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The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew

Roig Lanzillotta, Fernando Lautaro

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RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN

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,
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door

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geboren op 16 januari 1967
te Buenos Aires, Argentinië

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ABBREVIATIONS

Journals

<i>AAWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana. Brussel, Société des Bollandistes.</i>
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philol.-hist. Klasse. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht</i>
<i>AHAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Heidelberg, Winter.</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Berlin, De Gruyter.</i>
<i>Antike</i>	<i>Die Antike. Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur des Klassischen Altertums. Berlin.</i>
<i>Apocrypha</i>	<i>Apocrypha: revue internationale des littératures apocryphes. Turnhout, Brepols.</i>
<i>APF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete. Leipzig, Teubner.</i>
<i>Arethusa</i>	<i>Arethusa: a Journal of the Wellsprings of Western Man. Buffalo, State University of New York.</i>
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia. Pisa.</i>
<i>Augustinianum</i>	<i>Augustinianum. Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum.</i>
<i>Augustinus</i>	<i>Augustinus: revista publicada por los Padres agustinos recoletos. Madrid.</i>
<i>BAISStP</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St- Pétersbourg. St.- Pétersbourg, Graff.</i>
<i>ByzZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Munich, Beck.</i>
<i>CFC: egi</i>	<i>Cuadernos de filología clásica: estudios griegos e indoeuropeos. Madrid, Universidad Complutense.</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly. Oxford, Oxford University Press.</i>
<i>DRu</i>	<i>Deutsche Rundschau. Berlin, J. Rodenberg (ed).</i>
<i>EAC</i>	<i>Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique / Fondation Hardt pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique. Geneva, Fondation Hardt.</i>
<i>Glotta</i>	<i>Glotta: Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.</i>
<i>Gnomon</i>	<i>Gnomon: kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.</i>
<i>Gregorianum</i>	<i>Gregorianum: commentarii de re theologica et philosophica. Roma, Pontificia Univ. Gregoriana.</i>
<i>GV</i>	<i>Geloof en Vrijheid: tweemaandelijksch tijdschrift. Rotterdam, D.J.P. Storm Lotz.</i>
<i>Habis</i>	<i>Habis: publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla. Universidad de Sevilla.</i>
<i>Hermes</i>	<i>Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.</i>
<i>HKZTLG</i>	<i>Handelingen van de Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis. Oudenaarde, Sanderus.</i>
<i>HorSem</i>	<i>Horae Semiticae. London, Clay and Sons.</i>
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review. New York, Harvard University Press.</i>
<i>ICS</i>	<i>Illinois Classical Studies. Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois Press.</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies. London, Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.</i>
<i>JPh</i>	<i>The Journal of Philosophy. New York, Journal of Philosophy Inc.</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies. London, Clarendon Press.</i>
<i>MH</i>	<i>Museum Helveticum: schweizerische Zeitschrift für klassische Altertumswissenschaft. Basel, Schwabe.</i>
<i>MIFAOcaire</i>	<i>Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. S.l., Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.</i>
<i>Millennium</i>	<i>Millennium: tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse studies. Nijmegen, Stichting Millennium.</i>
<i>Mind</i>	<i>Mind: a Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy. Edinburgh, Nelson.</i>

MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i> . Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Mnemosyne	<i>Mnemosyne: a Journal of Classical Studies</i> . Leiden, Brill.
MKNAW	<i>Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde</i> . Amsterdam, Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij.
Muséon	<i>Le Muséon: revue d'études orientales</i> . Louvain, Ista.
NAWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> . Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
NHPh	<i>Neue Hefte für Philosophie</i> . Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
NTest	<i>Novum Testamentum: an International Quarterly for New Testament and Related Studies based on International Cooperation</i> . Leiden, Brill.
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i> . Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Philologus	<i>Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum</i> . Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
RBen	<i>Revue Bénédictine de critique, d'histoire et de littérature religieuses</i> . Brussel, Abbaye de Maredsous.
REA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i> . Talence, Domaine Univ., Sect. d'Histoire.
REAug	<i>Revue des études Augustiniennes</i> . Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
REG	<i>Revue des études grecques: publication trimestrielle de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Etudes Grecques</i> . Paris, Leroux.
RHLR	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses</i> . Paris, Emile Nourry.
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i> . Bonn, Eduard Weber.
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i> . Paris, Leroux.
RPh	<i>Revue de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes</i> . Paris, Klincksieck.
RPhA	<i>Revue de philosophie ancienne</i> . Brussel, Ousia.
RPhilos	<i>Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger</i> . Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
RSI	<i>Rivista Storica Italiana</i> . Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.
SAWW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Klasse</i> . Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Scriptorium	<i>Scriptorium: revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits</i> . Gand, Story-Scientia.
Semeia	<i>Semeia: an Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism</i> . Missoula, MT, Scholars Press.
SMR	<i>Studia Montis Regii</i> . Montreal.
SO	<i>Symbolae osloenses</i> , auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latinae ediderunt S. Eitrem et G. Rudberg. Christianiae.
SPP	<i>Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde</i> . Leipzig.
SROrCr	<i>Studi e Ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano</i> . Rome, Tipur.
StPatrist	<i>Studia Patristica: Papers Presented to the International Conference on Patristic Studies</i> . Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
StudPhilon	<i>The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism</i> . Atlanta, Ga., Scholars Press.
ThLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i> . Leipzig, Hinrichs.
ThRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i> . Münster i.W., Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät der Universität.
ThRdschau	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i> . Freiburg i.Br., Mohr.
Traditio	<i>Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion</i> . New York, Fordham University Press.
VChr	<i>Vigiliae Christianae: a Review of Early Christian Life and Language</i> . Leiden, Brill.
WS	<i>Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für classische Philologie</i> . Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> . Wien, Verlag des Institutes für Orientalistik der Universität Wien.
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i> . Gotha, Perthes.
ZPhF	<i>Zeitschrift für Philosophische Forschung</i> . Allgemeine Gesellschaft für Philosophie in Deutschland. Meisenheim a. Gl., Anton Hain.
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i> . Berlin, de Gruyter.

- ZRGG *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte: Journal of Religious and Intellectual History.* Leiden, Brill.
 ZThK *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.* Freiburg i.B., Mohr.

Series and Dictionaries

- Armstrong, *History* A.H. Armstrong (ed), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967).
 BKPh *Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie.* Meisenheim a. G., Hain.
 CCSA *Corpus christianorum series apocryphorum.*
 CCSL *Corpus christianorum series latina.*
 CSEL *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.*
 Demetrakos *D. Demetrakou, Mega lexikon holés tés Hellênikés glóssés* (Athens, 1949-51).
 Demetrakos² *D. Demetrakou, Neon lexikon orthografikon kai hermêneutikon holés tés Hellênikés glóssés* (Athens, 1964).
 Jannaris A.N. Jannaris, *A Historical Greek Grammar. Chiefly of the Attic Dialect* (London, 1897).
 Kühner-Gerth R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1983 [Repr. Hannover and Leipzig 1904]).
 LSJM H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, S. Jones, R. McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1996).
 OCA *Orientalia christiana analecta.* Roma, Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium.
 PG *Patrologia graeca.*
 PL *Patrologia latina.*
 PO *Patrologia orientalis.*
 RE A.F. von Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll et al., *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
 SBL *Society of Biblical Literature. Seminar Papers Series.* Missoula (MT), Scholars Press.
 ThWNT G. Kittel et al., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.*
 ThRE G. Krause and G. Müller, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie.*
 TU *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.*
 WF *Wege der Forschung.* Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Texts, Editions and Manuscripts

- 1GrEp *1 Greek Epistle.* Greek transl. of *Passio sancti Andreae apostoli*, M. Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.
 2GrEp *2 Greek Epistle.* Second Greek transl. of *Passio sancti Andreae apostoli* with interpolations, Bonnet, AAA II/1, 1-37.
 AA *Acts of Andrew*
 AA's fragment in V Fragment of the *Acts of Andrew* in ms Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507^r-512^v.
 AAA M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II/1 (Leipzig, 1898).
 AAgr J.M. Prieur's textual reconstruction of AA, *Acta Andreae* (Turnhout, 1989) 442-549.
 AAM *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos*
 AAPe *Acts of Andrew and Peter*
 AJ *Acts of John*
 APe *Acts of Peter*
 APh *Acts of Philip*
 Arm *Armenian passion of St. Andrew*, L. Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres* I (Turnhout, 1986) 228-257.
 ATh *Acts of Thomas*
 BG Papyrus Berolinensis Gnosticus 8502.
 C *Martyrium of St. Andrew* in ms Ann Arbor 36, ff. 60^v-66^v.

Č	Ch. Tchékarian's Armenian edition of the <i>Armenian passion of St. Andrew, Ankanon Girk' arak'elakank' [Non-Canonical Apostolic Writings. Armenian Treasury of Ancient and Recent Texts 3]</i> (Venice, 1904) 146-67.
C.H.	<i>Corpus hermeticum</i> .
Conversante	<i>Passio altera sancti Andreae apostoli</i> , M. Bonnet, <i>AB</i> 13 (1894) 373-78.
Doxographi	H. Diels, <i>Doxographi graeci</i> (Berlin, ³ 1959 [1979]).
D-K	H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker: Griechisch und Deutsch</i> (Berlin, ⁶ 1974).
Epistle, LatEp	<i>Passio sancti Andreae apostoli</i> , M. Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37.
Epitome	M. Bonnet, 'Georgii Florentii Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis liber de miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli', in B. Krusch (ed), <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum merovingicarum</i> I/2 (Hannover, 1969) 371-96 [Reprint of Hannover, 1885].
Evodius I	Evodius' first fragment from <i>AA</i> in <i>De fide contra Manichaeos</i> 38.
Evodius II	Evodius' second fragment from <i>AA</i> in <i>De fide contra Manichaeos</i> 38.
H	Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 103, ff. 155 ^r -168 ^v including the <i>Martyrdom of Saint Andrew</i> .
Laudatio	'Acta Andreae apostoli cum laudatione contexta', M. Bonnet, <i>AB</i> 13 (1894) 309-52.
LXX	Septuaginta
M	Ms Montipessul. 55 (<i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, p. XI and 1-37).
Malt A	<i>Martyrium Andreae alterum</i> A, Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 58-64.
Malt B	<i>Martyrium Andreae alterum</i> B, Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 58-64.
Mpr	<i>Martyrium Andreae prius</i> , Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 46-57.
N-F	A.D. Nock and A.J. Festugière, <i>Corpus Hermeticum. I: Traités I-XII. T; II: Traités XIII-XVIII; Asclépius</i> (Paris, ² 1960).
Narratio	'Martyrium sancti apostoli Andreae', M. Bonnet, <i>AB</i> 13 (1894) 353-72.
Nau	<i>Exemplum Nauseae</i> (Coloniae, 1531, <i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> , p. XI and 1-37).
NHC	<i>Nag Hammadi Codices</i> . The Institute for Antiquity and Christianity (Leiden, 1975-...)
NT	New Testament
NTA	E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> (Tübingen, 1959-64) and W. Schneemelcher, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> (Tübingen, 1989).
NTAE	English translation of <i>NTA</i> , W. Schneemelcher, <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> , Engl. transl. ed. by R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge, 1991-92).
O	Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 30, ff. 154 ^v -156 ^v , including <i>Malt</i> A.
OT	Old Testament
P	Ms Parisinus graecus 770, ff. 43 ^v -46 ^r , including <i>Malt</i> A..
PCU1	Coptic fragment in Papyrus Copticus Utrecht 1
PIen	P.Ien.649, including a fragment of the Coptic version of Andrew's martyrdom.
Psalter I	Alleged <i>AA</i> 's fragment in C.R.C. Allberry, <i>Manichaeae Psalm-book</i> , 142.20-21.
Psalter II	Alleged <i>AA</i> 's fragment in Allberry, <i>Manichaeae Psalm-book</i> , 143.13-14.
Psalter III	Alleged <i>AA</i> 's fragment in Allberry, <i>Manichaeae Psalm-book</i> , 192.26-28.
Q	Ms Parisinus gr. 1539, ff. 304 ^r -305 ^v including <i>Malt</i> B.
R	Ms Parisinus 11748, including <i>LatEp</i> (<i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37).
S	Ms Sinaiticus gr. 526, ff. 121 ^v -132 ^v including the <i>Martyrdom of Saint Andrew</i> .
SVF	H.F. v. Arnim, <i>Stoicorum veterum fragmenta</i> (Leipzig, 1921-24).
U	Ms Parisinus 12601, including <i>LatEp</i> (<i>ap.</i> Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37).
V	Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507 ^r -512 ^v (manuscript reading).
V ^b	'Ex actis Andreae', Bonnet's edition of <i>AA</i> 's fragment in V (<i>AAA</i> II/1, 38-45).
V ^p	Prieur's edition of V.
V ^r	Our edition of <i>AA</i> 's fragment in ms Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507 ^r -512 ^v .
Vita	A. Dressel's edition of Epiphanius' <i>Vita Andreae, Epiphanius monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita</i> (Paris /Leipzig, 1843).
VitaEsc	Version of <i>Vita</i> in ms Escorial y II 6 (gr. 314), ff. 226 ^v -246 ^r .

VitaParis
X

Version of *Vita* in ms Paris BN gr. 1510, ff. 1^r-19^v.
Ms Parisinus 5273, including *LatEp* (*ap.* Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 1-37).

Other Abbreviations

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

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*.

CHAPTER I: TEXTUAL WITNESSES AND RESEARCH ON *ACTA ANDREAE*

Even though we know very little about the primitive *Acts of Andrew (AA)*, a large number of texts have been preserved by textual transmission which truly or falsely claim to be accounts based on original material or which are interpreted as such by the scholarly literature. These texts differ so much from each other that an objective preliminary classification can only be done on the basis of the sections of the primitive text that they allegedly preserve. We therefore provide a tentative classification of the material on the basis of their contents, leaving for the second chapter the attempt to achieve a more consistent organisation on the basis of their textual characteristics and, if any, of their textual relationships.

1. Classification of the Textual Witnesses Related to the Apostle Andrew

1.1. Direct Transmission

A. Material Including the Apocryphon of Andrew and Matthias

A.1. Greek Material

Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos (AAM). Edited by Bonnet from numerous mss of the 9th-16th centuries¹. It includes Andrew's adventures in the city of the Cannibals.

A.2. Latin Material

A.2.1. Recensio Casanatensis. Latin version of *AAM* in ms Casanatensis 1104, 12th c., ff. 26^r-43^r². This corresponds with the Greek *AAM* (cf. A.1).

A.2.2. Recensio Vaticana in ms Vaticanus lat. 1274, 10th-11th c., ff. 119^v-160^r³. Rhythmic version of a revised text of *AAM*.

A.3. Coptic Material

A.3.1. Coptic Fayyumic fragments 6-9 in ms Copt. Tischendorfianus VI⁴. According to Von Lemm, the text might depend upon a Sahidic translation of the Greek original.

A.3.2. Coptic Sahidic fragment in ms Vindobonensis K 9576, f. 75⁵. According to Lucchesi-Prieur it corresponds with the Greek *AAM* 10-13 (cf. A.1). This text might be the Sahidic source postulated by Von Lemm for the Fayyumic text (cf. A.3.1)⁶.

¹ M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II/1 (Leipzig, 1898) 65-127.

² F. Blatt, *Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der 'Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos'* (Giessen, 1930) 32-95. See also B. Löfstedt, 'Zu den lateinischen Bearbeitungen des *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos*', *Habis* 6 (1975) 167-76; J. Gil, 'Sobre el texto de los *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos*', *Habis* 6 (1975) 177-94.

³ Blatt, *Bearbeitungen*, 96-148.

⁴ O. von Lemm, 'Koptische apokryphe Apostelacten', *BAISStP* N.S. 1 [33] (1890) 558-76.

A.3.3. Coptic fragment in Papyrus Copt. Amherst-Morgan 14 published and translated by W.E. Crum⁷. According to the editor, the text of the papyrus corresponds with the beginning of the Greek *AAM*⁸.

A.4. Armenian Material

A.4.1. Long Armenian version of *AAM*. Edited by C. Tchékarian on the basis of four mss, Venice 653, 239, 812 and 731⁹. According to Leloir this text depends on the Syriac version (cf. A.6)¹⁰.

A.4.2. Short Armenian version. Edited by Tchékarian on the basis of ms Venice 1447¹¹. This text presents a resumed version of *AAM*, which does not depend on the longer one, however, but rather on another text that was closer to the Greek original¹².

A.5. Ethiopic Material

A.5.1. *The Preaching of Saint Matthias in the City of the Cannibals*, preserved in mss Br. Mus. Or. 678, ff. 100a-108b and Br. Mus. Or. 683, ff. 210b-218b¹³. Short version of *AAM*. According to Von Lemm this version depends on the Arabic version (cf. *infra* A.7).

A.5.2. *The Preaching of Saint Matthias*, preserved in mss Br. Mus. Or. 678, ff. 138a-151b and Br. Mus. Or. 683, ff. 118b-131b¹⁴. Long version. This version is closer than the former to the Greek *AAM* (cf. *supra* A.1).

⁵ First edited by C. Wessely, *SPP* 18 (1917) 72-73. Reprinted and translated by E. Lucchesi and J.M. Prieur, 'Fragments coptes des Actes d'André et Matthias et d'André et Barthélemy', *AB* 96 (1978) 339-50.

⁶ Lucchesi-Prieur, 'Fragments Coptes', 340.

⁷ W.E. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri* (Oxford, 1913) 64-65. Further, Lucchesi-Prieur 'Fragments Coptes', 348f.

⁸ Lucchesi-Prieur, 'Fragments Coptes', 341, however, think that the fragment presents similarities with an episode of the *Acts of Andrew and Bartholomew*, preserved completely in Arabic and Ethiopic and fragmentarily in Coptic and in Greek. If they are right, the possibility that the text of papyrus Amherst-Morgan 14 corresponds with this text cannot be ruled out.

⁹ C. Tchékarian, *Ankanon Girk' arak'elakank' [Non-Canonical Apostolic Writings. Armenian Treasury of Ancient and Recent Texts 3]* (Venice, 1904) 146-67. Translated into French by L. Leloir, *Écrits Apocryphes sur les Apôtres. Traduction de l'édition arménienne de Venise. I: Pierre, Paul, André, Jacques, Jean* (Turnhout, 1986) 205-27.

¹⁰ On the relationship between the Syriac and Armenian versions, see L. Leloir, 'Rapports entre les versions arménienne et syriaque des Actes apocryphes des Apôtres', *OCA* 205 (*Symposium Syriacum* 1976) (Rome, 1978) 137-48. Further, Leloir, *Écrits*, 204.

¹¹ Tchékarian, *Armenian Treasury*, 168-73.

¹² See Leloir, *Écrits*, 258-59.

¹³ Edited by E.A.W. Budge under the title 'The Preaching of Saint Matthew (sic)', in Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles I. Ethiopic Texts* (London, 1899) 225-42. Translated into English by Budge under the title 'The Preaching of Saint Matthias in the City of Cannibals', in Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles II. The English Translations* (London, 1901) 267-88. According to Budge (*Contendings* I, VII-VIII), the first translation into English by S.C. Malan (*The Conflicts of the Apostles, an Apocryphal Book of Early Eastern Church* [London, 1871] 147-63) was made 'from a faulty, paper ms'.

¹⁴ Edited by Budge under the title 'The Acts of Saints Matthias and Andrew', in Budge, *Contendings* I, 307-35. Translated into English by Budge under the title 'The Preaching of Saint Matthias', in Budge, *Contendings* II, 370-403.

A.6. Syriac Material

Syriac version of *AAM*, which, according to Von Lemm, depends upon the Arabic version¹⁵, although Lucchesi-Prieur disprove such a hypothesis¹⁶.

A.7. Arabic Material

Arabic translation of *AAM* depending, according to Von Lemm, on the Sahidic version (cf. *supra* A.3.2). Edited and translated by A. Smith Lewis¹⁷.

B. Material Including Andrew's Martyrdom Only

B.1. Greek Material

B.1.1. *Martyrium prius (Mpr)*. First edited by Bonnet from two mss, Vat. Gr. 807, 9th-10th c., and Petroburg. Caesareus gr. 94, 12th c.¹⁸. The text begins with the allotment of apostolic fields and the assignation of Myrmenis to Matthias, and of Bithynia, Lacedaemonia, and Achaia to Andrew. Despite its strong revision and recast of the primitive account, *Mpr* derives from a lengthier version of Andrew's martyrdom that began with Andrew's arrival at Patras. Consequently it provides additional information about the events preceding Aegeates' return from Rome¹⁹.

B.1.2. *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* preserved in two mss, namely Sinaiticus gr. 526, 10th c., ff. 121^v-132^v (S) and Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 103, 12th c., ff. 155^r-168^v (H)²⁰. This version includes the events in Patras after Aegeates' return from Rome. It presents a rather revised but longer version of the last section of *AA*²¹.

B.1.3. *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* in ms Ann Arbor 36, 14th-15th c., ff. 60^v-66^v (C). This text is unpublished²². It covers the very last section of the martyrdom and begins at the same point as other versions of the martyrdom (see *infra* B.1.4 and B.1.5). It presents an abbreviated account of a short version of the martyrdom²³.

¹⁵ W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles I* (London, 1871) 102-26. English translation, Wright, 'The History of Mār Matthew and Mār Andrew, the Blessed Apostles, when they converted the City of Dogs, the inhabitants of which were cannibals', in *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles II*. English Translations (London, 1871) 93-115.

¹⁶ Lucchesi-Prieur, 'Fragments Coptes', 340 note 1.

¹⁷ A. Smith Lewis, 'Acta mythologica apostolorum', *HorSem* 3 (1904) 109-18. English translation, id., 'The Mythological Acts of the Apostles', *HorSem* 4 (1904) 126-36.

¹⁸ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 46-57. Re-edited by J.M. Prieur, *Acta Andreae* (Turnhout, 1989) 672-703.

¹⁹ On *Mpr* see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 77 and 98-104.

²⁰ First identified by A. Ehrhard, 'Review Flamion', *ByzZ* 21 (1912) 516-18. First edited in an inferior edition by T. Detorakis, 'Ἡσπουβὴ καὶ ἡ ἀφῆσις ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἑβδαμῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν τῆς ἐπιπέρας τῆς ἑβδομῆς', *Second International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies I* (Athens, 1981-82) 325-52. Collated together with other testimonies by Prieur, *Acta*, 441-549.

²¹ On this version of the martyrdom, see *infra*, Chapter 2, pp. 77-78, 88-90, 104-09.

²² Collated by Prieur, *Acta*, 507-49, for the martyrdom.

²³ On ms Ann Arbor 36, see S. de Ricci and W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada II* (New York, 1961) 1110. See also *infra*, Chapter 2, pp. 75 and 113-14.

B.1.4. *Martyrium alterum A (Malt A)*. This text is preserved by two mss, Parisinus graecus 770, a. 1315, ff. 43^v-46^r (P)²⁴ and Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 30, 10th-11th c., ff. 154^v-156^v (O)²⁵. It includes a short version of the last section of *AA*²⁶.

B.1.5. *Martyrium alterum B (Malt B)* in ms Parisinus graecus 1539, 10th-11th c., ff. 304^r-305^v (Q)²⁷. This document covers approximately the same portion of text as *Malt A*, but proceeds from a different recension of the martyrdom²⁸.

B.1.6. *Greek Epistle*. Two independent Greek translations of the *Passio sancti Andreae apostoli* (cf. *infra* B.2.1). The first Greek recension (*1GrEp*), edited from mss of the 11th-16th c., is a simple translation of the Latin text²⁹. The second one (*2GrEp*), edited from mss of the 10th-16th c., interpolates readings proceeding from a fuller version of the martyrdom³⁰.

B.2. Latin Material

B.2.1. *Passio sancti Andreae apostoli (= Latin Epistle, LatEp)*³¹. Chapters 1-9 are an original composition without any parallel in the primitive Acts. By contrast, chapters 10-15 depend on a recension of the martyrdom. Its composition has been dated to the sixth century³², although Bonnet's edition relies on mss going back to the eighth/ twelfth centuries.

B.2.2. *Passio altera sancti Andreae apostoli (Conversante)* was probably composed in the sixth century and was first edited by Bonnet from four mss dating to the ninth/ twelfth centuries³³. As Bonnet already pointed out, *Conversante* is an interesting testimony that preserves elements from the ancient Acts, as its contacts with *AA*'s fragment in cod. Vat gr. 808 (cf. *infra* D.1.1) and *2GrEp* clearly show³⁴.

B.3. Coptic Material

²⁴ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 58-64.

²⁵ Collated by Prieur, *Acta*, 507-49, for the martyrdom, but already identified by E. Hennecke, *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1904) 544-62 at 545 and later by A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche I* (Leipzig, 1937) 168.

²⁶ On this version of the martyrdom, see *infra*, Chapter 2, pp. 75-76 and 112-13.

²⁷ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 58-64.

²⁸ On this version, see *infra*, Chapter 2, pp. 75-76 and 112-13.

²⁹ M. Bonnet, 'La passion d'André en quelle langue a-t-elle été écrite?', *ByzZ* 3 (1894) 458-69.

³⁰ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 1-37. These interpolations appear in his edition conveniently highlighted and in parenthesis. See in general *infra* p. 74-75 and for *2GrEp infra*, Chapter 2, pp. 106-109.

³¹ Bonnet *AAA* II/1, 1-37.

³² Bonnet, 'La passion d'André', 459. Further, J. Flamion, *Les Actes Apocryphes de l'Apôtre André. Les Actes d'André et de Matthias, de Pierre et d'André et les textes apparentés* (Louvain, 1911) 3-43. See *infra* Chapter 2, p. 74-75.

³³ M. Bonnet, 'Passio sancti Andreae apostoli', *AB* 13 (1894) 373-78.

³⁴ On this text, see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 74, 90f, 112f.

Coptic fragment of Andrew's martyrdom in P. Ien. 649 (PIen)³⁵. This fragment, preserved on the recto and verso of a parchment folio, dated to the fourth or fifth centuries, presents the Coptic translation of the first lines of a short version of Andrew's martyrdom as preserved by other Greek textual witnesses, such as C, *Malt* A and B³⁶.

B.4. Armenian Material

Armenian passion (*Arm*). This revised version of the martyrdom, which was probably made in the sixth or seventh centuries, was first edited by Tchékarian from three mss, namely Venice 653, 731 and 463³⁷. It begins at the same point as *Conversante*, namely with the second speech to the brethren, which we know from codex Vat. gr. 808 (cf. *infra* D.1.1), and ends as the other martyria³⁸.

C. Material Including Andrew's Peregrinations and Martyrdom

C.1. Latin Material

Gregory of Tours' *Liber de miraculis Beati Andreae apostoli (Epitome)*³⁹, written at the end of the sixth century. Its first chapter includes a version of the episode about Andrew rescuing Matthias from prison (cf. *supra* A.1). It offers a rather lengthy version of Andrew's peregrinations with occasional contacts with *Laudatio* (cf. *infra* C.2.2), *Vita* (cf. *infra* C.2.3) and *Narratio* (cf. *infra* C.2.1) and a very abridged account of the events in Patras⁴⁰. It ends with a brief reference to Andrew's crucifixion.

C.2. Greek Material

C.2.1. *Narratio* was edited by Bonnet from four mss of the tenth/ eleventh centuries⁴¹. Its composition is usually dated to the eighth century⁴². It presents a comprehensive account of Andrew's peregrinations and martyrdom. Its first part has a highly divergent account of Andrew's peregrinations with only sporadic contacts with the

³⁵ T.S. Richter, 'P.Ien.inv. 649. Ein Splitter vom koptischen Text der Acta Andreae', *APF* 44 (1998) 275-84.

³⁶ See *infra* this Chapter, pp. 43 and 76.

³⁷ First edited by Tchékarian, *Armenian Treasury*, 146-67. French translation, Leloir, *Écrits*, 232-57. V. Calzolari is currently working on a new edition of *Arm* that will be based on the testimony of fourteen new manuscripts.

³⁸ On *Arm*, see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 76, 92-94, 112f.

³⁹ M. Bonnet, 'Georgii Florentii Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis liber de miraculis Beati Andreae Apostoli', in B. Krusch (ed), *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* I/2 (Hannover, 1969) 371-96 [Reprint of Hannover, 1885].

⁴⁰ On *Epitome*'s version, see *infra* pp. 80f. On its relationship with other texts *infra* pp. 96-103.

⁴¹ Edited by M. Bonnet, 'Martyrium sancti apostoli Andreae', *AB* 13 (1894) 353-72. Bonnet first called it 'martyrium', see his *praefatio* to *AAA* II/1, XIV.

⁴² See F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge (MA), 1958) 172-73. On the issue, see *infra* pp. 81f and note 67 to Chapter 2. Prieur (*Acta*, 121), following Flamion (*L'Apôtre*, 68), dates it to the ninth century.

extant textual witnesses⁴³. Its second part, in turn, presents numerous contacts with the extant witnesses, especially with *AA*'s fragment in codex Vat. gr. 808 (cf. *infra* D.1.1), H/S, but also with *Malt* and *2GrEp*⁴⁴.

C.2.2. *Laudatio*. Edited by Bonnet from three mss of the 11th-12th centuries⁴⁵. *Laudatio* offers a comprehensive relation of Andrew's peregrinations and martyrdom. Its first part includes the episode of Andrew and Matthias and presents a version of Andrew's peregrinations close to that of *Vita*, which seems to imply that for this section they rely on a common source⁴⁶. Andrew's martyrdom in *Laudatio* includes many primitive issues and has contacts with *Mpr*, H/S, *2GrEp*, *Vita* in ms Escorial y II 6 (cf. *infra* C.2.3) and *Arm* (cf. *supra* B.4)⁴⁷.

C.2.3. *Vita Andreae* by the monk Epiphanius (*Vita*)⁴⁸. *Vita* is a comprehensive account of Andrew's peregrinations and martyrdom. Regrettably, the only available edition by Dressel relies on a very deficient manuscript (Vaticanus gr. 824, 11th c., ff. 105^v-128^r), which includes numerous textual corruptions in its first part and lacks its own version of the second part. From *Vita* 249 D onwards the text follows *Narratio*'s account of the martyrdom⁴⁹. *Vita* is also preserved in two unpublished mss, namely mss Paris BN gr. 1510, 11th c., ff. 1^r-19^v (*VitaParis*) and Escorial y II 6 (gr. 314), 12th c., ff. 226^v-246^r (*VitaEsc*)⁵⁰. Whereas the former has a brief end, the latter presents a martyrdom that follows the plan of the primitive one and shows similarities with *Laudatio* (cf. *supra* C.2.2)⁵¹.

D. Other Material

D.1. Greek Material

D.1.1. Fragment 'ex actis Andreae' in ms Vaticanus graecus 808, 10th-11th c., ff. 507^r-512^v (V)⁵². This is plausibly a fragment of the primitive Acts that includes Andrew's four

⁴³ See *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 81f.

⁴⁴ On *Narratio*'s contacts with the remaining extant witnesses, see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 87f and 104-06.

⁴⁵ M. Bonnet, 'Acta Andreae apostoli cum laudatione contexta', *AB* 13 (1894) 309-52.

⁴⁶ See *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 82f.

⁴⁷ On *Laudatio*'s textual relationships, see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 91 and 98-104.

⁴⁸ A. Dressel, 'Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri de vita et actibus et morte sancti, et plane laudandi, et primi vocati inter alios apostolos Andreae', in *Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita* (Paris/ Leipzig, 1843) 45-82 [*PG* 120, col. 216-60].

⁴⁹ See *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 83f.

⁵⁰ Both mss were already known to Bonnet, *Laudatio*, 310. It must be noted that the reference to this manuscript in most recent studies is wrongly given as Escorial Y II 6 [gr. 261] (so, for example Prieur, *Acta*, 19 and M. Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Noui Testamenti* (Turnhout, 1992) § 233) instead of Escorial y II 6 [gr. 314].

⁵¹ On *Vita*'s textual relationships with other testimonies, see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 98-104.

⁵² M. Bonnet, 'Ex actis Andreae', *AAA* II/1, 38-45. See also *ibid.*, p. XIV.

speeches while in prison. These discourses provide essential information for the analysis of *AA*'s tenor and character⁵³.

D.1.2. Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 851⁵⁴. Some lines of text that Flamion and Prieur relate to *AA*⁵⁵.

D.2. Coptic Material

D.2.1. Coptic fragment in Papyrus Copt. Utrecht 1 (PCU 1), 4th century⁵⁶. The fragment presumably occupied pages 1 to 15 of the ms. The first 8 pages are lost and the extant text begins on page 9. Pages 11 and 12 are missing as well. Consequently, the Coptic fragment in PCU 1 consists today of 5 pages (9, 10, 13, 14, 15) and contains one single episode of Andrew's peregrinations.

D.2.2. Papyrus Copt. Bodleian 103. Two folio lacunose fragment of a dialogue between Jesus and Andrew, which its editor and H. Chadwick relate to *AA*⁵⁷.

1.2. Indirect Transmission

Besides the textual witnesses of the direct transmission, we also have a certain number of testimonies proceeding from commentaries, periphrases or passing references to *AA*.

1.2.1. Certain Fragments

A. Evodius from Uzalum (Evodius I). The fragment proceeds from *De fide contra Manichaeos* 38⁵⁸ and has a parallel in S (125^f ff) and H (159^fff). It narrates how Maximilla is substituted by her servant Euclia in her conjugal bed.

B. Evodius from Uzalum (Evodius II). A second fragment from Evodius proceeds from the same text as the previous fragment and refers to a *puerulus speciosus* who imitates the voices of Maximilla and Iphidama in order to prevent Aegeates from discovering that they are with Andrew⁵⁹.

⁵³ On V's relationship with the extant textual witnesses, see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 84f and 887-95 and 130.

⁵⁴ B.P. Grenfell-A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* VI (London, 1908) 18-19.

⁵⁵ Flamion, *L'Apôtre André*, 250; Prieur, *Acta*, 28-29.

⁵⁶ *Editio princeps* by R. van den Broek and French translation by Prieur, 'Édition du texte copte', in Prieur, *Acta*, 652-671. English translation and commentary by G. Quispel, 'An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew', *VC* 10 (1956) 129-48.

⁵⁷ J. Barns, 'A Coptic Apocryphal Fragment in the Bodleian Library', *JThS* NS 11 (1960) 70-76.

⁵⁸ Evodius, *De fide c. Manich.* 38 (CSEL 25.2, p. 968.24-31): *Adtendite in actibus Leuci, quos sub nomine apostolorum scribit, qualia sint quae accipitis de Maximilla uxore Egetis. quae cum nollet marito debitum reddere, cum apostolus dixerit: uxori uir debitum reddat, similiter et uxor uiro, illa subposuerit marito suo ancillam suam, Eucliam nomine, exornans eam, sicut ibi scriptum est, aduersariis lenociniis et fucationibus et eam nocte pro se uicariam subponens, ut ille nesciens cum ea tamquam cum uxore concumberet.*

⁵⁹ Evodius, *De fide c. Manich.* 38 (CSEL 25.2, p. 968.31-969.6): *ibi etiam scriptum est, quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia simul issent ad audiendum apostolum Andream, puerulus quidam speciosus, quem uult Leucius uel deum uel certe angelum intellegi, commendauerit eas Andreae apostolo et perrexit ad praetorium Egetis et ingressus cubiculum eorum finxerit uocem muliebrem quasi Maximillae murmurantis de doloribus sexus feminei et Iphidamiae respondentis. quae colloquia cum audisset Egetes credens eas ibi esse discesserat.*

2. Research on AA

Before beginning our study of the research on AA, here, for the sake of clarity, is an alphabetical list including the abbreviations of the main textual witnesses that appear in the following pages.

AA's fragment in V:	Fragment 'ex actis Andreae' in Codex Vaticanus graecus 808 ⁶⁶ .
Arm:	Armenian passion ⁶⁷ .
C :	Martyrdom of St. Andrew in ms Ann Arbor 36 ⁶⁸
Conversante:	Passio altera sancti Andreae apostoli ⁶⁹ .
Epistle:	Passio sancti Andreae apostoli, of which we possess three versions:
LatEp:	Latin version ⁷⁰ .
1GrEp:	Greek translation of <i>LatEp</i> ⁷¹ .
2GrEp:	Greek translation of <i>LatEp</i> with interpolations ⁷² .
Epitome:	<i>Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli</i> by Gregory of Tours ⁷³ .
H:	Martyrdom of St. Andrew, preserved in ms Hierosol. Sab. 103 ⁷⁴ .
Laudatio:	<i>Acta Andreae apostoli cum laudatione contexta</i> ⁷⁵ .
Malt A:	Martyrium alterum A, martyrdom of St. Andrew ⁷⁶ .
Malt B:	Martyrium alterum B, martyrdom of St. Andrew ⁷⁷ .
Mpr:	Martyrium prius ⁷⁸ .
Narratio:	Martyrium sancti Andreae apostoli ⁷⁹ .
PCU 1:	Coptic fragment in Papyrus Copt. Utrecht 1 ⁸⁰ .
PIen:	Fragment of the Coptic translation of Andrew's martyrdom in PIen 649 ⁸¹ .
S:	Martyrdom of St. Andrew preserved in ms Sinait. 526 ⁸² .
Vita Andreae:	Life of Andrew by Epiphanius Monachus, of which we possess three versions ⁸³ :
Vita:	Dressel's edition of <i>Vita Andreae</i> on the basis of Codex Vaticanus graecus 824.

⁶⁶ See *supra* § D.1.1, p. 6f. In order to facilitate the comparison of our results with those of other scholars, references to this text in the two first chapters follow Bonnet's edition (V^b). From chapter three onwards we follow our own re-edition (V^r).

⁶⁷ See *supra* § B.4, p. 5.

⁶⁸ See *supra* § B.1.3, p. 3.

⁶⁹ See *supra* § B.2.2, p. 4.

⁷⁰ See *supra* § B.2.1, p. 4.

⁷¹ See *supra* § B.1.6, p. 4.

⁷² See *supra* § B.1.6, p. 4.

⁷³ See *supra* § C.1, p. 5.

⁷⁴ See *supra* § B.1.2, p. 3.

⁷⁵ See *supra* § C.2.2, p. 6.

⁷⁶ See *supra* § B.1.4, p. 4.

⁷⁷ See *supra* § B.1.5, p. 4.

⁷⁸ See *supra* § B.1.1, p. 3.

⁷⁹ See *supra* § C.2.1, p. 5.

⁸⁰ See *supra* § D.2.1, p. 7.

⁸¹ See *supra* § B.3, p. 4f.

⁸² See *supra* § B.1.2, p. 3.

VitaEsc: Unpublished version of *Vita* in ms Escorial y II 6 (gr. 314).

VitaParis: Unpublished version of *Vita* in ms Paris BN 1510.

Our review of the research on *AA* begins with the monumental work by R.A. Lipsius⁸⁴. On the basis of the testimonies and materials collected by his predecessors and contemporaries, Lipsius attempted the first comprehensive, exhaustive and critical approach to the traditions about the apostle Andrew. Greek and Latin testimonies edited by J.A. Fabricius⁸⁵, K.C. Woog⁸⁶, C. Thilo⁸⁷, A. Dressel⁸⁸ and C. Tischendorf⁸⁹ are enriched with commentaries on many unpublished manuscripts and completed with references to Syriac, Ethiopic, Anglo-Saxon, Slavonic, Arabic and Coptic testimonies. This highly interesting and far-reaching study attempts not only to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of these diversified materials, but also to go beyond it by considering the different traditions that might have been combined in the ancient Acts.

At the time of this publication only a few texts had been published in their current definitive form. They are the following: *AAM* and *AAPe* in the editions by Tischendorf; *LatEp*⁹⁰, *1EpGr* and *2EpGr*⁹¹; *Epitome* and *Conversante* in Fabricius' edition of the third book of Pseudo-Abdias; *Vita* and the *ἰ ἀκ#β\αU* in the Greek menaeon by Symeon the Metaphrast⁹². However, other important unpublished documents were also accessible to Lipsius: *Laudatio* in mss Paris BN 1463 and Coisl. 105⁹³; *Vita Andreae* by Epiphanius in ms Paris BN 1510⁹⁴; *Narratio* in ms Paris BN 1485⁹⁵; *Mpr* in ms Vat. gr. 807⁹⁶ and *AA*'s fragment in V⁹⁷.

⁸³ See *supra* § C.2.3, p. 6.

⁸⁴ A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden. Ein Beitrag zur altchristlichen Literaturgeschichte* I (Braunschweig, 1883) 543-622 and *Ergänzungsheft* (Braunschweig, 1890) 28-31.

⁸⁵ J.A. Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Noui Testamenti collectus, castigatus, testimonisque, censuris et animadversionibus illustratus* (Hamburg, 1703). Second augmented edition 1719.

⁸⁶ *Presbyterorum et diaconorum Achaiae de martyrio S. Andreae apostoli epistola encyclica* (Leipzig, 1749).

⁸⁷ C. Thilo, 'Acta SS. apostolorum Andreae et Matthiae graece ex codd. Parisiensibus nunc primum edita', *Prog. acad. Halensis* (Halle, 1846) 1-30.

⁸⁸ A. Dressel, *Vita Andreae* by Epiphanius. See *supra* this Chapter, note 48.

⁸⁹ C. Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha* (Leipzig, 1851) and *Apocalypses apocryphae* (Leipzig, 1866).

⁹⁰ *LatEp* has been repeatedly published since the *editio princeps* by B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium* I (1476) 55-57.

⁹¹ Tischendorf, *Acta*, 105-31 and 132-66, respectively.

⁹² A. du Saussay, *Andreas frater Simonis Petri seu de gloria S. Andreae* (Paris, 1656) 309-28.

⁹³ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 184, 570ff.

⁹⁴ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 575 note 1. It was Lipsius and not Flamion, as Prieur (*Acta*, 133) seems to believe, who first realised the deficiency of ms Vat. gr. 824 and pointed out the errors in Dressel's edition. Moreover, as we will show below (p. 17), Flamion's suggestions on the textual relationship between *Laudatio* and *Vita* are mere speculations.

⁹⁵ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 548 and *Ergänzungsheft*, 12.

⁹⁶ Lipsius, *Ergänzungsheft*, 30. See next note.

⁹⁷ Lipsius, *Ergänzungsheft*, 30-31. Lipsius briefly reports the notices about these two last mss given by Bonnet and already emphasises their interest. Prieur, *Acta*, 135-36, wrongly omits these two mss from the list of documents known to Lipsius.

On the basis of a comprehensive analysis of published and unpublished materials, Lipsius concludes that the origin of all these texts is the *Ἐπιτομή*, a Gnostic text written in the second half of the second century. Due to its Gnostic orientation, this text was extensively revised, censored and re-elaborated by orthodox hands. The result of this revision is what he calls the Catholic *Ἐπιτομή*, the text on which *Laudatio*, *Vita* and Symeon the Metaphrast are dependent. *Epitome*, in turn, depends directly or indirectly on the Gnostic text. This conclusion is important, since Lipsius, for the first time, prefers *Epitome*'s testimony for the relation of Andrew's peregrinations⁹⁸, which in the testimony of the catholic *Ἐπιτομή* are combined with other local traditions⁹⁹. In his opinion, Andrew's sojourn among the cannibals and his activities in Amaseia, Sinope, Nicea, Nicomedia, Hellespont, Thracia, Macedonia and Achaia, as preserved by *Epitome*, belonged to the Gnostic *Ἐπιτομή*¹⁰⁰.

Lipsius' interpretation of the Gnostic character of his *Ἐπιτομή* is based on the indirect transmission of *AA*¹⁰¹ and on so-called Gnostic traces in the extant testimonies that had escaped the scrutiny of orthodox revisions¹⁰². Even if his criteria to conclude the Gnosticism of the ancient Acts might, as has been suggested¹⁰³, be 'dépassés', his sharp insight and understanding of the texts related to the apostle should not be underestimated. It must be noted that, excluding his references to *AAM* and *AAPe*, all the passages he isolated as

⁹⁸ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 587-88. Prieur, *Acta*, 147, wrongly seems to imply that it was Flamion who first emphasised *Epitome*'s importance.

⁹⁹ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 587. The activities in the regions around the Pontus Euxinus that are interrupted by two journeys to Jerusalem must, consequently, be excluded from the plan of the ancient Acts.

¹⁰⁰ According to Lipsius, the Gnostic Acts combined older and more recent traditions on the apostle. The oldest layer consisted of legends concerning his activity among the Achaians of the northern coast of the Black Sea (see Aristotle, *Polit.* 1338b 22). See on the issue A. v. Gutschmid, 'Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten', *RhM* 19 (1864) 161-83, 380-401 at 393. Combined with them are still other local traditions that recorded the events of his activities along the eastern and southern coasts of the Black Sea. The more recent tradition, in turn, reported his martyrdom at Patras and originated in a confusion between the Achaians of the northeastern Black Sea with the inhabitants of Achaia in Greece. Both traditions combined with each other to form the plan of the ancient Gnostic Acts which, as Philaster notices, took Andrew from Pontus to Achaia (Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 608ff). See, however, T. Schermann, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen des Dorotheus und verwandter Texte*, (Leipzig, 1907) 251-52; further, Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 219-20.

¹⁰¹ For the two fragments Evodius I and II, see Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 590-92. For pseudo-Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia*, see *ibid.*, 592-94.

¹⁰² See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 594-602. As Gnostic traces, he quotes Christ's manifestation as a child in *AAM* 18 (87.3ff), as light and voice in *AAM* 3 (67.6ff) and 4 (68.12ff), 22 (94.9-97.9), as a pilot in *AAM* 5 (69.14-71.3), the fantastic journey in *AAM* 3ff and Andrew's invisibility (99.13-101.10). Lipsius also recognises traces of Gnostic theology in *AAM* 6 (71.4-72.11) and 10 (76.9-77.10). Also, the narration about the Sphinx in *AAM* 12-15 (78.9ff) betrays Gnostic traces. Concerning *AAPe* he quotes Christ's manifestation as a beautiful child in *AAPe* 2 (117.18ff) and the request to Onesiphorus to leave possessions and wife in *AAPe* 13 (123.4-14).

¹⁰³ J.D. Kaestli, 'Les principales orientations de la recherche sur les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres', in F. Bovon et al., *Les Actes apocryphes des Apôtres. Christianisme et monde païen* (Geneva, 1981) 49-67 at 49 and Prieur, *Acta*, 137.

belonging to an older stage of the text's history are still today considered to preserve, if not ancient passages, at least the closest testimonies to the ancient Acts¹⁰⁴.

M. Bonnet's studies on our text are of a more philological kind. Although he already seems to have been working on *AA*'s testimonies while Lipsius was preparing his *Apostelgeschichten*¹⁰⁵, it was not until 1885 that he first published one of them: the *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae* by Gregory of Tours¹⁰⁶. Nine years later, in 1894, he published three texts that are essential for our knowledge of *AA*: *Laudatio*, *Narratio*, which he still calls 'martyrium', and *Conversante*¹⁰⁷. From the same year dates his study on *Epistle*¹⁰⁸, where he argued that the Latin version is the source of the Greek recensions. He furthermore affirms that while the first 9 chapters of *Epistle* are an original fiction by the author, chapters 10-15 rely either on the primitive Gnostic Acts or on a Catholic revision thereof¹⁰⁹. It was not until 1898 that he published what would become the standard edition of the Latin and Greek texts for *AA*¹¹⁰. Some of the texts included in his edition had already been published. So, for example, *AAM*, *AAPe* and *Epistle*, which appears in a synoptic edition that allows a better comparison of *LatEp*, *1EpGr* and *2EpGr* with its interesting interpolations¹¹¹. Other texts were known but remained unpublished. They are the following: *Malt A* and *B*, *Mpr* and *AA*'s fragment in *V*, which would reveal itself as an essential document for our knowledge about the ancient Acts.

Bonnet's prolific editorial activity increased the interest in *AA*. In 1897 M.R. James¹¹² compared three sections of the recently edited *Laudatio* with passages from *Epitome*, *APe* and

¹⁰⁴ So, for example, the fragments Evodius I and II (*supra* this Chapter, § 1.2.1, A and B, p. 7), the speech to the cross preserved by *Laudatio* (346.16-347.10), *Vita* 252 D-253 A5 (read *Narratio* 367.6-13) and interpolations in *2EpGr* 24.19-30; 25.23-24; Andrew's words to Aegeates in *Laudatio* 348.10-21; as well as the older elements preserved by interpolations in *2EpGr* 31.19-26 and 32.9-27. Also correct is his appreciation of the textual relationship between *Vita* and *Laudatio*. Even if, since Flamion, *Laudatio* is considered to be dependent on *Vita*, a proper analysis of the textual evidence shows that Lipsius' opinion that they both depend on a common source must be preferred, see *infra* this Chapter, p. 17 notes 159-160.

¹⁰⁵ Lipsius reports on several occasions that references to manuscripts are provided by Bonnet.

¹⁰⁶ Bonnet, *Epitome*, see this Chapter, p. 5 note 39.

¹⁰⁷ These three texts first published in *Analecta Bollandiana* 13 (see *supra* notes 33, 41 and 45) would be reprinted in *Supplementum codicis apocryphi* II (Paris, 1895) 1-44; 45-64; 65-70, respectively. In the introduction Bonnet (*ibid.*, XI), in line with Lipsius, already defends that *Laudatio* and *Vita* used a common source.

¹⁰⁸ Bonnet, 'La passion d'André', see *supra* this Chapter, note 29.

¹⁰⁹ Bonnet, 'La passion d'André', 467 and note 4.

¹¹⁰ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1.

¹¹¹ Some of them had been already pointed out by Lipsius, see *supra* this Chapter, note 104. As we will show below, these interpolations do not proceed, despite Prieur (*Acta*, 138), from the ancient martyrdom but from a later version, which, though more complete than most recensions, presented omissions as well. See *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 106-09.

¹¹² M.R. James, *Apocrypha anecdota* II (Cambridge, 1897), pp. XXIX-XXXI.

AJ in order to defend the idea that *AA* had no other writer than Leucius¹¹³. In the same year A. Harnack published the second volume of his *Geschichte*¹¹⁴, which demonstrates his scepticism concerning Lipsius' Gnostic interpretation of the primitive Acts¹¹⁵. In 1900, and as a preamble to his lengthier introduction to *AA* in his *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, E. Hennecke's review of Bonnet's edition already advanced some points he would develop later in following studies¹¹⁶. He stressed the capital importance of *AA*'s fragment in V, which he studied personally at the Vatican Library, and suggested, on the basis of their similar Gnostic tendency and stylistic resemblance, a close relationship between *APe*, *AJ* and *AA*¹¹⁷. In the next two years, two publications by R. Liechtenhan followed Hennecke in these two points¹¹⁸. Liechtenhan's studies represent a turning point in the research on *AA*, since he paid, for the first time, due attention to the recently published *AA* fragment in V. Unlike Lipsius, he claims the Gnostic character of the ancient Acts on the basis of a conceptual analysis of this document and of the speech to the cross in *Mpr* 14¹¹⁹. With regard to the former, he notices the essential role played by Andrew's speeches and states that their conceptual developments provide a direct insight into Gnostic religion¹²⁰. Even though his study dedicates only a single paragraph to summarise its contents, Liechtenhan already isolates its four constituent speeches and resumes their major themes¹²¹. In his second publication he dedicated some more space (two pages) to a commentary on the four speeches, namely the first speech to the brethren, to Maximilla, to Stratocles and the second speech to the brethren¹²². This analysis allowed him to conclude that no other fragment of Gnostic literature gives so clear an idea of Gnostic

¹¹³ Contra E. Junod, 'Actes Apocryphes et hérésie': le jugement de Photius', in Bovon, *Actes apocryphes*, 11-24 at 16-18. Hennecke, 'Review Bonnet', *ThLZ* 9 (1900) 271-76 at 272, however, seems to support at least the textual and conceptual similarities between the texts compared by James.

¹¹⁴ A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1893-1904).

¹¹⁵ In contrast to Prieur's opinion (*Acta*, 141), who seems to imply that Harnack supported the hypothesis of a Gnostic origin for the ancient Acts, he is actually quite sceptical about the issue. Preuschen (*Geschichte* I, 127ff) had already shown his reservations, and Harnack disputes in the first part of his second volume some of Lipsius' statements (*Geschichte* II/1, 544). Furthermore, according to him (*Geschichte* II/2, 175), it is impossible to determine whether the ancient Acts were Gnostic or 'vulgär-christlich'.

¹¹⁶ Hennecke, 'Review Bonnet', *supra* note 113.

¹¹⁷ Hennecke, 'Review Bonnet', 275.

¹¹⁸ R. Liechtenhan, *Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus* (Göttingen, 1901) and 'Die pseudepigraphische Litteratur der Gnostiker', *ZNW* 3 (1902) 222-37, 286-99.

¹¹⁹ According to Liechtenhan, *Die Offenbarung*, 73-74 and 92-93, this section presents conceptual parallelisms with *APe* and *AJ*.

¹²⁰ Liechtenhan, *Die Offenbarung*, 50: 'Der Mann, der das Fragment ex actis Andreae geschrieben hat, verdient trotz allen Absonderlichkeiten unsern Respect; so konnte nur schreiben, wer wirklich zur Freiheit des Gotteskindschaft hindurchgedrungen war. Hier thun wir, wenig gestört durch theologische Phantastereien, unmittelbare Blicke in die gnostische Religion'.

¹²¹ Liechtenhan, *Die Offenbarung*, 92-93. See our conceptual analysis of the four speeches *infra* Chapter 4, pp. 191-221.

¹²² Liechtenhan, 'Pseudepigraphische Litteratur', 295-96. Especially interesting is his interpretation of the obscure and difficult passage in V^b 42.4-6.

beliefs as this section of *AA*. As a result, he states that all other Gnostic traces pointed out by Lipsius are very doubtful and irrelevant¹²³.

O. Bardenhewer's review of *AA*, from 1902, does not offer any new insights for our understanding of the Acts¹²⁴. Instead, he seems to ignore Hennecke's and Liechtenhan's progress on the subject and limits himself to the positions defended by Lipsius and James, even when he includes a detailed up-to-date bibliographical report. We have to wait until 1904 for new developments in research into *AA* when, in the introduction to his *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* and in his *Handbuch*¹²⁵, E. Hennecke adopted a critical attitude towards the approaches by Lipsius and James. In his view¹²⁶, it is only *AA*'s fragment in V that can provide access to the ancient Acts. Concerning the reconstruction of *AA*'s main outline, it is not *Epitome* as Lipsius and James suggested¹²⁷, but *Narratio* that is our best source. The numerous contacts between *AA*'s fragment in V and *Narratio* show that the latter depends on a lengthier and better version of *AA* than *Epitome*¹²⁸. Hennecke also rejected Lipsius' assumption that *AAM* and *AAPe* preserve traces of Gnosticism under their reworked current state. Notwithstanding this, the analysis of *AA*'s oldest testimony does show, in his opinion, that the Gnostic background cannot be ruled out. Finally, with Lipsius and James, he noticed significant contacts between *AA* and *APe* and *AJ*¹²⁹. With regard to *AA*'s time and place of composition, he concluded that the scarcity of reliable testimonies did not allow a definitive answer.

Among Hennecke's many interesting opinions about the different textual witnesses¹³⁰, special attention deserves to be paid to his acute observation that some variants of *LatEp*¹³¹ provided the model for the Pseudo-Augustine *De vera et falsa poenitentia*¹³². Harnack¹³³ had

¹²³ Liechtenhan, 'Pseudepigraphische Litteratur', 296. Cf., however, his *Die Offenbarung*, 49.

¹²⁴ O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1962 [Repr. of Freiburg im Breisgau 1913 (1902)]) 568-74.

¹²⁵ E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1904) 459-73 and *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1904) 544-62.

¹²⁶ Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 460.

¹²⁷ Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 462 and *Handbuch*, 544.

¹²⁸ Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 545-46 gives four arguments against the reliability of *Epitome*: 1. It narrates only wondrous miracles; 2. It shows ignorance of and an accumulation of geographical references (see Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, 558); 3. The encratite tendency of V is completely missing from *Epitome*; 4. Andrew predicts his crucifixion in *Epitome* 22, whereas according to V this happens much later (V^b 43.19-25).

¹²⁹ Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 551, 553, etc.

¹³⁰ See, for example, his opinion (Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 548) that the speech to the cross, which in *Laudatio* contains many ancient elements, is better preserved in *Mpr*.

¹³¹ See Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 33 *app. ad l. 1.*

¹³² Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 548.

¹³³ Harnack, *Geschichte* II/1, 545 note 1. He bases his rejection on its late composition (see K. Müller, 'Der Umschwung in der Lehre von der Busse während des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Theologische Abhandlungen, Carl von Weizsäcker zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet* [Freiburg, 1892] 287-320 at 292ff) and on its general catholic character.

already refuted Lipsius' assumption that this text belonged to the ancient Acts¹³⁴, but later he seems to have changed his mind under the influence of C. Schmidt¹³⁵, for he accepts Bardenhewer's point of view on the issue. According to Hennecke the speech to the cross and *de vera et falsa poenitentia* present important thematic and conceptual divergences¹³⁶.

Hennecke's textual reconstruction, translated into German by G. Schimmelpfeng, is divided into three sections. The first one, including the preliminaries to *AA*'s fragment in V, is based on Evodius' fragments I and II only¹³⁷. The second section includes *AA*'s fragment in V¹³⁸. The third section, finally, presents a reconstruction of the martyrdom on the basis of interpolations in *2EpGr*, *Mpr*, *Narratio*, *Laudatio* and *Malt*¹³⁹. Most interesting are the two commentaries offered in his *Handbuch*, one by Schimmelpfeng and another by Hennecke himself, with explanatory notes concerning philological, conceptual and literary matters¹⁴⁰.

In an article from 1908, D. de Bruyne¹⁴¹ identified certain quotations from apocryphal Acts in the *Pseudo-Titus Epistle*¹⁴². Among them is one that might belong to *AA*¹⁴³. Three years later, in 1911, Flamion published his study on *AA* and related texts¹⁴⁴. In spite of its promising title, Flamion's work does not add any new material to the already existing corpus of texts on the apostle¹⁴⁵, but does attempt a new approach and interpretation of the extant testimonies. This interpretation, however, is highly preconditioned by the point he wants to demonstrate: the writer of the ancient Acts was not a Gnostic, as defended by many previous scholars, but might rather be considered to belong to 'la grande Église'.

¹³⁴ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 592-94.

¹³⁵ Harnack, *Geschichte* II/2, 175.

¹³⁶ Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 548, note 1. Prieur (*Acta*, 29-30) wrongly thinks that this discovery is due to Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 190-91.

¹³⁷ Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 464. His second edition, however, adds notices from *Narratio* to these fragments. See *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*², 251.

¹³⁸ Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 464-70.

¹³⁹ Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 556-57.

¹⁴⁰ Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 549-62.

¹⁴¹ De Bruyne, 'Nouveaux fragments', 157. See *supra* this Chapter, note 60.

¹⁴² On the *Pseudo-Titus Epistle*, see G. Sfameni Gasparro, 'L'Epistula Titi discipuli Pauli de dispositione sanctimonii e la tradizione dell'enkrateia', *ANRW* II 25.6 (1998) 4551-664.

¹⁴³ Prieur, *Acta*, 20-21, 42-43, suggests that this story, in which Andrew is said to have prevented a man and a woman from marrying, is the original story that underlies *Epitome* 11, in which the apostle intervenes at a wedding in Philippi to hinder an incestuous marriage between cousins. The obvious differences between these episodes are to be explained, in Prieur's view, as a result of Gregory's censoring activity. Such a relationship, however, is highly conjectural, for there is no definitive evidence proving that these episodes are the same.

¹⁴⁴ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*.

¹⁴⁵ So already Ehrhard, 'Review Flamion', 517.

In order to state his point, Flamion draws on both Hennecke's exclusion of *AAM* from the ancient Acts and on his reconstruction of the martyrdom¹⁴⁶. With regard to *AAM*, he suggests that its composition must be placed in Egypt¹⁴⁷ and dated to the fourth century¹⁴⁸. Concerning the last part, he tends to overstate the significance and reliability of the testimonies for the martyrdom with a view to supporting his hypothesis of the so-called Martyrium source, which he considers to be a recension of the last part of the ancient Acts¹⁴⁹. Unlike Hennecke, however, he believes that Gregory's *Epitome* is our best testimony for the first part of the Acts – that is, Andrew's peregrinations. If Flamion's purpose was to demonstrate that *AA*'s writer was an orthodox Christian, his goal was almost achieved with his choice of textual witnesses. After taking so reworked a source as *Epitome* for the beginning and such a revised and re-elaborated text as the testimonies for the end of the martyrdom, now he only had to adapt the mentality of *AA*'s fragment in V to the general character of these highly revised testimonies to complete his goal. This is indeed what happens.

Despite the influence that his work has exercised on some researchers of the twentieth century¹⁵⁰, Flamion offers a very subjective analysis of the documents that frequently mistakes their mutual relationships¹⁵¹, magnifies irrelevant contacts, minimises relevant issues and generally makes the wrong choices between what is ancient and what is innovation¹⁵². These drawbacks are evident in the already-mentioned hypothesis regarding the Martyrium source. The numerous passages adduced by Flamion to support such a hypothesis are not only

¹⁴⁶ As Hennecke, 'Zur christlichen Apokryphenliteratur', *ZKG* 45 (1926) 309-15 at 313-14, himself would point out, Flamion's reconstruction is essentially the same as the one he proposed. See Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 462 note 1.

¹⁴⁷ See L. Radermacher, 'Zu den Acta Andreae et Matthiae', *WS* 48 (1930) 108, for possible and unexpected support for Flamion's statement; Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 136 note 1; Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 203 note 63.

¹⁴⁸ See *L'Apôtre*, 269-300.

¹⁴⁹ *L'Apôtre*, 177. See *contra* Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 470 note 1.

¹⁵⁰ See, for example, Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 226-27; Prieur, *Acta*, 146-47.

¹⁵¹ For example, his conclusions on *Conversante*'s dependence on *LatEp* are totally ungrounded. On the basis of a very subjective analysis of passages (see *L'Apôtre*, 46 with note 4), he invents non-existent contacts (for instance between *Conversante* 375.16-18 and *LatEp* 19.6, 8; 20.6), exaggerates similarities (see *L'Apôtre*, 45 with notes 1-4), and misunderstands relationships among the texts (in page 46 note 4, for example, he relates *Conversante* 374.18-22 to *LatEp* 19.1, whereas the former passage clearly depends on Vat gr. 808 or a similar text). Most of the passages adduced in *L'Apôtre*, 43-50 do not provide support for his argument (see references *ibid.*, 45 note 2), either because the adduced similarities are too vague or simply due the fact that both texts deal with the same theme (see *L'Apôtre*, 45, note 4). As a result, his conclusion that *Conversante* depends on *LatEp* and 'other documents' is not only vague and imprecise, but also arbitrary.

¹⁵² See *L'Apôtre*, 107-08, for his surprising statement that the reference to Andrew's two-day crucifixion (preserved by *LatEp*, *Conversante* and *Narratio*) is preferable to the four-day crucifixion preserved by most documents (interpolations in *2EpGr* 28.12-13; 28.26-27, *MPr.* 56.3, *Malt A* 61.11-13; 62.1, *Laudatio* 347.25) and which has more recently been confirmed by new material such as H (f. 167^r; 167^v) and S (f. 131^v) and C (ff. 64^r and 64^v).

frequently inaccurate¹⁵³ but also in most cases irrelevant¹⁵⁴. Besides, his conclusions are often subjective, sometimes pure speculation¹⁵⁵ and occasionally clearly incorrect¹⁵⁶. The obvious contacts between *Malt* A and B, interpolations in *2EpGr* and *Narratio*, which had already been pointed out by previous scholars¹⁵⁷, neither imply a common ancestor nor a direct dependence on the ancient martyrdom. Rather, all these documents simply preserve the same section of *AA* and their numerous and important divergences clearly show that they rely on different versions of the martyrdom, which had already been revised. The same problems appear in his analysis of the textual relationship between *Vita* and *Laudatio*. Against Lipsius and Bonnet, who suggested that both documents depended on the same source¹⁵⁸, he proposes that for the section containing Andrew's peregrinations *Laudatio* depends on *Vita*¹⁵⁹. However, his arguments to support his point of view are not conclusive¹⁶⁰ and, when the facts contradict them, he simply resorts to speculation to explain them¹⁶¹.

¹⁵³ References are frequently incorrect. These numerous errors make a cross-examination of the passages a rather tedious and exasperating task. See, for example, wrong references to *Malt* A and B in *L'Apôtre*, 102 note 2; on page 96 note 7 most of the references are erroneous.

¹⁵⁴ See next note.

¹⁵⁵ See *L'Apôtre*, 93 for his explanation of the divergences between *Malt* A and B.

¹⁵⁶ So, for instance, his efforts to demonstrate that *Malt* A and B depend on the same source. In order to do so, he falsifies the relationship between the texts, thus minimising their important divergences, such as the reference to the duration of Andrew's crucifixion, which according to *Malt* A lasts four days and according to B two days (for their parallels in different testimonies see *supra* this Chapter, note 152). More relevant are textual divergences such as the description of the apostle's crucifixion (compare *Malt* A 60.19ff with *Malt* B 61.20ff). These texts can hardly depend on the same source because such divergences cannot simply be attributed, as Flamion suggests, to their respective copyists.

¹⁵⁷ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 564; Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, XIII; Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 461 and *Handbuch*, 548.

¹⁵⁸ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 574 and Bonnet, *Supplementum*, p. XI.

¹⁵⁹ For this statement he draws on F. Diekamp, *Hippolytos vom Theben* (Münster, 1898) 143-45, who first suggested that *Laudatio* might depend both on *Vita* and on their common source. However, as Flamion himself declares, he radicalises Diekamp's opinion by stating that *Vita* is the only source for *Laudatio*. After reading his arguments and examining the quoted passages, one cannot but conclude that this affirmation is not only arbitrary, but also completely ungrounded.

¹⁶⁰ See *L'Apôtre*, 205-12. Once again, as in the previous case of the Martyrium source, besides numerous inaccurate textual references (on p. 206 note 2: of the seven references to *Vita*, three are erroneous; on p. 207 note 1: six references, of which three are wrong; on p. 207 note 3: of six references, four are incorrect), one finds a clear arbitrariness in his evaluation of the materials. For example, he alleges (p. 206) that *Laudatio*'s writer corrects passages of *Vita* when he does not understand them. The examples adduced, however, do not support his interpretation: the divergences might still arise from their different reworking of a common source. Another argument is that *Laudatio* eliminates all references to ocular testimony (p. 207 note 1). This is also a weak statement, for these references might be an invention by Epiphanius. Flamion's claim that *Laudatio* eliminates all trivial discourses from *Vita* might be also turned against *Vita*, for Epiphanius might have amplified or added them to shorter references in his source. Besides, it might also be hypothesised that these references already appeared in the common source, and that *Vita* included them while *Laudatio* eliminated them. Even more speculative is his analysis of obvious errors in *Vita*, which in his view are simply due to Dressel's defective edition and inferior ms (Vat. gr. 824). When doing so, he simply repeats Lipsius' view of the issue (*Apostelgeschichten* I, 575 note 1) and does not make any effort to contrast Vat. gr. 824 with other documents, such as mss Paris BN 1510 and Esc. y II 6, both of which were already known to Bonnet, who consulted them for his edition of *Laudatio*, see *AB* 13 (1894) 310. The readings of these mss often disprove his speculative statements about *Vita*. On the palaeographical errors in *Vita*, *VitaEsc* and *VitaParis* see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 98ff and notes 109-10.

Even more seriously at fault is his interpretation of *AA*'s fragment in V, which in his view is a section detached from a recension of the Martyrium source¹⁶². In order to relate the fragment to the extant textual witnesses for the martyrdom, he alleges a stylistic and doctrinal proximity between *Narratio* and *AA*'s fragment in V. However, his assertion that the former preserves all the speeches of the latter in a revised and transformed version is tendentious, for it overlooks the fact that *Narratio* completely omits the most important sections of *AA*'s fragment in V¹⁶³. To what extent *AA*'s fragment in V presents contacts with the other testimonies of his Martyrium source remains a mystery for the reader¹⁶⁴.

The analysis of the doctrinal character of *AA*'s fragment in V is also very speculative. This is perhaps not the place to review all his speculations individually. Suffice it to mention just a couple of them. According to Flamion, a 'theory on ecstasy' is one of the central issues developed by *AA*'s fragment in V. And it is precisely this 'theory on ecstasy' that leads him to the conclusion about the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic influences on the text¹⁶⁵. However, the most representative (and only) passage he adduces as an example is a highly interpretative translation that tendentiously adds to the Greek original the necessary elements to fabricate such a theory¹⁶⁶. Other cases are, for example, his arbitrary and indiscriminate use of passages to support his interpretation of 'l'humanité sauvée'¹⁶⁷, his tendency to interpret the figure of

¹⁶¹ See Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 206 with note 1, where he alleges errors 'de la tradition manuscrite' in order to explain visible obstacles to his theory. See also *ibid.*, 207 note 2, where he even fills a lacuna in *Vita* on the basis of *Laudatio*. In both cases no serious textual analysis supports his assertions.

¹⁶² His opinion is not, as is Ehrhard's (followed by Prieur), based on codicological arguments, but simply on arbitrary speculations. See *L'Apôtre*, 145 note 1.

¹⁶³ The omitted sections are V^b 38.2-20; 40.10-41.14; 41.36-42.7; 42.9-31 and 44.33-45.33. On the issue, see *infra* Chapter 2, pp. 117-19.

¹⁶⁴ When parallels from the extant testimonies are adduced, similarities, if existent, are usually irrelevant. See *L'Apôtre*, 150 note 6; 151 notes 3 and 5. In other cases apparent similarities concern general issues that might appear in any text dealing with the same theme. See *ibid.* 151 notes 7-10.

¹⁶⁵ *Contra*, Quispel, 'Unknown fragment', 143 note 17. Besides, it remains a complete mystery what Flamion understands by Neopythagoreanism and Neoplatonism. He repeatedly refers to both (or just one?) philosophical groups in his analysis of *Mpr* (*L'Apôtre*, 135, 136, 139, etc.) and of V (*ibid.*, 149; 157, 160; etc.). However, he never provides a precise parallel from one or the other philosopher, but refers generally to whole sections of Zeller's *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* III/2. *Die nacharistotelische Philosophie*. Zweite Hälfte (Leipzig, 1881), which deal with comprehensive treatments of philosophers and not, as one might expect, with precise conceptual parallels to *AA*'s ideas. In addition, the alleged philosophical parallels are generally as distant in time and orientation from each other as Philo, Plutarch, Numenius and Plotinus can be. In any case, as we will see below, the alleged contacts between *AA* and Plotinus are inconclusive. See, for example, his comparison (*L'Apôtre*, 136) of the symbolism of the cross, which in his view 'symboliserait notre salut à la manière de ce retour à l'Un', with Neoplatonic ecstasy.

