The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew
Roig Lanzillotta, Fernando

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THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS OF ANDREW
A NEW APPROACH TO THE CHARACTER,
THOUGHT AND MEANING OF
THE PRIMITIVE TEXT

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van het doctoraat in de
Godgeleerdheid en Godsdienstwetenschap
aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
op gezag van de
Rector Magnificus, dr. F. Zwarts,
in het openbaar te verdedigen op
donderdag 4 november 2004
om 16.15 uur

door

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Prof. dr. A.J. Vanderjagt
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ABBREVIATIONS

Journals


Apocrypha Apocrypha: revue internationale des littératures apocryphes. Turnhout, Brepols.


Augustinianum Augustinianum. Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum.
Augustinus Augustinus: revista publicada por los Padres agustinos recoletos. Madrid.


CFC. egi Cuadernos de filología clásica: estudios griegos e indoeuropeos. Madrid, Universidad Complutense.


GV Geloof en Vrijheid: tweemaandelijksch tijdschrift. Rotterdam, D.J.P. Storm Lotz.

Habis Habis: publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla. Universidad de Sevilla.


HorSem Horae Semiticae. London, Clay and Sons.


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<td>SPP</td>
<td>Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde</td>
<td>Leipzig</td>
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<td>SROCr</td>
<td>Studi e Ricerche sull’Oriente cristiano</td>
<td>Rome, Tipur</td>
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<td>StPatri</td>
<td>Studia Patristica: Papers Presented to the International Conference on Patristic Studies</td>
<td>Berlin, Akademie-Verlag</td>
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<td>StudPhilon</td>
<td>The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism</td>
<td>Atlanta, Ga., Scholars Press</td>
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<td>ThLZ</td>
<td>Theologische Literaturzeitung</td>
<td>Leipzig, Hinrichs</td>
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<td>ThRev</td>
<td>Theologische Revue</td>
<td>Münster i.W., Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät der Universität</td>
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<td>ThRdschau</td>
<td>Theologische Rundschau</td>
<td>Freiburg i.Br., Mohr</td>
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<tr>
<td>VChr</td>
<td>Vigiliae Christianae: a Review of Early Christian Life and Language</td>
<td>Leiden, Brill</td>
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<tr>
<td>WS</td>
<td>Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für classische Philologie</td>
<td>Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</td>
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<tr>
<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</td>
<td>Wien, Verlag des Institutes für Orientalistik der Universität Wien</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZKG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</td>
<td>Gotha, Perthes</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZPhF</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung</td>
<td>Allgemeine Gesellschaft für Philosophie in Deutschland</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZNW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</td>
<td>Berlin, de Gruyter</td>
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**Series and Dictionaries**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>BKPh</td>
<td><em>Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie</em>. Meisenheim a. G., Hain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCSA</td>
<td><em>Corpus christianorum series apocryphorum</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCSL</td>
<td><em>Corpus christianorum series latina</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSEL</td>
<td><em>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</em>.</td>
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<td>PG</td>
<td><em>Patrologia graeca</em>.</td>
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<td>PL</td>
<td><em>Patrologia latina</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PO</td>
<td><em>Patrologia orientalis</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ThWNT</td>
<td>G. Kittel et al., <em>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ThRE</td>
<td>G. Krause and G. Müller, <em>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TU</td>
<td><em>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WF</td>
<td><em>Wege der Forschung</em>. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.</td>
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**Texts, Editions and Manuscripts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
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<tr>
<td>1GrEp</td>
<td>1 Greek Epistle. Greek transl. of <em>Passio sancti Andreae apostoli</em>, M. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2GrEp</td>
<td>2 Greek Epistle. Second Greek transl. of <em>Passio sancti Andreae apostoli</em> with interpolations, Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td><em>Acts of Andrew</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>AA’s fragment in V</td>
<td>Fragment of the <em>Acts of Andrew</em> in ms Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507'-512'</td>
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<tr>
<td>AAM</td>
<td><em>Acta Andreae et Matthiæ apud anthropophagos</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPe</td>
<td><em>Acts of Andrew and Peter</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>AJ</td>
<td><em>Acts of John</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>APe</td>
<td><em>Acts of Peter</em></td>
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<td>APPh</td>
<td><em>Acts of Philip</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>ATh</td>
<td><em>Acts of Thomas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>Papyrus Berolinensis Gnosticus 8502.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td><em>Martyrium of St. Andrew</em> in ms Ann Arbor 36, ff. 60'-66'</td>
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C.H. Corpus hermeticum.

Conversante Passio altera sancti Andreae apostoli, M. Bonnet, AB 13 (1894) 373-78.

Doxographi H. Diels, Doxographi graeci (Berlin, 1959 [1979]).


Epistle, LatEp Passio sancti Andreae apostoli, M. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.


Evodius I Evodius’ first fragment from AA in De fide contra Manichaeos 38.

Evodius II Evodius’ second fragment from AA in De fide contra Manichaeos 38.

H Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 103, ff. 155v-168v including the Martyrdom of Saint Andrew.


LXX Septuaginta

M Ms Montipessul. 55 (ap. Bonnet, AAA II/1, p. XI and 1-37).

