

ABDIAS SCRIPTOR VITARUM SANCTORUM APOSTOLORUM?
THE «COLLECTION OF PSEUDO-ABDIAS»
RECONSIDERED

I. THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES
REWRITTEN IN THE LATIN MIDDLE AGES

When a French-Swiss group of scholars specializing in Christian apocryphal literature started the apocryphal series of *Corpus Christianorum* (CCSA) in 1983, one of the leading figures in this group, François Bovon, formulated the objectives of the enterprise and added his wish list of texts hitherto neglected, among which the «*Virtutes apostolorum* du Pseudo-Abdias» rank highly¹. In recent scholarship, these texts are generally indicated as the «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias». This umbrella term aims to refer to an early medieval collection of Latin rewrites of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles with a section for each individual apostle, either translations of the ancient Greek Acts or newly composed texts based on early Christian traditions. The term «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias» is a problematic one, not only because of the misleading attribution of a series of texts to a pseudo-author, but also because it presupposes a stronger coherence among the individual sections and a more pronounced unity in the «collection» than the manuscripts substantiate. The aim of the present contribution is to reconsider the early modern attribution of the series of Latin apostle apocrypha to a certain Abdias as well

(1) F. BOVON, *Vers une nouvelle édition de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne*, in *Augustinianum*, vol. 23, 1983, p. 373-378, at p. 378. A research team under guidance of the present author aims to fulfil the desideratum by preparing a new edition of the *Virtutes apostolorum* for *Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum* (CCSA). The present article is written as part of this larger project, studying textual transmission and visual reception of the Latin rewrites of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in the medieval period. The project is entitled *The Dynamics of Apocryphal Traditions in Medieval Religious Culture*, funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) and executed at the Research Institute for History and Culture (OGC), Utrecht University. I wish to thank a number of people for their contribution to this article, particularly Maaïke Rietrae, Tom de Schepper, and Mariël Urbanus for their assistance in bibliographical search, and Max Diesenberger, Carmela Viricillo Franklin, David Ganz, Rémi Gounelle, and Marco Mostert for their critical comments and helpful suggestions.

as its tenacious survival among contemporary scholars, in the light of a renewed investigation of the manuscripts. The central thesis is that the attribution to Abdias is an early modern construct, not a medieval one. In the article, I shall demonstrate that the manuscript evidence clearly indicates that Abdias plays a role only in one of the sections: the section on Simon and Jude.

By way of introduction, a few words about terminology will follow here. The term I use to indicate the series of Latin texts on lives and acts of the Apostles is *Virtutes apostolorum*. This enables me to avoid not only the awkward title «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias», but also the problematic indication «apocryphal Acts» for a kind of literature that is closely related to the hagiographic corpus on lives and acts of other saints and martyrs, as far as both content and style and manuscript context are concerned². The term as such is a choice among many alternatives given by the manuscripts, including *historiae*, *miracula*, *passiones*, *gesta*, *vitae*, *virtutes apostolorum*³. In choosing *Virtutes apostolorum*, I follow several contemporary repertoires, among which, most recently, Geerard's *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*⁴. *Virtutes* as a Latin equivalent of *acta* or *praxeis* has the benefit of covering the notions of «deeds» as well as «miracles». Moreover, *Virtutes* includes, different from *Passiones*, those narratives on apostles who did not die a martyr's death, as is the case with Philip and John in the Latin tradition.

In this article, which forms part of a larger research project, the arguments are based on a selection of twenty-five manuscripts containing the *Virtutes apostolorum*⁵. This selection is initially based on the inventory given by Guy Philippart in his *Légendiers latins* (1977⁶).

(2) On a summary and evaluation of the modern debate on the relation between apocrypha and hagiography, see E. ROSE, *Ritual Memory. Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500-1215)*, Leiden – Boston, 2009, p. 62-74.

(3) Cf. G. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Turnhout, 1977 (*Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, 24-25), p. 88.

(4) M. GEERARD, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout, 1992, p. 158-159, no. 256.

(5) See the appendix for an overview of the manuscripts.

(6) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16-18. See also G. BESSON, *La collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias: un essai de définition à partir de l'étude des manuscrits*, in *Apocrypha*, vol. 11, 2000, p. 181-194; R. A. LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 4 vols., Braunschweig, 1883-1890; repr. Amsterdam, 1976, vol. I, p. 117-178; É. JUNOD and J.-D. KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, Turnhout, 1983 (*CCSA*, 1-2), vol. II, p. 750-795; K. ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, Berlin, 1977, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der althristlichen Literatur* 122, p. XLV-LIV.

Philippart lists over ninety manuscripts – an inventory which is, in his own words, «pas exhaustive»⁷. A further selection is applied to Philippart's survey in order to establish a corpus of manuscripts that is representative and still manageable. Three criteria have been leading in the establishment of this corpus. The first is of geographical character: only those manuscripts that stem from the earliest regions of transmission (Bavaria and Frankish Gaul) are selected. The second one is chronological: we start with the oldest manuscripts and continue until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when large hagiographic collections partly⁸ replaced the earlier passionaries or legendaries. The third criterion is prompted by content: only those manuscripts are selected that present the *Virtutes apostolorum* with a section for each of the twelve apostles (Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James the Greater, Thomas, Philip, James the Less, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude), as a continuous series⁹. The collections of *Passiones apostolorum* that started to circulate in Italy and Rome in the early Middle Ages are left out of consideration. Italy had a strong tradition of *Passiones apostolorum*, which is, as far as Klaus Zelzer is right in his analysis, relatively independent from what happened north of the Alps. According to Zelzer, influence from Frankish Gaul and Bavaria is lacking here¹⁰. Rome, even more particular, had its own tradition of separate legendaries on the apostles alone. These books often contain both hagiographic and liturgical material. Codex *Vat. lat.* 5736 (s. XII) is an example containing only hagiographic material. It is traceable to a specific Roman church, viz. St Cecilia's in Trastevere. *Vat. lat.* 1272 (s. XI) is a beautiful and important example of a combination of hagiographic material with the liturgical material needed for Mass and office. The apostles appear in the order of the liturgical year, but with Peter and Paul as point of departure – the «apostolic year» runs from the end of June (Peter & Paul) to the beginning of May (Philip & James). The Roman apostle passionaries

(7) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16, footnote 4.

(8) François Dolbeau states that «traditional» legendaries were used until well into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, next to the compilations such as the *Legenda aurea*. 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^e et XX^e siècle*, Saint-Thierry, 1979, p. 159-182.

(9) This criterion implies that earlier eighth-century manuscripts with only a selection of apostles are left out of consideration for the present (most notably *Munich*, *Clm* 4554 and *Würzburg*, *Mp.th.f.* 78, both s. VIII). However, they will be included in the commentaries and edition to be published in CCSA.

(10) ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. XXXVI.

and the Italian passionaries are left out of the present consideration, because of their endemic and perhaps slightly isolated character¹¹.

II. «COLLEGIUM DUODECIM APOSTOLORUM»: THE APOSTLES AS A GROUP

The third criterion of my selection of manuscripts, given above, is motivated by the tendency, visible in medieval legendary and liturgical sources, to offer the apostles a prominent and private place¹². According to extra-biblical writings, the disciples and companions of Christ are remunerated with the highest reward of *imitatio*, which is martyrdom. The eyewitnesses have become blood witnesses. Although their feast-days are scattered through the liturgical year, the apostles are often arranged as a group and placed together, e.g. as a collective of church patronage, at prominent positions in litanies, in the commemorative parts of the Eucharistic prayer and in hagiographic collections, but also in iconographic programmes of abbey churches and cathedrals.

The approach to the apostles as a group and as a prominent category among the saints is reflected most clearly by the collection *Virtutes apostolorum*, transmitted in manuscripts from the late eighth century onwards in various regions of medieval Christianity. The differences in style, content and background demonstrate that these texts were not initially composed as a coherent continuum, but rather as individual texts that were placed together at a certain moment, in order to provide appropriate information on the life, mission and martyrdom of each of the apostles¹³. In addition, each individual section led a life of its own, for instance in the context of hagiographic manuscripts that order their *vitae* and *passiones* according to the liturgical calendar. The collection of *Virtutes* has never been entirely formalized, nor has it taken the shape of a uniform and fixed entity.

(11) Although Carmela Vircillo Franklin assumes that the Roman compilers of apostle books were aware of the existence of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as they circulated in Gaul and Germany. Unpublished paper presented at the workshop 'Apostolica in the Carolingian Age', Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS), Wassenaar, 12 May 2006.

(12) Concerning the approach to the apostles as a group or as individual saints, see ROSE, *Ritual Memory*, p. 286-291.

(13) Various prologues to individual sections give evidence of this motivation to write down the life and martyrdom of individual apostles. Cf. E. ROSE, *La réécriture des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres dans le Moyen-Âge latin*, in *Apocrypha*, 22 (2011), p. 135-166.

Variance rules with respect to the composition of the *Virtutes* as a collection (e.g. the order of appearance of the apostles and the presence or absence of prologues, epilogues and interpolations) as well as the content of the texts. Different hagiographic narratives about e.g. Peter, Paul, Andrew, Thomas and John are part of the sequence of *Virtutes apostolorum* in different manuscripts¹⁴.

III. «ABDIAS SCRIPTOR VITARUM SANCTORUM APOSTOLORUM»: ATTRIBUTION, CRITICISM AND DEFENCE

The edition by Wolfgang Lazius (1552)

The history of scholarship has presented the situation otherwise. Ever since the early modern period, the series of *Virtutes apostolorum* is presented as a coherent unity, known under the name «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias». This title is coined by Wolfgang Lazius, who edited the *Virtutes* from two manuscripts¹⁵. Lazius took great liberty with regard to his manuscripts. He presents the *Virtutes* as a collection conceived by one person, with a fixed order and selection of texts, provided with clear links to the canonical Acts of the Apostles as well as a general prologue. In order to achieve this presentation, Lazius not only added material from the canonical gospels and Acts to each individual apostle. He also composed a general prologue to the sequence of *Virtutes*, in which he combined material from the prologue to the section on Peter, with the incipit *Licet plurima* (BHL 6663¹⁶), with material from the epilogue to the section on Simon and Jude, with the incipit *Scriptis autem gesta* (BHL 7751). The latter text identifies the first bishop of Babylon, named Abdias, as the writer of the *gesta sanctorum apostolorum*. Abdias is mentioned earlier in this

(14) Cf. E. ROSE, *Virtutes apostolorum: Editorial problems and principles*, in *Apocrypha*, 23 (2012), forthcoming.

(15) Lazius mentions two *codices* that he found during his travels and brought with him to Vienna: one in the monastery of Ossiach in Carinthia (later Vienna, ÖNB 534, s. IX/X), the other in the abbey of St Trudpert (later Vienna, ÖNB 455, s. IX). W. LAZIUS (ed.), *Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et apostolorum discipuli de historia certaminis apostolici libri decem* (Basel 1552), p. 2r and 3r. Lazius's work is generally known under this title, accompanying the Parisian reprint of his work by Jean Lefèvre (1560). Lazius himself uses two titles: *Iulii Africani historici et episcopi in Historiam apostolicam praefatio* (in the context of the reconstructed preface) and *Historiae apostolicae autore Abdia Babyloniae episcopo, et ipsorum apostolorum discipulo, quam ex Hebraica lingua in Latinam Africanus vertit* (heading the first book on Peter).

(16) BHL refers to *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vol., Brussels 1898-1901, with the supplements under the same title dating 1911 and 1986.

section as a follower of the apostles Simon and Jude. He is said to have seen Christ «with his own eyes», and to have been ordained as the first bishop of Babylon by Simon and Jude. There seems to be no reason to interpret this attribution as applicable to something else than the section on Simon and Jude alone – I shall demonstrate this in the following survey of manuscripts. To Lazius, however, the unspecified *sanctorum apostolorum* sufficed to interpret this text as a general epilogue to the sequence of *Virtutes*, and therefore to indicate Abdias as the author of the collection as a whole, instead of the section on Simon and Jude alone.

