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THE PREHISTORY OF THE LATIN
ACTS OF PETER (BHL 6663) AND THE
LATIN ACTS OF PAUL (BHL 6575).
SOME OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE *VIRTUTES
APOSTOLORUM*

Abstract

The extensive chains of excerpts from the Scriptures and other sources in two of the narratives prominent in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, the Acts of Peter (BHL 6663) and the Acts of Paul (BHL 6575) are studied in order to come to a clearer understanding of the origin of these Latin texts. The *Virtutes apostolorum* is an amalgam of textual material with a complex history, but a thorough examination of both text-internal elements and relations of intertextuality allows us to draw some conclusions about its development. BHL 6663 and 6575 stand out, both with respect to other narratives about Peter and Paul and within the series of the apostles covered by the *Virtutes apostolorum*, on account of the chains of excerpts with which these narratives open. Analysis of the sources of these excerpts seems to indicate that they were added to an older layer of material, itself a compilation, sometime after the fifth century, and most likely in Italy. Moreover, the parallelism between BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 seems to indicate that the two Acts were conjoined before they were inserted into the *Virtutes apostolorum*. At least two other narratives in the collection, BHL 4089 and BHL 4318, have a similar structure and might therefore be related to the Acts of Peter and of Paul.

The collection of the Latin apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the *Virtutes apostolorum*, is in many ways an enigma.¹ Its origin, original purpose and context of compilation as well as the identity of its ‘author’ are shrouded

¹ The data used in this article are derived from my MA thesis, where they can be found discussed in more detail; E. STEINOVÁ, *Biblical material in the Latin apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (MA thesis), Utrecht, 2011, available through <http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/student-theses/2011-0721-203518/UUindex.html>. I would like to thank Els Rose for her valuable comments and Christien Franken for the correction of my English.

in mystery.² A few remarks about its biography can illustrate the problems embodied in the series. To start with, the earliest manuscript evidence that we have comes from the late eighth and the ninth centuries. Yet, we possess testimonies of its earlier circulation in the time of Bede (early eighth century) and possibly as early as Venantius Fortunatus (late sixth century).³ Intrinsic evidence of the narratives that are contained in it hint to a much older origin of some of its sections, such as the so-called Ancient Acts of the Apostles (Peter, Paul, John, Andrew and Thomas), that go back to the second and third centuries.⁴ In other cases, however, narratives appear exclusively in the collection and we lack any evidence for their separate existence prior to the appearance of the collection itself (e.g. Simon and Jude). Other aspects seem to indicate as well that such narratives are relatively young, in contrast to the Ancient Acts.

Furthermore, the development of the collection was not uniform. Several distinct families emerged and can be substantiated on the basis of evidence connected to different regions, such as the Frankish and the Bavarian branch, which are discussed by Rose.⁵ Also, the collection continued to be flexibly transformed in the younger periods, beyond the state that is visible to us in the earliest wave of manuscripts, what suggests that we should see it as a fluid set rather than a rigid single unit. It may be rightfully called a complex amalgam, that is not a product of a single author, nor a single text in a standard sense.⁶ Its distinct components, although often hard to discern, rather have 'authors' in the sense of agents that participated in the act of writing and re-writing of different kind, and are 'texts' that are in fact layered structures of textual material of different origin and provenance. Traces of these formative processes can be found in various intrinsic elements of the collection and its components and are the prime source of our understanding of the formation of the *Virtutes apostolorum*.

² The history of the collection and its textual transmission are discussed in E. ROSE, '*Virtutes apostolorum*: origin, aim, and use', *Traditio* 68 (2013), p. 57-96, at p. 57-72.

³ See ROSE, 'Origin, aim, and use', p. 61-70.

⁴ J.N. BREMMER, 'The five major Apocryphal Acts: authors, place, time and readership', in J.N. BREMMER (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*, Louvain, 2001, p. 149-170. These oldest Acts were presumably composed in Greek, but particular themes and narrative parallels are visible in the *Virtutes apostolorum*.

⁵ E. ROSE, '*Virtutes apostolorum*: editorial problems and principles', *Apocrypha* 23 (2012), p. 11-46. The notion of families goes back to K. ZELZER (ed.), *Die alien lateinischen Thomasakten*, Berlin, 1977.

⁶ C.M. THOMAS, 'Stories without texts and without authors: the problem of fluidity in ancient novelistic texts and early Christian literature', in R.F. HOCK (ed.), *Ancient fiction and early Christian narrative*, Atlanta, 1998, p. 287-289.

