup>

Finally, can we say anything further about when and where this text (as attested in *StG<sup>r</sup>*) might have been compiled? Having established that the compiler must have been aware (to greater or lesser degree) of Hiberno-Frankish penitential works and that the text was circulated alongside other Insular material, two possible anchor points present themselves. Irish penitentials were certainly known in Salzburg by the mid-eighth century and other Insular penitentials, such as Egbert's penitential, a derivative (*P. additivum*) of which is included *StG<sup>r</sup>*, were available in the Lorsch area.<sup>65</sup> Production of Frankish penitentials building on earlier models was also in full flow. And while penitential handbooks were not well-received in all parts of the Carolingian world, and were vehemently debated; nevertheless, the topic of penance was very much part of the national conversation during the

<sup>62</sup> PL 67, 1079C-1081B.

<sup>63</sup> Jiroušková, *Die Visio Pauli*, 140-42.

<sup>64</sup> Charles Darwin Wright, 'Apocryphal lore and Insular tradition in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MS 908'. In Próinséas Ní Chatháin & Michael Richter (eds), *Irland und die Christenheit: Bibelstudien und Mission = Ireland and christendom: the Bible and the missions* (Stuttgart 1987) 124-45; 144-45.

<sup>65</sup> Meens, *Penance*, 88, 113.

late seventh to early ninth centuries.<sup>66</sup> One of the issues debated at the reform councils of 813 AD is mentioned in §6 of our text: public and private penance. As Rob Meens argues, there may have been no clear-cut distinction between private and public penance *sensu strictu* so that polarising one as Irish and the other as Frankish would be unhelpful. Rather the penitential handbooks suggest various degrees of approaching penance with respect to the sinning individual, taking into consideration whether the sin was a mortal or minor sin, whether it was perpetrated publicly, and what the status and state of contrition of the individual was.<sup>67</sup> That said, the concept of private penance was especially entrenched in the Irish milieu, where it was (at least initially) far more developed. In this context it is notable that the St Gallen text is unambiguously outspoken about the powerful effect of penance; if carried out during one's lifetime, the Lord will forgive the sin (§6). While similar ideas concerning the grouping of sinners into those who are damned beyond remedy and those whose sins can be purged so that they may enter heaven are voiced in other Hiberno-Latin texts, such as the Ps-Isidorian *De uetere et nouo testamento quaestiones*;<sup>68</sup> there, however, the distinction only applies to post-mortem purgation.

A more specific context and *post quem* can perhaps established in relation to theme of kinship, which was a topic of concern arising in §11. Pertinent here is the inclusion of the *compadres* and *commatres* in §4 of the text. This specific inclusion suggests to me that the redactor was sensitive to the eighth-century debate on the identification of co-parenthood as a sacred kinship relation and the concurrent classification of relationships between co-parents and their charges, between co-parents, and between spiritual siblings, as prohibited.<sup>69</sup> This legislation was first adopted in Lombardy<sup>70</sup> and appears to have had slow reception in Gaul, where the issue was less volatile since sponsors in Francia were generally of the same sex as their spiritual child.<sup>71</sup> The prohibition of marriage between co-parents was vehemently resisted by Wynfrith/Boniface (d. 755 AD), however, who was not familiar

<sup>66</sup> The variety of available handbooks and penitential prescriptions was considered an issue and was debated at the councils of Tours, Chalon-sur-Saône, Reims and Arles (813 AD); summarized in Meens, *Penance*, chapter 19, esp. 115–18.

<sup>67</sup> Meens, *Penance*, 121–23.

<sup>68</sup> No. 6: *Et vetus erit in igne purgatorio pro minuta peccata purgari. Novum, quando purgatus exinde fuerit in regnum Dei*; Robert E. McNally, 'The ps-Isidorian *De uetere et nouo testamento quaestiones*', *Traditio* 19 (1963) 37–40: 49. Cf. Charles Darwin Wright, 'The interim state of souls in early Irish literature', in Carey, Nic Cárthaigh & Ó Dochartaigh, *The end and beyond*, i, 309–396: 396.

<sup>69</sup> See n. 52. For the terminology see Joseph H Lynch, *Godparents and kinship in early medieval Europe* (Princeton NJ 1986) 194–95. The prohibition on marriage between spiritual siblings appears to have taken root only slowly in Francia.

<sup>70</sup> Lynch, *Godparents*, 202, 240.

<sup>71</sup> Lynch, *Godparents*, 223, 254.

with the practice from his time in the Insular world, and consequently I think it less likely that the text of *RedvI* originated from that circle, as per Carozzi.<sup>72</sup> That said, the text is too unspecific to warrant more than speculation. Suffice it to say, that the issue was relevant in the mid-eighth to mid-ninth century. In fact, it was still of concern to the scribe of *StG*, who included both the canons of the council of 721 AD and an extract from Isidore on consanguinity in the manuscript, just following the *P. additivum*.<sup>73</sup>

In conclusion, in this tentative analysis I hope to have demonstrated that the earliest adaptation of the *VSP* represents an attempt to recast the eschatological *uisio* into a tract that shifts its focus away from heaven and hell towards reprimanding the sinners of mankind in *this* world. While it has taken the *VSP* as a starting point, it promotes penance instead of punishment in the hereafter, thereby prefiguring the later development of the Redactions into homilies and Sunday sermons. At this point, it appears likely that we ought to look to a Hiberno-Frankish (possibly Rhaetian or north Italian) *milieu* as the context in which *RedvI*, as we have it, was redacted. It is hoped future research will further elucidate these connections.

