PARATEXTS IN THE *VIRTUTES APOSTOLORUM*

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Abstract: The *Virtutes apostolorum* comprise a series of Latin rewritings of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, with sections on each of the twelve apostles, that started to circulate in the West from the early Middle Ages. The earliest manuscripts are found on the continent in the second half of the eighth century. Little is known with certainty about the authorship of the individual sections, and as little can be said about the redactor(s) or collector(s) of the series as a whole. This article presents an attempt to shed more light on transmission and use of these texts through a study of their paratexts, more specifically titles and intertitles. These elements turn out to be helpful instruments in the endeavor to know more about the approach to the apostles as martyrs, as well as the use of these texts in the ritual context of commemoration in monastic (and cathedral) communities.

Keywords: *Virtutes apostolorum*, apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, paratexts, medieval manuscript transmission, tables of contents and *capitula*, titles, intertitles, ritual commemoration of the saints, martyrdom, canon and apocrypha.

1. LATIN LITERARY ACCOUNTS OF LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF THE APOSTLES

How to commemorate Christianity's glorious past? That is the main concern of those who took their pen in the early Middle Ages to rewrite, in Latin, the stories of life and mission of the apostles after Pentecost, stories that the canonical New Testament does not transmit but that are found in the Greek apocryphal Acts of the Apostles of the second and third centuries. As a result, the *Virtutes apostolorum* came to circulate in the Latin West, describing for each individual apostle how he travelled through the world to spread the Gospel, how he founded churches, combatted pagan religion, and died a martyr's death.[1] We know little about the earliest origins of the *Virtutes apostolorum*, which are transmitted both as individual texts and as a more or less coherent series, in which each apostle has his own "section."[2] The individual texts carry no author's name, and it is equally difficult to establish the identity of the collector(s) or redactor(s) of the series.[3] Nevertheless, it is possible to learn more about the motivation of the Latin rewriters, since they report on this in prologues, e.g., the pro-

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[1] The title *Virtutes apostolorum* is one among many titles we find in the manuscripts. I chose it as a working title, because it is common in scholarship (cf. Maurice Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* [Turnhout 1992] 158–159), and because it covers the stories of the apostles who did not die a martyr's death according to the Latin tradition: John and Philip. I am preparing a volume in the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum (CCSA), containing an edition with commentary of the *Virtutes apostolorum*. A preparatory study of this edition can be found in Els Rose, "*Virtutes apostolorum*: Editorial Problems and Principles," *Apocrypha* 23 (2012) forthcoming.

[2] Cf. François Dolbeau, "Naissance des homéliaires et des passionaires. Une tentative d'étude comparative," *L'antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales. Textes et representations, VIe–XIVe siècle*, ed. Stéphane Gioanni and Benoît Grévin (Rome 2008) 13–35, at 19. We find the earliest material evidence of a circulation of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in this form in manuscripts from the 8th c., though authors in the late 7th and early 8th c., such as the Anglo–Saxons Aldhelm and Bede, seem to refer to a series of *Virtutes apostolorum* already. The acquaintance of Venantius Fortunatus with this phenomenon on the continent around 600, assumed in earlier scholarship, is uncertain.

[3] Earlier scholarship pointed to Gregory of Tours as a possible redactor of the series, given his authorship of at least one of the sections (on Andrew). Cf. Richard A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden* (Braunschweig 1893–1890, repr. Amsterdam 1976) 1.117–178; Éric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, eds., *Acta Iohannis*, CCSA 1–2 (Turnhout 1983) 753–755. This assumption is without certain proof.

logues preceding the sections on Peter (and Paul), Andrew, Thomas, and John. Here, the rewriters reflect on their attempt to provide complete stories about all apostles, from which not only the martyrdom of each and every one of them can be known, but also their life and work (their *virtutes* or acts). Moreover, rewriting is necessary in order to purify the accounts on the apostles from all heretic influences, since the ancient Greek apocryphal Acts of the Apostles were associated with "heretic" movements such as the Manichaeans and the adherents of Priscillianus.[4]

The manuscript transmission of the *Virtutes apostolorum* informs us further about the actual use of the texts in their medieval context. In most cases, we find them in manuscripts with a liturgical purpose, more specifically legendaries or passionaries, of which each monastery and cathedral owned one or several copies.[5] Further evidence of a liturgical use is found in marginal notes, indicating the division of the texts in pericopes to be read during certain parts of the daily liturgy in cathedral but primarily monastic communities. The reading of hagiographic texts is common in the liturgy of matins, the service that kept the monks vigilant during the night. During three "nocturns" or "vigils," the monks recited a large body of psalms and listened to readings from Scripture, patristic literature, and hagiography.[6]

I aim to explore further the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Virtutes apostolorum* through information found in additions to the texts themselves, coined "paratexts" by the French literary theorist Gérard Genette. By doing so, I shall explore how Genette's model of paratexts can help to obtain a clearer picture of the transmission and use of a medieval text tradition such as the *Virtutes apostolorum*. The following is based on a selection of twenty-five manuscripts, representing the transmission on the continent north of the Alps between the late eighth (the earliest beginnings) and the thirteenth century (when large compilations of saints' lives such as the *Legenda aurea* took over). Whereas the total number of manuscripts containing the *Virtutes apostolorum* far outnumbers these twenty-five, I concentrate on those witnesses that transmit the texts as an uninterrupted series, including sections for each of the apostles traditionally considered the twelve: Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James, Thomas, Philip, James the Less, Bartholomew, Matthew, and Simon and Jude, the latter sharing a section.[7]

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[4] For a summary of this matter, see Éric Junod and Jean–Daniel Kaestli, *L'Histoire des actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean*, Cahiers de la Revue de théologie et de philosophie 7 (Geneva–Lausanne–Neuchâtel 1982) 87–107. Cf. Els Rose, *Ritual Memory. Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500–1215)* (Leiden–Boston 2009) 23–78.

[5] An introduction to this kind of manuscripts is offered by Guy Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 24–25 (Turnhout 1977). See also Dolbeau, "Naissance des homéliaires et des passionaires" (n. 2 above), with additional bibliography on 26 n. 53.

[6] Baudouin De Gaiffier, "La lecture des Actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en occident. A propos du Passionaire hispanique," *Analecta Bollandiana* 72 (1954) 134–165; Aimé G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 64 (Turnhout 1992) 97–102; Éric Palazzo, *Le Moyen Age. Des origines au XIIIe siècle*, Histoire des livres liturgiques (Paris 1993) 169–171; John Harper, *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century. A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford 1991/1996) 86–97.