In this article, I will discuss two apocrypha that are exclusive to the collection and may perhaps be thus linked with its compilation (as we will see later). These are the Acts of Peter (BHL 6663)⁷ and the Acts of Paul (BHL 6575),⁸ both containing lengthy passages of biblical excerpts, such as cannot be found in any other of the Acts featuring in the collection. In both cases, this material is extensive and at the same time sufficiently coherent to invite the impression that we should think of the work of a single agent, working from a single set of sources that were consulted directly, rather than just referred to.⁹ With some texts with a comparable obscure origin and with scriptural excerpts present in their body, analysis of the sources of this biblical material was used in order to pinpoint more specifically the context of their emergence. This was the case, for example, with the early medieval Hiberno-Latin *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae*, which otherwise survive only as an early print from the sixteenth century,¹⁰ or the set of biblical glosses associated with the sixth-century Canterbury scholars Theodore and Hadrian, where, indeed, the biblical material helped to identify the two intellectuals as the authors.¹¹ The same strategy of tracking particular versions of the scriptural text, that were restricted to a certain region, period, environment or language, is applicable to the two Acts. To give an example: the presence of a coherent set of quotes from a Roman psalter can be taken for a good indicator that the composition took place in a particular environment where the Roman psalter was used, such as the Apennine peninsula, rather than, say, Gaul, where the Gallican psalter was standard.

Analysis of the two apocryphal narratives is revealing also because of their prominent position in the *Virtutes apostolorum*. The twenty-five manuscripts selected for the edition of *Virtutes apostolorum* by Rose¹² contain BHL 6663 and its derivatives in fourteen cases and BHL 6575 with its derivatives in twelve cases. In ten cases, moreover, the two are coupled together

⁷ This reference is to an item in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, vol. 2, Brussels, 1901, p. 968.

⁸ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, p. 954.

⁹ See STEINOVÁ, *Biblical material*, p. 50-51.

¹⁰ R. MARSDEN, 'The biblical text of the *Collectanea*', in M. BAYLESS – M. LAPIDGE (eds.), *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*, Dublin, 1998, p. 35-41.

¹¹ B. BISCHOFF – M. LAPIDGE, 'The sources of the Canterbury biblical commentaries', in B. BISCHOFF – M. LAPIDGE (eds.), *Biblical commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 190-242, at p. 190-199.

¹² Criteria for selection of these twenty-five manuscripts are discussed in ROSE, 'Abdias scriptor vitarum sanctorum apostolorum?' p. 228-230. The manuscripts are listed and described in *ibid.*, p. 254-268.

and the manuscript contains no other Petro-Pauline narrative. In two other cases, BHL 6657 is added to these two texts.¹³ For contrast, BHL 6657,¹⁴ a narrative in which both Peter and Paul are the protagonists, occurs in twelve other manuscripts and features as the only Petro-Pauline narrative in seven manuscripts.¹⁵ The two setups of narratives form, thus, clearly the basic repertoire about Peter and Paul transmitted in the collection (fig. 1). The combination of BHL 6663 and BHL 6575, which tend to occur almost exclusively together, is particularly characterizing of the Bavarian manuscript family, in which only a single manuscript, Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 281, contains a different narrative, BHL 6657 (Peter and Paul).¹⁶ The Frankish manuscripts, on the contrary, contain BHL 6657 or a different combination of two narratives about the apostles.¹⁷ Such a distribution attracts immediately attention. Why were the two Acts so often transmitted together? Why were they so dominant in the Bavarian family of the *Virtutes apostolorum*? And what is their relationship to the alternating set of Acts about the two Roman martyrs, especially to BHL 6657, which combined the stories about Peter and Paul into a single narrative?

Sequence of Petro-Pauline narratives occurring in the mss.	No. of mss.
BHL 6663/4 (Peter) + BHL 6575/6 (Paul)	10
BHL 6657 (Peter and Paul)	7
BHL 6663/4 (Peter) + BHL 6575/6 (Paul) + BHL 6657 (Peter and Paul)	2
BHL 6655 (Peter) + BHL 6570 (Paul) + BHL 6657 (Peter and Paul)	2
BHL 6663 (Peter) + BHL 6572 (Paul)	1
BHL 6664 (Peter) + BHL 6657 (Peter and Paul)	1
BHL 6666 (Peter) + BHL 6657 (Peter and Paul)	1
BHL 6657 (Peter) + BHL 6570 (Paul)	1

Figure 1. Distribution of Petro-Pauline narratives in the *Virtutes apostolorum*

¹³ These are the two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts which form a special sub-group in the Bavarian family of the manuscripts studied by Rose; see ROSE, 'Editorial problems and principles', p. 25 and 40-41.