## Appendix: *Visio S. Pauli*: Redaction VI

### Text and Translation

It is well known that there are problems in the Latin text as it stands. It shows evidence of having been copied from a corrupt exemplar, which contained inaccurate expansions or abbreviations, and of recurrent metathesis, possibly indicating that dictation may have involved at some stage. This is likely the case in, e.g., *arma* (for *ramos*, l. 3) as well as the two instances of *enim dant* in §6 for *emendant*. In a number of places expansion strokes or m-strokes appear to have been missing or misinterpreted, e.g., in *succedentes* (l. 50), *crutiatur* (l. 51), *propria paena* (l. 61) or the instances of *patiunt* (l. 17) and *paciant* (l. 48). In addition, there is confusion of tense in some of the verbs and in a number of cases there is confusion of declension or case, e.g. in the case of *peccatoris* (l. 1, with second declension ending), *clauibus* (l. 13, in third declension), *spiritalis* (l. 20, as 1-2 adjective), *cathenas* (l. 6, for abl. *catenis*), *diabolos* (l. 7, for *diaboli*), *caballum* (l. 56) and *cauallo* (l. 60, both for *caballos*). Some of these may have been understood as orthographical variants. In some cases, the text is corrupt beyond intelligibility, such as in §10, which appears to describe a heaven full of rewards for informants and torturers. This paragraph is also notably shorter than the others, giving the impression that we may be dealing

<sup>72</sup> Lynch, *Godparents*, 244–51, 277–78.

<sup>73</sup> Fols 392–95. The extract entitled *Dicta Ysidori* is from *Etymologiae*, IX 28–29. For the council of 721 see n. 52.



with a copying error or omission, probably already present in the copyist's source. Further difficulties arise in §4, where it remains uncertain which roles the scribe intended to assign to the *matrina*, and especially in §6, in which lexical difficulties abound and which appears to shift tense multiple times, as if the phrases were drawn from different sources. All such difficulties are discussed in the footnotes. Where available, I have opted to refer to the other manuscripts in cases of doubt, such as, e.g., in §2, where the characterisation of the devils appears to have been corrupted, but many problematic sections remain. I have obelized the more desperate passages and indicated tentative translations with a question mark. On the whole, it seems likely that the scribe of *StG* had an already damaged exemplar in front of him, probably copied by a scribe whose command of Latin was less than satisfactory.

In addition, there is some evidence to suggest that the text was compiled from two distinct copies, or else that it was reworked at some point, which shows primarily in the change of formula from §6 onwards. Starting with §2, Paul's question is formulated with a form of the verb *peccare*, while the answer contains the phrase *paenitentiam non egerunt* and closes with a formula containing either *propter... propriam paenam* (§2, 3)<sup>74</sup> or a variant of *propter hoc agunt mala* (§§4, 5). Starting with §6, the formula for Paul's question changes to include a form of *committere*, and that for the answer contains the phrase *numquam paenituerunt*. The closing formula with *propter ...* is much abbreviated in §7 and is absent altogether in §§9 and 10. The break between the two is marked by the insertion in §6 of the questions concerning penance during one's lifetime. Finally, §11, which closes the narrative, shows signs of duplication, or of a misreading of the conversation (as discussed above), again suggesting some interference on the part of the scribe of this copy.

For this translation I give *StG* as my main text, with the variants from *V*<sup>2</sup> and *Le* in the apparatus below each paragraph. As *V*<sup>2</sup> and *Le* have been digitised since the appearance of Jiroušková's edition, I have checked the text of all three copies against the manuscript. Because of the difficulties in the text, I have chosen to present it with minimal editorial interference. Scribal corrections and notable features in *StG* are included in the apparatus rather than the main text for readability. I have indicated all expansions and abbreviations with italics — in both previous editions most of these were silently expanded. Erasures or missing letters have been marked with ⟨...⟩, superscript or marginal insertions with \.../, scribal corrections with >, and editorial insertions with [...]. I have not emended the text, but instead provide suggested readings and discussions in the footnotes. I have capitalised personal names and provided modern punctuation for readability. The title, printed in bold below, is rubricated in orange in the manuscript. The text has been sub-

<sup>74</sup> In §2 the words *propter hoc* are missing but are confirmed by *Le*.

divided into paragraphs to facilitate discussion of its structure.<sup>75</sup> These are not in the manuscripts, where the text is presented in continuous prose. Almost every paragraph consists of a threefold structure, including a scene description, Paul's question concerning it, and the angel's answer, further highlighting the deviations in §§6 and 11. This structure has been indicated in the text with superscript a, b, c before the relevant subsections.

**Incipit castigatio sanctae Paule de hominis peccatoris, qui peccant et emendant.**

In christo nomene incipit uita sancti pauli <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> Visio sancti pauli apo<...> Le · peccatoris] peccato\ ris/ *StG<sup>r</sup>*

Here begins Saint Paul's reproof concerning sinful men, who sin and make amends.

§1

*Sanctus* Paulus ductus est in regnum Dei, ut uideret opera iustorum et poenas pec[194]catorum.<sup>a</sup>In primo caelo uidit arborem, quae habebat milia arma<sup>76</sup> et habet totum fructum in se.<sup>b</sup>Et interrogauit *sanctus* Paulus: Iste quidem,<sup>77</sup> Domini,<sup>78</sup> qui habet totus fructus in se?

5 <sup>c</sup>Respondit ei angelus: Isti sunt unde uiuent iusti et innocentes.

1 *Sanctus* Paulus] Per uerbum dei <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> · 1 regnum] regno *Le* · 1 iustorum] <...> *Le* · 2 poenas] poena\ s/ *StG<sup>r</sup>* · 2 poenas peccatorum] penas impiorum <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> · 2 primo caelo] primis <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> primo celi *scripsi* *Le* · 2 uidit] uenit ad <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> · 2 arborem] ar<...> florentem *Le* · 2 quae habebat] qui habet <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> qui habuit *Le* · 3 milia arma] .i. mille .d. quinquaginta rama <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> quingenta milia ramos *Le* · 3 habet] hab& *StG<sup>r</sup>* ha<...> *Le* · 3 totum fructum] totus fructus *Le* · 3 in se] *om.* *Le* · 4 Iste quidem] Istud quid est <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> Isti quid *Le* · 4 Domini] Domine <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> · 4 Domini ... se?] peccau<...> *Le* · 5 Respondit ... sunt] *om.* <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> Hoc est arbor, quae habet quingenta milia ramarum et ha<...> fructus *Le* · 5 Isti] iste > isti *StG<sup>r</sup>* · 5 unde uiuent] Inde uiuunt <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> unde iusti uiuunt *Le*

Saint Paul was led into the kingdom of God to see the works<sup>79</sup> of the just and the punishments of the sinners. In the first heaven he saw a tree

<sup>75</sup> The paragraph numbering is similar to that used by Silverstein, but I have counted his paragraph six and seven as one paragraph. Jiroušková counts the first line of paragraph one as a separate paragraph; in addition she splits §6 into three paragraphs.