¹⁶⁶ Compare his translation (*L'Apôtre*, 149-50): 'te ramassant sur toi-même dans ce repos en toi et reprenant pied, réfléchis à la hauteur où Dieu t'a placée et contemplant ta personnalité dans la bonté de ton être, désire voir celui-là même qui se montre à toi, et que connaîtra seul qui aura l'audace de tenter aussi périlleuse ascension' with V^b 41.2-7. None of the sections in italics correspond to the Greek.

¹⁶⁷ See *L'Apôtre*, 152-153: 'Le salut donne le sens et la valeur à toutes choses' [reference to V^b 38.8] (...) et en même temps, il est la force [reference to *Mpr.* 55.7] et donne la puissance sur tous les adversaires [references to *2EpGr* 27.11; 30.23; V^b 40.28].

the apostle as a new Socrates¹⁶⁸, etc.¹⁶⁹. His most striking statement, however, is perhaps his reference to the ‘verbosité sans frein’ of *AA*. Echoing the ancient opinion of Gregory of Tours, the author seems to consider that the speeches to the cross, to Maximilla, to Stratocles and to the brethren are simply pompous and superfluous rhetorical exercises¹⁷⁰. It seems that Flamion is as eager as Gregory to eliminate them, whereas the speeches preserved by *AA*’s fragment in V are the most obvious obstacle to his interpretation of the ancient *Acts of Andrew* as the work of an ‘orthodox’ writer.

A glance at the reviews of Flamion’s work shows that none of these issues escaped the attention of scholars¹⁷¹ such as A. Ehrhard¹⁷², T. Schermann¹⁷³ and E. Hennecke¹⁷⁴. Ehrhard mainly criticises Flamion’s lack of interest in unpublished materials and the fact that he bases his investigation exclusively on known testimonies. His commentary on the issue is very relevant to the investigation of *AA*: on the one hand, Ehrhard draws attention to the interest of mss Hierosolym. Sabbait. 103 and Sinait. gr. 526¹⁷⁵ and, on the other, he states that the author of *Laudatio* is Nicetas the Paphlagonian¹⁷⁶. In addition, Ehrhard also critically comments on Flamion’s conclusions about the literary, compositional and dogmatic issues in the ancient Acts, although admitting the ‘hoher Grad innerer Geschlossenheit’ of his argument. Schermann’s review presents a more detailed and critical analysis. Indeed, he denounces Flamion’s many repetitions and subjective analysis of the documents and correctly points out that the Neoplatonic influences alleged by Flamion should have implied a later dating of the ancient Acts¹⁷⁷. Against Flamion’s assertion that the text was written by orthodox Christians, he adduces Eusebius’ and Epiphanius’ reports, which affirm that the text was mainly used by heretics. Hennecke’s criticism, finally, focuses on the subjective treatment of highly reworked texts, such as *Malt A* and *B*, *Mpr* and *Narratio*, which in Flamion’s view appear as reliable representatives of the last section of the ancient Acts. He also disputes Flamion’s hypothesis that *Epitome* offers a reliable source for Andrew’s peregrinations. All these testimonies are

¹⁶⁸ Flamion, *L’Apôtre*, 156; 172.

¹⁶⁹ See his invention (*L’Apôtre*, 172-73) of the ‘jealous demon’ governing Aegeates, which in the apostolic stories replaces ‘la Tyché des romans grecs, divinité jalouse’ (?). See, finally, the subjectivism with which he concludes concerning the author’s orthodoxy (ibid. 165-67).

¹⁷⁰ Flamion, *L’Apôtre*, 169.

¹⁷¹ Not so James, ‘Review Flamion’, *JThS* 13 (1912) 435-37, who praises Flamion’s study and conclusions and simply points out a couple of the many misprinting in a note.

¹⁷² Ehrhard, ‘Review Flamion’, see *supra* this Chapter, note 20.

¹⁷³ Schermann, ‘Review Flamion’, *ThR* 10 (1912) 300-03.

¹⁷⁴ Hennecke, ‘Review Flamion’, *ThLZ* 3 (1913) 73-74.

¹⁷⁵ Seventy years later, Detorakis and Prieur would enthusiastically proclaim their ‘discovery’ of these manuscripts. See Detorakis, ‘ $\text{ἡ βύχης αὐτῆς ἐπιτομῆς}$ ’, 325-52; J.M. Prieur, ‘Découvertes sur L’Apôtre André d’André à Patras’, *Acts of the International Congress of Peloponnesian Studies* I (Athens, 1981-82) 321-24.

¹⁷⁶ See Ehrhard, ‘Review Flamion’, 517. See also his *Überlieferung* II, 237-42.

significantly reworked and a comparison with *AA*'s fragment in V immediately shows that, in spite of Flamion, their tenor and character is completely different.

In 1912, C.F.M. Deeleman published his study on *AA*¹⁷⁸. It is difficult to ascertain whether he knew of Flamion's work, the only visible contact is his dating of *AAM* to the fourth century. At any rate, he presents a completely different approach to *AA* than his predecessor¹⁷⁹. In his opinion, it is not Gregory and his very reworked story of the apostle Andrew but *Narratio* that can give us an idea about the main outline of the ancient Acts. Even if revised, *Narratio*'s text does not, as *Epitome*, completely alter the character of the genuine *AA*. Besides, *Narratio*'s contacts with *AA*'s fragment in V affirm that the former is based on a recension of the ancient Acts¹⁸⁰. Nevertheless, *AA*'s fragment V remains the only piece of evidence for the reconstruction of the general tenor of the original text. It is precisely a comparison between this document and *AJ* and *APe* that leads Deeleman to date *AA* to the year 180¹⁸¹. With regard to its doctrinal orientation, the scholar recognises obvious Gnostic traits but rejects the idea that they should necessarily imply a Gnostic writer. The most characteristic trait of our text is its marked encratite tendency and this is not at odds with the mentality of the 'kerkelijk kringen' ('ecclesiastical Christianity' as opposed to heretic sects) of the later second century. Deeleman consequently denies that the loss of the ancient Acts might be the result of its doctrinal orientation. In his view, *AJ* includes much more difficult passages for orthodox readers than *AA*, and, despite this, more has been preserved of the former than of the latter¹⁸². Instead, it was *AA*'s popularity among certain heretic groups, especially among Manicheans, that provoked a negative reaction from the orthodox side.

In 1913, W. Bousset briefly commented on a section of the speech to the cross in *Mpr* 14¹⁸³. After referring to passages by Justin and Irenaeus that reflect an identification of the Platonic World-soul with the son of God and of its Chi-form with Christ's cross, Bousset

¹⁷⁷ Schermann, 'Review Flamion', 301. See also *infra* Chapter 5, pp. 343-44.

¹⁷⁸ C.F.M. Deeleman, 'Acta Andreae', *GV* 46 (1912) 541-77.

¹⁷⁹ According to Deeleman ('Acta Andreae', 552), Andrew's speeches are the best proof to assess the good and elaborated style of our author. Rather differently, Flamion described them as simple 'verboſit  sans frein' (see *supra* this Chapter, p. 18).

¹⁸⁰ Deeleman, 'Acta Andreae', 562-65

¹⁸¹ Following Hennecke's point of view, Deeleman sees close contacts between *AA*, *AJ* and *APe*. These similarities, however, do not, in his view, imply a common writer. Rather, they can be easily explained as a result of mutual influences. His analysis of the parallelisms between *AA* and *AJ* allows him to infer that the former depends on the latter. At the same time, the contacts between *AA* and *APe* show that the latter depends on the former. Given that *AJ* is dated to 165 and *APe* to 200, *AA* should be dated to c. 180.

¹⁸² See, however, Sturhahn's opinion, *infra* this Chapter, note 210.

¹⁸³ W. Bousset, 'Platons Weltseele und das Kreuz Christi', *ZNW* 14 (1913) 273-85.

analyses the appearance of these ideas in apocryphal Acts, namely *APe*, *APE*, *AJ* and *AA*¹⁸⁴. According to Bousset, the speech to the cross in *Mpr* 14 shows connections with speculations on the cross, which under the influence of the Platonic *Timaeus* distinguished between a celestial cross – that is, the Logos that gives measure and life to everything in the material world – and a material one, which is a simple reflection of the former.

More than 10 years later, in 1924, Hennecke published the second edition of his *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, in which he reviews the new insights and approaches to *AA* over the previous 20 years¹⁸⁵. Hennecke still rejects the possibility of finding anything else in *Epitome* than miracles and considers that for the section preceding *AA*'s fragment in V only the fragments Evodius I and II are certain¹⁸⁶. He also rejects Bousset's conclusions about the speculations on the cross, for although Justin does indeed refer to the chi-form of the cross, the apocryphal Acts quoted by Bousset do not¹⁸⁷. As to Flamion's suggestion about Neoplatonic and Neopythagoric influences on the speech to the cross, Hennecke considers this rather improbable. *AA*'s contacts with Plotinus are not conclusive enough to suggest *AA*'s dependence on the philosopher¹⁸⁸.

In the same year M.R. James published *The Apocryphal New Testament*¹⁸⁹. In his introduction to *AA* he restates the views of Flamion. *Epitome* is our best source to get a general idea about the contents of the ancient Acts. *AAM* did not belong to this older textual stage and its legend is akin to later Egyptian romances. He dates the text to 260, although without explaining why. James considers that *AA*'s fragment in V is our best testimony for the reconstruction of the character of the ancient Acts. Strikingly, however, he considers our fragment 'highly tedious in parts'¹⁹⁰.

In his study of the *Letters* of Ignatius, from 1929, H. Schlier pays some attention to the central part of Andrew's speech to Maximilla in *AA*'s fragment in V¹⁹¹. He clearly pleads for a Gnostic orientation of the fragment. In his opinion, Andrew's words about the destiny of the first couple and about Maximilla's and Andrew's correction of their fall (V^b 40.12ff) are

¹⁸⁴ See Bousset, 'Platons Weltseele', 275 for *APe* 37, where the scholar recognises a blend of two myths, namely the $\text{dfk} \text{hc}^{\wedge} \text{U} \text{efk} \text{dc}^{\wedge}$ myth and the Chi-form of the World-soul in the *Timaeus*. From the combination of these two elements, according to Bousset, proceeds 'die groteske Phantasie von dem Urmenschen (...), der, auf dem Kreuze hängend, in die Materie kopfüber hinabrollt und dieser Leben und Bewegung bringt'.

¹⁸⁵ Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen, 1924) 249-56.

¹⁸⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.2.1, A and B, p. 7.

¹⁸⁷ Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*², 250.

¹⁸⁸ See also *supra* this Chapter, p. 19 and note 177.

¹⁸⁹ M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament, being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses with Other Narrations and Fragments Newly Translated* (Oxford, 1924).

¹⁹⁰ James, *Apocryphal NT*, 350.

¹⁹¹ H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen* (Giessen, 1929) 160-62.

reminiscent of the conversion of Eve through Adam in the myth of Sophia according to the Valentinians¹⁹².

R. Söder also pleads for the Gnostic character of the *AA* fragment in *V* our most valuable testimony for the ancient Acts¹⁹³. *Narratio* is, in her view, an excerpt of the genuine text and probably from the fragment in *V* itself. *AAM* and *AAPe* are believed to preserve a part of Andrew's peregrinations¹⁹⁵. As has been pointed out¹⁹⁶, she already drew attention to Homeric reminiscences in *AAM*¹⁹⁷, as MacDonald would do many years later¹⁹⁸. With regard to *Epitome*, Söder echoes Lipsius' opinion that it depends directly upon the Gnostic Acts, but reworks the materials and adds new issues. Concerning *Vita* and *Laudatio*, she suggests with Lipsius and Bonnet that they have a common source. On the basis of *V* and *Narratio*, though not always consistently¹⁹⁹, Söder establishes interesting contacts between *AA* and the ancient novel²⁰⁰, which can be seen not only in the use of certain specific common motifs²⁰¹, but also in more general issues²⁰².

¹⁹² According to the speculations preserved by Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.15.3), Christ, after descending with Sophia, leaves her behind as destined to be the best part of humans and returns to the Pleroma. After Sophia's exile and suffering far from the Pleroma, Christ's return will finally free her from corruption (*Ignatiusbriefen*, 160). Since the following section of *AA* (*V*^b 40.23ff) describes the soul as crying out its suffering, breaking its ties and wishing to see the one who has appeared to it, Schlier (*ibid.*, 161) concludes that the passage presents a clear parallel with the suffering and final salvation of Sophia (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.4.1). Consequently, and taking into account that in *AA* these themes are applied to the pursuit and achievement of gnosis, he considers that Maximilla is simultaneously the *mi l \ #or* Eve crying in suffering due to her being far removed from the gnosis that Andrew, finally, transmits to her.

¹⁹³ R. Söder, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und die romanhafte Literatur der Antike* (Repr. Darmstadt, 1969 [Stuttgart 1932]) 13-15.

¹⁹⁴ See her brief treatment of *V*'s chapters 5 and 7 in *Romanhafte*, 125-26.

¹⁹⁵ Söder, *Romanhafte*, 14.

¹⁹⁶ A. Hilhorst and P. Lalleman, 'The Acts of Andrew and Matthias: Is it Part of the Original Acts of Andrew?', in J. Bremmer (ed), *The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew* (Leuven, 2000) 1-14, esp. 13 note 35. However, Von Gutschmid ('Königsnamen', 395) had already referred to reminiscences of the *Odyssey* in *AAM*. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 613.

¹⁹⁷ Söder points to Homeric precedents for many motifs in the *AAM*. Examples include Polyphemus' episode in the *Odyssey* for the cannibal motif (*Romanhafte*, 103 and 203); the miraculous sea travel (*AAM* 4) has a precedent in the Phaeacians' ship (*Romanhafte*, 43; see E. von Dobschütz, 'Der Roman in der altchristlichen Literatur', *DRu* 111 (1902) 100; as for the use of the magic potion in *AAM* 1ff, it has several parallels in the *Odyssey* (e.g. 5.213 and 10.235f). Divine help during the sea voyage (*AAM* 1) already occurs in Apollonius of Rhodes 2.537ff and 598ff (*Romanhafte*, 163).

¹⁹⁸ See *infra*, pp. 38-40.

¹⁹⁹ See, for instance, her use of *Narratio* instead of the preferable text of *V*, *Romanhafte*, 114-45.

²⁰⁰ However, in our opinion, Söder's conclusion about Aegeates' jealousy (*Romanhafte*, 144-45) is certainly exaggerated and based on *Narratio* (chapter 15). Such jealousy does not appear in the older textual stage represented by *V*. A comparative analysis of Aegeates' words to his wife in the different documents (curiously, they are preserved in most of them) shows that there is indeed a tendency to interpret Aegeates' attitude in that way. *Narratio*'s version of the section can be considered as a middle point between *V*, where there is no jealousy, and *Laudatio* and *Vita*, where Aegeates is so jealous that he wants to take revenge not only on the apostle (*Narratio*) but also on Maximilla. That the motif of jealousy is a later element is evident, we think, in *Epitome*, for in this text it replaces the real reason for Aegeates' rancour: Maximilla's chastity.

²⁰¹ See, for example, *Romanhafte*, 145 for the striking parallel between *V*^b 39.29-31 and Achilles Tatius 5.27. Compare also *V*^b 41.15-17 to Achilles Tatius 6.21-22.

Blumenthal's study on the apocryphal Acts²⁰³, published in 1933, mainly focuses on the first part of *AA*. As Hennecke's reconstruction of the martyrdom seems to him satisfying enough²⁰⁴, he concentrates on *AA*'s problematic preceding part – that is, Andrew's peregrinations – of which only *Narratio* and *Laudatio* can provide a general idea. All other extant testimonies, such as *Vita*, *Epitome* and Symeon the Metaphrast, are said to be irrelevant²⁰⁵. Nevertheless, in his view, a comparative analysis of both texts immediately reveals insurmountable gaps. On the one hand, *Narratio* and *Laudatio* not only present rather different accounts of Andrew's peregrinations, but also have diverging versions of their common episodes. For example, when comparing *Narratio* and *Laudatio*'s accounts of Andrew's rescue of Matthias from prison with that of *AAM*, it becomes clear that all three texts present independent versions of a common source, which probably was a short notice in the ancient *AA* and which they rework according to their styles and purposes²⁰⁶. Something similar happens with the episode about the demons of Nicaea²⁰⁷. On the other hand, *Narratio* and *Laudatio* approached their source differently. Whereas *Narratio* abbreviates its source, *Laudatio* reworks it by amplifying the periods and by adding new issues. All this shows that a reliable reconstruction of the plan of Andrew's itinerary on the basis of these documents is not possible²⁰⁸.

C.L. Sturhahn's work on the Christology of the oldest apocryphal Acts of the apostles (1951) presents one of the most complete and interesting studies on *AA*'s fragment in V²⁰⁹. He focuses solely on *AA*'s fragment in V and, on the basis of its testimony, defends the Gnostic character of the ancient Acts. Typically Gnostic are, in his view, the notion of a human

²⁰² Thus, for instance, the hollowness of the characters, which usually lack individual traits and simply represent certain ideals, is similar in both genres. See, however, our own analysis of the characters in *AA*'s fragment in V *infra* Chapter 4, § 2.2, pp. 166-67. Also comparable is the frequent appearance of high-class women as protagonists (see on the issue J.N. Bremmer, 'The Novel and the Apocryphal Acts', *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel IX* (Groningen, 1998) 157-80 at 175-78; id. 'Man, Magic, Martyrdom in the Acts of Andrew', in Bremmer, *Acts of Andrew*, 15-34 esp. 21 and, in particular, 'The Acts of Thomas: Place, Date and Women', in Bremmer, *Acts of Thomas*, 74-90 at 79-90. In addition, she also refers to the appearance of certain common topoi such as the loyal slave-helper (=Iphidama) and, of course, the importance of what she calls 'das erotisch-asketische Motiv' (*Romanhafte*, 182-83). The erotic motif so predominant in the Greek Novel has not the first place in the story, however. As apostle-narratives generally intend to praise the apostle and his mission, they usually shift the erotic motif (which to a certain extent appears inverted) to a secondary place. According to Söder, however, the relevance of the motif can still be seen in the fact that the erotic element is the main source of conflict in these texts and the visible cause of the apostle's martyrdom.

²⁰³ M. Blumenthal, *Formen und Motive in apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (Leipzig, 1933) 38-57.

²⁰⁴ Blumenthal, *Formen*, 38 with note 8 and 39 with note 1. He considers V a trustworthy section of the last part of *AA*.

²⁰⁵ Blumenthal, *Formen*, 38 note 10.

²⁰⁶ Blumenthal, *Formen*, 40-45.

²⁰⁷ Blumenthal, *Formen*, 45-47.

²⁰⁸ Blumenthal, *Formen*, 55-56.

degraded condition, which is explained by means of an anthropological dualism, the idea of a saving gnosis that comes from transcendence and reveals to humans their real divine nature, and the role of the apostle as a redeemer in a Gnostic sense²¹⁰. This is hardly the place to examine all the aspects of this highly interesting and profound analysis²¹¹. For the time being, suffice it to say that Sturhahn's interpretation of the Gnostic character of our text is not based on simple speculations or doubtful traces of Gnostic thought under orthodox re-elaborations. On the contrary, his conclusion derives from a very scrupulous analysis of Andrew's two speeches to the brethren and the speeches to Maximilla and Stratocles²¹². At the same time, it is worth mentioning that Sturhahn was the first to reject the interpretation that sees the means to salvation in Maximilla's asceticism and in the apostle's martyrdom. Both issues should rather be understood as mere external signs, visible manifestations of Maximilla's and Andrew's previous reception of the saving gnosis.

In 1954, a brief but extremely interesting analysis by Festugière stresses the similarities between the Gnosis of the Acts and the Hermetic Gnosis. His study focuses on the central section of Andrew's speech to Maximilla (40.10-41.7)²¹³. In his view, the key issues in this part of our fragment are the process of degradation suffered by the $\beta\epsilon\iota$ ↑ or 'intellect' and the means to recuperate its pristine situation before its fall. The abundant and interesting notes illuminate many conceptual and textual issues, and establish suggestive contacts with many texts of the period.

The Gnostic interpretation of the ancient Acts received important support from G. Quispel's discovery of Papyrus Copt. Utrecht 1²¹⁴. According to Quispel, the fragment preserves the original form of a similar story in *Epitome* 18. A combination of a textual corruption and Gregory's censoring activities is, in his opinion, enough to explain visible

²⁰⁹ C.L. Sturhahn, *Die Christologie der ältesten apokryphen Apostelacten. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des altchristlichen Dogmas* (Heidelberg, 1951; Mikrokopie, Göttingen, 1952) 128-47.

²¹⁰ According to Sturhahn (*Die Christologie*, 133-34), AA's conception of the apostolic figure presents many parallels with the New Testament: 1. Andrew receives a command from his Lord to develop his activity; 2. This activity is performed by means of wondrous actions and the proclamation of the words; 3. The concept of suffering and persecution; 4. The theological explanation given by Andrew for his martyrdom in V^b 44.35ff. In spite of these similarities, the figure of the apostle Andrew can only be properly understood from the point of view of the 'Erlösungsmythos'. Andrew not only assumes the role of redeemer himself by stressing the commandment given to him, but also by stressing that his activity consists of the transmission of a saving gnosis.

²¹¹ More detailed references can be found in our analysis of V. See *infra* Chapter 4, § 3, pp. 191-221.

²¹² His conclusions about the Gnostic character of our text come to the foreground in his threefold analysis of AA: 1. Der Gnosis-begriff; 2. Die christologische Struktur des Apostelbegriffes and 3. Die Offenbarungsrede. All three issues clearly reveal the undisputed Gnostic character of the ancient Acts, which, he argues, might have defended the Gnostic concept of salvation in a more radical way than AJ and ATh.

²¹³ A.J Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trimégiste IV. Le Dieu inconnu et la gnose* (Paris, 1954) 227-31.

²¹⁴ Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', *supra* this Chapter note 56. Even though this fragmentary Coptic text bears the title 'The Act of Andrew', Quispel suggests that the text might have been detached from the ancient Acts, as was also the case with a Coptic fragment of APe (see Schmidt, *Petrusacten*, 7).

differences between the texts²¹⁵. Having established a textual relationship between the Coptic fragment and *AA*, for in his opinion *Epitome* preserves the main outline of the genuine Acts²¹⁶, he proceeds to outline a conceptual relationship by comparing the mentality of PCU 1 with *AA*'s fragment in V. The starting point for this comparison is Andrew's words to the soldiers, as preserved by PCU 1, 9.22-24: 'Are you afraid of me because you see your nature (Zi Ⲅⲓⲁ) convincing and exposing you?'²¹⁷. Since these words reflect, in Quispel's view, a distinction between a bad nature and a true one, he concludes that the underlying anthropological dualism coincides with that of *AA*'s fragment in V and that of *Laudatio* 348, 7-14²¹⁸. Furthermore, PCU 1's alleged dualism is confirmed by its description of the soldier as someone 'who is cast out of the palace'²¹⁹.

Quispel's arguments, however, are problematic. Firstly, the alleged parallel between PCU 1 and *Epitome* 18 is rather weak, for it relies exclusively on his conjecture about *Epitome*'s corruption of Varianus into Virinus²²⁰. Even before attempting to establish the textual relationship between both testimonies on a solid basis, an incidental detail is used as the main argument to support such a relationship²²¹. At the same time, Gregory's censoring activity is not a conclusion derived from an analysis of the comparison of both episodes, but rather an *a priori* statement. As a result, his conclusions about the conceptual contacts between PCU 1 and *AA* are also questionable. On the basis of this precariously established textual

²¹⁵ L. van Kampen, *Apostelverhalen. Doel en Compositie van de oudste apocriefe Handelingen der apostelen* (Diss. Utrecht, 1990) 159-60, has pointed out that both episodes present relevant divergences. In PCU 1, on the one hand, a certain Varianus sends four soldiers to Andrew. One of them is possessed by a demon. The demon explains the current situation as a result of the sorcery of a certain magician, who wanted to seduce the soldier's sister, and relates how her chastity has prevented the magician's success. The soldier is freed from the demon and finally converts to Christianity. In *Epitome* 18, on the other hand, the proconsul Virinus sends soldiers to take Andrew. As they fail, the proconsul sends twenty more soldiers, who fail again. Finally he sends a large number of them, among whom is one possessed by a demon. After seeing Andrew, this demon pronounces some words and leaves. The possessed soldier dies. Finally, the proconsul himself comes to threaten Andrew who, after preaching and praying, awakens the soldier. The proconsul orders Andrew to be thrown to wild beasts. However, they do not harm him. The public intervenes and threatens the proconsul, who is now protected by Andrew. See further *infra* this Chapter, note 222.

²¹⁶ Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 137. In any case, and avoiding the question of whether or not these texts are actually identical, one thing is clear: if one suggests that the story in PCU 1 is the original form of the very different story in *Epitome* 18, a necessary and logical conclusion is that Gregory is not a reliable source for the ancient Acts on all points.

²¹⁷ Translation by Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 131. Coptic text of PCU 1, 9.22-24 according to Van den Broek (Prieur, *Acta*, 652-671): ⲛⲏⲉϥⲟⲩⲣⲙⲁⲧⲟⲓ ϫⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲧⲉⲧⲏ | ⲱⲛⲉ ϩⲏⲕⲧⲉⲧⲉⲧⲏⲁϥ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲏⲤϥ | ϥⲓϥ ⲉϥϥⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲡⲏⲱⲧⲏ.

²¹⁸ Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 143 note 13, wrongly refers to *Laudatio* 384.7-14.

²¹⁹ Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 142, who interprets it as affirmation that the soldier who is converted to Christianity is a 'transcendent being' (??).

²²⁰ Against Prieur's preference for the form Virinus, Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 33 and note 74, suggests that Varianus is to be preferred, since the variant in PCU 1, unlike that of *Epitome*, is widely attested.

²²¹ Even though Gregory frequently alters the names, and hence makes Quispel's conjecture plausible, the relationship between the texts must first be established on a sound basis, and only then can their differences be explained. See Van Kampen, *Apostelverhalen*, 308 note 317.

relationship²²², the alleged conceptual parallels are not conclusive. Even admitting the existence of an anthropological dualism in PCU 1, of which the passage 9.22-24 is a rather vague example, nothing confirms a relationship with V or with *Laudatio* 348.7-14. In addition, it should also be noted that nowhere in the extant testimonies for *AA* can one find a description of the transcendent realm as the ‘heavenly palace’²²³.

In any case, from these notions Quispel concludes that *AA* knew of a natural distinction between two races: those belonging to the celestial realm and those belonging to the body. Since in his opinion such a *praedestinatio physica* and the myth of the Self are typical second-century Gnostic ideas²²⁴, and since all the issues that Flamion interpreted as Neoplatonic can also be paralleled with the Gnosticism of the period, he concludes that Lipsius was right when he suggested the importance of Gnostic elements in the ancient Acts²²⁵. Nevertheless, in his view, the Gnostic traits of our text do not necessarily imply a Gnostic writer for an orthodox author might easily have dealt with such Gnostic ideas without leaving the Church. Quispel finally suggests that *AA* be dated before and not after 200. As Schmidt recognised that *AP* used *APe* and Peterson had suggested that it also knew *ATh*, he thinks it possible that *AP* also used *AA*. Since *AA* was written after *APe* and *AJ* but before *AP*, *AA* cannot be dated after 200²²⁶.

1958 saw the appearance of Dvornik’s study of the material related to the apostle Andrew²²⁷. He focuses mainly on the origins of the different traditions concerning Andrew’s apostolic activities. As the introduction points out, his purpose is not to research whether or not these traditions are legendary. Rather he intends to establish the period in which these traditions appeared in order to determine the role that the idea of apostolicity played in Rome and Byzantium. This means, however, that he is not particularly concerned with a critical analysis of Andrew’s testimonies. His position with regard to the issue is absolutely

²²² According to Van Kampen (*Apostelverhalen*, 160), the alleged similarities between the texts are the following: 1. According to Quispel a possessed soldier appears in both stories. However, whereas in *Epitome* he dies, in PCU 1 he carries a talking demon and once he is cleansed of him he joins the ‘heavenly army’. 2. According to Quispel the expression ‘What have I done to you ...’ underlies *Epitome*’s ‘quid mihi et tibi, Virine proconsul, ut mitteres me ad hominem ...’ (*Epitome* 18.24-25). This expression, however, which also appears in *Epitome* 17.2-3, is much more common than Quispel seems to think. 3. The names Varianus and Virinus. His conclusion is clear (*ibid.*, 160): ‘de twee passages hebben niets met elkaar te maken, het zijn twee verschillende verhalen’ (‘the two passages have nothing in common. They are two completely different stories’). For additional textual divergences, see *infra* Chapter 2, note 51.

²²³ See A. Hilhorst, ‘The Heavenly Palace in the *Acts of Thomas*’, in Bremmer, *Acts of Thomas*, 53-64.

²²⁴ Such as those reflected by *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 60 and *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 21.11-22.19. See Quispel, ‘Unknown Fragment’, 143; see, however, *infra* Chapter 5 note 361.

²²⁵ However, note that Lipsius’ Gnostic interpretation of the ancient Acts is based on completely different grounds than Quispel’s. See *supra* this Chapter, note 102.

²²⁶ Quispel, ‘Unknown Fragment’, 145-47. Prieur, *Acta*, 150, offers a confusing version of Quispel’s conclusions and wrongly thinks (*ibid.* 153) that it was Hornschuh who suggested *AP*’s dependence on *AA*.

dependent on Flamion's views²²⁸, on which he also relies for the interpretation of their contents²²⁹. With regard to the doctrinal orientation of the ancient Acts, Dvornik simply reports the two known antithetic opinions, namely the Gnostic and the orthodox interpretations, without choosing between them²³⁰, but showing a certain sympathy for Flamion's point of view²³¹. According to Dvornik, *AA* should be dated to the end of the third century.

In 1960, J. Barns published a fragmentary dialogue between Jesus and Andrew preserved in ms Bodleian Copt. f. 103²³². He suggested that Andrew's claim (I recto 15ff) that he has left not only his parents, but also his wife and children reveals the encratite tendency of the fragment and that, consequently, it might belong to *AA*, perhaps to its beginning²³³. All this is nothing but speculation²³⁴. Andrew's words might be a simple parallel to Mk 10.24ff²³⁵. Besides, the text is so corrupted, short and insubstantial that no conclusions can be drawn about its doctrinal orientation²³⁶.

M. Hornschuh's introduction to *AA* in Schneemelcher's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* presents an interesting and comprehensive approach to the problems posed by the research on *AA*²³⁷. His analysis includes all the texts known today, with the exception of Andrew's martyrdom in S and H and the martyrdom in C. Among all these documents, only *AA*'s fragment in V and PCU 1 proceed directly from the ancient Acts and can give us a proper idea about the doctrinal character of the text. The other extant witnesses present important re-elaborations to suit the dogmatic needs of the later Church. Despite their revised

²²⁷ Dvornik, *Apostolicity*. See *supra* this Chapter, note 42.

²²⁸ Incidentally, he does not seem to be aware of the criticism of Flamion's work expressed by Ehrhard and Schermann, for he only refers to Hennecke's point of view (*Apostolicity*, 194 and note 40) and to James' favourable review (*ibid.* note 43).

²²⁹ Especially striking is his repetition of Flamion's ungrounded conclusions on the relationship between *Laudatio* and *Vita* (*Apostolicity*, 226-27).

²³⁰ See Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 196-97, where the author declares that such a question is of secondary importance for his investigation.

²³¹ Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 195 rejects Quispel's Gnostic interpretation of PCU 1 not by questioning his statements, but by simply stating, with Flamion, that the alleged Gnosticising ideas might have been popular at the period of composition and that they, in any case, are not enough to suppose a Gnostic orientation (*Apostolicity*, 195 note 43c). His statement, however, that Flamion disproved Liechtenhan's interpretation of V (see *supra* this Chapter, p. 13 and notes 120 and 123) is ungrounded. In the pages of Flamion's work reported by Dvornik (*L'Apôtre*, 152; 155 and 162), he does not discuss Liechtenhan's statements but simply rejects his thesis without arguing why.

²³² Barns, 'Coptic Fragment'. See *supra* this Chapter, note 57.

²³³ 'Coptic Fragment', 75.

²³⁴ See, for example, his attempts ('Coptic Fragment', 75) to base such an attribution on the garrulous style of the Coptic fragment and Gregory's opinion about *AA*'s *verboſitas*.

²³⁵ See *infra* this Chapter note 243.

²³⁶ Cf., however, Nagel, 'Die apokryphen Apostelakten', 161.

²³⁷ M. Hornschuh, 'Andreasakten', in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen II* (Tübingen, 1964) 270-96.

character they might be of help in reconstructing the lost *AA*, on which they certainly draw. The first step in this reconstruction, however, must be the analysis of our most reliable documents, namely V and PCU 1, in order to proceed afterwards to cautiously widen our textual basis by means of elements deriving from *Laudatio*, *Narratio*, *Mpr* and *Malt*²³⁸.

As far as the reconstruction of Andrew's peregrinations is concerned, Hornschuh considers that *Epitome* might preserve the outline. This does not mean, however, that he blindly trusts Gregory's testimony²³⁹. Rather, he adopts a middle position between the opinions of Hennecke and Flamion²⁴⁰. With the former he thinks that Gregory presents a rather poor summary that preserves nothing but the external frame of the ancient Acts. With the latter he thinks that *Epitome*, as it coincides with Philaster's report of Andrew's itinerary, might preserve at least the textual skeleton of *AA*²⁴¹. With regard to the second part of *AA*, his reconstruction of the martyrdom coincides with Flamion's (and James') reconstruction and is based on elements from *Mpr*, *Malt*, *Laudatio*, *Narratio*, *Conversante* and *2GrEp*. Among the fragments, Evodius I and II and Augustine's fragment are considered as certain²⁴², but the Coptic fragment in Bodleian Copt. f. 103 is only included with reservations²⁴³.

When analysing *AA*'s mentality, Hornschuh rejects, with Hennecke²⁴⁴, Flamion's suggestion about Neopythagoric and Neoplatonic influences. He also reviews Quispel's opinion about *AA*'s Gnostic orientation in order to refute the existence of a *praedestinatio physica* in our text²⁴⁵. According to Hornschuh, the chief ideas in *AA*'s fragment in V, namely

²³⁸ 'Andreasakten', 272.

²³⁹ As Prieur (*Acta*, 152) seems to imply.

²⁴⁰ See Hennecke's quotation on the issue in Hornschuh, 'Andreasakten', 276 and note 6.

²⁴¹ See 'Andreasakten', 277. He very cautiously states that one should consider as belonging to the ancient Acts only those episodes in *Epitome* that are also confirmed by other witnesses. Accordingly, in his review of *Epitome*'s contents (ibid., 277-80), he only accepts as probably genuine *Epitome* 18 (PCU 1); 12 (± *Manichaeon Psalmbook* 142.20); 6 (*Narratio* 4, *Laudatio* 18); 21 (*Laudatio* 33); 31 (*Laudatio* 40); 32 (± *Laudatio* 40); 33 (*Laudatio* 41); 34 (*Laudatio* 43). For Philaster's reference to *AA* see *infra* Chapter 2, p. 129 and note 191.

²⁴² 'Andreasakten', 271.

²⁴³ Hornschuh rightly remarks that Barns' attempts to find encratite ideas in his fragment are ungrounded. Andrew's claim (I verso 22-24) that he left not only his parents, but also his wife and children are probably nothing more than a parallel to Mc 10.24 and parallels. The other alleged encratite trait in II verso 51ff is also inconclusive (ibid., 296 note 1). See also Erbetta, *Apocriphi* II, 396 note 2.

²⁴⁴ 'Andreasakten', 272.

²⁴⁵ In his view, the alleged anthropological dualism is not the result of a natural predisposition, but simply arises from the acceptance or rejection of Andrew's message. The objective of the salvation message is the true nature of the listener, namely his $\chi[\text{Ubc}\backslash\text{h}]_c\text{B aY}\#c^\wedge$ or 'intellectual part', by means of which he achieves his intellectual essence. This is precisely what differentiates the Christian $[\text{Y}\#c^\wedge$, namely the reception of the saving words, from the $g_i [[\text{YbY}]\uparrow \text{hci } 1gk \#Uhc^\wedge$ who rejected the message. According to Hornschuh, Augustine's quotation (see *supra* this Chapter, p. 8) clearly shows that this dualism is not of a Gnostic sort. In our view, however, Augustine's passage is not a conclusive argument because, firstly, it is uncertain that it belongs to *AA* and, secondly, the continuation of the passage shows that Augustine is especially interested in stating his point on free will (Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 189f and É. Junod and J.D. Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes du IIIe aux IXe siècle: le cas des Actes de Jean* (Genève, 1982) 65), (*C. Felic. Manich.* 2.6): *vide quemadmodum hic, et "per se ipsum" dicit, et "per seductionem". Fuit enim seductor hominis diabolus, non natura peccator, sed prior*

rejection of tangible reality and the will to return to the stability of the One, should rather be sought in Middle Platonism, the philosophical environment which might also explain *AA*'s encratite tendency. It is in this context that Hornschuh endorses Bousset's analysis of the speech to the cross in *Mpr* 14 and completes it with references proceeding from Middle Platonists²⁴⁶. The ancient Acts were not Gnostic but were rather influenced by Hellenistic philosophical thought of the period. As suggested by Peterson²⁴⁷, contacts are especially close with Tatian²⁴⁸. Concerning the date of composition, Hornschuh draws on the studies by C. Schmidt²⁴⁹, Peterson²⁵⁰ and Quispel²⁵¹ and takes Hadrian's reign as *terminus a quo* and the composition of *AP* as *terminus ad quem*. Given that *AP* used both *APe* and *Ath*, it is not strange to admit contacts with *AA* as well, as suggested by Quispel. The close relationship Hornschuh sees between *APe* and *AA* supports a dating for *AA* around 190²⁵².

In 1966, M. Erbetta published the second volume of his *Apocriphi*²⁵³, in which he provides Italian translations for the most relevant textual testimonies. However, he refrains from a collation of the materials and simply presents the testimonies, according to their hypothetical sequence, one after the other. The texts are the following: *AA*'s fragment in V, PCU 1, five fragments proceeding from the indirect transmission, namely Evodius I and II, Augustine's fragment, the fragment in the *Pseudo-Titus Epistle* and the Pseudo-Augustine *de*

voluntate peccator. Sed quia erat in hominis potestate seductori non consentire, ideo positum est, et "per se ipsum", et "per seductionem": ut in eo quod positum est, "per se ipsum", liberum arbitrium; in eo vero quod positum est, "per seductionem", intelligas diabolum, non oppressorem inviti, sed tentatorem volentis.

²⁴⁶ See 'Andreasakten', 273. Developing Bousset's views, Hornschuh adds other parallels from Albinus (=Alcinous, *Didasc.*) 170.1-13 and Atticus (*ap.* Eusebius, *PE* 15.12.3) in order to state that *AA* (*Mpr* 14) presents a mixture of Platonic and Stoic thought characteristic of Middle-Platonism. This mixture is revealed, in his view, by the fact that the Stoic idea of the Logos conferring unity and stability to the cosmos is applied here to the World-Soul. It must be noted, however, that the idea of the soul 'binding together and enclosing', which does not appear in Plato, is explicitly stated by Aristotle in *De an.* 411b 6ff. The idea appears later in Posidonius (fr. 149 Edelstein-Kidd). See W. Theiler, *Über die Seele* (Darmstadt, 1959), 104 and J. Dillon, *Alcinous. The Handbook of Platonism* (Oxford, 1993) 127.

²⁴⁷ E. Peterson, 'Bemerkungen zum Hamburger Papyrus-Fragment der Acta Pauli', *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome/Freiburg/Vienna, 1959) 183-208.

²⁴⁸ In Hornschuh's view ('Andreasakten', 274) the expression ἡμεῖς τὸν κόσμον ἐκείνην in *AA* (45.15) reveals a clear influence of Tatian, *Or. ad Graec.* 13.3. Also, Christ's epiphany as a beautiful child and as a bright light in *AA* must be explained as proceeding from Tatian. Furthermore, both in *AA* and in Tatian the fall of Paradise is something that simply follows creation and has no cosmological implications. The restitution of the pristine situation before the fall is, according to both, the result of self-knowledge, rejection of materiality and a fight against demons (which in *AA* are substituted by the devil).

²⁴⁹ C. Schmidt, *Die Acta Pauli nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Hamburg, 1936) 127-30.

²⁵⁰ 'Bemerkungen', 199f and 'Einige Beobachtungen zu den Anfängen der christlichen Askese', in Peterson, *Frühkirche*, 209-20 at 211.

²⁵¹ Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 145ff.

²⁵² Hornschuh, 'Andreasakten', 275; R.McL. Wilson, 'Apokryphe Apostelakten', *ThRE* 3 (Berlin, 1978) 345-46, follows all the views defended by Hornschuh.

²⁵³ M. Erbetta, *Gli Apocriphi del Nuovo Testamento II: Atti e leggende: versione e commento* (Turin, 1978 [1966]) 393-449.

*vera et falsa poenitentia*²⁵⁴. Furthermore, he translates the *virtutes Andree* in Pseudo-Abdias III, *Epistle*, including the interpolations in *2GrEp*, *Mpr* and *Malt*²⁵⁵. Finally, he offers an overview of *Vita* and a short reference to Symeon the Metaphrast²⁵⁶. Of all the textual witnesses, and in spite of its strong revision, *Epitome* represents the best means to achieve a proper idea about the main outline of the ancient Acts. *Vita* and *Laudatio*, finally, are considered to depend on a common source²⁵⁷.

Notwithstanding this, and in line with previous scholars, Erbetta takes *AA*'s fragment in V, together with PCU 1, to be the only representative of the genuine Acts. In analysing its mentality, and with Hennecke and Hornschuh, he rejects Flamion's suggestion about Neopythagoric and Neoplatonic influences. He also reviews Quispel's point of view concerning the Gnostic traits of *AA*, Hornschuh's suggestions about *AA*'s contacts with Hellenistic philosophy and Peterson's alleged parallels with Tatian. Yet there are no strong arguments to exclude a possible Gnostic orientation of the ancient *AA*²⁵⁸. By contrast, our best testimonies show that *AA*'s way of exposition presents similarities with Gnostic writers, for it elaborates ideas by taking concrete situations as a starting point²⁵⁹. In this sense, the action itself has a secondary or preparatory role. With regard to PCU 1, Erbetta accepts Quispel's interpretation, excluding perhaps the alleged contacts with *AP*. According to Erbetta, the Coptic fragment presents closer contacts with *ATH*. Hence, *AA* should be dated to 250-300, for the determining issue is not *AP*, but rather *AA*'s dependence on *ATH*²⁶⁰.

Moraldi's translation of *AA* does not provide any new ideas on the text but simply accepts the current views on *AA* and provides Italian translations of the most relevant testimonies in the following order: *Epitome*, *Epistle*, *Mpr*, ms Vat. gr. 808, PCU 1 and the Papyrus Bodleian Copt. f. 103²⁶¹. Although he deems *AA*'s fragment in V as our best testimony for *AA*, he follows Flamion and James in considering *Epitome* a reliable synthesis of *AA*.

²⁵⁴ V, *Apocriphi* II, 399-403; PCU 1, 404-06; fragments, 406-07.

²⁵⁵ *Virtutes*, *Apocriphi* II, 408-28; *Epistle*, 429-37; *Mpr* and *Malt*, 438-45.

²⁵⁶ Erbetta, *Apocriphi* II, 446.

²⁵⁷ Erbetta, *Apocriphi* II, 446.

²⁵⁸ According to Erbetta (*Apocriphi* II, 398), the efforts by Peterson and Hornschuh to disprove a Gnostic interpretation are not wholly justified. The lack of typically and univocally Gnostic elements is a weak argument, for our evidence for the ancient Acts is scarce. Moreover, Gregory's explanation for his summarising activity in his prologue (*Epitome*, prol. 11-13, *quia inviolatam fidem non exegit multitudo verborum, sed integritas rationis et puritas mentis*) seems to imply that not only verbosity but also its doctrinal character impelled the bishop of Tours to revise the text.

²⁵⁹ *Apocriphi* II, 398.

²⁶⁰ *Apocriphi* II, 404.

²⁶¹ L. Moraldi, *Apocriphi del Nuovo Testamento* II (Turin, 1986 [1971]) 1351-429.

In 1976, A. Orbe dedicated some attention to *AA* in his *Cristología Gnóstica*²⁶². In his view, Andrew's speech to Maximilla (V^b 40.12-22) reveals a background of Gnostic categories according to which man's degradation into materiality arises from the intellect's error of distracting its attention from its proper activity. Accordingly, the passage focuses on the correction of this first fall and presents Maximilla and Andrew as a reversal of the first couple.

In his article 'Apokryphe Apostelakten'²⁶³, Plümacher offers a review of the research on *AA*, which mostly follows Hornschuh's points of view on the issue. After reviewing the textual witnesses for *AA* and offering an evaluation of their reliability in accordance with the analysis of Flamion²⁶⁴, he states that Andrew's peregrinations should be reconstructed by means of *Epitome* only when its testimony is confirmed by other sources²⁶⁵. With regard to PCU 1, he accepts Quispel's suggestion that the fragment presents the original episode of *Epitome* 18 and also follows him in establishing contacts between *AA* and *AP*. As the latter also uses *APe*, it is clear that *AP* used *AA* and not vice versa²⁶⁶. Consequently, the composition of *AP* can be considered a *terminus ad quem*, while the *terminus a quo* is Hadrian's reign, the period in which the encratite sects originated²⁶⁷.

Detorakis' publication of 1982 deserves to be mentioned not for its quality but simply because it includes, although in a deficient form, the *editio princeps* of Andrew's martyrdom in S and H. The interest of these two mss had already been emphasised by Ehrhard in his review of Flamion's book²⁶⁸. His introduction to this edition combines Flamion and Dvornik's views on *AA* with a couple of unnecessary and erroneous contributions of his own, which have thus far remained concealed thanks to the fact that it is written in Modern Greek. Thus, for example, his 'refinement' of Flamion's theory about a Western and a Eastern transmission, which he completes with a subdivision of the Eastern branch into an Achaean ('naturally and

²⁶² A. Orbe, *Cristología Gnóstica. Introducción a la soteriología de los siglos II y III* (Madrid, 1976) 161-62.

²⁶³ E. Plümacher, 'Apokryphe Apostelakten', *RE Suppl.* 15 (Munich, 1978) 11-70: *AA* at 30-34.

²⁶⁴ 'Apostelakten', 31.

²⁶⁵ 'Apostelakten', 32. So also Hornschuh, see *supra* this Chapter, pp. 27-29 and note 241.

²⁶⁶ 'Apostelakten', 34.

²⁶⁷ Peterson, 'Beobachtungen', 211.

²⁶⁸ See *supra* this Chapter, note 20. At first sight, it might seem that Detorakis is not aware of his predecessor, for Ehrhard is significantly ignored in all bibliographical references. However, Detorakis' attribution of *Laudatio* to Nicetas the Paphlagonian clearly shows that the editor is deliberately ignoring his source of information. With the exception of Ehrhard, every single scholar since Bonnet has considered *Laudatio* anonymous. The obvious conclusion is that Detorakis draws both issues, i.e. his knowledge about S and H and *Laudatio*'s attribution to Nicetas, from Ehrhard's review.

logically the closest to the historical facts' (!)²⁶⁹) and a Constantinopolitan branch²⁷⁰. At the same time, his valuation of H and S, which he seems to prefer to Vat. gr. 808²⁷¹ is, in our opinion, if not incorrect at least disproportionate. Furthermore, he not only wrongly considers *Laudatio* the most complete text of the Eastern transmission²⁷² (*Narratio* is completely ignored in his study), but he also states that it depends upon Andrew's martyrdom in S and H²⁷³. No less striking is his dating method: his *terminus a quo* is the composition of the ancient Acts and his *terminus ad quem Laudatio*, as this text uses mss S and H (!).

In 1985, A.F.J. Klijn published the second volume of his *Apocriefen van het Nieuwe Testament*²⁷⁴. After a short introduction, in which he summarily reviews the contents and the character of *AA*, he includes Dutch translations of PCU 1 by R. van den Broek²⁷⁵, and of *AA*'s fragment in V and of the *martyrium* by A. Heeringa²⁷⁶. Also in 1985, M.A. Williams dedicated some pages to *AA*, or more precisely to some sections of *AA*'s fragment in V²⁷⁷. He first comments on the opening lines of Andrew's incomplete speech to the brethren in order to defend, with Hornschuh and against Quispel, that our text does not state a *praedestinatio physica* – that is, a deterministic dualism of natures –, but rather a distinction between those who accept Andrew's message and those who do not²⁷⁸.

At the end of the 1980s, after a number of publications on the apostle Andrew²⁷⁹, J.M. Prieur finally published his edition and commentary on *AA*²⁸⁰. The second volume of his work is the textual edition itself and includes, firstly, the so-called *Actes d'André grecs (AAgr)*

²⁶⁹ Detorakis, '5bY#Xhc aUfhi #|c', 328: 'Dc`i PUEl U]c#Yf\ _U]Pdc`i Pg\ aUbh]_k #Yf\ Y]AU] VY#U]U \fl 5l U]§\PdUfU#cg\z UZci 1Ui h\PZi g]_UP_U]P`c[_]UPdfY#Y] bUPVf]#_YhU] d]cP_cbhUPgh\B]ghcf]_\P dfU] aUhc_c#hU'.

²⁷⁰ Detorakis, '5bY#Xhc aUfhi #|c', 326-27.

²⁷¹ Detorakis, '5bY#Xhc aUfhi #|c', 330. His argument is that these two mss are complete (?), while Vat. gr. 808 lacks its beginning and end. The obvious conclusion is that he does not realise that the text included in Vat. gr. 808 is almost completely omitted in S and H.

²⁷² Detorakis, '5bY#Xhc aUfhi #|c', 327.

²⁷³ Detorakis, '5bY#Xhc aUfhi #|c', 331.

²⁷⁴ A.F.J. Klijn, *Apocriefen van het Nieuwe Testament II* (Kampen, 1985) 161-82.

²⁷⁵ See Klijn, *Apocriefen II*, 161-62.

²⁷⁶ The text of the *martyrium* is based on Flamion's reconstruction, see Klijn, *Apocriefen II*, 163 note 1.

²⁷⁷ M.A. Williams, *The Immovable Race. A Gnostic Designation and the Theme of Stability in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 1985) 180-85.

²⁷⁸ *Immovable Race*, 181-82. After refraining from dealing with the question of whether our text should be labelled Gnostic, Williams asserts that the central theme of the fragment is the escape from the realm of movement with a view to achieving the stability and repose characteristic of a perfect humanity. In his view, Maximilla and Andrew represent, as Moses does in Philo, concrete models transcending instability according to a pessimistic conception of human life common to late antiquity (*Immovable Race*, 182 note 28).

²⁷⁹ J.M. Prieur, 'La figure de l'Apôtre André dans les Actes apocryphes d'André', in Bovon, *Actes apocryphes*, 121-39; 'Découvertes'; 'Response', *Semeia* 38 (1986) 27-33; 'Les Actes apocryphes de l'Apôtre André: Présentation des diverses Traditions apocryphes et état de la question', *ANRW II* 26.6 (1988) 4383-414; 'Andreasakten. Einleitung', in Schneemelcher, *NTA II* (Tübingen, 1989) 93-108.

²⁸⁰ Prieur, *Acta*.

narrating the events between Stratocles' return to Patras and Andrew's crucifixion²⁸¹. This edition consists of a collation of already known materials²⁸² and two new textual witnesses for the martyrdom²⁸³. Immediately afterwards, Prieur reproduces Bonnet's edition of *Epitome* furnished with a French translation²⁸⁴. There follows PCU1, edited by R. van den Broek and translated into French by Prieur²⁸⁵. Then, he offers a new edition of *Mpr*, which adds four new manuscripts to the two already known and used by Bonnet²⁸⁶. Surprisingly, in this case only, the editor deprives the reader of a translation. Finally, he offers some extracts from *Laudatio* and *Mpr*²⁸⁷ and a synoptic exposition of different versions of Andrew's speech to the cross, which includes the Greek testimonies and *Arm* in the French translation by L. Leloir, but ignores the parallels in the Latin testimonies²⁸⁸.

Unlike in former editions and translations, *AA* fragments proceeding from indirect transmission are not included in the textual edition but in the introduction to his commentary. According to Prieur, the fragment transmitted by *Pseudo-Titus Epistle* is a paraphrase of a longer and transformed episode in *Epitome* 11²⁸⁹. As to the alleged Coptic fragment in Papyrus Bodleian Copt. f. 103, he reproduces, with serious errors²⁹⁰, Barns' text and provides a French translation thereof. With regard to Augustine's fragment, Prieur thinks that its style and contents present similarities with *AA* and that it might refer to a lost section of the ancient Acts²⁹¹. He naturally also refers to Evodius I and II, and for the former mentions an episode preserved in S and H (*AAgr* 17) in which Euclia replaces Maximilla in her conjugal bed. The latter, including the reference to a *puerulus speciosus*, might have appeared in the lost section following chapter *AAgr* 32, for this chapter refers to a $\delta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ that opens the prison doors for Maximilla and Iphidama²⁹². He also includes the fragment in Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 851, although due to its brevity he does not accept Flamion's suggestion that the fragment belongs to the episode preserved by *Epitome* 18²⁹³. Finally, Prieur rejects the view

²⁸¹ Prieur, *Acta*, 441-549.

²⁸² Such as S and H, V, *Malt* A and B, *Laudatio* and interpolations in *2GrEp*.

²⁸³ The two new textual witnesses for the martyrdom are mss Ann Arbor 36 and Hierosol. Sab. 30.

²⁸⁴ Prieur, *Acta*, 551-651.

²⁸⁵ Prieur, *Acta*, 653-71.

²⁸⁶ Prieur, *Acta*, 673-703. Even though the introduction to the edition of *Mpr* (*Acta*, 675-83) mentions five new manuscripts, later one reads that one of them was not accessible (ibid. 677), namely the ms under siglum M (Athens BN Methochion 245). Nevertheless, the ms is included in the list of mss.

²⁸⁷ Prieur, *Acta*, 705-33.

²⁸⁸ Prieur, *Acta*, 735-45.

²⁸⁹ Prieur, *Acta*, 20-21.

²⁹⁰ Prieur, *Acta*, 22. Lines II recto 40-45 are displaced to II verso. As a result, the text lacks section II recto 40-45 and section II verso 55-end is illegible. See also J.K. Elliott, 'Review Prieur', *NTest* 33/4 (1991) 377-81 at 380.

²⁹¹ Prieur, *Acta*, 25-26.

²⁹² Hennecke already suggested that Evodius II should be placed before the beginning of V.

²⁹³ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 250.

that considers the Pseudo-Augustine *de vera et falsa poenitentia* a fragment of *AA*. With regard to the other texts including stories about Andrew and another apostle, such as *AAM* and *AAP*, Prieur rejects their belonging to the ancient Acts²⁹⁴.

At first sight, Prieur's *AAgr* seems to present a complete textual reconstruction of the last section of the ancient Acts, including the totality of the events at Patras preceding Andrew's martyrdom. Indeed, the title given to this reconstruction, *Actes d'André grecs*, seems to imply such a conclusion and so does the analysis and exposition, in the introduction to his book, of all extant textual witnesses for this part of *AA*. In addition, his apparatus to the text also includes frequent references to other witnesses, such as *Laudatio*, *Mpr*, *Narratio* and *Arm*. A closer analysis of this edition, however, shows that a reconstruction of *AA*, including all known events during Andrew's stay in Patras, is not within the scope of the editor. Rather, he takes the testimony of S and H as a textual frame within which all other textual witnesses are included. Since all other witnesses, excluding V and C, are usually used as *correctores*, his *AAgr* can be considered as a corrected edition of S and H rather than a comprehensive edition of the last section of *AA*²⁹⁵. By means of this procedure, Prieur seems to pursue a textual continuity that, by flowing from beginning to end, might provide the reader with an uninterrupted account of the last part of *AA*. Despite his meritorious efforts, the continuity achieved by means of using S and H as a textual frame remains an artificial continuum²⁹⁶.

²⁹⁴ Prieur, *Acta*, 32-33.

²⁹⁵ We think that this is evident in the beginning of his *AAgr*, which neglects the numerous events following Andrew's arrival in Patras, as recorded by several other reliable documents. Thus, for example, Andrew's visit to Sosios and the subsequent healing of a very sick man (*Laudatio* 335.15-20; *Vita* 244 D and, partially, *Epitome* 22; cf. 30.4), Lesbios' episode (*Laudatio* 335.21-338.8; *Mpr* 3-8; *Epitome* 22-27) and the series of miraculous healings of Maximilla, a paralytic, a blind man and a leper (*Laudatio* 38, 39, 40, 41; *Vita* 245 A8-D11; *Epitome* 30.5, 31, 32, 33). Prieur begins where S and H begin, namely with the episode of Stratocles' return to the city. But this tendency can also be found in other sections of the text. On the one hand, in Andrew's speech to the cross, Prieur's arbitrary choice of witnesses excludes many passages that, preserved by *Mpr* and *Laudatio*, are also supported by *Arm*. These elements are not included in his *AAgr* and are presented separately from the main Greek text in a synoptic exposition at the end of the book (Prieur, *Acta*, 734-45). Prieur's explanation is that these documents do not allow an exact reconstruction of this section of *AA* and only give a general idea – one may wonder whether this does not apply to S and H as well. On the other hand, it frequently includes sections that are only attested by S and H. This is the case with *AAgr* 54.8-10, which is only attested by S (f. 130^v) and H (f. 166^v). Another example is *AAgr* 53.19-25, which is only vaguely echoed by *Arm* 11, but has no correspondence in any of the Greek and Latin documents. Especially interesting is the section *AAgr* 61.4-11, which consists of two parts preserved by different unique testimonies: the first one, 61.4-8, by S and H and the second one, 61.8-11 by C. See also *AAgr* 64.1-2, where the editor introduces the reading $\text{ci} \text{H} \setminus \text{ak} \text{b}$ (S/H, Q), which will have important consequences in later commentaries on *AA*, against the testimony of all other extant textual witnesses (C, *Laudatio*, *Narratio*, P, O and *2GrEp*). See *infra* p. 59, note 417.

²⁹⁶ The text presents an important internal unevenness which, even if less perceptible in Prieur's homogenising French translation, is nevertheless visible in the Greek text: vocabulary, syntax, style, context and mentality diverge significantly from section to section depending on the documents used to reconstruct them. The marked differences between sections *AAgr* 1-32, 33-50 and 51-65 are more than evident and should prevent the reader from accepting the text as a harmonious textual whole.

A glance at the disposition of the texts offered by Prieur clearly reveals his evaluation of the textual witnesses. The eclectic text resulting from S and H and the collation of the extant testimonies for this section occupies a privileged position, as its title clearly shows²⁹⁷. In this textual reconstruction *Arm* has a very high rank, although thus far neither its value for the martyrdom's textual reconstruction has been assessed nor its relationship with the Greek tradition been determined on the basis of a critical analysis of their concordances and divergence²⁹⁸.

Epitome also occupies a high rank among *AA*'s testimonies and it provides, as S/H do for the martyrdom, the textual frame for Andrew's peregrinations. As according to Prieur *Epitome* depends on a Latin version of the primitive Acts and Gregory's revision only eliminates *AA*'s excessive verbosity²⁹⁹, he assumes that it preserves, in an abbreviated and revised form, the right sequence of Andrew's peregrinations³⁰⁰. As no real assessment of *Epitome*'s genuineness and reliability is offered, Gregory's value seems to be exclusively deduced from the alleged contacts with *Pseudo-Titus Epistle* and PCU 1. While the former fragment allegedly preserves the original tenor of *Epitome* 11, the latter is said, with Quispel, to preserve the genuine account of what appears in *Epitome* 18 in a very revised version³⁰¹. With regard to the other witnesses preserving Andrew's peregrinations, Prieur adopts Flamion's point of view that *Laudatio* depends on *Vita*³⁰². As we have already pointed out, Flamion's interpretation is hardly correct³⁰³. In Prieur's case, however, such an assertion is more serious because he claims to have consulted mss Paris BN 1510 and Esc y II 6 in order to complete Dressel's defective edition of *Vita*, and these mss annul most of Flamion's assumptions. As for *Narratio*, according to Prieur only its second part relies on the ancient

²⁹⁷ It remains unclear whether Prieur considers his reconstruction of the last part of *AA* satisfying or not, for he pronounces contradictory statements on the issue. Whereas on page (*Acta*) 7, he seems to consider that his reconstruction preserves the section it covers almost completely, on page (*ibid.*) 436, he is more sceptical about the results.

²⁹⁸ See V. Calzolari, 'La versione armena del *Martirio di Andrea* e il suo rapporto con la tradizione manoscritta dell'originale greco', *Muséon* 111 (1998) 139-56 at 143: 'Fino ad oggi, tuttavia, non è stata espressa una valutazione del valore critico dell'armeno per la ricostituzione del martirio, né è stato precisato quale sia il rapporto tra la versione e la tradizione manoscritta greca, attraverso un esame dettagliato ed esaustivo delle concordanze e delle divergenze del testo armeno rispetto ai testimoni greci ...'.

²⁹⁹ However, as Erbetta pointed out (see *supra* this Chapter, note 258), Gregory's words in his prologue seem to imply that something more than *AA*'s verbosity was bothering the Bishop of Tours.

³⁰⁰ As we have seen, Hornschuh already warned that *Epitome*'s episodes should be only accepted when other textual witnesses also support them.

³⁰¹ Only two passages, which had already been discussed by previous scholarship, namely *Epitome* 11 and 18, are contrasted with alleged original passages in *Pseudo-Titus Epistle* and PCU 1, respectively. See Prieur, *Acta*, 40-45.

³⁰² Prieur, *Acta*, 15, 18-21.

³⁰³ In our opinion, *Laudatio*'s account is to be preferred to *Vita*. In general, the former presents a superior version of the first part including Andrew's peregrinations, and from Andrew's arrival at Patras onwards its superiority is more than clear. See *supra* this Chapter, p. 17 and note 160.

Acts. The overestimation of *Epitome*'s account results, in our view, in certain erroneous evaluations concerning those episodes that might have belonged to the ancient Acts and those that did not³⁰⁴.

There are also other documents that, in Prieur's view, are reliable enough to illuminate certain obscure points. This is the case with *Epistle*, which he appreciates not only for the interpolations included in its second Greek translation, but also because the Latin original might preserve remains of a dialogue between Aegeates and Andreas preceding his imprisonment³⁰⁵. However, even accepting the possibility that its dialogue style might reflect the existence in the ancient Acts of similar sections, the alleged contacts between *LatEp* 3.8-9 and *AAgr* 26.10-11 are none such³⁰⁶. With regard to *Conversante*, Prieur follows Flamion³⁰⁷ in believing that it depends both on *LatEp* and on *AA*. As we will show below³⁰⁸, this presumption is unnecessary for *Conversante*'s contacts with *LatEp* may be simply due to the fact that they use the same or similar sources.

Prieur's *Acta Andreae* has certainly contributed positively to the research on *AA*. His comprehensive approach to the extant textual witnesses, which are also enriched by two new manuscripts for the martyrdom and with four more for *Mpr*, is a valuable contribution. His

³⁰⁴ So, for instance, Prieur's evaluation (*Acta*, 46-47) of the disagreement between *Laudatio* (and *Vita*), on the one hand, and *Epitome*, on the other, with regard to the events immediately following Andrew's arrival in Patras. According to *Laudatio* (335.15-20), Andrew goes with his followers to Sosios and after healing him he walks around the city where he sees a very sick man lying on a rubbish heap (= *Vita* 244 D). *Epitome* 22, however, omits both issues and begins with Lesbios' story. As far as *Epitome* omitting Sosios is concerned, Prieur argues that the omission is not that relevant because according to Gregory Lesbios sends someone to look for Andrew at his lodgings and this place cannot be anywhere but Sosios' house. Moreover (*Acta*, 46 note 1), *Epitome* knows the name Sosios (wrongly for Sosia in *Epitome* 30.3-4). It is his explanation of *Epitome*'s second omission that is most peculiar, for against all the evidence he attempts to impose the superiority of its account. In Prieur's view, it is not *Epitome* that omits, but *Laudatio* and *Vita* that repeat the same healing that they include later on (*Laudatio* 41 and *Vita* 245 D). Prieur's speculations, however, are ungrounded. Both episodes in *Laudatio* and *Vita*, even though they have a rubbish heap in common, are completely different stories. Whereas in the first one (*Laudatio* 33; *Vita* 244 D) Andrew encounters the sick man lying on the rubbish, in the second (*Laudatio* 41; *Vita* 245 D) he is requested by some people to go with them to the place where the man is. While in the first one the healing takes place in the city, in the second it happens in the harbour; whereas in the first one the man is just said to be very sick, in the second he is a leper, etc. It seems obvious that *Epitome* presents a defective version of the facts. We may conclude that for the events between the apostle's arrival in Patras and Stratocles' return from Italy, *Laudatio* and *Mpr* are our best testimonies and even *Vita*, certainly inferior to the former documents, preserves a better version than *Epitome*.

³⁰⁵ Prieur, *Acta*, 13.

³⁰⁶ The so-called parallels are as different as day and night. Whereas *AAgr* 26.10-11 (Gi PY]ÂcftldchY#aci h\B gi aV]#b]UgU#Ybc^""") expresses Aegeates' surprise on recognising the apostle and, consequently, is a simple affirmative sentence, *LatEp* 3.8-9 is a question (*Tu es Andreas, qui destruis templa deorum et suades hominibus ad superstitiosam sectam ...?*). The character and the contents of both passages are so different that one is surprised to read that something like 'You are' can be used to establish a textual relationship between them. In spite of Prieur, as Bonnet already suggested, the first 9 chapters of *LatEp* should be considered an original invention of its writer and have nothing to do with the ancient Acts. Notwithstanding this, it is, of course, possible that a scene in the Acts including a dialogue between Aegeates and Andrew might have inspired Gregory.

³⁰⁷ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 43-50.

eclectic text for the last section of *AA* on the basis of S and H has the advantage of providing a general idea about the development of the action in the last part of *AA*. However, it also has disadvantages. The most important is the inclusion of *AA*'s fragment in V in an artificial textual continuum achieved by means of the mass of later and reworked textual witnesses³⁰⁹. Such an inclusion is clearly problematic because obvious differences in the resulting text with regard to style, textual continuity, contents and mentality are barely disguised by means of, in our view incorrect, emendations proceeding from S and H³¹⁰. The stylistic differences are due to the fact that S and H systematically eliminate every substantial discourse³¹¹. As a result their mainly narrative style strongly contrasts with the eminently discursive character of *AA*'s fragment in V. The fictitious textual continuity between sections 1-32, 33-50 and 51-65 is very obvious. Prieur lets chapter 32 be followed by *AA*'s fragment in V, but the obvious lacuna between both sections – even if difficult to evaluate since *AA*'s fragment lacks its beginning and S and H omit the whole speech to the brethren – seems to be larger than the editor supposes³¹². With regard to the section between the end of *AA*'s fragment in V and the beginning of the martyrdom – that is, between chapters *AAgr* 50 and 51 – the matter is also unclear. S and H, *Arm* and *Narratio* agree in letting both sections follow each other, but this is not conclusive evidence for they all also agree in eliminating the most substantial parts of V.

Nevertheless, the most serious problem of this textual reconstruction is the conceptually extraneous context in which *AA*'s fragment in V is placed. The peculiar mentality reflected by this document is overshadowed when combined with lengthier sections that have been extensively revised and rewritten. As might be expected, Prieur's interpretation of *AA*'s mentality is highly conditioned by the diversified materials that form his textual edition. Given the fact that his *AAgr* include very divergent versions of the ancient Acts, the reader is not surprised when Prieur concludes that *AA* presents the influence of

³⁰⁸ See *infra* Chapter 2, § 3.1.2.1.2, pp. 109-114.

³⁰⁹ As we will show below (see *infra* Chapter 2, § 3.1.1, pp. 87-95), V can be used to test the reliability of the documents presenting sections that overlap with it. Textual comparison reveals that all other extant testimonies highly revise or simply omit discourses almost completely and only keep the necessary elements to assure textual continuity. S and H belong to the second group. Their common source was obviously extensively revised and omitted important sections not only in the passage preserved by V, but also at the beginning of their text, as many traces of clumsy cutting clearly show.

³¹⁰ Compare *AAgr* 37.4 to V^b 39.30; *AAgr* 37.5-6 to V^b 39.31-32; *AAgr* 44.4-6 to V^b 43.8; *AAgr* 44.6-7 to V^b 43.8-9; *AAgr* 46.5-7 to V^b 43.30-31; *AAgr* 46.11-12 to V^b 43.37; *AAgr* 50.20 to V^b 45.29.

³¹¹ The following discursive sections of V are omitted in S and H: V^b 38.2-20; 40.10-41.9; 41.26-27; 41.36-42.8; 42.8-31; 44.8-45.14.

³¹² In any case, if Prieur is right in assuming that Evodius' fragment about the *puerolus speciosus* was placed after the end of *AAgr* 32, a necessary conclusion is that the lacuna is more relevant than he seems to be prepared to admit, for one must still add the lost beginning of the speech to the brethren in V to this episode.

Neopythagoric, Middle Platonic, Stoic, Neoplatonic, and Gnosticising thought all at the same time³¹³.

In spite of all this, the artificial continuum of *AAgr* 1-65 appears to the reader as a unity provided with the Aristotelian tripartite structure of introduction-core-denouement. The first 32 chapters are almost exclusively narrative and give the impression of narrating the sequence of introductory events that would lead to Andrew's imprisonment. However, many truncated, re-elaborated and revised short discursive sections in this first part show that the text was originally much more discursive and, consequently, not what it seems in its current form³¹⁴. *AA*'s fragment in V, as it is mainly discursive and contains important conceptual developments, seems to occupy the central part of the continuum, the core of the story that will be resolved in the last part or martyrdom. This apparent textual continuity would also, in our view, generate some negative developments in the scholarly research on *AA*. Until Prieur's edition, researchers had always been aware of the important re-elaboration of the extant testimonies and, consequently, had also been extremely cautious when attributing a given scene or trait to the genuine Acts. Editions as well as translations of the materials always presented the different traditions separately in order to facilitate a proper comparison of their differences and peculiarities. Since Prieur's edition this has no longer been the case. The bulk of publications on *AA* which have appeared since then tend to consider Prieur's eclectic text as a 'real' continuum and consequently proceed to analyse it and draw conclusions on its character, style, contents and mentality, as though scholars were facing a textual unity transmitting the last part of *AA*³¹⁵.