[7] In some cases, extra texts are added, such as sermons on Peter (and Paul), or, occasionally, a translation for a certain apostle or a section on related figures such as Mathias (who has no fixed place among the twelve but occurs in some manuscripts; see Rose, "*Virtutes apostolorum*: editorial problems and principles" (n. 1 above). For a more elaborate account of selection criteria, see Els Rose, "La réécriture des *Actes*

2. ON PARATEXTS: METHODOLOGICAL

After the publication of Gérard Genette's study *Seuils* (1987), translated in 1997 as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, the term "paratexts" became a commonly applied instrument of textual analysis, also in the work of medievalists.[8] Genette discusses paratexts as elements added to a literary work in order to present it to a reading public and to influence its reception and consumption by that reading public. Genette introduces the terms *peritexts*, to indicate paratextual additions within the volume itself, and *epitexts*, paratexts outside the volume, such as an author's statements about his or her work, the modern interview, etc.[9] Although, in Genette's words, a medieval text transmission in a manuscript is almost "raw," even this kind of transmission is not without paratexts, such as titles and names of authors.[10]

Obviously, the medieval situation is different from Genette's main field of interest,[11] particularly because of an entirely different role of the author.[12] In a medieval context, the author of a text is more often unknown than known, and in many cases we have little information about the texts themselves outside the manuscripts that contain them. This implies that the study of these texts' paratexts almost necessarily confines itself to *peritext*s: paratexts added in the volume (the manuscript) itself. In the following two sections, I study two kinds of paratexts highlighted by Genette, namely titles and intertitles. The French linguist Bernard Cerquiglini underlines, inspired by Genette, the ordering role of titles and subtitles used increasingly in Latin manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards. While the text itself has, according to Cerquiglini, the transmission of knowledge as its main function, paratexts such as (sub-)titles function as means to classify material and to make information retraceable.[13] In the present analysis, I aim to demonstrate how titles and subtitles, apart from ordering information within the text, also give information beyond the texts themselves and reveal the use of these texts, particularly in a religious milieu where ritual

apocryphes des Apôtres dans le Moyen–Âge latin," *Apocrypha* 22 (2011) 135–166; and for a description of the manuscripts eadem, *"Abdias scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum?* The 'Collection of Pseudo–Abdias' Reconsidered," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (2013) forthcoming.

[8] Gérard Genette, *Seuils* (Paris 1987). I refer to the Eng. Trans.: Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge 1997).

[9] Ibid. 5.

[10] Ibid. 16.

[11] Genette explicitly indicates that his intention is not to write a *historical* study of the phenomenon. Ibid. 13–15.

[12] The editors of a volume on Jewish and Christian textual traditions make the same observation explicit. August A. den Hollander, Ulrich Schmid, Willem F. Smelik, eds., *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions. The Textual Markers of Contextualization* (Leiden–Boston 2003) vii. On medieval authorship, see Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Late Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1984); Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print. Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia 2009); Jan Ziolkowski, "Mastering authors and authorizing masters in the long twelfth century," *Latinitas perennis vol. I: The Continuity of Latin Literature*, ed. Yanick Maes, Jan Papy, and Wim Verbaal (Leiden 2006) 93–118; Oliver Plessow, "Mechanisms of authentication in late medieval north German chronicles," *Strategies of Writing. Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages*, ed. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout 2008) 135–163; Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris 1972/2000) 84ff.

[13] Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante. Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris 1989) 48–49.

commemoration is a daily practice. Titles in the *Virtutes apostolorum* inform us about the position of the apostles in the calendar of saints of the communities where the texts circulated, while intertitles give insight into the ritual practice of commemoration of the apostles. Apart from titles and intertitles as organizational tools, we will also consider some cases in which the function of these paratexts is less straightforward. Thus, the analysis of paratexts in this particular case study serves as an example of the usefulness of modern theoretical models to shed light on the obscurity of medieval handwritten text transmission and to disentangle its complexity.

3. TITLES

Literary theorists attribute various functions to the title of a work, among which are "to identify the work," "to designate the work's subject matter," and "to make the work attractive for its reading public."[14] According to Genette, however, only the first element (to identify the work) is intrinsic: a title does not necessarily touch upon the subject matter or entice the public. Before analyzing the possible functions of titles in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, I will survey the different levels of titling in the work and then analyze the variety of titles in the selected manuscripts. In the end, the question will return whether titles serve to entice the public or influence it in another way.

Titles in the series of *Virtutes apostolorum* occur at two different levels. First we encounter the general title added to the series of *Virtutes apostolorum* as a whole. The presence of titles at this level is not self-evident in all manuscripts. At a second level, the distinctive narratives on individual apostles (called sections, henceforth) usually have a title or an *incipit* that comprehends the title. At both levels, there is much variation in the manuscripts.[15]

3.1. TITLES OF THE SERIES AS A WHOLE

The first level of titles is, in fact, the most problematic one. Many manuscripts do not provide us with a general title at all, either because it is lost to damage or has become indecipherable, or because it has simply never been there. Those manuscripts that do include a general title show a wide variety of different headings, as Guy Philippart has already noticed in his survey of manuscripts containing the *Virtutes apostolorum*.[16] Even if the present study addresses only twenty-five manuscripts (instead of the nearly 100 Philippart lists[17]), we find at least eight different titles in the eleven manuscripts

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[14] Genette refers to Charles Grivel, Production de l'intérêt romanesque: un état du texte (1870–1880) (Den Haag 1973) 169–170; and Leo Hoek, La marque du titre. Dispositifs sémiotiques d'une pratique textuelle (Den Haag 1980) 17. Genette, Paratexts (n. 8 above) 76.

[15] We can distinguish a third level, with which I will not deal in the present article, namely the titles added to the entire manuscript by later (post–medieval) users or collectors, such as librarians and modern editors. Though this third level of titles is significant for the later reception and understanding of the medieval texts on the apostles, it is not my primary concern here. I addressed this theme elsewhere, especially with regard to the problematic indication of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as "Collection of Pseudo–Abdias"; see Rose, "*Abdias scriptor?*" (n. 7 above).

[16] Philippart, Les légendiers latins (n. 5 above) 88. In this introductory study on Latin legendaries and related books, Philippart gives a list of manuscripts containing the *Virtutes apostolorum*, either as a complete series or as a selective representation. Philippart's list includes witnesses from Italy, Rome, and the Anglo-Saxon world.

[17] Ibid. 16–18.

that do not lack a title (12) or suffer from a lacuna (2): *Passiones apostolorum* Gen 558, P 5273, P 12602; *Passiones et Vitae apostolorum* B 139; *Gesta apostolorum* Graz 412; *Gesta et passiones apostolorum* V 497; *Certamen apostolorum* P 5563; *Miracula apostolorum* P 12604; *Miracula et passiones apostolorum* WH 497; *Virtutes apostolorum* WW 48, WH 497 (see appendix). The title that occurs most frequently is *Passiones apostolorum*, appearing in three manuscripts of Frankish origin. This label aims to classify the apostles among the early Christian martyrs, a concern visible in other expressions of the medieval commemoration cult, such as liturgical prayers.[18] The indication *Passiones*, however, does not entirely cover the work's subject matter, since the narratives do not report on a martyr's death for all apostles. According to the tradition represented by the *Virtutes apostolorum*, both Philip and John died in peace. I will pay more attention to these sections below.

