

**Textual variety and the linguistic  
context of the *Virtutes Apostolorum***

**Volume I**

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**Textual variety and the linguistic context of the *Virtutes Apostolorum***

Tekstvariatie en de talige context van de *Virtutes Apostolorum*  
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Utrecht op  
gezag van de rector magnificus, prof.dr. G.J. van der Zwaan, ingevolge  
het besluit van het college voor promoties in het openbaar te  
verdedigen op dinsdag 3 september 2013 des ochtends te 10.30 uur

door

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geboren op 5 juli 1984  
te Oostburg

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## Acknowledgements

I started this dissertation in the summer of 2008, the summer of the Beijing Olympics. Four years later, in the summer of 2012, during the London Olympics, I was finishing the pre-final version of this thesis. I mention this, because I think that finishing a dissertation is, to some extent, comparable to a preparation for the Olympic games: both entail an awful amount of hard work, discipline, and training. Most important, however, is that both a PhD-student and an athlete cannot fulfil their task without the support of a large group of people. This piece of writing is my way of saying ‘thank you’ to a number of people for their support over the last couple of years.

Thank you, Els Rose and Peter Schrijver, for being my co-promotor and promotor. In the last couple of years I highly enjoyed our monthly conversations, in which you guided me with enthusiasm and trust to the end of this thesis. Both of you kept me motivated in your own way, especially when I lost my own confidence. Thank you, Els, for hiring me as a PhD-student in 2008. I am very thankful for giving me the opportunity to develop myself in so many ways.

Furthermore, I want to thank the following institutions. First of all, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). It is not so easy these days to find financial support for research projects about the Middle Ages. I am very grateful that you were willing to financially support the VIDI-project ‘The dynamics of apocryphal traditions in medieval religious culture’, in which the present study is embedded. Second, the Institute for History and Culture (OGC) at Utrecht University, for offering a hospitable working environment in the heart of medieval Utrecht. Special thanks to Simone Veld and José van Aelst, for the many fruitful conversations, especially in the spring of 2012. Finally, I am grateful to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, and Bibliothèque Universitaire de Médecine in Montpellier for allowing me to consult the manuscripts *in situ*. It was a wonderful experience to see the majority of the manuscripts that I have been working with.

I would also like to thank Wim Verbaal and Marieke Van Acker. I had the opportunity to spend a very nice time at Ghent University under your guidance. I appreciate

the fact that you spent much time discussing topics on language change, medieval culture, and Latin literature with me. I would love to come back one day to Ghent in order to continue our interesting discussions with a glass of Belgian beer.

I am grateful to Rutger Helmers, Bart Stol, David van der Linden, Manuel Mertens, Michael O'Flaithearta and Inge-Marlies Sanders for being my roommates. During the last couple of years I had many conversations with you inside and outside the university, which stimulated me more than you might realize to continue my research. I am very grateful for your support and I am sure that we will continue to meet each other.

I should not forget to express my gratitude to David van der Linden, Rianne Schippers, Marie-Elise van der Ziel, Hanneke Takken, Lizet van Ewijk, and especially Gerhard Bos, my fellow-members of the intervision group. You guys do not know how grateful I am to have met you. I think we did quite a good job in managing all the problems we faced inside and outside university.

Furthermore, I thank Evina Steinova, Giorgia Vocino, Dorine van Espelo, Robert Flierman, Annika Rulkens and Sven Meeder for being my fellow EMERALD-members. I thank you heartily for the comments I received from you during our not-so-frequent but very interesting meetings.

I also thank all the members of the Medieval Studies department at Utrecht University, especially Mayke de Jong. Thank you, too, Karianne Lemmen, Ranke de Vries, Nike Stam, Tom de Schepper, Alistair Reed, Jacco van Sterkenburg, Laura Roling and Paul van Uum for being available for a cup of coffee or tea when I wanted to take a break. Thanks to David Stienaers, Suzanne Adema and Josine Schrickx, for the wonderful days spent in Uppsala in June 2011.

I am grateful to Linda Bogaards, Floor Appelman, Hanneke Bruijn and Sanne Boomhouwer, for being my friends. I cherish our friendship. Thank you, members of my swim team, especially Rebecca Gentek, for cheering me up three times a week. Thank you, Harry, Mieke, Loes, Kees, Iris, Mark and Leon, for your sincere interest and support. It has always been a joy to meet you in Bussum (or Amsterdam).

Thank you, Evelien, Marjolein, Stefan, for your love and support. Grazie mille, Wilma and René, for always being there for me, even though you do not live nearby.

A final note to you, Niels, for being my *snotor guma*. I cannot express how happy I am to have you by my side.

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## List of abbreviations

<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis</i> (Brussels 1898-1901)
<i>CCLP</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Lingua Patrum</i> (Turnhout 1989-)
<i>CCSA</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum</i> (Turnhout 1983-)
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> (Turnhout 1953-)
<i>LSDM</i>	Stotz, P., <i>Handbuch zur Lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters</i> . 5 vols. (Munich 1996-2004)
<i>LVLT</i>	<i>Latin Vulgaire – Latin Tardif</i>
<i>USML</i>	<i>Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy</i> (Turnhout 1999-)



## CHAPTER 1                      General Introduction

### *1.1 The 'New Philology' approach and the aim of this study*

The study of textual variation is a *sine qua non* in research into the transmission of handwritten texts in the Middle Ages. For centuries, the transmission of a text was taken care of by scribes who, for one reason or another, wanted to make a new version of an already existing text. Each time, a number of changes were made by the scribe, giving rise to textual variants, an umbrella term that refers to variation between manuscripts in terms of both language and content. As a result, if two extant text versions of the same text are compared, they always turn out to be different. No two text versions are alike and, in this respect, each manuscript is its own 'authentic witness', to use a book title from the historians Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars dealing with manuscripts, philologists and historians alike, have for a long time attempted to reconstruct texts as they were initially written by their 'authors'. In other words, for many years scholars tried to find a way of evaluating textual variants in light of the 'original' text (also called 'Urtext' or 'archetype'). Textual variants were mainly perceived as the results of 'scribal errors', and it was the task of the philologist to distinguish the 'good' readings from the 'bad' in an attempt to 'establish what the author originally wrote'.<sup>2</sup>

The stemmatic method has been an influential approach in order to arrive at such a reconstructed text.<sup>3</sup> Its foundation is often ascribed to the German philologist Karl Lachmann (1793-1851), although similar approaches can be found in the work of other scholars from the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> This approach consists of two distinct phases: firstly, there is the *recensio* phase, the analysis of the manuscript evidence

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<sup>1</sup> M. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, *Authentic witnesses: approaches to medieval texts and manuscripts* (Notre Dame 1991). The same line of thought is expressed by Bischoff: 'Jede Handschrift ist etwas Besonderes; es sollte ein Ziel sein, das Besondere zu erkennen, sie als ein geschichtliches Denkmal zu betrachten und, wenn ihre Schrift und Ausstattung von höherem Rang sind, für diese Schönheit aufgeschlossen zu sein'. B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des Römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (2<sup>nd</sup> vol., Berlin 1986), p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> M. West, *Textual criticism and editorial technique* (Stuttgart 1973), p. 47-48. See also L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and scholars. A guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin literature*. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford 1991), p. 207-241; M.J. Driscoll, 'The words on the page. Thoughts on philology, Old and New', in: J. Quinn and E. Lethbridge (eds.), *Creating the medieval saga: Versions, variability and editorial interpretations of Old Norse saga literature* (Odense 2010), p. 87-104, at 88.

<sup>3</sup> On the stemmatic method, see: P. Maas, *Textkritik* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., Leipzig 1960); J. Bédier, 'La tradition manuscrite du 'Lai de l'Ombre': réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes', in: *Romania* 54 (1928), p. 161-196, 321-356.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S. Timpanaro, *Die Entstehung der Lachmannschen Methode* (Hamburg 1971); A. Grafton, G. Most and S. Settis (eds.), *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge/London 2010), p. 506.

in order to identify the most authoritative witnesses. This is followed by the *emendatio* phase, in which the manuscripts' testimony is examined to arrive at a 'single master edition of the entire text, (...) that is the closest possible approximation of the author's original words'.<sup>5</sup>

Although the stemmatic method of reconstructing the 'original' text is still of influence, it is not without criticism. A famous opponent to this system was Joseph Bédier, who questioned the scientific value of the stemmatic method and instead proposed a methodology in which the scholar attempts to find the *codex optimus*, the best manuscript available, and edit this single manuscript only.<sup>6</sup> Here, we can see the beginning of a movement away from a reconstruction of the original text towards a focus on the text as it can be found in the manuscript itself.<sup>7</sup>

Over the last couple of decades, the view that textual variation is the result of 'scribal errors' has changed to a more positive attitude and textual variation is now considered to be an important element of medieval textual culture. One of the first scholars to examine textual variety from this point of view was Paul Zumthor, who introduced the concept of 'mouvance' to express 'the essential mobility of the medieval text' as a key characteristic of medieval textual culture.<sup>8</sup> Scholars of the time became interested in the manuscripts themselves and wanted to know how these manuscripts were used in various socio-cultural contexts, questioning, in the words of Don McKenzie, 'the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission and consumption'.<sup>9</sup> Another important contribution to the field was the publication of the essay 'Éloge de la variante' in 1989 by Bernard Cerquiglini, who challenged scholars to study textual variants as cultural phenomena, stating that 'l'écriture médiévale ne produit pas des variantes, elle est variance'.<sup>10</sup>

This change of perspective on textual variation came hand in hand with different research objectives. Instead of attempting to reconstruct the 'original' text, scholars studied

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<sup>5</sup> Grafton, Most and Settis (eds.), *The Classical Tradition*, p. 506.

<sup>6</sup> Driscoll, 'The words on the page', p. 89-90. For a comparison between the 'Lachmannian' method and the method advocated by Bédier, see: P. Dembowski, 'The 'French' tradition of textual philology and its relevance to the editing of medieval texts', in: *Modern Philology* 90 (1993), p. 512-532.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. S. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a manuscript culture', in: *Speculum* 1 (1990), p. 1-10, at 6: 'The new approach [sc. Bédier's approach] had the value of emphasizing an authentic medieval manuscript as opposed to a hybrid reconstruction, since Bédier believed in finding and using one best manuscript as the basis on which to edit a work'.

<sup>8</sup> He defines it as 'le caractère de l'oeuvre qui, comme telle, avant l'âge du livre, ressort d'une quasi-abstraction, les textes concrets qui la réalisent présentant, par le jeu des variantes et remaniements, comme une incessante vibration et une instabilité fondamentale'; P. Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris 1972), p. 507.

<sup>9</sup> D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the sociology of texts* (London 1986), p. 5-7.

<sup>10</sup> Translation: 'medieval written culture does not produce variants; it is variance'. B. Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante. Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris 1989), p. 111.

the various manifestations of one text in the extant manuscripts. In other words, the text versions of various manuscripts became in themselves important objects of study. From this perspective, the textual variants introduced by scribes were judged much more positively. Instead of considering textual variants to be the result of ‘scribal errors’, philologists regarded scribes as ‘authors’, who intervened in the text whenever they felt the need to do so. This movement in philological research has been referred to as the ‘New Philology’ since the famous special issue of the journal *Speculum* in 1990.<sup>11</sup> In his contribution to this issue, Nichols claims that the ‘‘new’ philology of the last decade or more reminds us that, as medievalists, we need to embrace the consequences of that diversity, not simply to live with it, but to situate it squarely within our methodology’.<sup>12</sup> The approach advocated by ‘New Philologists’ based on the detailed examination of textual variation can be found in studies from a wide range of perspectives and represents an important contribution to the research areas of both linguistics<sup>13</sup> and history.<sup>14</sup>

In this study, I follow the ‘New Philology’ approach in order to analyze how scribes and correctors intervened in the course of the manuscript transmission. My research will focus on two texts: the first deals with the life, mission, and martyrdom of the apostle Bartholomew (henceforth the *Virtutes Bartholomei*)<sup>15</sup> and the second focuses on the life, mission and death of the apostle Philip (henceforth the *Virtutes Philippi*).<sup>16</sup> These texts are found in a series of narrative stories about the apostles that will be referred to here as the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series, in accordance with the recent publications on this series by Els Rose.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The following articles are found in this issue: S. G. Nichols, ‘Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture’, in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 1-10; S. Wenzel, ‘Reflections on (New) Philology’, in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 11-18; S. Fleischman, ‘Philology, linguistics, and the discourse of the medieval text’, in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 19-37; R. Howard Bloch, ‘New Philology and Old French’, in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 38-58; G. M. Spiegel, ‘History, historicism, and the social logic of the text in the Middle Ages’, in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 59-86; L. Patterson, ‘On the margin: postmodernism, ironic history, and medieval studies’, in: *Speculum* 65 (1990), p. 87-108.

<sup>12</sup> Nichols, ‘Introduction: philology in a manuscript culture’, p. 9. Cf. M. Reeve, ‘*Cuius in usum?* Recent and future editing’, in: *The journal of Roman studies* 90 (2000), p. 196-206, at 197.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. S. Fleischman, ‘Philology, linguistics, and the discourse of the medieval text’.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. T. Sniijders, *Ordinare et communicare. Redactie, opmaak en transmissie van hagiografische handschriften in kloosters uit de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 900-1200* (Dissertation, Universiteit Gent 2009); L.B. Mortensen, ‘Change of style and content as an aspect of the copying process. A recent trend in the study of medieval Latin historiography’, in: J. Hamesse (ed.), *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe. Actes du premier Congrès européen d’Études Médiévales* (Louvain-la-neuve 1995), p. 265-276, at 267, footnote 4.

<sup>15</sup> In the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (henceforth BHL), this text is listed as BHL 1002.

<sup>16</sup> BHL 6814.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. E. Rose, ‘*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Origin, aim and use’, forthcoming; ead., ‘*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Editorial Problems and Principles’, forthcoming in: *Apocrypha* 23 (2012); ead., ‘La réécriture des *Actes apocryphes des Apôtres* dans le Moyen-Âge latin’, in: *Apocrypha* 22 (2011), p.

I analyze these two texts as part of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series in a selected corpus of 24 manuscripts in the case of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and 25 manuscripts in the case of the *Virtutes Philippi*.<sup>18</sup> The aim of this study is twofold: firstly, I intend to establish the relationships that exist between manuscripts on the basis of the total set of textual variants. Secondly, I plan to examine the evolution of the text through the manuscript transmission with a particular focus on the interventions of scribes and correctors. This study will investigate not only differences in how texts were transmitted, but also what scribes and correctors did when they changed aspects of the text.

In the following three sections, I explain the relevance of the present study. Section 1.2 presents the approach advocated in the larger project ‘The dynamics of apocryphal traditions in medieval religious culture’ in which the present study is embedded. Here, I also discuss the results of previous research into the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*-series. In sections 1.3 and 1.4, my own approach to textual variety will be presented: in section 1.3 I discuss the relevance of the concept of ‘rewriting’ to the present study, whilst section 1.4 examines how my study contributes to the research area of socio-philology. These three sections are followed by a brief outline of this thesis in section 1.5.

### ***1.2 The textual transmission of the ‘Virtutes Apostolorum’***

From the eighth century onwards we find manuscripts containing a series of narratives about the Twelve Apostles (Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James the Greater, Thomas, Philip, James the Less, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude).<sup>19</sup> These narratives inform us, firstly, of the *virtutes* performed by these apostles, and, secondly, of their deaths. Many of these narratives initially circulated independently throughout the European continent. A number of them were first written in Greek and later translated into Latin, while some were written directly in Latin.<sup>20</sup> The oldest preserved manuscripts that serve as evidence of the

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135-166. The term ‘*Virtutes Apostolorum*’ is also in accordance with terminology used by other scholars, notably Geerard; M. Geerard, *Clavis apocryphorum novi testamenti* (Turnhout 1992), p. 158. The present study is part of a larger research project, ‘The dynamics of apocryphal traditions in medieval religious culture’, led by dr. Els Rose at Utrecht University.

<sup>18</sup> In one manuscript, viz. Paris BNF lat. 5274, the codex containing the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is missing. I present the manuscripts, including selection criteria, in more detail in chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>19</sup> For a discussion of the creation of passionaries in this period, see especially G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Turnhout 1977), p. 30ff.; F. Dolbeau, ‘Naissance des homéliars et des passionnaires. Une tentative d’étude comparative’, in: S. Giovanni and B. Grévin (eds.), *L’antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales: textes et représentations* (Rome 2008), p. 13-35.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. J. Bremmer, ‘The five major apocryphal acts: Authors, place, time and readership’, in: J. Bremmer (ed.), *The apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (Louvain 2001), p. 149-170; R. Gounelle, ‘Actes

wish to bring these narratives together can be dated back to the eighth century.<sup>21</sup> From then on, the individual transmission of these narratives on the Apostles was accompanied by the transmission of a *series* of these narratives.

The questions how, when and by whom this series of narratives was brought together are very difficult to answer and are yet to be answered decisively.<sup>22</sup> Of special importance to the present project, however, is Rose's rejection of the reference to the series of narratives on the apostles as 'the collection of Pseudo-Abdias', a term used by previous scholars.<sup>23</sup> I will summarize this discussion in short, for it turns out to be important for the approach presented in this thesis.

From the edition by Wolfgang Lazius in 1552 until recently, the dominant idea was that the narrative series had a fixed order and selection of texts created by a single collector. In the epilogue to the narrative on Simon and Jude, a certain Abdias of Babylon is mentioned as the author of the *gesta sanctorum apostolorum*. Lazius was of the opinion that this person should be thought of as the author of all the narrative sections. As a result, his edition, which is based on a small selection of manuscripts, names Abdias of Babylon as the author of the whole collection.<sup>24</sup>

Even though the assumption that Abdias of Babylon was the author of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series was dismissed by various scholars (a.o. Lipsius,<sup>25</sup> Junod and Kaestli<sup>26</sup>, and Besson<sup>27</sup>), the view that this narrative series had a fixed order and selection of texts and was created by a single compiler was respected by these scholars.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, Lipsius and Bonnet attempted, in line with the traditional philological approach, to reconstruct the

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apocryphes des apôtres et *Actes des apôtres* canoniques. État de la recherche et perspectives nouvelles (I)', in: *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 84 (2004), p. 3-30.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Montpellier Bibliothèque Universitaire – École de Médecine 55. See chapter 2 for a more elaborate description of this manuscript.

<sup>22</sup> See E. Rose, 'Virtutes Apostolorum: Origin, aim and use', for a detailed discussion on the origins of the series.

<sup>23</sup> For elaborate argumentation on this, see E. Rose, 'Abdias scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum? The 'Collection of Pseudo-Abdias' reconsidered', forthcoming in: *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (2013).

<sup>24</sup> W. Lazius (ed.), *Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et Apostolorum discipuli de historia certaminis apostolici libri decem* (Basel 1552). On Lazius' philological activities, cf. E. Trenkler, 'Wolfgang Lazius, Humanist und Büchersammler', in: *Biblios* 27 (1978), p. 186-203. On the historical background in which Lazius' edition should be placed, cf. I. Backus, *Historical method and confessional identity in the era of the Reformation (1378-1615)* (Leiden/Boston 2003), p. 292-321.

<sup>25</sup> R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 4 vols. (Braunschweig 1883-1890; reprint Amsterdam 1976), vol. 1, p. 117-178.

<sup>26</sup> É. Junod and J.-D. Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis* (Turnhout 1983), CCSA 1-2, vol. 2, p. 750-795.

<sup>27</sup> G. Besson, 'La collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias: un essai de définition à partir de l'étude des manuscrits', in: *Apocrypha* 11 (2000), p. 181-194.

<sup>28</sup> For an elaborate discussion on this subject, see E. Rose, 'Abdias scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum?'

‘archetypal’ series of narratives. This approach resulted in editions of ‘original’ texts, such as the edition of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* in the *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, a distinction was made between ‘Pseudo-Abdias’ texts, or *Virtutes Apostolorum*, on the one hand, and *Passiones apostolorum* on the other. This distinction was first suggested by Lipsius and followed by Junod and Kaestli, since these scholars assumed that both kinds of text circulated independently in separate collections.<sup>30</sup>

Rose has recently argued that neither the view that the narrative series had a fixed order and selection of texts and was put together by one person (a ‘Pseudo-Abdias’), nor the distinction between *Virtutes Apostolorum* and *Passiones Apostolorum*, do justice to the variety and dynamism attested in the manuscripts.<sup>31</sup> Departing from the manuscript evidence, it is her intention to

‘approach the series of texts on individual apostles with a neutral term, suggesting *Virtutes Apostolorum* as a working title. I propose to study these series as a compilation that dates back to the early Middle Ages and starts to occur in manuscripts in the late eighth century. Here, the series presents itself as a variable, fluid transmission, with different orders of apostles, different choices of texts for each apostle and, as a whole, with a high degree of variety and flexibility with regard to linguistic presentation as well as content.’<sup>32</sup>

The approach advocated by Rose can be regarded as a proposal to shift our attention away from the *origins* of the series towards a study of the *transmission* of the series. In other words, the traditional approach to reconstruct the origins of the series is replaced by the ‘New Philology’ approach which studies the variation and fluidity of the text transmission. My study of textual variation in two sections of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series follows the approach advocated by Rose to study the series as a variable and fluid transmission.

My study of the relationships that exist between the manuscripts of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* works from the results presented by Lipsius and Bonnet, Junod and Kaestli, and Zelzer in their respective publications.<sup>33</sup> Lipsius and Bonnet made an edition of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* on the basis of a small selection of

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<sup>29</sup> M. Bonnet and R.A. Lipsius (eds.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1891-1903), vol. II.1, p. 128-150; the preface to the edition is on p. XXIV-XXVI.

<sup>30</sup> Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 124-126, 134. Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, vol. 2, p. 750. For a more detailed discussion of these distinctions, see Rose, ‘*Abdias scriptor*’.

<sup>31</sup> See Rose, ‘*Abdias scriptor*’.

<sup>32</sup> Rose, ‘*Abdias scriptor*’.

<sup>33</sup> M. Bonnet and R.A. Lipsius (eds.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1891-1903, 3 vols.; repr. Hildesheim 1972); E. Junod and J.D. Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis* (Turnhout 1983); K. Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten* (Berlin 1977).

manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> In the preface to this edition, Bonnet makes a few remarks about the text transmission that are informative for the present study. Firstly we are presented with his distinction between two groups of manuscripts, to which he refers with the terms ‘group Γ’ (Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139, s. XI; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Paris BNF lat. 12604) and ‘group Δ’ (Montpellier H 55; Paris BNF lat. 18298, Paris BNF lat. 5273). He also explains why he differentiates between these two groups, stating that the manuscripts in group Γ contain a large passage that is not found in the other group of manuscripts.<sup>35</sup>

In 1977, Zelzer published his edition of the Latin Acts of Thomas.<sup>36</sup> In the introduction to this edition, Zelzer makes some explicit remarks about textual transmission and scribal behaviour that are also of interest for the present study. His corpus consists of all manuscripts up to s. XII that contain either the BHL-8140 text or the BHL-8136 text on the apostle Thomas.<sup>37</sup> The following manuscripts, taken into account in the present study, are used by Zelzer for the edition: Angers BM 281, Dublin TC 737, Graz UB 412, Montpellier H 55, Paris BNF lat. 18298, Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 561, Vienna ÖNB lat. 455, Vienna ÖNB lat. 534 and Wolfenbüttel Weissenbourg 48.<sup>38</sup> The text tradition of Thomas in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* is different from the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* because, in contrast with the latter two, *two texts* about Thomas circulate in the manuscripts. There are manuscripts that contain the *Miracula Thomae*<sup>39</sup> (Angers BM 281, Dublin TC 737, Vienna ÖNB 455, Vienna ÖNB 534 and Wolf. Weiss. 48), whereas other manuscripts contain the *Passio Thomae*<sup>40</sup> (Graz UB 412, Montpellier H 55 (which does not contain the complete text on Thomas)<sup>41</sup>, Paris BNF lat. 18298 and Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 561).

Zelzer makes a distinction of two manuscript traditions. Firstly, there is the ‘deutsche Tradition’, consisting of Dublin TC 737, Vienna ÖNB 534, Vienna ÖNB 455 and Wolf. Weiss. 48. Secondly, there is a group of manuscripts that he refers to as the

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<sup>34</sup> Bonnet and Lipsius (eds.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, vol. II,1, p. 128-150; the preface to the edition is on p. XXIV-XXVI.

<sup>35</sup> Bonnet and Lipsius (eds.), *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, II.1, p. XXV: ‘Γ (...) plurimis locis inter se similibus communem originem prae se ferunt, praeterea loco qui est [on page,line MP] 137,8-139,2 siue praetermisso siue non admisso’. The passage concerned is marked in my analysis as variant 70; see Vol. 2 of this thesis.

<sup>36</sup> Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten* (Berlin 1977).

<sup>37</sup> Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxii.

<sup>38</sup> Many of the manuscripts in my corpus have also been consulted by Zelzer: Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139, Munich BSB Clm 22020, Paris BNF lat. 5563, Paris BNF lat. 11750, Paris BNF lat. 12602 and Paris BNF lat. 12604 (see Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomaskten*, p. xlv-xlvi).

<sup>39</sup> BHL 8140.

<sup>40</sup> BHL 8136.

<sup>41</sup> Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinische Thomasakten*, p. xxxvii: ‘In Frankreich findet sich der Text ebenfalls ab dem 9. Jh. etwa in der Handschrift aus Montpellier, die nur den Schlußteil der Passio enthält (...)’.

‘frankogallische Tradition’, in which Angers BM 281, Paris BNF lat. 18298, Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 561 and Montpellier H 55 are included. He labels Graz UB 412 as part of the Italian tradition.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Zelzer concludes that Paris BNF lat. 11750 contains a contaminated version of both texts on Thomas.<sup>43</sup> In Table 1 I present Zelzer’s conclusions on the transmission of the *Miracula Thomae* and the *Passio Thomae* which are relevant for my study of the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.

<i>Miracula Thomae</i>		<i>Passio Thomae</i>	contaminated text
<u>German tradition</u> Dublin TC 737 Vienna ÖNB 455 Vienna ÖNB 534 Wolf. W. 48	<u>Frankish tradition</u> Angers BM 281 <sup>44</sup>	<u>Frankish tradition</u> Montpellier H 55 Paris BNF lat.18298 St. Gallen 561 <u>Italian tradition</u> Graz UB 412	Paris BNF lat. 11750

Table 1: The classification of manuscripts based on the *Virtutes Thomae*

When it comes to *textual variation*, Zelzer makes some additional statements. On the difference between the textual transmission of the German and the Frankish tradition, Zelzer suggests that the German tradition was transmitted more carefully and more accurately, whereas the Frankish tradition is characterized by a wilderness of textual variants.<sup>45</sup>

In their edition of the Acts of John, Junod and Kaestli largely follow the statements of Zelzer on the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. In the case of John, two Latin texts circulated, referred to by Junod and Kaestli as the *Passio Iohannis* (which contains a prologue (BHL 4320)), and the *Virtutes Iohannis* (BHL 4316).<sup>46</sup> Although Junod and Kaestli only consider this second text to be part of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series, a consideration openly questioned and rejected elsewhere,<sup>47</sup> they make some statements

<sup>42</sup> In chapter 4, I argue that Graz 412, although of Italian origins, has strong links with the Frankish tradition.

<sup>43</sup> Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>44</sup> Angers 281 contains an ‘etwas variiertes’ text of the *Miracula Thomae*. Id., p. xxxiii, note 2.

<sup>45</sup> Id., p. xxxiv: ‘Sie [sc. die deutsche Tradition] kam vermutlich früh in den insular bestimmten südwestdeutschen Traditionsbereich, da im insularen und insular beeinflussten Bereich lateinische Texte als fremdsprachig im allgemeinen sorgfältiger und getreuer überliefert wurden, und macht (...) den Eindruck größerer verlässlichkeit gegenüber der viel stärker zerfallenden und ändernden gallo-romanischen Überlieferung. (...) Die für merowingische Tradition allgemein kennzeichnende textliche und sprachliche Verwilderung einerseits und die Einflüsse durch den Passiotext andererseits lassen daher die frankogallische Tradition als nicht allzu verlässlich erscheinen (...)’.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, vol. 2, p. 750ff.

<sup>47</sup> See Rose, ‘*Abdias scriptor*’.

about the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Iohannis* that are of use for the present study. These statements are in line with Zelzer's conclusions. Junod and Kaestli also made a distinction between 'deux grandes branches': a so-called Frankish branch (consisting of Angers BM 281 and Paris BNF lat. 18298) and a German branch (containing Dublin TC 737, Wolf. Weiss. 48 and Vienna ÖNB 455).<sup>48</sup> When it comes to textual variety, they confirm Zelzer's statement that the German branch offers little internal variation, whereas the Frankish branch is characterized by much more internal variation.<sup>49</sup>

One of the main contributions of my study is that it enables further refinement of the distinction between a 'German' and a 'Frankish' tradition as presented by Zelzer and Junod and Kaestli. Furthermore, I shall argue that the conclusions on textual variation put forward by Zelzer and by Junod and Kaestli can be corroborated by my study of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*, although a number of reconsiderations are in order.

In contrast with Lipsius, Junod and Kaestli, and Zelzer, my examination of the textual transmission departs from a different approach, that is, the study of textual transmission as a continuous process of rewriting. I shall now elaborate this particular approach in more detail.

### ***1.3 Text transmission as a form of rewriting***

The process of textual transmission is often referred to with the terms 'copying', 'transcribing' and 'rewriting'. In this study, I regard the manuscript transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* as a continuous process of 'rewriting'. The terms 'copying' and 'transcribing' imply that scribes aimed at a new text version that resembles the exemplar as accurately as possible. This view on scribal behaviour rests on the assumption, expressed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, that 'every scribe aims at faithful transcription'.<sup>50</sup>

The view on scribal behaviour in terms of 'copying' and 'transcribing' is challenged by a movement that describes scribal behaviour as a process of 'rewriting'. The 'New Philology' approach, in which a more positive attitude is given to textual variants, is an important contribution to this perspective on textual transmission. In recent decades, a large number of studies have illustrated that scribes did not always aim at an

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<sup>48</sup> Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, vol. 2, p. 797.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.: 'Le texte de la branche 'allemande' offre peu de variants internes. (...) Le texte de la branche 'française' offre davantage de variantes internes'.

<sup>50</sup> S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Oxford 2010), s.v. 'textual criticism'.

accurate transcription of a text, but rather intervened in the text by changing language and content.<sup>51</sup> It is in this kind of study that the concept of ‘rewriting’ can be found.

The concept of ‘rewriting’ is the object of a study by the French scholar Monique Goulet.<sup>52</sup> In her book, Goulet pays attention to ‘réécriture’ in hagiographical sources from the eighth to the thirteenth century. Her main focus of interest are cases of rewriting in which an explicit *intentio auctoris* is found, for instance, in the prologue of a text.<sup>53</sup> Goulet’s focus is on cases in which an already existing text (a ‘hypotexte’) is rewritten into a new text version (a ‘hypertexte’), often introduced by a prologue in which the intention to make a new text version is made explicit by the author.<sup>54</sup> In her definition of ‘rewriting’, the distinction between a ‘hypotexte’ and a ‘hypertexte’ takes a prominent position:

‘La réécriture sera alors définie comme la rédaction d’une nouvelle version (*hypertexte*) d’un texte préexistant (*hypotexte*), obtenue par des modifications appelées formelles pour autant qu’elles affectent le signifiant (et elles sont alors d’ordre quantitatif, structurel ou linguistico-stylistique), et sémantiques (ou conceptuelles) pour autant qu’elles affectent le signifié.’<sup>55</sup>

Goulet’s definition of ‘rewriting’ is not applicable to my study of textual variation in the sections on Bartholomew and Philip for two reasons. Firstly, the sections on Bartholomew and Philip do not contain prologues in which an explicit *intentio auctoris* to change aspects of language and style is found.<sup>56</sup> Secondly, the distinction between a ‘hypertexte’ and a ‘hypotexte’ is not useful in my study since I do not deal with only two, but instead with 25 manuscripts that contain the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series. The differences between the text sections on Bartholomew and Philip in these manuscripts are large and turn out to be difficult to discuss in concepts of ‘hypertexte’ and ‘hypotexte’ only.

Instead, I use the concept of ‘rewriting’ to describe an *implicit* process of change and adaption, that is, one that is not explicitly stated. My notion of rewriting is more closely related to that of Bouet and Kerlouégan, who define it as ‘l’action de réécrire un texte pour

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<sup>51</sup> Cf. M. Heinzelmann (ed.), *Livrets, collections et textes. Études sur la tradition hagiographique latine* (Ostfildern 2006 = Beihefte der Francia 63); M. Goulet and M. Heinzelmann (eds.), *Miracles, vies et réécritures dans l’Occident médiéval* (Ostfildern 2006 = Beihefte der Francia 65).

<sup>52</sup> M. Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques. Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l’Occident latin médiéval (VIII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup>s.)* (Turnhout 2005 = Hagiologia 4).

<sup>53</sup> Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture*, p. 31-58.

<sup>54</sup> The concepts ‘hypotexte’ and ‘hypertexte’ are borrowed from the work of the literary scholar Gérard Genette. G. Genette, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré* (Paris 1982).

<sup>55</sup> Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture*, p. 23.

<sup>56</sup> On prologues in other sections of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series, see Rose, ‘*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Origin, aim and use’.

en améliorer la forme ou pour l'adapter à d'autres textes, à certains lecteurs, etc...'.<sup>57</sup>

Textual variation in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* should not be understood as the result of an explicit concern to rewrite the language, but has to be perceived as the result of implicit rewriting strategies to adapt style and language according to the needs and demands of the audience. In this respect, I am interested in analyzing what Christine Thomas has called 'the very malleability and multiformity of the tradition, which admit adjustment for the predilections and interests of audiences varying over time'.<sup>58</sup>

Recently, various scholars have suggested several ways in which the *Virtutes Apostolorum*-series may have been used. Although it might not always be crystal clear what the exact context of the series was, research so far points towards a performative use, in which the text was read out loud to a public audience. Els Rose refers to a possible liturgical setting,<sup>59</sup> whereas other scholars have argued different user's contexts. Martin Heinzelmann is convinced that Montpellier H 55, one of the manuscripts in my corpus, was read out loud in a monastic refectory.<sup>60</sup> Max Diesenberger, on the other hand, suggests in the case of yet another manuscript (the Salzburg sermonary<sup>61</sup>) that it was intended for an educational setting for lay *potentes*.<sup>62</sup> Although the possible user's contexts of the various manuscripts might differ from each other, these three scholars point to a similar practice of use, namely a performative context in which the text was read out loud to a particular public audience.

Textual variation is, to my mind, a result of the changing performative contexts in which the 25 manuscripts containing the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series were used. Instead of focusing on textual variants as 'scribal errors', I study them as the result of interventions by scribes to adapt language and content to the needs of the audience that they had in mind.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> P. Bouet and F. Kerlouégan, 'La réécriture dans le latin du haut moyen âge', in: *Lalies* 8 (1986), p. 153-168, at 153-154.

<sup>58</sup> C. Thomas, 'Stories without texts and stories without authors: The problem of fluidity in ancient novelistic texts and early christian literature', in: R. Hock e.a. (eds.), *New perspectives on ancient fiction and the New Testament* (Atlanta 1998), p. 273-291, at 290.

<sup>59</sup> E. Rose (forthcoming), '*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Origin, aim and use'.

<sup>60</sup> M. Heinzelmann in an e-mail d.d. 30 January 2012.

<sup>61</sup> Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, Cod. a VIII 32, dating from s. IX. This manuscript was not selected for this study.

<sup>62</sup> M. Diesenberger, 'Reworking the *Virtutes Apostolorum* in the Salzburg Sermon-collection', forthcoming in: *Apocrypha* 23 (2012). Diesenberger is of the opinion that this manuscript, commissioned by archbishop Arn of Salzburg (785/98-821), was addressed to *comes* Audulf, who was the head of lay *potentes* in Bavaria.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. M. Mostert, *Maken, bewaren en gebruiken. Over de rol van geschreven teksten in de Middeleeuwen* (Utrecht 2010), p. 10; Id., 'Das Studium alter Handschriften als Beitrag zu einer modernen Kulturwissenschaft', in: H.-W. Goetz (ed.), *Die Aktualität des Mittelalters* (Bochum 2000), p. 287-315.

My study of textual variation consists of two parts. In Part 1 (chapters 3 to 6) I reconstruct the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* as a process of continuous rewriting. Textual variants found between the text versions in the manuscripts are used to reconstruct the textual transmission from this perspective. Part 2 (chapters 7 and 8) is devoted to correction layers in two manuscripts in my corpus. These correction layers illustrate that texts were also changed by their users. These two parts demonstrate how the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series was constantly adapted to the needs and demands of user's contexts that differ in geographical and chronological scope.

#### ***1.4 Linguistic variation and the Socio-philological Approach***

In this thesis, special attention is paid to a particular type of textual variants: that of linguistic variation. This type of variation can be regarded as an important 'cultural fingerprint', which can tell us much about the dynamism between the text and the context in which it was used.<sup>64</sup> The particular approach that I advocate in this study proposes to regard linguistic variation as 'the product of a compromise between traditional norms and the contemporary needs of the audience which it was to serve', to quote, once again, Rouse and Rouse.<sup>65</sup>

The attention given to the relationship between language and user's context concurs with an approach that departs from a *sociophilological* perspective.<sup>66</sup> The term 'sociophilology' was introduced by Roger Wright to 'refer to an approach to the linguistic study of texts from the past which attempts to combine traditional philological analysis with the insights of modern sociolinguistics'.<sup>67</sup> The merit of this approach is that it allows

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<sup>64</sup> Cf. also S. Fleischman, 'Philology, linguistics, and the discourse of the medieval text', p. 21-22.

<sup>65</sup> Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic witnesses*, p. 2.

<sup>66</sup> Richter calls this approach 'historical sociolinguistics'; M. Richter, *Studies in medieval language and culture* (Dublin 1995), p. 132-136. I consider 'sociophilology' and 'historical sociolinguistics' to be references to the same kind of approach.

<sup>67</sup> R. Wright, *A sociophilological study of late Latin* (Turnhout 2002 = USML 10), p. vii. Important studies related to the sociophilological approach are R. Wright, *Late Latin and early romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool 1982); Id. (ed.), *Latin and the early romance languages in Spain and Carolingian France* (London 1991); M. Banniard, *Viva voce. Communication écrite et communication orale du IV<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle en occident latin* (Paris 1992); id., 'La voix et l'écriture: émergences médiévales', in: *Médiévales* 25 (1993), p. 5-16; id., *Du latin aux langues romanes* (Paris 1997); Id., 'Language and communication in Carolingian Europe', in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history* (Cambridge 1995), chapter 26, p. 695-706. Richter, *Studies in medieval language and culture* (Dublin 1995); J. Herman, *Du latin aux langues romanes: études de linguistique historique* (Tübingen 1990); id., 'The end of the history of Latin', in: *Romance Philology* 49 (1996), p. 364-382; M. Van Uytendange, 'Le latin des hagiographes mérovingiens et la protohistoire du français', in: *Romanica Gandensia* 16 (1976), p. 5-89; id., 'L'hagiographie et son public à l'époque mérovingienne', in: *Studia Patristica* 16 (1985), p. 54-62; Id., 'L'audience de l'hagiographie au 6<sup>e</sup> siècle en Gaule', in: G. Cavallo (ed.), *Comunicare e significare nell'alto medioevo* (Spoleto 2005), p. 157-177; M. Van Acker, *Ut quisque rustici et inlitterati hec audierint intellegant*.

us to better understand the Latin language as one in which variation is omnipresent, determined by the time, place and situation in which it was used.<sup>68</sup> In the words of Michael Richter, this approach ‘is of great potential value because it will help us to deepen our understanding of societies in the past’.<sup>69</sup>

The manuscripts of my corpus date from the period between the end of the eighth century and the thirteenth century. In this period, the Latin language can best be described with the term ‘Medieval Latin’. This term indicates, firstly, that Latin was no longer a mother tongue, but instead a language acquired through training and education.<sup>70</sup> For a long time, the question of when people ceased to speak Latin and started to speak the Romance languages was the focal point of scholarly attention.<sup>71</sup> Over the last couple of decades, however, under the influence of the sociophilological approach, scholars have posed a different question: when did Latin cease to be understood by an illiterate audience?<sup>72</sup> Although the answer to this question is still a matter of debate, it appears that the second half of the eighth century marks an important turning point. Until then, Latin texts would have been comprehensible for an illiterate audience when read out loud.<sup>73</sup>

Under the Carolingian rulers, this situation changed.<sup>74</sup> The linguistic reforms initiated by these rulers were motivated by the desire to have a uniform language of administration and religion in the new Carolingian empire.<sup>75</sup> Regarding morphology and

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*Hagiographie et communication verticale au temps des Mérovingiens (VIIe-VIIIe siècles)* (Turnhout 2007 = CCLP IV).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. H. Halla-aho, *The non-literary Latin letters. A Study of their syntax and pragmatics* (Helsinki 2009), p. 26.

<sup>69</sup> Richter, *Studies in medieval language and culture*, p. 132.

<sup>70</sup> J. Ziolkowski, ‘Towards a history of medieval Latin literature’, in: F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg, *Medieval Latin. An introduction and bibliographical guide* (Washington D.C. 1995), p. 505-535, at 506. P. Bourgain, *Le latin médiéval* (Turnhout 2005), p. 7. J. Burreau, ‘Did medieval monks actually speak Latin?’, in: S. Vanderputten (ed.), *Understanding monastic practices of oral communication (Western Europe, tenth-thirteenth centuries)* (Turnhout 2011 = USML 21), p. 293-317, at 297.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. F. Lot, ‘À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin?’, in: *Archivum latinitatis Medii Aevi* 6 (1931), p. 97-159; D. Norberg, ‘À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin en Gaule?’, in: *Annales* 2 (1966) p. 346-356.

<sup>72</sup> See M. Richter, ‘À quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler latin en Gaule? À propos d’une question mal posée’, in: *Annales* 38 (1983), p. 439-448; Wright, *Late Latin and early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*; id., *A sociophilological study of Latin*; Banniard, *Viva Voce*; McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the written world* (Cambridge 1989), p. 7-22.

<sup>73</sup> See notably M. Banniard, *Viva Voce*; Van Acker, ‘*Ut quique rustici et inlitterati hec audierint intellegant*’, p. 534-535.

<sup>74</sup> On this, see especially Wright, *Late Latin and early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*; id., *A sociophilological study of Latin*.

<sup>75</sup> On the Carolingian reforms, cf. R. McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation* (Cambridge 1994); J.J. Contreni, ‘The Carolingian renaissance: Education and literary culture’, in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history* (Cambridge 1995), chapter 27, p. 707-756. On the linguistic reforms, cf. M. Richter, ‘Die Sprachenpolitik Karls des Großen’, in:

syntax, the late antique grammars were followed, most of them dating from the fourth century.<sup>76</sup> In addition, a new system of pronunciation was encouraged in which each single letter and each syllable were pronounced according to fixed and uniform rules.<sup>77</sup> As a result of these reforms, the Latin language increasingly diverged from the native language in Romance areas and eventually acquired the status of a father tongue. This situation first occurred in the Frankish area (between around 750 and 850) and only later took hold in Italy and Spain (1000-1100).

Even though the Carolingian rulers attempted to make Latin a standard uniform language, Ziolkowski is keen to clarify that it would be a misconception to consider Medieval Latin only as 'a hard-won language of instruction'.<sup>78</sup> Rather, Medieval Latin continued to function as the main language of communication in a wide range of environments, such as churches, monasteries, schools and universities. Medieval Latin was thus not only a language of writing, but continued to be practiced as a language of communication. Consequently, the best way to describe Medieval Latin would be one in which change and adaptation of language and style to each socio-linguistic context continue to be crucial factors of influence. Christine Mohrmann described the status of Latin in the Middle Ages as a 'normativisme évolutif': its users had to respect certain normative standards when they spoke or wrote Latin, but these standards were subject to change and variation according to the changing needs and demands of the context in which Latin was used.<sup>79</sup>

The function of Medieval Latin as a means of oral communication is important when it comes to the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series, given that various scholars (Rose, Heinzlmann and Diesenberger) have pointed towards a performative use of the series. In this thesis I apply the sociophilological approach to the linguistic variation I have found in the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. In this respect, my study aims to give an insight into the interaction between the written standards

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*Sprachwissenschaft* 7 (1980), p. 86-108, reprinted in id., *Studies in medieval language and culture*, p. 86-108.

<sup>76</sup> On this subject, see V. Law, *Grammar and grammarians in the early Middle Ages* (London 1997).

<sup>77</sup> P. Bourgain, *Le latin médiéval* (Turnhout 2005), p. 53. On the reform of pronunciation, see especially Wright, *Late Latin and early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*; id., *A sociophilological study of Latin*.

<sup>78</sup> Ziolkowski, 'Towards a history of medieval Latin literature', p. 505.

<sup>79</sup> C. Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens. Tome IV: Latin chrétien et latin médiéval* (Rome 1977), p. 52-54, at 53: 'N'oublions pas que le Moyen Âge n'a jamais accepté – comme plus tard la Renaissance – un normativisme absolu dans l'usage du latin. On peut tout au plus parler d'un normativisme évolutif. C'est pourquoi le latin médiéval reste continuellement en mouvement et varie suivant les temps et les lieux'; cf. M. Van Uytendaele, 'De christelijke en middeleeuwse latiniteit: van *Sondersprache* tot substraat van de westerse cultuur. Christine Mohrmann (1903-1988)', in: *Milennium* 25 (2011), p. 143-160, at 152.

of Latin on the one hand, and the performative user's context on the other hand. This, in turn, will increase our understanding of the relationship between text and user's context, and between written norms and spoken practices. My study can thus be seen as an answer to Fleischman's call towards 'deciphering the texts as linguistic documents: what the language means; how it works; how its grammar responds to demands of the communicative contexts in which it was used'.<sup>80</sup>

To investigate how the Latin changed throughout the manuscript transmission, we should first establish a methodology. To do so, I make a selection of 'significant' textual variants related to language. The term 'significant textual variant' is defined by Zbigniew Izydorezyk as 'a reading that is unlikely to have been independently produced by different scribes through accidental, palaeographically-inspired, or biblically-inspired convergence'.<sup>81</sup> In other words, significant variants are those variants which we can, for some reason or another, consider to be the result of an innovation by the scribe. In chapter 3, when I discuss the methodology that I apply to establish directions of rewriting in more detail, I shall introduce two principles through which innovative variants can be found. It is on the basis of these two principles that I investigate the directions into which the Latin changed throughout the course of the manuscript transmission.

### ***1.5 Outline of the study***

In chapter 2, I continue my introduction with a presentation of the 25 manuscripts that have been selected by the research project in which this study is embedded, 'The dynamics of apocryphal traditions in medieval religious culture'. I shall also give a summary of the content of the narratives that I examine here.

Chapter 3 presents how I go about analyzing textual variants in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. This methodology is designed to deal with the twofold aim, presented above, to establish relationships between manuscripts and examine the evolution of the text through the manuscript transmission by means of an analysis of the scribal innovations found in the various manuscripts. Chapters 4 to 6 discuss the results of the methodology. In chapter 4, I present the data that follow from my analysis, which give insight into the manuscript transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* in accordance with the two aims of my study. Chapters 5 and 6, in turn, deal with innovations in the Latin of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. It is in these chapters that I discuss how the Latin language changed throughout the course of the textual transmission.

The final two chapters of this study are devoted to an investigation of correction layers related to aspects of language and content. I present the results of two case studies on

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<sup>80</sup> Fleischman, 'Philology, linguistics, and the discourse of the medieval text', p. 27.

<sup>81</sup> Z. Izydorezyk, 'On the *Evangelium Nicodemi* before print: Towards a new edition', forthcoming in: *Apocrypha* 23 (2012).

such layers. In chapter 7, I focus on deviations from classical norms of spelling in Montpellier H 55, since the orthographical variants in the initial text layer were at some point corrected with the classical norms of spelling in mind. It is my intention to study this process of correction in order to ascertain whether certain patterns of correction can be found. Chapter 8, on the other hand, deals with a correction layer in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* section of Paris BNF lat. 5563. The aim of this chapter is mainly to demonstrate, by discussing the corrections made in this text, the dynamism between text and the user's context in which this manuscript was used. This thesis ends with an evaluation of the main findings of the study presented in chapter 9.

## CHAPTER 2                      The material

This chapter presents the material which will be analyzed in this thesis. Section 2.1 presents the corpus of 25 manuscripts that have been selected for the research project in which this study is embedded, ‘The dynamics of apocryphal traditions in medieval religious culture’. Section 2.2 then provides the reader with a short summary of the texts studied, the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*.

### 2.1 *The corpus of manuscripts*

This thesis is embedded in the research project ‘The dynamics of apocryphal traditions in medieval religious culture’. One of the main aims of this project is to examine how the narratives about the twelve apostles are presented and transmitted in medieval manuscripts, resulting in a critical edition of these narratives. In order to arrive at a selection of manuscripts that is at the same time representative and feasible, choices had to be made. In the end, 25 manuscripts have been selected by Els Rose on the basis of previous research.<sup>82</sup> This selection results from the application of the following three criteria:<sup>83</sup>

- (i)        The manuscripts date from the late eighth century, when the oldest known extant manuscripts were made, to the thirteenth century, when the creation of large hagiographical compilations such as the *Legenda Aurea* replaced earlier passionaries.
- (ii)       The manuscripts originate from Bavaria and Gaul, from where the oldest extant manuscripts originate.
- (iii)      The manuscripts present the collection as a continuous series, uninterrupted by other hagiographical texts or liturgical texts.

These 25 manuscripts form the corpus for my analysis of textual variation. In the case of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, the analysis is restricted to 24 manuscripts, because in one of the manuscripts (viz. Paris 5274) the codex that contains the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is missing.

The description of the manuscripts is restricted to three elements, which are presented in three separate sections. The first section (section I) contains a brief description of the date, origin and provenance of each manuscript, based on the descriptions found in various catalogues and other literature, and summarized in a recent article by Rose.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16-18; Besson, ‘La collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias’, p. 181-194; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 117-178; Junod & Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 750-795; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlv-liv.

<sup>83</sup> Rose, ‘La réécriture des *Actes apocryphes des Apôtres* dans le Moyen-Âge latin’, in: *Apocrypha 22* (2011), p. 135-166, at 143.

<sup>84</sup> Rose, ‘*Abdias scriptor*’, Appendix.

If needs be, other additional information will also be given (e.g. on the presence of specific additions, or the absence of a part of the text).

Secondly, a number of manuscripts contain extensive correction layers.

When correction layers occur, they will be dealt with in a separate section (section II). Such manuscripts thus contain an *initial* text layer, that is, the text as it was initially produced by the scribe or scribes, and one or multiple *correction* layers, in which features related to language and content were changed. The main focus of this thesis, presented in part one, is on the text as it was initially written by the scribe(s) of each manuscript. The main aim is to analyze how scribes intervened in the text over the course of its textual transmission. For this investigation, corrections made after the initial production of the text are not taken into account. This does not mean, however, that correction layers are completely ignored in this study. In part two of this thesis, two case studies of correction layers are presented. These case studies, presented in two separate chapters, demonstrate how correctors intervened in the text.

In the third section (section III), explicit notice is made of the addition of *lectio* marks in the margin of the sections on Bartholomew and Philip. These *lectio* marks, almost always added in these manuscripts after the text was written, divide the narrative into a number of lessons that were read out loud in a monastic or cathedral setting to commemorate the life and death of the apostle on his feast day. It is the presence of such *lectio* marks that provides the most decisive evidence in the manuscripts that these texts were used in a performative context, being read out loud to a public audience.<sup>85</sup>

The 25 manuscripts are presented below in chronological order, starting with the oldest preserved manuscript. Sections II (on correction layers) and III (on *lectio* marks) are only listed if a manuscript contains this or these specific feature(s).

## (1) Montpellier Bibliothèque Universitaire – École de Médecine 55 (henceforth Montpellier 55)

### I Description

This manuscript dates from s. VIII<sup>fin</sup>-IX<sup>inc</sup>.<sup>86</sup> It originates from Lotharingia (Metz?) or North Burgundy,<sup>87</sup> and was used at St. Stephen's cathedral in Autun.<sup>88</sup> The *Virtutes*

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<sup>85</sup> For an elaborate discussion on the function of *lectio* marks, cf. Rose, 'Virtutes Apostolorum: Origin, aim and use'. See also chapter one of this thesis.

<sup>86</sup> J. van der Straeten, 'La Passion de S. Patrocle de Troyes. Ses sources' in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 78 (1960), p. 145-153, at 147 (s. VIII); H. Moretus, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae scholae medicinae in universitate Montepessulanensi', in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 34-35 (1915-1916), p. 228-300, at 251 (s. XIII<sup>fin</sup>); B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)*. Tl. 2 Laon-Paderborn (Wiesbaden 2004), p. 198 (s. IX<sup>inc</sup>); R. Masson, 'Les manuscrits carolingiens de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier', in: *Monspeliensis Hippocrates* 44 (1969), p. 5-10, at 5 (s. IX).

*Apostolorum* can be found in fols. 2r-36v; the *Virtutes Bartholomei* covers fols. 21v-25v, whereas the *Virtutes Philippi* is found at fol. 35v-36v. The texts are presented in a single column.

## II Correction layers

The text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* contain numerous corrections. Firstly, there are various corrections of orthographical variants in this manuscript, such as the modification of *templu* to *templo* in fols. 22r, l. 010. This type of correction will be studied more elaborately in chapter 7 of this thesis.



Fol. 22r, l. 010: correction from *templu* to *templo*

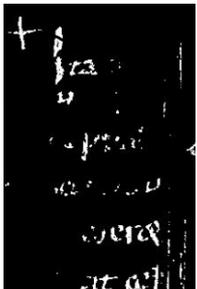
Secondly, there are minor corrections to be found on grammatical features of the text: for example, the correction from *et sanantur* to *ut sanentur* in fol. 22r, l. 004:



Fol. 22r, l. 004: correction from *et sanantur* to *ut sanentur*

Thirdly, passages were added that were not found in the first text layer; see for instance

fol. 23r, where a sentence beginning with *ita* was added in the margin, with a reference mark to indicate the place in the text where it belongs:



Fol. 23r: the addition of a passage beginning with *ita*

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<sup>87</sup> B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1981), vol. III, p. 8, note 12.; id., *Das Geistige Leben* (Düsseldorf 1966-1968), p. 235, note 12; id., *Katalog*, p. 198.

<sup>88</sup> Moretus, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicarum latinorum', p. 251.

### III Lectio marks

In the margins of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, *lectio* marks are found which divide the narrative into a number of lessons:

In fol. 22r, line 006:	Ł[ectio]	.II.
In fol. 22r, line 018:	Ł[ectio]	[.III.]
In fol. 22r, line 030:	Ł[ectio]	.III[I.]
In fol. 23r, line 004:	[Lectio]	.V.
In fol. 23r, line 027:	[Lectio]	.VI.
In fol. 23v, line 030:	[Lectio]	.VII.
In fol. 24v, line 002:	[Lectio]	[.V]III.
In fol. 25r, line 007:	[Lectio]	.VIII.

### (2) Dublin Trinity College 737 (henceforth Dublin 737)

#### I Description

The codex dates from s. IX<sup>89</sup> and originates from Bavaria/Hesse (Colker)<sup>90</sup> or, more specifically, Regensburg (Bischof)<sup>91</sup>. Where this manuscript was used remains an unanswered question. The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 1r-126v, the *Virtutes Philippi* can be found in fols. 23r-24v, and fols. 99v-106v contain the *Virtutes Bartholomei*. The texts are presented in one column of text. Additions dating from s. XII are found in other sections of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.<sup>92</sup>

### III Lectio marks

*Lectio* marks can be found in the margin of the section on Bartholomew. The following division can be read on the basis of the available microfilm:

In fol. 100r, line 012:	.II.
In fol. 100r, line 022:	.III.
In fol. 100v, line 005:	.III.
In fol. 100v, line 015:	.V.
In fol. 101r, line 003:	.VI.
In fol. 101r, line 015:	.VII.
In fol. 101v, line 003:	.VIII.

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<sup>89</sup> B. Bischoff dates this manuscript more specifically in the second quarter of s. IX: B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)*. Tl. I Aachen - Lambach (Wiesbaden 1998), p. 226; Colker dates it to s. IX (first half): M. L. Colker, *Trinity College Dublin. descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and renaissance Latin manuscripts* (Hants 1991), vol. II, p. 1169-1173, at 1169.

<sup>90</sup> Colker, *Trinity College Dublin*, p. 169.

<sup>91</sup> B. Bischof, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften* (Wiesbaden 1998), vol. I, p. 226.

<sup>92</sup> Rose, 'Abdias scriptor'.

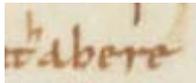
### (3) Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 561 (henceforth St. Gall 561)

#### I Description

The main part of this manuscript (pp. 3-184) dates from s. IX<sup>second half-X</sup>,<sup>93</sup> pp. 185-200 and 201-210 are dated to s. XI. It originates from (Northeast) France<sup>94</sup>, and it was used at the monastery of St. Gall.<sup>95</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers pp. 3-93, the *Virtutes Philippi* can be found at pp. 28-30 and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* at pp. 52-59. The texts are presented in one column of text.

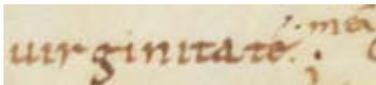
#### II Correction layers

This manuscript is characterized by numerous corrections throughout the text. We find corrections that are related to the orthography of the text, as is the case in the following example, where *abere* was corrected into *habere*:



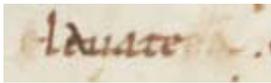
the correction from *abere* to *habere*: p. 54, l. 024.

In some cases, words were added above the line, as is the case in the following example, where *meam* was added:



the addition of *meam* above the line; p. 54, l. 031

Other cases demonstrate a correction from one reading to another. In the following example, *eleuate eam*, which is the original reading in St. Gallen 561, was corrected into *lauate*.



the correction from *eleuate eam* to *lauate*; p. 54, l. 012.

These corrections deserve closer analysis, which remains outside the scope of the present study.

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<sup>93</sup> B.M. von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen, vol. 1.IV: Codices 547-669: Hagiographica, Historica, Geographica, 8.-18.Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 2003), p. 44-48, at 44.

<sup>94</sup> B. Bischoff, 'Bruckner, A., Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica. Denkmäler Schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters III. Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz: St. Gallen II. Genf. Roto-Sadag. 1938' (book review), in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 59 (1939), p. 248-249, at 249 (France); Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. 1 (following Bischoff).

<sup>95</sup> Von Scarpatetti, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, p. 45: 'In StBSG vielleicht bald nach Entstehung'.

**(4) Vienna ÖNB lat 455 (henceforth Vienna 455)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates to s. IX (second half);<sup>96</sup> its origins are situated in West-Germany,<sup>97</sup> and it was owned by the Benedictine Abbey of Trudpert.<sup>98</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be found in fols. 1r-146v; the *Virtutes Philippi* covers fols. 26v-28r, the *Virtutes Bartholomei* fols. 113v-121r. The texts are presented in one text column, and only a few corrections can be found, mainly related to the inflection of a verb (*audeant* to *audeat*) and orthographical features.

**(5) Graz UB 412 (henceforth Graz 412)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates from s. IX (third quarter)<sup>99</sup> and originates, according to Bischoff, from Aquileia<sup>100</sup>. It is included in the corpus because of the close connections between Northern Italy and Bavaria.<sup>101</sup> The book was used at the monastery of St. Lambrecht in Graz.<sup>102</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* series is found at fols. 1r-67r, the *Virtutes Philippi* at fols. 15v-16v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* at fols. 33v-39r. A large passage is missing in this last text. Both narratives are presented in a single column of text and contain only a few corrections of an orthographical nature.

**(6) Vienna ÖNB lat 534 (henceforth Vienna 534)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. IX<sup>103</sup> and originates from Salzburg. Notes found on fol. 135v and 162r indicate that it belonged to the Benedictine abbeys of Millstatt and Ossiach

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<sup>96</sup> Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756 (with reference to unpublished communication with Bischoff); Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>97</sup> Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756 (with reference to Bischoff); Zelzer, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. liv.

<sup>98</sup> Trenkler, 'Wolfgang Lazius', p. 201.

<sup>99</sup> Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> Rose, 'Abdias scriptor'. In a recent study, even the scholar Paolo Chiesa is uncertain as to whether this manuscript finds its origins in Aquileia or in Bavaria. See P. Chiesa, 'I manoscritti delle Passiones aquileiesi e istriane', in: E. Colombi (ed.), *Le passioni dei martiri aquileiesi e istriani* (Rome 2008), p. 105-125.

<sup>102</sup> Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. I, p. 304.

<sup>103</sup> B. Bischoff, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, vol. 2: *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen* (Wiesbaden 1980), p. 158; cf. also Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxiii and liv; Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 755 (in note 3 on this page the editors refer to an unpublished letter from Bischoff). Others suggest s. X; see *Tabulae Codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1897-1899), p. 91, as well as Trenkler, 'Wolfgang Lazius', p. 198 and A. Quak, 'Unveröffentliche

in Karinthia.<sup>104</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 1r-211r whilst the *Virtutes Bartholomei* can be found in fols. 172r-186v and the *Virtutes Philippi* appears between fols. 186v-189v. The texts are presented in one column.

### III *Lectio marks*

*Lectio* marks can be found in the margins of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

In fol. 173r, line 003:	.I.
In fol. 173r, line 009:	.II.
In fol. 173v, line 011:	.III.
In fol. 174r, line 009:	.III.
In fol. 174v, line 014:	.V.
In fol. 175r, line 011:	.VI.
In fol. 175v, line 014:	.VII.
In fol. 176r, line 016:	.VIII.

### (7) **Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48 (henceforth Wolf. Weiss. 48)**

#### I *Description*

This manuscript dates from s. IX<sup>105</sup> and originates from either Weissenburg (Bischoff)<sup>106</sup> or St. Gall (Butzmann)<sup>107</sup> although it was used in Weissenburg.<sup>108</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 9v-124v, the *Virtutes Philippi* appears between fols. 35r-36v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is found between fols. 101v-107r. The texts are presented in two columns.

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Althochdeutsche Glossen aus dem Codex Vindobonensis 534', in: C. Minis (ed.), *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* (Amsterdam 1973), p. 113-128, at 113. For the purpose of the present study, the date followed is that of Bischoff, which is accepted by other scholars working intensively on the same manuscript.

<sup>104</sup> On this, see Rose, 'Abdias scriptor'.

<sup>105</sup> H. Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften* (Frankfurt am Main 1964), p. 182; Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756 (referring to [correspondance with?] Bischoff); others suggest s. X: R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 121, 124 (s. X-XI); G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Turnhout 1977), p. 16. In the present study, I will stick to the date s. IX as proposed by a.o. Bischoff.

<sup>106</sup> Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756, where reference is made to unpublished correspondence with B. Bischoff; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. liv; cf. Butzmann, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften*, p. 182.

<sup>107</sup> H. Butzmann, 'Althochdeutsche Priscian-Glossen aus Weissenburg', in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 86 (1964), p. 388-402, at 401-402; id., 'Vom Schmuck der Heidelberger Otfrid-Handschrift', in: S. Joost (ed.), *Bibliotheca docet. Festgabe für Carl Wehmer* (Amsterdam 1963), p. 39-44, at 43.

<sup>108</sup> Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 124; Butzmann, 'Althochdeutsche Priscian-Glossen', p. 402; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. liv.

### III *Lectio marks*

*Lectio* marks can be found in the margins of both texts. In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

In fol. 101v, line 011a: .I.  
In fol. 101v, line 019a: .II.  
In fol. 101v, line 005b: .III.  
In fol. 101v, line 017b: .III.  
In fol. 102r, line 011a: .V.  
In fol. 102r, line 024a: .V[II].  
In fol. 102r, line 011b: .VII.  
In fol. 102r, line 024b: .VI[II]

In the *Virtutes Philippi*, *Lectio* marks are also apparent in the margins of the text:

In fol. 35v, line 023a: L[ectio]  
In fol. 35v, line 013b: L[ectio]  
In fol. 36r, line 003a: L[ectio] (in the right margin)  
In fol. 36r, line 027a: L[ectio] (in the right margin)

### (8) **Paris BNF lat. 18298 (henceforth Paris 18298)**

#### I *Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. IX<sup>fin</sup>-X<sup>inc</sup>.<sup>109</sup> It originates from (the surroundings of) Paris and was owned by the Notre Dame there.<sup>110</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 1r-98v whilst the *Virtutes Philippi* appears between fols. 22v-24v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is found in fols. 67v-75r. The texts are presented in one column.

#### II *Correction layers*

Many corrections are found in both the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. In many cases, these corrections are orthographical, as is the case of the change from *clabato* to *clauato* in fol. 68v:

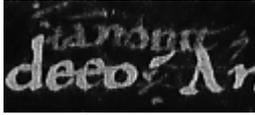


The correction from *clabato* to *clauato*; fol. 68v, l. 002 [BNF]

However, in other cases, words or word groups have been added above the line. In the following example, *iam nouit* has been written above the line:

<sup>109</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI, qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi / ediderunt Hagiographi Bollandiani*, vol. III (Brussels 1893), p. 433 (s. X); Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 759 (referring to Bischoff); Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 125.

<sup>110</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. III (Brussels 1893), p. 433.



The addition of *iam nouit* sup. lin.; Fol. 68v, l. 012 [BNF]

These textual corrections deserve closer analysis and unfortunately this cannot be conducted within the scope of the present study. However, the analysis of textual variation in Montpellier 55 and Paris 5563 presented in the second part of this dissertation deals with examples of similar corrections.

### (9) **Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497 (henceforth Wolf. Helmst. 497)**

#### *I Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. XI<sup>111</sup> and is of unknown origin. The manuscript was used in the monastery of Bergen in Magdeburg.<sup>112</sup> This manuscript does not meet the criterium of origin (Bavarian or Frankish). Scholars suggest that it is a copy of Wolf. Weiss. 48; this claim will be put to the test in this thesis.<sup>113</sup> It is the presumed close link between Wolf. Helmst. 497 and Wolf. Weiss. 48 that accounts for the fact that this manuscript is included in the corpus.

The *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be found in fols. 3r-115r, the *Virtutes Philippi* covers fols. 29v-30v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* appears in fols. 92r-97v. The texts are presented in one column and only a few corrections to orthographical features can be found.

#### *III Lectio marks*

*Lectio marks* are found in the margins of the *Virtutes Philippi*:

In fol. 29v, line 020:	.I.
In fol. 30r, line 008:	.II.
In fol. 20r, line 023:	.III.

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<sup>111</sup> O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, I: Die Helmstedter Handschriften* (Wolfenbüttel 1884), p. 378; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 121; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlviii; Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757 (they refer to this manuscript with the shelf mark 536).

<sup>112</sup> Von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, p. 378.

<sup>113</sup> Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlviii.

**(10) Angers BM 281 (henceforth Angers 281)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. XI<sup>114</sup> and comes from the monastery of St. Aubin in Angers where it was also possibly used.<sup>115</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* appears between fols. 65r-164r, the *Virtutes Philippi* occupies fols. 118r-119r and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* covers fols. 139r-144v. The *Virtutes Philippi* and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* are presented in one text column. Corrections can be found with regard to the text's orthographical features.

*III Lectio marks*

In the margin of the *Virtutes Philippi*, *lectio* marks can be found:

In fol. 118r, line 007: .VII.

In fol. 118r, line 015: .VIII.

In fol. 118r, line 023: .VIII.

In fol. 119r, line 001: .XII.

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, no such *lectio* marks appear.

**(11) Paris BNF lat. 5563 (henceforth Paris 5563)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates from s. XI<sup>116</sup> and its origins are unknown. Junod and Kaestli suggest that this manuscript is very closely related to Dublin 737, a statement that will be verified in this study.<sup>117</sup> It belonged to the monastery of St. Thierry in Reims.<sup>118</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 1v-124v, the *Virtutes Philippi* appears between fols. 22v-24r and

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<sup>114</sup> B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigothischen)*, vol. 1, p. 21. This manuscript was dated by some scholars to the ninth century. In a recent article, Rose claims, in correspondence with Bischoff, that this manuscript dates to the eleventh century; see E. Rose (forthcoming), 'Abdias scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum?', on the basis of correspondence with Prof. Dr. David Ganz. A possible explanation to the dating of this manuscript to the eleventh century can be found in J. Vezin, *Les scriptoria d'Angers au XIe siècle* (Paris 1974), where it is argued that the scribes of Angers tried to imitate the ninth century script as much as possible. For a more elaborate discussion of the dating of this manuscript, see Rose, 'Abdias scriptor'.

<sup>115</sup> Rose, 'Abdias scriptor'.

<sup>116</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. II, p. 468; Junod and Kaestli propose s. X in Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756, although why they do so remains unclear.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756; R. Düchtung, 'Wiedergefundene Versus Salomos III', in: W. Berschin and R. Düchtung (eds.), *Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg 1981), p. 118-128, at 124.

<sup>118</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. II, p. 468; cf. also F. Dolbeau, 'Typologie et formation des collections hagiographiques d'après les recueils de l'abbaye de Saint-Thierry', in: M. Bur (ed.), *Saint-Thierry. Une abbaye du VI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Actes du Colloque internationale d'Histoire monastique Reims-Saint-Thierry, 11 au 14 octobre 1976* (Saint-Thierry 1979), p. 159-182, at 161, where it is stated that this manuscript was in this monastery from s. XII to s. XV.

the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is found between fols. 96v-103v. The texts are presented in a single column.

## II Correction layer

The *Virtutes Bartholomei* is the only section in this manuscript that contains an extensive correction layer. In chapter 8 these corrections are presented in more detail in order to demonstrate that the initial text layer of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* was corrected on the basis of a different text version.

### (12) Paris BNF lat. 11750 (henceforth Paris 11750)

#### I Description

This manuscript dates back to s. XI<sup>119</sup> and its origins are unknown. It was in possession of St-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>120</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 59r-112v, the *Virtutes Bartholomei* can be found in fols. 75r-79v and the *Virtutes Philippi* is attested in fols. 110r-111r.

The texts are presented in one column and only a few corrections (to orthographical features) can be found in these two texts.

### (13) Paris Ste Geneviève 557 (henceforth Gen. 557)

#### I Description

This manuscript dates from s. XI<sup>fin</sup>-XII<sup>inc</sup>.<sup>121</sup> Its origins are unknown, while it was presumably used in Paris. The *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be found in fols. 1r-60v; the *Virtutes Philippi* covers fols. 35v-36v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is attested in fols. 45v-49v. The texts are presented in two columns. Some corrections can be found, most of them related to the orthography or use of certain words, although they are not very frequent in comparison with other manuscripts.

## III Lectio marks

In the margins of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, *lectio* marks can be found at the following places:

In fol. 45v, line 026a: .II.  
In fol. 45v, line 014b: .III.

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<sup>119</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. III, p. 45; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 126; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvi.

<sup>120</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. III, p. 45; D.C. Lambot, 'Review of: G.G. Meersseman *Der Hymnos akathistos im Abendland*', in: *Revue Bénédictine* 69 (1959), p. 134.

<sup>121</sup> C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris 1893), vol. 1, p. 290; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvi.

In fol. 46r, line 010b:	.III.
In fol. 46v, line 011a:	.V. <sup>a</sup>
In fol. 47v, line 003b:	.VI. <sup>a</sup>
In fol. 48r, line 008b:	.VII. <sup>a</sup>
In fol. 48v, line 004b:	.VIII. <sup>a</sup>
In fol. 49r, line 025a:	.VIII. <sup>a</sup>

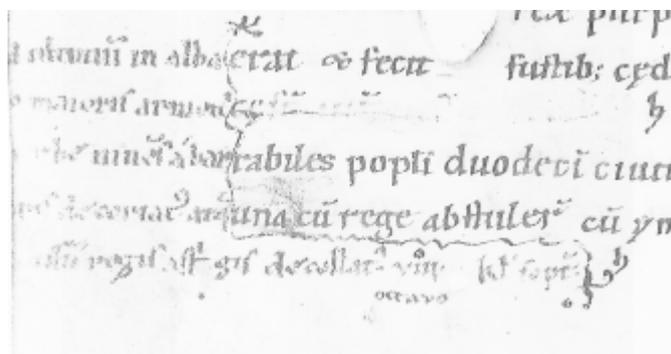
**(14) Paris BNF lat. 9737 (henceforth Paris 9737)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. XII,<sup>122</sup> its origins and provenance are unknown.

The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 12-64r; the *Virtutes Philippi* is found in fols. 15r-16v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is attested in fols. 32v-39r. The texts are presented in a single column and only a few corrections are found in the text layer (e.g. recent additions of words, erasures related to the mood and tense of verbs, spelling, etc.).

One interesting addition is found in the passage of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* describing the apostle's death. There, the original framing *caesum autem iussit decollari* was corrected to *[A]d ultimum in Alba[n]o maioris Armeni[ae] [in u]rbe uiuens a bar[ba]ris decoriatus atque [per] iussum regis Atrigis decollatus .VIII.<sup>o</sup> / octauo Kalendae Septembris*. This passage is found in the *Breviarum Apostolorum*, a Latin list of apostles in which short summaries can be found of the life and death of the apostles.<sup>123</sup>



Paris 9737, fol. 38v: added passage [BNF]

<sup>122</sup> *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. II, p. 574; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 126; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvi.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Rose, *Ritual Memory. The apocryphal acts and liturgical commemoration in the early medieval west (c. 500-1215)* (Leiden 2009), p. 86, note 36. On the *Breviarum Apostolorum*, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 15-17. I would like to thank Els Rose for identifying the added passage.

### III *Lectio marks*

*Lectio* marks can be found in both the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*.

The margins of the latter contain the following marks:

In fol. 15v, line 009: .VI.a

In fol. 15v, line 014: .VII.a

In fol. 15v, line 018: .VIII.

In the margins of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, on the other hand, the following marks appear:

In fol. 32v, line 024: .II.

In fol. 33r, line 007: .III.

In fol. 33r, line 016: .III.

In fol. 33r, line 024: .V.