From Lazius onwards, whose edition was very popular and knew many reprints¹⁷, the *Virtutes apostolorum* are generally identified as the «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias». I shall examine here the scholarly attempts to abandon this label while, at the same time, the ambivalent attitude to Lazius's approach, which was never completely discharged, will become visible. In the next section, the sources themselves will be consulted with regard to textual references to Abdias as well as the general position and presentation of these references in the manuscripts. Through this examination, I shall demonstrate that by abandoning the label «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias» we will gain a better insight into the manuscript tradition of the *Virtutes apostolorum* and into the high degree of variation and flexibility by which the medieval transmission of these texts is characterized.

Lazius challenged and defended

Lazius's edition and his idea of a «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias» was widely received, although in the more recent past of scholarship there has also been much critique. Yet many of Lazius's critics seem to defend or maintain his thesis to a certain extent. The idea of a «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias» has already been dismissed by Richard Lipsius, in his late nineteenth-century *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, as «ein einfaches Misverständnis»¹⁸. Lipsius presents the preface that Lazius compiled anew as a misleading entity¹⁹. Yet in a later stage of his study, Lipsius seems to modify

(17) See LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 133–134; I. BACKUS, *Historical method and confessional identity in the era of the Reformation (1378–1615)*, Leiden-Boston, 2003, p. 298, footnote 129.

(18) Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 120.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 130. A further note of critique concerns the way Lazius added passages from the canonical gospels and Acts to the text of the *Virtutes*, which Lipsius indicates precisely for each apostle at p. 131–133.

this straightforward statement and phrases the assumption that in the manuscript tradition, the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* functioned as an epilogue to the series of *Virtutes* as a whole and, therefore, that Abdias should be seen as the author or compiler of the entire collection²⁰.

The same ambivalence towards the attribution to Abdias is visible in Lipsius's distinction between on the one hand «Abdias texts», or *Virtutes apostolorum*, and *Passiones apostolorum* on the other. He assumed that both kinds of texts circulated in separate collections. This difference is highlighted in Lipsius's discussion of e.g. the apostles John and Peter. In the case of the *Virtutes Iohannis*, Lipsius distinguishes *BHL* 4320 (incipit *Secundam post Neronem persecutionem*, prologue attributed to Melito) from *BHL* 4316 (incipit *Tempore illo sancti apostoli domini et saluatoris*²¹). In the discussion on the texts about Peter, Lipsius makes a distinction between what he calls «the Abdias-text» *Igitur post corporeum dominicae natiuitatis* (*BHL* 6664, often accompanied by the prologue *Licet plurima*) and the Pseudo-Marcellus text describing the *Passio Petri et Pauli* (*Cum uenisset Paulus in urbem Romam*, *BHL* 6667²²). It is difficult to find out why Lipsius assumes that the *Virtutes Iohannis* (*BHL* 4316) is an «Abdias-text», while the *Passio* (*BHL* 4320) is not. Indeed, Lipsius indicates certain manuscripts as holding the collection of *Passiones apostolorum* (e.g. *Paris BnF*, lat. 9737; *Bibl. Sainte-Genève* 547 and 558), but these manuscripts immediately show exceptions to Lipsius's choice of texts that qualify for the label *Passiones apostolorum*²³. Equally

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 156.

(21) *Ibid.*, p. 124-126 and *passim*.

(22) *Ibid.*, p. 134 and *passim*.

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 151-152. His own conclusion is telling, viz. that possibly «... die Sammlung der passiones auch aus der Sammlung der virtutes nachträgliche Bereicherungen erfahren [hätte]» (*ibid.*, p. 152). A different, and to my mind more convincing approach is reflected by the work on the apostle Thomas by Klaus Zelzer, who distinguishes between the «Gallo-Frankish» transmission of what he calls the «Pseudo-Abdias Sammlung», and the South- and West-German transmission of the same collection. According to Zelzer, the latter transmission is rather consistent, while in the French manuscripts more variation is found. Nevertheless, he reckons both groups to be representatives of the *Virtutes apostolorum* or Collection of Pseudo-Abdias: «Für die frankogallische Tradition ergibt sich daraus, daß der Mirakeltext einerseits innerhalb der Sammlung bald auch durch den in diesem Raum parallel überlieferten Passiotext ersetzt und mit ihm kontaminiert werden konnte (...), andererseits aus der Sammlung gelöst bald ein Eigenleben führte (...) Die deutsche Tradition, der mit kleineren Variationen noch sechs spätere Zeugen zugehören, bewahrte dagegen den Text innerhalb der geschlossenen Apostelsammlung und war mangels einer entsprechenden Passiotradition von deren Einflüssen frei». ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xxxiii.

ineffective is Lipsius's effort to determine a fixed order of apostles²⁴: the manuscripts do not give way – both in the order of apostles and in the choice of texts variance dominates. In the selection of manuscripts Lipsius presents (but fails to explain), it is hardly possible to indicate a single manuscript that meets his criteria of apostle order or choice of texts; almost all his manuscripts display «mixed» collections of *Passiones apostolorum* and «Abdias texts». On what kind of evidence, then, are Lipsius's criteria grounded? What exactly qualifies a text as an «Abdias text»? Does Lipsius follow Lazius? Or is he inspired by the Vatican manuscripts that could be easily qualified as *Passiones apostolorum*²⁵? But then, Lipsius does not refer in any way to the Vatican manuscripts. The questions remain unanswered.

A final remarkable feature of Lipsius's approach is that his distinction between «Abdiastexte» and other texts on the apostles does not influence his selection of manuscripts. This is different in the work on the *Virtutes Iohannis* by Junod and Kaestli, who discuss the manuscript transmission of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in the context of their edition of the *Acts of John*. In imitation of Lipsius but with the necessary caution, the editors of the apocryphal *Acts of John* distinguish between the *Passio Iohannis* with the Melito-prologue (BHL 4320) and *Virtutes Iohannis* (BHL 4316²⁶). In the case of John, such a distinction makes sense because, as the editors state, only the *Virtutes Iohannis* contain a rewriting of the ancient Greek Acts of John (c. 62-86 and 106-115²⁷). More problematic, however, is the way they characterize only and exclusively the *Virtutes Iohannis* as part of the collection of *Virtutes apostolorum*, «dite à tort» Collection of Pseudo-Abdias²⁸. Although Junod and Kaestli criticize Lazius's editorial method, and firmly dismiss, like Lipsius, Lazius's concept of a Collection of Pseudo-Abdias, they nevertheless distinguish between *Virtutes apostolorum*, belonging to a collection «wrongfully labelled Collection of Pseudo-Abdias», and other texts, labelled *Passiones apostolorum*. As in the work of Lipsius, it remains unclear on what source they ground this assumption. Junod and Kaestli select the manuscripts they consider representatives of the collection of *Virtutes apostolorum* according to three criteria²⁹. The first one is concerned with the order in which the sections on the apostles appear, «un ordre généralement invariable»: Peter, Paul,

(24) *Ibid.*, p. 153-155.

(25) E.g. *Vat. lat.* 1272; *Vat. lat.* 5736; *Vat. Reg. lat.* 457.

(26) JUNOD and KAESTLI (ed.), *Acta Iohannis*, vol. II, p. 758, footnote 1.

(27) *Ibid.*, p. 750.

(28) *Ibid.*

(29) *Ibid.*, p. 755.

James the Less, Philip, Andrew, James the Greater, John, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon & Jude³⁰. The second criterion has to do with the prologue *Licet plurima*, which is found at the head of the collection or, rather, at the beginning of the section on Peter (which is, according to Junod and Kaestli's first criterion, generally the first section). The final criterion is comparable, and prescribes that the final section (on Simon and Jude) concludes with the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta*. Despite the clarity of these criteria, the manuscripts do not always meet them, as the editors themselves observe³¹. It remains, then, unclear on what ground Junod and Kaestli are able to classify the oldest early modern edition, by Friedrich Nausea and dated 1531, as deviant, in the sense that, as they formulate, the prologue and epilogue have disappeared, the order of the sections is «bouleversé», Peter and Paul share a section, a section on Barnabas is added³². In my selection of twenty-five manuscripts (see the appendix), there are few manuscripts that keep up exactly the same order. Conversely, there are many manuscripts in which Peter and Paul share a section (e.g. *Graz*, UB 412; *Montpellier* H 55; *Paris*, *Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève* 547 and 558; *Paris*, *BnF*, lat. 5273, 9737, 12602; *Sankt Gallen* 561); and there are at least two manuscripts in which a section on Barnabas is added (*Dublin*, TC 737, immediately following the section on Simon and Jude; *Paris*, *BnF*, lat. 12602, following the sections on Mathias, Mark and Luke).

The case of John presented above makes clear that assumptions about the inner coherence of the *Virtutes apostolorum* influence the selection of manuscripts chosen to study these texts. This is also visible in the work of Giselle Besson, who studied the *Virtutes apostolorum* in order to provide a translation of the *Virtutes* of six apostles in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* II³³. Like Lipsius, Besson is somewhat ambivalent in her evaluation of the concept Pseudo-Abdias. At first she seems to disagree with Lazius's interpretation of the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* as an epilogue to the series of *Virtutes*: «Mais à regarder le texte de plus près, il apparaît avec évidence, comme l'avait déjà remarqué Lipsius, qu'il ne s'agit que des Actes de Simon et Jude, dont Abdias a été témoin»³⁴. Further on, however, she contradicts this opinion

(30) *Ibid.*, p. 751.

(31) «...[C]ependant, le contenu et l'ordre de la collection ne sont pas absolument identiques chez chacun d'entre eux». *Ibid.*, p. 755.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 751-752.

(33) P. GEOLTRAIN and J.-D. KAESTLI (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. II, Paris, 2005, p. 735-864.

(34) G. BESSON, *La collection dite du Pseudo-Abdias*, in *Apocrypha*, 11 (2000), p. 181-194, at p. 187.

in stating that the words *omnia* and *universa* that are used in this epilogue «ne pouvait que renforcer l'impression qu'il s'agissait bien de l'ensemble des notices»³⁵. In the following pages, Besson defends the idea that already in the manuscripts the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* was meant as an epilogue to the entire collection, forming a harmonious parallel to *Licet plurima* as a prologue not to the section on Peter and Paul alone, but to the series of *Virtutes* as a whole. Besson sees her hypothesis confirmed in the «constance avec laquelle les manuscrits de toutes époques placent volontiers la notice sur Simon et Jude en fin de la collection, quel que soit par ailleurs l'ordre adopté»³⁶.

The latter statement, to begin with, is difficult to maintain after some counting. From the twenty-five manuscripts I selected for this study of the *Virtutes apostolorum*, fifteen place the section on Simon and Jude at the end of the sequence, ten do not. A majority of 60% is a considerable majority, but not enough to speak of a consistent preference to place the section on Simon and Jude at the end of the series. At the same time, I am not convinced that there is any evidence in the presupposed parallelism to the prologue *Licet plurima*. Although most scholars interpret this text as a prologue to the series of *Virtutes apostolorum* as a whole, I am not sure that it functioned this way in the manuscripts. Codicological evidence seems to indicate that the text functioned primarily as a prologue to the *Virtutes* of Peter (or Peter and Paul) alone. Although the text of *Licet plurima* seems to have all apostles in mind when it utters its regret that little information is found about the apostles apart from the stories of their martyrdom, it does not occur at the beginning of the series when the section on Peter is not the first section. This is the case in two out of twenty-five manuscripts: *Angers*, *BM* 281, *Paris*, *BnF*, lat. 5274. This seems to imply that *Licet plurima* belongs to the section on Peter (or on Peter and Paul) and does not function as a separate general prologue (as the Melito prologue *Volo sollicitam esse* does in the two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts). This statement seems to be confirmed by e.g. *Paris*, *BnF*, lat. 11750, which introduces *Licet plurima* as *Incipit prologus in passione sancti Petri apostolorum principis* (f. 59r). Besson's selection of manuscripts, containing solely «des manuscrits commençant par Pierre et Paul pour terminer par la notice de Simon et Jude»³⁷, seems to take into account only part of the transmission of *Virtutes apostolorum*, without representing the diversified transmission of the *Virtutes*. Her criterion for selection is grounded first on the conviction that the preface

(35) *Ibid.*, footnote 22.