Precisely a year later, in 1990, D.R. MacDonald published his edition of *AA*³¹⁶, which presents an approach to Andrew's traditions rather different from Prieur. His eclectic text is the result of a comprehensive analysis of the transmission that attempts to reconstruct the contents and the whole itinerary of the ancient Acts. The major difference with the previous edition is that, unlike Flamion and Prieur, he considers the story about Andrew rescuing Matthias from the city of cannibals as belonging to the ancient Acts³¹⁷. After defending his

³¹³ Prieur, *Acta*, 372-79; 407-16.

³¹⁴ *AAgr* 7; 8.1-5; 9.3-17; 11; 12.1-14.

³¹⁵ See *infra* this Chapter, note 333.

³¹⁶ D.R. MacDonald, *The Acts of Andrew and the Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of Cannibals* (Atlanta, 1990).

³¹⁷ However, he admits that *AAM* in its current form may include later interpolations and that, consequently, Flamion's claim about the Egyptian traits and origin might be correct (*Cannibals*, 46-47). Manuscriptal and external evidence shows that the section *AAM* 11-15 is due to later interpolators, who have also changed other sections. These changes explain the evident stylistic differences between *AAM* and other undisputed sections of *AA*.

point and discussing Flamion's and Prieur's arguments denying that *AAM* belongs to *AA*, he offers his reconstruction of the Ancient Acts, which is divided into four sections. The first one offers a reconstruction of *AAM* by combining the Greek testimonies with the Latin and Anglo-Saxon versions³¹⁸. The second part reproduces *Epitome* along with parallels from *Laudatio*, *Vita*, *Mpr* and *Narratio*³¹⁹. In this section, *Epitome* is not only collated with other documents in different languages, but also interrupted by six excursuses that intend to fill the gaps created by Gregory's clumsy cuts. The introduction to this section states MacDonald's position with regard to the textual witnesses used for it³²⁰. His views do not differ much from those held by Flamion and Prieur: Gregory provides the main textual frame into which the other testimonies are included³²¹. He further considers that *Laudatio*, a recast of *Vita* in the section covering Andrew's peregrinations³²², uses another source, which was also used by *Mpr*, for the last part of *AA*. *Narratio*, finally, is said to combine 'other sources', some of which themselves may have used the ancient Acts³²³.

The third part of his text includes the passion³²⁴. MacDonald's text is primarily based on S and H, C, V and *Arm*, but occasionally incorporates readings from *Laudatio*, *Mpr* and *Epistle*. Those parts that he considers 'potentially primitive' are simply included in the text or in the notes independently of their provenance or language. He also includes an excursus that presents a hypothetical reconstruction of the speech to the cross by comparing Greek testimonies with *Arm*³²⁵. The fourth section, finally, is dedicated to other related materials and actually includes only two fragments, namely Augustine's fragment in *Against the Manichean Felix* 2. 6 and the fragment in Papyrus Bodleain Copt. f. 103.

As a result of this combination of material of diverse origin, date and purpose, the scholar achieves a varied textual whole which is said to narrate Andrew's peregrinations first from Achaia to the Myrmidons, then through Amasia, Nicomedia and Byzantium toward Thrace and Macedonia in order finally to arrive in Patras. As MacDonald thinks that this textual whole reliably reflects the contents of the ancient Acts, he concludes that there are in

³¹⁸ *Cannibals*, 61-177.

³¹⁹ *Cannibals*, 179-317.

³²⁰ *Cannibals*, 181-86.

³²¹ His opinions generally coincide with those of Prieur. The *Pseudo-Titus-Epistle* is said to allude to the double wedding at Philippi in *Epitome* 11; the Manichaean *Psalm-book* to the extinguished fire in *Epitome* 12 and Pap. Oxyrh. 851 ('almost certainly a fragment of the Acts') is believed to correspond with *Epitome* 18. Similarly PCU 1 is, in his view, a fuller version of Gregory's recasting in *Epitome* 18.

³²² He even refers to Flamion's 'brilliant assessment' of *Laudatio*'s recasting of Epiphanius (*Cannibals*, 184 note 15).

³²³ *Cannibals*, 185.

³²⁴ *Cannibals*, 319-441.

³²⁵ Excursus H, *Cannibals*, 409-51

the text enough elements to believe that its author(s) wanted to write a Christian *Odyssey*³²⁶. By means of this Christian remake of Homeric poems, *AA* might have tried to replace the Greek traditional system of values with another in which Christian virtues were conceived as a reversal of the Homeric ones³²⁷. With regard to *AA*'s date and place of composition, MacDonald takes Origen's reference to the apocryphal Acts (*ap.* Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.1) as the *terminus ante quem*. Thus, *AA* should not be dated later than 200³²⁸. With regard to the place of composition, he thinks that, given Origen's knowledge of the Acts, the influence of Middle-Platonism and *AA*'s similarities with *AJ*, Alexandria is the most likely place.

After reading MacDonald's book, it is impossible to deny that his is a fresh and new approach to *AA*. His study presents many interesting aspects and brings to the foreground relevant issues that had previously remained veiled. Notwithstanding this, the question arises about the extent to which his reconstruction reflects the contents of the genuine Acts at all. Long ago Hennecke had already warned those scholars who too optimistically wanted to reconstruct *AA* on the basis of an indiscriminate use of *Epitome* that this text was just a collection of *admiranda miracula* and very much revised. This is not a problem for MacDonald – in his edition *Epitome*, along with *AAM*, *Vita*, *Laudatio* and *Narratio*, articulates the story about Andrew as it supposedly appeared in *AA*. As a result, in MacDonald's reconstruction *AA* becomes a collection of miracles, a simple series of healing and wondrous deeds, which eclipses the central role that Andrew's words played in the genuine Acts. *AA*'s ancient fragment in V, which is mainly discursive, disappears under the weight of much reworked and revised material³²⁹.

A reaction against such an interpretation of *AA* on the basis of the outline offered by *Epitome* can already be found in L. van Kampen's *Apostelverhalen* from 1990³³⁰. The starting points of his investigation are PCU 1 and Prieur's reconstruction of the last part of *AA*. After

³²⁶ So, for instance, the Myrmidons and their visit, like Odysseus, to the netherworld; Andrew's journey back to Achaia replete with demons, storms and monstrous beasts; Patras as the equivalent of Ithaca; Andrew is tied to the cross as Odysseus to the mast, etc. etc. Those interested in this highly imaginative and intelligent reading can consult his monographic study on the issue, *Christianizing Homer. The Odyssey, Plato and the Acts of Andrew* (New York/ Oxford, 1994). A critical discussion of his arguments can be found in Hilhorst-Lalleman, 'Andrew and Matthias', 6-14.

³²⁷ *Cannibals*, 55: 'Instead of Odysseus's wealth, sex, and violence, the heroes here represent poverty, chastity, and military disobedience'.

³²⁸ *Cannibals*, 56-57. MacDonald believes that Origen's wording shows that he derived his knowledge of Acts from the original version. Since Origen wrote his commentary before his flight to Caesarea in 231, and since at that time the Church considered the Acts as an established tradition, *AA*'s composition cannot be placed after the end of the second century.

³²⁹ Consider that of the 341 pages of text and translation in MacDonald's edition, less than 10%, only 26 pages, is occupied by V. It is obvious that the importance of this fragment and its contents (which are, by the way, seriously altered as a result of the introduction of, in our view, inferior readings proceeding from S and H) disappears under the bulk of materials of miraculous kind.

analysing the content and form of the Coptic papyrus³³¹, Van Kampen focuses on Prieur's *AAgr*³³², a text that in his view represents a well-finished and coherent textual whole³³³. In his opinion, a comparison between the contents of these two texts with the alleged parallels in *Epitome* clearly shows that Gregory's version is a very poor and unreliable testimony for the reconstruction of *AA*³³⁴. As to PCU 1, he rejects Quispel's opinion, followed by Prieur, that *Epitome* 18 preserves a transformed version of the episode in the Coptic fragment. In his view there are enough basic differences to raise reasonable doubts about the alleged contacts between both texts³³⁵. With regard to *AAgr*, he thinks that a comparison of this text with the parallels in *Epitome* 34-36³³⁶ shows that Gregory resumed³³⁷ and transformed to such an extent that almost nothing of the primitive text remains³³⁸. *Epitome* only preserves certain spectacular aspects of the story and systematically eliminates direct speech³³⁹. Hence, he concludes, even admitting that Gregory worked on a version of the ancient Acts, his rendering is a rather poor one³⁴⁰. By contrast, a comparison between PCU 1 and *AAgr*³⁴¹ reveals enough parallels to be able to assume that PCU 1 belongs to the ancient Acts.

Van Kampen's critical attitude towards the too easily accepted contacts between PCU 1 and *Epitome* 18 and towards the apparent reliability of Gregory is an interesting and necessary conclusion to Prieur's textual reconstruction. If one accepts that *AAgr* reliably

³³⁰ Van Kampen, *Apostelverhalen*, see *supra* this Chapter, note 215.

³³¹ *Apostelverhalen*, 123-27.

³³² *Apostelverhalen*, 128-58.

³³³ *Apostelverhalen*, 129. According to Van Kampen, *AAgr* 1 and 64 can be seen as the beginning and end of a closed textual unity for they both refer to the two protagonists of the story, namely Stratocles and Maximilla. This interpretation of Prieur's edition as a textual whole, and a subsequent literary analysis that tends to distinguish three constitutive sections, namely introduction, core and denouement, will become from now on a standard one. It is true that Van Kampen divides the text into four sections, plus an epilogue and a conclusion, but his literary analysis of these sections shows that they can be easily reduced to three basic units, of which Andrew's discourses form the textual core.

³³⁴ *Apostelverhalen*, 159-61. See also L. van Kampen, 'Acta Andreae and Gregory's *de miraculis Andreae*', *VChr* 45 (1991) 18-26.

³³⁵ See *supra* this Chapter, note 222.

³³⁶ *Apostelverhalen*, 160. The correspondences are the following: *Epitome* 34.1-3 = *AAgr* 1-12; *Epitome* 35.14-25 = *AAgr* 13; *Epitome* 36.26-28 = *AAgr* 26; *Epitome* 36.28-31 = *AAgr* 54 and 63.

³³⁷ *Apostelverhalen*, 159; 'Acta Andreae and Gregory', 19. As *Epitome* reduces to 3 all 65 chapters of Prieur's textual reconstruction, and assuming that the same ratio applies to the remainder of his version, he argues that the ancient Acts might have consisted of 798 chapters.

³³⁸ *Apostelverhalen*, 160-61. He refers to the following issues: Stratocles loses his predominant role; Aegeates' characterisation as the devil's son disappears; Maximilla's chastity is reduced to a minimum; the essential role played by Andrew's words as a means of salvation is completely ignored.

³³⁹ *Apostelverhalen*, 160. Whereas in *AAgr* direct speech occupies 60.4 %, in *Epitome* 34-36 it is only 17.2%.

³⁴⁰ With regard to the events preceding the beginning of *AAgr*, he also thinks that *Epitome* 30 is not a reliable witness. (*Apostelverhalen*, 161 and 'Acta Andreae and Gregory', 22). However, in this case his scepticism with regard to *Epitome* seems to go too far, for Maximilla's healing alluded at in *AAgr* 26 is also reported by other witnesses, such as *Laudatio* (338.9ff) and *Vita* (244D-245B).

preserves *AA*'s last section, it necessarily follows that *Epitome* is far from providing a trustworthy version of *AA*. Van Kampen's critical evaluation, however, is not radical enough, since he nevertheless takes Prieur's textual reconstruction as a starting point, whereas this text should also be scrutinised with the same strict criteria applied to *Epitome*. Even though not so drastically as *Epitome*, Andrew's martyrdom in S and H also reduces the text considerably and eliminates direct speech sections almost completely.

A similar position towards the textual evidence can be found in F. Bovon's article 'The words of Life in the *Acts of Andrew*'³⁴². After asserting that *Epitome* eliminates all substantial speeches by the apostle, he declares that he will base his study on Prieur's textual reconstruction. His paper is divided into three sections and analyses, firstly, the principal discursive passages in *AAgr*³⁴³ in order to summarise, secondly, the main issues arising from these speeches³⁴⁴. Its third section, finally, attempts an interpretation of *AA*'s mentality and tries to place it in its historical context. In considering the origin of *AA*'s theology of the words, in Bovon's view three origins might be taken into account. Firstly, the Jewish and Christian tradition, although the text's silence with regard to Christology and the dualistic character of its teaching seem to exclude this possibility. Secondly, the Gnostic tradition. Even if *AA* does not affirm the secret character of the sayings as Gnostic texts normally do, *AA* presents obvious similarities with the *Gospel of Thomas* in that they both emphasise the mysterious, saving and vivifying nature of the words. Thirdly, Bovon alleges Middle-Platonic influences on the concept of spiritual maieutics, the invitation addressed to the soul to flee from the sensual, and the emphasis on precise parts of the soul³⁴⁵.

The most recent research on *AA* is characterised both by a lack of interest in textual issues and by the ambiguity concerning the textual basis for the study of *AA*. Sometimes, scholars take either Prieur's or MacDonald's reconstructions for granted and proceed to analyse *AA*'s mentality on the basis of these eclectic texts. Other times they choose another textual basis, such as PCU 1 or *Epitome*. Only in a few cases do investigations rely exclusively on *AA*'s fragment in V.

³⁴¹ See his review of these parallelisms in *Apostelverhalen* 162-63. He admits that both texts also show certain divergences, although he thinks that these might simply arise from the fact that the texts narrate different episodes.

³⁴² F. Bovon, 'The words of Life in the *Acts of Andrew*', *HThR* 87 (1994) 139-54, reprinted in Bremmer, *Acts of Andrew*, 81-95. Original French version: 'Les paroles de vie dans les Actes de l'Apôtre André', *Apocrypha* 2 (1991) 99-111.

³⁴³ Bovon, 'Words of Life', 141-47, analyses Andrew's speech to Stratocles in *AAgr* 6-12; the speech to Maximilla in V^b chapters 5-9; the speech to Stratocles in V^b, chapters 10-13; Andrew's speech to the brethren in V^b, chapters 15-18 and Andrew's words to the crowd in *AAgr* 54-64.

³⁴⁴ Bovon, 'Words of Life', 147-52.

³⁴⁵ Bovon, 'Words of Life', 152-54.

For instance, in 1991 already, K.C. Wagener studied the motif of ‘conversion’ in *AA* on the basis of Prieur’s textual reconstruction³⁴⁶ and consequently puts conceptual issues preserved by V and other elements proceeding from quite revised sections transmitted by S and H on the same level. Something similar happens in D.W. Pao’s study on the genre of *AA*³⁴⁷, which also mostly relies on Prieur’s edition. Andrew’s figure and role in the ancient Acts is apparently based on a single text (*AAgr*), but in fact the apostle’s personal traits are derived from at least three different sources (S and H, V and the martyrdom), all of which present divergent views on Andrew. Symptomatic of the ambiguity that reigns over *AA*’s textual basis is the fact that the same scholar, some years later, would carry out an analysis of the function of healing miracles in *AA* but now not on the basis of *AAgr* but mainly on the testimony of *Epitome*³⁴⁸.

In 1998 T.S. Richter published the first certain Coptic fragment of *AA*³⁴⁹. The fragment is in the Jenaer Papyrusammlung and belongs to a parchment-codex dated to the fourth or fifth century. Unlike the other two Coptic papyri, P.Ien.inv. 649, according to Richter, presents a literal parallel to the beginning of the Greek martyrdom and is close to the version preserved by S/H. Especially interesting is the fact that its first page presents both quire and page numbering. Given the fact that in both cases the Coptic numbering is “α”, it is certain that the Coptic fragment includes the first and second pages of the lost codex³⁵⁰. This means that as early as in the fourth or fifth century, *AA*’s martyrdom had been detached from the whole text and circulated separately.

In 1999, L.S. Nasrallah’s paper on the function of the words in *AA* appeared³⁵¹. Her argumentation jumps with ease from sections only preserved by S and H to sections transmitted by V in order finally to draw important conclusions about the tenor and scope of *AA* from problematic sections³⁵², such as the last two chapters of Prieur and MacDonald’s reconstruction³⁵³. The same tendency can be observed³⁵³ in two other articles that appeared in

³⁴⁶ K.C. Wagener, ‘Repentant Eve, Perfected Adam. Conversion in the Acts of Andrew’, *SBL Seminar Papers* 1991 (Atlanta, 1991) 348-56.

³⁴⁷ D.W. Pao, ‘The Genre of the Acts of Andrew’, *Apocrypha* 6 (1995) 179-202.

³⁴⁸ D.W. Pao, ‘Physical and Spiritual Restoration: The Role of the Healing Miracles in the Acts of Andrew’, in Bovon, *Apocryphal Acts* (Harvard, 1999) 259-80.

³⁴⁹ Richter, ‘Splitter’, 275-84.

³⁵⁰ Richter, ‘Splitter’, 280.

³⁵¹ L.S. Nasrallah, “‘She Became What the Words Signified’”: The Greek *Acts of Andrew*’s Construction of the Reader-Disciple’, in Bovon, *Apocryphal Acts*, 233-58.

³⁵² So, for instance her references to *AAgr* 9, 10 and 29.

³⁵³ Chapters 64 and 65 of both textual reconstructions are based on a mosaic of different texts that hardly reflects, in our view, a writer’s conclusion to his book. Desperate efforts to explain the lack of coherence of this section result in complicated (sometimes even contradictory) speculations about authorship. Contrast, for instance, MacDonald’s opinion in *Cannibals*, 48-50 that *AA* was written by the very Xenocharides and Leonidas referred

1999 and are concerned with philological aspects of *AA*. The first of them, by E. Zachariades-Holmberg³⁵⁴, tends to consider *AAgr* as a homogeneous textual unity and proceeds to draw conclusions on philological aspects of *AA*³⁵⁵. It is true that in spite of doing so, she does perceive differences between the three basic constitutive parts of the textual reconstruction, namely *AAgr* 1-32, 33-50 and 51-65. Her conclusions, however, seem to allow the possibility that the obvious unevenness of this eclectic text might be due to the writer or to his editing activity³⁵⁶ rather than to the fact that it relies on a number of different textual witnesses, all of them with different scopes and certainly with different working methods³⁵⁷. In the second article, D.H. Warren³⁵⁸ bases his stylistic study on *AAgr*³⁵⁹ and his statistics on its first 10 chapters only³⁶⁰. With the only exception of the section *AAgr* 13.1-5³⁶¹, he indeed confines himself to the first 10 chapters of *AAgr*, which are transmitted completely by S and H and partially by *Laudatio*, and does not pay attention to the section preserved by V (*AAgr* 33-50) at all. This is indeed a glaring omission in a study that claims to research the style and language of the ancient *AA*.

The papers on *AA* collected and published by J.N. Bremmer in 2000 also reveal the influence of the ambiguous textual situation originating as a result of the editions by Prieur and MacDonald³⁶². *Prima facie* the theme of these articles, which are mainly concerned with

to by Innocent I with his new estimation (necessary to explain the first person of *AAgr* 65) in *Christianizing Homer*, 288, according to which a single author claims to be a simple and trustworthy transcriber of a long oral tradition. Prieur's explanation is not satisfying either, for it also needs hypotheses concerning alleged prologues and an unnecessary differentiation between the group of followers that recorded Andrew's acts (here he follows Philaster's reference) and the actual writer of the text (*Acta*, 38).

³⁵⁴ E. Zachariades-Holmberg, 'Philological aspects of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles', in Bovon, *Apocryphal Acts*, 125-42.

³⁵⁵ Zachariades-Holmberg, 'Philological Aspects', 132.

³⁵⁶ Zachariades-Holmberg, 'Philological Aspects', 141.

³⁵⁷ A clear example is *AAgr* 13.1-5, which according to her interpretation shows a tendency to return to earlier prototypes of diction. The accumulation of genitive absolute participles, however, seems rather to show the recensor's struggle to join two sections (*AAgr* 12 and 14) after eliminating a considerable portion of text.

³⁵⁸ D.H. Warren, 'The Greek Language of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: A Study in Style', in Bovon, *Apocryphal Acts*, 101-24.

³⁵⁹ 'A Study in Style', 106.

³⁶⁰ See 'A Study in Style', 108 table I and 117 table II.

³⁶¹ Peculiar is the fact that his interpretation of the abusive use of genitive absolute participles in this section is radically different from the one expressed by Zachariades-Holmberg some pages later in the same volume. According to the former ('A Study in Style', 109), 'such a complex interlocking of participles, genitive absolutes, and finite verbs serves to increase the reader's involvement in the action of the story and in the lives of its characters'. According to the latter, however, 'Apparently, the author, in his attempt to create a sophisticated style, transforms the verbs of a paratactic syntax into participles in the genitive absolute because he lacks the skill of classical sentence construction, which would have required a combination of infinitives and participles ('Philological Aspects', 131. The result of his effort, thus, is awkward. A paratactic syntax would have been a better choice'. As already pointed out, however, this section may not be the result of any sort of rhetorical device, but might be simply due to desperate efforts by *AA*'s recensor(s) to fix the mess resulting from his (their) scissors.

³⁶² Bremmer, *Acts of Andrew*. See *supra* this Chapter, note 196.

literary matters and only in two cases deal with philological and textual issues, might seem to indicate that a minimum consensus regarding *AA*'s textual basis has already been attained among scholars. A closer examination of these studies, however, immediately shows that this is not the case. The great variety of textual witnesses used as a starting point for the different papers actually shows that Prieur and MacDonald's editions, far from creating consensus have resulted in if not disagreement certain insecurity with regard to the reliable textual witnesses. One of these papers is based on MacDonald's textual reconstruction³⁶³, two on *Epitome*³⁶⁴, most of the rest on *AAgr*³⁶⁵. Only a single paper is mainly focused on *AA*'s fragment in V and includes a couple of sporadic references to *AAgr*³⁶⁶.

The opening essay by Hilhorst and Lalleman analyses some of the so-called parallels and differences between *AAM* and *AA* in order to refute that the former can be considered a part of the ancient Acts and to reject MacDonald's interpretation of the texts as a Christian Odyssey³⁶⁷. *AAM* not only presents many thematic differences, but its style and language clearly diverges from that of *AA*.

Taking *Epitome* and PCU 1 as a starting point, J.N. Bremmer intends to say something more about authorship, place and time of composition of *AA*. By focussing on apparently secondary issues, such as certain expressions³⁶⁸, customs³⁶⁹ and emphases of the text³⁷⁰, the scholar concludes that the ancient Acts should be placed, if not in Bithynia itself, almost

³⁶³ J. Bolyki, 'Triangles and What is Beyond Them. Literary, Historical, and Theological Systems of Coordinates in the Acts of Andrew', 70-80.

³⁶⁴ J.N. Bremmer, 'Man, Magic, Martyrdom in the Acts of Andrew', 15-34; T. Adamik, 'Eroticism in the *Liber de Miraculis beati Andreae apostoli* of Gregory of Tours', 35-46.

³⁶⁵ J. Bollok, 'Poimandres and the Acta Andreae', 104-09; I. Czachesz, 'Whatever goes into the mouth ...', 56-69; A. Jakab, 'Les Actes d'André et le christianisme alexandrin', 127-39; P.J. Lalleman, 'The Acts of John and the Acts of Andrew', 140-48; M. Pesthy, 'Aegeates, the Devil in Person', 47-55; C.T. Schroeder, 'Embracing the Erotic in the Passion of Andrew. The Apocryphal Acts of Andrew, the Greek Novel, and Platonic Philosophy', 110-26.

³⁶⁶ G. Luttikhuisen, 'The Religious Message of Andrew's Speeches', 96-103.

³⁶⁷ Hilhorst and Lalleman, '*AAM* and *AA*'. See *supra* this Chapter, note 196.

³⁶⁸ Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 15. The expression (*Epitome* 3) 'first of the city' has parallels in *AJ* and *AP* and is attested in a Pontic inscription (*ibid.* note 5).

³⁶⁹ Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 16. The mention of the steward of Lesbios' wife is also significant. Although a Roman proconsul would hardly have taken his wife's steward with him to his province, stewards of wealthy Greek women are epigraphically attested in central Anatolia and Bythinia (*ibid.* note 8). His attention also focuses on other aspects which, although normally neglected by scholars, may provide interesting information about the primitive Acts. As these secondary elements were not directly related to doctrinal argumentation, they are likely to preserve ancient traits. Thus, for example, issues such as the different punishments that appear in the text (*ibid.*, 22), the high role of women (*ibid.*, 21), human movements (*ibid.*, 28), etc.

³⁷⁰ Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 17-18. The text's emphasis on civic virtues and the use of the terms ἀμετρίως (moderate) ζήτῃς (reasonable, fair) and εὐγενῆς (gentle) to denote good personal qualities echo the author's acquaintance with the ethical codes and vocabulary of the upper classes to which he probably belonged.

certainly in Asia Minor and be dated to c. 200³⁷¹. With regard to the author, he agrees with former scholarship in considering him a cultivated man who belonged to the upper classes³⁷². T. Adamik analyses the topic of eroticism in *Epitome* and the way in which Gregory dealt with sections of *AA* including love stories. Given the fact that the bishop includes many of these stories, the exclusion of Euclia's episode and Maximilla's problematic marital relationship, he concludes, is due to the doubtful morality of her encrateia and its consequences³⁷³. M. Pesthy studies Aegeates' characterisation as the devil. On the one hand, and considered in himself, Aegeates personifies all the sins and attitudes rejected by Christian morals³⁷⁴. On the other hand, and from the point of view of his relationship with others, he represents the seducer who wants to abort Maximilla's spiritual development and Andrew's most obvious antagonist³⁷⁵. J. Bolyki offers a mainly literary analysis of what he calls 'the triangle connection' after the relationship between Aegeates-Maximilla-Andrew³⁷⁶. After comparing five examples of the OT with two others from the NT, he proceeds to analyse the peculiarities of *AA*'s triangle³⁷⁷, which in his view is simultaneously a paradigm for dramatic relationships, a thermometer for history, a basic structure of myths and world views and an authorial 'message in a bottle'.

G. Luttikhuisen focuses on *AA*'s fragment in V³⁷⁸. His short but very interesting study on the fragment points out its concentric structure and stresses the vital importance of its central section, which in his view not only speaks about the identity and dignity of human nature but also refers to the spiritual past of humankind. In an interesting article that intends to clarify Andrew calling Aegeates a 'relative of the sea' (*AAgr* 62), J. Bollok asserts conspicuous similarities between *AA* and *Poimandres* with regard to the manifestation of evil forces³⁷⁹. The coming into being of the sea in *Poimandres*, which does not even come into contact with the Logos, may offer a parallel for *AA*'s negative conception of the sea and water that strongly contrasts with the more extended view according to which it represents a

³⁷¹ Determinant for a proper dating is, in Bremmer's view, the reference to the rejection of military service by Stratocles. Whereas in the first two centuries the issue can hardly be found in Christian texts, it suddenly begins to become prominent around the beginning of the third century (Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 20 and note 25).

³⁷² Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 16 adds the alleged influence of Platonic philosophy, the use of many names reminiscent of many figures of the arts and literature, such as Calliope (muse), Alcmanes (Spartan poet Alcman), Gratinus (probably Cratinus, the Old Comedy poet), Antiphanes (Middle Comedy poet), Lesbios (Lesbos, island famous for its poets Sappho and Alcaeus), etc.

³⁷³ Adamik, 'Eroticism', 46.

³⁷⁴ Pesthy, 'Aegeates', 47-50.

³⁷⁵ Pesthy, 'Aegeates', 50-53.

³⁷⁶ Bolyki, 'Triangles'.

³⁷⁷ Bolyki, 'Triangles', 71-74.

³⁷⁸ Luttikhuisen, 'Religious Message'.

cleansing and purifying element. C.T. Schroeder discusses the current idea, according to which the Acts of Apostles, in contrast to Greek novels, pursue a subversion of social cohesion and values based on love and marriage³⁸⁰. In her view, the last part of *AA* shows that the eros of the Greek novel, rather than a subversion of the motif, becomes the pure Platonic eros. A. Jakab's article about *AA* and Alexandrian Christianity accepts the second half of the second century as the time of composition for *AA*, but rejects Prieur's suggestion that our text was written in Alexandria³⁸¹. I. Czachesz and P. Lalleman, finally, offer a literary and a conceptual analysis of *AA*, respectively³⁸².

Bremmer's collection of articles also re-edits two contributions by F. Bovon and V. Calzolari, the former of which has already been commented upon³⁸³. Calzolari's essay deserves special mention since it presents interesting conclusions on the last section of *AA* based on a textual and philological comparative study of certain sections of the Greek and Armenian versions³⁸⁴. Like Prieur and MacDonald, she claims the capital importance of *Arm* for the reconstruction of the Greek text³⁸⁵. Unlike her predecessors, however, she proceeds cautiously by first analysing the working procedure of the Armenian translator in order to distinguish his amplifications from potentially primitive sections that may have been lost in the Greek transmission³⁸⁶. A comparison between Greek and Armenian versions of the martyrdom in general shows that while both texts run almost parallel in narrative sections, in the discursive sections they present important differences. The translator works very scrupulously and only occasionally commits errors³⁸⁷. When he alters his original, his changes

³⁷⁹ Bollok, 'Poimandres', 107, who compares the parallels between *AAgr* 11 and *Poimandres* 4, where darkness, fire, steam and fog are related to evil forces.

³⁸⁰ Schroeder, 'Embracing the Erotic'.

³⁸¹ Jakab, 'Christianisme alexandrin', 135.

³⁸² Czachesz, 'Whatever ...'; P. Lalleman, 'Andrew and John'.

³⁸³ See *supra* this Chapter, p. 42.

³⁸⁴ V. Calzolari, 'La version arménienne du Martyre d'André', in Bremmer, 149-85. This paper is a revised version of her 'La versione armena del Martirio di Andrea', *SROrCr* 16 (1993) 3-33.

³⁸⁵ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 154 note 16. As she points out, both scholars attribute great value to *Arm* and discuss parallel sections (Prieur) or even include them in the text (MacDonald). None of these parallel sections, however, has ever been evaluated on the basis of a direct and complete analysis in order to establish possible linguistic, stylistic and lexical similarities.

³⁸⁶ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 156-61.

³⁸⁷ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 157.

are clearly intentional and are either due to his translating technique³⁸⁸ or to his doctrinal intentions³⁸⁹.

Most interesting is Calzolari's commentary on the last part of *AA*'s fragment in *V*, namely the episode containing the fight between 'the one without beginning' and the devil, where she corrects the view of Prieur, who seems to have committed more than one error in his synoptic table with the Armenian and Greek sections³⁹⁰. A proper analysis of the real textual correspondences between the texts clearly shows that the $\text{U}\text{H}\text{Uf1 c}^\wedge$ must be understood with Hennecke³⁹¹ as God³⁹² and not as the $\text{bci } \uparrow$ or 'intellect' as Prieur suggests³⁹³. Consequently, Calzolari concludes that the idea of Christ's redemption may not be an addition by the Armenian translator, as supposed by Prieur³⁹⁴, but might rather have belonged to the primitive Acts³⁹⁵. Furthermore, she claims that two Armenian sections of encratite character and preserved only by *Arm* may be primitive as well. The first one concerns the section *AAgr* 56.18f ($_ \text{U} \text{P} \text{Y} \text{H} \text{U} \text{P} \text{L} \text{h} \text{c} \text{P} (\dots) \text{U} \text{E} \text{ } \text{]k} \text{H} \text{U} \text{h} \text{c}$) and presents in *Arm* (Č 158.16-21) a more developed form. The second passage appears in *Arm* (Č 158.27-159.3) after the translation of *AAgr* 57.2f ($\backslash \text{E} \text{h} \text{] \#} \text{Y} \text{L} \text{h} \text{c} \text{i} \text{I} \text{Y} \text{L} \text{h} \text{c} \text{P} [\text{Y} \text{H} \text{c} \text{i} \text{ } \wedge \text{Y} \text{H} \text{U} \text{f} \text{g}] \text{ } \wedge \text{z} (\dots) \text{ } \cdot \text{d} \text{Y} \text{d} \text{f} \text{U} \text{a} \text{Y} \text{H} \text{ } \wedge$). A comparative study of both sections reveals important lexical and structural parallelisms between *Arm* and the Greek martyrdom suggesting the potential primitive character of the passages³⁹⁶. Another interesting case is the

³⁸⁸ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 155, distinguishes three categories: 1. The translator tends to make neutral adjectives, pronouns or numerals more explicit (*AAgr* 49.2 and Č 147.19; 50.19 and Č 149.17; 55.2 and Č 157.8); 2. Sometimes he uses periphrases to render Greek verbs (*AAgr* 55.4 and Č 157.10; 51.11 and Č 150.12; 55.16 and Č 150.19; 47.8 and Č 146.11; 47.4 and Č 146.6) and 3. He adds words that do not appear in the Greek original (*AAgr* 51.4 and Č 150.2; 62.23 and Č 165.7).

³⁸⁹ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 157-61, distinguishes four different categories: 1. The translator frequently colours his translation with reminiscences of biblical passages (*AAgr* 64.7 and Č 167.14 interpreted according to Ac 8:20; *AAgr* 55.11 and Č 157.19, interpreted according to Mt 11.15; *AAgr* 52.10 and Č 151.7, interpreted according to Ga 6.2); 2. He repeatedly emphasises the need to follow God's commandments (Č 148.6; 152.21; 153.8; 167.20-22); 3. He revises the text to avoid doctrinal ambiguities (*AAgr* 47.9 and Č 146.13ff; *AAgr* 49.8 and Č 147.25f); 4. He also pays great attention to the works of the devil (see Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 160 note 36 for numerous references).

³⁹⁰ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 161-65, presents both Prieur's and her own synoptic tables in order to show that: 1. Prieur wrongly thinks that *Arm* interprets the descent of the $\text{U}\text{H}\text{Uf1 c}^\wedge$ as the fall of the prince of the angels (Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 165 and Prieur, *Acta*, 22); 2. Prieur erroneously supposes that the epithets 'faible', 'impuissant' and 'invisible' were originally applied in the Greek original to the $\text{U}\text{H}\text{Uf1 c}^\wedge$, (Prieur, *Acta*, 222), but in *Arm* they are clearly applied to the devil; 3. *Arm* 'ils ne connaissent pas' is a parallel to Greek $\text{a} \backslash \text{X} \text{Y} \text{H} \text{k} (\dots) [\text{b} \text{k} \text{f}] \text{ } \# \text{Y} \text{g} \text{e} \text{U}$ and not to Greek $_ \text{U} \text{P} \text{X} \text{U} \text{P} \text{h} \text{c} \text{P} \backslash \text{X} \text{Y} \text{F} \text{i} \text{h} \text{c} \text{B} \text{Y} \text{H} \text{] \#} \text{h} \text{U} \text{g} \text{e} \text{U}$ "

³⁹¹ Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 555 with references to Tatian, *Or. ad Graec.* 4; Plato *Lg.* 715e 7 (*ap.* Hippolytus, *Refut.* 1.19).

³⁹² Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 166-67, adds to the references by Hennecke (see previous note) Heraclides *ap.* Origen, *Dialog. cum Heraclid.* 2; Hymenaeus et al., *Epist. ad Paulum Samos.* 2; J. Chryst., *Hom. in Col.* 5.3.

³⁹³ Prieur, *Acta*, 208 note 3 and 225. Parallels adduced by Prieur, such as *AAgr* 37.2; 7.2; 7.11; 7.19, are not, in her view, *loci similes*.

³⁹⁴ Prieur, *Acta*, 223.

³⁹⁵ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 170.

³⁹⁶ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 171-75. Thus, for example, the vocabulary of *Arm* (C 158.16-21), including terms such as 'volupté' ($\backslash \text{X} \text{c} \text{b} \backslash \#$ 'accouplement, union' ($\text{a} \text{]W} \wedge \text{z} \text{g} \text{i} \text{b} \text{c} \text{i} \text{g} \text{]H}$), 'attrister' ($\text{ } \text{ } \text{i} \text{d} \text{Y} \text{H}$), etc., is perfectly

Armenian parallel for *AAgr* 58.2f (Մարտի Բարձրագոյն խոսքի մասին). *Arm* apparently interrupts the sentence in order to amplify the period. This passage, however, may not be an amplification but rather a primitive section belonging to the ancient Acts. After emending the Tchékarean reading *nerk'ins*, translated by Leloir with '(les choses) intérieurs', into the reading *nerk'in mardn* ('l'homme interieur') attested by many textual witnesses³⁹⁷, Calzolari claims that the passage includes an original reference to the concept of the 'inner man'³⁹⁸. The potentially primitive character of these passages shows, in her view, the need to reconsider at least two other passages that appear in *AAgr* and are only preserved in *Arm*³⁹⁹.

3. Overview: Main Lines of Research on AA

It is now time for an overview of the main lines of research on our text.

3.1. Methods and Scopes of Analysis

The bulk of publications reviewed in the preceding section reveal an obvious lack of consensus with regard to essential aspects of *AA*, such as a proper evaluation of textual witnesses, content, tenor, authorship, time and place of composition. This is not as striking as it may seem, if one considers the available textual basis. On the one hand, of the five major apostolic Acts less has been preserved of the primitive *AA* than of any of the other Acts. On the other, the great diversity of testimonies that allegedly transmit wholly or partly the ancient *AA* diverge significantly from each other concerning both general and particular issues. In their investigations on *AA*, scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been confronted with a laborious textual and literary analysis of exiguous genuine testimonies and of abundant second and third-hand texts on the apostle Andrew. The highly divergent results of these studies arise from the different approaches or criteria applied by scholars when faced with this peculiar textual situation.

From the point of view of the approach to the textual witnesses and scopes, all contributions to *AA*'s research may be reduced to two main lines of investigation.

coherent both with the remainder of the text and with the vocabulary of the Greek version. With regard to the structural analysis, a comparison between the Greek section *AAgr* 56.19f with its Armenian parallel (158.21-23) shows that the translator renders Greek imperatives with subjunctive aorists with an exhortative-imperative meaning. Prieur (*Acta*, 270), based on Leloir's translation (*Écrits*, 247), wrongly thinks that they have a future sense and suggests the translator has introduced a moral interpretation. According to Calzolari, however, the translator coherently preserves the tenor of the Greek text.

³⁹⁷ Calzolari, 'Version arménienne', 182 note 100. The reading *nerk'in mardn*, 'l'homme interieur' is attested by an auxiliary mss of the Venice edition and by mss Paris 110, 118, 178, Jerusalem 1-d and Erevan 2601 and 1325.

³⁹⁸ We must confess that, excluding the mention of the inner man (following Calzolari's emendation), I do not see any other relevant reference to the concept in a textual section that seems simply to contrast the pursuing of externalities to the striving for God.

3.1.1. Recovering *AA*'s tenor and Character from *AA*'s fragment in V

The first line is represented by those scholars who cautiously refrain from attempting a doubtful reconstruction of the outline of the ancient Acts on the basis of obviously reworked and transformed versions. This group of scholars generally distrusts the testimony provided by the majority of (if not all) the textual witnesses and focus exclusively on the testimony preserved by *AA*'s fragment in V in order to recover not the general plan but the tenor and character of the ancient Acts (Liechtenhan, Schlier, Sturhahn, Festugière, Orbe, Williams).

3.1.2. Recovering *AA*'s General Plan by Means of a Selective Use of Textual Witnesses

Scholars of the second line of research have engaged themselves in the arduous and laborious task of scrutinising the totality of the extant witnesses in order to distinguish ancient from new elements, true from false issues, and genuinely transmitted from interpolated sections. The territory explored by researchers in this group is obviously more hazardous than in the previous line. As most of these later textual witnesses are anonymous and hardly dateable, researchers must often resort to hypothetical dating of the documents, supposed textual contacts between the different specimens or alleged contamination and/or collation in order to explain differences and similarities in the documents. As a result, the outcome of these investigations is frequently divergent, sometimes even contradictory.

Investigations of this line of research may be divided into two subcategories according to their changing scopes and work criteria. On the one hand, there are those scholars who, being aware both of the reliability of *AA*'s fragment in V and of the very revised character of the later remakes, pursue an hypothetical reconstruction of *AA* but subordinate their results to the more relevant analysis of *AA*'s tenor and character (Hennecke, Blumenthal, Quispel, Hornschuh, Plümacher)⁴⁰⁰. On the other, there is a group of investigators who, less cautiously than the former, are primarily interested in reconstructing the visible stages in Andrew's itinerary in order to achieve a textual continuum that may reflect the plan of the ancient Acts from beginning to end (Flamion, Deeleman, Söder, Erbetta, Prieur, MacDonald). In this latter case, however, textual quantity obviously tends to replace textual quality. This tendency implies that lengthier but more revised sections of text come to occupy the main focus of the

³⁹⁹ Calzolari, 'Rapporto', 149-55, applies the same analytical method to the study of *AAgr* 61 and parallels in *Arm* and concludes that the sections preserved only in *Arm* might be primitive.

⁴⁰⁰ This group of scholars is generally more cautious than the second subgroup and more exigent in their criteria for accepting passages as genuine or rejecting them as forgeries. Some scholars prefer *Narratio* to *Epitome* (Hennecke and Blumenthal), whereas others prefer *Epitome*, for example Hornschuh's selective use of materials for establishing a general line in Andrew's itinerary. Although a comparative analysis of *Laudatio*, *Epitome*, PCU 1 and other testimonies allows him to reconstruct some landmarks in the development of *AA*, the tenor of the ancient Acts is exclusively studied on the basis of V.

investigation, as a result of which our most valuable but brief *AA*'s fragment in *V* is frequently overshadowed, if not transformed, adapted or simply ignored⁴⁰¹.

The following section summarises the highly divergent conclusions achieved by means of the previously reported approaches with regard to the evaluation of textual evidence, content, tenor, authorship, time and place of composition of *AA*.

3.2. Results of the Investigations on *AA*

3.2.1. Evaluation of the Textual Witnesses

The evaluation of the textual witnesses by scholars may be divided into two major groups, namely those investigators who only take *V* into account, and those who even while recognising *V* as the best document, also attempt to recover other sections from a number of selected textual witnesses.

3.2.1.1. *AA*'s Fragment in *V* as a Uniquely Reliable Witness

Scholars of this group prefer the fragmentary but ancient testimony of *V* to the lengthier but revised and transformed testimonies of other textual witnesses (Liechtenhan, Schlier, Sturhahn, Festugière and Williams).

3.2.1.2. *AA*'s Fragment in *V* Combined with Other Selected Documents

Scholars within this group agree in considering that, even if *V* is the best textual witness, other selected documents may also be useful in reconstructing the sections preceding and following *V*'s testimony. Important differences, however, appear in the evaluation of which textual witnesses may serve this purpose. The numerous diverse opinions may be reduced to two major groups, the second of which presents some variants:

3.2.1.2.1. *V* + *Narratio* + Martyrdom Testimonies

V is the best testimony. For the first part of *AA*, *Narratio*, as it presents many contacts with *V*, is the most reliable document. In spite of its revised and resumming version, *Narratio* is believed to rely on a lengthier document, probably the ancient Acts. Its testimony is consequently to be preferred to *Epitome*, for the latter presents a very transformed and revised version. As far as *Laudatio* is concerned, although its first part includes many secondary elements, its second part, in turn, includes primitive issues. As regards the testimonies for the martyrdom, *Mpr*, *Malt A* and *B*, *Narratio*, *Laudatio* and *2GrEp* partly preserve the general plan of the last part of *AA* (Hennecke, Deeleman, Söder, Blumenthal).

⁴⁰¹ The most obvious example in this group is Flamion's analysis, which falsifies the tenor of *V* in favour of

3.2.1.2.2. V + *Epitome* + Martyrdom Testimonies

V is still the most important textual witness, but *Epitome* takes the place of *Narratio* in the reconstruction of Andrew's peregrinations. *Narratio* is said to collate different sources and to consist of two differentiated sections. *Epitome*, by contrast, even though revised and expurgated, preserves the main outline of *AA*. In spite of its predominant position, V already begins to be influenced by lengthier and more developed sections of text. The textual witnesses for the martyrdom are now the following: *Malt A* and *B*, *Mpr*, *2GrEp*, *Laudatio* and *Narratio* (Flamion, James, Dvornik).

3.2.1.2.2.1. V + PCU 1, *Epitome*, *Laudatio*, *Narratio* + Martyrdom Testimonies

Since Quispel's publication on PCU 1, a number of scholars consider the Coptic fragment a section of the primitive Acts, the value of which is equivalent to V's testimony. As PCU 1 is said to preserve the primitive episode of what appears in *Epitome* 18 in a revised version, Gregory naturally receives increasing attention from now on. *Epitome*'s reliability, however, is still proved against the touchstone of other testimonies. Only those episodes in *Epitome* that are also preserved by other witnesses, such as *Laudatio* and *Narratio*, are taken into account. The textual witnesses for the martyrdom are the same as in the previous point (Hornschuh, Plümacher).

3.2.1.2.2.2. H and S, V, C + *Epitome*

Since Detorakis' edition of H and S, their testimony tends to overshadow *AA*'s fragment in V. *Epitome* is an essential textual witness for the reconstruction of *AA*'s outline. *Laudatio* and *Narratio* are only useful for the last part of *AA*, of which they preserve a few ancient elements. As to the martyrdom, the testimony provided by H/S and C assures the textual continuity of this section and consequently replaces the textual mosaic that so far had been reconstructed on the basis of the other textual witnesses. From now on these documents are mostly used as *correctores* (Prieur, Elliott⁴⁰²).

3.2.1.2.2.3. *AAM* + *Epitome*, *Laudatio*, *Narratio* + H, S, V, C

This group makes an indiscriminate use of the textual witnesses. *AAM* is the beginning of *AA*. *Epitome* is combined with *Laudatio* and *Narratio* not to check the reliability of the former but in order to increase the volume of text, because all documents may present primitive elements and therefore be useful for the reconstruction of *AA*. The selection of

other later and more re-elaborated sections of *AA*.

⁴⁰² Elliott presents a peculiar mixture because although he follows Prieur's textual reconstruction, he uses MacDonald's translation.

potentially primitive sections is left to the opinion of the investigator. Important falsifications of our most ancient and reliable document in V appear as a result of the adoption of readings proceeding from later and more revised documents (MacDonald).

3.2.2. Contents of the Ancient Acts

Already since Lipsius, but especially after Bonnet's prolific editorial activity, scholars have agreed on conceiving *AA* as consisting of two different parts: Andrew's peregrinations and Andrew's activity and martyrdom in Patras. This division of *AA*'s contents seems to proceed from the textual transmission itself because, on the one hand, the later remakes of *AA* from Gregory onwards present such an internal dichotomy, and, on the other hand, numerous testimonies confine themselves to the martyrdom. As some of these latter textual witnesses often contain references to events not included in the actual texts, they are generally believed to be detached from lengthier texts that also comprised previous sections of *AA*.

Disagreement, however, appears when determining what these two parts looked like and especially when establishing the outline of Andrew's peregrinations. As already pointed out, the extant witnesses, while generally agreeing in their accounts of *AA*'s last part, present rather divergent versions of Andrew's peregrinations. *Laudatio* and *Vita* present approximately the same account due to their relying on a common source, but their version differs both from *Narratio*'s account and from *Epitome*. Given the lack of reliable documents that might unequivocally prove the trustworthiness of any of these three versions, the reconstruction of Andrew's travels is still today a matter of conjecture and, consequently, of controversy.

However, controversies arise not only from differences among the textual witnesses. One of the most (if not the most) important subject of disagreement among scholars concerns an episode that is preserved with small variants in all lengthier reworkings of *AA*. This episode is, of course, Andrew's sojourn in the city of the cannibals. Against the testimony of four important textual witnesses (*Epitome*, *Narratio*, *Laudatio* and *Vita*), many scholars since Flamion deny that the episode ever belonged to the ancient Acts. The Belgian scholar analysed *AAM* and concluded that important stylistic, lexical and thematic differences reveal that this text is essentially different from the ancient *AA* and it was probably composed in Egypt in a later period. According to Flamion, if *Epitome* does include this episode, this is simply due to the fact that Gregory collated two different sources. Flamion's interpretation has influenced later approaches to the matter to such an extent that scholars invariably see in *AAM* the source on which later recasts on *AA* depend. This is not necessarily the case. As has

been pointed out⁴⁰³, *Laudatio*, *Narratio* and *AAM* present such differences in their accounts that they can be considered independent versions that rely on a common source. Consequently, even if one accepts with Flamion that *AAM* includes many later elements and that it in general presents a different tenor than *AA*, this does not rule out the possibility that the episode, in a simpler and shorter version, was included among Andrew's peregrinations. *AAM* would then be an independent and highly reworked recast of this original story.

When analysing the different points of view with regard to the reconstruction of Andrew's peregrinations, investigations may be, once again, divided into two groups, namely those that deny that such an outline can be recovered from the extant textual witnesses and those that consider that a partial or even a complete reconstruction is possible.

3.2.2.1. Andrew's Peregrinations are not Recoverable

The more sceptical scholars of the first group implicitly or explicitly refrain from reconstructing the outline of Andrew's peregrinations. In their view, the marked differences between the accounts of the textual witnesses make the reconstruction of the apostle's itinerary an impossible task (Liechtenhan, Schlier, Sturhahn, Festugière, Williams, Van Kampen⁴⁰⁴).

3.2.2.2. Andrew's Peregrinations are Recoverable

The second group may be divided into two subgroups according to the textual witnesses chosen by the scholars.

3.2.2.2.1. Andrew's Peregrinations are Partially or Completely Recoverable from *Narratio*.

Scholars in this group prefer *Narratio* to *Epitome* for the reconstruction of Andrew's peregrinations. Some of them accept only a couple of episodes as genuine, but others consider that the whole account of *Narratio* may preserve the main outline of *AA* (below).

3.2.2.2.1.1. Partially Recoverable from *Narratio*

The complete reconstruction of Andrew's itinerary is impossible. We can only recover a couple of episodes. As *Epitome* is disproved of for its obvious revision and recast of *AA*, all that can be recovered from Andrew's peregrinations must proceed from *Narratio* and occasionally from *Laudatio*. The comparison between these testimonies, however, immediately reveals that only a couple of common elements might be considered primitive.

⁴⁰³ Blumenthal, *Formen*, 40-45.

⁴⁰⁴ Van Kampen admits that PCU 1 may include a section of Andrew's peregrinations.

Thus, for example, according to Hennecke⁴⁰⁵, Bithynia, Nicaea and Patras are the only sure stations of Andrew's travels. Blumenthal⁴⁰⁶ adds to these episodes the story about Matthias' liberation, because in his view a primitive story must underlie the three divergent versions preserved by *Laudatio*, *Narratio* and *AAM*.

3.2.2.2.1.2. Completely Recoverable from *Narratio*

The less sceptical scholars adopt a more flexible position and hesitantly state that *Narratio*, even though revising and resuming, can provide us with the main outline of Andrew's peregrinations. According to Deeleman and Söder, the sequence Bithynia, Nicaea, Thrace, Scythia, Sebastopol, the cities in the region of the Black Sea, Byzantium, Thessalia and Patras presents the skeleton of Andrew's itinerary⁴⁰⁷.

3.2.2.2.2 Andrew's Peregrinations Partially or Completely Recoverable from *Epitome*

Investigators included in this group are far more numerous. They all agree in considering that *Epitome* preserves the best account of Andrew's peregrinations, although they also admit the strong revision and transformation that the ancient Acts have undergone in Gregory's version. However, not all is consensus. Some scholars accept only some episodes from *Epitome*, others either accept all or all but the first episode (below).

3.2.2.2.2.1. Partially Recoverable from *Epitome*

The more sceptical among the scholars only accept as original those episodes in *Epitome* that are also corroborated by other witnesses. According to Hornschuh, followed by Plümacher, only the following episodes are primitive: demons of Nicaea (*Epitome* 6; *Laudatio* 18; *Narratio* 4); Philippi (*Epitome* 12; *Manichaean Psalm-book* 142.20); Thessalonika (with hesitation, *Epitome* 18; PCU 1); Lesbius' episode (*Epitome* 21; *Laudatio* 33); miraculous healings at Patras (*Epitome* 31-33; *Laudatio* 40-41); Alcmanes' healing (*Epitome* 34; *Laudatio* 43).

3.2.2.2.2.2. Completely Recoverable from *Epitome*

Within this group one may distinguish between those scholars who accept the whole testimony of *Epitome* and those that consider its first chapter an interpolation.

3.2.2.2.2.2.1. Itinerary Including the Rescuing of Matthias

⁴⁰⁵ Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 547; *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 462-463. According to Hennecke, the story about Matthias' liberation proceeds from *AAM*.

⁴⁰⁶ Blumenthal, *Formen*, 43-44.

⁴⁰⁷ Deeleman, 'Acta Andreae', 562-65; Söder, *Romanhafte*, 22f.

Lipsius was convinced that the episode about Andrew's sojourn among the cannibals was a primitive one, but he never stated that *AAM* in its current form was a part of *AA*. On the contrary, he considered that this text was a very reworked and later version of an episode that probably appeared in the ancient Acts⁴⁰⁸. It is precisely his conviction concerning the genuineness of the episode that leads him to consider that *Epitome*, as it includes the episode at the beginning, is a reliable witness depending directly or indirectly on the *AA*. In spite of presenting a revised and resumed version of the ancient Acts, *Epitome* provides the main outline of Andrew's travels: Cannibals, Amaseia, Sinope, Nicaea, Nicomedia, Hellespont, Thrace, Macedonia and Achaia. To this group also belong Bardenhewer, Schermann and, more recently, MacDonald.

3.2.2.2.2.2. Itinerary Excluding the Rescuing of Matthias

All scholars in this group reject *AAM* belonging, in whatever form, to the ancient *AA*⁴⁰⁹. Consequently, they accept the reliability of all but one chapter of Gregory's account, the first. They all attribute great relevance to Gregory's testimony, which is considered to rely on a complete Latin version of the primitive Acts⁴¹⁰ and consequently to preserve, in a revised form, the totality of Andrew's peregrinations⁴¹¹. In their view, *AA* originally included all the episodes between Andrew's stay in Amaseia and his martyrdom in Patras as recorded by *Epitome*.

3.2.3. Tenor and Character of *AA*

As might be expected, a similar variety of opinions can be found in the discussion of *AA*'s mentality.

3.2.3.1. Gnostic Interpretation of *AA*

Uninformed readers of Prieur's overview of the research on *AA* might easily believe that the Gnostic interpretation of the ancient Acts is a homogeneous and monolithic hypothesis and mainly due to the influence of Lipsius' analysis⁴¹². Yet this is hardly the case and if it is true

⁴⁰⁸ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 601.

⁴⁰⁹ Flamion, James, Dvornik, M. Peterson, Erbetta, Moraldi and, especially, Prieur, who restates many of Flamion's points of view on the text.

⁴¹⁰ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 262, 265; Prieur, *Acta*, 8, 119. This opinion, however, is rather weak. First, it seems to contradict Prieur's assumption that Gregory collated *AAM* and *AA*. If he indeed had a complete version of *AA* in front of him, why did he collate this text with another including an episode alien to this textual whole? And further, why would he refer to the passion of the apostle and not to the original end of the text he was abridging? As Quispel already suggested ('Coptic Fragment', 141), it seems more reasonable to think that Gregory's source was already expurgated.

⁴¹¹ See Prieur, *Acta*, 31, where his diagram implies that *Epitome* preserves a complete version of Andrew's peregrinations. See also *ibid.* 40-65.

⁴¹² *Acta*, 129-56 and especially 139-40 and 155.

that he influenced some studies at the beginning of the twentieth century, most investigators who claim a Gnostic interpretation do it independently of their predecessor and on wholly different grounds.

Lipsius, following Thilo, was indeed the first scholar to defend the Gnostic character of the ancient Acts. His view, however, was mainly based on the indirect transmission of *AA* and on alleged Gnostic traces in orthodox reworkings of *AA*⁴¹³. Some scholars, such as Bardenhewer and Söder, followed him without critically scrutinising the criteria used to deduce such an interpretation. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century, however, a critical reaction to Lipsius' theses appeared, especially from scholars who agreed in considering a Gnostic trend in *AA*. Liechtenhan, for instance, explicitly distanced himself in his second investigation by rejecting the so-called Gnostic traces summarised in *Apostelgeschichten* on the grounds of their inconclusiveness and vagueness⁴¹⁴. He based his own Gnostic interpretation of the primitive Acts exclusively on *AA*'s fragment in V. Hennecke adopted the same attitude and, after rejecting that *AAM* and *AAPe* belonged to the primitive text, he stated that the only genuine representative of the ancient Acts shows a clearly Gnostic background. Subsequently, several scholars, such as Schlier, Sturhahn, Festugière, Quispel, Erbetta (with hesitation) and Orbe, also concurred in the Gnostic character of the ancient Acts from *AA*'s fragment in V.

3.2.3.2. The Orthodox Interpretation and Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic influences

Flamion is the first exponent of the view that the writer of *AA* belonged to mainstream Christianity, although Harnack labelling the text as 'vulgär-christlich' may be considered a precedent. Flamion's interpretation mainly relies on *Epitome* and on the textual witnesses for the martyrdom, all of them texts that show important later revision. All doctrinal peculiarities in V are explained as resulting from Neopythagoric and Neoplatonic influences, as if Flamion was implying that Platonic Christianity is perfectly consistent with mainstream Christianity.

3.2.3.3. The Orthodox Interpretation and the Gnosticising influences

Another line of research states that the lack of a strict differentiation between orthodox and heretic in the second century makes labelling *AA* as Gnostic or heretic at least anachronistic. Deeleman certainly recognises the Gnosticising trend of *AA*, but also considers that a mainstream Christian might have gone as far as the writer of *AA* in stating his point. Moreover, *AA*'s main trait is its encratite tendency and this is not at odds with the mentality of

⁴¹³ See *supra* this Chapter, p. 11 and note 102 for an overview of these Gnostic traces.

⁴¹⁴ It is true, however, that in his *Die Offenbarung* 49, Lichtenhan follows, to a certain extent, Lipsius' viewpoint.

‘kerkelijke kringen’ (‘ecclesiastical Christianity’) of the second century. Quispel, in spite of recognising clear Gnostic traits in the textual witnesses of *AA*, also thinks that the possibility of an orthodox author cannot be excluded.

3.2.3.4. Middle Platonic / Platonic Influences

The first to defend such a position was Bousset who suggested that behind Andrew’s speech to the cross *Mpr* 14 there were speculations on the cross, which originated under the influence of Platonic commentaries on the *Timaeus*. The most recent defender of this interpretation is Hornschuh, who completes Bousset’s references to Justin and Irenaeus with passages from Middle-Platonists and states that *AA* shows a typically Middle Platonic mixture of Stoic and Platonic thought.

3.2.3.5. *AA* reflects the ‘Mentality of the Period’

The most peculiar interpretation of *AA*’s tenor is perhaps to be found in Prieur’s analysis of *AA*’s mentality. He argues that *AA* reveals both the influence of (Neo) ‘Platonism’⁴¹⁵ and of Neopythagoreanism⁴¹⁶, it is Gnosticising without being strictly Gnostic and presents echoes of the Stoic ethical doctrine. Such a peculiar mixture cannot surprise the reader aware of Prieur’s eclectic textual basis. Whereas (Neo) Platonism is deduced from the first part of H and S, Neopythagorean influences and a Gnosticising tendency seem to be concluded from V. The Stoic ethics, finally, seem to proceed from the highly revised textual witnesses for the martyrdom.

3.2.4. Authorship, Time and Place of Composition

Lack of consensus also reigns over the hypotheses concerning authorship, time and place of composition.

3.2.4.1. Authorship

There are three main positions adopted by scholars with regard to the issue: according to some, nothing can be said about the author of *AA*; according to others, *AA* is the product of a single writer; one scholar, finally, suggests a dual or collective writer.

⁴¹⁵ Prieur’s changing statements reveal a certain insecurity with regard to the alleged Platonic influences. Sometimes he seems to reject such an influence, for it may imply a later dating of *AA* (*Acta*, 209 note 3); at other times he seems to accept it (*Acta*, 292f). At the same time, his terminology is also inconsistent, for he refers to the same issue sometimes with ‘Neoplatonism’ (*Acta*, 209) and other times with ‘Platonism’ (*Acta*, 376f.). Against this loose use of terminology, see H. Dörrie, ‘Was ist „spätantiker Platonismus“?’, *ThR* N. F. 36 (1971) 285-302 (= *Platonica Minora* (Munich, 1976) 508-23).

⁴¹⁶ As was the case with Flamion’s alleged Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean influences, Prieur does not offer any parallel from Neopythagorean writers and simply refers to the study by A.J. Festugière, *L’idéal religieux des Grecs et l’Évangile* (Paris, 1932). See Prieur, *Acta*, 377 and note 5. See also *ibid.* 409ff.

The first of these positions groups scholars that simply refrain from proposing a hypothetical writer on the grounds of the scarcity of reliable material (Hennecke, Hornschuh, Plümacher). More numerous, however, is the group of scholars who attempt to say something more about the issue by means of a literary analysis of one or more of *AA*'s textual witnesses. Some of them adopt the second of the positions listed above, namely the view that sees *AA* as the product of a single writer. Of them, Flamion was the first to suggest that, given the abundant use of Greek names and the style of *AA*, its author was an Achaean intellectual fond of Greek rhetoric, an ascetic Christian influenced by the philosophy of the period. Bremmer, in contrast, even though endorsing the author's characterisation as an intellectual, disproves Flamion's argument that the use of Greek names may imply an Achaean origin. More interesting is in his view that most names in *AA* are reminiscent of real or literary figures from Greek culture. In addition, *AA*'s emphasis on civic virtues and their application to denote personal qualities shows that this Greek intellectual certainly belonged to the upper classes.

Prieur and MacDonald defend the collective authorship, or third position. Prieur, by relying excessively on a doubtful primitive passage (*AAgr* 65.5-8), suggests that *AA* originated in a community of believers that transmitted its creed to the writer. For this statement he adduces support from the use of the first person plural in *AAgr* 64⁴¹⁷. This writer, whom Prieur characterises as a cultivated person, probably a Christian convert⁴¹⁸, may have served as a simple transcriber. MacDonald, in turn, presents a more complicated theory, which he has explained in two different ways⁴¹⁹. In his edition of *AA* he combines Philaster's reference, according to which *AA* was written down by followers of the apostle, with the view of Innocent I († 417), who believed that the Acts were written by the philosophers Xenocharides and Leonidas. Accordingly, he states that Andrew's peregrinations were written by one of them and Andrew's martyrdom by the other. In his view, this would explain the shift of the narrative into the first person plural (*AAgr* 64) and singular (*AAgr* 65), because then the passion was written by a single author. In his *Christianizing Homer*, on the other hand, he puts the matter differently. He begins by stating that the sophisticated content of *AA* suggests that it was the work of one or more Christian Platonists. In accordance with this new position, he thinks that in *AAgr* 65 the author locates himself as a transcriber 'at the end of a chain of

⁴¹⁷ However, Prieur's reading in *AAgr* 64.1-2 $\text{ci } \text{A} \setminus \text{ak } \text{b}$ is rather weak. In spite of his confusing *app. ad loc.*, which seems to imply something different, such a reading is attested only in H/S and Q. All other textual witnesses for the martyrdom (C, *Laudatio*, *Narratio*, P and O) simply omit it.

⁴¹⁸ Prieur, *Acta*, 381.

⁴¹⁹ *Cannibals* 47-51; *Christianizing Homer*, 287-88.

oral tradition'. With regard to Xenocharides and Leonidas he now thinks that the names probably appeared somewhere in *AA*'s text.

3.2.4.2. Time of Composition

Although an apparent consensus seems to reign over *AA*'s dating, as all hypotheses oscillate between the second and the third centuries, controversy is still a matter of fact. This becomes obvious when observing the arguments alleged by scholars as support for their hypotheses. We will divide all opinions into two groups according to whether they date *AA* to the second or to the third century.

3.2.4.2.1. Second Century

E. Peterson has defended the earliest date of composition on the grounds of *AA*'s encratite tendency. In his opinion, *AA*, *AJ* and *ATh* were written at a time that these sects first appeared or became known, namely in Hadrian's reign (117-138)⁴²⁰. However, most scholars defending the second century as the time of composition prefer a later date. Lipsius, for instance, places it in the second half of the second century and so does Prieur, who takes *AJ* as the *terminus post quem* and the *Manichaeen Psalm-book* (end of the third century) as the *terminus ante quem*⁴²¹. Deeleman, in turn, attempts to date the text more precisely. Given the fact that *AA* uses *AJ* (c. 165), whereas *APe* (c. 200) uses *AA*, the ancient Acts might be dated to c. 180⁴²². According to Hornschuh, *AA* was written between 150 and 190. He takes Peterson's reference to Hadrian's reign as *terminus post* and *AP* (190-200) as *terminus ante*, for it uses *AA*. As *APe* (180-190) presents clear contacts with *AA*, Hornschuh concludes that the latter should not be dated later than 190⁴²³. MacDonald also thinks that *AA* was written when the second century was drawing to a close, because Origen's reference (*ap.* Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 3.1) to the apocryphal Acts is his *terminus ante*⁴²⁴. In Quispel's opinion, *AA* should not be dated after 200, since our text was composed after *AJ* and *APe* but before *AP*⁴²⁵. Bremmer, finally, returns to the internal literary analysis to determine *AA*'s time of composition. Together with the already mentioned development of civic virtues to personal qualities, the rejection of military service by Stratocles points to the end of the second or beginning of the third century, for such a theme hardly appears in Christian texts from the first two centuries.

⁴²⁰ See *supra* this Chapter, p. 29 and notes 247 and 249.

⁴²¹ On Lipsius *supra* this Chapter, pp. 10-12.

⁴²² Deeleman, 'Acta Andreae', 560.

⁴²³ *Supra* this Chapter note 252.

⁴²⁴ *Supra* this Chapter note 328.

3.2.4.2.2. Third Century

In contrast to the variety of dates proposed by scholars of the first group, all who surmise the third century as the time of composition allocate *AA* in its second half. Flamion first suggested such a date on the grounds of *AA*'s alleged Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean influences⁴²⁶. Probably following Flamion's assertion, James considers *AA* the latest of the apocryphal acts and dates it to 260, although he does not provide any reason to support his chronological precision⁴²⁷. Erbetta has also suggested the second half of the third century. Since PCU 1 and *AA* present obvious similarities, and since PCU 1's vocabulary has close contacts with *ATH*, he thinks that *AA* depends upon *ATH*. Consequently, *AA* must be dated to 250-300⁴²⁸. Dvornik, in his turn, prefers a later dating to the end of the third century. On the one hand, the 'Monarchean' prologue to Luke's gospel (supported by Jerome⁴²⁹) attributes Achaia to Luke and, on the other, Origen only knows of Scythia as a field of activity for Andrew⁴³⁰.

3.2.4.3. Place of composition

Opinions also diverge with regard to the geographical origin. On the one hand, there are scholars who think that the place of composition cannot be determined (Hennecke, Hornschuh). On the other, numerous scholars have attempted to deduce a hypothetical origin for *AA* on the basis of different arguments. Three places have been proposed: Achaia, Alexandria and Asia Minor. Flamion suggested the Achaean origin on the grounds of *AA*'s use of Greek names. Prieur, differently, considers Alexandria as the most suitable place for the composition of a text that presents contacts not only with Philo, but also *Corpus Hermeticum*, Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean philosophy. MacDonald also considers Alexandria as the most likely place of composition, on the grounds of Origen's knowledge of *AA*, Middle-Platonic influences and *AA*'s similarities with *AJ*. Other scholars, however, tend to allocate *AA* to Asia Minor. Thus, for example, Plümacher, who thinks that *AP*'s use of *AA* might indicate that they were composed in the same region. Bremmer, finally, suggests on the basis of certain realia that *AA* should be placed if not in Pontus and Bithynia, at least in Asia Minor.

⁴²⁵ Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 147.

⁴²⁶ As Schermann already pointed out (see *supra* this Chapter, p. 19 and note 177), such influences should have implied a dating later than the third century. On the issue, *infra* Chapter 5, pp. 343-44.

⁴²⁷ James, *Apocryphal NT*, 337.

⁴²⁸ *Supra* this Chapter note 260.

⁴²⁹ PL 26.18.

⁴³⁰ Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 214.

3. 3. Conclusions on the Research on *AA*

The preceding review shows clearly that the research on *AA* has not yet achieved conclusive answers to the main questions posed by the ancient *Acts of Andrew*. As already stated, this peculiarity is partly due to the textual witnesses and to *AA*'s problematic textual transmission. The great diversity of the documents and the lack of univocal evidence to determine their chronology or their mutual relationships places a serious obstacle in the way of a coherent analysis and classification of the material with a view to isolating the oldest textual stage that may allow a consistent study of the primitive Acts. On the other hand, it is also true that the scholarly approach to this diversified textual evidence frequently tends to complicate the matter instead of clarifying it. Preconceptions about the ancient Acts have often hindered an objective analysis of the textual witnesses that might have allowed both an assessment of their particular characteristics and an evaluation of their convergences and divergences. As the analysis of the single documents frequently serves the purposes of a given hypothesis, studies tend to blur their peculiarities and thus to confuse the issue of a proper and unbiased comparative analysis of the textual witnesses.

