

# **Biblical Material in the Latin Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles**

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2011



## Acknowledgment

This thesis was written within the NWO project *The Dynamics of Apocryphal Traditions in Medieval Religious Culture* led by Dr. Els Rose from Utrecht University. I would like to thank to all members of the project team, especially to Maarten Prot, Maaïke Rietrae and Valentina Covaci, for their help and encouragement during my thesis research. My special thanks belong also to my supervisor, Dr. Els Rose, who provided me with ample support and material to work with. My additional thanks belong to prof. Marco Mostert, who is the second reader of this thesis.



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## Abbreviations

BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina
CBL	Collectanea Biblica Latina
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CHL	Comentationes Humanarum Litterarum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
GCS	Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
PL	Patrologia Latina
SC	Sources chrétiennes



## Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis was born out of the NWO project *The Dynamics of Apocryphal Traditions in Medieval Religious Culture* led by Dr. Els Rose of Utrecht University.<sup>1</sup> The subject of the project is a corpus of early medieval Latin apocryphal Acts of Apostles (*Virtutes Apostolorum*, formerly known as the collection of pseudo-Abdias), a complex body of texts related to the deeds (*virtutes*) and martyrdom (*passiones*) of twelve apostolic figures - Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James the Great, James the Less, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew and Simon with Jude. Little is known about the period and place of origin of the collection, its sources, authors, redactors and compilers, audiences and users, original functions and early usage, and about the environment in which the collection was composed and used. Extrinsic and intrinsic evidence indicates that the collection was present in the Latin West by the end of the sixth century,<sup>2</sup> although the earliest manuscripts survive from the early ninth century. We don't know what happened to the *Virtutes Apostolorum* in the first three centuries of their existence, nor whether the form in which the collection came down to us is its original shape or a result of reworking. We possess some of the material that served as the prototype for the individual stories, in particular the so-called Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. In other cases, we have no vestiges of the texts that are supposed to pre-date the collection. This makes almost five hundred years that need to be accounted for, if we wish to understand how the collection came into being and was used by Christian communities. This effort is also related to the enterprise of providing a modern critical edition of the collection based on 25 selected manuscripts transmitting the whole textual corpus.

This thesis focuses on one aspect of the collection - the usage, transmission and transformation of scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. In combination with the analysis of other traits of the collection, such as its language or formal aspects, this research seeks to contribute to the assessment of the period, the place and the environment of origin of the collection and to the understanding of the conditions of its use, authors and audiences. The individual *virtutes* centering on *homines Dei*, the Apostles, contain numerous references to Scripture. This implies the existence of scriptural sources that can be in part reconstructed and identified. Using our present-day knowledge of the Bible, we can place the collection into a concrete material context. Moreover, the manuscript

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<sup>1</sup> The description of the project is based on Rose (2012). See also Rose (2004: 115-38).

<sup>2</sup> Kaestli (1981: 52).

evidence discloses also the transformations up to the ninth century (and beyond, in the case of younger manuscripts). This later development is equally valuable for the collection as the period of composition, since the transmission mechanisms were as important for the state of the text as the creative activity of the authors. Finally, by examining the scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* we can study the medieval perspectives on referentiality and usage of the Scripture. Some of the conclusions may be applied to textual material other than the *Virtutes Apostolorum* or apocryphal texts and be helpful for research into the medieval usage of the Bible and intertextuality. The analysis of the material background of the scriptural references; the analysis of textual transformations; and the analysis of the manner of referencing are the underlying objectives of this thesis. I believe that even though I have not covered these fields of research completely, I have provided points valuable for the contemporary state of research. The last objective of this thesis is methodological - to provide a method of examination of biblical material in medieval texts that can help us to set them better into their material context and understand their composition and transformation.

### The method

The central data pool of this research is a corpus of biblical material extracted from the *Virtutes Apostolorum* on the basis of three manuscripts - Vienna ÖNB lat 455, Dublin Trinity College 737 2 and Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139 (description provided below). Where necessary, other project manuscripts were consulted. This corpus is described in chapter 2. This chapter likewise provides the theoretical basis for the selection, i.e. definition of the terminology, boundaries and limitations of the research, and outlines perspectives from which the material may be approached. In the following chapters, three of these approaches are used in order to assess the material from different perspectives: a) typological analysis; b) material analysis; and c) process analysis.

Typological Analysis (chapter 3) focuses on examinations of the patterns of referentiality that occur in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Scholars have previously used terms such as quotation, reference, and allusion to speak about intertextuality, but have done so vaguely and inconsistently.<sup>3</sup> I define these terms on the basis of three textual aspects - the language, the meaning, and the form - that may be used to describe the relationship of the referential material to Scripture. I also provide an analysis of traits that different types of material share in common and of their functions.

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<sup>3</sup> Cfr. Bovon (2009: 217-18); and Genette (1997: 2).

Material Analysis (chapter 4) is concerned with those types of references that are characterized by a high degree of language and meaning accuracy, i.e. are likely to have conserved scriptural material as it existed in the physical source of the reference. I track the versions of the biblical text that served as the prototype for the collection or its components, the transformations the material underwent, and consider other, non-scriptural sources of the collection, e.g. liturgy and patristic literature.<sup>4</sup> Based on this, I have attempted to specify the historical environment of the collection and of the individual units within it.

Process Analysis (chapter 5) deals further with the transformations present in the corpus. In contrast to chapter 4, which accentuates the static aspect of the collection, this chapter pays attention to fluidity: activity of the agents that carried out the transformations (e.g. authors, reworkers, compilers) and layers of the text development (e.g. prototexts, redactions, compilations). I relate particular groups of items sharing process features to the layers of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and examine whether material thus distributed is characterized by other features, e.g. typological and material. I point out, where possible, whether certain referential items can be linked with certain stages of the development of the text.

I am aware that this methodology is not without pitfalls. Two maladies in particular may affect it: first, the models and paradigms used to process the data from the *Virtutes Apostolorum* that were created by me, the modern researcher, may affect the data, medieval biblical material, and its interpretation by providing structures along which the material is organized; secondly, the results of individual steps may be too heterogeneous to represent patterning, and as a result little could be concluded about the material apart from its presence. In a way the two concerns are two opposites of the same scale - one leading to overrating of the patterning which might have been a result of modern structures rather than of medieval composition, the other leading to underrating of the patterning because it will not be ostensibly present upon examination in the expected and presupposed manner. To avoid these two extremes, it is important always to reflect critically on the material, the results and the processes carried out, and to remember that the goal of this thesis is not to provide definitive answers, but that questions and hypotheses are equally valid outcomes. Moreover, the objective of this thesis is not to prove the method valid at any cost, but rather to develop it and point out its limits. I believe that using three different methodological apparatuses

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<sup>4</sup> See Bovon (1988: 30). Comparable assumptions and method were developed for the assessment of the Old Latin by Sanday and White and perfected by Beuron Vetus Latina Institute. See Fischer (1986b: 178-87).

decreases the danger of falling for any of the extreme positions by offering a variety of positions and answers that can be confronted.

### Overview of the collection

The *Virtutes Apostolorum* belong to the tradition of writings about the Apostles that developed in Christian literary culture in its first centuries. Unlike the canonical texts that evolved in an open textual environment and gradually became “canonized” and conserved, the stories about the missionary activity of the Apostles and their martyrdom did not cease to be open to influences and to exist as “participation” texts.<sup>5</sup> Even though it is possible to treat the *Virtutes Apostolorum* as a collection of narratives about the Apostles, it is necessary to account for the fact that no two manuscripts of the *Virtutes* are alike. Material relating to the Apostles continued to exist as individual stories alongside the collections, just as the collections could supply such individual textual units or be compiled from them secondarily. Moreover, different versions of the stories came into being and might have been substituted in different collections or juxtaposed in order to provide exhaustive histories of the Apostles. Some of the narratives received prologues and epilogues. Most of them intruded into the liturgy as the signs of liturgical usage appearing in the manuscripts indicate.

Because of the amount of manuscript evidence of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, three criteria were used to restrict the material in the project *Dynamics of apocryphal traditions*: a) only manuscripts from France and southern Germany were considered; b) only manuscripts containing the whole range of apostolic stories, i.e. ten or eleven *virtutes* (ten if Peter and Paul are merged into a single Act, or eleven if two Acts are present for the two apostles) were included; and c) only manuscripts written before the thirteenth century were selected. I further limited my manuscript material to three interrelated manuscripts that contain the same variants of the apostolic stories. These variants are as follows (in the order given in Bamberg 139):<sup>6</sup>

**Acts of Peter** (BHL 6663) is considered a derivative of the older *Martyrium Petri* of pseudo-Linus (BHL 6655), estimated to have been written in the fifth century. The text has four distinct parts: a chain of biblical excerpts connected with the person of Peter; excerpts from Rufinus’ translation of the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* (completed in the 400s); a section treating Peter’s

<sup>5</sup> I use the term developed in Bayless (1996: 13-14).

<sup>6</sup> The following overview uses information provided by de Santos Otero (2003: 426-82). The BHL numbering is based on *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. 2 vols. Bruxelles, 1898-1901.

encounter with Simon the Sorcerer in Rome based on pseudo-Hegesippus; and the *passio* derived from the *Martyrium*.<sup>7</sup>

**Acts of Paul** (BHL 6575) is a derivative of the Ancient Acts of Paul, particularly of the Latin *Passio Pauli brevior* (BHL 6571), which is in turn derived from the Greek *Martyrium Pauli* (BHG 1451-2). Just as the Acts of Peter, the Acts of Paul can be divided into two parts - a chain of biblical excerpts pertaining to Paul and the section of the older material providing the *passio*.

**Acts of Andrew** (BHL 430 and BHL 429). The former is identical with the *Liber de virtutibus sancti Andreae apostoli* of Gregory of Tours (late sixth century).<sup>8</sup> According to his own preface to the *Liber de virtutibus*, Gregory provided an epitome of Andrew's miracles based on what must have been a Latin translation of the Ancient Acts of Andrew. Gregory also makes clear that he will not treat the martyrdom of the Apostle. This is provided in BHL 429, *Passio sancti Andreae apostoli*, which is a revision of the so-called *Letter of the Presbyters and Deacons of Achaea* (BHL 428), a Latin excerpt from the Ancient Apocryphal Acts of Andrew.

**Acts of John** (BHL 4316) contains episodic material from the ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts of John, yet is a Latin translation of an independent Greek text connected with John's cult in Ephesus. The date of the composition of this prototype is estimated as the fifth century.

*De exitu Herodis* (BHL 4318) is a short narrative about the death of Herod Agrippa following the Acts of John (or preceding the Acts of James the Less?) in Vienna ÖNB lat 455 (and two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts). It is fully excerpted from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Rufinus' translation.

**Acts of James the Less** (BHL 4089) is excerpted from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Rufinus' Latin translation and from Rufinus' translation of the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* (both completed in the 400s).

**Acts of Philip** (BHL 6814) is unrelated to the Greek Ancient Acts of Philip. The nature of its prototype is unclear although it uses Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.<sup>9</sup>

**Acts of James the Great** (BHL 4057) is unrelated to texts about James the Great in Greek or other languages. The text reflects information about the death of the apostle provided by Clement of Alexandria in the second century. Nothing more can be said about its date and place of origin, nor about the original language of composition.

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. Lipsius (1887: 384).

<sup>8</sup> Edited as Bonnet (1885).

<sup>9</sup> Söder considers the Latin *Passio Philippi* a reworking of the older Greek material and dates this prototype to the fourth or fifth century; Söder (1932: 16-17).

**Acts of Bartholomew** (BHL 1002) is most probably a Latin creation that was translated into Greek secondarily. Nothing is known about the date and place of composition.<sup>10</sup>

**Acts of Matthew** (BHL 5690) is for the most part unrelated to the Greek *Martyrium Matthei*. Common references link this text with the Acts of Simon and Jude.

**Acts of Simon and Jude** (BHL 7749 and BHL 7750) are unrelated to other texts about Simon or Jude, which recognize the two apostles as separate figures.<sup>11</sup> There are some echoes of the tradition about the preaching of Simon Peter in Babylon and of the mission of Judah Thaddeus in Edessa. Date and place as well as language of composition are unknown, although the description of the state of the Persian Empire would give fourth century as *terminus post quem*.<sup>12</sup> Common references link this text with the Acts of Matthew. The two versions are very similar and contain only small differences. In a number of manuscripts, the Acts are followed by an epilogue (BHL 7751).

**Acts of Thomas** (BHL 8140), also known as *De miraculis beati Thomae apostoli*, is a Latin translation of a redaction of the Greek Ancient Acts of Thomas (dependent on the Syriac Acts). The piece was previously connected with the person of Gregory of Tours,<sup>13</sup> but this connection is rejected by many scholars.<sup>14</sup> Instead, it is proposed that *De miraculis* originated in the Milanese region.<sup>15</sup> The date of composition is unknown. Evidence from Augustine shows that a Latin translation existed as early as the fourth century, but it is not possible to show whether it was identical with this Acts of Thomas.

#### Survey of the manuscripts

Manuscripts of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* may be divided into a Bavarian branch and a Frankish branch.<sup>16</sup> The manuscripts used in this research all belong to the Bavarian branch, which is characterized by a higher degree of accuracy of transmission and a lower degree of vulgarization than the Frankish branch. The oldest manuscripts of this branch seem to be connected with institutions in southern Bavaria, from which the Bavarian material spread to other areas. Interaction between the manuscripts from the two branches led to the appearance of contaminated exemplars that transmitted portions of material from both branches or material originally from one branch that

<sup>10</sup> Söder assumes that *Passio Bartholomei* was composed in the fifth or the sixth century; Söder (1932: 18).

<sup>11</sup> See the short overview in Söder (1932: 19).

<sup>12</sup> The references to the political and social reality provided in the narrative point, in my opinion, to the first half of the fifth century, most probably prior to 430.

<sup>13</sup> Lipsius (1883: 255).

<sup>14</sup> See in particular Zelzer (1977b).

<sup>15</sup> See Frede (1995: 508).

<sup>16</sup> Cfr. Rose (forthcoming: 21).

was corrected against the material from the other branch. The three main manuscripts used in my research are:<sup>17</sup>

Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139 (**B**) is a twelfth-century parchment manuscript copied probably by Otloh of St. Emmeram at Regensburg. Because of its origin, it is possible that it is related to Dublin Trinity College 737 and also Paris lat. 5563. The book belonged to Bamberg cathedral library. It is a collection of various lives and passions of saints starting with the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and the life of Mattias (BHL 5695). Apart from the lives of lesser saints, the manuscript also contains a sermon for the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross.

Dublin Trinity College 737 (**D**) is a ninth-century parchment manuscript with additions from the twelfth and the thirteenth century. It was created in Bavaria or Hesse, according to Bischoff most probably in Regensburg. It is unknown where the book was used. The manuscript consists of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* (in the order Peter, Paul, Hymn for Peter and Paul, James the Less, Philip, Andrew, James the Great, John, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude) and the Acts of Barnabas (BHL 985). In addition, a different version of the *Passio Pauli* (BHL 6572) was added in the twelfth century at the beginning of the manuscript. The text of the Acts of Peter is cropped at the beginning.

Vienna ÖNB lat 455 (**V455**) is a ninth-century parchment manuscript from West Germany, which belonged to the Abbey of Trudpert. It contains the *Virtutes Apostolorum* (in the order Peter, Paul, Hymn for Peter and Paul, James the Less, Philip, Andrew, James the Great, John, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude) and the Apocalypse.

Other manuscripts that are occasionally invoked in this thesis include:

- a) Paris BNF lat. 18298 (**P**), a manuscript from the ninth or the tenth century belonging to the Frankish manuscript tradition;
- b) Vienna ÖNB 560 (**V560**), a twelfth- or thirteenth-century manuscript from the Abbey of Rein.
- c) Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48 (**W48**), a ninth- or early tenth-century manuscript, which originated in Weissenburg according to Bischoff or in Sankt Gallen according to Butzmann.
- d) Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497 (**W497**), an eleventh-century manuscript of unknown origin related to Wolfenbüttel 48.

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<sup>17</sup> The following information is taken from the appendix of Rose (forthcoming: 30-44).

## Chapter 2: Material

### Definition

For the purpose of handling the scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, I decided to depart from the theory of secondary texts of Gérard Genette as developed in his *Palimpsest: Literature in the Second Degree*.<sup>18</sup> Genette understands intertextuality as “a relationship of copresence between two texts or among several texts ... eidetically and typically as the actual presence of one text within another.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, he excludes other, less direct forms of relationship between texts that do not involve copying of one text into another and rather classifies these as different types of “transtextuality”.<sup>20</sup> It would be possible to treat intertextuality in a broader sense as any type of relationship between texts, as Kristeva and Riffaterre do,<sup>21</sup> but I decided to restrict myself to Genette’s definition, primarily because of a desire to retain a material, manuscript-oriented perspective. This, naturally, does not mean that other forms of transtextuality do not manifest themselves in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, and that they are not addressed within my research now and then.

Despite my choice, I use the term **hypotext** to denote the scriptural text as a source for the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and the term **hypertext** to denote the *Virtutes*.<sup>22</sup> I also speak about **prototexts** in case of non-Biblical textual units that interacted with the collection, e.g. the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* and the Eusebian *Historia Ecclesiastica*.<sup>23</sup> The term **prototype** denotes the texts relating to the *Virtutes Apostolorum* not via reference, quoting and excerpting, but rather via reworking and translation, e.g. the Greek Apocryphal Acts that provided the matrix for the Latin compositions.

Another theory of text that I reference is that of Wesley Kort. In his *Story, Text and Scripture: Literary Interest in Biblical Narrative*,<sup>24</sup> Kort defines the relationship between two texts via the concept of a **textual field**. The new texts (hypertexts) lying in such fields are woven from signifiers that are drawn from other contexts (hypotexts) and generate meaning and message via the usage of these

<sup>18</sup> Genette (1997).

<sup>19</sup> Genette (1997: 1-2).

<sup>20</sup> Genette (1997: 2).

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. Kristeva (1986: 34-61) and Riffaterre (1991: 56-78).

<sup>22</sup> The two were designed by Genette for the hypertextual and not intertextual relationship. He does not propose an equivalent set of terms for intertextuality, and thus I take license to use the two in this thesis in that capacity; cfr. Stahlberg (2008: 61). I don’t consider Riffaterre’s term intertext satisfactory; see Riffaterre (1991: 56).

<sup>23</sup> To designate differences between the two types of texts. Unlike Scripture, which participates in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* on all levels of transtextuality, prototexts are only a source of intertextuality; Genette (1997: 1-5).

<sup>24</sup> Kort (1988).

signifiers, i.e. by constant reference to their source, the centre of the field.<sup>25</sup> Kort calls the normative text/set of texts in the central position that defines how other texts will be read, **the scripture**.<sup>26</sup> He, furthermore, sees the scripture as arising from the tension between the two polar perceptions of the text: **the writing**, an open form of communication that generates discourse, challenges ideas and opinions, transforms and has no stable form; and **the canon**, an enclosed, conserved and established (and establishing) textual body that may not be challenged and remains stable. Writing represents the antagonistic, detaching model of relating to the environment. Canon represents the attaching, inclusive model of relating to the environment.<sup>27</sup> Scripture balances the two models: it is canon-like since it defines the centre of the field, and at the same time writing-like, because it supports openness of interpretation and reference that creates the field around the centre. Scripture can be perceived as an authoritative hypotext that cannot be challenged, yet allows for the openness of interpretation and of referentiality that creates new, inauthoritative and unstable hypertexts.

The textual field of referentiality has no clear-cut borders. Instead, it fades into a grey area where the degree of referentiality drops below a certain level and ceases to be perceived as being referential, or it collides with other fields representing different relationships that override the intertextual relationship. Thus, names like Jesus, Mary and John refer to Scripture, but are not truly referential, having a value of their own despite their origin in Scripture. In the same way, biblical exegesis refers back to Scripture, but its main concern is hermeneutical, not heuristic. It is not possible to separate textual units that are referential from those that are not or have other primary functions, since the borders of referentiality are defined by the communities of the text users. I cannot guarantee that my understanding of the references is identical with the understanding of the same by the medieval creators and users of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Nevertheless, one cannot refrain from delimitation of some sort, even if along the lines of modern perspectives, keeping in mind the relativity of such selection and while critically reflecting on the approach and its limitations.

For the purpose of this thesis, I define **reference** as all material selected from the text of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* containing a significant degree of referentiality. Close to the textual centre, covering an area that cannot be clearly delineated and freely stretches into other segments of the field, are items that I call **quotations**, textual units that approach Scripture so closely that they replicate the language, the meaning and the form of the scriptural text. Quotations are discussed in

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<sup>25</sup> Kort (1988: 119-21). Also Kristeva (1986a: 37) and Kristeva (1986b: 111).

<sup>26</sup> Kort (1988: 124-31).

<sup>27</sup> Kort (1988: 122).

greater detail in chapter 3, where they are treated as a separate typological category, and analyzed in chapter 4 with respect to their material-conserving qualities. For now, it is sufficient to say that just as we observe a gradual shift from the textual units that are referential to those which are non-referential, we see a gradual shift from the quotations to the references.

Throughout this thesis I repeatedly refer to the processes that governed the development of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and the human beings that stood behind these processes. Since I want to stress their active role in shaping the collection but to avoid seeing them as historical entities that can be studied as such (or studied at all), I call them the **agents**. This term serves to denote individuals, groups as well as institutions, who all could be agents on the same level with respect to the formative processes behind the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. In contrast, I reserve terms like author, redactor and compiler for particular agents discussed in chapter 5.

Finally, I would like to introduce the term **layer** to denote a segment of the text that represents a stage in the development of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. The unity of a layer, in contrast to narratives and textual units that are synchronic and text-wise, is determined chronologically and agent-wise, since a layer came into being in a particular stretch of time and as a result of the activity of a single agent. This concept is treated more thoroughly in chapter 5.

### Description

For the purpose of reference, I divided the scriptural references in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* into 286 **items** and assigned each a number that will be used throughout this thesis.<sup>28</sup> The items are the smallest units representing a continuous, uninterrupted stretch of hypotext. In an ideal case, these are sentences or clauses; however, the material itself sometimes resists such division.<sup>29</sup> Thus, #189, a narrative passage reflecting the annunciation story of Lc 1, 26-35, could be treated as a single item, but also as three items based on triple elocution that seems to be central to this textual passage.

The size of an item varies from two or three words, e.g. #45, *concupiscencia oculorum*, referring to 1Jo 2, 16, to lengthy passages such as #30, an account of *conversio Pauli* taken from Act 9, 3-26 and Act 26, 9-18. Moreover, in some cases, the hypertext makes a reference to multiple passages, as in

<sup>28</sup> Three of the items, #1b, #2b and #3b appear only in V455.

<sup>29</sup> V455, for example, attaches Roman numerals to units in the two chains of excerpts in Peter and Paul. This numbering does not follow the presentation of the material in the scriptural source, but rather divides the excerpts into discreet episodes with distinct themes. In some cases, such episodes do not contain traits of being independent units, e.g. by the transformation of the first sentence of the excerpt for the purpose of chaining, which could indicate that at an earlier stage the episodes were not divided in a similar way, and that the numbering was a later state of the matter, connected perhaps with liturgical use.

#99, where reference is made to Jesus' bidding to the young rich man to sell his property, an event that is narrated in Mt 19, 21, Mc 10, 21 and Lc 18, 22. While sometimes the use of particular words and meaning indicates that one of the hypotexts was primary, more often it is not possible to identify a main source. Particularly in cases when the reference is rather open, it is improper to speak of a single source; the reference is rather made to a theme or imagery used in Scripture, such as in #95, which speaks about bad trees bearing bad fruit, a notion familiar to Mt 7, 17-18, Mt 12, 33 and Lc 6, 43-44, but not explicitly phrased in this way in any of the loci.

Yet another case is merging, i.e. joining unrelated hypotexts into a composite reference where the original components are visible, e.g. #105 where Ps 38, 7 and Ecl 5, 14 are juxtaposed into a single utterance. In other cases material from more hypotexts is fused, i.e. the components are not distinct after the fusion, such as in #41, where language reference is made to Eph 1, 18 (*oculos cordis*) in a sentence otherwise reflecting Lc 23, 34 and Act 7, 59.

All these cases show that my division is partially artificial; yet, it is justifiable on the grounds that without it the vastness and complexity of material would not allow analysis. I am aware of the distortion that itemization may cause and account for it in the following chapters.

### Distribution

The 286 items of the collection are distributed unevenly among its sections. This unevenness can be described both relatively (number of items) and absolutely (total length of referential material against the total length of the narratives<sup>30</sup>). Besides, the narratives can be contrasted qualitatively, i.e. with respect to whether they contain references or quotations.