¹⁴ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, p. 968.

¹⁵ See ROSE, 'Editorial problems and principles', p. 26-27 and 41-42.

¹⁶ See ROSE, 'Editorial problems and principles', p. 24.

¹⁷ See ROSE, 'Editorial problems and principles', p. 26.

Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina recognizes altogether some sixty apocryphal acts for Peter, Paul or both of them,¹⁸ to which must also be added numerous Acts in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* and narratives in other languages.¹⁹ The majority of these texts, including BHL 6663 and BHL 6575, are related, although due to their fluidity and transformability, it is impossible to position them into a direct line of descent. Some are mere variants of the same narrative, such as BHL 6663 and BHL 6664, both alternating in the *Virtutes apostolorum*; others are distinct, such as the so-called Acts of Pseudo-Marcellus (BHL 6659), treating Peter and Paul, and the so-called Acts of Pseudo-Linus (BHL 6655), treating Peter alone. In other cases, one narrative is a compilation of other narratives, or may be a free translation or re-working from a known Greek prototype.

As mentioned above, the Petro-Pauline apocrypha have a long history that goes back to second- and third-century Asia Minor and which may be perhaps connected also with third-century Alexandria.²⁰ They arrived at the Apennine peninsula in the fourth century and underwent translation into and re-composition in Latin. The oldest example of this re-working are the *Actus Vercellenses*, Petrine Acts from the second half of the fourth century associated with Vercelli in North Italy.²¹ In the next century and a half, a wave of new translations, redactions and compilations followed in Italy, often centred around Rome, giving rise to the narratives of Pseudo-Linus (Peter, BHL 6655; Paul, BHL 6570), Pseudo-Marcellus (BHL 6659) and Pseudo-Hegesippus (BHL 6648-6654).²²

BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 do not belong to this first wave, but rather to a later wave of apocrypha-formation dependent on the older Acts. They incorporate the Petrine Acts of Pseudo-Linus and the *Passio Pauli*

¹⁸ *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, p. 953-955 and 966-972.

¹⁹ See H.-M. SCHENKE, 'The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles', in W. SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha: Writings relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses and related subjects*, Westminster, 2003, p. 412-425.

²⁰ A. JAKAB, 'Les Actes d'André et le christianisme alexandrin', in J.N. BREMMER (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew*, Louvain, 2000, p. 127-139; and I. CHZACHESZ, *Commission narratives: a comparative study of the canonical and apocryphal Acts*, Louvain, 2007, p. 121-122.

²¹ C.M. THOMAS, 'The "prehistory" of the Acts of Peter', in F. BOVON (ed.), *The apocryphal acts of the Apostles: Harvard Divinity School studies*, Cambridge, MA, 1999, p. 39-62, at p. 40.

²² THOMAS, 'Stories without texts', p. 286; A. DE SANTOS OTERO, 'Later Acts of Apostles', in SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 437-440.

brevior, respectively, and thus are younger than these.²³ For a contrast, BHL 6657, the other Petro-Pauline apocryphal narrative recurring in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, and also the majority of the other Petro-Pauline Acts represented in the collection (these include both Acts of Pseudo-Linus) belong rather to the older layer.²⁴ Again, this seems to provide insight into the formation of the collection. We can just speculate whether these older Petro-Pauline narratives in the collection might be relics of older stages of the transmission that was re-written, should rather be considered interpolations, or perhaps have a different place altogether.

BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 are peculiar not only with respect to other Petro-Pauline Acts, but also within the whole series. Because of the chains of excerpts attached to them, some 28% of the text of the Acts of Peter consists of references to the Bible. In total, 66% of the body of this narrative are copy-pasted excerpts from the Bible or other source texts. In case of the Acts of Paul, the scriptural references constitute as much as 72% of the whole text. These numbers are well above the average for the collection, which is around 22% (fig. 2). In the remaining Ancient Apocryphal Acts in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, i.e. John, Andrew, and Thomas, the amount of hypertextual material does not exceed 15% and thus the two narratives about Peter and about Paul stand out prominently.²⁵

²³ DE SANTOS OTERO, 'Later Acts of Apostles', p. 437 and 439.