The rather different, sometimes even contradictory, interpretations of *AA*'s tenor and character will suffice to illustrate the negative results of this combination of factors. The Gnostic interpretation by Lipsius was based more on common sense than on textual evidence. If *AA* has come down to us despite the fact that since early times it has been classed among the heretic writings, the extant witnesses must present a revised version of the primitive text. As revisions can hardly be completely successful in eliminating undesirable elements, these revised texts should preserve traces of the primitive source. Among *AA*'s textual witnesses, those with a fabulous undercurrent, such as *AAM* and *AAPe*, seemed to Lipsius more likely to preserve these original traits⁴³¹. Up to this point his approach is legitimate, for any working hypothesis is useful for a better understanding of the textual evidence. Problems, however, arise when, on the basis of his preconception of *AA*, he proceeds to analyse the remaining extant witnesses exclusively from the perspective of the text or texts that in his view play a central role. Thus, for example, *Epitome* is said to depend directly or indirectly on the Gnostic *DfYf]#Xc]*, because it includes a version of the cannibal episode closest to *AAM*. In contrast, *Laudatio*, *Narratio* and *Vita*, as they present a rather different version, depend on the catholic *DfUW]^\i*. In short, the conclusions on *AA*'s textual transmission are not drawn from an

⁴³¹ Obviously, problems arise when determining what is the result of revision and what is not. How is one to establish the working procedure of the revisor if one does not positively know what he is revising? In any case,

objective and comprehensive analysis of the textual witnesses but rather from their alleged relationship with a text that, according to a previous interpretation of *AA*, allegedly represents the oldest textual stage.

With regard to the opposite, orthodox interpretation of *AA* by Flamion, one might say that he, despite the different method, textual basis and conclusions, presents a similar approach to the textual witnesses. As he is willing *a priori* to deny that a ‘doctrinal revision’ may be relevant in the genesis of *AA*’s textual witnesses, he relies on a doubtful interpretation of Gregory’s prologue in order to suggest that the recastings of *AA* merely intended to eliminate its excessive verbosity. In doing so, however, he carries out a biased analysis of the indirect and direct transmission of *AA*. First, he neglects the external references that class *AA* among the heretic writings⁴³². Second, he deliberately chooses those texts that may support an orthodox reading, namely *Epitome* for Andrew’s peregrinations and *Malt A* and *B*, *Narratio* and interpolations in *2GrEp* for his martyrdom. The most serious interpretation, however, begins when the scholar attempts to beat the remaining extant witnesses into the shape of his ‘Martyrdom source’. All other textual witnesses are not only exclusively analysed from the perspective of his hypothetical source, but they are also tendentiously interpreted so as to fit in the plan of this source. There are many examples of this procedure in his book⁴³³, but the clearest instance is Flamion’s tendentious interpretation of *AA*’s fragment in *V*. Without providing any conclusive evidence to support his statement and minimising the profound divergences between *V* and the remaining extant witnesses, he states that *AA*’s fragment in *V* is a section detached from his Martyrium source⁴³⁴. Next, he carries out a very interpretative analysis of its contents in order to suggest the Neopythagoric and Neoplatonic influences on its message. Finally, he extends the conclusions drawn from this document to the remaining martyrdom and assesses the doctrinal character of the previously reconstructed ‘martyrium source’⁴³⁵. In short, Flamion’s approach to the textual witnesses follows a clearly preconceived idea about the ancient Acts. Although his selection of texts to suit his bias might, in a certain light, be accepted as a means to analyse the material, he clearly transcends this scope and projects his interpretation onto the analysis of all other textual witnesses that do not fit in his narrow scheme.

Lipsius thought he did and summarised those elements in *AAM* and *AAPe* that in his view betrayed a Gnostic background. See *supra* this Chapter, p. 11 and note 102.

⁴³² See Schermann, ‘Flamion Review’, 302.

⁴³³ Thus, for example, his interpretation that *Laudatio* depends on *Vita*, or his explanation of the textual relationship between *Conversante* and *Epistle*.

⁴³⁴ Flamion, *L’Apôtre*, 142-45; see also his conclusions on p. 177.

⁴³⁵ Flamion, *L’Apôtre*, 145-77.

As far as the orthodox Gnosticising interpretation is concerned, it has the merit of trying to go beyond the rigid limits imposed by an interpretation of late antiquity exclusively based on black-and-white conceptions proceeding from patristic sources. The lack of a strict differentiation between heretic and orthodox at the time of *AA*'s composition makes plausible the hypothesis that different groups were receptive to different ideas proceeding from diverse ideological environments. Hence, the appearance of Gnostic traits in *AA* does not necessarily imply a Gnostic orientation of its writer⁴³⁶. Deeleman's approach to the primitive *AA* might be correct, as might be his suggestion that the loss of the ancient Acts was not due to the text's doctrinal orientation but rather to its popularity among heretic groups. However, this interpretation has once again a negative influence on the analysis of the textual witnesses because the assumption of *AA*'s doctrinal harmlessness prevented the scholar from realising that the obvious reduction pattern of *Narratio* is precisely focussed on eliminating undesirable doctrinal issues from *AA*'s fragment in V.

With regard to the Platonic interpretation by Bousset, this relies on a very reworked text: *Mpr*. It is true that although he does not extend the conclusions of his study to other textual witnesses for *AA*, in Hornschuh's analysis, which endorses Bousset's interpretation, the speech to the cross in *Mpr* (54.16-55.19) already gives support to a new hypothesis. Admittedly, Hornschuh's study is more careful than the preceding ones: he begins his exposition of *AA*'s character with an analysis of *AA*'s fragment in V, and only then incorporates other textual evidence. However, the alleged influence of the Stoic conception of Logos is exclusively concluded from the speech to the cross in *Mpr* and *Laudatio* (348.19). And it is this evidence, together with the Platonic influence he recognises in *AA*'s fragment in V, that seems to allow the conclusion that Middle-Platonism mostly influenced *AA*⁴³⁷. Once again, consequently, *AA*'s fragment in V is interpreted in line with later and more reworked textual witnesses.

The last major interpretative line of *AA* states that it reflects the mentality of its historical period⁴³⁸. This ambiguous denomination is deliberately coined by Prieur to embrace all the different ideologies that come to the surface in his eclectic textual reconstruction. The alleged appearance of Neoplatonic, Neopythagoric, Stoic, Gnostic and mainstream Christian elements should have been enough evidence to conclude that such a textual reconstruction is not a viable one, for it is likely to be a collage including elements of extremely varied

⁴³⁶ Deeleman, 'Acta Andreae', 560.

⁴³⁷ See Hornschuh, 'Andreasakten', 273, last paragraph.

⁴³⁸ Prieur, *Acta*, 409, 'l'esprit d'une époque'.

provenance. On the contrary, Prieur confidently proposes this philosophical fair as the genuine thought behind *AA* and even theorises on the eclectic *homme de lettres* who might have composed it. Such an interpretation of *AA* is the result of his indiscriminate use of textual witnesses and the *ad libitum* combination of sections to build his textual reconstruction. Once again, his approach is as valid as any other working hypothesis, but it certainly becomes problematic when the priority given to S/H begins to affect the character of our oldest testimony for *AA*. *AA*'s fragment in V is not only emended on the basis of readings proceeding from such reworked sources⁴³⁹, but is also incorporated in an alien textual environment that facilitates the distortion of its message in line with that of the documents with which it is merged.

The obvious conclusion from this brief survey is that there is a close relationship between the diversity of *AA*'s textual witnesses and the unsystematic, sometimes anarchic approach of scholars to the textual witnesses. The major problem is that among the numerous and various documents, it is always possible to find sound support for almost any hypothesis whatsoever. Given this circumstance, scholars tend to begin their studies by analysing first those texts which best suit their expectations and only then proceed to compare them with the remaining extant witnesses. In all cases this comparative analysis obviously confirms both the working hypothesis of the investigator as well as his interpretation of the document(s) chosen to sustain it.

A serious study of the primitive Acts, however, must be preceded by a detailed and objective study of the single textual witness that may allow the investigator to sort the material with a view to sorting reliable from unreliable witnesses. The investigations of those scholars who confined themselves to the testimony of *AA*'s fragment in V for the study of the tenor of the ancient Acts should have provided the starting point for such an analysis⁴⁴⁰. However, their implicit or explicit mistrust of the remaining extant witnesses has never been clearly and distinctly argued on the basis of a systematic comparison of these testimonies with V, so as to encourage scholarship to focus exclusively on this document for conceptual matters. On the contrary, the lack of a categorical assessment of the reasons that justify their preferring V to the remaining extant textual witnesses has given grounds to the idea that a combination of the latter with the former might produce a reliable result⁴⁴¹. As has already been seen, this is indeed the approach of the vast majority of the investigations. All five major

⁴³⁹ See *supra* pp. 36-38.

⁴⁴⁰ See *supra* this Chapter, §§ 3.1.1, 3.2.1.1, 3.2.2.1 and 3.2.3.1.

⁴⁴¹ For the scholars who maintain this view, see *supra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 49-50 and § 3.2.1.2, pp. 51-52.

interpretations of *AA* claim the testimony of *AA*'s fragment in V as support for their own reading. Whereas in the Gnostic interpretation by Quispel, *AA*'s fragment in V gives support to the *praedestinatio physica* he finds in PCU 1, in Flamion's orthodox reading it forms the foundation for a subjective textual and conceptual interpretation of *AA*. While in the orthodox Gnosticising explanation the textual and conceptual peculiarities of our fragment disappear under the influence of *Narratio*, in the Platonic reading V is brought into line with *Mpr*. In Prieur's interpretation, finally, our document vanishes under the weight of lengthier and more developed sections of the textual reconstruction, even though it provides the conceptual basis for the text.

Our present investigation will proceed differently. In the next chapter we shall first analyse *AA*'s textual transmission in order to attempt an assessment of its textual diversification. We are aware of the difficulty and risks of such an enterprise: as far as we know none of the previous studies on *AA* has attempted to include all the major textual witnesses into a comprehensive and coherent whole. However, it is only on the basis of such a systematic comparative analysis of the textual witnesses that we may isolate the reliable one or ones in order to generate, afterwards, a consistent analysis of the primitive *Acts of Andrew*.

CHAPTER II: *AA*'S TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

At the start of the first chapter we offered a tentative classification of the textual witnesses based on their content, that is, whether they preserved or omitted certain sections that the primitive text allegedly contained. This classification, which roughly coincides with the one underlying the scholarly literature on *AA*, admittedly includes a *petitio principii*, for it assumes an understanding of the primitive text and of its textual transmission before the texts have been properly and exhaustively analysed. The question whether *AA* originally consisted of two parts, namely peregrinations and martyrdom, from which some textual witnesses detach the martyrdom, or whether it consisted of the martyrdom only and the texts that include both parts collate it with other sources can only be properly answered after a consistent analysis of the extant witnesses.

In this chapter we will proceed differently. In the first section we will review the standard classification of the textual witnesses, now stressing the great divergences between documents that are normally grouped together as if they attested to a homogeneous text. This brief review intends to demonstrate that these texts transform the primitive text to such an extent that they cannot be treated as simple representatives of a textual transmission without first establishing their textual characteristics. In the second section, therefore, we pay due attention to the textual witnesses and attempt a new classification on the basis of their literary character and scope. From this analysis it will become clear that, given the profound transformation of *AA* according to their peculiar literary purposes, the vast majority of the textual witnesses are not reliable sources either for a reconstruction of the primitive *AA* or for an analysis of its tenor and character. The third section furnishes support for this interpretation by means of a comparative textual analysis of the textual witnesses in order to determine the extent to which they transformed the primitive text and to establish, as far as possible, the intertextual relationships, genealogy and hypothetical chronology of the different versions. The fourth section, finally, suggests a historical explanation for the textual diversification, revealed by the comparative textual analysis.

1. Diversity of AA's Textual Witnesses

1.1. Character of the Witnesses included in Group A (Andrew and Matthias)¹

All the texts included in the first group relate the adventures of Andrew in the land of cannibals when rescuing his friend Matthias. Characteristic of these texts is their interest in

wondrous and miraculous elements and their tendency to introduce legendary issues. The numerous versions in different languages testify to the success of the text in the most diverse environments throughout the Middle Ages².

The abrupt end proves that the text is not preserved in its original form and length. The loss of the last part seems to date from ancient times and can be traced back to the hyparchetype or archetype of the stemma³. How long the text actually was and what the continuation looked like is a matter of conjecture.

1.2. Character of the Documents included in Group B (Martyrdom)⁴

Although all the documents included in this group have Andrew's martyrdom as their main focus, they are far from forming a homogeneous group. The writers of these texts were inspired by or interested in the apostle's martyrdom above all, but their ways of understanding and rewriting the primitive text present clear differences. Most of these versions diverge considerably from one another with regard to textual length, character and style.

From the point of view of the portion of the primitive text they preserve we may distinguish three categories: longer⁵, medium-length⁶ and short texts⁷. The longer texts include the preliminary events to Andrew's imprisonment, the medium-length ones begin with Andrew's last words in prison and continue with the narration of the martyrdom. The short versions, finally, focus exclusively on the martyrdom itself. None of them, however, allows us to go back beyond Andrew's arrival in Patras.

With regard to their character and content, the textual witnesses also present important differences. Some texts only preserve a few elements of the original story and incorporate them in a new textual framework⁸. Other texts present a very summarising version of the ancient martyrdom that only preserves the strictly necessary issues to assure textual continuity⁹. A couple of texts preserve a fuller version of the last part of the martyrdom, which seems to follow the plan of the primitive text but which nevertheless presents traces of important omissions¹⁰.

¹ See *supra*, Chapter 1, pp. 1-3.

² Blatt, *Bearbeitungen*, 1.

³ This possibility seems to be supported by the production of a new text, the *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, that would suit the missing end of *AAM*. Cf. MacDonald, *Cannibals*, 17.

⁴ See *supra*, Chapter 1, pp. 3-5.

⁵ Andrew's martyrdom in S and H.

⁶ *Arm* and *Conversante*.

⁷ *Malt* A and B, Andrew's martyrdom in C.

⁸ *Epistle*.

⁹ *Malt* A and B, *Mpr*.

¹⁰ Andrew's martyrdom in C, *Arm*.

From a stylistic perspective, finally, it is also possible to distinguish several subcategories. Some of the texts are completely new texts inspired by older materials. In this sense, although they may occasionally present echoes of the older text, their style is radically different¹¹. Other texts are remakes of the primitive story that generally follow the line of the ancient Acts, sometimes adding new elements and at others eliminating old issues¹². A couple of texts, finally, might perhaps reflect the original style of the ancient Acts, but they abridge the story to such an extent that it is not always clear what their source actually looked like¹³.

All these important differences in the textual witnesses show that a purely textual analysis can hardly determine their mutual relationship with a view to establishing a genealogy of the documents or to reconstructing their archetypon.

1.3. Character of the Documents included in Group C (Peregrinations and Martyrdom)¹⁴

In contrast to the incompleteness of the textual witnesses in groups A and B, those in group C are complete and offer an account, with a beginning and an end, of Andrew's apostolic activities. Regrettably, however, these texts present rather diverging accounts of the story with only a few sporadic contacts. Noteworthy is that in their first part they all include a version of the events narrated by the texts of group A and, in their second part, a version of the events narrated by the texts in group B. Syncretism of sources has been adduced as an explanation for this peculiarity, but problems arise when determining which texts served as sources¹⁵. Regarding the episode of Andrew and Matthias, their accounts are so different from *AAM* that this text can hardly be considered to be the source of the others¹⁶. As to the martyrdom, texts in this group also present important differences and only two of them (*Laudatio* and *Narratio*) occasionally present contacts with textual witnesses from group B.

As far as the literary character is concerned, obvious differences come to the fore. While *Narratio*, *Laudatio* and *Vita* clearly have biographical intentions, *Epitome* is more interested in Andrew's miracles than in Andrew himself.

¹¹ *Conversante, Epistle*.

¹² *MPr, Arm*.

¹³ *C, Malt A, B*, Andrew's martyrdom in S and H.

¹⁴ See *supra*, Chapter 1, pp. 5-6.

¹⁵ All texts included in this group are said to collate different sources. The idea is partly due to the fact that the testimonies themselves claim to base their accounts on authoritative materials. Such a statement, however, is likely to be a simple topos, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 81-84 and notes 69, 75 and 79. According to some scholars (Flamion, Prieur), for instance, *Epitome* collates the ancient *AA* with *AAM*. The same is true of *Narratio*, which is said to combine two different sources, Pseudo-Dorotheus for Andrew's peregrinations and *AA* for the events at Patras. Similarly, *Vita* is believed to merge different sources and *Laudatio* is said to depend on *Vita*.

¹⁶ For this issue see Blumenthal's opinion (*Formen*, 40-45). Further, *supra* Chapter 1, p. 23.

1.4. Character of the documents included in Group D (Remaining Texts)¹⁷

Group D includes fragmentary portions of text that have traditionally been related to *AA*. Of the four documents listed above, however, only V has parallels in other textual witnesses and can with certainty be attributed to *AA*. PCU 1 has generally been related to *AA*, although its alleged contact with *Epitome* is not absolutely certain. The other two documents are not only very fragmentary and lacunose, but also present unknown stories without parallels in any of the extant witnesses.

1.5. A Hypothetical Archetypon?

Given the great differences between the documents, an objective textual reconstruction of the primitive text on the basis of their testimony is, in our opinion, a chimera in both a literal and a figurative sense: literally, because a text built up from textual remnants so different in character, style and content and coming from wholly diverse environments and historical periods necessarily resembles the artificial combination of limbs of this imaginary being¹⁸; figuratively, because a text produced in such a way resists a coherent interpretation of the textual unity as a whole.

The great divergences in our documents represent insurmountable gaps between the pieces of evidence, and thus any attempt to go beyond a hypothetical and general sketch of the primitive *AA* would imply a tendentious interpretation of the extant documents. One might even wonder whether such a textual reconstruction is methodologically possible. As we have seen, affiliation between documents of different groups is not always clear and often impossible to determine. By contrast, the many divergences often force scholars to surmise complicated and purely conjectural combinations again based on a hypothetical relative chronology of the documents¹⁹. But if the reconstruction of a relatively certain stemma for documents presenting related texts is not possible, how is one to suggest a hypothetical archetypon for documents that present visibly different texts and sections of texts? Again, in such a case, what kind of textual transmission should be imagined? Is it possible to surmise a textual transmission in the strict sense of the word for *AA* or for parts of it? Textual

¹⁷ See *supra*, Chapter 1, pp. 6-7.

¹⁸ For contradictory interpretations of stylistic matters based on the same textual reconstruction, see the opinions of Warren and Zachariades-Holmberg (*supra*, Chapter 1, note 361); for conceptual matters, see Prieur's interpretation of *AA*'s mentality on the basis of his textual reconstruction of *AA* (*supra*, Chapter 1, pp. 37 and 58). On the Chimera, see J.L. Borges, *The Book of Imaginary Beings*, s. v.

¹⁹ Thus, for instance, in the case of *Narratio*, which was dated to the ninth century by Flamion and Prieur in order to explain its divergent version of Andrew's peregrinations as depending on Pseudo-Dorotheus (but, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 81-82, note 72). As Dvornik has shown, however, it is more plausible that Dorotheus draws on *Narratio* than vice versa. The same is true for the textual relationship between *Laudatio* and *Vita* (see for this issue, *infra* this Chapter, pp. 99-103).

reconstruction is only possible if textual transformations follow the rules of textual transmission. The great diversity of *AA*'s witnesses, however, seems to indicate that their divergences cannot be explained as due to the contamination of sources resulting from the effects of textual transmission²⁰. Rather, we seem to be dealing with texts that, although inspired by the primitive Acts, freely rewrite their source by selecting, adapting or transforming the primitive account in order to make it fit their literary purposes.

2. Towards a New Classification of *AA*'s Textual Witnesses

2.1. Reworking as a Common Trait in the Textual Witnesses

That reworking is the main characteristic of all textual witnesses included in groups A, B, and C seems to be a reasonable conclusion from three facts. First, the texts lack any relevant issue that may explain *AA*'s stigmatisation, ever since Eusebius condemned our text on the grounds of its heretic provenance²¹. It is obvious that if *AA* indeed included 'unorthodox thought', problematic sections have been eliminated or adapted to the more standardised thinking of the later emerging Church. Second, the textual witnesses are so different from one another that their divergences can only be explained as a result of the process of recasting *AA*'s story according to their peculiar working procedures and scopes. Third and most important, a comparison between V and those texts that include a version of its contents shows that in all cases they significantly transmit a completely different version.

A comparative analysis of the main textual witnesses that focuses on their textual characteristics reveals interesting results with a view to establishing a better classification of the documents. On the basis of their reworking procedures and literary scope, the texts may be divided into three groups. The first includes the martyrdom texts: *Conversante*, *Epistle*, C, *Malt* A and B, P1en, *Mpr*, H and S. Although these texts diverge significantly from one another, they agree in presenting Andrew as an impassive, almost passive figure and in minimising his individual initiative in order to let him follow orders from above. The apostle's characterisation is imparted with the tragic traits of an individual who stoically accepts his task and the fate of Christ's defenders in an alien environment.

The second group includes texts that are more interested in Andrew's miraculous activities than in his apostolic figure, namely *AAM*, PCU 1 and *Epitome*. As these texts place the emphasis on Andrew's wonders, the apostle's character loses personality and

²⁰ For the problems generated by 'contamination' of the transmission and for possible solutions in rendering the textual relationships between documents, see P. Maas, *Textkritik* (Leipzig, 1957) 31 and M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* (Leipzig, 1973) 12ff.

²¹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.6.

protagonism. Fantastic elements (more in *AAM* than in *Epitome*) as well as descriptions of imaginary and hostile places are now used in order to depict the apostle's immutable determination when dealing with obstacles to his activities as a representative of God.

The third group, *Narratio*, *Laudatio* and *Vita*, is formed by texts with a biographical undercurrent. These texts seem particularly to concentrate on describing an itinerary, in which the journey itself and the sequence of geographical destinations describe the fulfilment of Andrew's task as apostle, pushing to the background the narration of his individual deeds. The removal of traits from Andrew's character and the neglecting of his individual deeds for the sake of the general description of his itinerary facilitates the creation of a universal, exemplary figure more suitable for depicting the ideal personification of piety.

2.2. The Testimony of the Indirect Transmission

The way in which our text is referred to by the indirect transmission is evidence of a similar variety of perceptions of the text. Our first references describe *AA* with the term *actus*²², or 'conspicuous deeds'²³. Other references use a closely related term, the generic title *virtutes Andreae*²⁴, although in this case the emphasis is not so much on the 'conspicuous deeds' as on the apostle himself and his special qualities to perform them. Despite their different emphasis, both descriptions agree in conceiving *AA* as a collection of conspicuous deeds or wondrous acts. But the text is sometimes also referred to as *travels of Andrew*²⁵. The relationship with the old literary genre of 'geographical description' (*periplus*), which is documented by the fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus, parts of Herodotus' *History* or Avienus' *Ora Maritima*, is not exclusively etymological. As we have already seen, some of Andrew's traditions do indeed narrate the apostle's life and works, following a strict geographical itinerary that takes him from the Pontus Euxinus to Achaia in Greece. The most successful title, however, is *Acta*, 'acts' or 'court records', notes taken during the trials of the martyrs on which some martyrdom texts

²² Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.6; Philaster of Brescia, *Div. haer. liber* 5-7. Epiphanius of Salamis, *Adv. haer.* 47.1.5. Augustine, *Contra Felic. Manich.* 2.6.

²³ The question as to whether or not these texts must be considered as belonging to a 'praxeis-literature', as Wikenhauser (*Die Apostelgeschichte und ihr Geschichtswert* (Münster, 1921) 95-98; 95; 103-4; 106-7) surmised, is difficult to answer on the basis of our exiguous material. As A. Hilhorst, 'The Apocryphal Acts as Martyrdom Texts: the Case of the Acts of Andrew', in J. N. Bremmer, *The Apocryphal Acts of John* (Kampen, 1995) 1-14 at 1 note 1) rightly points out, our evidence is too fragmentary to surmise such a literary genre.

²⁴ *Epitome*, prol. 5: *nam repperi librum de virtutibus Andreae apostoli, etc.*

²⁵ John of Thessalonica, *Dorm. Mariae*, prol.; Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 114. See Nagel, 'Die apokryphen Apostelakten', 152 note 17.

might originally have been based²⁶. Closely related to the latter, we still find the title *aUfhi #|cb*, ‘martyrdom’ or ‘passion’, a literary genre which normally focuses only on the arrest and the death of the martyr.

Despite their apparent diversity this variety of references allows a three-fold division as well. The indirect transmission understands *AA* either as a) a relation of Andrew’s martyrdom; b) a relation of Andrew’s miracles, or, finally, c) a relation of Andrew’s life and activities.

2.3. Classification of Textual Witnesses According to how they Rework *AA*

The striking coincidence between the reworking procedures and scopes of *AA*’s textual witnesses and the interpretations of commentators on our text allows us clearly to distinguish three different conceptions of *AA*:

1. Text conceived and meant to commemorate a saint’s martyrdom²⁷
2. Text intending to offer a collection of a saint’s *admiranda miracula*
3. Text understood as a biography of a saint that offers a comprehensive relation of his life and activity.

These three categories show that we are dealing with texts that, even if inspired by the ancient Acts or even incorporating more or less primitive sections, actually do not intend to transmit the old text but rather to create new ones. Consequently, it seems more reasonable to attempt a classification of the textual witnesses on the basis of their reworking pattern and scope. This classification offers obvious advantages, the most interesting being that it allows us to deal with *AA*’s transmission as an organic whole. Instead of distancing the textual witnesses from one another on the basis of a preconceived idea about the primitive text, it connects our testimonies more closely by paying attention to the particular way in which they transform primitive issues. At the same time, whereas a classification of the texts on the basis of their content would lead the investigator into a dead end, distinguishing reworking groups allows a better understanding of the genesis and development of the different specimens. Finally, by paying attention to the reworking process we can to a certain extent establish which issues are likely to have proceeded from the primitive text and which ones are peculiar to the different reworking versions of *AA*.

²⁶ For this issue see Hilhorst, ‘Martyrdom Texts’, 2 and note 2 with bibliographical references; J.N. Bremmer, ‘Perpetua and her Diary: Authenticity, Family and Visions’, in W. Ameling (ed), *Märtyrer und Märtyrerakten* (Stuttgart, 2002) 77-120 at 78-80.

²⁷ Since such texts were read on the anniversary of the saint’s death, they only included his passion.

On the basis of this threefold discrimination, we now will offer a classification of the textual witnesses according to their character, content and literary scope. This first analysis will reveal that the vast majority of *AA*'s textual witnesses do not simply transmit the primitive text but actively transform or adapt it to their individual literary scope.

2.3.1. Martyrdom Texts

Martyrdom literature is the most productive genre among the material related to Andrew²⁸. All the texts in this group are primarily interested in Andrew's martyrdom. As the apostle's passion constitutes their main focus, they can all be considered martyrdom texts, even though a comparative analysis reveals clear differences between them. As the time of composition of these reworkings of the last part of *AA* oscillates between the fourth/fifth and the ninth century, there is an obvious shift in the literary form adopted by the recensors. Martyrdom texts can, therefore, be divided into three categories.

2.3.1.1. Recastings of Andrew's Martyrdom

Conversante is a very short and summary version of the last section of *AA*. As Bonnet has already pointed out, it preserves ancient elements²⁹. These primitive issues, however, are included in a new textual framework, which develops the antagonism between Aegeates and Andrew. All other characters disappear or are reduced to a minimum. Maximilla and Stratocles are only mentioned by a passing reference³⁰. Obviously, this implies that Aegeates' motivation to imprison and punish Andrew is different from the primitive text. According to *Conversante*'s first chapter, Andrew is accused of destroying the temples of pagan gods and of spreading a new religion.

After this first chapter, *Conversante* 2 picks up the line of *AA*'s martyrdom and begins with Andrew's last speech to the brethren, in an abbreviated and transformed version³¹. It is interesting to note that *Conversante* begins exactly at the same point as *Arm*³².

Epistle is a new re-elaboration of the last section of *AA* that tries to create a new narrative framework by adducing ocular testimony³³. As has already been pointed out, *Epistle* survives in its Latin original form (*LatEp*), according to Bonnet written in the sixth century, and in two

²⁸ Cf. Hilhorst, 'Martyrdom Texts', 1-14.

²⁹ See Bonnet, 'Passio sancti Andreae apostoli', 373; see also *supra* Chapter 1, p. 12 and note 107.

³⁰ *Conversante* 378.3 and 378.7, respectively.

³¹ For *Conversante*'s recast of this speech, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 90-91.

³² For the parallelism between *Conversante* and *Arm* and for the plausibility of a common or similar source, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 90 and 112-13.

³³ The search for *verismo* might also explain *2GrEp*'s interpolations in the translation. On this issue, see *supra* Chapter 1, p. 12 note 111. On the provenance of the interpolations, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 106-09.

Greek recensions (*1GrEp* and *2GrEp*)³⁴. *Epistle* consists of two differentiated parts. The first nine chapters present a dialogue between Andrew and Aegeates, of which the only primitive elements are the names of the two interlocutors. From chapter 10 onwards, *Epistle* presents a short version of *AA*'s martyrdom. *1GrEp* is a simple Greek translation and *2GrEp* a contaminated translation from the Latin that, from chapter 10 onwards, interpolates older readings from another source³⁵.

Similarly to *Conversante*, *Epistle* reworks the martyrdom so as to present a story in which the conflict between Aegeates and Andrew receives the main emphasis. The antagonism between them, which is appropriately developed by the dialogue in the first nine chapters, develops smoothly until the end of the text owing to the omission of all secondary issues. All characters in the original story either completely disappear or are mentioned only in passing³⁶.

2.3.1.2. Short Versions of Andrew's Martyrdom

Andrew's martyrdom in ms Ann Arbor 36 (C). Among the extant Greek and Latin witnesses for the martyrdom, C includes the best and fullest account of the last part of the primitive Acts. In spite of abundant errors due to the textual transmission³⁷, C frequently offers better versions for many sections that in other textual witnesses are corrupted, and occasionally a unique Greek testimony for sections that are only preserved by *Arm*. At the same time, a comparative analysis with the extant witnesses for the martyrdom shows that its working procedure mainly consists of reducing the text. Consequently, C might preserve a fairly reliable but very summary version of the main outline of *AA*'s last section.

C's version of *AA*'s martyrdom begins immediately after Andrew's last speech in prison and consequently relies on a shorter recension. In contrast to the preceding examples of the martyrdom, C does not radically alter the tenor of the text and it preserves all the characters that we know from other textual witnesses.

Martyrium alterum A and B. These testimonies not only present a rather abbreviated and poor version of the last section of Andrew's martyrdom, but also introduce an important distortion of the personae and of Andrew's message. *Malt B* is clearly the most summary of

³⁴ Bonnet, 'La Passion d'André', 459 ; Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 40ff.

³⁵ Bonnet identified these interpolations and properly highlighted them in his edition (*AAA* II/1, 1-37). As we will see below, a proper comparison of the interpolations with *Laudatio*, *Narratio*, *Conversante*, S and H allows the conclusion that the source from which *2GrEp* contaminates its translation belongs to the same family of these testimonies. But see *infra* this Chapter, p. 107 and note 151.

³⁶ Maximilla is completely ignored by most mss of *LatEp* and is mentioned only by three of them (M, *Nau* and R), see Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, *app. ad* 34.1-2 and *ad* 35.1-3 (for mss X and U). Stratocles is mentioned only once by most mss and a second time by a few others. See Bonnet, *app. ad* 35.1-3.

both versions. *Malt A*'s reductions mainly affect discursive sections and it generally preserves narrative sections, whereas *Malt B* eliminates discourses and simplifies the action by summarising narrative sections as well.

Malt A and *B* not only preserve a short version of the martyrdom that begins after Andrew's last speech in prison, but also considerably abbreviate the retained section. Hence, despite Flamion³⁸ and Prieur³⁹, we think that Bonnet was right when he argued the exiguous value of these documents⁴⁰.

Coptic Martyrdom in P. Ien. 649. This textual witness is extremely short and only consists of several corrupted and lacunose lines. Even though very little extra information can be deduced from these scanty remnants, the evidence provided by PIen is enough to prove the circulation of a short version of the martyrdom in Coptic as early as in the fifth century⁴¹. The text preserves the beginning of the martyrdom as it appears in the short versions of the Greek transmission. Codicological evidence, moreover, shows that the preserved section is in fact the original beginning of the text⁴².

Armenian Passion. The Armenian translation presents an interesting version of the martyrdom. When compared with the extant Greek and Latin witnesses, *Arm* seems not to reduce the body of the text, but this impression cannot be definitively confirmed because we lack a reliable version of the martyrdom with which to compare those sections only attested by *Arm*⁴³. In any case, when *Arm* can be tested against parallels in the Greek transmission, it becomes obvious that the Armenian translator considerably transforms the tenor of the text, either as a result of his translating technique or of his doctrinal views⁴⁴.

³⁷ See Prieur, *Acta*, 425.

³⁸ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 56-57.

³⁹ Prieur, *Acta*, 3-4.

⁴⁰ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, p. XVI: 'Alterum martyrium erunt qui mirentur quod ediderim, tam misere id corruptum est (nam ne duo quidem codices manu scripti coniugi potuerunt: separatim posui) tamque pauca noua in eo insunt, nam eadem fere leguntur vel in Martyrio a me a. 1895 edito quam Narrationem dicere debui, non Martyrium, et abhinc dicam, c. 22 et q. s. ad 38 (=Anal.Boll. XIII p. 365, 7-372, 29), vel infra 23, 28—36, 11. ac sane diu multumque dubitauit'.

⁴¹ On the basis of codicological and palaeographical evidence, Richter, 'Splitter', 275 and 279, respectively, dates the Coptic fragment to the fourth or fifth century. We prefer the later dating, since the production of martyrdom texts to suit liturgical needs developed in this period in particular owing to the fact that the Council of Carthage (397) officially allowed the reading of the passions. See *infra* this Chapter, p. 126 and note 194.

⁴² On the issue, see *supra* Chapter 1, § B.3, p. 4; see also *supra* p. 43.

⁴³ Calzolari ('Rapporto', 149-55 and 'Version arménienne', 171-75) has attempted to analyse some of these sections by means of a comparative study on the basis of structural and lexical parallelisms. See *supra* Chapter 1, pp. 47-49.

⁴⁴ See Calzolari, 'Versione Arménienne', 155; 157-61. See, however, *supra* Chapter 1, p. 47 notes 388-389.

Arm presents a longer version of the martyrdom which includes Andrew's last speech in prison. It begins exactly at the same point as *Conversante*, which seems to imply that there was a longer recension of the martyrdom that began at this point⁴⁵.

2.3.1.3. Narrative Versions of the Martyrdom

Martyrium Prius. Unlike the other versions of the martyrdom, *Mpr* clearly has narrative intentions. The climax of the text is still Andrew's martyrdom, but *Mpr* presents it as the last episode of a coherent textual whole that gradually develops to its natural end. Its compact and economic structure focuses mainly on the essential motifs that will lead the apostle to the cross, presenting him as an ideal apostolic figure. Andrew's complete success in converting Governor Lesbios and the destruction of the pagan temples by the people of Patras provoke the governor being replaced by Aegeates. A dream announces his approaching end to Andrew. Aegeates, furious because of the temple's destruction, arrests the apostle and finally condemns him to be crucified.

The narration begins with Andrew's first arrival in Patras and describes a series of events before the apostle's encounter with Aegeates that we know from other sources. The text presents a clear plan and intention. *Mpr* consistently reworks its source in order to reach three main goals. First, it reduces the characters to mere personifications, which considerably reduces their role in the action⁴⁶. Second, *Mpr* eliminates every ambiguous detail from the original story. The disappearance of Maximilla (her name is not even mentioned) eliminates Aegeates' personal interest in condemning the apostle. Andrew's dream, moreover, presents his final martyrdom as an episode in God's plan. At the same time there is a clear shift in the motivation of Andrew's imprisonment and final punishment⁴⁷. Third, this recension effectively eliminates all secondary details presenting the text as a gradual crescendo that reaches its climax in the speech to the cross.

Andrew's martyrdom in S and H. The interest in narrative motifs, character description, excursus and trivial details, especially in the narration of the events preceding Andrew's imprisonment, points to the peculiar character of this longer version, which was probably intended for different purposes than the shorter versions of the martyrdom. Given the marked

⁴⁵ See *supra* this Chapter, p. 74. Furthermore, *infra* this Chapter 112-13.

⁴⁶ For example, Lesbios becomes the pagan ignorant of the Christian God who, as soon as he is given the opportunity, converts to Christianity; Aegeates is depicted as the guard of pagan values who angrily reacts to the transgression of the civic order; Andrew, finally, represents the messenger of a new religion.

⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that these are no longer a consequence of his activity as a messenger of the Christian faith. Rather, it is a subversive action by the people of Patras that seems to provoke it (*Mpr* 51.1-7). At the same time, an interesting speech (*Mpr* 52.5-23) by the apostle advising the people of Patras to calm down and let him fulfil his destiny rules out the possibility of seeing Andrew as a subversive element.

narrative sequence of the text, which appears as an independent textual unit provided with a kind of introduction, core and denouement, it may well have been intended for reading and not for being read in public. Similarly as in the previous case, however, the martyrdom remains its climactic moment and consequently the main goal of the text.

The text begins with Stratocles' return from Italy and narrates the events between this point and Andrew's martyrdom⁴⁸. It also includes the healing of Alcmanes and Stratocles' conversion, Aegeates' return to Patras, Maximilla's rejection of his sexual advances and her stratagem to let Euclia substitute for her in Aegeates' bed⁴⁹. Aegeates finally imprisons the apostle and orders him to be crucified.

These two mss present a lengthy version of the martyrdom beginning with Stratocles' return from Rome. In spite of important divergences between S/H and *Epitome*, they apply a similar procedure in abridging *AA* – they only preserve a relation of events that systematically eliminates every discursive section. In addition, the martyrdom's recensor is as clumsy as Gregory in reworking his source. The first chapters of S and H show that he initially tried to keep some discursive sections by revising and adapting their contents. Given the unsuccessful result⁵⁰, it is not surprising to see him definitively opting for the scissors to work on the prison scenes. This procedure is obvious when comparing the sections overlapping with V – S and H simply eliminate entire discursive sections and just keep the essential elements to ensure textual continuity.

2.3.2. Selective Collections of *admiranda miracula*

As some references in the indirect transmission already show, from the fourth/fifth century onwards there appears to be a clearly increasing interest in the conspicuous deeds of the apostle. Of our textual witnesses, three documents seem to fit this textual category.

AAM. The story of Andrew in the city of cannibals is good example of the category that focuses on the miraculous activities of the apostle. *AAM* begins with the casting of lots and with Matthias' departure to his field of activity. On his arrival in the city of cannibals Matthias is imprisoned, but his sacrifice is delayed for 30 days. Jesus appears to Andrew and compels him to go to rescue Matthias, which he does after a miraculous trip in a ship piloted by Jesus in disguise. As Andrew frees not only Matthias but also his fellow prisoners, the

⁴⁸ For Stratocles' return from Athens according to other textual witnesses see *infra* this Chapter, note 135.

⁴⁹ On the motif (for which Heliodorus 1.11; 15-17, presents a variant), see S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, vol. 4, under K 1223.3, 'Wife (mistress) substitutes for mistress (wife)'.

⁵⁰ See, for example, the accumulation of absolute genitives in *AAgr* 10, a chapter that bridges two discursive sections. The same issue appears in *AAgr* 13.1-5. See also the lack of conceptual continuity between Andrew's words in *AAgr* 11 and 12.

cannibals, confronted with a lack of victims, resort to their own people to meet their sacrificial needs. Andrew's intervention once again frustrates their plan, but he is finally imprisoned and murdered by the cannibals. After being revived by Jesus, Andrew compels a statue to spew a flood from its mouth. The flood kills many of the inhabitants until Andrew, convinced by the repentance of the survivors, orders the waters to retreat. An abyss swallows the waters and the executioners. Andrew then reanimates the dead people and cattle and leaves the city after promising the cannibals that in due time he will return to rescue those who remain in the abyss.

The question as to whether or not *AAM* belongs to the primitive text is still a matter of dispute among scholars. The two latest textual reconstructions, by Prieur and MacDonald, exclude and include it, respectively. Against its exclusion by the former, it is possible to adduce both the abundant literature and arguments collected by MacDonald⁵¹ and the fact that many of *AA*'s textual witnesses include a version of the story. Against its inclusion, Flamion provided evidence to date *AAM* to a later period, namely to the end of the fourth century⁵², and more recently Hilhorst and Lalleman claimed that a stylistic comparison between *AAM* and *AA* shows that they are completely different texts⁵³. However, even though admitting the profound stylistic differences between these texts, nothing hinders the hypothesis that the primitive *AA* included the basic version of the story in a simpler and shorter form as one of its numerous episodes. This episode might have served as the inspiration for the writer of *AAM*.

Papyrus Copt. Utrecht 1. The very damaged and lacunous Coptic fragment narrates Andrew's confrontation with four soldiers, who seem to be searching for the apostle's followers⁵⁴. One of these soldiers, a very young man, is suddenly possessed by a demon that casts him to the ground. Andrew intervenes and converses with the demon. The latter explains to Andrew how and why he, against his will, came to inhabit the soldier, although a lacuna deprives the reader of knowing exactly how this happened. Andrew finally compels him to leave the young man and the demon obeys. Finally, the young man takes off his soldier's uniform and converts to Christianity.

Although the beginning of the text is missing and it is not possible to ascertain the precise context surrounding this episode, it seems obvious that the contacts with *Epitome* 18 are exiguous⁵⁵. In the strict sense of the word, the only link between both passages seems to be

⁵¹ MacDonald, *Cannibals*, 6-47.

⁵² Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 269-300.

⁵³ Hilhorst-Lalleman, '*AAM* and *AA*', *passim*.

⁵⁴ PCU 1 9.1-6.

⁵⁵ For the alleged contacts between these two sections see *supra* Chapter 1, pp. 24-26.

the similarity between Varianus (PCU 1) and Virinus (*Epitome*)⁵⁶. In spite of its lost beginning, it can reasonably be assumed that the Coptic fragment only included this single episode. As already noted, this seems to be the logical conclusion from the title at the end of the text (ⲧⲉⲡⲣⲁⲗⲓ[ϸ] ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲗϸ)⁵⁷. In addition, the Coptic pagination shows that this excerpt was the first text of the ms and that the four lost papyrus folios can only have included the beginning and the *mise-en-scène* of the episode⁵⁸.

Gregory's *Epitome*. As Hennecke has already pointed out⁵⁹, *Epitome* mainly preserves a collection of *admiranda miracula*. *Epitome* does indeed narrate Andrew's miraculous activities in different stations in a journey that takes him first from Achaia to the city of cannibals and then to Amaseia, Sinope, Nicea, Nicomedia, Byzantium and Thrace. From the latter place he finally arrives in Greece and after a number of stations he reaches Patras, where he is crucified by Aegeates.

Epitome is an abridged version of *AA* that only preserves Andrew's miraculous activities. Even though Flamion scholars tend to assume that Gregory only eliminated *AA*'s 'excessive verbosity', as already pointed out, the last words of his prologue seem to suggest that something more than the elimination of verbosity was the objective of his revision⁶⁰. A comparison of *Epitome* with other versions of the events in Patras (the only section for which we possess reliable witnesses) shows to what extent Gregory has transformed *AA*. *Epitome* systematically eliminates all discursive sections and only preserves the narrative skeleton⁶¹. The martyrdom is reduced to a minimum, to be precise to 8 lines⁶². The reason Gregory adduces for omitting the passion is that he knew a version thereof that was very well written. It has been suggested that this passion is *Conversante*⁶³, but two important differences seem to

⁵⁶ To the textual divergences summed up by Van Kampen (see *supra* Chapter 1, notes 215 and 222), add the following: 1. In *Epitome* the soldiers come into a house, which seems to have more than one floor, to arrest Andrew (*Epitome* 18.9; 16). In PCU 1, however, Andrew seems to be outside, for he is said to go to the middle of the street (PCU 19.4-5). 2. According to *Epitome* soldiers and cavalry come to arrest Andrew (*Epitome* 18.6-7). By contrast, in PCU 1 the four soldiers seem to intend to arrest his followers and not Andrew himself (PCU 1 9.1-5). 3. Whereas *Epitome* repeatedly describes the possessed person as a soldier (*Epitome* 18.23; 29; 44), PCU 1 always refers to a 'very young man' (PCU 1 9.8; 11; 16; 21). 4. The words 'Quid mihi et tibi ...etc.' in *Epitome* (18.24ff) are pronounced by the demon, as his fear of being exorcised clearly shows (*ibid.* 18.24-26). In PCU 1, however, it is the soldier who protests (PCU 1, 9.13-15; 16) and it is his complaint that seems to induce the demon to cast down the young man (*ibid.* 9.16-18).

⁵⁷ On the issue, see Quispel *supra* Chapter 1, p. 24 and note 214.

⁵⁸ On the composition of the Codex see *supra* Chapter 1, § D.2.1, p. 6. See also Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 129-30 and Van den Broek in Prieur, *Acta*, 655.

⁵⁹ See *supra* Chapter 1, note 128.

⁶⁰ For Gregory's words, see *supra* Chapter 1, 258. Furthermore Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 563; Quispel, 'Unknown Fragment', 137f; Hornschuh, 'Andreasakten', 276 note 5; Erbetta, *Apocryfi* II, 398.

⁶¹ See *supra* Chapter 1, p. 41 for Van Kampen's calculations regarding percentages of direct speech in *Epitome* and other versions (Chapter 1, note 339) and the reduction ratio of Gregory's abridgement (Chapter 1, note 337).

⁶² *Epitome* 34.4-11.

⁶³ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 54; Prieur, *Acta*, 650 and note 37.2 to *Epitome*.

disprove such an assumption. First, according to *Epitome*, Andrew hangs on the cross for three days and dies on the third day, whereas according to *Conversante* he hangs for two days⁶⁴. As we will see below, in spite of its apparent triviality this issue is significant for establishing different textual families among the textual witnesses⁶⁵. Secondly, according to *Epitome*, the name of the proconsul is Egeas, whereas *Conversante* calls him Aegeates⁶⁶. Another possibility evaluated by Lipsius is that Gregory was referring to *Epistle*⁶⁷, but such a relationship presents the same problems as the previous one⁶⁸.

2.3.3. Comprehensive Accounts of Andrew's life and works

After a reference to the apostle's field of activity, all versions in this group include an account of his travels and deeds that incorporates Andrew's visit to the city of cannibals. They all conclude their narration with a version of the martyrdom of the apostle.

Narratio is the oldest of the comprehensive relations of Andrew's activities. Its anonymous author refers to the use of local traditions and other written sources, as *Laudatio* and *Vita* also do⁶⁹. *Narratio* begins with an account on the apostle that relies on the NT tradition⁷⁰. From chapter 4 onwards, however, *Narratio* relates Andrew's travels, which begin in Bithynia and, after the episodes of Nicaea and Andrew's rescue of Matthias from the cannibals, take him to his last destination in Patras. Despite the sporadic contacts with the extant witnesses (Nicaea, city of cannibals and Patras) for Andrew's peregrinations, *Narratio*'s account differs from that of *Epitome*, *Laudatio* and *Vita*. It has been suggested that *Narratio*'s itinerary depends on Pseudo-Epiphanius with which it coincides in the main outline⁷¹, although it eliminates a couple of stations of Andrew's travels⁷², such as the city of the Sogdians and that of the Gorsinians.

⁶⁴ *Conversante* 377.1, *biduo enim suspensus*.

⁶⁵ See *infra* this Chapter, p. 101 note 136 and p. 113 under a.

⁶⁶ For the origin of the corruption of Aegeates' name see Schermann, *Apostellegenden*, 251.

⁶⁷ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 162.

⁶⁸ *LatEp* 29.2, *iam secunda die in cruce positus*; *IGrEp* 29.6-7, $\chi\iota\ \eta\gamma\#\text{U}b\ \backslash\ \text{f}\ \gamma\#\text{U}b\ \gamma\#\text{k}\ \text{b}\ \gamma\text{b}\ \text{h}\ \text{g}\ \text{h}\ \text{U}\ \text{f}\ \text{i}\ \text{d}$

⁶⁹ *Narratio* 356.8 and 356.24-25; 357.1, respectively.

⁷⁰ See Bonnet, *app. ad Narratio* 1-3.

⁷¹ Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 175

⁷² Prieur (*Acta*, 17-18), following Flamion (*L'Apôtre*, 62-69), suggests that *Narratio* depends on Pseudo-Dorotheus, but Dvornik (*Apostolicity*, 179-80) has convincingly shown that it is probably the other way around. On the one hand, *Narratio* seems to be written in the eighth century and Pseudo-Dorotheus cannot be earlier than the ninth century. *Narratio* refers to Macedonia, Thessaly and Achaia as the 'western parts', which implies that the text was written when the province of Illyricum belonged to the patriarchate of Rome. As this situation changed after Leo III (either in 733 or in 757) and the province passed to the patriarchate of Constantinople, *Narratio* must have been written before 733, or 757, or at the latest very soon after this date, when the new situation had not yet been fully accepted. Besides, Pseudo-Dorotheus is neither known to Theophanes' Chronography (810-815) nor to the *Vita* by Epiphanius. Hence it should be dated, at the earliest, to the second quarter of the ninth century. On the other hand, the itinerary of Andrew's travels in *Narratio* follows a more

It is *Narratio*'s account of the events at Patras, however, that allows an assessment of the writer's intentions and working procedures. *Narratio* presents a highly revised version of *AA* that not only eliminates numerous substantial parts, but also reworks many others. From its chapter 13 onwards, we can compare *Narratio*'s version of *AA* to that of other testimonies such as S, H and V. A comparison of *Narratio*'s version of Andrew's martyrdom with S/H shows that, although they follow different working procedures – S/H tends to summarise, *Narratio* reworks – the two documents are closely related. In general, *Narratio*'s testimony is longer and more complete than that of S/H. On the other hand, the comparison between *Narratio* and V throws light on the way in which *Narratio*'s writer reworks *AA*'s discursive sections⁷³. Although it does not wholly eliminate Andrew's speeches, the sections that remain are re-elaborated to such an extent that the tenor of the primitive text is completely transformed⁷⁴.

Regarding Andrew's martyrdom, *Narratio* presents a rather long version with enough parallels to most extant witnesses for the martyrdom. Especially interesting are its contacts with interpolations in *2GrEp*, because they show that *Narratio* is based on a similar version of the last part of *AA*.

Laudatio also presents a comprehensive relation of Andrew's life and activities that begins with the account of his travels and ends with his martyrdom in Patras. Similarly to *Narratio* and *Vita*, it pretends to base its account on local traditions and written sources⁷⁵. Although its first 31 chapters offer a version of Andrew's travels that differs from that of *Epitome* and *Narratio* (witnesses with which it has only sporadic contacts), and is only supported by *Vita*, from chapter 32 on numerous textual witnesses provide enough support to suggest its use of authoritative sources.

Laudatio's version of the events at Patras begins with Andrew's arrival in this city and includes the apostle's sojourn with Sosios, the Lesbios episode, Maximilla's healing and the series of healings following it. *Laudatio* also includes Stratocles' return to Patras⁷⁶ and Alcmanes' healing and a very abridged version of Andrew's imprisonment and discourses

logical sequence: first Sinope, then Byzantium and then towards the western parts of Macedonia, Thessaly and Achaia. Pseudo-Dorotheus has Andrew proceed from Byzantium to Sinope and then to Greece.

⁷³ For *Narratio*'s chapter 12 and its alleged relationship with V, see *infra* this Chapter, note 98.

⁷⁴ Compare for example *Narratio* 362.10-12 with V 39.31-40.4 and *Narratio* 364.19.25 with V 44.4-8.

⁷⁵ *Laudatio* 324.8; 341.30-342.2.

⁷⁶ According to *Laudatio* (342.7), *Epitome* (34.2) and S (f. 121^v, 2/3) and H (f. 155^r, 16), Stratocles returns from Italy, but *Vita* (248B) and *VitaEsc* (f. 243^v, 2/7) have him returning from Athens.

while in prison⁷⁷. Regarding the martyrdom, *Laudatio* offers a short version thereof that does not begin until Andrew's speech to the cross.

A comparative study of those passages in *Laudatio* with parallels in other textual witnesses shows the working procedure and scope of its writer. Its style is mainly narrative, to such an extent that Andrew's discourses are almost totally absent. This text is very abridged, but despite this it does not eliminate secondary events or characters but simply reduces them to a minimum. As Lipsius has already pointed out, the encomiast was especially interested in giving an accurate relation of Andrew's works, mainly his miracles⁷⁸. However, his scope is different from that of *Epitome*. Andrew's works are presented as an outline of his apostolic career which has an obvious biographical intention and which includes the beginnings of his activities and finally his death after having accomplished his task.

***Vita Andreae* by Epiphanius.** The *Vita Andreae* by Epiphanius, according to his own statement, aimed to fill the lack of a comprehensive relation of Andrew's life. In doing so, he pretends to combine his personal investigation in places visited by Andrew with consultation of local traditions, different documents presenting portions of the apostle's activity, and indirect notices proceeding from several authorities⁷⁹. As we have already seen that both *Narratio* and *Laudatio* include similar statements, it is plausible that such a claim is a simple topos.

The value of this testimony is uneven. Its version of Andrew's peregrinations runs parallel with that of *Laudatio*, but the latter in general preserves a better testimony than the former, which shows a clear tendency to amplification. After Andrew's arrival in Patras, *Vita*'s testimony is clearly inferior because it eliminates important issues, such as the Lesbios episode, and transforms its source to a greater extent than *Laudatio*⁸⁰. The comparison of *Vita*'s version with that of *V* clearly shows that *Vita*'s reworking is certainly different and clumsier than that of *Laudatio*⁸¹. Due to the more extensive cutting of its source, *Vita* creates some absurd situations, such as Aegeates' conversation with his wife in 249 A-C. In this passage Aegeates intends to convince Maximilla to resume sleeping with him and threatens her by saying he will have the apostle crucified. However, although according to the other

⁷⁷ *Laudatio* 344.22-345.13.

⁷⁸ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 571 note 1.

⁷⁹ Clement of Rome, Evagrius of Sicily, and Epiphanius of Cyprus. However, Lipsius (*Apostelgeschichten* I, 575) already suggested that Epiphanius may just have intended to give the impression of erudition.

⁸⁰ Thus, for example, its account of Stratocles, see *Vita* 248 B-C.

⁸¹ For the textual relationship between *Laudatio* and *Vita* see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 100-105.

textual witnesses Aegeates has indeed already imprisoned the apostle, in *Vita*'s version this is not the case⁸² – Aegeates imprisons the apostle only after Maximilla refuses his advances⁸³.

Vita's version of the martyrdom is more problematic. Ms Vat. gr. 824 lacks its original end, which has been substituted for *Narratio*'s account of the martyrdom. *VitaParis* has a very brief conclusion and *VitaEsc*, in its turn, presents a very abridged version that only preserves a few echoes of original elements in order to ensure textual continuity and to reach the end of the text as quickly as possible. This summary version of the martyrdom in *VitaEsc* only mentions an open speech to the brethren, Stratocles' attempt to release the apostle on the second day of Andrew's crucifixion, the people's reaction on the third day, and Aegeates' fear and intention to free Andrew⁸⁴. The text closes with a reference to the destiny of the main characters, namely Aegeates, Maximilla and Andrew.

2.4. *AA*'s Fragment in V and Its Relationship with the Other Textual Witnesses

There is, however, one single document that cannot be classified in any of the previous textual categories. We are referring to *AA*'s fragment in V. In contrast to the majority of textual witnesses, all of them provided with a beginning and an end, V is fragmentary. As a result, it is impossible to ascertain either its original length or what sort of text it was⁸⁵. Due to this circumstance there is no external evidence, such as title or colophon by the copyist, that might give us a clue as to how the text was considered along the textual transmission. As regards the internal evidence, such as textual framework, literary character and intention of the text, the situation is no better. Due to its fragmentary character, the text mainly consists of speeches and we do not know how much text preceded or followed them.

The events narrated by *AA*'s fragment in V are not new. Many textual witnesses include versions of this section that preserve the basic line of the action. Andrew is in prison and his followers frequently go to him in order to listen to his preaching. Aegeates attempts to regain his wife but she refuses. Finally, the proconsul decides to crucify the apostle. The most important aspect of this document, however, is that it preserves four lengthy speeches by the apostle Andrew during his imprisonment and one by Aegeates to his wife. Only the latter has been entirely preserved in other textual witnesses. Of Andrew's speeches, one of them is

⁸² *Vita* 249 A1-6; *VitaEsc* f. 244^v, col. 1.

⁸³ *Vita* 249 A 6-7.

⁸⁴ *VitaEsc*, f. 245^r, col. 2

⁸⁵ See, however, *infra*, Chapter 3, § 1, pp. 131-38.

otherwise completely lost⁸⁶ and the extant witnesses preserve only vague echoes of the other three⁸⁷.

2.4.1. *AA*'s Fragment in V as a Touchstone for the Study of the Reworking Process of *AA*

The neglect of the three clear reworking groups, analysed in section 2.3, in the research into *AA* has frequently resulted in an unsystematic approach to the textual witnesses. The large number of testimonies and the arbitrary evaluation of single documents seem to provide a context in which almost every interpretation apparently finds proper support, as the strikingly different results of the research on *AA* clearly show. By contrast, the threefold discrimination of interpretative groups furnishes us with a more suitable frame for sorting and organising the material and for understanding the stages in the transformation process that explains *AA*'s textual diversification.

However, the analysis of the transformation process would not be possible without a testimony to provide a point of reference in the analysis. V will serve this purpose. Ever since its discovery and publication, there has been wide consensus among scholars in considering *AA*'s fragment in V as the text closest to, or even a genuine fragment of, the primitive Acts⁸⁸. Yet this is not the main reason that motivates the central place that V occupies in our inquiry. The most important argument to support it is that V preserves a section of *AA* that has also been preserved in six other important textual witnesses (*Narratio*, S and H, *Laudatio*, *Vita*, *Conversante*, *Arm*). In addition, a preliminary comparison of all the versions seems to allow the conclusion that V's version preserves a fuller account than the remaining extant witnesses. If our further inquiry confirms this preliminary impression, *AA*'s fragment in V may be of help in determining both the specific reworking patterns of the documents and in establishing their mutual relationships.

Even though V appears to occupy a unique position among what Hennecke calls the 'Wirrsal späterer katholischer Bearbeitungen' of *AA*⁸⁹ and its essential importance is generally

⁸⁶ For its alleged preservation in *Narratio* 12, see *supra* this Chapter, note 73.

⁸⁷ To the parallels V^b 38.2-39.26 and *Narratio* 359.24; V^b 39.27-40.22, *Narratio* 362.2 and *Laudatio* 345.3; V^b 41.8-35 and *Narratio* 362.23; V^b 41.15-18 and *Laudatio* 345.7; V^b 42.7-44.3 and *Narratio* 363.5; V^b 44.4-16 and *Conversante* 374.23; V^b 44.17-45.11, *Narratio* 364.28 and *Conversante* 374.23, pointed out by Bonnet (*AAA* II/1, p. XVIII) add S/H 432-554 (highly abbreviated version of V) and *Arm* 1-6 for the section V^b 44.4-45.33.

⁸⁸ See Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, XIV; Liechtenhan 'Pseudepigraphische Literatur', 295; Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 544; *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*², 249; Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 177; James, *Apocryphal NT*, 337; 350; Blumenthal, *Formen*, 38; Hornschuh, 'Andreasakten', 271; Junod-Kaestli, *Histoire*, 65; Prieur, 'Andreasakten', 97; *Acta*, 2-3; 425.

⁸⁹ Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*², 249.

recognised⁹⁰, the ultimate implications and conclusions resulting from a systematic comparison of it with the other extant documents have never (or only partially) been drawn.

This is what we shall therefore attempt in the following pages. Taking the textual comparison of V with the witnesses that present a version of its content as a starting point, we shall proceed to analyse the textual evidence. This choice, however, necessarily implies a restriction: we will limit our investigation to the section of *AA* beginning with Andrew's arrival in Patras, and thus will leave aside *AAM* and parallels. This restriction is not due to a preconceived idea about the content of the primitive text but rather to the inherent limitations imposed by the reliable material. On the one hand, only for this section do we possess enough witnesses to establish consistent intertextual relationships. On the other, V, preserving as it does a section of text that has parallels in the most important textual representatives of this section, offers a suitable touchstone to prove the reliability of the extant witnesses and to understand their reworking patterns.

3. Comparative Textual Analysis of *AA*'s Versions

Having established a new classification of the documents on the basis of their reworking patterns, we will now attempt to determine their mutual relationships by analysing their convergences and divergences. It is obvious that, given the diversity of the textual witnesses, there is no place for a stemmatical study in the strictest sense in the context of *AA*'s transmission⁹¹. Our materials are too varied to allow their inclusion in a *stemma* exclusively based on their textual agreements and divergences. If we are to make progress in synthesising the dispersed materials and reducing them to a coherent whole, we have to renounce, initially, the method of establishing relationships between documents on the basis of *errores significativi* ('Leitfehler') of a purely textual sort. A comparison of readings peculiar to different groups of documents in a premature phase might easily overshadow more important typological relationships. Apparent textual similarities or divergences, when taken out of their proper context, might easily lead to dead ends, frustrating a proper analysis of the textual transmission and falsifying the genesis of the single documents.

Given the character of *AA*'s transmission, we must take separative errors (*errores separativi*) and conjunctive errors (*errores coniunctivi*) sui generis: the inclusions and omissions of the documents⁹². This is the only way to achieve a reliable selection of the

⁹⁰ See *supra* Chapter 1, § 2, *passim*.

⁹¹ Cf. *supra* this Chapter, note 40, for Bonnet's comment on the character of *Malt* A and B.

⁹² See Maas, *Textkritik*, 27-31.

material in order to establish families of texts that, in a later phase, can be more precisely defined or redefined on the basis of philological means. This approach will allow us to classify and group together texts that present similarities in dealing with the primitive text.

Despite its complexity, we consider the analysis of *AA*'s transmission absolutely necessary for four reasons. Firstly, it is only on the basis of a serious and detailed study of the single documents that one can understand the historical development of *AA*'s transmission and properly evaluate the significance of the textual witnesses. Secondly, the evaluation of the textual witnesses and the intertextual relationships alleged by scholars are often influenced by preconceptions about the primitive text⁹³. This means that documents have been allocated more or less importance or are said to depend on this or that document according to the place they occupy in a given hypothesis⁹⁴. Thirdly, in modern scholarly literature it is a common phenomenon to find the repetition of outdated opinions concerning intertextual relationships between the textual witnesses. Even if at the time these might have been plausible as an explanation of the available documents, the discovery and edition of new documents in the last years necessitates their revision⁹⁵. Fourthly, as already suggested, it is the arbitrary choice of a textual basis that explains the irreconcilable interpretations of scholarly literature concerning *AA*'s character and thought.

3.1. Hypothetical Genealogy and Relative Chronology of *AA*'s Transmission

Eusebius and Philaster, at the beginning and end of the fourth century respectively, give us a *terminus post* and a *terminus ante* to enclose a historical period in which *AA*'s circulation in a complete form can be relatively ascertained. Eusebius' categorical rejection may speak about the unaltered character of the text he knew. Philaster's mention in turn seems to support the hypothesis that a Latin version of *AA* was already circulating in his time⁹⁶. This version was very probably complete as well, since Pontus and Greece are referred to as the beginning and

⁹³ See *supra* Chapter 1, § 3.3, pp. 61-65.

⁹⁴ An obvious example of this is the evaluation of the textual relationship between *Laudatio* and *Vita*. There is a clear interest in letting *Laudatio* depend on *Vita*. Obviously the hypothesis of collation of different sources to explain the appearance of *AAM* at the beginning of *AA* is better defensible if one surmises a single text (*Vita*) that collates and then derive from it all other texts presenting the same plan. Even if a common source might be an easier solution, it would imply a source no older than eighth century that already included both traditions. For Flamion's (*L'Apôtre*, 206-12) apriorism in analysing the textual relationships between *Laudatio* and *Vita*, cf. *infra* this Chapter, pp. 99-103 and notes 119-128.

⁹⁵ This is obvious, for example, for *Narratio* and for *Laudatio*. Both documents must be re-evaluated after Detorakis' publication of H and S. The same is true for the provenance of *2GrEp*'s interpolations, which are normally said to proceed from the primitive Acts. Thanks to the testimony of C discovered by Prieur, however, it is clear that the interpolations in *2GrEp* proceed from a document that had also been revised (see *infra* this Chapter, 106-09). The same might be said of the alleged dependence of *Conversante* on *Epistle*. A comparison of the former with *Arm* shows that this hypothesis is no longer tenable.

⁹⁶ See *infra* this Chapter, p. 126 and note 195; see also Bremmer's suggestion concerning a Latin translation circulating in the second half of the fourth century, *infra* this Chapter, p. 125 and note 187.

end of Andrew's activities and Philaster mentions *AA*'s textual dichotomy⁹⁷. It is from this text circulating in the fourth century that we, ex hypothesi, develop two branches in the transmission: Transformative and Non-Transformative⁹⁸.

3.1.1. Separative Evidence Supporting the Existence of a Non-Transformative Branch

Separative issues supporting the hypothesis of a split in the transmission proceed from a systematic textual comparison of V with those documents that present a version of its contents. These are the following: *Narratio* 13-21⁹⁹; S (ff. 128^r-129^v) and H (ff. 163^r-165^r)¹⁰⁰; *Conversante* 2¹⁰¹; *Laudatio* 44¹⁰²; *Vita* 249A2-B9¹⁰³ and *Arm* 1-6¹⁰⁴.

A. Separative Issues in *Narratio* 13-21

The section *Narratio* 13-21 overlaps with V. *Narratio*'s version of this text omits numerous primitive elements and profoundly reworks many others. The reworked sections consist either of amplifications introduced in the primitive text or of simple transformations thereof.

A.1. Omissions in *Narratio*

- V^b 38.2-20, completely omitted, compare *Narratio* 360.15.
- V^b 40.10-41.14, completely omitted, compare *Narratio* 362.16-23.
- V^b 41.36-42.7, completely omitted, compare *Narratio* 363.5.
- V^b 42.9-31, completely omitted, compare *Narratio* 363.9-10.
- V^b 44.10-44.14, omitted, compare *Narratio* 364.25.
- V^b 44.35-45.33, completely omitted, compare *Narratio* 365.6-7.

A.2. Amplifications in *Narratio*

- *Narratio* 359.24-360.15. New composition based on materials proceeding from other sections. Compare *Narratio* 359.24-360.7 to S (f. 123^v, 2/11-124^r, 1/7) and H (f. 157^r, 35-157^v, 20) and *Narratio* 360.7-360.11 to V^b 40.6-8.
- *Narratio* 360.29-361.2, compare V^b 39.7.
- *Narratio* 362.16-18, compare V^b 40.7.
- *Narratio* 362.29-363.4, compare V^b 41.15-18.
- *Narratio* 363.5-8, cf. XYFGHfUhc_`^ \ ↑ (...) UBYbXcHk ^ is an amplification with a narrative scope. Cf. V^b 42.7-8. Same as S (f. 129^r, 1/34-37) and H (f. 164^v, 5-7).
- *Narratio* 363.12-14, amplification that introduces the re-elaboration of Stratocles' answer in order for it to fit the mustard-seed parable (see *infra* A.3).

⁹⁷ See *infra* this Chapter, pp. 126-27.

⁹⁸ For the evidence allowing the assumption of such a split in the transmission, see *infra* this Chapter, § 3.1.1, pp. 87-95. For possible reasons that may explain it, see *infra* this Chapter, § 4, pp. 121-28.

⁹⁹ Bonnet, *Narratio*, 360.16-365.6. Since Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 551, scholars tend to believe that *Narratio* 12 preserves the first speech to the brethren in V (38.2-20) in a revised form (see Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 143), but this opinion is not correct. Rather, chapter 12 is a completely new composition based on ideas and conceptual issues proceeding from other parts of the text that are combined with abundant references to NT.

¹⁰⁰ For a deficient edition of these the reader can consult Detorakis's edition (‘... 5bY#Xchc'aUfhi #]c', 344-47), lines 432-554.

¹⁰¹ Bonnet, *Conversante*, 374-75.

¹⁰² Bonnet, *Laudatio*, 344.23-345.13.

¹⁰³ Dressel, *Vita Andree, Vita Esc*, ff. 244^r col. 2—244^v col. 2, and *Vita Paris* ff. 18^v, col. 1-19^r col. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Leloir, 'Martyre d'André apôtre II b', *Écrits*, 232-36.

A.3. Reworking Sections in Narratio

- *Narratio* 360.16-27, compare V^b 38.21-39.4.
- *Narratio* 360.28-361.10, compare V^b 39.5-11.
- *Narratio* 361.11-362.3, compare V^b 39.12-26.
- *Narratio* 362.4-16, compare V^b 39.27-40.6.
- *Narratio* 362.18-23, compare V^b 40.7-10.
- *Narratio* 362.23-30, alters the sequence of V^b 41.15-27. *Narratio* 362.23-28 picks up and amplifies V^b 41.19-27; *Narratio* 362.28-30 picks up and amplifies V^b 41.14-18.
- *Narratio* 363.8-14, c#eYUgU#Ybc^ (...) gci h\B_UfX]#b. This section presents an obvious re-elaboration of the passage V^b 42.32-43.3 which includes two lines of the original beginning of Andrew's speech (V^b 42.8-9) and which expands the closing section (*Narratio* 363.12-14).
- *Narratio* 363.15-23 is a re-elaboration of the passage V^b 43.4-18 in order to bring the text into line with the mustard-seed parable.
- *Narratio* 363.23-364.2, recast of V^b 43.19-25, with minor changes, that in general preserves the tone of the primitive text.
- *Narratio* 364.3-13, slightly amplifying version of V^b 43.26-36.
- *Narratio* 364.13-15, is a very interpretative and amplifying version of V^b 43.36-37.
- *Narratio* 364.19-25, very reworked version of V^b 44.4-9.
- *Narratio* 364.25-28, very reworked version of V^b 44.14-16.
- *Narratio* 364.28-365.4, compare V^b 44.17-28.
- *Narratio* 365.4-6, compare V^b 44.29-32.

B. Separative Issues in S and H

Instead of rewriting as *Narratio* does, S and H achieve their goal mainly by abridging their source. Amplifications and reworked sections are in general intended to soften the awkward changes of action resulting from the cuts. As a result of their different procedures, *Narratio*, S and H apparently diverge from each other. However, as we will show below, a closer analysis reveals that they are likely to have a common ancestor and, therefore, to belong to the same textual family.