Five of the Acts (Andrew, John, James the Great, Thomas and Matthew) contain more than 30 referential items and three of these (Andrew, John and James the Great) more than 40 items. In contrast, Philip contains only 6, and most of the other narratives have below 20 references. Yet, four of the texts (Andrew, John, Thomas and Matthew) are among the longest texts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, and the number of references results from large areas in which referentiality may occur rather than from a high degree of **saturation** with referential material. James the Great, one of the shortest texts in the collection but containing 41 references, is an exception. The majority of the references in this narrative are contained in the Apostle's speech to the Jews built from a chain of

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<sup>30</sup> I compared the total number of lines of the texts with the number of lines of referential material. The line used here is a standardized line of the Word transcription of B that followed the lineation of the original. The absolute comparison is only referential and serves to highlight obvious differences, not to provide exact data.

testimonies from the Psalms and prophetic books. This is not the standard way in which the references are used in other narratives. The theme (preaching to the Jews) may have governed the choice of material in James the Great, but not the manner of presentation.<sup>31</sup> Besides, James the Great is otherwise almost devoid of references. All these aspects set James the Great apart from other narratives in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and might point to a different period, area, environment and conditions of composition.<sup>32</sup>

The level of saturation is not proportional to the length of the narratives. James the Great, described above, is among the richest of the texts with the score of 41% of its text consisting of referential material. Paul precedes even James the Great, with 72% of its bulk being references. Peter and James the Less follow with 27% and 24% respectively. These are the only four Acts in which the level of saturation is above 20%.<sup>33</sup> The amount of referential material in Peter and Paul is not surprising, given their prominent position in Scripture and in the Christian tradition. These two narratives are distinguished from the rest by the referential material being presented in the form of long tracts that reproduce *verbatim* the text of Scripture pertaining to the two Apostles. Nothing similar happens in the narratives where Scripture could have been utilized in the same fashion (John, Matthew, James the Less). The latter is based completely on an account in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the translation of Rufinus. Thus, the references that appear here were created by Eusebius/Rufinus and not by the agents of the composition, and cannot be placed on par with references in texts like John, Andrew, or Matthew. The seven remaining texts are comparable in their saturation with biblical material as well as in using predominantly references rather than quotations as James the Great, excerpts like Peter and Paul, or prototexts such as James the Less.

The distribution and character of the scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be contrasted with the information about the collection that was provided in chapter 1.<sup>34</sup> The narratives which derive from the five Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts (Peter, Paul, John, Andrew and Thomas) are distinct in their usage of referential material. Peter and Paul, in particular, seem to have been substantially reworked and contaminated with younger scriptural material. The texts of John, Andrew and Thomas remain more homogenous with respect to each other, being all excerpted versions of the Greek prototypes, the longest in the collection, containing a relatively low number of references and few direct quotations. With respect to saturation, these three texts are affiliated rather

<sup>31</sup> James the Less is also concerned with preaching Jesus to the Jews, but contains no similar testimonies.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. de Santos Otero (2003: 477).

<sup>33</sup> The average saturation is 18 %; see Appendix C.

<sup>34</sup> See also the conclusion of chapter 4.

to the four “lesser” Acts (Bartholomew, Matthew, Philip, and Simon and Jude), which are shorter, but approach the size of the Ancient Acts (Matthew in particular) and operate mostly with the references.<sup>35</sup> It is hard to say what is the significance of the deviation of James the Great, which could be otherwise ranked among the “lesser” Acts, from all the other Acts. James the Less, too, deviates from the above-mentioned clusters, representing, together with *De exitu Herodis*, a distinct approach to text and sources.<sup>36</sup>

### Presentation

The referential material pertaining to this thesis is presented in three Appendices.

Appendix A covers all referential items encountered in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. It provides the text of the three main manuscripts (V455, B and D) in three columns and a separate column containing the collation of all used manuscripts if more manuscripts were taken into account for a particular item. Two additional columns contain the text of the Clementine Vulgate for reference, and important other sources (prototexts, other major versions of Scripture).

Appendix B contains the quotations in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* used in chapter 4. It provides the collated text of the collection in one column, the text of the Clementine Vulgate for reference in a second column, and a typological marker for every item.

Appendix C consists of two tables illustrating the distribution of the referential material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Table 1 lists both the relative and absolute distribution as discussed above for all the narratives in the collection. It also encompasses the distribution of the referential material into typological categories discussed in chapter 3. Table 2 addresses the distribution of the quotations (not all references) in the scriptural books.

Where cited, the text of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* in the thesis is taken from B, unless indicated otherwise. All quotations from Scripture are made from the Clementine Vulgate unless indicated otherwise.

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<sup>35</sup> This may have to do with the younger Acts being modeled on the Ancient Acts; Junod and Kaestli (1982: 30).

<sup>36</sup> Note that where *De exitu Herodis* occurs, it always precedes James the Less. Furthermore, the sequence of excerpts from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* follows the plan of the work and is continuous from BHL 4318 to BHL 4089. Would this indicate some sort of unity between the two textual units?

## Chapter 3: Typological Analysis

### Theoretical background

The textual field created by Scripture as a centre of referentiality can be described by three values that define the relationship of a given textual unit to the scriptural centre: a) the quantitative and qualitative reproduction of the language of Scripture (linguistic aspect); b) the conservation of the message communicated by Scripture (semantic aspect); and c) the presence of formal elements that construct the referential relationship between the formatted item and Scripture (formal aspect).<sup>37</sup> The three aspects project each item as if into a 3-D graph in which certain areas are populated more densely than others (see fig. 1). These clusters of references characterized by the three variables reflect to an extent the patterns of referentiality available to the medieval creators, which is the basis for assessing them typologically. They likewise display other traits, such as different functions, positions in the narrative and degree of recognition, i.e. acknowledgment. Because of its significance for the research, the latter category is also be treated in this chapter.

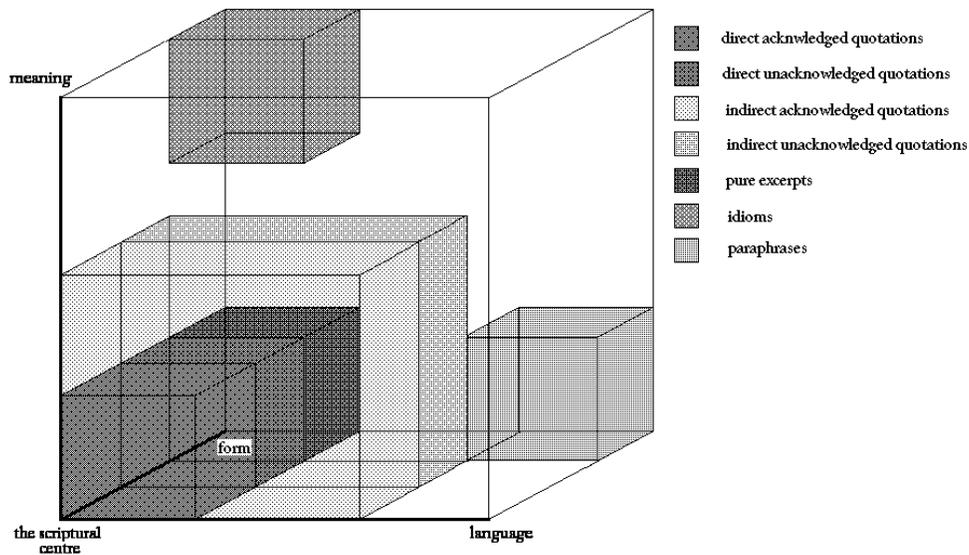


fig. 1. Model of the distribution of the reference types in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*

<sup>37</sup> Cfr. Bovon (1984: 228).

*Linguistic aspect*

While language, the inherent medium of the text on which meaning and the presentation are dependent, is the most significant marker of proximity to the scriptural text, because of its inherent qualities it must be analyzed with caution. First and foremost, the scriptural centre of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* is historically a set of manuscript exemplars that are lost to us. This zero-point cannot be reproduced but only approximated by a selection of a referential model (the Clementine Vulgate<sup>38</sup>) and a critical approach to its limitations as a model. A certain amount of inaccuracies will arise from the discrepancies between the model and the historical scriptural centre. Thus, in #178 we read:

Et quod a suo discipulo tradendus erat, hoc ordine predictum est per Daud. Qui edebat panem meum  
*ampliauit* aduersum me subplantationem,

where *ampliauit* derives from the Old Latin rather than from the Vulgate which recognizes *magnificauit* (Ps 40, 10) and *leuabit* (Jo 13, 18).

Secondly, language is akin to unintentional transformation by error, particularly during the manuscript transmission, which would move the items randomly from or towards the scriptural centre and must be accounted for as a random inaccuracy factor. Comparable inaccuracies arise also from hypercorrection and language purification. Thirdly, language may become contaminated by extrinsic linguistic reality, i.e. the usage of the same language in the community where the text was used. Scriptural phrasing that includes every-day living Latin or Latin well-known (liturgical formulas) may be more stable and conservative than phrasing that derives from Scripture alone.<sup>39</sup> How these issues may affect interpretation of the material may be demonstrated on #66:

et conuersus ad me rogabat ascendere post Petrum dicens: Andreas, *poculum* Petri bibiturus es,

referring to Mt 20, 22, where, however, *calicem* is used and not *poculum*. It is possible that the word in #66 accurately reflects the real source of the reference, containing indeed *poculum*, but just as likely it can be a result of a (semi-)conscious transformation by the creators of the hypertext, an external contamination or perhaps even an error.

<sup>38</sup> This choice was made based on the existence of a Clementine text database with an effective search engine that facilitated the assemblage of the corpus of referential material at <http://vulsearch.sourceforge.net/gettext.html>. Edited as Tweedale (2005). Where necessary, I consulted the readings of the Stuttgart edition; Weber (1975).

<sup>39</sup> Compare Fischer (1986b: 273-74).

It is also important to be aware of the fact that approximation towards the scriptural centre can be both quantitative (number of words that are shared with Scripture) and qualitative (the relative value of these words with respect to Scripture). Thus in #148:

Promisit deus patri nostro Abrahae quod in semine eius *hereditarentur* omnes gentes

the language proximity with the hypotext is disrupted by substitution of *hereditarentur* in place of *benedicentur* that appears in all scriptural loci (Gn 22, 18; Gn 26, 4; Act 3, 25; Gal 3, 8) as well as in all versions of the biblical text (Vulgate, Old Latin). The context in which the reference occurs (address to the Jews about the acceptance of the Gentiles) and the shape of the word exclude random error and indicate a conscious transformation by one of the agents of the composition. It is in fact possible that the transformation is a deliberate disruption that creates textual tension (movement from “canon” to “writing”) and generates force of a new meaning. The presence of a linguistic feature is just as relevant as its absence.

#### *Semantic aspect*

When analyzing the semantic aspect, it is important to realize that the semantic accuracy cannot be assessed with respect only to conservation of the original semantic values of the hypotext, including its ambiguity and openness. These gaps were filled in over the centuries by patristic interpretation that was handed over to the medieval creators of the text together with the scriptural text. As a result, many references in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* are marked by a tendency to explain them and present them along certain lines. Moreover, text processed through the prism of interpretation was in medieval eyes more accurate with respect to the absolute, metaphysical reality, and therefore also as more semantically accurate with respect to the relative text.<sup>40</sup> This is visible in #118:

Aperi michi pulsanti ianuam uitae,

which echoes both the parable of the unwise maidens (Mt 25, 1-13) and Mt 7, 7-8:

Petite, et dabitur vobis: quærite, et inuenietis: pulsate, et aperietur vobis. Omnis enim qui petit, accipit: et qui quærit, inuenit: et pulsanti aperietur.

<sup>40</sup> Augustine uses two terms to exemplify the distinction: *res*, the meaning, and *signum*, the sense that exists behind the meaning and point to the Divine. Stock (2001: 8). See also Carruthers (2008: 11).

The expression *ianuam uitae*, however, is a result of later interpretative processes.

In addition, we can see semantic shifts in the referential material that arose from colliding interpretations and from a desire to provide the link of accuracy to Scripture. In the Acts of Matthew, a reference is made to Philip baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch in Act 8, 27-38 (#200). This passage is rendered in a different manner in two different manuscripts:

Hunc cum uidisset Ethiops eunuchus Candacis nomine qui fuerat a Philippo apostolo diacono baptizatus  
(B 42r, 002a-005a)

and

Hunc cum uidisset Aethiops eunuchus Candacis nomine qui fuerat a Philippo apostolorum diacono  
baptizatus (V455 122r, 009-011).

Here a simple language element, a place for an error, makes a difference between whether Philip of the Acts is a different figure from Philip the Apostle, or whether the two are identical, as was often understood in the medieval Church.

#### *Formal aspect*

More than the language or meaning, the form generates not only a link to the scriptural centre but also a link to the hypertext. Bovon correctly states that the act of quoting consists of two steps: removal from the original and insertion into a new text.<sup>41</sup> Yet, it involves an additional step between these two processes: the formulation of the quotation itself that, from that point, exists as a self-sufficient, self-enclosed, discrete unit and will bear traces of the removal-insertion process even when embedded into the hypertext by preserving a degree of its self-sufficiency, discreteness and enclosedness. Moreover, the more such an item wishes to resemble/represent the hypotext, the more it remains distinct from the hypertext, bearing formal traces of the hypotext. Conversely, blending into the hypertext means investing the referential material with formal qualities of the hypertext. Distinctness is another feature of formal aspect. Finally, the material referring to the text is prone to retain its textuality by remaining locutionary, i.e. using the word as the platform for the reference (rather than visual image or a performance). The majority of the references in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* are spoken statements, even though the creators of the collection could employ description and narration instead. These three elements of formal accuracy are interconnected and

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<sup>41</sup> Bovon (1984: 227).

therefore their quality decreases jointly in the direction away from the scriptural centre. To illustrate them, I will introduce #85 together with its surrounding:

Iohannes uero ... apud urbem Ephesum a proconsule comprehensus ammonebatur, ut iuxta edictum imperiale negaret Christum, et a praedicatione cessaret. *At ille respondens dicebat: Obedire oportet deo magis quam hominibus.* Proinde nec Christum deum meum negabo, nec a praedicatione cessabo nominis eius, donec consumem cursum ministerii quod suscepi.

The utterance *Obedire oportet deo magis quam hominibus* is an exact rendering of Act 5, 29. In the example above it stands out from the surrounding text, since it does not contain linking language features (notice *uero*, *At*, *Proinde* in other sentences) that would embed it into the narrative, and the length of this unit does not correspond to the length of other sentences. The meaning of the reference does not depend on the immediate context, but rather functions as a proverbial phrase that is self-sufficient and self-explanatory. Even the manner in which the reference is pronounced, i.e. as a single sentence, makes it distinct from the flow of the narrative. And while John can prove his steadfastness in Christ by actions, his quotations can be realized only via speech, since it exists as and is conceived of, only as a reference.

#### *Acknowledgment*

Acknowledgment, in this thesis, is the presence of metatext in certain references that indicates it is a reference. In #153:

*Hoc autem promissum Ysaïas predixit quo ordine fieret. Ait enim:* Ecce uirgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et uocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus,

the passage *Hoc autem promissum Ysaïas predixit quo ordine fieret. Ait enim* has no other function than to introduce the reference and contextualize it. The acknowledgment is not reference-generating, since the referentiality of the references is not dependent on whether they are acknowledged or not, unlike on language, meaning or form. Yet, the metatext can generate relative referentiality by its indexing force, i.e. it can make one think that a particular passage is a biblical reference because it has a metatext attached. This may be illustrated by #154:

Hieremias autem dicit: Ecce redemptor tuus ueniet Hierusalem, et hoc eius signum erit: Cecorum oculos aperiet, surdis reddet auditum, et uoce sua excitabit mortuos,

where a semblance of a quotation from Jeremiah is created via the metatext. Yet, the supposed reference itself does not accord with any known scriptural passage and, at best, echoes Is 35, 5 or certain loci in the Gospels (Mt 11, 5; Lc 7, 22). Standing on its own, #154 would be lying rather far from the scriptural centre. By the indexing force of the metatext, however, its referential value is strengthened, even if the metatext itself is not valid. In the same manner, indicators reinforce the existent referentiality of other items by attaching them to the authorities of Scripture (prophets, Jesus), reflecting the nature of a connection between user and Scripture (reading, speaking, hearing, remembering), providing the context (occasion of utterance) and the interpretation of Scripture (how the item should be understood). The presence of an indicator in an item is indicated in the typological analysis by the usage of the adjective **acknowledged**. Features that are pointed out in items bearing this indication include: validity, i.e. whether the metatext reflects accurately the contents of the unit to which it points; components of its indexing force, i.e. which of the above-mentioned categories are used in the metatext; and its function within the narrative, i.e. why at all the item is acknowledged.

### Analysis

#### *Quotations*

The area in the immediate vicinity of the scriptural centre is populated by items that are characterized by 100 % or a near-to-100% conservation of the language, the meaning, and the form of Scripture. These items, **direct quotations** (54 items in the corpus, a little less than 20%), display also other traits: they are relatively short (equivalent to one biblical verse or half-verse), they are used by Apostles or, in a few cases, by the Narrator, and, because of their conservative nature, they transmit the hypotext better than other references. If transformation is present, it is a non-complex, single process that can be identified and described, such as pragmatic language changes (deictic shift, direct speech into indirect speech), selectiveness (part of the material omitted, short phrases, such as addresses, added), merging (two textual units with a different content but from the same source, e.g. Psalms) and harmonization (two or more textual units of the same content but from different sources, e.g. different Gospel accounts of Jesus' words and deeds). A substantial subgroup within direct quotations is constituted by the items that are **acknowledged** (43 items). Metatext in these items can reach a high level of elaboration (e.g. a double author in #105, *dicente sancto spiritu per prophetam*; reference to Scripture as a written source in #240, *Audite impii scripturam sanctam dicentem*). The major role of the acknowledgment seems to be to provide a stabilizing and conservative

element. In items that are merged or harmonized, acknowledgment provides an umbrella under which the multiple sources can be seen at unity. Thus #176:

Nam et hoc quod pro bonis mala recepturus esset predictum est in personam eius per Daudid cum diceret:  
Retribuebant michi mala pro bonis, et odium pro dilectione mea,

which fuses:

Et posuerunt adversum me mala pro bonis, et odium pro dilectione mea (Ps 108, 5)

and:

Retribuebant mihi mala pro bonis, sterilitatem animæ meæ. (Ps 34, 12),

links the two textual units through their author, David. Presentation of an item as an utterance of Jesus encourages harmonization, since the utterance, just as the item, was only one, merely recorded differently by the four Evangelists. If an Apostle refers to it as to an oral reality, it must display a unity of thought that would be shattered by reference to a single Evangelist. A different function that can be associated with acknowledgement, in direct quotations and in general, is the phenomenon of **mirror-quoting**, when the collection employs a New Testament source that itself is a quotation from the Old Testament.<sup>42</sup> A good example is #152:

qui non credit Moysen dicentem, suscitabit vobis dominus prophetam magnum, ipsum audietis tamquam me per omnia quaecumque preceperit vobis,

the indicator of which points to Dt 18, 15:

prophetam de gente tua et de fratribus tuis sicut me suscitabit tibi Dominus Deus tuus ipsum audies,

while the wording discloses that the quotation is derived rather from Act 3, 22:

Moyses quidem dixit: Quoniam prophetam suscitabit vobis Dominus Deus vester de fratribus vestris, tamquam me: ipsum audietis juxta omnia quaecumque locutus fuerit vobis.

On the level of the story plot, the Apostles refer to the canon of the Old Testament as to an authoritative source, where on the level of the text, the New Testament is used. Yet another way in

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<sup>42</sup> Such quotations are not restricted only to the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. They occur, for example, already in *Actus Vercellenses*, a text that is dated to the fourth century; Thomas (1997: 193).

which acknowledgment is used is represented by the **ambiguous quotations**, non-biblical references that are presented as biblical via metatext. Five such quotations occur in James the Great, and refer to the prophetic or historical books of the Old Testament (see chapter 4). Another ambiguous quotation, again from the Old Testament, occurs in John (#108, see chapter 4). By all indications, the references in James the Great come from a testimonial list, a type of text that was used in the early Christian communities and contained scriptural and non-scriptural testimonies about Jesus that were used in catechesis and preaching.<sup>43</sup> This would indicate that the ambiguity was not intentional on the part of the agent, but was rather generated by the source from which they were adopted and thus, unconsciously or only half-consciously, transmitted into the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. The ambiguity visible in James the Great is not a product of innovation and intention - it does not aim to move the narrative towards the “writing” - but rather of authority, since the testimonial list is considered authoritative enough to be used without dispute - a movement towards the “canon”.

This trait may be cautiously applied to all direct acknowledged quotations. The elements of transformation present are not innovative, at least not perceived as such by their agents, but rather authoritative and authority-generating.<sup>44</sup> Thomas remarks that in early Christian literature and particularly in the apocrypha, the Old Testament, and especially the Prophets, has a stronger authoritative position than the Gospels and the New Testament, which is more likely to be challenged, interpreted and re-shaped.<sup>45</sup> The Gospels are quoted as the sayings of Jesus and require a tradition, i.e. *traditores*, that guarantees their oral authority.<sup>46</sup> The Epistles and the Acts are rarely quoted and never acknowledged. The Old Testament, in contrast, is represented as the written and enshrined authority, the basis required for the authorization of the oral kerygma of the New Testament.<sup>47</sup> Paradoxically, the Old Testament becomes, as a result, accessible to the early Christians as a set of discreet testimonies which are authoritative, meaning they are accurate linguistically and semantically, but detached from their context, turned into self-sufficient, enclosed units - references. In this manner, the Old Testament ceases to be a text proper and becomes a pool of referential material. The New Testament, and the Gospels in the first place, are known in contrast as “the text”.

<sup>43</sup> Gamble (1995: 25-27); Stoops (1997: 60).

<sup>44</sup> Compare with Bovon (1984: 227).

<sup>45</sup> Thomas (1997: 188-89); Stoops (1997: 66-67).

<sup>46</sup> Gamble (1995: 30-32). See *Actus Vercellenses* 20, where Peter interrupts reading from the Gospel by saying (in translation): *You man who believe and hope in Christ, you must know how the Holy Scriptures of our Lord should be declared*. Peter then continues with a homily independent on the scriptural reading. Cfr. Lc 4, 16-21, where the Scripture is the central point. See Stoops (1997: 68-69).

<sup>47</sup> As Stock says: “Faith may be in the word, but proof is in the text.” Stock (1996b: 149).

Mary Carruthers aptly says that in the Middle Ages, the text was *scriptus* but not *perfectus*.<sup>48</sup> It was not the memory, but the text which was fluid and invited re-writing. Mirror-quotations perfectly illustrate the tension that arises from this interplay of canon and writing - the Old Testament provides the authority and thus the conservative force necessary for the stability of the direct acknowledged quotations as a type (movement towards the canon), but the physical text used by the agents is the New Testament, which allows for the transformation carried out (movement towards the writing).<sup>49</sup>

No direct quotations can be linked with the books of the Old Testament, with the exception of the Psalms (*Psalmi*) and the Wisdom literature (*Libri Salamonis*). Even the three references to the Wisdom literature (#105, #133 and #240) may derive from a non-biblical source, such as the testimonial list or the liturgy. All other quotations are either ambiguous or mirror quotations. The Psalms have a predominant place in James the Great (18 out of the total 31 direct quotations), suggesting that the text originated in an environment suffused with the knowledge and usage of the Psalter, possibly a monastery.<sup>50</sup> A comparable degree of accuracy characterizes also quotations from the Psalter in John and Bartholomew; however, the scarcity of the material (one item each) does not allow for bringing the point further. If we wish to speculate, it is possible to interpret the references to the Psalms, not necessarily only the direct quotations, as an effort to present the Apostles as performing the Psalms, i.e. as model monks.<sup>51</sup>

Another phenomenon that needs to be pointed out is **cross-referencing**: one Apostle using the words of another Apostle. On the level of the story plot, this textual device creates the impression of the unity of apostolic doctrine and tradition.<sup>52</sup> On the level of the text, cross-referencing links the individual narratives in the collection, but also the collection and the canonical narratives about the Apostles, e.g. by associating Pauline doctrine with the teaching of the Apostles in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Cross-referencing, in my opinion, is one of the key self-confirming and

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<sup>48</sup> Carruthers (2008: 243).

<sup>49</sup> This agrees with Klijn's hypothesis of the development of the canonical texts. He stresses that in the earliest stage, the written Gospels provided outlet to still vivid oral traditions and thus were still very open to transformation. In contrast, the communities in which these earliest Gospels came into being, namely Judeo-Christian groups in the Eastern Mediterranean, already had an established authoritative tradition of the written Old Testament. Klijn (1969: 67-68).

<sup>50</sup> This would accord with Gamble's postulate that from the fourth century, Christian literature was produced and copied primarily in the monastic environment; Gamble (1995: 121-22). Gamble likewise provides evidence that the apocrypha were present in the monastic libraries; Gamble (1995: 170-73). See also Carruthers (2008: 112).

<sup>51</sup> Psalms were recited in the earliest Egyptian monastic communities in the fourth century as well as in monastic urban centres of the times; McKinnon (2000: 67-68).

<sup>52</sup> This is further reinforced by the *divisio Apostolorum* echoed in some of the Acts. Note that according to de Santos Otero these unifying traits are typical for the younger Acts and for the younger redactions of the Ancient Acts; de Santos Otero (2003: 428). Compare also with the legendary history of the Creed; Kelly (1972: 1-4).

internal reinforcing mechanisms of the collection. Using such an inwardly-oriented text makes one aware of the in-group identities that lie behind it (unified tradition and doctrine) and encourage one to identify with these values.<sup>53</sup> Cross-referencing, and to an extent also performance of the Psalms by the Apostles (if we think of the monastic environment), are positive community markers which the ideal user (a Christian, a monk) accepts as defining his communal identity.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, the primary function of the direct quotations is didactic.<sup>55</sup> The bulk of direct quotations appears in the speeches of the Apostles addressed to the non-Christian audience, where the words of Scripture serve to exemplify and explain the Christian doctrine.<sup>56</sup> Often, a quotation is immediately preceded by an action that confirms its validity, or followed by an interpretation which clarifies its doctrinal meaning. Such speeches, addressed to the audiences of the Apostles on the level of the story plot, are directed at the users of the text, who receive instruction via the reception of the narrative. Instruction, together with entertainment, are recognized as the chief functions of the non-canonical narratives about the Apostles by some scholars.<sup>57</sup>

One step further away from the scriptural centre lie **the indirect quotations** (35 items), which are distinguished from the direct quotations by a certain degree of loosening of language, meaning, and form. In many cases, indirect quotations fully retain the language of the hypotext, but shift the meaning by using the language in a different context, e.g. #25, where the famous *Domine quo vadis* occurs, removed from the original context of Jo 13, 36. In other cases, the language of the quotation is affected, but not beyond the point of non-complex, single transformations such as were described in the previous section. Typically this means cropping, omission, and addition on a larger scale than in the direct quotations, but also small-scale reworking and rewording and as a result more obvious fusion with the hypertext. The degree of transformation can be illustrated with #248:

Erant autem gaudentes et alacres apostoli dei, gratias deo agentes, quia digni habiti sunt pro nomine domini pati,

referring to Act 5, 41:

<sup>53</sup> Rose (2009: 41); Noble (1995: xv). Also Stock (1996b: 150).

