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## THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF THE APOSTLES IN THE LATIN MIDDLE AGES: CONTEXTS OF TRANSMISSION AND USE

### *Abstract*

The Latin transmission of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles has for a long time been considered a coherent unity. Early modern scholars presented the printed editions of these texts as a stable collection which they pseudepigraphically contributed to one compiler or even (re-)writer, Abdias. The “Collection of Pseudo-Abdias” was born. A manuscript survey demonstrates that neither the attribution to Abdias nor the presupposed coherence within the collection can be accounted for. In addition, the manuscripts display considerable variety as far as the contexts of both transmission and use are concerned. Once the need was felt to collect the stories about acts and martyrdoms of all twelve apostles, an ambition to which a number of prologues added to the texts themselves attest, this endeavour was realized in various ways. The Latin Acts of the apostles, under the name of, among others, *Virtutes apostolorum*, are combined with hagiographic texts or parts from the canonical Bible. Glosses and later additions to the texts point to liturgical use of these narratives. At the same time, liturgical texts composed to celebrate the apostles on their individual feast-days show a profound influence by the narrative traditions. In the course of the late antique and early medieval period, the importance of apostolic martyrdom increases, which is paralleled by a growing interest in the stories about these prime witnesses of Christ, both in a narrative and a liturgical presentation.

- (1) ... [I]t seems appropriate that we write separate books, as much as we can find by taking the examples from the volumes about the acts of each of [the apostles] individually, so that, when it occurs to someone to inquire after the proper acts of this or that apostle, it can be found individually in separate books. For it pleases us that the histories of their passions will be connected to these acts.

For in the case of many apostles nothing has been transmitted to us apart from the records of their passions...<sup>1</sup>

- (2) ... I want to warn your brotherhood with regard to a certain Leucius, who has written about the Acts of the Apostles, namely of John the apostle and evangelist, and of the holy Andrew, and of the apostle Thomas. For he has spoken truthfully about the miracles which the Lord performed through them, but he has spoken many lies about their teaching...<sup>2</sup>
- (3) ... 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 [Simon and Jude]. 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...<sup>3</sup>

The question as to how, when, where and why the ancient apocryphal Acts of the Apostles were transmitted in the Latin Middle Ages cannot be solved with a simple answer. The circumstances in which Latin rewritings of the apocryphal Acts saw the light are as diverse as the motivations that urged the rewriters to write down anew what they deemed fit to preserve about the lives and acts of the apostles. Rémi Gounelle has already

<sup>1</sup> *[N]obis uisum est ut retractis exemplaribus a uoluminibus istis de uniuscuiusque uirtutibus quantum inuenire possumus libros singulos conscribamus, ut etiam si alicui delectatio fuerit inquirendi, quid ille aut ille proprium gessit apostolus, singillatim repperiatur in singulis. Illud etiam placuit ut his uirtutibus passionum historiae conectantur. Nam de multis apostolis nihil aliud ad nos praeter ipsarum passionum monumenta uenerunt.* Based on the following mss.: Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48 (f. 10r-v) and Vienna ÖNB 455 (f. 1v-2r). I thank Brandon Hawk for correcting the English.

<sup>2</sup> *Volo sollicitam esse fraternitatem uestram de Leucio quodam, qui scripsit apostolorum actus Iohannis euangelistae et apostoli, sancti Andreae et Thomae apostoli, qui de uirtutibus quidem quae per eos dominus fecit, uera dixit, de doctrina uero multa mentitus est.* Based on the following mss.: Graz UL 412; Munich Clm 22020; Paris, Bibliothèque de Ste Geneviève 547; Paris, Bibliothèque de Ste Geneviève 557; Paris, Bibliothèque de Ste Geneviève 558; Paris BNF lat 5273; Paris BNF lat 5274; Paris BNF lat 9737; Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 497; Wolfenbüttel Weissenburg 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Scripsit autem gesta sanctorum apostolorum Abdias episcopus Babyloniae, 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 decimo.* According to ms. Wolfenbüttel, Weissenburg 48, f. 124v.

underlined the highly diverse quality of the broad corpus of apocryphal Acts that circulated in the antique world.<sup>4</sup> The Latin transmission only adds to this picture, even if it is the same language in which the different stories from a variety of backgrounds are translated and brought together.

The fragments given above are taken from three accounts on the life and acts of a single apostle (or pair of two apostles), of which the origin differs widely. They also reflect a variety of motivations to rewrite the accounts known to the author(s). Let us, by way of introduction, take a closer look at these sections.

The first fragment is taken from *Licet plurima* (BHL 6663), the prologue preceding one of many Latin versions of the Acts of Peter, known under the incipit *Igitur post corporeum dominicae natiuitatis* (BHL 6664). The text as a whole is a composite account of the lives and deaths of the apostle Peter and his companion Paul, in which fragments taken from the canonical New Testament, from the *Recognitiones* attributed to Clement of Rome, and from earlier Latin translations of the Greek *Acta Petri* are combined. The struggle with Simon Magus before the emperor Nero is central. Elsewhere in this collection of articles, Evina Steinová argues in favour of an Italian origin of *Igitur post corporeum* on the basis of a detailed study of biblical quotations in the text – a hypothesis that is obviously confirmed by the Rome-centred content of the story. At the same time, we must assess the familiarity of the prologue *Licet plurima* with the prologues that precede the Latin *Miracula Thomae* and the Acts of Andrew. We know that the latter text was rewritten or edited by the Gallic historiographer and hagiographer Gregory of Tours (538-594) – whether or not this is an indication of Gregory's involvement with the redaction of *Licet plurima* (and the *Miracula Thomae*) is still open to debate.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the answer, the matter itself tables some of the main issues concerning the origin of the Latin afterlife of the apocryphal Acts, and shows the difficulty of pinpointing time and place of origin of the Latin compositions.

The second fragment is from a text known under various (modern) titles, of which *Assumptio Iohannis* might reflect the text's content best

<sup>4</sup> R. GOUNELLE, 'Actes apocryphes des apôtres et Actes des apôtres canoniques. État de la recherche et perspectives nouvelles', *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse* 84 (2004), p. 3-30 and 419-441, part. at p. 11. See also Gounelle's contribution elsewhere in the present collection of articles.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. ROSE, 'Virtutes apostolorum: Origin, aim, and use', *Traditio* 68 (2013), p. 57-96.