<sup>76</sup> Read *ramos*. Note that <sup>V<sup>2</sup></sup> reads *rama* with an incorrect neut. -a ending.

<sup>77</sup> Read *quid* or *quid est*.

<sup>78</sup> Read *Domine*.

<sup>79</sup> One might have expected 'rewards'; 'works' is reminiscent of the oft-quoted Matthew 16.27 *reddet unicuique secundum opus eius*; '(the Son of Man will) render to every man according to his works'; or Revelation 2.23: *dabo unicuique vestrum secundum opera uestra* 'I will give to every one of you according to your works'. Unfortunately, these good works remain unspecified.



which had a thousand branches and has every fruit in it. And Saint Paul asked: ‘What is this, Lord, which has every fruit<sup>80</sup> in it?’ The angel answered him: ‘These are what the just and the innocent will live on.’

## §2

<sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit uiros *et* mulieres cum catenas<sup>81</sup> ignis, ducebant illos ligatos diabolos,<sup>82</sup> qui stabant ad partem sinistram, qui implebuntur<sup>83</sup> omnia multa mala *et* committunt.<sup>84</sup> <sup>b</sup>*Et* in [195] terrogauit sanctus Paulus: Istai qui<sup>85</sup> peccauerunt, Domine? Respondit ei angelus:

- 10 Istai sunt, qui patris *et* matris (...) tulerunt *et* paenitentiam non egerunt, non publicam, non absconsa; peccauerunt<sup>86</sup> propriam paenam.

6 Venit] Vinit *V*<sup>2</sup> *om.* *Le* · 6 uiros] (...) *Le* · 6 cum] in *V*<sup>2</sup> *Le* · 6 catenas ignis] cadenas ferreas *V*<sup>2</sup> catenis ignis *Le* · 6 ducebant] duceant *V*<sup>2</sup> · 7 illos ligatos] legatas illas *V*<sup>2</sup> eos ligatas *Le* · 7 diabolos] diaboli *V*<sup>2</sup> diabuli *Le* · 7 qui ... sinistram] *om.* *V*<sup>2</sup> (...) ad parte sinistra *Le* · 8 implebuntur] adimperent *V*<sup>2</sup> imperent *Le* · 8 omnia] omnibus *V*<sup>2</sup> homines *Le* · 8 *et* committunt] committere *V*<sup>2</sup> co(...) *Le* · 9 Istai] istae > isti *StG*<sup>t</sup> isti *V*<sup>2</sup> *Le* · 9 qui] quid *Le* · 9 peccauerunt] commiserunt *V*<sup>2</sup>. Respondit ... angelus] *om.* *V*<sup>2</sup> *Le* · 10 Istai] istae > istai *StG*<sup>t</sup> · 10 Istai sunt] Isti sunt *V*<sup>2</sup> Ist(...) *Le* · 10 qui patris *et* matris] qui pater *et* mater *V*<sup>2</sup> patri *et* matri *Le* · 10 (...) tulerunt] honores tulerunt *V*<sup>2</sup> honorem tulerunt *Le* · 10-1 paenitentiam .. paenam] inter se ueniam non rogauerunt nec *V*<sup>2</sup> · 10 paenitentiam] penitentiam *Le* · 10 egerunt] (...) *Le* · 11 publicam] publica *Le* · 11 peccauerunt] propter hoc proferunt *Le* · 11 paenam] p(...) *Le*

He came to another place. He saw men and women with fiery chains; [thus] bound, the devils were leading them,<sup>87</sup> who [i.e. the devils] were standing to the left, [and] who urged(?)<sup>88</sup> all to commit many evils. And

<sup>80</sup> There is arguably an element of wordplay on the word's secondary meaning 'reward' in this paragraph, given that the answer to the question reveals this is a place for the just. Note, however, that *Le* appears to have had a reference to sinners or sinning. This scene is most likely based on *VSP* §22, which described trees abundant in fruit, which are equated with God's gifts for the worthy. Note that *StG*<sup>t</sup> has changed the verb from the pres. ind. to the future tense.

<sup>81</sup> Read *cathenis*. Cf. *Le*.

<sup>82</sup> Read *diaboli*.

<sup>83</sup> Read *impellebant*, or *implebant*.

<sup>84</sup> Read *committere*.

<sup>85</sup> Read *quid*.

<sup>86</sup> Silverstein suggests: i.e. *patiuntur*.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Carozzi, *Le voyage*, 270: 'sont liés avec des chaînes de fer brûlantes et conduits par des diables vers le côté gauche'. The verb *stabant* appears slightly out of context here; given the absence of it in either of the other two witnesses, it is possible that this was a later addition.

<sup>88</sup> There is a problem in the transmission here. The verb represents a departure from the other two manuscripts in which the phrase appears to be a characterisation of the devils. The sense of *V*<sup>2</sup> seems to have been 'the devils, who would urge all to commit many evils'. I take it, then, that the reading in *StG*<sup>t</sup> represents a corruption of this. The reading *implebuntur* is likely the result of a scribal error, adding the abbreviation for *-ur* where it was not required. It can then be rendered as fut. or impf. act. 3 pl. Alternative options could be to take the form in *StG*<sup>t</sup> as an incorrectly expanded

Saint Paul asked: ‘These, in what way did they sin, Lord?’ The angel answered him: ‘These are [those], who took away [their] father and mother’s ⟨honour⟩<sup>89</sup> and did not do penance, not public, not private; they suffer(?)<sup>90</sup> [their] proper punishment’.