<sup>54</sup> Aune (1988:28 and 137-38). See also Possel on how texts shape in-group identities; Possel (2006).

<sup>55</sup> Aune (1988: 149). This function is connected also with the biographic features of the Apocryphal Acts; Aune (1988: 36).

<sup>56</sup> Cfr. the catechetical practice in the Pachomian monasticism; Harmless (2004: 130). Note how this fits with the form of the direct acknowledged references, which are ideal for memorization and how memorization of such small units as *memorabilia dicta et facta* was the core of the medieval education; Carruthers (2008: 221-22).

<sup>57</sup> This thesis was established by Söder (1932). See also Pervo (1997: 45); and Pervo (1987).

**Biblical material in the Latin Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles**

Et illi quidem ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati.

As in the case of the direct quotations, it is sometimes still possible to see the concrete source of the indirect quotations. In other cases reference is made to a number of discreet, but related sources, which share the same language, theme and context, so to distinguish a single hypotextual source would not be appropriate. Although a small proportion of the indirect quotations (five items) is **acknowledged**, the acknowledgement does not seem to play such a central role here as in the direct quotations. All acknowledged sources are references to Jesus' words that rely on more than one hypotext. The usage of acknowledgement seems to be connected with harmonization of the matter rather than with any other purpose.

The major source of the indirect quotations are the Gospels (26 references) followed by the Psalms and the Acts (five and six references respectively) and the Epistles (two references). No quotation can be traced back to the rest of the Old Testament (the single #56 referring to Ex 14, 25 has a clear liturgical undertone). While cross-referencing and performance of the Psalms are represented in this type of references, and many of them can be considered as group-identity affirming, the didactic function of these references is limited (which has likely to do with the acknowledgement). Instead, two different functions prevail in this group. In #62, we read:

Sequenti uero die docente eo ecce quidam adolescens exclamauit uoce magna dicens: Quid tibi et nobis Andreas famule dei? Venisti ut nos a propriis sedibus exturbares?

This account of the confrontation with a possessed person parallels numerous accounts of exorcism in the Gospels, and the parallel is emphasized by the usage of the words *Quid tibi et nobis* (Mt 8, 29; Mc 1, 24; Mc 5, 7). Through reference to the hypotext, the event of the hypotext is imposed on the hypertext as a model. Jesus becomes a model for Andrew, whose act imitates that of Jesus, and whose words are taken from the mouth of his teacher. The crowds that need to be converted and the antagonists of the Apostles likewise imitate the words and deeds of the minor protagonists from the Gospels, to assume their roles. The relationship established between the hypotext and the hypertext in this manner is that of imitation, *mimesis*.<sup>58</sup> It is, furthermore, vertical and hagiographic, since the saint (Apostle) governs his life and words according to the model provided by Christ (primarily) and previous saints (secondarily, e.g. Stephen) and he himself

<sup>58</sup> See Genette (1997: 75). What I designate as the hagiographic, vertical relationship between the hypotext and the hypertext is what Genette sums up under the term mimesis and mimotext (for hypertext); Genette (1997: 81).

provides a model to other saints.<sup>59</sup> This allows for the layering of an infinite number of narratives, which are not connected by the same temporal spatial and causal horizontal frame, but by the means of *imitatio Christi*,<sup>60</sup> a concept so central to hagiographical texts.<sup>61</sup>

A different relationship with the hypotext is visible in #114:

Habetis eius pignora, habetis depositum mansuetudinis eius atque pietatis, in uobis conuerteretur, in uobis caste uiuentibus delectetur, in uobis epuletur patrium cibum, ut faciatis uoluntatem patris qui in caelo est, in uobis coronetur ea laurea quam ipse composuit, his floribus quos ipse proprio cruore uestiuit,

which refers to Jo 4, 34:

Dicit eis Jesus: Meus cibus est ut faciam uoluntatem eius qui misit me, ut perficiam opus eius.

The nature of this reference is not mimetic, but rather causal. It is a relationship between the promises and their implementations, events set in motion (by Christ) to be concluded (by the Apostles and their followers), prophecies and their fulfillment, causes and effects. The line of reference is not vertical but horizontal, along the temporal and spatial causality, and is typical for apocryphal literature.<sup>62</sup> It is not concerned with imitation but with continuity,<sup>63</sup> with interpreting and explaining Jesus' words that had remained unexplained in the Gospels. Jesus' task in the world is accomplished only with the conversion of new believers through the Apostles (#114); the prophecy about Peter's death is fulfilled (#25); and Thomas may defy the king who imprisons him by using Jesus' words about those who can kill the body but not the soul (#261). The same principle of continuity applies to the incipits of the *virtutes*, which establish causal relationships between the canonical narratives and narratives that are to follow, and which governs strongly the ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles.<sup>64</sup>

The two functions of referentiality in the indirect quotations are linked with two aspects of the hypertext that open it to new forms of reading and usage, apart from instruction and entertainment. Through the prism of hagiography, the text can be read tropologically, as a model for personal

<sup>59</sup> Compare Rose (2009: 40). Cfr. comparable vertical relationship in the *Vita Antonii*; Harmless (2004: 69-70).

<sup>60</sup> Louth (2004: 359-60); also Noble (1995: xvii-xviii).

<sup>61</sup> Adamik provides evidence that this was how the Apocryphal Acts were read and used already in the Late Antiquity; Adamik (1995: 175-76).

<sup>62</sup> Cfr. Charlesworth's definition of the Old Testament pseudoepigrapha; Stahlberg (2008: 23-24).

<sup>63</sup> See Genette (1997: 161-62). Many scholars consider apocryphal literature to take the place of a continuation of the canonical texts; see for example Bauckham (1993: 105-52); and Czachesz (1996: 123).

<sup>64</sup> Bovon (2009: 219); Karasszon (1995: 58).

spiritual life and growth.<sup>65</sup> One can project oneself into the role of a saint, an individual whose desire it is to imitate Christ (and the Apostles). At the same time, however, one can read and use the same text anagogically, as a kind of metaphysical history of Salvation and the growth of the Church throughout eschatological time, in which both the Apostles and the reader/user take part. The anagogical aspect of the text is reflected in the ascending character of the narratives - from the humble origins of the mission to the flourishing Christian communities from which suffering and evil is removed (and which extend into the times of the reader/user) - as well as from the role that the minor protagonists play, the eschatological antagonists that are vanquished by the Apostles or flock to the Apostles in the expectation of the Second Coming.<sup>66</sup>

### *References*

At the outskirts of the quotation-area a region begins that I call simply **the references** (152 items, i.e. approx. 60% of the material). In contrast to the quotations, this material cannot be linked with one or more sources in a direct manner. It is often possible to assign a reference to a particular scriptural locus, but it is not possible to assess what processes transformed the hypotext into the hypertext. As a result, it is impossible to trace the version of the scriptural text/s behind these items. In case of the most outward lying items, the reference is made to themes and motives that are derived from Scripture without any direct connection to the Scriptural text, e.g. in #144:

Venientes autem demones ubi Iacobus orabat, ulularum in aere habere ceperunt dicentes: Iacobe apostole dei miserere nostri, quia antequam ueniat tempus incendis nos, et iam exurimur,

where reference is made to scriptural encounters with the demons, but neither the language nor other aspects point to a particular scriptural locus. The items closer to the scriptural centre often contain **elements of language proximity**, i.e. single words or phrases (and particularly onomastic expressions) that establish the link of referentiality with the hypotext,<sup>67</sup> as in the description of Paradise by Bartholomew in #211:

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<sup>65</sup> Note what Carruthers says about the place of exemplifying stories and their remembering in the medieval culture; Carruthers (2008: 226).

<sup>66</sup> The three functions of the quotations mentioned - group-affirmative, tropological and anagogical - all have to do with how individuals/groups perceive themselves and the world around them. This is, according to Kort, the functional basis of every narrative; Kort (1988: 19). Compare also with Le Bras (1967). Note, however, as Thomas remarks, that while the Scripture can serve as the basis of the Apocryphal Acts, whether in the horizontal or vertical direction, it is never a prototype; Thomas (1997: 187).

<sup>67</sup> Compare with Stoops (1997: 70).

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Quatuor quoque flumina inde influunt, unus fluuius dicitur Geon, secundus Phison, tercius Tygris, et quartus Eufrates,

which relies on Gn 2, 10-14, where the four rivers of Paradise are enumerated.

The tendency to open the language, the meaning and the form, in the direction outwards from the scriptural centre, is merely a sign of the continuity that characterizes the material in the collection generally. The references can be distinguished from the quotations only on the grounds that, while one can see the concrete source behind one category of material, it is not possible with the other category.

Due to their size, the references are less homogenous than other groups, and fewer generalizing comments can be made about them. They employ a wide variety of transformative processes that are combined in an innovative manner. A result is often a substantial reworking of material. Only a minority of references (11 items) is **acknowledged**, the acknowledgment being often very vague (#16, *Aut ignoras quia*; #70 *Scimus quia*). Here, acknowledgement is primarily an embedding element and not a strong referential indicator. The references serve the same purposes as other types of material. They can be didactic, tropological, anagogical, self-affirmative and group-defining, but also purely descriptive, particularly in the “mouth” of the Narrator, e.g. #28 which provides a description of Paul at the beginning of his Acts and draws on Phil 3, 5:

Fuit uir quidam in Ierusalem de tribu Beniamin, nomine Saulus, eruditissimus in libris Moysi, et cunctis cerimoniais quae tunc secundum litteram gerebantur, nichil in his mysticum sentiens aut aduertens.

A specific function connected with the references has to do with prayers performed by the Apostles. These often contain sequences of references with a certain doctrinal tinge, but primarily, because of their central position in the prayers, which may be called precatory,<sup>68</sup> i.e. concerned with praise, thanksgiving, appeal, and intercession.<sup>69</sup> Thus, in the Acts of Thomas we read:

Respice in me domine, quia pecuniam tuam non abscondi sed supra mensam posui, et nummulariis diuisi (#274; Mt 25, 18-27 and Lc 19, 20-23). Ad mensam tuam uocatus ueni, nec ab hac res uisendi necessitate excusau, nec iuga boum aut uxoris ducendae necessitatem conuiuio praetuli (#275; Lc 14, 16-20). Ad nuptias sum uocatus, et alba ueste sum indutus (#276; Mt 22, 11-12), et expectans dominum a nuptiis reuertentem, oleum non sum oblitus (#277; Mt 25, 1-13), tota nocte domum meam custodiui a latronibus exspoliatus non sum (#278; Mt 24, 43 and Lc 12, 39). Calciamenta pedibus circumdedi, ne diffident

<sup>68</sup> Many of such sequence-prayers occur already in the Greek prototypes of the Acts, i.e. are connected with the oldest layer of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*; see Attridge (1997: 102-103).

<sup>69</sup> Note that #143, a direct quotation from the Psalms, is used as an incantation.

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uestigia (#279, Eph 6, 14-15<sup>70</sup>). Obseruauī primam et secundam et terciam custodiam, ut uultum tuum uiderem, et splendorem tuum discussa nocte perspicerem. (#280; Lc 12, 37-38)

References in their tropological function may assume the guise of **performative references**, which, in contrast to tropological quotations, build a mimetic relationship between the hypotext and the hypertext not locutionarily, but through the enactment of Jesus' words.<sup>71</sup> To give an example, Andrew, while in Nicea, exorcises seven demons (*septem demones*, #46) and expels them into the wilderness (*loca arida*, #48). Several lines down, we encounter the same seven demons in Nicomedia, where they kill a young man (#50). This is an unusual reference to Jesus' parable in Mt 12, 43-45:

Cum autem immundus spiritus exierit ab homine, ambulat per *loca arida*, quærens requiem, et non inuenit. Tunc dicit: Revertar in domum meam, unde exiui.... Tunc vadit, et assumit *septem alios spiritus* secum nequiores se, et intrantes habitant ibi: et fiunt novissima hominis illius pejora prioribus.

This peculiarity of reference results from the transformation of originally locutionary material (parable) into performative material (exorcism). Moreover, it gives originally allegorical material a new, literal meaning and it inverts the order of causality. Nevertheless, the referentiality is not obliterated, even though the hypotext is heavily transformed.

The previous example also illustrates the degree of opening of the text and the imaginative creativity that it invites. Complex transformations of this sort invest the hypertext with literary qualities and are crucial, together with other mechanisms that do not concern referentiality, for making the *Virtutes Apostolorum* a piece of literature. These transformative processes may include humor or even parody, inversion, allegory, reflection, word-play, form-play, and metaphor. In #242 an infant just a few hours old provides testimony of apostolic veracity and integrity against their enemies that plays with Ps 8, 3:

Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et ultorem.

In Simon and Jude, the interplay between the hypotext and hypertext is even more obvious. When two mages, Arfaxat and Zaroës, summon serpents that attack the two Apostles, the serpents are turned against the mages and the Apostles chastise them with these words (#240):

Audite impii scripturam sanctam dicentem: Qui proximo suo parat foueam, ipse prior cadet in eam

<sup>70</sup> The reference is severely cut in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and is obvious only upon comparison with the Greek (in translation): *I've girded my loins with truth and bound sandals on my feet that I might not ever see them loosened*; Attridge (1997: 103).

<sup>71</sup> Bovon (2009: 218).

that refer to Ecl 10, 8:

Qui fodit foveam incidet in eam et qui dissipat sepem mordebit eum coluber.

Unlike quotations, which cannot be detached from the books as physical objects available in the environment of the creation, references are drawn from all biblical books, as they have their source in a referential pool, such as mentioned in the previous section, that is derived from, but independent of, these books. A reference to an episode that derives from a particular book does not entail that its user is aware of the existence of that book (beyond an awareness of the Bible as a corpus) or of a relationship between the material and the source book.<sup>72</sup>

#### *Minor types*

The continuum of decreasing accuracy of the reference in the direction away from the scriptural centre is characterized by a drop in all three aspects of referentiality. There are two anomalies in this general trend. One of them is material that is characterized by a high degree of language accuracy, which provides referentiality, when the other two aspects are dropped. A result of this de-semantization is a **biblical idiom** (25 items), e.g. in #110:

Continuo ad hanc uocem apostoli omnia simul cum templo suo ydola corruerunt, *ut efficerentur sicut pulvis quem proicit uentus a facie terrae,*

which reproduces the words of Ps 1, 4:

Non sic impii, non sic; sed tamquam pulvis quem proicit uentus a facie terrae,

but does not preserve the meaning or formal unity of the hypotext. The reference here is made to Scripture as a source of expression, not to a message or context (and *locus*). In purer form, this type consists of only a few words that can be inserted into the hypertext, even into other references (e.g. #41, *oculos cordis eorum*; #80, *dilectissimi fratres*; or #265, *viscera tuae misericordiae*).

The second anomalous type stands in a certain opposition to the idiom. It is a result of de-verbalization in cases when only the semantic aspect is retained for referentiality. Thus, item #201 re-narrates the story of the Tower of Babel without recourse to the language of Gn 11, 4-8, and #12 recapitulates the history of Simon the Sorcerer in Act 8, 18-19, without using it as a source of vocabulary. I will term this type a **biblical paraphrase** (four items). In its purest form, the

<sup>72</sup> Gamble (1995: 8); Stoops (1997: 66). See also Riffaterre (1991: 56-57).

paraphrase shares few linguistic elements with the hypotext. It may, however, attach itself to other types of references, just as the idiom, e.g. in #230. The events of Jo 18, 10 are summarized in this item as:

Nolite fratres contra praeceptum domini agere, nam Petrus apostolus arrepto gladio amputavit auriculam cuiusdam Malchi, qui dominum tenebat cum turbis. Et ne uideretur Iesus uicem lesionis rependere, iussit ipsam auriculam amputatam loco suo reponi, et reposita ab apostolo solidata est. Et dixit Petro dominus: Numquid si uellem non michi exhiberet pater meus plusquam duodecim legiones angelorum?

but the final sentence is a direct quotation from Mt 26, 53:

An putas, quia non possum rogare patrem meum, et exhibebit mihi modo plusquam duodecim legiones angelorum?

Just as an idiom, a paraphrase may be dependent on more loci in Scripture and combine them. Harmonization of material from different scriptural sources into a single, semantically fuller account may be one of its primary functions. In most of the cases it provides a synopsis of a particular narrative, and in at least one case (#12) its function is also to link two larger textual units.

The last type of references to be mentioned is **the excerpts** (22 items). These are textual units larger than quotations, often encompassing whole episodes, with near-100% accuracy with respect to the hypotext. Two subtypes can be distinguished based on the origin, place in the narratives, and function within the text. The **pure excerpts** (17 items) occur in the Acts of Peter and Paul as two chains of scriptural episodes copy-pasted selectively from a written source. They are unacknowledged, and the major transformative process visible is a reworking of the first sentence of the episodes to link them together. As noted in the Introduction, it is beyond doubt that these sections were added to the two major “Roman” Acts at a later stage, possibly to substitute material that was cropped from the older prototypes and to bridge the gap between the canonical writings about the two Apostles and the apocryphal tradition. The **hybrid excerpts** (five items) appear in other Acts and rather organically arise from the combination of excessive paraphrasing and quoting. They belong to the older layers of the narratives. In two cases, these excerpts are acknowledged. In all cases the narrative matter in these excerpts is substantially reworked and well-embedded into its surrounding. It is impossible to see it as connected to a singular hypotext, as harmonizing takes place along with other transformative processes. The speeches in these excerpts tend to be more

stable and to behave quotation-like. The two subtypes are alike only on the surface, with respect to their size and scope, but they result from different processes and serve different functions.

*Memory as the vehicle of referentiality*

Based on the language, meaning and form, referential material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* behaves as a continuum; however, this is not how it was envisaged by the agents who inserted it into the collection. Rather than being actively conscious of the three aspects, the medieval agents perceived the phenomenon of the reference via the two media of referentiality available to them. Both were viewed not as continuous but static: text and memory.

Of the two, memory was the chief medium of referentiality, as evidenced by its prominent role in the collection.<sup>73</sup> By its nature, it does not process information in the form of complex, dynamic units. Instead, it breaks larger units into small segments, which can be linked, chained and ordered into simple patterns and “digested” in this manner.<sup>74</sup> When reproduced from memory, items bear traces of this process of memorization, as is the case also with the *Virtutes Apostolorum* (see Formal aspect). With the exception of the pure excerpt, which was inserted from a written text, all references are short, and most of them can be remembered as single units. They are enclosed and self-sufficient, because they existed like that in the memory prior to their insertion into the text. These memory-units are merged, but usually not fused, and may be chained together, e.g. in the homily of James the Great or in the final prayer of Thomas. Note that while the pure excerpts are chained by transformation of the first/last sentence, these memory-units are linked together by the addition of metatext, i.e. the remembered matter is not transformed.

The distinction between quotations and references is connected with another aspect of memory as it was employed in the Middle Ages.<sup>75</sup> The former are remembered in their full linguistic, semantic and formal integrity (*verbaliter, verbatim, ad verbum*). The latter retain only the significant language (*verba*) and meaning (*res*), since the item is remembered according to its sense (*sententialiter, summatim*). The former type of remembering requires better training of the memory and time; the latter is suitable when the time is not sufficient for the thorough impression of the matter upon one’s mind, hence the second medieval term, *de tempore*. Both were perceived as valid forms of

<sup>73</sup> Compare to the prominence memory has for daily performance of the scriptural text in the Egyptian monasticism; Harmless (2004: 127 and 245).

<sup>74</sup> Carruthers (2008: 8).

<sup>75</sup> For analysis of the two types of remembering, see Carruthers (2008: 110-11).

memory in the Middle Ages.<sup>76</sup> Both relied on the notion that the ultimate metaphysical meaning of a particular hypotext, and Scripture most of all, can be retained in one's memory, since it is only secondarily realized in the form of words. As a result, this meaning may be freely re-cast into new linguistic and semantic contexts.<sup>77</sup> The matter could have been remembered *verbatim* or *summatim*, based on the conditions of remembering, and could be later expressed *verbaliter* or *sententialiter* according to the wish of the one who remembered.

The distinctions between the composition of the two types of references - quotations and references, matter retrieved from the memory *verbaliter* or *sententialiter* - arises from the textual potential that could have been generated by preference for the one or the other.<sup>78</sup> Due to the inherent emphasis on accuracy and conservation, references used *verbaliter*, served as a medium of authority.<sup>79</sup> It is the suitable method for the presentation of the Old Testament prophetic testimonies and for the Gospel words of Jesus. Scriptural passages that have authoritative functions, e.g. in defining the members of a certain community, are likely to be presented *verbatim*. Remembering *verbaliter* is also connected with one of the two major functions of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, instruction, and moves the collection towards the "canon".

In contrast, references represented *summatim* are a medium of innovation, which is perceived as the mark of refinement of this form of remembering.<sup>80</sup> Thus, while the meta-meaning is retained, stories and episodes from the Old Testament and New Testament are retold with the emphasis on new meanings and contexts relevant for the hypertext.<sup>81</sup> The items bearing traces of memorizing *de tempore* serve as a basis for a prayer infused with allegories and for humor. Memory used *sententialiter* moves the hypertext towards the "writing", and in its ultimate form produces entertainment (although innovation of this type is also a key to certain types of instruction, such as exegesis and interpretation).

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<sup>76</sup> Carruthers (2008: 111).

<sup>77</sup> Evidence of this approach to the scriptural text is present also in the Merovingian liturgical books containing readings from Scripture. As Salmon notes in his analysis of this material, the readings are often transformed very audaciously and clearly with the desire to enable correctly understanding a particular passage; Salmon (1963: 506-509).

<sup>78</sup> Carruthers (2008: 111-12).

<sup>79</sup> Authorization requires assent of both the creator of a composition, who selects a particular saying as authoritative, and the audience, which accepts the authorization. Carruthers speaks about the memory community, which accepts the same authoritative items; Carruthers (2008: 234). Stock speaks of communities that share the same approach to the text; Stock (1983: 90-91). If we apply this notion to the issue of referentiality, both the creators and the users of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* shared certain perspectives of the Scripture - they were members of the same referential community.

<sup>80</sup> Carruthers (2008: 113); Stoops (1997: 60-61).

<sup>81</sup> Karasszon (1995: 71). Karasszon uses this innovative usage of Old Testament material to stress the distinction between the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and the patristic authorities. There may be some truth in postulating such a distinction. *Patres* are keen on seeing the Old Testament through the lenses of authority and the treatment in the Apocryphal Acts could be taken as indicator of origin in different than patristic environment.

The usage of items *ad verbum* and *de tempore* in the hypertext is predetermined by the availability of sources that supply memory. Remembering *verbatim* requires the presence of a source, whether in a written or oral form, and sufficient time for remembering. A good memory requires only a single contact with a particular item to remember it *summatim*. Moreover, pools of referential material, such as were mentioned in the analysis of the references, are likely to employ memory *sententialiter* rather than *verbaliter*. The items retained *sententialiter*, however, need not to have been remembered in this way, since material remembered *verbaliter* can be, by the intention of the one who remembered, represented *sententialiter*.<sup>82</sup> Items presented *ad verbum*, on the other hand, must be connected with underlying sources, such as the Psalter for the direct quotations of the Psalms, testimonial lists for the Old Testament Prophets, and Gospel-texts for the quotations and excerpts from the Gospels.<sup>83</sup>

### Conclusion

The scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* behaves as a continuum that is governed by the tension between the desire to conserve the language and meaning in a particular form and a desire to open the hypotext to a discourse by injecting new language and meaning and dissolving the formal boundaries.<sup>84</sup> At the same time, the scriptural material also behaves as a set of discrete categories that are delineated by functional perspectives, approaches to the sources, and the medieval concepts of memory. These two perspectives are not exclusive but reinforce each other.

Analysis of the functions of the scriptural references shows that the text of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* was read both as instruction and entertainment. These two qualities are embedded in two medieval modes of processing the hypotext via the memory - with emphasis on conservation or transformation. Yet, the references are not the major entertainment-constructing element of the narratives, the source of which should be sought elsewhere (e.g. in the ancient novel<sup>85</sup>). The didactic aspect, on the contrary, stems clearly from Scripture and permeates both conservation and transformation. Authoritative conservation realizes as testimony, authoritative transformation as exegesis.

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<sup>82</sup> As Bovon stresses, quotation entails two processes, one of removal from the hypotext and the other of implantation into the hypertext that are governed by different mechanisms; Bovon (1984: 227). In the words of Carruthers, memory entails not only remembering, but also recollection; Carruthers (2008: 109). Note also Stock's observations about how Augustine understands memory; Stock (2001: 216-17).

<sup>83</sup> These types of sources and the absence of other sources characterize the early monastic movement; see Stroumsa (2008: 70).