²⁴ DE SANTOS OTERO, 'Later Acts of Apostles', p. 440.

²⁵ The case of BHL 6657 is not very different from these Ancient Acts.

narrative	% of the text formed from quotations or by excerption ²⁶
James the Less BHL 4089 (all excerpts)	98% (6 references)
<i>De exitu Herodis</i> BHL 4318 (all excerpts)	92% (2 references)
Paul BHL 6575	72% (11 references)
Peter BHL 6663 (all excerpts)	66% (32 references)
James the Great BHL 4057	41% (41 references)
average (all excerpts)	40%
Peter BHL 6663 (only scriptural material)	28% (27 references)
James the Less BHL 4089 (only scriptural material)	24% (13 references)
average (only scriptural material)	22%
Matthew BHL 5690	20% (32 references)
Philip BHL 6814	18% (6 references)
Bartholomew BHL 1002	16% (17 references)
John BHL 4316	14% (39 references)
Simon and Jude BHL 5549	12% (18 references)
Andrew BHL 430+429	11% (45 references)
Thomas BHL 8140	10% (34 references)
<i>De exitu Herodis</i> BHL 4318 (only scriptural material)	9% (1 reference)

Figure 2. Saturation of the *Virtutes apostolorum* with scriptural and other quotations

The reason for this deviancy is obvious if we consider the structure of both texts. The two Acts are effectively not very elegantly executed patch-ups from more distinct textual sources that are still discernible in the compilation. In the case of BHL 6663, these patches are, in the order as they appear in the narrative: a) a series of excerpts from the New Testament pertaining to Peter; b) a series of excerpts from the Pseudo-

²⁶ The individual ratios were approximated based on the number of lines of text and lines of this text containing referential material in one manuscript, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS 139. Only *De exitu Herodis* does not feature in this manuscript and was calculated on the basis of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 455. This should be taken into account. The ratios given here should be understood as informative rather than absolute. They serve to highlight differences between different Acts and should not be considered perfectly accurate, but rather as an aid to understanding the structure of these Acts. The data given here and their acquisition are described in greater detail in STEINOVÁ, *Biblical material*, Appendix C.

Clementine *Recognitiones* concerned with Peter; c) a passage on Peter's activities in Rome freely adapted from Pseudo-Hegesippus (BHL 6648); and d) the *passio* freely adapted from Pseudo-Linus (BHL 6655). BHL 6575 consists of two sub-units: a) a series of biblical excerpts pertaining to Paul; and b) the *passio* freely adapted from *Passio Pauli brevior* (BHL 6571). BHL 6657, on the contrary, does not contain such artificially connected sub-sections. Neither do excerpts feature in other Petrine and Pauline Acts, although some of the Latin apocryphal Acts of the Apostles have a similar structure as will be shown below.

In BHL 6663 as much as in BHL 6575, there is a clear break between directly excerpted sections (the Bible, the *Recognitiones*) and those freely adapted (Pseudo-Linus, Pseudo-Hegesippus, *Passio Pauli brevior*). The former contain little to no cohesive material and are fully copy-pasted from their respective hypotexts, i.e. nearly 100% of their textual body consists of referential material. The latter, when taken as a separate entity, on the contrary resemble the older Latin Acts of Peter and Paul, also in terms of degree of referentiality (below 20% of text). This indicates that we encounter here two distinct layers in the texts (rather than four that might be supposed in Peter, where four sources can be identified), which reflect different stages of composition and thus should be connected with different sets of sources, but also distinct agents, and thus perhaps distinct locales and time periods. Since the older of the two layers is already dependent on, but not identical with, the older wave of Latin Petro-Pauline narratives arising in the fifth century, we should date the two 'redactions' between the fifth and the ninth centuries.²⁷

When compared, BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 seem to be compiled in the same manner, from the same sources (the Scripture), using the same patch-up technique. These aspects may be taken for an indication that they are closely related, at least from the time this insertion of a second layer took place. It may be pointed out that other Acts in the collection, particularly the other Ancient Acts (John, Andrew, and Thomas), could have been expanded in the same manner by material from the Gospels, Acts and the Apocalypse, but are left intact. Thus, the similarities between Peter and Paul set them apart from some of otherwise related Acts in the collection. This may suggest that the coupling of the two Acts by means of the insertion of scriptural and other material pre-dates the

²⁷ The oldest manuscript containing BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 is Dublin, Trinity College, MS 737 from the ninth century, thus not the late eighth century, the period to which the oldest of the twenty-five manuscripts selected for the edition of the *Virtutes apostolorum* can be assigned.

final compilation of the *Virtutes apostolorum* and was conceived of as a separate project. It may be perhaps connected with the coupling of the two apostles as martyrs in the Roman tradition, and in some of the apocryphal texts.