B.1. Omissions in S and H

- V^b 38.2-20, omitted in S (f. 128^r, 2/5) and H (f. 163^r, 18).
- V^b 38.25: _U]PUH\` `U#\ Y#Ugbc^ Y]E hUPUi hci 1 compare S (f. 128^r, 2/14) and H (f. 163^r, 23).
- V^b 39.3-4: _U]Phc]t `c]dc]t U#U` Y]#hk^ Y#ci g]b dYf]g_Ydhc#Ybc] h` idYf]Vc` ~ _U]P U#]h] hci _i f]#i . Compare S (128^r, 2/23) and H (f. 163^r, 29).
- V^b 40.10-41.9: c#P[UP aU#]ghU (...) hY]#Y] hUPY]E\ aY#U" Omitted in S (f. 128^v, 2/27) and H (f. 164^r, 11).
- V^b 41.15: hU]t _UhUPhUPX]gaU# omitted in S (f. 129^r, 1/3) and H (f. 164^r, 19). Compare *Narratio* 362.28-30.
- V^b 41.26-27: U# U_i ghcbz U#k hcbz U#Y]#Ughcbz U#Y#]ghcbz U#_UbXU#]ghcbz U#i adUe\ 1 dfcP hUPci P U#Y]U, omitted by S (f. 129^r, 1/19) and H (f. 164^r, 30).
- V^b 41.31: X]UPgY#Ui h\XP omitted by S (f. 129^r, 1/27) and H (f. 164^v, 1). This omission introduces re-interpretation. (see infra § B.4).

- V^b 41.36-42.8: XY#aU]#gci ci Ā (...) Y]HUEU U_Lci g̃. Compare S (f. 129^r, 1/34) and H (f. 164^v, 5). Conjunctive with *Narratio* (Cf. 363.4-5)?
- V^b 42.8-31: gi EXReGhfUhc_` \^ (...) dU#]b XU_fi gU^ Uhefk dc^, compare S (f. 129^r, 1/37) and H (f. 164^v, 7).
- V^b 44.8-45.14: kb UM]P_U]R AU^ dUfY_U#YgU (...) X]URhUPYfi hci Xk fU, compare S (f. 129^v, 2/20) and H (f. 165^r, 23).

B.2. Amplifications in S and H

- S (f. 128^r, 2/7-9) and H (f. 163^r, 19-20), UHYdY#mUhc Ui hUP Y]E\`_k #. DcfYi YgeYyb Y]E\`_ . Yi ĀghY[UP c], compare V^b 38.22.
- S (f. 128^v, 1/9-11) and H (f. 163^v, 9-10), h]ak b _U]RyfUdY]k b Yhi l Y^zk g̃dyf XYgdc]bU aci X]U[fUZ]gU, compare V^b 39.17: i dfYbci Mb hi dUhh] \`fk b V]#.
- S (f. 129^r, 1/13-15) and H (f. 164^r, 26), X]` Ui hci d compare V^b 41.22-23: hci hci gY hci l XYgakhf]#i Y_L` i gY].
- S (f. 129^r, 1/34-37) and H (f. 164^v, 5-7), Yb hci hc]^ cf]GhfUhc_` \^ Y]gY]g] dfcP hcB` 5bXfY]b _U]#b _U]Rki fc#Ybc^, compare V^b 42.8-9. Same as *Narratio* 363.5-8.
- S (f. 129^r, 2/2-3) and H (f. 164^v, 8-9), cB Yh\`hci bZ Yi fcb cB Yhc#ci bZ_fUhk d compare V^b 42.33: Yhk cB \`LUhk b.
- S (f. 129^r, 2/17-20) and H (f. 164^v, 16-18), UbU_U]#b _U]P_UhUZ` Yhk b dfcP h\B g\B ghcf[\`B _U]RhcPdUe\`h]_cB aYfc^ h\^ mi l \^ aci, compare V^b 43.7-8: Y_L_U]#b aY. h\^ mi l \^ aci hcRdfcP hc] \`_Lci gaYhc]` Similar to *Narratio* 363.16-19.
- S (f. 129^r, 2/32) and H (f. 164^v, 25), gc] Y]HY]bZ Xci l Yhci leYci dU_L` fi\`hci hc, compare V^b 43.14-15, gc] Y]HY]b U_L` fi\`hci hc.
- S (f. 129^r, 1/15) and H (f. 164^v, 37), hUPUi h` iU_L` cHf]U Y]U, compare V^b 43.24-25: hUP Ui h\^ U_L` cHf]U.
- S (f. 129^v, 1/27-28) and H (f. 165^r, 7-8), h` lh\^ gUf_cP a\`hf]P_U_]#, Gloss? Compare V^b 43.30-31: U#U h\^ gUf_cP l U]#Y]b ZfUgUgU.
- S (f. 129^v, 1/31-32) and H (f. 165^r, 9-10), h\B c]c]#b Ui h U]Wk g]b, compare V^b 43.32: h\B c]c]#b U]Wk g]b.
- S (f. 129^v, 2/18) and H (f. 165^v, 22), c]fdUhy^ Uhefk dc], compare V^b 44.7-8, X]U#ci g]ž hYf dc#Ybc] hU] \` Yd]V` UVYg]b`

B.3. Changes Due to Dubious Readings

- S (f. 129^v, 1/2) and H (f. 164^v, 29), U_L` fiYi WU], compare V^b 43.38: _U]P]i WUaYbci. Error due to the change from uncials to minuscule (? 5=> 5@@)?

B.4. Re-interpretative Sections in S and H

- S (f. 128^r, 2/19-20) and H (f. 163^r, 27), dUbb hcRd` \`c^ h k b d]ghk b, compare V^b 39.1: ci Ā Y]Ughc^ hcHY
- S (f. 128^v, 2/16-17) and H (f. 164^r, 4-5), hUP Y_LY]bci YhefU^ _U]PYd]Vci `U#, compare V^b 40.5: hUP U]gl fUPUi hci gi aVci `]#^.
- S (f. 128^v, 2/27) and H (f. 164^r, 11), eUffk b ci Ā hUi hU Y]Ācb Yd]Pg]#A UWa]#` U" k g̃dyf "", compare V^b 41.7-9: cB hU#U Y]Ā acB^ [bk f]gY] eUffk b (...) hUPY]E\`a Y#U" cHdyf ž`h` " The passage in S/H is actually a re-interpretation of V's text used as a juncture after the omission of V^b 40.10-41.9.
- S (f. 129^r, 1/9-12) and H (f. 164^r, 23-24) omit many elements of the original passage: A UWa]#` U" A \`P Y_LXi \^ Yfi h\B 5]LYUH` dfcP hUP Y_LY]bci YbY#U^ _U]P aU#]ghU eYUgUaYbci aci hcB _i #]cb `Y#cbhU, compare V^b 41.19-22: A UWa]#` U. `Yhk_gc]. a\`P Y_LXk #^ Yfi h\B h_15]LYUH`. gh\`d] dfcP hUP Y_LY]bci YbY#U^. _U]PaU#]ghU eYUgUaYbci aci `A UWa]#` U hcB _i #]cbac] `Y#cbhU"

- S (f. 129^r, 1/27) and H (f. 164^v, 1), kZY \gU] Xi bUaU] "a\Ri dY]ge^ t, compare V^b 41.31: kZY \gU] Xi bU#Ybc^ X]URgY#Ui h\RYRdY]ge^ t. Re-interpretation due to omission.
- S (f. 129^r, 2/6-7) and H (f. 165^r, 10-11), gi #Vc` c# ac] [Y#cbYb, compare V^b 43.1-2: gi #Vc` c# aYdYdc]#hU] dfcP#hcP#ž_h` "
- S (f. 129^v, 2/4) and H (f. 165^r, 14), k fl e\p Yg]h]#Yhc, compare V^b 43.37, U#U hc]t c#]#] ^ Yg]h]#Yhc. Plausibly scholion in the margin (Cf. *Narratio* 364.13-15).
- S (f. 129^v, 2/24-25) and H (f. 165^r, 26), hcPdf]B \#cbU]t, compare V^b 45.16, dc` `U]t \#cbU]^.

C. Separative Issues in *Conversante* 2

This version is very reductive and reworked. Nevertheless, its second chapter allows the assumption that its writer or copyist is working on a model that, similarly to the model for *Arm*, began with the speech to the brethren. Obvious similarities with *Arm*, which will be analysed below, may support their dependence on a common model¹⁰⁵.

- *Conversante* 374.18-20, ‘ego missus sum apostolus a domino meo ad vos carissimi fratres ut homines positos in tenebris et umbra mortis per verbum domini ad viam veritatis et luminis revocarem’, compare V^b 44.4-8.
- *Conversante* 374.21-23, ‘quibus vero non cessavi hortans vos ut recedentes a daemoniorum culturis verum deum quaerentes et in mandatis eius perserverantes promissionis eius heredes inveniamini’, compare V^b 44.8-16. (for ‘in mandatis eius’, see *Arm* 1.7-8).
- *Conversante* 374.23-375.3, ‘hortor vos dilectissimi fratres et moneo ut fidem vestram, quam supra fundamenta dei mei Iesu Christi posuistis, crescere faciatis in spem et laudem domini’, compare V^b 44.17-28.
- *Conversante* 375.3-9, ‘ceterum in his quae mihi contigerint¹⁰⁶ nolo vos contristari. ista enim praemissa sunt a deo meo Iesu Christo, sicut scriptum est pro nomine illius multa nos esse passuros et flagellandos, (...) a servis domini superatus’, compare V^b 44.29-37.

D. Separative Issues in *Laudatio*.

Laudatio offers a remake and résumé of the section preserved by V, which is similar to *Vita*. In spite of these similarities, there is evidence to surmise dependence on a common source rather than their interdependence (see *infra*).

D.1. Omissions in *Laudatio*

- V^b 38.2-39.11, compare *Laudatio* 344.22.
- V^b 40.11-43.25, compare *Laudatio* 345.9.
- V^b 43.37-45.33, compare *Laudatio* 346.12.

D.2. Amplifications in *Laudatio*

- *Laudatio* 344.29-345.3, Ue` Uq] UP ci L Y#UeY (...) i #U]t U#k` Y]# dUfUX]#k a], compare V^b 39.18-26.
- *Laudatio* 345.14-346.9, amplification similar to *Vita* 249B 10-C 10 that includes echoes of the missing speeches by Andrew. *Laudatio* 345.17-19: mention of Stratocles and the

¹⁰⁵ See *infra* this Chapter, pp. 112-13.

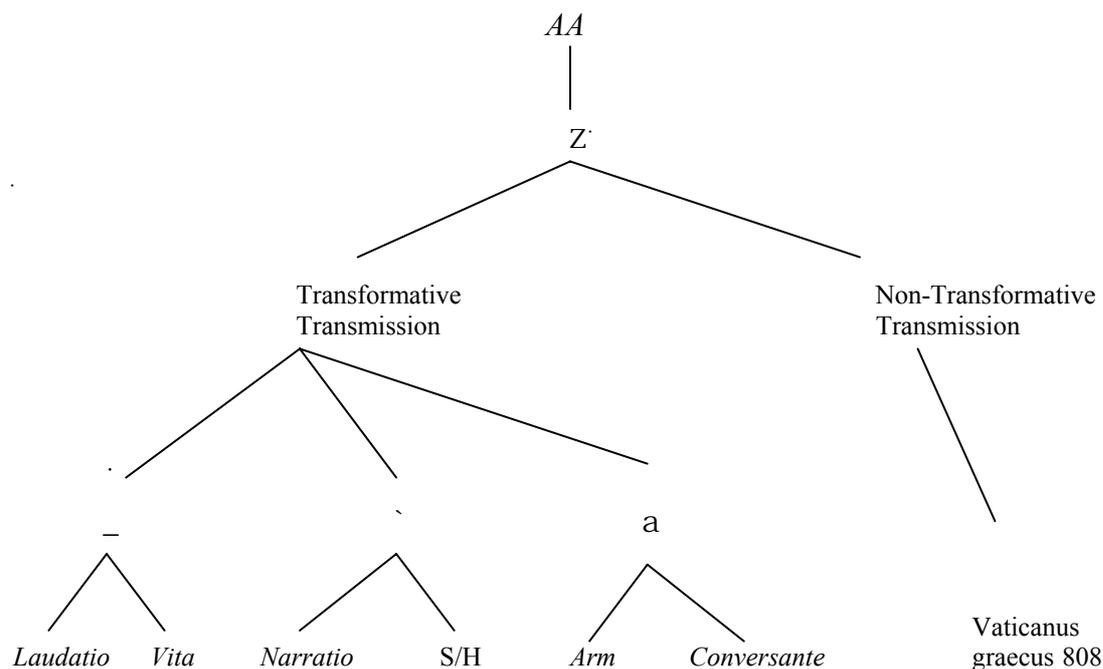
¹⁰⁶ B and Q read ‘contigerunt’. Cf. Bonnet *app. ad loc.* Compare, however, *Arm* 6.7-8 where there is a similar change from future to past tense.

- *Arm* 2.4-6, ‘... et souvenez-vous de ce dont vous avez été les spectateurs, comment je me suis comporté au milieu de vous’, compare *V^b* 44.20-21: *ab\acbYi #bhY^ kb c#U hY [Y] c#Ug]b gi bUbUghfYZcbhc#aci dUg]bi #]b.*
- *Arm* 2.13-14, ‘... et Dieu, à qui vous vous êtes convertis’, compare *V^b* 44.26-27: *_U]P #U# c#YcPY]E:c#Y]g hYi #UhYLY\#U^”*
- *Arm* 3.1-2, ‘Et l’événement prochain, qui va m’arriver, que je vais accomplir...’, compare *V^b* 44.29-30: *hc#YR]Yf]PYaYaY#` cb gi aVU]#Y] a\#hk ^ hUfUggY#k i #U#.*
- *Arm* 3.3-4, ‘... car Dieu donnera récompense à ses serviteurs pour <leurs> œuvres et paroles; <il la donnera également à celui> qui, de manière criminelle <et> violente est, sans raison, en cette vie temporelle, calomnié jusqu’à la mort par un homme méchant’, compare *V^b* 44.30-32: *c#] cfhci leYci lXci l c^z1 zdc` `UPdUfYg] Yhc Ui hcP c#YcP X]’ Y# [kb _U]P c#k bZci hc^ V]# i f]cP]befk #ci dcb\fc] UHY Ui #YhU] hci #ci hci hf c g_U]#ci V]#”*
- *Arm* 3.9-11, ‘... le diable impudent a détournés de Dieu et <don’t> il a fait ses fils, il <les> pousse, après <les> avoir armés, à suivre sa volonté...’, compare *V^b* 44.35-36: *c#] dU#U`UbU]X]P X]U#c` c^ hUP]X]U hY#bU c#]]#Y] _Uh’ Ui hk b c#k ^ Ui h] gi bek bhU].*
- *Arm* 4.1-3, ‘Comme il était prince des anges et créé avant tous <les autres>, s’il est nécessaire de <le> dire, il est tombé *des cieux comme l’éclair*’, compare *V^b* 44.37-45.2: *U#]cPaY# h^ dU#hk b UEL \#_U]P\#` `Y#Y]b YWci gYf cfU#Uf] c^ h` li #’ Ui hcB UEL ` 1 _Uh\1eYbz_h`”*
- *Arm* 4.9-10, ‘... il séduit les esprits de ceux qui ne connaissent pas Dieu’, compare *V^b* 45.3-4: *_U]P\XY#k Xi bU#Ycb [bk f]#YgeU].*
- *Arm* 5.6-7, ‘... tout en jetant les hommes dans des amours déréglées et les désastres de l’impureté’, compare *V^b* 45.8-11: *i f]cVU#` kb [UP Ui h] 1hUP]X]U dc` `U#]^ X]Y#fUmYb Yb\#cbU c#hU _U]P U#U#` U#X]fik # Ui hci 1 dYf`_fUhY]b’(sic) Y#k#Y]. YLefcP aY# ci # YX]#bi hc Y]E hcZUbyf c#zdfcgdc]ci #Ybc^ Z]]#b h\B Ui hci U#Y#b”*
- *Arm* 5.7-10, ‘Telle est en effet son œuvre: amener les hommes aux oublies et négligences, en vue de <les> détourner de Dieu notre créateur et de <les> soustraire à la vie éternelle’, compare *V^b* 45.12-14: *_U]P#ci hc \# Ui h] 1Y#] cb Y]Pdc` i P[]bc#Ycbz k fl Y]E ` \#b [bk f]#YgeU] YLY]# ž [bk f]#U] Ui hc# hci hfY#h]b ci hc^ X]UP#Y]i hci lXk flU”*
- *Arm* 5.10-12, ‘Mais quand la grâce de saintes pensées s’est répandue en nous, que la douce volonté de Dieu est apparue parmi nous et que la sainte illumination du Verbe ...’, compare *V^b* 45.14-15: *U#` fi c#Y h^ 1U#]hc^ ai gh\#]cb YWZe\z _U]P\flVci `P h^ UbUdUi #Yk ^ YZUbyfk #\z _U]P#P#ci f c#ci Zk f YX]#e\z_h`”*
- *Arm* 5.13-19 compare *V^b* 45.16-22 (see *supra* F 2).
- *Arm* 5.19-20, ‘... et cela non seulement en paroles’, compare *V^b* 45.20-21: *_U]P#ci hc Yb Y# [1 hY#Y]hU].*
- *Arm* 5.20-22, ‘... il s’efforce en effet de <nous> amener à consommer <le péché> par les œuvres, et il ne nous lâche pas qu’il ne <nous> ait porté préjudice’, compare *V^b* 45.22-25: *hc#Y aY# [UP U#Y#]abc^ \# cf\#]b U#` c#]c^z _U]PZ]`]#b dfcgYdc]Y]hc ghY#` YgeU] dfcP \#U# h\B Ui hci 1U#Y#b. Y]#Yb XYP_U]P#Pa\#ZcVY]geU] a\PU#]cghk #Yb dYd` Ub\ aY#] i f]fiUi hci f*
- *Arm* 6.1-5, ‘Mais nous (...) les hommes le pensent être’, compare *V^b* 45.25-26.
- *Arm* 6.5-7, compare *V^b* 45.27.
- *Arm* 6.7-8, ‘Puisque nous sommes informés maintenant, frères, des événements antérieurs’, compare *V^b* 45.28: *Y]g]ghU#Ybc] hc][Ufci b hc#Y#` cb Y#YgeU]”*

The analysis of *errores significatiui* based on a comparison of V with the extant witnesses preserving in a more or less revised form the same portion of text allows the following conclusions:

1. V undoubtedly preserves the best testimony for this section of AA.
2. It clearly belongs to a radically different family of texts, which is clearly related to the primitive text.
3. Common textual divergences from V in the remaining witnesses allow their inclusion in a common family, which we call *transformative transmission*. In spite of their divergences in achieving their recasting (re-elaboration, cuts, or résumé), their relationship can be established because transformations always affect the same sections.
4. This textual interrelationship is also supported by the fact that all witnesses consistently preserve the same narrative sections.
5. In spite of their similarities, clear divergences in content allow a differentiation of subfamilies in the transformative branch. These will be analysed in the following section.

The following scheme illustrates the provisional results of the comparative analysis:



3.1.2. Conjunctive Evidence Supporting the Existence of a Transformative Branch

The comparative analysis of the preceding section could only rely on those documents that include a section overlapping with V. When analysing the transformative branch we have a wider corpus of texts available to us. However, the relevance of many of them has been

traditionally disputed on the grounds that they are Byzantine recastings¹⁰⁷. Against this argument might be adduced Pasquali's motto *recentiores non deteriores*¹⁰⁸ or, even more precisely, Maas' comment concerning this principle: '... es gibt überhaupt nicht „gute“ und „schlechte“ Zeugen, sonder nur abhängige und unabhängige, d. h. Zeugen, die von erhaltenen (oder ohne sie rekonstruierbaren) abhängig oder unabhängig sind'¹⁰⁹. Moreover, it is plausible to think that early Byzantine writers or copyists had access to uncial texts that have been lost or did not survive the change from uncials to minuscules that took place in the ninth and tenth centuries¹¹⁰. At the same time, the reliability of the textual witnesses for the martyrdom has been frequently exaggerated on the grounds that these testimonies have a closer relationship with the primitive text. Consequently, everything that did not fit in what Flamion called the 'martyrium source' was considered alien to *AA*.

Rather than adopting this negative and aprioristic approach to our material, we undertook, firstly, an analysis of the single witnesses and, secondly, a comparative study of their testimony in order to attempt an explanation of the totality of the textual evidence without systematically recurring to the argument of syncretism or collation of sources. The chronological diversity, different character, style, content, and intention of these testimonies were important obstacles to such an analysis. In addition, once we move into the transformative branch of the transmission, reworking, as common to all witnesses, is no longer a separative issue¹¹¹. Nevertheless, comparative analysis reveals that, together with reworking, another trait characterises the transformative branch: a marked tendency to reduce the body of the text appears at all stages independently of the scope and character of the text (below).

The separative issues upon which we base our hypothesis concerning the existence of a non-transformative textual branch are obviously conjunctive for the textual witnesses of the transformative branch. Their similarities in dealing with *AA*'s discursive and narrative sections offer a consistent basis for treating them as representatives of the same branch in the transmission. When studying the historical development of the transformative branch, we will

¹⁰⁷ On *Narratio*, see Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 62-69; Prieur, *Acta*, 17-18; on *Laudatio* and *Vita*, see Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 205; Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 226ff; Prieur, *Acta*, 19ff.

¹⁰⁸ G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (Firenze, 2^a 1962) 42-108. On *Narratio* see Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 62-69; Prieur, *Acta* 17-18; on *Laudatio* and *Vita* Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 205; Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 226ff, Prieur, *Acta*, 19ff.

¹⁰⁹ Maas, *Textkritik*, 32-33.

¹¹⁰ See, in general, E. Mioni, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca* (Padova, 1973) 59-72. For the influence of the issue on the transmission of apocryphal literature, see E. Junod, 'Actes et hérésie', 12-13.

¹¹¹ Of course, reworking still plays an essential role in determining textual diversity, but the lack of a point of reference (the section preserved by V excluded) negates the possibility of using it as a distinguishing issue.

firstly reduce the variety of documents by means of a comparative study of their textual characteristics. Secondly, we will proceed to distinguish subfamilies by paying attention to their reduction pattern, namely their mentions and omissions; and, thirdly, we will refine the relationships between related documents by a closer comparison. It is at this stage that textual issues begin to matter. Once families and subfamilies have been established, a proper philological analysis might offer a more precise idea of their stemmatic relationships.

3.1.2.1. Separative Issues Within the Transformative Branch

Texts within the transformative branch of the transmission may, on the basis of their content, be divided into two different groups: texts that were interested in Andrew's activities as a whole and texts that were only interested in Andrew's martyrdom. While texts of the first group, which we call *transformative long version*, present varying lengths, those of the second group, or *transformative short version*, consistently preserve the same section of text: none of them begins before Andrew's speech to the brethren (V^b 44.4-45.33).

3.1.2.1.1. Transformative Long Version

All documents included in this textual group present a common scope: a lengthier relation of Andrew's life and activities. Testimonies for this family are *Epitome*, *Mpr*, *Laudatio*, *Vita*, *Narratio*, S and H. Even though they present varying lengths as well as diverse reduction patterns, most of documents include a couple of common episodes from Andrew's activities as their beginning, Andrew's martyrdom as their end, and a series of common episodes in the central section. Given the time span between the witnesses, it is plausible to think of a common source from which all documents drew and which included at least the common episodes. Comparative analysis supports the inclusion of *Epistle* and the interpolations in *2GrEp* in this group.

a) Conjunctive Issues within the Long Version

Even though the documents in general present their own selection of episodes, they retain enough conjunctive issues at the beginning, in the central section, and at the end to ensure a narrative sequence.

Beginning:

- *AAM* at the beginning: *Epitome* 1, *Laudatio* 317.13-318.27; *Vita* 220A 1-221B 8; *Narratio* 5-7 (356.19-358.6).
- Episode about demons of Nicea: *Epitome* 6; *Laudatio* 323.14-326.5; *Vita* 229B 8-240B 14; *Narratio* 356.6-18.
- Mention of Argyropolis: omitted by *Epitome*; *Laudatio* 335.1; *Vita* 244C 9; *Narratio* 358.9.

Central section:

- Mention of Antiphanes: *Epitome* 29; *Mpr* 51.14.
- Reference to Sosios: *Epitome* (Sosia) 30.4; *Laudatio* 335.15; 338.13; *Vita* 244D 5, 245A 3.
- Lesbios episode: *Epitome* (Lysbios/Lisbios) 22.7; 23.11,58; 24.52; 25.12; 26.4.20; 30.2; *Laudatio* 335.21-338.8; *Mpr* 47.16-50.22. Omitted by *Vita* and *VitaEsc*.
- Sequence of healings (Maximilla, paralytic, blind, leper): *Epitome* 30.5,31; 32; 33; *Laudatio* 338.16-341.8; *Vita* 245A 8-D 11.
- Stratocles' return and Alcmanes episode: *Epitome* 34; *Laudatio* 342.3-344.9; *Vita* 248B 5-D 4; S (f. 121^v, 2/25-123^v, 2/11) and H (f. 155^r, 13-157^r, 35).
- Aegeates' return to Patras: *Epitome* 35; *Laudatio* 344.10-19; *Mpr* 50.24-51.10; *Vita* 248D 5; S (f. 124, 2/6) and H (f. 158^r, 6).

End:

- Andrew's imprisonment: *Epitome* 36; *Laudatio* 344.19-22; *Vita* 249A 6-7; *Mpr* 51.15-20; *Narratio* 359.15-17; S (f. 127^r, 1/33) and H (f. 161^v, 26).
- Aegeates tries to convince Maximilla (V^b 39.12-26): omitted by *Epitome*; *Laudatio* 344.23-25; *Vita* 249A 2-6; *Narratio* 361.11-362.3; S (f. 128^r, 2/37ff) and H (f. 163^v, 3ff).
- Andrew in prison: *Epitome* 36.2-4; *Laudatio* 345.14-346.9; *Vita* 249A 9-C 9; *Narratio* 360.16-365.6; S (f. 128^r, 2/5-130^r, 1/13) and H (f. 163^r, 18-165^v, 3).
- Andrew's crucifixion: *Epitome* 36.4-5; *Laudatio* 346.12-16; *Vita* 252A 1-C 14, *VitaEsc* f. 245^r, 2/8-246^r; *Narratio* 367.1-5; S (f. 130^v, 2/25-132^v) and H (f. 166^v, 4-168^v).

b) Separative Issues within the Long Version

A simple glance at the mentions and omissions shows that, according to their reduction pattern, it is possible to distinguish two groups of texts, which we call U and V. The first of them, represented by *Epitome* and mainly interested in Andrew's activities, edits the end significantly and develops its narration following a succession of miracles. Andrew's imprisonment and martyrdom occupy just a couple of lines. The second group is represented by *Mpr*, *Laudatio*, *Vita*, *Narratio*, S/H, and *Epistle*¹¹². These texts include both Andrew's activities and his martyrdom and, by applying internal reduction, preserve a more developed beginning and end.

A. Family U: End Reduction

Epitome's version of *AA* includes *AAM* as the beginning and offers a comprehensive relation of Andrew's miraculous activities. In spite of its more complete relation of the events between *AA*'s beginning and Aegeates' return to Patras, it summarises the remaining episodes in three chapters (*Epitome* 36-38, thirty lines of text).

¹¹² The case of *Epistle* deserves special mention. *LatEp* and *1GrEp* are very greatly reworked as a dialogue between Aegeates and Andrew that *mutatis mutandis* shows certain similarities with *Mpr* 10-13. The reason for them being included in this subfamily is that they seem to know the reason why Lesbios is substituted by Aegeates: the Latin version (*LatEp* 3.8-9; 4.1-2) and both Greek translations (*1GrEp* 3.18; 4.10 and *2GrEp* 3.28;

VitaParis has a very brief conclusion and *VitaEsc* a rather summary version that just includes some highlights of the martyrdom.

B.1.1. Excursus on the Textual Relationship between *Laudatio* and *Vita*

The question of the textual relationships between *Laudatio* and *Vita* is one of the most obvious examples of the frequent biased interpretation and evaluation of the textual witnesses by twentieth-century scholarly research. Comparative analysis led Lipsius to conclude that they are not mutually dependent but rather that they have a common source not older than the eighth century¹¹⁷, of which *Laudatio* always gives a better version¹¹⁸. Nevertheless, since Flamion it is generally believed that *Laudatio* depends on *Vita*¹¹⁹. Indeed, the Belgian scholar, drawing on Diekamp's opinion that *Laudatio* even if it does depend on a common source might also have used *Vita*¹²⁰, goes further and states that *Laudatio* is exclusively dependent on *Vita*¹²¹. His argumentation, however, relies on a naïve acceptance of Epiphanius' alleged ocular testimony¹²² and on an arbitrary comparative analysis of both texts¹²³.

A proper analysis of the convergences and divergences between *Laudatio* and *Vita* clearly shows that Flamion's opinion is untenable. *Laudatio*'s version of Andrew's peregrinations frequently transmits an improved text for sections that are corrupt in *Vita*¹²⁴. *Laudatio*'s improving version of the common source is especially evident in the section including the events after Andrew's arrival in Patras, for *Laudatio*'s and *Vita*'s versions can be checked against the testimony of numerous textual witnesses. The first clear omission in *Vita* is the Lesbios episode. *Laudatio* not only preserves the whole episode, which is also attested by other textual witnesses¹²⁵, but also mentions Sosios twice, before and after the

¹¹⁷ Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 570-84.

¹¹⁸ See also Bonnet, *Supplementum*, XI; Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 545.

¹¹⁹ See for example Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 226ff; MacDonald, *Cannibals*, 184 and note 15.

¹²⁰ Diekamp, *Hippolytos von Theben*, 143-45, who does not offer a proper assessment of *Laudatio*'s possible use of *Vita*. Even though he states that the arguments by Lipsius (in *Apostelgeschichten* I, 571 note 1) are not enough to rule out this possibility, he does not provide any evidence to make his case.

¹²¹ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 205; Dvornik, *Apostolicity*, 226ff.

¹²² Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 73. Furthermore Prieur, *Acta*, 19. See, however, *supra* this Chapter, note 15.

¹²³ As has already been pointed out (see *supra* Chapter 1, notes 160-161), Flamion does not offer conclusive evidence for his statement. His preconception about *Laudatio*'s dependence on *Vita* can be seen both in his surprising comment on *Vita*'s frequent lacunae and defective readings and in his explanation of *Laudatio*'s improved readings for the same passages. In spite of his optimistic remarks assuring us that a proper edition of *Vita* would certainly show that these errors are exclusively due to the manuscript transmission (*L'Apôtre*, 205-12), his statement is not based on a study of the variants in the different mss but on simple speculation. On the other hand, our comparative study of all three mss preserving *Vita* shows that *VitaParis* and *VitaEsc* present the same errors, if we exclude a couple of isolated examples. For *Vita*'s palaeographical errors, see *supra* this Chapter, note 114. For *Vita*'s lacunae, see *supra* this Chapter, note 115.

¹²⁴ See *supra* this Chapter, notes 114-115 and *infra* notes 124-125.

¹²⁵ *Laudatio* 335.21-338.8: Ηχι Ηχι ΧΥΡ[Υ[bc]Ηc^ Ηχι 1 eUi #Uhc^ Ζ\#\'(...) Ui ε\αΥ#cb ΗU]↑ DUΗfU]^ dUfci g]UΗΥ]. *Vita* 244 D omits the entire section about Lesbios (see Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten* I, 573 note 1

Lesbios episode, which shows that it neither depends on *Vita* nor on *Mpr*¹²⁶. In addition, *Laudatio*'s contacts with *Epitome* prove that these events belong to the primitive text. *Epitome* not only includes the Lesbios episode¹²⁷ but also mentions, precisely in the same order as *Laudatio*, Maximilla's healing¹²⁸ and the subsequent series of miracles, including a paralysed man, a blind man, and a leper being healed¹²⁹.

A close comparison of *Laudatio*'s and *Vita*'s testimony for this section immediately shows that the former preserves a more original stage. After mentioning Argyropolis (*Vita* 244C 9), Epiphanius lets Andrew go to Macedonia and finally arrive in Patras. The double mention of Sosios is followed by a highly abbreviated version of the healing of Maximilla¹³⁰. The sequence of a paralysed man and a blind man being healed is also reduced, but the third case is the most obvious example of reduction¹³¹. The following section, *Vita* 248A 1-B 4, is also shortened¹³². It is, however, after *Vita* 248B 5 that the omissions become more relevant. In addition, a better comparison is now facilitated thanks to the parallel in S/H that begins at this point. *Vita* offers a highly abbreviated version of the events following Stratocles' return to Patras¹³³, for which *Laudatio* can always be shown to be more accurate. Alcmanes' healing in *Vita* is not only very reduced¹³⁴, but also presents significant omissions¹³⁵. On the basis of this comparison it seems clear that *Laudatio* depends on the same or a similar source as S and H. This source, which S and H preserve selectively, probably included the events preceding Stratocles' episode in *Laudatio*, for the latter's account is sustained by the testimony of *Mpr* and *Epitome*.

and 581 note 1). Omitted by *VitaEsc* f. 242^f, col. 2 as well. *Laudatio* is supported by *Mpr* (47.16-51.10) and *Epitome* (22.7; 23.11; 58; 24.52; 25.12; 26.4; 20; 30.2).

¹²⁶ Flamion's conclusion (*L'Apôtre*, 62) that *Laudatio* uses *Mpr* is hardly correct. A comparison of the Lesbios episode in *Mpr*, *Epitome*, *Laudatio*, and *Vita* clearly shows that (a) *Laudatio* preserves the episode in its original place (cf. *Epitome*). In *Laudatio* the Lesbios episode is preceded and followed by a reference to Sosios (335.15 and 338.13, respectively). (b) *Vita* eliminates the whole passage, although preserving both references to Sosios (244D 5 and 245A 3, respectively). (c) *Mpr* preserves the Lesbios episode but does not mention Sosios at all. If *Laudatio* drew on *Mpr* for this passage, how could its writer know the proper place for the episode he was interpolating into *Vita*? The only possible solution is that *Laudatio*, together with *Epitome*, preserves the best text and that it depends on the same or a similar source as *Mpr*.

¹²⁷ *Epitome* 22-24.

¹²⁸ *Epitome* 30.5-19; *Laudatio* 338.16-339.5.

¹²⁹ *Epitome* 31, 32, 33; *Laudatio* 39, 40, 41.

¹³⁰ Compare *Vita* 245B 2-9 to *Laudatio* 338.21-31.

¹³¹ Eleven lines of *Vita* (245D 1-11) occupy almost two pages in *Laudatio* (339.20-341.8).

¹³² Compare *Vita* 248A 1-7 to *Laudatio* 341.9-19. Furthermore *Vita* 248A 7-B 4 to *Laudatio* 341.19-342.2.

¹³³ Compare *Vita* 248B 5-D 12 to *Laudatio* 342.3-344.22 and the lengthier version in S (f. 121^v-128^f, 2/5) and H (f. 155^f-163^f, 18).

¹³⁴ 11 lines, *Vita* 248B 10-C 5, compare to *Laudatio* 342.8-343.28.

¹³⁵ For example, Stratocles' rejection of military service (*Laudatio* 342.6; S (f. 121^v) and H (f. 155^f), or his attempt to commit suicide due to the desperate situation of Alcmanes (*Laudatio* 342.11-13; S (f. 122^f, 1/10-2/3) and H (f. 155^f, 25-155^v, 10).

Many other particular issues contradict the hypothesis of *Laudatio*'s dependence on *Vita*. A clear example is that *Vita*, against the testimony of *Laudatio* and all extant witnesses, asserts that Stratocles returns to Patras from Athens and not from Italy¹³⁶. Another example concerns the duration of Andrew's crucifixion. According to *Laudatio*, supported by the majority of textual witnesses, Andrew hangs on the cross for three whole days and on the fourth day the people of Patras react against Aegeates. According to *Vita*, supported by *Epitome*, however, it is on the third day that the people react¹³⁷. At the same time, Andrew's rebuke to Aegeates in *Laudatio*, also attested by other testimonies, shows not only that *Laudatio* does not depend on *Vita*, but also that it cannot depend on *Mpr*¹³⁸. Also different are *Laudatio*'s and *Vita*'s accounts of the events after Andrew's death¹³⁹.

Prieur subscribes to Flamion's hypothesis that *Laudatio* depends on *Vita*, although he does not offer arguments to explain why he does so. His treatment of the issue is in general rather vague¹⁴⁰ and his statements sometimes even contradictory¹⁴¹. According to Prieur, similarities between the version of the martyrdom in *Laudatio* and *VitaEsc* show that the former depends on the latter. However, a careful comparison of the alleged similarities in these two documents with the remaining textual witnesses proves that there is only a single passage in *Laudatio* and *Vita* which is not also present in other testimonies for the Martyrdom. The apparent parallels between *Laudatio* and *Vita* are the following:

- *Laudatio* 346.10-12 and *VitaEsc* f. 245^r, 1/22-26. Both documents preserve a tradition according to which Aegeates was afraid of Maximilla's parents.

¹³⁶ *Laudatio* 342.7: GhfUhc_` \^ (...) dUfY] YbYhc UhcP`U`]#^ Y]E DU#U^ . So also *Epitome* 34.2: *advenit Stratocleus, frater proconsulis, de Italia*. Differently *Vita* 248 B8: cfGhfUhc_` \^ Y]U\` 1eYb UhcP`5e\`bk b. So also *VitaEsc* f. 243^v, col 2 and *VitaParis* f. 17, col. 2.

¹³⁷ *Laudatio* 347.25: k fl XYP_U]PhYhU#h\^ \#Y#U^ X]U] caY#^ _U]Phcgc] #k b bi l hk b. Similarly in *2EpGr*. 28.12-13: hf]k b bi l e\`aY#k b Ui hc]` c#l` k b (...) k fl XYP_U]PhYhU#h` \#Y# ; *Malt* A 61.11-13; *Mpr* 56.3; *2EpGr*. 28.26-27; *Malt* A 62.1; differently *VitaEsc* f. 245^r, col. 2: k fl XYP_U]P#]#` \#Y# . So also *Epitome* 36: *in qua cum per triduum vivens penderet*.

¹³⁸ *Laudatio* 348.6-21: h]# dfcP hcB`gc]PUL` c#f]cb 5]LYUhU YL\`#i eU^ (...) YL] U#^ dUg\` Ubc]# . This section, which is supported by *2EpGr*. 30.8-11; 12-20 [cf. *Arm* 32; 33; 34] is omitted by *Mpr* (56.12-57.2), which presents instead a highly re-elaborated version. Differently, *VitaEsc* f. 245^v col 1, 9-17, presents a rather different text: Y]g]hfYmcb Yb aYhUbc]# _U]Pgk`#h] .ci L` c]]#caU]#gc] h\`B _U_]#b hUi h\`b ci XYPcfeYc# aci .Y]E [UP U]UeUR]fcdY#dY^ aY"Y]EXYRi faYhUbc\`gY^ _U]P ci L d]ghYi #^ Ui h 1 _U_1 eUbU#` Uhc` Y]gU].

¹³⁹ *Laudatio* 348.26-27: cf]#k #Uhc^ Y]g`cdc^ GhfUhc_` \^ U#U h` 1gk #fcb] A UW]a]#` dfcg\` ek B YW#i gYb. Similarly, *Mpr* 57.8-9. According to *VitaEsc* f. 245^v, col. 1, however, Maximilla is the one to carry the action and Stratocles simply accompanies her.

¹⁴⁰ Despite his affirmation that he consulted the other two mss preserving *Vita*, the only information he gives is (*Acta*, 19), 'Le texte de ce manuscrit (*scil.* Esc y II 6) débute plus bas que l'édition de Dressel (PG 120, 221B), mais ses discours son souvent plus longs. Enfin, il est pourvu d'une fin particulière, fidèle au plan du Martyre des AA, et possédant des similitudes avec la *Laud.*'(??) One would at least like to know, for example, what the plan of the martyrdom it preserves is, as well as its alleged similarities with *Laudatio*.

¹⁴¹ So, for instance, he first states (*Acta* 15-17) that *Laudatio*'s and *Mpr*'s versions of the martyrdom depend on the same common source, but later on (*ibid.*, 20) he affirms that similarities between *Laudatio* and *VitaEsc* in the last part of *AA* are due to the fact that the former depends on the latter.

- *Laudatio* 347.12-16 and *VitaEsc* f. 245^r, 2/1-8. It also appears in *Mpr* 55.21-56.3; *Narratio* 367. 25-368.2; *2EpGr* 26.16-19; *Malt A* 60.14-18 [cf. *Arm* 20.5-9]. It is true, however, that all these testimonies agree in presenting a different motivation for Aegeates' decision than *Laudatio* and *Vita*.
- *Laudatio* 347.16-20: *Ui hcP XYP_fYaU#Ybc^ Yd]Phci IW#ci dUhhU^ YX]XUg_Ya\PhcB eU#Uhc b UE` UH\B U#Uf h]#b XYXc[_Y#U]. VitaEsc* f. 245^r, 2/8-15: *cfXYP_fYaU#Ybc^ Yd]Phci lghUi fci 1 (... YX]XUg_Yb a\PZcVY]geU] h\B eUbUhc b UE` UPI U]#Y]b"* Both texts present a summary version of a lengthy section preserved in its essentials by C¹⁴², and very succinctly by *2EpGr*. 27.13-22. (A reworked and summarised version also appears in *Narratio* 368.14-369.5.)
- *Laudatio* 347.21-24 and *VitaEsc* f. 245^r, 2/16-21 have a parallel in *Narratio* 369.6. This testimony, however, omits any reference to Stratocles.
- *Laudatio* 347.31-348.7: *gi bYXUaCb dUhhY^ Yd]PhcRfU]hk #]cbzhci IXi ggYVci ↑ Ubei dU#ci _UhUVck bhY^ _U]Ph↑ Ubcg]#^ _f]gYk ^ Ui hci _UhUaYaZc#Ybc]. VitaEsc* f. 245^r, 2/26-245^v, 1/7: *gi bYXUaYb dU↑ cff UcP Yd]PhcB Ubei #Uhc b Vck bhY^ .H]# #UfhYb cfU#efk dc^ ci hc^ c#] ci h^ k^ U#]#k^ d]_f1 1eUbU# U#ceb\g_Y].ci hY [UP Y]E ? U]gUfU'ci LY]E hci P bc#ci ^.* *Laudatio* presents a better version with parallels in *2EpGr*. (28.21-22: *Ubcg]U hUP X]_Ugh\#]U#gci*), in *Narratio* (369.13: *Ubcg]#^ Y#f]bU^*); *Malt A* 61.16 (*Ubcg]k #U#U hUP X]_Ugh\#]U#gci*).
- *Laudatio* 348.22-23: *hUi hU Y]Hk B _U]EXcW]gU^ (... hcPdbYi aU dUfUeY#Ybc^*. It appears with differences in *VitaEsc* f. 245^v, 1/19-23, but also in *Mpr* 57.3-4; *Narratio* 371.26-28; *Malt A* 63.5-6; *Malt B* 63.20-21.
- *Laudatio* 349.8; 10 appears with certain differences in *VitaEsc* f. 245^v, 1/11-15, but also in *Narratio* 372.18-23; *Malt A* 64.4; *Malt B* 64.14-15.

All this evidence is enough to disprove the hypothesis of *Laudatio*'s dependence on *Vita* and to return to Lipsius' sagacious conclusion that both texts draw on a common source.

Let us now proceed with the analysis of this subfamily of texts.

a) Conjunctive Issues of Subfamily [

Two issues characterise the documents of this subfamily: firstly, they attest the events at Patras preceding Andrew's imprisonment that the extant testimonies (*Epitome* excluded) omit; secondly, they severely abridge the events between Andrew's imprisonment and his crucifixion.

- Lesbios episode: *Mpr* 47.8-50.24; *Laudatio* 335.21-338.8.
- Reference to Sosios: *Laudatio* 335.15, 338.13; *Vita* 244D 5, 245A 3.
- Maximilla healed: *Laudatio* 338.20-339.5; 342.15; *Vita* 245B; 248C 2 (cf. *Epitome* 30.5-19)¹⁴³.
- Sequence of miracles: *Laudatio* 338.16-341.8; *Vita* 245A 8-D 11.
- Events at Patras: *Laudatio* 342.3-344.22; *Vita* 248B 5-249A 2.
- Rework of V^b 4: *Laudatio* 344.22-345.3; *Vita* 249B 2-D 1 (Rework of Aegeates' character different than in *Narratio* and S/H).

¹⁴² C f. 62^v, 1/8-64^r, 1/21.

¹⁴³ Passing reference in S (f. 122^r, 1/35-37) and H (f. 155^v, 6-7).

- Prison door miraculously open: *Laudatio* 345.19-25, 346.8-9; *Vita* 249B 9-C 5, 249C 9-10.
- Stratocles receives ecclesiastical authority from Andrew: *Laudatio* 346.3-9 (cf. also 348.26-27: *cfl]ffk#Uhc^ YH]#_cdc^ GhfUhc_` \↑*); *Vita* 249C 7-10. Both versions are somewhat different.
- Echoes of the missing speeches by Andrew: *Laudatio* 345.14-346.9; *Vita* 249B 10-C 10.
- Remake of Aegeates character in V^b 39.18-26: *Laudatio* 344.30-345.3; *Vita* 249A 11-15.
- Speech to the cross: *Laudatio* 346.16-347.10; *Mpr* 54.21-55.19.
- Andrew tied to the cross: *Laudatio* 347.12-16; *Vita* 249C 12-16; *Mpr* 55.20-26.3.
- Omission of a reference to Andrew's three-day discourse: *Mpr* 56.3; *Laudatio* 347.24.
- Mention of the fourth day as turning point: *Mpr* 56.3; *Laudatio* 347.25. Third day in *Vita* (see *infra*).
- Same rework of Andrew's description after three days on the cross: *Mpr* 56.3-8; *Laudatio* 347.25-31. Omitted by *VitaEsc*, f. 245^{r144}.

b) Separative Issues within Subfamily [

Some mentions and omissions will help us to refine relationships between the documents.

- Reference to Sosios: *Laudatio* 335.15; 338.13; *Vita* 244D; 245A 3; *VitaEsc* f. 242; omitted by *Mpr*.
- Lesbios episode: omitted by *Vita* and *VitaEsc*.
- Maximilla healed: *Vita* 245A-C, *VitaEsc* f. 242^v; *Laudatio* 338.18-339.5; omitted by *Mpr* (as well as any other reference to Aegeates' wife, with the exception of a passing reference in *Mpr* 57.8).
- Section in speech to the cross: *Mpr* 55.5-11 (cf. *Arm* 18.4-5); omitted by *Laudatio* and *Vita*.
- Speech to the cross: omitted by *VitaEsc* f. 245^r.
- Aegeates' reason only to bind Andrew to the cross: *Mpr* 56.1-3 (cf. *Narratio* 367.29-368.2; S/H 621-22) is different than *Laudatio* 347.14-16 and *Vita* 249C 13-17; *VitaEsc* f. 245^r.
- Third day as a turning point: *VitaEsc* f. 245^r (so also *Epitome* 36), differently *Mpr* and *Laudatio* (see *supra*).
- Reaction of the people against Aegeates' judgement: *Mpr* 56.5-8 strongly differs from *Laudatio* 347.31-348.3 and *VitaEsc* ff. 245^r-245^v.
- Andrew's description after three days on the cross: omitted by *VitaEsc* f. 245^r.
- Aegeates' fear: *Laudatio* 348.3-6; *VitaEsc* f. 245^v. Omitted by *Mpr* 56.9-10.

Consequently:

1. *Laudatio* cannot depend on *Vita*. *Vita* cannot depend on *Laudatio*. Thus, they must have a common source.
2. *Laudatio* cannot depend on *Mpr*. In turn *Mpr* cannot depend on *Laudatio*. It is obvious that the common sources of *Laudatio* and *Vita*, on the one hand, and *Mpr*, on the other, have a common ancestor.

¹⁴⁴ From *Vita* 249D 1 onwards Vat. gr. 824 follows *Narratio*. References to *Vita* proceed from now on from *VitaEsc*.

B.2. Subfamily χ (*Narratio*, S/H, and Interpolations in *2GrEp*)

This subfamily of texts depends on a source that, similarly to that of subfamily Γ , applied internal reduction. However, both families follow a different reduction pattern: whereas the source of subfamily Γ has a minor internal reduction, it presents a shorter conclusion. The source of subfamily χ on the contrary, applied a larger internal reduction (affecting all events at Patras until Stratocles' return), but in turn retains a longer conclusion including a reworked version of the events after Andrew's imprisonment that we know from V.

a) Conjunctive Issues of Subfamily χ

- Inclusion of a reworked version of V: *Narratio* 360.16-365.6, S (f. 128^r, 2/5-130^r, 1/13) and H (f. 163^r, 18-165^v, 3) offer the best testimony of the transformative transmission for Andrew's speeches while in prison. Comparative analysis of both versions shows that they rely on a very similar source that included an already revised version of the section preserved by V.
- Beginning of V: *Narratio* (360.16), S (f. 128^r, 2/5) and H (f. 163^r, 18) begin exactly at the same point: V^b 38.21. Both documents completely omit V's first (and today incomplete) speech in V^b 38.2-20.
- Maximilla's speech (first part) omitted: Both texts omit approximately the same section of Maximilla's speech. *Narratio* 362.16-23 omits V^b 40.10-41.14. S (f. 128^v, 2/27) and H (f. 164^r, 11) omit V^b 40.10-41.9.
- Important omission of V^b 41.15: $_U h U P h U P X Y g a U \#$ Omitted by S (f. 129^v, 1/3) and H (f. 164^r, 19). Cf. *Narratio* 362.28-30
- Maximilla's speech (second part) omitted: *Narratio* 363.4-5, S (f. 129^r, 1/34) and H (f. 164^v, 5) all omit V^b 41.36-42.8.
- Aegeates' words to Maximilla: *Narratio* 361.11-362.3 and S (f. 128^r, 2/36-128^r, 1/29) and H (f. 163^v, 3-23) present a rather unaltered version of V^b 39.12-26. Differently, *Laudatio* and *Vita* alter this section introducing a strong interpretation of Aegeates' character¹⁴⁵.
- Andrew's speech to Stratocles: *Narratio* 363.9-10, S (f. 129^r, 1/37) and H (f. 164^v, 7) omit exactly the same section V^b 42.8-31.
- New juncture between Maximilla's speech and Stratocles' speech: *Narratio* 363.5-8, S (f. 129^r, 1/34-37) and H (f. 164^v, 5-7).
- Andrew's words to Stratocles in V^b 42.32-43.3: S (f. 129^r, 2/2-3) and H (f. 164^v, 8-9) (amplified); *Narratio* 363.9, 11-12 reworks the section altering the primitive sequence of the passage.
- Section of Stratocles' answer to Andrew in V^b 43.7-8 reworked: similar interpretation (amplification) of the section in *Narratio* 363.15-23, S (f. 129^r, 2/17-20) and H (f. 164^v, 16-18).
- *Narratio* 364.13-15, S (f. 129^v, 2/4) and H (f. 165^r, 14) present an equivalent interpretation of V^b 43.36-37: $U H] k B a Y B U i h c P U \# U h c] \uparrow c \# c] \#] ^ \wedge Y g] h] \# Y h c$.¹⁴⁶ The comparison of both texts shows that they must rely on a source that already included the gloss $k \# \# e \#$. This

¹⁴⁵ Compare *Narratio* 361.26-27, S (f. 128^v, 1/22ff) and H (f. 163^v, 17ff) with *Laudatio* 345.1-3 and *Vita* 249A 11-15.

¹⁴⁶ Compare *Narratio* 364.13-15: $h \uparrow c i \# k \# U \wedge d f c h f Y d c a Y \# \wedge ^ \wedge Y d] P h c F U \#] g h c b d f c \#] g] b U \# U h c] \uparrow c \# c] \#] ^ \wedge U i h \#] [U g h f] X c i \# c] ^ \wedge g] h] \# Y g e U] c] \#] \#] ^ \wedge e \# P U] \# c V c \# c ^ h i l e i a i \# f Y \# k b d f c P V c f U B g U f _ k \# U e i \# b$, and S (f. 129^v, 2/4) and H (f. 165^r, 14): $k \# \# e \# P Y g] h] \# Y h c$. All this is clearly superfluous, because Aegeates' characterisation is already achieved by letting him go to eat just after deciding to crucify Andrew.

superfluous detail is an interpolation probably due to a scholion that, written in the margin, finally found its way into the text.

- Omission of section V^b 44.33-45.14: *Narratio* 364.28-365.5 offers a very interpretative and summary version of V^b 44.17-28 and a passing reference (365.5: a\BhUfUggYHk i BU†) to V^b 44.29-33. S (f. 129^v, 2/20) and H (f. 165^r, 23) omit a larger section: V^b 44.8-45.14.

b) Separative Issues within Subfamily x

- *AAM* in the first part: *Narratio* 356.19-358.6; omitted by S/H.
- Events after Stratocles' return to Patras: S (f. 121^v, 2/26-128^r 2/5) and H (f. 155^r 13-163^r 18). Omitted by *Narratio*.
- Section V^b 43.26-31: amplifying version in S (f. 129^v, 1/27-28) and H (f. 165^r, 7-8) due to interpolation: h̄ h\† gUf_cP a\hf]P_U_]# 'Probably marginal note interpolated in the text. The text is not only superfluous but also contradictory. Maximilla's doubts are not due to her inclination or vice (_U_]#), but rather to external reasons. *Narratio* 364.5 paraphrases the passage as: U#UbhU hUPhci l_c#aci l U]#Y]b ZfUgUgU, which seems to support V's reading¹⁴⁷.
- Section V^b 43.26-35: *Narratio* 364.6-11 offers a better version than S (f. 129^v, 1/17-2/1) and H (f. 164^v, 38-165^r, 12).
- Speech to the brethren (first part) in V^b 44.4-33: *Narratio* 364.19-365.6 presents a fuller version than S (f. 129^v, 2/11) and H (f. 165^r, 18).
- Speech to the brethren (conclusion): S (f. 129^v, 2/20-130^r, 1/12) and H (f. 165^r, 23-165^v, 3) preserve the last lines of V (V^b 45.14-33). Omitted by *Narratio*.
- Reference to Andrew's three-day discourse in S (f. 131^v, 1/12-24) and H (f. 167^r, 22-29) is omitted by *Narratio* 369.6-8.
- Reaction of the people: the section in S (f. 131^v, 1/34-2/18) and H (f. 167^r, 35-167^v, 9) (= *2GrEp* 28.20-29.12) appears amplified in *Narratio* 369.17: dU† cfK\&c^ hUfU#hYhU], and 20-21: _U]P#Kci R]ghYi #aYbhi i fffUi hci l_\fi hcaYh eYi l
- *Narratio* 371.1-5 includes a passage known from *2GrEp* 30.17-20 and *Laudatio* 348.15-21. Omitted by S (f. 132^r, 1/33) and H (f. 168^r, 5).
- *Narratio* 371.13 omits the section preserved in S (f. 132^r, 2/3-6) and H (f. 168^r, 9-11) (= *2GrEp* 30.24-26).
- *Lacuna* due to homoioteleuton in S (f. 132^r, 2/14) and H (f. 168^r, 18), not in *Narratio* 371.16-17: a\BhUfUl kf\g^ ^ hcB#YH]P#ci gci hai gh\f]#i ""_h ""(*2GrEp* 31.23-25)¹⁴⁸.
- S (f. 132^r, 2/16) and H (f. 168^r, 19) omit *Narratio* 371.19 (*2GrEp* 31.26-32.9).
- *Narratio* 371.23-24: c#Y]Xcbzcc#Y#k žc#Z]` k žYb1 Y]h]P_U]P#caU] (cf. *2GrEp* 32.23). S (f. 132^r, 2/17-18) and H (f. 168^r, 18) rework badly: c#Y]hc#gUžc#lU#gU.
- Reference to Andrew's death: *Narratio* 372.1-2 (cf. *2GrEp* 35.8-9). Omitted by S (f. 132^r, 2/24) and H (f. 168^r, 24). (Cf. *Mpr* 57.8-9; *Laudatio* 348.25-26.)
- *Narratio* 372.7-11 inverts the sequence of facts preserved by S (f. 132^v, 1/2-17) and H (f. 168^r, 30-168^v, 2) (= *2GrEp* 35.17-23): Maximilla first rejects Aegaeates, then he tries to convince her without success.

Consequently:

¹⁴⁷ The problem of an apparent anacoluthic construction (U#U first followed by dative and afterwards by genitive) can easily be solved by adding hc]†: _U]Ph1 dU#h] V]# U#U'oc]†Qh† gUf_cP l U]#Y]b ZfUgUgU. The error might easily be explained as haplography of two equivalent sounds. However, the emendation is not strictly necessary as there are also a couple of examples of U#U with genitive. See Herod. 4.95; POxy 903; Pythag., *Sin.* 28; Olymp., *Hist.* P. 453 D.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *infra*, this Chapter § B.3, b, pp. 108-09.

1. *Narratio* does not depend on S/H nor S/H on *Narratio*.
2. *Narratio*, or its source, and the common source for H and S depend on a common hyparchetype.

B.3. Interpolations in *2GrEp*

More interesting are the interpolations in *2GrEp* due to (Horizontal? Vertical?) contamination, appearing from *2GrEp* 10 onwards. It has been suggested that the interpolations in *2GrEp* depend on the primitive *AA*¹⁴⁹. A comparison of the section *2GrEp* 27.13-22 with its parallel in C (Prieur 56.5-57.22) offers decisive evidence to assume that the source for *2GrEp* was already revised. *2GrEp* omits very important sections preserved in C and supported by *Arm*¹⁵⁰ and occasionally by S/H¹⁵¹.

Interpolations in *2GrEp* have close parallels in C, *Malt* A and B, *Laudatio*, *Mpr*, *Narratio*, and S/H. A more detailed analysis shows that these readings are particularly close to *Narratio* and S/H, in such a way that it is possible to suppose a genealogical relationship with the documents of subfamily χ . However, *2GrEp* occasionally presents readings omitted by *Narratio* and S/H but preserved in *Laudatio*¹⁵². This shows that *2GrEp* probably draws from the hyparchetype χ which was closer to *Laudatio* than *Narratio* and S/H.

a) Conjunctive Issues for *2GrEp* and Subfamily χ

- Andrew approaches the cross: *2GrEp* 23.28-24.19; S (f. 130^v, 2/25-27) and H (f. 166^v, 4-5); *Narratio* 367.4-5 (cf. *Laudatio* 346.15-16; *Mpr* 54.18-19).
- Beginning of Andrew's speech to the cross: *2GrEp* 25.23-26; S (f. 130^v, 2/27-31) and H (f. 166^v, 5-8) (*Mpr* 54.19-21; cf. *Conversante* 376.23).
- Omission of the second part of the speech to the cross: *2GrEp* 25.26; S (f. 130^v, 2/31) and H (f. 166^v, 8). *Narratio* 367.6-21 presents its own development of the speech to the cross. For the rest, it omits the entire section.

¹⁴⁹ Less carefully than Bonnet, who considered that the interpolations proceeded from an older version of the martyrdom (*AAA* II/1, XII, quia in eum inserta sunt non nulla ex aliquo martyrio sat uetusto). Prieur (*Acta*, 13) relates them to the primitive Acts.

¹⁵⁰ *2GrEp* 27.17 omits the following sections preserved by C (f. 62^v, 1/20-63^r, 1/12): $\Upsilon\text{Hci } \text{hc} \setminus \text{fY} \text{g} \text{eY} (\dots) \text{UE} \setminus \text{jk } \text{H} \text{U} \text{hc}$] (cf. *Arm* 22.3ff.); C (f. 63^r, 1/19-2/6): $\text{hcB} \setminus \text{X} \text{cbk } \text{b} \text{Z} \# \text{cb} (\dots) \text{Y} \setminus \text{XY} \# \text{h} \setminus \text{b}$ (cf. *Arm* 24); C (f. 63^r, 2/15-63^v, 1/10): $\Upsilon\text{E} \text{h} \text{UP} \text{d} \text{YP} \text{gk} \text{a} \text{U} (\dots) \text{U} \setminus \text{ci} \text{g} \text{U} \text{U} \text{H} \text{Y} \text{hk}$ (cf. *Arm* 25).

¹⁵¹ Compare S (f. 131^r, 2/11-28) and H (f. 167^r, 3-11) with C (f. 62^v, 1/20-2/18); S (f. 131^v, 1/2-6) and H (167^r, 17-19) with C (f. 63^r, 1/12-19); and S (f. 131^v, 1/6-11) and H (f. 167^r, 19-22) with C (f. 63^r, 2/6-15).

¹⁵² This is the case in *Laudatio* 348.9-16 and *2GrEp* 30.10-17. *Laudatio* offers a better version of this passage. *2GrEp* presents several omissions probably due to homoioteleuton. Compare *Laudatio* 348.9-12: $\text{ci } \text{K} \setminus \text{UB} \text{Y} \setminus \text{U} \setminus \text{ek} \uparrow \text{aYhU} \text{[bi} \uparrow \text{5] } \text{LYU} \text{hU} \text{Y} \text{h} \text{[g} \text{c]} \text{gi} \text{be} \setminus \text{gcaU}$]. $\text{ci } \text{K} \setminus \text{UB} \text{h} \text{UP} \text{g} \text{UR} \text{U} \text{h} \text{U} \text{[f] } \text{gl} \text{b} \setminus \text{U} \setminus \text{Z} \text{[g} \text{h} \text{UaU]} \text{Y} \text{h} \text{U} \text{[ci} \setminus \text{ci } \text{K} \setminus \text{UB} \text{] } \text{X} \setminus \text{cb} \text{aci} \setminus \text{Y} \text{h} \setminus \text{g} \text{Y} \text{Ui} \text{hcB} \text{dYd} \text{[g} \text{h} \text{Y} \setminus \text{U} \# \text{c}]$, with *2GrEp* 30.10-12: $\text{ci } \text{K} \setminus \text{UB} \text{k} \text{f} \text{U} \setminus \text{ek} \uparrow \text{aYhU} \text{[bi} \uparrow \text{5] } \text{LYU} \text{hU} \text{Y} \text{h} \text{[g} \text{c]} \text{gi} \text{be} \setminus \text{gcaU}$]. $\text{ci } \text{K} \setminus \text{UB} \text{] } \text{X} \setminus \text{cb} \text{ac} \setminus \text{Y} \text{h} \setminus \text{g} \text{Y} \text{Ui} \text{hcB} \text{dYd} \text{[g} \text{h} \text{Y} \setminus \text{U} \# \text{c}]$ " (Cf. also S [f. 132^r, 1/27-32] and H [168^r, 3-5]). Compare *Laudatio* 348.12-14: $\setminus \text{i } \text{Y} \setminus \text{hcB} \text{Y} \setminus \text{Y} \text{eYfkeY} \text{h} \text{U} / \setminus \text{i } \text{Y} \setminus \text{hcB} \text{[bkf] } \text{geY} \text{h} \text{U} \setminus \text{iflcPhci} \text{1gi} \text{[Y} \text{bc} \setminus \text{hcB} \text{Y} \setminus \text{Y} \setminus \text{eY} \text{h} \text{U} \setminus \text{hcB} \text{Z} \setminus \setminus \text{eY} \text{h} \text{U} \setminus \text{if} \setminus \text{U} \text{[ci} \setminus \text{hcB} \text{U} \setminus \setminus \text{ch} \setminus \text{ch} \text{gci} / \text{hcB} \text{W} \setminus \text{hcb} / \text{hcB} \text{Y} \text{d} \text{[Z} \text{UbY} \text{h} \text{U} \setminus \text{g} \text{c]} \text{ac} \setminus \text{cb} / \text{Y} \text{hk} \setminus \text{gi} \text{bY} \setminus \text{gcaU}] \text{Y} \text{g} \text{UY} \#$ with *2GrEp* 30.13-14: $\setminus \text{i } \text{Y} \setminus \text{hcB} \text{Y} \setminus \text{Y} \text{eYfkeY} \text{h} \text{U} / \text{bc} \setminus \text{cb} / \text{Y} \text{hk} \setminus \text{gi} \text{bY} \setminus \text{gcaU}] \text{Y} \text{E} \text{U} \setminus \text{h} \setminus \text{S} \setminus \text{H} \text{omit}$). Compare *Laudatio* 348.16: $\text{hcB} \text{Y} \setminus \text{E} \setminus \text{ch} \text{U} \text{ac}] \setminus \text{U} \text{h} \setminus \text{U} \setminus \text{UeY} \text{hcB} \text{.5} \text{[Y} \text{U} \setminus \text{h} \setminus \text{b} \setminus \text{U}] \text{Ph} \text{U} \text{Ph} \text{ci} \setminus \text{h} \text{ci} \setminus \text{Xk} \setminus \text{f} \text{U} \setminus \text{a} \setminus \text{g} \text{Y} \text{ZcVY} \setminus \text{hk} \text{cf} \text{XY} \setminus \text{bc} \text{P} \text{Y} \setminus \text{Y} \setminus \text{bc} \setminus \text{^}$, with *2GrEp* 30.17: $\text{hcB} \text{Y} \setminus \text{E} \setminus \text{ch} \text{U} \text{ac}] \setminus \text{a} \setminus \text{g} \text{Y} \text{ZcVY} \setminus \text{hk} \text{cf} \text{XY} \setminus \text{bc} \text{P} \text{Y} \setminus \text{Y} \setminus \text{bc} \setminus \text{^}$ (Homoioteleuton due to *dictatio ad se ipsum*).

- Andrew is put on the cross: *2GrEp* 25.26-26.1; S (f. 130^v, 2/35-131^r, 1/4) and H (f. 166^v, 10-16); *Narratio* 367.23-25.
- Crucifixion's specifications: *2GrEp* 26.16-18 (with *lacuna*: homoioteleuton)¹⁵³; S (f. 131^r, 1/4-12) and H (f. 166^v, 16-20); *Narratio* 367.25-29. (Cf. *Laudatio* 347.12-14: rework; *Mpr* 55.20-56.1).
- Reason for the previous specifications: *2GrEp* 26.18-19; S (f. 131^r, 1/12-14) and H (f. 166^v, 20-22); *Narratio* 367.29-368.3 (*Mpr* 56.1-3; cf. *Laudatio* 347.14-16: different reason).
- Stratocles' question and Andrew's answer: *2GrEp* 26.21-27.17; S (f. 131^r, 1/26-2/3) and H (f. 166^v, 26-34); *Narratio* 368.4-15.
- Central section of Andrew's speech: *2GrEp* 27.19-20; S (f. 131^v, 1/6-9) and H (f. 167^r, 19-21). Cf. *Narratio* 368.14-26: very reworked.
- Omission of the essentials of Andrew's speech: compare *2GrEp* 27.15-22, S (f. 131^r, 2/11-131^v, 1/12) and H (f. 167^r, 3-22) with C's testimony for this section. It is obvious that *2GrEp* and S/H follow a similar model but rework differently¹⁵⁴.
- Andrew's three-day discourse: *2GrEp* 28.8-13; S (f. 131^v, 1/12-24) and H (f. 167^r, 22-30). Cf. *Narratio* 369.6-8.
- Events on the fourth day of Andrew's crucifixion: *2GrEp* 28.13-20; S (f. 131^v, 1/24-35) and H (f. 167^r, 30-36); *Narratio* 369.8-13 (after almost two days, however).
- Reaction of the people: *2GrEp* 28.20-29.12; S (f. 131^v, 1/34-2/18) and H (167^r, 35-167^v, 9) with minor differences, cf. *infra*; *Narratio* 369.13-24 (only two minor amplifications, cf. *infra*).
- Aegeates' fear and decision to free Andrew: *2GrEp* 29.15-27; S (f. 131^v, 2/19-132^r, 1/3) and H (f. 167^v, 9-22); *Narratio* 369.25-370.7.
- Andrew's rebuke to Aegeates: *2GrEp* 29.28-30.11; S (f. 132^r, 1/19-32) and H (f. 167^v, 31-168^r, 5). Cf. *Narratio* 370.19-20: reworking version of the same model.
- Andrew's words: *2GrEp* 30.24-26, S (f. 132^r, 2/3-6) and H (f. 168^r, 9-11).
- Aegeates tries once again to release Andrew: *2GrEp* 31.19-26; S (f. 132^r, 2/6-16) and H (f. 168^r, 11-17) with *lacuna*, see *infra*; *Narratio* 371.15-18.
- *2GrEp* 31.26-31.9 and *Narratio* 371.19 preserve a section omitted by S (f. 132^r, 2/16) and H (168^r, 17).
- *2GrEp* 32.23: cB c]XUž cB YEk ž cB Z]` k žci ċY]h], also preserved by *Narratio* 371.23-24 (slightly amplified); S (f. 132^r, 2/17-18) and H (f. 168^r, 18) rework badly: cB Yhc# \gUžcB \ŁU# \gU.
- Andrew's last words: *2GrEp* 32.26-33.10; *Narratio* 371.25-26; S (f. 132^r, 2/18-21) and H (168^r, 18-20).
- Reference to Andrew's death: *2GrEp* 35.8-9; *Narratio* 372.1-2; omitted by S/H. (Cf. *Mpr* 57.8-9; *Laudatio* 348.25-26.)
- Maximilla rejects Aegeates; Aegeates cannot convince her to come back. Same sequence in *2GrEp* 35.17-23 and S (f. 132^v, 1/2-17) and H (f. 168^r, 30-168^v, 2); *Narratio* 372.7-11 inverts the sequence.

b) Separative Issues for *2GrEp* and the Extant Witnesses of Subfamily X

¹⁵³ Cf. S (f. 131^r, 1/3-11) and H (f. 166^v, 14-18): Ui hci l hci P dcXU^ _U]PhUP aUgl U#U^ a\XXB dfcugdYfcb\#Ubhy^ Ui hci b\HYhUPl Y]fU^ a\HYhci PdcXU^ a\HY^a\B hUP UL_ i #U^ i fchY#bcbhy^.

¹⁵⁴ Thus similarly *Narratio* 369.1-5 presents an interesting remake of the whole section. Compare *Narratio* 369.3: cZeU` a1 1with C (f. 63^r, 2/20-22): YRfUHy "" cZeU` ac]t; 369.3: ULc` 1 with C (f. 63^v, 1/8-10): _U]P X]Yga]WUHy i hki b hUP ULcUP ULci gU] UH Y#k; 369.3: _UfX]#, with C (f. 63^v, 1/2-3): _U]RUfUVkb]#UgeY# aci hcBbci b.