## §3

<sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit uiros *et* mulieres linguas foras maxillas foras<sup>91</sup> confixas de tres clauibus bulientes in oculis ipsorum cum pici *et* plumbum *et* betumen *et* sulphor. <sup>b</sup>*Et* interrogauit *sanctus* Paulus: Isti  
15 qi<sup>92</sup> peccauerunt, Domine? <sup>c</sup>*Respondit* ei angelus: Isti sunt, [196] qui falsum testimonium dixerunt *et* paenitentiam non egerunt, non publica, non absconsa; *propter* hoc patiunt<sup>93</sup> propria pœna.

12 Venit in alio] In tertio *Le* · 12 linguas] lingu⟨.⟩as *StG*<sup>t</sup> · 12 maxillas foras] max⟨...⟩ *Le* · 12 foras] fo⟨r⟩ras/ *StG*<sup>t</sup> · 13 confixas ... bulientes] confixas tetrīs clavis bulientis *Le* · 13 ipsorum] eorum *Le* · 13 pici] pi⟨t⟩c/i *StG*<sup>t</sup> · 13-14 *et* plumbum] ⟨...⟩ *Le* · 14 betumen *et* sulphur] bitumen *et* sulphur *Le* · 14 Isti] iste > isti *StG*<sup>t</sup> · 15 qi] qui *Le* · 15 peccauerunt] ⟨...⟩runt *Le* · 15 *Respondit* ... angelus] *om. Le* · 16 *et*] ⟨...⟩runt *et Le* · 16 paenitentiam] penitentiam *Le* · 16 publica] puplica *Le* · 17 absconsa] abs⟨...⟩ *Le* · 17 *post* absconsa *add*] nec elimosina eos redemit *Le* · 17 patiunt] perferunt *Le* · 17 propria pœna] mala pen⟨...⟩ *Le*

He came to another place, he saw men and women with [their] tongues out, [their] jaws pierced by three nails, boiling in their eyes with tar and lead and pitch and sulphur. And Saint Paul asked: ‘These, in what way did they sin, Lord?’ The angel answered him: ‘These are [those], who gave false testimony and did not do penance, not public, not private; because of this they suffer [their] proper punishments’.

form of *impellere* ‘impel, urge’ (i.e. *implēbant*, which would match to some extent the *adimperant* and *imperant* of the other two manuscripts). I have tentatively chosen that option here. In line with the evidence of *V*<sup>2</sup> I have also taken *comittunt* as an error for *committere*.

However, in the text as it stands the subject is not unambiguous and it is not impossible that the scribe, trying to remedy what must have been a corrupt copy, was trying to write *implebant* and *commiserunt*, taking the phrase to refer to the sinners, atoning for the many evils they committed. I owe this suggestion to John Carey.

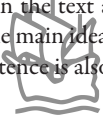
<sup>89</sup> The word ‘honour’ has dropped out here (cf. *V*<sup>2</sup>, *Le*), but the text can hardly mean that the sinners brought their parents honour. Carozzi circumvents this by suggesting a form of *tollo* ‘destroy, steal’ (*Le voyage*, 270). Alternatively, the intended sense of *ferre* is ‘carry off, take away’.

<sup>90</sup> This sentence is a repeated formula in the text also present in the Long Latin version, but which is here confused in various places. The main idea seems to be that expressed in §3 *propter hoc patiunt[ur] propria pœna*. Note that this sentence is also missing the *propter hoc*.

<sup>91</sup> Possibly an error of duplication.

<sup>92</sup> Read *quid*.

<sup>93</sup> Read *patiuntur*.



## §4

<sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit uiros *et* mulieres bullire in igne sup pice *et* petumen *et* sulphor *et* excrutientur<sup>94</sup> *cumpatri*<sup>95</sup> apud *cummatris* 20 *filiolis* spiritalis *et* *matrinis*.<sup>96</sup> <sup>b</sup>*Et* lacrimauit *sanctus* Paulus: Isti qui<sup>97</sup> *peccauerunt*, *Domine*? <sup>c</sup>*Respondit* ei *angelus*: Iste *sunt*, qui *conpatratum*<sup>98</sup> *fecerunt* *et* non *custodierunt*, *uenia* inter se nos *trogauerunt*<sup>99</sup> *nec* *paeni*[197]*tentiam* non *egerunt*; *propter* hoc *agunt* mala.

18 Venit in alio] In quarto *Le* · 18 bullire] punire *Le* · 18 igne sup] igneis poen<...> *Le* · 18-19 pice ... excrutientur] picis et bitumen et plumbo et stoporas et sarmenta copa<...> *Le* · 19 excrutientur] ē crutientur *StG* · 19 apud] ápuđ *StG* abal<...> *Le* · 19 *cummatris*] *cumpatri* et *Le* · 20 *matrinis*] ma<...> *Le* · 20 lacrimauit] lacrima<...> *Le* · 20 qui] quid *Le* · 21 *Respondit* ... *angelus*] *om. Le* · 21 Iste *sunt* qui] Isti sun<...> *Le* · 22 *conpatratum*] *cumpatr*<...> *Le* · 22 *uenia* ... se] et *ueniam* <...> *Le* · 22-23 nos *trogauerunt*] non <...>unt *Le* · 23 *nec*] et *Le* · 23 *paenitentiam* ... *egerunt*] penitentiam inter se non petierunt <...> pri<...> elemosinas non fecerunt *Le* · 23 *agunt*] *águnt StG* · 23-24 *agunt* mala] mala ag<...> *Le*

He came to another place, he saw men and women boiling in fire, [submerged] in tar and pitch and sulphur; and cofathers are tortured alongside comothers with (?) [their] spiritual children, and godmothers [likewise](?).<sup>100</sup> And Saint Paul cried: ‘Those, in what way did they sin, Lord?’ The angel answered him: ‘These are [those], who functioned as godparents and did not watch over [them], did not ask forgiveness among themselves, nor did they do penance; because of this they suffer evil things.’<sup>101</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Jiroušková and Silverstein edit: *est crutientur*; Silverstein suggests: *uel excrutientur* [?].