(36) *Ibid.*, p. 188.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 189.

Licet plurima functions as a preface to all *Virtutes*, which I doubt – even if in a later stage the prologue might be presented as a prologue to the series as a whole³⁸. Secondly, Besson considers the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* as a postface to the collection of all *Virtutes*, which I think is not the case, as we will see in the second part of this article containing an exploration of the manuscript evidence.

Before we turn to the manuscripts themselves, one final study should be mentioned that shows an ambivalent attitude towards the attribution of the collection of *Virtutes apostolorum* to Abdias. Irena Backus discusses Lazius's edition of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as part of her exploration of the *Sitz im Leben* of the early Christian apocrypha in the period of Reformation and Counter Reformation³⁹. At first sight, Backus does not seem to follow Lazius in his indication of Abdias as the *scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum*. She is straight in her rejection of Lazius's interpretation of *Scriptis autem gesta* as an epilogue to the sequence of *Virtutes*; she considers this text as an epilogue to the section on Simon and Jude alone, while «[t]he rest of the collection has nothing to do with Abdias and was not written by him»⁴⁰. Nevertheless, Backus seems to take back her critique on Lazius's work when she repeatedly states that he was likely to have «edited the manuscript simply as he found it»⁴¹, and that «[e]vidently, Lazius's manuscript already attributed the entire work to Abdias»⁴². Finally, she assumes that the attribution to Abdias at the end of the section on Simon and Jude must have functioned as a «title» in the manuscripts Lazius used, which «shows that copyists began to attribute the collection to Abdias well before Lazius's time»⁴³.

Backus does not compare Lazius's edition with the manuscripts he used, but draws conclusions from the printed work only, even while she is well aware of Lazius's drastic interference with the text in his

(38) Cf. the thirteenth-century manuscripts *Vienna*, ÖNB 560 and 497, in which a rubric indicates *Licet plurima* as a prologue *in gesta et passionibus apostolorum* (497) or *in passionibus apostolorum*. However, both manuscripts first give the capitula for the section on Peter, then *Licet plurima* and then the text of *BHL* 6663 itself (incipit *Igitur post corporeum*), with a separate rubric *Incipiunt gesta beati Petri apostoli* (497) or *Incipit passionis sancti Petri apostoli caput .I.* It is unclear which apostles are indicated by the rubric preceding *Licet plurima*: all twelve, or Peter and Paul the protagonists of *BHL* 6663.

(39) BACKUS, *Historical method and confessional identity*, p. 310-317.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 294. Elsewhere, she qualifies Lazius's interpretation of *Scriptis autem gesta* as a «deliberate misreading»: *ibid.*, p. 297-298.

(41) *Ibid.*, p. 310.

(42) *Ibid.*, p. 311.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 313. Lazius refers to this «title» in the preface to his edition: LAZIUS (ed.), *De historia certaminis apostolici*, p. 2r.

sources⁴⁴. Nevertheless, we know exactly which manuscripts Lazius worked from, as I have already indicated above (footnote 15). Moreover, Lazius reported rather extensively on his travels to (monastic) libraries and the books he collected there in the preface to his edition. Thanks to a detailed article by Ernst Trenkler, it is possible to identify, at least in part, the manuscripts Lazius used for his edition of the *Virtutes apostolorum*⁴⁵.

Trenkler describes Lazius's book collecting activities, counting at least ninety of his books now in the *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*⁴⁶ (which incorporated the collection of the former *Hofbibliothek* to which Lazius brought the books he collected⁴⁷). Trenkler praises Lazius's activity in preserving medieval sources of poetry and science, even if Lazius's editorial approach cannot stand the test of modern criticism and is characterized by errors out of carelessness. Moreover, according to Trenkler, «er schreckte auch vor Fälschungen, wenn sie in sein Konzept paßten, nicht zurück»⁴⁸.

Lazius brought several manuscripts with him to Vienna from a variety of monasteries, which are interesting for the present research⁴⁹. There are at least three manuscripts containing the *Virtutes apostolorum*:

- (1) *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 534* (s. IX/X), *Vita et passionibus apostolorum*, in possession of the Benediktinerstift of Ossiach (1549)⁵⁰;
- (2) *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 358* (s. IX/X), *Passionale latinum*, in possession of the Benediktinerstift Oberburg⁵¹;
- (3) *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 455* (s. IX), *Passiones apostolorum*, in possession of the Benedictine Abbey in St Trudpert⁵².

(44) BACKUS, *Historical method and confessional identity*, p. 295, 310-311.

(45) E. TRENKLER, *Wolfgang Lazius, Humanist und Büchersammler*, in *Biblos*, 27 (1978), p. 186-203.

(46) *Ibid.*, p. 202. Trenkler grounds his observations on remarks and notes in Lazius's books, which offer little information on his first journey, but ample information on his second and third travel. *Ibid.*, p. 196, footnote 22.

(47) *Ibid.*, p. 186.

(48) *Ibid.*, p. 188.

(49) Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 196-201.

(50) *Ibid.*, p. 198.

(51) *Ibid.*, p. 199. This manuscript starts with a lacuna of presumably six folio's, possibly containing the *Virtutes* of Peter and Paul and of Andrew. Because of the lacuna, it is not part of my selection of manuscripts but will be studied for comparison.

(52) *Ibid.*, p. 201. See also A. SCHLECHTER, G. STAMM, *Die kleinen Provenienzen*, Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 93.

In addition, Trenkler identifies several codices that Lazius picked up in the Cistercian monastery of Rein during his 1549 travel, where *ÖNB*, lat. 560 stems from, without mentioning this particular manuscript⁵³. However, it is possible that Lazius took this codex with him to Vienna as well. Of the manuscripts Lazius brought to Vienna, both *ÖNB*, lat. 534 and *ÖNB*, lat. 455 contain marginal notes in a post-medieval, early modern hand (*ÖNB*, lat. 534: f. 91v; 93r; 206r about Abdias; 210r about Abdias; *ÖNB*, lat. 455: f. 146v about Abdias). Many of these notes betray a definite interest in the figure of Abdias, most notably the remark *Abdias Babyloniae episcopus scriptor vitam sanctorum apostolorum* added in the margin of *ÖNB*, lat. 534, f. 210r (see figure 1), even though we are quite certain that these notes were not written by Lazius himself⁵⁴.

To sum up, I think Backus's interpretation of *Scriptis autem gesta* as a title given at the end of the text on Simon and Jude but applicable to the series of *Virtutes* as a whole, cannot stand up without a study of the position and phrasing of the epilogue mentioning Abdias in the manuscripts, particularly the three Viennese manuscripts Lazius has certainly known, a study that will provide a more definite answer to the question whether or not it is adequate to maintain the concept «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias».

IV. MANUSCRIPT EVIDENCE

In the second half of this article, two «colophons» in the section on the apostles Simon and Jude will be examined: the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta*, already mentioned, and the colophon that precedes the section's final chapter, generally starting with the words *Ordinauerunt autem in ciuitate episcopum nomine Abdiam* and briefly indicated here as *Ordinauerunt autem*. The question will be if there are either textual or codicological or paleographical indications that rectify the attribution of the collection as a whole to Abdias.

(53) *Ibid.*, p. 199. The information Trenkler offers is not exhaustive, and it is well possible that *ÖNB*, lat. 560 was seen and used by Lazius.

(54) One of the students in my research group examined other autographs by Lazius's hand, and came to this conclusion. M. Urbanus, unpublished internship report Utrecht University, March 2012, p. 6. The note in *Vienna*, *ÖNB* 534 is observed by Arend Quak but not related to Lazius. A. QUAK, *Unveröffentlichte althochdeutsche Glossen aus dem Codex Vindobonensis 534*, in C. MINIS (ed.), *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*, Amsterdam, 1973, p. 113-128, at p. 113. This kind of marginal notes in an early modern hand is not present in *Vienna*, *ÖNB* 560 or 358.

Textual indications

The name Abdias occurs twice in the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*. He is mentioned first at the close of the chapter that tells the end of the apostles' stay in Babylon and their encounter with Varardach, Xerxes's commander, and which is concluded with the passage *Ordinauerunt autem*. In this first «colophon», a passage that accounts for the authorship of the original narrative and the summary that is presented to the reader (*ista sufficiunt*), Abdias is introduced as a companion of the apostles, a fellow countryman, even as someone who met Christ in person⁵⁵. It is crucial to note that he is presented as an eyewitness to the mission of Simon and Jude, at least in Babylon, where he is said to have been appointed bishop by the apostles before they travelled on to the other Persian provinces. In this text fragment, Abdias is not indicated as the one who noted down everything the apostles «performed and suffered during thirteen years» – the author of this account is identified as Craton, likewise a disciple of Simon and Jude. As the translator of Craton's (originally Greek?) work into Latin, Africanus is introduced:

Ordinauerunt autem apostoli in ciuitate episcopum nomine Abdiam, qui cum ipsis uenerat a Iudaea, qui et ipse oculis suis uiderat dominum, et aecclesiis ciuitas repleta est. Quibus rite ordinatis, in uiam profecti sunt. Sequebantur autem eos turbae discipulorum, et eo amplius tria milia uirorum. Circuierunt autem apostoli duodecim prouincias Persidis, et ciuitates earum, in quibus quae egerint, et quae passi sint per annos tredecim, longa narratione scripsit Grathon ipsorum apostolorum discipulus in decem librorum uoluminibus uniuersa comprehendens. Quae omnia Affricanus historiografus in Latinam transtulit linguam. Nam uolentibus scire quae fuerint apostolorum principia praedicationis, uel quo fine mundum reliquerint, et ad celestia regna migrauerint ista sufficiant⁵⁶.

The apostles ordained in that city a bishop named Abdias, who had travelled with them from Judea, and who had seen the Lord with his own eyes. The city was filled with churches. After they had been consecrated according to the rite, the apostles travelled on. But a host of dis-

(55) According to Lazius, Abdias was one of the seventy-two disciples mentioned in Luke 10, but in the most recent edition of early Christian lists of apostles by François Dolbeau, no Abdias occurs. See F. DOLBEAU, *Listes d'apôtres et de disciples*, in P. GEOLTRAIN and J.-D. KAESTLI (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, Paris, 2005, p. 453–580. See also LIPSIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 123, who likewise contests the identification of Abdias with one of the seventy (or seventy-two) disciples.

(56) *Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg* 48, f. 122v, l. 017b until f. 123r, l. 012a.

ciples followed them, even more than three thousand men. The apostles wandered through the twelve provinces of Persia and their cities, and Craton, a disciple of these apostles, in a long narrative, wrote down all that they performed and suffered during thirteen years. He describes everything in ten volumes. All this is translated into Latin by the historiographer Africanus. But to those who want to know the principles of the apostles' preaching, or the way in which they ended their life on earth and migrated to the heavenly kingdom, the present summary suffices.

The second time Abdias is mentioned is at the very end of the section on Simon and Jude, in the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta*. In contrast with the first colophon, Abdias is mentioned here as the author of the *gesta sanctorum apostolorum* in the Hebrew language. His work is subsequently said to have been translated into Greek by his own disciple Eutropius, and from there into Latin by Africanus:

Scriptis autem gesta sanctorum apostolorum Abdias episcopus Babylo-niae, qui ab ipsis apostolis ordinatus est, sermone Hebraeo, quae omnia a discipulo eiusdem Abdiae Eutropio nomine in Greco translata sunt. Quae uniuersa nihilominus ab Africano in decem libris descripta sunt. Ista descripsimus initia de libro primo et ultima de decimo⁵⁷.

The acts of the holy apostles are written down in the Hebrew language by Abdias the bishop of Babylon, who was ordained by these same apostles. And all of it is translated into Greek by a disciple of this same Abdias, named Eutropius. The entire work is likewise rewritten in ten books by Africanus. I have [here] rewritten the beginning of the first and the end of the tenth book.