Malt A Martyrium Andreae alterum A, Bonnet, AAA II/1, 58-64.

Malt B Martyrium Andreae alterum B, Bonnet, AAA II/1, 58-64.

Mpr Martyrium Andreae prius, Bonnet, AAA II/1, 46-57.


Narratio ‘Martyrium sancti apostoli Andreae’, M. Bonnet, AB 13 (1894) 353-72.

Nau Exemplum Nauseae (Coloniae, 1531, ap. Bonnet, AAA, p. XI and 1-37).

NHC Nag Hammadi Codices. The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity (Leiden, 1975-…)

NT New Testament

NTA E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung (Tübingen, 1959-64) and W. Schneemelcher, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung (Tübingen, 1989).


O Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaticus 30, ff. 154v-156v, including Malt A.

OT Old Testament

P Ms Parisinus graecus 770, ff. 43r-46v, including Malt A.

PCU1 Coptic fragment in Papyrus Copticus Utrecht 1

Plen P.len.649, including a fragment of the Coptic version of Andrew’s martyrdom.


Q Ms Parisinus gr. 1539, ff. 304r-305v including Malt B.

R Ms Parisinus 11748, including LatEp (ap. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37).

S Ms Sinaiticus gr. 526, ff. 121v-132v including the Martyrdom of Saint Andrew.


U Ms Parisinus 12601, including LatEp (ap. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37).

V Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507v-512r (manuscript reading).

Vb ‘Ex actis Andreae’, Bonnet’s edition of AA’s fragment in V (AAA II/1, 38-45).

Vp Prieur’s edition of V.

Vr Our edition of AA’s fragment in ms Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507v-512r.


VitaEsc Version of Vita in ms Escorial y II 6 (gr. 314), ff. 226v-246v.
VitaParis

Version of Vita in ms Paris BN gr. 1510, ff. 1r-19v.

X

Ms Parisinus 5273, including LatEp (ap. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37).

Other Abbreviations

AD  anno Domini
BC  before Christ
da  circa
cf  confer
cod  codex
ed  editor
eds  editors
f  following
ff  following (plural)
f  folio
ff  folios
fr.  fragment
ibid.  ibidem
ms  manuscript
mss  manuscripts
N.S.  New Series
p.  page
pp.  pages
s.v.  sub voce
scil.  scilicet
transl.  translation
XXI

INTRODUCTION

As is customary with the apocryphal Acts of Apostles in particular, and with many other Early Christian writings in general, we know very little about the time and place of composition of the Acts of Andrew, let alone its author or its original character and intention. In the case of the Acts of Andrew, however, our ignorance is aggravated by its scanty textual situation: less has been preserved of the primitive text than of any other of the five major apocryphal Acts.

Excluding a couple of short and fragmentary testimonies, AA survives in a large number of texts of various kinds, lengths and provenances, which allegedly transmit our text, but whose relationship with it is not always easy to establish. At the same time, many of these texts are also imperfect: a considerable number of them are fragmentary and the few cases that are handed down completely frequently present obvious traces of editorial activity. The most important problem posed by these sources, however, is the highly divergent nature of their accounts. According to some testimonies AA included both the peregrinations and the martyrdom of the apostle; according to others, in turn, it included the martyrdom with a couple of preliminary events only. But this is not all: the former sources present up to three different versions of Andrew’s itinerary, whereas the latter, even if in general preserving a common basic account, nevertheless show different intentions and pursue different goals. As a result of this textual situation, not only the author, place and time of composition of the Acts of Andrew are unknown, its literary genre, contents, length, thought and intention are still a matter of conjecture today as well.

The abundance of second-hand sources and, especially, the lack of old material to check their reliability, has produced a wide range of hypotheses on what the primitive text looked like as well as of interpretations concerning its mentality. As far as the primitive text is concerned, until the 1980s, scholars in general refrained from dubious textual reconstruction and attempted at the most to determine which of the testimonies was closest to the primitive text. As they were conscious of the equivocal character of our sources, investigators used to simply dispose the texts according to their hypothetical sequence in order to provide a tentative and general picture of what AA may have looked like.
The 1980s, however, saw a drastic change in investigations into the Acts of Andrew. The publication of a couple of new textual witnesses, some of which had already been known since the early twentieth century, seems to have encouraged scholars to radically change the previous careful approach towards the textual witnesses. Two editions, by J.M. Prieur and by D.R. MacDonald, followed each other and even though their methods, scopes and results are completely different, a common aim brings them close to each other: an attempt to provide, at whatever cost, a textual reconstruction of AA. Whereas documents used to be treated separately, analysed particularly and only then compared with one another in order to achieve an unbiased evaluation of the reliability of their accounts, now they are merged with one another, independently of their character and provenance, for the sake of the story’s completeness and linearity.