<sup>84</sup> Compare with Kort (1988: 131-33).

<sup>85</sup> This aspect is treated in particular by Pervo (1987).

Other functions of the referential material in the collection can be described as: tropological, i.e. providing a model and anti-model for the user of the text as an individual; community-affirmative, i.e. providing a thesis and an antithesis for the user of the text as a member of a group; and anagogical, i.e. providing a causal, interpretative grid anchored in time for the user participating in the history and the world. The tropological and anagogical aspects align the narrative and the collection to Scripture, defining them as both hagiographic and apocryphal. There is no clear break between the two genres either within the narratives or within the collection. Lack of this distinction, whether between the Ancient Greek Acts and the younger compositions in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* or between the collection and medieval hagiographies, could indicate that the two genres were not seen as distinct by the medieval creators.

The precatory function may have to do with the notion that Scripture, as a source of the Divine, is a medium of the divine force even if reduced to language or cropped segments of text. As a result, the words derived from Scripture are more suitable to provide the prayer with necessary supernatural force. We possess evidence of this practice in the form of many prayers that are built from scriptural components as well as from early Christian talismans and incantations.<sup>86</sup> Precatory items occur in the oldest layers of the narratives and may reflect a somewhat archaic attitude towards Scripture.

Acknowledgment plays a crucial role in certain types of references, but it is a minor phenomenon in others. Metatext attached to the direct quotations reinforces their stability and adds to their authoritative value. It is crucial for the didactic function of the material, as it provides additional context for a quotation through which it is accepted and indicates that it is an item remembered and to be remembered *ad verbum*. The predominance of acknowledgment in the area close to the scriptural centre may suggest that tagging of the scriptural text with indicators might have to do with the early medieval practices of teaching, learning and instruction. This form of presentation is extremely suitable for learning using memory. Acknowledgment also serves literary purposes, for it allows for the distinction between the plot and the text, so that a passage from liturgy on the level of the text may become a quotation from Prophets on the level of the plot. Moreover, by providing an umbrella for multiple scriptural passages that are presented as a single utterance on the level of the text, the impression of oral transmission is created on the level of the plot.

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<sup>86</sup> Frankfurter (1998: 41).

The typological analysis also reveals that, despite the representation of the majority of the scriptural books in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, only a fraction of them was used by the creators of the collection (not necessarily as a written text). Traces of particular books as well as the absence of others make certain implications about the creators of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. They may be connected with the monastic environment, but are not likely to have been members of intellectual elites, whose general knowledge of Scripture was higher than that represented by the collection.

## Chapter 4: Material Analysis

### Theoretical background

Based on the typological analysis, I deemed quotations and excerpts suitable for further analysis of the material background of the collection because of their tendency of conserving the scriptural material. My major tools for querying the references from the Gospels were Julicher's and Fischer's monumental works.<sup>87</sup> For the rest of Scripture, I used the Beuron Vetus Latina database.<sup>88</sup>

### *Conservation of biblical material in the Virtutes Apostolorum*

The pool of the referential material from which the references were inserted into the *Virtutes Apostolorum* was not necessarily of a written nature. Even the most accurate quotations could have been available to the agents via instruction, devotional and community-affirming practices. Moreover, the primary conservation (on the level of the composition) might have been a result of copying a written text, but more likely of remembering and recollection of the heard word.<sup>89</sup> Even the secondary conservation (on the level of the manuscript transmission) was only partially dependent on copying from a written exemplar of the *Virtutes*.<sup>90</sup> Yet, a written form of the scriptural text may be sought behind the collection, since a written copy of Scripture was the absolute source of the pool (as the agents were to an extent aware<sup>91</sup>), and it is possible to say more about the collection based on this underlying source.

It needs to be emphasized that we should properly speak of written forms of texts, rather than of a single text. The *Virtutes Apostolorum* derive from a particular version of the scriptural text that contains deviations with respect to any extant scriptural hypotext we could choose. The analysis is limited by the fact that our contemporary access to the scriptural texts is based on the surviving, fragmentary manuscript evidence, which will never fully correspond to the particular textual version serving as the hypotext for the collection. In addition, even in a single layer, multiple manuscripts were used as a source, since in the early centuries of Christianity, and throughout the early Middle

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<sup>87</sup> Jülicher (1954-72); and Fischer (1988).

<sup>88</sup> At <http://www.brepolis.net.proxy.library.uu.nl/>

<sup>89</sup> Carruthers (2008: 238).

<sup>90</sup> See Gamble (1995: 88-90).

<sup>91</sup> Stock (1996a: 20). Cfr. #81: *Ista enim promissa sunt a deo meo Ihesu Christo, sicut scriptum est pro nomine illius multa nos esse passuros et flagellandos, et ante indices staturos in testimonium eius, et qui perseueraverit usque in finem hic saluus erit; or #240: Audite impii scripturam sanctam dicentem: Qui proximo suo parat foueam, ipse prior cadet in eam.*

Ages, the textual corpus known as the Bible existed indeed as *ta biblia*, i.e. a collection of numerous books that were produced, kept and used separately, and that contained different versions of Scripture.<sup>92</sup> It is not possible to distinguish whether only one or more source books provided the referential material in the collection. Some hint may be provided by the fact that the analysis of the representation of the biblical books in the collection indicated that not all biblical *volumina* were used by the agents of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.<sup>93</sup>

Furthermore, the material conserved belongs to different layers of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* (see chapter 5). Because of the different places and times of origin of individual layers and their different agents, it is unlikely that they are connected with the same manuscript source of the scriptural text. An example may be provided by the two types of excerpts discussed in the previous chapter: the hybrid excerpts embedded in the narratives, and the pure excerpts added at a later stage.

Last but not least, not all variant readings that surface in the quotations are traces of conservation, but, as became evident in the course of the analysis, a certain, rather high percentage of these variants, arose as a result of transformation.<sup>94</sup> Transformation as a set of processes that change the hypotext for the purposes of the hypertext stands in a certain oppositional dichotomy to conservation, the process by which the hypotext is preserved untouched in the *materia* of the hypertext (see chapter 5). In an ideal case, items can be evaluated as arising from either transformation or conservation, but in reality none can be seen as a 100% product of either process. We may rather indicate elements of the items that are likely to be the traces of conservation or of transformation. Many transformations can look as if they derived from a manuscript source or vice versa, not to mention the cases where both transformation and conservation affected the same item and reinforced its altered state. Thus, when James the Great explains his missionary zeal by saying (#148):

Promisit deus patri nostro Abrahæ quod in semine eius *hereditarentur* omnes gentes,

he refers to Act 3, 25:

Vos estis filii prophetarum, et testamenti quod disposuit Deus ad patres nostros, dicens ad Abraham: Et in semine tuo *benedicentur* omnes familiæ terræ

<sup>92</sup> Bogaert provides a very good insight into the matter; Bogaert (1988: 277-81). Even pandects are not immune to being heterogeneous; Bogaert (1988: 285).

<sup>93</sup> Material falling into the medieval volumes known as *Eptateuch/Octateuch*, *Regnorum* and *Historiarum* is absent.

<sup>94</sup> See Fischer (1986b: 171-72).

and to Gal 3, 8:

Providens autem Scriptura quia ex fide justificat gentes Deus, prænuntiavit Abrahæ: Quia *benedicentur* in te omnes gentes

with the exception of a single word, *hereditarentur*. Two Acts of the saints contain the same word in the same context,<sup>95</sup> but it is unlikely that these were the source for the expression in the Acts of James the Great. The word is more likely an intentional transformation on the part of the author of the narrative, who wished to embed the quotation in the sermon addressing the acceptance of the Gentiles into the New Israel. In such a context, *hereditarentur*, even if not accurate with respect to Scripture, is more adequate than *benedicentur*. It cannot be ruled out, though, that the quotations had an additional, re-affirmative non-scriptural source.

#### *Transmission of Scripture in the early centuries of Christianity*

The text of Scripture was known to its medieval users in two main types: as the Vulgate, originating in the late fourth century by Jerome, and as the Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*), the older anonymous translations from the Greek executed in the second and the third centuries. From the turn of the fifth century, the Vulgate, spreading from the Italian peninsula, gradually ousted the Old Latin versions from use, although they survived in marginal regions beyond the twelfth century. Even after the substitution by the Vulgate, scriptural text would be contaminated by the Old Latin readings which were retained for many reasons (local custom, liturgy etc.).<sup>96</sup> Fischer assumes that by the sixth century two major waves of Old Latin contaminations, one Italian and other Spanish, found their way into most of the Vulgate manuscripts.<sup>97</sup> He also stresses that the Vulgate, despite being commissioned by Pope Damasus, was never promoted as the official biblical text, and that its spreading was due to other than authoritative reasons.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, Jerome worked in distinct stages - revision from the Old Latin (Gospels), from the Hexapla (Old Testament, Psalms), directly from the Hebrew (Old Testament, Psalms) - and the Vulgate contains material from different stages, not to mention books that were not revised by Jerome, but by the so-called Pelagian redactor<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Funk and Diekamp (1913: 53); and Mombritius (1910: 520). Both are Roman texts dated to the fifth or the sixth century and it is likely that James the Great was their source rather than vice versa.

<sup>96</sup> Fischer (1975: 20-21).

<sup>97</sup> Fischer (1985: 50).

<sup>98</sup> *ibid*; Bogaert believes that the Vulgate started to take roots from the sixth or seventh century only; Bogaert (1988: 290).

<sup>99</sup> Fischer (1985: 41). For the debate about Jeromian versus Pelagian translation of the New Testament books other than Gospels see Fischer (1986c: 51-73).

(Acts, Epistles) or which contain unrevised Old Latin (Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Maccabees).<sup>100</sup> Those books that Jerome revised according to the Old Latin, moreover, bear similarities to preserved Old Latin manuscripts.<sup>101</sup> Thus, it is hardly surprising that the prevailing evidence discloses that rather than a “pure” Vulgate or a “pure” Old Latin, manuscripts contain a mixed scriptural text, the association of which with the two types can be given only in terms of a higher degree of saturation with the elements peculiar to one or the other type.<sup>102</sup> From a certain point onwards, the degree of “vulgatization” of the scriptural text was very high, although some areas, such as the Milanese diocese or the Mozarabic region, continued to use scriptural text heavily indebted to the Old Latin versions. Starting from the thirteenth century, one can speak of the final prevailing of the Vulgate as a result of the activity of the Parisian theologians and their preference for the (Parisian) Vulgate.<sup>103</sup>

Apart from this basic classification, we can place the *Virtutes Apostolorum* into one of the subtypes of the Vulgate and Old Latin. The latter is traditionally divided into *Afra* (used in North Africa), European Old Latin (used in Europe) and possibly *Itala* (which, if extant, would have been a particular version tied to Italy).<sup>104</sup> The Old Latin version of Scripture is characterized by openness and variability to such an extent, that the subdivision into lesser categories remains problematic.<sup>105</sup> It is possible, however, to associate the *Virtutes Apostolorum* with the oldest Old Latin manuscripts or manuscript groups, as in some cases their time and place of origin is well-known.<sup>106</sup>

We recognize six distinct subtypes in the Vulgate tradition<sup>107</sup>: a) Italian; b) Spanish; c) Irish; d) French; e) Alcuin’s revision ( $\Phi$ , carried out in the early ninth century); and f) Theodulf’s revision ( $\Theta$ , also carried out in the early ninth century). Although rather late, the last two are particularly important for the manuscript tradition of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Each of the subtypes can be, once again, associated with particular surviving manuscripts to which the material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* may be compared.

<sup>100</sup> Loewe (1969: 108).

<sup>101</sup> Metzger (1977: 353); Fischer (1986b: 236).

<sup>102</sup> Metzger (1977: 293-94). By all evidence, mixing was a very strong trend between the sixth and the tenth centuries; Fischer (1986b: 207).

<sup>103</sup> This differed from the older revised Vulgates, such as Alcuin’s; Bogaert (1988: 298).

<sup>104</sup> Williams (1969: 38); Burton (2000: 14-15).

<sup>105</sup> Metzger (1977: 325); For an overview of the current perspectives, see Fischer (1986b: 188-207). The situation is complicated by the fact that the two or three major independent subtypes of the Old Latin started to interact from an unknown point and produce cross-breeds; Bogaert (1988: 146).

<sup>106</sup> For the overview of the versions and manuscript groups of the Old Latin see Stegmüller (1968). Also Burton (2000: 14-28).

<sup>107</sup> For the overview of the subtypes as well as representative manuscripts see Metzger (1977: 334-45).

Latin Scripture was not the only scriptural source text of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. At least five of the narratives (Peter, Paul, Andrew, John and Thomas) have Greek prototypes that contained scriptural references. It is therefore possible that some of these references were translated from Greek, and do not reflect either the Vulgate or the Old Latin. Other sources that supplied or influenced the rendering of the scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* include patristic, exegetical and instructive literature and liturgical sources.<sup>108</sup>

### Analysis

I distinguish three categories of references: a) excerpts; b) quotations; and c) referential material that entered the *Virtutes Apostolorum* via non-scriptural prototexts.<sup>109</sup> The three categories require different strategies for analysis. The excerpts, because of their size and compactness, must be studied as larger units that were taken from a single source. The references, as they entered the hypertext as detached short units, can be analyzed individually. Furthermore, being both shorter and not as enclosed as the excerpts, quotations are more susceptible to transformations. Finally, for analyzing the prototext references, it was important to analyze the prototexts in their completeness.

This latter category includes two translations of Rufinus from the early fifth century: the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, which are used in the Acts of Peter and James the Less,<sup>110</sup> and the Eusebian *Historia Ecclesiastica* that provides a larger part in the Acts of James the Less, *De exitu Herodis* (BHL 4318) and material for Philip. Moreover, some of the material from the collection came through the hands of Gregory of Tours, who may be connected with the Acts of Andrew as they are extant in the collection, and possibly also with the Acts of Thomas.<sup>111</sup> It is unclear, however, whether Gregory's work was incorporated into the collection just as that of Rufinus or whether Gregory was one of the agents that took part in the composition of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. For the time being, the Acts of Andrew and Thomas will not be treated as prototexts.

<sup>108</sup> I did not concern myself thoroughly with the liturgy because of the extensiveness of such an inquiry. The interplay of the Apocryphal Acts and the liturgy is treated by Rose (2009). More specifically, see also Westra (1998: 134-47).

<sup>109</sup> The latter references cannot be connected to the collection, since they were integral to the prototexts before their incorporation into the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, and reflect the period, region and environment of the composition of the prototexts. I will consider the references that were possibly part of the prototypes of the collection, such as the Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts or the *Martyrium Petri* of pseudo-Linus (BHL 6655), as falling into categories a) and b).

<sup>110</sup> The pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* provide the background also for the *Actus Vercellenses*, the oldest Latin Petrine Acts, which are inserted into a manuscript of the pseudo-Clementines, Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare CLVIII. For the connection between these *Recognitiones* and the *Actus Vercellenses*, see Hilhorst (1998: 148-60). See also Stoops (1997: 59).

<sup>111</sup> Cfr. Rose (2009: 21). de Santos Otero disclaims Gregory's authorship of the Acts of Thomas; de Santos Otero (2003: 455).

*References in the prototexts*

The basis of my analysis of the prototexts was a collation of seven manuscripts mentioned in the Introduction. I followed the assumption that readings shared by all selected manuscripts could be presupposed to represent the shape of the texts that was transmitted into all manuscripts from their closest common ancestor. This material could have arisen in the stage between the “archetypes”<sup>112</sup> of the particular narratives and the closest common ancestor, but a certain amount of the common material was already present in the manuscripts of the prototexts that supplied the “archetypes”. The segments present in the collection and inserted from written texts can be thus compared against the surviving manuscripts of the prototexts (via the editions). Naturally, many philological features traceable to a particular manuscript, when general rather than particular, could occur as independent transformations. Yet, highly particular variants are likely to have been the result of conservation in the manuscript transmission.

Reasoning along these lines showed that the material adopted from the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* inserted into the Acts of Peter displays striking uniformity. Practically all variants in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* occurred in a particular manuscript from ninth-century Italy, Rom. Bibl. Vat. Cap. di S. Pietro E17 (sigla  $\Lambda^p$ ).<sup>113</sup> Extremely important is the occurrence of a homoioteleuton in *Recognitiones* II 36, 2, i.e.

Vbi autem peccatum non fit, pax [est P] in disputationibus, ueritas [ueri W497] in operibus inuenitur [inuenietur V 560]

in contrast to the edition<sup>114</sup>:

ubi autem peccatum non fit, pax *est animae: ubi vero pax est*, in disputationibus veritas, in operibus iustitia inuenitur,

which is shared only by BHL 6663 and family  $\Lambda$  of the *Recognitiones*. Other manuscripts from the Italian family ( $\Lambda\Sigma\Psi$ ) also displayed many variant readings that occurred in the text preserved in

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<sup>112</sup> Of course, given the fluidity of the Apocryphal Acts, it is not possible to speak of an archetype in the traditional sense of the word. What I mean by this word is rather a contact exemplar, which was the first to be enriched by the prototext. For the purpose of this analysis, I presume there was only one enrichment of this sort and that all manuscript exemplars containing the prototext descend from this contact exemplar; see chapter 5.

<sup>113</sup> For manuscript description, see Rehm (1965: xxxix-xl).

<sup>114</sup> Rehm (1965).

the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.<sup>115</sup> In contrast, manuscripts from southern France (Π) and from Germany (Δ) were practically absent. This all indicates that the insertion of the prototext into BHL 6663 should be placed in the Italian region.

The pseudo-Clementine material in James the Less likewise may be connected with the Italian family (ΛΣΨ), but given its small amount it cannot be assessed as accurately as the excerpts in Peter. No parallelism with Λ<sup>p</sup> equivalent to that in Peter was detected, although it needs to be added that in the particular passages used in James the Less, Λ<sup>p</sup> contains no variant readings with respect to the edition text. Thus, the relationship with Λ<sup>p</sup> cannot be excluded.

The assessment of the excerpts from Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* is complicated because there is no detailed critical edition against which the material contained in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* could be compared. After consultation of Mommsen's edition,<sup>116</sup> all that can be said is that both sets of excerpts - in James the Less as well as in *De Exitu Herodis*<sup>117</sup> - contain variant readings that belong both to Mommsen's main N branch and P branch. Mommsen defines the two branches on the basis of two manuscripts, one from the eighth and one from the ninth century. He acknowledges that both these manuscripts and other manuscripts consulted contain traces of significant previous contamination as well as corruption.<sup>118</sup> Thus, his division into two branches may be applicable to manuscripts postdating his model exemplars, but is less useful for earlier manuscripts that may contain the state of the text prior to the division into the branches.

#### *Pure excerpts*

The pure excerpts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* are taken from three scriptural books: Matthew (two excerpts in Peter), John (two excerpts in Peter) and Acts (13 excerpts in Peter and Paul); and represent the text of the Vulgate contaminated by the Old Latin. The lack of a strong distinction between the excerpts, and particularly between the Acts in Peter and Paul, seems to indicate that all sets of excerpts might have been inserted at the same time, at the same location and by the same

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<sup>115</sup> Another manuscript sharing many variant readings with the exemplar used in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* is Oxford Bodl. 728 (sigla Θ<sup>r</sup>), a twelfth-century English manuscript, which is derived from and further contaminated with manuscripts from the Italian branch; see Rehm (1965: lxxviii-lxxix).

<sup>116</sup> Mommsen (1909).

<sup>117</sup> Which, however, occurs only in three project manuscripts: V455, W48 and W497.

<sup>118</sup> Mommsen (1909: cclxii-cclxiv).

agent. This could in turn mean that the two Acts existed coupled together prior to their assimilation into the collection.<sup>119</sup>

While the excerpts from Matthew correspond well with the Vulgate, the excerpts taken from John are significantly contaminated with Old Latin readings. In BHL 6663, we encounter Jo 21, 16, in the Vulgate as:

*Dicit ei iterum: Simon Joannis, diligis me? Ait illi: Etiam Domine, tu scis quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce agnos meos,*

as:

*Iterum dicit ei: Simon Iohannis diligis me? Dicit ei: Etiam domine, tu scis quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce ouiculas meas [agnos meos P], (#5)*

a reading which otherwise occurs only in Codex Veronensis (b).<sup>120</sup> Other passages are closer to the Vulgate, e.g. when Jo 13, 3:

*sciens quia omnia dedit ei Pater in manus, et quia a Deo exivit, et ad Deum vadit*

is rendered in #4 as:

*Sciens autem dominus Ihesus quia omnia dedit ei pater in manus et quia a deo exiuit, et ad deum uadit.*

The excerpts from the Acts come even closer to the Vulgate, e.g. when rendering Act 3, 8:

*Et exiliens stetit, et ambulabat: et intravit cum illis in templum ambulans, et exiliens, et laudans *Dominum**

as:

*Et exiliens, stetit, et ambulabat [ambulauit W], et intrauit cum illis in templum, ambulans et exiliens, et laudans *deum*. (#6)*

The excerpts have parallels both in the manuscripts of the Old Latin and of the Vulgate, and in particular in mixed manuscripts. Geographically and chronologically, Scripture manuscripts

<sup>119</sup> That the Acts of Peter and Paul interacted vigorously is now held by many scholars, although others disagree. For the debate, see Rordorf (1998: 178-91).

<sup>120</sup> *Iterum dicit ei: Simon Joannis, diligis me? Dicit ei: Etiam, domine, tu scis, quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce ouiculas meas*; Belsheim (1904: 76). The manuscript description in Metzger (1977: 296).

manifesting the highest degree of parallelism with the excerpts fall into three categories.<sup>121</sup> First, manuscripts that were dated to the late fifth century, Italy and are associated with the Old Latin - Veronensis (b, 4) and Carnotensis (Parisiensis in Metzger, 33); secondly, two mixed manuscripts belonging to the Italian Vulgate type with the same background,<sup>122</sup> which were transported to Gaul and used there from the seventh or the eighth century - Fuldensis (F) and Sangermanensis primus (g<sup>1</sup>, 7, G); thirdly, later, Carolingian manuscripts contaminated with the Old Latin - Sangallensis 60 (47), Sangallensis 51 (48) and Sangallensis 2 (S)<sup>123</sup> - as well as Alcuin's revision of the Bible (Φ).<sup>124</sup> Manuscripts from the first group exhibit parallelism with respect to a small number of particular, Old Latin readings, while the parallelism with other manuscripts is weaker (note the examples above, which could arise from conservation as well as transformation), but more numerous.

The contents of the excerpts tell us little about the form of the scriptural manuscripts used. Neither separate books, nor *bibliotheca* or a pandect can be excluded,<sup>125</sup> and the analysis does not provide any clearer insight into this matter.

The contamination by the Old Latin in the excerpts fits into what Fischer postulates about two waves of contaminations that are attested in the manuscripts from the sixth century - one with the epicentre in fifth-century Italy<sup>126</sup> and the other in Spain.<sup>127</sup> The Spanish wave is not present either in the excerpts or in the majority of the manuscripts predating the influx of the Iberian material into the Carolingian empire (Alcuin's and Theodulf's revisions). The older Italian wave affected all regions that drew on Italian manuscript sources, manifesting in Sangermanensis (background in the seventh-century Italian manuscripts) and Fuldensis (compiled by Victor of Capua in 541-46).<sup>128</sup> The Italian contamination had a particularly strong impact on Carolingian Gaul.<sup>129</sup>

While the parallels with the oldest Old Latin manuscript seems to disclose the substrate of the contamination, the parallelism with the two younger groups of the Vulgate manuscripts may be explained in more ways. On the one hand, it is possible to consider an enclosed transmission that

<sup>121</sup> An overview of these manuscripts may be found in Metzger (1977: 293-319) for the Old Latin and (334-48) for the Vulgate.

<sup>122</sup> Fischer (1985: 81).

<sup>123</sup> Von Euw (2008: 297, Nr. 1); contextualized in Fischer (1965: 181).

<sup>124</sup> For a thorough treatment of these younger manuscripts, see Fischer (1965: 127-37).

<sup>125</sup> Pandects would contain heterogeneous scriptural books. Fischer (1975: 20); Bogaert (1988: 285). Also Fischer (1986b: 185).

<sup>126</sup> Fischer (1985: 50 and 55).

<sup>127</sup> Fischer (1985: 52).

<sup>128</sup> See Fischer (1985: 57-64 and 81-85).

<sup>129</sup> Fischer (1985: 54).

has roots in Italian Vulgate type containing contaminations from the start, just as Fuldensis and Sangermanensis.<sup>130</sup> Similarities with the Carolingian manuscripts may be ascribed to echoing of the same contaminations (47, 48) and similar Italian Vulgate prototypes (Φ).<sup>131</sup> On the other hand, it is possible to consider a more open transmission, where the parallel Carolingian manuscripts could represent later contamination during the Carolingian period, when the excerpts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* may have been brought in line with contemporary standards.