<sup>95</sup> Read *compatres*.

<sup>96</sup> Silverstein suggests: <*matrina*: ‘*quae aliquem de sacro fonte leuat, uel in Ecclesiam introducit, Gallis Maraine ...*’; Charles Du Cange, s. du Fresne et al. (eds), *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, rev. & exp. ed. (Niort 1883–7, orig. 1678), s.v. *matrina*. However it has a second meaning as stepmother; Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v. *matrina* 2.

<sup>97</sup> Read *quid*.

<sup>98</sup> From *compatratio* (<*compater*) ‘sponsorship, godparenthood’; Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon*, s.v. *compatratio*, referring to the *Statuta Murbacensia* (816 AD), a long recension of the Councils of Aachen.

<sup>99</sup> Read *non rogauerunt*.

<sup>100</sup> I am following Ó Corráin (‘Can we prove?’, handout) in this reading. A number of possible options may be considered for this sentence. One may take *cumpatri* and *cummatris* as the preposition *cum* with the respective nouns; however, they would then appear to have taken a second declensions ending and *apud* would be rendered surplus. Consequently I see no reason not to read *compatris* and *commatris* as acc.pl (with *-is* for *-es*), the latter governed by *apud*. The reading *matrinis* is ambiguous: Ó Corráin emends to *matrinae* here, grouping it with *cumpatri* and *cummatris*. The alternative would be to accept the reading as it stands and group it with *filiolis*, reading ‘and with their godmothers.’

<sup>101</sup> Again this is a variant of formula repeated throughout this text, conveying the sense that they are being punished there for their sins, as in the preceding paragraph ‘*propter hoc patiunt propria pena*’. Cf. §6 below.

## §5

- 25 <sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit hominis in paenas ualidas sup plumbum et  
betumen bullire, habent sacgas<sup>102</sup> plubias et casulas plumbias et in  
suas ardebant. <sup>b</sup>Et dixit sanctus Paulus: Ista qui<sup>103</sup> peccauerunt,  
Domine? <sup>c</sup>Respondit ei angelus: Isti sunt episcopi et presbyteri, qui  
castitatem perdiderunt et in ecclesias periurauerunt et causas malas  
30 iudicauerunt et pauperes et orphani inparsserunt<sup>104</sup> et diuitias  
consentierunt<sup>105</sup> et paenitentiam non egerunt nec ieiunia uel  
elymosinas [198] non fecerunt; propter hoc mala aguntur.

25 Venit...alio] ⟨...⟩to Le · 25 hominis] homines Le · 25 paenas] penas Le · 25 post ualidas add stare et Le · 25 plumbum] ⟨plum⟩bo Le · 26 betumen...habent] bitumen bullire et habeb⟨...⟩ Le · 26 sacgas] om. Le · 26 plubias...plumbias] plumbias ⟨...⟩alas Le · 27 suas] ipsis Le · 27 dixit] interrogauit Le · 27 Ista...peccauerunt] ⟨...⟩uid comiserunt Le · 28 Respondit...angelus] om. Le · 28 et] om. Le · 28 post presbyteri add diaconi, ⟨...⟩aconi aut lectores, sanctimoniales Le · 29 perdiderunt...periurauerunt] per⟨...⟩runt Le · 29-30 causas...iudicauerunt] malas causas nimis fecerunt Le · 30 et orphani] ⟨...⟩anos Le · 30 inparsserunt] in<sup>a</sup>psserunt StG<sup>t</sup> inpresserunt Le · 30 diuitias] diuites Le · 31 paenitentiam] peni⟨...⟩am Le · 31 egerunt] fecerunt Le · 31-32 ieiunia...elymosinas] ieiunio nec elimosynis Le · 32 non fecerunt] eos re⟨...⟩nt Le · 32 hoc] \hoc/ in orange StG<sup>t</sup> · 32 mala] male Le · 32 aguntur] agunt̄ StG<sup>t</sup> torquentur Le

He came to another place; he saw men in mighty punishments [submerged] in boiling lead and pitch; they have leaden sackcloths and leaden chasubles and they were burning in them. And Saint Paul said: ‘Those, in what way did they sin, Lord?’ The angel answered him: ‘Those are bishops and presbyters, who lost their chastity and swore false oaths in churches and judged bad judgments and did not show consideration<sup>106</sup> for the poor and orphans and took bribes(?) and did not do penance, or observe fasts nor give alms; because of this they are being made to suffer evils.’



<sup>102</sup> Read *saccos*.

<sup>103</sup> Read *quid*.

<sup>104</sup> Jiroušková edits *inpraesserunt*. Silverstein suggests: *inparserunt* quasi *non parserunt* [?].

<sup>105</sup> Read *consenserunt*.

<sup>106</sup> I have adopted Silverstein’s reading *inparserunt* here. Cf. *VSP* §35, where, however, the phrase used is *misertus est*. The reference to *diuitias* appears to be from *VSP* §37 *contententes in diuiciis suis*.

## §6

<sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit diaconos<sup>107</sup> et alios clericos in paena stare super plumbum bullire: Alius et usque in benedictione, alius usque in belliculo,<sup>108</sup> alius usque in gemiculo.<sup>109</sup> <sup>b</sup>Et interrogauit sanctus Paulus: Ista qui<sup>110</sup> commiserunt, Domine? <sup>c</sup>Respondit ei angelus: Isti sunt, qui castitatem infringerunt<sup>111</sup> et sacrificium Christi ore debaiolauerunt et in ecclesias periurauerunt, †fuite et belinque<sup>112</sup> fuerunt†, numquam paenituerunt; propter hoc redunt<sup>113</sup> mala  
 40 paenitentia uel graue pænæ. [199]  
<sup>d</sup>Et interrogauit sanctus Paulus: Isti sunt,<sup>114</sup> qui castitatem propeccant, quomodo hoc enim dant?<sup>115</sup> <sup>e</sup>Respondit ei angelus: Agat paenitentiam, dum aduixerit, parcat ei Dominus peccatum suum.  
<sup>f</sup>Et interrogauit sanctus Paulus: Dum tui<sup>116</sup> presbyter aut  
 45 diaconus aut subdiaconus aut uirginis aut sponsa Christi qui posita peccatum facit, quomodo hoc enim dant?<sup>116</sup> <sup>g</sup>Respondit angelus: Annos quatuor iaceas a terra pura, duas super lapide,<sup>117</sup> et ipsos annos iniusto<sup>118</sup> paciant<sup>119</sup> famem apud panem et sale et aqua [200] et parcat ei Dominus peccatum suum.