### (15) **Paris BNF lat. 12602 (henceforth Paris 12602)**

#### I *Description*

This manuscript dates from s. XII<sup>124</sup> and is of unknown origin. It was used at the Abbey of Corbie and later at St-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>125</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 1av-58v, the *Virtutes Philippi* can be found in fols. 46r-46v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* follows in fols. 46v-49v. The texts are presented in one column.

### III *Lectio marks*

One *lectio* mark can be found in the margins of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

In fol. 47r, line 016: L[ectio] .V[...]

### (16) **Paris BNF lat. 12604 (henceforth Paris 12604)**

#### I *Description*

The manuscript dates from s. XII.<sup>126</sup> Its origin is unknown. It belonged to the abbey of Corbie.<sup>127</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be found in fols. 3v-76r, the *Virtutes Philippi* covers fols. 18v-19r and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* appears between fols. 60r-64r. The texts are presented in two columns and only a few corrections to orthographical features are found.

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<sup>124</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. III, p. 127; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 126; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvii.

<sup>125</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. III, p. 127.

<sup>126</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. III, p. 131; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 125; Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvii.

<sup>127</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. III, p. 131. Rose, 'Abdias scriptor'.

### III *Lectio marks*

Contemporary *Lectio* marks can be found in the margin of the section on Bartholomew:<sup>128</sup>

In fol. 60v, line 011a:	Lectio .I.
In fol. 60v, line 025a:	Lectio .II.
In fol. 60v, line 006b:	Lectio .III.
In fol. 60v, line 026b:	Lectio .IV.
In fol. 61r, line 010b:	Lectio quinta

#### (17) **Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139 (henceforth Bamberg 139)**

##### *I Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. XII<sup>129</sup> and was copied by Otloh of St. Emmeram, Regensburg,<sup>130</sup> before belonging to the library of the cathedral of Bamberg.<sup>131</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 2r-62r; the *Virtutes Philippi* covers fols. 34v-35r, while the *Virtutes Bartholomei* can be found in fols. 38r-41v. The texts are presented in two columns.

#### (18) **Munich BSB Clm 12641 (henceforth Munich 12641)**

##### *I Description*

This manuscript dates from s. XII<sup>132</sup> and was presumably used in the Bavarian abbey of Ranshofen.<sup>133</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 1r-92v, the *Virtutes Philippi* can be found between fols. 55v-56r and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* covers fols. 58v-63v. The texts are presented in one column.

#### (19) **Munich BSB Clm 22020 (henceforth Munich 22020)**

##### *I Description*

This manuscript dates from s. XII.<sup>134</sup> Its origins are unclear, while it was used in the Benedictine abbey of Wessobrun in Bavaria.<sup>135</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be found in fols. 1r-60r, the *Virtutes Bartholomei* covers fols. 41v-45v and the *Virtutes Philippi* is found in fols. 59v-60r. The texts are presented in two columns.

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<sup>128</sup> On the evidence that these marks are contemporary, see Rose, '*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Origin, aim and use'.

<sup>129</sup> F. Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek* (Bamberg 1895), p. 221.

<sup>130</sup> *Id.*, p. 229.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> C. Halm, G. von Laubmann and W. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae monacensis*, 2 parts, 7 vols. (Munich 1878-1968), vol. 2.2, p. 82.

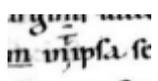
<sup>133</sup> Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

<sup>134</sup> Halm, Von Laubmann and Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum*, vol. 2.4, p. 19.

<sup>135</sup> Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

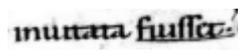
## II Correction layers

Both the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* contain at least two text layers. In addition to the text layer produced by the scribe, numerous corrections can be found, for example, in the following passage from fols. 42v, a hand changed the original word *in* to *inter*:



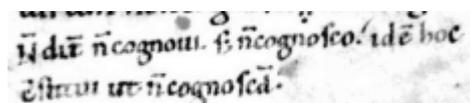
Change from *in* to *inter*

Furthermore, words are also underlined to indicate incorrect readings, as is the case with *fuisset* in fol. 42v:



Underlining of *fuisset*

Finally, in some cases, sentences or passages were added in the margin of the text. In fol. 42v, again, the sentence *non dic[it] non cognoui, sed non cognosco, id est hoc constitui ut non cognoscam* was added in the margin with a reference mark:



Addition of sentence in margin

## III Lectio marks

*Lectio* marks can be found in the margins of both the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, the following marks are found:

In fol. 41v, line 001b: .I.  
In fol. 41v, line 011b: .II.  
In fol. 41v, line 024b: .III.  
In fol. 42r, line 007a: .IIII.  
In fol. 42r, line 007b: .V.  
[.VI. and .VII. are not visible at the available microfilm]  
In fol. 42v, line 009a: .VIII.

In the margins of the *Virtutes Philippi*, the following *Lectio* marks appear:

In fol. 59v, line 015a: .II.  
In fol. 59v, line 016b: .III.  
In fol. 60r, line 006a: .IIII.

**(20) Paris Ste Geneviève 547 (henceforth Gen. 547)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates to s. XII<sup>136</sup> and is of unknown origin.<sup>137</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be found in fols. 2r-51v, the *Virtutes Bartholomei* covers fols. 33r-37r and the *Virtutes Philippi* appears between fols. 50v-51v. Both texts are presented in two text columns.

In this manuscript annotations can be found in the margins of the texts, which can be qualified as post-medieval comments on the narrative of the text. When the narrator relates how Philip knows that he is about to die, for example, the annotation *praedictum mortis* is found (fol. 51v, l. 002a).

**(21) Vienna ÖNB lat 560 (henceforth Vienna 560)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates back to either s. XII<sup>138</sup> or s. XIII.<sup>139</sup> It originates from the abbey of Rein in Carinthia,<sup>140</sup> but it is unknown where it was used. The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 0v-144v, the *Virtutes Philippi* covers fol. 22v-24v and the *Virtutes Bartholomei* fol. 109v-118r. The texts are presented in one column.

**(22) Paris BNF lat. 5274 (henceforth Paris 5274)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates from s. XII.<sup>141</sup> Its origins are uncertain: Delisle suggests that this manuscript may be from Limoges<sup>142</sup> and Dolbeau, on the other hand, puts forward Metz as a possible place of origin.<sup>143</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 2r-43v. A quire of the original manuscript is missing, due to which the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is absent in the extant

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<sup>136</sup> C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris 1893), p. 278; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 126; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvii.

<sup>137</sup> As regards provenance, the manuscript contains an ex libris dating back to s. XVII which gives us information as to where the manuscript was in that period: *ex bibliotheca PP. Carmelitarum Divionensium*. Cf. Kohler, *Catalogue*, p. 278.

<sup>138</sup> F. Simader, 'Neue romanische Handschriften aus dem Zisterzienserstift Rein', in: *Codices Manuscripti* 34/35 (2001), p. 1-14, at 3.

<sup>139</sup> *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 1, p. 96; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18; Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757.

<sup>140</sup> Simader, 'Neue romanische Handschriften', 3.

<sup>141</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. I, p. 432; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 126; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvi.

<sup>142</sup> L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale*, 3 vols. (Paris 1868-1881), vol. 1, p. 480.

<sup>143</sup> F. Dolbeau, 'Deux légendiers de Metz et de Châlons', in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990), p. 348.

manuscript. The *Virtutes Philippi*, however, covers fols. 19r-20r. This text is presented in two columns and the manuscript contains only a few corrections which are mostly of a morphosyntactic and orthographical nature.

**(23) Paris Ste Geneviève 558 (henceforth Gen. 558)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates to s. XIII<sup>144</sup> and originates from Paris. Its provenance also seems to be Paris, given the large number of texts dedicated to Geneviève, patroness of Paris.<sup>145</sup> The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 2r-67r, the *Virtutes Bartholomei* can be found in fols. 40v-46v and the *Virtutes Philippi* appears in fol. 65r-67r. The texts are presented in two columns and a few corrections can be found in the form of additions and the erasure of words.

**(24) Paris BNF lat. 5273 (henceforth Paris 5273)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. XIII<sup>146</sup> and its origin and provenance are unknown. The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 1r-67v, whilst the *Virtutes Philippi*, which begins at fol. 67r, is not complete in this manuscript since the second part of the last quire of the manuscript is missing. The *Virtutes Bartholomei*, on the other hand, is complete and covers fols. 28v-33r. The texts are presented in two columns.

**(25) Vienna ÖNB lat 497 (henceforth Vienna 497)**

*I Description*

This manuscript dates back to s. XIII<sup>147</sup> and is of unknown origin and provenance. The *Virtutes Apostolorum* covers fols. 24v-83r, the *Virtutes Philippi* can be found at fols. 34r-34v, the *Virtutes Bartholomei* appears from fol. 70r-73r. The texts are presented in one column and only a few corrections are found relating to the orthographical features of the text.

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<sup>144</sup> C. Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, vol. 1, p. 291; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 126; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

<sup>145</sup> According to Rose, 'Abdias scriptor'.

<sup>146</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. I, p. 431; Lipsius, *Die apokryphen apostelgeschichten*, vol. 1, p. 126.

<sup>147</sup> *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 1, p. 82; Philippart, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

## 2.2 *The Virtutes Bartholomei and the Virtutes Philippi*

The *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* are both prominent sources for the commemoration of these saints in the Latin West.<sup>148</sup> This section contains a short summary of the two texts.

The story of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* begins in India, with Bartholomew entering the temple of Astaroth, a demon worshipped by the people there. As soon as Bartholomew enters the temple, the demon stops speaking and is unable to attend to the crowd. The crowd then visits the temple of the demon Beireth in another city. This demon informs them of the arrival of Bartholomew and gives them an elaborate description of the apostle's physical features so that they can find him. The crowd begins to search for the apostle, but are unable to find him.

In the following section, the narrative focuses on Bartholomew and Polymius, the king of the region. When the king hears that Bartholomew has liberated a certain Pseustius from a demon, he asks Bartholomew to do the same for his lunatic daughter. Bartholomew does this and the king decides to thank him with valuable gifts. Polymius is unable to find Bartholomew, however, and returns to his palace.

In the middle of the night, Bartholomew appears to Polymius, explaining to him why he does not want to receive the worldly goods. He elaborates upon the birth of Christ, the virginity of Mary and the temptation of Christ by the Devil.<sup>149</sup> At the end of his speech, he offers to baptize Polymius, stating that Astaroth is a false demon. The king and Bartholomew agree to meet the following day at the temple of Astaroth so that Bartholomew can prove that he is telling the truth. The next day, Bartholomew forces the demon to admit that he is false and hurts members of the crowd on purpose. After the confessions of the demon, Bartholomew demands that the crowd destroys the idol in which Astaroth resides and implores them to worship the real God in the name of Christ. A long passage follows dedicated to the expulsion of the demon from the temple with the help of an angel of God. The temple is then initiated as a Christian church and the whole crowd is baptized, including the king, his wife and children.

After these events, some of the temple's priests visit king Astriges, the brother of king Polymius, and tell him that Polymius has been baptized by Bartholomew. King Astriges instructs the armed men of his community to capture Bartholomew and bring the apostle to him. When Bartholomew is confronted with Astriges, the king challenges him to prove that the God worshipped by Bartholomew is the true and only God.

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<sup>148</sup> For an elaborate discussion on the influence of both texts on the liturgy, cf. E. Rose, *Ritual Memory*, chapter 2 (on Bartholomew), and 3 (on Philip and James, who are celebrated on the same feast day).

<sup>149</sup> With many references to the New Testament; cf. E. Steinova, *Biblical Material in the Latin Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (MA-thesis, Utrecht University 2011).

However, the king is suddenly informed that one of his own deities, named Waldath, has collapsed. In his anger, the king arranges for Bartholomew to be killed by decapitation. The story ends with a reference to the king Polymius, who, initiated as a bishop, performs miracles and dies peacefully.

The *Virtutes Philippi* is the oldest extant Latin account of the life of Philip.<sup>150</sup> In this text, the story begins when Philip is taken into custody while preaching in Scythia, where he is forced to make a sacrifice to a statue of Mars. At that exact moment, a huge dragon appears and wounds several members of the crowd. Instantly, Philip advises the crowd to replace the statue of Mars with a cross and tells them to worship that instead. As soon as this advice is followed, Philip expels the dragon and heals the wounded people in the crowd. Soon after, the crowd begins to worship Philip's God, is educated in the principles of Christianity and is baptized. Philip then ensures that a Christian community is established there, with priests, deacons and churches.

Philip then visits the city of Hierapolim, where he is said to have put an end to the heresy advocated by the Hebionites. He is accompanied in this city by his two daughters. At the end of his life, Philip informs the community of Hierapolim of his impending death, and asks them to remain faithful to the beliefs of Christianity. Seven days later, he dies at the age of 87 and is buried in the city. His two daughters die some years later and are buried next to him.

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<sup>150</sup> The Latin *Virtutes Philippi* has only few parallels with the Greek *Acts of Philip*, that originated in Asia Minor in the fifth century. Rose, *Ritual Memory*, p. 130. On the Greek *Acts of Philip*, see: F. Bovon, B. Bouvier and F. Amsler (eds.), *Acta Philippi* (Turnhout 1999 = CCSA 11-12); F. Bovon, 'Les Actes de Philippe', in: W. Haase et al. (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.25.6 (Berlin/New York 1988), p. 4431-4527. Especially interesting is the fact that in the Greek *Martyrium of Philip*, which is added to the *Acts of Philip*, the apostle is depicted as a martyr, whereas Philip dies peacefully in the Latin *Virtutes Philippi*.



**PART ONE**  
**THE ANALYSIS OF TEXTUAL VARIANTS**



## CHAPTER 3                      The analysis of textual variants

### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I set forth how I analyze the textual transmission of the 24 text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the 25 text versions of the *Virtutes Philippi* in the selected 25 manuscripts. As stated in chapter 1, this analysis takes its cue from a particular approach to manuscript transmission: the analysis of the textual transmission is not used to reconstruct the ‘original’ text version of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*, but rather to come to a better understanding of the act of rewriting in the course of the manuscript transmission.

Both the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* contain many variants that bear witness to this process of rewriting. In order to achieve a better understanding of this activity, a categorization of textual variants is called for. This categorization, presented in section 3.2, forms the basis for the analysis of textual transmission.

The analysis has a twofold aim. Firstly, I aim to establish *distance relationships* between text versions of the 25 manuscripts. This part of my analysis will refine previous research on the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series. Furthermore, the analysis of distance relationships will give insight into differences in scribal behavior throughout its textual transmission. The methodology used for this part of my analysis is presented in section 3.3.

Secondly, I aim to establish a *relative chronology* of text versions. In order to do so, two principles are used to classify text versions according to the degree of innovations. In addition, these two principles can be of use to investigate how the Latin language of the manuscripts under scrutiny evolved throughout the course of its transmission. In section 3.4 these two principles are discussed.

For an analysis of all textual variants the reader is referred to Volume II of this thesis. The way in which the variants and their analysis is presented in Volume II, is discussed in sections 3.2.2 and 3.4.2 of this chapter.

### 3.2 Textual variants in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*

In the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, the philological term ‘variant’ is defined as ‘an alternative reading in a text; a textual variation in two or more copies of a (printed) work’.<sup>151</sup> Various general definitions of the term are suggested by different philologists,

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<sup>151</sup> *Shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles* (5<sup>th</sup> edition; Oxford 2002), s.v. ‘variant’.

including Salemans, who claims that ‘A [variant] is a reading in a text version which differs from the reading in the corresponding place in another text version’.<sup>152</sup>

In the present analysis, I will follow the definition of a textual variant as formulated by Salemans. In some cases, the scope of the variant is restricted to one letter. In other cases, a variant may consist of a whole passage that is present in one text version and absent in another. In their studies on textual variation, Van Mulken and Den Hollander subdivided textual variants further into a number of categories.<sup>153</sup> The present study will follow this categorization of textual variants and adapt it as necessary.

My analysis of textual variants will exclude two types of variation. Firstly, I will not deal with textual variants related to orthographical and phonological features.<sup>154</sup> Secondly, I disregard variation related to punctuation.<sup>155</sup> It is true to say that these two types of variants are very informative for our understanding of the Latin language, and undoubtedly have much to tell us about the relationship between text and its user’s context. It is mainly from a practical point of view that these two types of textual variation will not be discussed within the scope of this study, since the number of variants in orthography and punctuation is simply too large to discuss within the scope of this thesis.

### 3.2.1 *The categorization of textual variants*

The textual variants in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* can be assigned to four categories: (i) interpolation/omission; (ii) word order; (iii) morphosyntax; (iv) choice of lexeme.<sup>156</sup> I will now provide further information on each category by presenting some examples of variants that fall into it. In chapters 5 and 6 these categories will be discussed in more detail.

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<sup>152</sup> B. Salemans, ‘Varianten als bouwstenen van stemma’s: een pleidooi voor eenvoud en openheid bij het opstellen van tekststambomen’, in: G.R.W. Dibbets and P.W.M. Wackers (eds.), *Wat duikers vent is dit! – Opstellen voor W.M.H. Hummelen* (Wijhe 1989), p. 319-343, at 320; English translation taken from: M. van Mulken, *The manuscript tradition of the Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes. A stemmatological and dialectological approach* (Doctoral thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam 1993), p. 16.

<sup>153</sup> Van Mulken, *The manuscript tradition of the Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes*, p. 36-38; A. Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen 1522-1545 / Dutch translations of the Bible 1522-1545* (Doctoral thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam 1997), p. 141.

<sup>154</sup> In chapter seven, however, I will discuss variation in spelling and the correction of spelling in one of the manuscripts in my corpus: Montpellier 55.

<sup>155</sup> On the development of punctuation, see: M.B. Parkes, *Pause and effect. An introduction to the history of punctuation in the West* (Aldershot 1992).

<sup>156</sup> This is an adaptation of the categorization made by Den Hollander: A. Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse Bijbelvertalingen*, p. 141; M. van Mulken, *The manuscript tradition*, p. 36-38. Cf. also N. de Hommel-Steenackers, *Een openbaring: Parijs, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. néerlandais 3* (Doctoral thesis, KU Nijmegen 2001), p. 52; E. Jonker, *Het Amsterdams Perikopenboek. Volkstalige vroomheid in veertiende-eeuws Vlaanderen* (Doctoral thesis, Universiteit Leiden 2010), p. 43.

### 3.2.1.1 Interpolation/omission

This category contains all the textual variants in which a piece of text is present in one or several manuscripts but absent in others. From a philological point of view, it is uncertain whether it was *interpolated* by a scribe in the course of the manuscript transmission, or whether it was *omitted* by a scribe. For this reason, these textual variants are qualified as cases of *interpolation/omission*. Throughout my analysis, presented in volume II of this thesis, the absence of a word, part of the sentence, or sentence is indicated with the sign ‘[X]’.

The examples of this type of variant presented here, illustrate the wide range covered by this category:

- interpolation/omission of the predicate of the sentence: [X] // *esse* // *sunt* [VB 2.3]<sup>157</sup>
- interpolation/omission of discourse markers: *igitur* // [X] [VB 3.3]
- interpolation/omission of a word or a group of words: *India* // [X] [VB 3.4]
- interpolation/omission of markers of reference:  
*dixit* [X] // *dixit eis* // *dixit ad eos* [VB 12.2]
- interpolation/omission of (part of) a sentence:  
In some cases, a sentence, part of a sentence or a complete passage is not present in one or more manuscripts. An example of this is found when we compare the text versions of Angers 281 and Bamberg 139 [VB 31.1]

[Angers 281]:	<i>Et haec dicens demon, conticuit.</i>
[Bamberg 139]:	[X]

### 3.2.1.2 Word order

This category of textual variation includes cases related to word order. Examples of this category are as follows:

- variation in the order ‘adjective + noun’: *a deo falso* // *a falso deo* [VB 7.2]
- variation related to the order ‘subject + verb + object’: *nullum daret Astaroth responsum* // *nullum Astaroth daret responsum* [VB 10.5.1]

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<sup>157</sup> This number refers to the number of the variant in the analysis of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* [VB] or the *Virtutes Philippi* [VP], which can be found in the second volume of this thesis.

### 3.2.1.3 *Morphosyntax*

This category includes textual variants that are related to morphosyntax, as in the following examples:

- variation in the inflection of a noun, adjective or pronoun:  
*historiographis // historiographos* [VB 2.2]
- variation in the inflection of the verb:  
*curare // curasse* [VB 8.3]  
*sanantur // sanentur* [VB 8.9]  
*et nullus ausus erat // et nullus ausus fuerat* [VB 38.6]
- variation in the preverb of a composite verb:  
*fugaremus // effugaremus* [VB 113.4]
- variation in the construction of a clause:  
*Centies flexis genibus // Centies flectit genua* [VB 22.1]
- variation related to the presence/absence of prepositions:  
*plenum // plenum de* [VB 10.1]

### 3.2.1.4 *Choice of lexeme*

This category includes variation related to the choice of lexeme(s). Frequently occurring cases in this category are:

- choice of a discourse marker:  
*autem // enim* [VB 47.1]
- choice of a noun:  
*terra // humo* [VB 67.1.3]
- choice of a possessive pronoun:  
*uestrum // nostrum* [VB 101.3]
- choice of a cardinal number:  
*septem // octo* [VP 24.2]
- choice of adjectives:  
*aequales // patulae* [VB 16.7]
- choice of a verb:  
*dimittat // permittat* [VB 89.4]
- choice of a pronoun:  
*illam // eam* [VB 39.4]
- choice of a conjunction:  
*quia // quod* [VB 48.2]
- choice of a preposition:  
*in // ad* [VP 17.4]

- choice related to more than one lexeme:  
*famulantur ei // qui sunt cum eo* [VB 28.2]

In the analysis of both the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* presented in volume II of this thesis, each textual variant is allocated to a particular category. Sometimes, a textual variant fits into more than one category. The variation found in VB 42.2, for example, (*sicut iussit apostolus // sicut praeceperat apostolus // sicut apostolus praecepit*) relates to three categories of variation: variation in the choice of lexeme(s) (*iubere // praecipere*); variation in morphosyntax (*praecepit // praeceperat*); and variation in word order (*apostolus praecepit // praeceperat apostolus*).

### 3.2.2 The presentation of textual variants in volume II

I present the textual variants in the second volume of this thesis. The analysis of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* can be found in Volume II, part 1; the analysis of the *Virtutes Philippi* is covered in Volume II, part 2.

The analysis of each textual variant is based as much as possible on the original text as initially written by the scribe. Because of this, later corrections made in the text are not taken into account. In Figure 1, which lays out an example taken from Montpellier 55 (fol. 22r), the original reading *ab eis* has been erased and corrected to *ab eo*. In this case, I have taken the reading *ab eis* into account for my analysis of textual variation. In some cases, however, the initial reading cannot be read or found. When this occurs, I mention that a textual variant is not found in a certain manuscript in the following manner: ‘Graz 412: \*’. In chapter 4, I will explain that such cases lead to small uncertainties when it comes to analyzing rewriting patterns.

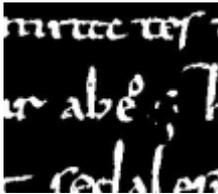


Figure 1: the correction from *ab eis* to *ab eo* in Montpellier 55.

I will explain the way in which I present the textual variants found by taking one sentence in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* as an example. In manuscript Angers 281, the following sentence can be found:

(a) *Peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.*

This sentence is found in this form in fourteen other manuscripts (not counting orthographical variants).<sup>158</sup>

Four manuscripts do not have *alteram prouinciam*, but instead contain the reading *aliam prouinciam*.<sup>159</sup>

(b) *Peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad aliam prouintiam.*<sup>160</sup>

Furthermore, two manuscripts have a variant reading at the beginning of the sentence.

Although all of the manuscripts mentioned above contain *peto uos*, these two manuscripts contain *et peto uos*.<sup>161</sup> This variant results in a third sentence:

(c) *Et peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.*<sup>162</sup>

Manuscript St Gall 561 contains yet another variant reading. In this manuscript, one reads *permittat* instead of *dimittat*. A fourth occurrence is then added to the list:

(d) *Peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut permittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.*

In some cases, two unique variants occur in one and the same manuscript, as is the case with Vienna 497, where the anaphoric referent *illum* replaces *eum*, and where *ad* has been transformed into *in*. The sentence is presented in Vienna 497 as follows:

(e) *Peto uos ut rogetis illum pro me, ut dimittat me ire in aliam prouinciam.*

In Vienna 560, the discourse marker *ergo* can be found at the beginning of the sentence between *peto* and *uos*. Thus, a sixth variant sentence can be added:

(f) *Peto ergo uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.*

In total, six variant readings can be found. In the analysis of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, I present the various readings as follows:<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Viz. manuscripts Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Gen. 547, Graz 412, Montpellier 55, Munich 22020, Paris 5563, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Helmst. 497 and Wolf. Weiss. 48. In Montpellier 55, the verb *dimittat* in the subordinate clause of the sentence has been corrected to *dimittite*. In this case, the original reading is taken into account for the present analysis.

<sup>159</sup> Viz. Gen. 557, Munich 12641, Paris 5273 and Paris 12602.

<sup>160</sup> Here I follow the orthography of Gen. 557.

<sup>161</sup> The manuscripts concerned are Gen. 558 and Paris 18298.

<sup>162</sup> Here I follow the orthography of Gen. 558.

<sup>163</sup> See Volume II: the analysis of textual variants, p. 289.

Angers 281 Bamberg 139 Dublin 737 Gen 547 Graz 412 Munich 22020 Paris 5563 Paris 9737 Paris 11750 Paris 12604 Vienna 455 Vienna 534 Wolf. Helmst. 497 Wolf. Weiss. 48 Montpellier 55	<i>Peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouintiam.</i>  <i>dimittat: dimittite p.c. Montpellier 55</i>
Gen 557 Munich 12641 Paris 5273 Paris 12602	<i>Peto uos, ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad aliam prouintiam.</i>
Gen 558 Paris 18298	<i>Et peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.</i>
St. Gall 561	<i>Peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut permittat me ire ad alteram prouintiam.</i>
Vienna 497	<i>Peto uos ut rogetis illum pro me, ut dimittat me ire in aliam prouinciam.</i>
Vienna 560	<i>Peto ergo uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.</i>

The orthography presents the spelling of the manuscript that is mentioned first. In the first sentence, the orthographical conventions of manuscript Angers 281 are followed, the second sentence represents the orthographical conventions of Gen. 557 and the third sentence follows the orthography of Gen. 558.

The various sentences are followed by a presentation of each specific variant, which forms the basis of my analysis. In the aforementioned sentence, there are six variant readings, each of which is presented and numbered individually:

<i>VB 89.1 peto // et peto</i> <i>VB 89.2 peto uos // peto ergo uos</i> <i>VB 89.3 eum // illum</i> <i>VB 89.4 dimittat // permittat</i> <i>VB 89.5 alteram // aliam</i> <i>VB 89.6 ad // in</i>
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In the following two sections, I shall describe how I use these textual variants to determine the *distance relationships* between text versions and establish a *relative chronology* of text versions.

### **3.3 The establishment of distance relationships**

The first aim of my analysis is to determine *distance relationships* between the manuscripts on the basis of textual variants found in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. I analyze distance relationships in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* separately from those of the *Virtutes Philippi*. When I speak of *distance relationships*, I refer to the *relative distance* between two manuscripts on the basis of the *total number of identical variants* in cases of textual variation. To establish the distance relationships that exist between the text versions of two manuscripts, I first count the total number of textual variants that are found in the text versions of my corpus. Then, I count the total number of identical variants between the two text versions. I count a total number of 914 variant readings in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, whilst my analysis of the *Virtutes Philippi* results in 175 variant readings. The distance relationships between the text versions of two manuscripts is therefore expressed on a scale of 0 to 914 identical variants in the case of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and a scale of 0 to 175 identical variants in the case of the *Virtutes Philippi*, respectively. I present the distance relationships both in absolute numbers (say, 679 identical variants) and in a ratio of the maximum possible score of identical variants ( $679/914 = 74\%$ ). A relatively large number of identical variants (high percentage of identical variants) indicates that the two text versions in these manuscripts are more closely related; a relatively small number (low percentage of identical variants) suggests that the text versions of the two manuscripts are less closely related.<sup>164</sup>

This part of the analysis allows me to establish the distance relationships that exist between the manuscripts in my corpus, thus validating the findings of Lipsius, Zelzer and Junod and Kaestli on the manuscript transmission presented in chapter 1. Furthermore, the analysis of distance relationships will provide me with an insight into interventions carried out throughout the course of the textual transmission, revealing different types of scribal behavior. I will elaborate on the results of this part of my analysis in chapter 4 of this thesis.

### **3.4 The establishment of a relative chronology of text versions**

The second principal aim of my analysis is to establish a *relative chronology* of text versions on the basis of a *select number of textual variants*. When I speak of a *relative*

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<sup>164</sup> My analysis is restricted to the relationships between manuscripts in terms of textual variation in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*; for an analysis of other categories of variants attested in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, see E. Rose, 'Virtutes Apostolorum: Editorial Problems and Principles', forthcoming in *Apocrypha* 23 (2012), p. 11-46.

*chronology*, I refer to a chronology of text versions *based on the number of interventions carried out by the scribe(s) of each manuscript*. For this distinction, I will use the terms *conservative* and *innovative*. A *conservative* text version is a version with a relatively high number of *conservative variants*. An *innovative* text version, on the other hand, is a version with a relatively high number of *innovative variants*.

To arrive at a distinction between a *conservative* variant and an *innovative* variant, I formulate two principles on the basis of which each textual variant is examined. The first principle follows from a hypothesis based upon recent research on the discourse-pragmatic features of the language, whilst the second principle is based on a numerical hypothesis. I will elaborate on these two principles in section 3.4.1.

#### 3.4.1. *The principles of 'Lectio explicitior' and 'All-except-one/two'*

The first of the two principles that I use to differentiate between a conservative textual variant and an innovative textual variant is the principle of *Lectio explicitior*. When comparing text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*, I observe variation in phenomena that facilitate the interpretation of the text. Firstly, I find differences in 'discourse markers', that is, words used to clarify the structure of the text (e.g. *nam*). Secondly, I detect variation in how reference is made to the protagonists of the story.

With regard to the observation that the *Virtutes Apostolorum* were read out loud in a performative context,<sup>165</sup> it stands to reason that scribes tried to make sure that the audience understood the texts. It follows from this assumption that textual features that facilitate the interpretation of the structure of the text can be qualified as interventions of scribes who aimed at a better understanding of a text. Accordingly, there is reason to regard variant readings that are less explicit as *conservative* variants and to consider the more explicit variant readings to be *innovations*.<sup>166</sup> In chapter 5, I present the results of the application of this principle.

The second principle that I use to arrive at a relative chronology of text versions is the numerical principle of **All-except-one/two**. In many cases, variant readings are distributed unequally among the 24 (Bartholomew) or 25 (Philip) text versions in the manuscripts. Often, one variant reading is found in only one or two text versions, whilst the other manuscripts contain the other variant reading. In such cases, I propose to make a distinction between textual variants on quantitative grounds. My hypothesis is that the variant reading of all except-one or two text versions is the *conservative* variant, preserved

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<sup>165</sup> Cf. chapter 1, p. 9-10.

<sup>166</sup> The *Lectio Explicitior*-principle does not work in one specific manuscript: Paris 5563. This manuscript was corrected on the basis of an unidentified local manuscript, which was obviously regarded as more authoritative. Apparently, the performative aspect of the text was, in this specific case, overruled by other concerns. I will elaborate on this issue in chapter eight of this thesis.

throughout the manuscript transmission. On the other hand, I regard the variant reading found in a maximum of two manuscripts as an intervention of the scribe of this or these particular manuscript(s) (or of its (lost) exemplar), and therefore consider it an *innovative* variant.

The numerical principle of ‘All-except-one’ has the disadvantage that it is not applicable to all textual variants. Cases of variation in which both variant readings are found in more than two manuscripts are considered to be uninformative from the point of view of this principle. Although I acknowledge that this principle is based on a minority of cases, I will argue in my discussion of the results of this principle that it is of importance for studies into the development of the Latin language.<sup>167</sup>

In the following example, taken from the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, variation occurs between *euacuet* in the text version of manuscript Bamberg 139 and *euacueret* in the text version of Gen. 558:

[Bamberg 139]	<i>Respondit demon: Amicus dei est omnipotentis, et ideo huc uenit in istam prouinciam, ut numina quae colunt Indi euacuet.</i>
[Gen. 558]	<i>Respondit demon: Amicus est dei omnipotentis, et ideo huc uenit in istam prouinciam, ut omnia numina que coluntur in India euacueret.</i>

In this case, I apply the principle of All-except-one since the variant reading *euacueret* is only found in the text version of Gen. 558, whereas the text versions of all other manuscripts contain the variant *euacuet*. Therefore, I regard *euacuet* as the conservative reading and *euacueret* as the innovative variant. In chapter 6, I will present many more results regarding the application of this principle.

In cases where one of these two principles can be applied, conservative variants are counted as ‘1’ and innovative textual variants are counted as ‘2’. I add up the total score of both principles for each individual text version. Both the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* and the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’ give us indications of the innovative character of each text version. A low total score indicates that a manuscript has a conservative text version; a high total score, on the other hand, suggests that a manuscript contains an innovative text version. The results of this part of the analysis will be discussed in chapter 4.

#### 3.4.2 The presentation of my analysis of the relative chronology

In the analyses of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*, presented in Volume II of this thesis, I explain whether or not a principle can be applied for each variant. If this is the case, the following description is made:

<sup>167</sup> Cf. chapter 6, p. 85.

- (i) In the ‘conclusion’ section I state which variant is regarded as the ‘conservative’ variant;
- (ii) In the ‘principle’ section I explain which of the two principles is applied to arrive at such a conclusion;
- (iii) In the ‘mark’ section, each variant is given a mark (‘conservative’= 1; ‘innovative’= 2).

For instance, in the case of *euacuet* versus *euacueret* mentioned above, the following description is made:

**Conclusion:**  
*euacuet* is the conservative variant.  
**Principle:**  
 All-except-one: All manuscripts except Gen. 558 contain *euacuet*.  
**Mark:**  
 Mss. containing *euacuet*: 1.  
 Gen. 558: 2.

In cases where neither of the two principles can be applied, no ‘conclusion’ and ‘principle’ can be presented. In such cases, a question mark is put in the conclusion and I indicate that neither principle is applicable. Furthermore, this group of variants is classified by letters instead of numbers, since they cannot be used for this part of my analysis. For example, in the case of a variation found in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* between *ueterescunt/ueterascunt* (indicative present) and *ueterescant* (subjunctive present), where none of the principles are applicable, the following description is given:

**Conclusion:**  
 ?  
**Principle:**  
 None of the principles applicable.  
**Mark:**  
 Mss. containing *ueterescunt / ueterascunt*: A.  
 Mss. containing *ueterescant*: B.

If a certain manuscript does not contain one of the variant readings, for instance because it does not contain the sentence in which the variant can be found, the manuscript is followed by the sign ‘\*’, e.g. “Paris 9737: \*”. In chapter 4, I will illustrate that these cases lead to small uncertainties about the exact outcome of the present analysis.



## CHAPTER 4                      **The relative distance and the relative chronology of text versions**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I present the results of my analysis of distance relationships and a relative chronology of text versions. The scope of my research is limited to textual variants in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*; the reader is referred to a publication by Els Rose for an elaborate discussion of other categories of variation.<sup>168</sup>

Section 4.2 contains the results of the analysis of distance relationships as far as the section on Bartholomew is concerned. Section 4.3 presents the analysis of distance relationships in the section on Philip. Section 4.4 integrates the results of the two separate sections into a single coherent overview of distance relationships. Lastly, section 4.5 is devoted to the classification of manuscripts on the basis of the relative chronology of text versions.

### **4.2 Distance relationships between manuscripts (i): the *Virtutes Bartholomei***

To establish the distance relationships that exist between two text versions, I count the number of cases in which they contain the same textual variant (henceforth also labelled as an *identical variant*). In my analysis of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, I list a total number of 914 textual variants. Thus, the count results in a total number of identical variants somewhere between 0 (0% similarity) and 914 (100% similarity). In Appendix 1 all such results are presented.

In chapter 1 of this thesis I introduced Zelzer's distinction between a German (henceforth Bavarian because many of the oldest preserved manuscripts originate from Bavaria) and a Frankish tradition (so named because the most important manuscripts originate from the Frankish region).<sup>169</sup> The data in Appendix 1 confirm the validity of a distinction between two main traditions, since the text versions of manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition contain a higher percentage of identical variants than the text versions of manuscripts from the Frankish tradition. In the Bavarian tradition, many of the text versions contain the same variant reading in more than 85% of the cases. Such high percentages of identical variants are only rarely found when two text versions in manuscripts from the Frankish tradition are compared. In the latter tradition, percentages between 70% and 80% of identical variants are regarded as an indication that two manuscripts in this tradition are more closely related. I will also demonstrate that my analysis allows for a further refinement of the differences within these two main traditions.

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<sup>168</sup> Rose, '*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Editorial Problems and Principles'.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxiv.

I shall first discuss distance relationships in the Bavarian tradition and then turn my attention to distance relationships in the Frankish tradition.

#### 4.2.1 *The Bavarian tradition*

The highest number of identical variants between the text versions is found in the four ninth century manuscripts, most of which originate in Bavaria (viz. Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534 and Wolf. Weiss. 48;<sup>170</sup> hence the term *Bavarian*). In these manuscripts, the percentage of identical variants fluctuates between 94% and 96% (cf. Table 1). These percentages are an indication of the strong cohesion within this group of manuscripts. I consider them to be the *core* of the Bavarian tradition.

Dublin 737 & Vienna 455 875 (96%)	Dublin 737 & Vienna 534 861 (94%)	Dublin 737 & Wolf. W. 48 865 (95%)
Vienna 455 & Vienna 534 867 (95%)	Vienna 455 & Wolf. W. 48 869 (95%)	Vienna 534 & Wolf. W. 48 856 (94%)

Table 1: number of identical variants between Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48 and Paris 5563.

Furthermore, there are manuscripts from a later date that share a relatively high number of identical variants with the core of the Bavarian tradition. On the basis of these results, I distinguish two types of relationship between these manuscripts and the core group.

Firstly, there are manuscripts from a later date that show a relatively high degree of identical variants with the core of the Bavarian tradition: Paris 5563 (s. XI), Bamberg 139 (s. XII), Paris 12604 (s. XII), Angers 281 (s. XI)<sup>171</sup>, Munich 12641 (s. XII) and Wolf. Helmst. 497 (s. XI). The number of identical variants found between these manuscripts and the ninth-century manuscripts is between 789 and 881 (between 86% and 96% of the total number of variants; cf. Table 2). These high numbers of identical variants indicate that the text versions of these manuscripts are closely related to those of the core.

Bamberg 139 & Dublin 737 824 (90%)	Bamberg 139 & Vienna 455 828 (91%)	Bamberg 139 & Vienna 534 857 (94%)
Bamberg 139 & Wolf. W. 48 817 (89%)	Angers 281 & Dublin 737 829 (91%)	Angers 281 & Vienna 455 835 (91%)
Angers 281 & Vienna 534 817 (89%)	Angers 281 & Wolf. W. 48 820 (90%)	Munich 12641 & Dublin 737 811 (89%)

<sup>170</sup> Although this manuscript possibly originates in Alsace. On this Rose, '*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Editorial problems and principles'.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Rose (forthcoming), '*Abdias scriptor*', for elaborate argumentation on dating this manuscript to s. XI.

Munich 12641 & Vienna 455 806 (88%)	Munich 12641 & Vienna 534 824 (90%)	Munich 12641 & Wolf. W. 48 804 (88%)
Wolf. H. 497 & Dublin 737 791 (87%)	Wolf. H. 497 & Vienna 455 789 (86%)	Wolf. H. 497 & Vienna 534 784 (86%)
Wolf. H. 497 & Wolf. W. 48 802 (88%)	Paris 12604 & Dublin 737 860 (94%)	Paris 12604 & Vienna 455 849 (93%)
Paris 12604 & Vienna 534 844 (92%)	Paris 12604 & Wolf. W. 48 844 (92%)	Paris 5563 & Dublin 737 881 (96%)
Paris 5563 & Vienna 455 868 (95%)	Paris 5563 & Vienna 534 854 (93%)	Paris 5563 & Wolf. W. 48 861 (94%)

Table 2: the number of identical variants between Bamberg 139, Paris 12603, Angers 281, Munich 12641 and Wolf. H. 497 and the four ninth-century manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition.

The second group of text versions related to the core group includes Paris 12602, Vienna 497 and Vienna 560. The number of identical variants between these three text versions and the text versions of the core group lies between 701 and 746, which is 77% to 82% of the total number of textual variants (see Table 3 below). These percentages are lower in comparison with the previous group of manuscripts (86%-96%). Nevertheless, the number of identical variants found between Paris 12602, Vienna 497 and Vienna 560 is much higher in comparison with the core of the Bavarian tradition than with manuscripts of the Frankish tradition, so that these three manuscripts can be assigned to the Bavarian tradition.

Paris 12602 & Dublin 737 723 (79%)	Vienna 497 & Dublin 737 704 (77%)	Vienna 560 & Dublin 737 746 (82%)
Paris 12602 & Vienna 455 727 (80%)	Vienna 497 & Vienna 455 705 (77%)	Vienna 560 & Vienna 455 734 (80%)
Paris 12602 & Vienna 534 720 (79%)	Vienna 497 & Vienna 534 714 (78%)	Vienna 560 & Vienna 534 722 (79%)
Paris 12602 & Wolf. W. 48 721 (79%)	Vienna 497 & Wolf. W. 48 701 (77%)	Vienna 560 & Wolf. W. 48 720 (79%)

Table 3: the number of identical variants between Paris 12602, Vienna 497 and Vienna 560 on the one hand, and Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534 and Wolf. W. 48 on the other hand.

On the basis of these results, the distance relationships between manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition as far as the section on Bartholomew is concerned are presented in Figure 1.

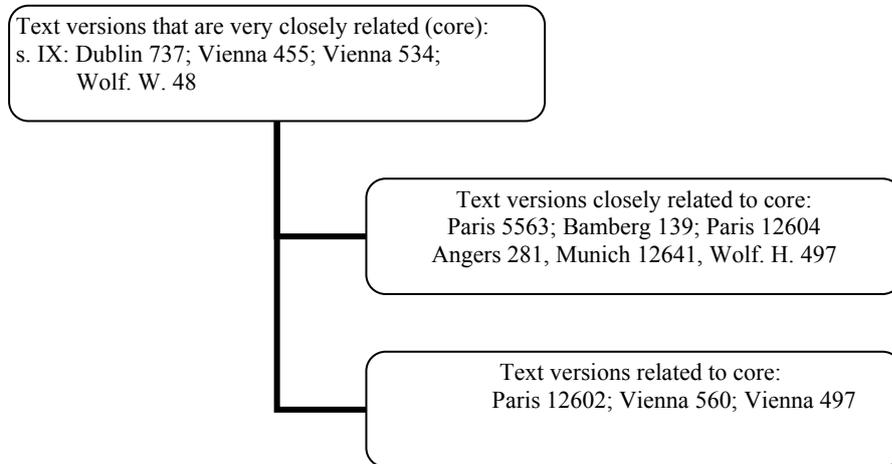


Figure 1: distance relationships in the Bavarian tradition (*Virtutes Bartholomei*)

#### 4.2.2 Distance relationships in the Frankish tradition

In the *Frankish* tradition, named such since the most important manuscripts have Frankish origins,<sup>172</sup> I argue on the basis of the data presented in Appendix 1 that, instead of speaking about *one* Frankish tradition of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, it is more useful to distinguish between *several groups* within the Frankish tradition.

The first group (henceforth Frankish group (i)) consists of Montpellier 55 (s. VIII), the earliest extant manuscript of Frankish origin, Gen. 547 (s. XII), Gen. 557 (s. XI<sup>fin</sup>-XII<sup>inc</sup>) and Paris 5273 (s. XIII). The distance relationships between these manuscripts are presented in Table 4.

Gen. 547 & Montpellier 55 736 (81%)	Gen. 557 & Montpellier 55 765 (84%)	Paris 5273 & Montpellier 55 713 (78%)
Gen. 547 & Gen. 557 745 (82%)	Gen. 547 & Paris 5273 702 (77%)	Gen. 557 & Paris 5273 732 (80%)

Table 4: the number of identical variants between Montpellier 55, Gen. 547, Gen. 557 and Paris 5273

The number of identical variants between the text versions of Bartholomew in these four manuscripts is between 702 and 765 (77% to 84% of the total number of textual variants). In each manuscript, these numbers of identical variants stand out in comparison with the other manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. chapter 2.

The second group of text versions (henceforth Frankish, group (ii)) that indicate a closer relationship in the case of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* are Graz 412 (s. IX), Paris 9737 (s. XII), Paris 18298 (s. IX-X)<sup>173</sup> and St. Gall 561 (s. IX-X). The results are presented in Table 5.

Paris 9737 & Paris 18298 777 (85%)	Paris 9737 & St. Gall 561 679 (74%)	Paris 18298 & St. Gall 561 674 (74%)
Graz 412 & Paris 9737 686 (78%)	Graz 412 & Paris 18298 690 (79%)	Graz 412 & St. Gall 561 646 (74%)

Table 5: the number of identical variants between Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561 and Graz 412

Paris 9737 and Paris 18298 share 85% of the total number of textual variants. In the case of St. Gall 561, the number of identical variants of this manuscript with Paris 9737 and Paris 18298 is also higher than with the text versions of the other manuscripts in the Frankish tradition; 74% of the total number of textual variants are shared by both St. Gall 561, Paris 9737 and Paris 18298.

The section on Bartholomew in Graz 412 is incomplete. The remaining part of the text version that can be used for comparison reveals that the section on Bartholomew contains the highest number of identical variants with Paris 9737, Paris 18298 and St. Gall 561 (74x% to 79x% of the total number of identical variants that can be compared)<sup>174</sup>. On the basis of this observation, Graz 412 is considered to be part of this group in the Frankish tradition.

In addition, I classify three manuscripts as ‘other Frankish’, because they fit in neither of the two groups mentioned above if we take into account the analysis of relative distance relationships. The *Virtutes Bartholomei* text in Gen. 558 (s. XIII) and Paris 11750 (s. XI) shares a high number of identical variants with both group (i) and group (ii) of the Frankish tradition. Gen. 558 shares between 72% and 75% of the total number of variants with group (i) of the Frankish tradition, but shares between 66% and 74% of the total number of variants with group (ii). Paris 11750 has a variant identical to group (i) of the Frankish tradition in 74%-75% of the cases, whereas it has a variant identical to group (ii) in 72% to 75% of the cases.

Munich 22020 (s. XII), on the other hand, shares a low number of identical variants with other manuscripts of my corpus: between just 60% and 63% with manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. This very low number indicates that Munich 22020 is distantly

<sup>173</sup> In section 4.3 I will demonstrate that Paris 18298 is partly Frankish and partly Bavarian in character.

<sup>174</sup> The total number of variants that can be used for comparison as far as Graz 412 is concerned is 874.

related to the other manuscripts in my corpus. For this reason, I use the term *codex extravagans*, defined as ‘[manuscripts] which present isolated forms of a text’ in an article by Rémi Gounelle on the manuscript transmission of the *Acts of Pilate*, to describe its position in the manuscript transmission on the basis of textual variation.<sup>175</sup> In section 4.2.3, I will demonstrate that Munich 22020 can be assigned to the Frankish tradition when special attention is paid to variants related to content.

Table 6 presents the distance relationships that exist between manuscripts of the Frankish tradition as far as the section on Bartholomew is concerned.

The Frankish tradition		
Group (i)	Group (ii)	Other Frankish
Montpellier 55 Gen. 547 Gen. 557 Paris 5273	Graz 412 Paris 9737 Paris 18298 St. Gall 561	Gen. 558 Paris 11750  <i>Codex extravagans</i> , related to Frankish tradition Munich 22020

Table 6: distance relationships in the Frankish tradition (*Virtutes Bartholomei*)

#### 4.2.3 Differences in content

The analysis of distance relationships in the case of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* can be refined when six variants related to *paratext* and the *content* of this text are taken into account.

The first variant consists of a paratextual feature that is found at the beginning of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, before the text begins.<sup>176</sup> In some of the text versions, a list of *capitula* is presented before the first sentence of the text, as is the case in Dublin 737:

<sup>175</sup> R. Gounelle, ‘Editing a fluid and unstable text. The example of the *Acts of Pilate* (or *Gospel of Nicodemus*)’, forthcoming in: *Apocrypha* 23 (2012).

<sup>176</sup> On paratextual features in the entire *Virtutes Apostolorum*-series, cf. E. Rose, ‘Paratexts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*’, forthcoming in *Viator* 44 (2013).

<i>Incipiunt capitula de passione sancti Bartholomei</i>	
.I.	<i>De fanis, et inditium de apostolo</i>
.II.	<i>De lunatica sanata</i>
.III.	<i>De praedicatione apostoli ad regem</i>
.IV.	<i>De confessione demonis, et subuersione templi</i>
.V.	<i>De passione apostoli</i>
.VI.	<i>De episcopatu regis</i>

This list of *capitula* is only found in a number of manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition, namely Dublin 737, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Wolf. Weiss. 48 and Munich 12641. This list is absent, however, in two of the Bavarian manuscripts: Angers 281 and Bamberg 139.<sup>177</sup> In the Frankish tradition, the list of *capitula* is also lacking. This finding suggests that the presence of a list of *capitula* indicates that we are dealing with a manuscript from the Bavarian tradition.<sup>178</sup>

Furthermore, there are five sentences or passages that are only found in a certain number of manuscripts. First of all, variant 31.1 consists of the interpolation/omission of a single sentence. At a particular moment in the story, the crowd asks the demon to describe the appearance of the apostle Bartholomew. Once he has described the physical features of Bartholomew, the demon asks the crowd not to bring Bartholomew to him because he does not want to experience the same fate as his fellow demon, Astaroth. After this passage, some text versions contain the following concluding sentence (as in, for example, Gen. 547):<sup>179</sup>

*Et hec dicens demon, conticuit.*

This sentence is found in all of the manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. It is also attested in Angers 281 and Paris 12602, but it is absent from the other Bavarian manuscripts.

The second variant consists of a passage of two sentences. When Bartholomew elaborates on some of the principles of Christianity, one of the things that he recalls is the Archangel Gabriel's visit to the Virgin Mary. The following passage is found in group (ii) of the Frankish tradition as well as in the 'Frankish other' group, and also appears in the

<sup>177</sup> Cf. Rose, 'Paratexts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*'.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Rose, 'Paratexts in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*': '(...) the addition of lists of *capitula* to individual sections of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* is a paratextual characteristic that helps to classify the manuscript transmission of this textual tradition'.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Volume II, variant 31.1.

text versions of the Bavarian tradition. The first group of the Frankish tradition does not, however, contain this passage (passage taken from Paris 9737):<sup>180</sup>

*Haec ergo prima inter homines hoc constituit in corde suo ut diceret deo: Domine, offero tibi uirginitatem meam. Cum hoc a nullo homine nec uerbo didicisset nec exemplo ad imitationem inuitata fuisset, constituit ut uirgo pro amore dei specialiter permaneret.*

This difference in content reinforces the validity of a division between various groups within the Frankish tradition.

The third difference relating to content consists of one large passage that is present only in the manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and in Paris 12602. It is absent from the other manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition. The passage is part of the same speech made by Bartholomew to the king, this time about the temptation of Christ by the devil (as presented in Gen. 547):<sup>181</sup>

*Et ideo uicit, quia egit arte callida ut manducaret, contra uetitum, et de paradiso pelleretur, et pulsus homo clausum haberet paradisum. Ita egit iste uirginis filius, ut artem diaboli ad se uenire permetteret. Ars autem eius talis fuit ut sicut accipiter rapit antequam poterit, ita raperet hunc filium hominis uirginis, et poneret eum inter feras in desertum, et per quadraginta dies non dixit ei manduca, quia non uidit eum esurientem. Hoc enim diabolus statuerat in corde suo, ut si quadraginta diebus transactis non esuriret, pro certo sciret, quia uerus deus esset. Deus autem uerus erat, immo et est. Sed sic deus uerus, ut etiam homo uerus permanens, non se intelligi permetteret, nisi ab his qui puro corde, et piis operibus perseuerant. Hic autem sathanas ubi uidit post quadraginta dies dominum esurire, quasi securus effectus quod deus non esset, dixit ei: Quare esuris? Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant, et manduca. Et dominus ad eum: Audi diabole. Si ideo hominibus dominaris quia pater hominum Adam suasioni tue obtemperans dei legem sibi positam contempsit, ecce ego legem dei custodiens, non manducabo ut te superem ego homo, et eiciam te de dominatione quam tibi per deiectionem primi hominis usurpasti. Vidit quoque se exclusum, et alterum sibi angelum apostaticum qui mammona dicitur sociauit. Et protulit immensa pondera auri et argenti, et gemmarum et omnem gloriam que est in hoc seculo, et dixit ei: Hec omnia tibi dabo, si adoraueris me. Dicit ei: Vade sathanas. Scriptum est enim: Dominum deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli seruias. Fuit et alia temptatio superbie, quam in excelso super pinnam templi exercuit, ut qui semel uicerat hominem terre uirginis filium, a sancte uirginis filio tripliciter uinceretur.*

In a dialogue between Bartholomew and the demon, a fourth difference in content is attested. Bartholomew questions the demon and asks him to prove that his healing

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Volume II, variant 51.1 and 52.1.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Volume II, variant 70.1.

powers are not what the surrounding crowd believe them to be. In this dialogue, the passage concerned is as follows (as presented in Gen. 547):<sup>182</sup>

*Dicit ei apostolus: Et quomodo animas leditis? Respondit demon: Cum crediderint nos esse deos, aut sacrificauerint nobis, tollit se deus ab his qui sacrificant, et nos uulnera corporum non tollimus, sed migramus ad animam.*

This passage reinforces the decision to distinguish between the Frankish tradition and the Bavarian tradition. All the groups in the Frankish tradition contain this passage. In the Bavarian tradition, this passage is absent. The one exception to this rule is Paris 12602, a text version in the Bavarian tradition, since it also contains this passage.

A final difference in content can be found near the end of the story, when the apostle Bartholomew dies. The text versions all relate that many people from several cities come to honour the apostle. Not all text versions, however, contain the reference to the building of a new basilica which is present in the text version of e.g. Gen. 558:<sup>183</sup>

*et construxerunt ei basilicam mire magnitudinis, et in ea posuerunt corpus eius.*

This sentence is found only in group (ii) of the Frankish tradition and in the group that I label ‘Frankish other’.

The distribution of these five variants related to content are presented in Table 7 below.

Variant	Bavarian	Frankish (i)	Frankish (ii)	Angers 281	Paris 12602
31.1	absent	<i>present</i>	<i>present</i>	<i>present</i>	<i>present</i>
51 and 52	<i>present</i>	absent	<i>present</i>	<i>present</i>	<i>present</i>
70.1	absent	<i>present</i>	<i>present</i>	absent	<i>present</i>
99.1	absent	<i>present</i>	<i>present</i>	absent	<i>present</i>
143.1	absent	absent	<i>present</i>	absent	absent
Bavarian = Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Munich 12641, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Vienna 560, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Wolf. Helmst. 497  Frankish (i) = Montpellier 55, Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 5273  Frankish (ii) = Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Graz 412, Gen. 558, Munich 22020, Paris 11750					

Table 7: The presence and absence of five textual variants related to content

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Volume II, variant 99.1.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Volume II, variant 143.1.

These five differences in content largely corroborate the conclusions reached on the basis of my analysis of distance relationships. The Bavarian tradition lacks four of the five passages that are found in Frankish (ii). Group (i) of the Frankish tradition contains three of the five passages, but two other passages are missing.

In addition, the analysis of variants related to content enables me to further establish the position of five of the manuscripts in my corpus. Firstly, it indicates that Gen. 558, Munich 22020 and Paris 11750, manuscripts labelled as ‘Frankish other’, are more closely related to the second group in the Frankish tradition. Secondly, it appears that Angers 281 and Paris 12602 do not fit in either tradition as far as these five variants in content are concerned. The analysis of relative distance relationships marks these two manuscripts as representatives of the Bavarian tradition. As a consequence of the differences in content, I label them as *peripheral manuscripts* within the Bavarian tradition.

I shall now turn to the analysis of distance relationships with regard to the section on Philip. Although many of the observations presented on the basis of the section on Bartholomew are confirmed, we will also see some striking differences in distance relationships. This, in turn, reveals differences in how the *Virtutes Apostolorum* has been transmitted as a series.

#### **4.3 Distance relationships between manuscripts (ii): the *Virtutes Philippi***

The analysis of the *Virtutes Philippi* yields a total number of 175 textual variants. In Appendix 2, I list the results of the number of identical variants found when the text versions of two manuscripts are compared. I first present the analysis of distance relationships in the Bavarian tradition (section 4.3.1), and then turn my attention to the manuscripts in the Frankish tradition (section 4.3.2).

##### *4.3.1 The Bavarian tradition*

Regarding the core (the four ninth century manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition), the number of identical variants approaches 100%, which indicates that the text versions of the *Virtutes Philippi* in these manuscripts are nearly identical to each other (see Table 8).

Dublin 737 & Vienna 455 174 (99%)	Dublin 737 & Vienna 534 171 (98%)	Dublin 737 & Wolf. W. 48 171 (98%)
Vienna 455 & Vienna 534 170 (97%)	Vienna 455 & Wolf. W. 48 170 (97%)	Vienna 534 & Wolf. W. 48 171 (98%)

Table 8: the number of identical variants between Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534 and Wolf. W. 48

Many of the other manuscripts share a high number of identical variants with the core of the Bavarian tradition. Some text versions are nearly identical to the core, whereas other text versions show more variation.

Four of the manuscripts in my corpus, namely Paris 5563 (s. XI), Paris 12604 (s. XII) and Paris 18298 (s. IX-X) contain text versions in which the number of identical variants corresponds to those of the core in nearly all the cases (167 to 173 identical textual variants, which represents between 95% and 99% of the total number of textual variants; see Table 9). The sections on Philip in these manuscripts are nearly identical to those of the core group.

The section on Bartholomew indicates that Paris 18298 is part of the second group of the Frankish tradition. In the section on Philip, Paris 18298 is related to the text versions of the core within the Bavarian tradition. This finding illustrates that the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series in Paris 18298 is not a representative of one tradition, but instead a *composition* of several traditions. I therefore consider this manuscript to be of a *mixed tradition*.

Paris 5563 & Dublin 737 173 (99%)	Paris 12604 & Dublin 737 171 (98%)	Paris 18298 & Dublin 737 170 (97%)
Paris 5563 & Vienna 455 172 (98%)	Paris 12604 & Vienna 455 170 (97%)	Paris 18298 & Vienna 455 169 (97%)
Paris 5563 & Vienna 534 169 (97%)	Paris 12604 & Vienna 534 167 (95%)	Paris 18298 & Vienna 534 167 (95%)
Paris 5563 & Wolf. W. 48 169 (97%)	Paris 12604 & Wolf. W. 48 167 (95%)	Paris 18298 & Wolf. W. 48 167 (95%)

Table 9: the number of identical variants between Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Paris 18298 and the core group

Seven manuscripts (Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Munich 12641, Paris 12602, Vienna 497, Vienna 560 and Wolf. Helmst. 497) show more variation in comparison with the core of the Bavarian tradition: they share between 83% and 91% of the total number of variants with the core (see Table 10).

Angers 281 & Dublin 737 158 (90%)	Munich 12641 & Dublin 737 155 (89%)	Paris 12602 & Dublin 737 149 (85%)
Angers 281 & Vienna 455 157 (90%)	Munich 12641 & Vienna 455 156 (89%)	Paris 12602 & Vienna 455 148 (85%)
Angers 281 & Vienna 534 156 (89%)	Munich 12641 & Vienna 534 153 (87%)	Paris 12602 & Vienna 534 150 (86%)
Angers 281 & Wolf. W. 48 158 (90%)	Munich 12641 & Wolf. W. 48 153 (87%)	Paris 12602 & Wolf. W. 48 149 (85%)

Vienna 497 & Dublin 737 147 (84%)	Vienna 560 & Dublin 737 147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497 & Dublin 737 149 (85%)
Vienna 497 & Vienna 455 148 (85%)	Vienna 560 & Vienna 455 146 (83%)	Wolf. H. 497 & Vienna 455 148 (85%)
Vienna 497 & Vienna 534 145 (83%)	Vienna 560 & Vienna 534 147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497 & Vienna 534 148 (85%)
Vienna 497 & Wolf. W. 48 145 (83%)	Vienna 560 & Wolf. W. 48 147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497 & Wolf. W. 48 150 (86%)
Bamberg 139 & Dublin 737 158 (90%)	Bamberg 139 & Vienna 455 157 (90%)	Bamberg 139 & Vienna 534 160 (91%)
Bamberg 139 & Wolf. W. 48 159 (91%)		

Table 10: The number of identical variants between Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Munich 12641, Paris 12602, Vienan 497, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497 and the core group

The distance relationships between the text versions of the *Virtutes Philippi* in the Bavarian tradition are presented in Figure 2.

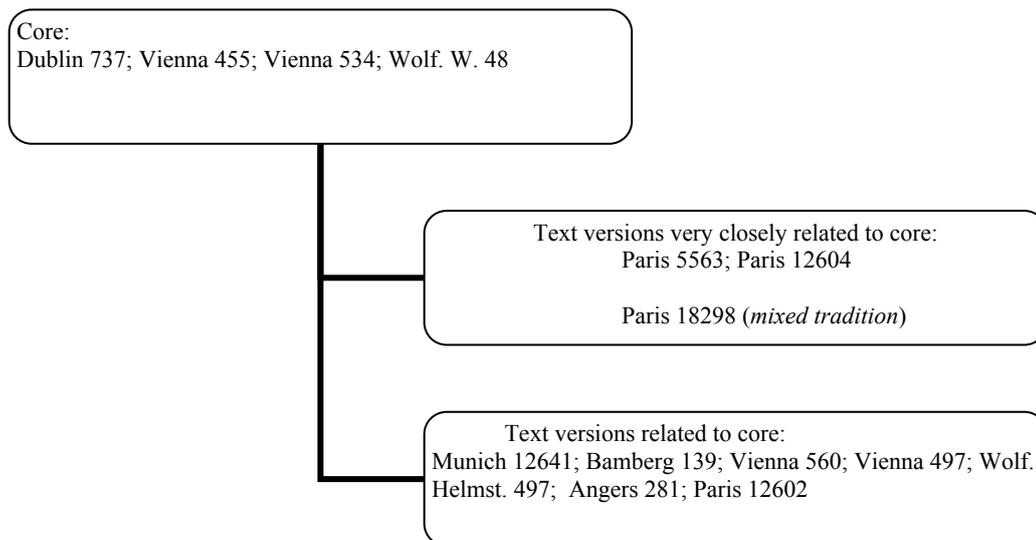


Figure 2: Distance relationships in the Bavarian tradition (*Virtutes Philippi*)

#### 4.3.2 The Frankish tradition

The Frankish text versions of the *Virtutes Philippi* indicate a lower number of identical variants in comparison with those of the Bavarian tradition. On the basis of differences in the number of identical variants, two groups within the Frankish tradition can be distinguished.

The first group consists of six manuscripts; the percentages of identical variants in this group fluctuate between 70% and 85% of the total number of textual variants. These manuscripts are Montpellier 55, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Paris 5274 and Paris 11750. The results of the number of identical variants are presented in Table 11.

Montpellier 55 & Gen. 557 132 (75%)	Gen. 557 & Gen. 558 128 (73%)	Gen. 558 & Paris 5274 122 (70%)
Montpellier 55 & Gen. 558 132 (75%)	Gen. 557 & Paris 5273 149 (85%)	Gen. 558 & Paris 11750 139 (79%)
Montpellier 55 & Paris 5273 124 (71%)	Gen. 557 & Paris 5274 134 (77%)	Paris 5273 & Paris 5274 130 (74%)
Montpellier 55 & Paris 5274 134 (77%)	Gen. 557 & Paris 11750 145 (83%)	Paris 5273 & Paris 11750 143 (82%)
Montpellier 55 & Paris 11750 136 (78%)	Gen. 558 & Paris 5273 125 (71%)	Paris 5274 & Paris 11750 137 (79%)

Table 11: The number of identical variants in group 1 of the Frankish tradition

The second group of text versions in the Frankish tradition consists of Graz 412, Paris 9737 and St. Gall 561. These three text versions contain a higher number of identical variants (71% to 83% of the total amount of variants are identical) in comparison with the remaining manuscripts belonging to the Frankish tradition (see Table 12).

Paris 9737 & St. Gall 561 123 (70%)	Paris 9737 & Graz 412 143 (82%)	St. Gall 561 & Graz 412 133 (76%)
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Table 12: The number of identical variants in group 2 of the Frankish tradition

Two of the manuscripts studied cannot be allocated to either of these two groups. In the case of Gen. 547, I observe a closer link only with Paris 11750 on the basis of the higher number of identical variants (130 identical variants/ 74% of the total number of identical variants). Furthermore, Munich 22020 is again an odd one out. In the case of the *Virtutes Philippi*, it remains unclear whether Munich 22020 belongs to the Frankish tradition, for it contains a relatively high degree of identical variants with manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition (ca. 135 identical variants / 77%) as well as a similar number of identical variants with Paris 11750 (129 identical variants / 74%). The label of ‘*codex extravagans*’ is thus maintained in the case of this manuscript and the link with the

Frankish tradition in the case of the *Virtutes Philippi* is questionable and remains open for discussion.

On the basis of these observations, I present the following graph of distance relationships in the case of the section on Philip (Table 13):

Frankish tradition			Frankish (?)
Group (i)	Group (ii)	unknown	<i>Codex extravagans</i>
Montpellier 55 Gen. 557 Paris 5273 Paris 5274 Paris 11750 Gen. 558	Graz 412 Paris 9737 St. Gall 561	Gen. 547	Munich 22020

Table 13: Distance relationships in the Frankish tradition (*Virtutes Philippi*)

#### **4.4 Distance relationships in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi***

In this section I integrate the results of my analysis of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* into one coherent overview. On the basis of this overview I will draw a number of conclusions which will result in a more refined presentation of the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series in comparison to that of previous scholars.

The most important difference between the two traditions examined here concerns the number of distinct core groups. In the Bavarian tradition, there is only one core group of manuscripts; the remaining manuscripts show an increasing number of scribal interventions in comparison to this core group. The situation is different when it comes to the Frankish tradition, in which three groups can be distinguished on the basis of my analysis.

So far, the terms ‘Bavarian tradition’ and ‘Frankish tradition’ have been used with regard to the origin of the most important manuscripts. The differences in the number of core groups described here can be used to give a further meaning to the distinction between these two traditions. The Bavarian tradition points to a textual transmission with one distinct core group and a number of more distantly related manuscripts. The Frankish tradition, on the other hand, indicates a textual transmission with three groups, which differ much from each other when it comes to language and content. These characteristic features of both traditions will be further examined when it comes to the analysis of a relative chronology of text versions in section 4.5.

##### (1) The Bavarian tradition

Both the analysis of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and that of the *Virtutes Philippi* reveal that the Bavarian tradition consists of one core group of four manuscripts and seven more distantly related manuscripts. The four manuscripts in the core group all date from the ninth

century: Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534 and Wolf. Weiss. 48. These manuscripts do not differ very much from each other and show a very close proximity.

The manuscripts of a later date can be linked to the core group on the basis of a high number of identical variants. However, the number of identical variants between each of the seven manuscripts and those of the core group differs much. There is a group of manuscripts with a very high number of identical variants with the core group: Paris 5563, Bamberg 139, Paris 12604. Another group of manuscripts is more distantly related to the core group: Munich 12641, Vienna 497, Vienna 560 and Wolf. Helmst. 497.

In chapter 1 of this thesis, I introduced Zelzer's observation that the manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition have, in general, been transcribed more accurately in comparison with the Frankish tradition.<sup>184</sup> It is true that many of the text versions belonging to the Bavarian tradition contain high percentages of identical variants. Such high percentages are only rarely found when two text versions in manuscripts from the Frankish tradition are compared. It appears, however, that more variation is found in manuscripts such as Vienna 497 and Vienna 560, which differ greatly from the manuscripts in the core group. Zelzer's observation on the accurateness of the Bavarian transmission as a whole is therefore in need of a more fine-grained view on the Bavarian text transmission. It is the analysis of a relative chronology, which I shall present in section 4.5, that presents such a view.

The analysis of relative distance relationships indicates that Angers 281 and Paris 12602 belong to the Bavarian tradition. As far as variation in content in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is concerned, however, Angers 281 and Paris 12602 differ from the other manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition and differ also from each other. On the basis of this observation, I consider these manuscripts to be *peripheral* manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition.

## (2) The Frankish tradition

My analysis of distance relationships indicates that the concept of *one* Frankish tradition used by previous scholars (a.o. Junod and Kaestli, and Zelzer)<sup>185</sup> requires adjustment and needs to be replaced by a subdivision of separate groups. The manuscripts of one group share *among themselves* a large number of identical variants in both the section on Bartholomew as well as the section on Philip. The first group consists of Montpellier 55, Gen. 557 and Paris 5273, and the second group comprises Graz 412, Paris 9737 and St. Gall 561. Not all manuscripts, however, clearly belong to one of either group. This holds for three manuscripts, Gen. 558, Paris 11750 and Gen. 547.

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<sup>184</sup> Cf. Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxiv.

<sup>185</sup> Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*; Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*.

Firstly, Gen. 558 and Paris 11750 can be labelled as *mixed* Frankish manuscripts because they share a large number of identical variants with the second group when it comes to the section on Bartholomew, but a large number with the first group when it comes to the section on Philip.

Secondly, Gen. 547 belongs to the first group of the Frankish tradition as far as the section on Bartholomew is concerned, whereas its position remains unclear in the case of the section on Philip. On the basis of these findings I regard Gen. 547 as a manuscript that is *mainly Frankish* and belonging to *group (i)*.

(3) Two special cases: Paris 18298 and Munich 22020

The present analysis has revealed that two manuscripts have a special position within the manuscript transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*.

Paris 18298 stands out because the results of my analysis of its version of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* differ strongly from that of its *Virtutes Philippi*. This manuscript turns out to be a manuscript with features from both traditions and is hence labelled as an example of a *mixed tradition*. On the basis of this manuscript it can be concluded that the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series did not take place within one tradition only, and that text versions of the two separate traditions were also brought together by scribes in the course of the manuscript transmission.

The analysis also reveals that Munich 22020 is a *codex extravagans* within the corpus. The number of identical variants shared by this manuscript and the other manuscripts is low as far as the sections on both Bartholomew and Philip are concerned. It is only the variation in content in the section on Bartholomew that indicates a closer relationship to the Frankish tradition. On the basis of these findings, Munich 22020 is considered to be a *codex extravagans*, related to the Frankish tradition as far as the section on Bartholomew is concerned.

The data presented here provide a detailed understanding of distance relationships as shown in Table 14 below. My analysis indicates that the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series is not uniform, but instead the result of a continuous process of creation, adaptation and rewriting. If the analysis of distance relationships was to make one thing clear, it would be that variety and change are inevitable qualifications to describe the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series. In this respect, manuscripts such as Paris 18298, Munich 22020, Angers 281 and Paris 12602 should not be regarded as mere exceptions, but instead as illustrative examples of the variety at stake in the course of the textual transmission.

<i>Bavarian tradition</i>	<i>mixed tradition</i>	<i>Frankish tradition</i>		
<u>core</u> Dublin 737 Vienna 455 Vienna 534 Wolf. W. 48	Paris 18298 <sup>187</sup>	<u>Group (i)</u> Montp. 55 Gen. 557 Paris 5273 Paris 5274 (P) <sup>188</sup>	<u>Group (ii)</u> Graz 412 Paris 9737 St. Gall 561	<u>Other Frankish</u> <i>Mixed Frankish</i>
<u>closely related to core</u> Bamberg 139 Paris 5563 Paris 12604		<i>mainly Frankish (i)</i> Gen. 547 <sup>189</sup>		P. 11750 <sup>190</sup> Gen. 558 <sup>191</sup>
<u>related to core</u> Munich 12641 Vienna 497 Vienna 560 Wolf. Helmst. 497				<i>Codex extravagans</i>
<i>peripheral</i> <sup>186</sup> Angers 281 Paris 12602				Munich 22020 <sup>192</sup>

Table 14: relative distance relationships between manuscripts as far as textual variants in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* are concerned

<sup>186</sup> Angers 281 and Paris 12602 are more closely related to the Bavarian tradition, but differ from this tradition with regard to the content of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*.

<sup>187</sup> The section on Bartholomew is related to Frankish, group (ii); the section on Philip is related to the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>188</sup> Only the section on Philip could be taken into account; the section on Bartholomew is missing in this manuscript.

<sup>189</sup> The section on Bartholomew in Gen. 547 is related to group (i) of the Frankish tradition, whilst the section in Philip is more distantly related to this group.

<sup>190</sup> The section on Bartholomew is more closely related to group (ii) of the Frankish tradition (content-based) and the section on Philip is more closely related to group (i) of the Frankish tradition.

<sup>191</sup> The section on Bartholomew is more closely related to group (ii) of the Frankish tradition (content-based); the section on Philip is closer related to group (i) of the Frankish tradition.

<sup>192</sup> Related to the Frankish tradition, evidenced by the differences in content in the section on Bartholomew. The position of Munich 22020 in the case of the section on Philip remains open for discussion.

#### **4.5 The relative chronology of text versions**

The elaboration of a relative chronology of text versions is based on the application of the *Lectio Explicitor* and ‘All-except-one/two’ principles.<sup>193</sup> In section 4.5.1 I present the results of the application of these two principles on the text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*. Section 4.5.2, on the other hand, discusses the results of their application on the text versions of the *Virtutes Philippi*. Section 4.5.3 combines the results into a coherent overview of the relative chronology of the manuscripts in my corpus.

##### *4.5.1 The Virtutes Bartholomei*

The application of the *Lectio Explicitor* and ‘All-except-one/two’ principles results in two classifications. In Table 15 the results of the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* are presented, while Table 16 shows the results of the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’. Table 17 presents the added scores of both the *Lectio Explicitor*-principle and the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’. The manuscripts are classified from the lowest score (conservative in character) to the highest score (innovative in character).