(BHL 4320).<sup>6</sup> Different from *Licet plurima*, primarily concerned with the presentation of the accounts of acts (*virtutes*) and martyrdom (*passionum historiae*) of each individual apostle, the prologue *Volo sollicitam esse* expresses the wish to render a faithful account of the apostles' teaching. *Volo sollicitam esse* is traditionally connected to the name of Melito, second-century bishop of Laodicea in Asia Minor.<sup>7</sup> The prologue is a classic example of early Christian assessment of the so-called apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, thought to be misleading texts because of their content, expressing a dualistic image of God and creation, and circulating in milieus (Manicheans, Priscillianists, encratite movements) that were looked at suspiciously by the Catholic bishops of the time. According to *Volo sollicitam esse*, Leucius, presumably a former disciple of the apostle John, represents currents that deviate from orthodox teaching in proclaiming a dualistic doctrine.<sup>8</sup> The prologue reflects a Greek context, including the names of Melito and Leucius, and transmits a traditional approach to the apocryphal Acts, not necessarily related to the Latin world in which the text circulated.

The third fragment is not from a pro- but from an epilogue, one of the concluding paragraphs of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* (BHL7751). Different from the two preceding texts, this one is known only in Latin. No Greek- or other Eastern-language tradition brings the two apostles together: only in the Latin world they share mission and martyrdom. *Scriptis autem gesta* reflects the importance of the *Virtutes Simonis et Iudae* being an eyewitness account, written down by Abdias, a follower of and successor to the two apostles and translated from Hebrew into Greek and from Greek into the present Latin summary.

The three fragments above are taken from three different texts on the lives and acts of three different (pairs of) apostles. Stemming from highly different backgrounds in terms of chronology and geography, they all reflect the importance of the availability of a trustworthy and complete account of mission and martyrdom of all apostles. The aim of the present article is not so much to reconstruct the highly complex origin of the

<sup>6</sup> On the matter of titles in the Latin *Virtutes apostolorum*, see E. ROSE, 'Paratexts in the *Virtutes apostolorum*', *Viator* 44 (2013), 369-388.

<sup>7</sup> On Melito, see G. RÖWEKAMP, 'Melito von Sardes', in S. DÖPP – W. GEERLINGS, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, Freiburg i.B., 1998, p. 436-437; É. JUNOD – J.-D. KAESTLI, *L'histoire des actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean* (Cahiers de la Revue de théologie et de philosophie, 7), Geneva, 1982, p. 104.

<sup>8</sup> On Leucius, see G. RÖWEKAMP, 'Leucius', in DÖPP – GEERLINGS, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, p. 396.

Latin transmission of a coherent set of texts on the lives and deaths of the twelve apostles individually, but to present the medieval transmission of these texts in their context through a study of relevant manuscripts from the eighth century onwards. In this study, the possible context(s) of use of these texts is central, rather than their origin and sources.

### The invention of a collection

In the history of Christianity, the presentation of the apostles as individual teachers and as a group of founders of the worldwide *ecclesia* alternate. This double approach is visible in the liturgy, where the calendar of saints appoints each apostle his own individual feast-day, but adds a communal feast-day in celebration of *omnium apostolorum*.<sup>9</sup> The same approach is visible in early Christian art, where an initial depiction of the Twelve as indiscriminate is followed by a later tendency to portray the individual apostles with their proper features (see e.g. the apostle portraits in the sixth-century basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna).<sup>10</sup> The concern to collect knowledge about all twelve apostles instead of Luke's, by necessity, selective focus on some of them (his *Acts of (the) apostles*<sup>11</sup> is an eyewitness account and Luke could not write down what he did not know<sup>12</sup>) is expressed in several ancient Christian documents that carry titles expressing the wish to present the doctrine of the apostles as a collective teaching.<sup>13</sup>

The earliest Latin transmission of apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* is a combination of the individual and the collective approach. From the

<sup>9</sup> P. JOUNEL, 'Le culte des apôtres à Rome et dans la liturgie romaine', in *Saints et sainteté dans la liturgie. Conférences Saint-Serge 1986*, Paris, 1987, p. 167-187, at p. 178. Jounel notes that the liturgical celebration of all apostles on June 30<sup>th</sup> was conserved only in 'the East'; for an overview of early Latin sources see P. HARNONCOURT – H. AUF DER MAUR, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit* II.1 (Gottesdienst der Kirche, Handbuch der Liturgiewissenschaft), Regensburg, 1994, p. 117. According to Auf der Maur, the development is from an initial local celebration of specific individual apostles, commemorated as martyrs in specific communities, to a celebration of all apostles together as a group. *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> See also the contribution of Roald Dijkstra elsewhere in this collection of articles.

<sup>11</sup> On this title and the unlikelihood that it was coined by Luke, see GOUNELLE, 'Actes apocryphes', p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> These documents include *Didache* or 'Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles', *Didascalia apostolorum*, *Doctrinae apostolorum*, *Constitutiones apostolicae*. H. VAN DE SANDT – D. FLUSSER, *The Didache. Its Jewish sources and its place in early Judaism and Christianity*, Assen – Minneapolis, 2002, p. 1-3; GOUNELLE, 'Actes apocryphes', p. 19.

second half of the eighth century onwards, we find a collection of accounts of the lives and martyrdoms of all twelve apostles in manuscripts of different origin and organization. The term ‘collection’ might be misleading in this context, as it suggests a larger degree of coherence and stability than the manuscripts show. It is clear that a large amount of material on the apostles circulated in the early medieval West, and this richness is brought together in the manuscripts that have come down to us. First of all, there is a high degree of variety between manuscripts of different geographical regions. The accounts on individual apostles<sup>14</sup> we find in manuscripts stemming from Rome differ from the texts collected in their counterparts in the transalpine continental regions. However, variety is also found within particular regions. If we concentrate, as we will do in the rest of this article, on two of the most important regions of transmission, Francia and Southern Germany or, more specifically, Bavaria, we find much variety between the manuscripts as far as the choice of texts is concerned. The term ‘collection’ is also out of place because the order in which the apostles are presented differs per manuscript.<sup>15</sup>

The attribution of the ‘collection’ to a single collector or author, as is accepted in earlier scholarship, must therefore be dismissed. This approach to the material relies on the early modern printed editions of the texts, most notably the edition by Wolfgang Lazius (1552).<sup>16</sup> Lazius interpreted the attribution of the *gesta sanctorum apostolorum* to Abdias, bishop of Babylon, attested in the epilogue *Scriptis autem gesta* quoted above, as a general attribution of all texts to this legendary figure, instead of accepting Abdias’s authorship for the *gesta* of Simon and Jude only. Lazius materialized this interpretation in his rewriting of *Licet plurima* by weaving the essential information on authorship from *Scriptis autem gesta* into it, resulting in a new prologue, *Quamquam plurima*, which functioned as a prologue to the series of all sections together. The unlikelihood of Lazius’s interpretation of the phrase *Scriptis autem gesta sanctorum apostolorum* (Abdias was a follower of Simon and Jude and his account was an eyewitness account – just as Luke, Abdias could not write down what he did not know) has been emphasized by scholars ever since Richard Lipsius dismissed Lazius’s approach as a mistake, but it has

<sup>14</sup> For clarity’s sake, I follow the classification of the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, Brussels, 1898-1901 (henceforth BHL).