Three arguments favor the insertion of the excerpts in Italy rather than Gaul. First, the appearance of the Vulgate in the Gaulish area is rather late, and it is not before the eighth century that we possess manuscript evidence that is comparable to the material present in the excerpts.<sup>132</sup> Analysis of pre-Carolingian lectionaries and Gospel-books in Gaul carried out by Salmon shows that these manuscripts have features distinct from the features present in the pure excerpts, such as an affinity to Spanish and Irish Vulgate type.<sup>133</sup> Secondly, the excerpts in both narratives have been picked very selectively, and this selection betrays certain ideological interests. In the case of Peter, the focus on Simon the Sorcerer (Act 8, 14-25) and Peter's miraculous powers (raising from the dead in Act 9, 36-42; power of Peter's shadow in Act 5, 14-16; escape from imprisonment in Act 12, 1-11) are flanked by episodes that support his supremacy among the Apostles<sup>134</sup> (Mt 16, 13-19; Jo 21, 15-19). In the Acts of Paul, three comparable interests are present, of which the most significant is the attempt to present Peter and Paul as twins by enlisting parallel miracle episodes (raising from the dead in Act 20, 7-12; power of Paul's garments in Act 19, 9-12; shipwreck in Act 28, 1-10) and to highlight Paul's journey to Rome. The veneration for the two Apostles as a couple is attested in Rome since early times, and these two narratives, coupled as they are, may be connected to this Roman interest in the two Roman martyrs.<sup>135</sup> The interest in Peter's primacy likewise has a Roman,

<sup>130</sup> Particularly Southern Gaul would be infused with such Italian manuscripts and important as an area of contact and contamination; Loewe (1969: 113); Fischer (1985: 36). The Italian basis of the excerpts confirms what we know about Italy as the centre of contamination as well as good versions of the Vulgate and its crucial role for the spreading of the Scripture-versions over the Continent; Fischer (1985: 56 and 98-99).

<sup>131</sup> This was believed to descend from the Anglo-Irish and Spanish pandects, but was shown to rather depend on Italian prototypes; Light (1984: 62-63). Note in particular the strong relationship between F and Φ in Acts; Fischer (1965: 132).

<sup>132</sup> The earliest Vulgate attested in Gaul is that of Caesarius of Arles. See Berger (1976: 2 and 7). In Merovingian times, the New Testament would be an Old Latin or a mixed Old Latin-Vulgate; Bogaert (1988: 291).

<sup>133</sup> Salmon (1963: 491-517).

<sup>134</sup> Other significant episodes of Peter's life, such as his lack of faith in walking on the water (Mt 14, 22-33) and his denial (Mt 26, 69-75; Mc 14, 66-72; Lc 22, 55-62 and Jo 18, 25-27), are omitted.

<sup>135</sup> See Matthews (1997: 210). Also compare with the sermons of Leo the Great, *In Natali apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (ser. 82) and *In natali sancti Petri apostoli* (ser. 83). Quesnel (1846: cols. 422b-432b).

papal tinge<sup>136</sup> that cannot be associated with pre-Carolingian Gaul. Finally, the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, which were most likely inserted together with the excerpts (see chapter 5) were taken from an Italian manuscript and bear few traces of manuscript tradition present in Gaul.

Little can be said about the date of the insertion, apart from the fact that it cannot predate the fifth century, when the contaminations entered the Vulgate. If the excerpts should be connected with Gaul, the insertion cannot predate the eighth century. As the prologue *Licet plurima* to BHL 6663 cannot be dated with certainty (see chapter 5), it offers little absolute chronology, although it may provide a relative *terminus ante quam*, as long as the prologue functioned as a seal on the older material.

#### *Hybrid excerpts*

The material present in the hybrid excerpts, two excerpts from Luke in both John and Bartholomew, and an excerpt from John in Matthew, bear little semblance to the pure excerpts, which confirms the conclusion arrived at in chapter 3. Material in these excerpts is transformed beyond the possibility to analyze it. One may compare a verse from #102:

et *exclamavit dicens*: Pater Abraham mitte Lazarum ut intingat *digitum* [extremum P] in aqua [aquam B] et refrigeret [mittat in P] *os meum* quia crucior in hac flamma

with the Vulgate Lc 16, 24:

et *ipse clamans dixit*: Pater Abraham, *miserere mei, et* mitte Lazarum ut intingat *extremum digiti sui* in aquam, ut refrigeret *linguam meam*, quia crucior in hac flamma.

Most of the variants can be explained as transformations (e.g. omission and simplification). Only some very general features indicate that the material source of these excerpts was a mixed Old Latin and Vulgate source. The general nature of these features does not allow further comparison with either the pure excerpts or the quotations. It is also impossible to see parallels between the Luke-hypotext utilized by John and by Bartholomew.

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<sup>136</sup> Note what O'Leary says about the association of Peter and Petrine texts with *romanitas* in Anglo-Saxon England; O'Leary (2003: 117-18).

*Quotations*

Quotations are a substantially larger and more heterogeneous group than the previous two groups, which implies a wider spectrum of sources. Since the creators of the collection worked with manuscripts that contained individual books of Scripture as discrete units (and we may presuppose that these units were homogenous with respect to the version of Scripture they transmitted<sup>137</sup>) and the quotations can be likewise assigned to the scriptural books, it is possible to compare them along these lines.

The analysis shows that the material from the Psalms comes from the Roman Psalter.<sup>138</sup> The readings that may be attributed to the Gallican Psalter have either parallels in the New Testament (e.g. #161) or are similar to another Old Psalter, such as the Ambrosian<sup>139</sup> and the Mozarabic Psalter<sup>140</sup> (e.g. #26). The parallelism with the Roman Psalter is not restricted to a small number of items with parallels in the other Psalters, but is global.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, there is a distinction between James the Great, the narrative that employs 18 quotations from the Psalms, transmits Psalms accurately, and the Psalms provide the bulk of referential material used in the narrative, and other narratives, where the quotations from the Psalms are less stable and range from unacknowledged direct quotations to rather loose references. Nevertheless, they still display a higher degree of stability and accuracy than references to other scriptural books.<sup>142</sup> This confirms that the layers of composition in which the quotations were inserted can be associated with an environment where Psalms were well-known, specifically in its Roman form.<sup>143</sup>

Ps 35, 12 in John (#119):

nec ueniat mihi pes superbiae, et manus *extranea a te* [0 B] non *contingat* [amoveat W497] me.

differs from all known Psalters, which recognize only the variants *peccatorum/peccatoris* and *moveat* in place of *extranea a te* and *contingat*. The context and presentation of the verse indicate a

<sup>137</sup> This is of course only the ideal situation; see Bogaert (1988: 281).

<sup>138</sup> Weber (1953).

<sup>139</sup> Magistretti (1905b).

<sup>140</sup> Ayuso-Marauzela (1957).

<sup>141</sup> The dissemination of the Gallican Psalter in Gaul may be connected with the person of Gregory of Tours; Loewe (1969: 111); Berger (1976: 4). Thus, Gregory is unlikely to be the one who may be connected with these quotations from the Psalter.

<sup>142</sup> Compare the prominent place of the Psalms in the New Testament, where they supply about a third of 360 references to the Old Testament. Note likewise their degree of accuracy and stability; Gillingham (2008: 14).

<sup>143</sup> That is Rome, central and southern Italy; Fischer (1975: 22); Weber (1953: ix). References to the Psalter prevail in texts stemming from the monastic environments. Gillingham (2008: 41).

direct unacknowledged quotation,<sup>144</sup> yet no independent source contains Ps 35, 12 in this form.<sup>145</sup> Perhaps, this rendering reflects the Greek:

μη ἐλθέτω μοι πούς ὑπερηφανίας καὶ χεὶρ ἀμαρτωλῶν μη σαλεύσαι με<sup>146</sup>

and belongs to the Greek prototype of the Latin Acts.

The Gospels are as familiar to the creators and users of the collection as the Psalms, but they are employed in a different manner. Unlike the Psalms, which are transmitted with great accuracy, just as they were performed by rote in the monastic communities, the Gospels are transformed more freely than material from other books, just as they could have been available via catechesis and devotional reading. The transformations are not merely pragmatic, but often betray a more ambitious reworking which rests on the familiarity with the topics discussed in the Gospels and involves harmonization of the Gospel accounts, contamination by material from other scriptural books (particularly Psalms) and orthodox interpretative strategies. In the Acts of Thomas, the Apostle addresses the king who imprisoned him with the following words (#261):

Equidem tu rex posteaquam occideris corpus, animam occidere non potes. *Deus* autem uerus potest et animam et corpus mittere in *aeternum ignem*,

quoting Mt 10, 28:

Et nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere: sed potius timete *eum*, qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in *gebennam*.

The address and therefore the illocutionary power of the passage is transformed (a king instead of the Apostles, declamation instead of prophecy). The original matter is furthermore filtered, so that *Deus* is identified as the one *qui potest et animam et corpus perdere* and *gebennam* is changed into *aeternum ignem*, a term understandable to the Indian king and less refined audiences.<sup>147</sup> Interestingly, quotations from Matthew, Luke and John are prevalent, while Mark is badly

<sup>144</sup> Note that Psalm 35 was prescribed for Monday psalmody in the *Regula Benedicti*, i.e. it was unlikely to be corrupted; Gillingham (2008: 52).

<sup>145</sup> Two manuscripts from the early ninth-century Mercia alone contain wording *extranea* - BL Harley 7653, "The Harley Prayer Book" and Cambridge University Library MS LI 1.10, "The Book of Cerne". Both of them are, however, dependent on the *Virtutes Apostolorum* rather than vice versa; see O'Leary (2003: 103-19). The word *contingat* occurs in *Antiphonale Gallicum* (BNF nal 1628), an eighth- or ninth-century book from Ireland. Here, the contamination with the *Virtutes* is also probable; see Delisle (1888: 95-97).

<sup>146</sup> Rahlfs (1954: 135). See also Burton (2000: 11-12).

<sup>147</sup> Note what was said in chapter 3 about the didactic purpose of the quotations in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.

underrepresented.<sup>148</sup> Other New Testament books used in the collection include the Acts, Second Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, Hebrews, Second Timothy and First Peter.

With the exception of a single quotation in Bartholomew (#187; Lc 4, 35), which gives the Vulgate *exi ab eo* instead of the standard Old Latin *exi ab illo*, all Gospel material can be placed into the frame of the Old Latin.<sup>149</sup> Acts seem to represent a version approaching that preserved in the Vulgate, which, however, being non-Jeromian, is akin to variability and parallelism with the Old Latin.<sup>150</sup> If the references derived from Acts should be connected with any of the known types of the Acts manuscripts, it would be p, a representative of the mixed version that combines the Vulgate with the older *Europeana* and *Afra* and is attested from the fifth century.<sup>151</sup> Unfortunately, the fragmented state of the quotations does not allow for a more precise classification or comparison with the pure excerpts. The Epistles do not deviate significantly from the version of the scriptural text as entered into the Vulgate, again by a non-Jeromian reviser.<sup>152</sup>

Among the patristic authors echoed in the references, the dominant ones are Ambrose and Augustine, which might be given simply by their prominence among the Latin Fathers and the amount of their writings preserved and provided in the databases used for this analysis. Of the lesser writers, those significantly represented include Rufinus (c. 345-410), Ambrosiaster (fourth century, Rome)<sup>153</sup> the anonymous author of the Matthew commentary associated with Ambrosiaster,<sup>154</sup> and the Venerable Bede.<sup>155</sup> Indebtedness to Rufinus is particularly significant because of the usage of his translations (*Recognitiones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*) in some sections of the collection. On the other hand, the Rufinian “touch” cannot be taken as evidence of his engagement with the material in the collection. It may simply be an indicator that some of the narratives should be connected with the same textual background or transformed in the same manner<sup>156</sup>, e.g. #248:

<sup>148</sup> See Appendix C. Compare with Bogaert’s remarks about the *Liber de divinis scripturis* produced around 400 in Italy, which presents the order of the Gospels in the *bibliotheca* as Mt-Jo-Lc-Mc. Also, while it contains quotations from the three first Gospels, only one quote from Mark is included; Bogaert (1988: 279-80).

<sup>149</sup> Note the Old Latin #26 in the Acts of Peter, which contrasts with the Vulgate excerpts, clearly an indicator of different layers.

<sup>150</sup> Fischer (1975: 29-30).

<sup>151</sup> For the overview of the types of Acts-manuscripts, see Fischer (1986b: 196-97).

<sup>152</sup> Fischer (1975: 29).

<sup>153</sup> Hunter (2004: 307-309).

<sup>154</sup> Edited by Mercati (1903).

<sup>155</sup> The latter was, as the evidence shows, aware of and using the collection, particularly in his *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*; cfr. Laistner (1983: 106-107). See also O’Leary (2003).

<sup>156</sup> Note Rufinus’ link with the early Western monastic movement; Rousseau (1978: 81-82). A monastic community existed in Aquileia from 374. Rufinus spent the last decades of his life here, producing the translations that were used in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*; Rebenich (2002: 5). Note also that the translation of *Historia Ecclesiastica* was commissioned by Chromatius of Aquileia, who was a member of the Aquilean circle; Vessey (2004: 325).

Erant autem gaudentes et alacres apostoli dei, gratias agentes deo, *quia* digni habiti sunt pro nomine *domini* pati,

quoting Act 5, 41:

Et illi quidem ibant gaudentes a conspectu concilii, *quoniam* digni habiti sunt pro nomine *Jesu contumeliam* pati.

All three elements appear only in Rufinus' translations of Origen's homilies on the First Book of Kings and his translation of the prayers of Gregory Nazianzus,<sup>157</sup> but may be also explained as independent transformations.

Vestiges of Greek Scripture and thus of the Greek prototypes of some of the narratives are clearer. In #81 in the Acts of Andrew we read:

Ista enim promissa sunt a deo meo Ihesu Christo, sicut scriptum est pro nomine illius multa nos esse passuros et flagellandos, et *ante iudices staturos* in testimonium eius, et qui perseuerauerit usque in finem hic saluus erit,

which fuses Mt 10, 17-18 with Mt 24, 13, but substitutes the Vulgate *et ad praesides, et ad reges ducemini*, with *ante iudices staturos*. This variant is not dependent on the context in which the quotation is pronounced (Andrew's crucifixion speech), nor is there an obvious reason for transformation. It has parallels only in three sources, all of them translations of Origen's works - two by Rufinus,<sup>158</sup> one anonymous.<sup>159</sup> Another item in Andrew, #64, likewise contains a reading that occurs in two translations of Origen's homilies by Rufinus.<sup>160</sup> In the Acts of Thomas, #264 reads:

Surge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et *illucescit tibi* Christus

instead of Eph 5, 14 in the Vulgate wording:

Surge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et *illuminabit te* Christus.

The phrase *illucescit tibi* is known to St. Ambrose:

<sup>157</sup> *Si vero 'gaudeam' quoniam dignus habitus sum pro nomine Domini iniuriam pati*; Bachrens (1925a: 17). *libens gaudens que suscipe, si dignus habitus es pro nomine Ihesu pati*; Engelbrecht (1910: 72).

<sup>158</sup> Koetschau (1913: 295); Röwekamp (2005: 304).

<sup>159</sup> Benz and Klostermann (1933). Dated to the late fifth century.

<sup>160</sup> Bachrens (1925b: 70); Bachrens (1921: 270).

Unde et scriptura ait: Surge, qui dormis, et exurge a mortuis et inlucescet tibi Christus.<sup>161</sup>

Otherwise, it appears in Latin translations of Alexandrian theologians - Clement, Origen and Athanasius.<sup>162</sup> The traces of the Alexandrian text type of Scripture suggest that the prototypes of the two narratives, Andrew and Thomas, passed through Alexandria. This accords with what is known or presupposed about the Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts: that their orthodox redaction should be by all evidence located to Alexandria.<sup>163</sup>

The Old Testament material behaves differently in James the Great than in the other narratives, which requires it to be treated separately. In James the Great, the Old Testament is represented in a long homily containing chained scriptural testimonies about Jesus (#148, #150, #152-#173, #176 and #178-#179). All of these testimonies are direct acknowledged quotations, i.e. they display a high degree of conservation of the source material. 17 of the 27 items are taken from the Roman Psalter. Five more are mirror-quotations from the New Testament (e.g. #153). Only five quotations (#154-#156, #169 and #172) may be taken as pointing to the Old Testament. However, all are more or less deviant from both the Vulgate and the Old Latin. The quotation from *Regum* (#169, 1Sm 2, 10) renders the words of the Canticle of Anna (*Canticum Annae*)<sup>164</sup> sung during Lauds on Wednesdays in the Roman Office.<sup>165</sup> The quotation from Isaiah (#172, Is 26, 19):

Surgent mortui, et resurgent qui in monumentis sunt

is different from the Vulgate and the Old Latin:

Vivent mortui tui, interfecti mei resurgent.

The source of deviation is obvious upon comparison with the Septuagint (reflected in the former quotation):

ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις<sup>166</sup>

and with Hebrew (reflected in the latter quotation):

<sup>161</sup> Faller (1964: 220).

<sup>162</sup> Muncey (1959:90). Of the three Origen and Athanasius were using an Alexandrian not Western text-type of the Scripture; Klijn (1969: 35-36).

<sup>163</sup> Czachesz (2007: 121-22); Lalleman (1998: 161-77); Lalleman (2000: 140-48); Jakab (2000: 127-39).

<sup>164</sup> Edited in Magistretti (1905a: 166-67).

<sup>165</sup> Cabrol (1925: col. 1982). Cantica were integrated into the Psalter at an early stage and were present already in the Roman Psalter; Fischer (1975: 28).

<sup>166</sup> Ziegler (1983).

הַחַיִּי מִתְּיָד נְבִלְתֵי קְוִמְוִו 167

The reflection of the Septuagint in James the Great can be explained in two ways. Either it is a trace of the Jeromian Hexaplaic Old Testament, which was used side by side with his Hebrew Old Testament until it was suppressed.<sup>168</sup> More likely, however, given its textual context, it is a translation independent of Jerome.<sup>169</sup> As for the other three quotations, these don't have a known parallel in any source.<sup>170</sup> The whole testimonial chain may be, however, compared to a similar testimonial homily in *Actus Vercellenses*. Compare *Actus Vercellenses* 24:

Audaciam habuisti haec loqui, profeta dicente de eo: "Genus eius quis ennarauit?" (Is 53, 8) et alius profeta dicit: "Et uidimus eum et non habuit speciem neque decorem." (Is 53, 2) et: "In nouissimis temporibus nascitur puer de spiritu sancto: mater ipsius uirum nescit, nec dicit aliquis patrem se esse eius." (Is 9, 6) et iterum dicit: "Peperit et non peperit."<sup>171</sup> et iterum: "Non minimum pr<a>estare uobis agonem. ecce in utero concipiet uirgo." (Is 7, 13-14) et alter propheta dicit honorificatum patrem: "Neque uocem illius audiuius neque obs<t>etrix subit." (*Ascension of Isaiah* 11, 14) alter propheta dicit: "Non de uulua mulieris natus, sed de caelest<i> loco descendit" (unknown source) et "Lapis praecisus est sine manibus et percussit omnia regna" (Dn 2, 34) et "Lapidem quem reprobauerunt aedificantes, hic factus est in caput anguli" (Ps 118, 2) et lapidem cum dicit "Electum, praetiosum." (Is 28, 16) Et iterum dicit propheta de eo: "Et ecce uidi super nubem uenientem sicut filium hominis." (Dn 7, 13)<sup>172</sup>

with James the Great:

Hoc autem promissum Ysaias predixit quo ordine fieret. Ait enim: Ecce uirgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et uocabitur nomen eius Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum nobiscum deus. (Is 7, 14 via Mt 1, 23; #153) Hieremias autem dicit: Ecce redemptor tuus ueniet Hierusalem, et hoc eius signum erit: Cecorum oculos aperiet, surdis reddet auditum, et uoce sua excitabit mortuos. (unknown source<sup>173</sup>; #154) Ezechiel autem assignat dicens: Veniet rex tuus Syon, ueniet humilis et restaurat te. (Za 9, 9 or otherwise unknown

<sup>167</sup> Winton Thomas (1968: 713).

<sup>168</sup> Cfr. Bogaert (1988: 149). The Hexaplaic Old Testament was used in Italy, but never in Gaul, where only the Hebrew Old Testament is attested; Bogaert (1988: 291).

<sup>169</sup> Is 29, 16 is quoted in a comparable manner also in Jerome's commentary to Matthew, in Augustine and in Rufinus' *De symbolo*. This would support the hypothesis that the reading preserved in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* is derived from LXX.

<sup>170</sup> It cannot be ruled out, however, that they were a part of liturgy in the form of canticles, just as the Canticle of Anna. Different regions recognized different canticles; Fischer (1975: 28). A wide variety of canticles is known particularly from the Mozarabic region. One of them is based on Is 35, which may be connected with #154; Cabrol (1925: cols. 1987-88).

<sup>171</sup> Cfr. Tertullian, *De carne Christi* 22: *Agnosimus ergo signum contradicibile conceptum et partum uirginis mariae, de quo academici isti: 'peperit et non peperit, uirgo et non uirgo'; quasi non, et si ita esset dicendum, a nobis magis dici conueniret.* Kroymann (1954). Stoops believes Tertullian ascribes the quotation to Ezekiel, but I cannot see evidence for that; Stoops (1997: 65).

<sup>172</sup> Lipsius (1883: 71-72).

<sup>173</sup> But see Calmet (1759: 6).

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source; #155) Daniel autem dicit: Sicut filius hominis ita adueniet, et ipse obtinebit principatus et potestates. (Dn 7, 13-14 or otherwise unknown source; #156) David autem dicit uoce filii dicentis: Dominus dixit ad me filius meus es tu. (Ps 2, 7; #157) Et patris uox de filio dicit: Ipse inuocabit me pater meus es tu, et ego primogenitum ponam illum excelsum apud reges terrae. (Ps 88, 27-28; #158) Ad ipsum autem Dauid sermo domini loquitur dicens: De fructu uentris tui ponam super sedem meam. (Ps 131, 11; #159)

Note the manner of acknowledgment, the choice of material (recurring Is 7, 14 and Dn 7, 13-14), the comparable wording and the presence of non-scriptural material. In both speeches, Prophets and Psalms (featuring David as a prophet) are used as a pool of authoritative Christocentric testimonies that are detached from their original context and re-contextualized in this new type of the text.<sup>174</sup> Stoops believes that the material in the *Actus Vercellenses* stems from the testimonial lists that existed in early Christian communities for catechetical and homiletic purposes, and which contained scriptural references side by side with non-scriptural or para-scriptural material presented as chains of references.<sup>175</sup> It is possible to speculate about a relationship between *Actus Vercellenses* and James the Great,<sup>176</sup> but what seems to be more likely is that both texts employ the testimonial lists as supposed by Stoops. Unfortunately, little is known about such testimonial lists that could tell us more about the period and region of origin of James the Great. They are clearly an ancient type of texts, which must have predated the redaction of the *Actus Vercellenses*. The question arises, should James the Great also be dated to this period?

In contrast to James the Great, there are all in all only five quotations from the Old Testament in the rest of the collection, in the Acts of Andrew (#56), in Simon and Jude (#240) and in the Acts of John (#105, #108 and #111). They are either unacknowledged or acknowledged in a vague manner (*scriptura sancta, Dominus Deus...his sermonibus usus est*) and more liable to variation than the material in James the Great. Only #108 derives from the Prophets (Ez 18, 33); however, the fact that this quotation is ascribed to *dominus* rather than to *propheta* might indicate that it was not known from the Old Testament. Compare #108:

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<sup>174</sup> Compare with chapter 3.

<sup>175</sup> Stoops (1997: 66); Gamble (1995: 25-27). See also Turner (1931: 119).

<sup>176</sup> Note the similarities between the figure of Hermogenes the Mage in James the Great and Simon the Sorcerer in the *Actus Vercellenses*. According to MacDonald's criteria of intertextuality, these two figures can be seen as interdependent in the direction from the Acts of Peter to the Acts of James the Great; MacDonald (1997: 11-42).

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Dominus deus noster his sermonibus usus est dum de peccatoribus ageretur ut diceret. Nolo mortem peccatoris sed uolo potius ut conuertatur et uiuat<sup>177</sup>

with *Regula Magistri*:

Nam pius Dominus dicit: Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed conuertatur et uiuat<sup>178</sup>

and:

quia tu dixisti, Domine: Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed conuertatur et uiuat<sup>179</sup>

The quotation from Ex 14, 25 (#56) is part of the liturgy of the Paschal Vigil<sup>180</sup> and thus has a liturgical background. The three other quotations are taken from the Wisdom literature - Job, Wisdom, and Proverbs - and are the only ones that may have a basis in scriptural manuscripts. All this seems to indicate that the creators of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* were familiar with the Old Testament in a manner different from the knowledge of the Psalms and the New Testament. The historical books are not truly represented in the collection, but the Wisdom literature and the Prophets have some limited prominence, just as would be the case with the three major types of Old Testament literature in the Christian communities of worship. Taken together with what has already been said about other scriptural books, the representation of Scripture in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* seems to point to creators and users that were familiar with the scriptural material via devotional and communal participation, not as sophisticated theologians who had direct access to the material. The particular parallelism could indicate, once again, a monastic environment.<sup>181</sup>

*The Place of Gregory of Tours and Rufinus in the collection*

Two individuals can be associated with the collection by name: Rufinus of Aquileia and Gregory of Tours. Works that are ascribed to both are incorporated in the collection, providing at

<sup>177</sup> Also note that #108 is immediately followed by #109: *Nam dum nos de paenitentibus doceret dominus Ihesus Christus ait: Amen dico uobis, quia magnum est gaudium in caelo angelis super unum peccatorem paenitentem et conuertentem a peccatis suis, et amplior est illis leticia, quam super nonaginta nouem qui non peccauerunt.*

<sup>178</sup> Vogue (1964). Taken over by *Regula Benedicti*; Vogue (1972).

<sup>179</sup> Vogue (1964). The quotations ascribed to *dominus* occurs likewise in Filaster of Brescia's *Diversarum hereseon liber*, 132. Bulhart (1957). Filaster was reading the Apocryphal Acts and thus it is likely his quote derives from the Acts of John. Could this be true also for *Regula Magistri* from the early sixth century? And if so, what does this suggest about the currency of the apocryphal Apostolic narratives in the monastic environment? Could it be evidence of currency of at least the Acts of John in the early sixth-century Italy?