After the total score, another score can be found. In the case of Munich 12641, for instance, this is ‘2\*’. This number indicates the total number of cases in which this manuscript is excluded from the count, as is the case when a certain passage is missing in this manuscript. In other words, this number indicates the number of cases in which we cannot be certain about the degree of innovative variants. A low total score with a high number of such uncertain cases should accordingly be interpreted as a potentially higher score, indicating that this specific manuscript is possibly more innovative in character than we might expect on the basis of the total score only.

In most of the manuscripts, the number of such cases is low. There are some exceptions, however. The most obvious example is the case of Graz 412, in which the high number of uncertain cases (5\* in the principle of *Lectio Explicitor*; 45\* in the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’) is explained because a large passage is missing in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*. Other manuscripts that were excluded often from the count are, for example, Munich 22020, St. Gall 561, Paris 9737 and Paris 18298. These manuscripts are potentially more innovative than we might presume on the basis of the position assigned to them in the tables below.

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<sup>193</sup> Cf. chapter 3 of this thesis.

Munich 12641	Bavarian	117	2*
Graz 412	Frankish, group (ii)	119	5*
Vienna 497	Bavarian	119	2*
Montpellier 55	Frankish, group (i)	121	1*
Dublin 737	Bavarian	122	1*
Vienna 455	Bavarian	122	1*
Vienna 534	Bavarian	122	1*
Bamberg 139	Bavarian	122	2*
Paris 5563	Bavarian	123	1*
Paris 12604	Bavarian	123	1*
Wolf. Weiss. 48	Bavarian	124	1*
Paris 12602	Bavarian, peripheral	124	0*
Wolf. Helmst. 497	Bavarian	124	1*
St. Gall 561	Frankish, group (ii)	124	1*
Angers 281	Bavarian, peripheral	126	0*
Paris 9737	Frankish, group (ii)	127	1*
Gen. 557	Frankish, group (i)	128	1*
Gen. 558	Frankish, group (ii)	130	0*
Gen. 547	Frankish, group (i)	130	1*
Paris 5273	Frankish, group (i)	131	1*
Paris 11750	Frankish, group (ii)	137	0*
Paris 18298	Frankish (Bartholomew)	138	0*
Munich 22020	Frankish, <i>codex extravagans</i>	139	1*
Vienna 560	Bavarian	141	1*

Table 15: The relative chronology of text versions on the basis of the principle of 'Lectio Explicitor'

Total number of variants: 94

Graz 412	Frankish, group (ii)	596	45*
Montpellier 55	Frankish, group (i)	597	9*
Dublin 737	Bavarian	606	0*
Vienna 455	Bavarian	606	1*
Paris 5563	Bavarian	606	1*
Vienna 534	Bavarian	607	1*
Paris 12604	Bavarian	612	0*
Wolf. Weiss. 48	Bavarian	612	0*
Angers 281	Bavarian, peripheral	615	4*
Bamberg 139	Bavarian	618	9*
Paris 9737	Frankish, group (ii)	621	16*
Gen. 557	Frankish, group (i)	623	12*
Paris 18298	Frankish, group (ii) (Bartholomew)	626	10*

Paris 12602	Bavarian, peripheral	626	13*
Gen. 558	Frankish, group (ii)	631	2*
Munich 12641	Bavarian	631	1*
Paris 11750	Frankish, group (ii)	634	3*
Gen. 547	Frankish, group (i)	637	9*
Wolf. Helmst. 497	Bavarian	637	5*
Paris 5273	Frankish, group (i)	641	6*
St. Gall 561	Frankish, group (ii)	653	19*
Vienna 560	Bavarian	663	5*
Vienna 497	Bavarian	665	10*
Munich 22020	Frankish, <i>codex extravagans</i>	697	23*

Table 16: The relative chronology of text versions on the basis of the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’  
Total number of variants: 604

Graz 412	Frankish, group (ii)	715	50*
Montpellier 55	Frankish, group (i)	718	10*
Dublin 737	Bavarian	728	1*
Vienna 455	Bavarian	728	2*
Vienna 534	Bavarian	729	2*
Paris 5563	Bavarian	729	1*
Paris 12604	Bavarian	735	1*
Wolf. Weiss. 48	Bavarian	736	1*
Bamberg 139	Bavarian	740	11*
Angers 281	Bavarian, peripheral	741	4*
Munich 12641	Bavarian	748	3*
Paris 9737	Frankish, group (ii)	748	17*
Paris 12602	Bavarian, peripheral	750	13*
Gen. 557	Frankish, group (i)	751	13*
Gen. 558	Frankish, group (ii)	761	2*
Wolf. Helmst. 497	Bavarian	761	6*
Paris 18298	Frankish, group (ii) (Barth.)	764	5*
Gen. 547	Frankish, group (i)	767	10*
Paris 11750	Frankish, group (ii)	771	3*
Paris 5273	Frankish, group (i)	772	7*
St. Gall 561	Frankish, group (ii)	777	11*
Vienna 497	Bavarian	784	10*
Vienna 560	Bavarian	804	6*
Munich 22020	Frankish, <i>codex extravagans</i>	836	24*

Table 17: The relative chronology of text versions, based on the principles of *Lectio Explicitior* and ‘All-except-one/two’  
Total number of variants: 698

The principle of *Lectio Explicitior* results in a score between 117 (minimum score) and 141 (maximum score), while the principle of ‘All-except-one (or two)’ leads to a classification of manuscripts from 596 (minimum score) to 697 (maximum score). The addition of these two scores results in a score from 713 (total minimum score) to 838 (total maximum score).

If a comparison is made between the two tables, manuscripts can be found that have *relatively low scores* (scores that come close to the minimum score) for both principles, while other manuscripts contain *relatively high scores* (scores that come close to an absolute maximum). There are also manuscripts that show intermediate scores (scores that are neither close to a minimum score nor to a maximum score). The cut-off point is arbitrary, because it is a relative chronology of manuscripts that I present here. For the sake of convenience, I shall use the following specific division between *conservative*, *innovative* and *highly innovative* for each Table.

For Table 15 (principle of *Lectio Explicitior*):

- manuscripts with a total score below 124 are classified as *conservative*;
- manuscripts with a total score between 124 and 129 are labelled as *innovative*;
- manuscripts with a total score beyond 129 are regarded as *highly innovative*.

For Table 16 (principle of *All-except-one (two)*):

- manuscripts with a total score below 620 are considered to be *conservative*;
- manuscripts with a total score between 620 and 635 are regarded as *innovative*;
- manuscripts with a total score beyond 635 are classified as *highly innovative*.

For Table 17 (principle of *Lectio Explicitior* and that of *All-except-one (two)*):

- manuscripts with a total score below 740 are classified as *conservative*;
- manuscripts with a total score between 740 and 765 are regarded as *innovative*;
- manuscripts with a total score beyond 765 are considered to be *highly innovative*.

The manuscripts with *relatively low scores* (scores below 740) contain a text version of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* that is *conservative* in character. These manuscripts are Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Paris 12604, Bamberg 139, Paris 5563, Montpellier 55 and Wolf. Weiss. 48. Furthermore, the manuscripts with *intermediate* scores (scores between 740 and 765) are indicated as *innovative* manuscripts. Manuscripts indicated as such are Angers 281, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 12602, Paris 9737 and Wolf. Helmst. 497. Finally, there are manuscript with *relatively high* scores (scores beyond 765), which shows that these manuscripts contain *highly innovative* text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*. These manuscripts are Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Gen. 547, Munich 22020 and Vienna 560.

In five of the manuscripts, the two principles result in different outcomes. The results of these five manuscripts can be read as follows:  
Paris 11750 is innovative on the basis of the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’ and highly innovative in terms of the principle of ‘*Lectio Explicitior*’;  
Paris 18298 is innovative according to the principle of ‘All-except-one’ and highly innovative in terms of the principle of ‘*Lectio Explicitior*’;  
St. Gall 561 is innovative in terms of the principle of ‘*Lectio Explicitior*’ and highly innovative on the basis of the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’;  
Munich 12641 is conservative according to the principle of ‘*Lectio Explicitior*’ but innovative in terms of the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’;  
Vienna 497 is conservative according to the principle of ‘*Lectio Explicitior*’ but highly innovative in terms of the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’.

When the results are added together, however, it appears that Munich 12641 and Paris 18298 are innovative in character, whereas the remaining three manuscripts Paris 11750, St. Gall 561 and Vienna 497 all turn out to be highly innovative.

In the case of Graz 412, the results indicate that this manuscript is relatively conservative in character. To my mind, however, the high number of ‘uncertain’ cases justifies further research on the exact position of this text version.

The manuscripts Munich 12641 and Vienna 497, in which the scores of the two principles do not match, deserve further attention. These manuscripts are representatives of an innovative tradition (a relatively high score in the ‘All-except-one’ principle) which does not aim to make the structure of the text as explicit as possible by means of inserting discourse markers and reference markers (a low score in the *Lectio Explicitior* principle).

A possible explanation to this discrepancy can be found when we take a closer look at the type of innovations found in these two manuscripts. It seems that many of the innovations attested in this manuscript aim at obtaining a Latin in accordance with the classical style of Cicero. I shall illustrate this with a number of examples.

Firstly, many examples are found in which the verb is placed at the final position of the sentence.<sup>194</sup>

<p>(all manuscripts) <i>amicus est dei omnipotentis</i>  (Munich 12641) <i>amicus dei omnipotens est</i></p>
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<sup>194</sup> Variant 14 in my analysis of textual variants. Other examples of innovations related to the position of the verb are discussed in chapter 6.

Other innovations result from an attempt to correct mistakes attested in the course of the textual transmission. An example of this is the addition of *ex quo*, which connects the first part of the sentence with the second part:<sup>195</sup>

(all manuscripts)	<i>Viginti sex anni sunt, numquam sordiantur uestimenta eius (...)</i>
(Vienna 497)	<i>Viginti sex anni sunt <u>ex quo</u> numquam sordiantur uestimenta eius (...)</i>

Finally, there are also innovations in these manuscripts that seem to be related to the style of the text. Some examples are presented below.

(all manuscripts)	<i>(...) hilaris et laetus (...)</i>
(Munich 12641)	<i>(...) hilaris laetusque (...)</i> <sup>196</sup>
(all manuscripts)	<i>Centies flexis genibus per diem (...)</i> <sup>197</sup>
(Vienna 497)	<i>Centies <u>flectit genua</u> per diem (...)</i>
(all manuscripts)	<i>(...) clamaret et diceret (...)</i> <sup>198</sup>
(Vienna 497)	<i>(...) <u>clamaret dicens</u> (...)</i>

Although this account is not exhaustive, and further analysis in the Latin of these manuscripts is required, a first glimpse of innovations attested in these manuscripts points to innovative behaviour different from that of the other manuscripts. In these two manuscripts, the innovations seem to result from an attempt to bring the text to a Classical standard for linguistic and stylistic reasons. This does not mean that the performative aspect of the text is entirely disregarded;<sup>199</sup> it simply means that the need to insert discourse markers was not considered to be a part of the task of upgrading the text to a Classical standard.

To sum up, it is Table 17 that indicates where innovative features can be found in the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*. Firstly, it appears that many of the

<sup>195</sup> Variant 20. There are also manuscripts that contain *quod* at this position in the text. Vienna 497 is the only manuscript that contains *ex quo*. Other examples in which Vienna 497 and Munich 12641 contain a ‘correct’ reading are discussed in Rose (forthcoming), ‘*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Editorial problems and principles’.

<sup>196</sup> Variant 26.

<sup>197</sup> Variant 22.

<sup>198</sup> Variant 33.

<sup>199</sup> In Munich 12641, we find the innovation of the passage *uestimenta eius* to *uestimenta eius quae gestat* (variant 20), which seems to stress the fact that it is the clothes that Bartholomew wears all the time.

Bavarian manuscripts are conservative in character, whereas innovative features are found in the Frankish tradition. Interestingly, it appears that Montpellier 55, the oldest manuscript in the Frankish tradition (s. VIII<sup>fin</sup>), turns out to be conservative. Furthermore, some manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition prove to be innovative in character, with Vienna 497 and Vienna 560, two manuscripts dating back to s. XIII, as the most explicit examples. This finding indicates that innovations in the textual transmission can be found in the Frankish tradition and in the younger manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition.

#### 4.5.2 *The Virtutes Philippi*

In the section on Philip, the value of applying the principle of '*Lectio Explicitor*' is questionable. I found only eight cases of textual variation in which the principle of '*Lectio Explicitor*' was applicable.<sup>200</sup> As a consequence, the differences in total scores on the basis of this principle are small. Because of this, this principle may be less meaningful for a chronological distinction of text versions in the case of the *Virtutes Philippi*. What remains are the results of the application of the 'All-except-one/two' principle. The total scores of the text versions on the basis of this principle are presented in Table 18 on the following page.

This classification seems to support the main conclusions drawn with regard to the *Virtutes Bartholomei*. It appears that many manuscripts of the Frankish tradition receive relatively high scores in comparison with those of the Bavarian tradition. This confirms the impression that the Frankish tradition is generally more innovative in character than the manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition. However, not all manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition contain a conservative text version of the *Virtutes Philippi*. Three manuscripts show a relatively high number of manuscript-specific variants: Munich 12641, Vienna 497 and Vienna 560, indicating that innovative text versions are found in manuscripts of both traditions.

There are also striking differences to be found when the relative chronology of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* are compared. For example, manuscript Paris 18298 is innovative as far as the text section on Bartholomew is concerned but conservative in the case of the section on Philip. Montpellier 55, on the other hand, is conservative in the case of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* but innovative in the case of the *Virtutes Philippi*. These manuscripts indicate that the degree of innovation is not only different when two manuscripts are compared, but that two texts in the same manuscript may also differ in this respect.

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<sup>200</sup> Cf. chapter 5 of this thesis.

Table 18: The total score of text versions on the basis of the principle of ‘All-except-one’

Paris 18298	Bavarian (Philip)	103	2*
Dublin 737	Bavarian	105	0*
Vienna 455	Bavarian	105	0*
Vienna 534	Bavarian	105	0*
Wolf. Weiss. 48	Bavarian	105	0*
Paris 11750	Frankish, group (i)	105	0*
Wolf. Helmst. 497	Bavarian	105	3*
Paris 5563	Bavarian	106	0*
Paris 12604	Bavarian	107	0*
Gen. 557	Frankish, group (i)	108	1*
Paris 9737	Frankish, group (ii)	109	8*
Bamberg 139	Bavarian	110	0*
Angers 281	Bavarian	110	0*
Paris 12602	Bavarian	110	0*
Paris 5273	Frankish, group (i)	110	1*
Gen. 558	Frankish, group (i)	110	1*
Montpellier 55	Frankish, group (i)	111	1*
Paris 5274	Frankish, group (i)	111	1*
Munich 22020	Frankish, group (ii)	111	2*
Graz 412	Frankish, group (ii)	111	2*
Munich 12641	Bavarian	114	0*
Vienna 497	Bavarian	114	0*
Vienna 560	Bavarian	116	1*
Gen. 547	Frankish, uncertain	116	0*
St. Gall 561	Frankish, group (ii)	116	6*

#### 4.5.3 The relative chronology of manuscripts

In this section I discuss the harvest of my analysis of the relative chronology of text versions in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. The largest difference between the two texts is their length: in Dublin 737, the text version of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* consists of 2634 words, whereas the *Virtutes Philippi* contains 551 words. The tables that present the total scores of the two principles do not reveal large differences in the number of cases in which the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’ can be applied, taking into account the difference in length of both texts (see Table 19 below). It also appears that around one third of the text is affected by textual variants in both the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*.

However, the analysis has yielded two important differences between the texts that are worthy of mention. Firstly, in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, the *Lectio Explicitor* principle can be applied to many examples whilst in the *Virtutes Philippi* only few cases are found. Secondly, it may be noticed that the text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* differ in

content at five positions in the text; such differences in content are absent in the section on Philip.

Text section	Number of words	Total number of variants	Total number of cases 'All-except-one/two'	Total number of cases ' <i>Lectio Explicitor</i> '
<i>Virtutes Bartholomei</i>	2634	914 (35% of the text)	604 (66% of the variants)	94 (10% of the variants)
<i>Virtutes Philippi</i>	551	175 (32% of the text)	105 (60% of the variants)	8 (4,5% of the variants)

Table 19: Number of cases in which a certain principle could be applied

To arrive at the relative chronology of manuscripts based on the results presented above, I have added together the results of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the results of the *Virtutes Philippi*. The results are presented in Table 20.

Graz 412	Frankish, group (ii)	826	52*
Montpellier 55	Frankish, group (i)	829	11*
Dublin 737	Bavarian	833	1*
Vienna 455	Bavarian	833	2*
Vienna 534	Bavarian	834	2*
Paris 5563	Bavarian	835	1*
Wolf. Weiss. 48	Bavarian	841	1*
Paris 12604	Bavarian	842	1*
Bamberg 139	Bavarian	850	11*
Angers 281	Bavarian, peripheral	851	4*
Paris 9737	Frankish, group (ii)	857	25*
Gen. 557	Frankish, group (i)	859	14*
Paris 12602	Bavarian, peripheral	860	13*
Munich 12641	Bavarian	862	3*
Wolf. Helmst. 497	Bavarian	866	9*
Paris 18298	mixed tradition	867	7*
Gen. 558	Frankish, mixed	871	3*
Paris 11750	Frankish, mixed	876	9*
Paris 5273	Frankish, group (i)	882	8*
Gen. 547	Frankish, mainly (i)	883	10*
St. Gall 561	Frankish, group (ii)	893	17*
Vienna 497	Bavarian	898	10*
Vienna 560	Bavarian	920	7*
Munich 22020	Frankish, <i>codex extravagans</i>	947	26*

Table 20: The relative chronology of manuscripts (based on the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*)

This table gives us an idea of the number of interventions found in each particular manuscript of my corpus. Furthermore, it allows us to make a distinction between two types of scribal behaviour. In the Bavarian tradition, there appears to be a group of manuscripts that are part of a conservative practice of transmission. The manuscripts that belong to this group make up the core of the Bavarian tradition (Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48), or are closely related to it (Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Bamberg 139). However, manuscripts are also found that are innovative or even highly innovative in character. It is here that we can witness the tendency to rewrite rather than accurately copy the text. Interestingly, this type of manuscript is found in younger manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497 and Vienna 560) and manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. Furthermore, the status of Munich 22020 as a *codex extravagans* is confirmed in the sense that it contains text versions with highly innovative features.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

This chapter presents the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series. The analysis shows that we should not regard the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series as uniform and fixed, but instead as one in which variety and dynamism are characteristic features.

The analysis of relative distance relationships reveals much about the various ways in which the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series was transmitted. Two traditions were distinguished on the basis of the origins of the most important manuscripts: a Bavarian tradition and a Frankish tradition. My analysis shows, however, that this distinction does not suffice to describe the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series. First, there is a difference between the two traditions in terms of the number of core groups that can be distinguished. The Bavarian tradition is characterized by one core group; two groups of manuscripts, one of which is closely related, the other more distantly related to this core group; and two peripheral manuscripts. In the case of the Frankish tradition, at least two core groups can be distinguished. These findings suggest that the concept of ‘Frankish tradition’ must be interpreted as an umbrella term pointing to multiple traditions rather than as a reference to a uniform and fixed tradition.

The distinction between ‘Bavarian’ and ‘Frankish’ only is also misleading because it suggests that the textual transmission did not cross the boundaries between these two traditions. The case of Paris 18298 indicates that at least some of the manuscripts belong to a mixed tradition, containing text versions of both traditions. Some manuscripts even do not seem to fit in either of the two traditions, as is the case with Munich 22020, a *codex extravagans* that is distantly related to the Frankish tradition. The variety and dynamism attested here gives reason to speculate about the question whether or not ‘the’ *Virtutes Apostolorum* series even exists: it is also possible that various communities in various

regions simultaneously felt the need to bring together all the texts about the apostles that were available in their community. Because a decisive answer cannot be given on the basis of this analysis only, it is a task of research to take into account the possibility of the coexistence of a number of independent *Virtutes Apostolorum* series.<sup>201</sup>

The analysis of a relative chronology of text versions results in Table 20, a chronology based on two principles that are applied to two texts. If we look at each specific text and each specific principle only, a number of interesting findings can be found. It appears, for example, that some manuscripts are conservative with regard to the *Virtutes Philippi* but innovative with regard to the *Virtutes Bartholomei* (e.g. Paris 18298), or the other way round (e.g. Montpellier 55). These findings demonstrate differences in scribal practices between two texts in the same manuscripts.

When the two principles are compared in the case of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, it appears that they point to a similar relative dating of the majority of the text versions. There are two manuscripts in which the principles do not match: in the cases of Vienna 497 and Munich 12641, the manuscripts are conservative according to the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* but innovative according to the principle of ‘All-except-one’. Although a definitive solution to this mismatch cannot be given within the scope of this thesis, I assume that these manuscripts are the result of interventions that aim to bring the language and style to a higher standard. I did not find manuscripts that are conservative according to ‘All-except-one’ and innovative when the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* is taken into account. It follows from this that the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* is often a marker of innovative behaviour in general: if a text version is innovative in this respect, it is very likely to be innovative also when other linguistic features are taken into account.

Some final notes on the terms ‘conservative’ and ‘innovative’. The analysis of the textual transmission allows a distinction between two types of scribal behaviour. Firstly, we can observe a practice amongst scribes to conserve the texts as accurately as possible. Secondly, the results also indicate an innovative practice of textual transmission. It follows from this observation that the concept of ‘rewriting’ as introduced in chapter 1 of this thesis is applicable to the manuscripts from the latter group, while the textual transmission in the first group of manuscripts can be qualified in terms of ‘copying’.

Even though conservative scribal behaviour is often attested in the Bavarian tradition and not so frequent in the Frankish tradition, it would be incorrect to describe the Bavarian tradition in its entirety as ‘conservative’ and the Frankish tradition as ‘innovative’, because there are manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition that contain many innovative features. To be more specific, it is the older manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition that are the result of a conservative practice of textual transmission, whereas

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<sup>201</sup> On this specific topic, see Rose (forthc.): ‘*Virtutes Apostolorum*: Origin, aim, and use’.

innovative features are found in the younger manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition (such as Vienna 497 and Vienna 560). These findings indicate how careful we have to be in attributing the labels 'conservative' and 'innovative' to a manuscript tradition as a whole.



### 5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the relative chronology of text versions, using two principles upon which the analysis of rewriting patterns in the sections on Bartholomew and Philip is based. In this chapter, I will take a closer look at one such principle, that of *Lectio Explicitor*.

In chapter 3 I formulated the hypothesis that there exists a general tendency among scribes to make the structure of the text more explicit, and hence facilitate the interpretation of the text.<sup>202</sup> It is on the level of the structure and coherence of the text that the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* operates. Although there are many text structural devices, the application of the *Lectio Explicitor*-principle is restricted to two phenomena only, discourse markers and reference markers.

The first phenomenon, variation in discourse markers, falls into two categories. Firstly, various manuscripts contain different discourse markers at the same position in the text. This is a *qualitative* difference. Secondly, there are also cases in which one manuscript contains a discourse marker, but the other none. When this happens, I will speak of a *quantitative* difference. In section 5.2.1 I will discuss both categories, and illustrate that the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* can only be applied to cases of variation related to the *quantity* of discourse markers. Section 5.2.2 will demonstrate how the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* works when applied to variation in reference markers, that is, variation in how reference is made to the protagonists of the story.

All examples in this chapter have been taken from the *Virtutes Bartholomei*. A complete list of all the examples found in the sections on Bartholomew and Philip is presented in Appendix 3.

### 5.2 Variation related to discourse markers

In a narrative text, defined by Mieke Bal as a ‘text in which an agent relates (‘tells’) a story in a particular medium’,<sup>203</sup> the advancement of the story is usually generated through a succession of bounded events.<sup>204</sup> When the narrator relates the events of the story, he may also make use of discourse markers, defined as ‘those natural language expressions whose primary function is to facilitate the process of interpreting the coherence relation(s)

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<sup>202</sup> There is one restriction to this hypothesis: a corrector may decide to remove text structural devices from the text for specific reasons. Cf. section 8.2 of this thesis on this exceptional type of correction behaviour.

<sup>203</sup> M. Bal, *Narratology. Introduction to the theory of narrative* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Toronto 1997), p. 5.

<sup>204</sup> C. Kroon, ‘Discourse modes and the use of tenses in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*’, in: R.J. Allan and M. Buijs (eds.), *The language of literature. Linguistic approaches to classical texts* (Leiden 2007), p. 65-92, at 69; H. Pinkster, *Latin syntax and semantics* (London 1990), p. 246.

between a particular unit of discourse and other, surrounding units and/or aspects of the communicative situation'.<sup>205</sup> Although discourse markers are not indispensable, they facilitate the process of interpreting a text and its communicative message correctly: they 'define transitions in discourse and in active communication, mark continuity and sameness or switch and change (...), in short, relate to the literary-narratological or communicatory structure of the text'.<sup>206</sup>

In Latin, *autem*, *igitur*, *uero*, *ergo*, *nam* and *enim* are all examples of discourse markers. Over the past decades, research by Caroline Kroon based on Latin literary texts from between 200 BC and 200 AD, has resulted in new insights into the functioning of these discourse markers.<sup>207</sup> Of special interest is her proposal to distinguish between a 'presentational' level of discourse on the one hand, and an 'interactional' level of discourse on the other hand. This distinction may be of help when interpreting at least some of the discourse markers used in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*. Examples (1) and (2) from the *Virtutes Bartholomei* illustrate these different levels of discourse:<sup>208</sup>

- |  |
|--|
| <p>(1) <i>Indiae tres esse ab hystoriographis asseruntur. Prima est India quae ad Ethiopiam mittit, secunda quae ad Medos, tertia quae finem facit. <u>Nam</u> ex uno latere tenebrarum regionem gerit, ex alio latere mare oceanum.</i></p> <p>(2) <i>In hoc idolo demon talis erat qui diceret se curare languentes, caecos sine dubio quos ipse laedebat illuminare. Erant <u>enim</u> sine deo uero homines illi, et necesse erat ut a deo falso ludificarentur.</i></p> |
|--|

In these examples, both *nam* and *enim* indicate a causal relationship between the two sentences. When we take into account the level of discourse, however, it appears that these two discourse markers function slightly differently. As Kroon argues, the main discourse

<sup>205</sup> R. Risselada and W. Spooren, 'Introduction: Discourse markers and coherence relations', in: *Journal of Pragmatics* 30 (1998), p. 131-133, at 132. Pinkster uses the term 'connectors', see Pinkster, *Latin syntax and semantics*, p. 247. In this dissertation, to avoid confusion, I will use the term 'discourse marker'.

<sup>206</sup> H. Rosén, 'Coherence, sentence modification, and sentence-part modification', in: P. Baldi and P. Cuzzolin (eds.), *New perspectives on historical Latin syntax 1. Syntax of the sentence* (Berlin/ New York 2009), p. 317-443, at 321.

<sup>207</sup> C. Kroon, *Discourse particles in Latin. A study of nam, enim, autem, uero and at* (Amsterdam 1995); ead., 'Discourse markers, discourse structure and functional grammar', in: C.S. Butler, J.H. Connolly, R.A. Gatward and R.M. Vismans (eds.), *Discourse and pragmatics in functional grammar* (Berlin/New York 1997), p. 17-32; ead., 'Discourse particles, tense, and the structure of Latin discourse markers', in: R. Risselada ed., *Latin in use* (Amsterdam 1998), p. 37-62; ead., 'Discourse modes and the use of tenses in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*'; ead., 'Latin particles and the grammar of discourse', in: J. Clackson (ed.), *A companion to the Latin language* (Oxford 2011), p. 176-195.

<sup>208</sup> In these examples, I follow the textual presentation of manuscript Dublin 737.

property of *nam* is to present and organize the information concerned, whereas *enim* appears to function on the interactional level between the speaker and his audience.<sup>209</sup>

In (1), *nam* connects the explanatory sentence (*ex uno latere...mare oceanum*) with the last part of the previous section (*tertia quae finem facit*), thereby logically connecting two chains of information (in English ‘for’). In (2), on the other hand, the speaker, in the words of Kroon, ‘chooses to present his text (...) as an interactional process where the commitment of the hearer is required’.<sup>210</sup> The discourse marker *enim*, in this position, is a signal of this (in English ‘as you [the audience] know’).

Over the last couple of decades, various publications on the function of discourse markers in post-classical Latin have appeared.<sup>211</sup> Some of these works deal with the applicability of Kroon’s model to the period after 200 AD. Galdi, for instance, argues on the basis of an analysis of Jordanes’ *Gethicae* that Kroon’s model offers surprising new insights in the use of discourse markers by this sixth century author.<sup>212</sup> Langslow, on the other hand, has some reservations about the applicability of the model to medical texts from the first to the fourth century.<sup>213</sup> However, none of these studies have analyzed variation in

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<sup>209</sup> See chapters 6 to 8 of Kroon, *Discourse Particles in Latin*, for elaborate argumentation.

<sup>210</sup> C. Kroon, ‘Causal connectors in Latin: the discourse function of *nam*, *enim*, *igitur* and *ergo*’, in: M. Lavency and D. Longrée (eds.), *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Colloque de linguistique latine. Louvain-la-Neuve/Borzée, 31 mars – 4 avril 1989* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1989), p. 231-243, at 241.

<sup>211</sup> The main studies that deal with the use of discourse markers in post-classical Latin are: D. Langslow, ‘Latin discourse particles, ‘medical Latin’ and ‘classical Latin’’, in: *Mnemosyne* 53 (2000), p. 537-560; id., ‘Late Latin ‘discourse Particles’, ‘Medical Latin’ and ‘Classical Latin’’, in: *LVL V*, p. 169-182; H. Rosén, ‘Particles- hypercharacterization and status shift in Latin and Romance?’, in: S. Kiss, L. Mondin and G.P. Salvi (eds.), *Latin et langues romanes. Études de linguistique offertes à Josef Herman à l’occasion de son 80<sup>ème</sup> anniversaire* (Tübingen 2005), p. 227-236; S. Kiss, ‘Fonctionnement des connecteurs dans les chroniques latines du haut moyen Âge’, *LVL VII*, p. 381-386; Id., ‘Étude de la cohérence textuelle dans les abrégés d’histoire romaine du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in: G. Purnelle and J. Denooze (eds.), *Ordre et coherence en latin. Communications présentées au 13<sup>e</sup> Colloque international de linguistique latine (Bruxelles-Liège, 4-9 avril 2005)* (Liège 2007), p. 111-116; Id., ‘Termes organisateurs et termes continueurs dans quelques textes narratifs latins’, in: P. Anreiter and M. Kienpointner (eds.), *Latin linguistics today* (Innsbruck 2010), p. 575-582; H. Rosén, ‘Coherence, sentence modification, and sentence-part modification’, in: P. Baldi and P. Guzzolin (eds.), *New perspectives on historical Latin syntax. 1 Syntax of the sentence* (Berlin-New York 2009), p. 317-488; G. Galdi, ‘Connective particles in late Latin: the case of Jordanes’, in: P. Anreiter and M. Kienpointner (eds.), *Proceedings of the 15<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Latin linguistics* (Innsbruck 2010), p. 537-548; B. Krylová, ‘Die Partikeln *ergo* und *igitur* bei Ammianus Marcellinus: ein textologischer Beitrag zur Diskussion um Ammians Sprachkompetenz’, in: G. Thome and J. Holzhausen (eds.), *Es hat sich viel ereignet, Gutes wie Böses. Lateinische Geschichtsschreibung der Spät- und Nachantike* (Munich/Leipzig 2001), p. 57-79; ead. ‘Zur Diachronie der lateinischen Diskurspartikeln: methodologische Überlegungen’, in: E. Rieken and P. Widmer (eds.), *Pragmatische Kategorien: Form, Funktion und Diachronie. Akten der Arbeitstagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 24. bis 26. September 2007 im Marburg* (Wiesbaden 2009), p. 159-172.

<sup>212</sup> G. Galdi, ‘Connective particles in late Latin’.

<sup>213</sup> D. Langslow, ‘Latin discourse particles’.

the use of discourse markers in the course of textual transmission. In this thesis Kroon's model will be applied to my analysis of variation between manuscripts with respect to the use of discourse markers.

For my analysis of patterns of rewriting, I distinguish between two categories of variation related to discourse markers. Section 5.2.1 focuses on cases in which various text versions contain different discourse markers at the same position in the text (i.e. difference in the quality of discourse markers). In this section, I will make clear that, in such cases, it is impossible to determine an innovative variant reading on the basis of the kind of explicitness. Section 5.2.2 will deal with cases in which discourse markers are present in one manuscript but absent in others (i.e. difference in the quantity of discourse markers). I will argue that this type of variation is informative in terms of the principle of *Lectio explicitior*. In doing so, I will put forward the hypothesis that discourse markers were added at a certain point in the manuscript transmission to facilitate the interpretation of the structure of the text.

### 5.2.1 Variation in the quality of discourse markers

Let us first pay attention to variation in which two discourse markers occur at the same position in the text (variation in the quality of discourse markers between manuscripts). Variation in the quality of discourse markers is, in itself, uninformative in terms of the principle of *Lectio Explicitior*. In all these cases, there is no reason to suppose that discourse marker A is more explicit than discourse marker B, or vice versa.<sup>214</sup>

An example of this is variant 100.1,<sup>215</sup> where variation occurs between *tunc* and *igitur*. Compare examples (3) and (4), taken from Angers 281 and Paris 5273, respectively.<sup>216</sup>

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| (3) | <i>Tunc dixit apostolus ad plebem: Ecce quem deum putabatis ecce quem putabatis curare uos.</i>    |
| (4) | <i>Igitur dixit apostolus ad plebem: Ecce quem deum putabatis, ecce quem putabatis curare uos.</i> |

This sentence is preceded by a passage in which a dialogue between the demon and the apostle Bartholomew, which takes place in front of a crowd, is presented. In what follows,

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<sup>214</sup> Patterns of rewriting may be distinguished, however, on the basis of the principle of All-except-one/two. Cf. section 6.4.1 of this thesis.

<sup>215</sup> The analysis of variants can be found in Vol. 2 of this dissertation.

<sup>216</sup> The presentation of textual variety is conducted in this chapter at random; a detailed account as to which manuscript contains which reading is presented in the footnotes. Further details can be found in Vol. 2 of this dissertation. The discourse marker *igitur* can be found in Paris 5273, while *tunc* occurs in all the other manuscripts.

Bartholomew turns his attention to the crowd. This sentence marks a shift in the narrative. In almost all manuscripts, this shift in narrative is underlined by the use of the discourse marker *tunc* as a means of expressing a sequence or succession of events.<sup>217</sup> In Paris 5273, however, this shift in the narrative is stressed by the discourse marker *igitur*. It is difficult to retrace why this manuscript contains a discourse marker that is different from the other manuscripts. However, of greater importance to the present discussion is the fact that the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* cannot be applied here, since no convincing reason is found as to why *igitur* would be a more explicit discourse marker than *tunc*, or vice versa.

The same can be said about the examples found in variant 124.1. Examples (5) and (6) stem from Angers 281 and Paris 12602, respectively.<sup>218</sup>

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| (5) | <i>Et cum exsoluisset eum, ille ululatum teterrimum dire uocis emittens euolauit, et nusquam comparuit. Angelus <u>autem</u> domini uidentibus cunctis euolauit ad caelum.</i> |
| (6) | <i>Et cum exsoluisset eum, ille ululatum teterrimum dire uocis emittens euolauit, et nusquam comparuit. Angelus <u>quoque</u> domini uidentibus cunctis euolauit ad celum.</i> |

In this passage, a temple is liberated from a demon by an angel of God. Afterwards, the angel flies back to heaven. Between these two sentences, there is a multiple switch of subject. In the subordinate clause *et cum exsoluisset eum*, the angel is the subject of *exsoluisset*. In the main clause, it is the demon, referred to by *ille*, who acts as the protagonist. Immediately afterwards, the narrative focuses again on the angel flying back to heaven. The shift of attention from the demon back to the angel is emphasized by the use of the discourse marker *autem*, often used as a marker of thematic discontinuity.<sup>219</sup>

This discourse marker is retraceable in all manuscripts except Paris 12602, where the word *quoque* can be found in its place. Of these two variants, it is not possible to deem one conservative and the other innovative on the basis of the ‘*lectio explicitor*’ principle. Both words simply emphasize different things: the discourse marker *autem* stresses the thematic shift, whilst the word *quoque* tends to emphasize that the angel does the same thing as the demon, viz. flying away.

Two examples that lead to similar conclusions can be found in variants 79.1 and 105.1. Example (7), taken from Bamberg 139 and (8), from Paris 11750, show the variation

<sup>217</sup> In this respect, *tunc* has the same discourse function as *deinde*. Cf. Lewis and Short, *A Latin dictionary*, s.v. ‘*tunc*’.

<sup>218</sup> The discourse marker *quoque* is found in Paris 12602, while *autem* can be found in all the other manuscripts.

<sup>219</sup> On this C. Kroon, *Discourse particles in Latin*, p. 247-269.

found in 79.1, whereas examples (9), from Angers 281, and (10), from Gen. 547, present variant 105.1.

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (7)  | <i>Ipse <u>uero</u> diabolus facit arte sua homines aegrotare, et suadet eos credere idolis.</i> |
| (8)  | <i>Ipse <u>ergo</u> diabolus facit arte sua homines egrotare, et suadet eis credere idolis.</i>  |
| (9)  | <i>Apostolus <u>autem</u> dixit eis: Soluite uincula eius.</i>                                   |
| (10) | <i><u>Tunc</u> apostolus dixit eis: Soluite uincula eius.</i>                                    |

In variant 79.1, two discourse markers, *uero* and *ergo*, are found in various manuscripts.<sup>220</sup> This sentence is embedded in a long speech by the apostle Bartholomew. The discourse marker *ergo* indicates that information that has already been given is presented again to refresh the memory of the audience.<sup>221</sup> The discourse marker *uero*, on the other hand, illustrates that the speaker lends his authority to the information given in this sentence, viz. that the demon makes people sick and exhorts them to believe in false gods.<sup>222</sup> Again, the two variants cannot be distinguished chronologically, since no good reason can be found as to why the one variant should be more conservative than the other. Likewise, variant 105.1 divides manuscripts containing *autem* from manuscripts containing *tunc*.<sup>223</sup> The use of both words in this sentence can be explained as an indication of the following stage in the narrative. However, no conclusions can be drawn about patterns of rewriting related to the degree of explicitness.

Interestingly, there are two variants that appear to be identical at first sight, but on closer inspection turn out to be different. Compare variant 8.1, between (11) from Angers 281 and (12) from Gen. 547, with variant 47.1, between (13) from Angers 281 and (14) from Munich 22020.

<sup>220</sup> The discourse marker *ergo* is found in mss. Angers 281, St. Gall 561, Dublin 737, Gen 547, Gen 557, Gen 558, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 12602, Vienna 455, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Wolf. Weiss 48, Paris 11750, Vienna 560, Paris 18298 and Montpellier 55. The discourse marker *uero*, on the other hand, is found in mss. Bamberg 139, Munich 12641, Munich 22020, Paris 5563, Vienna 534 and Vienna 497.

<sup>221</sup> Kroon, *Discourse particles in Latin*, p. 369-370; ead., 'Discourse particles, tense, and the structure of Latin narrative texts', p. 48.

<sup>222</sup> *Vero* is not a connective discourse marker, but rather a modal discourse marker, i.e. it does not connect two passages logically; instead, it indicates that the speaker or narrator lends his authority to the information given in the sentence. Cf. Kroon, 'Discourse particles, tense, and the structure of Latin narrative texts', p. 50: '[*uero*] has the characteristics of a modal particle rather than of a connective particle'.

<sup>223</sup> *Autem* is found in mss. Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Munich 12641, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497 and Wolf. Weiss. 48. *Tunc* is found in mss. Gen 547, Gen 557, Paris 5273, Paris 12602, Montpellier 55, Gen 558, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561 and Munich 22020.

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (11) | <i>Erant enim sine deo uero homines illi, et necesse erat ut a deo falso ludificarentur. Deus <u>autem</u> falsus hac arte illudit eos qui uerum deum non habent: (...)</i>   |
| (12) | <i>Erant enim sine deo uero homines illi, et necesse erat ut a deo falso ludificarentur. Deus <u>enim</u> falsus hac arte illudit eos qui uerum deum non habent: (...)</i>  |
| (13) | <i>Vtquid me quesisti tota die cum auro et argento, et gemmis et uestibus? Ista munera eis sunt necessaria, qui terrena querunt. Ego <u>autem</u> nihil terrenum, nihil carnale desidero.</i>                         |
| (14) | <i>Vtquid me quesisti tota die cum auro et argento, et gemmis et uestibus? Ista mihi necessaria non sunt, habeant ea qui terrena quaerunt aut diligent. Ego <u>enim</u> nihil carnale desidero, nec habere cupio.</i> |

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Löfstedt claimed that at a given moment in the evolution of Latin, no difference in meaning existed between the discourse markers *autem* and *enim*.<sup>224</sup> The original function of *autem* as a marker of thematic discontinuity, for instance, is hard to maintain when we look at (11), given that no real thematic discontinuity is at stake. In this case, it seems that *autem* and *enim* have more or less the same function. At first sight, this hypothesis could be extended to the examples (13) and (14). However, the variant reading *enim*, found in example (14), is more than just a variation in discourse markers. The previous sentence in this manuscript (*ista mihi necessaria non sunt, habeant ea qui terrena quaerunt aut diligent*) appears to be a significant innovation of the sentence found in other manuscripts (*ista munera eis sunt necessaria, qui terrena querunt*). The variant reading *enim*, therefore, could be linked to the other innovative features in this sentence, and now has an explanatory function. In this example, it is the context that provides a proper explanation of the variation.<sup>225</sup> The principle of *Lectio Explicitor* is not useful, because both discourse markers make the structure of the text more explicit.

To conclude, in this section a number of examples of qualitative variation (i.e. variation between discourse markers used at the same position in the text) have been discussed. We have seen the following pairs of variation:

- (i) *tunc* versus *igitur*;
- (ii) *autem* versus *quoque*;
- (iii) *uero* versus *ergo*;

<sup>224</sup> E. Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetheriae: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Sprache* (Uppsala 1911), p. 33.

<sup>225</sup> It ought to be remarked that manuscript Munich 22020, the manuscript that contains the passage presented in example (14), proves to be an exception in the established corpus. See also chapter four of this thesis.

- (iv) *autem* versus *tunc*;
- (v) *autem* versus *enim*

In some of these cases, the different variants do not appear to change the meaning of the text. In other cases, however, a small shift in meaning has been identified. For the present discussion of the establishment of a chronology of text versions in terms of the principle of *Lectio Explicitor*, however, these qualitative variants of discourse markers are not informative.

### 5.2.2 Variation in the quantity of discourse markers

A good reason to apply the principle of '*Lectio explicitor*' can be found when it comes to differences in the quantity of discourse markers used in the text. Sanders and Noordman have illustrated that discourse markers facilitate the interpretation of the structure of a text.<sup>226</sup> Thus, the more discourse markers a certain manuscript contains, the easier it is to interpret the structure of the text. With this in mind, I will argue that the number of discourse markers is informative when establishing a chronology of text versions. Manuscripts that do not contain a discourse marker at a certain position in the text are qualified as conservative, whereas manuscripts that do contain a discourse marker at the same position are considered to be innovative. Given that the *Virtutes Apostolorum* was read out loud in a performative context, it is more likely that a scribe decided to insert discourse markers to facilitate its interpretation than that scribes consciously omitted discourse markers to make the structure of the text more complicated. I will illustrate the application of this principle by presenting a number of variants related to the quantity of discourse markers.

At a certain point in the narrative, the crowd asks the demon how to find the apostle Bartholomew. After describing his physical features, the demon suggests to the crowd that Bartholomew has probably already heard that he is being sought after. Examples (15), taken from Angers 281 and (16), from Gen. 547, show the variation between the manuscripts in this passage listed as variant 28.1:

- (15) *Ecce et hoc quod uos interrogatis quod ego do responsum de eo, iam nouit. Angeli [X] dei famulantur ei, et ipsi nuntiant ei.*
- (16) *Ecce et quod uos interrogatis, et quod ego do responsum de eo iam nouit. Angeli enim dei famulantur ei, et ipsi nuntiant ei.*<sup>227</sup>

<sup>226</sup> On the functioning of discourse markers in communicative situations, cf. T.J.M. Sanders and L.G.M. Noordman, 'The role of coherence relations and their linguistic markers in text processing', *Discourse Processes* 29.1 (2000), p. 37-60, at 56, with further references.

<sup>227</sup> Example (15), without the addition of *enim*, is found in mss. Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Munich 12641, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Paris 18298, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Vienna 560 and Wolf. Helmst. 497. Example (16), with the addition of *enim*, is found in mss. Gen

In (15), the explanation as to why Bartholomew already knows of the conversation (*angeli...ei*) is not introduced by a discourse marker such as *nam* or *enim*. In (16), on the other hand, the audience of this manuscript's text receives an extra tool in the form of the discourse marker *enim* to help them understand that the sentence following is explanatory. Through the addition of this discourse marker, the interpretation of the relation between this sentence and the previous one is facilitated. A similar instance with *enim* is classified as variant 86.4, where the discourse marker *enim* is only found in St. Gall 561 to facilitate the interpretation of the text. Example (17) is taken from Gen. 557, and (18) from St. Gall 561:

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|------|--|
| (17) | <i>Cessate miseri sacrificare mihi, ne peiora patiamini quam ego, qui catenis igneis religatus sum ab angelis Ihesu Christi, quem Iudei crucifixerunt, putantes [X] eum morte detineri.</i>              |
| (18) | <i>Cessate miseri sacrificare mihi ne peiora patiamini quam ego, qui catenis igneis religatus sum ab angelis Ihesu Christi quem Iudaei crucifixerunt, putabant <u>enim</u> eum posse teneri a morte.</i> |

In manuscript Vienna 560, we find the discourse marker *ergo* added in two places. Examples (19) and (21), from Vienna 560, are contrasted with the examples (20) and (22) from Angers 281:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (19) | <i>Peto <u>ergo</u> uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.</i>  |
| (20) | <i>Peto [X] uos ut rogetis eum pro me ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.</i>   |
| (21) | <i>Audite <u>ergo</u> nunc uerum deum creatorem uestrum, qui in caelis habitat, et credite in eum, et non in lapidibus uanis et rebus insensatis.</i> |
| (22) | <i>Audite [X] nunc uerum deum creatorem uestrum qui in caelis habitat, non lapidibus uanis credatis.</i>  |

Regarding *ergo*, Kroon states that it functions as a signal that information already given is being recalled.<sup>228</sup> The use of *ergo* in both (19) and (21) can be interpreted accordingly. In both examples, the speakers (the demon in (19) and the apostle Bartholomew in (21)) conclude their speech by stating once again what they want from their audience. In (19), the demon asks the crowd to tell Bartholomew that he wishes to be sent to another province. In (20), Bartholomew implores the crowd to believe only in the Christian God. The addition of

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547, Gen 557, Gen 558, Montpellier 55, Paris 5273, Paris 11750, St. Gall 561, Munich 22020, Paris 9737, Paris 12602 and Wolf. Weiss. 48.

<sup>228</sup> Kroon, *Discourse particles in Latin*, p. 369-370; ead., 'Discourse particles, tense, and the structure of Latin narrative texts', p. 48.

the discourse marker *ergo* facilitates a correct interpretation of this sentence in relation to the complete passage.

In some cases, the adversative word *sed* has been added in the manuscripts as a signal to facilitate the interpretation of the structure of the sentence. The examples taken from variants 25.1, 41.1 and 96.4 show the sentences in which *sed* has been added. Example (25) is taken from Munich 12641, example (26) from Munich 22020, example (23) from Angers 281, example (24) from Gen. 547, example (27) from Paris 5273 and example (28) from Gen 558.

Variant 25.1:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (23) | <i>Ambulant cum eo angeli dei, qui non permittunt eum fatigari, non esurire. [X] Semper eodem uultu, eodem animo perseuerat.</i>        |
| (24) | <i>Ambulant cum eo angeli dei, qui non permittunt eum fatigari, non esurire. <u>Sed</u> semper eodem uultu, eodem animo perseuerat.</i> |

Variant 41.1:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (25) | <i>Dicit ei apostolus: Iam ego uinctum teneo inimicum qui in ipsa erat, et uos adhuc timetis eam? [X] Ite et soluite eam, eleuate et reficite eam, et crastino mane ducite eam ad me.</i> |
| (26) | <i>Dicit eis apostolus: Iam ego uinctum teneo inimicum qui in ipsa erat, nolite timere eam, <u>sed</u> ite et soluite et lauate et reficite, et crastina die mane adducite eam ad me.</i> |

Variant 96.4:

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (27) | <i>Nam non auderem loqui illo presente, [X] nec ipse princeps noster.</i>          |
| (28) | <i>Nam ausus non essem loqui eo presente, <u>sed</u> nec ipse princeps noster.</i> |

The variant readings that contain *sed* are found in a very small number of manuscripts.<sup>229</sup> It is plausible therefore to attribute the addition of *sed* to the scribe of these manuscripts (or those of their exemplar(s)). Again, the addition of *sed* illustrates that the scribe wanted to facilitate a correct interpretation of the sentence. In example (24), for instance, the addition of *sed* illustrates the positive aspect of Bartholomew's imperturbability. In example (26), it is striking that the context in which *sed* was added has also been changed.<sup>230</sup> *Sed* has been added in a chain of imperatives to clearly distinguish which type of behaviour the crowd should avoid and which type of action it should undertake. In (28),

<sup>229</sup> Example (24) is found in manuscripts Gen 547 and Paris 12602, example (26) only in Munich 22020, and example (28) in Gen 558 and Paris 11750.

<sup>230</sup> Viz. a change of *uos adhuc timetis eam* to *nolite timere eam*, and a change of the word *crastino* to *crastina die*.

*sed* emphasizes that neither the demon nor the devil have dared to contradict the apostle Bartholomew. By inserting *sed*, the juxtaposition of the demon and the devil becomes clearer.

An interesting case is listed in variant 95.1. At the same position in the text, different discourse markers can be found in various manuscripts. Example (29) is taken from manuscript Bamberg 139, example (30) comes from Gen 547, example (31) from Gen 557, example (32) from Munich 22020, example (33) from Paris 12602 and example (34) from Paris 5273.

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (29) | <i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum lesione cessamus uidebimur curare eos, et colimur quasi dii, cum pro certo simus demones, ministri eius quem in cruce positus Ihesus uirginis filius religauit. A die [X] qua eius discipulus huc uenit apostolus Bartholomeus ardentibus cathenis strictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia iussit michi.</i>                               |
| (30) | <i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum lesione cessamus uidemur curare eos, et colimur quasi dii cum pro certo simus demones ministri eius quem in cruce positus Ihesus uirginis filius religauit. A die <u>ergo</u> qua hic uenit eius discipulus apostolus Bartholomeus, ardentibus cathenis strictus consumor. Et ideo loquor, quia iussit me.</i>                            |
| (31) | <i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum lesione cessamus, uidemur curare eos et colimur quasi dii. Cum pro certo simus daemones, ministri eius, quem in cruce positus Ihesus Christus uirginis filius religauit. <u>Et</u> a die, qua hic uenit eius discipulus apostolus Bartholomeus, ardentibus cathenis strictus consumor. Et ideo loquor, quia iussit mihi.</i>              |
| (32) | <i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum lesione cessamus, uidemur curare eos, et ideo colimur ab his quasi dii, cum pro certo simus daemones, ministri eius quem in cruce positus Ihesus uirginis filius religauit. <u>Vnde</u> a die qua tu eius discipulus huc uenisti apostolus Bartholomeus, ardentibus catenis constrictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia iussisti michi.</i> |
| (33) | <i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum lesione cessauimus uidemur curare eos et colimur quasi dii, cum pro certo simus demones, ministri eius quem in cruce positus Ihesus uirginis filius religauit. A die <u>autem</u> qua eius discipulus hic uenit apostolus Bartholomeus ardentibus catenis strictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia iussit mihi.</i>                         |
| (34) | <i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum lesione cessamus, uidemur curare eos, et colimur quasi dii, cum pro certo simus demones, ministri eius quem in cruce positus Ihesus uirginis filius religauit. A die <u>enim</u> qua hic uenit eius discipulus Bartholomeus, ardentibus cathenis strictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia iussit me.</i>                                    |

In total, five possibilities can be found in the manuscripts to signal the transition from the one sentence to the other: no signal, *ergo*, *et*, *unde* and *autem*.<sup>231</sup> The wide range of variation makes it likely that several scribes felt the need to add a discourse marker where initially there was none. The narrative relates how the power of the demon disappears when the apostle Bartholomew enters the region. From then on, the demon is not able to make people sick in order to cure them. Bartholomew ties the demon up and forces him to speak. The use of *et* and *unde* merely stresses the sequence of events. *Ergo* facilitates the audience's understanding that information already given is being reactivated. The discourse marker *autem* stresses the contrast in the power that the demons possess before and after Bartholomew's entry into this area. The discourse marker *enim*, to conclude, has been used to stress that the sentence that follows is an explanation of the statement that the person speaking is *pro certo* a demon.

Two final instances are found in variant 91.4, between (35) from Vienna 497 and (36) from Vienna 560, and 12.3, between (37) from Paris 12602 and (38) from Paris 12604:

- (35) *Respondit daemon: Princeps noster diabolus sic quomodo ligatus est ipse [X] nos mittit ut ledamus.*
- (36) *Respondit daemon: Princeps noster diabolus, qui quamquam ut nos ligatus est, ipse tamen nos mittit ad homines ut eos ledamus.*
- (37) *Et illic sacrificantes coeperunt inquirere quare deus eorum Astharoth non eis daret responsa. Respondens autem Berith dixit: [X] Deus uester sic captiuus et religatus tenetur, ut neque loqui neque suspirare audeat, ex illa hora qua ibi apostolus dei Bartholomeus ingressus est.*
- (38) *Et illic sacrificantes ceperunt inquirere, quare deus eorum Astaroth non eis daret responsa. Respondens autem Beireth dixit: Quia deus uester sic captiuus et religatus tenetur, ut neque suspirare neque loqui audeat, ex illa hora qua ibi beatus apostolus dei Bartholomeus est.*

In these examples, part of a direct speech uttered by the demon, the words *tamen* and *quia* have been added.<sup>232</sup> In (36), the addition of *tamen* emphasizes the contrasting features of

<sup>231</sup> The manuscripts containing no discourse marker are Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Munich 12641, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Gen 558, St. Gall 561, Vienna 497 and Montpellier 55. The manuscripts containing *ergo* are Gen 547 and Wolf. Helmst. 497. Those that contain *et* are Gen 557, Paris 9737, Paris 18298 and Paris 11750, whilst *enim* is found only in manuscript Paris 5273. The manuscripts that contain *autem* are Paris 12602 and Vienna 560. The variant reading *unde* is found in Munich 22020 only.

<sup>232</sup> The word *tamen* is found only in Vienna 560. Manuscripts Angers 281, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Paris 9737, Paris 18298,

this sentence: although the devil had been restrained, he still sent the demons to the people to torture them. In variant 12.3, the demon responds to the question as to why his fellow demon Astaroth has been silent for a while. In some manuscripts, the element *quia* ('because') has been added to indicate that the reply is indeed an answer to the question. In this way, it facilitates the understanding of the relationship between the demon's direct speech and the preceding passage.

To conclude, a number of variants are found in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* that involve the use of discourse markers. In some of these variants, two alternative discourse markers appear in the different manuscripts at the same position in the text (i.e. variation in the quality of discourse markers). In these cases, it is not possible to apply the '*lectio explicitior*' principle because there is no difference in the degree of explicitness of the different text versions. In other variants, differences are found in the quantity of discourse markers (i.e. *[X]* versus a discourse marker). In these cases, the text versions with discourse markers are considered to contain more explicit markers of structure and are qualified as innovative examples of the process of rewriting.

### **5.3 Facilitation of the structure of the text: reference markers**

The previous section discussed variation in how sentences are linked by *discourse markers*. Cohesion may also be established, however, by reference markers, that is, linguistic devices that refer to the protagonists of the text.<sup>233</sup> The most explicit way to do so is to mention the name of the protagonist in full, as in the imaginary example (39):

(39) Bartholomew prayed to God. Bartholomew was beaten. Bartholomew died.

In practice, reference to a protagonist that has already been introduced is often made by means of anaphora.<sup>234</sup> According to Pinkster, we may speak of anaphora when a nominal constituent of the preceding context is referred back to without lexical repetition.<sup>235</sup> In the imaginary example (40), reference to Bartholomew is made by use of the referent marker 'he':

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Paris 12604, Paris 11750 and Munich 12641 contain *quia*, whereas manuscripts Gen 547, Gen 557, Gen 558, Paris 5273, [Paris 5563], Paris 12602, St. Gall 561, Vienna 497 and Munich 22020 do not.

<sup>233</sup> M. Bolkestein, 'Discourse organization and anaphora in Latin', in: S.C. Herring, P. van Reenen and L. Schøsler eds., *Textual parameters in older languages* (Amsterdam 2000), p. 107-138; cf. Kroon, 'Discourse particles, tense, and the structure of Latin narrative texts', p. 37-38.

<sup>234</sup> The use of anaphora is one way to create cohesion between sentences linguistically, (cf. Pinkster, *Latin syntax and semantics*, 247f), thereby enabling a combination of sentences to function as a text. Cf. M.A.K. Halliday and R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English* (Bath 1980), p. 13: 'The concept of cohesion accounts for the essential semantic relations whereby any passage of speech or writing is enabled to function as text'. See also T.J.M. Sanders, W.P.M. Spooren and L.G.M. Noordman, 'Toward a taxonomy of coherence relations', *Discourse Processes* 15 (1992), p. 1-35, especially 1-5.

<sup>235</sup> Pinkster, *Latin syntax and semantics*, p. 250. Anaphoric reference is different from deictic reference. According to Pinkster, we can speak of deictic reference if in a certain situation something

(40) Bartholomew prayed to God. He was beaten. He died.

In Latin, there are several ways to refer to nominal constituents that have already been mentioned:<sup>236</sup>

- (i) repetition (as in: *Bartholomeus dixit...Bartholomeus dixit...*)
- (ii) use of a generic noun (*Bartholomeus dixit... apostolus dixit...*)
- (iii) use of pronouns: *ille (illa/illud), hic (haec/hoc), iste (ista/istud), is (ea/id)* (*Bartholomeus dixit... ille dixit...*)
- (iv) no specific mention of the entity in question ('zero-anaphora') (*Bartholomeus dixit... dixit*)

One could say that category (i) is a more explicit form of reference, whereas category (iv) is a more implicit means of reference.

The decision to use a certain type of reference is supposed to depend on three factors: (a) the gap with the previous mention of the nominal constituent to which reference is made (so-called 'referential distance'); (b) the presence of other entities to whom the reference could be linked ('ambiguity'); and (c) the distance between this mention of / reference to the nominal constituent and the subsequent reference ('persistence').<sup>237</sup> For instance, 'zero-anaphora' is often used in cases in which the entity is very clear from the context, whereas *hic* and *ille* may resolve ambiguous references in the case of two protagonists (*hic dixit... ille respondit*). As shown by Bolkestein and Van de Grift, the various means of reference are not used at random, but are chosen deliberately.<sup>238</sup>

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is pointed out ('that' in 'can you pass me that paté, please?'). We speak of anaphoric reference, on the other hand, when discussing things that have already been mentioned in a coherent context ('it' in 'there was a book on the table. It formed part of a collection...'). Cf. Pinkster, *Latin syntax and semantics*, p. 95. This is not to say that anaphoric reference cannot be established by deictic means.

<sup>236</sup> A.M. Bolkestein and M. van de Grift, 'Participant tracking in Latin discourse', in: J. Herman ed., *Linguistic studies on Latin. Selected papers from the 6<sup>th</sup> international colloquium on Latin linguistics (Budapest 1991)* (Amsterdam 1994), p. 282-302, at 283-284; R. Risselada, 'Bacchanalia & pragmatiek: textuele samenhang in Livius 39.9-14.3', *Lampas* 30 (1997), p. 101-122, at 111; M. Bolkestein, 'Discourse organization and anaphora in Latin', p. 107-108.

<sup>237</sup> A.M. Bolkestein and M. van de Grift, 'Participant tracking in Latin discourse', p. 285, based upon: T. Givón, 'Topic continuity in discourse: an introduction', in: id. (ed.), *Topic continuity in discourse. A quantitative cross-language study* (Amsterdam 1983), p. 1-42, at 12-15.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. their conclusions in Bolkestein and Van de Grift, 'Participant tracking in Latin discourse', p. 297-298. This line of thought is further developed in publications by others; cf. O. Spevak, 'Le placement de *is*, *hic* et *ille* chez Grégoire de Tours', *LVL VIII*, p. 361-370; D. Pennell Ross, 'Anaphors and antecedents in narrative text', in: H. Rosén ed., *Aspects of Latin. Papers from the seventh international colloquium on Latin linguistics (Jerusalem 1993)* (Innsbruck 1996), p. 511-524; S. Luraghi, 'Participant tracking in Tacitus', in B. García-Hernández ed., *Estudios de lingüística latina* (Madrid 1998), p. 467-485; M. Fruyt, 'Anaphore, cataphore et déixis dans l'*Itinerarium d'Egérie*', in: *LVL VI*, p. 99-120; C. Kroon, 'Anaphoric reference and referential choice in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', in: P. Anreiter and M. Kienpoitner (eds.), *Latin linguistics today* (Innsbruck 2010), p. 579-593.

In the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, numerous variants related to reference markers can be found. Sanders and Spooren demonstrate that such referential devices are crucial in a communicative process because they facilitate the interpretation of the structure of the text.<sup>239</sup> I argue that many of these variants can be regarded as patterns of rewriting that aim to facilitate the interpretation of the text's coherence, i.e. that make more explicit to whom or to what reference is made. In many cases, an implicit reference is changed to a more explicit one. If we look at the four ways in which reference can be made to a nominal constituent, for instance, we assume that 'zero-anaphora' has been replaced by an anaphoric pronoun, and that an anaphoric pronoun has been replaced by a nominal constituent. I have used such cases to establish textual variants chronologically bearing in mind the following:

- (i) The cases with variation related to the explicitness of a reference marker will be used to distinguish text versions chronologically according to the principle of *Lectio explicitior*;
- (ii) On the basis of this principle, more explicit reference markers will be regarded as innovative and the more implicit reference marker will be considered conservative.

Below I illustrate the application of this principle with a number of examples taken from the *Virtutes Bartholomei*.

Let us start with variant 38.1, made up of (41) from Paris 12602, (42A) from Vienna 560, and (42B) from Angers 281:

- (41) *Polemius autem rex prouintiae eius cum haberet filiam lunaticam, nuntiatum est illi de hoc demonioso, et misit et rogauit eum [sc. Bartholomeus] dicens: Filia mea male uexatur, et peto ut sicut liberasti Pseustium qui per multos annos passus est, ita et filiam meam sanes. Exurgens autem [X] perrexit cum eo. Atubi uidit eam apostolus catenis strictam, iussit eam solui.*
- (42A) *Polimius autem rex prouintiae illius cum haberet filiam lunaticam, nuntiatum est illi de hoc demonioso, et misit et rogauit eum, dixitque ei: Filia mea male uexatur, peto ut sicut liberasti Pseustium qui per multos annos passus est, ita et filiam meam sanes. Exurgens autem perrexit cum eo. Atubi uidit filiam regis apostolus cathenis strictam (...) tunc iussit apostolus eam solui.*
- (42B) *Polimius autem rex prouintiae eius, cum haberet filiam lunaticam nuntiatum est illi de hoc daemionioso, et misit et rogauit eum dicens ei: Filia mea male uexatur. Peto ut sicut liberasti Pseustium qui per multos annos passus est, ita et filiam meam sanes. Exurgens autem apostolus perrexit cum eo.*

<sup>239</sup> T. Sanders and W. Spooren, 'Discourse and text structure', in: D. Geeraerts and J. Cuykens (eds.), *Handbook of cognitive linguistics* (Oxford 2007), p. 916-941, with further bibliography.

Some explanation of the context of this passage is necessary. The daughter of king Polymius is being tortured by a demon. As soon as the king hears about the deeds of the apostle Bartholomew, he visits the apostle and asks him to cure his daughter of her madness. In this passage, the apostle stands up (*exurgens autem*) and follows the king (*perrexit cum eo*). When he sees the daughter of the king, he orders the surrounding crowd to release her.

In this passage, two variants related to reference markers can be found. First of all, the majority of manuscripts contain *exurgens autem perrexit cum eo*, with the exception of Angers 281 (example 42B), in which the subject of *perrexit* is explicitly mentioned (*apostolus*). In this variant, there is a switch from a very implicit reference ('zero-anaphora') to a very explicit reference (a nominal constituent, *apostolus*). In this case, the variant in Angers 281 will be qualified as an innovation on the basis of the principle of *Lectio Explicitor*.

In the last part of this passage, a second variant amongst the manuscripts stands out. Whereas most manuscripts refer to the king's daughter as *eam* (as in (41)), in manuscript Vienna 560 one can find *filiam regis* (42A).<sup>240</sup> Obviously, the latter reading is understood more easily, since it is a more explicit reference which clarifies immediately that the apostle has seen the king's daughter. In the case of *eam*, the audience has to make the connection between *eam* and the other references to the daughter of the king. On the basis of the principle of *Lectio Explicitor*, the more implicit anaphoric pronoun *eam* is qualified as the conservative variant, whereas the more explicit nominal constituent *filiam regis* is considered to be an innovation, illustrating the process of rewriting.

The following example demonstrates that variation in the degree of explicitness is not always automatically a case of the principle of '*lectio explicitor*'; we also need to consider the surrounding context carefully. Here, the example used is variant 68.1.3, between (43) from Angers 281 and (44) from Gen 547:<sup>241</sup>

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (43) | <i>Primus ergo homo Adam dictus est, hic de terra factus est. Terra autem illa, ex qua factus est, uirgo fuit, quia nec sanguine humano polluta fuerat, nec ad sepulturam alicuius mortui fuerat adaptata.</i> |
| (44) | <i>Primus ergo homo Adam dictus est. Terra autem mater eius, ex qua factus est uirgo fuit, quia nec sanguine humano polluta fuerat, nec ad sepulturam alicuius mortui fuerat adaptata.</i>                     |

<sup>240</sup> In this case, *eam* is the third mention in the chain of references to the king's daughter. In the preceding text, reference to her is made by use of *filiam lunaticam* and *filiam meam* (sc. the king).

<sup>241</sup> Example (43), with *illa*, is found in mss. Angers 281, Dublin 737, Paris 5563, Paris 12602, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Bamberg 139, Vienna 534, Munich 12641 and Vienna 560. Example (44), containing *mater eius*, is present in mss. Gen 547, Gen 557, Gen 558, Paris 5273, St. Gall 561, Munich 22020, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Paris 18298 and Montpellier 55.

At first sight, *mater eius* may be regarded as a ‘*lectio explicitior*’ because it is a more explicit reference to the earth (*terra*) than the pronoun *illa*. However, more variation occurs within the two passages. An important element that is found in (43) and not in (44) is the part of the sentence in which the earth is mentioned for the first time (*hic de terra factus est*). Because of this, *terra illa* can be used because the earth has been introduced beforehand. Since this information is missing in (44), *terra* has to be properly introduced with the words *mater eius*. In this case, the principle of ‘*lectio explicitior*’ cannot be applied, since the use of the apposition *mater eius* is related to the absence of *hic de terra factus est*. This example demonstrates the importance of taking a critical look at the surrounding context to avoid the misinterpretation of textual variants.

Most of the variants related to reference markers concern the replacement of ‘zero-anaphora’ by other markers of reference. Because it is not feasible to deal with all of the variants that occur, a selection of interesting cases will be discussed.<sup>242</sup> Examples of this kind are variant 7.1 and 37.1.3. Examples (45), from Paris 9737 and (46), from Wolf. Helmst. 497 present variant 7.1:

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (45) | <i>In hoc idolo demon talis erat, qui diceret se curare languentes, sed hos sine dubio quos ipse ledebat. Erant enim sine deo uero [X], et necesse erat ut a deo falso ludificarentur.</i>                           |
| (46) | <i>In hoc idolo demon talis erat qui diceret se curare languentes, caecos sine dubio quos ipse laedebat illuminare. Erant enim sine deo uero <u>homines illi</u>, et necesse erat ut a falso deo ludificarentur.</i> |

Example (47), from Dublin 737, and example (48), from Angers 281, contain variant 37.1.3:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (47) | <i>Peto [X] ut sicut liberasti Pseustium qui per multos annos passus est, ita et filiam meam sanes. Exurgens autem [X] perrexit cum eo.</i>                     |
| (48) | <i>Peto <u>uos</u> ut sicut liberasti Pseustium qui per multos annos passus est, ita et filiam meam sanes. Exurgens autem <u>apostolus</u> perrexit cum eo.</i> |

In the first passage, exemplified by (45) and (46), the narrator gives a description of the acts performed by the demon. The explanation, emphasized with the discourse marker *enim* (cf. example (2)), starts with the verb *erant*. In some manuscripts, the subject of this verb is not expressed explicitly, as in (45).<sup>243</sup> Other manuscripts, however, refer to the subject with

<sup>242</sup> See Appendix 3 for a complete list of cases.

<sup>243</sup> It concerns manuscripts Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Montpellier 55, Paris 11750 and Munich 22020.

*homines illi*, as in (46).<sup>244</sup> Although both variant readings make perfect sense, it is evident that the manuscripts containing *homines illi* contain a ‘*lectio explicitior*’, since the explicit reference to the subject of the verb facilitates the interpretation of the passage. For this reason, the variant reading *homines illi* is qualified as an innovation.

In variant 37.1.3 (examples (47) and (48)), we see the addition of the word *uos*. This word functions as a means of clarifying the context of the passage. The king speaks to the apostle, and the addition *uos* emphasizes that the sentence is a rephrasing of direct speech. In this respect, *uos* can be marked as a ‘*lectio explicitior*’. Comparable examples are 129.3, where *regi* is added in Vienna 560 to illustrate that the protagonists are talking to the king and 51.1.3, where the addition *deo* stresses the fact that the virgin Mary is talking to God. Variant 129.3 is portrayed in example (49) from Vienna 497, and example (50) from Vienna 560:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (49) | <i>Cum hec [X] flentes referent, (...)</i>          |
| (50) | <i>Cum haec <u>regi</u> flentes referent, (...)</i> |

Variant 51.1.3 is illustrated with example (51), from Angers 281, and (52), from Gen 558:<sup>245</sup>

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (51) | <i>Haec ergo prima inter faeminas hoc constituit in corde suo, ut diceret [X]:<br/>Domine offero tibi uirginitatem meam.</i>       |
| (52) | <i>Hec ergo prima inter feminas, hoc constituit in corde suo, ut diceret <u>deo</u>:<br/>Domine offero tibi uirginitatem meam.</i> |

Slightly different is the variation encountered in (53), taken from Gen. 557, (54), taken from Gen. 558 and (55), found in Paris 18298.<sup>246</sup> In this passage, the demon, speaking to the crowd, states that the demons first hurt the bodies of the people, since

<sup>244</sup> *Homines illi* is found in manuscripts Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Gen 547, Gen 557, Gen 558, Paris 5273, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Vienna 560, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Paris 12602 and Munich 12641.

<sup>245</sup> The addition *deo* can be found in manuscripts Gen 558, Munich 22020, Paris 5563, Paris 11750, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561 and Paris 9737. Example (48), without *deo*, is contained by Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Paris 12602, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497 and Wolf. Weiss. 48. Manuscripts Gen 547, Gen 557, Paris 5273, Montpellier 55, Munich 12641 and Vienna 497 do not contain (a part of) the passage, and have not been counted in this analysis.

<sup>246</sup> Example (53), without *nos* or *nobis*, is found in manuscripts Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Munich 12641, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Gen 547, Gen 557, Paris 5273, Montpellier 55, Paris 9737, Vienna 455, Paris 11750, Paris 12602, St. Gall 561, Vienna 560 and Wolf. Helmst. 497; example (54), with *nos*, in Paris 18298; example (55), with *nobis*, in Gen 558 and Munich 22020.

demons cannot access the soul of the people when they do not bring sacrifices. In three manuscripts (Paris 18298, Munich 22020, Gen 558), it has been made more explicit to whom the people have to sacrifice, namely *nos* // *nobis* ('us', sc. the demons). In general, the verb *sacrificare* requires a dative case when one wants to express to whom the sacrifice will be made.<sup>247</sup> The fact that Paris 18298 contains accusative *nos*, is probably related to developments in spoken late Latin, where the accusative and dative are confused to a large extent.<sup>248</sup> The addition of either *nobis* or *nos* marks a '*lectio explicitior*', aimed at a facilitation of the interpretation of the passage.

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (53) | <i>Primo quidem carnes eorum quoniam in animas hominum non possumus habere potestatem, nisi sacrificauerint [X].</i>                     |
| (54) | <i>Primo quidem ut ledamus carnem eorum, quoniam in animas hominum potestatem non possumus habere nisi sacrificauerint <u>nobis</u>.</i> |
| (55) | <i>Primo quidem carnem eorum, quoniam in animas hominum non possumus abere potestatem nisi sacrificauerint <u>nos</u>.</i>               |

We have already seen instances in which zero-anaphora was replaced by more explicit references in the case of the subject and indirect object. Zero-anaphora also occurs in direct objects.<sup>249</sup> The following examples demonstrate this variation:

(i) Variant 32.10 as found in Munich 12641 (56) and Munich 22020 (57):

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (56) | <i>Reuertentes coeperunt circumire omnium peregrinorum hospitaes, atque aspicere uultus et habitus singulorum, et per duos dies non inuenerunt [X].</i> |
| (57) | <i>Reuertentes autem coeperunt circuire omnium peregrinorum uultus et habitus, et per dies multos non inuenerunt <u>eum</u>.</i>                        |

(ii) Variant 91.6, with manuscripts Dublin 737 (58) and Gen 557 (59) as examples:

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (58) | <i>Respondit daemon: Princeps noster diabolus sic quomodo ligatus est ipse nos mittit ad homines ut laedamus [X].</i>            |
| (59) | <i>Respondit daemon: Princeps noster diabolus, sic quomodo religatus est, ipse nos mittit ad homines, ut ledamus <u>eos</u>.</i> |

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Lewis and Short, s.v. *sacrificare*; *TLL* s.v. *sacrificare*.