Next in the order of frequency of use is the indication *Virtutes apostolorum*, given in two manuscripts, Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48 (s. IX) and Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497 (s. XI). Both titles, *Passiones* and *Virtutes*, favor only one of the two elements accentuated in the prologues indicated above. Particularly in the prologues to the sections on Peter and Andrew, the authors emphasize the importance to collect knowledge about both life (*Virtutes*) and death (*Passiones*) of the apostles. This concern is expressed by those titles that combine both elements, the variants *Passiones et Vitae apostolorum*, *Gesta et passiones apostolorum*, and *Miracula et passiones apostolorum*. These bipartite titles reflect the wish to comprehend in the title both themes with which the (re-)writers of the narratives of the apostles are concerned: their acts (*gesta, miracula, virtutes, vitae*) and their martyrdom (*passiones*). Finally, we find the title *Certamen apostolorum*,[19] which occurs only once, and in a specific, poetic context, namely the poem that dedicates the manuscript (Paris BnF lat. 5563, which comprises no other texts than the *Virtutes apostolorum*), to the Carolingian prince Louis the Child.

3.2 TITLES OF INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS

The predominance of the element of martyrdom in the perception of the apostles is visible also, and even more clearly, at the level of titles to individual sections. By far the most common title to indicate the individual sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum* is *Passio*. Above, or in the explicits to, the sections on Bartholomew, Matthew, James the Greater, James the Less, and Simon and Jude, we rarely find other titles than this.

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[18] Cf. Philip Harnoncourt and Hansjörg Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit II.1: Der Kalender, Feste und Gedenktage der Heiligen*, Gottesdienst der Kirche: Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft VI.1 (Regensburg 1994) 111 and 115. See also my response to Auf der Maur's presentation: Els Rose, "From Eyewitnesses to Blood Witnesses: The Cult of the Apostles in the Early Medieval West," *Vom Blutzeugen zum Glaubenszeugen*, ed. Dieter Bauer, Gordon Blennemann, and Klaus Herbers (Stuttgart 2012) forthcoming.

[19] This title was particularly popular among the early modern editors of these texts. Cf. the title Wolfgang Lazius gave to his edition: *Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et apostolorum discipulis de historia certaminis apostolici libri decem* (Basel 1552). Twenty years earlier, Friedrich Nausea had stayed closer to the manuscripts: Friedrich Nausea, ed., *Anonymi Philalethi Eusebiani in vitas, miracula, passiones apostolorum rhapsodiae* (Cologne 1531).

In exceptional cases, the term *Virtu(te)s et Passio* is used for the sections on Barthol-omew (Munich Clm 12641) and Matthew (Vienna ÖNB 534), just as we find the syn-onym *Miracula et passio* once for James the Greater, Bartholomew, and Simon and Jude (Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139) and twice for Matthew (Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139 and Munich Clm 12641). The synonym *Miracula et martyrium* seems to be reserved for Thomas (Vienna ÖNB 455 and 534).

Another frequent title for individual sections is *Miracula*. This indication occurs in at least ten manuscripts, but is in use only for a specific set of apostle texts: most nota-bly the sections on Peter, Andrew, and Thomas.[20] The same goes for the title *Virtutes*, which occurs likewise in ten manuscripts, but only in the sections on John, Peter (Pe-ter & Paul), and Andrew.[21] *Gesta*, on the contrary, is not necessarily linked to (a) specific apostle(s); it occurs three times (Munich Clm 22020: John; Vienna ÖNB 497: Peter; Simon and Jude). Then, there is a number of titles that occur only once and in the context of a specific apostle. Thus, *Vocatio* is specific for Peter (Vienna ÖNB 534) and *Reuelatio conuersionis* for Paul (Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139). Just *Martyrium* occurs only in the context of this pair of Roman apostles (Paris BnF lat. 5273 and 12602), while the opposite, *Vita*, also occurs in this context, namely once in the section on Paul (Paris BnF lat. 12604). In sum, just as the titles to the series as a whole, the titles to individual sections indicate that the medieval commemoration cult perceives the apostles primarily as martyrs. The first witnesses of the Gospel, eyewitnesses of Christ, were awarded the highest honor, namely the privilege to fulfill the ultimate imitation of Christ, as the early Christian and medieval religious rhetoric phrases it.[22]

There are two exceptions to this rule, apostles to whom the narrative tradition of the *Virtutes apostolorum* does not attribute martyrdom: John and Philip.[23] In the narrative of John's demise, Jesus appears to his beloved disciple at the age of ninety-seven and announces him that it is about time to take part in the heavenly banquet: "On the ap-proaching Sunday, my day, you will come to me." At John's order, his followers dig a grave. After a long speech, the celebration of the Eucharist, and elaborate prayers, John steps into the grave and yields his spirit. The story of Philip ends in a similar way, although it is much less explicit than John's narrative. It tells that Philip, at the age of eighty-seven, "migrated to the Lord" (*perrexit ad dominum*), and was buried in

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[20] For Andrew alone in Angers BM 281, Vienna ÖNB 455, Vienna ÖNB 534; for Andrew and Peter in Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139; for Andrew and Thomas in Dublin TC 737, Munich Clm 12641, Paris BnF lat. 5563, Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48; and for all three in Paris BnF lat. 12604. The title is found once above the section for Paul, in Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497, where Andrew and Thomas have the same title.

[21] John: Dublin TC 737, Munich Clm 12641, Paris BnF lat. 12604, Vienna ÖNB 534, Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497; Peter: Munich Clm 22020; John and Peter: Paris BnF lat. 5563, Paris BnF lat. 18298; John and Andrew: Vienna ÖNB 455; John and Peter & Paul: Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48.

[22] Christine Mohrmann, "Pascha, Passio, Transitus," *Études sur le latin des chrétiens*, vol. 1 (Rome 1958) 205–222, at 210.

[23] The Greek tradition does attribute martyrdom to Philip, witness the *Martyrium Philippi*. This tradition shows little similarity to the Latin narrative tradition on Philip as found in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, while Latin traditions outside the *Virtutes apostolorum* are closer to the Greek, and do attribute martyrdom to Philip. To these traditions belong the so-called lists of apostles, circulating in the Latin West from the 6th c. See François Dolbeau, "Listes d'apôtres et de disciples," *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 2, ed. Pierre Geoltrain and Jean–Daniel Kaestli (Paris 2005) 453–480. See Rose, *Ritual Memory* (n. 5 above) 130–132, and cf. eadem, "From Eyewitnesses to Blood Witnesses" (n. 18 above).

the city Hierapolis. The brief words "and he migrated to the Lord" are without any reference to martyrdom, and Philip's burial without mentioning a violent death implies that this apostle died in peace, even if this peaceful character is not underlined as explicitly as in the case of John.