36 commiserunt] conmis\sē / > commis\sē / StG' · 39 hoc redunt] hoc credunt StG' · 45 diaconus] hac > diā StG'

<sup>107</sup> Silverstein edits *diaconum*. However, since in the other examples these are all plural nouns, I suggest we might read *diaconos*. In the manuscript this has an expansion mark, not a dot as in Jiroušková.

<sup>108</sup> Silverstein suggests: *belliculo*, *belliculum* = *simulatum praelium*, *ludicra pugna* (Du Cange, *Glossarium*). However, based on the *VSP*, this must be for *umbillicum*. L2 (P) §31 reads *ad genua*, *umbillicum*, *labia*, and *capillos*.

<sup>109</sup> Silverstein suggests: *gemiculo*, *pro genuculo*, *gemiculo* < *geniculare* = *adorare* (Du Cange, *Glossarium*). That is, he took it as a form for 'knee' deriving from 'to genuflect'. See Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon*, s.v. *gemiculo* 'knee'.

<sup>110</sup> Read *quid*.

<sup>111</sup> Read *infringerunt*.

<sup>112</sup> Possibly for *furta* (?) *et bellice* (?), or a corruption of *deliquerunt*?

<sup>113</sup> Read *reddunt*.

<sup>114</sup> Alternatively read *sed* (?). The word — or even the  $\bar{s}$  — could also have been introduced erroneously, given that the phrase is ubiquitous in this text.

<sup>115</sup> Silverstein reads *emendant* 'make amends'. Moreira, *Heaven's purge*, 134, takes the reading *enim dant* at face value and argues that the emendation is unnecessarily invasive and profoundly alters the meaning of the text. Her reasoning is partly based on her argument that the title of the text in this manuscript is a secondary addition by a scribe who 'understood the vision through the lens of purgatory'. As the word *emendare* otherwise only occurs in the title, this is not an unreasonable suggestion. However, it is equally probable that the forms *enim dant* in the body of the text are the result of erroneous expansions. In the context of the text, the phrase must surely indicate a form of penance through which the sinners make amends for their sins (rather than receiving punishment), so that it does not seem to me that the emendation would profoundly alter the text.

<sup>116</sup> Read *tenuisti*. An alternative reading *tentus est* was suggested by Carozzi (*Le voyage*, 274). The second-person verb seems out of place here, but could have resulted from an attempt to copy in a section from another text, such as a penitential. It is followed by *iaceas* in l. 48.

<sup>117</sup> Read *lapidem*.

<sup>118</sup> Read *iniusti* or *iniuste*.

<sup>119</sup> Read *patiantur*.

He came to another place; he saw deacons and other clergy standing in punishment above boiling lead: one up to the mouth(?),<sup>120</sup> another up to the navel(?), another up to the knees. And Saint Paul asked: ‘Those, what [sins] have they committed, Lord?’ The angel answered him: ‘These are [those] who broke [their vow of] chastity and vomited out(?)<sup>121</sup> the offering of Christ by mouth and swore false oaths in church, who were thieving(?) and war-like(?),<sup>122</sup> [and] never repented; because of this they pay with bad penance or grave punishment’.

And Saint Paul asked: ‘These are those who sin against chastity; how do they make amends for this?’ The angel answered him: ‘One should do penance, while still alive; the Lord will forgive him his sins.’

And Saint Paul asked: ‘If you hold(?) a position as priest or deacon or sub-deacon or virgin or bride of Christ who sins,<sup>123</sup> in what way do they make amends for this?’ The angel answered: ‘Four years you should lie prostrate on pure earth, two on stone, and the same years the unjust(?)<sup>124</sup> should suffer hunger with bread and salt and water and God will forgive him his sin.’

<sup>120</sup> This section must refer to the lips, on the basis of the *VSP*. Perhaps the word for ‘blessing’, as an item of speech, stands in for the body part.

<sup>121</sup> This appears to be a rarely attested word, perhaps derived from 2 *bajulare* (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *bajulare: exagitare vexare, molestare*), possibly with de- ‘out’. Carozzi suggests ‘vomiting’ (*Le voyage*, 273). Alternatively, this might be related to *debaelo* in the *Hisperica Famina*, l. 330, in the sense of ‘carrying away, stealing’. I owe this reference to John Carey.

<sup>122</sup> This phrase is problematic as it stands. It may have been intended as *furtim* or *furtim* ‘stealthily’. The n-stroke is missing at a number of places in the text. The form *bellinque* possibly indicates *bellici* ‘war-like’, or alternatively, *belinque fuerunt* is an error for *delinquerunt*.

<sup>123</sup> I am uncertain how to translate *posita* or resolve the tense in this line. Carozzi translates *qui a été exposé*, but equally expresses his doubt (*Le voyage*, 274). Moreira (*Heaven’s purge*, 133) does not comment on it, translating ‘who sin’.

<sup>124</sup> As it stands this is dat./abl.sg. of *iniusto*. Carozzi (*Le voyage*, 274, n. 588) suggested emending to *in luto* ‘in the mud’, without incorporating it into his translation. I have here followed Moreira (*Heaven’s purge*, 134), who appears to take it as an error for *iniusti* (though she does not comment on it), translating ‘the unjust should reconcile’. Alternatively perhaps ‘for (their) injustice’ or *iniuste* ‘severely’.