<sup>180</sup> At least from the times of Gregory the Great; See Fischer (1986a: 29).

<sup>181</sup> Compare with Cubitt (2004: 33). Harmless stresses that the Psalter and the New Testament were the two core texts known and used in Pachomian monasticism; Harmless (2004: 126-27).

least one whole narrative unit (from Rufinus, James the Less and *De exitu Herodis*; and from Gregory, Andrew, and possibly Thomas). Neither is explicitly mentioned, although their voice is present. Compare:

Nam ferunt hoc oleum usque ad medium basilicae sanctae decurrere, *sicut in primo miraculorum libro scripsimus*. (Gregory in the Acts of Andrew; B, 21r, 020b-023b)

with:

Quidam ergo de septem heresibus quae erant in populo *de quibus superius diximus*, interrogabant eum quod esset ostium Ihesu. (Rufinus in the Acts of James the Less; B, 34r, 006a-009a)

In addition, both of them were not authors proper, but rather agents of transformation of older material. This all raises the question of how to treat the issue of authorship versus agency and, more significantly, whether there is a substantial difference between Rufinus and Gregory with respect to the role they played in the composition process of the collection.

While it has been supposed that Gregory worked on the *Virtutes Apostolorum*,<sup>182</sup> a similar proposition was not made about Rufinus, despite similarities between the matter connected with their names that was included in the collection. The main reason behind different attitudes towards the two is the existence of prologues to some of the narratives in the collection (*Inclita sanctorum apostolorum* for Andrew BHL 430, *Licet plurima* for Peter BHL 6663 and *Beatum Thomam cum reliquis* for Thomas BHL 8140), that apparently articulate the voice of an author. Some of these prologues may be associated with Gregory of Tours.<sup>183</sup> A similar voice of Rufinus is missing from the collection, which leads to devaluation of his role for the formation of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and overvaluation of the role of Gregory.<sup>184</sup> The internal evidence seems to indicate that Rufinus, whether we should imagine this agent as a historical individual standing behind the inclusion of his products into the collection or as a literary creator, whose material was employed by anonymous individual/s without his knowledge, in the composition of the collection may have been more

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<sup>182</sup> Cfr. Rose (2009: 21).

<sup>183</sup> Els Rose believes that all three might have been penned by Gregory; based on a project meeting conversation.

<sup>184</sup> Although we know that Rufinus, too, expressed himself in a prologue to the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which is however not included into the *Virtutes Apostolorum*; see Simonetti (1961: 267-68).

significant than might be evident due to the absence of his voice, but Gregory, understood in the same manner, seems to have left no intrinsic traces in the corpus.<sup>185</sup>

### Conclusion

The material analysis confirms what was previously supposed about the collection and provides evidence of the layered composition and association of certain narratives prior to the compilation process of the collection as a whole. Based on the different sources of the scriptural references, as well as different usage of these sources, the collection can be divided into five smaller subgroups within the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.<sup>186</sup>

Peter and Paul both contain an older Old Latin-based core and a younger layer of Vulgate-based additions that fully obliterate the older Greek layers. The Rome-centred selection of episodes in the latter layer and the Roman background for the former section could indicate that Rome was the place of the re-composition of the two narratives, and that they were most likely coupled together in this context just as they were coupled as the Roman martyrs in the cult of the city. The enrichment with the pseudo-Clementines from an Italian source further supports this hypothesis. When the insertion of the second layer took place cannot be concluded from the material analysis alone.

Two other Ancient Acts, Andrew and Thomas, bear traces of Greek Scripture of the Alexandrian type. Possibly, John has the same background. This accords with their Greek prehistory. It is likely that this material entered the Latin-speaking world via Alexandria, where the three, or possibly all five Ancient Acts, were treated already as an “open corpus”.<sup>187</sup>

James the Less, being fully derived from Rufinus’ translation of *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the pseudo-Clementines, cannot be effectively linked with any other narrative, although the presence of the two translations of Rufinus could signify its connection with BHL 6663 and *De exitu Herodis* (BHL 4318). What would speak against such linking is the presence of James the Less in all project manuscripts, whereas BHL 6663 appears only in some of them and BHL 4318 only in three. The continuity of prototext in BHL 4318 and James the Less, in contrast, could support the hypothesis that at least these two narratives are connected.

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<sup>185</sup> Compare with Bonnet’s examination of Gregory’s use of the Scripture; Bonnet (1890: 54-63). Bonnet points out that Gregory approached his hagiographic material in a manner different from free composition, and that extant prototypes for his writing influenced his usage of the scriptural references.

<sup>186</sup> Cfr. the division of the narratives in chapter 2.

<sup>187</sup> See Jakab (2000: 127-39).

James the Great stands out from the collection because of the unusual interest in quotations, their acknowledgment and the accurate transmission it displays. These are drawn from a testimonial list such as was used in the *Actus Vercellenses* and may be associated with Italy on the basis of the quotations from the Roman Psalter. The presence of non-scriptural material in this list and a rendering of Isaiah that betrays Greek, as well as a certain proximity to the *Actus Vercellenses*, could indicate that it predates other compositions in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.<sup>188</sup> Unlike many of the narratives in the collection, James cannot be associated with a known Greek prototype. As a result, I strongly believe that it was composed in Latin and on Italian soil.

A Latin origin may be presupposed likewise for the last group: Bartholomew, Matthew and Simon and Jude,<sup>189</sup> which contain little particular biblical material but display no traits comparable to James the Great. Instead, the presence of scriptural material that is contaminated by the Vulgate shows that this group is younger than James the Great and emerged in the post-Vulgate Latin environment.

The material analysis indicates that Italy was an important hotbed for the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, the locus where the Greek prototypes could have been converted into Latin and further reworked, with prototexts available and scriptural material extant in the forms attested by the collection.<sup>190</sup> Although there is no conclusive evidence for this, it is possible that, just as Peter and Paul, other narratives may have been linked together here, although such a protocorpus was not stabilized.<sup>191</sup> This would explain why a number of variable un-harmonized accounts of the Apostolic careers entered the collection and were conserved by its different manuscript branches once it became more stable. This would also explain why a text redacted by Gregory of Tours was inserted in the corpus (to substitute a different account?, see chapter 5). The final stages of the collection, the compilation proper and the movement towards the “canon” took place only at a later stage, possibly outside Italy and not necessarily in a single moment. Gregory of Tours may be perhaps credited for some stages of this “canonization,” but the material analysis did not show any traces of his direct engagement with the material of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. What we can see in the manuscripts is an attitude that characterizes “canonization”: the material of the corpus is integrated into the communal structures (e.g. for liturgical purposes), and instead of being challenged, the veneration associated with it

<sup>188</sup> Compare with the assumption of de Santos Otero (2003: 477).

<sup>189</sup> And possibly Philip, which, however, contains few references and cannot be examined as thoroughly as other narratives with respect to the material background.

<sup>190</sup> Compare with the language situation in the Roman empire in the fifth century as discussed by Millar; Millar (2007: 16-20).

<sup>191</sup> Compare with what is said about Bartholomew, Matthew and Simon and Jude in chapter 5.

assures its conservation rather than transformation, the narratives may be polished and corrected but not reworked.

## Chapter 5: Process Analysis

### Theoretical background

The previous chapter treats the *Virtutes Apostolorum* as having a static material background that can be partially reconstructed. Such a perspective does not do full justice to the objective state of the matter, but rather conforms to the method and the objectives of the research. This chapter accentuates the fluidity of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, that is its dynamic never-ceasing transformability, that recognizes no singular point of departure (hence no archetype) or final stage (hence no properly conserved state).<sup>192</sup> The only fixity is related to the development - from earlier stages to later, from older forms to younger - and we can describe it in terms of the layers of the texts that are present in the narratives, not merely in particular versions examined in this research, but in each manuscript exemplar (in contrast to the approach in chapter 4). Due to the complex development of the texts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, the assessment of the layers in the Apocryphal Acts in the collection cannot be exhaustive or precise, nor can it rely solely on the examination of the referential material. Yet, the layering can be traced and an assessment of the references can be made, based on the layer in which they were inserted. The transformations they underwent, combined with other perspectives, our present-day knowledge of the history and transmission of the Acts of the Apostles, their material aspect as discussed in chapter 4, and the typological assessment as discussed in chapter 3, can all expand our knowledge of the processes in play in the composition of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.

### *Definitions: Processes, agents, layers*

My understanding of the layering of texts is based on the concept of a **process**, i.e. a dynamic act that affects the text, which is both transformative and non-transformative (conservation, which was treated in chapter 4).<sup>193</sup> Transformations affect the text in all aspects.<sup>194</sup> I wish to pay attention, however, only to those that concern the scriptural material, such as the harmonization of scriptural passages, cropping of half-verses, merging of scriptural passages, translation from a language other than Latin and the usage as linking devices between larger textual units.

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<sup>192</sup> This fluidity is perceived by many as the characteristic trait of the Apocryphal Acts; Young (2004: 177); Bremmer (2001b: 151). Thomas in particular treats this aspect of early Christian narratives; Thomas (1998: 280); Thomas (1997: 186).

<sup>193</sup> Genette (1997: 7).

<sup>194</sup> Their overview and analysis is provided in Willis (1972).

Transformations result from the actions of an **agent**. An agent is usually responsible for multiple transformations, and one type of transformation may be connected with multiple agents. Some transformations are specific to a particular agent and defined by that agent, e.g. the coining of neologisms from a different language characterizes a translator. It is possible that an individual, group or institution assumes multiple agency-roles (e.g. translation and redaction). It is also possible that some processes do not occur in the development of a textual unit, and that therefore not all agents are active in the development of all textual units.<sup>195</sup>

A **layer** is an abstract set of processes that can be ascribed to a single agent. Thus, the coining of neologisms and the assimilation of alien nomenclature carried out by a translator belong to translation, while scribal errors and hypercorrections may be associated with the scribes and manuscript transmission. Once again, the full set of possible layers does not have to apply to a particular text. Furthermore, many of the layers can be multiplied in the textual development, e.g. manuscript transmission or redaction. Some multiple layers can be accounted for as individual, independent layers (e.g. redactions), but in other cases this is not possible, and it is sufficient to consider all instances of e.g. manuscript copying between two other layers as a single layer. There is no given order of layers. Textual units that are part of a larger textual body, e.g. the individual Acts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, are affected both by global processes pertaining to the collection and local processes that influence them *singulatim*. Finally, it is often possible to see a break between the moment when a particular unit of text existed and was transformed independently, and when it was inserted in a larger textual body and began to be influenced by processes at a different pace, e.g. insertion of Rufinus' pseudo-Clementines in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. The opposite may be also true. Units that were part of the collection may become independent texts, e.g. liturgical *passiones* or prayers, while containing traces of the original development of the collection.

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<sup>195</sup> Thomas, too, stresses the “multiple authorship” of the apocryphal Acts, although she does not develop this idea further; Thomas (1998b: 289).

*Types of layers and agents*

Based on the definitions provided, I distinguish the following layers and agents (in a model order):<sup>196</sup>

1. **Primary composition** is enacted by an **author** who engages in the creative process leading to the emergence of a **prototype** (e.g. the Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts of Andrew) or a **prototext** (e.g. Eusebius' Greek *Church History*). Authors are responsible for the primary insertion of referential material in the prototypes/prototexts and may be associated with transformations related to the appropriation of the hypotext by the hypertext - cropping (i.e. the beginning or the end of the original unit is omitted), selection (i.e. other elements are omitted), acknowledgment, deictic shift, placement in a different syntactical position - and with the transformations that are a result of their conscious wish to communicate a particular message: substitution (e.g. of the name Jesus for Andrew), addition of enriching details, interpretative enrichment, merging, and fusing.
2. **Redaction**, enacted by a **redactor**, is the process that creates a new textual object based on older textual object/s, a **redaction**. This new object exists side by side with the old as an independent textual body, although it may acknowledge the relationship with its parent. Typically, redactions are concerned with larger textual units, which might be removed or added (particularly prefaces which explain the objectives of the redaction), re-ordered, multiformed (i.e. entered multiple times from different sources<sup>197</sup>), extended or abbreviated, ideologically appropriated, contaminated and interpolated, merged, fused, and harmonized. Scriptural material is affected in these large-scale processes.<sup>198</sup> Redactions have particular objectives; ideological, polemical, apologetic or authority-establishing,<sup>199</sup> e.g. the supposed orthodox redactions of the Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts, that govern the choices behind the transformations. A good example is Gregory of Tours' *Liber de virtutibus beati Andreae apostoli*.

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<sup>196</sup> A very accomplished treatment of the layering of the early Christian texts, agency and their chronological evaluation, in his case the Gospels, is provided by Klijn (1969). His approach, I think, is relevant for the study of the early Christian extra-canonical texts as well.

<sup>197</sup> Thomas (1999: 50-54).

<sup>198</sup> Which does not necessarily mean it is affected only secondarily. On the contrary, in the Acts of Thomas, the extensive passages of chained references to the New Testament were added by all indications in the Greek redaction; Attridge (1997: 91).

<sup>199</sup> Bovon (1988: 27); Bogaert (1988: 288).

3. **Reworking** by a **reworker** does not create a new textual object but transform the old one, so that it is considered corrected or in other way superior to the former version - a **revision**. The reworker respects the frame of the older text, but rather transforms the surface elements that may include the referential items. Such an emendation is traceable in the Carolingian period. Activities of a reworker may resemble those of the scribes - correction against a “better” exemplar, addition of omitted or supposedly omitted material, harmonization, contamination, ideological appropriation (e.g. of doxological formulas or *nomina sacra*), resolution of corrupted sections or sections believed to be corrupted - as well as of the redactors - abbreviation and extension of larger units, reworking and enriching by interpretation and new details, prologues to the text or textual units (commenting on them rather than stating the objectives of reworking).
4. **Translation** is a product - as well as the layer - associated with the **translator**. Scriptural references may be translated directly via an already translated textual body which is used as a normative source (e.g. the Vulgate). An example of translation might be the hypothetical, supposed Latin versions of the Acts of Andrew or Rufinus’ translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Transformations that can be linked specifically with the translation are: harmonization of language within the whole translated unit; formation of neologisms and new phraseology based on the language translated from; and transformation of alien nomenclature according to the grammatical and phonological patterns in the receptive language.
5. The process of **compilation** results in a **compilation** as a product of a **compiler**. A good example of a compilation are the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Compilation may range from the relatively passive collection of heterogeneous material into a single manuscript to active harmonization of the material collected, and this will be reflected in the state of the scriptural material, which may be left greatly untouched or harmonized and inserted anew by linking passages, prefaces, prologues and epilogues. One of the outcomes of the compilation is the presence of multiforms of the highest levels, e.g. different versions of the same narrative in the collection, which may contain references to the same scriptural locus but may have been transformed differently.
6. **Manuscript transmission** is a rather broad set of processes that can be associated with the **scribes**. Transmission accompanies all other processes described here. Every new

redaction, reworking, translation and compilation must be captured by the scribes to be enacted. What allows for a distinction between other agents and the scribes is the objective - scribes may act as reworkers, translators and compilers, but their primary function is copying. Other agents may engage in copying, but their primary objective is different.<sup>200</sup> A result of scribal agency is **transmitted text**, e.g. a transmitted prototype against the abstract prototype which theoretically arises from composition. This is the state in which the text of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* came down to us and to any of the intermediary agents. Two distinct types of transmission characterize scribal activity: a) unintentional, unconscious transformations, i.e. the scribal errors (homoioteleuton, reduplication, errors in division of the words and an incorrect rendering of the heard word, omission or incorrect solution of an abbreviation and corruption of a single word or a phrase based on failure to understand it); and b) intentional transformations (hypercorrection, resolution of corrupted passages, harmonization and conscious contamination, addition of the omitted/supposedly omitted material and ideological appropriation).

While the scriptural material may undergo transformation in all layers of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, particularly in the transmission, it may be inserted only by the authors, redactors and reworkers, but not in the course of the transmission. This is important to bear in mind, since certain processes only are connected with the insertion of the scriptural references.

#### *History of the transmission of the material of the Virtutes Apostolorum*

The emergence of the Acts that have prototypes in the Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts - Peter, Paul, Andrew, John and Thomas - can be placed in the late second and early third century and in Asia Minor (Peter to John<sup>201</sup>) or Syria<sup>202</sup> (Thomas, the youngest of them and the only one composed in Syriac).<sup>203</sup> These original prototypes were susceptible to heterodoxy and were grasped early on by both orthodox and heterodox groups such as the Manicheans and the Priscillianists.<sup>204</sup> This led to the first wave of redactions, both orthodox (which appropriated the material to orthodox ideologies), and heterodox (which reinforced and extended the heterodox tendencies in the Ancient

<sup>200</sup> The medieval authors were themselves aware of this distinction and used two different terms for the two processes - *dictare* for the composition processes and *scribere* for the copying processes; Carruthers (2008: 242).

<sup>201</sup> Although Junod and Kaestli link John with Alexandria; Junod and Kaestli (1982: 4).

<sup>202</sup> Bremmer in particular advocates the Syriac origin-theory; Bremmer (2001a: 76).

<sup>203</sup> A more thorough discussion of the state of matter in the dating and location of the origin of the Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts may be found in Bremmer (2001b: 152-54).

<sup>204</sup> See Junod and Kaestli (1982: 35-86).

Acts).<sup>205</sup> Some of this redactorial activity (and reworking?) took place in third-century Alexandria, particularly the redactions of Peter, Andrew, and John, which might have been joined together there.<sup>206</sup>

It is unclear when and how the first Latin translations of the five Ancient Acts appeared in the West.<sup>207</sup> The earliest extrinsic evidence is provided by Augustine, who knew Manichean and Priscillian versions of some of the Acts (Peter, Thomas, and John)<sup>208</sup> and by Philaster of Brescia who mentions the Acts of Peter, Paul, Andrew, and John.<sup>209</sup> Interest in the Apostles, and particularly in the two Roman martyrs, Peter and Paul, at the same time seems to have stimulated translation activity on the Apennine peninsula, where the *Actus Vercellenses* came into being by the second half of the fourth century.<sup>210</sup> Other translations of the Ancient Acts were available in Italy in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries.<sup>211</sup> Significantly, Andrew, John, and Thomas, although we possess evidence of the translation of complete texts, survived in Latin only in revised, abbreviated forms that purged the heterodox elements.<sup>212</sup> The fate of these three Ancient Acts is treated in detail by Roig Lanzillotta and Prieur (Andrew)<sup>213</sup>, Junod and Kaestli (John)<sup>214</sup> and Zelzer (Thomas).<sup>215</sup>

Starting from the fifth century, we encounter numerous stories about Peter and Paul in a Roman context; Petrine pseudo-Linus<sup>216</sup> (BHL 6655, dependant on the Greek *Martyrium Petri*<sup>217</sup>) and Pauline pseudo-Linus (BHL 6570, dependent on the Greek *Martyrium Pauli*<sup>218</sup>), the abbreviated Pauline *passio* (BHL 6571), Petro-Pauline pseudo-Marcellus (BHL 6659) and pseudo-Hegesippus - all

<sup>205</sup> Cfr. Klijn's theory of the development of the Gospels. He emphasizes that in the earliest stage the objective of the agents - authors, redactors and reworkers - was to substitute the older version by a better, fuller and more accurate account. The different versions were suppressing, attempting to erase the older versions. Klijn (1969: 67-68).

<sup>206</sup> Czachesz (2007: 121-22); Jakab (2000); Lalleman (2000); Lalleman (1998: 168).

<sup>207</sup> A sharp drop of production and dissemination of Greek texts in the West occurred from the third century, and Latin began to prevail as a language of the Christian communities in the West; Gamble (1995: 127). This is perhaps the period from which we should think of a need to translate the Greek narratives into Latin.

<sup>208</sup> Bremmer (2001b: 155-56); and Bremmer (1998: 18).

<sup>209</sup> Junod and Kaestli (1982: 59-62).

<sup>210</sup> Bremmer asserts that the translation took place between 359 and 385; Bremmer (2001: 155); also Bremmer (1998: 19). The older opinion of Turner is that the translation may be dated as late as the third century; Turner (1931: 119).

<sup>211</sup> Bremmer (2001b: 155-56); John is treated by Junod and Kaestli (1982: 101 and 104).

<sup>212</sup> Cfr. the prologues to Andrew and Thomas: *Nam repperi librum de uirtutibus sancti Andreae apostoli qui propter nimiam uerbositatem a nonnullis apochrifus dicebatur. De quo placuit ut retractis enucleatisque tantum uirtutibus praetermissis his quae fastidium generabant uno tantum paruo uolumine admiranda miracula clauderentur.* (Andrew; V455, 29r, 018- 29v, 002); *Nam legisse me memini quendam libellum in quo iter eius uel miracula quae in India gessit explanabantur, de quo libello quod a quibusdam non recipitur, uerbositate praetermissa, pauca de miraculis libuit memorare, quod et legentibus gratum fieret et aecclesiam roboraret.* (Thomas; B, 52v, 013a-020a)

<sup>213</sup> Roig Lanzillotta (2004); Prieur (1989).

<sup>214</sup> Junod and Kaestli (1982).

<sup>215</sup> Zelzer (1977).

<sup>216</sup> Although Thomas dates pseudo-Linus to the fourth century; Thomas (1998b: 286).

<sup>217</sup> de Santos Otero (2003: 436).

<sup>218</sup> Schneemelcher (2003: 439).

represent redactions and revisions of supposed integral Latin translations.<sup>219</sup> These narratives interacted with each other, spawning hybrids such as those preserved in the Acts of Peter in the manuscripts examined in this thesis (BHL 6663 and BHL 6575).<sup>220</sup>

The emergence of the younger Acts may perhaps have to do with the rising interest in the cult of the martyrs, starting in the fourth century,<sup>221</sup> and the lives of the contemporary ascetics from the fifth century.<sup>222</sup> At least two of these younger Acts seem to have had Greek prototypes: Matthew rather vaguely in the *Martyrium Matthei*; and Simon and Jude, based on the contents, more directly.<sup>223</sup> These two Acts are also connected intrinsically by making reference to each other, although it is not clear whether this is not merely a later, Latin interpolation. Nor is it clear to what extent the translation may have been connected with revision and reworking. Material extant in Greek and other languages concerning three other Apostles (Bartholomew, Philip, and James the Great) is distinctly different from the Latin versions preserved in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, which could indicate the primacy of the Latin versions, and if there was one at all, only a vague relationship with possible Greek prototypes.<sup>224</sup> James the Less is fully derived from two prototexts: Rufinus' pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, and his translation of Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Both works can be dated to the 400s<sup>225</sup> and are used in other narratives present in the collection: excerpts from the *Recognitiones* in BHL 6663, and excerpts from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in BHL 4318. Material analysis did not indicate whether the three narratives should be connected together. Philip is also dependent on the information provided by the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but less directly than the other narratives. As for James the Great, the presence of the Roman Psalter indicates that this piece came into being in Latin in Italy, possibly in Rome itself, while the employed testimonial list could support its antiquity.

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<sup>219</sup> Or translations *cum* redactions. The process of translation often involved redaction; Schneemelcher and Schäferdiek (2003: 77).

<sup>220</sup> This resembles the second stage of development proposed by Klijn. In his opinion, this stage was marked by the prevalence of the four Gospels instead of one. This limited pool of authoritative texts would be further reinforced internally (harmonization) and externally (correction of written word against written word, i.e. manuscripts of the four Gospels against manuscripts of the four Gospels). Klijn (1969: 68).

<sup>221</sup> Marcus (2004: 403-404); Noble (1995: xxii-xxv). Compare with the remark on the Ancient Greek Acts; Schäferdiek (2003: 154) and de Santos Otero (2003: 426-28). Note that, according to Hilhorst, the fourth century marks the division line between the historical martyrdom narratives and epic martyrdom narratives, such as the Apocryphal Acts; Hilhorst (1995: 2-4).

<sup>222</sup> Millar (2007: 31-32).

<sup>223</sup> The latter based on intrinsic language evidence and references to historical reality in the Graeco-Persian East in the early fifth century.

<sup>224</sup> de Santos Otero (2003: 452 and 473).

<sup>225</sup> To add, the Acts of James the Less are mentioned in a letter of Pope Innocent I. from 405, although it is not clear whether these Acts are identical with BHL 4089; Junod and Kaestli (1982: 94-95).

Despite the fact that fifth-century Italy, and more specifically Rome, may have been the locus where many of the processes took place,<sup>226</sup> and where the first attempts at a larger compilation might have likewise started,<sup>227</sup> the earliest evidence of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* surfaces in sixth-century Gaul with Venantius Fortunatus.<sup>228</sup> Given his early career in Northern Italy, Venantius, indeed, may have provided the link between Italy and Gaul.<sup>229</sup> In his *De virginitate* he mentions details about the Apostles that indicate he was familiar with the stories about Bartholomew, Matthew, and Simon and Jude as they exist in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, i.e. he attests that the three Acts, even if not in the same version as in our manuscripts, existed in the late sixth century. Gregory of Tours, his close friend,<sup>230</sup> is believed to be the redactor of both the Acts of Andrew (BHL 430) and the Acts of Thomas<sup>231</sup> (BHL 8140) as they appear in the collection.<sup>232</sup> This all suggests that the collection in its preserved shape appeared in this context.<sup>233</sup>

The collection was probably reworked after this date, as evidenced by the distinct Frankish and Bavarian manuscript branches, but the exact nature of this reworking/redaction is unclear.<sup>234</sup> The transmission and related lesser reworking went on well into the Carolingian period and beyond.