<sup>15</sup> On both elements (choice of texts, order of the apostles), see E. ROSE, ‘*Virtutes apostolorum*: Editorial problems and principles’, *Apocrypha* 23 (2012), p. 11-45.

<sup>16</sup> W. LAZIUS (ed.), *Abdiae Babyloniae episcopi et apostolorum discipuli de historia certaminis apostolici libri decem*, Basel, 1552.

nevertheless never stopped influencing the reception of the material.<sup>17</sup> The attribution of all sections on the twelve apostles together to Abdias was not the only intervention Lazius allowed himself. He also added material from the canonical Gospels and Acts to all sections, whereas in the original texts, only the sections on Peter and Paul are enriched with long quotations from the canonical Bible.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, he intervened with the language, and adapted it to his own taste – the incipit *Quamquam* instead of *Licet plurima* is only one example. Thanks to the popularity of Lazius's edition, that was re-edited several times and became particularly widespread through the re-edition by Johann Fabricius (1703),<sup>19</sup> his approach to the material remained highly influential until the present day. It is understandable yet regrettable that the concept of a collection attributable to one author is difficult to do away with – the influence of Lazius is apparent even in the title of the Strasbourg Summer School of which this collection of essays is a report. Only a return to the manuscripts can give us a more precise insight into the medieval Latin transmission of accounts on the lives and deaths of the apostles.

### Manuscript context and use

So far, I have criticized the notion of the Collection of Pseudo-Abdias as the accepted title to indicate the transmission of the apocryphal Acts in the Latin world without offering an alternative. Even the use of the term 'apocryphal Acts' for the material we are dealing with is problematic. The question is in order whether we have to do at all with apocryphal material, or rather with a typological subcategory of hagiography, dedicated exclusively to the apostles as a type of saints.<sup>20</sup> The manuscript context, presented in this section, suggests that these texts were used in the medieval context just like hagiographic accounts: to be read on the saint's

<sup>17</sup> On this, see E. ROSE, 'Abdias scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum? The "Collection of Pseudo-Abdias" reconsidered', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8 (2013), p. 227-268.

<sup>18</sup> We can follow Lazius' interventions rather precisely since we know which manuscripts he used. He mentions two ninth-century codices in the preface to his edition (Vienna ÖNB 534, Vienna ÖNB 455). Further research on Lazius's manuscript studies is done by E. TRENKLER, 'Wolfgang Lazius, Humanist und Büchersammler', *Biblos* 27 (1978), p. 186-203.

<sup>19</sup> J.A. FABRICIUS (ed.), *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Hamburg, 1703.

<sup>20</sup> A summary of the debate on the distinction of hagiography from apocrypha is given in E. ROSE, *Ritual memory. The apocryphal Acts and liturgical commemoration in the early medieval West (c. 500-1215)*, Leiden – Boston, 2009, p. 35-42.

day, either in the performative context of the liturgy (of hours), or in the monks' refectory or private study and rumination.<sup>21</sup> The manuscripts can help us in our choice of an apt working-title for the material we are dealing with, even if they are far from uniform in their choice of titles: Philippart signals a wide variety of alternatives in the manuscripts, among them *passiones, virtutes, miracula, agones, actus et passiones* etc.<sup>22</sup> In tune with the repertory of Maurice Geerard<sup>23</sup> as well as with the first edition of a Latin apostle apocryphon (*Virtutes Iohannis*) in the apocryphal series of Corpus Christianorum,<sup>24</sup> I prefer the term *Virtutes apostolorum*; a title that is not only close to the Greek *πράξεις*, but also fit to cover the accounts of those apostles whose deaths are not portrayed as martyrdoms in the Latin tradition (John, Philip), as we shall see further below.

If we survey the transmission of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in the regions appointed above (Francia and Bavaria, the regions where the oldest manuscripts are found), we come across a large number of witnesses that contain either a full series of *Virtutes apostolorum* or a selection. With 'a full series', I mean that it contains at least a section for each of 'the Twelve', i.e. Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James the Greater, Philip, Thomas, James the Less, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude. 'A selection' can occur in manuscripts that simply did not intend to cover the twelve, or in which parts have been lost to damage. In my effort to come to a manageable amount of material to serve a future edition,<sup>25</sup> I selected only those manuscripts of the Frankish and Bavarian regions that present the *Virtutes apostolorum* as a chain of stories not interrupted by other material, which provided a corpus of

<sup>21</sup> On the use of the *legendaria* or *passionaria* in which the apocryphal Acts are found, see G. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, 24-25), Turnhout, 1977, p. 112-117; M. HEINZELMANN, 'Neue Aspekte der biographischen und hagiographischen Literatur in der lateinischen Welt (1.-6. Jahrhundert)', *Francia* 1 (1973), p. 27-44; F. DOLBEAU, 'Typologie et formation des collections hagiographiques d'après les recueils de l'abbaye de Saint-Thierry', in M. BUR (ed.): *Saint-Thierry. Une abbaye du VI<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Saint-Thierry, 1979, p. 159-182.

<sup>22</sup> PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 88.

<sup>23</sup> M. GEERARD, *Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, Turnhout, 1992, p. 158-159, no. 256.

<sup>24</sup> É. JUNOD – J.-D. KAESTLI (eds.), *Acta Iohannis* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 1-2), Turnhout, 1983, vol. 2, p. 750-795.

<sup>25</sup> An edition of the *Virtutes apostolorum* is planned for Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum.



twenty-five manuscripts between the eighth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>26</sup> How can we characterize these manuscripts?

The transmission of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in the Frankish tradition, background to the oldest manuscript in the corpus (Montpellier H 55), gives a more uniform picture than the Bavarian tradition. In Francia, the *Virtutes apostolorum* are mostly found in manuscripts that contain other lives of saints and martyrs, the *legendaria* used in the practice of reading in liturgical or other monastic settings. The oldest extant exemplar, Montpellier H 55, is an apt illustration of this type of transmission: the eighth-century manuscript, property of St Étienne in Autun, opens with the *Virtutes apostolorum*, followed by more than fifty martyrs' passions (as indicated by a table of contents in post-medieval hand on f. 1r). Most of the Frankish manuscripts are of the same character, some of them containing texts that are not passions or *vitae* in the strictest sense, but these additions are usually closely related to the hagiographic genre. Thus, Skt Gallen 561 (s. IX), apart from adding Cassiodore's *Historia ecclesiastica*, contains various sermons for the Holy Cross and Mary as a later addition (dated s. X/XI). Texts for the feasts of the Holy Cross also occur in Paris, Ste Geneviève 557 (s. XI/XII) and Paris, Ste Geneviève 547 (s. XII), while the thirteenth-century manuscript from the same centre (Ste Geneviève 558) contains a set of sermons for the patron saint Geneviève as well as the sixth-century *Breviarium apostolorum*, a martyrology-like text with brief entries on each individual apostle.<sup>27</sup> The Frankish manuscripts only rarely include non-hagiographic texts: apart from Skt Gallen 561 mentioned above, only Paris, Ste Geneviève 547 does, but in this case it is the canonical Acts of Apostles that is included, a text close to the *Virtutes apostolorum* as far as its general subject is concerned. As we can conclude from the preceding examples, the Frankish tradition through all ages transmits the *Virtutes apostolorum* in a hagiographic context.