<sup>248</sup> See Stotz, *LSDM. Vierter Band*, p. 251ff.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. M. Bolkestein, 'Discourse organization and anaphora in Latin', p. 108.

(iii) Variant 102.4, as in Angers 281 (60) and Paris 9737 (61):

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (60) | <i>Sed si uultis ut orem pro uobis et omnes hi sanitatem recipiant deponite idolum hoc, et confringite [X].</i>       |
| (61) | <i>Et si uultis ut orem pro uobis et omnes hi sanitatem recipiant, deponite idolum hoc et confringite <u>eum</u>.</i> |

In examples (i), (ii) and (iii), the direct object of *inuenerunt*, *ledamus* and *confringite* has not been expressed in a number of manuscripts. In some manuscripts, the anaphoric pronoun *is* was added to enable a quicker understanding of the meaning.<sup>250</sup> In (56) and (61), the anaphoric pronouns *eos* and *eum* refer to an entity mentioned shortly before, *homines* in (56) and *idolum hoc* in (61). In (54), *eum* refers to Bartholomew, who has not been mentioned explicitly in the previous passage. For the analysis of a chronology of text versions, such instances where more explicit references are used are ‘*lectiones explicitiores*’, and are qualified as innovations on the basis of the principle of *Lectio Explicitor*.

Another group of variation contains instances in which nouns are modified by a constituent indicating the semantic function ‘possessor’. The principle of *Lectio explicitor* is also applicable to this group, because the introduction of such modifiers results in a more explicit reading, which facilitates the interpretation of the passage. An example is variant 43.3 of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* which is found when we compare manuscripts Angers 281 (62) and Gen. 547 (63):

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (62) | <i>(...) et reportata sunt omnia ad palatium [X].</i>         |
| (63) | <i>(...) et reportata sunt omnia ad palatium <u>eius</u>.</i> |

In this passage, in which the king is the subject of the sentence, one can see that *eius* has been added in (63). Although the interpretation of the passage is not extremely difficult, an extra reference in the form of *eius* has been added to emphasize that it is the king’s palace

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<sup>250</sup> Example (56), without *eum*, is found in manuscripts Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Gen 557, Montpellier 55, Paris 9737, Gen 558, Munich 12641, Paris 12602 and Vienna 560; example (57), with *eum*, in Gen 547, Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 18298, Paris 5563, Paris 11750, St. Gall 561 and Wolf. Weiss. 48; example (58), without *eos*, in Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Gen 547, Munich 22020, Dublin 737, Paris 5563, St. Gall 561, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Munich 12641, Paris 5273, Paris 12602, Paris 12604, Vienna 497 and Montpellier 55; example (59), with *eos*, in Gen 557, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Gen 558, Paris 18298 and Vienna 560; example (60), without *eum*, in Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Gen 547, Gen 557, Gen 558, Montpellier 55, Paris 5273, Paris 11750, Paris 12602, Munich 12641, Munich 22020, St. Gall 561, Vienna 560 and Wolf. Helmst. 497; example (61), with *eum*, in Paris 9737 and Paris 18298.

to which all the things return. Comparable examples can be found in variant 55.1 (*timore* versus *timore suo*), 121.3 (*naribus* versus *naribus eius*), 125.4 (*filiis* versus *filiis suis*) and 126.1.2 (*capitis* versus *capitis sui*).

Finally, there are cases in which reference markers are made more explicit by the addition of a noun. Variant 73.3 shows an interesting case in which a noun has been added in order to enable a facilitation of the interpretation. Example (64) stems from St. Gall 561, whereas Paris 11750 is presented in (65):

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (64) | <i>Ideo argentum et aurum non accipimus sed contempnimus, sicut ipse [X] contempsit, quia ibi esse cupimus diuites ubi solum eius regnam imperium (...)</i>     |
| (65) | <i>Ideo argentum et aurum non accipimus sed contempnimus sicut ipse dominus contempsit, quia ibi cupimus esse diuites, ubi solum eius regnat imperium (...)</i> |

In this passage, Bartholomew explains to the king why he refuses the gifts that are offered to him because he cured the king's daughter. Like Christ, Bartholomew refuses to aspire to worldly gifts. In (64), this is made explicit by use of the words *sicut ipse contempsit*.<sup>251</sup> Although reference to Jesus Christ is not absent from the previous passage,<sup>252</sup> the reference by use of the pronoun *ipse* is not very explicit. The interpretation of the subordinate clause, therefore, is facilitated by the addition of the noun *dominus*, so that everybody knows that *ipse* refers to Christ.<sup>253</sup> Other manuscripts have *ipse dominus noster* to indicate that it is 'our' lord.<sup>254</sup>

The same type of variation is found in variant 119.4, where *Christi* has been added in Munich 22020 to indicate more clearly that *signum* refers to the Christian symbol of the Cross of Christ, and 142.7, where the name of the king and even the relationship between king Polymius and Astriages have been added in Munich 22020 and Vienna 560, respectively. The variation in 119.4 is presented in (67), from Gen 547 and (68) with *Christi*, from Munich 22020:

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (67) | <i>Quem uidentes nolite expauescere, sed quale signum [X] sculpsi ego in his saxis, tale uestro facite in frontibus uestris, et omnia mala fugient a uobis.</i>                |
| (68) | <i>Quem uidentes nolite expauescere, sed quale signum Christi ego sculpsi in his saxis, tale uos digito uestro facite in frontibus uestris, et omnia mala fugiunt a uobis.</i> |

<sup>251</sup> Example (64), with only *ipse*, is found in mss. Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Montpellier 55, Munich 12641, Munich 22020, Paris 5563, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 497, Vienna 534, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Wolf. Weiss. 48 and St. Gall 561.

<sup>252</sup> The passage before this sentence is [as in St. Gall 561]: *ita hic homo Christus Ihesus qui uicit, misit nos in omnes prouintias, ut expellamus ministros diaboli, qui per templa in statuibus habitant, et homines qui eos colunt de potestate eius qui uictus est auferamus.*

<sup>253</sup> Example (65), containing *ipse dominus*, is found only in Paris 11750.

<sup>254</sup> Manuscripts Gen 547, Gen 558, Paris 5273, Paris 12602 and Gen 557.

The variation in 142.7 becomes clear when comparing Bamberg 139 (69), Munich 22020 (70) and Vienna 560 (71):

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (69) | <i>Venientes autem innumerabiles populi .XII. ciuitatum qui per illum crediderunt una cum rege [X], abstulerunt cum ymnis et cum omni Gloria corpus eius.</i>  |
| (70) | <i>Venientes autem innumerabiles populi diuersarum ciuitatum, qui per eum crediderant una cum rege <u>Polimio</u>, abstulerunt cum hymnis et cum omni gloria corpus eius.</i>  |
| (71) | <i>Venientes autem innumerabiles populi duodecim ciuitatum quae per eum crediderant una cum rege <u>Polymio</u>, <u>fratris eiusdem Astriáges</u>, abstulerunt corpus eius cum ymnis et cum omni gloria.<sup>255</sup></i> |

To sum up, there are numerous cases with variation related to the degree of referential explicitness. In these cases, I have applied the principle of *Lectio Explicitior* to distinguish a conservative variant from an innovative variant. On the basis of this principle, the more implicit reference is qualified as the conservative variant, whereas the more explicit reference is considered to be the result of an intervention by a scribe.

Having explained the linguistic basis of the principle of *Lectio Explicitior* and illustrated its application with numerous examples, I shall now turn to the distribution of innovative variants in the two manuscript traditions in the conclusion to this chapter.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

The previous sections of this chapter have been devoted to a discussion of a number of examples that illustrate how I have used the principle of *Lectio Explicitior* to make a distinction between conservative and innovative variants related to discourse and reference markers. In this concluding section I shall present an overview of the distribution of *all* innovative variants related to discourse-pragmatic categories in the 24 (Bartholomew) or 25 (Philip) manuscripts of the corpus. This overview will be used to draw conclusions on general tendencies of rewriting as far as the *Lectio Explicitior*-principle is concerned.

Table 1 presents the distribution of innovative variants in each particular manuscript. The manuscripts have been ordered according to the number of innovative variants, from the manuscript containing the smallest number (Munich 12641) to the manuscript containing the highest number (Vienna 560) of innovative variants.

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<sup>255</sup> Interestingly, the addition *fratris eiusdem Astriáges* is grammatically incorrect; *fratris* refers to Polymius, to whom reference is made in the ablative. Instead of *fratris*, the correct form should have been *fratre*.

Table 1: distribution of innovative variants on the basis of the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*

<b>Manuscript</b>	<b>Tradition</b>	<b>Number of innovative variants</b>
Munich 12641	Bavarian	29
Dublin 737	Bavarian	31
Vienna 455	Bavarian	31
Vienna 534	Bavarian	31
Paris 5563	Bavarian	31
Wolf. Weiss. 48	Bavarian	32
Paris 12604	Bavarian	32
Montpellier 55	Frankish, group (i)	32
Bamberg 139	Bavarian	33
Angers 281	Bavarian, periphery	33
Graz 412	Frankish, group (ii)	34
Wolf. Helmst. 497	Bavarian	35
Vienna 497	Bavarian	35
Paris 12602	Bavarian, periphery	35
St. Gall 561	Frankish, group (ii)	36
Gen. 557	Frankish, group (i)	38
Paris 9737	Frankish, group (ii)	39
Gen. 547	Frankish, group (i)	39
Gen. 558	Frankish, other	40
Paris 5273	Frankish, group (i)	42
Paris 18298	mixed	45
Paris 11750	Frankish, other	46
Munich 22020	Frankish, <i>codex extrauagans</i>	49
Vienna 560	Bavarian	50

The distribution of innovative variants in the sections on Bartholomew and Philip related to discourse-pragmatic features of the text allows us to draw two conclusions about tendencies of rewriting in the manuscript transmission. First, it appears that innovative variants related to discourse-pragmatic features of the text occur in the manuscripts of both traditions. In other words, it is not a concern of the scribes in one tradition only to make the structure of the text more explicit. Instead, it appears that discourse-pragmatic features of the text are subject to change in manuscripts of both traditions.

Second, the distribution of variants between the two traditions is uneven. It turns out that nearly all manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition contain a relatively low number of innovative variants related to discourse-pragmatic features, whereas a relatively high number of such variants is found in the manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. This finding

shows that the manuscripts in the Frankish tradition are more innovative in character than the manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition.

Two manuscripts deserve special mention. Even though the manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition are relatively conservative, Vienna 560, which is one of the youngest manuscripts in my corpus (dating to s. XIII), contains the highest number of innovative variants. It will become clear in the following chapter that the innovative character of this manuscript is not limited to discourse-pragmatic features of the text only.

Paris 18298, dating from s. IX-X, also contains a relatively high number of innovative variants. In the previous chapter it was shown that the section on Bartholomew belongs to the Frankish tradition, while the *Virtutes Philippi* is part of the Bavarian tradition. The high number of innovative variants in this manuscript can be explained as the result of the Frankish character of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* in this manuscript. It is this text in which the major part of the cases of *Lectio Explicitor* can be found. Even though Paris 18298 belongs to a mixed tradition, it nevertheless may be regarded as another illustration of the general trend that the Frankish tradition, to which the section on Bartholomew belongs, is more innovative in character than the Bavarian tradition.

### 6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I started my discussion on the linguistic patterns of rewriting by examining innovations related to the principle of *Lectio Explicitor*. In this chapter, I focus on the second principle used to distinguish textual variants chronologically: that of All-except-one/two. According to this principle, a variant reading which is found in only one or two manuscripts is regarded as the result of an intervention by the scribe of that or those particular manuscripts (or of its (lost) exemplar).

The analysis of rewriting patterns is hindered by the fact that we are often unable to distinguish between a conservative and an innovative variant. My analysis of rewriting patterns in the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series is no exception: in the majority of textual variants, it is not possible to ascertain which variant should be regarded as the innovation by a scribe. It is the principle of All-except-one that allows us to make a distinction between a conservative and an innovative variant. The application of this principle has enabled me to gather all the cases in which the direction of rewriting can be established. These cases, which together only represent a small part of the total number of variants, will be dealt with in this chapter.

The merit of applying the principle of All-except-one/two lies mainly in that it results in two different observations on patterns of rewriting. Firstly, the results enable us to gain a better insight into the distribution of innovations related to language in the manuscripts of my corpus. Secondly, the data presented here are a useful addition to our knowledge about the development of the Latin language. The material indicates a large variety of innovative tendencies in the Latin language. In this respect, rewriting tendencies related to the Latin language fit in with Mohrmann's description of Medieval Latin as 'normativisme évolutif'.<sup>256</sup> a continuous interplay between conservative norms of spelling, grammar and syntax on the one hand, and innovative scribal activities on the other.

For the sake of clarity, the data are presented in three separate sections according to their linguistic nature. In section 6.2 innovations related to word order are discussed. Section 6.3 deals with innovations in the choice of lexeme and patterns of rewriting related to morphosyntax are presented in section 6.4. My presentation of variants is based on only a selection of examples; a complete list of examples can be found in Appendix 4.

### 6.2 Variation in word order

The first category in which much variation is found is that of word order. Numerous studies have been carried out on the issue of word order in Latin, which follow functional and

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<sup>256</sup> Cf. chapter 1, footnote 79.

syntactic approaches. The *functional approach* argues that Latin word order is pragmatically motivated, and that this pragmatic motive was a constant factor of influence as the Latin language evolved.<sup>257</sup> The *syntactic approach*, on the other hand, states that syntactic developments in the Latin language are a decisive influence on changes in word order.<sup>258</sup> Scholars who apply this approach argue that at any given stage in the development of the Latin language, there is a dominant system of basic word order patterns with a number of varieties, and that from a diachronic point of view, Latin word order changed from so-called ‘left-branching’ structures (object + verb; adjective + noun; genitive + noun) to so-called ‘right-branching’ ones (verb + object; noun + adjective; noun + genitive).<sup>259</sup>

In this section, I present the innovations related to word order that we can distinguish on the basis of the principle of All-except-one/two. My main interest here is not to discuss and explain each individual change, but rather to evaluate whether or not we can establish a diachronic development based on the innovations gathered here. With this aim in mind, the syntactic approach offers a convenient point of departure. I shall refer to the recent study by Bauer on the development of word order in Latin, based on sources from various periods (referred to by Bauer as ‘Early Latin’, ‘Classical Latin’, ‘Vulgar’ and ‘Late’ Latin).<sup>260</sup> This does not imply a preference towards the syntactic approach over the functional approach.

In the discussion that follows, I highlight the degree to which innovations in word order are inconsistent with the results of this syntactic approach. By showing that changes in the Latin of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* are not as uniform as we would expect them to be on the basis of Bauer’s ideas, I argue that the latter are in need of reconsideration.

In my discussion I differentiate between a number of categories of word order variation based upon the classification found in Bauer’s study.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Cf. O. Spevak, *Constituent order in Classical Latin prose* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2010); ead. (ed.), *Le syntagme nominal en latin. Nouvelles contributions* (Paris 2010); ead., ‘Itinerium Egeriae. L’ordre des constituants obligatoires’, in: *Mnemosyne* 58 (2005), p. 235-261; A.M. Devine and L.D. Stephens, *Latin word order. Structured meaning and information* (Oxford 2006); H. Pinkster, *Latin syntax and semantics*; D. Panhuis, *The communicative perspective in the sentence. A study of Latin word order* (Amsterdam 1982).

<sup>258</sup> Cf. B. Bauer, ‘Word order’, in: P. Baldi and P. Cuzzolin (eds.), *New perspectives on historical Latin syntax. I: Syntax of the sentence* (Berlin/New York 2009), p. 241-316; ead., *The development of SVO patterning in Latin and French. Diachronic and psycholinguistic perspectives* (Oxford/New York 1995); J. Adams, ‘A typological approach to Latin word order’, in: *Indogermanische Forschungen* 81 (1977), p. 70-99.

<sup>259</sup> Bauer, ‘Word order’, p. 303. For a recent discussion on the two approaches to word order, cf. H. Halla-aho, *The non-literary letters. A study of their syntax and pragmatics* (Helsinki 2009), p. 122-130, p. 139-142.

<sup>260</sup> Bauer, ‘Word order’.

<sup>261</sup> Bauer, ‘Word order’.

### 6.2.1 Variation related to the position of the relative clause

Vonlaufen and Adams have shown that the word order ‘head noun + relative clause’ is the most common one from the early period in Latin (the time of Plautus and Cato) onwards.<sup>262</sup>

In two variants of my corpus, the order ‘head noun + relative clause’ is replaced by the order ‘relative clause + head noun’. In the first case, the majority of manuscripts contains the word order ‘subject of the main clause + relative clause dependent on the subject of the main clause’. Munich 22020 innovated: the relative clause is placed before the subject of the main clause.<sup>263</sup>

(1)	(...) <i>angeli qui cum eo sunt</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(2)	(...) <i>qui cum eo sunt angeli</i> (...)	(Munich 22020)

In the second case, in the majority of the manuscripts (example (3)), the relative clause is positioned after *duos tribunos*, the direct object of the main clause to which it is connected. However, in Vienna 560, a representative of the Bavarian tradition, the relative clause is placed between the cardinal number *duos* and the noun *tribunos*, as in example (4).<sup>264</sup>

(3)	(...) <i>duos tribunos qui mortui fuerant</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(4)	(...) <i>duos qui mortui fuerant tribunos</i> (...)	(Vienna 560)

These two cases, found in manuscripts dating from s. XII (Munich 22020, *codex extravagans*) and s. XII-XIII (Vienna 560, Bavarian tradition), illustrate a tendency to rearrange the regular pattern of word order.

### 6.2.2 Variation in the order ‘noun + adjective’

The position of the adjective in relation to the noun depends on its semantic function: the adjective follows the noun if it has a distinctive function (e.g. *populus Romanus*) but precedes the noun if it has a descriptive function (e.g. *infinita multitudo*).<sup>265</sup> In the development from Latin to the Romance languages, Bauer observes that the distinctive adjective usually tends to follow the noun in unmarked position and the descriptive

<sup>262</sup> J. Vonlaufen, *Studien über Stellung und Gebrauch des lateinischen Relativsatzes. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Lukrez* (Freiburg 1974); cf. J. Adams, ‘A typological approach to word order’, p. 86-87.

<sup>263</sup> Variant VB 30.7.

<sup>264</sup> Variant VP 14.1.5.

<sup>265</sup> Bauer, ‘Word order’, p. 264; cf. J. Marouzeau, *L’ordre des mots dans la phrase latine. I: les groupes nominaux* (Paris 1922); id., *L’ordre des mots en latin* (Paris 1953).

adjective appears more and more frequently after their head noun.<sup>266</sup> Both categories of adjectives are therefore increasingly found after a noun.

I encountered five innovations related to the ‘noun + adjective’ order.<sup>267</sup> Four of these innovations are found in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition, dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries (Munich 12641, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Paris 12602, Vienna 560), whilst one case occurs in both a Frankish manuscript (Paris 11750) and a manuscript of the Bavarian tradition (Wolf. Helmst. 497).

In three cases, the order is changed from ‘noun + adjective’ to ‘adjective + noun’, as in examples (5) and (6).<sup>268</sup>

(5)	<i>et necesse erat ut a deo falso ludificarentur</i>	(all manuscripts)
(6)	<i>et necesse erat ut a falso deo ludificarentur</i>	(Wolf. 497; Paris 11750)

The three cases in which the order ‘noun + adjective’ is reversed to ‘adjective + noun’ (as in the change of *deo falso* to *falso deo*) are inconsistent with the Latin language’s tendency to place adjectives after a noun, as observed by Bauer.

In examples (7) and (8), the order ‘adjective + noun’ is reversed to ‘noun + adjective’.<sup>269</sup> Both cases are found in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition.

(7)	<i>Tunc Bartholomeus ait/dixit: Confitere inmundissime demon (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(8)	<i>Tunc Bartholomeus ait: Confitere <u>demon inmundissime</u> (...)</i>	(Vienna 560)

The examples presented here illustrate that variation related to the order ‘noun + adjective’ is found in the younger manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition. Furthermore, it appears that both directions, from ‘noun + adjective’ to ‘adjective + noun’ and vice versa, can be distinguished on the basis of the principle of All-except-one. This finding demonstrates a larger flexibility in innovations than we might expect on the basis of the syntactic approach.

### 6.2.3 The position of a cardinal number

I found one case<sup>270</sup> in which the position of a cardinal number is changed in one manuscript.<sup>271</sup> In example (9), the cardinal number is placed after the noun. In Munich

<sup>266</sup> Bauer, ‘Word order’, p. 265; cf. B. Bauer, ‘Variability in word order: adjectives and comparatives in Latin, Romance and Germanic’, in: *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 20 (2001), p. 19-49.

<sup>267</sup> *VB* 7.2, *VB* 7.3, *VB* 90.3, *VB* 108.10, *VB* 134.7.1.

<sup>268</sup> Variant *VB* 7.2. Other cases are *VB* 7.3; *VB* 108.10.

<sup>269</sup> Variant *VB* 90.3. The other case is *VB* 134.7.1.

<sup>270</sup> Variant *VP* 18.1.

12641, a manuscript of the Bavarian tradition, the cardinal number is placed before the noun (see example (10)).

(9)	(...) <i>apostolos .XII. (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(10)	(...) <i>.XII. apostolos (...)</i>	(Munich 12641)

#### 6.2.4 Variation in the order 'noun + genitive'

Bauer has observed that the order 'noun + genitive' is increasingly used throughout the development of the Latin language. Indeed, this is the unmarked word order found in the colloquial Latin, whereas the word order 'genitive + noun' is only rarely used as a stylistic marker.<sup>272</sup>

In five cases of variation, the principle of 'All-except-one' can be used to demonstrate that the order 'noun + genitive' has been changed.<sup>273</sup> Three of these cases occur in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition, dating back to s. XI (Wolf. Helmst. 497) and s. XII (Munich 12641; Paris 12604), whereas two cases can be found in a manuscript from the Frankish tradition (Paris 5273), dating back to s. XIII. This indicates that innovations in the word order 'noun + genitive' can be found in the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

If we look at the direction in which the word order is changed in the innovative variant, we see that there is only one example of change from 'genitive + noun' to 'noun + genitive'. This is to be expected on the basis of the research presented above; see examples (11) and (12).<sup>274</sup>

(11)	(...) <i>in dei mei nomine (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(12)	(...) <i>in <u>nomine</u> dei mei (...)</i>	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

In the remaining four cases, the direction in the order 'noun + genitive' is different from what we would expect on the basis of Bauer's study. In these four cases, the majority of manuscripts contains the word order 'noun + genitive', whereas one or two manuscripts show the opposite word order 'genitive + noun', as in examples (13) and (14).<sup>275</sup> These cases call for a reconsideration of Bauer's theory.

<sup>271</sup> Research indicates that cardinal numbers tend to occur both before and after a noun; cf. O. Spevak, 'La place des déterminants et leurs combinaisons', in: O. Spevak (ed.), *Le syntagme nominal en latin*, p. 63-64.

<sup>272</sup> Bauer, 'Word order', p. 267; cf. J. Adams, 'A typological approach to Latin word order', in: *Indogermanische Forschungen* 81 (1977), p. 70-99, at 73-83.

<sup>273</sup> *VB* 64.1.4, *VB* 144.2, *VP* 4.1, *VP* 8.4, *VP* 25.4.

<sup>274</sup> Variant *VP* 8.4.

<sup>275</sup> Variant *VB* 64.1.4.

(13)	(...) <i>a filio uirginis</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(14)	(...) <i>a uirginis filio</i> (...)	(Munich 12641; Wolf. Helmst. 497)

### 6.2.5 Variation related to the verb phrase

#### 6.2.5.1 Finite verb + object

According to Bauer, the word order ‘verb + object’ (VO) is increasingly used instead of the order ‘object + verb’ (OV) and this phenomenon is stronger in main clauses than in subordinate clauses.<sup>276</sup>

I found four cases related to the order ‘finite verb + object’.<sup>277</sup> In two of these, the word order OV is changed to VO in one or two manuscripts. This change correlates with the results of the syntactic approach to developments in the Latin language. Compare examples (15) and (16):<sup>278</sup>

(15)	(...) <i>sanitatem recipiant</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(16)	(...) <i>accipiant / recipiant sanitatem</i> (...)	(Munich 12641; St. Gall 561)

There are two cases in which the majority of manuscripts contains the word order VO, whereas one manuscript contains the word order OV. In these cases, the innovative variant does not correspond with what we would expect on the basis of the syntactic approach to this development in Latin. Compare examples (17) and (18), in which all of the manuscripts contain *misit mille uiros*, whereas St. Gall 561 contains *mille uiros misit*.<sup>279</sup>

(17)	(...) <i>misit mille uiros</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(18)	(...) <i>mille uiros misit</i> (...)	(St. Gall 561)

The two cases in which OV is changed to VO are present in Munich 22020, a *codex extravagans* related to the Frankish tradition, and St. Gall 561 from the Frankish tradition. The change of VO into OV occurs, once again, in St. Gall 561 and Munich 22020, and in Paris 12602, a peripheral manuscript of the Bavarian tradition. These data indicate that the syntactic approach does not provide a sufficient explanation of the linguistic innovations in this category of word order.

<sup>276</sup> Bauer, ‘Word order’, p. 270-271; cf. J. Adams, *The Vulgar Latin of the letters of Claudius Terentianus* (Manchester 1977).

<sup>277</sup> *VB* 102.3.2, *VB* 108.10, *VB* 118.8, *VB* 130.1.3.

<sup>278</sup> Variant *VB* 102.3.2.

<sup>279</sup> Variant *VB* 130.1.3.

#### 6.2.5.2 *The position of a pronoun*

Bourciez has observed that in the development from Latin to the Romance languages, pronouns with the function of direct object tend to be placed before the verb.<sup>280</sup>

I found two cases of innovative variation relating to the position of the pronoun.<sup>281</sup> In one case, the pronoun is placed before the verb in one manuscript (examples (19) and (20)).<sup>282</sup> This is an expected innovation on the basis of our knowledge about the development of Latin.

(19)	(...) <i>qui misit me</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(20)	(...) <i>qui <u>me misit</u></i> (...)	(St. Gall 561)

One case demonstrates a tendency that is not in line with the expected development of the Latin language. In examples (21) and (22), the pronoun is placed after a finite verb in one manuscript.<sup>283</sup>

(21)	(...) <i>ipse nos misit</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(22)	(...) <i>ipse <u>misit nos</u></i> (...)	(Munich 12641)

The repositioning of a pronoun before a verb, in accordance with Bourciez's observations on the development of Latin, occurs in St. Gall 561, a manuscript of the Frankish tradition. The case with a change that runs counter to Bourciez's observations occurs in Munich 12641, a younger manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.

#### 6.2.5.3 *Finite verb + infinite verb + direct/indirect object*

In her study of the development of the Latin language, Bauer has observed that the word order 'finite verb + infinite verb' (for example *potest dare*) came to be used increasingly,<sup>284</sup> resulting in a more frequent use of the order 'finite verb + infinite verb + direct object/indirect object'.

My analysis yields twelve cases in which an innovation related to the order 'finite verb + infinite verb + direct/indirect object' occurs. Nine of these cases occur in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition that date from s. XI (Wolf. Helmst. 497), s. XII (Munich 12641, ), s. XII-XIII (Vienna 560) or s. XIII (Vienna 497). The two remaining cases occur in Paris 9737 (s. XII), a manuscript of the Frankish tradition, Paris 18298 (s.

<sup>280</sup> E. Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane* (5<sup>th</sup> ed., Paris 1976), p. 372.

<sup>281</sup> Variants *VB* 91.5, *VB* 118.1.3, *VB* 29.1.

<sup>282</sup> *VB* 118.1.3.

<sup>283</sup> *VB* 91.5.

<sup>284</sup> Bauer, 'Word order', p. 270.

IX-X), a manuscript of a mixed tradition, and Munich 22020 (s. XII), a *codex extravagans*. Innovations can thus be found in manuscripts from both traditions.

The analysis illustrates a relatively large amount of freedom when it comes to the word order ‘finite verb + infinite verb + direct/indirect object’. The variety presented below indicates that the direction of change is not consistent with the syntactic approach to this development in the Latin language. This finding therefore demands a more detailed investigation into developments related to this type of word order.

As stated above, Bauer argues that the order ‘finite verb + infinite verb’ was increasingly common as the language developed. Two cases occur in which a change from the order ‘finite verb + infinite verb’ to the order ‘infinite verb + finite verb’ is evident; see examples (23) and (24).<sup>285</sup> These cases, found in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition, illustrate a pattern that we would not expect on the basis of Bauer’s study.

(23)	(...) <i>nullum potest dare responsum</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(24)	(...) <i>nullum <u>dare potest</u> responsum</i> (...)	(Vienna 497)

Furthermore, there are three cases that are related to the word order ‘infinite verb + direct object’.<sup>286</sup> In these three cases, which I found in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition (Paris 9737) and the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497) as well as in Paris 18298 (mixed tradition), the direct object is placed after the infinite verb, as in examples (25) and (26). This innovation is in line with the observations presented in Bauer’s study.

(25)	<i>ausus est manum mittere ad eam</i>	(all manuscripts)
(26)	<i>ausus est <u>mittere manum</u> in eam</i>	(Vienna 497)

I also found a case related to the positioning of the accusative and infinite verb in an Accusative and Infinitive construction.<sup>287</sup> In Wolf. Helmst. 497, a manuscript of the Bavarian tradition, the accusative is placed after the infinite verb. Compare examples (27) and (28):

(27)	(...) <i>passus est se temptari</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(28)	(...) <i>passus est <u>temptari se</u></i> (...)	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

<sup>285</sup> Variant *VB* 82.6. The other case is *VP* 11.2.

<sup>286</sup> *VB* 39.3, *VB* 93.4 and *VB* 135.9.1.

<sup>287</sup> *VB* 58.3.

One case<sup>288</sup> demonstrates a tendency that is not in line with Bauer's observations on this development in Latin, viz. the positioning of the finite verb at the end of the clause in Munich 12641, a manuscript of the Bavarian tradition. Compare examples (29) and (30):

(29)	<i>Ipsum (...) permisit ad se accedere (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(30)	<i>Ipsum (...) ad se accedere <u>permisit</u> (...)</i>	(Munich 12641)

I found one case in which the indirect object and the infinite verb have swapped position in Munich 22020 (a *codex extravagans* related to the Frankish tradition). Compare examples (31) and (32):<sup>289</sup>

(31)	<i>(...) potueris hoc facere deo meo (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(32)	<i>(...) potueris hoc <u>deo meo facere</u> (...)</i>	(Munich 22020)

Furthermore, one case occurs in which the indirect object has been placed before the direct object in Vienna 560, a representative of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>290</sup> Compare examples (33) and (34):

(33)	<i>(...) nihil potueris/poteris/potes facere deo meo / deo meo facere (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(34)	<i>(...) <u>deo meo nihil potueris facere</u> (...)</i>	(Vienna 560)

I found a case in which the position of the finite verb and the accusative of an Accusative and Infinitive construction was changed in one manuscript (see examples (35) and (36)).<sup>291</sup>

(35)	<i>(...) scire uos feci (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(36)	<i>(...) scire <u>feci uos</u> (...)</i>	(Vienna 497)

A final case shows that a pronoun is not placed between, but after the finite and infinite verb. This change is found in Vienna 497, a manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>292</sup>

(37)	<i>(...) coeperitis eum querere (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(38)	<i>(...) coeperitis <u>querere eum</u> (...)</i>	(Vienna 497)

<sup>288</sup> VB 60.1.3.

<sup>289</sup> VB 137.4.

<sup>290</sup> VB 138.3.1.

<sup>291</sup> VP 19.2.2.

<sup>292</sup> VB 29.1.

#### 6.2.5.4 The position of the auxiliary verb

I found one case<sup>293</sup> in which the auxiliary verb *poterat* is placed at a peculiar position in one manuscript. Whereas in the majority of manuscripts this auxiliary verb is placed after the relative clause *quos poterat* and before the infinite verb *subuenire*, it is placed before *ex his quos poterat* in Munich 12641. See examples (39) and (40).

(39)	(...) <i>et nulli ex his quos leserat poterat subuenire.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(40)	(...) <i>et nulli <u>poterat</u> ex his quos leserat subuenire.</i>	(Munich 12641)

#### 6.2.5.5 Subject + verb

Throughout the development of the Latin language, the position of the subject remained unchanged and it usually precedes the verb.<sup>294</sup> I came across five cases related to the order 'subject + verb' (SV) or 'verb + subject' (VS).

In three cases,<sup>295</sup> the word order SV was changed to VS, as in examples (41) and (42).<sup>296</sup> These cases demonstrate a tendency to position the subject after the verb, something that we would not expect.

(41)	<i>Cumque omnes respondissent amen (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(42)	<i>Cumque <u>respondissent omnes</u> amen (...)</i>	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

In two cases,<sup>297</sup> the word order VS was changed to the word order SV as we can see in examples (43) and (44).<sup>298</sup> These cases are in line with the dominating word order pattern SV observed above.

(43)	(...) <i>sicut iussit apostolus (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(44)	(...) <i>sicut <u>apostolus precepit</u> (...)</i>	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

These five cases are found in three of the younger manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition (Wolf. Helmst. 497, Vienna 497, Munich 12641). This distribution indicates that

<sup>293</sup> VB 9.4.

<sup>294</sup> The basic word order pattern changed from SVO to SOV. In both patterns, the subject is positioned before the verb. Cf. J. Adams, 'A typological approach to Latin word order', p. 99. See also M. Leumann, J.B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik. Vol. 2 Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, p. 401-402.

<sup>295</sup> Variant VB 66.1.2.2, VB 117.1 and VB 139.5.1.

<sup>296</sup> Variant VB 117.1.

<sup>297</sup> Variant VB 42.2, VB 140.1.2.

<sup>298</sup> Variant VB 66.1.2.2.

innovations related to the order ‘subject + verb’ are indicative of this part of the manuscript transmission.

#### 6.2.5.6 *The nominal predicate*

Four cases<sup>299</sup> illustrate a change related to the word order of the nominal predicate. In two identical cases,<sup>300</sup> the words *deus meus* and *tu* have been exchanged. Compare examples (45) and (46).<sup>301</sup>

(45)	(...) <i>tu es deus meus</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(46)	(...) <i>meus deus es tu</i> (...)	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

In the other case, *est* is positioned between *quae* and *regina nostra* as we see in (47) and (48).<sup>302</sup>

(47)	(...) <i>quae regina nostra est</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(48)	(...) <i>quae <u>est regina nostra</u></i> (...)	(Munich 12641)

Finally, I found one case in one manuscript in which the subject is placed between the verb *esset* and *languentibus*, a complement of *plenum* in one manuscript. This is evident in examples (49) and (50):

(49)	(...) <i>plenum esset languentibus templum</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(50)	(...) <i>plenum esset <u>templum languentibus</u></i> (...)	(Vienna 560)

These four cases, occurring in three manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Wolf. Helmst. 497, Vienna 560 and Munich 12641), indicate that the word order of the nominal predicate was subject to rewriting in younger manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>299</sup> Variants *VB* 10.3, *VB* 80.6, *VB* 81.1.5 and *VB* 87.1.3.

<sup>300</sup> Variants *VB* 80.6 and *VB* 81.1.5.

<sup>301</sup> Variant *VB* 80.6.

<sup>302</sup> Variant *VB* 87.1.3.

#### 6.2.5.7 *The position of the participle (present/perfect)*

There are five cases<sup>303</sup> in which the position of a participle differs in one or two manuscripts. These cases occur in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Wolf. Helmst. 497, Vienna 497, Vienna 560) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 557, Paris 5273, St. Gall 561), indicating that the position of the participle was subject to rewriting in the manuscripts of both traditions.

Firstly, variation occurs in the positioning of the present participle in an ablative absolute construction, as examples (51) and (52) show.<sup>304</sup>

(51)	(...) <i>uidentibus cunctis</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(52)	(...) <i><u>cunctis uidentibus</u></i> (...)	(Gen. 558; Wolf. Helmst. 497)

In two cases, the innovative variant consists of a change from the order ‘perfect participle +esse’ to the order ‘esse + perfect participle’. Compare example (53) and (54):<sup>305</sup>

(53)	(...) <i>qua indutus erat</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(54)	(...) <i>qua <u>erat indutus</u></i> (...)	(Paris 5273)

Furthermore, one case illustrates the positioning of a present participle after the infinite verb (examples (55) and (56)).<sup>306</sup>

(55)	(...) <i>eadem coeperunt flentes referre</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(56)	(...) <i>eadem ceperunt <u>referre flentes</u></i> (...)	(Vienna 497)

Finally, there is one case in which a present participle is placed before a noun.

(57)	(...) <i>mundo periclitanti</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(58)	(...) <i>periclitanti mundo</i> (...)	(Vienna 560)

#### 6.2.6 *Variation in the order ‘subject + object’*

There are two cases in which the word order ‘subject + object’ is different in one manuscript. In the first case, a change is found from the word order ‘object + subject’ in the

<sup>303</sup> Variant *VB* 124.2, *VB* 129.6.3, *VB* 140.4, *VB* 128.1, *VP* 16.4.

<sup>304</sup> Variant *VB* 124.2.

<sup>305</sup> Variant *VB* 140.1.2.

<sup>306</sup> Variant *VB* 129.6.3.

subordinate clause starting with *atubi* to the word order ‘subject + object’. This is illustrated in examples (59) and (60).<sup>307</sup>

(59)	<i>Atubi uidit eam apostolus (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(60)	<i>Atubi uidit <u>apostolus eam</u> (...)</i>	(Bamberg 139)

The other case consists of a change of the word order ‘participle present + subject + object’ (example (61)) to the order ‘participle present + object + subject’ (62).<sup>308</sup>

(61)	<i>(...) <u>expandens Bartholomeus manus suas</u> (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(62)	<i>(...) <u>expandens manus suas Bartholomeus</u> (...)</i>	(Paris 12604; Paris 5273)

These two cases related to the order ‘subject + object’ can be found in two manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Bamberg 139, Paris 12604) and one from the Frankish tradition (Paris 5273). The presence of this type of variation in twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts suggests that this phenomenon occurs mainly in the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

#### 6.2.7 *The position of the adverb*

Adams has argued that adverbs were positioned more and more frequently after the verb as the Latin language developed.<sup>309</sup>

Four cases<sup>310</sup> illustrate innovations related to the position of an adverb in the sentence. In three of these cases, the order ‘adverb + verb’ is changed to the order ‘verb + adverb’. These cases agree with what we would expect from the viewpoint of the syntactic approach. Compare examples (63) and (64):<sup>311</sup>

(63)	<i>(...) <u>et ideo huc uenit</u> (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(64)	<i>(...) <u>et ideo uenit huc</u> (...)</i>	(Paris 5273, Vienna 497)

In one case, the adverb *iam* is placed before the nominal predicate in the majority of manuscripts (example (65)), but between *plenum* and *esset* (example (66)) in one manuscript.<sup>312</sup>

<sup>307</sup> Variant *VB* 38.1.1.

<sup>308</sup> Variant *VB* 110.1.4.

<sup>309</sup> Adams, ‘A typological approach to Latin word order’, p. 90-91.

<sup>310</sup> Variant *VB* 10.2, *VB* 14.3, *VB* 50.5, *VB* 122.11.

<sup>311</sup> Variant *VB* 14.3.

<sup>312</sup> Variant *VB* 10.2.

(65)	<i>Cumque iam plenum esset templum (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(66)	<i>Cumque plenum <u>iam</u> esset templum (...)</i>	(Gen. 558)

The four cases with innovations related to the position of the adverb occur in manuscripts from both the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497, Munich 12641) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Gen. 547). These manuscripts all date from s. XII and s. XIII. We can therefore assume that innovations related to the position of the adverb occurs in the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

#### 6.2.8 *The position of adverbial adjuncts*

There are eight cases<sup>313</sup> in which innovative variants are related to the position of adverbial adjuncts.

Two cases are found<sup>314</sup> in which the position of an adverbial adjunct indicating the frequency of an event is changed. Compare examples (67) and (68), where the prepositional phrase *per diem* is relocated to a different position in the sentence:<sup>315</sup>

(67)	<i>(...) centies flexis genibus per diem (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(68)	<i>(...) centies <u>per diem</u> flexis genibus (...)</i>	(St Gall 561)

In another case, the position of an adverbial adjunct indicating the place in which the action is conducted and the finite verb is changed in one manuscript, as we see in examples (69) and (70):<sup>316</sup>

(69)	<i>(...) digito suo in quadratis saxis sculpsit signum crucis (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(70)	<i>(...) digito suo <u>sculpsit in quadratis saxis</u> signum crucis (...)</i>	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

Another case, presented in examples (71) and (72), illustrates that the position of an adverbial adjunct indicating the instrument with which something is conducted differs in one manuscript.<sup>317</sup>

(71)	<i>(...) et fecit fustibus cedi (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(72)	<i>(...) et fecit cedi <u>fustibus</u> (...)</i>	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

<sup>313</sup> Variant *VB* 22.2, *VB* 85.3, *VB* 114.3, *VB* 117.6, *VB* 122.4, *VB* 140.5, *VB* 142.8, *VP* 11.3.

<sup>314</sup> Variant *VB* 22.2, *VB* 85.3.

<sup>315</sup> Variant *VB* 22.2.

<sup>316</sup> Variant *VB* 117.6.

<sup>317</sup> Variant *VB* 140.5.

The eight cases which illustrate innovative variants related to adverbial adjuncts occur in manuscripts from both the Bavarian tradition (Wolf. Helmst. 497, Vienna 497, Vienna 560) and the Frankish tradition (St. Gall 561, Paris 5273, Gen. 558). In the Bavarian tradition, this type of innovation is only found in the younger manuscripts. In the Frankish tradition, on the other hand, innovations occur in both older (St. Gall 561) and younger manuscripts (Paris 5273, Gen. 558). This type of innovation also occurs in Munich 22020, a *codex extravagans* related to the Frankish tradition.

#### 6.2.9 Variation related to coordination of two nouns

In one case, the coordination of two nouns in the accusative case is modified as we see in examples (73) and (74).<sup>318</sup>

(73)	(...) <i>argentum et aurum</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(74)	(...) <i>aurum et argentum</i> (...)	(Paris 9737; Paris 18298)

#### 6.2.10 Variation related to the position of an apposition

In two cases, a change in the position of an apposition is found.<sup>319</sup> Examples (75) and (76) demonstrate one of these cases.<sup>320</sup> In example (75), the proper name *Astriges* is defined by its function, but in example (76), it is the other way round.

(75)	(...) <i>Astriges rex</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(76)	(...) <i>rex Astriges</i> (...)	(Munich 12641)

The two cases displaying innovation in the position of an apposition occur in manuscripts from both the Bavarian tradition (Munich 12641) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 558).

#### 6.2.11 The position of demonstrative pronouns

In four cases,<sup>321</sup> innovative variants are found in the position of demonstrative pronouns. In two of these cases, the demonstrative pronoun is placed after a noun in one of the manuscripts in the corpus. Compare the positioning of the demonstrative pronoun *haec* in examples (77) and (78):<sup>322</sup>

<sup>318</sup> Variant VB 73.2.

<sup>319</sup> On this phenomenon, cf. Pinkster, *Latin syntax and semantics*, p. 96.

<sup>320</sup> Variant VB 131.3.2.

<sup>321</sup> VB 102.2.2, VB 115.3, VP 13.1, VP 19.3.

<sup>322</sup> Variant VB 115.3.

(77)	(...) <i>omnis haec multitudo</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(78)	(...) <i>omnis multitudo <u>haec</u></i> (...)	(Vienna 560)

In one case, the demonstrative pronoun *hi* and the predicative *omnes* change position, as we see in examples (79) and (80).<sup>323</sup>

(79)	(...) <i>omnes hi</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(80)	(...) <i><u>hi omnes</u></i> (...)	(Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497)

In another case, the demonstrative pronoun *ista* is placed after *uana*.<sup>324</sup>

(81)	(...) <i>idola ista uana esse</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(82)	(...) <i>idola uana <u>ista</u> esse</i> (...)	(Vienna 560)

These four cases of innovative variants can be found in manuscripts from both the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst 497) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 547). The fact that these manuscripts date from s. XI (Wolf. Helmst. 497), s. XII (Gen. 547) and s. XII-XIII (Vienna 560) suggests that innovative variants related to demonstrative pronouns occur in the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

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<sup>323</sup> Variant *VB* 102.2.2.

<sup>324</sup> Variant *VP* 19.3.

### 6.3 Concluding remarks: variation in word order

#### *The distribution of variation in word order*

The examples presented above represent a total number of 66 cases in which one or two manuscripts contain an innovative word order in comparison with the majority of manuscripts. To evaluate the distribution of innovative variants related to word order, I have added up the frequency with which a certain manuscript shows innovations related to word order. The results are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: the distribution of innovative variants related to word order

The Bavarian tradition		The Frankish tradition	
Wolf. Helmst. 497	16	Paris 5273	6
Munich 12641	12	St. Gall 561	5
Vienna 497	9	Paris 11750	1
Vienna 560	9	Gen. 558	4
Paris 12604	2	Gen. 547	2
Bamberg 139	1	Paris 9737	2
Paris 12602	2	Munich 22020	5
other Bavarian mss.	0	other Frankish mss.	0
other manuscripts			
Munich 22020 ( <i>codex extravagans</i> )	5		
Paris 18298 ('mixed')	2		

When we look at Table 1, we can see that many innovative variants related to word order occur in the younger manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition, viz. Wolf. Helmst. 497, Munich 12641, Vienna 497 and Vienna 560. These data suggest that manuscript-specific variation in word order is most common in younger manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition.

The data also reveal another important aspect. In the Bavarian tradition, manuscript-specific variation in word order is most frequent in manuscripts dating from s. XI (Wolf. Helmst. 497), s. XII (Munich 12641, Munich 22020), s. XII-XIII (Vienna 560, Paris 5273) and s. XIII (Vienna 497), whereas the older manuscripts of this tradition (Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48) do not contain innovations related to word order. This finding suggests that word order patterns remain unchanged in the oldest extant manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition and that it is the younger manuscripts in this tradition that are innovative in character as far as word order is concerned.

In the Frankish tradition, on the other hand, variation in word order is found already in St. Gall 561, dating from s. IX<sup>2</sup>-X, which contains a considerable number of manuscript-specific variation in word order. This finding suggests that innovations related

to word order can be found in both the *older* and the *younger* manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.

#### *Innovations in word order*

The various categories present a large variety of innovations related to aspects of word order. What I consider to be an innovation in word order, however, does not always agree with the results of the syntactic approach presented in Bauer's study. Although the number of cases detected on the basis of the principle of All-except-one/two is only small, it is clear that word order is affected in more ways than may be expected on the basis of Bauer's study. The data illustrate that the syntactic approach is in need of reconsideration, so that the full gamut of innovative features of word order is properly accounted for.

One possible explanation that needs to be taken into account is the desire to bring the Latin of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* to a higher style, in line with the Latin of Cicero. In section 4.5.1, I already argued that Vienna 497 and Munich 12641 innovated in order to correct mistakes in the Latin and in order to bring the Latin back to Classical grammar norms. These manuscripts are among the manuscripts with the highest number of innovative variants related to word order, which suggests that these manuscripts intended to rephrase the text also when it comes to word order. Further research is necessary in order to investigate whether a return to classical grammar norms can adequately account for innovations found in certain manuscripts.

#### **6.4 Variation related to the choice of a lexeme**

The second category of changes in patterns of rewriting is related to the choice of a lexeme. I distinguish between two main categories here, the first consisting of variation related to the choice of one lexeme (section 5.3.1), the second containing variants related to the choice of more than one lexeme (section 5.3.2).

As regards variation related to the choice of one lexeme, I came across a total number of 95 cases of innovations that were detected on the basis of the principle of All-except-one. In Appendix 4, I list all the cases I found. For the sake of clarity, I distinguish between a number of categories in which variation in the choice of a lexeme occurs.

##### *6.4.1 Variation related to the choice of a discourse marker*

The first category consists of variation in discourse markers. In the previous chapter, I explain that I only select differences regarding the presence/absence of discourse markers for my formulated principle of *Lectio explicitior*.<sup>325</sup> When we look at distribution in the case of qualitative variation in discourse markers, however, we can see that in some cases

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<sup>325</sup> Cf. Chapter 5.

the majority of manuscripts contains discourse marker A, whereas only one manuscript contains discourse marker B. On the basis of this difference in ratio, it is reasonable to regard discourse marker B as an intervention of the scribe of that particular manuscript (or of its (lost) exemplar(s)). In eleven cases, listed in Appendix 4, the principle of ‘All-except-one’ is applicable to the qualitative variation of discourse markers, as in examples (83) and (84). Here, *tunc* is considered to be the conservative variant, whereas *igitur* is regarded as the innovative variant:<sup>326</sup>

(83)	<i>Tunc dicit apostolus ad plebem (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(84)	<i><u>Igitur</u> dicit apostolus ad plebem (...)</i>	(Paris 5273)

If we look at the distribution of this type of innovation within the manuscript transmission, we can see that innovative variants related to discourse markers are found in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497, Munich 12641, Paris 12602, Vienna 560, Bamberg 139) and the Frankish tradition (Paris 9737, Paris 5273, Paris 11750), as well as in Munich 22020, a *codex extravagans* related to the Frankish tradition. Furthermore, all these manuscripts date from either s. XI (Paris 11750), s. XII (Munich 12641, Paris 12602, Bamberg 139), Paris 9737, Munich 22020) s. XII-XIII (Vienna 560) or s. XIII (Vienna 497, Paris 5273). The tendency to replace one discourse marker with another therefore appears to be characteristic of the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

#### 6.4.2 Variation related to the choice of a noun

Secondly, variation can be found in the choice of a different noun. A frequently occurring case is the replacement of the word *deum* by *dominum*.<sup>327</sup> Furthermore, we can see some cases in which two words that are closely related in meaning are exchanged, such as *feminas* by *homines* in examples (85) and (86), *terra* by *humo* in examples (87) and (88), and *regis* by *regni* in (89) and (90).<sup>328</sup>

(85)	<i>Haec ergo prima inter feminas hoc constituit (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(86)	<i>Haec ergo prima inter <u>homines</u> hoc constituit (...)</i>	(Paris 9737)
(87)	<i>(...) homo Adam dictus est, hic de terra factus est.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(88)	<i>(...) homo Adam dictus est, qui de <u>humo</u> factus est.</i>	(Munich 12641)
(89)	<i>(...) titulus regis sui (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(90)	<i>(...) titulus <u>regni</u> sui (...)</i>	(Paris 9737)

<sup>326</sup> Variant VB 100.1.

<sup>327</sup> This variation could also be related to misreading or misinterpretation; the words *dominum* and *deum* were often abbreviated to *dnm* and *dm*, respectively.

<sup>328</sup> Variants VB 51.1.2, VB 67.1.3 and VB 71.7, respectively.

However, there are also cases in which two lexemes of different semantic value can be found at the same position in the text. Examples of this are found in the replacement of *ferrum* by *frenum* in (91) and (92), and *comites* by *conciues* in (93) and (94).<sup>329</sup>

(91)	(...) <i>oculos igneos sicut ferrum ignitum</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(92)	(...) <i>oculos igneos sicut <u>frenum</u> ignitum</i> (...)	(St. Gall 561)
(93)	(...) <i>mittit comites suos</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(94)	(...) <i>mittit <u>conciues</u> suos</i> (...)	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

Innovations related to the choice of a noun occur in both the Bavarian tradition (Munich 12641, Vienna 497, Vienna 560, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Paris 12602, Wolf. Helmst. 497 and Paris 5563) and the Frankish tradition (Paris 5273, St. Gall 561, Paris 9737, Gen. 557, Paris 11750 and Gen. 547). There is one difference in the occurrence of this type of innovation. The innovative variants in the Bavarian tradition are all found in the manuscripts dating from s. XI, s. XII, s. XII-XIII or s. XIII. In contrast, some of the cases in the Frankish tradition can be found in St. Gall 561, a manuscript dating to s. IX-X. We can therefore assume that innovation related to the choice of a noun started at a relatively early point in the manuscript transmission of the Frankish tradition, but only more recently in the course of the Bavarian transmission.

#### 6.4.3 Variation related to the choice of a possessive pronoun

A third category in which variation occurs refers to the use of possessive pronouns.

Examples are the replacement of *uestrum* by *nostrum* in (95) and (96), *deus unus* by *deus meus* in (97) and (98) and *domini mei* by *domini nostri* in (99) and (100).<sup>330</sup>

(95)	<i>Audite nunc uerum deum creatorem uestrum</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(96)	<i>Audite nunc uerum deum creatorem <u>nostrum</u></i> (...)	(Wolf. Helmst 497)
(97)	(...) <i>ut cognoscant omnes quia tu es deus unus</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(98)	(...) <i>ut cognoscant omnes quia tu es deus <u>meus</u></i> (...)	(Paris 18298)
(99)	(...) <i>crucem domini mei Ihesu Christi</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(100)	(...) <i>crucem domini <u>nostri</u> Ihesu Christi</i> (...)	(Vienna 497)

The four cases of innovative variants related to the choice of a possessive pronoun are found in the Bavarian tradition (Wolf. Helmst. 497, Paris 12602 and Vienna 497) and in Paris 18298, a manuscript with text versions of both traditions.

<sup>329</sup> Variants *VB* 120.5 and *VB* 71.4, respectively.

<sup>330</sup> Variants *VB* 101.3, *VB* 115.6 and *VP* 10.8, respectively.

#### 6.4.4 Variation related to the choice of cardinal numbers

In some cases, innovation is related to the choice of cardinal numbers, e.g. the replacement of *duos dies* by *dies multos* and by *tres dies* in examples (101), (102) and (103); *septem* by *octo* in examples (104) and (105).<sup>331</sup>

(101)	<i>(...) et per duos dies (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(102)	<i>(...) et per dies multos (...)</i>	(Munich 22020)
(103)	<i>(...) et per tres dies (...)</i>	(Graz 412)
(104)	<i>Ipse autem Phylippus ante septem dies migrationis suae</i>	(all manuscripts)
(105)	<i>Ipse autem Phylippus ante octo dies migrationis suae</i>	(St. Gall 561)

Innovations related to the choice of a cardinal number occur in one manuscript from the Bavarian tradition (Paris 5563), two manuscripts from the Frankish tradition (Graz 412, St. Gall 561) and in Munich 22020, a *codex extravagans* related to the Frankish tradition.

#### 6.4.5 Variation related to the choice of an adjective

There are five cases of innovation related to an adjective. An interesting case is the replacement of *aequales* ('equal') by *patulae* ('wide-open') in examples (106) and (107).<sup>332</sup>

(106)	<i>(...) nares aequales (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(107)	<i>(...) nares patulae (...)</i>	(Angers 281; Paris 12602)

The five cases of innovation related to the choice of an adjective are found in manuscripts both from the Frankish tradition (Gen. 557, Gen. 547) and the Bavarian tradition (Angers 281, Paris 12602, Vienna 497, Paris 5563). These manuscripts all date from s. XI or later, which suggests that innovation related to the choice of an adjective is characteristic of the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

#### 6.4.6 Variation related to the choice of a verb

Innovations are also found with regard to the choice of a verb. In some cases, the two variant forms are semantically related, as we see in the replacement of *respondit* by *dixit* in examples (108) and (109), *permanet* by *perseuerat* in examples (110) and (111) and *iussit* by *praecepit/praeceperat* in examples (112), (113) and (114).<sup>333</sup>

(108)	<i>Cui angelus respondit (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(109)	<i>Cui angelus dei dixit (...)</i>	(Munich 22020)
(110)	<i>Omni hora hylaris et laetus permanet (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(111)	<i>Omni hora hylaris et letus perseuerat (...)</i>	(Gen. 547)

<sup>331</sup> Variants *VB* 32.9 and *VP* 24.2, respectively.

<sup>332</sup> Variant *VB* 16.7.

<sup>333</sup> Variants *VB* 56.1, *VB* 26.4 and *VB* 42.2, respectively.

(112)	(...) <i>fecerunt sicut iussit apostolus (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(113)	(...) <i>fecerunt sicut apostolus <u>precepit</u> (...)</i>	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)
(114)	(...) <i>fecerunt sicut <u>praeceperat</u> apostolus (...)</i>	(Gen. 547)

Innovation also occurs in choice of the prefix in a composite verb, for example, in the replacement of *cognoscere* by *agnoscere* in (115) and (116):<sup>334</sup>

(115)	(...) <i>qui uerus deus ex hoc cognosceris (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(116)	(...) <i>qui uerus deus ex hoc <u>agnosceris</u> (...)</i>	(Paris 12602)

Innovations related to the choice of a verb are found in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Angers 281, Paris 12602, Vienna 497, Wolf. Helmst. 497 and Munich 12641) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 547, Munich 22020, Paris 9737, Paris 5273, St. Gall 561 and Paris 11750), as well as in Paris 18298, a manuscript of a mixed tradition. From a chronological perspective, this type of innovation occurs in both St. Gall 561, an older manuscript of the Frankish tradition, and in the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

#### 6.4.7 Variation related to the choice of a pronoun

In Classical Latin, each of the pronouns *hic/haec/hoc*, *ille/illa/illud*, *is/ea/id* and *iste/ista/istud* had its own semantic value. During the course of the development of the Latin language, this specific semantic value gradually disappeared. As a result, all of these pronouns could be exchanged increasingly often. Väänänen has argued that *is/ea/id* was replaced by *hic/haec/hoc*, *ille/illa/illud* and *ipse/ipsa/ipsum* and that *hic/haec/hoc* was replaced by *iste/ista/istud*.<sup>335</sup>

There are eighteen cases of innovation in the choice of a pronoun, of which thirteen are related to the pronouns mentioned above.

In nine cases, the innovative variant supports Väänänen's theory, as we see in the replacement of (a form of) *hic* by *iste* in examples (117) and (118), *is* by *ille* in examples (119) and (120) and *is* by *ipse* in examples (121) and (122).<sup>336</sup>

(117)	<i>hoc</i>	(all manuscripts)
(118)	<i><u>istud</u></i>	(Paris 12602)
(119)	<i>eum</i>	(all manuscripts)
(120)	<i><u>illum</u></i>	(Vienna 497)

<sup>334</sup> Variant *VB* 111.3.3; cf. also section 5.6.3 on rewriting related to the prefix of a composite verb.

<sup>335</sup> V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Paris 1981), p. 120-121; cf. S. Kiss, 'Phénomènes de la représentation pronominale dans quelques textes latins tardifs', in: *LVL II*, p. 171-182.

<sup>336</sup> Variants *VB* 55.2, *VB* 89.3 and *VB* 106.5, respectively.

(121)	<i>eo</i>	(all manuscripts)
(122)	<i><u>ipso</u></i>	(Gen. 547; Paris 12604)

In four cases, however, the changes illustrate that the interchangeability of these pronouns was perhaps greater than Väänänen suggested. I found the replacement of (a form of) *ille* with *is* in examples (123) and (124) and the use of *iste* instead of *ipse* in examples (125) and (126). I also came across the replacement of *ille* with *hic* (examples (127) and (128)). Such cases illustrate that pronouns were exchanged in more than one clear direction.<sup>337</sup>

(123)	<i>illam</i>	(all manuscripts)
(124)	<i><u>eam</u></i>	(Gen. 557, Munich 12641)
(125)	<i>ipsum</i>	(all manuscripts)
(126)	<i><u>istum</u></i>	(Gen. 557)
(127)	<i>illi</i>	(all manuscripts)
(128)	<i><u>hi</u></i>	(Bamberg 139)

There are five other cases of innovation in which pronouns are involved.<sup>338</sup> In these cases, the innovative variant often results in a change of meaning of the sentence. Let us look first at the replacement of the adverb *illic* with the pronoun *illi* (examples (129) and (130)).<sup>339</sup>

(129)	<i>(...) et illic sacrificantes coeperunt inquirere (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(130)	<i>(...) et <u>illi</u> sacrificantes coeperunt inquirere (...)</i>	(Paris 9737)

Secondly, the replacement of *eo* with the pronoun *te* is evident in examples (131) and (132):

(131)	<i>Nam ausus non essem, loqui eo praesente (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(132)	<i>Nam ausus non essem loqui <u>te</u> praesente (...)</i>	(Munich 22020)

<sup>337</sup> Cf. O. Spevak, 'Le placement de *is*, *hic* et *ille* chez Grégoire de Tours', in: *LVL VIII*, p. 361-370.

<sup>338</sup> Variants *VB* 11.6 and *VB* 96.3, *VB* 54.1, *VB* 76.1 and *VB* 103.1.2, respectively.

<sup>339</sup> This case of rewriting could be the result of a misreading or misinterpretation by the scribe.

Thirdly, we can see the replacement of *quae* by *quem* in examples (133) and (134):

(133)	<i>Quae cum terrore percussa expauisset, (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(134)	<i>Quem cum terrore percussa expauisset, (...)</i>	(Bamberg 139)

Fourthly, the replacement of *quem* by *quod* is of interest in examples (135) and (136):

(135)	<i>Quem si baptizatus fueris, (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(136)	<i>Quod si baptizatus fueris, (...)</i>	(Montpellier 55; Gen. 547)

Finally, the replacement of *hoc* by *quod* is another case of innovation, as we see in examples (137) and (138):

(137)	<i>cum hoc feceritis</i>	(all manuscripts)
(138)	<i>quod cum feceritis</i>	(Paris 11750)

Changes related to pronouns occur in manuscripts from both the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 534, Bamberg 139, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Munich 12641, Vienna 497, Paris 12604) and the Frankish tradition (St. Gall 561, Paris 9737, Montpellier 55, Gen. 547, Paris 11750) as well as in Munich 22020. Furthermore, they occur in both the older manuscripts (Montpellier 55, St. Gall 561, Vienna 534) and the younger manuscripts of both traditions. This finding indicates that innovations related to pronouns are a relatively widespread phenomenon in the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* series.

#### 6.4.8 Variation related to the choice of a preposition

In some cases, one or two manuscripts replace the preposition used in the majority of manuscripts with another. Compare examples (139) and (140), in which a change from *ad* to *in* can be found.<sup>340</sup>

(139)	<i>(...) manum mittere ad eam (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(140)	<i>(...) manum mittere in eam (...)</i>	(Vienna 497)

Changes in the choice of a preposition are found in St. Gall 561 and Paris 18298, dating from s. IX-X, and two of the younger manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497 and Wolf. Helmst. 497, dating from s. XIII and s. XI, respectively).

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<sup>340</sup> Variant *VB* 39.3.

#### 6.4.9 Variation related to the choice of a conjunction

Innovative variants also occur in relation to conjunctions and related words. In some cases, the two variant readings are semantically related, for example, in the replacement of *quasi* by *ut* in examples (141) and (142).<sup>341</sup>

(141)	<i>Vox eius quasi tuba uehemens est.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(142)	<i>Vox eius <u>ut</u> tuba uehemens est.</i>	(Munich 12641)

In other cases, innovation occurs in the subordinate clause, for example, in the replacement of *quia* with *qui* in (143) and (144), which results in a change from an adverbial clause to a relative clause. Another example can be found in the replacement of *cum* with *dum* in (145) and (146), which does not result in a considerable change of meaning.<sup>342</sup>

(143)	<i>(...) qui uerus deus ex hoc cognosceris quia semper idem es et immutabilis perseueras.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(144)	<i>(...) qui uerus deus ex hoc cognosceris <u>qui</u> semper idem es et immutabilis perseueras.</i>	(St. Gall 561)
(145)	<i>Vbi cum tentus esset a gentibus (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(146)	<i>Vbi <u>dum</u> tentus esset a gentibus (...)</i>	(Paris 5274)

Changes to conjunctions and related words occur in some manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Munich 12641, Vienna 497, Angers 281), but is most common in manuscripts from the Frankish tradition (St. Gall 561, Paris 5273, Gen. 547, Paris 9737). In the Bavarian tradition, this type of innovation occurs only in the younger manuscripts. In the Frankish tradition, on the other hand, such cases are found in both older (St. Gall 561) and younger manuscripts.

#### 6.4.10 Variation related to negation

In one specific case, the adjective *nullum* is replaced by the adverb *non* (examples (147) and (148)). This specific case is found in Gen. 557, a manuscript from the Frankish tradition.

(147)	<i>nullum daret responsum</i>	(all manuscripts)
(148)	<i><u>non</u> daret responsum</i>	(Gen. 557)

<sup>341</sup> Variant *VB* 23.1.

<sup>342</sup> Variants *VB* 111.4 and *VP* 3.1, respectively.

#### 6.4.11 Variation related to the choice of more than one lexeme

In eighteen cases, innovations occur that are related to the choice of more than one lexeme. These cases are also listed in Appendix 4. I will restrict my presentation here to examples found in the *codex extravagans* Munich 22020, which contains the majority of these cases. Other cases occur in Gen. 547, Gen. 558 and Paris 9737 from the Frankish tradition and Vienna 497 and Vienna 560 from the Bavarian tradition.

In some cases, the variant reading in Munich 22020 is closely related to the variant reading of the majority of manuscripts; in (149) and (150), for example, the words *dedi potestatem* are replaced by *imperaui*.<sup>343</sup>

(149)	(...) <i>ego dedi potestatem demonibus</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(150)	(...) <i>ego <u>imperaui</u> demonibus</i> (...)	(Munich 22020)

In other cases, however, the variant reading in Munich 22020 results in a different meaning to that of the majority of manuscripts. In examples (151) and (152), the words *famulantur ei* is replaced by *qui sunt cum eo*. In examples (153) to (156), respectively, words have been interpolated (*mihī, non, habeant ea, aut diligunt* in (154)) or replaced (*et* by *ut*, *uos* by *hi*, *baptismate* by *baptisma* and *consecrabo* by *consequantur* in (156)).<sup>344</sup>

(151)	(...) <i>angeli dei famulantur ei</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(152)	(...) <i>angeli dei <u>qui sunt cum eo</u></i> (...)	(Munich 22020)
(153)	<i>Ista munera eis sunt necessaria, qui terrena querunt</i>	(all manuscripts)
(154)	<i><u>Ista mihi necessaria non sunt, habeant ea qui terrena quaerunt aut diligunt.</u></i>	(Munich 22020)
(155)	(...) <i>et uos omnes... baptismate consecrabo</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(156)	(...) <i><u>ut hi omnes baptisma consequantur</u></i> (...)	(Munich 22020)

#### 6.5 Concluding remarks: variation related to the choice of lexeme(s)

##### *The distribution of variation related to the choice of lexeme(s)*

In Table 2 below the distribution of manuscript-specific variation related to the choice of lexeme(s) is presented. The cases related to the choice of more than one lexeme, presented in 6.4.11, are counted here as one example of rewriting.

In the Bavarian tradition, rewriting patterns related to the choice of lexeme(s) occur most frequently in the younger manuscripts: Vienna 497 (s. XIII), Wolf. Helmst. 497 (s. XI), and Munich 12641 (s. XII). In the Frankish tradition, patterns of rewriting related to the choice of lexeme(s) are frequently found in St. Gall 561, one of the oldest manuscripts

<sup>343</sup> Variants *VB* 28.2 and *VB* 134.2, respectively.

<sup>344</sup> Variants *VB* 46.1.1, *VB* 103.4.2 and *VB* 121.4, respectively.

in this tradition, as well as in younger manuscripts of this tradition, such as Gen. 547 and Paris 9737. This suggests that rewriting patterns related to the choice of lexeme(s) are a characteristic feature mainly of the younger manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition, whereas these patterns are a widespread phenomenon in the manuscript transmission of the Frankish tradition. Furthermore, Munich 22020's status as a *codex extravagans* in my corpus is confirmed by the very high number of innovations found related to the choice of lexeme(s).

Table 2: The number of manuscript-specific variants related to the choice of lexeme(s)

The Bavarian tradition		The Frankish tradition	
Munich 12641	7	Gen. 547	14
Wolf. Helmst. 497	7	St. Gall 561	8
Paris 12602	7	Paris 9737	7
Vienna 560	5	Paris 5273	6
Bamberg 139	4	Paris 11750	4
Angers 281	4	Gen. 557	7
Paris 5563	3	Gen. 558	1
W. Weiss. 48	1	Graz 412	1
Paris 12604	1	Montpellier 55	1
Vienna 534	1	other Frankish mss.	0
other Bavarian mss.	0	Munich 22020 ( <i>codex extravagans</i> )	22
other			
Paris 18298 ( <i>mixed</i> )	5		

#### *Innovations related to the choice of lexeme(s)*

The large variety of categories in which a lexeme is replaced by another lexeme reveals illustrative examples of innovation that occur throughout the textual transmission. In some of these cases, the replacement of one lexeme by another results in a different meaning of the text (e.g. the replacement of *duos* by *tres*). In other cases, however, the choice of lexemes does not lead to a substantial change of meaning (e.g. *ad* by *in*).

The variation in pronouns attested, provides us with important information about their development in the Latin language. The innovative variants that I found do not confirm the hypothesis that a certain pronoun was decreasingly used in favour of another pronoun. Instead, my analysis reveals that the increasing flexibility with which pronouns were exchanged was greater than assumed by Väänänen.

## 6.6 Variation related to morphosyntax

The third and final category in my analysis of patterns of rewriting on the basis of the principle ‘All-except-one (two)’ is that of ‘morphosyntax’. Under this umbrella term, I include all the variants related to the morphology of a lexeme. I also take into account the variants related to the replacement of ablative/accusative/dative by a preposition+ablative/accusative/dative. Several subcategories can be distinguished when it comes to innovations related to morphosyntax. The complete list is presented in Appendix 4.

### 6.6.1 Variation related to the inflection of a noun, adjective or pronoun

The first subcategory relates to the inflection of a noun or adjective.

In one case, the nominative case *statura aequalis* (example 157) was replaced with the ablative case *statura aequali* (example 158).<sup>345</sup>

(157) <i>Statura aequalis, quae nec brevis nec longa possit aduerti.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(158) <i>Statura <u>aequali</u>, quae nec brevis nec longa possit aduerti.</i>	(Dublin 737)

In two cases, the variation in inflection occurs in a direct object. Compare examples (159) and (160), in which the verb *suadet*, followed by a direct object in the accusative case in the majority of manuscripts, is given an indirect object in the dative case in two of the manuscripts in the corpus.<sup>346</sup>

(159) (...) <i>et suadet eos</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(160) (...) <i>et suadet <u>eis</u></i> (...)	(Paris 11750; Vienna 560)

In one case, one of the manuscripts exchanges the accusative with the dative case in the same sentence and vice versa. Compare examples (161) and (162):<sup>347</sup>

(161) (...) <i>omnemque turbam</i> (...) <i>sanitati restituit</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(162) (...) <i>omnique turbae</i> (...) <i>sanitatem restituit</i> (...)	(Angers 281)

We also find the replacement of a singular case with a plural case, or vice versa. Examples of this are seen in the replacement of *deo meo* and *ipso* with *diis meis* and *ipsis* in (163) and (164), and *eis* with *ei* in examples (165) and (166).<sup>348</sup>

<sup>345</sup> Variant *VB* 18.1.

<sup>346</sup> Variant *VB* 79.3.

<sup>347</sup> Variant *VP* 14.2.

(163)	<i>(...) et deo meo credere, et ipsi sacrificare</i>	(all manuscripts)
(164)	<i>(...) et <u>diis meis</u> credere, et <u>ipsis</u> sacrificare</i>	(Vienna 560)
(165)	<i>Dicit eis apostolus Phylippus (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(166)	<i>Dicit <u>ei</u> apostolus Phylippus (...)</i>	(Paris 12602)

Changes related to the inflection of a noun, adjective or pronoun are found in four manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Dublin 737, Vienna 560, Angers 281 and Paris 12602). The majority of cases occur in manuscripts from the Frankish tradition (St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Gen. 547, Paris 5273, Gen. 558). The distribution of innovation in this category indicates that it can be found in both the older and younger manuscripts in both traditions.

#### 6.6.2 Variation related to the inflection of the verb

The second subcategory consists of a large group of innovations related to the inflection of the verb and participles. The following cases occur:

(i) perfect infinitive in all manuscripts replaced by the present infinitive in two:<sup>349</sup>

(167)	<i>curasse</i>	(all manuscripts)
(168)	<i><u>curare</u></i>	(Bamberg 139; Vienna 560)

(ii) present subjunctive in all manuscripts replaced by the imperfect subjunctive in one:<sup>350</sup>

(169)	<i>euacuet</i>	(all manuscripts)
(170)	<i><u>euacueret</u></i>	(Gen. 558)

(iii) present indicative in all manuscripts replaced by the future indicative in one:<sup>351</sup>

(171)	<i>possumus</i>	(all manuscripts)
(172)	<i><u>poterimus</u></i>	(Paris 5273)

(iv) present indicative passive in all manuscripts replaced by the past participle (nominative) in one:<sup>352</sup>

(173)	<i>induitur</i>	(all manuscripts)
(174)	<i><u>indutus</u></i>	(Gen. 557)

<sup>348</sup> Variants *VB* 135.9.2 and *VP* 10.1, respectively.

<sup>349</sup> Variant *VB* 8.3.

<sup>350</sup> Variant *VB* 14.7.

<sup>351</sup> Variant *VB* 15.3.

<sup>352</sup> Variant *VB* 19.8.