## §7

- 50 <sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit uiros *et* mulieres in lania<sup>125</sup> succedentes<sup>126</sup> *et*  
 haec ardere qui miser<sup>127</sup> tulerunt *et* cruiatur<sup>128</sup> ei *cum* grande igne. <sup>b</sup>Et  
 interrogauit *sanctus* Paulus: Ista qui commiserunt, Domine?  
<sup>c</sup>Respondit ei angelus: Isti sunt, qui malesides<sup>129</sup> portauerunt *et*  
 succederunt<sup>130</sup> mensis<sup>131</sup> *et* alia fructa *et* numquam paenituerunt;  
 55 propter agunt.

He came to another place; he saw men and women in flaming woollen garments<sup>132</sup> and these burning those who miserably wore [them] and they were tortured with great fire. And Saint Paul asked: ‘Those, what [sins] have they committed, Lord?’ The angel answered him: ‘These are those who brought about a bad storm(?)<sup>133</sup> and set crops on fire<sup>134</sup> and other produce and never repented; because of this they suffer.’

<sup>125</sup> Read *lanea*.

<sup>126</sup> Read *succedentes*.

<sup>127</sup> Silverstein reads *miserere*; or perhaps *miseri*. Alternatively, Carozzi has suggested *miseris tollerunt*, proposing *tollerunt* again on the basis that the author has confused *tulerunt* with *tollerunt* (*Le voyage*, 271); *miseris* (reading “stole from the poor”) would make sense here. The only issue is that it seems premature, given the consistent structure of the text, to mention a sin here; in addition, this would contradict with the angel’s answer.

<sup>128</sup> Read *cruciantur*.

<sup>129</sup> Silverstein reads *malas ideas*; Carozzi reads *sidus*, of which this is possibly a compound. See n. 12.4 below.

<sup>130</sup> Read *succenderunt*, or alternatively *sub-caederunt*.

<sup>131</sup> Read *messes*.

<sup>132</sup> Carozzi previously argued this is a garment, suggesting linen. He was followed in this by Ó Corráin, who also explored the option, first suggested by Silverstein, that this paragraph refers to sorcery, suggesting *lamia*, *lama* Gk ‘witch, bogey’ (‘Can we prove?’, handout). Cf. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon*, s.v. *lanea*.

<sup>133</sup> Silverstein suggested *malas ideas* ‘bringers of bad ideas’ in the sense of idolaters, as in some copies of the *Apocalypse of Peter*. However, Carozzi (*Le voyage*, 272) suggested a form of *sidus* ‘tempest’, which would seem to fit the context. This meaning of the word is not common, but was known in the early middle ages from Vergil’s *Aeneid* and is so glossed in Servius’ commentary (Servius grammaticus, *Commentarius in Uergilii Aeneidos libros* (LLT 612), 2; lib. 7, vers. 215, pag. 143, linea 16 and lib. 12, ad vers. 451, pag. 615, linea 22 ‘Seruius auctus’). It further appears in a medicinal tract, *Liber de medicina de quadrupedibus* (dated to the fifth century also), in the section on the properties of the body-parts of the badger, where it also seems to indicate ‘storm’: ... *nec sidus nec canicule tempestas nocebit nec pestilential neque occursus malus nocere poterit* (Arsernio Ferraces Rodríguez, ‘Dos retractaciones inéditas del *De taxone*’, in Vincenzo Ortoleva & Maria Rosaria Petringa (eds), *La veterinaria antica e medievale: testi greci, latini, arabi, e romanzi* (Athens 2009) 227–42, 234). The Old English translation of this text (c. 1000 AD) translates the Latin as *strang storm* ‘strong storm’. (Thomas O. Cockayne [ed], *Leechdoms, wortcunning, and starcraft of early England* [London 1866] 326–27).

<sup>134</sup> Alternatively ‘cut down crops’.

## §8

<sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit homines in caballum ereas<sup>135</sup> et iumenta aerea et alia [201] quadropedia furauerunt<sup>136</sup> et super ipsas ardebant sicut flamma ignis. <sup>b</sup>Et interrogauit sanctus Paulus: Ista qui commiserunt, Domine? <sup>c</sup>Respondit ei angelus: Ista sunt, quia<sup>137</sup>  
60 cauallo<sup>138</sup> et iumenta et alia quadropedia inuolauerunt<sup>139</sup> et numquam paenituerunt; propter hoc habent propria paena.<sup>140</sup>

56 caballum] caba\l/lum *StG<sup>t</sup>* · 58 sicut] siq̄ *StG<sup>t</sup>* · 60 inuolauerunt] inu\i/iolauerunt *StG<sup>t</sup>*

He came to another place; he saw men on leaden horses and leaden mules and other quadrupeds they had stolen<sup>141</sup> and on these they burned like a flame of fire. And Saint Paul asked: ‘These, what [sins] have they committed, Lord?’ The angel answered him: ‘These are those who stole horses and mules and other quadrupeds and never repented; because of this they have [their] proper penance.’

## §9

<sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit uiros et mulieres cultellus in oculis ipsorum mittebant bulientes ferraturas de aratras et de strabos et hastaros,<sup>142</sup> et alias in oculis ipsorum mittebat<sup>143</sup> apud sulphor et plumbum et  
65 [202] betumen, et ibi ardebunt.<sup>144</sup> <sup>b</sup>Et interrogabat sanctus Paulus: Isti qui commiserunt, Domine? <sup>c</sup>Isti sunt, qui con multa ferramenta inuolauerunt et numquam paenituerunt.

65 Isti] iste > isti *StG<sup>t</sup>* · 66 isti] iste > isti *StG<sup>t</sup>*

He came to another place; he saw men and women [who] were thrusting daggers into their eyes and were thrusting boiling ironwork from ploughs and hoes(?) and rakes(?) and other things into their eyes, amid sulphur and lead and pitch, and there they burned. And Saint Paul asked: ‘Those, what [sins] have they committed, Lord?’ ‘These are those who stole many iron tools and never repented.’