The Bavarian tradition, on the other hand, gives a different impression. Here, the *Virtutes apostolorum* are combined with non-hagiographic texts much more often, while we also find more manuscripts in this region that concentrate on the *Virtutes apostolorum* alone. In the first category, in chronological order, Vienna ÖNB 455 (s. IX) presents the

<sup>26</sup> For a more detailed discussion of selection criteria, see E. ROSE, 'Réécriture des *Actes apocryphes des apôtres* dans le moyen-âge latin', *Apocrypha* 22 (2011), p. 135-166; for detailed information on the manuscripts belonging to the corpus, see the appendix to ROSE, 'Abdias scriptor?'

<sup>27</sup> *Breviarium apostolorum*. A. DUMAS – J. DESHUSSES (eds.), *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 159), Turnhout, 1981, p. 489-490.

*Virtutes apostolorum* followed by the Apocalypse of John. Next, Angers BM 281 (s. XI), used in St Aubin in Angers but representing the Bavarian tradition, combines the *Virtutes apostolorum* with a collection of *de tempore* sermons. Paris BnF lat. 12604 is interesting because it includes a number of texts that deal with the apostles without being hagiographies in the strictest sense, like the *Breviarium apostolorum* and the text on the apostles' mission, the *Divisio apostolorum*. Finally, the youngest Bavarian manuscript in the corpus, Vienna ÖNB 497 contains, like the twelfth-century Frankish Ste Geneviève 547, a copy of the canonical Acts. Bavarian manuscripts that transmit *only* the *Virtutes apostolorum* include Paris BnF lat. 5563, s. XI, and probably – though this is not entirely certain because of a lacuna – Vienna ÖNB 534 (s. IX).

We see, then, that in the Bavarian tradition the manuscript context in which the *Virtutes apostolorum* are transmitted is much more diverse than in Francia. While the Frankish manuscripts point rather explicitly to a context of (performative) reading where hagiography normally had its place, be it in the chapel or in the monastic chapter, refectory or private cell, for the Bavarian tradition it is more difficult to determine the purpose(s) for which the *Virtutes apostolorum* were copied. This uncertainty concerns the transmission in all ages: it is just as difficult to determine the purpose of the ninth-century codex Vienna ÖNB lat. 534, containing only the *Virtutes apostolorum*, as of the thirteenth-century Vienna ÖNB lat. 497, presenting the *Virtutes apostolorum* next to the canonical Acts, some hagiographic texts on Matthias, the passions of the martyrs Vitus and Affra, and an additional text on the apostle Thomas. Were the Bavarian copies of the *Virtutes apostolorum* initially meant for a use similar to that of the Frankish *legendaria*? Or were they at home on library shelves where they would serve, for instance, as models for sermons on the apostles? Were they meant for use in a strictly religious setting, or also in educational contexts, be it in the monastery or at the (royal or episcopal) court?<sup>28</sup> The latter use, however, would hardly suffice to explain the combination of the *Virtutes apostolorum* with, for example, the Apocalypse of John, as is the case in Vienna ÖNB 455.

Despite this difference between the two main transalpine continental areas of transmission, the manuscripts of both traditions show a similar use of the *Virtutes apostolorum*. A clear trace of use is found in practically all manuscripts in the form of marginal notes that divide the

<sup>28</sup> Cf. M. DIESENBERGER, 'Reworking the *Virtutes apostolorum* in the Salzburg Sermon Collection', *Apocrypha* 23 (2012), p. 47-64, who discusses the use of the *Virtutes apostolorum* as instructional material for an audience of lay *potentes*.

individual texts in pericopes to be read in one of the contexts sketched above, but primarily in a performative context of reading out loud in a communal setting. In the following, these marginal notes are indicated as *lectio* marks, indications that demarcate the separate *lectiones* into which (a fragment of) the *Virtutes* of one apostle was divided. *Lectio* marks are common in hagiographic manuscripts such as *legendaria*, inserted either at the moment the manuscript was being copied,<sup>29</sup> or at a later date by the manuscript's user.<sup>30</sup>

The division of a hagiographic text into *lectiones* can serve the purpose of a liturgical performance of the text, most particularly for the liturgy of hours, as well as the reading of such texts in the setting of the monastic chapter or refectory.<sup>31</sup> In the case of the transmission of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in the regions of Bavaria and Francia, *lectio* marks are found in almost all manuscripts (as later marginal additions), regardless of the codex's character. Thus, we find inserted marginal *lectio* marks in the *Virtutes apostolorum* as transmitted in the *legendarium* Montpellier H 55, but also in the codex Dublin TC 737 which transmits only the *Virtutes apostolorum* and the *Passio Barnabae*. A *lectio* mark in the twelfth-century codex Paris BnF lat. 9737 is accompanied by the marginal note *Lectioes in festo Iohannis ante portam latinam* (f. 57v), which relates the practice of reading directly to the context of the apostle's feast-day.

Among the twenty-five manuscripts, only codex Paris BnF lat. 12604, which belonged to the monastery of Corbie,<sup>32</sup> contains *lectio* marks that are applied at the time the codex was copied. According to Philippart's criterion that the *liturgical* character of a *legendarium* can only be determined when the *lectio* marks are contemporary,<sup>33</sup> we would be dealing here with a codex copied for use in a liturgical setting. However, the unstable number of *lectiones* seems to contradict this hypothesis. Varying numbers of *lectiones* occur in the different sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum*: nine in the section on Peter; eight in the section on Paul; seven in the sections on Andrew, John, and Matthew; six in the section on Thomas; five in the section on Bartholomew; three in Simon and

<sup>29</sup> Cf. PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 60-61.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. DOLBEAU, 'Typologie et formation', p. 174-175. See also T. SNIJDERS, 'Celebrating with dignity: the purpose of Benedictine Matins readings', in S. VANDERPUTTEN (ed.), *Understanding monastic practices of oral communication (Western Europe, tenth-thirteenth centuries)*, Turnhout, 2011, p. 115-136.