2. *2GrEp* cannot depend on S/H or on *Narratio*. Similarities with *Laudatio* and *Mpr* show that the interpolations might proceed from hyparchetype χ (or a similar text), which was closer to *Laudatio* than *Narratio* and S/H.

3.1.2.1.2. Transformative Short Version

All the texts included in this group have a common scope: Andrew's martyrdom. Unlike the witnesses for the transformative long version, these texts do not show any interest in other aspects of Andrew's activities. According to their length, it is possible to distinguish two different textual families. The first one, which we shall call γ , includes texts presenting a longer version of the martyrdom, which is preceded by Andrew's last speech in prison (*Arm, Conversante*). Despite presenting a short version of the martyrdom, the numerous parallels between *Malt B* and *Conversante* allows its inclusion in this family. The second, which we shall call ϵ , includes texts that regularly begin with the martyrdom itself and present a very similar version thereof (Andrew's martyrdom in *C* and *Malt A*).

Before proceeding to an analysis of the interrelationships of the witnesses in this family of texts, some words must be said with regard to including *Conversante* in this group. Since Flamion, it has generally been believed that *Conversante* depends on *Epistle*¹⁵⁶. Flamion based his thesis on considering the first eight chapters of *Epistle*¹⁵⁷ as completely alien to the original 'martyrium source'¹⁵⁸. Given the fact that *Conversante*, especially in its first chapter, includes a couple of passages with a dialogue between Aegeates and Andrew, he considers that they depend on *Epistle*¹⁵⁹, whose first nine chapters consist mainly of a dialogue between both figures. However, the dialogue between Aegeates and Andrew in *Mpr* 10-13 (52.5-54.16), and similar parallels in other testimonies, present the same stylistic traits¹⁶⁰.

A proper study of *Epistle* and *Conversante* shows that correspondences between them are due to the similarity of the sources they draw on. It is obvious that both texts present a certain number of parallels, but, first, these are restricted to the interpolations in *2GrEp*, and, second, they are also present in the remaining witnesses for the martyrdom. This shows that the similarities are nothing other than the normal and necessary parallels between texts that

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Prieur, *Acta*, 14.

¹⁵⁷ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 1-21.

¹⁵⁸ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 115-16.

¹⁵⁹ Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 45-46.

¹⁶⁰ Prieur (*Acta*, 13-14 and 53) thinks that S (f. 127^r, 1/17-27) and H (f. 161^v, 17-23) might preserve traces of such a dialogue in a revised form. Further, compare *Conversante* 375.13-25 with S (f. 130^r, 1/21-34) and H (f. 165^v, 8-15).

preserve the same tradition¹⁶¹. At the same time, *Conversante* presents enough essential differences from *Epistle* to dismiss its alleged dependence on the latter¹⁶².

a) Conjunctive Issues of the Transformative Short Version

- All documents only include *AA*'s martyrdom.
- Reference to a night-time reunion and Aegeates' words to Andrew: *Conversante* 375.10-15 (second part 13-15 is reworked); *Arm* 7.1-14; *Malt A* 58.3-12; *Malt B* 58.21-26; C (f. 60^v, 1/6-2/8).
- Aegeates' order to torture and crucify Andrew: *Conversante* 375.26-28; *Arm* 7.15-18; *Malt A* 58.13-14; *Malt B* 58.27-28. C (f. 60^v, 2/10-12).
- All documents present a speech to the cross in varying lengths: *Conversante* 376.3-10; *Arm* 16-19; *Malt A* 60.9-11 (very reduced); *Malt B* 60.24-27. C (f. 61^v, 2/19-25).
- Andrew tied to the cross: *Conversante* 376.10-12; *Arm* 20.1-9; *Malt A* 60.14-19; C (f. 61^v, 2/23-62^r, 25). Omitted by *Malt B* 60.28-29.
- Dialogue Stratocles-Andrew: *Conversante* 376.14-15 (passing reference); *Arm* 21.6-17; *Malt A* 60.22-61.6; *Malt B* 60.30-61.18; C (f. 62^r, 2/14-62^v, 1/7).
- Andrew's words to the people: *Conversante* 376.15-17 (passing reference); *Arm* 22.1-27.20; C (f. 62^v, 1/20-63^v, 1/10).
- People's reaction at the sight of Andrew's endurance: *Conversante* 376.18-377.5; *Arm* 28.1-25; *Malt A* 61.12-62.2; *Malt B* 61.21-62.25; C (f. 64^r, 2/6-64^v, 25).
- Aegeates' fear: *Conversante* 377.5-8; *Arm* 29.1-8; *Malt A* 62.3-8; C (f. 64^v, 1/26-2/17). Omitted by *Malt B*.
- Number of people: omitted by *Conversante* 377.5-8, however, cf. 376.13, 'uiginti milia'; *Arm* 29.4-5; *Malt A* 62.5: X|gai f|#i ^ (sic). C (f. 64^v, 2/7-8) X|gai #|c|". Omitted by *Malt B* 62.26. Cf. S (f. 131^v, 2/24), H (f. 167^v, 12) and *Narratio* (370.1) X|gl]#|c|.

¹⁶¹ Consider the following examples. **Reference to destruction of temples:** *Conversante* 374.4-6 and *LatEp* 3.9; *1GrEp* 3.18-4.8; *2GrEp* 3.28-4.17, but also *Laudatio* 337.15-20; *Mpr* 50.1-6. **Andrew's imprisonment:** *Conversante* 374.14-15 and *LatEp* 16.1; *1GrEp* 16.8-9; *2GrEp* 16.18-19, but also *Epitome* 36; *Laudatio* 344.19-22; *Vita* 249A 6-7; *Mpr* 9 (51.15-20); *Narratio* 359.15-17; S (f. 127^r, 1/33-2/5) and H (f. 161^v, 26-33). **Reference to a night-time discourse:** *Conversante* 375.10-11 and *LatEp* 18.8-9; *1GrEp* 18.18-19; *2GrEp* 18.28-29, but also S (f. 130^r, 1/13-25) and H (f. 165^v, 3-10); *Narratio* 365.7-10; *Malt A* 58.3-7; *Malt B* 58.21-26. **Andrew tortured and crucified:** *Conversante* 375.26 and *LatEp* 22.1; *1GrEp* 22.8; *2GrEp* 22.17, but also S (f. 130^r, 1/34-37) and H (f. 165^v, 15-17); *Narratio* 365.17-18; *Malt A* 58.13-4; *Malt B* 58.29-30. **Andrew's audience:** *Conversante* 376.13: 'uigintia milia' and *LatEp* 26.5 'uiginti milia'; *1GrEp* 26.12; *2GrEp* 26.20-21 and 29.18: X|gai #|c|, but compare also *Malt A* 62.5: X|gai f|#i ^. See also *Arm* 21.2; 29.5 and S (f. 131^r, 1/15-18; f. 131^v, 2/25) and H (f. 166^v, 20-22; f. 167^v, 12). **Andrew's endurance and people's reaction:** *Conversante* 377.5 and *2GrEp* 28.8-29.12, but also S (f. 131^v, 1/35-2/18) and H (f. 167^r, 35-167^v, 9); *Narratio* 369.13-24. **Aegeates' fear:** *Conversante* 377.5-10 and *2GrEp* 29.15-23, but also S (f. 131^v, 2725-34) and H (f. 167^v, 12-18); *Narratio* 379.1-3; *Malt A* 62.6-8. **Andrew's rebuke to Aegeates (first part):** *Conversante* 377.10-16 and *2GrEp* 29.29-30.12, but also S (f. 132^r, 1/21-32) and H (f. 167^v, 32-168^r, 5); *Narratio* 370.19-371.11; *Malt A* 62.14-19. **Andrew's rebuke to Aegeates (second part):** *Conversante* 377.17-26 and *2GrEp* 31.19-32.9, but also S (f. 132^r, 1/32-2/22) and H (f. 168^r, 5-20); *Narratio* 371.12-26; *Malt A* 63.1-5; *Malt B* 63.16-19.

¹⁶² First of all, *Conversante* includes certain passages of **Andrew's speech to the brethren** in V: *Conversante* 374.18-20; 21; 374.23-375.1; 375.3 (V 44.7; 44.8-9; 44.17-18; 44.29). *Epistle* omits everything and offers instead a new discourse that does not include anything primitive. **The speech to the cross**, in spite of Flamion, presents much closer connections with the testimonies of *Laudatio*, *Mpr*, *Malt B* and *Arm* than with *Epistle*. See *Conversante* 376.5-7: 'qua propter laetus pergo a te, quia secretum tuum cognosco qua de causa fixa est', omitted by *Epistle*, and compare to *Laudatio* 346.16-17; *Mpr* 54.19-23; *Malt B* 60.24-27. Cf. *Arm* 16.3-6 (reworked). Another obvious example is *Conversante* 376.10-11: 'et illi litigantes manus et pedes eius secundum quod eis fuerat praeceptum'. *Epistle* (26.2-4) summarises badly: 'qui accedentes levaverunt eum in crucem et extendentes funibus totum corpus eius sicut eis iussum fuerat suspenderunt'. Cf. *Mpr* 55.20-21: c|fX|#|c| _UhYXgUbUi hci hci PdcXU^ _U]PUP1 Y]fU^.

Conversante, even though it occasionally reworks, usually abridges. Its omissions, therefore, do not necessarily imply parallel omissions in its source. In spite of their peculiarities and their opposite character, the former amplifying and the latter resuming, their typological relationship seems to be assured both by their common plan and length and by their following the same sequence of events. Excluding the section between Aegeates' verdict and Andrew's crucifixion, which do not fit in the plan of the Latin text, *Conversante* even though abridging (sometimes in just a couple of words) registers all events mentioned by *Arm*.

However, *Conversante* and *Malt B* do allow a closer textual comparison. Their agreements against *Malt A* and *C* show that they belong to a different subcategory of texts.

a) Conjunctive Issues for *Conversante* and *Malt B*

- Beginning: *Conversante* 374.21-23: '*Conversante et docente et praedicante verbum dei beato Andrea apostolo apud Achaïam, comprehensus est ab Aegeate proconsule in civitate Patras*'. *Malt B* 58.21-23: 8]XUg_cbhci^ hci 1 5bXFY#i hci 1 UHcghc#ci Yb'DU#fU]^ h^†`5l U]#^ i flcPci 5]LYU#ci hci Ubei dU#ci _`~g_YhU] Y]E Zi `U_\#
- Résumé of the last speech in V: *Conversante* 375.10-11: '*Cum haec et alia plurima exhortans turbam per totam noctem docens*'. *Malt B* 58.23: k #]#Y] XYP_U]PY#Ug_Yb X]UP dUg^\^ bi _hc#.
- Stratocles and the soldiers (cf. *Malt A* 59.1-22) is omitted by *Conversante* 375.28-29 and *Malt B* 59.30-32.
- Andrew's words to Stratocles (cf. *Malt A* 59.25-29) are omitted by *Conversante* 375.28-29 and *Malt B* 59.30-32.
- Andrew's words to the brethren (cf. *Malt A* 60.1-6) are omitted by *Conversante* 376.1 and *Malt B* 60.24.
- Andrew's speech to the cross (second part) in *Conversante* 376.6-7: '*... secretum tuum cognosco qua de causa fixa es*'. *Malt B* 60.26-27: [bkf]#k gci hcPai gh#]cb X]' c#U]P dY#[\U^.
- Andrew hangs two days on the cross: *Conversante* 376.16: '*nocte igitur die*'; 376.18: '*sequente vero die*'; 377.1: '*biduo enim suspensus*'; *Malt B* 61.21-22: k # XYPdk #b _U]P X]i hY#U #Y#Ub; 62.23: Xi g]B\#Y#U]^_fYaU#Ybc^ n` 1
- Words of the people: *Conversante* 377.2: '*et nos suis refecit eloquiis*'. *Malt B* 62.23-24: \#U†hk b` c#k b YLc#hUgYb h^†X]XUg_U`]#^Ui hci 1
- Andrew's prayer in *Conversante* 377.22-28: '*ne permittas famulum tuum domine Iesu Christe, qui propter nomen tuum pendit in ligno, solvi. ne permittas secretis tuis inhaerentem humanis tradi conversationibus. ne permittas domine eum qui iam tuam per crucem cognovit magnitudinem ab Aegeate indigno humiliari. sed suscipe me tu magister meus Christe, quem dilexi, quem cognovi, quem retineo quem videre desidero, in quo sum quod sum*'. *Malt B* 63.16-19: a\EXi †aYU#U]XY] IX]UVc#i hcB X]URgYP_fYaUgeY#hU" a_Y#] aYhUdY]bci #k cfU#h]#]_c#gci _i #]YZUL`URUi hcP dUfU#U` YhcRbYi aU#aci ` #gci Lf]g#hY c#Y]dc#gU, c#Y]#cbzc#U\LU#gU_U]R]#U. Compare to *2GrEp* 31.19-26;32.9.

b) Separative Issues for *Conversante* and *Malt B*

- Speech to the brethren in *Conversante* 374.17-375.9 is omitted by *Malt B* 58.23.
- Andrew tied up to the cross *Conversante* 376.10-12 is omitted and transformed in *Malt B* 61.18-19: _U]P#ec#hY^ c]fX#]c] dfcg\#k gUbUi hci Ybhi ghUi f1 hci Pdc#U^ U#k.

- Andrew's words to the people: *Conversante* 376.15-17 (passing reference). Omitted by *Malt* B 61.18.
- Number of people: omitted by *Conversante* 377.5-8 (cf. *Malt* A 62.5), see however, 376.13 *viginti milia*. Omitted by *Malt* B 62.26.
- Aegeates' fear: *Conversante* 377.5-8. Omitted by *Malt* B 62.26.
- Andrew's first rebuke to Aegeates: *Conversante* 377.10-12 is omitted in *Malt* B 62.29.

B. Family *e* (*Malt* A and C): Begin Reduction

All the texts grouped in this subfamily begin at exactly the same point, namely the preliminaries of Andrew's crucifixion. They all preserve a revised form of the last section of *AA*. Of the three witnesses, *Malt* A (O, P) and Andrew's martyrdom in C, the latter preserves the best and lengthiest version of their common source. A comparison of C with the martyrdom preserved by textual witnesses in other families allows the same conclusion. However, even though not as summary as other versions of the martyrdom, the importance of this document should not be exaggerated. In addition to many textual errors, C is far from reflecting *AA*'s martyrdom in its original form. A comparison with *Arm* shows to what extent C or its model summarises, transforms, or eliminates.

a) Conjunctive Issues

- Both texts begin exactly at the same point: Aegeates' verdict: C (f. 60^v, 1/6); *Malt* A 58.3.
- Stratocles' words to the soldiers: C (f. 61^r, 1/24-2/14); *Malt* A 59.1-13.
- Reworking of Andrew's discourse to Stratocles and brethren: C (f. 61^v, 2/11: with evidence of summarising (Y]Hk B XYPdfcP Ui hcB dc` `UP_U]PbcieYh\gU^ dUhhU^ hci P UKY Zci #); *Malt* A 59.25-29; 60.1-6. (Cf. *Arm* 11.1-15.7: long speech by Andrew.)
- Highly abbreviated version of the speech to the cross: C (f. 61^v, 2/17-23); *Malt* A 60.9-11. (Cf. *Arm* 15.8-19.8; *Mpr.* 54.19-55.19; *Laudatio* 346.16-347.10.)
- Number of people: C (f. 64^v, 2/7-8) X]gai #]c]; *Malt* A 62.25: X]gai f]#i ^ (sic).
- Reworking or elimination of Andrew's reprimand to the brethren: C (f. 65^r, 1/5-13; 1/13-24) clumsily summarises thus changing the meaning (cf. thus, similarly, S (f. 132^r, 1/4-19) and H (f. 167^v, 22-33). Omitted by *Malt* A 62.14.
- Reworking of Andrew's first rebuke to Aegeates: C (f. 65^r, 2/4-17; 2/17-21; 2/22-65^v, 2/8): clumsy résumé, many corruptions; *Malt* A 62.14-19: summarising. (Cf. *Arm* 32.1-36.6.)

b) Separative Issues

- Beginning of the martyrdom: C (f. 60^v, 1/6): c]l` ci hhc^ hci laU_Uf]k HUhci UHcghc#ci hc]t UKY Zc]t; *Malt* A 59.3-4: hci laU_Uf]k hU#ci UHcghc#ci `5 bXY#i X]U` Y[caY#ci hc]t UKY Zc]t.
- Speech to the cross: C (f. 61^v, 12/21-25: Yi A[Y c]XU _U]PUbUdUi c#Ybc# gY `c]dcB YL dc` `ci l_Y_a_cHU dYd\[aY#cb _U]PUbUVU]HcbhU aU] (sic); *Malt* A 60.10-11: Yi A[Y c]XU _U]PUbUdUi c#Ybc# gY Yi fik B dYd\[aY#cb _U]PUbUaY#cbhU# aY.
- C (f. 60^v, 1/22-23): _U]Pi aYk B hci HUbhc#aci c]#ci . Omitted by *Malt* A 58.9.
- Andrew's discourse to the people: C (f. 62^v, 1/14-64^r, 2/10); omitted by *Malt* A 61.7.
- Andrew's reprimand to the brethren: C (f. 65^r, 1/5-13; 1/13-24) omitted by *Malt* A 62.11.
- Text's conclusion in C (f. 66^v, 1/17-2/26). Omitted by *Malt* A 64.3.

C does not depend on *Malt A*. *Malt A* is not dependent on C: they have a common ancestor.

B.1. The Common Source of *P* and *O*

Both documents preserve the same text. However, there are enough textual divergences to confirm that they do not depend on each other. Rather, they depend on a common source.

a) Separative Issues (a selection)

- *Malt A* 58.6, *P*: gh\f]ncaYhk b; *O*: 'gh\f]ncbkhk b'
- *Malt A* 58.7, *P*: aYhUdYamU#Ybc^; *O*: aYhUdYamU#Ybcb"
- *Malt A* 58.7, omitted by *P*; *O*: Ui h 1
- *Malt A* 58.8, *P*: _` \gYk ^; *O*: _f]gYk ^.
- *Malt A* 58.10, *P*: [i bU]1U dU#U]; *O*: [i bU]1U h\B dU#U].
- *Malt A* 58.13-14, *P*: i ghYfcbXYPL_Y#Yi gYb UbUg_c` cd]ge\bU]; *O*: \#ci b ghUi fke\bU].
- *Malt A* 59.5, *P*: YLhf]mU#Ybc^; *O*: Ybhf]mU#Ybc^.
- *Malt A* 59.12, *P*: UH` ¥] dfcP'hcB''''; *O*: UH` ¥] gi BUi h 1dfcP'hcB''''
- *Malt A* 59.22, *P*: YÆ\; *O*: dfcgYHUVWb"
- *Malt A* 61.1, *P*: ghYf]g_c#YeU; *O*: ghYfci #YeU.
- *Malt A* 61.2, *P*: hY#bcbaci GhfUhcbl_Y; *O*: hY#bcbaci GhfUhc_` \1
- *Malt A* 61.16, *P*: Ubcg]k hUhU; *O*: Ubcg]U.
- *Malt A* 61.16, *P*: Xl_Ugh\#]U#gci; *O*: \fl]g]^ gci "
- *Malt A* 62.1, *P*: hY#gUfg]b\hY#U]^_fY#UhU]_U]h\b; omitted by *O*.

P and *O* are not mutually interdependent. Rather, they draw on a common source.

3.1.3. Conclusions from the Comparative Textual Analysis of the Versions of *AA*

3.1.3.1. Overview of the Transformative Transmission

The systematic textual comparison of V and the extant witnesses that preserve a version of the same section of the ancient Acts allows the conclusion that the latter go back to a common, revised source (see next section) which omitted important sections of the primitive text. Despite the lack of a textual touchstone such as V for the martyrdom, the comparative analysis of the textual witnesses for this section shows that the last part of *AA* also presents revisions. Even the fullest version of the martyrdom in the Greek transmission, Andrew's martyrdom in C, presents obvious traces of revision cuts. A preliminary comparison of C with the testimonies of S, H and *Arm* leads to the same conclusion. *Arm* offers a much fuller version of the martyrdom and presents numerous sections that are missing in the Greek transmission. Admittedly, this field of investigation is rather shaky because the lack of parallels means that the Armenian passages cannot be tested, and we have seen above that when the Armenian translation can be checked, *Arm* is far from giving a literal version of its source¹⁶⁵. As a result it cannot be ascertained whether these sections are primitive or simple

¹⁶⁵ As Calzolari, 'Rapporto', 149-55 and 'Version arménienne', 156-61 argues, the study of the Armenian sections without parallels in the Greek transmission must be based on a careful lexical and structural comparative

amplifications peculiar to *Arm*. For our present purposes, however, such a question is irrelevant. More important is the fact that on nine occasions these passages appear immediately before or after sections that present traces of cutting in the Greek transmission¹⁶⁶. The fact that all textual witnesses agree in presenting irregularities precisely in the same sections implies that something is happening with the source.

If our conclusion is correct and the source of the transformative transmission was already revised, it seems obvious that differences between the extant textual witnesses of the Greek and Latin transmission should be explained otherwise than is customary. A careful comparative study of all versions of *AA* allows the conclusion that textual transformations peculiar to the different texts correspond to their literary scope. In this sense, their peculiar reduction patterns are also the means to achieve their specific textual goals. Family $\cup\bar{z}$ or *Epitome*, skips Andrew's martyrdom and only preserves a brief mention of the end. This reduction pattern is strictly the result of Gregory's literary objective: he is only interested in Andrew's wondrous activities. Family \vee , in contrast, applies internal reduction: texts in this group are mainly interested in Andrew's apostolic career. Consequently, they focus both on the beginning and on the end of his activities. Textual diversification within this family once again presents the same reduction procedure: the source of S and H applies reduction at the beginning and presents a unity of action which begins and ends in the same geographical location. The source of *Narratio* also sticks to the reduction pattern peculiar to its family, internal reduction. In this sense, it preserves the beginning and end but reduces the central section to a greater extent than S and H. *LatEp*, finally, applies reduction at the beginning because it is only interested in those elements of Andrew's martyrdom that can be included in a new textual framework.

With regard to the transformative short version, it applies reduction at the beginning. It is plausible to think that the source of this group of texts included Andrew's last speech to the

study of both transmissions that may determine the plausibility of their primitive character. The forthcoming new edition of *Arm* will probably facilitate a proper comparison of the Greek and Armenian transmission.

¹⁶⁶ In order to facilitate the checking of these sections we will now quote Prieur's edition. The nine passages are the following: (1) Section *AAgr* 53.16-54.3 is a rather problematic one in all textual witnesses and Prieur's reconstruction mainly relies on S and H (see *app. ad loc.* and note the confusing reference in *app. ad* 54.1-3: O and P do not sustain the reading of S and H). Precisely in this section, *Arm* 11-15 includes a passage only attested by this document. (2) Section *AAgr* 54.7-10 is also problematic and presents cuts in S, H, O, P, Q, *Laudatio*, *Mpr*, *2GrEp*. *Arm* 16-19 presents a more developed section that is partly sustained by *Laudatio* 346.16-347.10 and *Mpr* 55.17-56.19. (3) Section *AAgr* 56.19-57.4 is completely omitted by all textual witnesses except occasionally S and H and occasionally C. *Arm* 23 here includes a more developed section. (4) Section *AAgr* 57.22-58.1 is very problematic and is only attested by C and very fragmentarily by *2GrEp*. After *AAgr* 58.1, *Arm* 26.6-13 also includes a section missing in the Greek transmission. (5) After *AAgr* 58.18, S and H pick up the narration. At this point *Arm* 27.16-17 includes additional text. (6-8) Chapter *AAgr* 61 is a very problematic one. Most textual witnesses (*Laudatio*, *2GrEp*, O, P, Q, *Mpr*) simply omit it, but C, S and H preserve it fragmentarily. Precisely in this section *Arm* includes up to three sections 30.6-10; 12-15 and 31.2-10 (Leloir wrongly, 5-11). (9) *AAgr* 62.28-30. Problematic section: C stops, S and H begin, *Laudatio* stops, O, P, Q omit it altogether. *Arm* 35.2-15 includes here a section unknown to the Greek transmission.

brethren in its entirety. As we will show below, the evidence provided by *Arm* and *Conversante*, on the one hand, and by *Narratio*, S and H, on the other, seems to allow such a conclusion. The fact that four documents present different recasts of this section seems to imply that the speech was complete in their source and that they each adapted it to their own literary scope¹⁶⁷. In any case, the texts within subfamily γ , namely the Armenian and Latin versions, as they begin exactly at the same point, seem to imply the existence of a Greek source with the same plan. A proper comparison of *Arm* and *Conversante*, however, is at present difficult, for they apply completely different working procedures when adapting their source. Finally, the affinity between *Conversante* and *Malt B (Q)* with regard to preserved and omitted sections in the martyrdom seems to imply that they rely on a common source.

With regard to subfamily e , the texts included here present the shortest section of *AA*. They all begin at exactly the same point, namely with Aegeates' order to crucify the apostle. As already stated, *C* presents the fullest version of the martyrdom. *Malt A (O and P)*, in contrast, present a highly summarising version that systematically eliminates all discursive sections.

3.1.3.2. The Source of the Transformative Transmission

As has already been pointed out, the lack of any other reliable source to check the textual transformations of the transformative branch implies that the study of its common source must be confined to the section preserved by *V*. Textual comparison has shown that all extant witnesses present a reworked version thereof. On the other hand, a proper textual comparison of the reworked textual witnesses with one another is difficult since all six documents present divergent textual characteristics. *Narratio*, S and H preserve a lengthier version of *V* as they present a selective account of the whole section. *Laudatio* and *Vita*, in their turn, present a very reworked version of *V* that only preserves some highlights and introduces important amplifications to achieve their particular recasting. *Arm* and *Conversante*, finally, merely present a complete and a selective version of Andrew's last speech to the brethren, respectively. In spite of these differences, it is plausible to assume that the common, revised ancestor of these six texts looked as follows:

- V^b 38.21-40.10. The revised version of *V* surely began at V^b 38.21. Andrew's first speech to the brethren is completely missing from all the transformative textual witnesses. Four of these texts (*Narratio*, S, H, *Laudatio* and *Vita*) include a version of the section V^b 38.21-40.10. Whereas the source common to *Narratio*, S and H preserved a lengthier version that included the preliminaries of Aegeates' speech to his wife, the speech itself, and the first part of Andrew's speech to Maximilla, the source common to *Laudatio* and *Vita* preserved a highly reduced account. Both documents, nevertheless, include a résumé of

¹⁶⁷ See *infra* this Chapter, p. 118f.

Aegeates' words to his wife and a summary remake of the first part of Andrew's speech to Maximilla.

- V^b 41.9-41.35. All four witnesses preserve a version of this section that includes the last part of Andrew's speech to Maximilla. While S and H include the section V^b 41.9-41.35 completely, *Narratio*'s writer perceived the banality of its first part and simply left it aside in order to begin in V^b 41.14. Both texts, however, preserve Andrew's advice to Maximilla to resist Aegeates' threats and not to pay attention to the sufferings of his visible body. *Laudatio* and *Vita* confine themselves to reporting the two central issues of Andrew's advice in a very summary way.
- V^b 42.8-9. All four textual witnesses omit Andrew's speech to Stratocles. However, their common source probably included a reference to Aegeates' brother, as may be inferred from *Narratio*, S and H.
- V^b 42.32-44.3. The best testimonies are, once again, *Narratio*, S and H. They present the fullest version of this section, although they both also transform Stratocles' answer to Andrew. *Laudatio* and *Vita* omit the entire answer, but by mentioning Stratocles they show that they draw on the same common source¹⁶⁸. The narrative section relating Maximilla's final decision to abandon every aspect of materiality is preserved by all four documents. While *Narratio*, S and H preserve a rather reliable version, *Laudatio* and *Vita* recast the section and present it in a dialogue form. The contents, however, are exactly the same as in the other two versions.
- V^b 44.4-45.33. A comparative analysis of the four versions of this section (*Narratio*, S, H, *Conversante* and *Arm*) allows the assumption that the common source of the transformative branch included a complete version of Andrew's last speech to the brethren. The lack of agreement between the extant witnesses with regard to preserved and omitted sections seems to allow the conclusion that their common source preserved the whole speech and that textual divergences are due to individual textual selection and working procedures. *Narratio* includes the best version of the Greek transmission, as it preserves the sections V^b 44.4-9; 14-16; 17-28 and 29-35. S and H, in turn, follow their characteristic working procedure and preserve the beginning (V^b 44.4-8) and end (V^b 45.15-33) of the speech. *Conversante* preserves the sections V^b 44.4-8; 8-16; 17-28 and 29-37. Even though this document is highly transformed, it generally preserves enough primitive elements to prove that it is working from a lengthier source. *Arm*, finally, presents the longest version of Andrew's last speech to the brethren. However, as already seen, it amplifies the text considerably and frequently transforms conceptual issues.

¹⁶⁸ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.1.1, D.1 and E.1, p. 91.

After reviewing the sections included by the common source of the transformative branch, we should now summarise those sections that were omitted by the same source. These are the following:

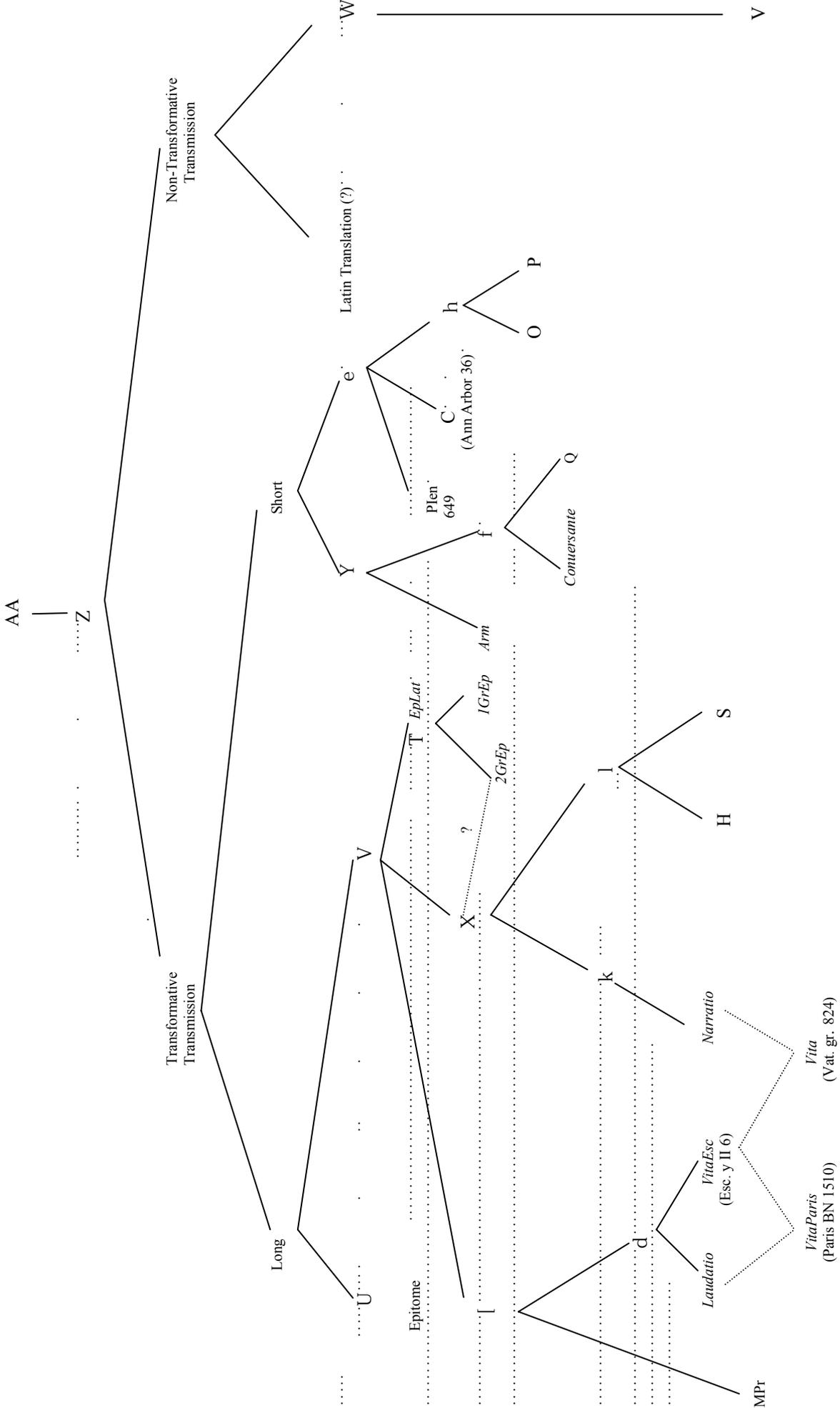
- V^b 38.2-20, including Andrew's first speech to the brethren.
- V^b 40.10-41.8 including the central section of Andrew's speech to Maximilla.
- V^b 41.36-42.31 including the last section of Andrew's speech to Maximilla and Andrew's speech to Stratocles.

These sections include the most important conceptual developments of *AA*'s fragment in V. If to these three lengthy omissions we add the fact that the four textual witnesses that preserve the speech in V^b 44.4-45.33 each present a different version, it becomes clear that the transformative textual transmission has completely eliminated or transformed *AA*'s primitive message.

The obvious conclusion from this survey is that the transformative branch of *AA*'s textual transmission, which includes all the extant witnesses except V, has severely transformed the primitive text by altering or eliminating its original message. In spite of our lack of a textual touchstone to prove the reliability of other sections, such as the events at Patras and Andrew's martyrdom, it is not only plausible but also highly probable that in these sections, too, the texts have severely transformed their source. At present, *AA*'s fragment in V is our only reliable textual witness to reconstruct *AA*'s original thought and message.

3.1.4. Hypothetical Stemma of the Transformative and Non-Transformative Transmission

On the basis of the typological and textual comparative analysis, it is possible to establish a hypothetical stemma that includes all testimonies presenting the events after Andrew's arrival in Patras. As already mentioned, the characteristics of *AA*'s transmission exclude the possibility of a *strenge Stemmantik*. The analysis of its historical development is only possible after the individual character of the documents and the consequent adaptation of Andrew's traditions to their peculiar scopes has been recognised. This means to say that their divergences are not, as is generally believed, due to censure or revision, but rather to the effects of the adaptation of *AA* to changing purposes through history.



Notes to the stemma: *AA*'s circulation in its original form can be relatively ascertained during the fourth century. *Z* represents the non-revised archetype from which a revised version would be derived. 'Transformative transmission' is the name given to this hypothetically revised version. The split into two branches, long and short, describes the two groups of texts passed down by *AA*'s transmission. Within the former, families *U* and *V* distinguish two clear reduction patterns, namely end reduction and internal reduction, respectively. Subfamily *U*, thanks to its peculiar internal reduction pattern, presents parallels both with family *U* (or *Epitome*) and with subfamily *X*. At the same time, subfamily *X* with a different reduction pattern, presents interesting issues. *Narratio*, being longer than S/H, presents contacts with *Laudatio* and with S/H. The special characteristics of S/H show that, even though including a rather lengthy version of the martyrdom, they do not represent a martyrdom text in the strict sense of the word. The 'short version', in turn, was detached from the transformative version at a certain point between the beginning of the fifth and the middle of the sixth century. Two groups of texts may be distinguished. Family *Y* represents the longest group. *Arm* and *Conversante* are its extant representatives. *Malt B (Q)*, in spite of being a short version of the martyrdom, also belongs to this group. Siglum *f* represents the hyparchetypon common to *Conversante* and *Q*. Family *e* applies reduction at the beginning. *C* presents a rather complete version of its source. *Plen 649*, as it also presents a short version of the martyrdom, may also be included in this group. Finally, *h* is the common source of *O* and *P*.

4. Towards an Explanation of *AA*'s Textual Diversification

Once we have sorted the documents on the basis of their textual characteristics and have provided this classification with a consistent foundation by analysing their textual divergences and convergences, it is time to place our results into a context and to attempt a historical explanation of *AA*'s textual diversification. On the one hand, the stylistic traits of the vast majority of the textual witnesses reveal clear traces of rewriting. On the other, the comparative textual analysis of these testimonies confirms this conclusion insofar as they always present an abridged version of *V*. The question now arises whether the almost complete disappearance of the primitive text and the emergence of textual transformations are exclusively due to internal reasons, namely to the character and tenor of the primitive text, or whether we have also to consider other external reasons, such as *AA*'s alleged circulation among Manicheans or the rise of new literary genres to suit the new needs of emerging orthodox Christianity.

4.1. Circulation of the Primitive *AA* until the End of the Fourth Century

There has been much speculation about the tenor of the primitive *AA*. A good deal of this speculation is allegedly supported by *AA*'s indirect transmission, that is, by the references to or comments about *AA*. As we will see now, however, these references are both too scanty and too superficial to allow an assessment of the orientation of *AA*'s thought that may explain its early stigmatisation.

The indirect transmission from the fourth century onwards documents *AA*'s circulation in a wide geographical area and in a variety of ideological groups, including Encratites, Apotactics, Origenists, Manicheans, and ascetic movements in the Occident. Even though our very first reference in Eusebius is not at all informative on the issue and simply defines *AA* as

‘spurious’ (bc#c^)^169, Epiphanius’ *Panarion* localises *AA* in three of these heretic environments, the Encratites, Apotactics and Origenists¹⁷⁰. The alleged circulation among these groups has given rise to the suggestion that *AA* appealed to them because of its ascetic or encratite character, but the inclusion of Origenists seems to invalidate this hypothesis¹⁷¹.

As far as the three references to *AA* in a Coptic Manichean Psalter are concerned¹⁷², they allegedly prove that Manicheans read *AA* at the end of the third century¹⁷³, but the confusing character of these references¹⁷⁴ seems to suggest indirect rather than direct acquaintance with *AA*¹⁷⁵. As for the *Pseudo-Titus-Epistle*, it has been used to support the

¹⁶⁹ Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.25.6. Other earlier references in Origen (*ap.* Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.1.1-3), in Ephraem, and Michael of Syria are too vague to be taken into account. For the alleged reference by Origen, see A. Harnack, *Der kirchengeschichtliche Ertrag der exegetischen Arbeiten des Origenes I* (Leipzig, 1918) 14-16; É. Junod, ‘Origène, Eusèbe et la tradition sur la repartition des champs de mission des Apôtres’, in Bovon, *Les Actes Apocryphes*, 233-48. On all three cases, see Prieur, *Acta*, 95-97.

¹⁷⁰ Epiphanius, *Adv. haer.* 47.1.5 for Encratites; 61.1.5 for Apotactics; and 63.2.1 for Origenists. Prieur (*Acta*, 99f) mentions a fourth group (Ebionites), but this passage (*Adv. haer.* 30.16), generally referring to ‘acts of apostles’, does not necessarily include *AA* (*Adv. haer.* 30.16.6, DfUWJ^ XPR# U^ _U` ci g]bUEcghc#k bž_h`"). See Peterson, ‘Beobachtungen’, 212. See also J.D. Kaestli, ‘L’ utilisation des actes apocryphes des apôtres dans le manichéisme’, in M. Krause (ed) *Gnosis and Gnosticism. Papers of the seventh International Conference on Patristic Studies* (Leiden, 1977) 107-16 at 115.

¹⁷¹ Prieur, *Acta*, 99, describes these groups as encratite, but Epiphanius’ detailed description of their beliefs and practices allows one to dismiss the alleged ascetic trend as their common trait. Although Encratites and Apotactics may indeed have been ascetics, Origenists were not. Epiphanius’ account (*Adv. haer.* 63.1.3-4) of their sexual behaviour shows that they were rather the opposite. Lipsius more plausibly (*Apostelgeschichten I*, 543) points to dualism as a common characteristic.

¹⁷² Allberry, *Psalm-Book II*, 142.20ff; 143.13ff, and 192.26ff. The editor dates the Coptic text to 340, although this is a translation of a Greek version relying on a Syriac original. Furthermore, Allberry, ‘Manichean Studies’, *JThS* 39 (1938) 347-49. Kaestli, ‘L’ utilisation’, 114f, believes that the attribution of some of the Psalms to direct disciples of Mani, such as Thomas and Heraclides, implies that the composition of the Psalter can be dated to the end of the third century, namely to the start of the Manichean Church.

¹⁷³ Nagel, ‘Die apokryphen Apostelakten’, 159-65; K. Schäferdiek, ‘The Manichean Collection of Apocryphal Acts Ascribed to Leucius Charinus’, *NTAE II*, 87-100 at 88-89; Prieur, *Acta*, 100-02.

¹⁷⁴ These references are rather vague and present much confusion. The first passage (Allberry, *Psalm-book II*, 142.20-21) has two dubious references, namely a crucifixion of Andrew’s disciples not attested in any of the texts related to the apostle, and an arson attack on Andrew’s lodgings. The relationship of the latter episode with *Epitome* 12.16-20 is extremely dubious. The second passage (*ibid.*, 143.13-14) also mentions an unknown Aristobula together with Maximilla. See on the issue *supra* Chapter 1, p. 8 note 63. In the third case (*ibid.*, 192.26-28), the Manichean Psalm wrongly says that Iphidama was put in prison. Hornschuh (‘Andreasakten’, 271-2 and note 12) rightly surmises indirect acquaintance with rather than direct use of *AA* by the Manichean writer, or even perhaps only knowledge of some of *AA*’s relevant characters whose personal traits or ethical behaviour appealed to Manichean beliefs. Prieur (*Acta*, 100-102), drawing on Kaestli (‘L’ utilisation’), considers the Psalter’s incongruities ‘minor differences’. By stating direct acquaintance with *AA*, Prieur takes a middle position between Hornschuh and those who surmise a Manichean *Corpus* including the five major apocryphal Acts. See, for the latter position, Schmidt, *Petrusakten*; Bousset, ‘Manichäisches in den Thomasakten’, *ZNW* 18 (1917-18) 38; Nagel, ‘Die apokryphen Apostelakten’, 152-53. *Contra* Kaestli, ‘L’ utilisation’, 108. Cf., however, Schäferdiek, ‘Manichean Collection’, 88-89.

¹⁷⁵ According to Kaestli, ‘L’ utilisation’, 115-16, Mani might owe his knowledge of the apocryphal Acts of the apostles to the fact that they were used in the Judaeo-Christian and Gnosticising milieus where he passed his youth. See G.P. Luttikhuisen, *The Revelation of Elchasaï. Investigations into the Evidence for a Mesopotamian Jewish Apocalypse of the Second Century and its Reception by Judeo-Christian Propagandists* (Tübingen, 1985) 163-64, 220-22.

hypothesis that *AA* was read among Priscillianists and ascetic groups in Spain¹⁷⁶. More recent studies on this epistle, however, not only prefer an earlier dating to the fourth century, but also dismiss its alleged Spanish origin¹⁷⁷.

Consequently, not very much can be concluded from these references. Epiphanius simply names our text without giving any further details; the Manichean Psalter's knowledge of *AA* is rather dubious and the *Pseudo-Titus-Epistle* allows quite different conclusions than are customarily drawn.

But even in the case that *AA*'s circulation in these contexts could be established, this by no means implies the assumption of a distinctive trait, common to our text and to all these milieus (dualism or encratism, according to Lipsius and Prieur, respectively), in order to explain their interest in *AA*. Such an assumption might be misleading, because the interpretation of *AA* peculiar to a given group does not necessarily exhaust other possible interpretations of the text. At the same time, we might easily jump to the wrong conclusions by construing a particular aspect of our text as its general trait. The fact that certain aspects of *AA*, for example dualism or encratism, allegedly appealed to certain groups obviously does not imply that they occupied a central position in the primitive text's thought.

If all these references indeed always refer to the same text¹⁷⁸, all we can conclude from them is that *AA* in fact appealed to a variety of ideological environments. Consequently, there is no reason to assume that the almost complete elimination of the primitive text was due to the fact that it presented marked sectarian thought to orthodox eyes. This seems to be a plausible conclusion not only from the range of environments in which it allegedly circulated, but also from the contradictory opinions of ecclesiastical authorities when assessing the text's heretic character (below).

¹⁷⁶ De Bruyne, 'Nouveaux fragments', 157. See, for the Latin text, *supra* Chapter 1, p. 7 note 60. On the *Pseudo-Titus-Epistle*, see A. de Santos Otero, 'Der Pseudo-Titus-Brief', in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *NTA* II, 90-109. More recently, Sfameni Gasparro, 'L'Epistula', 4551-664.

¹⁷⁷ De Santos Otero ('Pseudo-Titus-Brief', 90-91), followed by Prieur (*Acta*, 20-1), associates the epistle with Spanish ascetic groups close to Priscillianism of the middle of fifth century. His hypothesis is based on (1) the existence in Spain from early times of extreme ascetic movements; and on (2) the testimony of 'offiziellen Dokumente der spanischen Hierarchie', which when reproving its ideological orientation associate it with Priscillianism. De Santos Otero, however, admits a second possibility: the epistle might have also been written by an 'enthusiastic catholic'. According to Sfameni Gasparro ('L'Epistula', 4652) both possibilities can be rejected. On the one hand, there is no objective evidence in the epistle that might induce one to associate it with Priscillianism, and on the other, the very tone and character of the text excludes the 'catholic' possibility. Based on (1) the analogy between the epistle and other works datable to the fourth century; on (2) the absence of references to the monastic institution; and on (3) the free use of apocryphal literature, she ('L'Epistula', 4654-5) prefers an earlier dating to the fourth century. In addition, given the existence of ascetic movements not only in Spain but also in Gaul and Africa, once one has dismissed the 'Priscillianist theory', Spanish provenance is not a necessary hypothesis. One should also consider the 'alternativa (...) africana'.

¹⁷⁸ Which they clearly do not, see *supra* this Chapter, note 168, for the alleged reference to *AA* by Origen *ap.* Eusebius.

4.2. *AA*'s Alleged Use by Manicheans as the Origin of its Stigmatisation

In contrast to the range of environments in which *AA* is said to circulate during the third and the fourth centuries, from the beginnings of the fifth century our sources only report its circulation among Manicheans. At first sight, the consistency of these reports raises serious doubts, since they do not always suggest direct knowledge of the text and since the only testimony from the Manichean side is that of Faustus of Milevis, which, moreover, is mediated by Augustine¹⁷⁹. Besides, at this time the Manicheans had become the heretics ~~Uhrf~~. As the orthodoxy-heresy polarity becomes Christianity-Manicheism, non-canonical writings were considered to be composed, interpolated or used by Manicheans¹⁸⁰.

The possibility that the apocryphal Acts were composed by Manicheans or that they circulated among them before the end of the fourth century seems to be ruled out by the fact that neither Eusebius nor Epiphanius report anything of the kind. There are, however, scholars who surmise a Manichean corpus, with or without canonical validity¹⁸¹, including the five major Acts¹⁸². Against the possibility of seeing a Manichean canon in this alleged collection, Kaestli already argued that only Mani's writings seem to have had such status¹⁸³. Besides, in our opinion, the testimony of Augustine, a Manichean himself before 383, also seems to invalidate such a hypothesis¹⁸⁴. Augustine refers a couple of times to the apocryphal Acts, and if they had been included in a defined corpus we would expect him to have given some indication of the fact. On the contrary, he does not seem to know anything of the kind. His first reference in *Against the Manichean Faustus*, written in 397/8, mentions 'apocryphal writings' in general, among which he only explicitly refers to Thomas, and he does not seem to know anything about a writer¹⁸⁵. On the other hand, a couple of years later, in his *Against*

¹⁷⁹ Augustine, *C. Faust. Manich.* 30.4 (CSEL 25, pp. 751-2).

¹⁸⁰ See Deeleman, 'Acta Andreae', 552.

¹⁸¹ For this issue see Schäferdiek, 'Manichean Collection', 90 and note 45, who is reacting to Kaestli, 'L'utilisation', 108-12 and Junod-Kaestli, *Histoire*, 140, and claims a wider definition of the term 'corpus'.

¹⁸² See *supra* this Chapter, note 173.

¹⁸³ Kaestli, 'L'utilisation' 111-12. See, however, *supra* this Chapter, note 180.

¹⁸⁴ Even though not fully initiated into Manicheism, Augustine was a Manichean for 9 or 10 years (see K.L. Edwin Lee, *Augustine, Manicheism, and the Good* (New York, 1999) 5 and 95 notes 4 and 5) and seems to have been well acquainted with Mani's writings (Augustine, *Nat. bon.* 44) and with other Manichean writings (*Confes.* 3.4.10; *C. Faust. Manich.* 13.6. See J. van Oort, 'Augustin und der Manichäismus', *ZRGG* 46 (1994) 126-42.

¹⁸⁵ Augustine, *C. Faust. Manich.* 22.79 (CSEL 25, p. 681): *legunt scripturas apocryphas Manichei, a nescio quibus sutoribus fabularum sub apostolorum nomine scriptas: quae suorum scriptorum temporibus in auctoritatem sanctae ecclesiae recipi mererentur, si sancti et docti homines, qui tunc in hac vita erant et examinare talia poterant, eos vera locutos esse cognoscerent.* (My highlighting). In *C. Adimantum*, Augustine says that Manicheans consider the apocryphal writings 'most incorrupt' (17.2, *scripturas apocryphas incorruptissimas*) and explicitly mentions the *Acts of Thomas* (17.2) and the *Acts of Peter* (17.5), but he never refers to a collection of texts. In around 420, he again explicitly mentions only the *Acts of Andrew* and the *Acts of John*, Augustine, *C. adv. leg.* 1.20, 39 (CCSL 49, p. 70), *Sane de apocryphis iste posuit testimonia, quae sub nominibus apostolorum Andreae Ioannisque conscripta sunt.*

the Manichean Felix (404), he does mention a writer, namely Leutius (sic), but he remains vague with regard to the text(s) he is referring to¹⁸⁶.

The very same testimony of Augustine also seems to rule out the hypothesis suggested by Schäferdiek that this collection, even without a canonical character, was put together by Manicheans at the end of the third century¹⁸⁷. It seems more reasonable to suggest that these texts were collected, if at all, no earlier than the end of the fourth century. As a matter of fact, if we exclude the problematic references in the Manichean Psalter, none of our references allow us to go back beyond this date. A more plausible hypothesis is, consequently, to assume with Bremmer that a Latin translation of the five major Acts was completed by a Manichean in North Africa at the end of the fourth century, more precisely between 359 and 385¹⁸⁸. This might indeed explain the curious proliferation from the early fifth century, especially in the West, of references that bring the apocryphal Acts into close connection with Manicheism.

Be that as it may, the fact is that from the end of the fourth century onwards *AA* was systematically related to Manicheans and all our references appear in the context of Manichean polemics¹⁸⁹. Even though most of these references do not seem to suggest direct knowledge of *AA*, its alleged Manichean provenance was enough to determine its condemnation by the ecclesiastical authorities¹⁹⁰. Admittedly, the testimonies of Philaster of Brescia and Turribius of Astorga (below) bear witness to a more flexible attitude that would

¹⁸⁶ For Augustine's alleged reference to *AA* in *C. Felic. Manich.* 2.6, see *supra* Chapter 1, p. 8 note 65. This passage presents some problems, however. Firstly, Augustine does not mention *AA* but refers in general to the 'Acts of Leucius'. Secondly, it appears in a section where Augustine is interested in defending the idea of *liberum arbitrium*, and consequently it might appear rather transformed to suit his argument. Thirdly, he seems to be quoting from memory (Prieur, *Acta*, 108) and this implies the possible introduction of personal interpretations of the text. Even if not literal, his reference might present *mutatis mutandis* a parallel for a preserved passage of *AA*.

¹⁸⁷ As defended by Schäferdiek, 'Manichean Collection', 91-92.

¹⁸⁸ Bremmer, 'Apocryphal Acts: Authors, Place, Time and Readership', in Bremmer, *Acts of Thomas*, 149-70 at 154-56. The chronological precision is achieved by means of combining an institutional detail, the mention of the *curiosi* or *agentes in rebus*, a kind of imperial secret police that reported directly to the emperor only from 359 onwards, and the date of the execution of Priscillian in 385, who shows knowledge of the *AAA* in the so-called Würzburg tractates (for which, H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (Oxford, 1976) 77f.

¹⁸⁹ Augustine, *De actis cum Felic. Manich.* 2.6; Evodius of Uzala, *De fide contra Manich.* 5; 38; Philaster of Brescia, *Div. her. lib.* 5-7 (CCSL 9, 255-6); Turribius of Astorga, *Ep. ad Id. Cep. episc.* 5 (PL 54.694C); Innocent I, *Ep.* 6.7 (PL 20.502); Leo I, *Ep.* 15.15 (PL 54.688A); Timothy of Constantinople (PG 86.1.21C) ascribes *AA* to Manicheans together with other texts.

¹⁹⁰ From all the references previously quoted (*supra* this Chapter, note 188) only Evodius seems to have direct knowledge of *AA*. Even though in *De fide contra Manicheos* 5 Evodius repeats Augustine's controversy against Manicheism and adduces the same passage (*supra* Chapter 1, note 65) without adding anything new, later on in the same work he paraphrases two sections of *AA*. In the first one (Evodius I) he mentions Euclia's episode (see *supra* Chapter 1, note 58) and the second one (Evodius II, *supra* Chapter 1, note 59) refers to a *puerulus quidam speciosus, quem uult Leucius uel deum uel certe angelum intellegi* that imitates the 'pains of women' to delude Aegeates.

facilitate *AA*'s later remakes, but the hard line represented by Innocent I¹⁹¹ and Leo I¹⁹² condemned our text to the flames¹⁹³.

4.3. The Functional Transformation of Texts and the Rise of New Literary Genres

However, if *AA*'s alleged Manichean provenance is the plausible origin of its systematic elimination, how is it possible that we possess so many versions based on the primitive text? There is evidence to suggest that *AA*'s textual diversification is due to the appearance and development of new literary genres, which were designed to meet the increasing demand for religious texts for the celebration of special festivities, services and anniversaries.

The martyrdom genre reveals the growing need for texts for the veneration of saints and for the calendar observances of their deaths. This practice, as has been pointed out, seems to have started at an early date, as appears from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the sending of the *Letter of the Churches of Lyon and Vienna* and from the *Martyrdom of Pionius*¹⁹⁴. However, it is not until the Council of Carthage (397) that it seems to have become official, for in spite of the general condemnation of apocryphal literature the council allows the reading of the passions of the martyrs *cum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur*¹⁹⁵. The numerous martyrdom texts among *AA*'s textual witnesses testify to the importance of this practice.

At the same time, the testimonies of the indirect transmission of *AA* show the appearance and development of another literary genre that focuses on the miraculous activities of the saints. The testimony of Philaster of Brescia, who might have had direct acquaintance with *AA*¹⁹⁶, is already evidence of this incipient development because it stresses an internal

¹⁹¹ Innocent I, *Ep.* 6.7 (PL 20.502), *Caetera autem, quae vel sub nomine Matthiae sive Jacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Joannis, quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt [vel sub nomine Andreae, quae a Nexocharide et Leonida philosophis], vel sub nomine Thomae, et si qua sunt alia, non solum repudianda, verum etiam noveris esse damnanda.*

¹⁹² Cf. Leo I, *Ep.* 15.15 (PL 54.688A), *apocryphae autem scripturae, quae sub nominibus apostolorum multarum habent seminarium falsitatum, non solum interdicendae, sed etiam penitus auferendae sunt, atque ignibus concremandae.*

¹⁹³ Priour's conclusion on the basis of these references (*Acta*, 111-16) that *AA* was used by Priscillianists is unconvincing. Firstly, because the reference to *AA* in the letter of Innocent I is probably an interpolation (cf. Flamion's admission [*L'Apôtre*, 263 note 1] that this reference does not appear in *all manuscripts* but only in the *Collectio Dionysiana* and in the *Collectio Hispana*). Secondly, nothing confirms that Leo I (PL 54.688A) includes *AA* when generally referring to *apocryphae scripturae ... quae sub nominibus apostolorum*. Thirdly, the relationship between *Pseudo-Titus-Epistle* and Priscillianism has been refuted by Sfameni Gasparro ('*L'Epistula*', see *supra* this Chapter, note 176). Finally, the *Decretum Pseudo-Gelasii* simply mentions *AA* without relating it to any heretic group.

¹⁹⁴ Bremmer, 'Perpetua', 80. See *MartPolyc.* 18.3; *Ep. Eccl. Lugd. Vien.* 1; *MartPionii* 2.

¹⁹⁵ *Reg. Eccl. Carth. Exc. Canon* 46 (CCSL 149, p. 186. 135-6 Munier). See also Preuschen *ap.* Flamion, *L'Apôtre*, 41 note 3.

¹⁹⁶ Philaster almost certainly read *AA*. His testimony is interesting, firstly, because it is informative concerning Andrew's itinerary: Pontus and Greece are referred to as the beginning and end of his journey. On the different interpretations of the word 'Pontus', see MacDonald, *Cannibals*, 21-22. On Pontus and Bithynia as possible

dichotomy in our text: the ethical message is valuable and should be read *a perfectis*, but the miracles have been interpolated by heretics¹⁹⁷. This development is confirmed some years later by Turribius of Astorga (c. 450), our first explicit reference to this dichotomy, for he not only distinguishes between doctrine and miracles, but also attributes the former to heretic interpolations and only retains the latter as the true testimony of the apostles¹⁹⁸. A similar distinction can also be seen in the so-called *Passio Ioannis* attributed to Melito, Bishop of Laodicea¹⁹⁹, who stresses that while the miracles included in these texts are true, the doctrine is false. These references not only show a general mistrust of rational argumentation, but also the increasing appeal of miraculous narratives. The dichotomy words-deeds, consequently, provides the basis for the creation of a new genre that is exclusively interested in the apostle's miraculous activities. This practice is explicitly documented by John of Salonica at the beginning of the seventh century²⁰⁰ and by the writer of the *Miracula beati Thomae apostoli*²⁰¹, but appeared already at an earlier date, as *AAM*, PCU 1 and the *Epitome* by Gregory of Tours clearly attest.

As time went by, a new textual genre would appear alongside martyrdom texts and miraculous literature. A new interest in the life and deeds of the apostle generated the production of comprehensive accounts of Andrew's activities, which either recombined the

places of the composition of *AA*, see Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 15-16. Secondly, Philaster's mention is also interesting for it documents the existence of a Latin translation of *AA* at a rather early period.

¹⁹⁷ Philaster of Brescia, *Div. her. lib.* 5-7 (CCSL 9, 255-56): *Scripturae autem absconditae, id est apocrypha, etsi legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent, quia non intellegentes multa addiderunt et tulerunt quae uoluerunt heretici. Nam Manichei apocrypha beati Andreae apostoli, id est Actus quos fecit ueniens de Ponto in Greciam quos conscripserunt tunc discipuli sequentes beatum apostolum <....>, unde et habent Manichei et alii tales Andreae beati et Iohannis Actus euangelistae beati, et Petri similiter beatissimi apostoli, et Pauli pariter beati apostoli: in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut pecudes et canes et bestiae loquerentur, etiam et animas hominum tales uelut canum et pecudum similes imputauerunt esse heretici perditii.* For the grammatical difficulty of this sentence and the lacuna (after *apostolum*) restored with 'adhibent' or 'legunt' see Nagel, 'Die apokryphen Apostelakten', 159-60 and notes 62-66. See in general Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichte* I, 544f. With regard to Philaster's mentioning 'talking cattle, dogs, and animals', as far as Andrew is concerned, there is an interesting example of a talking dog in one of the Coptic fragments published by O. von Lemm ('Koptische Miscellene LXVIII-LXXII', *BAISSiP* 6e série, 4 (1910) 61-69 at 63/67) and preserved by Codex Copt. Paris. 129, f. 87 Recto b 9-23, which apparently belongs to the *Acts of Andrew and Philemon*. For other examples in the *Acts of Peter, Paul and Thomas*, see Schäferdiek 'Manichean Collection', 90-91, although his inference that this description allows us, in spite of Philaster's omission, to include the *Acts of Thomas* in the collection he is commenting on, seems to go too far.

¹⁹⁸ Turribius of Astorga, *Epist. ad Idac. et Cep. episc* 5 (PL 54.694C), *specialiter autem Actus illos qui uocantur S. Andreae; vel illos qui appellantur S. Joannis, quos sacrilego Leucius ore conscripsit; vel illos qui dicuntur S. Thomae, et his similia: ex quibus Manichei et Priscillianistae, vel quaecumque illis est secta germana, omnem haeresim suam confirmare nituntur.*

¹⁹⁹ Pseudo-Melito (PG 5.1239), *Volo sollicitam esse fraternitatem uestram de Leutio quodam, qui scripsit apostolorum Actus Joannis euangelistae et apostoli sancti Andreae et Thomae apostoli; qui de uirtutibus quidem quas per eos Dominus fecit uera dixit, de doctrina uero eorum plurimum mentitus est.* On the so-called *Passio Ioannis*, see K. Schäferdiek, 'Die *Passio Iohannis* des Melito von Laodicea und die *Virtutes Iohannis*', *A B* 103 (1985) 367-82.

²⁰⁰ Cf. John of Salonica, *Dorm. Mariae*, prologue. (PO 19.377, 5-14).

²⁰¹ Bonnet, *Acta Thomae* (Leipzig, 1883) 96-97; Chadwick, *Priscillian*, 209 note 2.

dissected sections or relied on material that had escaped revision. This new biographical interest is paired with a change in the ideal of the apostolic figure. The apostle is from now on mainly characterised as a traveller and his mission is presented as an itinerary around the ancient world²⁰². The appearance at the beginning of the seventh century of a new term to denominate the apocryphal Acts, *ἡμετέρας* or 'journeyings', testifies to the development of this new genre, the success of which is visible in *AA*'s textual witnesses: three of them, *Narratio*, *Laudatio* and the different versions of *Vita*, present these textual characteristics.

Even though these reworked versions of *AA* are partly responsible for the transformation of the primitive text, it is only thanks to them that we have a general idea about what the ancient Acts may have looked like. Given the stigmatisation of *AA* due to its alleged relationship with Manicheism, our text would never have survived the transliteration process which took place between the ninth and tenth centuries, if not accidentally. This use of the text, however, to suit the new needs of Christianity means the materialisation of a split in *AA*'s transmission. The selection of certain parts of the text and their adaptations to different scopes created an almost insurmountable gap between the resulting product and its source. At the end of this interpretative process even the reconstruction of *AA*'s outline would become a matter of hypothesis.

5. Conclusions on the Study of *AA*'s Textual Transmission

The comparative analysis of the stylistic features of the abundant texts related to *AA* as well as the text critical study of their convergences and divergences allows the following conclusions.

5.1. The Split in *AA*'s Textual Transmission

On the basis of the extant testimonies that preserve a version of the portion of text preserved by V, namely *Laudatio*, *Vita*, *Narratio*, S, H, *Conversante* and *Arm*, we can assume a split in *AA*'s textual transmission. When compared with one another, these textual witnesses present obvious divergences as a result of their different uses of the primitive text for their own literary purposes. However, when they are confronted with V, divergences become secondary and a more important common trait comes to the foreground. Whereas the documents disagree in the way they transform *AA*, they agree in that they always preserve and omit precisely the same sections. It is clear that on the basis of this agreement with regard to preserved and omitted sections a common source for all of them can be postulated.

²⁰² This new ideal, incidentally, is also confirmed by the writers of these texts, who present themselves as travelers who followed the itinerary of the apostle Andrew and included in their accounts the testimony of local traditions about the apostle.

Consequently, we can assume a *Vorlage* or archetype from which two separate branches develop, a transformative one and a non-transformative one. Due to the reasons set out in section 4 of the analysis above, *AA*'s fragment in V is currently the only representative of the non-transformative branch of the transmission. With regard to the transformative branch, the numerous testimonies analysed above imply the existence of a revised version of *AA* from which they all develop.

5.2. The Primitive *AA*

It is also plausible to assume that the primitive *AA* circulated in a complete form between its date of composition and the end of the fourth century. Already from early in this century, *AA* was considered 'spurious', but its circulation among minor splinter groups did not represent a threat to the emerging orthodoxy and its canon. It is only in the early fifth century and in the context of the polemic against Manicheans that *AA* plausibly came under pressure due to its association with this heretic group. If the hypothesis of a Latin translation of the *AAA* by a North African Manichean at the end of the fourth century holds true, this might provide sufficient explanation for this peculiarity.

5.3. The Revised Version of *AA*

Due to its alleged heretic character and to the fact that its doctrine was now associated with Manicheism, it is likely that already during the fifth century a revision of the primitive text took place. This revision presumably deprived *AA* of all substantial discourses, since these sections included most of the suspicious doctrine. The testimonies that we included in the so-called transformative branch of the transmission support this hypothesis insofar as they systematically eliminate the same discursive sections. It is from this revised text that the transformative branch develops.

5.4. *AA*'s Textual Diversification

Consequently, *AA*'s textual diversification is not due to different or subsequent revisions of the primitive text. Rather it arises from the different goals that these versions intended to fulfil. The differentiation of three clear transformative groups, as well as the assessment of three distinctive reduction patterns peculiar to them, allows the conclusion that their transformation of the revised version is due to the literary purpose they pursued. Whereas martyrdom texts apply beginning reduction, those that focus on the miracles regularly apply end reduction. The texts with a biographical undercurrent, finally, apply internal reduction.

5.5. Textual Reconstruction of the Primitive Text

Given the previous conclusions drawn from our analysis, it seems obvious that a textual reconstruction on the basis of these diversified textual witnesses is not viable. On the one hand, our only testimony is both fragmentary and too short to provide a solid textual basis for such a reconstruction. On the other, the remaining extant witnesses not only proceed from an already revised version of the primitive text, but also transform and adapt this source to their peculiar purposes. This means that, if we nevertheless attempt such a textual reconstruction, the results will vary strongly according to the testimonies chosen as the basis. In our view, this is exactly what has happened with the two latest textual reconstructions by J.M. Prieur and D.R. MacDonald.

5.6. *AA*'s Fragment in V and the Tenor of the Primitive *AA*

The issues analysed in the preceding pages already highlight the essential value of V for the study of the primitive *AA*. In contrast to the extant witnesses of the transformative branch, which have overshadowed or transformed the tenor of the ancient Acts according to their changing goals, *AA*'s fragment in V presents an unaltered section of the primitive text. In spite of its fragmentary character and limited length, V presents a coherent exposition that will help us to delineate the essentials of *AA*'s original thought. This consistent body of thought has thus far not received due attention. On the one hand, the study of lengthier versions of *AA* has monopolised the interests, relegating the analysis of this essential piece of evidence for the primitive Acts to the background, whereas on the other, its conceptual peculiarities have been frequently falsified in order to fit interpretations based on the mentality of other witnesses. Our purpose in isolating V and systematically studying its thought aims both to fill the absence of such an analysis and to rectify the injustice done to its message as a result of an indiscriminate use of testimonies.

At the same time, a study of V also allows an understanding of *AA*'s character and style. Its mainly discursive character underlines the fact that rational argumentation was a very important issue in the original *AA*. This is confirmed not only by the evidence of our fragment, but also by the remains of truncated and incomplete speeches in S/H, transformed discourses in *Arm* and *Narratio*, and, especially, by the negative evidence of the effective elimination of speeches in most witnesses. The analysis of the rhetorical structures and vocabulary of these lengthy speeches permits not only the study of the manner in which rational argumentation is built up, but also the understanding, thanks to their changing perspectives, of a precise psychological characterisation of the personae.

CHAPTER III: EDITION AND TRANSLATION OF *AA*'S FRAGMENT IN CODEX
VATICANUS GRAECUS 808

1. *Codicological and Palaeographical Analysis of Codex Vaticanus graecus 808*¹

1.1. General Description of Codex Vaticanus graecus 808

R. Devreesse dates the ms to the eleventh century², although in M. Bonnet's opinion it might date to either the tenth or eleventh century³. The ms is of simple appearance and execution. The new back added to the red leather, eighteenth-century binding shows the *tesserae gentiliciae* of Pius IX and the librarian A. Mai. The edges of the ms have been extensively cut, hence its thick and compact appearance. The beginning and end are mutilated. There are no signatures or inscriptions at the beginning, with the exception of the title *Vitae Martyrum et Confessor(um)* on top of f. 1r, which was added in the sixteenth century⁴. All other inscriptions, if there were any, have disappeared with the (subsequent?) cuts to the manuscript's exterior sides.

Today it consists of 512 parchment folios. Although Devreesse's description counts 65 quaternions (with irregularities due to the loss of one or more folios)⁵, it actually consists of 66 quires, most of which are indeed quaternions. The writing is arranged in two columns of 30 lines each⁶. There is no trace of quire signatures. The current folio numbering runs from 1 to 512. The black ink numbers are rather regularly placed in the external intersection between the superior line and the external right indentation line. Despite the severe cut of the pages, an old red ink numbering is still partially visible at the top right of the pages, although in general (with the exception of very few cases) no whole number can be distinguished⁷. As we will see below, the comparison of the old and the new numberings allows interesting conclusions concerning the original structure and length of some parts of the ms⁸.

¹ This section includes a shorter version of our study of this ms: 'Vaticanus Graecus 808 Revisited: A Re-evaluation of the Oldest Fragment of Acta Andreae', *Scriptorium* 56 (2001) 126-40.

² R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, vol. III (Bib. Vaticana, 1950) 343.

³ Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, XIV. Ehrhard (*Überlieferung* I, 481 note 4) thinks that it might be dated to the early eleventh c. and so does O. von Gebhardt, *Die Akten der edessenischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos*, ed. E. von Dobschütz (Leipzig, 1911) XX.

⁴ Devreesse, *Codices*, 345.

⁵ Devreesse, *Codices*, 345: 'Constat hodie fasc. 65 quaternionibus (si excipias 27, 33, 49, 64 et 65), etc'. However, Devreesse's quire 33, instead of being an incomplete quaternion (six folios), is actually a binion (ff. 256-259) and a bifolio (ff. 260-261), which are clearly separated from each other.

⁶ According to Devreesse (*Codices*, 345), the number is 31. However, not a single example in the whole ms has 31 lines.

⁷ In the first 44 folios, however, this earlier red ink numbering is placed at the bottom of the page in the inter-columnar section. These pages also exhibit the black ink numbering at the top right of the page.

⁸ See *infra* this Chapter, §1.2.3, pp. 134-36.