(v) present indicative passive in all manuscripts replaced by the periphrastic present indicative in two:<sup>353</sup>

(175)	<i>sordidantur</i>	(all manuscripts)
(176)	<i>sordidata sunt</i>	(Paris 18298; Paris 5273)

(vi) present indicative active in all manuscripts replaced by the future perfect indicative in one:<sup>354</sup>

(177)	<i>si uult (...) si non uult</i>	(all manuscripts)
(178)	<i>si uoluerit (...) si non uoluerit</i>	(Gen. 558)

(vii) present participle (ablative) in all manuscripts replaced by the present participle (accusative) in one:<sup>355</sup>

(179)	<i>(...) et cotidie sacrificantibus (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(180)	<i>(...) et cotidie sacrificantes (...)</i>	(Paris 12604)

(viii) perfect indicative in all manuscripts replaced by the present indicative in one:<sup>356</sup>

(181)	<i>dixit</i>	(all manuscripts)
(182)	<i>dicit</i>	(St. Gall 561)

(ix) present indicative in all manuscripts replaced by the perfect indicative in two:<sup>357</sup>

(183)	<i>dicit</i>	(all manuscripts)
(184)	<i>dixit</i>	(St. Gall 561; Graz 412)

(x) pluperfect subjunctive in all manuscripts replaced by the imperfect subjunctive in one:<sup>358</sup>

(185)	<i>expauisset</i>	(all manuscripts)
(186)	<i>expauesceret</i>	(Paris 9737; St. Gall 561)

(xi) perfect passive in all manuscripts replaced by the pluperfect subjunctive passive in one:<sup>359</sup>

(187)	<i>natus est</i>	(all manuscripts)
(188)	<i>natus esset</i>	(Gen. 547)

<sup>353</sup> Variant *VB* 20.3. On the use of the periphrastic form *sordidata sunt* with the semantic value of the present indicative passive, cf. J. Herman, *Vulgar Latin* (transl. Roger Wright, University Park, Pennsylvania 2000), p. 75-77; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 129-130.

<sup>354</sup> Variant *VB* 29.2.

<sup>355</sup> Variant *VB* 10.4.

<sup>356</sup> Variant *VB* 34.2.

<sup>357</sup> Variant *VB* 40.1.3.

<sup>358</sup> Variant *VB* 54.3.

<sup>359</sup> Variant *VB* 65.1.6; on changes in the semantic value of the periphrastic perfect, cf. Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 75-77; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 129-130.

(xii) present indicative passive in all manuscripts replaced by the imperfect indicative passive in one:<sup>360</sup>

(189)	<i>uidetur</i>	(all manuscripts)
(190)	<u><i>uidebatur</i></u>	(Vienna 560)

(xiii) future indicative active in all manuscripts replaced by the imperfect indicative active in one:<sup>361</sup>

(191)	<i>erunt</i>	(all manuscripts)
(192)	<u><i>erant</i></u>	(Bamberg 139)

(xiv) present indicative active in all manuscripts replaced by the imperfect indicative active in one:<sup>362</sup>

(193)	<i>est</i>	(all manuscripts)
(194)	<u><i>erat</i></u>	(Vienna 560)

(xv) pluperfect subjunctive active in all manuscripts replaced by the imperfect subjunctive active in one:<sup>363</sup>

(195)	<i>ausus essem</i>	(all manuscripts)
(196)	<u><i>auderem</i></u>	(Paris 5273)

(xvi) future indicative active in all manuscripts replaced by the future perfect indicative in one:<sup>364</sup>

(197)	<i>consecrabo</i>	(all manuscripts)
(198)	<u><i>consecrauero</i></u>	(Paris 18298)

(xvii) future indicative active in all manuscripts replaced by the present indicative active in one:<sup>365</sup>

(199)	<i>fugient</i>	(all manuscripts)
(200)	<u><i>fugiunt</i></u>	(Munich 22020)

(xviii) pluperfect indicative passive in all manuscripts replaced by the future indicative passive in one:<sup>366</sup>

(201)	<i>et erat uinctus</i>	(all manuscripts)
(202)	<u><i>eritque uinctus</i></u>	(St. Gall 561)

<sup>360</sup> Variant *VB* 77.6.

<sup>361</sup> Variant *VB* 84.2.

<sup>362</sup> Variant *VB* 87.1.2.

<sup>363</sup> Variant *VB* 96.1. The verb *audere* is a semi-deponent verb and its perfect indicative form is *ausus sum*. The form *ausus essem* therefore indicates the pluperfect subjunctive active. One manuscript contains the form *auderem*, which does not correspond to the fact that *audere* is a semi-deponent verb. The verb seems to have lost its semi-deponent character according to the scribe of this manuscript.

<sup>364</sup> Variant *VB* 103.4.4.

<sup>365</sup> Variant *VB* 119.9.

<sup>366</sup> Variant *VB* 121.7; on changes in the semantic value of the periphrastic passive in colloquial Latin, cf. Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 75-77; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 129-130.

(xix) present subjunctive in all manuscripts replaced by the future imperative in one:<sup>367</sup>

(203)	<i>(...) et ibi sis usque ad diem iudicii.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(204)	<i>(...) et ibi <u>esto</u> usque ad diem iudicii.</i>	(Munich 22020)

(xx) present participle (nominative) in all manuscripts replaced by the perfect indicative in one:<sup>368</sup>

(205)	<i>colligentes se</i>	(all manuscripts)
(206)	<i><u>colligerunt</u> se</i>	(St. Gall 561)

(xxi) imperfect subjunctive in all manuscripts replaced by the pluperfect subjunctive in one:<sup>369</sup>

(207)	<i>conquassarent</i>	(all manuscripts)
(208)	<i><u>conquassassent</u></i>	(Paris 5273)

(xxii) future perfect indicative in all manuscripts replaced by the future indicative in one:<sup>370</sup>

(209)	<i>potueris</i>	(all manuscripts)
(210)	<i><u>poteris</u></i>	(St. Gall 561)

(xxiii) perfect indicative in all manuscripts replaced by the imperfect indicative in one:<sup>371</sup>

(211)	<i>praedicauit</i>	(all manuscripts)
(212)	<i><u>praedicabat</u></i>	(Munich 12641)

(xxiv) pluperfect subjunctive in all manuscripts replaced by the ind. perfect/present indicative in one:<sup>372</sup>

(213)	<i>ascendisset</i>	(all manuscripts)
(214)	<i><u>ascendit</u></i>	(St. Gall 561)

(xxv) perfect indicative in all manuscripts replaced by the pluperfect subjunctive in one:<sup>373</sup>

(215)	<i>promisit</i>	(all manuscripts)
(216)	<i><u>promisisset</u></i>	(Vienna 497)

Besides variation in the tense and/or mood of a verb, we also find changes related to the person and number of the verb. In the majority of manuscripts, the singular inflection is found, whereas one manuscript contains the plural inflection (e.g. *obtineat* and *obtineant* in examples (217) and (218)). We also come across a variant in which the third person

<sup>367</sup> Variant *VB* 122.10.

<sup>368</sup> Variant *VB* 127.1. The perfect indicative tense should have been written as *collegerunt* according to the classical norm. In the form *colligerunt*, an e/i exchange occurs that is related to developments in the pronunciation of vowels. Cf. chapter 7 of this thesis.

<sup>369</sup> Variant *VB* 134.5.

<sup>370</sup> Variant *VB* 137.3.

<sup>371</sup> Variant *VP* 2.5.

<sup>372</sup> Variant *VP* 17.3.

<sup>373</sup> Variant *VP* 17.6.

singular is replaced by the second person singular (i.e. *uenit... Bartholomeus... iussit* by *tu... uenisti... iussisti* in (219) and (220)).<sup>374</sup>

(217)	<i>(...) et ut in animabus eorum potestatem obtineat (...)</i> (all manuscripts)
(218)	<i>(...) et ut in animabus eorum potestatem <u>obtineant</u> (...)</i> (Angers 281)
(219)	<i>A die qua eius discipulus huc uenit apostolus Bartholomeus ardentibus catenis strictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia iussit michi.</i> (all manuscripts)
(220)	<i>Vnde a die qua <u>tu</u> eius discipulus huc <u>uenisti</u> apostolus Bartholomeus, ardentibus catenis constrictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia <u>iussisti</u> michi.</i> (Munich 22020)

Innovations in the inflection of the verb occur in younger manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Bamberg 139, Vienna 560, Paris 12604, Munich 12641 and Vienna 497). However, the majority of innovative variants related to this category is found in the Frankish tradition, both in its older manuscripts (St. Gall 561 and Graz 412) and younger manuscripts (Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Gen. 557, Paris 9737, Gen. 547). Innovations of this category therefore seem to be a characteristic feature of the younger manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition, whereas they are a relatively widespread phenomenon in the Frankish text transmission. Furthermore, this type of innovation also occurs in Paris 18298 (mixed tradition) and Munich 22020, a *codex extravagans* related to the Frankish tradition.

### 6.6.3 Variation related to the preverb in a composite verb

As Latin developed, there was an increasing tendency to combine a verb with a preverb into a composite verb. In sources of the medieval period, numerous cases of this development occur.<sup>375</sup>

On the basis of the principle of All-except-one/two, two possible types of innovation can be distinguished. Firstly, there are six cases<sup>376</sup> in which the change corresponds with our knowledge of the development of Latin, that is to say that a verb without a preverb is replaced by a verb with a preverb (cf. examples (221) and (222)). In one case, however, a preverb is not added to a verb but an adverb (examples (223) and (224)).<sup>377</sup>

<sup>374</sup> Variants *VB* 80.3 and *VB* 95.2.1, respectively.

<sup>375</sup> On the increasing use of prefixes, cf. Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 95-96; Stotz, *LSDM. Zweiter Band*, p. 400 ff.

<sup>376</sup> Variants *VB* 113.4; *VB* 113.6; *VB* 119.3; *VB* 139.6.2; *VB* 140.2; *VP* 8.5.

<sup>377</sup> Variant *VB* 113.4.

Secondly, there are five cases of prefixed composite verbs being replaced by a non-prefixed verb (e.g. (225) and (226)).<sup>378</sup> In these cases, the change does not agree with what we think we know about the development of Latin and demonstrates a larger variability and flexibility in this morphosyntactic category.

(221)	<i>fugaremus</i>	(all manuscripts)
(222)	<u><i>effugaremus</i></u>	(Vienna 497; Munich 12641)
(223)	<i>minutatim</i>	(all manuscripts)
(224)	<u><i>comminutatim</i></u>	(St. Gall 561)
(225)	<i>expellamus</i>	(all manuscripts)
(226)	<u><i>pellamus</i></u>	(Paris 18298)

Innovations related to the preverb used in verbs (and in one case, an adverb) are found in two younger manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497, Munich 12641) and in both older manuscripts (St. Gall 561) and younger manuscripts (Paris 5273, Gen. 557, Gen. 558) from the Frankish tradition. Finally, this type of innovation also occurs in Paris 18298 (mixed tradition) and in the *codex extravagans* Munich 22020.

#### 6.6.4 Variation related to the construction of a clause

The fourth subcategory consists of fifteen cases related to the construction of a particular clause. In four of these cases, a participle is replaced by a finite verb, or vice versa. Compare examples (227) and (228), in which a participle is replaced by a finite verb in one manuscript; and examples (229) and (230), in which a finite verb is replaced by a participle in one manuscript.<sup>379</sup>

(227)	<i>Respondens autem Beirith dixit: (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(228)	<u><i>Respondit autem Beireth et dixit: (...)</i></u>	(Gen. 547)
(229)	<i>(...) quia semper idem es et inmutabilis perseueras.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(230)	<i>(...) quia semper idem es inmutabilis <u>perseuerans.</u></i>	(Munich 22020)

In two cases, a perfect participle and object in the ablative case were replaced by a verb and direct object (as in examples (231) and (232)), or vice versa (as in examples (233) and (234)).<sup>380</sup>

(231)	<i>Centies flexis genibus per diem (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(232)	<i>Centies <u>flectit genua</u> per diem (...)</i>	(Gen. 557, Vienna 497)

<sup>378</sup> Variant *VB* 71.11. Other variants are *VB* 97.4; *VB* 106.2; *VB* 123.4; *VB* 124.3.

<sup>379</sup> Variants *VB* 12.1.1 and *VB* 111.5, respectively.

<sup>380</sup> Variants *VB* 22.1 and *VB* 110.1.2, respectively.

(233)	(...) <i>expandens</i> (...) <i>manus suas</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(234)	(...) <i>expansis manibus</i> (...)	(Vienna 497)

In one case, the construction ‘auxiliary verb + infinite verb’ is replaced by a finite verb:<sup>381</sup>

(235)	(...) <i>ut possimus inuenire eum.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(236)	(...) <i>ut <u>inueniamus</u> eum.</i>	(Vienna 497)

In another case, the construction ‘auxiliary verb + infinitive’ is replaced by two finite verbs:<sup>382</sup>

(237)	(...) <i>quos poterat tenere scindebat</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
	‘she hit whomever she could get,’	
(238)	(...) <i>quos poterat, <u>tenebat</u> scindebat</i> (...)	(Munich 22020)
	‘she got and hit whomever she could’	

Furthermore, there is one case in which an indicative passive verb is replaced by an indicative active verb. In addition, *in hominibus* has been added to indicate who it is that the demon possesses.<sup>383</sup>

(239)	(...) <i>potestatem habere uidetur, (...)</i>	(all manuscripts)
(240)	(...) <i>potestatem habere <u>in hominibus uidet</u> (...)</i>	(Munich 22020)

Two cases show that the construction *facere* and a direct object in the accusative case is replaced by *facere* and an indirect object in the dative case, as we see in examples (241) and (242):<sup>384</sup>

(241)	(...) <i>et ipsum feci ut frangeret simulachrum suum.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(242)	(...) <i>et <u>ipsi</u> feci ut frangeret simulacrum suum.</i>	(Gen. 558)

In one case, an imperative is replaced by an Accusative and Infinitive (AcI)-construction:<sup>385</sup>

(243)	(...) <i>et tu crede deo meo.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(244)	(...) <i>et <u>te credere</u> deo meo.</i>	(Wolf. Helmst. 497)

<sup>381</sup> Variant *VB* 15.2.

<sup>382</sup> Variant *VB* 38.5.2.

<sup>383</sup> Variant *VB* 77.7.

<sup>384</sup> Variant *VB* 136.4.

<sup>385</sup> Variant *VB* 138.6.1.

Another case demonstrates the replacement of a participle and finite verb with a finite verb with an *ut*-clause:<sup>386</sup>

(245)	<i>missus scire feci uos</i>	/ <i>missus scire uos feci</i>	(all manuscripts)
(246)	<i>missus <u>sum ut</u> scire uos <u>facerem</u></i>		(Paris 9737)

Finally, I found two cases in which a subordinate clause, starting with *ut*, replaces an ablative absolute construction in the majority of manuscripts, as seen in examples (247) and (248):<sup>387</sup>

(247)	(...) <i>uniuerso populo acclamante et omni clero</i> (...)	(all manuscripts)
(248)	(...) <i><u>ut uniuersus populus et omnis clerus acclamaret</u></i> (...)	(M. 22020)

Innovations related to the construction of a clause are found in two of the manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497 (s. XIII) and Wolf. Helmst. 497 (s. XI)). This phenomenon is more widespread in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition, however (Gen. 547 (s. XII), Gen. 557 (s. XI-XII), Paris 5273 (s. XIII), Paris 11750 (s. XI), Paris 9737 (s. XII) and Gen. 558 (s. XIII)). It is also found in Munich 22020, the *codex extravagans* in my corpus. This type of innovation mainly occurs in the younger manuscripts of both traditions.

#### 6.6.5 Variation related to the use of prepositions

Throughout the development of the Latin language, the use of prepositions was increasingly common, partly as a result of the disintegrating case system. For example, the ablative was often replaced by a phrase with the preposition *in*, *cum*, *per* or *propter*.<sup>388</sup>

There are five cases in which a phrase without a preposition is changed to a phrase with a preposition, as in examples (249) and (250).<sup>389</sup>

(249)	(...) <i>suadet eos credere idolis.</i>	(all manuscripts)
(250)	(...) <i>suadet eos credere <u>in</u> idolis.</i>	(Paris 19298)

Innovations in the use of prepositions are present in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 497), but are more frequent in both the younger and older manuscripts of

<sup>386</sup> Variant *VP* 19.2.1.

<sup>387</sup> Variant *VB* 146.3.1.

<sup>388</sup> Cf. Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 60-61; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 111.

<sup>389</sup> Variant *VB* 79.4. Other variants are *VB* 5.2.2.; *VB* 25.2; *VB* 79.4; *VB* 104.1; *VP* 24.6.

the Frankish tradition (Munich 22020, Gen. 547, St. Gall 561). This type of innovation is also attested in Paris 18298, a manuscript with influences from both traditions.

#### 6.6.6 Gender

Three cases attest a change of gender in one of the manuscripts, e.g. (251) and (252).<sup>390</sup> Changes in gender occur in both the Bavarian tradition (Vienna 455, Vienna 560) and the Frankish tradition (Munich 22020, Paris 9737).

(251)	<i>altera die</i>	(all manuscripts)
(252)	<i>altero die</i>	(Paris 9737)

### 6.7 Concluding remarks: variation related to morphosyntax

#### *The distribution of variation related to morphosyntax*

In the category of variation related to morphosyntax there are 89 cases in which patterns of rewriting can be distinguished on the basis of the principle of ‘All-except-one (or two)’.

Table 3 presents the distribution of innovative features related to morphosyntax in the manuscripts of the selected corpus.

The Bavarian tradition		The Frankish tradition	
Vienna 497	7	St. Gall 561	16
Vienna 560	7	Gen. 558	8
Paris 12602	5	Gen. 547	8
Wolf. Helmst. 497	4	Paris 5273	8
Bamberg 139	4	Gen. 557	3
Munich 12641	3	Paris 11750	3
Angers 281	2	Paris 9737	3
Vienna 455	1	other Frankish mss.	0
Paris 12604	1		
Dublin 737	1		
other Bavarian mss.	0		
other			
Munich 22020 ( <i>codex extravagans</i> )	11		
Paris 18298 (mixed tradition)	4		

Table 3: The number of manuscript-specific variants related to morphosyntax

<sup>390</sup> Variant *VB* 85.2. Other cases are *VB* 19.2; *VB* 21.1.2. On change of gender, cf. Stotz, *LSDM. Vierter Band*, p. 139-158.

The data presented in Table 3 suggest that innovative features related to morphosyntax are found in both the Bavarian and the Frankish traditions. In the Bavarian tradition, the majority of rewriting patterns related to morphosyntax occurs in the younger manuscripts (Vienna 497, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497 and Bamberg 139). In the Frankish tradition, on the other hand, the data indicate that patterns of rewriting related to morphosyntax tend to occur in both the older manuscripts (St. Gall 561) and younger manuscripts (Gen. 558, Gen. 547, Paris 5273, Gen. 557, Paris 11750 and Paris 9737).

#### *Innovations related to morphosyntax*

The principle of 'All-except-one' reveals a large amount of data which prove that certain morphosyntactic aspects of the Latin language were subject to change. In the majority of these cases, it is not so much the direction of change but rather the large variety of changes that is striking.

It is interesting to compare the results of two categories, namely those of variation related to the preverb in a composite verb and the use of prepositions, to what we already know about the development of the Latin language. It appears that the innovation attested in the use of prepositions is in line with what we know about the use of prepositions in the development of Latin. My analysis of variants related to the preverbs of composite verbs, however, indicates greater flexibility in the direction of change than previously assumed. It is in the latter category that a reconsideration of our knowledge about the development of this phenomenon in the Latin language is in order.

#### **6.8 Conclusion**

The present chapter is devoted to a large and heterogeneous group of innovative linguistic variants selected on the basis of the principle of All-except-one/two. The analysis presented here allows us to draw two conclusions. Firstly, the results enable us to further develop the distinction between conservative and innovative manuscripts as far as the linguistic features of a given text are concerned. In the *Frankish tradition*, innovative features related to language are found both in the older manuscripts (St. Gall 561, s. IX-X) and in the younger manuscripts (a.o. Gen. 558, Gen. 547, Paris 5273, Gen. 557, Paris 9737). The *Bavarian tradition*, on the other hand, reveals an important distinction between the *older manuscripts* (Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48) and its *younger* counterparts (Vienna 497, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Munich 12641, Angers 281 and Paris 12602) as far as linguistic innovations are concerned. It is in the latter group that a relatively high number of innovations related to language tend to occur. This finding illustrates an important difference between the older and the younger manuscripts of this tradition: the older manuscripts belong to a conservative practice of rewriting, whereas the younger manuscripts should be situated in an environment where there is more of a tendency to

rewrite the linguistic features of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*. This finding shows that we have to be cautious with general observations on the complete set of manuscripts within a certain text tradition.

The present analysis also indicates that Paris 18298, of mixed tradition, contains many innovative features related to language. In addition, it demonstrates that Munich 22020 is a manuscript with a high number of innovative features, especially when the categories relating to the choice of lexeme(s) and morphosyntax are concerned. This manuscript certainly earns its label of ‘*codex extravagans*’ when it comes to linguistic innovations.

A second outcome of the analysis presented here relates to the development of the Latin language throughout the textual transmission studied. In a number of the linguistic categories that I distinguish, the linguistic innovations demand a more detailed study of the development of the Latin language in the Middle Ages. In the category of word order, for example, it appears that the innovative variants do not always conform with the results of the syntactic approach as presented in Bauer’s study. This finding illustrates that the syntactic approach is in need of a number of reconsiderations as far as developments in word order are concerned. Furthermore, the variants related to choice of pronouns illustrate that the variety and flexibility in the choice of a certain pronoun is much greater than previously assumed. The same goes for innovative variants related to the morphosyntactic category of the preverb in a composite verb.

The principle of All-except-one/two proves to be a valuable instrument for the analysis of changes in the Latin language. It shows, above all, that the development of Latin throughout textual transmission is not easily described as a unidirectional and consistent process. Rather, it appears to be the consequence of a continuously evolving process in which changes occur in all directions.

My study of linguistic innovation thus confirms currently existing views that describe Medieval Latin in terms of variation and evolution.<sup>391</sup> The concept of ‘normativisme évolutif’, introduced by Mohrmann, is especially applicable to my analysis. Scribes had to respect the norms of the Latin language system, but, at the same time, there was ample opportunity to change and adapt the Latin of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* to the changing sociolinguistic contexts of the periods and regions in which they were written. The rewriting processes presented in this chapter provide a valuable contribution to our knowledge of this process of evolution and variation, which is essential if we want to properly understand how Latin was used throughout the Middle Ages.

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<sup>391</sup> Cf. Van Uytfanghe, ‘De christelijke en middeleeuwse latiniteit’; Ziolkowski, ‘Towards a history of medieval Latin literature’; Halla-aho, *The non-literary Latin letters*.



**PART TWO**  
**CORRECTION LAYERS – TWO CASE STUDIES**



### 7.1 Introduction

In Montpellier 55, a manuscript of the Frankish tradition which dates from s. VIII<sup>fin</sup>-s. IX<sup>inc</sup>, various text layers can be found. Besides the *first text layer*, the text first produced by the scribe(s), we find a number of *correction layers* detailing the various aspects of language and content that were corrected over time. In this chapter I focus on the corrections that relate to the orthography of the text.

The aim of the present chapter is twofold. Firstly, I present variation in orthography as it is found in the first text layer of Montpellier 55. All the cases in which the orthography differs from the classical norm are discussed. In this chapter, therefore, the term variation is used to refer to deviations from the classical norms of spelling. I will illustrate that almost all of these cases of variation in orthography are related to phonetic developments in the Latin of the early Medieval period.

It remains unclear when exactly these orthographical variants first occurred in the Frankish tradition. It might be the case that the manuscript tradition upon which Montpellier 55 is based already contained the orthographical variants and that these orthographical variants were copied by the scribe of this manuscript. It is also possible that the exemplar(s) of Montpellier 55 followed the classical norms of spelling and that the scribe of Montpellier 55 was responsible for the orthographical variants found therein.<sup>392</sup> However this may be, I argue that these orthographical variants reflect the influence of speech on writing, regardless of when they entered the manuscript tradition.

The second aim of this chapter is to discuss the corrections related to orthographical variation. At a particular moment in time, some of the variation in orthography was corrected to the classical norm. Not all cases of orthographical variation were corrected, however. It appears that special attention was paid to specific categories of orthographical variation, whereas other types of orthographical variation remained unchanged. The analysis of this correction layer gives us insight into patterns in the correction of orthographical variation.

To obtain a more complete overview of variation in orthography in Montpellier 55, the section on Matthew (the *Virtutes Matthei*) and the section on Simon and Jude (the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*) have been added to my corpus. The cases presented here can be found in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* (fol. 21v-25v), the *Virtutes Matthei* (fol. 25v-30v), the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae* (fol. 30v-35v) and the *Virtutes Philippi* (fol. 35v-36v). For the

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<sup>392</sup> Cf. M. Parkes, *Their hands before our eyes: A closer look at scribes. The Lyell lectures delivered in the University of Oxford 1999* (Aldershot 2008), p. 66-67.

presentation of my results I follow Rose's analysis of the *Missale Gothicum*.<sup>393</sup> Similar orthographical variants are grouped together into separate categories. I shall mention all corrections related to the orthography of the text discussed within this chapter. This will enable us to draw some general conclusions about correction behaviour in the final section of this chapter.

## 7.2 Analysis of orthographical variation and correction in Montpellier 55

### 7.2.1 The vowels o, u, e, i

Montpellier 55 contains a number of orthographical variants that reflect developments in the pronunciation of vowels. In order to explain the variants present in this manuscript, this section will provide an overview of the evolution of the Latin vowel system.<sup>394</sup> At the outset, there was a phonological difference between long vowels and short vowels. Differences in the quantity of vowels created the possibility to express semantic and morphological differences. The word *mālum* is an adjective meaning 'bad', while *mālum* is a noun meaning 'apple'. Morphologically, the quantitative differences between vowels enabled the distinction between the nominative case *puellā* and the ablative case *puellā*, and between the present tense *uēnit* ('he arrives') and perfect tense *uēnit* ('he has arrived').

Towards the end of the Roman Empire, quantitative distinctions between vowels disappeared. Instead, qualitative differences between vowels became increasingly important to determine meaning and function. In other words, it became more important how 'open' (low position of the tongue) or 'closed' (high position of the tongue) a vowel was pronounced. For example, the difference between the present tense and perfect tense *uenit* was that the present tense, originally pronounced as *uēnit* with a short *ĕ*, was now pronounced with an open /*ɛ*/ (*uɛnit*), whereas the perfect tense, originally pronounced as *uēnit* with long /*eː*/, was now pronounced with a closed /*ɛ*/ (*uɛnit*).

As Latin evolved, these developments resulted in a different system of the pronunciation of vowels in Latin. The original distinction between short /*a*/ and long /*aː*/ disappeared. Therefore, originally short /*a*/ and originally long /*aː*/ merged into the single phoneme /*a*/. The originally short /*e*/ and originally short /*o*/ were now pronounced as open /*ɛ*/ and open /*ɔ*/, respectively. Furthermore, originally short /*i*/ and originally long /*eː*/ merged into a single phoneme, closed /*ɛ*/, whereas originally short /*u*/ and originally long /*oː*/ also merged into a single phoneme, closed /*ɔ*/. Schematically, these developments, which took place in the greater part of the Romance area (with the exception of the Rumanian, Sardinian, and a number of the southern Italian regions) are

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<sup>393</sup> E. Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum* (Turnhout 2005), p. 37-85.

<sup>394</sup> This description is based on: J. Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, chapter 4; Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, p. 29-35; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 37ff.; P. Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band: Lautlehre*.

paraphrased in Table 1.<sup>395</sup>

Original Latin	ǎ	ā	ĕ	ē	ĭ	ī	ō	ō	ŭ	ū
Vulgar Latin	a		ẹ	ẹ	i	o		o		u

Table 1: The development of the pronunciation of the vowels a, e, i, o, u in Latin

These developments in the pronunciation of Latin are reflected in the orthography of Montpellier 55. As we can see, the phoneme /ẹ/ represents both originally long /e:/ and originally short /i/, whereas the phoneme /o/ represents originally long /o:/ and originally short /u/. Four types of orthographical variation related to these developments are found in Montpellier 55:

- (i) writing of <i> for what would have been written with <e>, representing classical Latin /e:/ (section 7.2.1.1);
- (ii) writing of <e> for what would have been written with <i>, representing classical Latin /i/ (section 7.2.1.2);
- (iii) writing of <u> for what would have been written with <o>, representing classical Latin /o:/ (section 7.2.1.3);
- (iv) writing of <o> for what would have been written with <u>, representing classical Latin /u/ (section 7.2.1.4).

As indicated in the introduction, I will also refer to the correction layer in order to illustrate what happened to these orthographical variants when the text was corrected.

#### 7.2.1.1 The i/e-exchange

In Montpellier 55, there are a number of examples, presented in section A, where the originally short closed *ĭ* was written as *e* as a result of the phonetic developments described in section 7.2.1. Quite unexpectedly according to these phonetic developments, however, there are also cases in which an originally long closed *ī* was written as an *e*.

This phenomenon, also attested in other late antique and early Medieval Latin texts, is discussed in section B.<sup>396</sup> In total, 95 cases of i/e-exchange are found, of which 88 were corrected in the correction layer.

<sup>395</sup> J. Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 31; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 30.

<sup>396</sup> Cf. Löfstedt, *Studien*, p. 66-68; M. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (repr. Hildesheim 1968), p. 123-125; Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 38-40; E. Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, 39.

*Section A: ĩ/e-exchange*

The ĩ/e-exchange sometimes occurs in **the inflection of the verb**. In all seventeen cases listed below, the spelling was corrected to the classical norm. The ĩ/e-exchange occurs in:

(i) the indicative present

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol 22r, l. 026-027: *Vestitur colobio albo clauato purpura induetur, (...)*  
The ĩ/e-exchange occurs in *induetur*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *indueitur*.
- fol 23v, l. 025-026: *(...) mittit comites suos ut in omnibus locis, ubi tyrannus possedit titulos regi sui, uictores ac triumphatores imponant (...)*  
The ĩ/e-exchange and e/ĭ-exchange occur in *possedit*.<sup>397</sup> In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *possidet*.
- fol 23v, l. 029: *Ideo argentum et aurum non accepims sed contempnims (...)*  
The ĩ/e-exchange occurs in *accepims*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *accipimis*.
- fol 24r, l. 030-031: *(...) et colemur quasi dii, cum pro certo simus daemones (...)*  
The ĩ/e-exchange occurs in *colemur*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *colimiur*.
- fol 24v, l. 005-006: *Nos quando corpora ledemus (...)*  
The ĩ/e-exchange occurs in *ledemus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ledimis*.
- fol 24v, l. 005: *Respondit daemon: Cum crederint nos esse deos et sacrificauerint nobis, tollit se deus ab his qui sacrificant et nos uulnera corporum non tollems sed migramus ad animam.*

Two interesting cases can be found in this sentence. The first verb of the passage is *tollit*, which was spelt in accordance with its function in this sentence (the indicative active present). In the correction layer, however, the spelling was changed to *tollet*, which represents the future tense. In the second part of this fragment, the ĩ/e-exchange occurs in *tollemus*, which also seems to have the function of an indicative present in this sentence. The spelling of this verb was changed to *tollimus* in the correction layer. These two examples appear to indicate inconsistency in the change of spelling in the correction layer.

*Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 25v, l. 020: *plerumque enim accedit ut (...)*  
The ĩ/e-exchange occurs in *accedit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *accidit*.

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<sup>397</sup> On the e/ĭ-exchange, see *infra*, p. 160.

- fol. 29r, l. 024: (...) *post haec non habent quid faceant* (...)
 

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *faceant*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *facient*.
- fol. 29r, l. 033: (...) *qui numquam spernis aetatem nec sexum reprobas, non ullam conditionem gratiae tuae duces indignam* (...)
 

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *duces*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ducis*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31r, l. 020: *Quia audeo deos nostros esse ausos uobis coram* (...)
 

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *audeo*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *audio*.
- fol. 31r, l. 027: *In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi, praecipemus uobis, ut more solito detis responsa his qui uos interrogare consueuerant.*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *praecipemus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *praecipimus*.
- fol. 33v, l. 028: (...) *sed sola uociferatio doloribus extorta incessabilis extetit.*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *extetit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *extitit*.

(ii) the subjunctive perfect

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 29r, l. 023: (...) *qui cum flagellauerint et occiderent uos* (...)
 

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *occiderent*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *occiderint*.

(iii) the present participle in the genitive case

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 30v, l. 029: (...) *qui diceret spiritum sanctum de caelo missum iuxta promissum dicentes*: (...)
 

The *i/e*-exchange is found in *dicentes*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *dicentis*.

(iv) the subjunctive present

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31r, l. 014: (...) *ut relicto errore simulacrorum, deum qui in caelis est possetis agnoscere.*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *possetis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *possitis*.

(v) the indicative perfect

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 32r, l. 030: *Nos enim terrenis penitus nihil egemus*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *egemus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *egimus*.

(vi) the indicative future

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 33v, l. 010: (...) *sed morsibus amaris adtractati dolorum uestrorum, mugitum dabetis*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *dabetis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *dabitis*.

The *ī/e*-exchange is also found in the **stem of the verb or perfect participle**. Six of the eight cases listed below were corrected in the correction layer.

*Virtutes Bartholomei*

- fol. 22r, l. 025: *sordedantur*; changed to *sordidantur* in the correction layer.
- fol. 24r, l. 001: *relegatum*

*Virtutes Matthei*

- fol. 27r, l. 018: *emēnit*; in the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *eminet*.<sup>398</sup>
- fol. 27v, l. 001: *extētisse*; changed into *extitisse* in the correction layer.
- fol. 28v, l. 015: *dēcatam*; changed into *dicatam* in the correction layer.
- fol. 30r, l. 001: *soledata*.

*Virtutes Simonis et Judae*

- fol. 31v, l. 002: *soletis*; changed to *solitis* in the correction layer.<sup>399</sup>
- fol. 32r, l. 011: *adplecauit*; changed to *adplicauit* in the correction layer.

The *ī/e*-exchange sometimes takes place in composite verbs, although such cases could also be put down to a tendency to write the stem vowel of the *verbum simplex* (**recomposition**).<sup>400</sup> In the cases listed below, we cannot be certain whether the writing of *e* instead of *i* is the result of strict phonetic developments or of recomposition. Six of the seven cases were corrected in the correction layer.

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<sup>398</sup> On the *e/i*-exchange, see *infra*, p. 160.

<sup>399</sup> This form is the perfect participle in the ablative case (nominative singular *solitus*).

<sup>400</sup> Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 486-493; B. Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze* (Stockholm 1961), p. 182-206; Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 346-352; Rose, *Missale Gothicum*, p. 39.

Virtutes Bartholomei:

- fol. 24r, l. 002: *obteneo*; changed to *obtineo* in the correction layer.
- fol. 24r, l. 008: *obteneat*; changed to *obtineat* in the correction layer.
- fol. 24r, l. 019: *detenere*

Virtutes Matthei:

- fol. 26r, l. 012: *procedit*; changed to *procidit* in the correction layer.
- fol. 29v, l. 025: *retenuit*; changed to *retinuit* in the correction layer.
- fol. 32r, l. 020: *possedere*; changed to *possidere* in the correction layer.

Virtutes Simonis et Judae:

- fol. 35r, l. 004: *elegetae*; changed to *eligitae* (intell. *eligite*)<sup>401</sup> in the correction layer.

The tendency towards recomposition amongst scribes could be another reason behind the writing of *e* instead of *i* in the **composite noun** *dimedium* (changed to *dimidium* in the correction layer; fol. 28v, l. 018).

The *i/e*-exchange sometimes occurs in the inflection of a **noun** or **adjective**. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed in thirteen of the sixteen cases presented below.

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in:

(i) the nominative singular case

in the Virtutes Bartholomei:

- fol. 24v, l. 012: *Tunc iussu reges omnes populus misit (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *omnes*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *omnis*.
- fol. 24v, l. 024-025: *(...) quia semper idem es et inmutabiles perseueras (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *inmutabiles*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *inmutabilis*.
- fol. 24v, l. 030-031: *Peto ergo in eius nomine ut omnes haec multitudo (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *omnes*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *omnis*.

in the Virtutes Matthei:

- fol. 26v, l. 014: *Nunc ergo edificatur turres non de lapidibus sed de uirtutibus Christi.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *turres*. In the correction layer, the spelling was corrected to *turris*.

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<sup>401</sup> The passage in question reads as follows: *Confortamini et unum e duobus eligitae, aut (...)*.

- fol. 26r, l. 033: *Bona quidem uoluntas ut fieret turres cuius cacumen (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *turres*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *turr̄is*.
- fol. 26v, l. 029: (...) *sed quousque omnes populus conueniat (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *omnes*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 28r, l. 026: *Cumque uenisset omnes multitudo (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *omnes*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *omnis*.
- fol. 28v, l. 004: (...) *quoniam per resurrectionem hoccansio edificationes eius extiterat.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *edificationes*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *edificationis*.
- fol. 28v, l. 011: (...) *quam religiosissima eius coniuu, quam deuotus eius omnes exercitus, quomodo omnia simulacra, (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *omnes*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.

(ii) the genitive singular case

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 24v, l. 012: *Tunc iussu reges omnes populus misit (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *reges*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *regis*.
- fol. 24v, l. 016: (...) *ubi (...) nec uox homines resonat.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *homines*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *hominis*.

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26r, l. 005: (...) *et ut dici uulgo solent maior malignis reuerentia exibetur timores, quam benignis amoris.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *timores*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *timor̄is*.
- fol. 27v, l. 027: (...) *lignum praeuaricationes exclusit.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *praeuaricationes*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 35v, l. 008: (...) *et consumans eam die natales eorundem, (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *natales*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *natalis*.

in the *Virtutes Philippi*:

- fol. 35v, l. 028: *De flato autem dracones omnes morbidi (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *dracones*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *draconis*.
- fol. 36r, l. 031: *Ipse autem Philipus ante septem dies migraciones sue uocauit ad se omnes presbiteros (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *migraciones*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *migracionis*.

The *i/e*-exchange can also be found in the **stem of a noun, an adverb or a conjunction**. In six of the seven cases presented below, the spelling was changed in the correction layer.

*Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 22r, l. 024: *pallgo*; in the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *pallio*.
- fol. 25r, l. 020: *deademate*; in the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *diademate*.
- fol. 23v, l. 024: *trepliciter*; in the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *tripliciter*.

*Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 29v, l. 027: *speculator*; the spelling was changed to *spiculator* in the correction layer.

*Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- *lammēnis* (changed to *lamminis* in the correction layer fol. 35v, l. 005).

*Virtutes Philippi*:

- *etēam* (the spelling was changed to *etiam* in the correction layer; fol. 35v, l. 026).
- *multētudenim* (the spelling was changed to *multitudinem* in the correction layer; fol. 36r, l. 030).<sup>402</sup>

#### Section B: *ī/e*-exchange

In Montpellier 55, we can also find cases in which an *e* was written instead of *i*, representing an originally long closed *ī*. Almost all of the cases of *ī/e*-exchange occur in the final unstressed syllable of a verb, noun or adverb. At this position of the word, originally long *ī*, short *ī*, long *ē* and short *ē* were pronounced in the same way.<sup>403</sup>

A number of the cases presented here are related to the occurrence of the *ī/e*-exchange in **infinite passive verbs and deponent verbs**. In speech, the *-(r)ī* ending was pronounced in the same way as the final *-(r)ē* of the infinitive active form. The passive

<sup>402</sup> On the *e/i*-exchange, see *infra*, p. 160.

<sup>403</sup> Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 123.

form acquired the orthographical features of the active form in writing.<sup>404</sup> As a result, the infinitive passive form and deponent form went out of use in the spoken language.<sup>405</sup> If we consider what happened to this type of variation in spelling, we can see that in all of these seventeen cases, the spelling was corrected in the correction layer.

First, *i/e*-exchange occurs in the *-(r)ī* inflection of infinitive passive verbs:

Virtutes Bartholomei:

- fol 24r, l. 002: *Quod si baptizatus fueris et permiseris te inluminare, faciam te uidere et cognoscere quantis malis succubuisti.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *inluminare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *inluminari*.
- fol 22r, l. 026-027: *Ambulant cum eo angeli dei qui non permittunt eum fatigare non esurire (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *fatigare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *fatigari*.
- fol 24r, l. 019: *(...) putantes eum posse morte detenere.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *detenere*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *detineri*.

Virtutes Matthei:

- fol. 28r, l. 003: *ut sit unus ex diis cui oportet et simulacrum fabricare et templum.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *fabricare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *fabricari*.
- fol. 28r, l. 005: *(...) dixit: Istos magos iube custodire (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *custodire*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *custodiri*.
- fol. 28r, l. 023: *(...) statim iussit deferre ei coronas, (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *deferre*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *deferri*.
- fol. 30r, l. 012: *(...) fecit circumdare igne praetorium (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *circumdare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *circumdari*.

Virtutes Simonis et Judae:

- fol. 31v, l. 022: *Ego non solum illos iubeo custodire (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *custodire*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *custodiri*.

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<sup>404</sup> Cf. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 401; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 89.

<sup>405</sup> Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 270.

- fol. 31v, l. 024: (...) *qui uero debeant condempnare*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *condempnare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *condempnari*.
- fol. 32r, l. 011: *et omnia que habere poterant, et non poterat denumerare, facultas eorum*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *denumerare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *dinumerari*.
- fol. 34v, l. 010: (...) *atubi docuerint deum alterum adhorare debere, (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *adhorare* (intell. *adorare*). In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *adorari*.

Secondly, the *i/e*-exchange occurs in the *-(r)i* inflection of deponent verbs:<sup>406</sup>

*Virtutes Bartholomei:*

- fol. 24r, l. 012-013: (...) *et faciam eum confitere hoc ipsum quod sit religatus (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *confitere*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *confiteri*.

*Virtutes Matthei:*

- fol. 29v, l. 007: (...) *earum sensus et membra in earum corpora dominare non possit peccatum (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *dominare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *dominari*.
- fol. 30r, l. 022: (...) *manibus ab ipso diabulo conlegatis confitere eum paterna crimina conpellebat*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *confitere*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *confiteri*.

*Virtutes Simonis et Judae:*

- fol. 31v, l. 016: (...) *dicuntur mentire posse quod blasphemium capiti eorum redundare debet*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *mentire*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *mentiri*.
- fol. 33v, l. 024: *In istos autem tres dies ideo permittemus uobis dominare dolores, (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *dominare*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *dominari*.

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<sup>406</sup> Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 128; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 88.

Thirdly, the *ī/e*-exchange occurs in the gerund in the genitive case:

*Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 33v, l. 031: *habentes liberam facultatem conuertendi a malo ad bonum, et exeunde de tenebris ad lumen.*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *exeunde*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *exeundi*.

In nineteen cases, the *ī/e*-exchange occurs in the **final syllable of a noun, pronoun or adjective**.<sup>407</sup> All nineteen cases listed below were corrected in the correction layer. The *ī/e*-exchange occurs in:

(i) dative singular:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 23r, l. 024: (...) *ut sicut dixerat Adae, id est primo homing (...)*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *homing*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *homini*.

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 27r, l. 022: *Non labor fatigationibus subiacet non infirmitas aliqua sanitate succedit, (...)*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *sanitate*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *sanitati*.

- fol. 28v, l. 024: (...) *et iussit congregatione illi<sup>408</sup> interesse (...)*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *congregatione*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *congregationi*.

- fol. 30r, l. 019: *Sed melius ille fuerat incendio interisse.*

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *ille*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *illi*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 32r, l. 031: (...) *que dux rege intimabat, (...)*

The *i:/e*-exchange occurs in *rege*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *regi*.

- fol. 33r, l. 004: *Solent etiam uasa pulcherrima aceto repleta execratione et contemptui subiacere.*

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<sup>407</sup> Cf. Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 67-69; Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 124; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 39.

<sup>408</sup> The reading of the first text layer is unclear.

The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *execratione*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *execrationi*.

- fol. 35r, l. 011: (...) *ut demus responsum omni populo audiente*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in the present participle *audiente*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *audienti*.

in the *Virtutes Philippi*:

- fol. 36r, l. 008: (...) *ita ut uadens nemine noceas*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *nemine*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *nemini*.

(ii) ablative singular

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 22r, l. 028: *omne hora ilaris, et letus permanet*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *omne*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *omni*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31v, l. 003: *simile modo*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *simile*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *simili*.
- fol. 34v, l. 019: (...) *cum populo innumerabile* (...)  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *innumerabile*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *innumerabili*.
- fol. 35v, l. 001: (...) *cum ingente honore* (...)  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *ingente*. The spelling was changed to *ingenti* in the correction layer.

(iii) nominative plural

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26r, l. 017: *Ille enim uulnerabant quos poterant* (...)  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *ille*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *illi*.
- fol. 29v, l. 030: *Cui furenti populo occurerunt omnes presbyteri et omnes diacone et omnes clerici* (...)  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *diacone*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *diaconi*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 35r, l. 018: (...) *ut egrediantur ex eis et ipse eam conminuent*.  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *ipse*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ipsi*.

- Fol. 35r, l. 032: *Illi autem ambo magi Zaroēs et Arfaxar (...) in carbonem sunt conuersę.*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in the perfect participle *conuersę*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *conuersi*.

(iv) dative plural

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 29v, l. 012: (...) *nec incautęs occasionem tribuat neglegentia delinquendi (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *incautęs*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *incautis*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 33v, l. 027: *Per triduum autem non manducandi non bibendi neque dormiendi illeę possibile fuit, (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange occurs in *illeę*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *illis*.
- fol. 34r, l. 005: (...) *surdeęs reddentes auditum, (...)*  
The *i/e*-exchange is found in *surdeęs*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *surdis*.

In only two cases, the *i/e*-exchange is not found in the final syllable of a word. Both cases involve composite verbs, where the stem vowel of the *verbum simplex* was written (**recomposition**).<sup>409</sup> In the correction layer, one of the two cases was corrected.

- fol. 28v, l. 029: *exstimans*.
- fol. 31r, l. 011: *inquerere*: changed to *inquirere* in the correction layer.

### 7.2.1.2 The *e/i*-exchange

The category of the *e/i*-exchange consists of two types of orthographical variation, which I present in two separate sections. Firstly, there are cases in which an *i* was written instead of *e*, representing classical /e:/. These cases are discussed in section A. Furthermore, I found cases in which an *i* was written instead of *e*, representing classical /e/. These cases are discussed in section B.

#### Section A: *ē/i*-exchange

The writing of *i* instead of *e* to represent an originally long *ē* can be explained by the development described in section 7.2.1 that originally long *ē* and originally short *ĭ* were pronounced in the same way.

<sup>409</sup> Cf. Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 39.

In some examples, the  $\bar{e}/i$ -exchange occurs in the inflection of a **noun or adjective**. All the fifteen cases in which such variation occurs were changed in the correction layer.

It occurs in:

(i) the nominative plural case:

Virtutes Bartholomei:

- fol. 22r, l. 018: *Dixerunt autem cultoris idoli (...)*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in *cultoris*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *cultores*.
- fol. 25r, l. 005-006: *Tamen iussit, ut prius ostendam uobis, quem uidentis nolite expauescere (...)*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in the present participle of the nominative case *uidentis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *uidentes*.

in the Virtutes Matthei:

- fol. 28r, l. 032: *(...) et nunc omnes qui cappacis estis (...)*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in *cappacis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *cappaces*.
- fol. 30r, l. 033: *Omnis autem prouintiae Aethiopum ecclaeiis repletae (...)*  
*benedicunt deum (...)*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in *omnis*. The spelling of the word was not changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 33v, l. 011: *Statimque serpentis comedere ceperunt carnes eorum, (...)*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange is found in *serpentis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *serpentes*.

in the Virtutes Simonis et Judae:

- fol. 32r, l. 032: *Isti hominis maligni sunt (...)*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in *hominis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *homines*.
- fol. 32v, l. 009: *Tunc iussu regis et ducis, omnis aduocati praesto facti sunt.*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in *omnis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *omnes*.
- fol. 33v, l. 026: *Maioris autem cruciatus passi sunt (...)*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in *maioris*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *maiores*.

Virtutes Philippi:

- fol. 36v, l. 005: *(...) duae sacrae uirginis filiae dextra leuaque sepulte sunt.*  
The  $e/i$ -exchange occurs in *uirginis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *uirgines*.

(ii) the accusative plural case:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 22v, l. 010: *Atubi uidit eam apostolus catenis strictam, quia omnis morsu adstrictabat (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *omnis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *omnes*.

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26r, l. 009: *Serpentes etiam quos illi ad percuciendos hominis excitabant (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *hominis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *homines*.
- fol. 28r, l. 011: *qui mortuos suscitauit et omnes egritudinis ab hominibus suo pellebat imperio.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *egritudinis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *egritudines*.

*Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31v, l. 002: *(...) et paci uestrae ad quascumque conditionis uolueritis gratanter consentientes, (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *conditionis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *conditiones*.
- fol. 32r, l. 019: *Post haec, facultatis eorum ipsis iussi conferri.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *facultatis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *facultates*.
- fol. 32v, l. 007: *Iube adstare hic aliquos eloquentibus<sup>410</sup> potentis in lingua acutissimus in argumento, clamorosos in uoce (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *potentis*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *potentes*.

Several examples have been found of the *ē/i*-exchange occurring **in the stem of a verb**:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*: *obmutisce* (fol. 22v, l. 005); *delissit* (changed into *delessit* in the correction layer; fol. 24v, l. 019).

in the *Virtutes Matthei*: *suscipit* (changed into *suscepit* in the correction layer; fol. 26r, l. 014); *expauiscere* (changed to *expauescere* in the correction layer; fol. 30r, l. 015).

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*: *susciperant* (fol. 33r, l. 013; in the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *susceperant*).

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<sup>410</sup> Note the remarkable combination in the phrase *aliquos* (accusative plural) *eloquentibus* (dative/ablative plural).

Furthermore, the *e/i*-exchange sometimes occurs in the **prefix *de*** in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae: dispectu* (fol. 32v, l. 033) and *distruentes* (fol. 34r, l. 028). In the correction layer, the spelling of these words was changed to *despectu* and *destruentes*, respectively. It could be that this confusion with the prefix *de* also influenced the *e/i*-exchange in *diliciarum* (the spelling of which remained unchanged in the correction layer; fol. 27r, both in l. 017 and in l. 018).

#### Section B: *ě/i*-exchange

In the majority of cases, the *ě/i*-exchange can be found in the unstressed final syllable of a verb, noun or adverb. At this position, originally short *ě* and *ĩ* and long *ē* and *ī* could not be distinguished from each other in speech.<sup>411</sup> As a result, we find cases in Montpellier 55 where an *e*, representing an originally short *ě*, was written as *i*.

The *ě/i*-exchange occurs in the **final syllable of the verb**. In 40 of the 45 cases listed below, the variation in spelling that occurred was changed in the correction layer. In the Early Medieval period, there was a tendency to write *-it* instead of the verbal ending *-et*, because at this position in the word the *e* and *i* could not be distinguished from each other in speech.<sup>412</sup> The same occurs with the inflectional ending *-em*, which could also be written as *-im*.<sup>413</sup> Finally, the writing of *i* instead of *e* occurs in the final syllable of the infinitive active verb.<sup>414</sup>

(i) the indicative present tense

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol 22r, l. 028-029: (...) *omnia prouidit, omnia nouit* (...)
 

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *prouidit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *prouidet*.
- fol 23v, l. 025-026: (...) *mittit comites suos ut in omnibus locis, ubi tyrannus possedit titulos regi sui, uictores ac triumphatores imponant* (...)
 

The *i/e*-exchange and *e/i*-exchange occur in *possedit*.<sup>415</sup> In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *possidet*.
- fol 24r, l. 007-008: *Ipse ergo diabolus fecit arte sua homines egrotare et suadit eis credere idolis* (...)

<sup>411</sup> Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 37-56.

<sup>412</sup> Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, 113-115; Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 50-53.

<sup>413</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 23.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid.; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, 89; Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 53.

<sup>415</sup> On the *i/e*-exchange, see supra, p. 149.

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *suadit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *suadet*.

- fol. 24r, l. 022-023: (...) *ex quibus unus hic est qui me uinctum tenit*.  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *tenit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *tenet*.

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26v, l. 011: (...) *et a dexteram dei patris omnipotentis sedit* (...)  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *sedit*. The spelling was changed to *sedet* in the correction layer.
- fol. 27r, l. 007: (...) *post .XL. uero dies ascendit in caelos uidentibus nobis et sedit nunc ad dexteram dei patris* (...)  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *sedit*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 27r, l. 018: *Paradisus autem diliciarum emenit omnibus montibus et uicinus est caelo*.  
Both the *i/e*-exchange and the *e/i*-exchange occur in *emenit*.<sup>416</sup> In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *eminet*.
- fol. 28r, l. 003: (...) *ut sit unus ex diis cui oportit et simulacrum fabricare et templum*.  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *oportit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *oportet*.
- fol. 29r, l. 016: *Rex terrenus pauci temporis dominationem habere cognoscitur, rex autem caelestis aeternum imperium tenit*.  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *tenit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *tenet*.

in the *Virtutes Philippi*:

- fol. 36v, l. 008: (...) *quem uidit hominum nemo neque uidere potest*, (...)  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *uidit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *uidet*.

(ii) the indicative future tense:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 22r, l. 031-032: (...) *si uult ostendit se uobis si non uult non poteritis uidere eum* (...)  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *ostendit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ostendet*.

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<sup>416</sup> On the *i/e*-exchange, see supra, p. 149.

(iii) the subjunctive present tense:

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31r, l. 031: *Cessit timor tuus, quoniam in ingressu nostro pax nobiscum intravit in istam prouintiam.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *cessit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *cesset*.

(iv) the subjunctive imperfect tense:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 22v, l. 003-004: *Factum est autem, ut quidam plenus daemonio clamari et dicerit (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs both in *clamarit* and *dicerit*. Interestingly, of these two examples only *clamarit* was changed in the correction layer to *clamaret*.
- fol. 23r, l. 005: *Factum est autem, cum transisset nox et aurora diei futuri inciperit, apparuit apostolus (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *inciperit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *inciperet*.
- fol. 23v, l. 006-007: *Ars autem eius talis fuit, ut sicut accipiter rapit antequam potuerit, ita raperit hunc filium hominis et ponerit eum inter feras in desertum (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs both in *raperit* and *ponerit*. In the correction layer, their spellings were changed to *raperet* and *poneret*.
- fol. 24v, l. 005: *Respondit daemon: Cum crederint nos esse deos (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *crederint*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *crederent*.

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26r, l. 017: (...) *haec dei apostolus euacuarit.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *euacuarit*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 27v, l. 004: (...) *suasit uxori Adae, ut de pomo arboris manducarit, (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *manducarit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *manducaret*.
- fol. 27v, l. 023: (...) *ut et mundi potentias uincerit humilitatem seruando.*  
The *e/i*-exchange is found in *uincerit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *uinceret*.
- fol. 28r, l. 018: (...) *qui nos ab errore conuerterit et te nobis dominum demonstraret (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *conuerterit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *conuerteret*.

- fol. 28v, l. 015: *Hic cum uellit accipere Aephygeniam filiam defuncti regis uxorem (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *uellit*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 28v, l. 017: (...) *sperabat rex Hyrtacus quod per apostolum possit eius animum commoueri.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *possit*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 28v, l. 030: *rex Hyrtacus clamoris laudibus cum suis commitibus perstrepebat exestimans eum haec ita dicere ut animum Ephygeniae ad eius coniugium inclinarit.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *inclinarit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *inclinarit*.
- fol. 29v, l. 026: (...) *retinuit se ut (...) illic martyrium apostolicum exultarit.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *exultarit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *exultaret*.
- fol. 30r, l. 002: *Numquid si uellim non mihi exhiberit pater meus plus qua .XII. milia legiones angelorum?*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *exhiberit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *exhiberet*.
- fol. 30r, l. 010: *Quod cum penitus non possit, conuocauit magos, ut (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *possit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed into *posset*.
- fol. 30r, l. 013: *Sed cum per circuitum ignis arderit, apparuit (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *arderit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *arderet*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 30v, l. 028: (...) *meruit inuenire doctorem, qui dicer[it] spiritum sanctum de caelo missum (...)*  
The initial text layer is not visible in the manuscript itself and therefore it cannot be read. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *diceret*. It is likely that the original reading was *dicerit* (and hence, an *e/i*-exchange).
- fol. 31r, l. 025: *Vtinam possit fieri, ut interrogati loquantur.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *possit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *posset*.
- fol. 32r, l. 018: *At ubi omnia eo ordine quo isti praedixerant sunt adimpleta et uellim eos hoc pati quod istos illi pati aelaborauerant, (...)*

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *uellim*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *uellem*.

- fol. 32r, l. 024: *Quibus cum dicerim*: (...) The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *dicerim*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *dicerem*.
- fol. 32v, l. 032: (...) *cepit precibus agere ut dictum facto implet*. The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *implet*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *impleret*.
- fol. 33r, l. 016: (...) *constituit, ut si homo creatorem suum solum deum excolerit*, (...) The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *excolerit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *excoleret*.
- fol. 33r, l. 018: (...) *et dicerit ligno quod ipse dolauerat*: (...) The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *dicerit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *diceret*.
- fol. 33v, l. 021: (...) *ut uos a morte eriperit*, (...) The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *eriperit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *eriperet*.

(v) the subjunctive pluperfect tense:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 24v, l. 019: (...) *et ubicumque pro ornatu templi sigillatim erant posita, minutauit, ita ut picturam omnem delissit*. The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *delissit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *delesset*.

(vi) the imperative tense:

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 32v, l. 007: (...) *et praecipit illis ut habeant nobis conflictum* (...) The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *praecipit*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *praecipe*.

(vii) the infinitive active:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 22v, l. 013: *Et quis ausus est manum mitteri ad eam?* The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *mitteri*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *mittere*.

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 28r, l. 002: *Ad cuius funus stabant magi qui cum non possint suscitari eum suadebant dicentes regi*: (...) The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *suscitari*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *suscitarent*.

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *suscitari*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *suscitare*.

- fol. 28v, l. 017: (...) *sperabat rex Hyrtacus quod per apostolum possit eius animum commoueri*.

The *e/i*-exchange also occurs in *commoueri*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *commouere*.

- fol. 29r, l. 011: (...) *quomodo poteris sponsam potentiozem te tollere, et tuo eam matrimonio copulari?*

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *copulari*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *copulare*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31r, l. 023: *Vt agnoscas errorem horum quos putas tibi futura praediceri*, (...)

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *praediceri*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *praedicere*.

- fol. 32v, l. 017: (...) *sed faciemus eos apertis oculis nihil uideri*.

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *uideri*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *uidere*.

The *ě/i*-exchange also occurs in the final syllable of a **noun or pronoun**, which can also be explained by the fact that originally short *ě* could not be distinguished from *ĩ* in the unstressed final syllable.<sup>417</sup> It occurs in

(i) the nominative singular case:

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 27v, l. 007: *Ipsi uero auctor sceleris simul in serpente inuentus* (...)

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *ipsi*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ipse*.

- fol. 28r, l. 006: (...) *et si ipsi eum uobis suscitauerit istos iubete uiuos incendi*, (...)

The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *ipsi*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ipse*.

(ii) the accusative singular:

in the *Virtutes Philippi*:

- fol. 36r, l. 030: (...) *per quas deus multetudenim uirginum lucratus est*.

Both the *i/e*-exchange and the *e/i*-exchange occur in *multetudenim*.<sup>418</sup> In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *multitudinem*.

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<sup>417</sup> Examples can also be found in Gregory of Tours (cf. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 114); cf. also Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 39-47, p. 53-54.

<sup>418</sup> On the *i/e*-exchange, see supra, p. 149.

(ii) the ablative singular:

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 27v, l. 033: *ut ad patriam illam reuertamur in qua mors locum non habet in qua iugi gaudium perseuerat.*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *iugi*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *iuge*.

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 30v, l. 026: (...) *nec uerum hominem ex uera uirgini natum (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *uirgini*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *uirgine*.

(iii) the vocative singular:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*

- fol. 22v, l. 003-004: (...) *ut quidam (...) clamant et dixerit: Apostoli dei Bartholomeae (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *apostoli*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *apostole*.

Finally, the *e/i*-exchange may also occur in the unstressed final syllable of an **adverb**.

*Virtutes Simonis et Judae*

- fol. 32r, l. 029: (...) *eroga publici manum porrigentibus, (...)*  
The *e/i*-exchange occurs in *publici*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *publice*.

There are two cases in which *ě/i*-exchange does not occur in the final syllable, but in the stressed syllable of the noun: *arginto* (changed to *argento* in the correction layer; fol. 34v, l. 027) and *fundamintum* (fol. 35r, l. 031; changed to *fundamentum* in the correction layer). This variation is due to the fact that, in speech, originally short *ě* could not be distinguished from *i* before *n*+consonant, and was therefore written as *i* as a result.<sup>419</sup>

In two cases, the *ě/i*-exchange occurs in an unstressed syllable within a word. Examples of this are *galjati* (the spelling of which was changed into *galjati* in the correction layer; fol. 26v, l. 020) and *elimenta*, which remained the same in the correction layer (fol. 33r, l. 018).

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<sup>419</sup> For more cases in which *ě/i*-exchanges occur at this position, cf. Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 30.

### 7.2.1.3 The *u/o*-exchange

In the discussion that follows I distinguish two categories. Section A presents all the cases in which an originally short *ŭ* was replaced by *o* in writing. Section B deals with the cases in which the *o* replaces an originally long *ū*.

#### *Section A: ŭ/o-exchange*

The writing of an *o* instead of *u*, representing an originally short *ŭ*, is found in all sorts of situations. This orthographical variation results from the development that *ŭ* and *ō* were pronounced in the same way (cf. section 7.2.1).<sup>420</sup> In total, ten cases of *u/o*-exchange were found, eight of which were corrected in the correction layer.

#### *Virtutes Bartholomei*

- *purporeas* (changed to *purpureas* in the correction layer; fol. 22r, l. 024);
- *purpora* (changed to *purpura* in the correction layer; fol. 25r, l. 020);
- *uincola* (changed to *uincula* in the correction layer; fol. 24v, l. 013).

#### *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 28r, l. 001: (...) *et ecce tumultos luctuosus subito ortus est*, (...)  
The *u/o*-exchange occurs in *tumultos*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *tumultus*.
- fol. 28r, l. 001: *in quo regis filius mortuos plangebatur*.  
The *u/o*-exchange occurs in *mortuos*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *mortuus*.

#### *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- *purporas* (fol. 31v, l. 014);
- *tabolariii* (changed to *tabularii* in the correction layer; fol. 32r, l. 005);
- *conpotati* (changed to *computati* in the correction layer; fol. 32r, l. 007);
- *simolacro* (fol. 35r, l. 020).

#### *Virtutes Philippi*:

- fol. 35v, l. 029: *sanctos Philipus*;  
The *u/o*-exchange occurs in *sanctos*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *sanctus Philipus*.

#### *Section B: ū/o-exchange*

In addition to the writing of *o* instead of *u*, representing an originally short *ŭ*, there are also six cases to be found in which an originally long *ū* was replaced by an *o* in writing. In four of the six cases listed below, the *ū/o*-exchange occurs in the ablative ending in the fourth declension. In unstressed final syllables, originally long *ū*, originally short *ō*, originally

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<sup>420</sup> Cf. Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 132; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 43.

short  $\check{u}$  and originally long  $\bar{o}$  were pronounced in the same way.<sup>421</sup> However, an adequate explanation to the  $\bar{u}/o$ -exchange in the other two examples, *numina* and *curam*, has not been found. In the correction layer, all six examples listed below were corrected.

#### Virtutes Bartholomei

- fol. 22r, l. 017-018: *et ideo huc uenit (...) ut nomina que colunt Indi euacuet.*  
The  $u/o$ -exchange occurs in *nomina*. In this passage it is not the accusative plural case of *nomen* ('name') that is referred to, but the accusative plural case of *numen* ('divine power'). Perhaps the confusion between *numen* and *nomen* might explain the  $o/u$ -exchange in this case? In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *numina*.
- *morso* (changed to *morsu* in the correction layer; fol. 22v, l. 010);
- *ornato* (changed to *ornatu* in the correction layer; fol. 24v, l. 018);

#### Virtutes Matthei:

- fol. 25v, l. 019: (...) *plus animarum coram gerat quam corporum (...)*  
The  $u/o$ -exchange occurs in *coram*. It is unclear why the  $u$  was written as  $o$  (perhaps the scribe confused *coram* and *curam*?). Its function, however, as the accusative singular case of the noun *cūra*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *curam*.

#### Virtutes Simonis et Judae:

- *curso* (changed to *cursu* in the correction layer);

#### Virtutes Philippi:

- *flato* (changed to *flatu* in the correction layer; fol. 35v, l. 027).

#### 7.2.1.4 The $o/u$ -exchange

There are a number of cases in which a  $u$  was written where an  $o$  would be expected according to the classical norm. In section A, I present the cases in which a  $u$  was written instead of an originally long  $\bar{o}$ , which can be explained by the phonetic developments described in section 7.2.1. We also find a number of cases in which an originally short  $\check{o}$  was replaced by  $u$  in writing. These cases are discussed in section B.

#### Section A: $\bar{o}/u$ -exchange

The originally long  $\bar{o}$  and short  $\check{u}$  were pronounced in the same way (see description in section 7.2.1). As a result, a  $u$  can be found in writing where an  $o$ , representing an originally long  $\bar{o}$ , would be expected.

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<sup>421</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 68.

In several cases, the *o/u*-exchange occurs **within the stem of a word**. Two of the four cases listed below were corrected in the correction layer.

Virtutes Bartholomei:

- *cognusco* (fol. 23r, l. 023) and *cognuscant* (*Virtutes Simonis et Judae*: fol. 33v, l. 002). The spelling of these words was not changed in the correction layer.
- *uicturiam* (fol. 23r, l. 029); the spelling of this word was changed to *uictoriam* in the correction layer.

Virtutes Simonis et Judae:

- *cupiosum* (fol. 31v, l. 028), changed to *copiosum* in the correction layer;
- *gestaturium*; the spelling *gestaturium* was not changed.

In many words, the *o/u*-exchange occurs in the final syllable of the word concerned. In 36 of the 42 cases listed below, the spelling was corrected in the correction layer.

In some cases, the *o/u*-exchange occurs in the **ending of a noun or adjective**. This occurs in:

(i) the dative singular case

in the Virtutes Philippi:

- fol. 36r, l. 015: *[apostolus] docuit eos quomodo mundu periclitanti aduentus domini subuenisset, (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *mundu*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *modo*.

(ii) the ablative singular case

in the Virtutes Bartholomei:

- fol 23r, l. 005-006: *(...) apparuit apostolus solus cum solo rege hostiu clausu in cubiculo eius (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *hostiu clausu*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *hostio (intell: ostio) clauso*.
- fol 22r, l. 010-011: *Sed cum in ipsu templu nullum posset demon dare responsum (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *ipsu templu*. In the correction layer, only the spelling of *templu* was changed to *templo*.

Virtutes Simonis et Judae:

- fol. 32v, l. 007: *(...) acutissimos in argumentu (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *argumentu*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *argumento*.

Virtutes Philippi:

- fol. 36r, l. 006: (...) *exi de locu isto (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *locu*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *loco*.

(iii) the accusative plural case

in the Virtutes Bartholomei:

- fol. 22r, l. 001: (...) *qui diceret (...) cecus sine dubio quos ipse ledebat inluminare.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *cecus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *cecos*.
- fol. 23v, l. 025-026: *ut in omnibus locis ubi tyrannus possedit titulus regi (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *titulus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *titulos*.
- fol. 24v, l. 027-028: (...) *ut infirmus curaremus (...) leprosus mundaremus (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs both in *infirmus* and *leprosus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *infirmos* and *leprosos*.
- fol. 25v, line 011-012: *Factus est autem timor et tremor super omnes incredulus (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *incredulus*. The spelling of this word, however, was not changed in the correction layer.

in the Virtutes Matthei:

- fol. 26v, l. 019: (...) *qui dicebat magus illos cum singulis draconibus aduenire.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *magus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *magos*.
- fol. 27r, l. 025: *Nam sicut tymiama fumus excludit pedoris, (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *fumus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *fumos*.
- fol. 30r, l. 032: *et uidit filius filiorum suorum, usque in quartam generationem,*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *filius*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *filios*.

in the Virtutes Simonis et Judae:

- fol. 31r, l. 001: *Hic autem contra Indus, qui fines Persidis inuaserant, (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *Indus*. The spelling was changed to *Indos* in the correction layer.
- fol. 31r, l. 019: *Modo magis congruum est te (...) eos qui rebelles existunt, pacatissimus inuenire.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *pacatissimus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *pacatissimos*.

- fol. 31v, l. 029: *et hos omnes qui dei apostulus obfuscare nitebantur.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *apostulus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *apostulos*.
- fol. 32r, l. 016: (...) *et insisterent ut punirem eos, utrusque in custodiam habui (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *utrusque*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *utrosque*.
- fol. 32r, l. 023: (...) *et ideo nulla ratione possumus accipere aurum aut argentum aut uestes, aut domus, aut predia, aut seruus (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *domus* and in *seruus*. In the correction layer, their spellings were changed to *domos* and *seruos*, respectively.
- fol. 32v, l. 007: *Iube adstare hic aliquos eloquentibus potentis in lingua acutissimus in argumento, clamosus in uoce (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *acutissimus* and *clamosus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *acutissimos* and *clamosos*, respectively.
- fol. 32v, l. 009: (...) *probabis nos esse inperitissimus.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *inperitissimus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *inperitissimos*.
- fol. 32v, l. 021: (...) *aduocati merore confecti ad suas reuersi domus (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *domus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *domos*.
- fol. 32v, l. 032: *At ille protullit eis apostulus dei Symonem et Iudam.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *apostulus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *apostolos*.
- fol. 33v, l. 001: *Hos autem famulus tuus promitentes quod ab omni cultura idolorum abscedant, fac fortes et stabiles constanter contra eos insurgere, (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *famulus tuus*. Neither spelling was changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 33v, l. 007: *Domine rex, uoca apostulus dei. Et cursum miserunt ad apostulus dei.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs twice in *apostulus*. In the correction layer, the spelling of the first *apostulus* was changed to *apostolos* but the spelling of the second *apostulus* remained unchanged.
- fol. 34r, l. 006: (...) *mundantes leprosus (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *leprosus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *leprosos*.
- Fol. 34v, l. 009: *Hos igitur pontifices hac adloquutione magi in dei apostulus concitarunt: (...)*

The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *apostolus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *apostolos*.

- fol. 35r, l. 024: *Et inruentes pontifices in apostolus Christi, interfecerunt eos*. The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *apostolus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *apostulos*.

In the *Virtutes Philippi*, the following cases can be found:

- fol. 36r, l. 020: (...) *qui ueniens quasi ignis sedit super apostolus .XII. (...)* The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *apostolus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *apostulos*.
- fol. 36r, l. 004: (...) *et post aliquantus annos (...)* The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *aliquantus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *aliquantos*.

Sometimes, the *o/u*-exchange can also occur in the **ending of a participle or a gerund**. Examples of this are presented in the following list.

(i) The perfect participle in the accusative plural case

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31r, l. 020: *Quia audeo deos nostros non esse ausus uobis coram, (...)* The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *ausus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ausos*.
- fol. 31r, l. 024: (...) *probemus eos per omnia esse mentitus*. The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *mentitus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *mentitos*.
- fol. 32v, l. 033: *Videntes autem aduocati homines uilissima ueste indutus (...)* The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *indutus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *indutos*.
- fol. 34v, l. 015: *Si uero sacrificare contempserint sicatis illos ad aduersionem uestram ingressus, (...)* The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *ingressus*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ingressos*.

(ii) The perfect participle in the ablative singular case

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 28v, l. 002: *Quo auditu intra .XXX. dies*, The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *auditu*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *audito*.
- fol. 28v, l. 024: *Quo auditu Hyrtacus gratulatus est (...)* The *o/u*-exchange occurs, again, in *auditu*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *audito*.

- fol. 29v, l. 028: *Quo auditu omnis populus ad palatium cum igne pergebat.*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs, again, in *auditu*. This time, the spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- (ii) the gerund in the ablative case  
in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:
- fol 22r, l. 010-011: *Et neque sacrificandu, neque se ipsos more suo solito ledendo, perrexerunt (...)*  
The *o/u*-exchange occurs in *sacrificandu*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *sacrificando*.

#### Section B: *ō/u*-exchange

In Montpellier 55, we also find many cases in which a *u* replaces an originally short *ō*. Of the fifty cases listed here, twenty-three were corrected in the correction layer.

In Greek loan words, the combination *-ol-* (*-ol-*) is very often written as *-ul-*.<sup>422</sup> In these examples, Greek loan words are adapted to Classical Latin phonotactics, which does not have a short *ō* in non-first open syllables before *l*. This phenomenon is found in the frequently used word *diabulus* which was written eleven times as such, in various case forms. In eight of the eleven cases, the spelling was changed to *diabol-* in the correction layer. Also, the word *apostolus* has, in various case forms, been written 26 times as *apostulus*. Six of these cases were corrected to *apostolus* in the correction layer.

In some cases, the *o/u*-exchange occurs in the suffix *-tor*. In unstressed final syllables, originally long *ū*, originally short *ō*, originally short *ū* and originally long *ō* were pronounced in the same way. As a result, the suffix *-tor* is often written as *-tur*. Instances are *aratur* and *uictur* in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, *auctur*, *laudatur*, *praescitur*, *plasmatur* and *adflatur* in the *Virtutes Matthei*. In the correction layer, the spelling of these words was changed to *arator*, *uictor*, *auctor*, *praescitor*, *plasmator* and *adflator*, respectively, although *laudatur* was not changed.<sup>423</sup> In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*, the form *ludificatur* is found, which was changed to *ludifactor* in the correction layer.

Within stems, the *u/o*-exchange is found in *surde*. In this word, the pronunciation of *o* is closed under the influence of the following liquid *-r*.<sup>424</sup> The spelling of this word was changed to *sorde* in the correction layer.

In composite verbs, we find some cases of recomposition in which the preverb *com-* is replaced by the synonymous preposition *cum*:<sup>425</sup> *cumminuit* (fol. 24v, l. 017),

<sup>422</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 53.

<sup>423</sup> In this passage, it has the function of nominative singular of the word *laudator*: (...) *qui per singulas dictiones apostoli laudatur extiterat, ira ascensus, abscessit.*

<sup>424</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 53.

<sup>425</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 55.

*cunparuit* (fol. 36r, l. 009) and *incumpraehensibilem* (fol. 36r, l. 007). In none of these cases, the spelling was changed.

Finally, the o/u-exchange is attested in the stressed syllable of *dumini* (*Virtutes Matthei*, fol. 29r, l. 008). This phenomenon is difficult to account for since the writing of *u* instead of *o* is rare in stressed syllables.<sup>426</sup> In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *domini*.