The titles that accompany the sections on these two apostles reflect the singularity of their way of dying only to a certain extent. The case of John is the most straightforward of the two. In all but two manuscripts (they use the title *Passio*), the title reflects awareness of John's peaceful death. The scribes and rubricists chose one of the many possibilities to indicate a peaceful death instead of bloodshed, such as *dormitio*, *obitus*, and *assumptio*. The proleptic title of the section on John, giving away the outcome of the story beforehand,[24] shows great care to illustrate the story of this apostle as a narrative with a peaceful ending.

Conversely, in the case of Philip the section title *Passio* occurs fifteen times out of twenty-five. Even though the term *assumptio* occurs as a title for the section on Philip in five cases, the title *passio* prevails. The choice for this title, then, leaves open two possibilities. Perhaps the meaning of the Latin word *Passio* is stretched to the point that it does not indicate merely the suffering and death of the martyrs, as it did in the early ages of Christianity,[25] but the death of the saints in general. The titling of the section on John is inconsistent with this suggestion, making it very clear that the term *Passio* does not suffice: a variety of different words specifies on John's peaceful death. Thus, we must take the title *Passio* at face value as an expression of a violent death, representing martyrdom. In that sense, the term does not seem to have changed much between the beginning of Latin Christianity and the ninth to thirteenth centuries. It is more likely that the titling of the section on Philip in the *Virtutes apostolorum* indicates that the peaceful character of Philip's death was not the dominant theme in his cult. Perhaps, this was caused by the uncertainty about the interpretation of the rather vague phrasing *perrexit ad dominum*, or maybe other traditions on Philip, such as the early Latin lists of apostles mentioned above, which depict Philip as a martyr (through crucifixion and/or stoning), were so dominant that Philip was considered a martyr. Another possible explanation is the fact that on the calendar of saints Philip shared his commemoration with the apostle James the Less—perhaps this stimulated the approach to Philip as a martyr, like James.[26] Indeed, in many liturgical prayers, martyrdom is attributed to Philip as it is to James.[27] Whichever possibility offers the most trustworthy explanation, the majority of titles of the section on Philip reflect an approach to Philip as a martyr, in line with the cult of the apostles as martyrs in general, and even though the content of the narrative itself seems to contradict this interpretation.

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[24] Cf. Genette, *Paratexts* (n. 8 above) 82.

[25] Mohrmann, "Pascha, Passio, Transitus" (n. 22 above) 210.

[26] Philip and James have shared a common feast day (May 1) ever since the arrival of their relics in Rome in the 6th c., and the dedication of a basilica to the pair. Cf. Rose, *Ritual Memory* (n. 4 above) 125–126.

[27] Cf. Rose, "From Eyewitnesses to Blood Witnesses" (n. 18 above).

The titles that are chosen as alternatives to *passio*, particularly the indications *assumptio* and *dormitio*, indicate that the peaceful death of John and, to a lesser extent, Philip, is interpreted within a broader tradition, namely the legendary tradition of a death without corruption of the mortal body, death as a harmless transition to the hereafter. We find both *assumptio* and *dormitio* as titles for the sections on the two apostles whose deathbed was peaceful, though *assumptio* is more frequent. This occurs in eleven of the twenty-five manuscripts, five times for John alone (Graz UB 412, Munich Clm 22020, Ste Geneviève 557, Paris BnF lat. 5273 and 18298), five times for both John and Philip (Montpellier H 55, Paris BnF lat. 5274, 9737, 11750, 12602), and once for Philip alone (Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139). The latter manuscript chooses *Miracula et dormitio* for John. In addition to these classic terms so familiar in the context of a demise that escapes the suffering of death and corruption, we find other titles that express the serene death of the two apostles, but they are in the minority.[28] The terms *assumptio* and *dormitio* are both common in the ritual commemoration of the Virgin Mary's glorious death. Early Christian doctrine and liturgical prayers on the divine Mother describe Mary's demise as an event in which the corruption of death did not play a role. The term *assumptio* became the more common of the two in the Church of the Latin West, accentuating the outcome of Mary's deathbed when Christ, according to the early apocrypha on Mary, took his Mother's soul and carried it with him into heaven.[29] *Dormitio* occurs in the earlier sources, and focuses on the peaceful and harmless passing away of Mary, which echoed her virginal motherhood. In the words of a famous early medieval Eucharistic prayer for Mary's Assumption:

> Corruption did not contaminate her nor did she endure the decomposition of death. ... Just as she did not suffer the pain of childbirth, she did not go through the labor of death.[30]

This prayer visualizes the perfection of the demise with which a perfect saint is honored. The titles to the section on John and, to a lesser extent, Philip, indicate that these apostles shared in the same honor.

What conclusions can we draw from the analysis of titles in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, at the level both of the series as a whole and of the individual sections? The first question to be answered is the methodological question, how paratexts can help the modern researcher to come to a clearer understanding of a medieval text transmission. Both the titles of the series as a whole and the titles of individual

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[28] Once *depositio* (Philip: Paris BnF lat. 5273), referring to the way Philip stepped into his tomb; further *obitus*, used in the combinations *Miracula uel obitus* (John: Vienna ÖNB 560), *Acta et obitus* (John: Graz UB 412), and *Vita uel obitus* (Philip: Vienna ÖNB 560). The opposite, *Vita et miracula*, occurs only in the section on John and only in one manuscript (Ste Geneviève 547).

[29] Albert Blaise, Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques (Turnhout 1966) 351–352.

[30] This prayer is found in various sacramentaries (books containing the prayers for Mass throughout the liturgical year) in use in Frankish Gaul. The best known source is the so-called *Missale Gothicum*, dated to ca. 700 and most probably in use in the cathedral of Autun, Burgundy. no. 98: *Quae nec de corruptione suscepit contagium nec resolutionem pertulit in sepulchro, ... non subdita dolori per partum, non labori per transitum*. Els Rose, ed., *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano Reginensi Latino 317 editum*, CCSL 159D (Turnhout 2005) 389. On the painless character of Christ's birth, see Jean–Daniel Kaestli, "Mapping an Unexplored Second Century Apocryphal Gospel: the *Liber de Nativitate Salvatoris* (CANT 53)," *Infancy Gospels. Stories and Identities*, ed. C. Clivaz et al. (Tübingen 2011) 506–559, esp. 521–523.

sections give us information on the perception of a certain text and its subject matter, in this case the apostles. The frequent choice for the title *Passio*, both on the level of the series as a whole and on the level of individual sections, indicates the importance of apostolic martyrdom for a medieval audience. Titles also help to understand the broader context in which the exceptions to this rule, apostles who did not suffer martyrdom, are positioned.