This new approach has advantages and disadvantages. As to the former, we may mention the fact that AA has reached a wider public, since it is now possible to read, depending on the edition, either a version of Andrew’s martyrdom or a version of the apostle’s travels. But this may also be a disadvantage: both editions clearly accept two of the literary genres attested by the textual witnesses as a reliable literary framework for AA, although we do not know whether either or both fitted the primitive text. However, the most important problem is, in our view, that these textual reconstructions are fallaciously presented to the reader as the primitive text for the section they cover. As a matter of fact, the analysis of most of the sources reveals clear traces of editorial activity, the measure of which is difficult to establish due to our lack of authoritative texts, but which in certain cases can be clearly evaluated on the basis of a comparative study of the materials. As far as the contents are concerned, these sources provide only the textual skeleton of the portion of text they transmit. Another important disadvantage is the heterogeneous character of the sources upon which these reconstructions rely. Due to their different provenance, time of composition, intention and character, they present such stylistic and conceptual differences that the resulting eclectic text resists a coherent study of the text as whole.

Despite the obvious problems posed by these textual reconstructions, scholarly research on AA in the last few years has confidently approached them as if they had reliably recovered the primitive text. As a result, in addition to a lack of interest in textual matters, there appears to be an increasing tendency to treat AA’s textual reconstruction as a textual whole and to analyse it as if we had a sort of textus receptus of AA. In our opinion, this attitude has already begun to negatively influence the research on AA. Given the wide range of texts – and the mentalities peculiar to them – that underlie these editions, the current
eclectic versions of AA seem to provide support for any interpretation of the primitive text whatsoever.

The present investigation is a critical approach both to the recent editions and to the latest developments in the research on AA. With the conviction that a text is not the sum of the events it narrates but rather the system of signs and symbols with which these events are narrated, it pays more attention to those texts that provide a glimpse into the symbolic and conceptual world of the text. Instead of focussing on the doubtful reconstruction of the itinerary and the stations of Andrew’s apostolic career, it intends to approach the message and intention of the primitive text by concentrating on the textual witnesses that are likely to preserve it in a more original state. Consequently, it deliberately intends to deconstruct the textual conglomerations achieved by merging witnesses of various provenances in order to isolate a testimony that, even if short, may provide access to the thought behind the primitive text. Admittedly, deciding which of the numerous and frequently second-hand materials on the apostle Andrew preserves the most primitive stage is not a simple matter. How can we decide what is old and what is new without a touchstone that proves it to be so? Much of our efforts will indeed be dedicated to an exhaustive analysis of the textual testimonies in order to find a clue that would allow an objective discrimination of the materials.

Within this scope, the investigation is divided into five chapters. In order to avoid subjectivisms as far as possible, the first chapter offers a complete analysis of the research on AA. In chronological order, we follow the developments, advances and relapses of scholarly research in order to see to what extent the theories and hypotheses put forward by scholars rely on an objective selection and analysis of the textual materials and whether their selections influence their analyses or vice versa. The closing section of this chapter offers an overview of the main lines of investigation on AA as well as of the text(s) used to support these investigations.

After the first approach to the textual witnesses in the first chapter, the second offers a more profound textual analysis of their testimonies. On the basis of their textual characteristics, we discriminate different textual groups and attempt to establish their mutual relationships. The comparative analysis of the different texts provides the basis both for a hypothetical sketch of the historical development of AA’s textual transmission and for a tentative explanation of its textual diversification. At the same time, this comparative analysis also allows us to isolate a text that may serve our intention to recover the symbolic and conceptual world of the primitive AA. Given the fact that a representative number of the textual testimonies appear to present transformed and revised versions of the account
preserved in one of our extant sources, it can be reliably assumed that this latter source preserves the ground text or, at least, the oldest stage of all of them.

The third chapter thus focuses on this text, viz. AA’s fragment in Codex Vaticanus graecus 808, and provides a codicological and palaeographical introduction, a re-edition of its testimony and an English translation accompanied by numerous explanatory notes. By isolating this testimony from the remaining texts we can focus on its conceptual peculiarities without the interference of the dubious readings proceeding from apparently later and reworked sources.

The fourth chapter further builds on the foundation provided by the re-edition and translation of the third chapter. A complete literary and conceptual analysis is now possible owing to the liberation of the text from the pressure of other testimonies. With regard to the former, it intends to disclose its complex literary structure and subtle conceptual developments in order to show that the text should not be seen as a careless product of a compiler or as a second or third-class composition. With regard to the latter, it aims firstly to show that the long discourses in the text should not be seen as ‘tedious’ or verbose but empty expositions, but as essential elements in the complex structure of AA’s conception of man and his reality. Moreover, the interconnection and complementary character of the ideas expressed in these discourses and, especially, their conscious disposition in an organised whole reveal that their function is not merely literary but that they also intend to transmit a consistent body of thought and a clear message.

Finally, the fifth and last chapter offers a systematic analysis of AA’s thought on the basis of our previous study. The detailed review of AA’s position with regard to cosmology, theology, anthropology, epistemology and ethics allows the reader to see not only the extent to which our text presents an extremely coherent and consistent body of thought without serious internal contradictions, but also that this thought was not a strange phenomenon in late antiquity. The comparison of AA’s thought to parallel developments in its contemporary historical period reveals that far from being an alien in his world, its author was receptive to the religious and philosophical developments of his contemporaries and he did not hesitate to apply them to express his own Weltanschauung.