### 7.2.2 The AE/E-exchange

The combination *ae*, originally a diphthong, was pronounced as *e* and *ɛ* in the medieval period.<sup>427</sup> As a result, we find many examples in which *ae* was replaced by *e* in writing, or vice versa.

#### 7.2.2.1 The ae/e-exchange

In writing, we can find *e* instead of *ae* already in sources dating from the first century AD.<sup>428</sup> This variation in spelling is quite common in the entire medieval period. In total, 115 cases of *ae/e*-exchange are found, only one of which was corrected in the correction layer. I list these cases and present the context if necessary.

##### *Virtutes Bartholomei*

- *Prima est India que ad Ethiopiam mittit, secunda que ad Medos, tertia que finem [facit]*. (fol. 21v, l. 027-028);
- *cecos* (fol. 22r, l. 001);
- *ledebat* (fol. 22r, l. 001);
- *lesione* (fol. 22r, l. 005);
- *ledere* (fol. 22r, l. 006);
- *leserat* (fol. 22r, l. 007);
- *demon* (fol. 22r, l. 010);
- *ledendo* (fol. 22r, l. 011);
- (...) *nares elate directe aures cooperte* (...) (fol. 22r, l. 021);
- *equalis* (fol. 22r, l. 022);
- *letus* (fol. 22r, l. 028);
- *querere* (fol. 22r, l. 031);
- (...) *quod fecerunt college meo Astaroth*. (fol. 22v, l. 001);
- *demon* (fol. 22v, l. 001);
- *querere* (fol. 23r, l. 003);

<sup>426</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 52.

<sup>427</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band: Lautlehre*, p. 81. See also Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 46-50.

<sup>428</sup> Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 31.

- *quesisti* (fol. 23r, l. 007);
- *querunt* (fol. 23r, l. 008);
- *Que* [*sc. Maria*] *cum terrore percussa expauisset ait ad illam angelus: (...)* (fol. 23r, l. 016);
- *terre* (fol. 23v, l. 023);
- *egrotantes* (fol. 24r, l. 003);
- *sepe* (fol. 24r, l. 005);
- *egrotare* (fol. 24r, l. 007);
- *ledere* (fol. 24r, l. 009);
- *egrotationes* (fol. 24r, l. 025);
- *lesit* (fol. 24r, l. 025);
- *ledamus* (fol. 24r, l. 027);
- *lesione* (fol. 24r, l. 030);
- *ledimus* (fol. 24v, l. 003);
- *leserimus* (fol. 24v, l. 003);
- *lesione* (fol. 24v, l. 004);
- *leditis* (fol. 24v, l. 004);
- *hec* (fol. 24v, l. 031);
- (...) *ille ululatum teterrimum dirē uocis emittens euolauit, (...)* (fol. 25r, l. 015);
- *cedi* (fol. 25v, l. 006).

Virtutes Matthei

- *letitia* (fol. 25v, l. 020);
- *et omnis populus memorate urbis* (fol. 25v, l. 031);
- *sepe* (fol. 26r, l. 005);
- *lesione* (fol. 26r, l. 019);
- *ledebant* (fol. 26r, l. 020);
- *Greecam* (fol. 26r, l. 024);
- (...) *turrem tante magnitudinis (...)* (fol. 26r, l. 028);
- *edificando* (fol. 26v, l. 002);
- *edificatur* (fol. 26v, l. 014);
- *caelorum* (fol. 26v, l. 017);
- *ledant* (fol. 27r, l. 011);
- *spine* (fol. 27r, l. 020);
- *rose* (fol. 27r, l. 020);
- *etatis* (fol. 27r, l. 021);

- (...) *et mors ibi penitus locum non habent aure enim quae ibi sunt, (...)* (fol. 27r, l. 023);
- *equalem* (fol. 27r, l. 026);
- *letum* (fol. 27r, l. 027);
- *inuidie* (fol. 27r, l. 032);
- *edificauerit* (fol. 27v, l. 016);
- *Aethiopiae* (fol. 28r, l. 024);
- (...) *qui cappare estis tam euidentissime rationis (...)* (fol. 28r, l. 032);
- *edificationes* (fol. 28v, l. 004);
- *demoniosi* (fol. 28v, l. 009);
- (...) *et quae erat iam praeposita uirginum, (...)* (fol. 28v, l. 016);
- *caelestis* (fol. 29r, l. 010);
- (...) *dignatus es tuae protectionis scuto (...)* (fol. 29v, l. 003);
- *lesus* (fol. 29v, l. 033);
- *lesiones* (fol. 29v, l. 033);
- *flamme* (fol. 30r, l. 016);
- (...) *a domo uirginis suae et ita consumpsit (...)* (fol. 30r, l. 017);
- *demon* (fol. 30r, l. 020).

#### Virtutes Simonis et Judae

- *presentibus* (fol. 31r, l. 009);
- *queris* (fol. 31r, l. 012);
- *queris* (fol. 31r, l. 013);
- *aduenit* (fol. 31v, l. 019);
- *hec* (fol. 31r, l. 026);
- (...) *ut pars quae uera praedixerat remuneraretur et quae fefellerat puniretur.* (fol. 32r, l. 016-017);
- (...) *ea quae dicimus (...)* (changed to *quae* in the correction layer; fol. 32r, l. 033);
- *ore* (fol. 32v, l. 014);
- *merore* (fol. 32v, l. 020);
- *sepissimo* (fol. 33r, l. 001);
- (...) *suauitate, quae intrinsecus latet.* (fol. 33r, l. 007);
- *uite* (fol. 33r, l. 014);
- *quocumque* (fol. 33r, l. 027);
- *preualere* (fol. 33v, l. 005);
- *Erat enim uicini filia satrapae cuius ditissimi erant parentes quae perdita uirginitate partum edens periclitabatur.* (fol. 34r, l. 010);

- *cecos* (fol. 34r, l. 027);
- *hec* (fol. 35r, l. 002);
- *estatis* (fol. 34v, l. 008);
- *demones* (fol. 34v, l. 023);
- *celi* (fol. 35r, l. 013);
- *celo* (fol. 35r, l. 014);
- *demone* (fol. 35r, l. 015);
- *demonio* (fol. 35r, l. 016);
- *demonio* (fol. 35r, l. 016);
- *lunę* (fol. 35r, l. 017);
- *demon* (fol. 35r, l. 020);
- *hec* (fol. 35r, l. 022);
- *lunę* (fol. 35r, l. 022);
- *celi* (fol. 35r, l. 028);
- *Greco* (fol. 35v, l. 013);
- *secula seculorum* (fol. 35v, l. 017).

Virtutes Philippi:

- *precipio* (fol. 36r, l. 005);
- *estimantes* (fol. 36r, l. 014);
- (...) *eadem que ante passionem suam docuerit* (...) (fol. 36r, l. 017);
- *hec* (fol. 36r, l. 023);
- *due filie sacratissime* (fol. 36r, l. 029);
- (...) *ante septem dies migrationis sue* (...) (fol. 36r, l. 031);
- *doctrinę* (fol. 36r, l. 033);
- *hec* (fol. 36v, l. 002);
- *predictus* (fol. 36v, l. 002);
- (...) *duae sacrae uirgines filiae dextra leuaque sepulte sunt*. (fol. 36v, l. 005);
- *secula seculorum* (fol. 36v, l. 011-012).

7.2.2.2 *The e/ae-exchange*

The combination *ae* was written both instead of an originally long  $\bar{e}$  (section A) and in place of an originally short  $\check{e}$  (section B).<sup>429</sup>

The numerous examples found in Montpellier 55 indicate a hypercorrective spelling of *ae* instead of *e*. This kind of hypercorrection is also attested in sources from the beginning of

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<sup>429</sup> Cf. Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band: Lautlehre*, p. 26 & p. 81.

the Imperial Period onwards<sup>430</sup> to sources from the Merovingian period.<sup>431</sup> In total, 61 cases of *e/ae*-exchange were found, none of which were corrected in the correction layer.

*Section A: ē/ae-exchange*

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- *perraaexerunt* (fol. 22r, l. 011);
- *diae* (fol. 24r, l. 021).

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- *sae* (fol. 25v, l. 030);
- *diae* (fol. 27r, l. 005);
- *caereis* (fol. 28r, l. 026);
- *ecclaesiam* (fol. 28v, l. 003);
- *ecclaesiae* (fol. 28v, l. 003);
- *ecclaesias* (fol. 28r, l. 006);
- *diae* (fol. 28v, l. 021);
- *ecclaesiae* (fol. 28v, l. 027);
- *ecclaesia* (fol. 29v, l. 025);
- *claerici* (fol. 29v, l. 030);
- *diae* (fol. 30r, l. 013);
- *ecclaesiis* (fol. 30v, l. 001);
- *aeuangelium* (fol. 30v, l. 003).

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- *diae* (fol. 30v, l. 027);
- *diae* (fol. 30v, l. 031);
- *hodiae* (fol. 31r, l. 033);
- *diae* (fol. 31r, l. 033);
- *diae* (fol. 31v, l. 011);
- *effigiae* (fol. 32r, l. 012);
- *aelaborauerant* (fol. 32r, l. 018);
- *terraaena* (fol. 32r, l. 023);
- *parentaes* (fol. 34r, l. 010);
- *caelebrabant* (fol. 34v, l. 006).

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<sup>430</sup> Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 38.

<sup>431</sup> Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 97; cf. Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 48.

Section B: *ě/ae*-exchange

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- *raeferrent* (fol. 25r, l. 023).

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- *nominae* (fol. 26r, l. 011);
- (...) *sed mala praesumptio quae non sanctis meritis irae uolebat ad sancta.* (fol. 26v, l. 001);
- *ignae* (fol. 26v, l. 004);
- *abscississae* (fol. 26v, l. 005);
- *Non ergo ut tu putas istas quattuor sed omnium gentium linguas scimus, nos .XII. discipuli eius non mediocriter sed perfectae.* (fol. 26v, l. 013);
- *mansuetudinae* (fol. 27r, l. 002);
- *senectutae* (fol. 27r, l. 021);
- *caelaestia* (fol. 27v, l. 029);
- (...) *excitetur puer istae.* (fol. 28r, l. 021);
- *adpraehendens* (fol. 28r, l. 021);
- *itae* (fol. 28v, l. 001);
- *nimietataem* (fol. 28v, l. 012);
- *diutissimae* (fol. 28v, l. 031);
- *Si ergo et matrimonia dum copulantur boni operis, honestate ornantur, si sanctae et iustae et integrae et inreprehensibiliter copulentur.* (fol. 29r, l. 004);
- *celaestis* (fol. 29r, l. 010);
- *uirtutae* (fol. 29v, l. 006);
- *aetiam* (fol. 29v, l. 010);
- *caelebrata* (fol. 29v, l. 024);
- *caelebremus* (fol. 30r, l. 003);
- *liberarae* (fol. 30r, l. 019);
- *conpraehaendit* (fol. 30r, l. 027);
- *nominae* (fol. 30r, l. 027);

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- *itaquae* (fol. 30v, l. 015);
- *paenitus* (fol. 31r, l. 005);
- *impietatae* (fol. 33v, l. 023);
- *ritae* (fol. 34r, l. 030);
- *aepulum* (fol. 34v, l. 006);
- *Haebrei* (fol. 34v, l. 009);

- *Haebraico* (fol. 35r, l. 003);
- *eligitae* (fol. 35r, l. 004).

in the *Virtutes Philippi*:

- *preaerant* (fol. 35v, l. 026).
- *aeclesiis* (fol. 36r, l. 025);

### 7.2.3 The OE/E-exchange

The combination *oe*, originally a diphthong, was pronounced as *e* from the Imperial Period onward.<sup>432</sup> As a result, we find cases in which *oe* was written as *e*. In Montpellier 55, this variation is attested 22 times in the writing of the verb *coep̄ere* in various inflected forms as *cepere* and once in the noun *prelium* instead of *proelium*. The spelling of these words remained unchanged in the correction layer.

### 7.2.4 The Y/I-exchange and E/Y-exchange

In many words of Greek origin, the *y* is pronounced as *i*.<sup>433</sup> This development is reflected in orthography, where the *i* replaces the *y* in these words.<sup>434</sup> In Montpellier 55, four such cases are found: *mistico* (fol. 26v, l. 018); *t̄imiamate* (fol. 28r, l. 026), *m̄isteria* (fol. 29v, l. 024) and *girum* (fol. 35v, l. 003). The spelling of these words was not changed in the correction layer. We also find the hypercorrective writing of *y* instead of *i* in the case of *ymber* (fol. 29v, l. 010), the spelling of which remains unchanged in the correction layer.

There is one case in Montpellier 55 in which an *e* was written as *y*: *syricum* (the spelling of which was changed to *sericum* in the correction layer; fol. 31v, l. 015). The most reasonable explanation for this is that the originally long *ē* was pronounced in the same way as *i*, which has consequently been written hypercorrectly as *y*.<sup>435</sup>

### 7.2.5 Consonants

In addition to the variation found in vowels, orthographical variants are also attested in consonants. These variants also result from developments in the pronunciation of consonants, illustrating once again the influence of developments in speech on writing.

#### 7.2.5.1 Reduction of geminate consonants and duplication of single consonants

In the orthography of Montpellier 55, we can find *reduction* of geminate consonants, where only one consonant was written instead of two geminate consonants. I also found a number

<sup>432</sup> Väänänen mentions examples of the writing of *e* instead of *oe* in inscriptions from Pompeii; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 38.

<sup>433</sup> Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 52; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 37-38.

<sup>434</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 74; Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 140.

<sup>435</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 33; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 53-54.

of cases in which one single consonant was written twice (*duplication*). In total, 27 cases of reduction were found, eight of which were corrected in the correction layer. Twenty cases of duplication were found, ten of which were corrected in the correction layer.

In the classical spelling, the geminates *ss*, *tt*, *cc* and *pp* were simplified to *s*, *t*, *c* and *p* after long vowels. Due to phonetic changes in consonants and a simplification of geminate consonants, the phonological opposition between single and geminate consonants disappeared in spoken Latin.<sup>436</sup> As a result, cases are found in Montpellier 55 in which a single consonant was written at a position that required a geminate consonant according to classical norms, and vice versa.

The cases presented below reveal another interesting thing, however. The geminate consonant *ll* could be found after a long vowel in the classical norm (for example: *ste:lla*). We know of a regional phonetic development in the Frankish area, in which the word <*stella*> was pronounced as [*ste:la*].<sup>437</sup> In accordance with this development, we find the writing of *loquellam* and *camellos* in Montpellier 55.

When it comes to the corrections related to the reduction of geminate consonants and the duplication of single consonants, it appears that only a part of the cases were corrected. It remains unclear why the corrector decided to correct one case, while another case remained unchanged.

Firstly, the reduction of geminate consonants and duplication of single consonants can be attested **within a word**.

Reduction of geminate consonants occurs in the following words:

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*: *abysum* (fol. 24v, l. 015), *areptus* (fol. 25v, l. 009), *calida* (fol. 23v, l. 003). Only the spelling of the last word was changed in the correction layer (to *callida*).

In the *Virtutes Mathei*: *disereret* (fol. 26v, l. 018); *misus* (fol. 29v, l. 027); *arepto* (fol. 29v, l. 032).

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*: *oportunum* (fol. 31r, l. 016); *iussisent* (changed to *iussissent* in the correction layer; fol. 32r, l. 013); *narraset* (fol. 32v, l. 022); *promitentes* (fol. 33v, l. 001); *mis̄i* (changed to *missi* in the correction layer; fol. 33v, l. 013); *uidisent* (fol. 34r, l. 013); *acusatis* (fol. 34r, l. 016); *fuisent* (fol. 34v, l. 002); *aloquimini* (changed to *alloquimini* in the correction layer; fol. 34v, l. 012); *fuisent* (fol. 34v, l. 017); *mansisent* (fol. 34v, l. 017); *emitentes* (fol. 35r, l. 023).

In the *Virtutes Philippi*: *percusit* (changed to *percussit* in the correction layer);

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<sup>436</sup> Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 58-60; Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 155-156.

<sup>437</sup> Bourciez, *Éléments de linguistique romane*, p. 305.

fol. 35v, l. 025); *percūsit* (changed to *percussit* in the correction layer; fol. 35v, l. 026); *aeclēsīis* (fol. 36r, l. 025) and *ecclēsiām* (fol. 36v, l. 002).

Duplication of a single consonant, on the other hand, is attested in the following examples:

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*: *uissibilibus* and *inuissibilibus* (fol. 23r, l. 011), *camellus* (fol. 23r, l. 003), *tricesimo* (fol. 25v, l. 009) and *depositionis* (fol. 25v, l. 009). The spelling of all these words was changed in the correction layer to *uisibilibus*, *inuisibilibus*, *camelos*, *tricesimo* and *depositionis*, respectively.

In the *Virtutes Mathei*: *loquellam* (fol. 26v, l. 014; the spelling was changed into *loquelam* in the correction layer); *claussis* (fol. 26v, l. 023); *suassit* (fol. 27v, l. 004; the spelling was changed to *suasit* in the correction layer); *suassione* (fol. 27v, l. 017; the spelling was changed to *suasione* in the correction layer); *missisti* (fol. 28r, l. 017); *cappacis* (fol. 28r, l. 032); *committibus* (fol. 28v, l. 029).

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*: *cummittabantur* (fol. 31r, l. 007); *transsisset* (fol. 32v, l. 014); *protullit* (fol. 32v, l. 032); *suadente* (fol. 33r, l. 012); *suadente* (fol. 33r, l. 013); *extruentes* (changed to *exstruentes* in the correction layer; fol. 34r, l. 029).

In the *Virtutes Philippi*, there are no cases that illustrate a duplication of a single consonant.

Secondly, we may also find cases of reduction of a geminate consonant and duplication of a single consonant **across word boundaries**. In these examples, the hypercorrection or omission of a consonant is influenced by the initial consonant of the next word. I regard these cases as examples of the same process presented above within words.

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, there are two cases in which the word-final consonant was not written because the next word begins with the same consonant: *regi\_sui* (fol. 23v, l. 026) and *si\_captiuus* (fol. 22r, l. 014). The spelling was changed to *regis sui* and *sic captiuus* in the correction layer.

In the *Virtutes Mathei*, there are two cases in which the final consonant was not written because the next word begins with the same consonant: *a\_dexteram* (fol. 26v, l. 010) and *regione\_mortis* (fol. 27v, l. 007).<sup>438</sup> In the correction layer, the variation in spelling of these cases has remained unchanged.

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*, one case is attested in which the word-final consonant was omitted because the next word begins with the same consonant: *oculi\_suis* (fol. 34r, l. 030). The spelling has remained unchanged in the correction layer.

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<sup>438</sup> This variation in orthography could also be related to the loss of word final *-m* in speech (see section 7.2.5.9).

In one case, a consonant was added at the final position due to the influence of the initial consonant of the next word: *uniuersis serpentes* (fol. 33v, l. 016). The spelling of the word was changed to *uniuersi serpentes* in the correction layer.

#### 7.2.5.2 The *t/d*-exchange and *d/t*-exchange

In Montpellier 55, some examples can be found in which a *d* was written at positions that required a *t* according to the classical norm. This is due to the fact that *t* and *d* could not be distinguished from each other in a number of phonetic positions.<sup>439</sup> The cases that I have discovered indicate that *t* was pronounced in the same way as *d* before the consonants *q* and *d* and between two vowels across a word boundary. In total, eight cases of *d/t*-exchange are found, of which four were corrected in the correction layer. The one single case of *t/d*-exchange remains unchanged. These examples are as follows:

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei: (...)nossed quia (...)* (the spelling was changed to *nosset* in the correction layer; fol. 23v, l. 010); *adque* (changed to *atque* in the correction layer; fol. 25v, l. 016). In the *Virtutes Matthei: adque* (four times, no changes in the correction layer). In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae: Ad ille protullit eis apostolos (...)* (fol. 32v, l. 032); *Ad illi dixerunt: (...)* (fol. 33v, l. 012). In these sentences, the *t/d*-exchange occurs twice in the writing of *ad* for *at*. In both cases, the spelling was changed to *at* in the correction layer. Finally, one case is found in which a *d/t*-exchange occurs: *aput discipulum* (fol. 34v, l. 018).<sup>440</sup> The spelling of this word was not changed in the correction layer.

#### 7.2.5.3 Epenthesis

In the transition between two syllables, sometimes a sound was inserted. This process is called epenthesis.<sup>441</sup> In Montpellier 55, this phenomenon is found in the group *mn*. Between these two consonants, a *p* may be pronounced. As a result, we find the spelling *mpn* instead of *mn*; in the *Virtutes Bartholomei: dampna* (fol. 22r, l. 003), *contempnemus* (fol. 22v, l. 032), *contempnentem* (fol. 23r, l. 029) and *contempnimus* (fol. 23v, l. 029). In the *Virtutes Matthei*, the following cases can be found of the spelling *mpn* instead of *mn*: *contempnendo*, *contempnentes* (fol. 29v, l. 017). In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*, the following cases are found: *condempnare* (fol. 31v, l. 024); *contempnunt* (fol. 32r, l. 020); *contempni* (fol. 32v, l. 018).

The reverse process, in which the *p* is omitted in writing, is only found once in the *Virtutes Philippi* and is not amended in the correction layer: *adsumsisse* (fol. 36r, l. 029).

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<sup>439</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 225.

<sup>440</sup> The writing of *aput* instead of *apud* is a common phenomenon, which can already be found in the first century BC; cf. Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 69.

<sup>441</sup> B. Löfstedt, *Sprache der langobardischen Gesetze*, p. 178; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 62; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 59.

In total, ten cases of epenthesis are attested, none of which were changed in the correction layer.

#### 7.2.5.4 Omission or addition of *h*

In spoken Latin, the *h* was not audible. As a result, the *h* was omitted easily in writing.<sup>442</sup> In Montpellier 55, examples in which an *h* is missing are attested:

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, *ilaris* (fol. 22r, l. 028) and *ora* (changed to *hora* in the correction layer; fol. 24r, l. 016) are found.

In the *Virtutes Matthei*, the following cases of omission of an *h* are found: *exibetur* (fol. 26r, l. 004); *os* (changed to *hos* in the correction layer; fol. 26r, l. 006); *ortaretur* (fol. 26r, l. 029); *onore* (changed to *honore* in the correction layer; fol. 28r, l. 008); *odiernum* (fol. 30v, l. 001).

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*, the following cases of omission are found: *ora* (fol. 31r, l. 033); *ore* (changed to *hore* in the correction layer; fol. 32v, l. 014); *oram* (changed to *horam* in the correction layer; fol. 32v, l. 020); *eri* (changed to *heri* in the correction layer; fol. 33v, l. 006); *eriges* (changed to *heriges* in the correction layer; fol. 33v, l. 006); *ospitalia* (changed to *hospitalia* in the correction layer; fol. 33v, l. 026); *odie* (changed to *hodie* in the correction layer; fol. 34r, l. 015); *orribili* (changed to *horribili* in the correction layer).

In some cases, an *h* was written as a hypercorrection at the beginning of a word.<sup>443</sup> In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, this occurs in: *hostiu* (fol. 23r, l. 006) and *hab* (changed to *ab* in the correction layer; fol. 24r, l. 030).

In the *Virtutes Matthei*, the *h* was added in: *homnium* (changed to *omnium* in the correction layer; fol. 26r, l. 028); *hoccansio* (changed to *occansio* in the correction layer; fol. 28v, l. 003; intell. *occasio*).

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*, the addition of *h* is found in: *hordinatis* (fol. 34r, l. 031) (fol. 34v, l. 029) and *hocto* (fol. 35v, l. 002).

The letter *h* is also sometimes added at a transparent morphemic boundary when the next morpheme starts with a vowel.<sup>444</sup> The following cases are found: *cohacta* (fol. 33v, l. 030); *athubi* (fol. 34v, l. 010); *adhorare* (fol. 34v, l. 010); *adhorarent* (fol. 34v, l. 029).

There remains one case in which the addition of *h* does not seem to have a plausible explanation: that of *nihilhominus* (fol. 32r, l. 020). It could perhaps be the case that the scribe had the spelling of the noun *homo* (genitive *hominis*) in mind when he wrote

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<sup>442</sup> Ead., p. 60; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 55.

<sup>443</sup> Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 61; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 55; Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 158-159.

<sup>444</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 162-163.

this word; confusion between *omnes* and *homines* occurs frequently in the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*-series.<sup>445</sup>

In total, fifteen cases of the omission of *h* were found, of which ten were corrected in the correction layer. Of the eleven cases in which an addition of *h* was found, three were changed in the correction layer.

#### 7.2.5.5 The *i/ge*-exchange

I found one case in which an *i* was replaced by *ge*: *degecite* (in the *Virtutes Philippi*, fol. 36r, l. 001). An *i* in a hiatus was pronounced in the same way as *gi* and *ge*, which results in the writing of *g(e)* instead of *i*.<sup>446</sup> The spelling *degecite* remained unchanged in the correction layer.

#### 7.2.5.6 The *s/ns*-exchange

There is one case that testifies to the writing of *ns* instead of *s*: (*h*)*occansio*. The employment of *ns* for *s* can be found in cases in which an *s* follows after an originally long vowel.<sup>447</sup> The spelling *occansio* remained unchanged in the correction layer.

#### 7.2.5.7 Palatalisation of *ti* and *ci* before a vowel, resulting in *ti/ci*- and *ci/ti*-exchanges

The consonant *t*, in combination with *i* and another vowel, became palatalized and was pronounced as */ts/*.<sup>448</sup> The same went for the combination *ci* plus vowel. As a result, *ci* and *ti* were pronounced in the same way, and this is sometimes reflected in writing. In my analysis, I came across twenty cases of *ti/ci*-exchange and four cases of *ci/ti*-exchange. In the correction layer, the spelling of these words has remained unchanged with the exception of one case of *ci/ti*-exchange.

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, the *ci/ti*-exchange is found in *otianum* (changed to *oceanum* in the correction layer; fol. 21v, l. 029), *dilitiae* (fol. 23v, l. 033) and *iuditii* (fol. 25r, l. 015). Examples of *ti/ci*-exchange are *cencies* (fol. 22r, l. 025 and l. 026) and *tristicia* (fol. 23v, l. 031).

In the *Virtutes Mathei*, the *ci/ti*-exchange is found in *audatiam* (fol. 26v, l. 024), whilst examples of *ti/ci*-exchange appear in *tristicia* (fol. 25v, l. 025); *percucientos* (fol. 26r, l. 009); *adnunciamus* (fol. 26v, l. 008); *tercia* (fol. 27r, l. 005) and *tristicia* (fol. 27r,

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<sup>445</sup> Cf. the textual variant *VB* 81.1.3 in the second volume of this thesis.

<sup>446</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 213.

<sup>447</sup> Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 296.

<sup>448</sup> Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 65; Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 188-190 (*ci/ti*-exchange), p. 220-222 (*ti/ci*-exchange); Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 170-172; Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 43. Richter (E. Richter, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Romanismen* (Halle 1934), p. 83-84) remarks that the *ti/ci*-exchange first occurred when preceded by a consonant (in the first/second century AD), and later when preceded by a vowel (fourth to sixth century AD).

l. 023).

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*, only examples of *ti/ci*-exchange are found: *tercia* (fol. 30v, l. 027); *condicionem* (fol. 31r, l. 012); *nunci* (fol. 31v, l. 026); *nunciauerunt* (fol. 31v, l. 026); *praesenciam* (fol. 32v, l. 024); *gracias* (fol. 32v, l. 031); *preciosa* (fol. 33r, l. 003); *propicios* (fol. 34r, l. 002); *occies* (fol. 35v, l. 003) and *inicia* (fol. 35v, l. 014).

In the *Virtutes Philippi*, the cases in which *ti/ci*-exchange is found are as follows: *penitenciam* (fol. 36r, l. 013), *sermocinaciones* (fol. 36r, l. 020) and *migracionis* (fol. 36r, l. 031).

#### 7.2.5.8 The *m/n*-exchange

In some cases, we find the writing of an *n* where an *m* is expected according to the classical norm. In all these cases, the *m* is followed by a labial consonant (*b* or *p*) or a dental consonant (*d*); in spoken Latin, *m* was pronounced in the same manner as *n* before a plosive consonant, hence the writing of *n* instead of *m*: *tandiu* (fol. 34v, l. 001); *menbris* (fol. 32v, l. 019 and fol. 33r, l. 030); *conparuerunt* (fol. 27r, l. 013); *inpulsu* (fol. 32v, l. 021); *inpedire* (fol. 33r, l. 029); *inpedimenta* (fol. 33r, l. 030); *compellite* (fol. 34r, l. 002); and *compellebantur* (fol. 35r, l. 008).<sup>449</sup>

The spelling remained unchanged in the correction layer in all these nine cases.

#### 7.2.5.9 omission/hypercorrective use of word-final *-m*

From the third century BC onward, word-final *-m* was not pronounced.<sup>450</sup> As a consequence, word-final *-m* was omitted in writing at positions where it would usually be required according to classical norms. Montpellier 55 contains some cases that reflect the omission of word-final *-m*;

in the genitive plural:

##### *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 29r, l. 032: *Deus plasmatur corporum adflatur animaru, qui (...)*  
The word-final *-m* is missing in *animaru*. The abbreviation mark is not visible in the manuscript itself hence, it seems that word-final *-m* was omitted. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.

in the accusative singular:

##### *Virtutes Matthei*

- fol. 26r, l. 028: *Sed nata est praesumptio omnium hominum talis que eos turre tante magnitudinis facere ortaretur (...)*

<sup>449</sup> On this Stotz, *LSDM. Dritter Band*, p. 288, p. 331, p. 334.

<sup>450</sup> Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 66; Herman, *Introduction*, p. 39.

The omission of *-m* took place in *turre*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *turrem*.

- fol. 27v, l. 022: (...) *qui uicerat contra uoluntatem domini manducante*. The omission of *-m* occurs in the present participle *manducante*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *manducantem*.

in the word *quam*:

- fol. 30r, l. 002: *Numquid si uellim non mihi exhiberet pater meus plus qua .XII. milia legiones angelorum?*

The omission of word-final *-m* occurs in *qua*. In the manuscript, no abbreviation sign can be found, which suggests that word-final *-m* was omitted in the process of writing. In the correction layer, the spelling was not changed.

Furthermore, there are also cases in which *-m* was written as a hypercorrection.

This occurs:

(i) in the genitive singular case:

*Virtutes Philippi*:

- fol. 36r, l. 002: (...) *crucem domini mei Ihesum Christi (...)* The hypercorrective use of *-m* occurs in *Ihesum*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *Ihesu*.

(ii) in the ablative singular case:

in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 25r, line 008: *Tunc ostendit eis ingentem Aegyptium nigriorem fuliginem, faciem cautam, cum barba prolixa (...)* The hypercorrective use of *-m* occurs in *fuliginem*, a word from the third declension, was erased in the correction layer. Furthermore, the word group *faciem cautam*, which also carries a hypercorrective *-m*, was changed into *facie acuta* in the correction layer.

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 30r, l. 009: *sperans quod aliqua rationem possit ad eius peruenire consensum*. The hypercorrective *-m* is found in *rationem*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ratione*.
- fol. 30r: *Quod cum nulla hoc possent facere rationem (...)* The hypercorrective use of *-m* is found in *rationem*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ratione*.
- fol. 30r, l. 012: (...) *fecit circumdari ignem praetorium (...)* The hypercorrective use of *-m* occurs in *ignem*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *igne*.

(iii) the neuter accusative singular

in the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26v, l. 011: (...) *ut iudicet omnem saeculum per ignem*.  
The hypercorrective use of *-m* is found in *omnem*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *omne*.

(iv) the accusative plural

in the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 35r, l. 018: (...) *ut egrediantur ex eis et ipse eam conminuent*.  
The hypercorrective use of *-m* occurs in *eam*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ea*.
- fol. 35r, l. 022: (...) *et confringentes eam ululatum dirae uocis emitentes abscedunt*.  
The hypercorrective use of *-m* occurs in *eam*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ea*.

### 7.2.6 Variation in the endings *-um* and *-o*

In spoken Late Latin, word-final *-m*, which marks the accusative singular case in all declensions except the neuter of the third and fourth declension, was not pronounced, a process of which traces can be found from a very early date onwards.<sup>451</sup> In the case inflections *-ūm* and *-ō*, which represent the accusative singular and the ablative or dative singular of the second declension respectively, the combination of the omission of word-final *-m* and the merger of originally short *ū* and originally long *ō* in speech resulted in the situation that both case endings were pronounced in the same way. Consequently, the syntactic distinction between the ablative or dative case, and the accusative case disappeared; words that required an accusative could now take the shape of an ablative or dative, or vice versa.<sup>452</sup>

In the following section, I present the examples found in Montpellier 55 that document variation related to the exchange of *-um* and *-o*. I will look at both the *um/o*-exchange, mainly occurring in words from the second declension (section 8.2.6.1), and the *o/um*-exchange in words from the second declension (section 8.2.6.2).

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<sup>451</sup> Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 69: 'Que le *m* final était caduc dès l'époque archaïque, est prouvé amplement par les inscriptions, même de caractère officiel, depuis le IIIe siècle av. J.-C., ainsi que par les indications des grammairiens et par les procédés métriques'.

<sup>452</sup> Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 52; Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 117; Stotz, *LSDM. Vierter Band*, p. 251-253; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 70.

### 7.2.6.1 The *um/o*-exchange

In one case, the *um/o*-exchange occurs in a cardinal number:

- fol. 32r, l. 007: (...) *et inuenti sunt cento uiginti pontifices (...)*  
The *um/o*-exchange is found in *cento*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *centum*.

In all of the other cases, the *um/o*-exchange occurs in the accusative singular case of the second declension;

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol. 23r, l. 003-004: *Tunc rex (...) cepit querere apostolo et (...)*  
The *um/o*-exchange occurs in *apostolo*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *apostolum*.
- fol. 23v, l. 004-005: (...) *et pulsus homo clauso haberet paradisum*.  
The *um/o*-exchange occurs in *clauso*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *clausum*.
- fol. 23v, l. 030-031: *quia ibi cupimus esse diuites (...) ubi nec languor, nec morbus, nec tristitia, nec mors loco aliquo habere noscuntur*.  
The *um/o*-exchange occurs in *loco*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *locum*.<sup>453</sup>
- fol. 25r, l. 015-016: *Et cum exsoluisset eum, ille ululato teterrimo dire uocis emittens euolauit, et nusquam comparuit*.  
The *um/o*-exchange occurs in *ululato teterrimo*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ululatum teterrimum*.

In the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 28r, l. 003: *Hunc a diis rapto in collegio (...)*  
The *um/o*-exchange is found in *rapto*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *raptum*.
- fol. 31v, l. 023: (...) *ut rerum exitus doceat si possit eorum testimonio conprobare (...)*  
The *um/o*-exchange occurs in *testimonio*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *testimonium*.

### 7.2.6.2 The *o/um*-exchange

Six cases of *o/um*-exchange are found, of which five were amended in the correction layer. The *o/um*-exchange occurs both in the ablative and dative singular.

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<sup>453</sup> This correction went hand in hand with the correction from *aliquo* to *aliquem*.

(i) the ablative singular:

In the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 27v, l. 009: *Nunc uero ipse dei filius qui praeceptum patris sui hominem fecit (...)*  
The *o/um*-exchange occurs in *praeceptum*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *praecepto*.
- fol. 27v, l. 018: *terra uirgo fuerat nec peccatum polluta nec effusione sanguinis maculata, (...)*  
The *o/um*-exchange occurs in *peccatum*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *peccato*.
- fol. 30r, l. 026: *ut quod tergus apostoli domini patefecit, ipse recto se ipsum, stomachum perforaret.*  
The *o/um*-exchange occurs in *stomachum*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *stomacho*.

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 32r, l. 008: (...) *excepto eum qui pontificatus arcem tenebat, (...)*  
The *o/um*-exchange is found in *eum*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *eo*.
- Fol. 32v, l. 019-020: *Igitur hoc spectaculum a primum mane usque ad oram sextam expletum (...)*  
This is an interesting passage. Both *hoc spectaculum* and *expletum* have the form of an accusative, making this an accusative absolute construction.<sup>454</sup> According to the classical norms, an ablative absolute construction is required. Interestingly, only the spelling of *expletum* was changed to *expleto*, representing the ablative case both in form and function. The manuscript itself does not show alteration of the spelling of *spectaculum*.

(ii) the dative singular:

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 31v, l. 001: (...) *cum legatis Indorum qui uobis et terras inuadas restitutas imperium uestrum nuntiabunt, (...)*  
The *o/um*-exchange occurs in *imperium uestrum*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *imperio uestro*.

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<sup>454</sup> On this construction, cf. A. Helttula, *Studies on the Latin accusative absolute* (Helsinki 1987); P. Greco, 'La subordinazione participiale nel primo libro della *Historia Francorum* di Gregorio di Tours', in: *Medioevo Romanzo* 29 (2005), p. 3-71; 161-210.

### 7.2.7 Change of case after prepositions

In Montpellier 55, examples can be found in which prepositions that require a noun in the ablative are followed by an accusative. The phonetic developments described above do not suffice to explain this phenomenon. In spoken Latin, the inflectional case system became gradually more and more simplified and was replaced by a system of only two cases.<sup>455</sup>

One of the consequences of this was that the accusative gained ground at the expense of the ablative.<sup>456</sup> This observation is confirmed by the present analysis: fifteen cases are found in which prepositions that originally required an ablative are now followed by a word in the shape of an accusative, whereas the reverse process is detected only twice. Nine of these cases were corrected in the correction layer.

(i) cases in which prepositions that require an ablative according to classical norms are followed by a word in the shape of an accusative:

In the *Virtutes Bartholomei*:

- fol 23v, line 022-023: *Fuit et alia temptatio, quam in excelsum super pinnam templi exercuit.*

In the correction layer, the combination *in excelsum* was changed to *in excelso*.

- fol 23v, line 023-024: *Vt qui semel uicerat hominem, terre uirginis filium, a sanctae uirginis filium homine trepliciter uinceretur (...)*

In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *filio*.

- fol 23v, line 033- fol 24r, line 002: (...) *daemonem qui in idolum uobis dabat responsa ab angelis eius qui me misit religatum obtineo.*

The word group *in idolum* was not changed in the correction layer.

In the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26v, l. 003: *cum sederemus in unum locum (...)*

The word group *in unum locum* was changed to *in uno loco* in the correction layer.

- fol. 27r, l. 004: *In nomine domini Ihesu Christi qui natus est ex spiritu sancto et Mariam uirgine (...)*

The hypercorrective use of *-m* is found in *Mariam*. In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *Maria*.

- fol. 27v, l. 030: *Iam modo qui uult a morte ad uita currat, et ad paradisum redeat.*

The word-final *-m* is missing in *uita*. The spelling of this word was not changed in the correction layer, however.

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<sup>455</sup> Herman, *Vulgar Latin*, p. 49-51.

<sup>456</sup> Väänänen, Introduction, p. 112; Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der Langobardischen Gesetze*, 68; Rose (ed.), *Missale Gothicum*, p. 77.

In the *Virtutes Simonis et Judae*:

- fol. 32r, l. 003: *pro malum*  
In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *pro malo*.
- fol. 32v, l. 020: *a primum mane*  
In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *primo*.
- fol. 34v, l. 001: (...) *in quacumque ciuitatem* (...)  
In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ciuitate*.
- fol. 34v, l. 005: *Erant autem in Suanir ciuitatem* (...)  
In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *ciuitate*.
- fol. 34r, l. 029: *Ordinauerunt in ciuitatem* (...)  
In the correction layer, the spelling was not changed.
- Fol. 34v, l. 025: (...) *stabat in unam aedem templi* (...) *in aliam autem aedem stabat* (...)  
The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- Fol. 34v, l. 033: *Faciam uos egriedi de templum* (...)  
In the correction layer, the spelling was changed to *templo*.

In the *Virtutes Philippi*:

- fol. 36r, l. 026-027: (...) *ipse per reuelationem ad Asiam reuersus, in ciuitatem Hieropolim conmoratus, (...)*  
The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.

(ii) Cases in which a preposition requiring an accusative case according to classical norms are followed by a word in the shape of an ablative case:

In the *Virtutes Matthei*:

- fol. 26r, l. 010: *serpentes (...) hic conuertebat in somno*.  
The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.
- fol. 27v, l. 026: (...) *primum latronem in ipso Christus induxit cui in ligno crucis positus lignum praeuaricationes exclusit* (...)  
The um/o exchange occurs in *ipso*. The spelling was not changed in the correction layer.

### 7.3 Conclusion

This chapter contains an analysis of the orthographical variation in Montpellier 55.

A wide range of deviations from classical norms of spelling are found in this manuscript, all of which verify what we already know about phonetic developments in Latin.

Furthermore, I have also made reference to the later corrections of these variants in view of the classical norms of spelling.

Table 1 gives an overview of the data discussed in this chapter. The column ‘number of cases’ indicates the total number of orthographical variants found. The column ‘number of corrections’ presents the total number of cases that were corrected to the classical Latin norms of spelling. The final column reveals the percentage of the total number of orthographical variants that were corrected.

<b>Category</b>	<b>Number of cases</b>	<b>Number of corrections</b>	<b>Percentage of cases corrected</b>
<i>i/e</i> -exchange			
<i>ī/e</i>	57	51	89 %
<i>ī/e</i>	38	37	97 %
<i>e/i</i> -exchange			
<i>ē/i</i>	56	50	89 %
<i>ē/i</i>	23	20	87 %
<i>u/o</i> -exchange			
<i>ū/o</i>	10	8	80 %
<i>ū/o</i>	6	6	100 %
<i>o/u</i> -exchange			
<i>ō/u</i>	46	38	83 %
<i>ō/u</i>	50	23	46 %
<i>ae/e</i> -exchange			
<i>ae/e</i>	115	1	1 %
<i>e/ae</i>	61	0	0 %
<i>oe/e</i> -exchange	22	0	0 %
<i>y/i</i> -exchange	4	0	0 %
<i>e/y</i> -exchange	1	1	100 %
duplication of single consonant	19	10	53 %
reduction of double consonant	27	8	30 %
<i>d/t</i> -exchange	8	4	50 %
<i>t/d</i> -exchange	1	0	0 %
epenthesis	10	0	0 %
omission of <i>h</i>	15	10	67 %
hypercorrect addition of <i>h</i>	11	3	27 %
<i>ti/ci</i> -exchange	20	0	0 %
<i>ci/ti</i> -exchange	4	1	25 %
omission of <i>-m</i>	4	2	40 %
hypercorrect use of <i>-m</i>	10	10	100 %
<i>um/o</i> -exchange	8	8	100 %
<i>o/um</i> -exchange	6	5	83 %
change of case after prepositions	20	9	45 %

Table 1: Orthographical variation and orthographical correction

The different percentages of corrected cases allow for a division in three patterns of correction.

Firstly, there are categories of orthographical variants in which the majority was corrected toward the classical Latin norms. It is these categories of orthographical variation that primarily caught the eye of the corrector. These categories include cases of *i/e*-exchange, *e/i*-exchange, *u/o*-exchange, *ō/u*-exchange, hypercorrect use of *-m*, *-um/-o*-exchange and *-o/-um*-exchange.

In the majority of these cases (that is, in 209 of the 260 cases), orthographical variation occurs in the inflection of a noun, verb, adverb, pronoun or adjective. 194 of these cases were later corrected to the classical norms of spelling, which indicates the corrector's intention to make the classical morphosyntactic categories clear. An example of this is found in the correction of the *i/e*-exchange in *regēs* to *regis*, which is the correct classical spelling of the genitive singular of the noun *rex*. This does not mean, however, that the corrector completely ignored the cases of orthographical variation at positions other than the final syllable of a word. This is illustrated by the fact that out of the 51 occurrences of orthographical variation at positions other than at the end of a word, 39 were corrected to classical norms of spelling. An example of this is the correction of *uincōla* to *uincula*.

Secondly, there are categories in which (almost) none of the cases of orthographical variation are later corrected. This indicates that these cases were largely ignored by the corrector and suggests that these deviations from the classical norm of spelling were no longer perceived as erratic. Such categories include cases of *ae/e*-exchange, *e/ae*-exchange, *oe/e*-exchange, *y/i*-exchange, epenthesis, hypercorrect addition of *h*, *ti/ci*-exchange and *ci/ti*-exchange.

Finally, a group of categories remains in which no clear pattern of correction can be found. In other words, in some categories we find that certain orthographical variants were corrected, whereas other variants remained unchanged. Such categories are cases of *ō/u*-exchange, *d/t*-exchange, omission of *h*, duplication of single consonants, reduction of double consonants, and changes in case after a preposition.

Three such categories merit further consideration. In the category of changes in case after a preposition, it appears that only changes in case after the preposition *in* remained unchanged, whereas changes in case after other prepositions were corrected to the classical correct norms. The category of duplication of single consonants and reduction of single consonants seems to show no clear pattern of correction, which indicates that the corrector only changed the spelling deviations which he (or she) found striking. The same applies to *ō/u*-exchange, in which only a part of the spelling variations in words as *apostulus* and *diabulus* were corrected.

The analysis of orthographical variants and their later treatment in the form of correction practices adds to our understanding of how orthographical variation was dealt

with when Montpellier 55 was used. It appears that not all cases of orthographical variation were regarded as problematic, since only a selection of variants was corrected.

The corrections discussed here demonstrate a pragmatic attitude toward orthographical variation. In this respect, my analysis can be regarded as another illustration of the tension that existed between normative standards of writing and the actual user's practices which is a characteristic feature of the Latin of the Middle Ages.

To conclude, this chapter brings to the fore a clash of two different perceptions on the importance of spelling: the corrections found in this manuscript stem from a corrector with a view on Latin orthography that differs from that of the scribe. The analysis points to two different educational settings. The cultural context in which Montpellier 55 was written seems to be one in which little importance was attached to orthography according to Classical standards. The corrector, on the other hand, participated in a cultural setting with more attention to the issue of spelling. The spelling corrections demonstrate the attempt to change the orthography of Montpellier 55 to the standards of that particular cultural setting and illustrates how a particular cultural context in which a text circulated may be reflected in the Latin of that text.

**8.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I focus my attention on a correction layer in the version of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* found in Paris 5563. My investigation aims to highlight the elements of the original text that were changed by the corrector. I will also examine the relationship between this correction layer and the other manuscripts in my corpus.

The *Virtutes Bartholomei* stands out in Paris 5563 because it is the only text in this manuscript that contains a correction layer.<sup>457</sup> Dolbeau indicates that Bartholomew was the patron saint of the monastery of St. Thierry, where Paris 5563 was in use from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.<sup>458</sup> This might explain why a correction layer is only found in the section on the apostle Bartholomew.

Junod and Kaestli consider the entire manuscript Paris 5563, dating from s. XI, to be a copy of Dublin 737, one of the core manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition (s. IX).<sup>459</sup> My analysis of distance relationships in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*, presented in chapter 4 of this thesis, corroborates this statement: Paris 5563 shares a very high number of identical variants with the core group of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>460</sup> The correction layer in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* has not gone unnoticed by previous scholars,<sup>461</sup> but it has hitherto not been studied extensively.

In this chapter, I will argue that the correction layer in the section on Bartholomew is the result of an adaptation of the initial text layer to a text version of the Frankish tradition. A comparison of the corrections with the data from my analysis of textual variants reveals that all corrections are found either in the Frankish tradition, or in both the Frankish and the Bavarian tradition, but never in the Bavarian tradition alone. Taking into account a number of corrections exclusively found in the Frankish tradition, then, and the absence of corrections exclusive to the Bavarian tradition, it is most likely that the corrector used an exemplar from the Frankish tradition for his corrections. This Frankish exemplar is not in my corpus because the corrections do not match 100% with any of the manuscripts that I have analyzed.<sup>462</sup>

The complete *Virtutes Bartholomei*-text and the correction layer can be found in Appendix 5. In the discussion that follows, I distinguish between four types of correction.

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<sup>457</sup> This has already been observed by Dolbeau: Dolbeau, 'Typologie et formation des collection hagiographiques d'après les recueils de l'abbaye de Saint-Thierry', in: M. Bur (ed.), *Saint-Thierry: une abbaye du VI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Saint-Thierry 1979), p. 159-182, at 164.

<sup>458</sup> Dolbeau, 'Typologie et formation', p. 163.

<sup>459</sup> Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756.

<sup>460</sup> Cf. chapter 4 of this thesis.

<sup>461</sup> Cf. Dolbeau, 'Typologie et formations', p. 164.

<sup>462</sup> Suggestions for a possible candidate are offered in the conclusion of this chapter.

The first type of correction, to be discussed in section 8.2, consists of erasures: a certain word or group of words is erased from the text (see Figure 1 below). In a number of these cases, it is impossible to trace the erased reading.

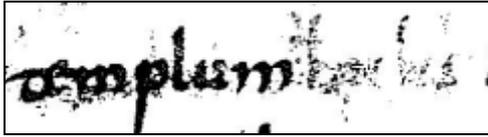


Figure 1: The erasure of *Indiae* (fol. 97r) [BNF]

The second type of correction consists of additions: a certain word, word group or sentence has been added above the line of the text or in the margin of the text (see Figure 2). This type of correction is discussed in section 8.3.

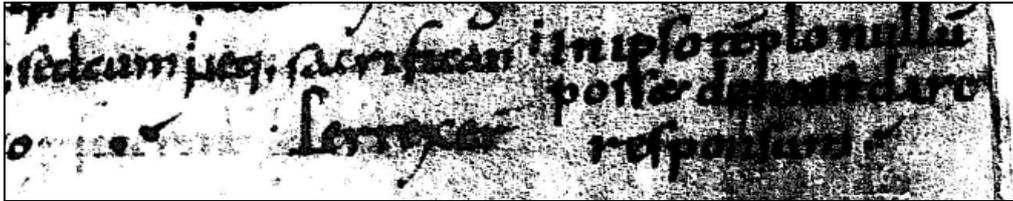


Figure 2: The addition of *in ipso templo nullum posset demon dare responsum* in the margin of the text (fol. 97r) [BNF]

The third type of correction includes cases in which the original word or word group was erased and subsequently replaced by another word or word group in the line itself (see Figure 3). These corrections are discussed in section 8.4. In such cases, it is sometimes impossible to trace the reading *ante correctionem*.

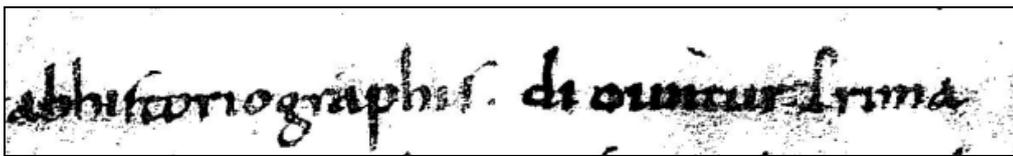


Figure 3: *asseruntur* is removed and replaced by *dicuntur* (fol. 96v) [BNF]

Finally, two cases are found in which a correction was indicated with the use of marks above the line (Figure 4). These marks indicate a correction related to the word order. These two corrections are presented in section 8.5.



Figure 4: Corrections indicated with marks above the line of the text (fol. 97r) [BNF]

### 8.2 Correction layers (i): erasure

There are eight cases of the original reading of the manuscript being erased. Only six of these original readings can still be read when the manuscript itself is examined.

The original reading before correction is indicated in **bold**. The sign [\*] marks the position of the erased word or words when the correction took place.

There are three cases in which the corrected reading has been located in manuscripts of both the Bavarian and the Frankish tradition. In example (1), the word *Indiae* was erased. The reading *templum* is found in six manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition and eleven manuscripts in the Frankish tradition.<sup>463</sup>

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| (1) | Before correction: (...) <i>ingressus est templum <b>Indiae</b> in quo erat idolum</i> (...)<br>After correction: (...) <i>ingressus est templum [*] in quo erat idolum</i> (...) |
|-----|---|

Example (2) shows the erasure of the word *suo*. The reading *in cubiculo* is found in one manuscript from the Frankish tradition and two manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>464</sup>

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| (2) | Before correction: <i>Huic subito intus in cubiculo <b>suo</b> clausae</i> (...)<br>After correction: <i>Huic subito intus in cubiculo [*] clausae</i> (...) |
|-----|--|

In one case, the erased reading is illegible. In example (3) a word was erased after the finite verb *dixit*. Dublin 737, the manuscript to which the initial text layer of Paris 5563 is closely related, contains the reading *dixit: quia* at the place where the erasure took place.<sup>465</sup> It is likely that this reading was initially present in Paris 5563 and was then erased

<sup>463</sup> The reading *templum in quo* is found in both the Bavarian tradition (Angers 281, Paris 12602, Paris 12604, Vienna 455, Vienna 560, Vienna 497) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 558, Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Munich 22020, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Montpellier 55 and Graz 412).

<sup>464</sup> The reading *in cubiculo* is found in Munich 12641 and Vienna 560 from the Bavarian tradition and St. Gall 561 of the Frankish tradition.

<sup>465</sup> The reading *quia* is also found in other manuscripts, viz. Angers 281, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Bamberg 139, Dublin 737, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Weiss. 48, Paris 12604 and Munich

by the corrector. The reading *dixit* is attested in two manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition and seven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>466</sup>

(3) After correction: *Respondens autem Berith dixit: [\*] Deus uester sic captius (...)*

In four of the eight cases, the corrected reading is only attested in manuscripts from the Frankish tradition. In example (4), the subject of the sentence (*homines illi*) was erased. The reading *erant enim sine uero deo et necesse erat* is only found in seven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>467</sup>

(4) Before correction: *Erant enim sine deo uero homines illi et necesse erat (...)*  
After correction: *Erant enim sine deo uero [\*] et necesse erat (...)*

In example (5), the letters *profi[...]* are still visible, which makes it likely that the erased word is *proficerent*, found in other manuscripts (e.g. Dublin 737). The reading without *proficerent* is only attested in nine manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>468</sup>

(5) Before correction: *Sed cum neque sacrificando neque se ipsos more suo laniando profi[cerent] et (...)*  
After correction: *Sed cum neque sacrificando neque se ipsos more suo laniando[\*] et (...)*

Example (6) demonstrates two erasures: the erasure of a group of words (*hospitales atque aspicere*) and the erasure of a single word (*singulorum*) in the same sentence. The reading not containing these words is attested in only nine manuscripts from the Frankish tradition.<sup>469</sup>

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12641 of the Bavarian tradition and in Paris 18298, Paris 9737, Paris 11750 and Graz 412 from the Frankish tradition.

<sup>466</sup> Viz. in Paris 12602 and Vienna 497 from the Bavarian tradition and in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, St. Gall 561, Munich 22020 and Montpellier 55 of the Frankish tradition.

<sup>467</sup> The reading *sine deo uero et necesse erat* is found in Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Montpellier 55, Graz 412, Paris 11750 and Munich 22020 from the Frankish tradition.

<sup>468</sup> The reading without *proficerent* can be found in Gen. 547, Paris 18298, Gen. 557, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Montpellier 55 and Graz 412 from the Frankish tradition.

<sup>469</sup> The reading *omnium peregrinorum uultus et habitum et* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Montpellier 55, Paris 9737, Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 18298, Paris 11750 and Graz 412 from the Frankish tradition.

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| (6) | Before correction: (...) <i>coeperunt circumire omnium peregrinorum <b>hospitales</b> <b>atque aspicere uultus, et habitum singulorum, et (...)</b></i> |
|     | After correction: (...) <i>coeperunt circumire omnium peregrinorum [*] uultus et habitum [*], et (...)</i>  |

There is one erasure in which the original reading is unclear, shown in example (7), where a word was erased after the finite verb *dixerunt*. All of the other manuscripts in my corpus contain the discourse marker *autem* at this point in the text. It may be assumed that the exemplar on the basis of which corrections were conducted contained the reading *dixerunt cultores idoli* and that the corrector decided to remove *autem* from Paris 5563. This example is therefore an indication that the exemplar upon which the corrections are based is not part of my corpus.

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| (7) | After correction: <i>Dixerunt [*] cultores idoli:</i> |
|-----|---|

A comparison between the corrected readings and my analysis of textual variants reveals that seven of the eight corrected readings (presented in examples (1) to (6)) occur in the Frankish tradition. Four of these eight corrected readings (presented in examples (4), (5) and (6)) are only attested in the Frankish tradition. Three of these eight corrected readings (namely examples (1) to (3)) are, however, also found in the Bavarian tradition, whilst none of the eight readings is found in the Bavarian tradition only. It can thus be concluded that the decision to erase readings from the *Virtutes Bartholomei* text was made on the basis of a Frankish exemplar.

The cases presented here demonstrate the removal of a number of discourse-pragmatic features from the *Virtutes Bartholomei*-text. This is highly surprising in light of the principle of *Lectio Explicitior*, that discourse-pragmatic features are added to a text in view of its performative context. The removal of discourse-pragmatic features from the text can nevertheless be explained in this exceptional case as the result of mechanical correction behaviour on the basis of another exemplar. This removal of discourse-pragmatic features from the text must be explained by the fact that the corrector wanted to make the *Virtutes Bartholomei* text in Paris 5563 conform to a Frankish text version, which he must have regarded for some reason or another as more reliable or authoritative. In this respect, the correction layer presented here is an exceptional case, because the performative aspect of the text is disregarded in the light of other concerns: the obtaining of an almost identical Frankish text version was more important to him than having a text version with its discourse markers still present.

### 8.3 Correction layers (ii): additions

There are twenty-nine corrections in the form of additions made in the margin of the text or above a line. In the discussion that follows, these additions are highlighted in **bold**.

In fifteen cases, the added readings are found in both the Bavarian and the Frankish traditions. In two of these cases, the word *et* was added. The reading *uiginti et sex* in example (8) is attested in six manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and in one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>470</sup> The corrected reading *gemmis et uestibus* in example (9), on the other hand, is found in five manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and three manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>471</sup>

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| (8) | <i>Uiginti <b>et</b> sex anni sunt (...)</i> |
| (9) | <i>(...) <b>gemmis et</b> uestibus (...)</i> |

The reading *enim* in example (10) is found in ten manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and in two manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition<sup>472</sup> whilst the reading *eum* in example (11) occurs in five manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>473</sup> The reading *eius* in (12) occurs in eleven manuscripts in the Frankish tradition and one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>474</sup>

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (10) | <i>Angeli <b>enim</b> dei famulantur ei (...)</i> |
| (11) | <i>(...) non inuenerunt <b>eum</b>.</i>           |
| (12) | <i>(...) ad palatium <b>eius</b>.</i>             |

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<sup>470</sup> The reading *uiginti et sex* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Munich 22020 and Montpellier 55 from the Frankish tradition. It is also found in Munich 12641, a manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>471</sup> The reading *gemmis et uestibus* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, St. Gall 561, Gen. 558, Munich 22020 of the Frankish tradition and Wolf. Helmst. 497, Paris 12602 and Vienna 497 from the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>472</sup> The reading *angeli enim dei* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Graz 412, Montpellier 55, Paris 5273, Paris 11750, St. Gall 561, Munich 22020, Paris 9737 of the Frankish tradition and Paris 12602 and Wolf. W. 48 from the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>473</sup> The reading *non inuenerunt eum* is found in Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 18298, Paris 11750, St. Gall 561 of the Frankish tradition, and Wolf. W. 48 from the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>474</sup> The reading *ad palatium eius* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, St. Gall 561, Gen. 558, Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 18298, Graz 412, Paris 11750 and Montpellier 55 of the Frankish tradition and in Wolf. H. 497 from the Bavarian tradition.

The reading *plenum de* in example (13) is found in three manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition and nine manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>475</sup> The reading *ingressus est* in example (14) can be found in six manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition and eleven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>476</sup> Meanwhile, the reading *singulos angulos* is attested in six manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition and eleven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>477</sup>

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (13) | <i>Cumque iam plenum esset <b>de</b> languentibus templum (...)</i>                |
| (14) | <i>(...) ex illa hora qua ibi apostolus dei Bartholomeus <b>ingressus</b> est.</i> |
| (15) | <i>(...) per singulos <b>angulos</b> singulas gemmas purpureas.</i>                |

Two cases indicate a reference to Bartholomew as *apostolus dei* in place of *apostolus* and to Gabriel as *archangelus* instead of *angelus*. The reading *apostolus dei* in example (16) is found in eleven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and four manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition<sup>478</sup> whilst the reading *archangelus* can be found in four manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and two manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition.<sup>479</sup>

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (16) | <i>(...) et diceret: Apostole <b>dei</b> Bartholomee (...)</i> |
| (17) | <i>(...) Gabriel <b>archangelus</b> (...)</i>                  |

The reading *requiro* in example (18) appears in four manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and one manuscript from the Bavarian tradition.<sup>480</sup>

<sup>475</sup> From the Bavarian tradition: Angers 281, Paris 12602 and Vienna 497; from the Frankish tradition: Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Graz 412, Gen. 547, Paris 9737, Gen. 558, Montpellier 55 and Munich 22020.

<sup>476</sup> The reading *ingressus est* is found in manuscripts from both the Bavarian tradition (Angers 281, Vienna 560, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Paris 12602, Vienna 497, Munich 12641) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Munich 22020, Montpellier 55 and Graz 412).

<sup>477</sup> The reading *singulos angulos* is found in manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition (Bamberg 139, Vienna 534, Munich 12641, Paris 12604, Paris 12602, Vienna 560) and the Frankish tradition (Gen. 558, Gen. 547, Paris 18298, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Munich 22020, Montpellier 55, Gen. 557 and Graz 412).

<sup>478</sup> The reading *apostole dei Bartholomee* is mainly found in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Graz 412, Montpellier 55, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561 and Munich 22020; This reading also occurs in Angers 281, Paris 12602, Paris 12604 and Wolf. Helmst. 497 of the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>479</sup> The reading *archangelus* is found in Gen. 547, Paris 5273, Paris 11750 and Montpellier 55 of the Frankish tradition as well as in Paris 12602 and Wolf. Helmst. 497 from the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>480</sup> The reading *requiro* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 5273 and Montpellier 55 of the Frankish tradition, and in Paris 12602 from the Bavarian tradition.

(18) (...) *nihil carnale desidero uel requiro.*

There are three additions of more than just one word. The reading *in ipso... et* in example (19) can be found in nine manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>481</sup> The reading *Et... conticuit* in example (20) is attested in all manuscripts in the Frankish tradition and two manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition.<sup>482</sup> Meanwhile, the reading *uinculis... resurrexit* in example (21) occurs in one manuscript of the Frankish tradition and one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>483</sup>

(19) *Sed cum in ipso templo nullum posset Astaroth dare responsum et neque sacrificando, (...)*  
(20) ***Et haec dicens demon, conticuit.***  
(21) (...) *et ipsum principem nostrum mortis tertia die uictor mortis uinculis igneis uinxit et diaboli resurrexit et (...)*

One of the additions noted consists of an extension of a biblical quotation.<sup>484</sup> The reading *inuenisti... Ihesum* in example (22) is found in four manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>485</sup>

(22) *Noli timere Maria, inuenisti enim gratiam ante deum. Ecce concipies et paries filium, et uocabis nomen eius Ihesum.*

There are twelve cases in which the added reading is only attested in manuscripts in the Frankish tradition. One case (example (23)), in which the word *et* is added, is attested in just one manuscript of the Frankish tradition.

(23) (...) *cuius inicum ante secula a deo patre est et sine inico numquam non fuit,*  
(...)<sup>486</sup>

<sup>481</sup> The reading *in... responsum* can be found in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition (Gen. 557, Paris 18298, Gen. 557, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Montpellier 55 and Graz 412) and in Vienna 497, a manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>482</sup> This reading is found in the manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and in Angers 281 and Paris 12602 from the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>483</sup> The readings *uinculis igneis uinxit et diaboli resurrexit* are found only in St. Gall 561 of the Frankish tradition and in Paris 12602 from the Bavarian tradition.

<sup>484</sup> On biblical quotations in the *Virtutes Apostolorum*-series, see: E. Steinova, *Biblical Material in the Latin Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (MA-thesis, Universiteit Utrecht 2011).

<sup>485</sup> The reading *inuenisti... Ihesum* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 5273 and Montpellier 55 of the Frankish tradition and in Paris 12602 from the Bavarian tradition.

The reading *deo* in example (24) can be found in seven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>487</sup> The reading *primus homo* in (25), on the other hand, is attested in eight manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>488</sup>

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (24) | (...) <i>ut diceret deo</i> : (...)          |
| (25) | (...) <i>est proiectus primus homo</i> (...) |

The addition of *semper* in (26) is found in seven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition,<sup>489</sup> the reading *eiusdem* in place of *eius* in (27) is attested in one manuscript of the Frankish tradition<sup>490</sup> and the reading *exiliatus est* in (28) is found in six manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>491</sup>

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (26) | (...) <i>numquam semper non fuit</i> (...)   |
| (27) | (...) <i>rex prouinciae eiusdem</i> (...)  |
| (28) | <i>Et sic de paradyso est proiectus et in istum mundum exiliatus est, et</i> (...) |

Furthermore, one addition illustrates a reference to Bartholomew as *apostolus dei*. This reading is found in one manuscript from the Frankish tradition.<sup>492</sup>

- |      |                                     |
|------|-------------------------------------|
| (29) | <i>Tunc apostolus dei dixit ei:</i> |
|------|-------------------------------------|

The reading *permisit* in example (30) is found in one manuscript of the Frankish tradition.<sup>493</sup> The reading *manducaret* in (31), on the other hand, is attested in nine manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> The reading *et sine initio* is only found in Munich 22020, a *codex extravagans* related to the Frankish tradition.

<sup>487</sup> The reading *ut diceret deo* is found in Gen. 558, Munich 22020, Paris 11750, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Graz 412 and Paris 9737 from the Frankish tradition.

<sup>488</sup> The reading *proiectus primus homo* is found in Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Gen. 557, Montpellier 55 and Paris 11750 from the Frankish tradition.

<sup>489</sup> The reading *semper* can be found only in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition: Gen. 558, Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 18298, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Graz 412.

<sup>490</sup> The reading *eiusdem* is found only in Paris 11750 of the Frankish tradition.

<sup>491</sup> The reading *exiliatus est* is found in the manuscripts Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Paris 18298 and St. Gall 561 from the Frankish tradition.

<sup>492</sup> The reading *apostolus dei* is found only in Munich 22020.

<sup>493</sup> The reading *permisit* occurs only in Paris 18928, which belongs to the Frankish tradition as far as the section on Bartholomew is concerned.

<sup>494</sup> The reading *manducaret* is found only in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition, viz. Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Munich 22020, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, St. Gall 561, Paris 5273, Paris 18298 and Montpellier 55.

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (30) | <i>Hic ergo cum natus esset passus est uel permisit se temptari a diabolo illo, (...)</i> |
| (31) | <i>(...) ut de arbore uetita a deo manducare praesumeret uel manducaret.</i>              |

There are three additions of more than one word. The reading *cathenis igneis strictus* in (32) is found in ten manuscripts of the Frankish tradition,<sup>495</sup> whereas the reading *et inquirere* in (33) occurs in one other manuscript from the Frankish tradition.<sup>496</sup>

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (32) | <i>(...) religatus cathenis igneis strictus (...)</i>                         |
| (33) | <i>(...) cepit circumire et inquirere omnium peregrinorum hospitaes (...)</i> |

One such addition consists of a part of a sentence. The reading *id est hoc constitui ut non cognoscam* in (34) is found in six manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>497</sup>

- |      |  |
|------|--|
| (34) | <i>Quomodo fiet hoc, quia uirum non cognosco? Id est hoc constitui ut non cognoscam.</i> |
|------|--|

Two cases of additions are identified that are not attested in any of the other manuscripts in my corpus. These readings illustrate that the exemplar on the basis of which the corrections were conducted is not analyzed in the present study. In example (35), the word *et* was added, whilst example (36) shows the addition of the words *ad eum*.

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| (35) | <i>In hanc ergo Indiam ueniens Bartholomeus apostolus, et ingressus est templum (...)</i> |
| (36) | <i>(...) et misit ad eum et rogauit eum (...)</i>   |

The comparison between the corrected readings and my analysis of textual variants presented here reveals that twenty-seven of the twenty-nine additions (examples (8) to (34)) occur in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. Twelve of these twenty-nine cases (namely examples (23) to (34)) are exclusively found in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. In fifteen of these twenty-nine cases (examples (8) to (22)), the added reading is found in manuscripts of both the Bavarian tradition and the Frankish traditions. None of the twenty-nine added readings is attested only in manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition. It can thus be

<sup>495</sup> The reading *cathenis... strictus* is found only in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Montpellier 55 and Graz 412.

<sup>496</sup> The reading *circumire et inquirere* is found only in Paris 11750 from the Frankish tradition.

<sup>497</sup> The reading *id est... constituam* is found only in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition, viz. Montpellier 55 (a.c.), Paris 9737, Graz 412, Paris 11750, Paris 18298 and St. Gall 561.

concluded that the corrections in form of additions, either in the margin or above the line of text, are the result of corrections made on the basis of a Frankish exemplar.

#### 8.4 Correction layers (iii): erasure and replacement

A third type of correction consists of twenty cases in which the original reading was erased and replaced by another in the line of the text. In the examples that follow, the correction is indicated with the use of the sign ‘→’.

In eleven cases, the corrected reading corresponds to those documented in manuscripts of both the Bavarian and the Frankish tradition. Example (37) illustrates a change from ‘imperative + indirect object’ to a present participle, a reading that can be found in eight manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition and nine manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>498</sup>

(37) (...) *et rogauit eum : Dic ei: → dicens: filia mea male uexatur (...)*

Example (38) shows a change from *eleuate* to *et lauate*. This reading is found in seven manuscripts from the Frankish tradition and two manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>499</sup>

(38) *Ite et soluite eam, eleuate → et lauate et (...)*

I also found an example in which the preposition *de* is replaced by *in*, a reading which can be found in eleven manuscripts in the Frankish tradition and in one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>500</sup>

(39) (...) *demonem qui de → in idolo dabat uobis responsa (...)*

In example (40), a perfect participle is replaced by a present indicative passive. The corrected reading occurs in three manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition and eleven manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>501</sup>

<sup>498</sup> From the Bavarian tradition: Bamberg 139, Munich 12641, Paris 12602, Vienna 534, Wolf. W. 48, Paris 12604, Wolf. H. 497 and Vienna 497; from the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Montpellier 55 and Graz 412.

<sup>499</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 11750, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Paris 18298 and Montpellier 55; from the Bavarian tradition: Paris 12602 and Paris 12604.

<sup>500</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 11750, Gen. 558, Munich 22020, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Montpellier 55 and Graz 412; from the Bavarian tradition: Paris 12602.

(40) *Vestitus* → *Vestitur colobio albo clauato purpura, induitur pallio albo (...)*

In example (41), the corrector changed *clausae*, the dative singular of the feminine gender, to *clauso*, the ablative case of the masculine gender. Although the word *clausae* corresponds to *huic* (the Virgin Mary), the corrected reading, *clauso*, refers to *cubiculo* (the bedroom). The corrected reading *clauso* can be found in six manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and in two manuscripts in the Bavarian tradition.<sup>502</sup>

(41) *Huic subito intus in cubiculo suo clausae* → *clauso, splendens sicut sol Gabriel angelus apparuit.*

In six of the cases, the original reading is illegible. This illegible original reading is indicated with the sign [\*].

In example (42), the reading *enim* replaces an unidentified original reading.<sup>503</sup> The reading *enim* is found in all of the manuscripts belonging to the Frankish tradition and just one manuscript from the Bavarian tradition.<sup>504</sup>

(42) *Deus [\*]* → *enim falsus hac arte inludit eos (...)*

Example (43) illustrates the replacement of an illegible reading by the infinite verb *inuenire*.<sup>505</sup> This reading is found in three manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and one manuscript in the Bavarian tradition.<sup>506</sup>

(43) (...) *quia inter multa milia hominum non possumus [\*]* → *inuenire eum.*

<sup>501</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Gen. 558, Gen. 547, Paris 18298, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Munich 22020, Montpellier 55, Gen. 557 and Graz 412; from the Bavarian tradition: Angers 281, Paris 12604 and Paris 12602.

<sup>502</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 5273, Gen. 558, Paris 11750 and St. Gall 561. From the Bavarian tradition: Paris 12602 and Vienna 497.

<sup>503</sup> Dublin 737, to which the initial text layer of Paris 5563 is closely related, contains *deus autem falsus* at this position in the text. It is likely that this reading was also initially present in Paris 5563.

<sup>504</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Munich 22020 and Montpellier 55; from the Bavarian tradition: Vienna 497.

<sup>505</sup> Dublin 737, to which the initial text layer of Paris 5563 is closely related, contains *cognoscere* at this point in the text. It is likely that this reading was also initially present in Paris 5563.

<sup>506</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Paris 5273, Montpellier 55. From the Bavarian tradition: Vienna 497.

Example (44) shows the erasure and replacement of an unidentified reading with the reading *nec*.<sup>507</sup> This reading is found in one manuscript from the Frankish tradition and two manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>508</sup>

(44) (...) *qui non permittunt eum fatigari, [\*] → nec esurire.*

In the passage presented in (45), some manuscripts (including Dublin 737, a close relative of the initial text layer of Paris 5563) contain a plural subject in this sentence (*et dant responsa ut sacrificent eis et quasi sanentur ab eis*). Other manuscripts, however, have a single subject (*et dat responsa ut sacrificent ei et quasi sanentur ab eo*). It is conceivable that these corrections were conducted to adapt the original text version of Paris 5563, which presumably had a plural subject, to an exemplar in which the reading with the single subject was found. The corrected reading is found in nine manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and two manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>509</sup>

(45) (...) *et [\*] → dat responsa ut sacrificent [\*] → ei et quasi sanentur ab [\*] → eo*  
(...)

Four corrections can be found that occur only in manuscripts in the Frankish tradition. Example (46) demonstrates the correction of *asseruntur* to *dicuntur*. The reading *dicuntur* is found only in four manuscripts of the Frankish tradition (Frankish, group (i)).<sup>510</sup>

(46) *Indiae tres esse ab historiographis asseruntur → dicuntur.*

In example (47), an illegible reading was removed and replaced with the words *infirmitate cogente*.<sup>511</sup> These words are found only in two manuscripts from the Frankish tradition.<sup>512</sup>

(47) (...) *[\*] → infirmitate cogente ex longinquis regionibus adducti iacebant (...)*

<sup>507</sup> Dublin 737, to which the initial text layer of Paris 5563 is closely related, contains *non* at this point in the text. It is likely that this is the illegible erased reading in Paris 5563.