The analysis of titles tells us to what extent titles aim to influence the public, and direct their reception of the text. The cases of Philip and John are excellent examples of the way in which a title can influence and guide the audience in their "consumption" of a text in a certain context, in this case the context of a religious community that commemorates her saints. Even though the section on Philip does not portray this apostle as a martyr, it carries in the majority of cases the title *Passio*, referring to a martyr's death. Apparently, in the choice of a suitable title the context of use (the ritual commemoration of the apostle during Mass or other liturgical services) is more important than the specific details of the narrative. The title supports the effort to portray Philip as a martyr, necessary because the medieval church venerated all apostles as martyrs in order to grant them the highest possible honor. John was an exception to this rule, but again the title to the story of his Acts helps to grant him honor similar to the other apostles, maybe even higher. The title of his story connects his way of dying with the Virgin Mary, whose place in the medieval hierarchy of saints is even above the apostles. In the case of the *Virtutes apostolorum* the choice of titles is clearly a programmatic act. A title is a helpful instrument to add to the status of the protagonist, because it fits him to a group (Philip) or links him to the holders of hierarchical prominence in the plan of salvation (John).

Finally, titles as paratexts tell us something about the degree of unity and coherence of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a series. The analysis of titles to the series as a whole seems to indicate that the transmission of these texts, also in the form of an uninterrupted series, did not cramp these texts into a straitjacket. The variety of titles, and, not in the least, the lack of a covering title in many manuscripts, make clear that even though the manuscripts betray the need or wish to collect the stories on life and martyrdom of all apostles in one volume, this wish or need did not result in the creation of a uniform and unified tradition. The "openness" of the series is a characteristic that is confirmed by other paratextual elements, such as the order of the apostles, subject to significant variety.[31] Obviously, the redactors of the series aimed at collecting all that was known about the apostles, but wished at the same time to leave this collection of knowledge open to local use and variety.

4. INTERTITLES: *CAPITULA* IN THE *VIRTUTES APOSTOLORUM*

Genette distinguishes between a title (the general title of a work) and an internal title or *intertitle*: "... the title of a section of a book: in unitary texts, these sections may be

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[31] Rose, "*Virtutes apostolorum*: editorial problems and principles" (n. 1 above).

parts, chapters, or paragraphs; in collections, they may be constituent poems, novellas, or essays."[32] In the case of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a series, I would not refer to the titles of the individual sections as intertitles, since as we have seen the coherence of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a series is limited. The individual sections should be considered as the unitary text, rather than the series of *Virtutes apostolorum* as a whole. Therefore, I reserve the term intertitle for the chapter titles that play a role in the individual sections.

The intertitles in the *Virtutes apostolorum* would classify as, in Genette's terms, mixed titles, giving a numeral,[33] and a thematic title in the sense of an indication of subject matter. When we consider intertitles in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, it is important to note a difference between medieval practice and the modern material Gérard Genette describes. In the *Virtutes apostolorum*, thematic intertitles never appear at the beginning of a new chapter within the section, as is usual in modern books. Instead, we find them only listed at the beginning of a section in the form of a table of contents (called *capitula* in the manuscripts). Mute intertitles do appear in the sections themselves at the beginning of a new chapter, but in different ways and not in all instances. The relation between thematic intertitles and mute intertitles will return in 4.2. In 4.1, I shall first analyze the intertitles in the *Virtutes apostolorum* as they appear in lists of *capitula* at the beginning of individual sections.

4.1 INTERTITLES AS TABLES OF CONTENT PER SECTION

The practice of adding lists of chapter titles, *capitula*, to a medieval manuscript is an ancient practice that becomes more and more widespread from the twelfth century onwards.[34] João Dionísio, studying the tables of contents in a late medieval Portuguese chronicle, offers a definition of this kind of paratextual instrument: "I would like to view tables as an extra-textual or para-textual issue, an auxiliary mechanism of reading that embodies an aspect of the rhetorical ideal of *claritas*."[35] Dionísio connects the introduction of tables of contents with the addition of titles, paragraphs, and marginal glosses: they all form part of "the system of textual organization."[36] He deviates from Genette in considering this kind of paratext as possibly a 'non-authorial feature': the translator or rewriter of a text can add tables.[37]

The custom to list the intertitles (chapter titles) of a coherent narrative at the beginning of this narrative, by way of table of contents, is an early trace of the wish to organize a text. This is visible for instance in the work of Gregory of Tours (538–594). The sixth-century bishop of Tours, well known as the author of a voluminous historio-

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[32] Genette, *Paratexts* (n. 8 above) 295.

[33] For chapters headed only by numerals, Genette uses the term "mute titles." Ibid. 306.

[34] Olga Weijers, "Les index au Moyen Âge sont–ils un genre littéraire?" *Fabula in tabula. Una storia degli indici dal manoscritto al testo elettronico*, ed. Claudio Leonardi, Marcello Morelli, and Francesco Santi, Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto 1995) 11–22, at 15–16. For the terminology (*capitula, tituli, rubrice, tabula*) see ibid. 15.

[35] João Dionísio, "Tables of Contents in Portuguese Late Medieval Manuscripts," *Variants 4. The Book as Artefact. Text and Border*, ed. Anne Mette Hansen et al. (Amsterdam 2005) 89–109, at 94.

[36] Ibid. 94.

[37] Although precisely this non–authorial aspect can also restrain the re-writer or translator from adding a table of contents. Ibid. 95.

graphical and hagiographic oeuvre, was familiar with the practice of adding tables of contents or lists of *capitula* to his works. In the last sentence of the prologue to his first book of *Historiae*, he makes explicit that the addition of a list of chapter titles preceding the prologue or first chapter of a book is his own work, not that of a later scribe: "Libri primi poniretur initium, cuius capitula deursum subieci."[38]

Lists of *capitula* to the individual sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum* are present already in the earliest manuscripts. Four ninth-century manuscripts add lists of *capitula* at the beginning of a number of sections, albeit not to all sections.[39] The four manuscripts are closely related, they are all representatives of one 'family' in the transmission of the *Virtutes apostolorum* on the transalpine continent, namely the Bavarian Group.[40] They correspond to each other in the choice of sections to which they add a list of *capitula*. Peter,[41] Paul, Andrew, John, Bartholomew, Matthew, and Simon and Jude have a list of *capitula*, whereas such a device is absent in the sections on James the Less, James the Greater, Philip, and Thomas. We find exactly the same selection in later manuscripts, which are, despite the chronological distance, rather close to the ninth-century Bavarian group as the analysis of linguistic and other kinds of variants makes clear: Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497 (s. XI); Paris BnF lat. 5563 (s. XI); Vienna ÖNB 560 (s. XII); Vienna ÖNB 497 (s. XIII).

By contrast, manuscripts contemporary to the ninth-century Bavarian copies but from a different geographical region (Francia) offer lists of *capitula* for a more limited selection of sections or even none at all. In the latter category, we find Montpellier H 55, the earliest of the twenty-five manuscripts under consideration, dating to the late eighth century and belonging to the Frankish tradition. Next to Montpellier, there are two other ninth-century codices in the Frankish branch of transmission, namely Skt Gallen 561 and Graz UB 412, in which we do not find any lists of *capitula* at all. The impression that the addition of *capitula* is a geographical, rather than a chronological characteristic in the transmission of the *Virtutes apostolorum* is confirmed when we consider the absence or presence of intertitles in the form of lists of *capitula* at the beginning of a section in later manuscripts. Manuscripts where intertitles are lacking are all representatives of the Frankish transmission.[42] There are three exceptions, in the form of manuscripts related to the Bavarian Group but lacking intertitles at the beginning of sections or giving intertitles only at a limited number of sections (Bamberg Misc. Hist. 139; Angers BM 281; Munich Clm 12641). These manuscripts play a

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[38] Martin Heinzelmann, "Gregor von Tours (538–594). Zehn Bücher Geschichte," *Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt 1994) 105.