This is the notorious epilogue that Lazius reconstructed, mixed with elements from *Licet plurima*, into a new preface covering the series of *Virtutes apostolorum* as a whole, a reconstruction by which he actually created the «Collection of Pseudo-Abdias». The few lines indeed create a lot of questions and uncertainties. The identification of Abdias seems to be straightforward: he is the one mentioned earlier, in *Ordinauerunt autem*. Since Simon and Jude are mentioned in *Ordinauerunt autem* as the apostles who ordained Abdias (*Ordinauerunt autem in ciuitate episcopum nomine Abdiam*), it is clear that both *sanctorum apostolorum* and *ipsis* (= *isdem*, «these same»⁵⁸) *apostolis* in *Scriptis autem*

(57) *Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg* 48, f. 124v, l. 016a-026a.

(58) V. VÄÄNÄNEN, *Introduction au Latin vulgaire*, Paris, 1981³, p. 120: «...ipse remplace *idem*...».

gesta refer to these two apostles alone⁵⁹. This implies that Abdias was a disciple or follower of Simon and Jude by whom he was appointed as the first bishop of Babylon, and not of all twelve apostles. Consequently, it is a rational idea that Abdias wrote the *gesta* of Simon and Jude, but not of all twelve apostles. That he was able to compose the account of their lives has been made plausible already in *Ordinauerunt autem*: Abdias's narrative is an eyewitness account. That he wrote in Hebrew is not surprising either: since he was a Judean, Hebrew was apparently his mother tongue. But what could he possibly know about the acts and martyrdoms of the other apostles, spread throughout the world, dealing with different rulers, rulers' daughters or wives, magicians, etc.? How could Abdias from his position in Babylon have collected all the knowledge about the apostles, the importance of which is stressed so explicitly by the various prefaces to the different sections of *Virtutes*⁶⁰?

According to *Scriptis autem gesta* the work of Abdias is translated into Greek by his disciple Eutropius, whose work has been translated into Latin and reorganized into ten books by the historiographer Africanus. From this latter work, the present rewriter of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* has taken only a few parts, namely the beginning of the apostles' wanderings in Persia (mainly their struggle with the magicians Zaroes and Arfaxar) and their martyrdom and death: *Ista descripsimus initia de libro primo et ultima de decimo*. As Lipsius rightfully states, precisely this addition about a selective summary of the original *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* is an indication that the epilogue cannot have functioned as a postface to the sequence of all *Virtutes apostolorum*, for how could a choice «from the first and the tenth book» make sense in this context⁶¹? In short, there is no reason to suggest that the lives and acts of all twelve apostles are at stake here, even though comprehensive words as *omnia* and *universa* are used (Besson's argument,

(59) And not to all twelve apostles, as Aideen O'Leary interprets on the basis of her translation «of the apostles themselves». A. O'LEARY, *By the bishop of Babylon? The alleged origins of the collected Latin apocryphal Acts of the apostles*, in L. DENNISON (ed.), *The Legacy of M. R. James: Papers from the 1995 Cambridge Symposium*, Donington, 2001, p. 128-138. O'Leary's defence of an attribution of the *Virtutes apostolorum* to Abdias (Lazius's approach) is based partly on this to my mind less adequate translation.

(60) Cf. LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 120.

(61) *Ibid.*: «Weiter wurde übersehn, dass nach der ausdrücklichen Angabe des Epilogs der Auszug sich nur auf den Anfang des ersten und den Schluss des zehnten Buches erstreckt haben soll, was verständlich ist, wenn man es auf die Geschichten des Simon und Judas bezieht, aber gradezu unsinnig, wenn diese Notiz von der ganzen Sammlung apokrypher Apostelgeschichten gelten soll».

see above footnote 35). These words rather refer to the fact that the original work on Simon and Jude was so extensive (Craton's *longa narratio*) than to the fact that all twelve disciples were covered.

The only problematic aspect of the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* is the fact that it doubles the colophon *Ordinauerunt autem*, which attributes the literary account of the *gesta* of Simon and Jude to Craton. Lipsius explains this duplication as evidence of the existence of two separate accounts on Simon and Jude: one on their life and acts in Babylon, described by their follower Abdias (*Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*) and one on their martyrdom that took place in Suanir and, therefore, beyond the reach of Abdias who remained in Babylon after the apostles' departure (*Passio Simonis et Iudae*⁶²). This in itself plausible explanation, which fits well into Lipsius's general assumption of separate collections of *Virtutes* and *Passiones apostolorum*, does not account for the fact that in the genealogy of the narrative on the Acts of Simon and Jude, Craton is a duplication of Eutropius rather than Abdias, as is made visible in table 1:

	Ordinauerunt autem	Scriptis autem gesta
Hebrew	*	Abdias
Greek	Craton?	Eutropius
Latin	Africanus	Africanus

Table 1: Language and author of the «original» *Gesta Simonis et Iudae*

Nothing is said about the language in which Craton wrote his ten books on the mission and martyrdom of the apostles, but the Greek origin of his name is perhaps an indication that he was a Graecophone. This would imply that Craton is confused with or takes the place of Eutropius as the Greek writer / translator of the *Gesta Simonis et Iudae*. The confusion is, in other words, not between Abdias and Craton, but between Eutropius and Craton. The overall picture seems to emphasize the fictitious character of all authors mentioned apart from Africanus, the famous historiographer from Jerusalem (ca 160-ca 240⁶³). With respect to the translation of the *gesta* of Simon and Jude from Greek into Latin, both colophons are similar: this work is done by Africanus, who also divided the material over ten books, out of which the present author or compiler took what he

(62) *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 119.

(63) G. BROSZIO, *Julius Africanus*, in S. DÖPP, W. GEERLINGS, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, Freiburg – Basel – Vienna, 1998, p. 363-364. On the identification of Eutropius, Craton and Africanus see further LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 119-123, who mainly follows Fabricius.

deemed appropriate or essential. The enigma of the double colophon is not solved herewith, and perhaps cannot be solved along the lines of coherence a modern reader would wish for.

The analysis of the texts of the two colophons in the *Virtutes Simonis and Iudae* demonstrates clearly that Abdias is indicated here as the original author of this narrative alone, not of the entire series of *Virtutes apostolorum*. Lazius's approach must be rejected. The question that now remains is, whether there is reason to assume that the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* was interpreted in the later manuscript transmission as an epilogue to the series of *Virtutes*, as Lipsius suggests⁶⁴. This hypothesis can only be verified through an examination of the position and presentation of *Scriptis autem gesta* (in relation to *Ordinauerunt autem*) in the manuscripts, as will be done in the following section.

Codicological and paleographical indications: position and presentation

The intention to examine the manuscripts concerning the position and presentation of the two «colophons» in the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* is hindered by an initial problem. Apart from the fact that the individual texts the series of *Virtutes* consists of can be dated much earlier than the late eighth or ninth century, there are some important testimonies that indicate a circulation of the *Virtutes apostolorum* also in this compilation long before the ninth century. The first to mention is Venantius Fortunatus, who lists the apostles in his famous poem *De virginitate* and describes their martyrdom and field of mission. The way Venantius presents the twelve apostles is very close to the series of *Virtutes*⁶⁵. Bede as well refers to a number of *Virtutes* in his *Retractationes in Acta apostolorum* in a way that suggests that he was familiar with a coherent series of *Virtutes*, similar to the compilation examined here⁶⁶. This implies that there is a gap between the oldest

(64) LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 156.

(65) VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, *De virginitate. Carmina* VIII.3, l. 137-150. Ed. F. LEO, *Venanti Honori Clementiani Fortunati presbyteri Italici Opera poetica*, Berlin, 1881, MGH Scriptores, Auctores antiquissimi 4.1, p. 184-185; cf. LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 165-166. In a recent study I call into question Lipsius's conviction that Fortunatus followed the *Virtutes apostolorum* in his poem. I think that his presentation is closer to the early medieval lists of apostles than to a narrative account. Cf. ROSE, *Virtutes apostolorum: Origin, aim, and use*, forthcoming.

(66) BEDA VENERABILIS, *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum* I.13, in M. L. W. LAISTNER, D. HURST (eds.), *Beda Venerabilis Retractatio in Actus apostolorum*, Turnhout, 1983 (CCSL 121), p. 106-107. Cf. ROSE, *Virtutes apostolorum: Origin, aim, and use*, forthcoming.

manuscripts we have at our disposal (from the late eighth century onwards) and the first occurrence of the *Virtutes* as a series and as a coherent compilation, circulating towards the end of the sixth century perhaps in Gaul (Venantius) and known in Northumberland in the first half of the eighth century (Bede).

Most of the manuscripts transmitting the *Virtutes apostolorum* contain both *Ordinauerunt autem*, which mentions Craton as the author of the apostles' *gesta*, and *Scriptis autem gesta*, which mentions Abdias as the author. Yet in a considerable number of manuscripts that include the colophon *Ordinauerunt autem* the passage on Craton and Africanus is omitted. In other manuscripts, the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* is not included. Finally, there is a small number of manuscripts in which paleographical means are applied to indicate a caesura between the first colophon, *Ordinauerunt autem*, and the sequel, the final chapter of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* with the incipit *Memorati igitur*. The various situations are put together in table 2:

<i>Scriptis</i> + <i>Ordinauerunt</i> ; Craton lacking	<i>Ordinauerunt</i> ; <i>Scriptis</i> lacking	Paleographical caesura after <i>ista sufficiunt</i>
<i>Bamberg, Misc. hist.</i> 139 <i>Montpellier H</i> 55 <i>Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève</i> 547 <i>Paris, BnF, lat.</i> 5274 <i>Paris, BnF, lat.</i> 12602	<i>Angers, BM</i> 281 <i>Paris, BnF, lat.</i> 12604 <i>Vienna, ÖNB, lat.</i> 560	<i>Vienna, ÖNB, lat.</i> 534 <i>Munich, Clm</i> 12641

Table 2: Deviations in presence and presentation of the two colophons in the manuscripts

«*Ordinauerunt autem*» short version

Five manuscripts include a short version of the colophon *Ordinauerunt autem*. These manuscripts give the colophon, but omit the remark on Craton, his long narrative, Africanus's translation into Latin and the fact that the present shorter version of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* should suffice. Four of the five manuscripts (*Montpellier H* 55, *Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève* 547, *Paris, BnF, lat.* 5274, *Paris, BnF, lat.* 12602) with this short version of *Ordinauerunt autem* belong to the Frankish tradition, of which *Montpellier H* 55 is the oldest representative. The text of *Montpellier H* 55 follows here:

Destruentes templa et ecclesias extruentes, ordinauerunt in ciuitate[m] episcopum nomine Abdiam qui cum ipsis uenerat a Iudea, qui et ipse uiderat oculi[s] suis dominum. Et repleta est ciuitas ecclesiis, quibus ritae hordinatis profecti sunt. Memorati igitur magi Zaroes et Arfaxat facientes scelera per ciuitates et dicentes se ex genere deorum.

The analysis of linguistic features makes clear that at least *Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève* 547 is closely related to *Montpellier* H 55⁶⁷. As far as *Paris, BnF, lat.* 12602 is concerned, it gives the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta*, where Africanus is mentioned but his translation of Eutropius's writings into Latin is omitted: «Quae uniuersa nichilominus ab Affricani decem libris decerpsimus, initia de primo libro et ultima de decimo...»

In addition to the Frankish transmission omitting the passage on Craton, there is one representative of Bavaria, the other important centre of transmission of *Virtutes apostolorum*, with the same omission. The Regensburg codex *Bamberg, Misc. hist.* 139 (presumably copied in St Emmeram) is an important twelfth-century echo of the earlier Regensburg codices, *Dublin, Trinity College* 737 (s. ix) and *Paris, BnF, lat.* 5563 (s. xi). Despite the correspondence in origin, Bamberg is an independent representative of the *Virtutes*: although it selects the same texts for the individual apostles, the order of appearance is different from *Dublin, TC* 737 and *Paris, BnF, lat.* 5563, and it omits the hymn *Praelata mundi culmina* in honour of Peter and Paul.