Parallelism between BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 is visible also in the selection of hypotextual material in the layer of excerpts. In both texts, the selection does not involve all episodes on the respective apostle, but seems rather to be governed by a conscious, perhaps even programmatic choice. In BHL 6663, for example, only nine excerpts from the New Testament (two from Matthew, two from John, and five from the Acts of Apostles) and sixteen more from the *Recognitiones* (books 2-9) are present. Some well-known scenes, such as Peter's walking on the water (Mt 14, 28-31) and his denial of Jesus (Mt 26, 33-35; Mk 14, 29-31; Lk 22, 33-34; Jn 13, 36-38), which have a negative connotation, are absent, despite their popularity in Christian literature. One reason for this omission might be a desire to present Peter overtly positively. Episodes present in BHL 6663 include Jesus' investment of Peter with the Church primacy (Mt 16, 13-19) and, in the excerpts from the *Recognitiones* (*Epistula ad Jacobum* II 1-4), the passing on of this primacy onto Clement, Peter's successor.

In BHL 6575 there are eight excerpts from the Acts of Apostles. While some seem to be 'obligatory' (Paul's conversion, Acts 9, 1-27), others are structured in such a way as to create a parallel with the excerpts from the canonical Acts in BHL 6663. In both cases there is a cure of a paralytic (Acts 3, 1-8 in Peter; Acts 14, 5-10 in Paul), followed by an excerpt attesting to the popularity of the apostles and their general healing powers (Acts 4, 22 in Peter; Acts 19, 8-12 in Paul), a resurrection account (Acts 9, 32-42 in Peter; Acts 20, 7-12 in Paul) and a life-saving miracle (Acts 12, 1-11: Peter's delivery from prison; Acts 28, 1-10: Paul's shipwreck and encounter with a serpent on the beach). Note that such implicit association brings the two narratives about the apostles closer to those apocryphal texts that cover both apostles in one narrative, although the technique of this coupling is different and the two Acts remain separate entities in the collection.

As is clear, some important implications about the two Acts arise already before the biblical material is examined for its textual sources. They are quite specific among the Latin Apocryphal Acts with respect to their structure and manner of composition by employing extensive borrowings from the Scripture. Such a technique contrasts particularly strongly with the manner of biblical referencing in the other narratives belong-

ing to the ancient apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, which hardly ever quote the Bible but rather engage it in the flow of doctrinal discourse. According to Rémi Gounelle, the presence of quoted scriptural material is an indicator of a relatively late origin of the particular apocryphal narrative, which draws on and refers to the already-formed authoritative scriptural canon.²⁸ BHL 6663 and BHL 6575, indeed, seem to be one of the youngest sections of the *Virtutes apostolorum*, and thus perhaps completed close in time to the moment of the compilation that gave shape to the collection, and to the Bavarian branch of the manuscripts in particular. The analysis of scriptural sources can move us further from this vague point between the fifth and the ninth century, between the Apennine peninsula and insular world as the two geographic extremes of the transmission history.

Examination revealed that the underlying manuscript sources behind the scriptural excerpts all belong to the contaminated Vulgate-type as was available in Italy from the fifth century and in Frankish lands from the eighth century.²⁹ Some of these Italian readings recur in Alcuin's *recensio* of the Bible from the early ninth century.³⁰ The question is to what extent this Vulgate substrate reflects conservation of material, i.e. to what extent it should be associated with post fifth-century Italy, and to what extent it reflects contamination from younger sources, i.e. the side-effect of dissemination in the Frankish area, where the oldest manuscripts of the *Virtutes apostolorum* seem to have been copied and sometimes emended in the process. Some evidence for the former hypothesis is provided by the fact that Vulgate exemplars available in Gaul earlier were rather of Irish and Spanish type³¹ and that the Italian influence has to do with the influx of novel Italian material from the second half of the eighth century.³² It had to do perhaps with the subjugation of the Lombards and with the earlier mission of Boniface. If it is connected

²⁸ R. GOUNELLE, 'Christian apocryphal literature. An overview', p. 28, elsewhere in this collection of articles.