[39] Dublin TC 737; Vienna ÖNB 455; Vienna ÖNB 534; Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48.

[40] Scholarship so far has divided the transalpine continental transmission into two main groups or branches, labeled "Bavarian" and "Frankish." Cf. Klaus Zelzer, ed., *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten* (Berlin 1977) xxxiii–xxxiv. The analysis of variants, performed by my research group, enables a further refinement into various sub–groups for both branches.

[41] For MS Dublin TC 737, this is uncertain, because of a lacuna at the beginning of this section.

[42] Paris BnF lat. 11750; the three manuscripts now in the Parisian Library of Ste Geneviève (547, 557, 558); Paris BnF lat. 9737; Paris BnF lat. 12602; Paris BnF lat. 5274; Paris BnF lat. 5273.

role at the margin—they show considerable deviations from the core of the Bavarian transmission, collected in subgroup 1.0.

The overall picture seems to indicate that the geographical, rather than the chrono-logical background of a manuscript determines the presence or absence of lists of capitula to individual sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum*. Apparently, certain sec-tions were initially (i.e., before their incorporation in the series of *Virtutes apostolo-rum*) composed by authors who, like Gregory of Tours, were accustomed to or at-tached a certain importance to the addition of lists of *capitula*, while other sections were composed without this device. Subsequently, the lists of *capitula* remained more or less unchanged in the history of transmission, on the understanding that the Bavar-ian transmission kept them, while the Frankish transmission largely ignored them.

4.2 INTERTITLES IN MEDIEVAL PRACTICE

Now that we have seen that intertitles in the form of lists of *capitula* at the beginning of certain sections in the *Virtutes apostolorum* are related to the geographical origin of the manuscript, I want to highlight some peculiar features of intertitles in more detail. When analyzing the relation between the lists of *capitula* at the beginning of a section to the chapter division within that section, some interesting discrepancies come to the surface. In the first place, the presence of a list of *capitula* at the beginning of a section is not always reflected by the presence of a (mute) chapter division within that section and vice versa. Second, the correspondence (or lack thereof) between the numbering of the list of *capitula* and the chapter numbers in the text itself (if present) demands a further examination. In the third place, I shall present some cases of incongruity be-tween thematic intertitles in the lists of *capitula* and the content of the chapters within the section.

The first question addresses the relation between a list of *capitula* at the beginning of a section, and the presence or absence of (mute) intertitles within the section itself – as I stated earlier, thematic intertitles do not appear within the individual sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum*. If we take the ninth-century manuscript Dublin TC 737 as an example, we see that the presence of thematic intertitles (a list of *capitula*) at the beginning of a section does not always correspond with the insertion of mute intertitles within the text. Thus, in the section on John, provided with a list of *capitula* at the beginning, the text provides a division in chapters in the form of rubricated initials at the beginning of each new chapter. In the section on Thomas, however, there is no list of *capitula* at the beginning, but mute intertitles in the form of chapter numbers are present in the text.[43] These examples indicate that there is not always a straight rela-tion between the presence of a list of *capitula* at the beginning of a section, and the presence of mute intertitles within that section.

The second observation in fact addresses the matter of accuracy between the lists of *capitula* preceding a section, and the chapter division within the text as far as mute intertitles (chapter numbers) are concerned. The section on Andrew serves as an ex-ample. Ten of the twenty-five selected manuscripts have a list of *capitula* preceding

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[43] Cf. Dionísio, "Tables of Contents" (n. 35 above) 95.

this section. The manuscripts show quite some irregularity between the chapter numbers in the list of *capitula* and those in the text itself. In the codices Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497 and Vienna ÖNB 534, the numbering is out of line because in the text, the prologue gets the chapter number 1, while the table of contents does not incorporate this chapter and starts with the beginning of the text proper (with the incipit *Igitur post illum dominicae ascensionis*) as the first chapter. In Paris BnF lat. 12604, the numbering is parallel until chapter 38. The text then continues with the separate *Passio Andreae* with the incipit *Conuersante et docente*, numbered 39 in the text, while chapter 39 in the list of *capitula* announces the cure of a person suffering from kidney stones (*De calculo sanato*).[44] Finally, Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48 offers a striking example of incongruity between chapter numbers in the table of contents and in the text. In the text itself, the chapters are numbered without irregularities, starting with *Igitur post illum* as chapter 1 and continuing without mistakes to chapter 38. However, in the list of *capitula*, the numbering is far from flawless. The problem in this list is that some chapter titles need more space than one line offers. Where this is at stake (chapter 1, chapter 15), the numbers, added later (or beforehand) by the rubricist, do not skip a line. Thus, the title of chapter 1 occupies the space for chapters 1 and 2; chapter 2 is written on the line numbered 3 etc. Chapter 15 (already starting on the line of chapter 16) occupies the space of chapter 16 and 17 so that chapter 16 is written on the line of chapter 18. Later on, the numbers of titles that occupy more than one line follow the title, but there is no correction of the mistakes in the first eighteen chapters. The section on Andrew in Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48, and of Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt where the same phenomenon appears in the long title of chapter 15 that occupies the space for chapter 15 and 16, clearly shows the vulnerability of lists of *capitula*, easily prone to mistakes and thereby a source of confusion instead of organization. The observation raises the question as to how the users of the manuscripts appreciated the lists of *capitula*. Did they use them in order to find their way in the text itself? Did the lists of *capitula* guide the division of the section as a whole into smaller parts, for instance to organize the practice of reading in liturgical services? I return to this question below.