The fact that the short version of *Ordinauerunt autem* is found in manuscripts of the Frankish as well as the Bavarian branch of *Virtutes* transmission, but only in a limited number of manuscripts, makes it difficult to qualify the abbreviation. Do the five manuscripts reflect a tradition in which *Ordinauerunt autem* circulated in this short version, which was extended later? Or did the opposite occur, in which a scribal error caused an unintentional abbreviation? Or is it a conscious omission of a passage that is indeed inconvenient, given the duplication with the second colophon *Scriptis autem gesta*? Further research will have to show which of the alternatives is the most plausible one.

«*Scriptis autem gesta*» lacking

Three manuscripts represent a different, conscious or accidental, solution to the problem of the two slightly contradictory colophons. *Angers, BM* 281, *Paris, BnF, lat.* 12604 and *Vienna, ÖNB, lat.* 560 omit the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* altogether.

In the case of *Vienna, ÖNB, lat.* 560, the narrative of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* is unfinished. On f. 144v, the scribe stops in the middle of a sentence («Post menses autem tres, misit», l. 13). A different hand, of

(67) Linguistic study on the texts in the manuscripts and the relations between the manuscripts is executed by Maarten Prot, MA, whose findings will be presented in a PhD-thesis.

much later date, takes over and completes the sentence: «rex et corpora sanctorum apostolorum ad urbem suam transtulit et in eorum honore ecclesiam mire magnitudinis fabricavit» (l. 13-16). This is a very concise summary of the end of the final chapter of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*, describing the translation of the apostles' bodies to a new basilica built by Xerxes. The remaining seven lines of f. 144v are left empty. A third hand, but of approximately the same age as the hand that finishes f. 144v, starts on f. 145r, where (the prologue to) the *Vita Mathiae* begins, the final part of the manuscript (f. 145r-158v). Thus, the codex clearly falls into two parts: the first, earlier part with the *Virtutes apostolorum*, and the second, later part with the *Vita Mathiae* in a different hand, while a separate hand, of the age of the second part, finishes the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* in a rush without completing it properly. It is difficult to decide why the narrative on Simon and Jude is unfinished. Apparently, the first hand stopped or was stopped in the middle of his job. The hand that takes over does not finish the former's task entirely, although it is not clear why. Maybe the text from which *Vienna*, ÖNB, lat. 560 was copied had a similar lacuna, or, and this might be more plausible, the text on f. 144v was finished at a much later state, when the copist did not have the original text at his disposal anymore.

Despite the difference in background of *Vienna*, ÖNB, lat. 560 and *Paris*, BnF, lat. 12604, with the Viennese codex stemming from the Cistercian monastery Rein, a Bavarian foundation, and the Parisian book from the northern French Benedictine abbey of Corbie, the two manuscripts represent a highly corresponding version of the series of *Virtutes*, with an almost similar choice of texts and presenting them in exactly the same order, including the position of Mathias following directly on the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*⁶⁸. In the case of *Paris*, BnF, lat. 12604, however, the omission of the epilogue seems to be an intentional abbreviation. The text is complete including the entire episode on the building of the new church by Xerxes to house the bodies of the apostles in Babylon. It is finished at the end of the folio with «Amen», which does not occur in any of the other manuscripts, with no indication of a rupture or involuntary ending.

The case of *Angers*, BM 281 is a third unique phenomenon among the selected manuscripts. On f. 164r, the narrative of the final chapter about the apostles' martyrdom and the elimination of the sorcer-

(68) With this difference that *Vienna*, ÖNB, lat. 560 chooses the *Vita Matthiae* (BHL 5700) and the Parisian *codex* a sermon on Mathias. Likewise, there is a small difference in texts for Peter: *Paris*, BnF, lat. 12604 gives BHL 6664, which differs slightly from BHL 6663 given in *Vienna*, ÖNB, lat. 560.

ers is finished with a short remark on the translation of the apostles' bodies. This conclusion drastically shortens the passage on the building of the church, and omits the subsequent epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta*:

Post menses autem tres misit rex Xersis, et confiscauit omnes pontifices. Corpora autem apostolorum cum ingenti honore ad [su]am transtulit ciuitatem, regnante domino nostro Ihesu Christo cu[i] est] gloria et imperium, in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Exp[licit] passio sanctorum apostolorum Symonis [C]hananei et Iudas Zelotis et alterum passiones apostolos⁶⁹.

Here, obviously, there is no sign of a sudden rupture or involuntary ending of the writing. Indeed, the text is concluded with a doxology and a double explicit (one for the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* and a second one for the «*passiones*» of the other apostles), even if it is not complete. As in Paris BnF lat. 12604, the abbreviation seems to be applied intentionally, but it has no parallels with other manuscripts. It is quite different in character from *Paris, BnF, lat. 12604*, because the Parisian manuscript finishes the chapter and omits only the epilogue. Angers is also very different from *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 560*, which is finished abruptly and prematurely. In short, the abbreviation of the final chapter in Angers and the omission of the epilogue seem to be intentional, although there is no model for or parallel of it among the manuscripts in my selection.

One other manuscript in which the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* appears in an incomplete way is *Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 557*. The text breaks off at the very end, where at the bottom of the page the doxology has reached the holy [Spirit]. Although the omission of the final words is hardly significant, it is remarkable that so little attention is paid to a careful and orderly completion of the narrative, as if the final passage containing the epilogue is not so important.

In conclusion, it must be stated that the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* is lacking in *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 560* because the narrative on Simon and Jude is incomplete, whereas *Paris, BnF, lat. 12604* represents a version of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* without the epilogue. In *Angers, BM 281* not only the epilogue is lacking, but the preceding passage is abbreviated. Do *Paris, BnF, lat. 12604* and *Angers, BM 281* represent two different branches of transmission of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* without the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta*? If so, is it a conscious omission because of the inconvenience of two colophons that are contradictory? And if this is the case, how is *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 560* related to

(69) *intell.* apostolorum. The final two sentences are written in *littera capitalis*.

this branch? It is difficult to formulate definitive answers. It is clear that *Scriptis autem gesta* forms part of all manuscripts of my selection apart from the three analysed here. Only in *Paris, BnF, lat. 12604* and *Angers, BM 281* the epilogue is left out intentionally – but with what kind of intention exactly remains unclear. The two manuscripts are very different in their abbreviation, *Paris, BnF, lat. 12604* omitting only the epilogue, while *Angers* also excludes almost the entire passage on the building of the church and the translation of the apostles' relics.

Caesura after ista sufficiunt

Apart from the absence or abbreviation of (parts of) the colophons, their paleographical and codicological presentation can offer information on the way these passages were interpreted or functioned in the text and its context. In this section, I shall first examine if there are significant paleographical or codicological characteristics in the environment of *Ordinauerunt autem*, and then take *Scriptis autem gesta* into consideration.

As far as the layout of *Ordinauerunt* is concerned, there are two manuscripts which put in a caesura between the end of the chapter on the tigresses, concluded with the first colophon, and the final chapter of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*, with the incipit «Memorati igitur». *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 534* distinguishes the end of the first colophon by paleographical means: it highlights the words *ista sufficiunt* (f. 206v, l. 5) by choosing a *littera capitalis* for these two words, the same letter it uses for rubrics, capitula and incipits (see figure 3). This indicates that a kind of caesura was felt after the first colophon, attributing the narrative of the apostles' travels through the twelve provinces of Persia and their martyrdom to Craton, the apostles' disciple, of which the present narrative is an extract. The following chapter, numbered VI, continues without further paleographical distinction; the initial M is not visible on the microfilm.

A similar caesura at the same place is expressed in *Munich, Clm 12641* (f. 91r). In this codex, the beginning of the new chapter, *Memorati igitur*, following on the first colophon is, as usual, highlighted with a rubricated initial M (see figure 4). However, the addition of a chapter title («De Simone et Iude apostolis») is not common in this manuscript; it seems to be a later (but not much later) addition.

It is clear that these two manuscripts express, in different ways, the feeling of a caesura between the first colophon *Ordinauerunt autem* and the final chapter of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae*, describing the apostles' martyrdom and first sanctuary. In the capitula, this chap-

ter is provided with the title «De passione sanctorum apostolorum uel interitu magorum, et qualiter sanctorum corpora sunt translata» (*Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 534, f. 189v*).

Caesura before or around Scripsit autem gesta

Concerning the second colophon *Scripsit autem gesta*, there are actually no manuscripts in my selection that mark the beginning of this passage with a distinctive paleographical accent. In many codices with a detailed division in paragraphs, *Scripsit autem gesta* is considered a new paragraph and treated as such, sometimes by writing the S as a (larger) initial, sometimes by rubricating it, often by slightly jutting it out at the beginning of a new sentence. Examples are found in *Montpellier H 55, f. 35v* (figure 5), and *Paris, BnF, lat. 5563, f. 124v* (figure 6). Nowhere, however, *Scripsit autem gesta* is marked as the beginning of a separate part of the text, nor are the first words of the epilogue ever rubricated let alone provided with a separate title or incipit-line.

Explicit of Scripsit autem gesta

Finally, it is worthwhile to consider how the various manuscripts phrase the end of the epilogue *Scripsit autem gesta*. There are different possibilities.

A number of manuscripts (eleven) finish the text, concluded by a doxology, with «Amen»⁷⁰. A smaller number of manuscripts (six) add an explicit after «Amen», which almost always refers to the end of the *Passio* or *Virtutes* of Simon and Jude⁷¹. In *Montpellier H 55*, the word [*exp*]licit is added later; it is partly lost in the margin.

Three manuscripts include the other *Virtutes* or *Passiones* in their explicit. Thus in *Angers, BM 281*, where the epilogue itself is lacking (the section on Simon and Jude is at the end of the series), the narrative is completed with the explicit «*Explicit passio sanctorum apostolorum*

(70) Manuscripts where the section on Simon and Jude is at the end of the series: *Munich, Clm 12641*; *Paris, BnF, lat. 5274*; *Paris, BnF, lat. 5563*; *Sankt Gallen 561* (but the remainder of p. 93 is cut off); *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 455*; *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 497*. Manuscripts where the section on Simon and Jude is not at the end of the series: *Bamberg, Misc. hist. 139*; *Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 547*; *Paris, BnF, lat. 5273*; *Paris, BnF, lat. 9737*; *Paris, BnF, lat. 11750*.

(71) Manuscripts where the section on Simon and Jude is at the end of the series: *Dublin, TC 737*; *Paris, BnF, lat. 12602*; *Paris, BnF, lat. 18298*. Manuscripts where the section on Simon and Jude is not at the end of the series: *Munich, Clm 22020*; *Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 558*; *Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 534*.

*Symonis Chananei et Iudas*⁷² *Zelotis et alterum passiones apostolos*⁷³». In both Wolfenbüttel manuscripts, the explicit may refer to the series of *Virtutes apostolorum*. In *Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg* 48, the explicit says «Expliciunt uirtutis⁷⁴ apostolorum». In *Wolfenbüttel, Helmstedt* 497, the explicit goes as follows: «Expliciunt miracula, uel passiones apostolorum. Deo gratias».