<sup>31</sup> HEINZELMANN, 'Aspekte der biographischen und hagiographischen Literatur'.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. ROSE, 'Abdias scriptor?', p. 262-263.

<sup>33</sup> PHILIPPART, *Les légendiers latins*, p. 60.

Jude; and none in the sections on Philip, James the Less, and James the Greater. The other hagiographic texts in the codex (which contains also some non-hagiographic writings, see above) are not provided with *lectio* marks.<sup>34</sup> Do we have to conclude, here, that only the *Virtutes apostolorum* and the *Divisio*-text were copied in this manuscript with the intention to use them in a performative setting? And was this setting a liturgical one?

The latter question is qualified by Dolbeau as 'l'une des plus épineuses'. The unequal numbers of *lectiones* in Paris BnF lat. 12604 seem to contradict a liturgical use, since such a strictly liturgical context would demand a fixed number of lessons. A number of three, six, eight or nine lessons can be connected to liturgical use, where hagiographic texts were read during the liturgy of the night office (*matins*). *Matins* of a normal day (*feria*) counted one nocturn with three lessons. On a festive day, cathedral *matins* would count nine lessons divided over three nocturns, each nocturn counting three lessons. In a monastic community, a festive day counted three nocturns with each four lessons. In the latter two cases, six (secular) or eight (monastic) lessons were taken from the *passio* or *vita* of the saint of that day, while the other three (secular) or four (monastic) were taken from the bible, particularly the Gospel.<sup>35</sup> Theoretically, the numbers three (for lesser apostle feasts), six, and eight (if all lessons were taken from the hagiographic legend) in the monastic codex Paris BnF lat. 12604 would be explicable. More difficult is it to understand nine, seven, or five lessons. It is also difficult to explain why the sections on some apostles do have a division in lessons, while others do not. Perhaps, not all apostles were represented in Corbie's calendar of saints, even though the twelfth century is particularly the time when all apostles found their own place on the liturgical calendar. Also, if the apostles Philip and James the Less (who share a feast-day) and James the Greater were not commemorated in Corbie, why were the sections on their *Virtutes* then copied together with the others?

It appears that the presence of *lectio* marks is a blessing and a curse at the same time if we rely on them in order to enlarge our understanding of the codices in which the *Virtutes apostolorum* were transmitted. They do not explain everything. The *lectio* marks in most cases are later additions, and as such they do not tell us anything about the initial pur-

<sup>34</sup> An exception is the sermon on the *Divisio apostolorum*.

<sup>35</sup> S. REAMES, 'The Office for St Caecilia,' in Th. HEFFERNAN – A. MATTER, *The liturgy of the medieval Church*, Kalamazoo, 2001, p. 245-270, at p. 259-260. See also J. HARPER, *The forms and orders of Western liturgy from the tenth to the eighteenth century*, Oxford, 1991, p. 86-97.

pose of the manuscript copy. Additionally, the performative context of the practice of reading, liturgical or otherwise, is not certain, not even in those codices in which the *lectio* marks are contemporary with the copying of the manuscript, given the unbalanced number of the phenomenon in the relevant example Paris BnF lat. 12604. To know more about the use of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in the liturgy, we will have to change our search perspective, and turn our quest from liturgical traces in *legendaria*, to legendary traces in liturgical sources.

### Commemorating the apostles in the liturgy of Mass and office

According to the German scholar Hansjörg Auf der Maur, the position of the apostles in the liturgical calendar is obvious. As eyewitnesses of Christ, the attribution of martyrdom to all apostles is almost matter-of-course, and this ultimate act of imitation earns all apostles a place in the highest ranks of the liturgical calendar.<sup>36</sup> If Auf der Maur is right and the stories of martyrdom are so vital for the liturgical commemoration of the apostles, the question here need not be *if* the narrative material of the *Virtutes apostolorum* plays a role in the liturgical commemoration, but *how* the *Virtutes apostolorum* were performed in the ritual commemoration of the apostles, more specifically in the setting of Mass and office, and which themes of the *Virtutes apostolorum* are highlighted and/or transformed ('rewritten') in the course of this performance. These are large questions, worthy of an extensive study which cannot be performed in the context of this single contribution.<sup>37</sup> A limited number of observations concerning the case of one apostle only must suffice here. The case of the apostle Bartholomew may serve to deal with the two questions formulated above, before we are able to pronounce in a more general way on the role and transformation of the *Virtutes apostolorum* in a liturgical context.

The case of the apostle Bartholomew causes us to observe first the comparatively late development of this apostle's cult in the West. Even though relics of the apostle arrived in the Western world already in the sixth century (Gregory of Tours accounts for the event in his *In gloria*

<sup>36</sup> AUF DER MAUR, *Feiern*, p. 115.

<sup>37</sup> For an overview of four case studies dealing with six apostles (Bartholomew, Philip and James, Matthew, Simon and Jude), see ROSE, *Ritual memory*.

*martyrum*),<sup>38</sup> the liturgical sources of the early medieval period do not show any traces of commemoration.<sup>39</sup> Apart from the Old-Spanish collection of prayers for Mass, the eleventh-century *Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum* or *Liber Missarum de Toledo*, containing material that dates back to the seventh century, no early medieval Mass books contain prayers for Bartholomew. Almost all sources (Mass and office) that do contain a commemoration of Bartholomew date to the eleventh century and later. That means that Bartholomew's liturgical cult is a relatively late phenomenon if compared to the apostles Peter and Paul (whose feast-days are attested in all early Roman sacramentaries and *libelli* of liturgical prayers such as the *Sacramentarium Veronense*, containing material that dates back to the fifth century), or Andrew and John (whose feasts are present in the early Gallican sacramentaries, such as the *Missale Gothicum*, copied around 700).<sup>40</sup> This late appearance of Bartholomew in the Latin liturgy may have to do with the spread of relics, for even if Bartholomew's relics came to the island of Lipari off the South-Italian coast at the end of the sixth century, they were hidden and/or forgotten there for a long time due to the period of Muslim dominion. Only the tenth and eleventh centuries witnessed the re-invention of the holy remains, which resulted in the establishment of new cults, first in the South-Italian bishopric of Benevento, and later also in the Northern regions (particularly England).<sup>41</sup>

A second observation, based on a more detailed study of the liturgical sources, concerns the presence of material from the *Virtutes apostolorum* next to traditions outside the narrative *Virtutes*. In prayers, chants, and hymns from various liturgical families, the tradition of Bartholomew's flaying plays an important role. In the *Virtutes apostolorum*, Bartholomew's martyrdom is described as decapitation: *decollatus* in

<sup>38</sup> GREGORY OF TOURS, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, c. 34. B. KRUSCH (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum* I, Hanover, 1885, p. 509.