²⁹ B. FISCHER, 'Bibelausgaben des frühen Mittelalters', in B. FISCHER (ed.), *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*, Freiburg, 1985, p. 50 and 54-55.

³⁰ B. FISCHER, 'Bibelausgaben', p. 54.

³¹ B. FISCHER, 'Bibelausgaben', p. 35-36.

³² P. SALMON, 'Le texte biblique des lectionnaires mérovingiens', in *La Bibbia nell'alto medioevo, 26 aprile - 2 maggio 1962*. Spoleto, 1963, p. 505-507; and S. BERGER, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1976, p. 3-7. This new material formed an important part also of Alcuin's revision; L. LIGHT, 'Versions et révisions du texte biblique', in P. RICÉ - G. LOBRICHON (eds.), *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*, Paris, 1984, p. 62-63.

with the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul, the addition would have to be rather young with respect to the surviving exemplars of the collection.

Especially in the case of the Gospel of John, the excerpts copy-pasted into BHL 6663 contain some strong Old Latin readings that further strengthen the assumption that we should place the redaction of this material into Italy, rather than Francia or elsewhere north of the Alps. Compare the excerpt from Jn 21, 15-19 with the respective passage from the Vulgate:

BHL 6663 ¹⁸²	The Vulgate ¹⁸³
<i>Post resurrectionem autem dicebat dominus Ihesus Petro: Simon Iohannis diligis me? Dicit ei: Etiam domine, tu scis quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce agnos meos.</i>	15 <i>Cum ergo prandissent dicit Simoni Petro Iesus: Simon Iohannis diligis me plus his? Dicit ei: Etiam Domine tu scis quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce agnos meos.</i>
<i>Iterum dicit ei: Simon Iohannis diligis me? Dicit ei: Etiam domine, tu scis quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce ouiculas meas.</i>	16 <i>Dicit ei iterum: Simon Iohannis diligis me? Ait illi: Etiam Domine tu scis quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce agnos meos.</i>
<i>Dicit ei tertio: Simon Iohannis, amas me? Contristatus est Petrus quia dixit ei tertio: Amas me. Et dicit ei: Domine tu omnia scis, tu nosti, quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce oues meas.</i>	17 <i>Dicit ei tertio: Simon Iohannis amas me? Contristatus est Petrus quia dixit ei tertio: Amas me. Et dicit ei: Domine tu omnia scis tu scis quia amo te. Dicit ei: Pasce oues meas.</i>
<i>Amen amen dico tibi: Cum esses iunior, cingebas te et ambulabas ubi uolebas. Cum autem senueris extends manus tuas et alius te cinget, et ducet quo tu non uis.</i>	18 <i>Amen amen dico tibi: Cum esses iunior cingebas te et ambulabas ubi volebas. Cum autem senueris extends manus tuas et alius te cinget et ducet quo non vis.</i>
<i>Hoc autem dixit, significans qua morte clarificaturus esset deum.</i>	19 <i>Hoc autem dixit significans qua morte clarificaturus esset Deum.</i>

Particularly unusual is the appearance of the Old Latin *ouiculas meas* instead of the Vulgate *agnos meos* in verse 16, as the two words are hardly interchangeable on hearing and unlikely to be a result of an error in transcription. The reading *ouiculas meas* can be found in the Codex Veronensis copied in Verona in the second half of the fifth century.³⁵ No

³³ As in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 455.

³⁴ B. FISCHER – J. GRIBOMONT et al (eds.), *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, Stuttgart, 1975.

³⁵ J. BELSHEIM (ed.), *Quattuor Evangelia ante Hieronymum latine translata*, Verona, 1904, p. 76.

similar reading appears outside Italy or, for that matter, in other codices of the Old Latin.

In contrast to John, excerpts from Matthew closely follow the reading of the Vulgate. It is impossible to say, though, whether this is an indication of usage of different biblical manuscripts (e.g. a separate Matthew and a separate John) or a contaminated exemplar, which had books from the Vulgate adjoined to books from the Old Latin. Moreover, these differences between John and Matthew seem more substantial than the differences between the excerpts from the Acts of Apostles in BHL 6663 and in BHL 6575. This might be an additional, even if not very strong, evidence for a common origin of the two texts.

Even larger differences are discernible between these direct excerpts and less directly employed quotations in other sections of BHL 6663 and BHL 6575 and may be taken for additional confirmation of layering. In the parts freely adapted from the older apocryphal narratives, the quotations follow the readings of the Old Latin. Their general form resembles quotations from the Old Latin in ancient apocryphal Acts preserved in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, such as Andrew, John and Thomas.