<sup>508</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Paris 5273; from the Bavarian tradition: Vienna 497, Vienna 560.

<sup>509</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Graz 412, Gen. 557, Gen. 558, Paris 5273, Paris 9737, Paris 11750, Paris 18298, St. Gall 561 and Munich 22020. From the Bavarian tradition: Vienna 497 and Wolf. W. 48.

<sup>510</sup> The reading *dicuntur* is found in Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 5273, Montpellier 55.

<sup>511</sup> Dublin 737, the manuscript to which the initial text version of Paris 5563 is closely related, contains *infirmi autem* at this position in the text. It is likely that this is the illegible erased reading.

<sup>512</sup> Viz. in Gen. 557 and Paris 5273.

Example (48) shows the correction of *crastino* to *crastina die*. The reading *crastina die* is only found in two manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>513</sup>

(48) (...) *et crastino* → *crastina die mane adducite eam ad me.*

Example (49) attests the correction of the verb's tense from the pluperfect indicative to the perfect indicative. The second reading is only found in two manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>514</sup>

(49) *Et ideo sicut qui uictor extiterat* → *extitit tyranni (...)*

Five cases are found in which the corrected reading is not attested in any of the other manuscripts in my corpus. These corrected readings indicate that the exemplar upon which the corrections are based is not included in my corpus of manuscripts.

Example (50) demonstrates a change from *inuitata constituit* to *uidisset*.

(50) (...) *nec exemplo ad imitationem inuitata, constituit* → *uidisset ut uirgo pro amore dei specialiter permaneret.*

In the following cases, only the corrected reading is visible. I indicate the illegible original reading with the sign [\*].

In example (51) the reading *credunt* is found in place of an illegible erased reading.<sup>515</sup>

(51) (...) *qui uerum deum non [\*]* → *credunt (...)*

In example (52), the words *liberare digneris* were added after the erasure of an illegible reading.<sup>516</sup>

(52) (...) *ita et filiam meam [\*]* → *liberare digneris.*

<sup>513</sup> In Gen. 547 and Gen. 558.

<sup>514</sup> In Gen. 558 and St. Gall 561.

<sup>515</sup> Dublin 737, to which the initial text version of Paris 5563 is closely related, contains *habent* at this position in the text. It is likely that this reading is the illegible erased reading.

<sup>516</sup> Dublin 737 contains *sanes* at this position in the text. It is likely that this is the illegible erased reading.

Example (53) shows the corrected reading *nec longa satis possit nec breuior aduerti*. This reading is not attested in any of the other manuscripts.<sup>517</sup>

(53) *Statura aequalis quae [\*] → nec longa satis possit nec breuior auerti.*

Example (54), to conclude, shows the replacement of an illegible reading with the words *omnia uana idola*.<sup>518</sup>

(54) *(...) ut [\*] omnia uana idola quae colunt Indi euacuet.*

Fifteen of the twenty corrected readings (examples (37) to (49)) occur in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. In eleven of these twenty cases (examples (37) to (45)), the added reading is found in manuscripts of both the Bavarian and the Frankish traditions. This means that four cases (namely examples (46) to (49)) are found exclusively in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition, whereas no addition is attested in manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition only. It can thus be concluded that the corrections in form of erasures and replacements in the line are the result of corrections made on the basis of a Frankish exemplar.

#### **8.5 Correction layers (iv): marks that indicate a different word order**

I found two cases in which the corrector changed the word order with the use of marks above the line. The two corrected readings presented here are found in manuscripts of both the Bavarian and the Frankish tradition.

Example (55) illustrates a change from the order ‘subject + verb’ to the order ‘verb + subject’. The corrected reading can be found in eight manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition and nine manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.<sup>519</sup>

(55) *(...) et cottidie sacrificantibus nullum Astaroth daret → daret Astaroth responsum, (...)*

In example (56), the word order ‘noun + adjective’ is corrected to ‘adjective + noun’.

<sup>517</sup> Dublin 737 contains *nec breuis nec longa possit aduerti* at this position in the text. It is likely that this is the illegible erased reading.

<sup>518</sup> Dublin 737 contains *numina* at this position in the text. This is likely to be the illegible erased reading.

<sup>519</sup> From the Bavarian tradition: Angers 281, Bamberg 139, Munich 12641, Vienna 455, Vienna 534, Wolf. Helmst. 497, Wolf. Weiss, 48, Paris 12602. From the Frankish tradition: Paris 18298, St. Gall 561, Paris 11750, Graz 412, Gen. 547, Paris 9737, Gen. 557, Paris 5273 and Gen. 558.

The corrected reading occurs in five manuscripts of the Frankish tradition and in one manuscript of the Bavarian tradition.<sup>520</sup>

(56)	(...) <i>et ipsa seruande uirginitatis uotum prima deo omnipotenti → omnipotenti deo uouisset, (...)</i>
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### 8.6 Conclusion

The correction layer found in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*-text of Paris 5563 illustrates a specific type of correction behaviour. I have argued that these corrections were made in order to adjust the text version of Paris 5563 to the readings of another exemplar. In this respect, the corrections were made to adapt the *Virtutes Bartholomei*-text to that of another text version that was, for some reason, regarded as more authoritative.

Table 1 presents the results of my comparison of the corrected reading with the readings of the other manuscripts in my corpus. It appears that none of the corrected readings is found in manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition only. There are 31 corrections (52% of the total) in which the corrected reading is found in manuscripts of both the Bavarian and the Frankish traditions. I found twenty corrections (34% of the total) in which the corrected reading is only attested in manuscripts of the Frankish tradition. The last finding, along with the fact that no readings are attested in the Bavarian tradition only, allows me to conclude that the exemplar used in the correction process must have belonged to the Frankish tradition. This suggests that the *Virtutes Bartholomei* version in Paris 5563 was initially copied in the Bavarian tradition but was then corrected on the basis of a Frankish exemplar when it was taken to be used in a Frankish centre. Given that the monastery of St Thierry, the place where Paris 5563 was kept between the twelfth and the fifteenth century, is located in this Frankish area, it is likely that the corrections were made there to adapt the text version of Paris 5563 to a Frankish text version that was already at St Thierry.

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<sup>520</sup> From the Frankish tradition: Gen. 547, Gen. 557, Paris 5273, Paris 11750 and Montpellier 55. From the Bavarian tradition: Paris 12602.

<b>Tradition where the corrected reading is found</b>	<b>Number of correspondencies</b>
only in the Bavarian tradition	0
in the Bavarian and the Frankish tradition	31
only in the Frankish tradition	20
corrected reading not attested in another manuscript in the corpus	8

Table 1: Correspondencies between the corrected reading and readings in the other manuscripts of the corpus

As stated in the introduction, this Frankish exemplar has not yet been identified. None of the manuscripts in my corpus can have been this exemplar for two reasons. Firstly, a 100% match is not identified between the correction layer and the text version of any of the Frankish manuscripts in my corpus. Paris 5273 and Paris 11750 are the manuscripts with the highest degree of similarity, containing thirty-three and thirty-two of the corrected readings, respectively. Secondly, it appears that eight of the corrected readings are not attested at all in my corpus. This indicates that the corrector used an exemplar from outside my corpus that did contain these readings.

Interestingly, Dolbeau mentions that the *Virtutes Bartholomei* text is found in three other manuscripts that belonged to the monastery of St Thierry. These manuscripts are Reims, B.M. 1407 (s. XI); Vatican, *Reg. lat.* 466 (s. X-XI); and Reims, B.M. 1408 (s. XII<sup>2</sup>).<sup>521</sup> It is possible that one of these three manuscripts was used as the exemplar for the corrections. Further research needs to be carried out in order to establish whether one of these manuscripts is indeed a possible model for the correction layer of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* version in Paris 5563.

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<sup>521</sup> Dolbeau, 'Typologie et formation', p. 177-178.



## CHAPTER 9

## Conclusion

### 9.1 Introduction

In this study, I have not used a philological approach which was aimed at reconstructing an original text on the basis of textual variants. Rather, I regard textual variants as evidence for scribal behaviour. Variants found in the manuscripts demonstrate how scribes changed an existing text version to create a new text version. This process of textual transmission should not be described as ‘copying’, but rather as ‘rewriting’, as it is defined by Bouet and Kerlouégan.<sup>522</sup>

The texts studied in this thesis were used in a performative context. This means that the texts were read out aloud to an audience. It is in this context that the process of rewriting must be situated: texts were rewritten in order to ensure that they were understood by the audience. These texts were not primarily meant to be read, but to be heard. In this light, the following observation by Fleischman is of particular relevance:

‘many of the disconcerting properties of medieval vernacular texts – their extraordinary parataxis, mystery particles, conspicuous anaphora and repetitions, ‘proleptic’ topicalizations, and jarring alternations of tenses, to cite but a few – can find more satisfying explanations if we first of all acknowledge the extent to which our texts structure information the way a spoken language does, and then proceed to the linguistic literature that explores the pragmatic underpinning of parallel phenomena in naturally occurring discourse’.<sup>523</sup>

Although Fleischman speaks about medieval vernacular texts, I want to extend her observation to Latin texts that were used in a performative context and written in a period in which the Latin language was no longer a mother tongue. It is only the performative context in which these texts were used that can account for textual variety in different text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi*.

### 9.2 The textual transmission of the ‘*Virtutes Apostolorum*’ series

In this thesis, I have developed a new methodology to study textual variants. Textual variants are used (1) to analyze the distance relationships between text versions, and (2) to establish a relative chronology of text versions. It is by means of the results of this

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<sup>522</sup> Bouet and Kerlouégan, ‘La réécriture dans le latin du haut moyen âge’, in: *Lalies* 8 (1986), p. 153-168, at 153-154. Cf. section 1.3.

<sup>523</sup> Fleischman, ‘Philology, linguistics, and the discourse of the medieval text’, p. 23.

methodology that the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum* can be better understood.<sup>524</sup>

When it comes to the textual transmission of the *Virtutes Apostolorum*, previous scholars have distinguished between two main manuscript traditions, one of which is referred to as ‘German’ (in this thesis: ‘Bavarian’), the other ‘Frankish’.<sup>525</sup> I have been able to further refine the distinction between these two manuscript traditions, on the basis of my analysis of distance relationships. Distance relationships between manuscripts are constructed on the basis of the total number of identical variants shared between each pair of manuscripts.<sup>526</sup>

The analysis of distance relationships confirms the existence of two main manuscript traditions, but also yields two additional results. Firstly, it appears that the concept of *the* Frankish tradition is problematic, because it suggests that all of the manuscripts in this tradition are closely related to each other. It is argued that a further subdivision within this tradition is in order, so that the manuscripts that are more closely related to each other are gathered in the same subgroup. On the basis of my analysis, three groups of manuscripts are presented: Frankish (i), Frankish (ii) and Frankish (other).<sup>527</sup>

Secondly, the analysis demonstrates that a number of manuscripts contain characteristics of not just one, but several, traditions. These manuscripts are Paris 18298, Paris 11750 and Gen. 558. The most interesting example is Paris 18298, in which the section on Bartholomew is clearly part of the Frankish tradition, whereas the section on Philip belongs to the Bavarian tradition. These manuscripts illustrate that the textual transmission of the entire series cannot have taken place within the Bavarian tradition or the Frankish tradition only, but demonstrate that text versions of the two traditions were also brought together in one manuscript.

In order to draw up a relative chronology of text versions, the evolution of the text over the course of the manuscript transmission requires detailed analysis. Junod and Kaestli, and Zelzer have noticed that manuscripts from the Bavarian tradition are copied more faithfully in contrast to the ‘viel stärker zerfallenden und ändernden gallo-romanischen Überlieferung’.<sup>528</sup> In this thesis, the terms ‘faithful transmission’ and ‘stärker zerfallenden und ändernden Überlieferung’ are replaced, respectively, by the concepts of ‘conservative’ and ‘innovative’. The term ‘conservative’ is used to refer to a text version in which the number of scribal interventions is small. The term ‘innovative’, on the other hand, is applied to text versions with a significant amount of scribal interventions.

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<sup>524</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>525</sup> Junod and Kaestli (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*; Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*.

<sup>526</sup> See chapter 4.

<sup>527</sup> See section 4.4.

<sup>528</sup> Zelzer (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxiv.

The terms ‘conservative’ and ‘innovative’ thus refer to scribal behaviour, and are an indication of the extent to which scribes followed their copy.

The analysis of the relative chronology of text versions illustrates differences in scribal behaviour in both the Bavarian and the Frankish tradition. In the Frankish tradition, innovative scribal behaviour is attested in manuscripts of all ages. In the Bavarian tradition, on the other hand, the analysis shows a difference between the younger manuscripts and the older manuscripts. It is only in the younger manuscripts of this tradition that innovative scribal behaviour can be found.<sup>529</sup>

### 9.3 *Innovations related to the Latin of the text*

In recent decades, Wright and Banniard have developed a socio-philological approach to investigate the interaction between a text and its user’s context.<sup>530</sup> This thesis contributes to this specific approach by analyzing how scribes rewrote the text versions of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* and the *Virtutes Philippi* in view of the needs of their audience. In order to better understand this process of rewriting, I have developed two principles: (i) the principle of *Lectio Explicitor* and (ii) the principle of ‘All-except-one/two’.

The principle of *Lectio Explicitor*, to which chapter 5 is devoted, is based on the hypothesis that scribes attempted to make the structure of the text as clear and as easy to follow as possible in light of the performative context in which the text was read out loud. On the basis of this principle, innovation can be found in the number of discourse markers. For example, in the textual variant *peto uos // peto ergo uos*, the reading with the discourse marker *ergo* is qualified as a scribal innovation to make the structure of the text easier to follow. What also facilitates the comprehension of the text is a more explicit reference to the protagonist of the story. In the case of the textual variants *uidit eam // uidit filiam regis*, the latter is the more explicit reference, and is hence qualified as an innovation of the scribe. When it comes to textual transmission, it appears that innovative variants related to these discourse-pragmatic features are most frequently attested in the manuscripts of the Frankish tradition.

The principle of ‘All-except-one/two’ is based on the hypothesis that a textual variant found in the majority of the manuscripts is the conservative variant, whilst the textual variant found in only one or two manuscripts is a scribal innovation. The application of this principle, which I discuss in chapter 6, has brought to light innovations related to word order, choice of lexeme(s) and morphosyntax. In the light of my results, Bauer’s syntactical approach to word order changes is in need of modification, because a number of word order changes are found in my data that are not in accordance with the results of her

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<sup>529</sup> See section 4.5.

<sup>530</sup> Cf. Wright, *A sociophilological study of Late Latin*.

syntactical approach.<sup>531</sup> As far as the textual transmission is concerned, the results of the application of this principle indicate that the younger manuscripts of the Bavarian tradition are innovative in character. Thus, the earlier view that only the Frankish tradition is subject to textual variety must be modified.

#### **9.4 Correction layers in Montpellier 55 and the ‘*Virtutes Bartholomei*’ in Paris 5563**

Various manuscripts contain an extensive correction layer, in which additional changes were made to the text for various reasons. Chapters 7 and 8 present two such correction layers, attested in Montpellier 55 and Paris 5563.

In Montpellier 55, a correction layer is found in which numerous orthographical features were changed. In this case, a variant is defined as a deviation from the classical norms of spelling. The analysis presented in chapter 7 reveals that a tension exists between traditional norms of spelling, on the one hand, and the influence of developments in the pronunciation of vowels and consonants on the other. The original text layer in the sections on Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude, and Philip contains a spelling influenced by phonetic developments. The correction layer aims to bring the orthography of the text back to Classical norms of spelling. However, not all types of orthographical variation were corrected: in the majority of the cases, the correction of orthographical variants was aimed at clarifying the correct grammatical function of a word. The form *reges* was corrected to *regis*, for example, to clarify that this word had the function of a genitive singular. Other orthographical variants were not corrected by the corrector, such as cases of *ae/e*-exchange, *e/ae*-exchange, *y/i*-exchange, epenthesis and hypercorrect addition of *h*. These cases did not affect the grammatical function of a word, and were therefore ignored by the corrector.

A correction layer of a different kind is attested in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* section in Paris 5563. Chapter 8 demonstrates that this correction layer is the result of the wish to adjust the initial text layer of Paris 5563, which is closely related to the core group of the Bavarian tradition, to an exemplar from the Frankish tradition. This correction layer shows that Paris 5563 was first produced within the Bavarian tradition, but that it was subsequently used in a location which owned a manuscript from the Frankish tradition. These findings are corroborated by the fact that Paris 5563 was used in the Frankish area, in the monastery of St. Thierry, between the twelfth and the fifteenth century. It is very likely that the corrections were made in this monastery.

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<sup>531</sup> Bauer, ‘Word order’.

### 9.5 *Final remarks*

The findings presented in this thesis provide a better insight into both *scribal behaviour* and *correction behaviour*. When it comes to scribal behaviour, the methodology presented in this thesis shows how the sections on Bartholomew and Philip have evolved over the course of their textual transmission. The changes made by scribes are not regarded as the result of scribal errors, but as examples of implicit patterns of rewriting. These patterns of rewriting demonstrate that scribes intervened in the text with the performative context in mind.

The analysis of correction layers shows that correctors had different aims. Both the correction layers in Montpellier 55 and Paris 5563 demonstrate a wish to bring a text version up to a certain standard. In the case of Montpellier 55, the standard that the corrector had in mind consisted of the classical norms of spelling. The correction layer in the *Virtutes Bartholomei* text in Paris 5563 indicates the wish to adapt a predominantly Bavarian text version to an exemplar from the Frankish tradition that was regarded as more authoritative.

The approach to textual variants presented in this study takes for granted that textual variants are deeply rooted in medieval written culture. If we take Cerquiglini's maxim 'l'écriture médiévale ne produit pas des variantes, elle est variance'<sup>532</sup> to heart, we can regard textual variety not as a problem, but instead as a challenge. As long as the study of this variation is continued with a valid methodology, it shall enable us to achieve a better understanding of the transmission and use of texts – and, consequently, to get a firmer grip on the everyday practice of medieval written culture.

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<sup>532</sup> Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, p. 111; 'medieval written culture does not produce variants, it is variance'.



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**Appendix 1      The number of identical variants in the *Virtutes Bartholomei***

Total number of textual variants: 914

**Angers 281**

Bamberg 139	789 (86%)	Dublin 737	829 (91%)	Gen. 547	660 (72%)
Gen. 557	683 (75%)	Gen. 558	709 (78%)	Munich 12641	769 (84%)
Munich 22020	585 (64%)	Paris 5273	662 (72%)	Paris 5563	815 (89%)
Paris 9737	642 (70%)	Paris 11750	688 (75%)	Paris 12602	720 (79%)
Paris 12604	819 (90%)	Paris 18298	666 (73%)	St. Gall 561	583 (64%)
Vienna 455	835 (91%)	Vienna 497	672 (74%)	Vienna 534	817 (89%)
Vienna 560	694 (76%)	Wolf. H. 497	753 (82%)	Wolf. W. 48	820 (90%)
Montpellier 55	718 (79%)	Graz 412	607 (66%)		

**Bamberg 139**

Angers 281	789 (86%)	Dublin 737	824 (90%)	Gen. 547	638 (70%)
Gen. 557	650 (71%)	Gen. 558	691 (76%)	Munich 12641	784 (86%)
Munich 22020	578 (63%)	Paris 5273	644 (70%)	Paris 5563	818 (89%)
Paris 9737	618 (68%)	Paris 11750	669 (73%)	Paris 12602	694 (76%)
Paris 12604	812 (89%)	Paris 18298	643 (70%)	St. Gall 561	568 (62%)
Vienna 455	828 (91%)	Vienna 497	691 (76%)	Vienna 534	857 (94%)
Vienna 560	697 (76%)	Wolf. H. 497	756 (83%)	Wolf. W. 48	817 (89%)
Montpellier 55	678 (74%)	Graz 412	589 (64%)		

Dublin 737

Angers 281	828 (91%)	Bamberg 139	824 (90%)	Gen. 547	666 (73%)
Gen. 557	684 (75%)	Gen. 558	718 (79%)	Munich 12641	811 (89%)
Munich 22020	599 (66%)	Paris 5273	675 (74%)	Paris 5563	881 (96%)
Paris 9737	652 (71%)	Paris 11750	693 (76%)	Paris 12602	723 (79%)
Paris 12604	860 (94%)	Paris 18298	671 (73%)	St. Gall 561	607 (66%)
Vienna 455	875 (96%)	Vienna 497	704 (77%)	Vienna 534	861 (94%)
Vienna 560	746 (82%)	Wolf. H. 497	791 (87%)	Wolf. W. 48	865 (94%)
Montpellier 55	715 (78%)	Graz 412	620 (68%)		

Gen. 547

Angers 281	660 (72%)	Bamberg 139	638 (70%)	Dublin 737	666 (73%)
Gen. 557	745 (82%)	Gen. 558	660 (72%)	Munich 12641	642 (70%)
Munich 22020	553 (61%)	Paris 5273	702 (77%)	Paris 5563	660 (72%)
Paris 9737	594 (65%)	Paris 11750	678 (74%)	Paris 12602	678 (74%)
Paris 12604	666 (73%)	Paris 18298	605 (66%)	St. Gall 561	569 (62%)
Vienna 455	665 (73%)	Vienna 497	594 (65%)	Vienna 534	661 (72%)
Vienna 560	580 (63%)	Wolf. H. 497	626 (68%)	Wolf. W. 48	665 (73%)
Montpellier 55	736 (81%)	Graz 412	564 (62%)		

## Gen. 557

Angers 281	683 (75%)	Bamberg 139	650 (71%)	Dublin 737	684 (75%)
Gen. 547	745 (82%)	Gen. 558	666 (73%)	Munich 12641	655 (72%)
Munich 22020	556 (61%)	Paris 5273	732 (80%)	Paris 5563	679 (74%)
Paris 9737	608 (67%)	Paris 11750	681 (75%)	Paris 12602	703 (77%)
Paris 12604	680 (74%)	Paris 18298	624 (68%)	St. Gall 561	568 (62%)
Vienna 455	686 (75%)	Vienna 497	594 (65%)	Vienna 534	678 (74%)
Vienna 560	585 (64%)	Wolf. H. 497	637 (70%)	Wolf. W. 48	681 (75%)
Montpellier 55	765 (84%)	Graz 412	569 (62%)		

## Gen. 558

Angers 281	709 (78%)	Bamberg 139	691 (76%)	Dublin 737	718 (79%)
Gen. 547	660 (72%)	Gen. 557	666 (73%)	Munich 12641	678 (74%)
Munich 22020	612 (67%)	Paris 5273	659 (72%)	Paris 5563	712 (78%)
Paris 9737	649 (71%)	Paris 11750	717 (78%)	Paris 12602	672 (74%)
Paris 12604	714 (78%)	Paris 18298	674 (74%)	St. Gall 561	599 (66%)
Vienna 455	717 (78%)	Vienna 497	607 (66%)	Vienna 534	715 (78%)
Vienna 560	636 (70%)	Wolf. H. 497	673 (74%)	Wolf. W. 48	719 (79%)
Montpellier 55	684 (75%)	Graz 412	607 (66%)		

Munich 12641

Angers 281	769 (84%)	Bamberg 139	784 (86%)	Dublin 737	811 (89%)
Gen. 547	642 (70%)	Gen. 557	655 (72%)	Gen. 558	678 (74%)
Munich 22020	566 (62%)	Paris 5273	641 (70%)	Paris 5563	804 (88%)
Paris 9737	614 (67%)	Paris 11750	663 (73%)	Paris 12602	680 (74%)
Paris 12604	795 (87%)	Paris 18298	631 (69%)	St. Gall 561	578 (63%)
Vienna 455	806 (88%)	Vienna 497	692 (76%)	Vienna 534	824 (90%)
Vienna 560	685 (75%)	Wolf. H. 497	741 (81%)	Wolf. W. 48	804 (88%)
Montpellier 55	666 (73%)	Graz 412	576 (63%)		

Munich 22020

Angers 281	585 (64%)	Bamberg 139	578 (63%)	Dublin 737	599 (66%)
Gen. 547	553 (61%)	Gen. 557	556 (61%)	Gen. 558	612 (67%)
Munich 12641	566 (62%)	Paris 5273	569 (62%)	Paris 5563	594 (65%)
Paris 9737	566 (62%)	Paris 11750	581 (64%)	Paris 12602	557 (61%)
Paris 12604	598 (65%)	Paris 18298	582 (64%)	St. Gall 561	522 (57%)
Vienna 455	599 (66%)	Vienna 497	518 (57%)	Vienna 534	599 (66%)
Vienna 560	532 (58%)	Wolf. H. 497	562 (61%)	Wolf. W. 48	603 (66%)
Montpellier 55	570 (62%)	Graz 412	527 (58%)		

## Paris 5273

Angers 281	662 (72%)	Bamberg 139	644 (70%)	Dublin 737	675 (74%)
Gen. 547	702 (77%)	Gen. 557	732 (80%)	Gen. 558	659 (72%)
Munich 12641	641 (70%)	Munich 22020	569 (62%)	Paris 5563	669 (73%)
Paris 9737	608 (67%)	Paris 11750	672 (74%)	Paris 12602	674 (74%)
Paris 12604	676 (74%)	Paris 18298	632 (69%)	St. Gall 561	569 (62%)
Vienna 455	672 (74%)	Vienna 497	590 (65%)	Vienna 534	667 (73%)
Vienna 560	585 (64%)	Wolf. H. 497	622 (68%)	Wolf. W. 48	672 (74%)
Montpellier 55	713 (78%)	Graz 412	551 (60%)		

## Paris 5563

Angers 281	815 (89%)	Bamberg 139	818 (89%)	Dublin 737	881 (96%)
Gen. 547	660 (72%)	Gen. 557	679 (74%)	Gen. 558	712 (78%)
Munich 12641	804 (88%)	Munich 22020	594 (65%)	Paris 5273	669 (73%)
Paris 9737	637 (70%)	Paris 11750	684 (75%)	Paris 12602	711 (78%)
Paris 12604	848 (93%)	Paris 18298	663 (73%)	St. Gall 561	596 (65%)
Vienna 455	868 (95%)	Vienna 497	701 (77%)	Vienna 534	854 (93%)
Vienna 560	730 (80%)	Wolf. H. 497	785 (86%)	Wolf. W. 48	861 (94%)
Montpellier 55	710 (78%)	Graz 412	608 (67%)		

## Paris 9737

Angers 281	642 (70%)	Bamberg 139	618 (68%)	Dublin 737	652 (71%)
Gen. 547	594 (65%)	Gen. 557	608 (67%)	Gen. 558	649 (71%)
Munich 12641	614 (67%)	Munich 22020	566 (62%)	Paris 5273	608 (67%)
Paris 5563	637 (70%)	Paris 11750	663 (73%)	Paris 12602	615 (67%)
Paris 12604	653 (71%)	Paris 18298	777 (85%)	St. Gall 561	679 (74%)
Vienna 455	648 (71%)	Vienna 497	553 (61%)	Vienna 534	641 (70%)
Vienna 560	584 (64%)	Wolf. H. 497	611 (67%)	Wolf. W. 48	648 (71%)
Montpellier 55	621 (68%)	Graz 412	686 (75%)		

## Paris 11750

Angers 281	688 (75%)	Bamberg 139	669 (73%)	Dublin 737	693 (76%)
Gen. 547	678 (74%)	Gen. 557	681 (75%)	Gen. 558	717 (78%)
Munich 12641	663 (73%)	Munich 22020	581 (64%)	Paris 5273	672 (74%)
Paris 5563	684 (75%)	Paris 9737	663 (73%)	Paris 12602	654 (72%)
Paris 12604	691 (76%)	Paris 18298	685 (75%)	St. Gall 561	654 (72%)
Vienna 455	687 (75%)	Vienna 497	593 (65%)	Vienna 534	692 (76%)
Vienna 560	623 (68%)	Wolf. H. 497	658 (72%)	Wolf. W. 48	694 (76%)
Montpellier 55	687 (75%)	Graz 412	615 (67%)		

## Paris 12602

Angers 281	720 (79%)	Bamberg 139	694 (76%)	Dublin 737	723 (79%)
Gen. 547	678 (74%)	Gen. 557	703 (77%)	Gen. 558	672 (74%)
Munich 12641	680 (74%)	Munich 22020	557 (61%)	Paris 5273	674 (74%)
Paris 5563	711 (78%)	Paris 9737	615 (67%)	Paris 11750	654 (72%)
Paris 12604	730 (80%)	Paris 18298	623 (68%)	St. Gall 561	558 (61%)
Vienna 455	727 (80%)	Vienna 497	616 (67%)	Vienna 534	720 (79%)
Vienna 560	631 (69%)	Wolf. H. 497	672 (74%)	Wolf. W. 48	721 (79%)
Montpellier 55	686 (75%)	Graz 412	558 (61%)		

## Paris 12604

Angers 281	819 (90%)	Bamberg 139	812 (89%)	Dublin 737	860 (94%)
Gen. 547	666 (73%)	Gen. 557	680 (74%)	Gen. 558	714 (78%)
Munich 12641	795 (87%)	Munich 22020	598 (65%)	Paris 5273	676 (74%)
Paris 5563	848 (93%)	Paris 9737	653 (71%)	Paris 11750	691 (76%)
Paris 12602	730 (80%)	Paris 18298	679 (74%)	St. Gall 561	600 (66%)
Vienna 455	849 (93%)	Vienna 497	701 (77%)	Vienna 534	844 (92%)
Vienna 560	727 (80%)	Wolf. H. 497	773 (85%)	Wolf. W. 48	844 (92%)
Montpellier 55	714 (78%)	Graz 412	620 (68%)		

Paris 18298

Angers 281	666 (73%)	Bamberg 139	643 (70%)	Dublin 737	671 (73%)
Gen. 547	605 (66%)	Gen. 557	624 (68%)	Gen. 558	674 (74%)
Munich 12641	631 (69%)	Munich 22020	582 (64%)	Paris 5273	632 (69%)
Paris 5563	663 (73%)	Paris 9737	777 (85%)	Paris 11750	685 (75%)
Paris 12602	623 (68%)	Paris 12604	679 (74%)	St. Gall 561	674 (74%)
Vienna 455	674 (74%)	Vienna 497	576 (63%)	Vienna 534	671 (73%)
Vienna 560	604 (66%)	Wolf. H. 497	638 (70%)	Wolf. W. 48	668 (73%)
Montpellier 55	639 (70%)	Graz 412	690 (75%)		

St. Gall 561

Angers 281	583 (64%)	Bamberg 139	568 (62%)	Dublin 737	607 (66%)
Gen. 547	569 (62%)	Gen. 557	568 (62%)	Gen. 558	599 (66%)
Munich 12641	578 (63%)	Munich 22020	522 (57%)	Paris 5273	569 (62%)
Paris 5563	596 (65%)	Paris 9737	679 (74%)	Paris 11750	654 (72%)
Paris 12602	558 (61%)	Paris 12604	600 (66%)	Paris 18298	674 (74%)
Vienna 455	595 (65%)	Vienna 497	521 (57%)	Vienna 534	594 (65%)
Vienna 560	540 (59%)	Wolf. H. 497	556 (61%)	Wolf. W. 48	600 (66%)
Montpellier 55	583 (64%)	Graz 412	646 (71%)		

## Vienna 455

Angers 281	835 (91%)	Bamberg 139	828 (91%)	Dublin 737	875 (96%)
Gen. 547	665 (73%)	Gen. 557	686 (75%)	Gen. 558	717 (78%)
Munich 12641	806 (88%)	Munich 22020	599 (66%)	Paris 5273	672 (74%)
Paris 5563	868 (95%)	Paris 9737	648 (71%)	Paris 11750	687 (75%)
Paris 12602	727 (80%)	Paris 12604	849 (93%)	Paris 18298	674 (74%)
St. Gall 561	595 (65%)	Vienna 497	705 (77%)	Vienna 534	867 (95%)
Vienna 560	734 (80%)	Wolf. H. 497	789 (86%)	Wolf. W. 48	869 (95%)
Montpellier 55	712 (78%)	Graz 412	615 (67%)		

## Vienna 497

Angers 281	672 (74%)	Bamberg 139	691 (76%)	Dublin 737	704 (77%)
Gen. 547	594 (65%)	Gen. 557	594 (65%)	Gen. 558	607 (66%)
Munich 12641	692 (76%)	Munich 22020	518 (57%)	Paris 5273	590 (65%)
Paris 5563	701 (77%)	Paris 9737	553 (61%)	Paris 11750	593 (65%)
Paris 12602	616 (67%)	Paris 12604	701 (77%)	Paris 18298	576 (63%)
St. Gall 561	521 (57%)	Vienna 455	705 (77%)	Vienna 534	714 (78%)
Vienna 560	630 (69%)	Wolf. H. 497	647 (71%)	Wolf. W. 48	701 (77%)
Montpellier 55	613 (67%)	Graz 412	528 (58%)		

## Vienna 534

Angers 281	817 (89%)	Bamberg 139	857 (94%)	Dublin 737	861 (94%)
Gen. 547	661 (72%)	Gen. 557	678 (74%)	Gen. 558	715 (78%)
Munich 12641	824 (90%)	Munich 22020	599 (66%)	Paris 5273	667 (73%)
Paris 5563	854 (93%)	Paris 9737	641 (70%)	Paris 11750	692 (76%)
Paris 12602	720 (79%)	Paris 12604	844 (92%)	Paris 18298	671 (73%)
St. Gall 561	594 (65%)	Vienna 455	867 (95%)	Vienna 497	714 (78%)
Vienna 560	722 (79%)	Wolf. H. 497	784 (86%)	Wolf. W. 48	856 (94%)
Montpellier 55	702 (77%)	Graz 412	610 (67%)		

## Vienna 560

Angers 281	694 (76%)	Bamberg 139	697 (76%)	Dublin 737	746 (82%)
Gen. 547	580 (63%)	Gen. 557	585 (64%)	Gen. 558	636 (70%)
Munich 12641	685 (75%)	Munich 22020	532 (58%)	Paris 5273	585 (64%)
Paris 5563	730 (80%)	Paris 9737	584 (64%)	Paris 11750	623 (68%)
Paris 12602	631 (69%)	Paris 12604	727 (80%)	Paris 18298	604 (66%)
St. Gall 561	540 (59%)	Vienna 455	734 (80%)	Vienna 497	630 (69%)
Vienna 534	722 (79%)	Wolf. H. 497	681 (75%)	Wolf. W. 48	720 (79%)
Montpellier 55	606 (66%)	Graz 412	538 (59%)		

Wolf. H. 497

Angers 281	753 (82%)	Bamberg 139	756 (83%)	Dublin 737	791 (87%)
Gen. 547	626 (68%)	Gen. 557	637 (70%)	Gen. 558	673 (74%)
Munich 12641	741 (81%)	Munich 22020	562 (61%)	Paris 5273	622 (68%)
Paris 5563	785 (86%)	Paris 9737	611 (67%)	Paris 11750	658 (72%)
Paris 12602	672 (74%)	Paris 12604	773 (85%)	Paris 18298	638 (70%)
St. Gall 561	556 (61%)	Vienna 455	789 (86%)	Vienna 497	647 (71%)
Vienna 534	784 (86%)	Vienna 560	681 (75%)	Wolf. W. 48	802 (88%)
Montpellier 55	657 (72%)	Graz 412	583 (64%)		

W. W. 48

Angers 281	820 (90%)	Bamberg 139	817 (89%)	Dublin 737	865 (95%)
Gen. 547	665 (73%)	Gen. 557	681 (75%)	Gen. 558	719 (79%)
Munich 12641	804 (88%)	Munich 22020	603 (66%)	Paris 5273	672 (74%)
Paris 5563	861 (94%)	Paris 9737	648 (71%)	Paris 11750	694 (76%)
Paris 12602	721 (79%)	Paris 12604	844 (92%)	Paris 18298	668 (73%)
St. Gall 561	600 (66%)	Vienna 455	869 (95%)	Vienna 497	701 (77%)
Vienna 534	856 (94%)	Vienna 560	720 (79%)	Wolf. H. 497	802 (88%)
Montpellier 55	708 (77%)	Graz 412	612 (67%)		

Montpellier 55

Angers 281	718 (79%)	Bamberg 139	678 (74%)	Dublin 737	715 (78%)
Gen. 547	736 (81%)	Gen. 557	765 (84%)	Gen. 558	684 (75%)
Munich 12641	666 (73%)	Munich 22020	570 (62%)	Paris 5273	713 (78%)
Paris 5563	710 (78%)	Paris 9737	621 (68%)	Paris 11750	687 (75%)
Paris 12602	686 (75%)	Paris 12604	714 (78%)	Paris 18298	639 (70%)
St. Gall 561	583 (64%)	Vienna 455	712 (78%)	Vienna 497	613 (67%)
Vienna 534	702 (77%)	Vienna 560	606 (66%)	Wolf. H. 497	657 (72%)
Wolf. W. 48	708 (77%)	Graz 412	596 (65%)		

Graz 412

Angers 281	607 (66%)	Bamberg 139	589 (64%)	Dublin 737	620 (68%)
Gen. 547	564 (62%)	Gen. 557	569 (62%)	Gen. 558	607 (66%)
Munich 12641	576 (63%)	Munich 22020	527 (58%)	Paris 5273	551 (60%)
Paris 5563	608 (67%)	Paris 9737	686 (75%)	Paris 11750	615 (67%)
Paris 12602	558 (61%)	Paris 12604	620 (68%)	Paris 18298	690 (75%)
St. Gall 561	646 (71%)	Vienna 455	615 (67%)	Vienna 497	528 (58%)
Vienna 534	610 (67%)	Vienna 560	538 (59%)	Wolf. H. 497	583 (64%)
Wolf. W. 48	612 (67%)	Montpellier 55	596 (65%)		

**Appendix 2      The number of identical variants in the *Virtutes Philippi***

Total number of textual variants: 175

Angers 281

Bamberg 139	146 (83%)	Dublin 737	158 (90%)	Gen. 547	117 (67%)
Gen. 557	123 (70%)	Gen. 558	127 (73%)	Munich 12641	145 (83%)
Munich 22020	131 (75%)	Paris 5273	119 (68%)	Paris 5563	158 (90%)
Paris 9737	110 (63%)	Paris 11750	130 (74%)	Paris 12602	144 (82%)
Paris 12604	156 (89%)	Paris 18298	161 (92%)	St. Gall 561	100 (57%)
Vienna 455	157 (90%)	Vienna 497	141 (81%)	Vienna 534	156 (89%)
Vienna 560	139 (79%)	Wolf. H. 497	139 (79%)	Wolf. W. 48	158 (90%)
Montpellier 55	128 (73%)	Graz 412	117 (67%)	Paris 5274	118 (67%)

Bamberg 139

Angers 281	146 (83%)	Dublin 737	158 (90%)	Gen. 547	116 (66%)
Gen. 557	118 (67%)	Gen. 558	122 (70%)	Munich 12641	147 (84%)
Munich 22020	127 (73%)	Paris 5273	118 (67%)	Paris 5563	156 (89%)
Paris 9737	109 (62%)	Paris 11750	128 (73%)	Paris 12602	143 (82%)
Paris 12604	154 (88%)	Paris 18298	154 (88%)	St. Gall 561	100 (57%)
Vienna 455	157 (90%)	Vienna 497	144 (82%)	Vienna 534	160 (91%)
Vienna 560	141 (81%)	Wolf. H. 497	140 (80%)	Wolf. W. 48	159 (91%)
Montpellier 55	123 (70%)	Graz 412	114 (65%)	Paris 5274	117 (67%)

Dublin 737

Angers 281	158 (90%)	Bamberg 139	158 (90%)	Gen. 547	122 (70%)
Gen. 557	127 (72%)	Gen. 558	132 (75%)	Munich 12641	155 (89%)
Munich 22020	135 (77%)	Paris 5273	123 (70%)	Paris 5563	173 (99%)
Paris 9737	111 (63%)	Paris 11750	132 (75%)	Paris 12602	149 (85%)
Paris 12604	171 (98%)	Paris 18298	170 (97%)	St. Gall 561	107 (61%)
Vienna 455	174 (99%)	Vienna 497	147 (84%)	Vienna 534	171 (98%)
Vienna 560	147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497	149 (85%)	Wolf. W. 48	171 (98%)
Montpellier 55	129 (74%)	Graz 412	120 (69%)	Paris 5274	123 (70%)

Gen. 547

Angers 281	117 (67%)	Bamberg 139	116 (66%)	Dublin 737	122 (70%)
Gen. 557	120 (69%)	Gen. 558	121 (69%)	Munich 12641	115 (66%)
Munich 22020	122 (70%)	Paris 5273	109 (62%)	Paris 5563	122 (70%)
Paris 9737	110 (63%)	Paris 11750	130 (74%)	Paris 12602	120 (69%)
Paris 12604	122 (70%)	Paris 18298	121 (69%)	St. Gall 561	105 (60%)
Vienna 455	121 (69%)	Vienna 497	106 (61%)	Vienna 534	121 (69%)
Vienna 560	109 (62%)	Wolf. H. 497	119 (68%)	Wolf. W. 48	121 (69%)
Montpellier 55	115 (66%)	Graz 412	116 (66%)	Paris 5274	113 (65%)

## Gen. 557

Angers 281	123 (70%)	Bamberg 139	118 (67%)	Dublin 737	127 (73%)
Gen. 547	120 (69%)	Gen. 558	128 (73%)	Munich 12641	115 (66%)
Munich 22020	124 (71%)	Paris 5273	149 (85%)	Paris 5563	126 (72%)
Paris 9737	112 (64%)	Paris 11750	145 (83%)	Paris 12602	127 (73%)
Paris 12604	124 (71%)	Paris 18298	129 (74%)	St. Gall 561	96 (55%)
Vienna 455	128 (73%)	Vienna 497	112 (64%)	Vienna 534	128 (73%)
Vienna 560	113 (65%)	Wolf. H. 497	124 (71%)	Wolf. W. 48	127 (73%)
Montpellier 55	132 (75%)	Graz 412	116 (66%)	Paris 5274	134 (77%)

## Gen. 558

Angers 281	127 (73%)	Bamberg 139	122 (70%)	Dublin 737	132 (75%)
Gen. 547	121 (69%)	Gen. 557	128 (73%)	Munich 12641	118 (67%)
Munich 22020	136 (78%)	Paris 5273	125 (71%)	Paris 5563	131 (75%)
Paris 9737	125 (71%)	Paris 11750	139 (79%)	Paris 12602	126 (72%)
Paris 12604	129 (74%)	Paris 18298	133 (76%)	St. Gall 561	105 (60%)
Vienna 455	131 (75%)	Vienna 497	111 (63%)	Vienna 534	131 (75%)
Vienna 560	118 (67%)	Wolf. H. 497	124 (71%)	Wolf. W. 48	131 (75%)
Montpellier 55	132 (75%)	Graz 412	127 (73%)	Paris 5274	122 (70%)

## Munich 12641

Angers 281	145 (83%)	Bamberg 139	147 (84%)	Dublin 737	155 (89%)
Gen. 547	115 (66%)	Gen. 557	115 (66%)	Gen. 558	118 (67%)
Munich 22020	123 (70%)	Paris 5273	109 (62%)	Paris 5563	155 (89%)
Paris 9737	98 (56%)	Paris 11750	120 (69%)	Paris 12602	139 (79%)
Paris 12604	153 (87%)	Paris 18298	151 (86%)	St. Gall 561	103 (59%)
Vienna 455	156 (89%)	Vienna 497	146 (83%)	Vienna 534	153 (87%)
Vienna 560	136 (78%)	Wolf. H. 497	136 (78%)	Wolf. W. 48	153 (87%)
Montpellier 55	118 (67%)	Graz 412	109 (62%)	Paris 5274	116 (66%)

## Munich 22020

Angers 281	131 (75%)	Bamberg 139	127 (73%)	Dublin 737	135 (77%)
Gen. 547	122 (70%)	Gen. 557	124 (71%)	Gen. 558	136 (78%)
Munich 12641	123 (70%)	Paris 5273	118 (67%)	Paris 5563	135 (77%)
Paris 9737	119 (68%)	Paris 11750	129 (74%)	Paris 12602	127 (73%)
Paris 12604	135 (77%)	Paris 18298	134 (77%)	St. Gall 561	111 (63%)
Vienna 455	134 (77%)	Vienna 497	118 (67%)	Vienna 534	135 (77%)
Vienna 560	119 (68%)	Wolf. H. 497	128 (73%)	Wolf. W. 48	136 (78%)
Montpellier 55	128 (73%)	Graz 412	134 (73%)	Paris 5274	121 (78%)

## Paris 5273

Angers 281	119 (68%)	Bamberg 139	118 (67%)	Dublin 737	123 (70%)
Gen. 547	109 (62%)	Gen. 557	149 (85%)	Gen. 558	125 (71%)
Munich 12641	109 (62%)	Munich 22020	118 (67%)	Paris 5563	122 (70%)
Paris 9737	106 (61%)	Paris 11750	143 (82%)	Paris 12602	123 (70%)
Paris 12604	120 (69%)	Paris 18298	127 (73%)	St. Gall 561	87 (50%)
Vienna 455	122 (70%)	Vienna 497	107 (61%)	Vienna 534	124 (71%)
Vienna 560	111 (63%)	Wolf. H. 497	121 (69%)	Wolf. W. 48	123 (70%)
Montpellier 55	124 (71%)	Graz 412	110 (63%)	Paris 5274	130 (74%)

## Paris 5274

Angers 281	118 (67%)	Bamberg 139	117 (67%)	Dublin 737	123 (70%)
Gen. 547	113 (65%)	Gen. 557	134 (77%)	Gen. 558	122 (70%)
Munich 12641	116 (66%)	Munich 22020	121 (69%)	Paris 5563	123 (70%)
Paris 9737	105 (60%)	Paris 11750	137 (78%)	Paris 12602	121 (69%)
Paris 12604	121 (69%)	Paris 18298	122 (70%)	St. Gall 561	97 (55%)
Vienna 455	124 (71%)	Vienna 497	109 (62%)	Vienna 534	123 (70%)
Vienna 560	111 (63%)	Wolf. H. 497	119 (68%)	Wolf. W. 48	124 (71%)
Montpellier 55	134 (77%)	Graz 412	108 (62%)	Paris 5273	130 (74%)

## Paris 5563

Angers 281	158 (90%)	Bamberg 139	156 (89%)	Dublin 737	173 (99%)
Gen. 547	122 (70%)	Gen. 557	126 (72%)	Gen. 558	131 (75%)
Munich 12641	155 (89%)	Munich 22020	135 (77%)	Paris 5273	122 (70%)
Paris 9737	109 (62%)	Paris 11750	132 (75%)	Paris 12602	149 (85%)
Paris 12604	171 (98%)	Paris 18298	168 (96%)	St. Gall 561	107 (61%)
Vienna 455	172 (98%)	Vienna 497	147 (84%)	Vienna 534	169 (97%)
Vienna 560	147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497	149 (85%)	Wolf. W. 48	169 (97%)
Montpellier 55	129 (74%)	Graz 412	120 (69%)	Paris 5274	123 (70%)

## Paris 9737

Angers 281	110 (63%)	Bamberg 139	109 (62%)	Dublin 737	111 (63%)
Gen. 547	110 (63%)	Gen. 557	112 (64%)	Gen. 558	125 (71%)
Munich 12641	98 (56%)	Munich 22020	119 (68%)	Paris 5273	106 (61%)
Paris 5563	109 (62%)	Paris 11750	118 (67%)	Paris 12602	109 (62%)
Paris 12604	107 (61%)	Paris 18298	115 (66%)	St. Gall 561	123 (70%)
Vienna 455	110 (63%)	Vienna 497	101 (58%)	Vienna 534	111 (63%)
Vienna 560	101 (58%)	Wolf. H. 497	105 (60%)	Wolf. W. 48	112 (64%)
Montpellier 55	110 (63%)	Graz 412	143 (82%)	Paris 5274	105 (60%)

## Paris 11750

Angers 281	130 (74%)	Bamberg 139	128 (73%)	Dublin 737	132 (75%)
Gen. 547	130 (74%)	Gen. 557	145 (83%)	Gen. 558	139 (79%)
Munich 12641	120 (69%)	Munich 22020	129 (74%)	Paris 5273	143 (82%)
Paris 5563	132 (75%)	Paris 9737	118 (67%)	Paris 12602	134 (77%)
Paris 12604	130 (74%)	Paris 18298	135 (77%)	St. Gall 561	103 (59%)
Vienna 455	131 (75%)	Vienna 497	115 (66%)	Vienna 534	133 (76%)
Vienna 560	121 (69%)	Wolf. H. 497	129 (74%)	Wolf. W. 48	133 (76%)
Montpellier 55	136 (78%)	Graz 412	121 (69%)	Paris 5274	137 (78%)

## Paris 12602

Angers 281	144 (82%)	Bamberg 139	143 (82%)	Dublin 737	149 (85%)
Gen. 547	120 (69%)	Gen. 557	127 (73%)	Gen. 558	126 (72%)
Munich 12641	139 (79%)	Munich 22020	127 (73%)	Paris 5273	123 (70%)
Paris 5563	149 (85%)	Paris 9737	109 (62%)	Paris 11750	134 (77%)
Paris 12604	147 (84%)	Paris 18298	149 (85%)	St. Gall 561	103 (59%)
Vienna 455	148 (85%)	Vienna 497	131 (75%)	Vienna 534	150 (86%)
Vienna 560	134 (77%)	Wolf. H. 497	133 (76%)	Wolf. W. 48	149 (85%)
Montpellier 55	127 (73%)	Graz 412	110 (63%)	Paris 5274	121 (69%)

## Paris 12604

Angers 281	156 (89%)	Bamberg 139	154 (88%)	Dublin 737	171 (98%)
Gen. 547	122 (70%)	Gen. 557	124 (71%)	Gen. 558	129 (74%)
Munich 12641	153 (87%)	Munich 22020	135 (77%)	Paris 5273	120 (69%)
Paris 5563	171 (98%)	Paris 9737	107 (61%)	Paris 11750	130 (74%)
Paris 12602	147 (84%)	Paris 18298	166 (95%)	St. Gall 561	105 (60%)
Vienna 455	170 (97%)	Vienna 497	145 (83%)	Vienna 534	167 (95%)
Vienna 560	145 (83%)	Wolf. H. 497	147 (84%)	Wolf. W. 48	167 (95%)
Montpellier 55	127 (73%)	Graz 412	118 (67%)	Paris 5274	121 (69%)

## Paris 18298

Angers 281	161 (92%)	Bamberg 139	154 (88%)	Dublin 737	170 (97%)
Gen. 547	121 (69%)	Gen. 557	129 (74%)	Gen. 558	133 (76%)
Munich 12641	151 (86%)	Munich 22020	134 (77%)	Paris 5273	127 (73%)
Paris 5563	168 (96%)	Paris 9737	115 (66%)	Paris 11750	135 (77%)
Paris 12602	149 (85%)	Paris 12604	166 (95%)	St. Gall 561	107 (61%)
Vienna 455	169 (97%)	Vienna 497	145 (83%)	Vienna 534	167 (95%)
Vienna 560	146 (83%)	Wolf. H. 497	146 (83%)	Wolf. W. 48	167 (95%)
Montpellier 55	130 (74%)	Graz 412	122 (70%)	Paris 5274	122 (70%)

St. Gall 561

Angers 281	100 (57%)	Bamberg 139	100 (57%)	Dublin 737	107 (61%)
Gen. 547	105 (60%)	Gen. 557	96 (55%)	Gen. 558	105 (60%)
Munich 12641	103 (59%)	Munich 22020	111 (63%)	Paris 5273	87 (50%)
Paris 5563	107 (61%)	Paris 9737	123 (70%)	Paris 11750	103 (59%)
Paris 12602	103 (59%)	Paris 12604	105 (60%)	Paris 18298	107 (61%)
Vienna 455	108 (62%)	Vienna 497	95 (54%)	Vienna 534	107 (61%)
Vienna 560	92 (53%)	Wolf. H. 497	99 (57%)	Wolf. W. 48	109 (62%)
Montpellier 55	99 (57%)	Graz 412	133 (76%)	Paris 5274	97 (55%)

Vienna 455

Angers 281	157 (90%)	Bamberg 139	157 (90%)	Dublin 737	174 (99%)
Gen. 547	121 (69%)	Gen. 557	128 (73%)	Gen. 558	131 (75%)
Munich 12641	156 (89%)	Munich 22020	134 (77%)	Paris 5273	122 (70%)
Paris 5563	172 (98%)	Paris 9737	110 (63%)	Paris 11750	131 (75%)
Paris 12602	148 (85%)	Paris 12604	170 (97%)	Paris 18298	169 (97%)
St. Gall 561	108 (62%)	Vienna 497	148 (85%)	Vienna 534	170 (97%)
Vienna 560	146 (83%)	Wolf. H. 497	148 (85%)	Wolf. W. 48	170 (97%)
Montpellier 55	128 (73%)	Graz 412	119 (68%)	Paris 5274	124 (71%)

Vienna 497

Angers 281	141 (81%)	Bamberg 139	144 (82%)	Dublin 737	147 (84%)
Gen. 547	106 (61%)	Gen. 557	112 (64%)	Gen. 558	111 (63%)
Munich 12641	146 (83%)	Munich 22020	118 (67%)	Paris 5273	107 (61%)
Paris 5563	147 (84%)	Paris 9737	101 (58%)	Paris 11750	115 (66%)
Paris 12602	131 (75%)	Paris 12604	145 (83%)	Paris 18298	145 (83%)
St. Gall 561	95 (54%)	Vienna 455	148 (85%)	Vienna 534	145 (83%)
Vienna 560	135 (77%)	Wolf. H. 497	127 (73%)	Wolf. W. 48	145 (83%)
Montpellier 55	112 (64%)	Graz 412	105 (60%)	Paris 5274	109 (62%)

Vienna 534

Angers 281	156 (89%)	Bamberg 139	160 (91%)	Dublin 737	171 (98%)
Gen. 547	121 (69%)	Gen. 557	128 (73%)	Gen. 558	131 (75%)
Munich 12641	153 (87%)	Munich 22020	135 (77%)	Paris 5273	124 (71%)
Paris 5563	169 (97%)	Paris 9737	111 (63%)	Paris 11750	133 (76%)
Paris 12602	150 (86%)	Paris 12604	167 (95%)	Paris 18298	167 (95%)
St. Gall 561	107 (61%)	Vienna 455	170 (97%)	Vienna 497	145 (83%)
Vienna 560	147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497	148 (85%)	Wolf. W. 48	171 (98%)
Montpellier 55	130 (74%)	Graz 412	120 (69%)	Paris 5274	123 (70%)

Vienna 560

Angers 281	139 (79%)	Bamberg 139	141 (81%)	Dublin 737	147 (84%)
Gen. 547	109 (62%)	Gen. 557	113 (65%)	Gen. 558	118 (67%)
Munich 12641	136 (78%)	Munich 22020	119 (68%)	Paris 5273	111 (63%)
Paris 5563	147 (84%)	Paris 9737	101 (58%)	Paris 11750	121 (69%)
Paris 12602	134 (77%)	Paris 12604	145 (83%)	Paris 18298	146 (83%)
St. Gall 561	92 (53%)	Vienna 455	146 (83%)	Vienna 497	135 (77%)
Vienna 534	147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497	131 (75%)	Wolf. W. 48	147 (84%)
Montpellier 55	117 (67%)	Graz 412	107 (61%)	Paris 5274	111 (63%)

Wolf. H. 497

Angers 281	139 (79%)	Bamberg 139	140 (80%)	Dublin 737	149 (85%)
Gen. 547	119 (68%)	Gen. 557	124 (71%)	Gen. 558	124 (71%)
Munich 12641	136 (78%)	Munich 22020	128 (73%)	Paris 5273	121 (69%)
Paris 5563	149 (85%)	Paris 9737	105 (60%)	Paris 11750	129 (74%)
Paris 12602	133 (76%)	Paris 12604	147 (84%)	Paris 18298	146 (83%)
St. Gall 561	99 (57%)	Vienna 455	148 (85%)	Vienna 497	127 (73%)
Vienna 534	148 (85%)	Vienna 560	131 (75%)	Wolf. W. 48	150 (86%)
Montpellier 55	128 (73%)	Graz 412	115 (66%)	Paris 5274	119 (68%)

Wolf. Weiss. 48

Angers 281	158 (90%)	Bamberg 139	159 (91%)	Dublin 737	171 (98%)
Gen. 547	121 (69%)	Gen. 557	127 (73%)	Gen. 558	131 (75%)
Munich 12641	153 (87%)	Munich 22020	136 (78%)	Paris 5273	123 (70%)
Paris 5563	169 (97%)	Paris 9737	112 (64%)	Paris 11750	133 (76%)
Paris 12602	149 (85%)	Paris 12604	167 (95%)	Paris 18298	167 (95%)
St. Gall 561	109 (62%)	Vienna 455	170 (97%)	Vienna 497	145 (83%)
Vienna 534	171 (98%)	Vienna 560	147 (84%)	Wolf. H. 497	150 (86%)
Montpellier 55	130 (74%)	Graz 412	121 (69%)	Paris 5274	124 (71%)

Montpellier 55

Angers 281	128 (73%)	Bamberg 139	123 (70%)	Dublin 737	129 (74%)
Gen. 547	115 (66%)	Gen. 557	132 (75%)	Gen. 558	132 (75%)
Munich 12641	118 (67%)	Munich 22020	128 (73%)	Paris 5273	124 (71%)
Paris 5563	129 (74%)	Paris 9737	110 (63%)	Paris 11750	136 (78%)
Paris 12602	127 (73%)	Paris 12604	127 (73%)	Paris 18298	130 (74%)
St. Gall 561	99 (57%)	Vienna 455	128 (73%)	Vienna 497	112 (64%)
Vienna 534	130 (74%)	Vienna 560	117 (67%)	Wolf. H. 497	128 (73%)
Wolf. W. 48	130 (74%)	Graz 412	116 (66%)	Paris 5274	134 (77%)

Graz 412

Angers 281	117 (67%)	Bamberg 139	114 (65%)	Dublin 737	120 (69%)
Gen. 547	116 (66%)	Gen. 557	116 (66%)	Gen. 558	127 (73%)
Munich 12641	109 (62%)	Munich 22020	134 (77%)	Paris 5273	110 (63%)
Paris 5563	120 (69%)	Paris 9737	143 (82%)	Paris 11750	121 (69%)
Paris 12602	110 (63%)	Paris 12604	118 (67%)	Paris 18298	122 (70%)
St. Gall 561	133 (76%)	Vienna 455	119 (68%)	Vienna 497	105 (60%)
Vienna 534	120 (69%)	Vienna 560	107 (61%)	Wolf. H. 497	115 (66%)
Wolf. W. 48	121 (69%)	Montpellier 55	116 (66%)	Paris 5274	108 (62%)



Appendix 3      The principle of *Lectio Explicitor*

Discourse markers		
<i>VB 3.3</i>	[X]	all manuscripts
	<i>igitur</i>	Vienna 560
<i>VB 5.5</i>	[X]	Vienna 497
	<i>ergo</i>	all manuscripts
<i>VB 6.1</i>	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>autem</i>	Gen. 558 Paris 5273
	<i>ergo</i>	Paris 12602 Munich 22020
	<i>uero</i>	Paris 11750
<i>VB 8.6.2</i>	[X]	all manuscripts
	<i>enim</i>	Vienna 497, Vienna 560
<i>VB 8.10</i>	[X]	all manuscripts
	<i>enim</i>	Paris 18298 Munich 22020
<i>VB 12.3</i>	[X]	Gen. 547; Gen. 557; Gen. 558; Paris 5273; Paris 12602; St. Gall 561; Vienna 497; Munich 22020
	<i>quia</i>	Angers 281; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Vienna 455; Vienna 534; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Paris 5563; Paris 9737; Paris 18298; Paris 12604; Paris 11750; Munich 12641; Graz 412
<i>VB 25.1</i>	<i>semper</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>sed semper</i>	Gen. 547 Paris 12602
<i>VB 28.1</i>	[X]	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Munich 12641; Paris 5563; Paris 12604; Paris 18298; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497
	<i>enim</i>	Gen. 547; Gen. 557; Gen. 558; Graz 412; Montpellier 55; Paris 5273; Paris 11750; St. Gall 561; Munich 22020; Paris 9737; Paris 12602; Wolf. Weiss. 48
<i>VB 32.1</i>	[X]	Munich 12641
	<i>autem</i>	all manuscripts

VB 42.1	<i>euntes fecerunt</i>	Munich 22020
	<i>euntes autem fecerunt</i>	all manuscripts
VB 53.1	[X]	all manuscripts
	<i>igitur</i>	Vienna 560
VB 60.1.2	[X]	Munich 12641
	<i>autem</i>	Gen. 547 Vienna 497
	<i>ergo</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 73.3	<i>sicut ipse</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Montpellier 55; Munich 12641; Munich 22020; Paris 5563; Paris 12604; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Wolf. Weiss. 48; St. Gall 561; Graz 412
	<i>sicut et ipse</i>	Paris 18298; Paris 9737
VB 78.5	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>enim</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 80.4.2	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>autem</i>	Vienna 560
	<i>ideo</i>	Paris 18298
VB 82.3	<i>sacrificantibus</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>sacrificantibus autem</i>	Gen. 557
VB 83.1	[X]	Wolf. Helmst. 497
	<i>sed</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ergo</i>	Vienna 560
VB 86.4	<i>putantes</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>putabant enim</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 89.2	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ergo</i>	Vienna 560
VB 91.4	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>tamen</i>	Vienna 560
VB 94.4	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ideo</i>	Munich 22020
VB 95.1	<i>a die</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>a die ergo</i>	Gen. 547; Wolf. Helmst. 497
	<i>unde a die</i>	Munich 22020;
	<i>a die enim</i>	Paris 5273
	<i>et a die</i>	Gen. 557; Paris 9737; Paris 18298; Paris 11750;
	<i>a die autem</i>	Paris 12602; Vienna 560
VB 96.4	<i>nec</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>sed nec</i>	Paris 11750; Gen. 558

VB 101.1	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ergo</i>	Vienna 560
VB 115.2	[X]	Vienna 560; Paris 12602
	<i>ergo</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 118.13	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>uero</i>	Munich 22020
VB 137.1	<i>si</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ita si</i>	Paris 11750
	<i>si ergo sic et</i>	Vienna 560
VB 139.1	<i>haec cum diceret</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>et haec diceret</i>	Gen. 547
	<i>hoc autem cum diceret</i>	Paris 11750
VB 144.1	<i>factum est</i>	Bamberg 139; Paris 5273
	<i>factum est autem</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 146.1	<i>factum est</i>	Vienna 560
	<i>factum est autem</i>	majority of manuscripts
VP 6.1	<i>de flatu</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>et de flatu</i>	Bamberg 139; Vienna 497
	<i>de flatu autem</i>	Paris 5273; Paris 5274; Montpellier 55; Gen. 557; Paris 12602
VP 23.1	[X]	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Munich 12641; Paris 5563; Paris 12604; Paris 18298; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Wolf. Weiss. 48
	<i>autem</i>	Gen. 547; Munich 22020; Paris 11750; Gen. 558; Paris 5273; Paris 5274; Gen. 557; Paris 9737; Graz 412; Paris 12602; St. Gall 561; Montpellier 55
	<i>etiam</i>	Vienna 560
VP 25.3	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ergo</i>	Vienna 560
	<i>igitur</i>	St. Gall 561

Reference markers		
VB 5.6	<i>cepit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>cepit apostolus</i>	Graz 412
VB 7.1	[X]	Paris 9737; Paris 18298; St. Gall 561; M. 55; Graz 412; Paris 11750; Munich 22020
	<i>homines illi</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Gen. 547; Gen. 558; Paris 5273; Paris 5563; Paris 12604; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Paris 12602; Munich 12641
VB 12.1.2	<i>respondens</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>respondens eis</i>	Gen. 558 Graz 412
VB 12.2	<i>dixit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>dixit eis</i>	St. Gall 561
	<i>dixit ad eos</i>	Munich 22020
VB 15.1	<i>signa</i>	Vienna 560
	<i>signa eius</i>	all manuscripts
VB 16.6	<i>dixit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>dixit eis</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 26.3	<i>permanet</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>permanet uultus ipsius</i>	Munich 22020
VB 27.5	<i>et ego do responsum</i>	St. Gall 561
	<i>et ego do responsum de eo</i>	all manuscripts
VB 27.6	<i>nouit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ille nouit</i>	Graz 412
VB 28.3.4	<i>nuntiant</i>	Paris 12602 Wolf. Weiss. 48
	<i>nuntiant ei</i>	all manuscripts
VB 30.1	<i>ut dum inueneritis</i>	Munich 12641; Vienna 497; Graz 412
	<i>ut dum eum inueneritis</i>	other manuscripts
VB 32.10	<i>non inuenerunt</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Paris 5563; Paris 12604; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Gen. 557; Montpellier 55; Paris 9737; Gen. 558; Munich 12641; Paris 12602; Vienna 560; Graz 412

	<i>non inuenirent eum</i>	Munich 22020; Paris 5273; Paris 18298; Paris 11750; St. Gall 561; Wolf. Weiss. 48
	<i>non potuerunt inuenire eum</i>	Gen. 547
VB 34.3	<i>dixit</i>	St. Gall 561 Vienna 497 Vienna 534
	<i>dixit ei</i>	all other manuscripts
VB 35.3	<i>nuntiatum est</i>	Montpellier 55; Vienna 497
	<i>nuntiatum est illi / ei</i>	all manuscripts
VB 35.5.2	<i>rogauit eum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>rogauit apostolum</i>	Paris 11750
VB 35.7	<i>male uexatur</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>male a demonio uexatur</i>	Munich 22020; Vienna 497
VB 37.1.3	[X]	all manuscripts
	<i>apostolus</i>	Angers 281
VB 38.1.1	<i>eam</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>filiam regis</i>	Vienna 560
VB 40.1.7	[X]	Gen. 557
	<i>eam</i>	majority of mss.
VB 41.6.2	[X]	Wolf. Helmst. 497
	<i>eam</i>	all manuscripts
VB 43.3	<i>palatium</i>	Angers 281; Munich 12641; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Paris 5563; Vienna 455; Vienna 534; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Paris 12602; Vienna 497; Paris 12604; Vienna 560
	<i>palatium eius</i>	Gen. 547; Gen. 557; St. Gall 561; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Gen. 558; Munich 22020; Paris 5273; Paris 9737; Paris 18298; Graz 412; Paris 11750; Montpellier 55
VB 44.3	<i>apparuit</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>apparuit ei</i>	Bamberg 139; Vienna 534; Vienna 497
VB 44.6.1	<i>rege</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>rege Polimio</i>	Munich 22020
VB 51.1.3	<i>diceret</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Paris 5563; Paris 12602; Paris 12604; Vienna 455; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Wolf. Weiss. 48

	<i>diceret deo</i>	Gen. 558; Munich 22020; Paris 11750; Paris 18298; St. Gall 561; Graz 412; Paris 9737
VB 55.1	<i>timore</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>timore suo</i>	Munich 22020
VB 60.1.4	<i>permisit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>permisit deus</i>	Vienna 560
VB 61.1.8	<i>lapidibus</i>	Angers 281; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Dublin 737; Munich 12641; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Munich 22020; Paris 5563; Paris 9737; Paris 12602; Paris 12604; Vienna 455; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; St. Gall 561
	<i>lapidibus istis / lapides isti</i>	Gen. 557; Gen 547; Gen. 558; Paris 5273; Paris 11750; Paris 18928; Vienna 497; Montpellier 55; Bamberg 139
VB 63.1.3.2	<i>uictoriam</i>	Munich 12641
	<i>uictoriam suam</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 66.1.4	<i>audis</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>me audis</i>	Gen. 558; Paris 11750
VB 67.1.2	[X]	Vienna 497
	<i>hic</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>qui</i>	Munich 12641
VB 73.3	<i>sicut ipse</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Montpellier 55; Munich 12641; Munich 22020; Paris 5563; Paris 12604; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Wolf. Weiss. 48; St. Gall 561; Graz 412
	<i>sicut ipse dominus noster</i>	Gen. 547; Gen. 558; Paris 5273; Paris 12602; Gen. 557;
	<i>sicut ipse dominus</i>	Paris 11750
VB 75.4.2	<i>dabat</i>	Paris 9737; St. Gall 561; Graz 412
	<i>dabat uobis</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Munich 12641; Paris 5563; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Gen. 547; Gen. 557; Paris 11750; Gen. 558; Munich 22020; Paris 12602; Paris 5273; Paris 12604; Paris 18298;

		Montpellier 55;
VB 75.6	<i>idolo</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Munich 12641; Paris 5563; Vienna 455; Vienna 497; Vienna 534; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Gen. 547; Gen. 557; Paris 11750; Gen. 558; Munich 22020; Paris 12602; Paris 12604; St. Gall 561; Montpellier 55; Graz 412
	<i>idolo uestro</i>	Paris 5273; Paris 9737; Paris 18298
VB 84.3	<i>sacrificare</i>	Graz 412; St. Gall 561; Paris 9737
	<i>sacrificare ei</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 91.6	<i>ut laedamus</i>	Angers 281; Bamberg 139; Gen. 547; Munich 22020; Graz 412; Dublin 737; Paris 5563; St. Gall 561; Vienna 455; Vienna 534; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Munich 12641; Paris 5273; Paris 12602; Paris 12604; Vienna 497; Montpellier 55
	<i>ut laedamus eos / ut eos laedamus</i>	Gen. 557; Paris 9737; Paris 11750; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Gen. 558; Paris 18298; Vienna 560
VB 92.6	[X]	Gen. 547
	<i>eorum hominum</i>	Angers 281
	<i>hominum</i>	Bamberg 139; Dublin 737; Munich 12641; Paris 5563; Paris 12604; Vienna 534; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Gen. 557; Paris 5273; Montpellier 55; Gen. 558; Munich 22020; Paris 9737; Vienna 455; Paris 11750; Paris 18298; Vienna 497; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Graz 412
	<i>eorum</i>	Paris 12602; St. Gall 561
VB 92.7	<i>nisi sacrificauerint</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>nisi sacrificauerint nos</i>	Paris 18298
	<i>nisi sacrificauerint nobis</i>	Munich 22020; Gen. 558
VB 94.4	<i>colimur</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>colimur ab eis</i>	Vienna 560
VB 95.5	<i>iussit mihi / me</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ipse mihi iussit</i>	Vienna 560
VB 102.4	<i>et confringite</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>et confringite eum</i>	Paris 9737; Paris 18298

VB 103.4.3	<i>in eo</i>	Gen. 558; Paris 12602
	<i>in isto / ipso templo</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 105.4	<i>uincula</i>	Munich 22020
	<i>uincula eius</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 106.4	<i>dixit</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>dixit apostolus</i>	Vienna 560; Paris 12602
VB 118.4	<i>ab infirmitate</i>	Gen. 547
	<i>ab infirmitate uestra</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 118.15	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>diabulo</i>	Vienna 560
VB 119.4	<i>signum</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>signum Christi</i>	Munich 22020
VB 119.8	[X]	Gen. 558; Munich 22020; Paris 11750
	<i>uestro</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 122.3	[X]	Paris 9737, Graz 412
	<i>ad demonem</i>	Vienna 560
	<i>ei</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 123.2	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>angelus domini</i>	Munich 22020
VB 125.1	<i>rex</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>rex Polimius</i>	Angers 281; Gen. 557; Gen. 547; Paris 5273; Paris 11750;
VB 125.4	<i>filiis</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>filiis suis</i>	Paris 9737; Paris 18298
VB 126.1.2	<i>capitis</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>capitis sui</i>	Paris 18298
VB 127.3	<i>dixerunt</i>	
	<i>dixerunt ei</i>	Gen. 558; Munich 22020; Paris 18298; St. Gall 561; Vienna 560; Wolf. Helmst. 497; Paris 9737; Paris 11750; Wolf. Weiss. 48; Graz 412
VB 129.3	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>regi</i>	Vienna 560
VB 134.4	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ipsi</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 136.3	<i>ostendi</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ostendi ei</i>	Paris 5273; Paris 12604
VB 137.6.2	<i>sacrificium</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>sacrificium ipsius</i>	Vienna 560

VB 139.3	[X]	majority of manuscripts
	<i>apostolus</i>	Munich 22020
VB 140.1.1	<i>tunc scidit</i>	Gen. 558
	<i>tunc scidit rex</i>	majority of manuscripts
VB 142.7	<i>rege</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>rege Polimio</i>	Munich 22020
	<i>rege Polimio, fratris eiusdem Astriages</i>	Vienna 560
VB 142.9	<i>abstulerunt</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>abstulerunt eum</i>	Vienna 497, Graz 412
VB 145.4	<i>uniuersi</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>uniuersi populi</i>	Vienna 560
VB 146.2	<i>per reuelationem</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>per reuelationem domini</i>	Munich 22020
	<i>per reuelationem apostoli</i>	St. Gall 561
VP 16.3	<i>docebat</i>	St. Gall 561
	<i>docebat eos</i>	majority of manuscripts
VP 18.5	<i>eorum</i>	Paris 5274; Vienna 560
	<i>apostolorum suorum</i>	majority of manuscripts
VP 19.1.1	<i>ipse</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>ego ipse</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VP 28.3	[X]	Montpellier 55
	<i>eius</i>	majority of manuscripts
VP 28.5	<i>dextra leuaque</i>	majority of manuscripts
	<i>dextra leuaque eius</i>	Munich 12641; Vienna 497
	<i>dextra leuaque iuxta eum</i>	Munich 22020



## Appendix 4 Patterns of rewriting according to the ‘Principle of All-except-one/two’

### 1. Variation in word order

<b>Category 1: the position of the relative clause</b>		
VB-30.7 <sup>533</sup>	(...) <i>angeli qui cum eo sunt</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>qui cum eo sunt angeli dei</i> (...)	Munich 22020
VP-14.1.5	(...) <i>duos tribunos qui mortui fuerant</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>duos qui mortui fuerant tribunos</i> (...)	Vienna 560
<b>Category 2: the order ‘noun + adjective’</b>		
NA→AN		
VB- 7.2	(...) <i>et necesse erat ut a deo falso ludificarentur.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et necesse erat ut a falso deo ludificarentur.</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497 Paris 11750
VB- 7.3	<i>Erant enim sine deo uero</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Erant enim sine uero deo</i> (...)	Paris 12602 Munich 12641
VB-108.10	(...) <i>picturam omnem deleret/delesset/deleuisset.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>omnem deleret picturam.</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
AN→NA		
VB-90.3	(...) <i>Confitere inmundissime demon</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>Confitere demon inmundissime</i> (...)	Vienna 560
VB-134.7.1	(...) <i>crederent omnipotenti deo</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>crederent deo omnipotenti</i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497
<b>Category 3: the order ‘noun + cardinal number’</b>		
VP-18.1	(...) <i>apostolos .XII.</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>.XII. apostolos</i> (...) [noun-cardinal number]	Munich 12641
<b>Category 4: the order ‘noun + genitive’</b>		
NG→GN		
VB-64.1.4	(...) <i>a filio uirginis</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>a uirginis filio</i> (...)	Munich 12641 Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB-144.2	(...) <i>tricesimo die depositionis eius</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>depositionis eius tricesimo die</i> (...)	Paris 5273
VP-4.1	(...) <i>filium pontificis</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>pontificis filium</i> (...)	Paris 5273

<sup>533</sup> VB= *Virtutes Bartholomei*, VP= *Virtutes Philippi*; the number 7.2 refers to my analysis of variants in the second volume of this thesis.