<sup>39</sup> For an introduction to relevant liturgical sources, see ROSE, *Ritual memory*, p. 6-14.

<sup>40</sup> Cf., on Peter and Paul, JOUNEL, 'Culte des apôtres'; on John, E. ROSE (ed.), *Missale Gothicum e codice Vaticano Reginensi latino 317 editum* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 159D), Turnhout, 2005, p. 206-210; on Andrew, E. ROSE, 'Apocryphal traditions in medieval Latin liturgy. A new research project illustrated with the case of the apostle Andrew', *Apocrypha* 15 (2004), p. 115-138.

<sup>41</sup> On Bartholomew's cult in Bevevento, see E. ROSE, 'Reinventing the apostolic tradition: transition and appropriation in the medieval commemoration of the apostles', in B. BOUTE – T. SMÅBERG (eds.), *Devising order. Socio-religious models, rituals, and the performativity of practice*, Leiden – Boston, 2013, p. 123-144. On England, see ROSE, *Ritual memory*, p. 101-102.

Latin. Some manuscripts, however, deviate from this in giving the variant: *decoriatus*. This is found in the following manuscripts:

- Wolfenbüttel Weiss. 48 (s. IX), f. 107r: in the sentence *Caesum autem iussit decoriari* the final word takes the place of the erased *decollari*;
- Ste Geneviève 547 (s. XII), f. 37r: *Cesum autem excoriari ac demum iussit decollari* (the entire sentence is a later addition above the line);
- Paris BnF lat. 9737 (s. XII), f. 38v: the final passage of the *Virtutes Bartholomei* is erased while the section on Bartholomew from the *Breviarium apostolorum* (including the flaying tradition: *decoriatus*) is added;
- Paris BnF lat. 5273 (s. XIII), f. 32v: this text presents the tradition of both skinning and decapitating: *Caesum autem iussit idem rex in modum follis excoriari, ac demum decollari*.

A number of sources may have influenced the variants in the narrative of the *Virtutes Bartholomei*, of which the early lists of apostles such as the sixth-century *Breviarium apostolorum* (cf. BnF lat. 9737), are the most obvious. The tradition of skinning is also found in *De ortu et obitu patrum*, attributed to Isidore of Seville,<sup>42</sup> and in the ninth-century martyrologies of Ado, Usuard, and Hrabanus Maurus.<sup>43</sup> Ultimately the tradition of skinning goes back to the Armenian martyrdom of Bartholomew, found in sources around 600.<sup>44</sup>

In the third place, it must be observed that, in as far as the liturgical prayers are inspired by the *Virtutes apostolorum*, a selective choice is made of the narrative material. Most liturgical texts (prayers for Mass, chants and hymns for the liturgy of Hours) highlight a certain repertoire of themes central to the *Virtutes Bartholomaei*. Some of these sources stay very close to the narrative of the *Virtutes*. To these sources belong certainly the chants that were sung during the liturgy of hours.<sup>45</sup> During the

<sup>42</sup> ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *De ortu et obitu patrum* c. 74. C. CHAPARRO GÓMEZ (ed.), *De ortu et obitu patrum*, Paris, 1985, p. 211.

<sup>43</sup> J. DUBOIS (ed.), *Le Martyrologe d'Adon: ses deux familles, ses trois recensions*, Paris, 1984, p. 7; J. DUBOIS (ed.), *Le martyrologe d'Usuard* (Subsidia hagiographica 40), Brussels, 1965, p. 289; J. McCULLOH (ed.), *Rabani Mauri Martyrologium* (Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 44), Turnhout, 1979, p. 84-85.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. L. LÉLOIR (ed.), *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres. Traduction de l'édition arménienne de Venise* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 3-4), Turnhout, 1992, p. 479-482; M. VAN ESBROECK, 'The rise of saint Bartholomew's cult in Armenia from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries', in T. SAMUELIAN – M. STONE (eds.), *Medieval Armenian culture*, Chico, CA, 1984, p. 161-178, at p. 167.

<sup>45</sup> For an analysis of the liturgy of hours on Bartholomew's *natale*, see ROSE, *Ritual memory*, p. 103-117. This analysis follows the chants as found in their earliest preserved

day, antiphons, framing the psalms, and *responsoria*, responding to the lessons taken from hagiography and the Bible, ruminate in abbreviated form the main events of Bartholomew's missionary life and martyrdom. They do not, however, follow the narrative in a systematic way from beginning to end. Instead, important events and themes are highlighted, which recur in various hours. In the case of Bartholomew, these main events are the apostle's contest against demons; the consecration of the former pagan temple into a Christian church; the apostle's martyrdom and succession by the local king, Polymius, who is appointed bishop after the apostle's demise. The chants also linger over the topic of virginity and the abstinence from material goods, which plays such a dominant role in Bartholomew's preaching. There is little space for 'transformation' in the chants, which in general quote the *Virtutes* literally. One case of transformation could be observed in the fifth antiphon of the *Laudes*, where king Polymius is said to have performed many miracles *in Christi nomine*. The chant deviates from the text in the *Virtutes*, where the gift of miracles to the king-bishop is attributed to the apostle: *ab apostolo ordinatus rex episcopus et coepit in nomine apostoli signa facere*.<sup>46</sup> Here a shift of emphasis appears to be visible: while the apocryphal Acts depict the apostle as the *vicarius Christi*, almost equal to Christ,<sup>47</sup> later rewritings of the apocryphal Acts seem to mitigate the power of the apostle.<sup>48</sup> While this is not the case in the *Virtutes Bartholomaei* themselves, where the apostle is indicated as the main generator of miraculous power, the later adaptation of the narrative into a text fit for use in a liturgical context does make this differentiation.

Three examples may illuminate further the selective choice of themes and events as well as the transformation of the narrative to make it suitable for liturgical use.

transmission, the eleventh-century *Antiphonal of Ivrea*: Ivrea, Chapter Library 106. R.-J. HESBERT, *Corpus antiphonarium Officii*, Rome, 1963, vol. 1, p. xx-xxi.

<sup>46</sup> Text according to M. BONNET (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 150.

<sup>47</sup> J.-M. PRIEUR, 'La figure de l'apôtre dans les actes apocryphes d'André', in F. BOVON e.a. (eds.), *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen*, Geneva, 1981, p. 121-139, at p. 122-123, 131; F. BOVON, 'Canonical and apocryphal Acts of apostles', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 11 (2003), p. 165-194, at p. 183-184.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. L. VAN KAMPEN, 'Acta Andreae and Gregory's *De miraculis Andreae*', *Vigiliae christianae* 45 (1991), p. 18-26, at p. 21-22; see also the contribution of Rémi Gounelle to the present collection of articles (p. 27).