V contains a pre-metaphrastic November-menologium of special characteristics. A. Ehrhard, who studied not only the ms itself but also other related exemplars in different libraries in Europe and the Near East, underlined the interest of V for understanding the development of the internal structure of the November-menologium⁹. From his comparative study of this ms with other November exemplars, Ehrhard concluded that while mss Vat. gr. 807 (tenth c.), Vat. Palat. 9 (eleventh c.), and Vindob. hist. gr. 5 (tenth-eleventh c.) belong to the earlier type, the exemplar preserved by V, together with Marcian. gr. 349 (tenth-eleventh c.), belongs to the recent type of November-menologium¹⁰. Such a conclusion is supported, in his opinion, by the structural similarity between V and the October-menologium preserved in the Coisl. 110 (eleventh c.). Both mss contain a $\alpha\eta\upsilon\zeta\eta\upsilon\gamma\lambda\alpha$ ¹¹, an *encomium* by Nicetas¹² and another by Leo the Wise¹³. The November-menologium preserved by V, then, represents the last pre-metaphrastic stage, as Coisl. 110 does for October. Its original composition must be dated to the tenth century¹⁴.

But the interest of the November-menologium in Cod. Vat. gr. 808 is not purely due to structural matters. The fact that it was composed in the time prior to the activities of Symeon the Metaphrast means that the texts included in the ms have escaped the profound transformation that texts normally experienced from the rewriting of this Byzantine writer¹⁵. This peculiarity has been decisive for the preservation of AA's fragment.

1.2. Description of the Last Quire (ff. 507^r-512^v) of Codex Vaticanus graecus 808

AA's fragment occupies the remaining six folios of the last imperfect quire of the ms and corresponds with the saint for 30 November. Although the beginning and end of the ms, essential for determining its original size, are missing, it may reasonably be assumed that the text on the Apostle Andrew was the last of the menologium. The beginning and end of this text are missing as well. Due to this circumstance, there is neither title, usual in the other texts of the ms, nor colophon nor other inscriptions that might give us essential information about its original length¹⁶.

⁹ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* I, 477-509.

¹⁰ For a more recent study of the November-menologium, see F. Halkin, 'Un manuscrit grec inconnu: le ménologe de Douai Abbey, près de Reading', *Scriptorium* 7 (1953) 51-58.

¹¹ Text number 4 in V. See Devreesse, *Codices*, 343, under 4.

¹² Text number 2 in V. See Devreesse, *Codices*, 343, under 1.

¹³ Text number 14. Devreesse, *Codices*, 344, under 13.

¹⁴ Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 483.

¹⁵ For Symeon the Metaphrast and his rework of older sources, see F. Bovon, 'Editing the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles', in Bovon, *Apocryphal Acts*, 1-35 at 10-11.

¹⁶ As Jan Bremmer suggested to me, this circumstance might incidentally also have helped in the preservation of this text.

The cut of this last quire is clumsier than in other sections. This might be due to the quire's position at the end of the ms. As a result of this, the text is not very well centred but fortunately remained untouched. At the same time the measurements also reveal peculiarities.

1.2.1. Palaeographical Description

The ms presents many different hands. Although the reddish-brown ink writing is rather regular, it nonetheless shows peculiarities that help to differentiate scribes. Different ligatures, a changing percentage of capitals reintroduced in the minuscule, different choice of the letters that are substituted by capitals, and the changing relationship of the writing with the guiding lines are all quite obvious variations¹⁷.

The round writing may be compared with the *Perlschrift* identified by Hunger¹⁸, although its form and ductus are a bit clumsier than might be expected. The reddish-brown writing is rather regular. The space between the lines is regular as well. Word and letter division is not always respected. Kappa, lambda, and epsilon are the only letters that systematically alternate between minuscule and capital varieties. Other capitals are very rare: the nu, eta, and pi capitals, which are normal in the eleventh century, are almost completely absent. Alpha alternates between cursive and semiuncial varieties. Beta is always minuscule. The superior arc of delta is always inclined to the left. Epsilon, when minuscule, exhibits a closed inferior part. Its superior line goes upward and often joins the following letter. Now and then it forms the 'ace of spades'. The Zeta has the characteristic shape of the number 3. Theta is normally minuscule in ligatures, although its capital variety appears as well. Eta usually has a rounded minuscule form. Iota presents either a normal appearance written within the body of the text or a larger one transcending vertically above and below the writing. Pi and omega are always closed. Ypsilon is semicircular. Phi presents the characteristic violin form and inferior widening. Psi regularly has a cross form whose horizontal line rests on the guiding line. The ductus is round and soft, the letters rather large, although this last impression might be due to the current smaller size of the folios. The absolute absence in the last six folios of the capital variety of < is striking¹⁹. There is a frequent use of abbreviations for

¹⁷ In general, the writing rests on the guiding line, although depending on the scribe it may appear on it or even slightly below. Very often the scribe transcends right as well as left indentation lines in order simply to complete a word. Occasionally capitals appear in the inter-columnar space in order to shift the beginning of a sentence, although this is not a regular procedure. This means that the appearance of the page is not 'clean'.

¹⁸ H. Hunger, *Studien zu griechischen Paläographie* (Vienna, 1954) 22-32.

¹⁹ In f. 389, for example, it appears seven times.

Comparative writing tests with dated examples of *Perlschrift* by K. and S. Lake have revealed interesting similarities with mss dated between the last years of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh²⁰. Such an early dating is consistent with the already-mentioned relatively clumsy form and ductus of our writing.

1.2.2. Materials and Ruling

The quality of the parchment is very irregular. Colour and thickness change abruptly from quire to quire. In general it has a light yellowish colour. The measurements of the folios are also irregular. They generally measure 22.5 x 29.5 cm, although the first current quaternion measures 21.5 x 29.2 cm and the last two quires (65 and 66) 21.5 x 29.5 cm.

Compared with the rest of the ms, the last quire presents clear peculiarities. In the first place, its structure consists of three bifolios. The normal structure of the ms is based on the quaternion pattern. The parchment of ff. 507-512 is also different. It is much thinner than normal, to such an extent that the folios bend easily. The external edges of the folios are quite damaged; all of them are thinner in this section. The most serious damage, however, appears on f. 512, which, for this reason, used to be narrower. It has been repaired with a parchment band of c. 2 cm width in order to fit the normal width.

The ruling shows the same pattern as the rest of the ms, thus Leroy 00C2²¹. It consists of four vertical lines of 29.5 cm and 30 horizontal lines. While the first systematically reach the inferior and superior sides of the parchment, the latter irregularly surpass the indentation lines: they reach the binding centre but do not normally reach the external edge of the page. In contrast to the rest of the ms, the horizontal lines are not quite discernible in the inter-columnar section.

1.2.3. Original Length of *AA*'s Fragment in V

As already pointed out, it is generally believed that the six remaining folios preserve an excerpt of *AA* in almost its original length. Ehrhard, supposing that quires 65 and 66 were quaternions lacking the external sheet and that they immediately followed each other, already suggested that not much of the text has been lost²². Drawing upon Ehrhard's hypothesis,

²⁰ See K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the year 1200* (Boston, 1934-39), vol. III, ms 91, pl. 160 (Mt. Athos, The Laura, a. 986); ms 94, pl. 165 (Mt. Athos, Vatopedion Cod. 181, a. 997); vol. V, ms 220, pl. 389 (Moscow, Historical Museum Cod. VI 101 (104), a. 990); vol. IX, ms 343, pl. 628 (Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria Cod. gr. 14, a. 1017).

²¹ J.H. Sautel-R. Leroy, *Répertoire des réglures dans les manuscrits grecs sur parchemin* (Turnhout, 1995) 81; 400, col. 1.

²² Ehrhard, *Überlieferung I*, 483, note 1: 'Da die Fol. 507-512 einen Quaternio bilden, dessen äußere Lage verlorenging, so kann von diesem Texte nicht viel fehlen, vorausgesetzt, daß die beiden Quaternionen unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgten.'

Prieur goes further and estimates the size of the missing beginning of *AA*. If between the last folio of quire 65 and the first of 66 there are only two folios missing and the text of quire 65 (*Vita Stephani iunioris*) is incomplete, he argues, these missing two folios must have contained this text as well. His conclusion is that at least three pages (one and a half folios) were filled by the preceding text. Consequently, the remaining page (half a folio) was just enough for the title of *AA* and the beginning of the first incomplete speech (V^b 38.2-20)²³.

However, as we argued elsewhere, there is enough codicological evidence to suggest that the double premise on which Ehrhard based his assessment of the text's length is incorrect. As already seen, the ms has two different folio numberings, an earlier red ink numbering probably proceeding from the ms's restoration in the fourteenth/fifteenth century, and a more recent black ink numbering from the last restoration and binding of the ms in the eighteenth century. The difference between both numberings allows the conclusion that in the period between both restorations the ms consisted of at least 519 folios and thus had 7 more folios than it does now²⁴.

Even more interesting, however, is the fact that four of these seven folios can be placed with certainty between the two current last quires of the ms, namely quires 65 and 66. Hence, we can conclude that the two last quires of the ms either did not immediately follow each other or else were not quaternions. Two possibilities might be considered to explain the four folios between quires 65 and 66. The first is that the two last quires were quaternions, but were separated by a bifolio. According to this hypothesis there would have been four folios before the beginning of quire 66 and one after it. Given the fact that the *Vita Stephani iunioris* must have 1½ of these 4 folios, we can envisage 2½ folios preceding the current beginning of *AA*'s fragment in V and another at the end. If this was indeed the case and our text had 3½ folios more, it was, consequently, at least 58% longer than it is today.

The second possibility is that quires 65 and 66 were not quaternions but quinions²⁵. According to this second hypothesis there would have been four folios between the current

²³ Prieur, *Acta*, 3.

²⁴ The more recent black ink numbers run from 1 to 512 and correspond with the current extension of the ms. It is very plausible that this numbering dates from the last cut and binding of the manuscript, which took place in the eighteenth century. Thanks to the clumsy cut of the last two quires, however, it is still clearly possible to discern the older red ink numbering on the superior-right angle of the page. Although these red numbers are discernible in almost all folios of these two last quires, it is only on the last folio of quires 64, 65 and 66 that the whole number is visible. Given the fact that the paper sheet (f. 210) which was added between ff. 209 and 211 in a restoration dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century shows this red numbering as well, it is also plausible that the earlier numbering belongs to a restoration of the ms at this date. See also our 'Vaticanus gr. 808 Revisited', 136-40.

²⁵ Although this second possibility is not as suitable with regard to the ms's quire base pattern, it actually fits the numberings better. It explains the four missing folios between quires 65 and 66 as well as two other missing

quires and two more folios after quire 66. This means that *AA*'s fragment in V was 4½ folios longer (2½ at the beginning plus 2 more at the end). According to this hypothesis, our text would have been at least 75% longer than it is today.

The consideration of both hypotheses shows the need to re-evaluate *AA*'s original length, for in any case five more pages are missing at the beginning. Since two-and-a-half folios of ms (ff. 507r-509r) fill somewhat more than four pages of Bonnet's edition (V^b 38.2–41.18), it is possible to postulate approximately 111 lines of Greek text of the same edition preceding the first speech to the brethren in V.

The loss at the end of the ms is more difficult to evaluate. It is possible to postulate at least one or two more folios, belonging either to a quaternion or to a quinion, respectively. However, the possibility of a lost quire after the current text cannot be ruled out. This possibility may even be highly probable, given the fact that missing quires at beginning and end of mss are extremely common and that, otherwise, the text for 30 November would be extremely short. As is the case with the first quire of the ms, the last one might be lost as well.

When considering the original length of *AA*'s fragment, Prieur suggested two hypotheses. According to the first, the fragment was originally approximately as long as it is today. The missing external sheet of a quaternion might have contained just the title and beginning of the first incomplete speech in the first half of the bifolio and a small portion of the martyrdom in the last half. According to the second, the beginning would remain the same but the end would have been longer. He thinks that given 'the disposition and the writing of the ms', the complete martyrdom would need four more folios²⁶. This last statement can hardly be correct. The comparison of his edition of V's text (*AAgr.* 33-50) with Bonnet's edition shows that both texts have an equivalent number of lines of Greek text, 273 and 269, respectively. His edition of the martyrdom consists of 302 lines. Now, every column of ms equals approximately 10-12 lines of Bonnet's edition. Hence every page of ms includes between 20 and 24 lines and every folio between 40 and 48. Taking 44 lines as an average, if the martyrdom was at least as long as reconstructed by Prieur, we would have to think rather of seven folios.

It follows that Prieur's opinion that *AA*'s fragment did not include the preliminary events to Andrew's imprisonment and the subsequent martyrdom is unfounded. The text of

folios before quire 65. It is true, however, that this possibility is only acceptable if the lacuna after f. 500^v is large enough to fill two folios.

²⁶ Prieur, *Acta*, 3.

On the other hand, the re-edition of *AA*'s fragment in V has other clear advantages. In the first place, it allows us to include a certain number of interesting conjectures, notably those by Liechtenhan and Festugière, which have been neglected by Prieur's critical apparatus. It also allows us to incorporate, when pertinent, those emendations proposed by Bonnet that improve our understanding of the text and, finally, to propose a few improvements ourselves.

In addition, we provide an English translation furnished with numerous explanatory footnotes that highlight many interesting aspects of *AA*'s thought, which have thus far not received due attention. These footnotes are therefore a first approach to *AA*'s conceptual analysis, which is fully developed in Chapter 4, and which in turn provides the basis for the systematic and comparative study of the thought behind the text in Chapter 5.

At the same time, our re-edition includes three apparatuses for the text: textual, conceptual and critical. In addition to the traditional critical apparatus, we offer a textual apparatus, which includes parallels to *AA*'s fragment in V in the remaining extant witnesses and will allow the reader to know at any moment whether a certain section has been preserved, eliminated or transformed in the other versions. With regard to the conceptual apparatus, it intends to contextualise *AA*'s conceptual developments by placing them in the religious and philosophical world of Hellenism, Imperial Rome and later antiquity. Obviously, this apparatus intends to clarify possible influences on our text, but its main scope is to provide conceptual parallels to *AA*'s exposition that may be of help in understanding its conceptual peculiarities.

In spite of providing *AA* with a new line numbering, we preserve Bonnet's chapter division in order to facilitate textual comparisons with other editions and translations. With the same view in mind, we also indicate in the right margin the beginning of each page of Bonnet's edition and the beginning of the folios of Codex Vaticanus graecus 808, which Bonnet's and all later editions omitted.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF
AA'S FRAGMENT IN
CODEX VATICANUS GRAECUS 808
ff. 507^r-512^v

ABBREVIATIONS

- alt. *alterum*
- Arm. *Armenian passion of St. Andrew*, L. Leloir, *Écrits apocryphes sur les apôtres I* (Turhout, 1986) 228-257.
- Blass-Debrunner F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen, ¹⁷ 1990).
- Bonnet ‘Ex actis Andreae’, Bonnet’s edition of *AA*’s fragment in V (*AAA* II/1, 38-45).
- C *Martyrium of St. Andrew* in ms Ann Arbor 36, ff. 60^v-66^v.
- Convers. *Conversante: Passio altera sancti Andreae apostoli*, M. Bonnet, *AB* 13 (1894) 373-78.
- Demetrakos D. Demetrakou, *Mega lexikon holês tês Hellênikês glôssês* (Athens, 1949-51).
- Demetrakos² D. Demetrakou, *Neon lexikon orthografikon kai hermêneutikon holês tês Hellênikês glôssês* (Athens, 1964).
- Festugière A.J. Festugière, *La Révélation d’Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols (Paris, 1944-54).
- H Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 103, ff. 155^t-168^v, including the *Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*.
- Jannaris A.N. Jannaris, *A Historical Greek Grammar. Chiefly of the Attic Dialect* (London, 1897).
- Kühner-Gerth R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1983 [Repr. Hannover - Leipzig 1904]).
- Laud. *Laudatio: Acta Andreae apostoli cum laudatione contexta*, M. Bonnet, *AB* 13 (1894) 309-52.
- Liechten. R. Liechtenhan, *Die Offenbarung im Gnosticismus* (Göttingen, 1901).
- Ljungvik H. Ljungvik, *Studien zur Sprache der apokryphen Apostelgeschichten* (Uppsala, 1926).
- MacDon. D.R. MacDonald, *The Acts of Andrew and the Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the city of Cannibals* (Atlanta, 1990).
- Malt A *Martyrium Andreae alterum A*, M. Bonnet, *AAA* II/1, 58-64.

<i>Narr.</i>	<i>Narratio</i> : ‘Martyrium sancti apostoli Andreae’, M. Bonnet, <i>AB</i> 13 (1894) 353-72.
O	Ms Hierosolymitanus Sabbaiticus 30, ff. 154 ^v -15, including <i>Malt</i> A.
pr.	<i>prius</i>
Prieur	J.M. Prieur, <i>Acta Andreae</i> (Turnhout, 1989).
S	Ms Sinaiticus gr. 526, ff. 121 ^v -132 ^v , including the <i>Martyrdom of Saint Andrew</i> .
Schimmel.	G. Schimmelpfeng, ‘Anmerkungen zur Uebersetzung (G. Schimmelpfeng)’, in Hennecke, <i>Handbuch</i> , 549-62.
V	Vat gr. 808 (manuscript reading)
V ^f	Our edition of <i>AA</i> ’s fragment in V.
<i>Vita</i>	A. Dressel’s edition of Epiphanius’ <i>Vita Andreae, Epiphanii monachi et presbyteri edita et inedita</i> (Paris /Leipzig, 1843).
<i>VitaEsc</i>	Version of <i>Vita</i> in ms Escorial y II 6 (gr. 314), ff. 226 ^v -246 ^f .
<i>VitaParis</i>	Version of <i>Vita</i> in ms Paris BN gr. 1510, ff. 1 ^f -19 ^v .

Sigla

[]	In the Greek text, brackets indicate a lacuna that can be supplied by the context. In the translation, they indicate material supplied by the translator for the sake of clarity.
< >	Editorial correction.
<...>	Lacuna.
{ }	Delenda.
"	A dot placed under a letter indicates that the letter is not wholly visible, although traces of ink remain.
y	Beginning of new folio in the manuscript.
„	In the text, beginning of a new page in Bonnet’s edition. In the apparatus it indicates a line separation.
Bonnet, p. in mrg.	Page number in Bonnet’s edition.
F. in mrg.	Folio numbering in Cod. Vat. Gr. 808.

*Acta Andreae. Fragment in
Codex Vaticanus graecus 808, ff. 507^r-512^v*

1. peri\ufmaj to\pa nthj a\toniáj e\stir; ou\pw e) egxes qe uf' Bonnet p. 38
eá utwā mhdepw ferontej thh ekeinou xrhstothta; aides qwāen,
s unhs qwāen eá utoij epi\t\$=ekēinou afqor% koinwni#. eiāwmen
eá utoij: Makarion hñwā to\genoj, upo\tinoj hgaphtai; makariá
5 hñwā h(uparcij, upo\tinoj h) ehtai; ouk e\smēn tinej
xamairrifeij, upo\toioutou u\y ouj gnwrisqētej: ouk e\smēn
xronou, eiā upo\xronou luōtenoi: ouk e\smēn kinhsēwj texnh,
pa\lin uf' eá ut h\j afanizomenh, oude\genesēwj aijia, ei) <t>a u\to\
tel eutwatej. e\smēn tinej a\y' a)megeqouj <kai\tou=megeqouj >
10 epi\boul oi. e\smēn i\lioi kai\taxa tou=e) eouatouj. e\smēn tou=kreit-

1-20 deest

1-17 CH 1.15 3 afqor% koinwni# Plato *Tim.* 29e 1-2, cf. *Phdr.* 247a 7; Plotinus *Enn.* 4.8.6; 5.4.1, 34-36; cf. 2.9.17, 17-21; *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.38-19.10; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 53.12-20 **5-6** ouk — gnwrisqētej See *infra* V^r 17-19 **6-7** ouk — luōtenoi Plato *Parm* 141d 4-5; Philo *Post C.* 14; Apuleius *Apol.* 64, *De mund.* 31; Hippolytus *Ref.* 6.29.5; *ApJohn* (NHC II, 1) 25.2-3; *Allog* (NHC XI, 3) 63.21ff; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 52.8-21; Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 2.6.1; 6.71.5 **6-9** Plutarch *Plat. quaest.* 1007c 5-d7 **6-10** ouk — epi\boul oi Philo *Decal* 26; *Opif.* 49, 98; *Leg. alleg.* 1.43f; Plutarch *Plat. quaest.* 1001c-1002a; Alcinous *Didask.* 165.17-19; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 11.11, 266-73; Numenius fr. 2; Celsus (*ap.* Origen *C. Cels.* 7.42); *Or. Chald.* fr. 1; Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 2.6; 5.71.2-3 **7-8** ouk — afanizomenh Cf. *infra* V^r 16-17, 210-11; Plato *Parm.* 139a 2-3; Aristotle *Metaph.* 1073a 11-12; Alcinous *Didask.* 165.37-42; Numenius fr. 5.19-21, 22-28 **8-9** oude — tel eutwatej Plato *Parm.* 141e 3-7; cf. *Symp.* 211a 1; Plutarch *De E* 392b ff; Numenius fr. 5.20-21; C.H. Stobaeus fr. 2A, 16 **9-10** e\smēn — epi\boul oi Aristotle *Metaph.* 1075b 29; Alcinous *Didask.* 164.13-17; cf. Plotinus *Enn.* 3.6.1.24-31; Porphyry *Sent.* 17; Proclus *Inst.* 171.1 **10-13** e\smēn tou=— riptomen Plato *Symp.* 210a ff; Alcinous *Didask.* 165.27-33; cf. Philo *Praem.* 43, *Migr.* 185, *Immut.* 62 **10-17** e\smēn tou=— <e>i\donen Philo *Ad Gaium* 5; *Qu. Gen.* 2.54; Alcinous *Didask.* 165.27-34; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 11.8, 168ff; Celsus (*ap.* Origen *C. Cels.* 7.42)

8 verba genesēwj aijia corrupta vid. Bonnet genesēwj epigeiōu Schimmel. genesēwj aijioū Liechten. <> Liechten. **9-10** a\y' a)megeqouj < > epi\boul oi (homoeotel.) scripsi e\smēn tinej a\y'a megeqouj epi\boul oi V post epi\boul oi lacunam suspic. Bonnet epi\boul oi, <ouā e\smēn Schimmel.

*Acts of Andrew. Fragment in
Codex Vaticanus graecus 808, ff. 507^f-512^v. Translation*

1. “(...)”³¹ [What] is all this debility in you? Don’t you still blame yourselves for not yet carrying His goodness? Let us stand in awe, let us congratulate ourselves for His unenvious sharing³². Let us say to ourselves: ‘Blessed is our race, by whom has it been loved? Blessed is our existence, by whom has it been pitied?’ We are not those cast to the ground³³, since we have been recognised by such a height! We do not belong to time and then are dissolved by time; we are not a product of movement that disappears again by itself, nor a cause of generation³⁴ [so as] to come to a similar end. Rather, we are akin to the unextended³⁵ and are hostile to extension³⁶. We certainly³⁷ belong to the one

³¹ Beginning of Codex Vat gr. 808, f. 507^f. No other extant testimony can be of help in reconstructing the lost section including the start of Andrew’s first speech to the brethren. In spite of Schimmelpfeng (in Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 552; similarly, Flamion, *L’Apôtre*, 143), *Narratio*’s chap. 12 (359.24-360.15) is not a revised version of V’s first incomplete speech, but rather a fake discourse that intends to fill the gap created by the elimination (or absence in its source) of the present speech. *Narratio*’s speech combines themes and motifs appearing in later speeches by Andrew in V (compare *Narr.* 359.26 with V^f 219-220; 360.5 with V^f 238-265; 360.7-9 with V^f 63-68; 360.10-11 with V^f 116) and also elements proceeding from speeches that have been preserved in a revised form by S and H (compare *Narr.* 359.27 with S, f. 125^f, 1/14 and H, f. 157^f, 35-157^v, 2; 360.6-7 with S, 123^v, 2/11-13 and H, f. 157^f, 35-157^v, 2).

³² In the current passage the correct translation is clearly ‘unenvious sharing’. Andrew’s emphasis is not on the abundance of God’s patrimony, but rather on God’s sharing attitude towards the brethren (see *infra* Chapter 4, note 156). He shares His goodness with His children by paying attention to them and by showing His mercy. Giving or ‘creation’ is an essential part of the Good. As God is the supreme Good, he is free from any envy whatsoever. The notion, of course, arises from Plato, *Tim.* 29e, ἀγαθὸν ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ περιουτεῖν ἐγγίναται φασί. This idea would give grounds to Proclus’ statement (*In Parm.* 922) that God is not only *causa finalis*, as Aristotle assumes, but also *causa efficiens*. ‘In giving rise to the effect the cause remains undiminished and unaltered’ (Dodds, *Proclus*, 214). The idea, however, appears earlier and is frequent in Gnostic texts (see *TriTrac* [NHC I, 5] 53.12-20). For other developments of the notion of God as *causa efficiens* on the basis of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, *infra* Chapter 5, § 2.2.2.3, pp. 274-76. See Plato, *Tim* 42e; Numenius, fr. 14; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.4.2; Proclus, *El.Th.* 25; *Th. Pl.* 5.18.283.

³³ For the meaning ‘cast to the ground’, see Gregory of Nyssa, *Contr. Eun.* 11.675.3; Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus, *Partit.* 168.2. It might also be translated as ‘liable to inhumation’ or simply ‘mortal’ (φάρμακον), see *Schol. in Iliad.* 5.442.

³⁴ Bonnet suspected the expression and some scholars do indeed correct the passage (see app.). The correction is unnecessary, since the expression is extremely common both in philosophical (Aristotle, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Proclus, Simplicius, Philoponus) and theological texts (Themistius, Nemesius, Origen, Athenagoras, Eusebius, Athanasius), especially in combination with concepts such as ‘movement’ (see, e. g., Aristotle, *MA* 700a 26ff; *GA* 764b 34ff; Philoponus, *GC* 14.2.288.26).

³⁵ The dichotomy ‘extended-unextended’ is also frequent in philosophical discussions, especially in those concerning the origin of tangible reality and its relationship with transcendent causes (so for example in Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1075b 29) and the processes of coming-to-be and passing away (see Simplicius, *in Cael.* 7.578.1ff). Plotinus (*Enn.* 3.6.1.31) uses the dichotomy in discussing the nature of the soul and so does Porphyry when he defines the soul as (*Sent.* 17) οὐσίᾳ ἀνεκτετακτῆς, ἀκτῆς οὐκ ἀκτῆς, ἐκ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἐκ τῆς ἀκτῆς. See Proclus, *Inst.* 171.1 (applied to the nous). See furthermore Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 4; Gregory of Nyssa, *De op. hom.* 209.47-212.5; Didymus the Blind, *De trinit.* 16.10.1. See H. Dörrie, ‘Die platonische Theologie des Kelsos in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit der christlichen Theologie auf Grund von Origenes *C. Cels.* 7.42ff’, in his *Platonica Minora* 229-62 at 243; J. Whittaker, ‘Neopythagoreanism and Negative Theology’, *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought* (London, 1984) IX, 109-25 at 115-17.

tonoj: dia\toũo a)po\toũ=xeirownoj feugomen. e)smen tou=kal ou=
 di' ouAto\ai) xron a)pwqourmeqa: tou=dikaiou, di' ouAto\adikon
 riptomen: tou=e) ehrownoj, di' ouAton a)nel ehrona a)fiemen: tou=
 s%zontoj, di' ouAon a)pol l urta e)gnwrisamen: tou=fwtoj, di' ouAon
 15 skotoj e)riyamēn: tou=etoj, di' ouAa\pol l a)pestrameqa: tou=
 u)perouraniou, di' ouAa\epigeia e)ma)qomen: tou=merontoj, di' ouAa\
 meronta <e>i)lonen: <dia\toũo ou)de\et(eron est) i)logou> a)cion

(1-20 deest)

(10-17 e)smen tou= — <e>i)lonen Philo *Ad Gaium* 5; *Qu. Gen.* 2.54; Alcinous *Didask.* 165.27-34; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 11.8, 168ff; Celsus (*ap. Origen C. Cels.* 7.42)) 14-15 tou=fwtoj — e)riyamēn *GosThomas* (NHC II, 2) 50; *PS* 62, 124.2; *TreatSeth* (NHC VII, 2) 60.9 15 tou=etoj — a)pestrameqa Philo *Leg. alleg.* 2.1, *Heres* 216; Plutarch *De E* 393a-c; Numenius fr. 11.11-14; 19.11-13; *Asclep.* 1, 2, 20; *C.H.* 1.14; 4.1, 5, 8; Plotinus *Enn.* 6.9.2; Proclus *Inst.* 1-6 15-16 tou=u)perouraniou Plato *Phdr.* 247c 3ff; cf. Speusipus (*ap. Aristotle Metaph.* 1092a 11-15); Xenocrates fr. 5; Alcinous *Didask.* 181.40; Apuleius *De Plat.* 1.11, 28-31; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 10.9, 235-37; *Asclep.* 27 (332.9 N-F) 16-17 tou=merontoj — <e>i)lonen Cf. V^r 7-8; 210-11; Alcinous *Didask.* 165.37f, 170.24-26; Apuleius *De Plat.* 1.10.1-2; Porphyry, *Sent.* 44.45-46; Chalcidius, *In Tim.* 104 17-19 *C.H.* 1.31, 10.15, 12.12; *Asclep.* 41

12 pr. ouA Bonnet o) V -meqa Bonnet -me)ra V 16-17 post ta) nh\add. Bonnet (Prieur, MacDon.) 17 pr. <> Bonnet post ei)lonen lacunam a Prieur statutam ita implevi

who shows mercy. We belong to the better, therefore we escape from the worse. We belong to the beautiful, by means of which we separate ourselves from the ugly. We belong to the righteous, through which we reject the unrighteous. We belong to the merciful one, through whom we distance ourselves from the unmerciful one. We belong to the saviour, through whom we recognised the destroyer; to the light, by means of which we rejected the darkness. We belong to the One, through whom we turned away from multiplicity; to the supercelestial³⁸, through which we understood earthly matters; we belong to the immutable, through whom we perceived the immutable³⁹. Therefore, if

³⁶ The translation ‘We are akin to the unextended and are hostile to extension’ renders our correction of V’s reading (see critical apparatus ad 9). In its current form the text is clearly corrupt. Bonnet (see app.) suspected a lacuna, although after ἐπιβουλὸι and not before as we suggest. Despite its difficulty, all commentaries and translations of *AA* in the last hundred years unanimously understand the passage as ‘We are aspirant of greatness’. The development of the argument seems to imply this meaning, but the text by no means allows such a translation (cf. Prieur, *Acta*, 199). Rendering the adjective ἐπιβουλὸι, lat. ‘insidiosus’ as ‘aspirant’ in the positive sense not only implies forcing its meaning but also its clear negative charge. In addition, neither modern nor ancient lexica document such a positive meaning. Besides the numerous testimonies (LXX Reg. 1 29.4.4; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.8.38.3.2; *Quis div. salv.* 1.2.1; 27.1.4; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 5.35.1.3; 7.10.15.1; *Eccl. hist.* 9.2.1.2; *Com. in Psalm.* 27.769.34), the *Martyrium Andreae* itself documents the negative use of the term (see *2GrEp* 27.10, ἀλλ’ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐναντικαταβουλὸι αὐτοῦ; also documented by S, f. 129^v; H, f. 166^v; O (see Prieur, *AAgr* 55.1); C (f. 62^v); cf. *Malt* A 61.4, ἐπιβουλὸι ἡμῶν). Thus the arguments for our correction are the following: **1.** The manuscript text cannot be understood as ‘aspirant to greatness’ by any means, but rather as ‘enemies’ or ‘conspired against greatness’. **2.** Besides expressing quality and degree (‘greatness, magnitude’), μέγεθος has a mathematical (‘magnitude’) and a philosophical (‘extension’, see Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.4.11) use. In the latter sense it is frequently opposed to the adjective ἀμεγεθής ‘unextended’ (Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1075b 29; Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.5.12) in order to express the opposition ‘extended-unextended’ that is comparable to material-immaterial. **3.** The preceding sentences also establish an opposition between material and immaterial realms by means of the attributes that normally distinguish them in philosophical texts, namely ‘time’ (χροῖος), ‘movement’ (κίνησις) and ‘generation’ (γένεσις). The appearance of a fourth philosophical term in the adjective ἀμεγεθής is not only not surprising, but rather to be expected. **4.** An omission due to homoeoteleuton is in the current context easily explainable, since it presents frequent repetitions of the same term or of conceptual opposites (V^f 7 χροῖου-χροῖου; 12 δικάιου-ἀδικου; 13 ἐληθῆνος-ἀληθῆνος). A more economic solution would be correcting ἐπιβουλὸι with ἐφῆβολὸι ‘he who is in possession of (gen.)’. Taking iotacism into account it is plausible to think that the more frequent ἐπιβουλὸι replaced the rare ἐφῆβολὸι. This would give: ἐστὶν οἱ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐφῆβουσαν ἐφῆβολὸι, which would be rendered as ‘We are those having achieved greatness’. We prefer the first possibility.

³⁷ In our text τὰ καὶ has a reinforcing function. Thus, καὶ τὰ καὶ ‘and certainly’. For a similar emphatic use see *infra* V^f 41, ἀλλὰ τὰ καὶ ‘but rather’. The same use in Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.4.10.10 and 6.3.25.35, while probability is expressed by means of καὶ τὰ καὶ ἀλλ’.

³⁸ This affirmation implies a tripartite conception of the cosmos formed out of a supercelestial, a celestial and a sublunar realm. See *infra*, Chapter 5, § 1.2, pp. 245-50.

³⁹ On the basis of the parallelism with the former sentences, which play on pairs of contraries, Bonnet proposed the emendation (see app.) adopted ever since Schimmelpfeng (Prieur, MacDonald). However, our text is clearly proposing the *via eminentiae* as a dialectical means to reach the knowledge of God’s existence (on the issue, see *infra* Chapter 5, notes 196-197). This method to apprehend the ultimate principles of being begins with the lower stages of reality and gradually ascends step by step until it reaches the highest object. Once the awareness of the brethren has been awakened by being acted upon by God’s recognition and their affinity to the higher realm has been established, the *via eminentiae* provides them with the possibility of achieving a preliminary knowledge of God’s existence. Since the phrase τὸ ἐπιβουσαν, δι’ οὗ τὰ ἐπιβουσαν εἰδόμενον describes the culmination of this dialectical method, it is precisely

euxaristián h)parrhisián h)u(ímon h)kauxhna proel orénoi eipeiñ
 eij toñ e) ehs anta h(maj qeòn a) l' h)gnwris qhñai up' a u)ou=

20 2 Kai\o(ri l h s'aj toi j a) del foi j ta\toia u)ta a)pepeñy ato e)kaston
 eij ta\i)dia ei)pwñ a u)oi j: Ouy e u(ri j e)rou=a)pol ei)pes qe)z pote
 o)w j .dou)oi tou=Xristou=diathñ e)h a u) %a)gaphn: ou)l' au)pa)l'in f. 507v
 a u)oj a)pol eifqhs omai u)wñ dia\thñ ekei)nou mesiteián kai\
 a)phl lagh e)kastoj eij ta\ a u)ou=

25 kai\h) h(toia u)th a)galliásij a u)wñ epi\h(ter)aj i)kana j
 genomerh, e)h ai)ñ ouk e)xen o(Ai)gea thj e)noian e)pece)l qeiñ thñ
 kata\ton a)postol on a)itián e)sthrizonto ou) e)kastoj to)te epi\
 thñ tou=kuriou e)pi)da: kai\s ul lego)tenoi par)te j a)fo)w j eij to\
 des mwth rion a)h)ra t)S=Macini)l) S kai\I)fidar)ñ# kai\toi j l oipoi j
 30 a)di)al ei)ptw j e)xous in periskepto)renoi t)S=peribol) S=kai\xa)riti
 tou=kuriou.

3 Kai\o(Ai)gea thj di)ka)zwn h(ter) # mi) #=ei) upo)rh)sin e)xen thñ
 peri\ton Andreán xreián: kai\w)per tij e)hmanh) genotenoj
 a)fi)hs in h)ñ e)h xersi)ñ di)khn ei)xen, kai\ a)h)statai tou=bh)ra to j,
 35 kai\dromai)w j paragi)etai eij to\praitw)ri on, e)h)bra)sswn t)S=
 Macini)l) S kai\kol a)keu)wn h(de)Macini)l) a) e)fqakei a u)to)ñ a)po\
 tou=des mwth riu) ei)sbal ous a t)S=oi)ki) #: kai\ei)sb el qwn proj a u)thñ
 e)egen:

(1-20 deest) 21-29 cf. *Narr.* 360.16-24; cf. S (f. 128^r, 2/5-23); H (f. 163^r, 18-25) 29-31 cf. *Narr.*
 360.24-28 32-38 S (f. 128^r, 2/23-35); H (f. 163^r, 29-163^v, 3); cf. *Narr.* 360.28-361.10; cf. *Laud.* 344.20

(17-19 C.H. 1.31, 10.15, 12.12; *Asclep.* 41)

30 periskepto)renoi V periskepo)renoi Bonnet (Prieur, MacDon.) 34 ei)xen Bonnet e)xen V
 35 dromai)w j scripsi dromai)ej Bonnet dromew)j V 36 e)fqakei Bonnet e)fqakoi V 37
 ei)sbal ous a Bonnet ei)sbal)l)ous a V

we intend to offer our gratitude or our confidence⁴⁰, to sing a hymn or to boast of the God who showed mercy on us, there is nothing else worth mentioning but the fact that we have been recognised by Him”.

2. Having said these things to the brethren he sent every one about his own business saying to them⁴¹: “None of you, servants of Christ, will ever be abandoned by me thanks to His love, nor I will be ever abandoned by you thanks to His mediation”. And everyone went home.

There was a great joy⁴² among them during the many days in which Aegeates did not think of continuing the process against the apostle. And everyone was strengthened in the hope of the Lord. And gathering fearlessly at the prison, together with Maximilla, Iphidama and the rest, they all were incessantly⁴³ busy meditating⁴⁴ on the abundance⁴⁵ and grace of the Lord.

3. And one day, while Aegeates sat as judge, he remembered Andrew’s affair. And as if being seized by madness he dropped the case he was dealing with, got up from the tribunal and, running, arrived at the praetorium in order to trouble⁴⁶ and to flatter Maximilla. Before him Maximilla had already rushed back from the prison into the house. And having approached her, he said.

‘the immutable’, and not the opposite, which the individuals come to know. See Liechtenhan, *Die Offenbarung*, 92.

⁴⁰ See Stephanus, s. v. parrhsia, ‘fiducia’. See AP 23 (Bonnet 70.31). Furthermore W.C. van Unnik, *The Christian’s Freedom of Speech in the New Testament* (Manchester, 1962); G. Scarpata, *Parrhesia. Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino* (Brescia, 1964). Furthermore, A. Momigliano, ‘La libertà di parola nel mondo antico’, *RSI* 83 (1971) 499-524; P. Miquel, ‘Parrhesia (parrhsia)’, *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 12 (1983) 260-67; G.J.M. Bartelink, ‘Darrhsia dans les œuvres de Jean Chrysostome’, *StPatrist* 16 (1985) 441-48.

⁴¹ See *infra* Chapter 4, note 104.

⁴² For the construction see Jannaris § 2106; see also W.J. Aerts, *Periphrastica* (Amsterdam, 1965).

⁴³ On the basis of *Narratio* 360.19-27 (he wrongly refers to 364.19), Bonnet considered that some events had been omitted by V. However, this is just a wrong impression due to *Narratio*’s amplification: this text does not add anything new and simply amplifies the periods. See *supra* Chapter 2, § 3.1.1, A.3, p. 89. See also *supra* this Chapter, note 31.

⁴⁴ We maintain, in spite of Bonnet and all subsequent scholars, the reading of V *peris keptorēnoi*. For the construction with *εἶναι* + participle, see LSJM, s.v. *εἶναι*, B, IV.b; Kühner-Gerth § 482.12; Jannaris § 1845. For the meaning of *peris keptōnai*, see Suda, p 1219.1: *periora s̄qai. paradokeīn āpoqewreīn. peris keptes qai. frontizein*. See also Demetrakos, s.v. *peris keptōnai*, ‘s̄ keptōnai kal w̄j, nel etw̄=i meta peris keȳ ewj’. Cf. also the interpretation of the expression in *Narratio* 360.24-25.

⁴⁵ For *peribolh*/‘abundance’, ‘richness’, see Origen, *Comm. in evang. Matth.* 13.16.91; *Fragm. in Psalmos* 105.8.4; Suda, g 189.2 and p 1084.2; Philostratus, *VS* 1.504.4; Synesius Phil., *Dion* 1.12; Gregory of Nyssa, *In Canticum cant.* 6.415.19. Cf. *Narratio* 360.25.

⁴⁶ See Demetrakos, s.v. *ēhbra s̄sōnai*, ‘a)̄nata ra s̄sōnai’; Stephanus, s.v. *ēhbra s̄sōnai*, ‘inaestuarē’. The *praetorium* was the Governor’s official residence.

4. Ὀκίον qewr̄noi oi (soi\goneij̄ Macimi/l̄la th̄j̄ s unbiw̄sewj̄
 40 sou kathgguhs̄a n̄ moi toñ son̄ gambron̄, nh̄te proj̄ pl̄oūton
 ap̄idort̄ej̄ nh̄te proj̄ geñoj̄ nh̄te proj̄ doçan, a)lla\tax̄a proj̄ to\̄
 th̄j̄ y uxh̄j̄ mou eūgnwmon. kaī i\fa pol̄la\<afw> w̄ā eboul̄ or̄hn̄ eīj̄
 oñeidoj̄ sou ekfer̄ein, w̄ā te egw\upo\tw̄a gonewn̄ sou ep̄aqon
 eūrgesiw̄a, w̄ā te aut̄h\up' emou=ent%part̄i h̄nw̄a bi%, eñ̄ .toūto
 45 mon̄on h̄kw̄ para\ sou=naqeīa to\ dikasthr̄ion <katalipw̄n>
 sunetw̄j̄: eī)meñ̄ eīhj̄ ekeir̄h̄ opoīá h̄sq̄a pa/l̄ai, sunbioūsa /moī oñ̄
 ep̄istañ̄eq̄a tropon̄, sugkaqeudous̄ a/moī, sugginomen̄h̄, suntek-
 nous̄ a, kaī s̄e\eūk̄ata\par̄ta poihs̄a imi: epeī\mā=lon̄ kaī oñ̄ ex̄w̄
 eñ̄ t%=desmw̄thri% cenon̄ a)pol̄ us̄w. eī) de\ñh̄\boul̄ eī, soī\meñ̄
 50 xal̄ epon̄ oūden̄ a)ga goimi, oūde\ga k̄ dur̄a mai: ekeinon̄ de\ma/l̄ista
 oñ̄ emou=pl̄eion̄ ster̄geij̄ a)h̄ias̄w. proj̄ op̄ot̄eron̄ toigaroūa oñ̄
 boul̄ eī Macimi/l̄la skeȳa men̄h̄ aut̄ion̄ a)pokrīnou: egw\ga k̄ proj̄
 toūto oñ̄ wj̄ w̄pl̄ is̄mai. kaī eī)pw̄n̄ ta ūta ex̄eis̄ in.
5. Ἡ de\Macimi/l̄la pa/l̄in̄ kata\thñ̄ sunh̄q̄h̄ w̄fan̄ a)frā t̄s=
 55 Ifidañ̄# paraginet̄ai proj̄ toñ̄ Andreán: kaī ta)j̄ xeīraj̄ aut̄ou=
 eī) ta)j̄ idīáj̄ oñ̄ eīj̄ qeis̄ a kaī t%=ston̄ati prosfer̄ous̄ a h̄ycato to\̄
 pañ̄ th̄j̄ a)ciw̄sewj̄ Aigeat̄ou prosanafer̄ein aut̄%= kaī\o(

39-53 S (f. 128^r, 2/35-128^v, 1/30); H (f. 163^v, 3-23); *Narr.* 361.11-362.3; cf. *Laud.* 344.22-25; cf. *Vita* 249A 2-6; A 12-15; 249C 11-13 54-70 S (f. 128^v, 1/30-2/26); H (f. 163^v, 23-164^r, 11); cf. *Narr.* 362.4-16; 18-23; cf. *Laud.* 344.25-29; 345.3-9; cf. *Vita* 249A 8-10; 15-22

39-42 Antipater SVF 3.62 55-56 Achilles Tattius 5.27.1

40 ga r̄on HS, cf. *Narr.* 42 pol̄la\<afw> w̄ā Bonnet nh̄\pol̄la\w̄ā HS nh̄\pol̄la\<ei)w> w̄ā
 Prieur 44 eūrgesiw̄a V (om. Bonnet) HS 45 post dikasthr̄ion lacunam a Bonnet statutam ita
 implevi Bonnet secutus (<katalipw̄n̄ eīpe/moī oūa>) dikasthr̄ion a)pol̄ ipw̄n̄ sunetw̄j̄ HS (Prieur), cf.
Narr. 47-48 sugkaqeudous̄ a/... sunteknous̄ a del. Bonnet, cf. *infra* V^r 203, *Narr.*, *Laud.*, *Vita* 50
 a)ga goimi V pros- HS ep̄- Bonnet ma/l̄ista ante oñ̄ transp. Bonnet pl̄eion̄ ante ster̄geij̄ transp.
 Bonnet 50-51 di' ekeir̄ou de\oñ̄ ma/l̄ista emou=ster̄geij̄ pl̄eion̄ a)h̄ias̄w se HS, cf. *Narr.* 56
 prosfer̄ous̄ a katafil̄ ei=kaī H (Prieur) katafil̄ ei=prosfer̄ous̄ a kaī S, cf. *Narr.*

4. “As your parents considered me worthy to marry you, Maximilla, they pledged me as your bridegroom⁴⁷ without considering wealth, family, or fame, but rather⁴⁸ looked at the prudence of my soul⁴⁹. And to leave aside the many things I might adduce to your shame (such as the attentions I received from your parents and those you received from me during our whole life), having left the court on purpose I come to hear from you this one thing. If you might be [again] the one you used to be, living with me in the way we know, sleeping with me, keeping me company and raising children together⁵⁰, I would please you in everything. I will even release the stranger I have in prison. If you do not agree, however, against you I will not undertake anything, since I could not bear to do so⁵¹. Rather I will certainly punish that one you love more than me. After considering which possibility you prefer, Maximilla, answer me tomorrow. I am already completely prepared for it”. And after saying this he left.

5. And at the usual time Maximilla together with Iphidama went again to Andrew. And having put his hands on her eyes and taken them to her mouth⁵², she began to relate

⁴⁷ For *ganbroj* as ‘bridegroom’ see Sappho 103; Pindarus, *Pyth.* 9. 116; Theoc. 18.49; 15.129; Aratus 248. See LSJ, s.v. *ganbroj* IV. Also in Modern Greek, see Demetrakos², s.v. *ganbroj* 2, ο(νυφί)οι(η)ο(ν)ς τῆς νύμφης.

⁴⁸ For the use of *τάχα*, see *supra* this Chapter, note 37.

⁴⁹ See *infra* Chapter 4, note 44.

⁵⁰ Bonnet suspected the sequence *sugkaqeudous a/(...)sunteknous a*. But see *infra* Chapter 4, p.170 and note 54.

⁵¹ Aegeates’ kindness and love for his wife, evident in these lines, have been radically altered throughout *AA*’s transmission. *Narratio*, S and H explain Aegeates’ decision to punish Andrew as a means to indirectly punish his wife. *Laudatio* (345.1-3) and *Vita* (249A 13-15) go further than the former and, eliminating every trait of kindness from Aegeates’ words, put in his ultimatum a threat to both Maximilla and Andrew. Söder, *Romanhafte*, 144-45.

⁵² On the function and meaning of this gesture, see *infra* Chapter 4, note 72.

Andreáj a u) S= a)pekriáto: Epístamai mēn wÁ Macimi/l a
 paidiōn mou kai\ a u) hēn kekinhmerēhn se a)ntibairēin proj\ to\ pa n
 60 thj s unousiáj epa ggel ma, nus arou= biou kai\ r(parou= Bonnet p. 40
 boul omerh<n> xwri zes qai: kai\ tou to/ moi ek pol l ou= kekra tunto
 thj ennoiáj: h) h de\ kai\ thēn emhēn gnwrēhn epimarturhs ai bou/ ei.
 epimarturw= Macimi/l a, mh\ pra c) S) tou to: mh\ h(thq S) < taij >
 Aigea tou a)peil ai j: mh\ kinhq S) upo\ thj [e]keirou of il iáj: mh\
 65 fobhq S) taj ai s xraj au) pou= sunbouliáj: mh\ nikhq S) taij
 entexnoj au) ou= kol akeiáj: mh\ qel h s S) ekdou nai e. a. uthn sou f. 508v
 taij r(parai j au) ou= gohteia j: a) l' upo rēinon pas an
 au) ou= ba s an on of ws a ei j h) rai j proj ol i gon, kai\ ol on au) on of S
 narkwta kai\ marainōnenon apo/ te sou= kai\ pa rēwn twa
 70 suggenwta sou.

o) ga k ma/ ista exrhame eipein proj se, ou) ga k h s uxa zw < to >
 kai\ dia\ sou of w rēnon kai\ ginōrēnon pragma poihs aj, upēdra merē
 nē: kai\ eikotwj en soi thēn Euān of w metanoous an kai\ en emoi ton
 Adām epistrefonta: o) ga k ekeirh epaqen agnoous a, su\ nuā

(54-70 S (f. 128^v, 1/30-2/26); H (f. 163^v, 23-164^f, 11); cf. *Narr.* 362.4-16; 18-23; cf. *Laud.* 344.25-29; 345.3-9; cf. *Vita* 249A 8-10; 15-22) **71-101** deest

66-67 mh\ — gohteia j Porphyry *Ad Marc.* 33.7 **73-75** kai\ eikotwj — epistrefous a *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 35.22-23; Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* 1.6.32.1; cf. Alcinous *Didask.* 165.1-4; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 10.3 **73-77** Plotinus *Enn.* 4.8.4 **73-82** CH 1.21 **74-78** o) ga k — paqous a *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 17.10-15 **74-82** Origen *C. Cels.* 4.3; Plot. *Enn.* 2.9.15.21ff; *ApJohn* (BG 2) 47.4ff Basilides (*ap. Hippolytus Ref.* 7.25.2)

58 hpista rēhn HS **61** add. Bonnet kekra tunto HS kekra thto vel kekra tunto Bonnet kekra thnto V **63** add. Bonnet **64** a)peil ai j Bonnet, cf. *Narr.* 362.13 a)peil h j V kinhq S) HS (Prieur), cf. *Narr.* sal euq S) nikhq S) V, cf. 65 **66** sou del. Bonnet, sed cf. Jannaris § 546; 1407b sea uthn HS *Narr.* **68** a)forws a Bonnet **71** add. Bonnet

to him the whole demand of Aegeates. And Andrew answered her. “I know Maximilla, my child, that you decided yourself to go against any obligation of intercourse, for you want to be separated from a foul and sordid life. For a long time this [certainty] has dominated my mind. But now you also want me to express my opinion, and I express it – Maximilla: don’t do this! Do not be overcome by Aegeates’ threats. Do not be moved by his speech. Do not fear his base counsels. Do not be defeated by his cunning flatteries. Do not want to give yourself to his mean incantations⁵³. Resist each of his tortures paying little attention to me⁵⁴, and you will see him becoming entirely numb and fading away far from you and all those akin to you.

“For what was really necessary for me to tell you comes now over me, since I do not rest to fulfil the matter that becomes visible and actual through you. Rightly I see in you Eve becoming aware⁵⁵ and in me Adam turning back to himself⁵⁶. Since what she

⁵³ For the use of *gohteia* as the ‘incantation’ proceeding from the material and biological aspects of life and for the need for overcoming it, see Porphyry, *Ad Marc.* 33.7-8.

⁵⁴ These words are normally translated as ‘looking to me (or, to us) for a short while’. However, consider that a) as Maximilla has chosen her new way of life, Aegeates’ last chance to convince his wife is by using Andrew’s torture as a means to put pressure on her; and b) Andrew is aware of Aegeates’ trick and must consequently encourage her to dismiss it, without paying attention to the torture of his body (see *infra* V¹ 108-112).

⁵⁵ Despite Behm (in *ThWNT*, s.v. *meta noeō*), in the present passage *meta noeō* is not a synonym of *epistrefw*, but rather a previous step to it. Only after changing one’s mind is it possible to ‘turn back’ to oneself and subsidiarily to God. Against the general consensus, we keep the ground meaning of *meta noeō* as ‘to change one’s mind’ (on which E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte Religiöser Rede* [Darmstadt, 1971] 134-40) and translate with ‘become aware’ (see for this translation *infra*, Chapter 5, § 5.3.2). It is true that under Judaeo-Christian influence the term experiences a specialisation to express ‘remorse’ and ‘repent’ (see Behm, *ibid.* B; Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 139), but there are enough testimonies documenting the ground meaning as well (see Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.14.85.1; *Aph* I 138). See the etymological sense in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.6.26.55, *bradeia ga k grwsij meta noia*; and especially 4.22.143.1. Cf. also Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 2.24 (*CSEL* 3.369.20ff). In the present passage the emphasis lies on the understanding, namely on the awareness that allows Maximilla to change her mind, to go back to herself and to correct in this manner Eve’s error of going astray from herself and consequently from God. In general, P. Hadot, ‘Epistrophe et metanoia dans l’histoire de la philosophie’, *Actes du XIe congrès international de philosophie*, vol. XII (Amsterdam, 1953) 31-36; R. Joly, ‘Note sur la *meta noia*’, *RHR* 155 (1961) 149-56; A. Michel, ‘La *metanoia* chez Philon d’Alexandrie: de Platon au Judéo-christianisme en passant par Cicéron’, *Augustinus* 32 (1987) 105-20; J.N. Bailey, ‘Metanoia in the Writings of Philo Judaeus’, *SBL Seminar Papers Series* 30 (1991) 135-41.

⁵⁶ The motif of the *epistroph*/or ‘reversion’ towards oneself and/or to God plays an important role in Middle-Platonism and Neoplatonism. As Dodds (*Proclus*, 218) points out, the notion shows a progressive development from a general to a technical meaning. Whereas in Plato (*Rep.* 519b) *strefw* / *peristrefw* is applied to the eye of the soul in its ‘turning to’ higher truths, in the NT *epistroph* is used for ‘religious conversion’. In Alcinous (*Didask.* 165.1-4; 169.30-35) *epistrefw* describes the celestial intellect’s ‘turning to’ the first God, after the former has been awakened by the latter. The full actualisation of the celestial intellect takes place when it thinks the intelligibles, namely the thoughts of God. On the relationship between ‘awakening’ and ‘reverting’ see W. Theiler, *Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus* (Zürich, 1964 [1934]) 41-42 (with parallels). See also Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3, etc. The closest parallel to AA’s passage is, however, *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.31-19.10 and 21.14-25, where in a similar way as in the Neoplatonic conceptions of ‘procession’ (*probdoj*) and ‘reversion’ (*epistroph*), awareness of being incomplete and imperfect is a precondition for reaching perfection by reversion (see *infra* note

75 proj hñ a)poteiñomai y uxhñ, katorqoi] epistrefous a: kai\o]ber o(s un ekeiñ\$ kata xqei] kai\apoli shaj eá utou=nou] e]ba qen, egw\ s un soi/t\$=gnwrizous \$ eá uthñ a)hagomeñhn, diorqoumai. to\gakt ekeiñhj e]deej] a]th\i]as wnh\ta\o]mia paqous a: kai\to\ekeiñou a]tel ej] egw\ tetel]eka pros fugwn qe%= kai\o]ekeiñh parhkous en
80 s un hkous aj: kai\o]ekeiñoj sune]qeto egw\ feugw: kai\o]ekeiñoi e]fal]hs an hñeij] egnwrisamen to\gakt diorqwsai e]kastou to\ i]dion ptai]sma e]panorqou] tetel]aktai.

(71-101 deest)

75 katorqoi] epistrefous a cf. V^f 81-82; 85-86; 105-06 **75-77** kai\— diorqoumai Aristotle *Metaph.* 1072b 20-1073a 14, *De an.* 430a 22; *GosPhil* (ap. Epiphanius *Pan.* 26.13.2); *GosEve* (ap. Epiphanius *Pan.* 26.3.1); *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 25.13-19; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 123.6ff; *Thunder* (NHC VI, 2) 16.19-20; 19.11-14; Plotinus *Enn.* 5.2.1.10; Porphyry *Ad Marc.* 10 **77** t\$— a)hagomeñhn Porphyry *Ad Marc.* 10.5 to\— qe%= Aristotle *Metaph.* 1050a 7ff, 1077a 18; Alcinous *Didask.* 165.1-4; *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.31-19.10; 21.14-25; 24.25-29; Proclus *Inst.* 31; cf. V^f 133-135 **80** sune]qeto Cf. V^f 143, 154-55, 192, 237

75 proj hñ Bonnet, sed vide infra 139 **80** u]phkous aj Bonnet **81** pr. to\ t%=prop. Bonnet **82** verba e]panorqou] tetel]aktai corrupta vid. Bonnet

suffered because of not knowing⁵⁷, you now, soul to which I'm referring, rectify it turning back to yourself. And precisely that which the intellect suffered together with her when it was shattered⁵⁸ and alienated from itself, I correct it with you, who recognise yourself as being lifted upwards. For what she was lacking you fixed it by not going through the same [errors]⁵⁹; and what in him was imperfect I brought it to perfection taking refuge in God⁶⁰. What she heard carelessly you listened to. And from what he agreed on I escape. And what tripped them up, we recognised⁶¹. For it is pre-established that everyone's correction amends his own error⁶².

60). The reversion by Maximilla and Andrew takes place when they reorient their οἴεσις or 'desire, appetency' (arising from their awareness of their lack of knowledge) towards God. The emphasis on the correction that their attitudes bring about indicates the 'wrong direction' of Eve's and Adam's desire for knowledge being the reason for their error. The knowledge supplied by Andrew enables the distinction between irrational desire (ἐπιθυμία), which pursues the apparent good, and rational will (βούλησις), which pursues the real good. See Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1072a 26ff.

⁵⁷ Ignorance and not free will is the ultimate cause of suffering. This is an essential argument in order to dismiss an interpretation of μετανοεῖν in a religious sense. The emphasis on the knowledge achieved by Maximilla and Andrew shows, in our opinion, that the verb must be understood from a cognitive perspective.

⁵⁸ We understand καταρχειν as passive aorist participle of καταγνῆμι 'break in pieces, shatter' or 'weaken, enervate' (LSJM, s.v.) and not as proceeding from καταγω 'bring down' (act.). Hence, I do not see a causal relationship (as is normally accepted, assuming that the intellect's suffering arises from its being 'brought down' together with Eve) between Eve's suffering and the suffering of the intellect. Both sufferings might very well be two concomitant effects of the same cause, on which regrettably our text is silent. However, the phrase 'shattered and alienated from itself' seems to imply that the cause of the intellect's suffering is the loss of its intrinsic characteristics, namely its unity and self-centred activity (see Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1072b 20-1073a 14; *De an.* 430a 22; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.9.5). Furthermore *infra* Chapter 4, pp. 201ff and Chapter 5, § 3.2.1.3.1, pp. 292-95.

⁵⁹ The current passage is frequently, but not always, interpreted as alluding to sex. For adherents and opponents of such an interpretation, see *infra* Chapter 4, p. 163 with note 23 and pp. 197-200 and note 179.

⁶⁰ 'Reversion' or ἐπιστροφή/ἵσις is an accompaniment of οἴεσις or 'desire' (see *supra* V^r 58-61). As the presuppositions of οἴεσις are lack of the thing desired and awareness of it (see Proclus, *In Parm.* 922), so the conditions of the reversion are distinctness of the effect from the cause and its potential identity with it (Dodds, *Proclus*, 218). Maximilla's and Andrew's awareness of the first couple's imperfection allows them to correct their error. Their being conscious of their true nature and origin enables them to acknowledge their deficiency. This awareness is essential inasmuch as it generates the will (cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.1.21) that will allow the ἐπιστροφή/or 'return to God', since they now distinctly perceive themselves as effects of a cause and they subsequently recognise their potential identity with it. See Proclus, *Inst.* 31 and Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1050a 7ff and 1077a 18ff.

⁶¹ Unawareness of their incompleteness and imperfection might have led the first couple to try to supersede their ignorance by their own means. Since *AA* explicitly relates the 'suffering' to ignorance (see V^r 74-78), it seems clear that 'arrogance' (*TriTrac* [NHC I, 5] 78.17: χίε; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.5.1: τολμα) is not relevant in the explanation of this first error. Furthermore, *infra* Chapter 5, pp. 291-96.

⁶² 'It is pre-established (τετακται) that everyone's correction (τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτῶν διορθώσαι ἐκαστοῦ) amends (ἐπανορθώνει) his own error (τοῦ ἰδίου πταίσματος)'. Compare Orbe, *Cristología*, 162: 'Porque está ordenado que la enmienda de cada uno remedie el propio error'. The cardinal relevance of the idea of 'correction' is emphasised by the use of three different forms (διορθώω, καθ' ἑαυτῶν διορθώω, ἐπανορθώω) to describe it. This correction is not of a sexual kind. As Sturhahn has suggestively pointed out (*Die Christologie*, 147), Maximilla's asceticism is just an external manifestation of her receiving the saving gnosis. By receiving this knowledge, Maximilla is able to overcome the suffering originated by Eve's ignorant, deficient condition. Together with her, Andrew corrects the dispersion of the intellect. For the

6. egw\neh ou\taua u\ta ei\pw\h wj ei\pon, ei\poini a\h de\kai\ta\echj:
 eu\ge w\A us ij s\%zomen\h nh\i\} xus asa nhd' e\aut\h\h a\pokruy asa:
 85 eu\ge yuxh\bows a a\epa qej kai\epanious a ef' e\authr: eu\ge
 a\hqrwpe kata ma nqa rwn ta\nh's a\kai\epi\ta's a\epeigonenoj: eu\A
 ge o(akouwn tw\h legomerwn: wj meizona/se kata ma nqa rwn
 nooumeron h)\<to> legomenon: wj dunatwteron se ..gnwrizw tw\h f. 509r
 docar\tnwn kata dunasteu\ein sou: wj e\hprepesteron tw\h ei)
 90 ai\}xh katabal on\tnwse, tw\h ei) ai\}mal ws ia na pa ga gon\tnwse.

tau\ta ou\A a\panta kata ma qwn a\hqrwpe en e\aut\%=\o\i a\}l oj
 uparxeij, o\i a\}gioj, o\i fwj, o\i suggenh\} tou=a\genh\}ou, o\i
 noeroj, o\i ouranioj, o\i diaughj, o\i kaqaroj, o\i upek Bonnet p. 41
 sarka, o\i upek kosmon, o\i upek arxaj, o\i upek

(71-101 deest)

84-86 fusij — yuxh — a\hqrwpe Plutarch *De facie* 943a; Alcinous *Didask.* 164.18-19; cf. Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 3.16.1, 12.3.1-2; *C.H.* 10.24 (125.10-16 N-F); *TeachSilv* (NHC VII, 4) 92.10-32 **85** eu ge — e\authr cf. V^f 77-78, 105-06; Porphyry *Ad Marc.* 10.5 **85-88** eu\ge a\hqrwpe — l egon\tenon *C.H.* 1.15, 21-22; *Asclep.* 8; Philo *Plant.* 42, *Congr.* 97 **85-90** *C.H.* 13.7 **86-88** eu\ge — l egon\tenon Cf. V^f 137-38; Philo *Migr.* 12-13; Plutarch *De gen. Socr.* 588e 4ff **91-96** tau\ta — u\perexeij *C.H.* 1.15; *Asclep.* 7, cf. 8; Philo *Somn.* 1.36 Philo *Heres* 69-74 (cf. 263-265); Plutarch *De Is.* 382d 4ff; *C.H.* 10.5-6; Plotinus *Enn.* 5.3.17, 21ff; 6.9.4, 1ff **92** tou=a\genh\}ou Cf. *infra* V^f 100, 239; *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 38.32-33; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 51.27ff; 52.9; 53.7; *ValExp* (NHC XI, 2) 22.23-24, 37-38; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1.2.5, 1.11

84-85 e\authr post nhde\transp. Schimmel. vel i\}xus asa <a\uth\} nhd' e\aut\h\h a\pokruy asa h(i\}xus asa <ef'> e\authr vel h(i\}xus asa <proj> e\aut\h\h Festugiere **86** nh\Bonnet ni V **88** add. Festugiere nooumerwn h\} legomerwn Bonnet **90** katabal on\tnwn Bonnet katabal l on\tnwn V

6. “Having said these things as I said, I would also say the following. Well done you, saved nature, since you were not strong and you did not keep yourself hidden! Well done you, soul, shouting out which you suffered and returning to yourself! Well done Anthropos⁶³ who understands what is not yours and hastens towards what is yours! Well done [you] who listens to what is said! For I see you [now] thinking much greater things than what is said⁶⁴; for I am aware that you are much stronger than what seems to oppress you; for [I see that] you excel above what brought you down into deformities and above what led you to captivity⁶⁵.

“Having recognised all these in yourself, Anthropos, that you are immaterial, holy, light, that you are akin to the unbegotten, [that you are] intellectual, heavenly, radiant, [and] pure and that you are above flesh, above the world, above the powers,

recurrence of the theme of ‘correction’ in the wider context of the second and third centuries, see the interesting analysis by Orbe, *Cristología*, 153-77.

⁶³ Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 229 note 1, sees here a reference to Maximilla’s ‘inner man’ (cf., however, his paraphrase on p. 231). However, given the clear gradation $\text{f}\text{u}\acute{\sigma}\text{i}\text{j}$, $\text{y}\text{u}\text{x}\text{h}/\text{a}\text{y}\acute{\eta}\text{r}\text{w}\text{p}\text{o}\text{j}$, the term $\text{a}\text{y}\acute{\eta}\text{r}\text{w}\text{p}\text{o}\text{j}$ in the current passage is equivalent to the ‘intellect’ or $\text{n}\text{o}\text{u}\acute{\mu}\text{s}$ (on the issue, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.1.1, pp. 283-85). The level of the $\text{a}\text{y}\acute{\eta}\text{r}\text{w}\text{p}\text{o}\text{j}$ or intellect is the last step Maximilla can and must achieve before superseding reason and speech in order to attain an intuitive and direct apprehension of the divinity. See *infra* V^r 91-101.

⁶⁴ With Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 229 note 3, we read $\text{n}\text{o}\text{o}\text{u}\acute{\rho}\text{e}\text{n}\text{o}\text{n}$ as a medium voice with se as subject. After discharging everything that is alien to him, the Anthropos or intellect thinks what is his, namely himself. Andrew’s words are necessary as a means for the preliminary superseding of the shackles of materiality and those belonging to the soul (see *infra*). Once so far, the intellect is capable of distinguishing what is its and what is not its, and can dismiss the words in order to concentrate on its own essence, which is thought. See *infra* V^r 136-138. See also Chapter 5, § 4.4.1, p. 322.

⁶⁵ Lines V^r 84-90 present a clear concentric structure. The opening sentence refers to the $\text{f}\text{u}\acute{\sigma}\text{i}\text{j}$, namely to the material realm in which the $\text{f}\text{u}\acute{\sigma}\text{i}\text{j}$ $\text{s}\%\text{z}\text{o}\text{n}\acute{\epsilon}\text{r}\text{h}$ or ‘saved nature’ dwells ($\text{e}\text{u}\acute{\lambda}\text{g}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{f}\text{u}\acute{\sigma}\text{i}\text{j}$ (...) $\text{a}\text{p}\text{o}\text{k}\text{r}\text{u}\acute{\gamma}$ asa); the second one refers to the soul ($\text{e}\text{u}\acute{\lambda}\text{g}\acute{\epsilon}$ $\text{y}\text{u}\text{x}\text{h}$ (...) $\text{e}\acute{\alpha}\text{u}\text{t}\text{h}\acute{\eta}$). Occupying the centre, the third sentence ($\text{e}\text{u}\acute{\lambda}\text{g}\acute{\epsilon}$ (...) $\text{l}\text{e}\text{g}\text{o}\text{r}\acute{\epsilon}\text{n}\text{o}\text{n}$) refers to the Anthropos. The fourth sentence ($\text{w}\acute{\eta}$ $\text{n}\acute{\epsilon}\text{i}\text{z}\text{o}\text{n}\text{a}$ (...) $\text{l}\text{e}\text{g}\text{o}\text{n}\acute{\epsilon}\text{r}\text{w}\text{n}$) explains the praise of the Anthropos. The fifth explains the praise of the soul overcoming what seemed to oppress it, namely affections (cf. $\text{d}\text{u}\text{n}\text{a}\text{t}\text{w}\acute{\epsilon}\text{r}\text{o}\text{n}$). The sixth, finally, explains the praise of the saved nature excelling above the deformities and captivity of materiality. See Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 229 and *C.H.* 7.2-3.

above the authorities, beyond which you really are; having recollected and recovered yourself in your [true] condition⁶⁶, think that in what you excel. And since you have seen your face in your essence, breaking all the shackles⁶⁷ (I do not mean those shackles of generation, but also those belonging to the realm beyond generation⁶⁸, of which we gave you outstanding appellatives⁶⁹), desire now to see that one who has not yet been seen⁷⁰ by you, who has not been generated, whom you alone⁷¹, if you have the nerve, will soon perceive.

7. “I said this for your sake, Maximilla, since in its power⁷² what has been said also applies to you. Just as Adam died in Eve, having agreed on her concession, so I also now live in you, since you are observing the commandment of the Lord and are transporting yourself to that which is coherent with your essence⁷³. Reject Aegeates’ threats, Maximilla, since you know that we have a God that pities us. Do not let his noises move you, but remain pure. As for me, let him inflict on me not only the tortures of prison, but let him also throw me to the beasts, burn me with fire or throw me off a cliff. What, then? Since it is only this body and it is akin to him, let him dispose of it as he pleases.

⁶⁶ For the expression εἰς τὸ ἀπολύτῳ βῶν see Porphyry (*ap. Festugière*), *Sent.* 37.1; 38.9; 38.21; 39.14; 17.

⁶⁷ For this conception of materiality and physical existence as ‘shackles’ for the true and real being, see Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.8.4 and Porphyry, *Ad Marc.* 33. See *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.2.1.2, pp. 300-04.