This survey makes clear that only the two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts could qualify for Lipsius's suggestion that the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta*, initially meant as an epilogue for the section on Simon and Jude only, was applied in later manuscripts as a general epilogue. Precisely these two manuscripts deviate in their application of Pseudo-Melito's prologue for John *Volo sollicitam esse* as a general prologue for the series as a whole, cut off from the *Passio Iohannis* (BHL 4320) which does not occur in these manuscripts (they choose the *Virtutes Iohannis*, BHL 4316), and put at the beginning of the series of *Virtutes*. In *Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg* 48 the prologue is preceded by the incipit «Sermo Melitonis episcopi, de quodam Leucio qui quorundam actus apostolorum scripserat quo eum falsitatis uitio notat» (f. 8v⁷⁵), written in a rubricated *littera capitalis* of normal size. The series of *Virtutes* proper starts then with the incipit «In Christi nomine incipiunt uirtutes apostolorum» (f. 9v), written in a stern *capitalis* that occupies the entire left column of the folio. The explicit of *Scriptis autem gesta*, on f. 124v, is rubricated as well, and is of equal size as the incipit on f. 8v. According to Lipsius, *Wolfenbüttel, Helmstedt* 497 is copied directly from *Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg* 48. The first folio (f. 1r) comprehends a table of contents of all *Virtutes*, in a cursive script later than the hand that wrote the narratives themselves as well as the rubrics, including the incipit at the bottom of f. 1r: «In Christi nomine incipit prologus Melitonis episcopi de uirtutibus apostolorum». The same rubricist writes the explicit to the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* on f. 115r. In short, the care with which the explicit to the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* is designed corresponds to the paleographical treatment of the incipits at the beginning of the series. Particularly in these two manuscripts, that take so much trouble over their rubrics in incipits, explicits and titles, the lack of any marking of the begin-

(72) *intell.* Iudae.

(73) *intell.* apostolorum.

(74) *intell.* uirtutes. Was the rubricator less schooled than the scriba?

(75) On the contents of this prologue and on the figure of Leucius, see É. JUNOD and J.-D. KAESTLI, *L'Histoire des actes apocryphes des apôtres du III^e au IX^e siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean*, Geneva – Lausanne – Neuchâtel, 1982, Cahiers de la Revue de théologie et de philosophie 7, p. 137-145.

ning of *Scriptis autem gesta* seems to indicate that this epilogue is not meant as an epilogue that completes the entire series or should be read separately from the section on Simon and Jude.

CONCLUSION

A close analysis of a relatively large and diversified selection of manuscripts containing the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a coherent collection indicates that there are no textual or paleographical arguments to maintain the conviction that the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* was valid for the series of *Virtutes* of all twelve apostles instead of Simon and Jude alone, either initially (Lazius's argument) or in the later manuscript transmission (Lipsius's suggestion). The manuscript evidence does not support Lazius's approach. The attribution of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a coherent entity to one author, Abdias of Babylon, must therefore be dismissed as an early-modern invention, as little in harmony with the medieval manuscripts as it is tenacious. There is no paleographical evidence supporting Lipsius's suggestion that the attribution to Abdias was interpreted in a later stage as applicable to the series of *Virtutes* as a whole.

In manuscripts from the late eighth century onwards, we find more or less coherent series of individual texts on the life and martyrdom (or peaceful death) of all twelve apostles. Obviously, the apostles were from a certain moment in the early Middle Ages emphatically perceived as a special category of saints that belonged together and whose lives and acts should be grouped together. Yet the further filling-in of this series, particularly the order of appearance of the apostles and the choice of texts, is not monomorphous. On the contrary, the manuscripts show a great variety as far as the order of the apostles and the choice of texts are concerned: different «*BHL*-texts» are transmitted in different manuscripts – in some cases one manuscript gives several texts for one apostle. In order to establish a complete corpus of texts on their lives and deaths, apparently the material on hand was collected, whether this material was taken from earlier collections of *Passiones* or *Virtutes*, or copied from other individually transmitted texts.

Given the fact that the attribution of the series as a whole to one author Abdias must be dismissed on the basis of the manuscript evidence, and given the high degree of variety in order of apostles and choice of texts, the classification of some manuscripts as «Abdias-texts» or *Virtutes* as distinguished from collections of *Passiones apostolorum*, as is employed by Lipsius and Junod and Kaestli, can no longer

be maintained. Instead, I propose 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.

Els ROSE
Utrecht University
h.g.e.rose@uu.nl

APPENDIX

THE SELECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The twenty-five manuscripts I selected for my study of the *Virtutes apostolorum* are described here with the help of the existing literature, which is at times contradictory. The indication of *BHL*-numbers for the different sections on the apostles is based on my own observation and serves as a first identification of the texts. A further, more in-depth study of the texts might necessitate revisions at a later stage. The manuscripts are presented here in alphabetical order based on the place where they are preserved.

Angers, BM 281

Traditionally dated to s. ix⁷⁶, Bischoff describes this manuscript as s. xi⁷⁷. The latter dating is confirmed by David Ganz⁷⁸, basing his judgement (late tenth or eleventh century) on the shape of the initials, and referring to Jean Vezin, who convincingly demonstrates the skill of the Angers scribes to imitate the ninth-century manuscript style⁷⁹. The book's origin lies in Angers, monastery of St. Aubin. The manuscript (parchment) counts 164 folio's and measures 330 × 240 mm⁸⁰. The codex contains:

- f. 1r-65r a homiliary for the winter (*sermones* from Christmas to Holy Saturday);
- f. 65r-164r *Virtutes apostolorum*: Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), John (*BHL* 4316), James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Marc (*BHL* 5276), Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7749).

Bamberg, Msc. Hist. 139

The book is dated s. xii and is probably copied by Otloh of St Emmeram, Regensburg⁸¹. Because of the Regensburg origin, Junod and Kaestli relate

(76) *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. XXXI, Paris, 1898, p. 279; cf. KLAUSER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. liii; JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 758.

(77) B. BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen). Teil I: Aachen-Lambach*, Wiesbaden, 1998, p. 21.

(78) E-mail dated 19 August 2010. I am much obliged to David Ganz for his helpful and friendly comments.

(79) J. VEZIN, *Les scriptoria d'Angers au xi^e siècle*, Paris, 1974, p. viii. Unfortunately, Vezin does not pay much attention to BM 281, apart from the observation that the musical neumes in this codex are 'peut-être angevins'.

(80) BISCHOFF: *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, p. 21. Zelzer's description (181 folio's; two columns) is incorrect.

(81) F. LEITSCHUH, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, vol. I.2, Bamberg, 1895, p. 221-229, at p. 221 and 229 respectively.

it to Dublin TC 737 and perhaps to Paris BnF lat. 5563⁸². The book belonged to Bamberg cathedral library⁸³. The codex (parchment) contains 259 folio's, measures 337 × 225 mm; is written in two columns and counts 34-36 lines. It contains:

- f. 1v title *Passiones et vitae sanctorum*
- f. 2r-62r Peter (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), John (*BHL* 4316), James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7749, 7751), Thomas (*BHL* 8140).
- f. 62r-66r Matthias (*BHL* 5695)
- f. 66r-73v Other saints and martyrs, with an elaborate Martinellum on f. 172r-216v and a sermon for the Invention of the Holy Cross on f. 244v-246r.

Dublin, Trinity College 737

Dated to s. ix⁸⁴, the book has additions of s. xii (second half)⁸⁵ or xiii⁸⁶ (f. 1rv; 1v-8v; 108-109v; 123rv; 126v). Colker determines its origin in Bavaria or Hesse⁸⁷; Bischoff is much more specific in indicating Regensburg⁸⁸. It is unknown where the book was used. There are Old-High German glosses from s. ix/x⁸⁹. Parchment, 126 folio's, 226 × 175 mm, with 25/26 lines⁹⁰. The book's contents:

- f. 1r-8v *Passio Pauli* (twelfth-century addition) (*BHL* 6572).
- f. 9r-126v Peter ([*BHL* 6663, the beginning is lacking]), Paul (*BHL* 6574, 6575), Hymn for Peter and Paul (*Praelata mundi culmina*), James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316), Thomas (*BHL* 8140),

(82) JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757, 756.

(83) LEITSCHUH, *Katalog*, p. 229.

(84) 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^e et XX^e siècle*, Saint-Thierry, 1979, p. 159-182, at p. 162. Other datings: s. ix (second quarter): according to a letter from B. Bischoff to J. E. Cross, dated 18 September 1976. J. E. Cross, *Cynewulf's traditions about the apostles*, in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 8 (1979), p. 163-175, at p. 166, footnote 1; s. ix (first half): M. L. COLKER, *Trinity College Library Dublin. Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, vol. II, Dublin, 1991-2008, p. 1169-1173; s. ix (latter part): M. ESPOSITO, *Analecta Varia, part III*, in *Hermathena*, 36 (1910), p. 80-86, at p. 80.

(85) COLKER, *Trinity College Library Dublin*, p. 1169 and 1172.

(86) JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 755.

(87) COLKER, *Trinity College Library Dublin*, p. 1169.

(88) BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. I, p. 226.

(89) H. MAYER, *Althochdeutsche Glossen: Nachträge*, Toronto, 1975, p. 23.

(90) ESPOSITO, *Analecta Varia*, p. 80.

Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
f. 126v Barnabas (*BHL* 985).

Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 412

The book dates to s. ix (third quarter⁹¹), and finds its origin in Aquileia or surroundings⁹². Although it is formally outside the geographical scope created by the criteria described in this article, I chose to include its evidence because of the close connections between South Germany and Northern Italy. Moreover, Paolo Chiesa is not sure whether the book was put together in north-eastern Italy or in Bavaria⁹³. The book belonged to the monastery of St Lambrecht in Graz (Styria)⁹⁴, and has one Old-High German gloss from s. x⁹⁵. Parchment; 214 folio's; 315 × 210 mm; 26-27 lines. The book's contents:

- f. 1r-67r «Acts of the holy apostles and martyrs of Christ» Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657⁹⁶), Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Less (*BHL* 4093-4097; the beginning is lacking), Philip (*BHL* 6814), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), John (*BHL* 4320).
- f. 67r-74v Rufinus on the Acts and martyrdom of John.
- f. 75r-248r Other saints and martyrs.

Montpellier, Bibliothèque universitaire – École de médecine, H 55

Dated to s. ix^{inc97} or even s. viii^{fin98}, the book stems from Lotharingia (Metz?) or North Burgundy, and belonged to St Stephen's cathedral,

(91) BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. I, p. 304.

(92) BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. I, p. 304; ID., *Die südost-deutschen Schreibschulen*, p. 175.

(93) 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. I am grateful to Georgia Vocino who drew my attention to this publication.

(94) *Ibid.*, and BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. I, p. 304.

(95) MAYER, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, p. 37.

(96) *Gesta sanctorum apostolorum et martirum Christi Petri et Pauli* (title given on f. 74v).

(97) BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. II: Laon-Paderborn, p. 198.

(98) J. VAN DER STRAETEN, *La passion de S. Patrocle de Troyes. Ses sources*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 78, 1960, p. 145-153, at p. 147; H. MORETUS, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae scholae medicinae in universitate Montepessulanensi*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 34-35, 1915-1916, p. 228-300, at p. 251; BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, vol. II, p. 198.

Autun⁹⁹. Parchment; 222 folio's; 368 × 252 mm; 33, 34, 37 lines. The book contains:

- f. 2r-36v Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Less (*BHL* 4093), John (*BHL* 4320), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136, starting in the middle of the narrative), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), Philip (*BHL* 6814).
- f. 36v-222 Other saints and martyrs, among which Protevangelium of Pseudo-James (f. 94r-97v), Pseudo-Melito's Transitus Mariae (f. 97v-101r).

Munich, Clm 12641

Dated to s. XII¹⁰⁰, the book finds its origin in the Bavarian abbey of Ranshofen¹⁰¹. Parchment; 97 folio's¹⁰². The book contains:

- f. 1r-92v Peter (*BHL* 6664), Paul (*BHL* 6657), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 428), John (*BHL* 4316), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Philip (*BHL* 6814), James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
- f. 92r-93v Chant with musical notation.
- f. 94r-97v Matthias (*BHL* 5700).

Munich, Clm 22020

Another codex s. XII¹⁰³, in possession of the Benedictine abbey of Wessobrunn in Bavaria¹⁰⁴. Parchment; 146 folio's¹⁰⁵. The book contains:

- f. 1r-60r Peter (*BHL* 6650/6666), Paul (*BHL* 6571/6657), Andrew (*BHL* 430 but with a different ending, 428), John (*BHL* 4320), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), Philip (*BHL* 6814).
- f. 60r-146v Other saints and martyrs, and a sermon for all saints (Hrabanus Maurus, f. 1v-108v). The final piece on Apollinaris is unfinished.