A further word about this older layer: at least one of the direct quotations from the Bible present here derives neither from Pseudo-Linus, nor from Pseudo-Hegesippus, but has a parallel rather in the Greek *Martyrium Petri* (BHG 1483-4).³⁶ Thus, it is reasonable to say that the older layer is not a mere compilation of Pseudo-Linus and Pseudo-Hegesippus, but rather an amalgam of the old narratives as they were available, which contains larger segments of Pseudo-Linus and Pseudo-Hegesippus. This amalgamation, rather than the juxtaposition of well-divided sections visible with the excerpts from the Bible and the *Recognitiones*, provides further evidence that this older layer is distinct from the younger layer of excerpts and must be ascribed to a different agent. I will call this older agent the Linus-Hegesippus redactor. The younger agent, whom I will call the Italian redactor, on account of the presence of Italian scriptural

³⁶ *Viri Romani qui in Christo creditis, et in illo solo speratis, in eo habetote eius patientiam et consolationem, quanta signa et remedia uidistis facta pro me. Sustinete itaque eum aduenientem et retribuente[m] unicuique secundum opera sua*; BHL 6663, according to Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 455. Cf. the English translation of the Greek *Martyrium Petri* in W. SCHNEEMELCHER, 'The Acts of Peter', in SCHNEEMELCHER (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, p. 314: 'You men who are soldiers of Christ, men who set their hopes on Christ, remember the signs and wonders which you saw through me, remember the compassion of God, how many healings he has performed for you. Wait for him that shall come and reward everyone according to his deeds'. A similar passage is missing both in Pseudo-Linus and Pseudo-Hegesippus.

reading variants, then assembled together these older Acts of Peter, the scriptural excerpts and the excerpts from the *Recognitiones*.

The latter set of excerpts from the *Recognitiones* offers us a vital extension of the scriptural analysis, since they are as extensive and compact and they can be compared to the scriptural excerpts. They, too, point into the direction of Italy as a place of compilation, as they contain readings characteristic for the Italian manuscript family of the text that are present neither in the French nor in the German family.³⁷ Moreover, they share a particular set of homoioteleuta with the Italian Λ branch of the *Recognitiones*, cf. excerpt from *Recognitiones* 2.36.2 in BHL 6663³⁸:

Vbi autem peccatum non fit, pax in disputationibus, ueritas in operibus inuenitur

and the edition of Rehm:³⁹

ubi autem peccatum non fit, pax est animae: ubi uero pax est, in disputationibus ueritas, in operibus iustitia inuenitur.

Several additional variant readings seem to be shared between the text in BHL 6663 and manuscript Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Arch. Cap. S. Pietro E17 (assigned sigla Λ^P in Rehm's edition) from the ninth century,⁴⁰ but I do not think any direct relationship should be sought between this relatively young manuscript and presumably older material in the apocryphal text. It is perhaps of greater importance that the family Λ separated relatively early from the other Italian families and its oldest witnesses stem from North Italy (Verona, Vercelli).

There are three more texts belonging to the *Virtutes apostolorum* that, given the evidence of the excerpts in the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul, need to be taken into account in this study. First, the Acts of James the Less (BHL 4089) transmitted in all twenty-five manuscripts of the *Virtutes apostolorum* also contain extracts from the *Recognitiones* (book

³⁷ See STEINOVÁ, *Biblical material*, p. 49-50. A description of the Italian family of the *Recognitiones* is found in B. REHM (ed.), *Die Pseudoklementinen. 2 vol.: Recognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung*, Berlin, 1965, p. xxx-xxlviii.

³⁸ According to Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 445.

³⁹ REHM (ed.), *Die Pseudoklementinen*.

⁴⁰ Described in REHM (ed.), *Die Pseudoklementinen* 2, p. xxxix-xl. This manuscript contains an ownership mark reading *liber parmorum* and thus perhaps it came from or was kept in Parma.