The third observation addresses the correspondence or incongruity between thematic intertitles in the form of lists of *capitula* at the beginning of a section, and the content of the chapters of the section themselves. Paris BnF lat. 12604 has already offered an example of incongruity at this level. Two cases may serve to demonstrate further that there is considerable irregularity between the information given in the table of contents, and the actual text: first (again) the section on Andrew, and secondly the section on Simon and Jude. The list of *capitula* preceding the section on Andrew shows some remarkable deviations, which probably raise more questions than I am able to answer here. Eight of the ten manuscripts providing a table of contents of the section on Andrew give a list of 39 or 40 chapter titles. The oldest manuscripts, the

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[44] The chapters indicated in the list of *capitula* as 39 and 40, for that matter, do not occur in any of the manuscripts, but I shall consider this when answering the third question.

ninth-century Bavarian witnesses Vienna ÖNB 534, Dublin TC 737, and Vienna ÖNB 455, give 40 chapters in the list of *capitula*, as does the strongly related twelfth-century Paris BnF lat. 12604. Four other witnesses give 39 chapters (Angers BM 281, Paris BnF lat. 5563, Vienna ÖNB 560, and Vienna ÖNB 497). There are two remarkable deviations between these lists of *capitula* and the chapters in the text itself. In the first place, the final two chapters, announcing a chapter "On his relics" and "On the cure of a kidney stone" are absent in all manuscripts. In the second place, the title of the final chapter as it appears in the text of all manuscripts (chapter 38) is lacking in all lists of *capitula*. Chapter 38 is interesting, since it offers a brief testimony of the (anonymous) author of the preceding text, who apologizes for his lack of eloquence and asks for the apostle's special protection because he is born on the day of Andrew's passion.[45] The title of this chapter is not written out in the tables of contents, even if some manuscripts give a number 38—the rest of the line is left empty (Vienna ÖNB 534, Vienna ÖNB 455; see fig. 1). In other manuscripts, the list of *capitula* reserves an empty line for this chapter but nothing is filled in, neither a number nor a title (Dublin TC 737, Paris BnF lat. 12604; see fig. 2).[46] The question why this is happening has to be reserved for another discussion, dealing also with the complex matter of the authorship of the *Miracula Andreae* before they became part of the series of *Virtutes apostolorum*. What is clearly visible from this case is that the intertitles listed as *capitula* at the beginning of a section do not always correspond to the content of the chapters occurring in the section itself. In the case of Andrew, there is no intertitle for chapter 38 in the list of *capitula*, while the chapters belonging to two intertitles mentioned in the list do not occur in the section itself.[47]

Another case of incongruity between the intertitles in the list of *capitula* and the content of the chapters within the section may serve to confirm the picture that has emerged. The case concerns the chapter on Nichanor's knee in the section on Simon and Jude. In this narrative, Simon and Jude fight the evil forces of the magicians Zaroes and Arfaxar in Persia. They encounter and befriend the commander of the royal army, Varardach. During combat, an arrow wounds one of the king's best friends, called Nichanor. No one is able to remove the weapon from the man's knee, so that he risks succumbing to his injury, until the apostle Simon finally provides salvation. This

[45] Even though the author's name is not mentioned, the preceding chap. 37, where the story of manna flowing forth form Andrew's tomb is told, enables us to link this work to Gregory of Tours. The author raises his voice in this chapter as well, and refers to "the first book on miracles," in which he tells the same story. From other works of Gregory of Tours, it appears that he listed his book *In gloria martyrum*, where the story on manna flowing forth from Andrew's tomb is told in chap. 30, as the first of his 'books on miracles." Thus, this brief passage is a rare source of information on the authorship of at least one of the sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum*.

[46] In other manuscripts outside the scope of my research on the *Virtutes apostolorum* (because they do not include the series as an uninterrupted whole), a title is given at this place, namely *De auctore libelli huius*: Paris BnF lat. 18104 (s. IX), Bern 48 (s. X), Montpellier 30 (s. XII), Montpellier 1 (s. XII/XIII), Vat. lat. 1274 (s. XI), Paris BnF lat. 12603, Valenciennes 515 (anc. 471C) (s. XII). Cf. Jean–Marie Prieur, ed., *Acta Andreae*, CCSA 506 (Turnhout 1989) 6.567.

[47] The two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts are an exception to this pattern: they do not give the final three chapter titles in the list of *capitula*. The incongruity regarding the intertitles *De reliquiis eius* or *De calculo sanato* is not present in these codices, but the lack of the title of the final chapter *De auctore libelli illius* in the list of *capitula* is as striking here as in the other eight manuscripts.

brief narrative occurs in fifteen of the twenty-five manuscripts selected, of both Frankish and Bavarian origin. It is absent in three manuscripts, which do not have a list of *capitula* for this section. Seven other manuscripts do have such a table of contents, and announce the story on Nichanor in it as chapter 5, but they do not give the chapter in the text itself (Dublin TC 737, Vienna ÖNB 534, Vienna ÖNB 455, Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48, Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497, Paris BnF lat. 5563, Paris BnF lat. 12604). The manuscripts in which this incongruity occurs are closely related. They all belong to the core of the Bavarian branch (groups 1.0 and 1b in the appendix). A scribal error is an easy explanation for this irregularity. Yet at the same time, it is strange that none of the later manuscripts corrects this obvious mistake, not even Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497, a copy from the ninth-century Wolfenbüttel text that emends many of the grammatical irregularities of its model. This implies that grammatical errors were more likely to catch the eye of the actual user of the text than an incongruity between table of contents and factual text. At the same time, this observation once again calls to question the function of the tables of contents or lists of *capitula* to the users of the manuscripts.

4.3 INTERTITLES AS SOLIDIFIED PARATEXTS

The analysis of lists of *capitula* and chapter divisions in the sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a paratextual instrument yields an unstable picture. A core of (Bavarian) manuscripts adds lists of *capitula*, but only to a fixed selection of sections, while these lists are absent in the Frankish manuscripts transmitting the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a series. The addition of lists of *capitula* seems to be dependent on the first origin of the individual sections and the preferences of their authors, not on the editorial activities of the scribes who arranged the individual sections on the apostles into a more or less coherent series of *Virtutes apostolorum*. Apparently, the presence of *capitula* and chapter divisions was not a *conditio sine qua non* for the medieval users of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a series.

The actual application of lists of *capitula* and chapter numbers confirms this impression. In a number of cases, the numbering of chapters (applied by the rubricist) goes wrong in the list of *capitula*. Likewise, the chapter numbers in the list of *capitula* do not always correspond with those in the sections themselves. Finally, in a number of (interrelated) manuscripts, the list of *capitula* does not correspond with the actual selection of chapters, with the section on Andrew and the story on Nichanor's knee in the section on Simon and Jude as the most striking examples. The overall picture gives the impression that lists of *capitula* and the division in chapters were not the most important instruments of text organization to those who used the *Virtutes apostolorum* between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Rather, these paratextual elements seem to represent a solidified tradition, common in the transmission of some texts, but not recognized as vital for the use of these texts.

A possible explanation for this phenomenon lies in the application of another subdivision of the individual sections, which is present in many manuscripts albeit in (almost) all cases as a later addition, namely the liturgical division in lessons for the

liturgy of the night office. As I mentioned at the beginning of this article, the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a series occur primarily in manuscripts that serve a liturgical purpose, collecting texts needed for the commemoration of the saints. Passionaries and legendaries were used in the liturgy of the hours, primarily the night office, where hagiographic literature played an important role. In the margins of the manuscripts at issue, frequently notes are added later to indicate the beginning of these lessons. An analysis of these notes demonstrates that the division of the lessons is different in each manuscript. Obviously, a religious community was free in its choice of pericopes as well as in the decision concerning their lengths.