*Spain: Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum*

A first example is chosen from the *Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum* or *Liber missarum de Toledo*, a manuscript representing the liturgy in early medieval Spain before the Roman reforms that took place in the final decades of the eleventh century. The larger part of prayer material in this tenth-century codex is traditionally attributed to the influential seventh-century bishops of Toledo and Sevilla, particularly Leander and Isidore, but this attribution is mainly pseudepigraphic, while much of the material may be even older than seventh-century.<sup>49</sup> The lengthy texts in honour of saints in this collection are characterized by a narrative style that elaborates extensively on hagiographic detail.<sup>50</sup> The Mass for Bartholomew's *natale* on the 24<sup>th</sup> (or 25<sup>th</sup>)<sup>51</sup> of August counts nine long prayers, of which the prayer of sacrifice (*illatio*, comparable to the Roman *prefatio*) is of interest here because of its pronounced selection of narrative themes. It concentrates first on the way Bartholomew silences the god Astaroth so that all assistant demons feel chained and powerless. This part of the prayer follows the text of the *Virtutes* closely, using the same vocabulary and phrases. The second half of the prayer commemorates Bartholomew's martyrdom. In the treatment of this theme there is an important difference between prayer and *Virtutes*. While the narrative source is very brief on Bartholomew's death (*Tunc scidit rex purpuream uestem qua indutus erat et fecit fustibus caedi sanctum apostolum Bartholomaeum, caesum autem iussit decollari*<sup>52</sup>), the commemorative prayer clothes the apostle's demise with facts and interpretations. The technical details of martyrdom are given in brief words, copied from the *Virtutes*: *fustibus ceditur – pro domino decollatur*. However, various additional references to Bartholomew's martyrdom are scattered through the prayers, which together depict the apostle as a willing sufferer, eager to follow the Lord in his passion. The text uses terms and themes of surrender that are familiar to the genre of *martyrium*, opposing the victim as triumphing in his passion against the persecutor who is exposed as blasphemous and, therefore, a false god: '[H]e suffered the words of the blasphemers' (*blasphemantium uerba patitur*); 'he submitted to the persecutors' wrath' (*persequentium ire se subdit*); 'he did not withdraw from punish-

<sup>49</sup> A.A. KING, *Liturgies of the primatial sees*, London, 1957, p. 478-485.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478, 486.

<sup>51</sup> On the various dates of Bartholomew's *natale* in Western calendars, see ROSE, *Ritual memory*, p. 81 and footnote 9.

<sup>52</sup> According to BONNET (ed.), *Acta apostolica apocrypha*, vol. 2.1, p. 149.

ment' (*se ipsum de iudicio non absoluit*); 'he allowed to be captured by the followers of demons' (*a demoniorum discipulis se teneri permittit*); 'he did not evade his martyrdom' (*se de passione non redemit*).<sup>53</sup>

*Spain: Sacramentarium Vicennense (of Vich), 1038*

While the liturgy as it developed in the episcopal sees of early medieval Spain is reflected in the text summarized above, the *Sacramentary of Vich* represents a stage in the liturgy of Spain in which liturgical reforms, particularly those initiated by the European movement radiating from the Benedictine abbey of Cluny, interfered with the liturgical traditions on the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>54</sup> The commemoration of Bartholomew's *natale* in this collection of prayers for Mass contains five prayers, four of which are general texts in honour of an apostle without going into any detail of the *Virtutes Bartholomaei*. The *Praefatio*, occupying the same position as the *Illatio* in the sequence of texts that form the Eucharistic prayer as a whole, is an exception:

*Preface.* It is truly worthy [to praise you], eternal God, who has deigned to endow your apostle Bartholomew with such great gifts of your mercy, that your holy church repeatedly sings the praises of his miracles. For the angels always accompanied him and they protected him from all evil. And therefore, during most of his lifetime his clothes were not ripped nor were his sandals broken. And he suffered to be flayed alive and then to be put to death, in order to show us the way through the example of his life, and to enter the heavenly home where he was to rejoice in eternity: through Christ...<sup>55</sup>

This prayer depicts the details of Bartholomew's missionary life, commemorating the miracles of the apostle and referring to specific details in the *Virtutes*, most notably how Bartholomew was accompanied by angels and how his clothes and shoes remained wear-proof. The prayer

<sup>53</sup> For a more detailed analysis, see ROSE, *Ritual memory*, p. 92-93.

<sup>54</sup> J. PINELL, 'Mozarabische liturgie', in L. BRINKHOFF e.a. (eds.), *Liturgisch Woordenboek*, Roermond, 1958-1968, vol. 2, col. 1796-1825, at col. 1800.

<sup>55</sup> *Sacramentarium Vicennense*, 600: *Praefatio. Vere Dignum. Aeterne deus. Qui beato Bartolomeo apostolo tuo tanta tuae munera gratiae es dignatus conferre, ut sancta ecclesia tua frequenter de ipsius miraculis gloriatur. Semper enim cum eo comitabantur angeli, qui illum ab omnibus tuebantur aduersis. Ideoque plurimis suae uitae temporibus nec suae uestes sunt scissae, nec sandalia quidem disrupta. Qui uiuens decorari sustinuit et demum capite plecti, ut nobis callem uite suae exemplo hostenderet, et superam patriam perpetuo gauisurus intraret. Per Christum.* A. OLIVAR (ed.), *El sacramentario de Vich*, Barcelona, 1953, p. 87.

also commemorates Bartholomew's martyrdom, combining the two traditions of skinning and decapitation.

*South Italy: Missale Beneventanum de Canosa*

A third example that reflects the influence of the narrative *Virtutes* on the liturgical prayers in commemoration of Bartholomew stems from the South of Italy. In the ninth century, Bartholomew's relics were transferred from Lipari, where they were considered endangered by the invasion of Muslims, and brought to the South Italian mainland, where the city of Benevento became the centre of Bartholomew's cult. When Pope John XIII installed an archbishop in Benevento in 969, the see developed its own collection of texts for Mass, of which the *Missale Beneventanum of Canosa* is a late eleventh-century copy.<sup>56</sup> The prayer in commemoration of Bartholomew in this Mass book is an interesting example of a further development in the relation between narrative *Virtutes* and liturgical commemoration:

God, who upon the prayer of your apostle Bartholomew has commanded the demon to destroy its own image by the roots, mercifully expel, we beseech you, the images of sins from our hearts, so that we may be deemed worthy to enter with joy through the door of your kingdom, purified through Bartholomew's prayers. Through [Christ].<sup>57</sup>

Bartholomew's fight with the demons is translated into a spiritual fight against the demons of sin, in which the medieval community that commemorates the apostle is continuously involved. This prayer offers the most far-reaching example of transformation of narrative material through its use in a performative liturgical context.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> K. GAMBER, 'Die mittelitalienisch-beneventanischen Plenarmissalien. Der Messbuchtypus des Metropolitangebiets von Rom im 9./10. Jahrhundert', *Sacris Erudiri* 9 (1957), p. 265-285, at p. 265.