### Analysis

Due to the complexity of the layering in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, which requires more thorough and extensive treatment than is possible within the scope of a single thesis, I discuss in this section only particular aspects of the transformation and development of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*

<sup>226</sup> Compare with Rose (2009: 286-87). We lack evidence for the lesser narratives that would help us to set their composition into a particular context and thus the connection with Italy cannot be but hypothetical.

<sup>227</sup> This corresponds with Klijn's third stage of the development of the Gospels, marked by the establishment of normative redactions (e.g. the Vulgate, Peshitta and Byzantine text-type) which would limit significantly certain types of transformations. Klijn (1969: 68-69).

<sup>228</sup> Leo (1881: 184-85). Also Lipsius (1883: 166). Lipsius believes that the compilation must have been finished prior to 580, since it does not mention the translation of Bartholomew's relics to Lipari; cfr. Rose (2009: 21).

<sup>229</sup> Although his education was classical rather than monastic. Note also his possible connections with Aquileia; George (1992: 20-22).

<sup>230</sup> Roberts (2009: 5).

<sup>231</sup> De Santos Otero, however, opposes this hypothesis; de Santos Otero (2003: 455). See also Zelzer (1977: xxv-xxvi).

<sup>232</sup> Prieur and Schneemelcher (2003: 102-103). Note that according to Roberts, book VIII of Venantius' *Carmina* including *De virginitate* was published in 590-91, i.e. before Gregory completed his *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli*, dated to 593; Roberts (2009: 6). Compare also with notes 197 and 212. This might indicate that the *virtutes* known to Venantius were different from those present in the later collection.

<sup>233</sup> Junod and Kaestli believe that the *Virtutes Apostolorum* were "composed" in the circle of Gregory of Tours; Junod and Kaestli (1982: 4 and 106). Also Kaestli (1981: 52).

<sup>234</sup> It must be added, though, that we have evidence that the collection was known and used in seventh- and eighth-century England. It is unclear how this "Insular branch" should be connected with the development of the collection; see O'Leary (2003).

that can illustrate the relationship of the scriptural references to the layers and agents of the collection from different perspectives. These are:

- An analysis of the Acts of Peter (BHL 6663), focusing on the narratives
- An analysis of harmonization and contamination, focusing on the processes
- An analysis of manuscript Bamberg 139, focusing on the manuscripts

In addition, I treat one aspect that pertains to the collection as a whole: an analysis of items containing references to similar scriptural passages.

*Narrative perspective: the Acts of Peter*

The Acts of Peter (BHL 6663), given their structure and the thorough research that has already been done into it, can be set against what we know about the apocryphal tradition of the Apostle. The most problematic remains the association of BHL 6663 with any stage of material transmission from the earliest composition of the Ancient Greek Apocryphal Acts of Peter, that is now estimated to have taken place in 180-190 in Asia Minor,<sup>235</sup> to the emergence of the Greek *Martyrium Petri* (BHG 1483-84), an excerpted *passio* section of the original Acts that is believed to have been extracted at an early stage<sup>236</sup> and to have served as the prototype for BHL 6663. The Alexandrine route and the translation in the second half of the fourth century, supposed for the Acts of Peter,<sup>237</sup> may be perhaps the case also with the *Martyrium*. At least one of the items, #25, the famous *Quo vadis* episode, was present in the Petrine material at least from the Alexandrian stage (if supplied by Acts of Paul),<sup>238</sup> or possibly even earlier, and was retained practically untransformed into BHL 6663.

On Italian soil, the *Martyrium Petri* became a parent of numerous Latin accounts about Peter, most predominantly of pseudo-Linus (BHL 6655), which can be understood as a translation *cum* redaction stemming from the *Martyrium* and placed into the fifth-century text-hub of Rome.<sup>239</sup> The emergence of the oldest Latin antecedent of BHL 6663 should be sought in this environment. This antecedent, supplying one of the layers of BHL 6663, merges the Petrine narrative of pseudo-Hegesippus<sup>240</sup> (from Peter's arrival to Rome to his death sentence) with pseudo-Linus<sup>241</sup> (*passio*

<sup>235</sup> Bremmer (1998: 14); Schneemelcher (2003: 283).

<sup>236</sup> de Santos Otero (2003: 278).

<sup>237</sup> Bremmer (1998: 18).

<sup>238</sup> Cfr. Schneemelcher (2003: 215 and 230)

<sup>239</sup> de Santos Otero (2003: 436-37).

<sup>240</sup> Ussani (1960: 183-87).

<sup>241</sup> Salonijs (1926).

proper). Not only are the two sections merged very effectively, but they are both reworked extensively and together form a single unit, the Linus-Hegesippus redaction. This redaction is more than just the fusion of two narratives. One of the quotations present in this section of BHL 6663, #26, occurs only in the Greek *Martyrium Petri*,<sup>242</sup> but not in pseudo-Linus or pseudo-Hegesippus. Another, #27, appears only in pseudo-Linus and not in the *Martyrium Petri*. This indicates that the Linus-Hegesippus redaction is dependent on a pool of sources available to its redactor rather than on concrete versions that are merged. The two source-narratives, pseudo-Linus and pseudo-Hegesippus, are related to this old core of BHL 6663, but not in a direct parent-offspring way.<sup>243</sup>

Two other sections of BHL 6663, the excerpts from the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* and from Scripture (#2 to #11), are inserted in a similar manner. This suggests that they are linked together just like the accounts of pseudo-Linus and pseudo-Hegesippus in the earlier redaction. Both types of addition are strictly speaking excerpted and do not bear traces of reworking beyond their opening and closing sentences, which are appropriated for linking the excerpts together. While the excerpts in both cases are taken over selectively and do not follow the narrative order of the prototext in the case of the pseudo-Clementines, the narrative order of pseudo-Linus and pseudo-Hegesippus is respected, and their material is rather abbreviated. The strong focus on Peter's primacy and on his conflict with Simon the Sorcerer, present in the younger excerpts, is not accented in Linus-Hegesippus. The scriptural excerpts are of a different type, size and origin, all stemming from the mixed Vulgate, unlike the items present in the Linus-Hegesippus layer that are Old Latin. All this indicates that we should speak of two different layers and two different agents. Yet, by all indications, this redaction, just as that of the Linus-Hegesippus layer, took place in Italy - the prototext of the pseudo-Clementines can be clearly associated with this region, and the interest in Peter's primacy likewise supports the Italian hypothesis. That is why I would call this second visible redaction the Italian redaction.<sup>244</sup>

Finally, the prologue *Licet plurima* might be connected with this Italian redaction but could also belong to a different layer. Rose considers it to be a prologue to the Acts of Peter (or possibly Peter

<sup>242</sup> Translated in Schneemelcher (2003: 311-17).

<sup>243</sup> Compare with Stoops (1997: 64) and Thomas (1998a: 69). Thomas also speaks about a competition between the various Latin versions of the Acts of Peter; Thomas (1997: 187).

<sup>244</sup> But note that BHL 6663 rarely features in Italian manuscripts. Only three containing BHL 6663 can be found in Italy prior to the thirteenth century - Roma, ArchSGiovLater., A. 81 (Alias D); Vat. lat. 8565 and Biblioteca di Napoli, XV.AA. 13. In all cases these are miscellaneous passionaries and not the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. BHL 6664 occurs in an eleventh-century vat. lat. 1272 that resembles the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Cfr. *Index analytique des Catalogues de manuscrits hagiographiques latins publiés par les Bollandistes*, at: [http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquerysaintsectiondate.cfm?code\\_bhl=6663&requesttimeout=500](http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquerysaintsectiondate.cfm?code_bhl=6663&requesttimeout=500) and [http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquerysaintsectiondate.cfm?code\\_bhl=6664&requesttimeout=500](http://bhlms.fltr.ucl.ac.be/Nquerysaintsectiondate.cfm?code_bhl=6664&requesttimeout=500).

and Paul)<sup>245</sup> while Besson believes that, although connected to BHL 6663 and 6664, it provides a prologue to the whole collection.<sup>246</sup> In both cases, it would be tempting to connect the prologue with the Italian redactor and his objectives.<sup>247</sup> Of the two references occurring in the prologue, #1b and #2b, the former may provide some clue. Compare #1b:

Quod nos pro magno conplectimur, scientes *scriptum*. [Nimis V560 W497] Honorandi [Honorati W] sunt amici tui deus,

with Ps 138, 17:

Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus; nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.

The quotation contains a distinct non-Gallican *honorandi/honorati* that occurs in the Old Latin Psalters.<sup>248</sup> However, the same reading occurs also in Gregory of Tours<sup>249</sup> and in many patristic authors and liturgical sources,<sup>250</sup> which indicates that the usage of the particular wording was not restricted to the users of the particular Psalters. Note also the variability attested by the manuscript transmission, indicating transformability of the psalmic verse, probably in accordance with the particular community usage and knowledge, a fact which further devalues the significance of the quotation for the association of the prologue with a layer other than the manuscript transmission.

The question of the prologue extends also to the issue of the dating of the Italian redaction. The prologues have a tendency to “seal” the material in the older layers. It is unlikely that the prologue itself would be untouched when an older layer “underneath” was being transformed. If the prologue should be connected with the hypothetical Gaulish compilation (and with Gregory of Tours), it may be dated to the sixth century and the Italian redaction “underneath” in all likelihood took place earlier. If we presume it is connected rather with the Italian redaction, it might have arisen at a later date. It must be stressed that the prologue is connected only with BHL 6663 and its derivate BHL 6664. We have, furthermore, no evidence that BHL 6663 circulated in Gaul in the times of Venantius Fortunatus. The oldest manuscripts from the Frankish branch contain pseudo-

<sup>245</sup> Based on a project meeting conversation.

<sup>246</sup> Besson (2000: 189).

<sup>247</sup> Compare with the prologue: *Licet plurima de apostolicis signis sacra euangeliorum uel illa quae ab ipsis actibus nomen accepit narret historia, tamen nobis uisum est ut retractis exemplaribus a uoluminibus istis [i.e. the scriptural books?] de uniuscuiusque uirtutibus quantum inuenire possumus libros singulos conscribamus.... Illud etiam placuit ut his uirtutibus passionum historiae conectantur.* (V455, 1v, 002-008 and 012-013).

<sup>248</sup> Weber (1953: 336); Magistretti (1905b: 154).

<sup>249</sup> In the prologue to the fourth book of the *Liber de uirtutibus sancti Martini*; Krusch (1885: 199).

<sup>250</sup> E.g. Gregory the Great in *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*; Adriaen (1971: 306); and as responsories to the Roman Office; Hesbert (1968: 107) and (1970: 84-85).

Linus (BHL 6655) or pseudo-Marcellus (BHL 6659) and not BHL 6663, which suggests that BHL 6663 substituted an older version of the Acts of Peter, just as Gregory's BHL 430 very likely substituted an earlier version of the Acts of Andrew in the corpus of the Apostolic narratives. The pro-Roman (pro-papal) orientation of BHL 6663 that is missing from pseudo-Linus or pseudo-Marcellus might have been the reason.<sup>251</sup>

This would accord with our knowledge of early eighth-century papal policies. Pope Gregory II established favourable relations with Bavarian dukes from 716, and that opened Bavaria to Roman influences.<sup>252</sup> He also attempted to establish an alliance with Charles Martel, sending him numerous relics of Peter and imploring the protection of the domain of St. Peter.<sup>253</sup> This trend was further reinforced under his successor Gregory III, with Boniface's ecclesiastical activity in Bavaria and Francia.<sup>254</sup> Both popes were key figures in establishing papal political independence in Italy via the rhetoric of the Apostolic primate.<sup>255</sup> They furthermore wished to check the expansiveness of the Langobards by appealing to the powers outside Italy - Bavarians and Franks. As Noble stresses, when doing so, they did not speak of the defense of the papacy, but of St. Peter's Church, St. Peter's people and St. Peter's lands.<sup>256</sup> Noble also points out that veneration of St. Peter was well-established in Francia prior to the papal attempts to befriend the Franks, and that the reverence for the Apostle was used by the popes to promulgate the political ties.<sup>257</sup>

Furthermore, the degree of proximity between the ninth-century  $\Lambda^P$  and the pseudo-Clementines in BHL 6663 would support a close relationship, i.e. a relatively short span of time between them, not three or four centuries.<sup>258</sup> It is unlikely that very particular variant readings, such as homoioteleutons, would occur over such a long period of time only in two manuscripts and would not diffuse more widely.

The definitive answer to the question of when BHL 6663 entered the *Virtutes Apostolorum* cannot be given. It is beyond doubt, however, that at least two redactions of this version took place

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<sup>251</sup> Compare with what Thomas concludes about the interpolations in the *Actus Vercellenses*; Thomas (1997: 201-202). It is widely held today that the Apocryphal Acts have propagandistic function; see Brock (1999: 152); and Prieur and Schneemelcher (2003: 113).

<sup>252</sup> Noble (1984: 26).

<sup>253</sup> Noble (1984: 44-46).

<sup>254</sup> Noble (1984: 61-64).

<sup>255</sup> Noble (1984: 58).

<sup>256</sup> Noble (1984: 44).

<sup>257</sup> Noble (1984: 61).

<sup>258</sup> Of course, such a diffusion may escape us due to the lack of manuscript evidence. We have, however, older Italian manuscripts of the pseudo-Clementines, particularly the manuscript from Vercelli (the seventh century), which merge the Acts of Peter with the *Recognitiones*. This manuscript echoes only a little of BHL 6663. See Rehm (1965: xxxvi-xxxvii).

in Italy between the beginning of the fifth century and the end of the eighth century:<sup>259</sup> the Linus-Hegesippus redaction, which is by all indications Roman; and the Italian redaction. The Acts of Paul, BHL 6575, seem to have followed a comparable line of development, where an older Greek-based core was merged with scriptural excerpts. If we wish to see James the Less (BHL 4089) and *De exitu Herodis* (BHL 4318) as connected with the Acts of Peter, moreover, at least four narratives in the collection passed through the hands of the Italian redactor, i.e. were composed/recomposed with a particular ideological aim. Note that *De exitu Herodis* occurs only in the Bavarian manuscripts and the message of the narrative - the divine punishment for a monarch who resists Divine supremacy - fits into the frame of eighth-century Roman propaganda. Could this indicate that we should think of two compilation waves - one Gaulish (sixth century), that remained less obliterated in the Frankish manuscripts, and one Italian (eighth century), that provided sections of the Bavarian branch?

*Process perspective: Harmonization and Contamination*

There are two reasons why I chose to treat harmonization and contamination rather than other processes taking place within the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. First, harmonization and contamination occur in most of the layers of the collection, yet it has different shapes and functions. Items #62 (Andrew), #73 (Andrew) and #256 (Thomas) all draw on the account of Jesus' exorcism, e.g. in #256:

Et cum uidisset apostolum, collisit eam spiritus in terram et ait: Quid nobis et tibi apostole dei summi? Venisti ante tempus extrudere nos a sedibus nostris.

The formulation harmonizes Mt 8, 29:

Et ecce clamaverunt, dicentes: Quid nobis et tibi, Jesu fili Dei? Venisti huc ante tempus torquere nos?

with Mc 1, 24:

dicens: Quid nobis et tibi, Jesu Nazarene? venisti perdere nos? scio qui sis, Sanctus Dei,

by semantically merging the two utterances and contexts in which they were made. It is not possible to distinguish which of the two passages is the locus of the quotation, nor is it possible to see the two events as separate or, as a result of harmonization, as different from the new contexts

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<sup>259</sup> Contrast with the *Actus Verwellenses*, which underwent a similar double-redaction before the seventh century; Thomas (1997: 189).

established in Andrew and Thomas. This impossibility to distinguish the source from its reproduction has to do with the establishment of a tropological message (see chapter 3). The secondary connotation created is that of the unity of the historical occasion that is shattered by the Gospels. Furthermore, one may note that the two narratives harmonizing the exorcism occur in narratives associated with Gregory of Tours. Could this harmonization also indicate an attempt to intertextually link the two? A comparable tropological pattern is true also for the contamination of Lc 9, 22 (passion of Jesus) with Act 9, 16 (passion of Paul) in #253 (passion of Thomas).

A different case is #191 in Bartholomew:

ita et isti dixit: *Dic lapidibus ut [ut lapides isti B] panes fiant*, et manduca ut non esurias. Cui respondit: Non in pane tantum uiuit homo, sed in omni uerbo dei.

which harmonizes Mt 4, 3-4:

Et accedens tentator dixit ei: Si Filius Dei es, *dic ut lapides isti panes fiant*. Qui respondens dixit: Scriptum est: Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo, quod procedit de ore Dei.

with Lc 4, 3-4:

Dixit autem illi diabolus: Si Filius Dei es, *dic lapidi huic ut panis fiat*. Et respondit ad illum Jesus: Scriptum est: Quia non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei.

Here, the catalyst for harmonization was, rather than the authorial intention alone, the existence of the older patristic tradition, which is reflected in Ambrose, Augustine and other Church Fathers, e.g. in Augustine's *De vera religione*:

dic, inquit temptator, lapidibus istis ut panes fiant.<sup>260</sup>

The reference is as if contaminated by the existence of the particular patristic re-shaping of Scripture.<sup>261</sup> It is impossible to say whether the harmonization would have occurred without the pre-existence of the older tradition, but since the harmonization has otherwise limited functions, there is some ground to suppose the impact of patristic texts, which would be read by the creators as well as the users of the narrative, on the formulation. Note also how B restores the original non-harmonized state of the utterance, removing the echo of the patristic background (because it ceased

<sup>260</sup> Daur (1962: 233).

<sup>261</sup> Cfr. Fischer (1975: 21).

to exercise an influence on the creators/users?). A comparable interaction of references with material pre-existent in the memory pool of the creators and user is present in many contaminated items that echo the Psalms, e.g. #240:

Audite impii scripturam sanctam dicentem: Qui proximo suo *parat* foueam, ipse prior cadit in eam.

Here the reference is made primarily to Ecl 10, 8:

Qui *fodit* foveam incidet in eam, et qui dissipat sepem mordebit eum coluber.

But the verb *parat* reflects rather Ps 7, 16:

Lacum aperuit, et effodit eum; et incidit in foveam quam *fecit*,

where the Greek equivalent of *fecit* can be rendered also as *parat*, which is not the case with the rather clear *fodit* in Ecclesiastes (or in Proverbs, where a similar utterance occurs<sup>262</sup>). This is yet another indication that the environment in which many of the narratives arose was sufficiently suffused with the Psalms to allow for such echoing. Note also that contamination with the non-scriptural material, such as in #99:

Magister itaque meus iuuenem cupientem ad uitam aeternam attingere [contingere B], his uerbis instruxit quibus diceret, ut si uellet perfectus esse, uenderet omnia sua et daret pauperibus, quo facto thesaurum in caelis acquireret et uitam quae finem non habet inueniret.

which reflects the language of the *Vita Antonii*:

Si uis perfectus esse, uade, et uende omnia tua quaecumque habes, et da pauperibus, et ueni, sequere me, et habebis thesaurum in caelis.<sup>263</sup>

In #233 in Simon and Jude:

dominum Ihesum Christum, qui se diceret spiritum sanctum de caelo missurum, iuxta promissum dicentis: Vado ad patrem et mittam uobis spiritum paraclitum,

the harmonization of numerous passages scattered in John (Jo 14, 16; Jo 14, 26; Jo 15, 26; Jo 16, 5; Jo 16, 7) allows the author to summarize the Johannean concept of *paracletos* that has no

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<sup>262</sup> Pr 26, 27.

<sup>263</sup> Bertrand (2006: 161).

comparable compact expression in the Gospel. Here, the harmonization has clearly interpretative, instructive qualities. This is even more the case of the contamination, such as in #260:

Ego magis dicam illis uerba domini mei, quia qui diligit patrem aut matrem aut filios *aut uxorem* plusquam deum, deo dignus non est,

where a clear encratic interpretation of Jesus' teaching arises from contaminating Mt 10, 37:

Qui amat patrem aut matrem plus quam me, non est me dignus: et qui amat filium aut filiam super me, non est me dignus

with Mt 19, 29:

Et omnis qui reliquerit domum, vel fratres, aut sorores, aut patrem, aut matrem, *aut uxorem*, aut filios, aut agros propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet, et vitam æternam possidebit.

Finally, #30, which encompasses the *conversio Pauli*, harmonizes the account of the conversion presented in Act 9, 1-27 with Act 26, 9-18 in order to present the event in its fullness. The two accounts are distinguishable because they are not identical, nor are they layered on each other to allow additional layering. The narration is enclosed, and therefore it may be recounted in its fullest by re-narration of all available sources. This is a process more akin to historiography than to the literary creativity visible in the first example.

The second reason why harmonization and contamination serve well to illustrate processes in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* is that they are present in most of the narratives in the collection. Nevertheless, they clearly stem from different layers and cannot be considered to be of a global nature, e.g. harmonization in the redactorial additions in the Acts of Paul, harmonization in the prototextual material stemming from the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in James the Less and harmonization of many Gospel-narratives on the level of the author. Instead, the penetration of the two types of transformation throughout the collection seems to indicate that many of the agents, independent of each other, were conversant with this transformative strategy and embraced it as the repertoire of their literary activity. This is true not only for harmonization and for contamination, but also for other processes that display a certain degree of uniformity. In this sense, the creators belonged to the same intellectual textual community. Furthermore, the presence of harmonization and contamination that echoes a similar practice among the patristic authors could indicate that the

creators (and users) of the narratives saw themselves as belonging to the same group, not necessarily merely as the epigones of the *Patres* but as participating in the same intellectual endeavour.

*Manuscript perspective: Bamberg 139*

While the enclosing of the composition decreased its degree of transformability,<sup>264</sup> the transformation of the text did not cease altogether<sup>265</sup> and continued, as attested by Bamberg 139, a twelfth-century manuscript containing many variant readings with respect to the older manuscripts.<sup>266</sup> This is true also for the external aspects of the collection, e.g. the narratives were re-ordered, multiplied, provided with prologues and epilogues, material that did not belong to the collection, such as hymns and sermons, was inserted between the Acts, and one narrative might have been substituted for a different one. Thus, the hymn *Praelata mundi culmina* was inserted after the narratives of Peter and Paul in V455 and D, but not in B. In both manuscripts, moreover, Andrew follows after James the Less and Philip, while in B, Andrew is copied directly after Peter and Paul.

These external textual transformations are, however, of a limited significance for the referential material, which was transformed rather through internal transformations. While B itself contains few corrections or additions, its readings attest to a high degree of grammatical, orthographical, and semantic correction having taken place between the ninth and the twelfth centuries in the Bavarian branch. In general, the aim has been restitution of the correct sense of the text (and the result also hypercorrection) on the whole, not of the scriptural references properly. One may only note that the reworkers/scribes did not exclude the scriptural passages from this enterprise, but treated them as an integral part of the text that could be corrected independently, without recourse to Scripture. In other cases, however, B seems to conserve scriptural material that was corrected in a similar manner in V455 and D, e.g. in #171.

Other transformations concerned only the referential material, of which the most prominent is the “vulgatization”, i.e. substitution of non-Vulgate reading or non-standard Vulgate-readings with the readings of a particular type of the Vulgate which must have been available to the transmitters of the text towards B, e.g. #175, #230 or #233. In #230:

Numquid si uellem non michi exhiberet pater meus plusquam duodecim milia [0 B] legiones angelorum?

<sup>264</sup> Compare with Bovon (1988: 34).

<sup>265</sup> Thomas stresses that even the texts viewed as the “canon”, such as the Scripture itself, were transformed after their ossification; Thomas (1998b: 290). This is even more so with the Apocryphal Acts.

<sup>266</sup> The reworking, of course, did not stop in the twelfth century. Many manuscripts contain additions and correction up to early modern times.

B removes the Old Latin *milia* that is not present in any Vulgate version of Mt 26, 53:

An putas, quia non possum rogare patrem meum, et exhibebit mihi modo plusquam duodecim legiones angelorum?

Particularly strong is the correction of the references to the Psalms, so that they would accord with the Gallican Psalter, e.g. #105, #179 or #188, which might be taken as an indicator of the presence of the Gallican Psalter in the environment in which the material of B was transmitted. In some cases, however, rather than just correcting, the reading provided in B indicates deeper re-shifting of referentiality. A good case is #143:

Dominus [meus W] jesus christus erigit allisos [*elisos* B W497] et ipse solvit compeditos

which reflects Ps 145, 7 with the Old Latin *allisos* instead of *elisos* according to the Roman Psalter:

qui custodit veritatem in saeculum facit iudicium iniuriam patientibus dat escam esurientibus Dominus erigit *elisos* Dominus solvit compeditos,

The quotation may be divided into two units, the latter of which features in Ps 145, 7 also in the Gallican Psalter:

Qui custodit veritatem in saeculum; facit iudicium injuriam patientibus; dat escam esurientibus. *Dominus solvit compeditos*

The first unit, however, occurs not in the same verse, but instead in Ps 144, 14:

Allevat Dominus omnes qui corruunt, et erigit omnes *elisos*.

In other words, the original reference to Ps 145, 7 is transformed into a merged reference to Ps 145, 7 and 144, 14 (including *elisos*), possibly since the reworkers/scribes were unaware of the reading in the Roman Psalter that recognizes the two units in a single scriptural verse.

In a similar fashion, #191:

ita et isti dixit: Dic lapidibus ut [ut lapides isti B] panes fiant, et manduca ut non esurias. Cui respondit: Non in pane tantum uiuit homo, sed in omni uerbo dei,

which made a reference to Old Latin Lc 4, 3-4 in the older manuscripts is transformed into the likeness of Mt 4, 3-4:

Et accedens tentator dixit ei: Si Filius Dei es, dic ut lapides isti panes fiant. Qui respondens dixit: Scriptum est: Non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo, quod procedit de ore Dei.