1). Unfortunately, the relatively short text does not contain significant variants that would connect it either with BHL 6663 or a particular manuscript family of the *Recognitiones*. There are, nevertheless, no variant readings that would exclude family Λ as the source family for this excerpt. In addition, BHL 4089 also contains excerpts from Rufinus-Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which together with the excerpts from the *Recognitiones* form some 98% of these Acts (see fig. 2). This ratio is closer to the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul than to other Acts not containing excerpts. More excerpts from Rufinus-Eusebius occur also in the obscure *De exitu Herodis* (BHL 4318) attached to the Acts of John (BHL 4316) in some of the Bavarian manuscripts. I say obscure, since of all texts compiled in the *Virtutes apostolorum*, this is the only one that has little to do with the apostles, but rather narrates, as a certain anti-hagiography perhaps, the fate of Herod, who is struck by an angel for his treatment of the apostles. Unfortunately, there is no modern edition of *Historia Ecclesiastica* that would allow for a detailed stemmatic comparison, even though such a source analysis would be likely revealing. Again, the resulting saturation with excerpted material reaches 92%, well above average and close to James the Less, Peter or Paul. In any case, the manner of excerption in BHL 6663, BHL 6575, BHL 4089 and BHL 4318 is very similar and the texts used as sources overlap, which might suggest that they should all be connected with the same agent – the Italian redactor.

Finally, the prologue *Licet plurima* is, apparently as an additional textual unit, attached to BHL 6663 (or BHL 6663 and BHL 6575). It is worth turning to its opening lines which state the aim of the re-writing of a certain portion of the apostolic narratives:

The holy history of the Gospels and that [history] that derives its name from the Acts of the Apostles indeed give us a lot of information about the miracles of the apostles. Nevertheless, it 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 them individually ... For it pleases us that the histories of their passions will be connected to these acts.⁴¹

⁴¹ *Licet plurima de apostolicis signis sacra euangeliorum uel illa quae ab ipsis actibus nomen accepit narret historia, tamen nobis uisum est ut retractis exemplaribus a uoluminibus istis de uniuscuiusque uirtutibus quantum inuenire possumus libros singulos conscribamus. ... Illud etiam placuit ut his uirtutibus passionum historiae conectantur.* The Latin text as well as the translation are taken from ROSE, 'Virtutes apostolorum: origin, aim, and use', p. 73-74. Note that *a uoluminibus istis* could refer also to the books mentioned earlier in the prologue, i.e. the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

The author of this prologue seems to refer to a compilation that involved combining 'examples' from the acts of the apostles with their *passiones*. This is not unlike what can be seen in BHL 6663 and BHL 6575. The author of this prologue, then, could be perhaps identified with the Italian redactor who was responsible for the addition of the layer of excerpts to the two older narratives about Peter and Paul. Unfortunately, *Licet plurima* does not contain details which identify this Italian redactor or narrow down the time and place of the compilation.⁴²

To conclude, the analysis of the hypertextual material in the Acts of Peter and the Acts of Paul confirmed the existence of two layers of text that were integrated into one by an unknown, Italian redactor between the fifth and the ninth century. This redactor seems to have had a clear objective in mind when compiling the apocryphal texts. Particularly if *De exitu Herodis* may be linked with the same redaction, we see here someone who is emphasizing Peter's supremacy as the head of the Church and the continuity of the papal authority invested onto Clement, Peter's successor, while omitting Peter's negative depictions in the Gospels. At the same time, Herod is depicted as punished for interfering with the apostles, a monarch disrespecting the supremacy of the Church. The collection, then, can be seen as containing a subtle ideological message. One way how to view this rewriting could be in the context of the struggle between the papacy and the Lombard kings in the eighth century. We know that popes were applying for Frankish support during the period and exploited the cult of the Roman apostles, already popular in Frankish lands, to enlist their support.⁴³ The mission of Boniface in Bavaria and Francia was also used by popes to strengthen the ties with the Frankish kings and might provide the outlet via which the revised material entered Bavaria. Such hypotheses cannot be, however, substantiated on the basis of the analysis of the scriptural material alone and must be further tested by additional examination of the two Acts as well as the collection as a whole.

⁴² Although Rose points out that the prologue displays parallels with prologues to two other of the Apocryphal Acts, *Inclita sanctorum apostolorum trophea* to the Acts of Andrew (BHL 430), and *Beatum Thomam cum reliquis discipulis* to the Acts of Thomas (BHL 8140). These latter two have been connected with the person of Gregory of Tours, but this attribution was also challenged. Rose also points out that *Licet plurima* contains quotations from Ps 138, 17 just as the prologue to the fourth book of *De virtutibus sancti Martini* of Gregory of Tours; see ROSE, 'Virtutes apostolorum: origin, aim, and use', p. 77-78.

⁴³ T.F.X. NOBLE, *The Republic of St. Peter: the birth of the Papal State, 680-825*, Philadelphia, 1984, p. 41.