<sup>57</sup> *Canosa Missal*, 504: *Oratio secreta. Deus qui exorante apostolo tuo Bartholomeo demoni precepisti, suum funditus diruere simulacrum, peccatorum imagines a nostris mentibus quaesumus expelle propitius, ut eius precibus emundati regni tui ianuam gaudenter introire mereamur.* Per. S. REHLE (ed.), *Missale Beneventanum von Canosa* (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W6) (Textus patristici et liturgici 9), Regensburg, 1972, p. 128.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. E. ROSE, 'Erant enim sine deo vero': iconoclasm in apocryphal and liturgical apostle traditions of the medieval West, in W. VAN ASSELT e.a. (eds.), *Iconoclasm and iconoclasm: struggle for religious identity*, Leiden – Boston 2007, p. 217-233.

## The importance of apostolic martyrdom

From the analysis above it is clear that in the case of the apostle Bartholomew the relation between texts composed for different settings of performative commemoration (Mass, liturgy of hours) and the narrative *Virtutes* is tight. While all liturgical texts discussed follow the *Virtutes* closely, they differ in the degree to which they adapt the narrative source text to a liturgical context. Prayers for Mass as well as chants for the liturgy of hours give examples of a transformation of the source text through a liturgical performance, for instance by underlining the spiritual meaning of the narrative or by shifting the emphasis away from the narrative's protagonist (the apostle) to Christ.

The close connection between liturgical text and apocryphal narrative does not apply to all apostles. The case of Matthew, for instance, gives a different impression, as the liturgy of Mass and office commemorates this apostle primarily as the first evangelist. We have to turn to hymns to find more hagiographic detail.<sup>59</sup> The case of the apostles Philip and James, who share a feast-day, shows even more distance to narrative traditions.<sup>60</sup>

While the degree to which the apocryphal narrative was used in the composition of liturgical texts differs from apostle to apostle, what they all have in common is the emphasis on martyrdom. One of the main purposes of the apocryphal Acts, or, more precisely, of the Latin rewritings in the form of the *Virtutes apostolorum*, is to render a full account of each apostle's martyrdom – this purpose is clearly spelled out in the prologue *Licet plurima* that opens this article. In the *Virtutes*, the apostles are all depicted as willing victims (if not eager seekers) of suffering; they literally embrace the cross as it brings them to a perfect imitation of their master's passion. That this theme is highlighted in the liturgical texts performing the commemoration of their martyrdom is obvious. The typology of the apostles attributes them a double martyrdom: they are proclaimed *μάρτυρες* or *testes* by Christ himself, according to the canonical New Testament (Lk. 24, 48 and Acts 1, 8): witnesses of Christ's passion and resurrection, and they are labelled 'martyrs' by the apocryphal Acts: blood witnesses in their perfect imitation of Christ.

The Latin tradition, however, indicates two exceptions to this rule: John and Philip do not die a martyr's death according to the Latin *Vir-*

<sup>59</sup> On the use of apocrypha in the commemoration of Matthew, see ROSE, *Ritual memory*, p. 163-212. Early medieval Spain forms an exception, where the details of the *Virtutes Matthaei* are found abundantly in prayers for Mass.

<sup>60</sup> On this apostle pair see ROSE, *Ritual memory*, p. 125-161.

*tutes*.<sup>61</sup> In the case of John, this absence of martyrdom corresponds to the ancient apocryphal tradition, but the Latin tradition concerning Philip deviates from the Greek where a *Martyrium Philippi* forms part of the fifth-century Acts of Philip.<sup>62</sup> In the case of John, the narrative tradition and the liturgical performance correspond. In the *Virtutes Iohannis*, John's death is depicted as a peaceful event, John stepping into the grave that he has ordered for himself, while his demise is celebrated as *assumptio* or *dormitio* in the liturgical sources. As such, a close connection between the commemoration of John and that of the Virgin Mary can be observed. A more complex case is that of Philip, who is commemorated in the liturgy as a martyr, whereas in the *Virtutes Philippi* his death is described as a peaceful passing away at an advanced age. Apparently, traditions other than the narrative *Virtutes* dominate in the liturgy. In the Latin world, traditions that attribute martyrdom to Philip do circulate, most notably the apostle lists such as the *Breviarium apostolorum*. Philip's death is in this source depicted as martyrdom through stoning. Above, we have seen how influential these kinds of sources were – it is highly likely that in the case of Bartholomew the tradition of skinning is derived from the *Breviarium apostolorum*. Another aspect that might well have been of influence on the attribution of martyrdom to Philip is the fact that he has shared his feast-day on the calendar with James the Less ('the brother of the Lord') ever since their relics arrived in Rome simultaneously and a church was dedicated to them both.<sup>63</sup> The liturgical commemoration of Philip illustrates the importance of the typology of the apostles as martyrs. It makes clear that this general typology was ultimately stronger than the narrative influence of the *Virtutes apostolorum*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. ROSE, 'Paratexts', p. 374<sup>s</sup> and, more elaborately, EAD., 'From eyewitnesses to blood witnesses: the cult of the apostles in the early medieval West', in G. BLENNE-MANN – K. HERBERS (eds.), *Vom Blutzzeugen zum Glaubenszeugen?* (Beiträge zur Hagiographie), Stuttgart, 2014, p. 57-70 (in press).

<sup>62</sup> On the structure of the Greek *Acts of Philip*, see F. BOVON e.a., *Actes de l'apôtre Philippe. Introduction, notes et traductions* (Apocryphes, Collection de poche de l'AELAC, 8), Turnhout, 1996, p. 25-80; F. BOVON, 'Les Actes de Philippe', in W. HAASE (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.25.6, Berlin – New York, 1988, p. 4431-4527, at p. 4475-4521; F. AMSLER, *Acta Philippi. Commentaire* (Corpus Christianorum, Series Apocryphorum, 12), Turnhout, 1999.

<sup>63</sup> CHR. HUELSEN, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo. Cataloghi ed appunti*, Florence, 1927, p. 201-202; H.A.A.P. GEERTMAN, *More veterum. Il Liber Pontificalis e gli edifici ecclesiastici di Roma nella tarda antichità e nell'alto medioevo*, Groningen, 1975, p. 134 and *passim*.