(99) *Ibidem*.

(100) K. HALM, G. VON LAUBMANN, W. MEYER (eds.), *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, Munich, 1878-1968, 2 parts, 7 vols., vol. II.2, p. 82.

(101) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18. Whether the book was used or produced here (or both) is not clear to me.

(102) HALM e.a. (eds.), *Catalogus codicum latinorum*, vol. II.2, p. 82.

(103) HALM e.a. (eds.), *Catalogus codicum latinorum*, vol. II.4, p. 19.

(104) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18. Whether the place of origin is also Wessobrunn is not clear to me.

(105) HALM e.a. (eds.), *Catalogus codicum latinorum*, vol. II.4, p. 19.

Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 547

The first of three relevant manuscripts now in the library of Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, dates s. XII¹⁰⁶. Its origin and the place where it was used are unknown¹⁰⁷. Parchment; 159 folio's; 325 × 220; three hands (hand A: f. 9-53v and 88v-158r; hand B: f. 54-88; hand C: f. 159v¹⁰⁸). The book contains:

- f. 2r-51v Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Less (*BHL* 4094), John (*BHL* 4320), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), Philip (*BHL* 6814).
- f. 51v-53v Marc (*BHL* 5276).
- f. 53v-88r Acta Apostolorum (canonical Acts).
- f. 88v-158r Various martyrs and saints.
- f. 159v Sequentia *Laudes crucis attolamus*.

Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 557

XI^{ex}/XIⁱⁿ¹⁰⁹, of unknown origin, but presumably in use in Paris. Parchment; 227 folio's; 363 × 265 mm. The book contains:

- f. 1r-60v Peter (*BHL* 6663, 6664), Paul (*BHL* 6576), Andrew (*BHL* 428 but with different ending), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), John (*BHL* 4320), James the Less (*BHL* 4094), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Marc (*BHL* 5281), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750-7751).
- f. 61r-227v Other saints and martyrs; f. 179v-183r: *Exultatio* and *Inventio crucis*.

Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 558

S. XIII, from Paris¹¹⁰. Obviously the book was meant for (Sainte-Geneviève in) Paris, given the large number of Geneviève texts on f. 83r-130v.

(106) Ch. KOHLER, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, Paris, 1893, vol. I, p. 278; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. XLVII (following Bonnet); LIPSIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. I, p. 126; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(107) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(108) KOHLER, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, p. 278.

(109) KOHLER, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, p. 290; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. XLVII (following Bonnet); PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(110) KOHLER, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, vol. 1, p. 291. See also LIPSIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 126; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

An ex libris (unnumbered front page) indicates that the book was in Sainte-Geneviève at least since 1753. Parchment; 200 folio's; 322 × 225 mm¹¹¹. The book contains:

- f. 1r-2r *Breviarium apostolorum*.
- f. 2r-67r Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), Andrew (*BHL* 428), John (*BHL* 4320), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), Philip (*BHL* 6814), James the Less (*BHL* 4094).
- f. 67r-200r Other saints and martyrs (f. 83r-130v: *Genovefae passio, translatio, miracula, sermones*).

Paris, BnF, lat. 5273

Dated s. XIII¹¹², while place of origin and use are unknown¹¹³. Parchment; 67 folio's; 345 × 245 mm; two columns. The book contains:

- f. 1v-67v: Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), *martyrium* of Peter (*BHL* 6655), two sermons for Peter, Paul (*BHL* 6570), Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), *translatio* of Bartholomew (*BHL* 1004), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), John (*BHL* 4320), Philip (*BHL* 6814).

The rest of the manuscript is lost¹¹⁴. According to the table of contents at f. 1r James the Less followed, then the *Passio Marci*, then other saints and martyrs, and *Exultatio* and *Inuentio crucis*.

Paris, BnF, lat. 5274

Dated s. XII¹¹⁵, the book's origin and provenance are uncertain. Delisle points to Tulle, Limoges¹¹⁶; Dolbeau grounds his conviction that the prov-

(111) KOHLER, *Catalogue des manuscrits*, vol. 1, p. 291.

(112) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antiquiorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in bibliotheca nationali Parisiensi ediderunt hagiographi Bollandiani*, vol. 1, Brussels-Paris, 1889, p. 431. Lipsius thinks it might also be s. XII. LIPSIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 126.

(113) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(114) This lacuna is not mentioned in the *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*.

(115) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 1, p. 432; cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvii (following Bonnet); LIPSIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 126.

(116) L. DELISLE, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, 1868-1881, vol. 1, p. 480; cf. *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 1, p. 432; F. DOLBEAU, *Deux légendiers de Metz et de Châlons*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 108, 1990, p. 348.

enance of this manuscript is Lorraine (Metz) on the presence of an added hymn for St Gorgon of Nicomedia on f. 192v¹¹⁷, and on the presence of this manuscript in a seventeenth-century catalogue of the manuscripts of St Stephen's cathedral in Metz¹¹⁸. 192 folio's; two columns. The book's contents:

f. 2r-43v Paul (*BHL* 6570), Peter (*BHL* 6657), Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Less (*BHL* 4093), Philip (*BHL* 6814), John (*BHL* 4320), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).

According to the overview on f. 1r, the section on Bartholomew was planned between Thomas and Matthew, but it has not been executed. There is a lacuna between f. 33v and f. 34r, causing the loss of the end of the section on Thomas and of the beginning of the section on Matthew.

f. 44r-192v Other saints and martyrs, including *Inuentio crucis* (f. 95r-100v), *Exaltatio crucis* (f. 156r-157v); a responsory for Mary Magdalene on f. 192v.

Paris, BnF, lat. 5563

S. xi¹¹⁹. Its origin is unknown. According to Junod and Kaestli, the manuscript is close to Dublin TC 737¹²⁰. The book was in possession of the monastery of St Thierry in Reims¹²¹. Parchment; 124 folio's. The book contains:

(117) In 763 Chrodegang of Metz donated the relics of St Gorgon (Nicomedia, † 303) to the Benedictine abbey of Gorze near Metz. S. VAN DER LINDEN, *De heiligen*, Amsterdam, 1999, p. 359.

(118) DOLBEAU, *Deux légendiers de Metz et de Châlons*, p. 348.

(119) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 2, p. 468; cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlv; DOLBEAU, *Typologie et formation*, p. 161; R. DÜCHTING, *Wiedergefundene Versus Salomos III.*, in W. BERSCHIN and R. DÜCHTING (eds.), *Lateinische Dichtungen des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts. Festgabe für Walther Bulst zum 80. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg, 1981, p. 123. JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756 date it without explanation in the tenth century, while Brossard-Dandré gives 'daté du ix^e s.'. M. BROSSARD-DANDRÉ, *La passion de Jacques le Mineur selon le Pseudo-Abdias et ses sources. Actes apocryphes d'un apôtre apocryphe*, in S. MIMOUNT (ed.), *Apocryphité. Histoire d'un concept transversal aux religions du livre*, Turnhout, 2002, p. 229-242, at p. 230.

(120) «Son contenu et son texte semblent identiques à ceux de D». JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756.

(121) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 1, p. 468; DOLBEAU, *Typologie et formation*, p. 161: «depuis le xii^e siècle (ex-libris)». Ms. Reims BM 1410, fol. vtr^v presents a list of hagiographic manuscripts in use in the abbey in the fifteenth century. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

- f. 1v Dedication poem of abbot Salomon of Skt Gallen to Louis the Child¹²².
- f. 1v-124v Peter (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Hymn Peter and Paul, James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
- Together with *Vienna*, *ÖNB*, lat. 534, this is the only manuscript in my selection that comprises only the *Virtutes apostolorum*.

Paris, BnF, lat. 9737

Dated s. XII¹²³, of unknown origin¹²⁴. The presence of St Gorgon also in this manuscript (f. 92r-95v) should be noted (cf. Paris BnF lat. 5274 above). Therefore: Lorraine? Parchment; 173 folio's. The book contains:

- f. 1r-64r Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Less (*BHL* 4093), Philip (*BHL* 6814), James the Greater (*BHL*: 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), John (*BHL* 4320).
- f. 64r-173v Other saints and martyrs, including the *Passio* of Mathias and a sermon (f. 68r-70r), a second *Passio Petri* (Pseudo-Linus, *BHL* 6655, f. 70r-77v).

Paris, BnF, lat. 11750

Dated s. XI¹²⁵, the book's origin is unknown. It was in possession of St Germain-des-Prés¹²⁶. Parchment; 260 folio's. The book contains:

- f. 1v-58v Marian texts (sermons, hymns, *miracula*).
- f. 59r-112v Peter (a combination of *BHL* 6663-6665), Paul (*BHL* 6572), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), Thomas (*BHL* 8136),

(122) DUCHTING, *Wiedergefundene Versus Salomos III.*, p. 118-128.

(123) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 2, p. 574; cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. XLVI (following Bonnet); LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 126.

(124) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17.

(125) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 3, p. 45; cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. XLVI (following Bonnet); LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 126.

(126) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 3, p. 45; C. LAMBOT, review of G. G. MEERSSEMAN, *Der Hymnos akathistos im Abendland*, in *Revue Bénédictine*, vol. 74, 1959, p. 134; cf. f. 1v: *Sancti Germani a Pratis* (an addition in a sixteenth-century hand in the upper margin).

Andrew (*BHL* 428), John (*BHL* 4320), Philip (*BHL* 6814), James the Less (*BHL* 4094).
 113r-205r Other saints and martyrs, first Marcus (f. 113-114r, *BHL* 5279).
 205v-260r Paschasius Radbertus: *De sacramento*.

Paris, BnF, lat. 12602

The book is dated to s. XII¹²⁷, its origin is unknown. It belonged to the abbey of Corbie as is indicated by an early modern hand on f. 1av: *ex libris Corbeiensis monasterii*; later it belonged to St Germain-des-Prés¹²⁸. Parchment, 176 folio's. The book contains:

- f. 1av-58v Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), Peter (*BHL* 6655), Paul (*BHL* 6570), sermons on Peter and Paul, Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4320), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), James the Less (*BHL* 4089, short version), Philip (*BHL* 6813), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
 f. 58v-176v Other saints and martyrs, first Mathias (f. 58v-60r); Marc (f. 60r-61v); Luke (61v-62v); Barnabas (62v-63v); Timothy (63v-64v).

Paris, BnF, lat. 12604

Likewise dated s. XII¹²⁹, this manuscript has a similar *ex libris* as *Paris, BnF, lat. 12602* (*ex libris Corbei[lensis] monasterii*, f. 1r)¹³⁰. The manuscript is primarily dedicated to apostles and evangelists, including Barnabas and Matthias. Parchment; 132 folio's. The book contains:

(127) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 3, p. 127; cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvii (following Bonnet); LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 126.

(128) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 3, p. 127; cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18. The hands differ from the early modern Corbie *ex-libris* in e.g. Amiens, BM 41, 42 and 43, photos of which are published in Chr. de MÉRINDOL, *La production des livres peints à l'abbaye de Corbie au XI^e siècle: étude historique et archéologique*, Lille, 1976, vol. 3, nrs. 110, 114, 115. With many thanks to David Ganz for drawing my attention to this publication, as well as for confirming the Corbie origin of this manuscript and of Paris BnF lat. 12604 in private conversation.

(129) *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 3, p. 131; cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. xlvii (following Bonnet); LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 125. Brossard-Dandré reckons this manuscript among 'les plus anciens', together with Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48, but it is not entirely clear if she thus dates the manuscript in the ninth century (which would be untenable). BROSSARD-DANDRÉ, *La passion de Jacques le Mineur*, p. 230, footnote 5.

(130) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18; interpreted as Corbeil by JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757.