VP-25.4	(...) <i>memores estote doctrinae domini nostri Ihesu Christi (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>memores estote domini nostri Ihesu Christi doctrinae (...)</i>	Paris 12604
GN→GN		
VP-8.4	(...) <i>in dei mei nomine (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>in nomine dei mei (...)</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
<b>Category 5: the order 'finite verb + object' (VO)</b>		
VO→OV		
VB-118.8	(...) <i>mundauit/mundauit/mundarem/mundum dabit/mundetur templum (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>templum (...)</i> <u><i>mundarem (...)</i></u>	Munich 22020
	(...) <i>templum (...)</i> <u><i>mundauit (...)</i></u>	Paris 12602
VB-130.1.3	(...) <i>misit mille uiros (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>mille uiros misit (...)</i>	St. Gall 561
OV→VO		
VB-102.3.2	(...) <i>sanitatem recipiant (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <u><i>accipiant sanitatem (...)</i></u>	Munich 22020
	(...) <u><i>recipiant sanitatem (...)</i></u>	St. Gall 561
VB-108.10	(...) <i>picturam omnem deleret/delesset/deleuisset (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>omnem</i> <u><i>deleret picturam (...)</i></u>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
<b>Category 6: variation related to the position of a pronoun</b>		
'pronoun + finite verb' → 'finite verb + pronoun'		
VB-91.5	(...) <i>ipse nos mittit ad homines (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ipse</i> <u><i>mittit nos ad homines(...)</i></u>	Munich 12641
'finite verb + pronoun' → 'pronoun + finite verb'		
VB-118.1.3	<i>Haec dicit dominus qui misit me: (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Haec dicit dominus qui</i> <u><i>me misit (...)</i></u>	St. Gall 561
'pronoun + infinite verb' → 'infinite verb + pronoun'		
VB-29.1	(...) <i>coeperitis eum querere (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>coeperitis</i> <u><i>querere eum (...)</i></u>	Vienna 497
<b>Category 7: the order 'finite verb + infinite verb + direct object'</b>		
'auxiliary verb + infinite verb' → 'infinite verb + auxiliary verb'		
VB- 82.6	(...) <i>nullum potest dare responsum (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>nullum dare potest responsum (...)</i>	Vienna 497
VP- 11.2	(...) <i>coeperunt clamare (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>clamare</i> <u><i>coeperunt (...)</i></u>	Munich 12641
'direct object + infinite verb' → 'infinite verb + direct object'		
VB-39.3	(...) <i>ausus est manum mittere ad eam (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ausus est</i> <u><i>mittere manum in eam (...)</i></u>	Vienna 497

VB-93.4	(...) <i>potestatem habere incipimus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>habere potestatem incipimus</i> (...)	Vienna 497
VB-135.9.1	(...) <i>fecisti</i> (...) <i>deo meo credere</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>fecisti</i> (...) <i>credere deo meo</i> (...)	Paris 9737 Paris 18298
the position of a subject and infinite verb in an AcI-construction		
VB- 58.3	(...) <i>passus est se temptari</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>passus est temptari se</i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497
finite verb positioned at the end of the sentence		
VB- 60.1.3	<i>Ipsum</i> (...) <i>permisit ad se accedere</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Ipsum</i> (...) <i>ad se accedere permisit</i> (...)	Munich 12641
variation in the order 'infinite verb + indirect object'		
VB-137.4	(...) <i>potueris hoc facere deo meo</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>potueris hoc deo meo facere</i> (...)	Munich 22020
variation in the order 'direct object + indirect object'		
VB-138.3.1	(...) <i>nihil potueris/poteris/potes facere deo meo/deo meo facere</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>deo meo nichil potueris facere</i> (...)	Vienna 560
variation in the order 'finite verb + pronoun as subject in an AcI-construction'		
VP- 19.2.2	(...) <i>scire uos feci</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>scire feci uos</i> (...)	Vienna 497
<b>Category 8: the position of the auxiliary verb</b>		
VB- 9.4	(...) <i>et nulli ex his quos leserat poterat subuenire.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et nulli poterat ex his quos leserat subuenire.</i>	Munich 12641
<b>Category 9: the order 'subject + verb'</b>		
VS→SV		
VB-42.2	(...) <i>sicut iussit apostolus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>sicut apostolus precepit</i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB-140.1.2	(...) <i>tunc scidit rex</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>tunc rex scidit</i> (...)	Munich 12641
SV→VS		
VB-117.1	<i>Cumque omnes respondissent amen</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Cumque respondissent omnes amen</i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB-139.5.1	(...) <i>quod deus eius Waldath cecidisset</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>quod cecidisset deus suus Waldach</i> (...)	Vienna 497
VB-66.1.2.2	<i>Apostolus respondit</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Respondit apostolus</i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497

<b>Category 10: word order in a nominal predicate</b>		
Switch of focus to <i>tu</i>		
<i>VB-80.6</i>	(...) <i>tu es deus meus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>deus meus es tu</i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497
<i>VB-81.1.5</i>	(...) <i>tu es deus meus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>deus meus es tu</i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497
<i>est</i> positioned between <i>quae</i> and <i>regina nostra</i>		
<i>VB-87.1.3</i>	(...) <i>quae regina nostra est</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>quae est regina nostra</i> (...)	Munich 12641
<i>templum</i> positioned between <i>esset</i> and <i>languentibus</i>		
<i>VB-10.3</i>	(...) <i>plenum esset languentibus templum</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>plenum esset templum languentibus</i> (...)	Vienna 560
<b>Category 11: position of the participle (present, perfect)</b>		
in an ablative-absolute-construction		
<i>VB-124.2</i>	(...) <i>uidentibus cunctis</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>cunctis uidentibus</i> (...)	Gen. 558 Wolf. Helmst. 497
variation in the order 'present participle + infinite verb'		
<i>VB-129.6.3</i>	(...) <i>eadem coeperunt flentes referre</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>eadem ceperunt referre flentes</i> (...)	Vienna 497
variation in the order 'est + perfect participle'		
<i>VB-140.4</i>	(...) <i>qua indutus erat</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>qua erat indutus</i> (...)	Paris 5273
<i>VB-128.1</i>	(...) <i>frater tuus discipulus factus est</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>frater tuus discipulus est factus</i> (...)	St. Gall 561
Change of meaning: from 'the world, which is in danger' to 'the endangered world'		
<i>VP-16.4</i>	(...) <i>quomodo mundo periclitanti aduentus domini subuenisset</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>quomodod periclitanti mundo aduentus domini subuenisset</i> (...)	Vienna 560
<b>Category 11: the order 'subject + object'</b>		
OS→SO		
<i>VB-38.1.2</i>	<i>Atubi uidit eam apostolus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Atubi uidit apostolus eam</i> (...)	Bamberg 139
SO→OS		
<i>VB-110.1.4</i>	<i>Tunc expandens Bartholomeus manus suas ad dominum</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Tunc expandens manus suas Bartholomeus ad</i>	Paris 12604

	<i>dominum (...)</i>	Paris 5273
<b>Category 12: the position of the adverb</b>		
adverb positioned after <i>plenum</i>		
VB-10.2	<i>Cumque iam plenum esset (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Cumque plenum iam esset (...)</i>	Gen. 558
'adverb + verb' → 'verb + adverb'		
VB-14.3	<i>(...) et ideo huc uenit (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et ideo uenit huc (...)</i>	Paris 5273 Vienna 497
VB-50.5	<i>(...) prima autem ideo dixi (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) prima autem dixi ideo (...)</i>	Munich 12641
VB-122.11	<i>(...) et ibi sis (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et sis ibi (...)</i>	Gen. 547
<b>Category 13: the position of an adverbial adjunct</b>		
<i>per diem</i> replaced before <i>flexis genibus</i>		
VB-22.2	<i>(...) centies flexis genibus per diem (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) centies per diem flexis genibus (...)</i>	St. Gall 561
<i>Prima hora diei</i> replaced before <i>altera die</i>		
VB-85.3	<i>(...) altera die prima hora diei (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) prima hora diei altera die (...)</i>	Paris 5273
repositioning of an adverbial adjunct after the finite or infinite verb		
VB-114.3	<i>(...) quaecumque in nomine meo petieritis (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) quaecumque petieritis in nomine meo (...)</i>	Munich 22020
VB-117.6	<i>(...) digito suo in quadratis saxis sculpsit signum crucis (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) digito suo sculpsit in quadratis saxis signum crucis (...)</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB-122.4	<i>(...) secundum promissum apostoli soluam te (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) soluam te et ego secundum promissum apostoli (...)</i>	Vienna 560
VB-140.5	<i>(...) et fecit fustibus cedi (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et fecit cedi fustibus (...)</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
repositioning of adverbial adjunct after a direct object		
VB-142.8	<i>(...) abstulerunt cum hymnis et cum omni gloria corpus eius (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) abstulerunt corpus eius cum hymnis et cum omni gloria</i>	Gen. 558
repositioning of adverbial adjunct after the subject of the sentence		
VP-11.3	<i>(...) recuperetur in nobis uirtus (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) recuperetur uirtus in nobis (...)</i>	Vienna 497

<b>Category 14: coordination of two nouns</b>		
VB-73.2	<i>argentum et aurum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>aurum et argentum</i>	Paris 9737 Paris 18298
<b>Category 15: position of adposition</b>		
VB-131.3.2	<i>Astriges rex</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>rex Astriges</i>	Munich 12641
VB-140.6.2	<i>apostolum Bartholomeum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Bartholomeum apostolum</i>	Gen. 558
<b>Category 16: the position of demonstrative pronouns</b>		
VB-102.2.2	(...) <i>omnes hi</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>hi omnes</i> (...)	Vienna 560 Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB-115.3	(...) <i>omnis haec multitudo</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>omnis multitudo haec</i> (...)	Vienna 560
VP-13.1	(...) <i>draco ille seuissimus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>draco seuissimus ille</i> (...)	Gen. 547
VP-19.3	(...) <i>idola ista uana esse</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>idola uana ista esse</i> (...)	Vienna 560

**Category 2: Variation related to the choice of lexemes**

<b>Category 1: related to one lexeme</b>		
<b>1a: discourse marker</b>		
VB 3.2	<i>quae</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>autem</i>	Vienna 497
VB 26.2	<i>et laetus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>laetusque</i>	Munich 12641
	<i>semper laetus</i>	Paris 9737
VB 47.1	<i>autem</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>enim</i>	Munich 22020
VB 68.1.2	<i>autem</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ergo</i>	Munich 22020
VB 100.1	<i>tunc</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>igitur</i>	Paris 5273
VB 119.1	<i>quem uidentes...</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>uidentes autem</i>	Paris 11750
VB 124.1	<i>autem</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>quoque</i>	Paris 12602
VB 145.1	<i>factus est autem</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>et factus est</i>	Vienna 560 Bamberg 139
VB 147.1	<i>fuit autem in episcopatu</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>fuitque in episcopatu</i>	Vienna 560
VP 12.1	<i>itaque</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>autem</i>	Munich 12641
VP 21.1	<i>itaque</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>autem</i>	Munich 12641
<b>1b: noun</b>		
VB 22.4	<i>deum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>dominum</i>	Paris 5273 St. Gall 561
VB 50.7	<i>ab inicio seculi</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ab inicio mundi</i>	Munich 12641
VB 51.1.2	<i>feminas</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>homines</i>	Paris 9737
VB 59.2	<i>a deo</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>a domino</i>	Paris 18298
VB 64.1.3	<i>filium uirginis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>filium hominis</i>	Gen. 557
VB 67.1.3	<i>terra</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>humo</i>	Vienna 497
VB 69.1.4	<i>filio uirginis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>filio hominis</i>	Paris 11750

VB 71.4	<i>mittit comites suos</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>mittit <u>conciues</u> suos</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 71.7	<i>regis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>regni</i>	Paris 9737
VB 104.3	<i>trocleas</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>tropheas</i>	Gen. 557
VB 116.2	<i>dominum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>deum</i>	Paris 5563
VB 120.5	<i>ferrum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>frenum</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 122.2	<i>domini</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>dei</i>	Vienna 497
VB 122.5	<i>promissum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>promissionem</u></i>	Gen. 547
VB 125.2	<i>uxora</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>coniuge</u></i>	Vienna 560
VB 125.9	<i>regnum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>regionem</u></i>	Wolf. Weiss. 48 Wolf. Helmst. 497
VP 12.4.1	<i>commodis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>communis</u></i>	St. Gall 561
VP 23.4	<i>deus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>dominus</u></i>	Paris 12602
VP 27.2	<i>domini</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>dei</i>	Paris 5273
<b>1c: possessive pronoun</b>		
VB 101.3	<i>uestrum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>nostrum</u></i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 115.6	<i>deus unus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>deus <u>meus</u></i>	Paris 18298
VB 139.5.4	<i>eius</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>suus</u><sup>534</sup></i>	Paris 12602 Vienna 497
VP 10.8	<i>domini mei</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>domini <u>nostri</u></i>	Vienna 497
<b>1d: cardinal numbers</b>		
VB 32.9	<i>et per duos dies</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>et per dies <u>multos</u></i>	Munich 22020
	<i>et per <u>tres</u> dies</i>	Graz 412
VP 15.5	<i>deum hunc</i>	all manuscripts

<sup>534</sup> On *eius* versus *suus*, cf. Väänänen, *Introduction*, p. 124: ‘Toutefois, l’usage tardif confond souvent *suus* d’une part et *eius* (...) d’autre part’.

	<i>deum <u>unum</u></i>	Paris 5563
VP 24.2	<i>septem</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>octo</i>	St. Gall 561
<b>1e: adjectives</b>		
VB 16.7	<i>aequales</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>patulae</u></i>	Angers 281 Paris 12602
VB 16.8	<i>directae</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>direptae</u></i>	Gen. 557
VB 101.5.3	<i>uanis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>uariis</u></i>	Vienna 497
VB 123.3	<i>teterrimum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>aterrimum</u></i>	Paris 5563
VP 27.7	<i>ea</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>eadem</u></i>	Gen. 547
<b>1g: verb</b>		
VB 26.4	<i>permanet</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>perseuerat</u></i>	Gen. 547
VB 29.5	<i>uidere</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>inuenire</u></i>	Gen. 547 Vienna 497
VB 42.2	<i>iussit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>precepit / preceperat</u></i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497 / Gen. 547
VB 56.1	<i>respondit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>dixit</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 58.2	<i>passus est</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>permisit</u></i>	Paris 18298
VB 66.1.2.1	<i>apostolus respondit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>apostolus <u>dixit</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 71.10.2	<i>(...) ita hic homo Christus Ihesus qui uicit, misit nos (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) ita et hic homo Christus Ihesus qui <u>uincit</u> misit nos (...)</i>	Paris 9737
	<i>(...) ita hic homo Christus Ihesus qui <u>uiuít</u>, misit nos (...)</i>	Paris 5273
VB 72.2	<i>uictus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>uinctus</u></i>	Angers 281
VB 79.4	<i>credere idolis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>idolis <u>sacrificare</u></i>	Vienna 497
VB 82.4	<i>adorantibus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>orantibus</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 86.1	<i>cessate miseri sacrificare mihi</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>miseri <u>nolite sacrificare mihi</u></i>	Munich 22020

VB 89.4	<i>dimittat</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>permittat</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 97.2	<i>saluas</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>curas</i>	Munich 22020
VB 102.3.1	<i>recipiant</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>accipiant</i>	Munich 12641
	<i>percipiant</i>	Munich 22020
VB 103.4.4	<i>consecrabo</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>purificabo</i>	Paris 11750
VB 111.3.3	<i>cognosceris</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>agnosceris</i>	Paris 12602
VB 129.6.2	<i>referre</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>dicere</i>	Paris 18298
	<i>clamare</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 134.5	<i>conquassarent</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>confregerunt</i>	Munich 22020
VP 3.8	<i>stabat</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>erat</i>	Gen. 547
VP 10.9	<i>affigite</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>erigite</i>	Gen. 547
<b>1h: pronoun</b>		
VB 11.6	<i>illic</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>illi</i>	Paris 9737
VB 30.7	<i>eo</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>illo</i>	Paris 12602
VB 39.4	<i>eam</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>illam</i>	Vienna 560
VB 54.1	<i>quae</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>quem</i>	Bamberg 139 Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 54.4	<i>illam</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>eam</i>	Gen. 557; Munich 12641
VB 55.2	<i>hoc</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>istud</i>	Paris 12602
VB 76.1	<i>quem si</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>quod si</i>	Montpellier 55 Gen. 547
VB 77.5	<i>ipsam</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>istam</i>	Gen. 557
VB 89.3	<i>eum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>illum</i>	Vienna 497
VB 92.4	<i>eorum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ipsorum</i>	Vienna 497

VB 96.3	<i>eo</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>te</i>	Munich 22020
VB 102.2.1	(...) <i>omnes hi</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>omnes isti</i> (...)	St. Gall 561
VB 103.1.2	<i>Cum hoc</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Quod cum</i> (...)	Paris 11750
VB 106.5	<i>eo</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ipso</i>	Gen. 547 Paris 12604
VB 130.4.2	<i>illum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>eum</i>	Gen. 547 Gen. 557
VB 130.4.3	<i>eum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ipsum</i>	Vienna 497
VB 142.5	<i>eum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>illum</i>	Vienna 534 Bamberg 139
VP 11.1	<i>illi</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>hi</i>	Bamberg 139
<b>1i: conjunction</b>		
VB 23.1	<i>quasi</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ut</i>	Munich 12641
VB 38.4.2	<i>quia</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>quae</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 48.2	<i>quia</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>quod</i>	Vienna 560
VB 84.5	<i>ut</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>et</i>	Angers 281
VB 86.2	<i>qui</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>quia</i>	Vienna 497 Paris 5273
VB 103.1.1	<i>et</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ut</i>	Angers 281
VB 111.4	<i>quia</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>qui</i>	Gen. 547 Paris 9737
VB 142.4	<i>qui</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>que</i>	Paris 5273
VP 3.1	<i>cum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>dum</i>	Paris 5274
<b>1j: preposition</b>		
VB 39.3	(...) <i>manum mittere ad eam</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>manum mittere in eam</i> (...)	Vienna 497

VB 64.1.4	(...) <i>ut qui filium uirginis uicerat, a filio uirginis uinceretur.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ut qui filium uirginis uicerat, <u>per filium</u> uirginis uinceretur.</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 89.6	(...) <i>ut dimittat me ire ad alteram prouinciam.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ut dimittat me ire <u>in</u> aliam prouinciam.</i>	Vienna 497
VB 122.12	(...) <i>usque ad diem iudicii.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>usque <u>in</u> diem iudicii.</i>	Paris 18298 St. Gall 561
VP 17.4	(...) <i>ascendisset in caelis (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ascendisset <u>ad</u> celos (...)</i>	Vienna 497
<b>1k: adjective replaced by adverb</b>		
VB 82.5	<i>nullum</i> (adjective)	all manuscripts
	<i>non</i> (adverb)	Gen. 557
<b>Category 2: more than one word/passage of the sentence</b>		
VB 10.5.2	<i>nullum daret Astaroth responsum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>nullum acciperent secundum consuetudinem responsum</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 28.2	<i>famulantur ei</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>qui sunt cum eo</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 46.1.1	<i>ista munera eis sunt necessaria, qui terrena querunt</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>ista mihi necessaria non sunt, habeant ea qui terrena quaerunt aut diligunt</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 50.1	<i>haec autem uirgo cum execraretur omnem uirum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>haec autem uirgo omnimodis ignorauit uirum</u></i>	Gen. 547
VB 65.1.5	(...) <i>homo cum deo?</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>homo <u>deus</u>?</i>	Gen. 547
VB 84.1	<i>crastina prima hora diei</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>crastina die mane</u></i>	Gen. 558
VB 77.2	(...) <i>uidebatur curare eos diabolus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i><u>uidebantur curari</u> (...)</i>	Munich 22020
VB 88.2	<i>per uniuersas partes saeculi</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>per uniuersum mundum</u></i>	Vienna 497
VB 101.5.1	<i>non...credatis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>nolite...obedire</u></i>	Munich 22020

VB 103.4.2	<i>et uos omnes... baptisate consecrabo</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>ut hi omnes baptisma consequantur</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 120.1	<i>nigriorem fuligine</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>nigriorem <u>omni nigredine</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 121.4	<i>flamma sulfurea</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>sulphur et fumus</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 126.1.1	<i>deposito diadema capitis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>deposito diadema <u>de capite</u></i>	Paris 9737
VB 126.3	<i>apostolum non deserere</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>apostolo [dei] adherere</u></i>	Munich 22020 Vienna 497
VB 129.6.1	<i>eadem coeperunt flentes referre</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>congregati interpellabant</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 134.2	<i>ego dedi potestatem demonibus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ego <u>imperavi demonibus</u></i>	Munich 22020
VB 142.10.2	<i>cum omni gloria</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>cum <u>laudibus</u></i>	Gen. 547
VP 11.4.2	<i>deiciemus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>statim confringemus</u></i>	Gen. 547

### Category 3: Morphosyntax

Category 1 change in inflection of noun/adjective		
1a: variation in case		
VB 9.2	<i>nulli</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>nullo</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 18.1	<i>Statura aequalis, quae nec brevis nec longa possit aduerti.</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Statura aequali, quae nec brevis nec longa possit aduerti.</i>	Dublin 737
VB 39.2	<i>Et quis ausus est manum mittere (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Et quis ausus est manuꝝ mittere (...)</i>	Paris 12602
VB 79.3	<i>(...) et suadet eos (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et suadet eis (...)</i>	Paris 11750 Vienna 560
VB 95.4	<i>(...) quia iussit mihi.</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) quia iussit me.<sup>535</sup></i>	Gen. 547 Paris 5273
VB 120.5	<i>(...) crines usque ad pedes, oculos igneos, sicut ferrum ignitum (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) crines usque ad pedes, oculis igneis, sicut ferrum/frenum ignitum (...)</i>	Paris 5273 St. Gall 561
VB 121.8	<i>(...) et erat uinctus a tergo manibus igneis catenis strictus.</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et erat uinctus a tergo manuꝝ igneis catenis strictus.</i>	Gen. 558
VP 14.2	<i>(...) omnemque turbam (...) sanitati restituit (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) omnique turbæ (...) sanitatem restituit (...)</i>	Angers 281
1b: variation in case: singular vs. plural		
VB 135.9.2	<i>deo meo</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>diis meis</i>	Vienna 560
VB 135.10.2	<i>ipsi</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ipsis</i>	Vienna 560
VP 4.3	<i>sacrificii</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>sacrificiis</i>	Gen. 547
VP 10.1	<i>eis</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ei</i>	Paris 12602

<sup>535</sup> More cases of *me* instead of *mihi* can be found in Stotz, *LSDM. Vierter Band*, p. 123.

VP 14.1.4	<i>sacrificii</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>sacrificiis</i>	Gen. 547
<b>Category 2: inflection of the verb/participle</b>		
<b>2a: variation related to tense and/or mood of the verb/participle</b>		
VB 8.3	(...) <i>et cum desinunt laedere curasse putantur/creduntur.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et cum desinunt laedere <u>curare</u> putantur.</i>	Bamberg 139 Vienna 560
VB 10.4	(...) <i>et cotidie sacrificantibus nullum Astaroth daret responsum (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et cotidie <u>sacrificantes</u> nullum Astaroth daret responsum, (...)</i>	Paris 12604
VB 14.7	(...) <i>ut [numina] quae [colunt Indi] euacuet.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ut omnia numina que coluntur in India <u>euacueret.</u></i>	Gen. 558
VB 15.3	(...) <i>quia inter multa milia hominum non possumus cognoscere eum.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>quia inter multa milia hominum, non <u>poterimus</u> inuenire eum.</i>	Paris 5273
VB 19.8	(...) <i>induitur pallio albo (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i><u>indutus</u> pallio albo (...)</i>	Gen. 557
VB 20.3	(...) <i>numquam sordidantur uestimenta eius (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>numquam <u>sordidata sunt</u> uestimenta eius (...)</i>	Paris 18298 Paris 5273
VB 29.2 VB 29.4	(...) <i>si uult (...)</i> <i>si non uult (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>si <u>uoluerit</u> (...)</i> <i>si non <u>uoluerit</u> (...)</i>	Gen. 558
VB 34.2	(...) <i>dixit (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i><u>dicit</u> (...)</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 40.1.3	<i>Dicit (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>Dixit</u> (...)</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 54.3	<i>Quae cum terrore percussa expauisset, (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Quae cum terrore percussa <u>expauesceret</u>, (...)</i>	Paris 9737 St. Gall 561
VB 55.4	<i>Quomodo fiet hoc que uirum non cognosco?</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Quomodo fiet hoc quae uirum non <u>cognoui</u>?</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 65.1.6	(...) <i>ex qua natus est homo cum deo?</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ex qua natus <u>esset</u> homo deus?</i>	Gen. 547
VB 77.6	(...) <i>potestatem habere uidetur, (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>potestatem <u>uidebatur</u> habere (...)</i>	Vienna 560
VB 84.2	<i>Crastina (...) parati erunt (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Crastina (...) parati <u>erant</u> (...)</i>	Bamberg 139

VB 87.1.2	(...) <i>mortem quae regina nostra est</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>mortem quae regina nostra erat</i> (...)	Vienna 560
VB 94.2	<i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum, lesione cessamus,</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Iam ergo per hoc quod ab eorum lesione <u>cessauimus</u></i> (...)	Paris 12602
VB 96.1	<i>Nam ausus non essem loqui</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Nam non <u>auderem</u> loqui</i> (...)	Paris 5273
VB 97.1	(...) <i>dicit</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i><u>dixit</u></i> (...)	St. Gall 561
VB 97.4	(...) <i>[hos omnes] qui ad te conuenerunt.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>hos omnes, qui ad te <u>conueniunt?</u></i>	Gen. 558
VB 103.4.4	(...) <i>et uos omnes in isto templo Christi baptismate consecrabo.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et uos omnes in isto templo Christi baptismate <u>consecrauero.</u></i>	Paris 18298
VB 105.2	(...) <i>dixit</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i><u>dicit</u></i> (...)	Munich 22020
VB 119.9	(...) <i>et omnia mala fugient a uobis.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et omnia mala <u>fugiunt</u> a uobis.</i>	Munich 22020
VB 121.7	(...) <i>et erat uinctus</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i><u>eritque</u> uinctus</i> (...)	St. Gall 561
VB 122.1	(...) <i>dixit</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i><u>dicit</u></i> (...)	Gen. 558
VB 122.7	(...) <i>nulla conuersatio hominum est uel esse potest,</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>conuersatio hominum nulla est uel esse <u>poterit,</u></i> (...)	Gen. 547
VB 122.10	(...) <i>et ibi sis usque ad diem iudicii.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et ibi <u>esto</u> usque ad diem iudicii.</i>	Munich 22020
VB 127.1	<i>Interea colligentes se</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Interea <u>colligerunt</u> se</i> (...)	Gen. 547
VB 128.3	(...) <i>hominis qui templa nostra sibi uindicat,</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>hominis magi, qui templa nostra sibi <u>uindicauit,</u></i> (...)	Paris 11750
VB 133.1.2	<i>Dicit</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i><u>Dixit</u></i> (...)	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 134.5	(...) <i>ut ipsi conquassarent</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>ut ipsi <u>conquassassent</u></i> (...)	Paris 5273
VB 137.3	<i>Si potueris hoc facere</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Si <u>poteris</u> hoc facere</i> (...)	St. Gall 561
VB 139.2	<i>Haec cum diceret</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Haec cum <u>dixisset</u></i> (...)	St. Gall 561

VP 2.5	<i>praedicauit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>praedicabat</i>	Munich 12641
VP 17.3	<i>ascendisset</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>ascendit</i>	St. Gall 561
VP 17.6	<i>promisit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>promississet</i>	Vienna 497
<b>2b: conjugation of the verb (change of subject)</b>		
VB 72.3	<i>auferamus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>auferant</i>	Bamberg 139
VB 80.3	<i>obtineat</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>obtineant</i>	Angers 281
VB 95.2.1	<i>qua... uenit... Bartholomeus... iussit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>qua tu... uenisti... Bartholomeus... iussisti</i>	Munich 22020
VB 125.10	<i>credens baptizatus est</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>credens baptizati sunt</i>	Gen. 558
VP 16.2.1	<i>doceret/docebat/docuit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>docerent</i>	Bamberg 139
<b>Category 3: interpolation/omission of prefix</b>		
VB 71.11	<i>expellamus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>pellamus</i>	Paris 18298
VB 97.4	<i>conuenerunt</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>uenerunt</i>	Vienna 497
VB 106.2	<i>exsoluissent</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>soluissent</i>	Munich 22020
VB 113.4	<i>fugaremus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>effugaremus</i>	Vienna 497 Munich 12641
VB 113.6	<i>suscitaremus</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>resuscitaremus</i>	Munich 12641
VB 119.3	<i>sculpsi</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>exculpsi</i>	Gen. 557 Paris 5273
VB 123.4	<i>euolauit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>uolauit</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 124.3	<i>euolauit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>uolauit</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 139.6.2	<i>minutatim</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>comminutatim</i>	St. Gall 561
VB 140.2	<i>scidit</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>excidit</i>	St. Gall 561
VP 8.5	<i>fugabitur</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>effugabitur</i>	Gen. 558

<b>Category 4: construction of the clause</b>		
VB 12.1.1	<i>Respondens autem Beirith dixit: (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Respondit autem Berith et dixit: (...)</i>	Gen. 547
VB 15.2	<i>(...) ut possimus inuenire eum (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) ut inueniamus eum (...)</i>	Vienna 497
VB 22.1	<i>Centies flexis genibus per diem (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Centies <u>flectit genua</u> per diem (...)</i>	Gen. 557 Vienna 497
VB 38.5.2	<i>(...) et quos poterat tenere scindebat et caedebat, (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et quos poterat, <u>tenebat</u> scindebat atque caedebat, (...)</i>	Munich 22020
VB 77.6	<i>(...) potestatem habere uidetur, (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) potestatem habere <u>in hominibus uidet</u> (...)</i>	Munich 22020
VB 83.4	<i>(...) faciam eum confiteri (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) faciam <u>illi</u> confiteri (...)</i>	Paris 5273
VB 110.1.2	<i>(...) expandens (...) manus suas (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) <u>expansis manibus</u> (...)</i>	Vienna 497
VB 111.5	<i>(...) quia semper idem es et inmutabilis perseueras.</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) quia semper idem es inmutabilis <u>perseuerans</u>.</i>	Munich 22020
VB 117.8	<i>(...) sculpsit et dixit (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) <u>sculpens</u> dixit (...)</i>	Paris 11750
VB 135.2	<i>ut reliqueret deum suum</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>deum suum relinquere</u></i>	Paris 12602
	<i><u>relinquere deum suum</u></i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 136.5	<i>ut frangeret</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>frangere</u></i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 136.4	<i>(...) et ipsum feci ut frangeret simulachrum suum.</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et <u>ipsi</u> feci ut frangeret simulacrum suum.</i>	Gen. 558
VB 138.6.1	<i>(...) et tu crede deo meo.</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) et <u>te credere</u> deo meo.</i>	Wolf. Helmst. 497
VB 146.3.1	<i>uniuerso populo acclamante et omni clero</i>	all manuscripts
	<i><u>ut uniuersus populus et omnis clerus acclamaret</u></i>	Munich 22020
VP 19.2.1	<i>(...) missus scire uos feci (...)</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>(...) missus scire feci uos (...)</i>	
	<i>(...) missus <u>sum</u> ut scire uos <u>facerem</u></i>	Paris 9737

<b>Category 5: interpolation of preposition</b>		
VB 5.2.2	(...) <i>ingressus est templum Indiae</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>in templo</i> (...) <i>introgressus est</i> (...)	Paris 12602
VB 25.2	<i>Semper eodem uultu, eodem animo perseuerat.</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>Semper in eodem uultu, eodem animo perseuerat.</i>	Munich 22020
VB 79.4	(...) <i>suadet eos credere idolis.</i>	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>suadet eos credere in idolis.</i>	Paris 18298
VB 104.1	<i>Tunc iussu regis</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	<i>Tunc ad iussum regis</i> (...)	St. Gall 561
VP 24.6	(...) <i>et dixit eis:</i> (...)	all manuscripts
	(...) <i>et dixit ad eos:</i> (...) <sup>536</sup>	Vienna 497
<b>Category 6: other</b>		
VB 19.2	<i>clauato</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>clauata</i>	Vienna 560 Munich 22020
VB 21.1.2	<i>sandalia</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>sandaliae</i> <sup>537</sup>	Vienna 455
VB 85.2	<i>altera die</i>	all manuscripts
	<i>altero die</i>	Paris 9737

<sup>536</sup> The replacement of a dative by ad+accusative is a widespread phenomenon in the development of the Latin language; cf. E. Löfstedt, *Syntactica I* (1942), p. 187-193.

<sup>537</sup> On the change of nominative plural in the neuter gender *sandalia* to nominative plural in the feminine gender *sandaliae*, cf. Stotz, *LSDM. Vierter Band*, p. 15. ff.



## Appendix 5 Corrections in the *Virtutes Bartholomei*-text in Paris 5563

### fol. 96v

- 014 Incipit capituli de passione Bartolomei apostoli  
015 .I. De fanis indicium de apostolo.  
016 .II. De lunatica sanata.  
017 .III. De praedicatione apostoli ad regem.  
018 .III. De confessione demonis et subuersione templi.  
019 .V. De passione apostoli.  
020 .VI. De episcopatu regis.  
021 Incipit passio sancti Bartholomei apostoli  
022 sub die .VIII. Kalendis Septembris

### fol. 97r

- 001 Indiae tres esse ab historiographis, dicuntur.<sup>538</sup> Prima  
002 est India quae ad Aethiopiam mittit. Secunda quae ad  
003 Medos. Tertia quae finem facit. Nam ex uno latere  
004 tenebrarum regionem gerit, ex alio latere mare oce-  
005 anum. In hanc ergo Indiam ueniens Bartholomeus  
006 apostolus, et<sup>539</sup> ingressus est templum<sup>540</sup> in quo erat idolum  
007 Astaroth, et quasi peregrinus ibi manere coepit. In hoc  
008 idolo daemon talis erat qui diceret se curare languen-  
009 tes, caecos sine dubio quos ipse laedebat inluminare.  
010 Erant enim sine deo uero<sup>541</sup>, et necesse erat ut  
011 a deo falso ludificarentur. Deus enim<sup>542</sup> falsus hac arte  
012 inludit eos qui uerum deum non credunt<sup>543</sup>, facit eis dolores,  
013 infirmitates, damna, pericula, et dat<sup>544</sup> responsa ut sa-  
014 crificent ei<sup>545</sup>, et<sup>546</sup> quasi sanentur ab eo<sup>547</sup>. Hoc uidetur stultis  
015 quod sanent<sup>548</sup>. Illi autem non sanando subueniunt, sed  
016 a lesione cessando, et cum desinunt laedere, curasse putan-  
017 tur<sup>549</sup>. Vnde factum est, ut sancto Bartholomeo apostolo ibi<sup>550</sup> ma-

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<sup>538</sup> *dicuntur: asseruntur* a.c. rec.

<sup>539</sup> *et:* add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>540</sup> *templum: templum Indiae* a.c. rec. eras.

<sup>541</sup> *uero: uero homines illi* a.c. rec. eras.

<sup>542</sup> *enim:* p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>543</sup> *credunt:* p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>544</sup> *dat:* p.c. rec.

<sup>545</sup> *ei:* p.c. rec.

<sup>546</sup> *et:* add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>547</sup> *eo:* p.c. rec.

<sup>548</sup> *quod sanent:* a.c. rec. transl.

<sup>549</sup> *laedere curasse putantur:* p.c. rec.

<sup>550</sup> *apostolo ibi: o i* p.c. rec.

018 nente, nulla responsa daret Astaroth, et nulli poterat  
 019 ex his quos<sup>551</sup> laeserat subuenire. Cumque iam plenum esset de<sup>552</sup>  
 020 languentibus templum, et cottidie sacrificantibus nul-  
 021 lum Astaroth daret<sup>553</sup> responsum, infirmitate cogente<sup>554</sup> ex longin-  
 022 quis regionibus adducti iacebant, sed cum neque sacrifican-  
 023 do neque se ipsos more suo laniando<sup>555</sup>, perrexerunt

**fol. 97v**

001 in aliam ciuitatem, ubi aliud daemonium colebatur,  
 002 cui nomen erat Berith, et illic sacrificantes coeperunt  
 003 inquirere quare deus eorum Astaroth non eis daret responsa.  
 004 Respondens autem Berith dixit<sup>556</sup>: Deus uester sic captius  
 005 et religatus cathenis igneis strictus<sup>557</sup> tenetur, ut neque suspirare audeat neque  
 loqui<sup>558</sup>,  
 006 ex illa hora qua ibi apostolus dei Bartholomeus ingressus<sup>559</sup> est. Dicunt  
 007 illi: Et quis est iste Bartholomeus? Respondit daemon:  
 008 Amicus est dei<sup>560</sup> omnipotentis, et ideo huc uenit in istam pro-  
 009 uinciam, ut omnia<sup>561</sup> uana idola<sup>562</sup> quae colunt Indi euacuet. Dixerunt<sup>563</sup>  
 010 cultores idoli: Dic nobis signa eius ut possimus inue-  
 011 nire<sup>564</sup> eum, quia inter multa milia hominum non possumus  
 012 inuenire eum. Respondens autem daemon dixit: Capillo nigri<sup>565</sup>  
 013 capitis et crispi<sup>566</sup>, caro candida, oculi grandes, nares aequales  
 014 et directae, aures coopertae crine capitis, barba prolixa ha-  
 015 bens paucos canos. Statura aequalis quae nec longa satis possit  
 016 nec breuior auerti<sup>567</sup>. Vestitur<sup>568</sup> colobio albo clauato purpura

<sup>551</sup> *quos*: p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>552</sup> *de*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>553</sup> *Astaroth daret*: *daret Astaroth* a.c. rec.

<sup>554</sup> *in[firm]itate cogente*: p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>555</sup> *laniando*: rasura sequitur: profi[cerent]

<sup>556</sup> *dixit*: rasura sequitur.

<sup>557</sup> *cathenis igneis strictus*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>558</sup> *audeat neque loqui*: corr. rec. in lin.

<sup>559</sup> *ingressus*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>560</sup> *amicus est dei*: p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>561</sup> *omnia*: p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>562</sup> *uana idola*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>563</sup> *dixerunt*: rasura sequitur.

<sup>564</sup> *inuenire*: p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>565</sup> *nigri*: secundam *i* p.c. rec.

<sup>566</sup> *crispi*: secundam *i* p.c. rec.

<sup>567</sup> *nec longa satis possit nec breuior auerti*: p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>568</sup> *uestitur*: *uestitus* a.c. rec. in lin.

017 induitur pallio albo, per singulos angulos<sup>569</sup> singulas gemmas purpu-  
018 reas, uiginti et<sup>570</sup> sex anni sunt, numquam sordidantur uesti-  
019 menta eius, numquam ueterescunt, similiter et sandalia  
020 eius amentis latis, per uiginti et<sup>571</sup> sex annos, numquam uete-  
021 rescunt. Centies flexis genibus per diem, centies per noctem  
022 orat deum. Vox eius quasi tuba uehemens est, ambulant  
023 cum eo angeli dei, qui non permittunt eum fatigari, nec<sup>572</sup>

**fol. 98r**

001 esurire. Semper eodem uultu, eodem animo perseuerat, omni hora  
002 hilaris et laetus permanet. Omnia prouidet, omnia nouit,  
003 omnem linguam omnium gentium et loquitur et intelligit.  
004 Ecce et hoc quod uos interrogatis, et quod ego do responsum de  
005 eo iam nouit. Angeli enim<sup>573</sup> dei famulantur ei, et ipsi nuntiant ei. Et  
006 cum coeperitis eum querere, si uult ostendet se uobis si non uult  
007 non poteritis uidere eum. Rogo autem uos ut dum eum inuene-  
008 ritis rogetis eum uel huc non ueniat, et hoc mihi faciant an-  
009 geli qui cum eo sunt, quod fecerunt collegae meo Astaroth. Et haec dicens demon  
conticuit.<sup>574</sup> Re-  
010 uertentes autem coeperunt circumire et inquirere<sup>575</sup> omnium peregrino-  
011 rum<sup>576</sup> uultus et habitum<sup>577</sup>  
012 et per duos dies non inuenerunt eum<sup>578</sup>. Factum est autem ut quidam  
013 plenus daemone clamaret et diceret: Apostole dei<sup>579</sup> Bartholomeae,  
014 incendunt me orationes tuae. Tunc apostolus dei<sup>580</sup> dixit ei: Obmutisce  
015 et exi ab eo. Et statim liberatus est homo, qui per multos annos  
016 fuerat fatigatus ab eo.  
017 Polemius autem rex prouintiae eiusdem<sup>581</sup> cum haberet filiam  
018 lunaticam, nuntiatum est illi de hoc daemoneso, et misit ad eum<sup>582</sup>  
019 et rogauit eum, dicens<sup>583</sup>: Filia mea male uexatur, peto

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<sup>569</sup> *angulos*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>570</sup> *et*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>571</sup> *et*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>572</sup> *nec*: p.c. in lin.

<sup>573</sup> *enim*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>574</sup> *Et... conticuit*: add. rec. in marg.

<sup>575</sup> *et inquirere*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>576</sup> *peregrinorum*: *peregrinorum hospitales atque aspicere*: a.c. rec. transl.

<sup>577</sup> *habitum*: *habitum singulorum* a.c. rec. eras.

<sup>578</sup> *eum*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>579</sup> *dei*: add. rec. in lin.

<sup>580</sup> *dei*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>581</sup> *eiusdem*: *eius* a.c. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>582</sup> *ad eum*: add. rec. in marg.

<sup>583</sup> *dicens*: *dic ei* a.c. rec. in lin.

020 ut sicut liberasti Pseustium qui per multos annos pas-  
021 sus est, ita et filiam meam liberare<sup>584</sup> digneris<sup>585</sup>. Exsurgens autem, per-  
022 rexit cum eo. Atubi uidit eam apostolus catenis strictam quia  
023 omnes morsu attractabat, et quos poterat tenere scindebat

**fol. 98v**

001 et cedebat, et nullus ausus erat accedere ad eam. Tunc apostolus  
002 iussit eam solui. Dicunt ei ministri: Et quis ausus est manum  
003 mittere ad eam? Dicit eis apostolus: Iam ego uinctum teneo  
004 inimicum qui in ipsa erat, et uos adhuc timetis eam? Ite  
005 et soluite eam et lauate<sup>586</sup> et reficite eam, et crastina die<sup>587</sup> mane  
006 adducite eam ad me. Euntes autem, fecerunt sicut ius-  
007 sit apostolus, et ultra eam penitus non potuit uexare daemon.  
008 Tunc rex oneravit camelos, auro, argento, gemmis, et<sup>588</sup> uesti-  
009 tibus, et coepit querere apostolum, et penitus non inuenit  
010 eum, et reportata sunt omnia ad palatium eius<sup>589</sup>.  
011 Factum est autem cum transisset nox, et aurora diei  
012 futuri inciperet, apparuit apostolus solus cum solo rege  
013 ostio clauso in cubiculo eius, et dixit ei: Vtquid me quaesisti  
014 tota die cum argento et auro, et gemmis et uestibus?  
015 Ista munera eis sunt necessaria qui terrena querunt.  
016 Ego autem nihil terrenum, nihil carnale desidero uel requiro<sup>590</sup>. Vnde  
017 scire te uolo, quia filius dei dignatus est per uterum uirginis  
018 nasci cum homine, ita ut homo in uirginis uulua concep-  
019 tus secum inter ipsa secreta uirginis haberet deum, qui fecit  
020 caelum et terram, et omnia quae in eis sunt. Hic simul  
021 cum homine natus, partu uirginis coepit habere initium,  
022 nascendo cum homine, cuius initium ante saecula a deo  
023 patre est et<sup>591</sup> sine initio. Numquam semper<sup>592</sup> non fuit et omnibus

**fol. 99r**

001 initium dedit, siue uisibilibus siue inuisibilibus creaturis.  
002 Haec autem uirgo cum execraretur omnem uirum, et ipsa  
003 seruandae uirginitatis uotum prima omnipotenti deo<sup>593</sup> uo-

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<sup>584</sup> *liberare*: p.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>585</sup> *digneris*: add. rec. in marg.

<sup>586</sup> *et lauate*: *eleuate* a.c. rec. in marg.; quoque corr. rec. in lin.

<sup>587</sup> *crastina die*: *crastino* a.c. rec. in et sup. lin.

<sup>588</sup> *et*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>589</sup> *palatium eius*: *palatium* a.c. rec. in lin.

<sup>590</sup> *uel requiro*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>591</sup> *et*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>592</sup> *semper*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>593</sup> *omnipotenti deo*: *deo omnipotenti* a.c. rec.

004 uisset. Primam autem ideo dixi, quia ex quo homo factus est  
 005 ab initio seculi, nulla hoc uotum deo optulit. Haec ergo  
 006 prima inter feminas hoc constituit in corde suo ut diceret deo<sup>594</sup>:  
 007 Domine, offero tibi uirginitatem meam. Cum hoc a nullo  
 008 homine uel uerbo didicisset, nec exemplo ad imitatio-  
 009 nem uidisset<sup>595</sup>, ut uirgo, pro amore dei specialiter  
 010 permaneret. Huic subito intus in cubiculo clausae<sup>596</sup>,  
 011 splendens sicut sol Gabriel archangelus<sup>597</sup> apparuit. Quae cum  
 012 terrore perculsa expauisset, ait ad illam angelus: Noli  
 013 timere Maria, inuenisti enim gratiam ante deum. Ecce concipies et paries filium, et  
 uocabis nomen eius Ihesum<sup>598</sup>. At illa timore deposito,  
 014 constanter ait: Quomodo fiet hoc, quia uirum non  
 015 cognosco? Id est hoc constitui ut non cognoscam.<sup>599</sup> Cui angelus respondit:  
 Propter hoc spiritus sanctus  
 016 superueniet in te, et uirtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideo-  
 017 que quod ex te nascetur sanctum, uocabitur filius dei. Hic ergo  
 018 cum natus esset uel permisit passus est uel permisit<sup>600</sup>, se temptari a diabolo  
 illo<sup>601</sup>, qui  
 019 primum hominem uicerat suadendo, ut de arbore  
 020 uetita a deo manducaret<sup>602</sup>. Ipsum ergo per-  
 021 misit ad se accedere, ut sicut dixerat Adae, id est pri-  
 022 mo homini per mulierem: Manduca, et manducauit. Et ideo  
 023 sic de paradiso est proiectus primus homo<sup>603</sup>, et in isto mundo exiliatus est<sup>604</sup>

**fol. 99v**

001 et sic genuit omne humanum genus, ita et isti dixit:  
 002 Dic lapidibus ut panes fiant, et manduca<sup>605</sup> non esurias.  
 003 Cui respondit: Non in pane tantum uiuit homo, sed in omni  
 004 uerbo dei. Hic ergo diabolus qui per manducantem hominem  
 005 uicerat, uictoriam suam per ieiunantem et se contemnen-  
 006 tem amisit. Par enim fuit, ut qui filium uirginis uicerat,  
 007 a filio uirginis uinceretur. Dicit ei rex: Et quomodo

<sup>594</sup> *deo*: add. rec. in marg.

<sup>595</sup> *uidisset*: *inuitata constituit* a.c. rec. exp. et sup. lin.

<sup>596</sup> *clausae*: *suo clauso* a.c. rec. exp. et in lin.

<sup>597</sup> *archangelus*: *angelus* a.c. rec. in et sup. lin.

<sup>598</sup> *inuenisti... Ihesum*: *quia concipies* a.c. rec. in marg.

<sup>599</sup> *id... cognoscam*: add. rec. in marg.

<sup>600</sup> *uel permisit*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>601</sup> *illo*: *illum* a.c. rec. eras. et in lin.

<sup>602</sup> *manducaret*: *manducare praesumeret* a.c. rec. sup. lin. et exp.

<sup>603</sup> *primus homo*: add. rec. sup. lin.

<sup>604</sup> *est*: add. rec. in lin.

<sup>605</sup> *manduca*: *manduca ut siue manduca* a.c. rec. eras.

008 dixisti primam hanc esse uirginem ex qua natus est homo  
009 cum deo? Apostolus respondit: Ago gratias deo quia sollicite  
010 audis. Primus ergo homo Adam dictus est, hic de terra fac-  
011 tus est. Terra autem illa ex qua factus est, uirgo fuit quia  
012 nec sanguine humano polluta fuerat, nec ad sepulturam  
013 alicuius mortui fuerat adaperta. Par ergo erat ut  
014 dixi ut qui filium uirginis uicerat a filio uirginis uinceretur.  
015 Et ideo sicut qui uictor extiterat<sup>606</sup> tyranni, mittit comites  
016 suos, ut in omnibus locis ubi tyrannus possedit titulos  
017 regis sui uictores ac triumphatores imponant, ita  
018 hic homo Christus Ihesus qui uicit, misit nos in omnes prouin-  
019 tias ut expellamus ministros diaboli, qui per templa  
020 in status habitant, et homines qui eos colunt de potestate eius  
021 qui uictus est auferamus. Ideo argentum et aurum non acci-  
022 pimus, sed contempnimus, sicut ipse contempsit quia ibi cupimus  
023 esse diuites, ubi solum eius regnat imperium. Vbi nec

**fol. 100r**

001 languor, nec morbus, nec tristitia, nec mors locum aliquem  
002 habere noscuntur, ubi felicitas perpetua beatitudo per-  
003 ennis est, et gaudium sine fine, et sunt ibi daelitia sempiternae.  
004 Inde est quod templum uestrum ingressus demonem, qui  
005 de<sup>607</sup> idolo dabat uobis responsa, ab angelis eius qui me misit  
006 religatum optineo, quem si baptizatus fueris et permiseris  
007 te inluminari, faciam te uidere et cognoscere quanto ma-  
008 lo caruistis, nam omnes illi qui iacent in templo aegrotan-  
009 tes, audi qua arte uideatur curare eos diabolus qui  
010 primum hominem uicit, et sepe iam dixi, quia per ipsam  
011 uictoriam pessimam potestatem habere uidetur, et  
012 in aliis quidem maiorem, in aliis uero minorem, minorem  
013 in his qui minus peccant, ipse uero diabolus facit arte  
014 sua homines aegrotare, et suadet eos credere idolis, et ut  
015 in animabus eorum potestatem optineat, cessat tunc eos  
016 laedere cum dixerint lapidi aut metallo cuicumque: Tu es  
017 deus meus. Venerunt ergo hi omnes, et cottidie dicebant  
018 metallo: Tu es deus meus. Sed quia ipse daemon qui in ipsa sta-  
019 tua erat a me uinctus tenetur, sacrificantibus et se adoran-  
020 tibus nullum potest dare responsum. Sed si uis probare ita  
021 esse, iubebo illi et ingreditur statuam suam et faciam eum  
022 confiteri hoc ipsum quod sit religatus et responsa dare non  
023 possit. Dicit ei rex: Crastina prima hora diei parati

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<sup>606</sup> *extiterat: extitit* a.c. rec. exp. et sup. lin.

<sup>607</sup> *de: in* a.c. rec. sup. lin.

**fol. 100v**

001 erunt pontifices sacrificare ei et ego ibi superueniam  
002 ut uideam hoc factum mirabile.  
003 Factum est autem altera die prima hora diei, sacrifican-  
004 tibus eis, coepit clamare daemon: Cessate miseri sacri-  
005 ficare mihi, ne peiora patiamini, quam ego qui catenis  
006 igneis religatus sum ab angelis Ihesu Christi quem Iudaei cruci-  
007 fixerunt putantes eum in morte posse detineri. Ille autem  
008 ipsam mortem quae regina nostra est, captiuauit, et ipsum  
009 principem nostrum mortis tertia die uictor mortis<sup>608</sup> uinculis igneis uinxit<sup>609</sup>  
010 et diaboli resurrexit<sup>610</sup> et dedit signum crucis suae apostoli suis, et misit eos per  
uniuer-  
011 sas partes saeculi, ex quibus unus hic est qui me uinctum tenet.  
012 peto uos ut rogetis eum pro me, ut dimittat me ire ad alte-  
013 ram prouinciam. Tunc Bartholomeus apostolus ait: Confitere  
014 inmundissime daemon istos omnes qui hic aegrotationes ua-  
015 rias patiuntur, quis est qui eos laesit? Respondit daemon:  
016 Princeps noster diabolus sic quomodo ligatus est, ipse nos mit-  
017 tit ad homines ut laedamus. Primo quidem carnem eorum quoniam  
018 animas hominum non possumus habere in potestate nisi sacri-  
019 ficauerint. Ad ubi pro salute corporis sui nobis sacri-  
020 ficauerint, cessamus nocere eos, quia iam in animas eorum  
021 potestatem habere incipimus. Iam ergo ob hoc quod ab  
022 eorum laesione cessamus, uidebimur curare eos, et colimur  
023 quasi dii cum pro certo simus daemones, ministri eius quem in

**fol. 101r**

001 cruce positus Ihesus uirginis filius religauit. A die qua eius  
002 discipulus huc uenit apostolus Bartholomeus, ardentibus cate-  
003 nis strictus consumor, et ideo loquor quia iussit mihi,  
004 nam ausus non essem loqui eo presente nec ipse princeps  
005 noster. Dicit ei apostolus: Quare non saluas hos omnes qui ad te  
006 conuenerunt? Dicit ei daemon: Nos quando corpora lae-  
007 dimus, nisi animam laeserimus, corpora sine laesione per-  
008 durant. Tunc dixit apostolus ad plebem: Ecce quem deum puta-  
009 batis. Ecce quem putabatis curare uos. Audite nunc  
010 uerum deum creatorem uestrum qui in caelis habitat, non lapi-  
011 dibus uanis credatis, sed si uultis ut orem pro uobis et omnes hi  
012 sanitatem recipiant, deponite idolum hoc et confringi-  
013 te, et cum hoc feceritis, templum hoc Christi nomini dedicabo,  
014 et uos omnes in isto templo Christi baptismate consecrabo.

<sup>608</sup> *mortis... mortis*: p.c. rec. in ras.

<sup>609</sup> *uinculis...uinxit*: add. rec. in marg.

<sup>610</sup> *et... resurrexit*: add. rec. in marg. infer.

015 Tunc iussu regis omnes populi miserunt funes et trocleas, et  
016 simulacrum non poterant euertere. Apostolus autem dixit eis:  
017 Soluite uincula eius. Cumque exsoluissent omnia, dixit ad dae-  
018 monem qui in eo erat: Si uis ut non faciam te in abyssum  
019 mitti, exi de isto simulacro et confringe illud, et uade in  
020 deserta, ubi nec auis uolat, nec arator arat, nec umquam  
021 uox hominis resonauit. At ille statim egrediens commi-  
022 nuit omnia genera idolorum, nec solum maius idolum,  
023 sed ubicumque pro ornatu templi sigilla erant posita minutauit

**fol. 101v**

001 ita ut picturam omnem delesset. Tunc omnes una uoce clama-  
002 re coeperunt: Vnus deus omnipotens quem praedicat apostolus eius  
003 Bartholomeus. Tunc expandens Bartholomeus ma-  
004 nus suas ad deum dixit: Deus Abraham, deus Isaac et deus Iacob, qui  
005 ad redemptionem nostram unigenitum tuum filium deum<sup>611</sup>  
006 nostrum et dominum direxisti, ut nos omnes qui eramus serui pecca-  
007 ti suo sanguine redimeret, et tibi filios faceret, qui uerus  
008 deus ex hoc cognosceris quia semper idem es, et immutabilis  
009 perseueras, unus deus pater ingenitus, et unus filius eius  
010 unigenitus deus noster Ihesus Christus, et unus sanctus spiritus inluminator et  
011 ductor animarum nostrarum, qui dedit nobis potestatem ut in-  
012 firmos saluaremus, cecos inluminaremus, leprosos mun-  
013 daremus, paralyticos absolueremus, daemones fugeremus,  
014 et suscitarem mortuos, et dixit nobis: Amen dico  
015 uobis, quaecumque in nomine meo petieritis, a patre meo  
016 dabit [u]obis. Peto ergo in eius nomine, ut omnis haec  
017 multitudo saluetur ut cognoscant omnes quia tu es  
018 deus unus in caelo et in terra et in mari, qui salutem recupe-  
019 ras per ipsum deum nostrum Ihesum Christum per quem est tibi deo patri  
020 honor et gloria cum spiritu sancto per immortalia saecula seculorum.  
021 Cumque omnes respondissent amen, apparuit angelus  
022 domini splendidus sicut sol, habens alas et per quattuor an-  
023 gulos templi circumuolans, digito suo in quadratis

**fol. 102r**

001 saxis sculpsit signum crucis et dixit: Haec dicit dominus qui  
002 misit me: Sicut uos omnes ab infirmitate uestra mundami-  
003 ni, ita mundauit templum hoc ab omni sorde et habita-  
004 tore eius, quem iussit apostolus dei ire in locum desertum ab  
005 hominibus, iussit ut ostendam prius uobis, quem uidentes  
006 nolite expauescere, sed quale signum ego sculpsi in his  
007 saxis, tale uos digito uestro facite in frontribus uestris, et omnia

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<sup>611</sup> *deum*: rasura sequitur

008 mala fugient a uobis. Tunc ostendit eis ingentem Aegyptium,  
009 nigriorem fuligine, faciem acutam cum barba  
010 proluxa, crines usque ad pedes, oculos igneos sicut ferrum  
011 ignitum, scintillas emicantes ex ore eius, et ex naribus  
012 egrediebatur flamma sulphurea, pennarum adaeque habentem,  
013 alas spineas sicut stirps, et erat unctus a tergo manibus  
014 igneis catenis strictus, et dixit ei angelus domini: Quoniam  
015 audisti uocem apostoli, et omnia pollutionum genera de isto  
016 templo mundasti, secundum promissum apostoli soluam te ut  
017 uadas ubi nulla conuersatio hominum est uel esse potest, et  
018 ibi sis usque ad diem iudicii, et cum exsoluisset eum, ille  
019 ululatum atterrimum dirae uocis emittens euolauit et  
020 nusquam comparuit. Angelus autem domini uidentibus  
021 cunctis euolauit ad caeli. Tunc rex una cum uxore sua et  
022 duobus filiis et cum omni exercitu suo et cum omni populo qui  
023 saluatus est, [ui]cinarum

**fol. 102v**

001 urbium quae ad eius regnum pertinebant, credens baptizatus  
002 est et deposito diademate capitis et purpura coepit apostolum  
003 non deserere. Interea colligentes se uniuersorum templorum  
004 pontifices, abierunt ad Astrigem regem fratrem eius maiorem  
005 et dixerunt: Frater tuus discipulus factus est magi hominis  
006 qui templa nostra sibi uindicat, et deos nostros confringit.  
007 Cum haec flentes referrent, ecce et aliarum ciuitatum  
008 pontifices eadem coeperunt flentes referre. Tunc rex  
009 Astriges indignatus, misit mille uiros armatos cum  
010 pontificibus ut ubi inuentus esset apostolus unctum illum  
011 perducerent ad eum. Quod cum fecissent, dixit ad eum  
012 Astriges rex: Tu es qui euertisti fratrem meum? Cui  
013 apostolus dixit: Ego non euerti eum, sed conuertere. Dixit  
014 ei rex: Tu es qui fecisti deos nostros comminui? Dicit  
015 ei apostolus: Ego dedi potestatem daemonibus qui in eis  
016 erant, ut ipsi conquassarent idola uana in quibus  
017 degebant, et omnes homines relicto errore crederent  
018 omnipotenti deo qui in caelis habitat. Dicit ei rex: Sicut  
019 tu fecisti fratrem meum ut relinqueret deum suum, et tuum  
020 crederet, ita ego faciam te relinquare deum tuum et deo  
021 meo credere et ipsi sacrificare. Dicit ei apostolus: Ego  
022 deum quem colebat frater tuus, religatum

**fol. 103r**

001 et uinctum ostendi, et ipsum feci ut frangeret simulachrum  
002 suum, si potueris hoc facere deo meo, poteris me ad sacrifici-  
003 um prouocare. Si autem tu nihil potes deo meo facere,  
004 ego omnes deos tuos comminam, et tu crede deo meo. Haec  
005 cum diceret, nuntiatum est regi quod deus eius Waldath  
006 cecidisset, et minutatim abisset. Tunc scidit rex pur-  
007 puream uestem qua indutus erat, et fecit fustibus caedi sanctum  
008 apostolum Bartholomeum. Caesum autem, iussit decollari.  
009 Venientes autem innumerabiles populi .XII. ciuitatum  
010 qui per eum crediderunt una cum rege, abstulerunt cum  
011 hymnis et cum omni gloria corpus eius. Factum est  
012 autem tricesimo die depositionis eius, arreptus daemo-  
013 nio rex Astriges, uenit ad templum eius et omnes ponti-  
014 fices, pleni daemonibus passi sunt ibi confitentes apos-  
015 tolatum eius et sic sunt mortui. Factus est autem  
016 timor et tremor super omnes incredulos, et crediderunt  
017 uniuersi atque baptizati sunt a presbiteris quos ordina-  
018 uerat apostolus Bartholomeus.  
019 Factum est autem per reuelationem uniuerso po-  
020 pulo acclamante et omni clero ab apostolo ordinatur  
021 Polimius rex episcopus, et coepit in nomine apostoli signa fa-  
022 cere. Fuit autem in episcopatu annis .XX. et perfec-  
023 tis omnibus atque bene compositis et bene constabilitis

**fol. 103v**

001 migravit ad dominum. Cui est honor et gloria in saecula sae-  
002 culorum .Amen.

### Samenvatting (summary in Dutch)

Wanneer we één en dezelfde tekst in twee handschriften uit de middeleeuwen met elkaar vergelijken treffen we vrijwel altijd tekstvarianten aan. Lange tijd was het belangrijkste doel van filologen om uit de verschillende teksten uit de handschriften de oorspronkelijke tekst te reconstrueren zoals die door een al dan niet bekende auteur was geschreven. Een invloedrijke methode hiervoor was de stemmatologie, waarvan het ontstaan sterk geassocieerd wordt met de filoloog Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). In deze methode worden tekstvarianten voornamelijk beschouwd als het resultaat van kopiïstenfouten.

In de laatste decennia van de vorige eeuw groeide het besef dat tekstvariatie een wezenlijk onderdeel is van de middeleeuwse schriftcultuur. De eerste aanzet hiertoe is te vinden in het werk van Paul Zumthor, die de notie ‘mouvance’ introduceerde om te illustreren dat teksten evolueerden in de loop van de teksttransmissie. Na de publicatie van Bernard Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la variante* in 1989 en aansluitend het speciale nummer van het tijdschrift *Speculum* in 1990 verschoof de aandacht van de wetenschap steeds meer naar de evolutie van de tekst door de teksttransmissie heen. Tekstvariatie is in dit kader het middel om te bestuderen hoe kopiïsten en gebruikers hun teksten bewerkten, aanpasten, herschreven en opnieuw vormgaven.

In dit proefschrift bestudeer ik tekstvariatie vanuit het laatstgenoemde perspectief. Tekstvarianten worden bestudeerd vanuit twee vraagstukken. In de eerste plaats onderzoek ik de verwantschappen tussen de verschillende handschriften in mijn corpus op basis van de aanwezige tekstvarianten. Ten tweede is het de vraag hoe de tekst evolueerde in de loop van de teksttransmissie. Bij de laatstgenoemde vraag gaat de aandacht vooral uit naar hoe kopiïsten het Latijn veranderden in de loop van de teksttransmissie. Centraal binnen dit onderzoek staan twee teksten die gewijd zijn aan het leven van twee apostelen, te weten Bartholomeus en Philippus. Vanaf de achtste eeuw vinden we handschriften waarin verschillende teksten over de apostelen bij elkaar zijn gebracht in een min of meer coherente serie teksten (de *Virtutes Apostolorum*). Dit onderzoek richt zich op de *Virtutes Bartholomei* en de *Virtutes Philippi* zoals ze te vinden zijn in de *Virtutes Apostolorum*-serie in 25 handschriften. Deze handschriften stammen uit de periode tussen de achtste en de dertiende eeuw en komen uit de regio's Beieren en Gallië.

Een belangrijke aanleiding om tekstvariatie te bestuderen in deze serie teksten vormt het gegeven dat deze teksten gebruikt werden in een performatieve context. Hoewel het laatste woord over de precieze context nog niet gezegd is, duiden de gebruikerssporen in de handschriften erop dat de teksten hardop werden voorgelezen aan een publiek. Vanuit dit oogpunt kunnen tekstvarianten gezien en bestudeerd worden als het resultaat van het aanpassen van de tekst aan de veranderende noden van het publiek. In deze studie doe ik dan ook het voorstel om het overschrijven van teksten niet te duiden met de term

‘kopiëren’, maar juist als ‘herschrijven’ om aan te geven dat kopiïsten meer voor ogen hadden dan het maken van een nauwgezette kopie.

In hoofdstuk 3 tot 6 zet ik de resultaten uiteen van mijn analyse, die zich, zoals vermeld, richt op twee zaken. Voor het analyseren van de verwantschappen tussen handschriften bepaalde ik voor elk handschrift het totaal aantal identieke lezingen met ieder ander handschrift. Op basis daarvan stelde ik de relatieve afstand vast tussen ieder handschriftenpaar vanuit de gedachte dat twee handschriften nauwer verwant zijn als ze een groter aantal identieke lezingen bevatten. Deze analyse leidde ertoe dat de bestaande grove indeling tussen twee grote handschriftentradities, te weten een Beierse en een Frankische, verder verfijnd kan worden. Dit levert twee grote wijzigingen op ten opzichte van eerder ontwikkelde visies. In de eerste plaats blijkt uit mijn analyse dat binnen de Frankische traditie verschillende groepen handschriften onderling veel grotere verwantschappen vertonen. Hieruit blijkt dat het beeld van één uniforme Frankische handschriftentraditie vervangen moet worden door een pluriforme Frankische traditie die bestaat uit verschillende handschriftengroepen. Ten tweede toont mijn analyse aan dat de teksttransmissie van de *Virtutes Apostolorum*-serie niet plaatsvond binnen de Beierse of de Frankische traditie alleen, maar dat er ook voorbeelden zijn van handschriften (zoals Paris BNF lat. 18298) waarin kopiïsten teksten uit de verschillende tradities samensmeedden tot één nieuw geheel. Deze vondst illustreert de flexibiliteit en variëteit die zo kenmerkend is voor de teksttransmissie van de *Virtutes Apostolorum*-serie.

Voor het onderzoek naar de evolutie van de teksten door de teksttransmissie heen ontwikkelde ik de analyse van een relatieve chronologie van tekstversies, daarbij gebruik makend van de termen ‘conservatief’ en ‘innovatief’. Een conservatieve tekstversie is een tekstversie waarin de kopiïst weinig intervenueert, terwijl de term innovatief tekstversies aanduidt waarin de kopiïst veel wijzigingen aanbrengt. Ook hier resulteert mijn analyse in een verdere verfijning van de bestaande visie op kopiïstengedrag in de twee tradities. Waar voorheen de oppositie tussen de Beierse en de Frankische traditie werd versterkt door de eerste te beschrijven als het resultaat van nauwgezet kopiëren en de laatste als het resultaat van veel interne variatie, toont mijn analyse aan dat een innovatieve teksttransmissie ook te vinden is in de Beierse traditie, en wel in de twaalfde-eeuwse en dertiende-eeuwse handschriften.

In dit proefschrift wordt tevens aandacht besteed aan de vraag hoe kopiïsten het Latijn veranderden in de loop van de teksttransmissie. Om innovaties in het Latijn op het spoor te komen zijn twee principes ontwikkeld en toegepast. Het uitgangspunt van het *Lectio Explicitor*-principe is dat kopiïsten de structuur van hun teksten steeds duidelijker maakten, vermoedelijk met het oog op de performatieve functie die de teksten hadden, door enerzijds discourse markers (als *nam*, *igitur* en *ergo*) in te voegen, en anderzijds door steeds explicietere verwijzingen naar de hoofdpersonen in de tekst te maken (bijvoorbeeld door

*eam* te vervangen door *filiam regis*). De toepassing van dit principe op discourse-pragmatische onderdelen van de tekst toont aan dat innovaties voorkomen in de jongere handschriften uit de Beierse traditie, maar met name in handschriften uit de Frankische traditie.

Het tweede principe dat gebruikt is om innovaties in het Latijn op te sporen is het principe ‘All-except-one/two’. In dit principe gaat het erom dat indien 23 handschriften lezing A bevatten, en één of twee handschriften lezing B, lezing A als conservatief wordt beschouwd, terwijl lezing B een innovatie van de kopiist is. Op basis van dit principe zijn innovaties beschreven op het gebied van woordvolgorde, morphosyntaxis en lexeemkeuze. Een belangrijke uitkomst van deze analyse is dat een aantal conclusies over de ontwikkeling van het Latijn moet worden heroverwogen, zoals dat bijvoorbeeld het geval is bij de syntactische benadering van veranderingen in woordvolgorde. Ik beveel met name vervolgonderzoek aan dat analyseert in hoeverre het streven naar classicerende tendenzen als mogelijke aanvullende verklaring kan dienen om innovatie te verklaren.

Deze twee principes zijn niet toepasbaar bij elk geval van tekstvariatie; desondanks bieden ze een goed inzicht in de evolutie van het Latijn door de teksttransmissie heen. De afgelopen decennia verscheen een groot aantal studies van socio-filologische aard, waarin de wisselwerking tussen de tekst en de gebruikerscontext centraal staat. De analyse die in dit proefschrift gepresenteerd is levert een bijdrage aan deze tak van onderzoek door te laten zien hoe kopiïsten hun tekst aanpasten en herschreven met het oog op de noden van het publiek.

De laatste twee hoofdstukken van het proefschrift gaat niet over kopiïstengedrag maar bevat een analyse van twee typen correctielagen die in diverse handschriften worden aangetroffen. In hoofdstuk 7 zijn spellingscorrecties bestudeerd in Montpellier UB 55, een Frankisch handschrift dat dateert uit het einde van de achtste eeuw. De teksten in dit handschrift bevatten veel afwijkingen van de klassieke spellingsnormen, waarvan slechts een gedeelte werd gecorrigeerd. De analyse toont aan dat deze spellingvarianten te verklaren zijn als het resultaat van fonetische ontwikkelingen. Daarnaast maakt de analyse duidelijk dat de correcties voornamelijk gericht zijn op die categorieën van orthografische afwijkingen die voorkomen in de uitgang van een woord of werkwoord. Het gaat hier dus om een correctielaag die voornamelijk bedoeld is om de grammaticale categorieën te herstellen naar de klassieke spellingsnorm.

Hoofdstuk acht bevat een analyse van de correcties die zijn aangebracht in de *Virtutes Bartholomei*-tekst in het handschrift Paris BNF lat. 5563, een handschrift uit de Beierse traditie. Een vergelijking van de aangebrachte correcties met de lezingen in de andere handschriften van mijn corpus toont aan dat het merendeel van de correcties te vinden is in handschriften uit de Frankische traditie; soms ook in handschriften uit de Beierse traditie, maar nooit alléén in handschriften uit de Beierse traditie. Deze gegevens

maken duidelijk dat de correctielaag het resultaat is van een mechanische aanpassing van de oorspronkelijk Beierse tekstlaag in de *Virtutes Bartholomei* aan een handschrift uit de Frankische traditie. Het feit dat Paris BNF lat. 5563 werd gebruikt in een klooster in St. Thierry sluit goed aan bij deze bevindingen, en maakt het aannemelijk dat de correcties hier werden aangebracht.

De studie naar tekstvariatie in twee teksten uit de *Virtutes Apostolorum*-serie leveren zo nieuwe inzichten op in de teksttransmissie van deze serie en, meer in het bijzonder, in de evolutie van het Latijn in de loop van de teksttransmissie. Daarnaast is er aandacht voor correctielagen die in een aantal handschriften te vinden zijn. Op deze manier is inzichtelijk gemaakt hoe een tekst evolueert in verschillende perioden en op diverse plaatsen in West-Europa, en is nieuw licht geworpen op belangrijke aspecten van de middeleeuwse schriftcultuur, waarin variatie een duidelijke hoofdrol speelt.

**Curriculum Vitae**

Maarten Prot was born in Oostburg, the Netherlands, in 1984. He obtained an MA degree in Medieval Studies at Utrecht University in 2008 and an MA degree in Latin language and culture at the University of Amsterdam in 2009. From September 2008 until August 2012 Maarten worked as a PhD-candidate at the OGC (Research Institute for History and Culture) at Utrecht University, where he carried out research in the project 'the dynamics of apocryphal traditions in medieval religious culture', financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). This thesis is the result of the research conducted in this project.