<sup>135</sup> Read *caballos aereos*.

<sup>136</sup> Read *fuertunt* (?).

<sup>137</sup> Read *qui*.

<sup>138</sup> Read *cauallos*.

<sup>139</sup> Read *inuolauerunt*.

<sup>140</sup> Read *propriam paenam*.

<sup>141</sup> The announcement that the quadrupeds were stolen seems premature here. A solution would be to emend to *fuertunt*.

<sup>142</sup> Silverstein reads *de aratris et de scabris et de rastris*. Ó Corráin suggests the scribe read ‘*ett hastaros*’ for ‘*et rastros*’ (‘Can we prove?’; *handout*).

<sup>143</sup> Read *mittebant*.

<sup>144</sup> Read *ardebant*.

## §10

<sup>a</sup>Venit in alio loco, uidit pleno caelo de pecunia multa. <sup>b</sup>Et interrogauit *sanctus Paulus*: †*cum rem pecunia multa†*, *Domine?* <sup>c</sup>*Respondit ei*

70 *angelus*: *Delateres et toritores*.<sup>145</sup>

69 rem] rém *StG'* · 70 toritores] tontores > toritores *StG'*

He came to another place; he saw a heaven full of many sins(?). And Saint Paul asked: '[for whom this location with?] many sins(?), Lord?' The angel answered him: 'Informers and torturers'.<sup>146</sup>

## §11

<sup>a</sup>Et interrogauit *sanctus Paulus*: *Domine*, ubi sunt parentes mei?

<sup>b</sup>*Respondit ei angelus*: In infernum usurantur.<sup>147</sup> <sup>c</sup>*Et dixit sanctus Paulus*: *Domine*, ubi est pater meus et mater [203] mea et fratris mei et amici mei et *cumpatris* mei uel parenticula mea grandis et parui?

75 <sup>d</sup>*Respondit ei angelus*: In inferno usurantur.<sup>147</sup> <sup>e</sup>Et eiectauit se *sanctus Paulus* super inferno et coepit amariter plorare.

<sup>f</sup>Et interrogauit *Dominus angelus* Raphahel: *Quid* ploras frater Paulus? <sup>g</sup>Uenit Raphahel *angelus* ad *sancto* Paulo: *Quid* tale grauiter pluras, frater Paulus?

80 <sup>h</sup>*Et ille dixit*: Agat pius Deus licet me propter parentes meos intrare in inferno. <sup>i</sup>*Et ille dixit*: Habeant [204] ueniam, ego spatiosus et multo misericors et pius fui super uos.

<sup>j</sup>*Dominus dixit* ad *sancto* Paulo: Certo tibi dico: Parentes tuos usque ad nono genuculo; †missus est camelos in euangelio uocatur  
85 finis multis†, qui parentes *sancti* Pauli traxerunt de inferno.

And Saint Paul asked: 'Lord, where are my relatives?' The angel answered him: 'They are being burned in hell'. And St Paul said: 'Lord, where are my father and my mother and my brother and my friends and my godfathers and my kinsmen both distant and close?'

The angel answered him: 'They are being burned in hell'. And Saint Paul threw himself upon the hell and began to weep bitterly.

<sup>145</sup> Silverstein reads *traditores*.

<sup>146</sup> This line is clearly corrupt and the paragraph as a whole gives the impression of having suffered in transmission. Given the nature of the answer, the first phrase must be asking who deserves the place mentioned, but if we read 'a heaven full of much wealth' the answer does not appear to make good sense. Perhaps *pecunia* is the result of a palaeographical error for *peccantia* in the sense 'sins'.

<sup>147</sup> Read *uruntur*.

And the Lord asked the angel Raphael: ‘Why do you weep brother Paul?’  
The angel Raphael went to Saint Paul: ‘Why do you cry so violently,  
brother Paul?’

And he said: ‘May the holy Lord allow me to enter hell on account of my  
relatives.’ And He said: ‘May they have pardon; I have been generous<sup>148</sup>  
and very merciful and affectionate to you.’

The Lord said to Saint Paul: ‘Truly, I say to you: Your parents in the ninth  
degree;<sup>149</sup> the camels, summoned in the gospel to many ends(?),<sup>150</sup> were  
sent, who dragged Saint Paul’s parents out of hell.’<sup>151</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Carozzi previously suggested ‘generous’. The word *spaciosus* does not appear to occur regularly in a metaphorical sense, but see the entry ‘*spatiöse: lente, moderate*’ in Niermeyer.

<sup>149</sup> *usque ad nono geniculo*: Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. *geniculo* ‘knee; degree of parentage’. Ó Corráin has argued this is a translation of an Old Irish legal term *co nómad n-ó* (‘Can we prove?; handout’); the continental laws where he found parallels to this phrase only list fifth-, sixth- and seventh-degree relationships (see discussion above).

<sup>150</sup> Or ‘across many boundaries(?)’.

<sup>151</sup> The reference to the camel is decidedly odd and I can only speculate as to its relevance. Silverstein and Carozzi refer to the proverbial camel in Matthew 19.24/Luke 18.25/Mark 10.25 and in the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*; in none of these does the camel function as *psychopomp*. It may have been intended as an interpretive reading of some sort: Mark 10:25 reads ‘It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God’. Perhaps this idea is transferred here to the case of Paul’s family. Paul, we may imagine, would have only a slim chance of actually seeing his family rescued out of Hell: yet God grants him this favour. Thus, in a way, the camel has gone through the eye of the needle. This is especially appropriate if *usurantur* was understood as a pun on ‘usurers’. A comparable but similarly opaque reading of the proverb is found in the Ps-Isidorian *De ueteri et nouo testament quaestiones* (see n. 69 above), no. 48, where the camel appears to be an allegory for gentiles before the coming of Christ; McNally, ‘The ps-Isidorian *De uetere*’, 49.