- f. 1r-3r *Vita Gregorii Magni papae*.
 f. 3v-76r Peter (*BHL* 6664), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Hymn Peter and Paul, James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750).
 f. 76v-77v Matthias (*sermo*).
 f. 77v-78v *Sermo de omnibus apostolis*.
 78v-85r Peter and Paul (Pseudo-Marcellus, *BHL* 6658)
 85r-88r *Cathedra Petri, sermo Cathedra Petri, sermo Petri*
 88v-89r *Breviarium apostolorum*
 89r-89v Barnabas
 89v-91v Marcus
 91v-92v *Divisio apostolorum*.
 93r-132v Other saints and martyrs, among whom Carilephus, St Thierry of Reims, Sankt Goar, Winwaloe (a saint from Cornwall).

Paris, BnF, lat. 18298

Dated s. ix^{ex}-x¹³¹, this book finds its origin in Paris or surroundings, and belonged to Notre Dame in Paris¹³². Parchment; 137 folio's; 230 × 180 mm¹³³. The book contains:

- f. 1r-98v Peter (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Hymn Peter and Paul, James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL* 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4317), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
 f. 99r-137v Other saints and martyrs, viz. St Denis, Juliana, Michael, John the Baptist (unfinished).

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 561

This is a compound manuscript, the main part of which (p. 3-184) is dated s. ix (second half¹³⁴); or s. x¹³⁵; while the rest (p. 185-200 and 201-

(131) Bischoff in private communication to JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 759; ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. li; LIPSIIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 125; *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum*, vol. 3, p. 433; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16.

(132) Ch. DENOËL, *Le fonds des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame de Paris à la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, in *Scriptorium*, vol. 58, 2004, p. 131-173, at p. 172; JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 759; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16.

(133) ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. li.

(134) B. Bischoff according to ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. l.

(135) LIPSIIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 128; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16.

210) is dated xi¹³⁶. The book finds its origin in North-East France¹³⁷, while it was in use in Sankt Gallen¹³⁸. Parchment; 210 p.; 295 × 220 mm¹³⁹. The book contains:

- p. 3-93 Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), Andrew (*BHL* 428), James the Less (*BHL* 4093), Philip (*BHL* 6814), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), Thomas (*BHL* 8136), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), John (*BHL* 4320), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
- p. 95-111 Cassiodorus, *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*.
- p. 111-134 Basilius.
- p. 134-137 *Reversio (Exaltatio) crucis*.
- p. 137-184 Saints and martyrs.
- p. 185-192 Sermons for Mary.
- p. 193-199 A sermon for all apostles (Walahfrid Strabo / Beda Venerabilis).
- p. 199 Responsory with musical notation; all saints.
- p. 201-210 Readings for Christmas.

Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 455

The manuscript is generally dated s. ix (second half¹⁴⁰). The book stems from West-Germany¹⁴¹, and belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of Trudpert¹⁴². Parchment; 170 folio's; 265 × 170 mm. The book contains:

- f. 1r-146v Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Hymn Peter and Paul, James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL*

(136) 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 p. 44.

(137) ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. 45.

(138) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16; VON SCARPATETTI, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, p. 4.

(139) VON SCARPATETTI, *Die Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, p. 44.

(140) JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756, basing their dating on unpublished correspondence with Bischoff. Cf. ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. LIV. That there is little reason to doubt this early dating is confirmed by Max Diesenberger in private communication; however, the nineteenth-century catalogue dates it s. xi: *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, Vienna, 1897-1899, vol. 1, p. 74. This dating is also found in LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, *Ergänzungsheft*, p. 6; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; TRENKLER, *Wolfgang Lazius*, p. 201.

(141) Bischoff according to JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756 and ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. liv.

(142) TRENKLER, 'Wolfgang Lazius', p. 201; cf. A. SCHLECHTER and G. STAMM, *Die kleinen Provenienzen. Beschrieben von Armin Schlechter und Gerhard Stamm. Nach Vorarbeiten von Kurt Hannemann und Andreas Degwitz*, Wiesbaden, 2000, *Die Handschriften der Badischen Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*, vol. 13, p. 93.

430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316, 4318), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
f. 146v-170v Apocalypse of John.

Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 497

The book is dated s. XIII¹⁴³, but its origin and provenance are unknown¹⁴⁴. Parchment; 97 folio's. The book contains:

- f. 1-24r *Acta apostolorum* (canonical Acts).
- f. 24v-83r Peter (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
- f. 84v-87r Matthias (*passio, inventiones et miracula*, *BHL* 5700, 5701, 5705).
- f. 89r-92r Vitus, Affra.
- f. 95v-97v *Miracula Thomae* (*BHL* 8145).
- f. 97v A documentary piece (a letter?) in a later cursive hand.

Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 534

Dated s. IX¹⁴⁵; s. X¹⁴⁶; s. X/XI¹⁴⁷, the book's origin is located in Salzburg. Bischoff distinguishes different hands («Von mehreren Salzburger Händen, wohl schon aus der Zeit der Liuphrams»¹⁴⁸), while Quak counts two hands¹⁴⁹. Two notes on two different folio's (f. 135v and 162r) mention the names of the Benedictine abbeys of Millstatt and Ossiach in Karinthia¹⁵⁰. Bischoff dates the Old-High German glosses to the ninth and tenth centu-

(143) *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 1, p. 82; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(144) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(145) BISCHOFF, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, vol. 2: *Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 158. Bischoff's opinion is followed by ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. liv and JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 755. The latter corresponded with Bischoff on this manuscript.

(146) *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 1, p. 91; followed by TRENKLER, 'Wolfgang Lazius', p. 198; QUAK, 'Unveröffentlichte Glossen', p. 114.

(147) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17.

(148) BISCHOFF, *Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 158. A Liuphram was archbishop of Salzburg from 836-859. R. MCKITTERICK, *Charlemagne. The formation of a European Identity*, Cambridge, 2008, p. 251.

(149) QUAK, *Unveröffentlichte Glossen*, p. 113.

(150) I thank Marco Mostert for his suggestion that these marks are drafts of letters and for his help to read the charter-like hand. ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. liv signals the 'Besitzvermerke' on f. 162r (and 195v, but that must be a mistake). JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 755 mention only Ossiach.

ries; the liturgical remarks on f. 5v and 136r to the thirteenth century¹⁵¹. Quak points to Millstatt as the place where the book was in use, on the basis of the notes on f. 135v and 162r¹⁵², from where it became the property of the Hofbibliothek/ÖNB. He suggests that the Old-High German glosses were added to the manuscript in Millstatt¹⁵³. Quak's argumentation is in contradiction with the evidence, while Lazius himself mentions Ossiach as the monastery where he found the book (see above, footnote 50). Obviously, the manuscript moved from Millstatt to Ossiach. Parchment; 227 folio's; 220 × 140 mm; 17 lines¹⁵⁴. The book contains:

- f. 1r-211r Peter (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Hymn Peter and Paul, James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751), Matthew (*BHL* 5690).

Together with *Paris, BnF, lat. 5563*, this is the only manuscript in my selection that comprises only the *Virtutes apostolorum*.

Vienna, ÖNB, lat. 560

Dated to s. XII (third quarter)¹⁵⁵ or s. XIII¹⁵⁶, the book stems from the abbey of Rein (Carinthia). It is unknown where the book was in use¹⁵⁷. Parchment; 158 folio's¹⁵⁸; 203 × 135¹⁵⁹. The book contains:

- f. 1r-144v Peter (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Hymn Peter and Paul, James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7749-7751, the section is unfinished).
f. 145r-158v Mathias (*BHL* 5700).

(151) BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 158.

(152) QUAK, *Unveröffentlichte Glossen*, p. 113-114.

(153) *Ibid.*, p. 126. Mayer dates the glosses in the tenth century (MAYER, *Althochdeutsche Glossen*, p. 140).

(154) BISCHOFF, *Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen*, vol. 2, p. 158.

(155) F. SIMADER, *Neue romanische Handschriften aus dem Zisterziensertift Rein*, in *Codices manuscripti*, vol. 34/35, 2001, p. 1-14, at p. 3. Unfortunately, I had no access to the article by P. WIND, *Die Schreibschule des Stiftes Rein von 1150-1250*, in N. MÜLLER (ed.), *Erlesenes und Erbauliches. Kulturschaffen der Reiner Mönche*, Rein, 2003, p. 13-44, esp. p. 39 and 42.

(156) *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 1, p. 96; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(157) PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 18.

(158) *Tabulae codicum*, vol. 1, p. 96.

(159) SIMADER, *Neue romanische Handschriften*, p. 3.

Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg 48

The book is dated s. ix (second third¹⁶⁰) or s. ix-x¹⁶¹. According to Bischoff, the manuscript originates from Weissenburg¹⁶². Butzmann doubts the Weissenburg origin, and suggests that the manuscript is copied in Skt Gallen¹⁶³. The book was in use in Weissenburg¹⁶⁴. Parchment; 161 folio's; 290 × 230 mm; 27 lines; Carolingian minuscule, several hands¹⁶⁵. The book contains:

1r-8r *Reversio crucis, inventio crucis*.

8v-9r *Prologus Melitonis (in passionem Iohannis)* (BHL 4320).

9v-124v Peter and Paul (BHL 6663), Paul (BHL 6575), Peter and Paul (BHL 6657), James the Less (BHL 4089), Philip (BHL 6814), Andrew (BHL 430, 429), James the Greater (BHL 4057), John (BHL 4316), Thomas (BHL 8140), Bartholomew (BHL 1002), Matthew (BHL 5690), Simon and Jude (BHL 7750, 7751).

124v-161v Sebastianus, Laurentius, Clemens (unfinished).

Wolfenbüttel, Helmstedt 497

Dated to s. xi¹⁶⁶ and of unknown origin, the book is considered a close copy of *Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg 48*¹⁶⁷. The book was in use in the monastery Bergen in Magdeburg according to a note on f. 1: «Liber sancti

(160) JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756, from unpublished correspondence with Bernard Bischoff; ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. LIV; H. BUTZMANN, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften neu beschrieben*, Frankfurt a.Main, 1964, p. 182.

(161) LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 124; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16.

(162) JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 756, from unpublished correspondence with Bernard Bischoff; ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. LIV; cf. DOLBEAU, *Typologie et formation*, p. 162.

(163) H. BUTZMANN, *Althochdeutsche Priscian-Glossen aus Weissenburg*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, vol. 86, 1964, p. 388-402, at p. 401-402; H. BUTZMANN, *Vom Schmuck der Heidelberger Otfrid-Handschrift*, in S. JOOST (ed.), *Bibliotheca docet. Festgabe für Carl Wehmer*, Amsterdam, 1963, p. 39-44, at p. 43.

(164) LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 124; BUTZMANN, *Althochdeutsche Priscian-Glossen*, p. 402; ZELZER (ed.), *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. LIV; PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 16.

(165) BUTZMANN, *Die Weissenburger Handschriften*, p. 182.

(166) O. VON HEINEMANN, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel, I: Die Helmstedter Handschriften I*, Wolfenbüttel, 1884, p. 378; LIPSIVS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 124. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. XLVIII; JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757 (using the shelf mark 536).

(167) JUNOD and KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis*, p. 757; ZELZER, *Die alten lateinischen Thomasakten*, p. XLVIII.

Iohannis baptiste in Berga prope Magdeborg¹⁶⁸»). Parchment; 122 folio's; 250 × 180 mm¹⁶⁹. The book contains:

- f. 2r-2v *Prologus Melitonis (in passionem Iohannis)* (*BHL* 4320).
- f. 3r-115r Peter (*BHL* 6663), Paul (*BHL* 6575), Peter and Paul (*BHL* 6657), James the Less (*BHL* 4089), Philip (*BHL* 6814), Andrew (*BHL* 430, 429), James the Greater (*BHL* 4057), John (*BHL* 4316, 4318), Thomas (*BHL* 8140), Bartholomew (*BHL* 1002), Matthew (*BHL* 5690), Simon and Jude (*BHL* 7750, 7751).
- f. 115-122v Sermons for John the Baptist, Easter, Stephen.

(168) VON HEINEMANN, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek*, p. 378; LIPSIUS, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1, p. 124; no such note is visible on the photo. Cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 17.

(169) VON HEINEMANN, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek*, p. 378.