Again, a single reference is changed into a merged one based on unfamiliarity with the source-text of a particular passage. This does not seem to be an intentional process, but rather reflects a certain puzzlement of later scribes and reworkers over old readings that had no parallel in the scriptural manuscripts available in the locations of copying and transmission. As a result, what was perceived as corruption and error was “corrected” against the available manuscripts. A question remains, however, why similar “errors” were not “corrected” at an earlier stage, and particularly why references to the Roman Psalter were retained, even though in the environment of the earliest manuscript witnesses the Gallican Psalter was a norm of usage? Could this corrective modus have to do with the development of the attitudes towards Scripture in the learned environment in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries?

Another tendency that is visible in B is semantical contamination: scriptural material is sometimes affected by the external liturgical usage of certain phrases and addresses. The title *dominus* is appended to Jesus’ name, e.g. in #50 and #197, and the word order is affected by the standard word order of the liturgical formulas, e.g. in #215 and #272. Moreover, #279:

Calciamenta pedibus circumdedi, ne diffinderentur [diffiderent B] uestigia.

bears likely traces of correction of the supposedly corrupted passage (*diffinderentur*) with its literal meaning by the allegorical interpretation (*diffiderent*). The misunderstanding of the original *diffinderentur*, a rather rare word whose pronunciation resembled the pronunciation of *diffiderent(ur)*, might have stimulated the interpretative thinking.

Bamberg 139 displays numerous traits of reworking, rethinking and re-usage of the scriptural material of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* in the three centuries following the earliest preserved manuscript layer of the collection. Other manuscripts contain similar traits that deserve attention, e.g. the “vulgatization” and the appropriation of the Psalms to the Gallican Psalter, which seem to be typical of younger manuscripts (B, W497).

*Global perspective: the same scriptural passages referred to in different narratives*

There are approximately 20 instances of narratives or sections of a narrative that utilize the same hypotextual material. In some cases, there seems to be no link between the similar items: they fall into different typological categories, have different elocutors, derive from different sources, combine material in a different manner, have a different degree of acknowledgment, communicate different messages, and assume different functions within the narratives. See, e.g., #17 in Peter:

lapides panes feci (Simon the Sorcerer speaking)

and #191 in Bartholomew:

ita et isti dixit: Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant, et manduca ut non esurias. Cui respondit: Non in pane tantum uiuit homo, sed in omni uerbo dei,

which both refer to Lc 4, 3-4:

Dixit autem illi diabolus: Si Filius Dei es, dic lapidi huic ut panis fiat. Et respondit ad illum Jesus: Scriptum est: Quia non in solo pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo Dei.

By all indications, the similar references of this type arise independently of each other, although they might be dependent ultimately on the same or a similar pool of knowledge from which those who inserted them - the authors, redactors and reworkers - selected them. The similar passages in general concern scriptural themes that were well-known, such as Jesus' words of forgiveness to his killers (items #41 and #134) or the texts of the Psalms (items #162 and #267), or passages that had an important place in Christian exegetical thought, such as the creation of the human in the likeness of God (items #97 and #243).

In a certain number of cases, however, the similarities between certain passages go beyond the employment of well-known themes. Similarities between scriptural references within a single narrative, in particular, may indicate multiformation. They occur in the Acts of Andrew (#59 and #72 referring to Ps 85, 8; #62 and #73 referring to Mt 8, 29), which, by all indications, underwent a slim-down under the hands of Gregory of Tours, focusing on preservation of the miracle episodes.<sup>267</sup> They also occur in the Acts of Peter (#3 and #24 referring to Mt 16, 19; #9 and #12 referring to Act 8, 18-19). In the former case in two different sections deriving from different sources, in the latter cases the multiform is used as a linking device between two layers of the text,

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<sup>267</sup> Roig Lanzillotta (2004: 80).

possibly because it was already present in the older layer and reworked by the redactor of the younger layer. The evident presence of multiforms is not seen as disturbing the narrative, but sought to reinforce its message. Note the contents of the duplicated episodes - account of Simon the Sorcerer in Acts and the establishment of Peter as the head of the Church by Jesus. In a similar vein, multiformation occurs in the Acts of Paul (#37 and #38 referring to Act 28, 31), where the same passage is iterated as a kind of linking device between the two layers of the narrative.

A different case is that of similar items in different narratives, which in my opinion serve to link these narratives together. This may be the case of #62, #73 and #256, linking the redactions of Andrew and Thomas as discussed above. Three other duplets/triplets are particularly interesting. Items #195 (Bartholomew), #215 (Matthew) and #232 (Simon and Jude) not merely share the same array of scriptural passages referred to (Ex 3, 6; Mt 22, 32 and Mc 12, 26) by the usage of an idiomatic phrase *Deus Abraham, deus Ysaac et deus Iacob*, but what is even more, all three narratives use it as an idiom, in the same wording and in the case of the two narratives in contexts that are extremely similar. In #195, Bartholomew prays:

Deus Abraham, deus Ysaac, et deus Iacob, qui ad redemptionem nostram unigenitum tuum filium deum nostrum et dominum direxisti,

just as Matthew prays in #215:

Deus Abraham, deus Ysaac, et deus Iacob, qui ad restaurationem nostram unigenitum filium tuum de caelo ad terras misisti.

The same address occurs in #232 in the “prologue” of the narrator to Simon and Jude, where the reader is informed about the reason for Simon and Jude’s activity in Persia (the presence of two mages who were expelled from Ethiopia by Matthew):

Erat autem doctrina prava, ita ut deum Abraham, deum Ysaac, et deum Iacob blasphemantes, deum dicerent tenebrarum.

Note that the reference occurs here in proximity of the information that links the narrative with the Acts of Matthew, and that this “prologue” might have been an interpolation of the Latin translator/redactor.

Similarly, a passage from Jr 2, 27:

dicentes ligno: Pater meus es tu: et lapidi: Tu me genuisti

**Biblical material in the Latin Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles**

is used as a basis for references in both Bartholomew (#193) and Matthew (#238) that also have similar wording and contextualization (the causes of idol-worship). In #193, we read:

cessat eos tunc ledere [the Devil] cum dixerint lapidi aut metallo cuicumque: *tu es deus meus*.

In #238, we learn:

Egit autem hic ipse pessimus angelus ut homo a creatore suo recedens ydola coleret, et elementa adoraret et diceret ligno quod ipse dolauerat *tu es deus meus*.

Finally, #199 (Bartholomew) and #216 (Matthew) both refer to Jo 16, 23, and again the language of these two references is transformed in the same manner. Compare #199:

et dixit nobis: *Amen dico uobis quaecumque in nomine meo petieritis a patre meo dabit uobis*

with #216:

memor esto dictorum domini nostri Ihesu Christi filii tui. *Amen dico uobis quia omnia quae in nomine meo petieritis a patre meo dabit uobis*

against a different “similar” reference in Andrew, #70:

Et deposita coram apostolo, rogare cepit dicens: Scimus quia dilectus es, et quaecumque petieris deum tuum praestat tibi

and the source, Jo 16, 23:

Et in illo die me non rogabitis quidquam. Amen, amen dico vobis: si quid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, dabit vobis.

Note also that the wording *quaecumque* as well as *omnia quae* has its basis in the contamination by Mt 21, 22 and that, perhaps, the two variants could occur as a result of corruption in the manuscript transmission (incorrect resolution of two *q.* abbreviations and an abbreviation in between).

The recurrence of similarities between the three younger Acts may be an indicator of their relationship. This would accord with the presupposed connection between the Acts of Matthew and the Acts of Simon and Jude, and with the general state of material preserved in these Acts. It would be worthwhile to complement this insight with additional research of other aspects of these three

narratives to test whether the three “lesser” narratives can be connected together. If this is indeed the case, all three were associated in this manner, as it seems, only in the Latin redaction, without the external stimulus from the Greek prototypes or the tradition. This could in turn signify that the cause of the association was primary literary and textual, i.e. a wish to compile, not necessarily only these three but more Apostles. This early compilation may be placed in the period from the early fifth century, when the Greek prototype of Simon and Jude emerged, to the late sixth century, when the collection was extant.

### Conclusion

The layered nature of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* affects the referential material in the collection, that may be used both as an indicator of the presence of particular layers and as material for their analysis. The referential material alone is not sufficient for this type of analysis, even in a collection as infused with Scripture as the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. This has to do particularly with the very complex interdependency of the layers, their prototypes and prototexts within the particular textual units, and also between the different units in the collection. While the analysis allowed me to assess a particular item as belonging to the redactional layer of a particular narrative, I was not capable of further assessing to which redaction it should be assigned, especially if the narrative underwent numerous redactions that are not sufficiently distinguishable, e.g. Andrew or Thomas. In the case, however, where the development of the narrative is mapped by research in other fields, as was the case with BHL 6663, it is possible to use the scriptural references as evidence of layers that have been presumed, but for which other fields did not bring evidence. What needs to be stressed is, thus, that the process analysis of the scriptural material in medieval texts can provide some valuable insights into the text, but should be combined with other types of research and should always be assessed critically against them.

Some hypotheses that this analysis generates include:

- a) BHL 6663 is not directly descendent from the pseudo-Linus BHL 6655, but is related to it via recourse to the same pool of apocryphal material, the Greek translations and possibly also the independent traditions available from the fifth century in Italy.
- b) The presence of a very similar chain of scriptural excerpts in BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 seems to indicate that the two narratives were linked together by the agent of the Italian redaction.

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- c) There is some indication that this redaction took place only in the eighth century or later and was connected with papal political propaganda in the trans-Alpine region.
- d) BHL 4318 seems to fit in the same redaction.
- e) Some evidence exists that three of the “lesser” acts, Bartholomew, Matthew and Simon and Jude, were associated with each other, even if they are not directly a result of redaction by the same agent.

The process analysis in addition raises some questions that still need to be researched:

- a) How should presence of material stemming from the same non-scriptural prototexts in Peter, James the Less, Philip, and BHL 4318 be evaluated?
- b) Is there any relationship between the linking of Peter and Paul and the linking of Bartholomew, Matthew and Simon and Jude?
- c) What was the role of Gregory of Tours in the compilation and redaction of particular narratives?
- d) Should the prologue *Licet plurima* be read as pertaining to the former or to the latter?

The process analysis reinforces assumptions that were made in the typological and material analyses. The *Virtutes Apostolorum* developed in an environment that was well-versed in the usage of the Psalms, to such an extent that the Psalms, whether consciously or subconsciously, contaminated many scriptural references in the collection. The same may be said about liturgy and patristic literature. The behaviour of the scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be described in terms of the tension between “writing” and “canon”, between the opening towards new language, meanings and forms for the sake of discourse, and the closing for the sake of containment and preservation of the Sacred, between the transformation and the conservation of material. This material may be stretched as well as contracted. When scriptural references are contaminated with recitation of the Psalms and liturgy, they move away from their canonical language, meaning, and form towards a new interpretation and understanding of Scripture. In contrast, when the reworkers “purify” scriptural references by dissociation from the Old Latin readings and substitution with the Vulgate, they work towards the authoritative concept of canonical Scripture. At least on the level of the reference to Scripture, this tension between stretching and contraction, movement towards “writing” or towards “canon,” seems to be the source of the dynamic energy that fuels the unceasing layering of the text/s, its/their development to newer forms that challenge (i.e. transform) or accept (i.e. conserve). Only once the whole textual body moves away from the centre and ceases to be the

“scripture,” that is: “the text that matters,” the source dries up and the collection becomes a conserved evidence of past concerns as we perceive it today. This ultimate layer is, however, only foreshadowed by the manuscripts, which bear traces of unceasing transformation throughout the whole Middle Ages. The agents behind the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, although beyond our historical grasp, are characterized by sharing this “scriptural” perspective on the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. These were the people and communities for whom this textual body mattered and therefore was worthy of transforming and conserving.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

### The nature and the structure of the collection

The analysis of the scriptural references in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* revealed that the compilation of the collection cannot be seen as a one-time process that was carried out by a single agent or in a single period, but rather that we should speak of an organic growth that took place over centuries at different places, and very likely with different functions. It is not possible to track exhaustively all stages of this growth; nevertheless, it is possible to grasp some of the key moments that left vestiges in the referential material. Furthermore, it became obvious that the development was not merely diachronic, but also structural (synchronic), as the different sub-units within the collection became clustered throughout the historical development of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and affected each other.

The earliest compilative tendencies that are visible in the Greek material were not necessarily fully intentional, but may rather be linked with two stimulative factors: a) a large Christian metropolis (Alexandria) that provided the material and intellectual background for such a compilation; and b) ideological concern that underlined the process (orthodox revision of pre-orthodox material, see chapter 5). These two factors also characterize the Italian environment in which parts of the Latin *materia* of the collection were shaped towards the *Virtutes Apostolorum* from the fourth century. Rome very probably provided the necessary background for these processes. It is also very likely that at least some of these pre-compilative processes had to do with the promotion of papal primacy and the strengthening of papal political authority. Since, however, the material developed in Italy for a number of centuries, it is not possible to pronounce a simplistic judgment about the place and causes of the compilative processes. Some sections, e.g. the Acts of Peter and Paul, speak for at least two distinct sets of processes that took place in Italy. Other, e.g. the Acts of Bartholomew, Matthew, and Simon and Jude, cannot be assessed satisfactorily at all.

It is unclear how the Bavarian tradition of the collection should be connected with the transformations attested for and located in sixth-century Gaul. It may be speculated that the first compilation, which may be connected with Gregory of Tours, indeed took place in this setting and provided the core of the Frankish branch, but was later further transformed into the Bavarian branch. This second compilation might have taken place in Italy in the early eighth century. This could explain the differences between the two branches, such as the presence of *De exitu Herodis* only

in the Bavarian manuscripts, the presence of BHL 6663 in the oldest Bavarian manuscripts, where the oldest Frankish manuscripts contain other versions of the Acts of Peter, the prologue *Licet plurima*, and the generally higher (revised?) language level in the Bavarian tradition. However, this hypothesis requires further verification.

One can see roughly four or five subgroups in the collection that may perhaps, but not necessarily, be taken as evidence for the unattested stages of the development of the material. The Acts of Peter and Paul were linked by the layer of scriptural excerpts. It is possible that some of the other narratives - James the Less and *De exitu Herodis* - should be assigned to the same agent. The referential material cannot answer the question of what might have been the objectives behind this clustering, but there are some indicators of alignment with the policies that characterized the formation of the papal state from the second half of the seventh century. Another subgroup may be connected with the three remaining Ancient Acts - Thomas, Andrew, and John -, which share the same saturation with referential material, a Greek background, the presence of Greek-based scriptural references (in John only hypothetically), and the existence in full Latin translation prior to the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, but survival only as abbreviated redactions in the collection. The prologues to Andrew and Thomas indicate that the original heterodox content of the older versions was among the major reasons for the redaction and substitution. The four lesser Acts - Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew and Simon with Jude - are younger than the Ancient Acts and modeled on them.<sup>268</sup> They lack a strong Greek background, but are instead Latin or strongly Latinized and linked together through the use of the same references and possibly other elements that were not reflected in the analyses of the scriptural material, in particular Matthew, and Simon and Jude. It is possible that at least some of them were composed to “fill the gap” in the tradition of the college of the Apostles. James the Great stands alone in the collection due to its degree of penetration by the referential material, material sources, layers of development and alignment to apocryphal material outside the collection (the *Actus Vercellenses*). It contains traces of archaic material but no direct Greek elements and is presumably an original Latin, Italian creation.

The majority of the narratives in the collection contain elements that create an impression of Apostolic unity, such as the usage of the words of different Apostles or the appearance of a second Apostle alongside the Apostle-hero in some of the narratives. These elements are independent of the compilative process and were likely present in the narratives from the start or inserted at a stage

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<sup>268</sup> It is possible to postulate a relationship between Andrew and Bartholomew, which is, however, of a different kind than the relationships treated here. The same is true for James the Great and Peter.

that predated compilation. They fall into the same category as the ancient traditions about the *divisio apostolorum* and the Apostolic Creed. Yet, with the rise of the cults of saintly figures from the fourth century, these elements were re-interpreted in the new light provided by the texts and practices attached to the new martyrs and ascetic saints. Not only could the Apostles have been seen as martyrs and ascetics - another feature that enhanced the impression of unity - but the older elements may have provided new stimulation for the compilation. The wish to represent the Apostles in a string of texts was not necessarily fueled by extrinsic concerns alone, but was latently, intrinsically present in the narratives.

#### Manner of the usage of scriptural books in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and their presentation

The *Virtutes Apostolorum* disclose two different manners of the usage of Scripture. The majority of scriptural material was inserted in the narratives from memory in two basic ways, which, however, could produce a whole scale of different types of scriptural references. They were referring to Scripture *verbatim*, with the emphasis on the accuracy and thus on the conservation of Scripture, and *summatim*, with the emphasis on the transformability and thus on the interpretation of Scripture. Both have deeply instructive value: the former may be connected with memorized learning and providing testimonies, the latter with interpretation and with exegesis.

The material analysis revealed that, while the collection wishes to create the impression that it taps Scripture in its wholeness, only some scriptural books were used as the source books of the narratives. If we follow the standard medieval division of Scripture, only two Old Testament volumes are employed - *Psalmi* and *Salomonis*. Other references to the Old Testament are derived from the liturgy or from non-scriptural sources such as the testimonial lists. Others seem to come from a pool of knowledge of biblical history without direct connection to Scripture. The New Testament is represented by the Gospels, although Mark is almost absent, and to a lesser extent by selected Epistles and by the canonical Acts. The manner of usage of Scripture - the accurate and repetitive quotation from the Psalms, the innovative and transformed references to the Gospels - suggests that the environment where the narratives were shaped was most probably monastic. This impression is further strengthened by the contrast between the usage of Scripture by the intellectuals of the late Patristic period and the selection present in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. We should not speak of less-refined creators of the collection, and definitely not of popular tendencies, but of creators who had a different attitude towards Scripture than the Fathers, attitudes which were strongly moulded by devotional practice and instruction required for religious performance.

The analysis of the functions of the references in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* confirms what was formulated about the early medieval apocryphal texts in the last decades: that besides being instructional and entertaining they are also identity-forming. This trait can again be connected with monastic groups and with the Christian community in general. The scriptural references cover all aspects of identity - individual (tropological function), communal (in-group affirmative function) and Christian identity in world history (anagogical function). As for instruction and entertainment, while both are reflected by the scriptural references, the instructive function is clearly dominant. In this respect, there exists a certain dichotomy between Scripture and the Ancient novel as two types of sources employed by the Apocryphal Acts - the former in an authoritative way rather than as a source of entertainment, the latter on the contrary, mainly as entertainment.

The Italian redaction, based on a written text, not necessarily only of Scripture but also of non-scriptural texts, displays a different manner of the usage of Scripture. The prevalence of the written text is self-revealing, just as is the extensive inclusion of prototexts. The nature of the insertion has little to do with performance and devotional use of Scripture, but seems to indicate a very conscious transformation motivated by unknown external factors that go beyond instruction, entertainment and identity-shaping. Is it possible to go so far as to postulate a commission behind the redaction?<sup>269</sup>

#### Canonicity and authority of Scripture

The treatment of scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* displays signs of both authoritative and discursive usage that accords with Kort's theory of "scripture". In all areas of referentiality we encountered tendencies towards conservation, i.e. preservation of stability of the Sacred, the canon, as well as towards transformation, i.e. the challenge and reworking that is characteristic of participation texts. The transformation of the narratives is a result of the tension between the two.

The collection may be contrasted with Scripture, which underwent comparable closing and opening, conservation and transformation, authorization and challenge to it. Significantly, the conservative tendency prevailed, and while it did not counter transformability completely, it strictly delineated the transformations that were still acceptable with books that still counted as Scripture.

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<sup>269</sup> Despite original distrust towards the movement, starting from the fifth century the papacy embraced monasticism and, particularly in Rome, the monastic communities would be tied with papal authority and policies. See Gordini (1965: 255).

By the time the *Virtutes Apostolorum* emerged as a compilation, Scripture was perceivable primarily in this authoritative manner, and this affected how it interacted with the collection. The tension between conservation and transformation that could not be fully realized in Scripture could be relocated in the Apocryphal Acts, and the transformations could have been carried out there.

The *Virtutes Apostolorum* ultimately followed the same example, approaching the “canonical” pole and gaining an authority of their own. This is the state that is evidenced by the manuscripts, in which the transformations that continued in the manuscript transmission are not of the same sort as those that were formative in the earlier stages of the development of the collection. The manuscripts, moreover, contain indicators of authoritative usage, e.g. in the liturgy. In this new capacity, the *Virtutes* themselves functioned as a “scripture” and supplied new, living texts - homilies, prayers, and chants.

The question of when, how, and why the *Virtutes Apostolorum* became authoritative cannot be answered with certainty. As long as the hypothesis of the eighth-century rewriting is accepted, it can be presumed that the conservation, at least of the Bavarian branch, took place some time between the early eighth and early ninth century. It may be furthermore pointed out that the “canonization” should be associated with regions outside the area of composition, and that the transfer to the new environment and to the new users might be one of the causes of the process.<sup>270</sup> This aspect requires further examination of the Frankish and Italian manuscripts.

#### Material background of the collection

The distinction between the older layers of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and the younger Italian redaction is confirmed by the material analysis. While the older layers conform to the Old Latin Western type of Scripture (with the few exceptions of references translated from a Greek source of an Alexandrian type), the excerpts attached to the Acts of Peter and Paul come from a mixed Italian Vulgate. This unknown hypotext is moreover distantly related to the scriptural versions preserved in Codex Fuldensis and Codex Sangermanensis primus, which were important for the shaping of the Carolingian Bibles. This may explain why there is some degree of similarity with the Carolingian versions of the Vulgate. Another possibility is, that a higher degree of contamination in the Carolingian period should be supposed than is immediately visible.

The scriptural material from the Italian Vulgate does not directly indicate that its insertion took place in Italy, although there is indirect evidence for that, in particular the absence of such

<sup>270</sup> Cfr. Klijn’s distinction between the Judeo-Christian and Gentile users of the Gospels; Klijn (1969: 68).

Vulgates in pre-Carolingian Gaul and other regions; pro-Roman selection of material and presentation of the Apostles Peter and Paul; and a clearly Italian source of one of the prototexts - Rufinian *Recognitiones* - that may be connected with the same agent. The period of this Italian redaction cannot be readily assessed, but all the evidence makes me believe it post-dates the activity of Gregory of Tours at the end of the sixth century. Instead, I would connect it with the papal ambitions of the early eighth century.

#### Methodological concern

The threefold analysis of the scriptural material in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* proved to be effective in examining the collection. In some cases, it was useful in itself (typological analysis), while in other cases, it had to be combined with other approaches (process analysis). In all cases, it was most effective when used cautiously, balanced with other approaches and not over-rated.

Two major problems are connected with the general application of the methodology devised for this thesis. First, the analyses are functional only in texts that are sufficiently reference-rich to give them a basis. This does not mean that the theoretical assumptions behind the methods are invalid for other texts, but the lack of material will not allow for carrying out the analysis. Secondly, the more complex the texts are and the more inter-breeding they underwent, the more likely they are to produce complex results that resist assessment. This is, to some extent, the case with the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.

#### Further venues for the research

While the analysis of the scriptural material treated some questions concerning the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, there are many more to ask. The scope of the thesis does not allow me to pursue them all.

First and foremost, I am aware of the fact that the material treated by my research represents only a small segment of the project material, and even a smaller section of the Latin Apocryphal Acts. I believe that this thesis shows that the methods I developed may be applied to this wider field. Such a broadening of horizons would be, indeed, desirable for a fuller and more critical approach to the issue of the scriptural intertextuality in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, and might advance certain hypotheses and assumptions proposed in this thesis. This thesis could be complemented by the examination of Latin apocryphal material that belongs to other branches of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* tradition, particularly of the Italian material (see footnote 234).

In addition, although I speak of the monastic environment as a locus of development of the collection, I do not pay much attention to the presence of liturgical and devotional material in the narratives that may be analyzed along the same lines as the scriptural references and prototexts. It would be also worthwhile to confront the Apocryphal Acts more thoroughly with monastic texts, such as *Regula Magistri*, in order to examine possible interaction. The presence of a quotation dependent on the Acts of John in the Rule suggests that more connections might exist between early Latin monastic literature and the apocryphal texts, and this would in turn inform us about the life of the material contained in the collection in the centuries that remain unmapped by manuscript evidence.

Furthermore, this thesis was concerned with Latin material alone. Inclusion of the Greek apocryphal texts could enhance its perspectives and conclusions.

In addition, this thesis considers a set of narratives that does not contain different versions of the same narrative. Examination of different versions, e.g. of other Petrine narratives, would be valuable.

I am also aware that the thesis is oriented towards the early stages of the development of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* and not towards its existence in the manuscript state, even though, as said in the Introduction, both phases of development are equally important for the history of a medieval text.

Further, Scripture comes into contact with the *Virtutes Apostolorum* not only via intertextuality, but also via paratextuality and hypertextuality. These forms of interactions may be examined in the same depth and complement this research to provide a more plastic perspective on the interplay between Scripture and the Apocryphal Acts.

Last but not least, this thesis is primarily philological and text-oriented. More could be added to the history of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* that concerns the political, social and cultural history of the early Middle Ages. To an extent I attempted to sketch some possible ways for contextualizing the text in the Conclusion. Yet, much more remains to be done.

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