The liturgical notes in the margins indicate how the *Virtutes apostolorum* were used and which parts of them were read aloud in the liturgy of the hours. The division in chapters according to the *capitula* listed in the tables of contents rarely coincides with the division in liturgical lessons indicated by the marginal notes.[48] Obviously, the division in liturgical pericopes (changing per community) in general did not correspond with the original division of the narrative in chapters. Nevertheless, various manuscripts of different ages preserved these intertitles in the form of lists of *capitula*, a paratextual element that had become a solidified feature of the texts when other subdivisions had taken over, whereas the use of the texts remained fluid—changing from community to community.[49]

5. CONCLUSIONS

The preceding analysis of two kinds of paratexts, viz. titles and intertitles, in a medieval text collection with the help of the theoretical work of Gérard Genette reveals that the concept of paratexts is a helpful instrument in the examination of this historical material in its context. The analysis of paratexts enables us in the first place to enlarge our insight into the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Virtutes apostolorum*, texts transmitted anonymously and about which we lack a lot of "epitextual" information. Although the transmission of a series of *Virtutes apostolorum* implies the wish to put together the narratives on the lives, acts and martyrdom of the apostles, the analysis of titles indicates that the need to streamline the stories into a coherent collection was felt less. Moreover, the examination of titles makes clear that this paratextual element was evidently used as a programmatic instrument that helped to establish the status of an apostle within the hierarchy of saints.

The analysis of intertitles indicates further the development in liturgical use of these texts. Another system of liturgical subdivision, appearing as a later marginal addition in most manuscripts but applied contemporarily in one twelfth-century codex (Paris BnF lat. 12604), gradually replaced the original, perhaps more literary subdivision in chapters with intertitles. The fact that lists of chapter titles were preserved even if they did not correspond with the content of the text itself might indicate a certain solidification of the transmission of these texts, which had become

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[48] Paris BnF lat. 12604 (s. XII) is an exception. Here, the liturgical divisions are contemporary and an integrated part of the text. They seem to correspond at least in part with the liturgical pericopes.

[49] On the notions of fluid and stable text transmissions, see John L. Bryant, *The Fluid Text. A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Ann Arbor 2002).

so central to the medieval literature feeding the liturgical commemoration of the saints that, despite their "apocryphal" background, they had become part of the canon of liturgical hagiography.[50]

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[50] On the discussion of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as "apocrypha" in the Latin Middle Ages, see Rose, *Ritual Memory* (n. 4 above) esp. 62–74.

APPENDIX. MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION AND PRESENCE OF *CAPITULA*

The appendix presents the subdivision of the twenty-five manuscripts into two main families (Bavarian, Frankish) and nine sub-groups (see section 4.1): Bavarian 1.0, Bavarian 1a, Bavarian 1b, Bavarian 1c, Other Bavarian; Frankish 2a, Frankish 2b, 2c, Other Frankish; Other (copies belonging neither fully to the Bavarian nor to the Frankish family). The second column gives the date of origin per manuscript. The third colum gives an overview of the presence of intertitles, in the form of lists of *capitula*, to the individual sections. Abbreviations: Pe (Peter), Pa (Paul), P&P (Peter and Paul) And (Andrew), Joh (John), Bart (Bartholomew), Mat (Matthew), S&J (Simon and Jude).

Bavarian 1.0

V 560	XII^{iii}	Pe Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J
P 5563	XI	Pe Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J
Dbl 737	IX	Pe? Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J
V 455	IX^2	And Joh Bart Mat S&J
P 12604	XII	P&P Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J
V 534	IX	Pe? Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J

Bavarian 1a

V 497	XIII	Pe Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J

Bavarian 1b

WW 48	IX$^{2/3}$	P&P Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J
WH 497	XI	P&P Pa And Joh Bart Mat S&J

Bavarian 1c

P 18298	IX/X	Pe Pa Joh

Other Bavarian

B 139	XII	
Ang 281	XI	And
M 12641	XII	Bart Mat

Frankish 2a

Mont 55	VIII/IX
Gen 547	XII
Gen 558	XIII
P 5274	XII

Frankish 2b

Graz 412	IX^{iii}
P 9737	XII
SG 561	IX2

Other Frankish 2c

Gen 557	XI/XII
P 5273	XIII

Other

P 11750	XI	
P 12602	XII	
M 22020	XII	Pe

Mont 55	Montpellier H 55	s. VIII^{fin}/IX^{inc} (Metz? North Burgundy? Property of Autun, St. Étienne)
Dbl 737	Dublin Trinity College 737	s. IX (additions s. XII, XIII) (Regensburg)
SG 561	Skt Gallen Stiftsbiblio. 561	s. IX^2 (additions s. X, XI) (NE France; possession of Skt Gallen)
V 455	Vienna ÖNB 455	s. IX^2 (West-Germany; possession Abbey of Trudpert, Schwarzwald)
Graz 412	Graz UB 412	s. IX^{iii} (Aquileia)
V 534	Vienna ÖNB 534	s. IX (Salzburg)
WW 48	Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48	s. IX$^{2/3}$ (Weissenburg/Skt Gallen, possession of Weissenburg)
P 18298	Paris BnF lat. 18298	s. IX^{fin}/X^{inc} (Paris; possession of Paris, Notre Dame)
WH 497	Wolfenbüttel Helmstädt 497	s. XI (unknown; poss. of Abbey of St John, Bergen, Magdeburg)
Ang 281	Angers BM 281	s. XI (Angers)
P 5563	Paris BnF lat. 5563	s. XI (unknown, property of St Thierry, Reims)
P 11750	Paris BnF lat. 11750	s. XI (unknown)
Gen 557	Paris Ste Geneviève 557	s. XI^{fin}/XII^{inc} (unknown)
P 9737	Paris BnF lat. 9737	s. XII (unknown; Lorraine?)
P 12602	Paris BnF lat. 12602	s. XII (unknown; possession of Corbie)
P 12604	Paris BnF lat. 12604	s. XII (unknown; possession of Corbie)
B 139	Bamberg Msc. Hist. 139	s. XII (Regensburg)
M 12641	Munich Clm 12641	s. XII (Abbey of Ranshofen, Bavaria)
M 22020	Munich Clm 22020	s. XII (Bavaria, property of Abbey of Wessobrunn)
Gen 547	Paris Ste Geneviève 547	s. XII (unknown)
V 560	Vienna ÖNB 560	s. XII^{ii} (Abbey of Rein, Carinthia)
P 5274	Paris BnF lat. 5274	s. XII (Limoges? Metz?)
Gen 558	Paris Ste Geneviève 558	s. XIII (Paris, property of Ste Geneviève?)
P 52	Paris BnF lat. 5273	s. XIII (unknown)
V 497	Vienna ÖNB 497	s. XIII (unknown)

FIG. 1. List of *capitula* of the section on Andrew: chapter number 38 is given, but no title is filled in (Vienna ÖNB 534, fol. 44v).

FIG. 2. List of *capitula* of the section on Andrew: the line between chapters 37 and 38 is left empty (Paris BnF lat. 12604, fol. 19v).