⁶⁸ This mention also seems to imply a tripartite conception of the cosmos (see *supra* this Chapter note 38), as it refers to two sorts of δεσμά /or ‘shackles’, namely to those of generation, or lower realm of physis, and those beyond the realm of becoming (see *infra* Chapter 5, § 1.2, pp. 245-50 at 246). Furthermore, see Sturhahn, *Christologie*, 141 and note. According to Festugière (*La Révélation IV*, 230 note 2), the ‘names’ or ‘appellatives’ (προσῆγορίαι) may be those of the Gnostic Eons.

⁶⁹ As Maximilla is still attached to the discursive means of rationality – that is, to speech and persuasion – Andrew’s knowledge of the supramundane has been transmitted by means of words. However, once she has seen ‘her face in her essence’ she has transcended rationality as well and can engage herself in pure contemplation. See Philo, *Immut.* 62.

⁷⁰ For the use of the dative with the passive voice as ‘ὑποτινοῖ’, see Blass-Debrunner § 191 with A1. Or should ὄψεσθαι be understood as a deponent intransitive? See Blass-Debrunner § 313 and Ljungvik, *Studien*, 34.

⁷¹ For the solitude of this act of contemplation of God, see Numenius fr. 2, 11-12; Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.6.7.8-9; 6.7.34.7-8; 6.9.11.50-51.

⁷² For Andrew’s words as endowed with a *duñā nij* see *infra*, Chapter 4, note 113.

⁷³ As Luttikhuisen, ‘Religious Message’, 99-100, suggests, the passage ‘speaks about the *fate* of the first humans (not about their conduct)’. In his view, the reference to Adam’s dying in Eve and to Andrew living in Maximilla should not be understood as a reference to sexual union and abstinence, but rather to the creation of Eve. Hence (*ibid.*, 100) ‘the tacit supposition is that the division of the Pre-Paradisiac Adam into two human beings of different sex is the real cause of the fateful condition (the ‘fall’) of human kind’.

8. proj se\de/moi pa/in o(l ogoj, Macimi/l a: l egw soi, mh\
ekdwšj eáuthh t%=Aigeat'S: stheij proj taj ekeirou enedraj: kai\
115 ma/ista qeas a meírou mou Macimi/l a toñ kuřion moi l egont a /moi:
⊗ tou= Aigeatou pathk Andreá diabol oj toutou se tou=
des mwthriou ekl us ei. Soh ouA estw l oipon ful acai seauthh
a gnñh kai\ kaqaran, a gían, aš pil on, ei) ikrinh= a) mi xeuton,
a) undia qeton taij oñli ai j tou= a) llotriou hñwn, a) rupton,
120 a) rauston, a) kl aston, a) rwton, a) keiraston, a) meriston, a) kan-
da/iston, a) umpaqh=proj ta\ tou=Ka in e)rga. e) n ga k mh\ekd%j
eáuthh Macimi/l a proj ta\ toutwn enantiq, kai\ [au]toj
a) napaugomai ou)wj bias qeij a) nal us ai tou=biou toutou upek
sou=tou e' estin upek ena utou=ei) de\ egw\ a) pel a qeij n en teufen,
125 ta xa kai\ e)te)roj suggeneij mou wfel h s ai duna)noj dia\ se z
a)uth\ de\ peis qšj taij Aigeatou oñli ai j kai\ tou=patroj autou=
o)ewj kol akeiaij, w) te epi\ ta\ protera) s ou e)rga traphnai, i) q
me e)peken sou kol a s qhs onenon me xrij a) n a)uth\ gn%j o) i mh\ upek
a) cia j y uxhj to\ tou=biou zh) a) peptusa.

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113-120 S (f. 129^r, 1/8-19); H (f. 164^r, 22-30); deest in *Narr.* etc. **120-121** deest **121-129** S (f. 129^r, 1/19-34); H (f. 164^r, 30-164^v, 5); deest in *Narr.* etc.

121 ta — e)rga Clement of Alexandria *Exc. Theod.* 54; *HypArch* (NHC II, 4) 91.10-15

114 ekdwšj Bonnet ekdo)j V **115** mou Bonnet moi V **120** a) kl aston Bonnet a) kl auston V **125** sug- Bonnet eu)geneij V sou=Bonnet **126** peis qšj VH peis qeijj Bonnet peis qeij S

8. “My speech is once again for you, Maximilla. I tell you, do not give yourself to Aegeates. Maximilla, stay firm against his treacheries, especially since I have seen my Lord telling me ‘Andrew, Aegeates’ father, the devil, will free you from this prison⁷⁴. Let it be your duty then to preserve yourself pure and clean, holy, stainless, unmixed, without adultery, not sympathetically disposed to what is alien to us; unbroken, not split, unbending, invulnerable, undisturbed, undivided, free from offence, without sympathy for the works of Cain⁷⁵. If you do not give yourself, Maximilla, to the opposite of these, I myself will get rest as well, merely being forced to put an end to this life on behalf of you, which means on behalf of me.

“However, if I were driven away from this place – being able then to be of help for other people akin to me because of you – and you, in turn, were convinced by Aegeates’ utterances and by the flatteries of his father, the snake, in such a way that you might go back to your former deeds, know that because of you I will be punished until you realise that I repudiated to live the life because of an unworthy soul.

⁷⁴ For the double meaning of *des mwt hr'ion*, as ‘prison’ and ‘prison of the body’, see *infra* Chapter 5, pp. 300ff.

⁷⁵ The expression ‘the works of Cain’ in the present context refers to an earthly existence, characterised by the lack of rationality and the need to attend to externalities. Although originally in an upright position and therefore clearly differentiated from animals, man has lost his privilege and is now equally bent to the ground (see *supra* V^f 6, *xamairrifeij*) and forced to work the land for his subsistence (see Minucius Felix, *Octav.* 17.2) and hence cannot perceive or be receptive to the divine (see Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 2.2.6). Cain, as a farmer, represents in the current passage the terrestrial man and his life full of the toils peculiar to his material condition (see *HypArch* [NHC II, 4] 91.10-15, where Cain’s generation is preceded by the appearance of the burdens of physical work, ignorance, etc.). In our view, therefore, the expression ‘the works of Cain’ does not refer to sexuality (cf., however, the interesting analysis by Pesthy, ‘Aegeates’, 50-53). Rather, it should be placed in the context of the polarity Seth/Cain, as spiritual-man who looks upwards and as the irrational, material man exposed to all the toils (obviously those of sexuality as well) of his inferior existence, respectively. See Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 54.

130 9. deómaiç sou ou^Á tou=fronimou a)ndro) o)w)j diameiçS
 euyij nouj: deómai/sou tou=nh\faínomerou nou=o)w)j a)u)oj Bonnet p. 42
 diaful axqS<j>: parakalw=se, toñ ~~Ths~~ ouñ filihs on, nh\h(tthqSj
 t%= xei'oni: sul labou= ka)miç o) parakalw= a)qrwpon, i)ga
 tel'eioj gerwmai: bohçhs on kai'è)miç i)ga gnwriç Sj thñ a)hçh=sou
 135 fusiç: sumpaçhs on mou t%= paçei, i)ga gnwriç Sj o)pasxw kai'tou= f. 510r
 paçeiñ feuçS. i)de a)\a)u)oj o)w= kai'\a)\s u)\o)ç#j phrwseij. i)de a)\
 dei=kai'\a)\mh\dei=ouk o)ç ei: a)kous on w^Ál egw, kai'\a)per h)kous aj
 riç on.

130-138 deest

133-34 i)ga tel'eioj gerwmai Cf. *supra* V^r 77-79 **136-37** i)de a)\a)u)oj — o)ç ei C.H. 7.3 **137-38**
 a)kous on — riç on Cf. V^r 86-88

131 nouj= V non mouj= (cf. Bonnet *ad loc.*) **132** add. Bonnet parakalw= se, toñ Bonnet
 parakalw=sou=on V **136** i)de a)\(Bonnet i)de a)\ V kai'\a)\s u)\o)ç#j Bonnet kai'\a)\o)ç#j V
 kai'\a)\o)ç#j Liechten. phrwseij V phroj e)ç S vel pephrow S vel phrwqh S Bonnet phrwsei
 se Schimmel. (Prieur)

9. “I beg you, rational man⁷⁶, so that the clear-sighted intellect remains firm⁷⁷. I beg you, invisible intellect, so that you might be preserved. I beg you, love Jesus. Do not be subdued by the worse⁷⁸. Take part with me, man that I am begging, so that I may become perfect. Help me as well, so that you may know your true nature. Suffer with me in [my] pain, in order to know what I’m suffering and to escape the suffering. See what I’m looking at and you will disable what you are looking at. See what you must and you will not see what you must not. Listen to what I say and what you listened to throw it away.

⁷⁶ ‘Rational man’ (froñimōj a)ñhr’. The use of a)ñhr’ in the present passage seems to be somewhat odd, for until now the rational or intellectual man has exclusively been referred to as a)ñqrwpoj. A possible explanation is that we are dealing with a simple copyist slip, for some lines below the word a)ñqrwpoj refers to the same addressee. However, it may also be that the expression makes a differentiation between an immanent variety of the ‘rational man’ (froñimōj a)ñhr’) – that is, a rational man in the process of becoming a purely intellectual man, completely detached from externals – and the primordial and transcendent man or a)ñqrwpoj. This possibility might also explain the meaning of Andrew’s advising him to stay awake and preserve the clear sight of his intellect, for he is still apt to be influenced by the lower aspects of his being.

⁷⁷ The term euñy ij is a hapax legomenon, but a neologism cannot be ruled out in the current passage, for oñ ij as ‘sense of sight’ is widely attested in philosophical texts (Democritus D-K 68, B 11; Plato, *Crat.* 396b; Aristotle, *De an.* 428a 6). For a similar expression compare euñy ij to the euñurietoj oñuderkeiñ or ‘wohlverständiger Scharfblick’ (Diels-Kranz) of froñhs ij in Democritus D-K 68, B 119 (*ap.* Stobaeus 2.8.16). See Philo, *Praem.* 165, qeiñ oñ ij; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.9. For the intrinsic relationship between ‘seeing’ and ‘knowing’ (oñañ and gigrwśkein or oñ ij and nouñ, see R. Bultmann, ‘Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum’, *Philologus* 97 (1948) 1-36 at 15-23, esp. 17-18.

⁷⁸ Rationality or intellect is the best part of a human being, but its predominance over the worse or inferior parts is not assured. If irrationality revitalises as a result of the call of and assent to externalities, it can bring about a cloudiness or obfuscation of the intellect and its inherent clear sight.

10. tau~~ta~~ ei~~on~~ pro~~j~~ se\kai\pa~~nta~~ to~~n~~ a~~kou~~onta, ei)a~~ya~~
 140 a~~kou~~s \$: s u\de\o(Stratokl h~~j~~, a~~pidw~~n pro~~j~~ a u~~t~~o~~n~~ e~~y~~ egen, ti/ou~~t~~wj
 s unex\$ pol l oi~~j~~ dakru~~o~~ij kai\ster~~e~~ij ei) e~~ca~~kouston; tij h(per~~i~~\
 s e\dus qumi~~a~~; ti/to\pol u/s ou a~~y~~goj h)h(pol l h\ a)hi~~a~~; gnwri~~z~~ej ta\
 l ego~~n~~ena, kai\dia\ti/se eu~~x~~onai teknon o~~p~~wj diateq\$~~e~~j>;
 manqa~~ne~~ij pro~~j~~ tira~~j~~ ei~~h~~tai ta\ei~~h~~mer~~h~~a; h~~y~~ ato/s ou e~~k~~aston
 145 th~~j~~ dianoi~~a~~j; e~~y~~gen sou tou=dianohtikou=me~~r~~ouj; e~~x~~w me~~r~~onta
 to~~n~~ a~~kou~~s anta/mou; eufi~~s~~kw en soi\em~~a~~uton; e~~s~~tin tij en soi\
 ofil h~~s~~aj o~~n~~ egw\o~~t~~w=i~~o~~n mou; a~~g~~ap#~~t~~o~~n~~ en emoi\al h~~s~~anta,
 kai\ bou~~t~~etai a u~~t~~%= koinwnh~~s~~ai; qe~~t~~ei a u~~t~~%= sunenwqh~~h~~ai;
 speu~~d~~ei a u~~t~~%= fil wqh~~h~~ai; poqei=a u~~t~~%=s uzugh~~h~~ai; eufi~~s~~kei tina\
 150 en a u~~t~~%= a)na~~p~~ausin; e~~x~~ei pou= kli~~n~~ai th~~n~~ kefal h~~r~~i; nh\
 e~~n~~antioutai/ti a u~~t~~%=e~~k~~ei~~h~~ mh\traxur~~e~~tai; mh\ a)ntikrou~~e~~i; mh\
 a)pe~~x~~qar~~e~~tai; mh\ feugei; mh\ a)grioutai; mh\ e~~k~~kli~~n~~ei; mh\
 a)pe~~s~~traptai; mh\ e~~c~~orn#~~h~~ mh\barur~~e~~tai; mh\pol emei~~h~~ mh\pro~~j~~

139-141 cf. *Narr.* 362.8-10; deest in S/H etc. 141-162 deest

143 diateq\$~~e~~j> Cf. V^r 80, 154-155, 188, 192, 237 144-45 h~~y~~ ato/— me~~r~~ouj Plutarch *De gen. Socr.* 588e 4ff 150 e~~x~~ei — kefal h~~r~~i Mt 8:20; Lk 9:58

142 a)hi~~a~~ Bonnet a)hoi~~a~~ V 143 add. Bonnet 145 Bonnet e~~y~~gen V 145-46 e~~x~~w me~~r~~onta to~~n~~ Bonnet e~~x~~orenon to~~n~~ to~~n~~ V e~~x~~w me~~n~~ ou~~t~~o~~n~~ Schimmel. 147 ofil h~~s~~aj Bonnet ofil h~~s~~ai V a~~g~~ap#~~t~~o~~n~~ Bonnet a~~g~~aphto~~n~~ V

10. “These things I said to you and to every one that listens, if he really listened⁷⁹. And you Stratocles”, he said turning to him, “why are you so constrained by many tears and groan so loudly? What is your despair; what your acute pain and much distress⁸⁰? Do you apprehend the uttered words and why I beg you, son, to dispose yourself [accordingly]⁸¹? Do you understand to whom the pronounced words were pronounced? Did each touch your understanding? Did it reach your rational part⁸²? Do I still have the one who listened to me? Do I find myself in you? Is there someone talking in you whom I see as belonging to me? Does he love the one that has spoken in me and does he want to communicate with him? Does he want to be united with him? Does he strive to be loved by him? Does he desire to be yoked with him? Does he find in him some rest? Does he have somewhere to recline his head on⁸³?

“Is there perhaps something withstanding him? [Something] that becomes exasperated, that resists, hates, [or] that escapes, [something that] grows wild, that refuses, that has turned away, that breaks out, that is distressed, that struggles⁸⁴? [Is

⁷⁹ Milazzo, ‘Gli “Atti di Andrea” ed il romanzo antico’, in *La narrativa cristiana antica* (Roma, 1995) 53-75 at 71 note 2, sees in these words evidence to suggest that *AA* was conceived (at least partially) to be read in public or even to circulate orally. However, Andrew’s appeal to other hearers is directed to potential addressees among the other brethren who are present while he speaks to Maximilla. Even if the text omits any reference to other individuals, the next lines (V^t 140ff) show that Stratocles, at least, was also present.

⁸⁰ *AA* presents a clear bipartite conception of the soul, consisting of a rational and an irrational part. Whereas the former is busy with rationality and moderation of the emotional responses, the latter is the seat of affections and its overbearing character requires the rational part to keep close watch on it. Stratocles’ expressions of acute grief and pain alarm the apostle, for the appearance of these affections may be evidence of a factual or impending predominance of the irrational on the rational part of his soul.

⁸¹ If this is not the case and rationality is apt to be subjugated by irrationality, the words can reawaken and strengthen the rational part of the soul. Precondition for this therapeutic influence, however, is that the addressee is receptive to the words and their message.

⁸² Andrew’s last questions intend to discover whether Stratocles was and (still) is receptive to the words and whether he understands the goal of the words. The latter issue is essential, for the words seem to have both an immediate and a long-term influence on the soul of the addressee (see *infra* V^t 174-77). On the one hand, they awaken the rational part of the soul, in case due to the circumstances it happens to be numb or subjugated by affections and their overbearing character. On the other hand, the contents of the words, namely the knowledge they transmit, must achieve a more permanent effect by strengthening rationality and by helping it to keep emotions within borders.

⁸³ The last section makes explicit the issues commented on in the previous notes. Andrew’s words ‘do I still have the one who listens to me, etc....’ indeed refer to the rational part of Stratocles’ soul. If the words have reached Stratocles’ soul and if he has understood their meaning, the rational part should by now be sufficiently reinvigorated so as to have command over affections and be able properly to control them, by transforming them into something rationally acceptable. On the issue, see *infra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.2 and 3.3.3, pp. 206-09.

⁸⁴ Given Stratocles’ extreme affection, evident from his groans and crying, Andrew wonders whether the irrational part has taken control of the soul. The emotional instability of the soul resulting from this situation is obvious in the vocabulary chosen to describe its tempestuousness. See *infra* Chapter 4, p. 208 and note 231.

155 eferouj oñil ei= mh\ uf' eferwn kolakeuétai; mh\ eferoij
 suntiçetai; mh\ a)l a au) %=dioxl ei= mh\ tij a)l ot'rioj' mou e)w; mh\
 a)ntidikoj; mh\ l unewn; mh\ e)qroj; mh\ gohj; mh\ periérgoj; mh\
 strebl o)j; mh\ u)þoul o)j? mh\ dol'ioj; mh\ nis a)rqwþoj; mh\ nis ol'ogoj;
 mh\ tura)rwno)oi; .mh\ a) azwn; mh\ e)phrneroj; mh\ maniwðhj; mh\ f. 510v
 o)ewj suggenhj; mh\ diabol'ou o)pl on; mh\ puroj\ sunhgoroj; mh\
 160 skotouj i)ioj; mh\ tij eh soi\oj\ ouk a)neçetai/mou Stratokl h
 legontoj tau#a; tij gar; a)pokrinai: mh\ ma)hn l al w= mh\ ma)hn
 ei)on; ou) fhs in o(e)ns oi\ Stratokl h pa)l indakru)aj a)rqwþoj.

11. Kai\ labomenoj o(Andrea)j th) xeiroy\ Stratokleouj ei)en:
 E)w o) h)gapwn a)napausomai ef' o) prosedokoun: to)ga)k e)xi Bonnet p. 43
 165 ma)lon ste)in se kai\ aka)qektwj dakru)in surbol on moi
 pepoiçtai proj to)h)h a)napausqai, o) (i ou) ma)hn pepoiçmai
 proj se)to)j\ suggestenei) mou logouj.

12. Kai\ o(Stratokl h) au) %= a)pekri)ato: Mh\ no)ri)ze makariwtate
 Andrea) o) (i e)feron ti/e)stin to) a)niw)ma)l l' h)su/oi (ga)k dia) sou=
 170 e)çio)te)j logoi puri\ a)kontizomenoi ei) e)me) e)ðikas in, kai\ e) mou=
 e)kastoj au)w) ka)qikneitai w)j a) h)qwj e)kkai)wn me: th) yuxh)j
 mou to) proj toi)j h)kousneroj o) th) meta\ tou)wn a)ni)an

(141-162 deest) 163-167 S (f. 129^r, 1/34-2/10); H (f. 164^v, 7-12); cf. *Narr.* 363.8-14 168-182 cf. S (f. 129^r, 2/10-129^v, 1/3); H (f. 164^v, 12-30); cf. *Narr.* 363.15-23

154-55 mh\suntiqetai Cf. V^r 80, 143, 188, 192, 237 171-72 th) yuxh)j — o) Aristotle *Protr.* B 60, B 61, *EN* 1102a 27ff; Posidonius fr. 148; Galen *PHP* 444d; 453d; Plutarch *De virt. mor.* 442b 10ff; Philo *Leg. alleg.* 3.128ff; *TeachSilv* (NHC VII, 4) 93.25-94.8; Evagrius of Pontus *Schol. in prov.* 3.5

156 l unewn Bonnet l oimaiwn V 160 o)j Bonnet oi) V Stratokl h (voc.) Bonnet Stratokl h=V 162 Stratokl h (voc.) Bonnet Stratokl h=V 163 Stratokleouj Bonnet Stratokleoj V 165 moi Bonnet me V 170 a)kontizomeno) Bonnet 171 post me verba kai\ katafl egwn (-ei H) proj th) sh)storgh) habent HS (pariter *Narr.*), suppl. Prieur ante th) yuxh)j verba kai\ to)paçhtikon (glos., cf. *Narr.*) habent HS, suppl. Prieur 172 to)meta\ tou) a)ni)an HS, em. Prieur

there something] that speaks with others or which is flattered by others? That agrees with others? Or do other things perhaps disturb him? Is there someone inside who is alien to me? Someone inimical, destroyer, adversary, sorcerer, tricky, crooked, treacherous, or deceitful⁸⁵?

“[Is there] a misanthrope, a hater of words, someone similar to tyrants, a quack? An arrogant person, someone producing madness, someone akin to the snake, weapon of the devil, defender of fire, or pertaining to obscurity? Is there anyone within you, Stratocles, who does not suffer me while I say these things? Who then? Answer! Do I speak in vain? Did I speak in vain? No! says the man in you who began to cry again, Stratocles”.

11. And Andrew, taking Stratocles’ hand, said. “I have the one I loved. I will rest on the one I expected. For the fact that you are still groaning harder and uncontrollably crying is the sign for me that I have already got rest, since not in vain have I directed to you the words that are akin to me”⁸⁶.

12. And Stratocles answered him: “Do not think, blessed Andrew, that there is some other thing grieving me but you. Since the words that from you are directed to me seem to flash with fire, and each of them reaches me and truly lights me up⁸⁷. But the part of my soul that is disposed toward what has been heard⁸⁸ is tormented auguring the pain

⁸⁵ Whereas Stratocles’ receptiveness to the words and the mastery of rationality achieved by them implied that there was in Stratocles something akin to Andrew, the mastery of irrationality is described as inimical to the apostle. Instead of being open to the knowledge transmitted by the words, Stratocles may be then open to a deceiving use of speech, to the flattery of those (or that) which is alien to him. Irrational as it is, the inferior part of the soul is prone to the body and the externalities with which it ‘agrees’ tend to disturb it. Note the conceptual opposition *diatikhmi* (‘to dispose oneself to’)/ *suntikhmi* (‘to agree with’) to describe the soul’s relationship to what is akin and to what is alien to it, respectively. See also *infra* this Chapter, notes 92, 93 and 107, and Chapter 5, § 5.3.2, pp. 332-37 at 335 with note 787.

⁸⁶ See *infra* Chapter 4, note 223.

⁸⁷ Prieur’s emendations on the basis of S and H (see app. ad 171 and 172) seriously alter the conceptual development of Stratocles’ answer. As I will show below (see *infra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.4, pp. 209-10). Stratocles’ reasoning in V exactly correlates with Andrew’s questions in the preceding section, and this correlation vanishes in Prieur’s text. The melodramatic expression of S and H is actually closer to *Narratio* than to V. Compare *Narratio* 363.16-19, *oi(ga)k apo\storatoj sou e\cioritej logoi wj pue akontizontej katefl ecañ mou thh kardian kai\ proj thh pistin tou= upo\ sou ei\kusan katagell omerou Xristou=kai\storghh thj shj makario\htoj*. As far as the reading *katafl egwn proj thh shh storghn* is concerned, this expression is hardly primitive, as *storgh// ster'gw* normally means ‘love, affection’, especially of parents and children, and only rarely refers to ‘sexual love’, see LSJ, s.v. *storgh*/The qualification of such filial affection as ‘burning’ is certainly odd, especially when referring to the effect of Andrew’s words.

⁸⁸ Obviously, the ‘rational part of the soul’ or, in Andrew’s words (V^r 145), *to\dianohtikon n'roj*. Prieur’s emendation (see app. ad 171) on the basis of S and H seems to be incorrect. The emendation not only alters the correspondence between Andrew’s and Stratocles’ words (for which see *infra*, Chapter 4, pp. 211-13). The expression *to\paqhtikon n'roj thj yuxhj mou, to\proj toiç hkous n'roj oj* also introduces a flagrant *contradictio in terminis*, for a characteristic of the affectionate part of the soul is precisely not to listen to or obey words. Rather, it is the rational part of the soul that the *l ogoj* aims to

175 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000

(168-182 cf. S (f. 129^r, 2/10-129^v, 1/3); H (f. 164^v, 12-30); cf. *Narr.* 363.15-23) **183-189** S (f. 129^v, 1/4-17); H (f. 164^v, 30-38); *Narr.* 363.23-364.2 **190-204** S (f. 129^v, 1/17-2/11); H (f. 164^v, 38-165^r, 18); *Narr.* 364.3-18; cf. *Laud.* 345.9-13, *Vita* 249B 7-9

174 epime/veian kai's torghh Epedocles fr. 109; Antiphro fr. 73; Philemon fr. 200; Demetr. Lac. *Her.* 1012.44; Plutarch *Non poss. suav.* 1100d 5 **175-82** ta\neñ — a)ni'sxonta Aristotle *EN* 1179b 27ff; [Plutarch] *De lib. ed.* 4b-c; *C.H.* 1.29; Galen *De cog. an morb.* 7.40, 1-8 **188** mh's untiqemeñh cf. V^r 80, 143, 155, 192, 237 **192** dia teqeisa Cf. V^r 80, 143, 154-55, 188, 237

173 na nteuo/renon Bonnet na nteuo/renoj V **185** ouk ekenenba'ths en S ou)kenen

that comes after it⁸⁹. For you are departing and I know well that this is good. But when searching for the care and affection that from you usually come together with it⁹⁰ where or in whom shall I find it? I received the seeds of the words of salvation and you were the sower. But in order for them to shoot up and produce they need no-one else but you, blessed Andrew. And what can I tell you further than this? I need much compassion and help from you so that I might be worthy of the seeds I have from you. These will not otherwise grow unceasingly and come forth unless you want and pray for them and for all myself⁹¹.

13. And Andrew answered him: “This was what I myself too had seen in you, son. And I praise my Lord that my cogitation about you did not go astray, but knew what it said. But so that you all may know: tomorrow Aegeates will have me crucified. For Maximilla, the servant of the Lord, will trouble the enemy in him – to whom he belongs – by not agreeing with him on what is alien to her⁹². And he will think to console himself by turning against me.”

14. While the apostle was saying these things, Maximilla was not present. For she, having heard the words that he had directed to her and having, so to say, disposed herself according to the words⁹³ and become precisely what the words indicated, she

influence. The irrational part of the soul can only be influenced either by the rational part or by irrational actions. Cf. Aristotle, *Protrep.* B 60, B 61 Düring; *EN* 1102a 27ff; Posidonius, fr. 148; Galen, *PHP* 444D; *PHP* 453D, ουγακ̅ dhpou̅ ta̅j̅ doēaj̅ tou̅ og̅ist̅tikou̅=net̅a̅ dida̅sk̅kont̅ai̅ proj̅ tw̅n̅ au̅)̅ h̅ma̅t̅wn̅ a̅)̅ la̅ t̅o̅pa̅ q̅ht̅i̅k̅o̅n̅ th̅j̅ y̅ ux̅h̅j̅ a̅ Æ̅og̅on̅ u̅pa̅ r̅xon̅ e̅pe̅ge̅i̅z̅ont̅ a̅ i̅te̅ kai̅ i̅pra̅u̅kont̅ai̅ dia̅ k̅in̅h̅s̅ewn̅ a̅)̅ og̅wn̅ t̅%̅o̅ n̅e̅n̅ ga̅k̅ a̅)̅ og̅%̅ dia̅ tw̅n̅ a̅)̅ og̅wn̅ h̅%̅te̅ w̅e̅l̅e̅ia̅ kai̅ e̅h̅(bl̅ a̅ b̅h̅, t̅%̅l̅ og̅ik̅%=de̅\di̅' e̅p̅ist̅h̅h̅j̅ te̅ kai̅ e̅ a̅)̅n̅a̅ q̅i̅a̅j̅. Furthermore, Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 442b 10ff; Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 3.128ff; Evagrius of Pontus, *Schol. in Prov.* 3.5.

⁸⁹ Stratocles' words imply a quasi-materialistic effect of the words on the soul of the listener. Some lines above, Andrew has indeed described the action of the words with the verbs *ap̅tw̅* and *q̅ig̅ga̅ r̅w̅*, which imply the same conception. This 'touching' of the words seem to produce 'pain' (*a̅)̅n̅i̅á̅*) in a similar way as for Plutarch (*De gen. Socr.* 588e) human words (in contrast to divine *l̅ o̅g̅oj̅*) produce a 'wound' in the soul of the listener. Andrew's care and affection, so declares Stratocles, have until now helped him in overcoming this pain, by reorienting and transforming it into something beneficial for him. However, as he is now aware that Andrew must depart, he is tormented foreseeing both the pain that the words will generate in his soul and his lack of a helper that might bring them to a good end.

⁹⁰ *Scil.* 'with those things which have been heard'.

⁹¹ Stratocles' words are usually traced back to the 'seed-sower parable', but a comparison of our passage with Mc 4.1-20 reveals important differences. Stratocles' main concern is to state that Andrew's care and attention are essential to bring his educational process to a good end. Consequently, the focus is not on the seeds (= words) or on the quality of the ground (listener), but rather on the sower as the only craftsman who can let the plant grow properly and produce abundantly. The agricultural metaphor, as it appears here, has been traditionally applied to describe the learning process and the relationship between master (or teaching) and pupil, but since Aristotle it is particularly used to describe ethical teaching (see *infra*, Chapter 4, § 3.3.5, pp. 212-13). *AA*'s use of the metaphor must rather be traced back to this latter use, as the similarities to numerous parallels of the period clearly show. See also *infra* Chapter 4, § 4.3.1, pp. 226-28.

⁹² See *supra* this Chapter, note 85 at the end.

⁹³ See previous note.

had set out neither thoughtlessly nor without purpose and arrived at the praetorium⁹⁴, since she had said farewell both to all externalities and to those things belonging to flesh. And when Aegeates exposed to her the same demand about which he had asked her to reflect (namely, if she would agree to sleep with him⁹⁵) and she refused, he finally turned his attention to Andrew's execution and considered to which kind of death he would put him⁹⁶. And when, finally, from all possibilities only crucifixion prevailed in him, he went out and ate with his friends.

But guided by the Lord in the form of Andrew, Maximilla went to the prison together with Iphidama. And since there was a large group of brethren inside, she found him telling the following.

15. "Brethren, I have been sent by the Lord as an apostle to these regions, of which my Lord considered me worthy, not to teach anyone, but to remind each man akin to the words that they live among temporal evils, enjoying their [own]⁹⁷ deluding representations⁹⁸. From these I always encouraged you to stay away; I urged you

⁹⁴ On this description of Maximilla's movements and behaviour, see *infra* Chapter 4, p. 172 and note 67.

⁹⁵ For this biased interference by the author, see *infra* Chapter 4, p. 170 and note 54.

⁹⁶ Note that Aegeates thinks he is deciding something that has actually already been decided in advance. Some lines above (V^f 185-189) Andrew indeed already knows that he will be crucified by Aegeates. On the narrative function of the issue, see *infra* Chapter 4, p. 169.

⁹⁷ This is, we think, a necessary addition, since in some cases (e. g. Junod-Kaestli, *Histoire*, 65 note 2: 'Car ils vivent dans les réalités mauvaises passagères, en prenant plaisir à leurs apparences nuisibles'), translations seem to put the emphasis on the 'appearance' rather than on the percipient subject (see next note). The problem of the passage originates in the ambiguity concerning the antecedent of αὐτῶν. The copyist(s) of S and H have tried to solve this problem by adding οἱ (partej a)ἰρωποι (S, f. 129^v, 2/18; H, f. 165^f, 22). Cf. also Prieur, *Acta*, 501 *app. ad loc.* and MacDonald, *Cannibals*, 386, who adopts this reading.

⁹⁸ As a verbal noun of φαῖνοναι and φανταζοναι 'place before one's mind', 'picture one object to oneself', 'imagine', φαντασία expresses not only the 'appearance' but also the act of perceiving by a percipient individual. In this sense, its translation as 'appearance' can be only accepted on condition that it also implies the active participation of the percipient subject. Otherwise, one runs the risk of laying the blame exclusively on the deceptiveness of tangible reality. Our passage, however, clearly points to a wrong deluding perception of things. Material reality is certainly evil, but it is a deluding representation thereof that makes it extremely dangerous. 'Representation' (see Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 254: '... wenn sie sich an den schädlichen Vorstellungen ihrer Einbildungskraft erfreuen') is, therefore, a better translation. Consider that it is the active side of perception, namely the individual's assent to what he perceives, that is responsible for having pleasure in what is deluding. See furthermore *infra* pp. 216-19.

215 r̄eus tw̄a th̄n fugh̄n poihs̄ as qai: of̄a te gā ð mhden̄{a} ūnwā iſta /
 menon, a)lla\ta\par̄ta eu)metabol̄a m̄xri h̄hwā a)hqrwpīr̄wn:
 toūto de\s unbair̄ei dia\th̄n a)paideuton̄ yuxh̄n th̄n ei) fuſin
 pl̄anhq̄eis̄an kai\kata\<ta> th̄j pl̄ar̄hj̄ e)h̄xurā katex̄ous̄an
 makarioūj oūā̄ ekeir̄ouj̄ tiq̄emaī touj̄ kathkooūj̄ tw̄a kekhrug-
 men̄wn̄ loḡwn̄ gegonot̄aj̄ kai\di'̄ aut̄w̄ā musthriā op̄trizonērouj̄
 peri\th̄n̄ idīan̄ fuſin̄, h̄j̄ā̄ e)kekenta\par̄ta %kodom̄ntai.

220 16. e)ntel̄l̄omaī toigaroūā h̄gaph̄menā tekna, e)poikodoneis̄ qe
 e)draīw̄j̄ e)pi\<=q̄emel̄i%t%kata bebl̄ h̄mer̄n% ūn̄ia, o)tī a)ſ̄al̄ eut̄%
 kai\̄a)h̄epiboul̄ eut̄% panti\<=ponhreuomen̄%. e)pi\̄tout̄on̄ ton̄
 q̄emel̄ion̄ r̄izw̄q̄hte: sth̄rix̄q̄hte m̄hm̄neūontej̄ w̄ā̄ of̄a te
 gegon̄as̄ in̄s̄ unānast̄ref̄ont̄oj̄ moū pas̄ in̄ ūn̄iā <e>i)dētē di'̄ e)mu-
 e)rḡā gegonot̄ā oīj̄ā̄ ouk̄ e)ketē a)piſth̄s̄aī aut̄oij̄, gegonot̄ā
 sh̄meiā toiaut̄ā a)\kai\̄tax̄ā h̄(a)l̄oj̄ fuſij̄ kekrāc̄etai: loḡouj̄

211-214 deest in S/H, *Narr.* etc. [cf. *Arm.* 1.8-13] **215-217** cf. *Narr.* 364.25-28; cf. *Convers.* 374.22-23; [cf. *Arm.* 1.14-16] **218-220** cf. *Narr.* 364.28-365.2; cf. *Convers.* 374.23-375.3; [cf. *Arm.* 2.1-3] **221** cf. *Narr.* 365.3-4; cf. *Convers.* 375.2-3; [cf. *Arm.* 2.4] **221-224** deest in S/H etc. [cf. *Arm.* 2.5-10] **224-226** cf. *Narr.* 365.2-4; [cf. *Arm.* 2.10-11]

(210-11 ta\mor̄ina — poihs̄ as qai Cf. V^r 7-8, 16-17; *C.H.* 7.2-3) **211-12** Aristotle *Protr.* fr. 10 Ross; Plutarch *Numa* 14.5; Philo *Somm.* 1.245, *Opif.* 151, *Leg. alleg.* 3.38; Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 5.23; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 11.7, 153-162; Gregory of Nyssa *De virg.* 4.7 **213-14** Cf. *supra* V^r 74-77, 84-90 **215-16** Aristotle *EN* 1102b 31 **218-21** e)poikodoneis̄ qe — r̄izw̄q̄hte Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 1.5, 140-143; 29.7, 169-175

211 tw̄a ante r̄eus tw̄a add. Bonnet {} Bonnet **214** addidi (haplogr.) kai\kata\th̄j V kai\kaka\vel̄ kai\ta\th̄j Bonnet kai\ta\th̄j Prieur **216** op̄trizonērouj V kat- Bonnet **218** e)poikodoneis̄ qai Bonnet **221** post w̄ā lacunam suspic. Bonnet desiderans fere <e)geas̄ as qe> vel <h̄kouſ̄ate> **222** add. Bonnet

to strive for the abiding and to escape from all that is in flux. For you can see that nothing of yours stands firm, but everything, even man's moral character, is subject to change. All this happens because the uninstructed soul went astray in the physical realm and [still] keeps the ties (εἰρηξυρα) related to it going astray⁹⁹. Therefore I consider blessed those that have become obedient¹⁰⁰ to the proclaimed words and through their mysteries gain insight¹⁰¹ concerning their own true nature, for the sake of which everything has been built.

16. “Therefore I command you, dear children, build firmly on the foundation laid for you, which is unshakeable and against which no evil power can conspire. Root on this foundation. Stay firm remembering all what has been achieved while I was living together with all of you. Works have you seen performed through me that you cannot disbelieve¹⁰², [works] that have become such signs that even the irrational nature [in

⁹⁹ Our addition <ta> supplies the necessary acc. for a metaphorical use of kata (see Jannaris § 1584ff) ‘according to, after’ [‘related to’]. See, for the same use, *supra* V¹ 109. Cf., however, Jannaris § 1590 for the possible but rare omission of the acc. and the elliptical use of kata /with gen. The term εἰρηξυρον – normally ‘pledge’, but also ‘security’ (see *infra*) – describes in the current passage the negative consequences on the soul's condition after being lost or going astray in physical reality. There is no reason to explain it as ‘Satanspfänder’ nor to relate the passage to *AJ* 69.15 (so, Schimmelpfeng in Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 555; so, also É. Junod and J.D. Kaestli, *Acta Iohannis* [Turnhout, 1983] 262 note 3). Given the absence of any reference – such as giver, receiver, the acts of giving or receiving – that might suggest a pure contractual meaning, the term εἰρηξυρον must be considered as metaphorically expressing (see Aeneas Tacticus 5.1) the ‘ties’ that keep the soul attached to its material existence. See for this sense E. Kriaras, (*Lexiko*, s.v. εἰρηξυρον 2: ‘εἰρηξυρον: εἰρηξυρον (ἐν ὁ ἐπιτροπῶν ἡ/κουραῖων) ἐρηξυρα βίου, toutesti/paidaj. Cf. especially Demetrakos, s.v. εἰρηξυρον 2: ‘kt. ἐπεκτ. παρὰ τὸ κατακρατούμενον προὐκ οὐρανῶν δεσμεύειν’. A similar use in Clement of Alexandria. *Quis dives* 25.7.1 and in Lucian, *Catapl.* 15.1.

¹⁰⁰ The irrational soul, even though strictly speaking alien to rationality, may to a certain extent pay heed to rational speech. For kathkooj as ‘obedient’ to the λογῶν see Aristotle, *EN* 1102b 31.

¹⁰¹ The participle ὀπριζομένων is normally translated as ‘seen as in a mirror’. We reject the simile, because the present passage puts the emphasis on the insight that words provide. The verb ὀπριζομαι seems to refer here to a special kind of insight and understanding, namely to an intellectual process provoked by the words. By being obedient to them, the brethren achieve, through their mysteries, a glance at their own real nature. For a similar meaning, see the use of ἐποπριζομένων in Eusebius, *C. Hierocl.* 411, 21-24, ἡμεῖς ποτεῖται καὶ ἴδιαν ἔχει τῆς μετῆς καὶ ἴδιαν οἰῶν ὁμοίαν τῆς αἰσθητικῆς ἐποπριζομένης προσώπων. See also John of Damascus (*Vita Barlaam*, 438.4-11) and Const. VII Porphyry. (*De sentent.* 27.3-27.10). Interesting is the fact that the Armenian translator renders the verb ὀπριζομαι with the Armenian form *tesanem* (Č 146.17) ‘voir’ and not with ‘voir comme dans un miroir’. Cf. Calzolari, ‘Version arménienne’, 156-57.

¹⁰² ‘Works or deeds’ (εἰργα). This is the only passage in *AA*'s fragment in V in which Andrew mentions his deeds. In contrast to the previous speeches that only refer to his words, in this second speech to the brethren Andrew's activity seems to consist of a combination of words and deeds. Whereas the words are aimed at reaching the rational part of the soul, the deeds are intended to modify or subdue the irrational part, since the latter is in general unreceptive to rational speech and only reacts under the pressure of irrational actions (on the issue, see *supra* this Chapter, note 88). For those who are used to living an irrational life Andrew's deeds are essential, for the astonishment they provoke alters the habitual and mechanical causal chain that, by means of sensorial perception and representation, keeps them attached to materiality (on which, see *infra* Chapter 4, pp. 214-19).

- 225 u(ri)na paredwka ..ou] eu]omai ou]wj kata dexes qai uf' u(r)w]a w] a u]oi\oi(l o]oi qel'ous in s thrizes qe ou]a ga phtoi\epi\pas in oi]a <e>i]dete, oi]a hkousate, oi]a ep]koi]nwnhsate: kai\u(r)aj o(qeoj] ei] o]n episteusate]e? e]ehsaj eu]arestouj parasths ei e]aut%= a)napaume]rouj ei] a]pantaj ai]w]aj.
- 230 17. to\de\peri\en]e\nel]lon sunbair]ein mh\ou]wj tarassetw u(r)aj w] ti ce]non qa]u]na, o]i o(tou=qeou=dou]oj, %A]polla\ pare]xeto au]oj] o(qeoj] di' e]gwn kai\l o]gwn, ou]oj bi]# upo\ a]nqrw]pou ponhrou=a]pel au]etai tou]ou tou=pros kai]rou bi]ou: ou] mon]on ga]k peri\en]e\to\toiout]on sunbhs]etai, a]l]a kai]ei] pantaj
- 235 tou] h]gaphko]taj kai]ei] au]on] pepisteuko]taj kai]au]on] o]rol o-

(224-26 cf. *Narr.* 365.2-4; [cf. *Arm.* 2.10-11]) 226-229 deest [cf. *Arm.* 2.11-15] 230-233 cf. *Narr.* 365.5-6; cf. *Conuers.* 375.3-7; [cf. *Arm.* 3.1-7] 233-238 deest [cf. *Arm.* 3.7-13]

227 add. Bonnet 230 ou]wj Bonnet o]t]wj V 235 post tou]j] au]on] add. Bonnet

you] will acclaim them¹⁰³. Words I transmitted to you, which I entreat you to receive in the way the words need to be [received]. Beloved, stay firm on all things that you saw, that you listened to¹⁰⁴ and that you participated in, and the God you have believed in, showing mercy on you, will place you beside Him as those who please Him and who have achieved eternal rest.

17. “With regard to what is about to happen to me do not let it disturb¹⁰⁵ you as though it [were] a strange marvel that the servant of God – to whom God Himself allowed so many things through deeds and through words – is driven away from this ephemeral life so violently by a wicked man¹⁰⁶. This will not come upon me only, but also upon all those who loved and believed in Him and confess Him. [For] the

¹⁰³ $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ refers to the ‘irrational’ or ‘ignorant nature’ in man himself and not, as it is normally interpreted, relying on Luke 19:40 ($\epsilon\grave{\alpha}\nu\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \sigma\iota\omega\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$), to ‘mute nature’ (cf. Ger. ‘stumme Natur’: Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 254; Hornschuh, ‘Andreasakten’, 290; Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 121; Engl. ‘dumb nature’ James, *The Apocryphal NT*, 355, though he does not refer explicitly to Luke. 19:40; or ‘mute nature’, MacDonald, *Cannibals*, 389; It. ‘natura muta’: Moraldi, *Apocriſi* II, 1421; Fr. ‘nature muette’: Leloir, *Écrits*, 233; Prieur, *Acta*, 500; Dutch ‘stomme natuur’: Heeringa, in Klijn, *Apocriefen*, 174. Although there are a few testimonies (Clement of Alexandria. *Protr.* 4.50.1.4; *Orac. Sib.* 3.29-31; 4.6.7) documenting the combination of the adjective $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ (present in *AA*) with the substantive $\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\varsigma$ (present in Luke), none of them mentions the act of screaming. The ‘irrational nature’ of our interpretation is the counterpart of the $\iota\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, the ‘real’ or ‘true nature’, namely man’s rational nature. In this sense $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ must be an equivalent of the $\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$. $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ in this context is either a corruption of $\alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$, due to the phonetic and semantic proximity of the terms (cf. Georgius Monach., *Chronicon* 5.23.11: $\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\grave{\iota}\mu\omega\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$; Origen, *Hom. in Luc.* 5.30-31, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\ \gamma\alpha\ \kappa\omega\phi\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\upsilon\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \phi\omega\sigma\ \gamma\alpha\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \hbar\alpha\epsilon\lambda\ \epsilon\grave{\nu}\ \kappa\omega\phi\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\kappa\ \beta\alpha\lambda\ \omega\tau\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\ \phi'$ $\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ = $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ $\delta\upsilon\eta\ \nu\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\acute{\rho}\eta\delta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \alpha\ \rho\omicron\delta\omicron\upsilon\ \mu\alpha\iota\ \nu\omicron\mu\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \hbar\ \rho\omicron\phi\ \hbar\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \hbar\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon$; Dionysius Halic., *De comp. verb.* 14.84-87, opposes $\chi\eta\upsilon\omega\delta\eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ to $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \phi\omega\sigma$ ($\alpha\chi\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\hbar\delta\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\omicron}$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \rho\epsilon\omicron\sigma\ \alpha\ \nu\ \sigma\ \phi\omicron\delta\ \rho\alpha\ \lambda\ \upsilon\epsilon\iota\ \hbar\ \chi\eta\upsilon\omega\delta\eta\ \gamma\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\ \lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \mu\alpha\ \epsilon\lambda\ \omicron\ \hbar\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\ \phi\ \alpha\ \rho\tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \hbar\ \omega\eta\ \phi\ \omicron\ \sigma\ \upsilon\ \rho\iota\gamma\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$) or it is simply an equivalent thereof (cf. Hesychius, $\alpha\ 43$, $\alpha\ \beta\alpha\kappa\iota\ \acute{\eta}\omega\ \nu\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$ ($\alpha\ \beta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\omega$, ‘to be speechless’, LSJM, s.v., but also ‘ignore’. See also $\alpha\ 53$, $\alpha\ \beta\alpha\kappa\eta\ \acute{\eta}\omega\ \nu\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\gamma$, $\alpha\ \sigma\ \upsilon\ \eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\upsilon$ ($\alpha\ \sigma\ \upsilon\ \eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\upsilon$ ‘void of understanding, ‘witless’ (LSJM, s.v.); $\alpha\ 44$, explains the verb $\alpha\ \beta\alpha\kappa\epsilon\omega$ as $\alpha\ \rho\omicron\eta\ \sigma\ \alpha\iota\ \alpha\ \tau\omicron\ \rho\tau\alpha\ \acute{\eta}\epsilon\iota\ \nu$. It is the ignorant or irrational nature which is responsible for the prolongation of man’s stay in materiality, the target of Andrew’s $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\alpha$.

¹⁰⁴ Andrew’s words and deeds form here the unshakeable foundation upon which the brethren must stay firm. This double reference seems to imply that for the brethren Andrew’s activities in physical reality and the knowledge transmitted by his words have an equivalent value. As already said, it might be that their attachment to externals requires the deeds or wonders as a precondition to being receptive to the words.

¹⁰⁵ This reference seems to support our interpretation in the previous note(s). If Andrew’s deeds are relevant for the brethren in order to achieve a proper understanding of things, this implies that they are still open to the influence of externals. In the case of Andrew’s activities, his deeds or wonders seem always to be accompanied by fitting words, which must reorient the seers in case the former strike them. Given the fact that his crucifixion may also appear to them as a ‘strange marvel’, and given that he will not be there to provide them with a proper explanation, the apostle fears that it will produce ‘disturbance’ or $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi$ /In the following lines he provides such an explanation in advance in order to prevent the brethren from forming a judgement ($\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\alpha$) as a result of their own perceptual representation ($\phi\alpha\ \nu\ \alpha\ \sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}$) of things. For the relationship between $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi$ ‘disturbance, fear’, and $\phi\alpha\ \nu\ \alpha\ \sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}$ and $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\alpha$, see *infra* Chapter 4, note 285.

¹⁰⁶ Note the felicitous implicit association of $\beta\iota\ \#$ and $\beta\iota\ \omicron\upsilon$ in V^t 232-233.

gouⁿtaj: o(paⁿta aⁿaidh) diab^ol oj taⁿiⁿdia tekna opli^sei kat'
aⁿuⁿwⁿ, oⁿwj aⁿuⁿ%-s unq^wntai: kaiⁿouⁿ eⁿei oⁿboulⁿ/etai.

kaiⁿdiaⁿtiⁿ/taⁿuⁿta epixeirei=egwⁿfⁿrasⁿw: aⁿpoⁿmenⁿthⁿ parⁿtnⁿ Bonnet p. 45

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aⁿxhⁿ, kaiⁿeiⁿdei= eⁿein eⁿ ouⁿer o(aⁿ)arxoj tⁿS=up' aⁿuⁿon aⁿxⁿS=
kathⁿqen, aⁿpwⁿqhs e o(polⁿerⁿioj eiⁿrhⁿhⁿ aⁿ)l oⁿrⁿioj toⁿn mhⁿiⁿon,
aⁿ)l aⁿmonⁿtinaⁿ tⁿwⁿaⁿ qenesⁿterⁿwn kaiⁿ<mhⁿ> perifaⁿhⁿkaiⁿmhde/
pwⁿdunaⁿrenon gnwrizes qai: kaiⁿdiaⁿtⁿoⁿmhdeⁿaⁿuⁿon episⁿtas qai,

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touⁿou eⁿeken eⁿkeinon up' aⁿuⁿou=eⁿxrhⁿ polⁿemeis qai: doⁿcaj gaⁿ
aⁿuⁿon eⁿkein kaiⁿ\ despoⁿzein aⁿuⁿou= eiⁿsaeiⁿ\ tos ouⁿon aⁿuⁿ%=
antiferⁿetai wⁿ thⁿn aⁿuⁿwⁿ eⁿxqran filiaⁿj paraplⁿhsian
erⁿgazes qai. upobaⁿlⁿwn gaⁿ aⁿuⁿ%=taⁿiⁿdia polⁿlakij diegray en
ehⁿdonⁿ oⁿta kaiⁿaⁿpathlⁿa/ⁿdiⁿ wⁿ aⁿuⁿou=per[i]kratein edokei:
exqroj menⁿ ouⁿk edeikⁿnuto eiⁿ toⁿfⁿanerⁿon, pros poiouⁿrenoj .filiaⁿn
thⁿn aⁿuⁿou=aⁿciⁿn.

f. 512v

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18. kaiⁿtouⁿoⁿ hⁿ aⁿuⁿ%=eⁿrgon epiⁿ\polⁿuⁿginouⁿrenon, wⁿ eiⁿ lⁿhⁿhn
gnwrizes qai eⁿkeinⁿ%, gnwrisⁿai <deⁿ> aⁿuⁿon: touⁿeⁿ eⁿstin ouⁿawⁿj diaⁿ\
taⁿeⁿautou=dwⁿea. aⁿ)l' oⁿe <toⁿ> thⁿ xarⁿitoj musthⁿerⁿon echⁿqh,
kaiⁿ\h(boulⁿhⁿthⁿ aⁿ)napausⁿewj efⁿanerwⁿqh, kaiⁿtⁿoⁿtouⁿ=lⁿogouⁿfwⁿ
edeixⁿqh, kaiⁿ\toⁿ\sⁿzorⁿrenon geⁿoj hⁿegⁿxqh polⁿlaiⁿj hⁿdonaiⁿj
polⁿemouⁿrenon, toⁿn aⁿ)l oⁿrⁿion aⁿuⁿon kataⁿfrouⁿrenon, eⁿautⁿon eiⁿ

255

(233-238 deest [cf. *Arm.* 3.7-13]) **239** deest [cf. *Arm.* 4.2] **240-242** deest [cf. *Arm.* 4.7-10] **242-244**
deest **244-249** deest [cf. *Arm.* 5.4-10] **249-252** deest **252-260** S (f. 129^v, 2/20-36); H (f. 165^r, 23-32);
[cf. *Arm.* 5.10-22]

237 sunq^wntai Cf. V^r 80, 143, 154-55, 188, 192 **239** o(aⁿ)arxoj Cf. *supra* 92, 100; Plutarch *De E*
393a; *C.H.* 4.8 (52.11-13 N-F); *Eugnostos* (NHC III, 3) 75.2; *SophJesChr* (BG 3) 91.3; *ApJohn* (BG 2)
23.6-7; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 51.27ff, 52.9, 53.7, 77.22-25; *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 17.10ff, 38.32-33, *ValExp*
(NHC XI, 2) 22.23-24, 37-38; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 1.1.1, 1.2.5 **250** lⁿhⁿhn Cf. *supra* V^r 207, *infra* 267;
Plato *Phdr.* 248c, 250a; Philo *Sobr.* 2, *Somn.* 2.101ff, *Plant.* 177; Alcⁿ. *Didask.* 169.32-41; Plutarch *De an.*
procr. Tim. 1026 e-f; Maximus of Tyre *Diss.* 10.6, 140-43, 159; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 77.22-25; 85.25-32;
C.H. 10.15; **251** *C.H.* 1.15

239 eiⁿdei-Bonnet hⁿh V **239-40** aliquid deesse iudic. Bonnet **240** aⁿpwⁿqhs e Ljungvik aⁿpwⁿqhs ai
V aⁿpwⁿqei=kaiⁿSchimmel. aⁿpeiⁿqhs ai Bonnet aⁿpwⁿqhs ai <...> Prieur polⁿerⁿioj, o(Bonnet **241**
add. Bonnet **245** paraplⁿhsian Bonnet paraplⁿhsiaⁿj V **248** ouⁿk V ouⁿ male leg. Bonnet (pariter
Prieur) **250-51** fort. eiⁿ lⁿhⁿhn <hⁿqe> gnwr. **251** add. Bonnet ouⁿawⁿj scripsi ouⁿoj V **252** post
dwⁿea lacunam suspic. Bonnet toⁿHS deest in V **255** toⁿn aⁿ)l oⁿrⁿion V iⁿthⁿo(aⁿ)l oⁿrⁿioj HS

completely shameless devil will arm his children against them in order that they may agree with him¹⁰⁷. But he will not get what he wants.

“And I will tell you why he undertakes this. From the beginning of all things, or so to say, since the one without beginning¹⁰⁸ came down to the beginning below Him, the enemy, alien to peace, misled the one that did not belong to him but was only one of the weakest, not conspicuous and that could not be recognised [by God]¹⁰⁹. But as this one would not acknowledge him (*scil.* the enemy) either, it was necessary for him (*scil.* the enemy) to conquer him by battle. However, with a view to keep him and dominate him forever, he opposed him in such a way as to present the enmity between them as a friendship. In order to dominate him, he frequently enrolled his [children], who are delightful and deceitful and through whom he thought he would prevail over him. By disguising as a friendship his [real] value, he did not present himself openly as an enemy.

18. “And his activity took place for so long that both to be known by Him (*scil.* God) and to know Him came into oblivion. This is so because of his (*scil.* the devil’s) presents¹¹⁰. But when the mystery of grace was set aflame and the will for rest was manifested and the light of the word appeared; and when, through the kindness of the one who shows mercy, it was proved that the saved race was to fight against many pleasures, [that it was] was to despise the alien one and was to ridicule him for his own

¹⁰⁷ See *supra* this Chapter, notes 85, 92 and 93.

¹⁰⁸ Here, too, as in V^f 100 (ou)genorēnon), God’s transcendence is explicitly stated. Whereas in the former case, god is said to be beyond the process of coming-into-being and passing away, the current passage states that he is also beyond time.

¹⁰⁹ The intrinsic relationship between ‘being known’ by God and ‘knowing’ him is fully developed in the first speech to the brethren (V^f 1-19). In the current passage, the incapacity to be known by God and to know him (the reason for which is difficult to determine due to the corruption of our text) obviously implies that men (or at least some of them) could not acknowledge the enemy either. Delightful and deceitful appearances will, then, be the means applied by the devil to conquer humanity.

¹¹⁰ ‘Bribes’ (?). Given the negative view of the physical realm as well as of everything related to it, it seems plausible that the writer here made use of the pejorative sense of the term as ‘bribe’.

ta\ eáutou= dwæa diagel wñenon, di' wÂ aùtou= eðokei
 katofruous qai, dia thñ tou= e) ehs antoj xrhs to\hta, h\cato proj
 h(raj mis ei kai\exqr# kai\epcanastasei antipl ekei[n]: ka?
 tou= e) e)g% teqetaiti, nh\pasas qai af' h(wna naxrij a) nomizs
 260 xwrizein to\te men ga k a)nerimoi hÅo(h(nia) l o\rioi, kai\ filian
 pros epoieito stel les qai proj h(raj thñ aùtou= a)cian: eiÅen de\
 kai\to\mh\ fobeis qai nh\ apostwñen pepl an hmeroi up' aùtou= to\
 de\thj oikonomiáj xrhna ecaf qen ouÅ egw is xuro\eron, to\ga k
 kruptonon aùtou= thj fus ewj kai\to\dokoua lanqanein, tou= o
 265 h\egcen kai\o\mol ogeia o(ests tin pares keuas en.

epistatēnoi toigaroua to\ mel lon es es qai adel foi\
 diupnizwneqa, nh\ dusforouatej, nhde\ sxhmatizonēnoi, nhde\
 apokomizontej aùtou= i)nh epi\ twa y uxwata\ nh\ dia h(wna: a) l a\
 o\oi eh o\% t%= l og% epaiwrounēnoi to\tel'oj paratej as meriwj
 270 pros decwneqa kai\ thñ a) p' aùtou= fughn poihs wmen, o\pwj kai\
 aùtoj l oipon deixqs= wj estin thñ fus in h(wna epi\ ta h(terera

(252-260 S (f. 129^v, 2/20-36); H (f. 165^r, 23-32); [cf. *Arm.* 5.10-22]) 263-265 deest [cf. *Arm.* 6.2-5] 265-
 266 deest 266-271 S (f. 129^v, 2/36-130^r, 1/13); H (f. 165^r, 32-165^v, 3); [cf. *Arm.* 6.7-8; 6.9-10; 6.11-15]

256-257 kato- Bonnet kata- V 263 ouÅscripsi ou)V is xuro\eron scripsi is xuro\eran V ante to
 lacunam stat. Bonnet desiderans fere <a) l' e)fanesteran a)pedeicen aùtou= thñ exqran> 267
 xeimazonēnoi HS (Prieur) 269 epaiwrounēnoi Prieur epewrounēnoi VS eperwrounēnoi H

presents –through which presents he thought he would prevail –, he began to embroil us with hate, enmity and sedition. And this is what he intends to do: not to stop until he thinks [we] desert.

“Before this time our enemy had no preoccupations and [simply] pretended to present his value as a friendship to us. For, deceived by him as we were, he did not fear that we would depart. But the matter of [divine] economy shone stronger than the one I’m referring to¹¹¹, since it refuted what was hidden of his¹¹² nature and what seemed to remain unnoticed, and prepared it to confess what it is.

“Consequently, since we know what will happen, brethren, let us stay awake without despairing, without demeaning ourselves and without carrying on our souls his traces, which are alien to us. Rather, since we are all buoyed up by the whole word, let all of us accept gladly the end and make the escape from him, so that he also, finally, would appear as he is, our nature on our own¹¹³”

¹¹¹ *Scil.* the enemy.

¹¹² *Scil.* the enemy

¹¹³ Abrupt end of Codex Vaticanus gr. 808, f. 512^v.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS OF *AA*'S FRAGMENT IN CODEX VATICANUS GRAECUS

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Ever since its discovery and publication by Bonnet, *AA*'s fragment in V has been considered to be a portion of the genuine *AA*¹. Yet the ultimate conclusions of such an assumption have never, or only partially, been drawn². Chapter 2 has provided enough arguments to distinguish this document from the remaining extant witnesses. The present chapter focuses on an internal literary and conceptual analysis of the fragment that, by bringing its radically different mentality to the foreground, will prove it to be our only reliable source for the analysis of the message of the primitive Acts.

1. General Character of *AA*'s Fragment in V

As *AA*'s fragment in V begins in *medias res* and ends abruptly, it is impossible to ascertain how long the text was originally³. The lack of title and colophon, which probably explains its preservation, means that we don't even know anything about how the last copyist understood the text.

When approaching the fragment, two main issues immediately draw our attention: the marked philosophical vein of the text and its predominantly discursive style. With regard to the former, the text's tendency towards abstract formulation is evident in the regular and abundant use of philosophical or pseudo-philosophical terms and expressions⁴. Even though Andrew's discourses always originate in concrete situations, his approach to and treatment of the subject matter always proceeds from the particular to the universal in an attempt to facilitate a more abstract scrutiny of the situation he is analysing⁵. This kind of exposition not only reveals the writer's acquaintance with philosophical formulations, but also presupposes the reader's familiarity with such a mode of analysis. Take, for instance, the characteristic cosmological dualism that pervades our text. The negative conception of tangible reality is

¹ For the consensus on the issue see *supra* Chapter 2, p. 85 note 88.

² This is due to the fact that, on the one hand, scholars who consider V as our only reliable document for the analysis of the primitive Acts generally refrain from a comparative study of this testimony with the remaining extant witnesses (see *supra* Chapter 1, p. 65 note 441). On the other hand, those scholars who carry out a more comprehensive study of *AA*'s transmission are not interested in emphasising differences between the documents, but rather in searching for parallels and similarities that may widen the textual basis for their analysis of the ancient Acts (see *supra* Chapter 1, § 3.3, pp. 62-66).

³ As already seen, however, the widespread assumption that *AA*'s fragment in V is an excerpt from *AA* that is preserved almost in its original length is wholly unfounded. See *supra* Chapter 3, § 1.2.3, pp. 134-37. See *supra* Chapter 3, notes 31 and 113.

⁴ See *infra* this Chapter, § 2.3.3, p. 181.

⁵ According to Erbetta (*Apocryfi* II, 398) this working procedure brings *AA*'s fragment in V close to the style and way of exposition of Gnostic writers.

neither stated by dint of a categorical enunciation of its worthlessness nor insinuated by describing the burdens of everyday existence. Rather, the imperfection of the sensible world is derived from a continuous and systematic comparison with the supra-sensible one by means of conceptual pairs of oppositions with an old philosophical tradition, such as ‘movement/rest’, ‘change/permanence’, ‘identity/difference’, and ‘unity/plurality’. The same is true of the anthropological dualism that in *AA* divides humanity into two [γῆ] or ‘races’, and that even recognises a dichotomy within an individual between a false and an authentic nature. Admittedly, the conception might simply echo the old topical axiological differentiation of humanity⁶. Yet the philosophical approach comes to the foreground when analysing the causes of the current human, degraded condition and the means to improve it.

As far as the style is concerned, *AA*’s fragment in V is predominantly discursive: of the 271 of our edition, little more than 10% – i.e. 29 lines, if the inevitable narrative junctions between the speeches are excluded – is purely narrative. The remaining 242 lines are distributed over five speeches, four by Andrew and one by Aegeates. Whereas the latter plays a purely narrative role in the plot’s development⁷, Andrew’s speeches are concerned with the spiritual development of his followers and convey essential information for understanding the personae and their function in the text.

Unfortunately these discursive sections are not intended as dialogues, since the exchange of ideas between interlocutors might have offered more precise information. Instead, the addressee’s complete silence during three of them rather gives the impression of a soliloquy by the apostle, which effect is softened by regular interruptions in Andrew’s argumentation in order to apostrophise or attract his hearer’s attention⁸. Notwithstanding this, there are other ways to grasp the context and scope of these speeches. The apostle’s words are always the result of a given psychological state in his addressee that originates in a precise context⁹. Our understanding both of the hearer’s state of mind combined with an analysis of Andrew’s response provides us with all the necessary co-ordinates to properly construe the message of these speeches.

⁶ Such an axiological dualism does indeed appear as soon as the notion of individuality develops – it is the *principium contradictionis* that provides the individual with a clear-cut idea about himself and about the other, since it only the existence of B that proves that A is A and not B. In Greek antiquity such an anthropological dualism adopts many different forms and the criteria that support it generally show an evolution from external tokens such as wealth or nobility (Homer), to more internal aspects such as courage in battle (Archilochus), insight (Heraclitus), innate excellence (Pindarus), and balanced character (Aristotle).

⁷ See *infra* this Chapter, § 4.4.1 at p. 231.

⁸ See V^r 21 (brethren); V^r 58, 63, 102, 113, 115, 122 (Maximilla); V^r 140, 160, 162 (Stratocles); V^r 205, 211, 218 (brethren).

⁹ On the issue, Bovon, ‘Words of Life’, 81-95.

V's philosophical character and discursive style clearly differentiate this document from the bulk of textual witnesses preserving *AA*'s traditions. In the best cases the extant witnesses radically transform them and in the worst completely eliminate them. This means that a proper analysis of both issues can rely only on V's testimony. Consequently, taking this document as a textual whole, and avoiding references to other witnesses as far as possible, we will now concentrate on its literary analysis, which will provide us with both a consistent literary framework in which to place the speeches and their message and with the means to properly interpret them.

2. *Literary Analysis of AA's Fragment in V*

2.1. The Plot of the Fragment

The first incomplete speech places us in prison, at a meeting between Andrew and his followers, immediately after the apostle's imprisonment and before his final crucifixion¹⁰. As V begins, Andrew is reprehending his hearers for their feebleness (U**h**c**b**]#) and begins a categorical praise of the community and of the radical superiority of its individuals due to their belonging to the higher realm, to the realm of the best, of the Good, of justice, and of light. They are akin to the transcendent realm of unity and permanence¹¹ and this belonging provides them with complete insight into earthly matters. After assuring his followers that, thanks to their love in Christ, he will never abandon them and that, thanks to Christ's mediation (a**Y**g]h**Y**]#), they in turn will never abandon him, Andrew sends them away¹².

The following narrative section introduces all personae (except Stratocles) who will play a role in the further action of our fragment: Andrew, the proconsul of Patras Aegeates, his wife Maximilla, her chambermaid Iphidama, and the brethren¹³. The first half of this section describes the happiness and optimism of all the followers and their strengthening reunions in prison during the days that Aegeates seems to have forgotten Andrew's case¹⁴. This joy, however, is not abiding. Consistent with the tone of the first incomplete speech, which denies any stability in the realm of change, the second half of this narrative section brings a sudden turn in the action: Aegeates remembering puts an end to their temporary relief. Becoming furious, the proconsul leaves the court and rushes back to the praetorium¹⁵.

¹⁰ For the preceding sections and the alleged textual continuity between this chapter and the preceding one in Prieur's textual reconstruction (*AAgr* 32-33), see *supra* Chapter 1, pp. 36-37 and note 312.

¹¹ V^r 1-19.

¹² V^r 20-24.

¹³ V^r 25-38.

¹⁴ V^r 25-31.

¹⁵ V^r 32-37.

At this point, Aegeates' speech to his wife takes place¹⁶. The silent Maximilla, who had arrived just a few moments before her husband, listens to the ultimatum that he issues to her: if she agrees to resume their former conjugal life he is willing to free Andrew; on the other hand, if she refuses he will punish him. Troubled by this new turn of events, Maximilla, together with Iphidama, returns to the prison and tells the apostle about her husband's proposition (UW# g] ^). The apostle's response to her news begins a new discursive section. In his lengthy speech to Maximilla¹⁷, Andrew first encourages her not to listen to Aegeates' proposition, paying attention only to the worthiest part of her essence (hcPh\↑ ci g]# ^ gci UW# aU). She must reject Aegeates' crucial test (VU#Ubc ^), ignoring the threat to the apostle¹⁸. Only by accepting his suffering and undermining its importance, he says, can she achieve her complete liberation from Aegeates. In order to argue his point, Andrew analyses the consequences of both possibilities, i.e. a negative and a positive answer to her husband's proposal¹⁹. Maximilla's rejection of Aegeates' threats and her maintaining her free determination is considered from a universal point of view because its consequences go beyond the particular cases²⁰. The simile introduced by Andrew to support his point includes a very interesting reinterpretation of the Paradise scene and of the reasons that caused the first couple's error (dhU]g#aU)²¹. In his argument Maximilla and Andrew represent the exact opposites of Eve and Adam²². Both, as representatives of mankind, can correct the first couple's deficiency and incompleteness thanks to the acquaintance gained by Maximilla and by her recognising herself as belonging to the realm above²³. The next section of Andrew's speech describes the results of such a correction²⁴. In accordance with the general tone of the preceding lines, Andrew introduces the praise of a generic 'saved nature' (Zi g] ^ g1 ncaY# \) that becomes a '(transcendent) man' (U#efk dc ^) once the soul, having screamed out its suffering, ascends to itself and recognises what belongs to it and what is alien to it.

¹⁶ V^r 37-53.

¹⁷ V^r 58-140.

¹⁸ On the double meaning of the term VU#Ubc ^ as 'crucial test' and 'torture', see *infra* this Chapter, p. 205.

¹⁹ On the typical, double approach to the subject matter in Andrew's discourses, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 174-75.

²⁰ See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.2.4, pp. 200-03 and § 3.2.5, pp. 203-05.

²¹ V^r 71-82.

²² On Andrew and Maximilla as counterparts of Adam and Eve, see Pesthy, 'Aegeates', 50-51; Bovon, 'Words of Life', 84-85; Luttikhuisen, 96-100; Schroeder, 'Embracing', 120-21.

²³ For a sexual interpretation of the Paradise scene see Hennecke, *Handbuch*, 552; Söder, *Romanhafte*, 125-26; Nagel, 'Die Wiedergewinnung', 375-77; Prieur, *Acta*, 204-06; Wagener, 'Repentant Eve', 350-52; Cirillo, 'L'uomo interiore', 11-21; Schroeder, 'Embracing', 120-21; see also the suggestive analysis by Pesthy, 'Aegeates', 50-53. Against this reading, see our interpretation *infra* this Chapter, § 3.2.2 and 3.2.3, pp. 197-200 and note 179 and Sturhahn, *Christologie*, 138-47, especially 147; Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 227-31; Erbeta, *Apocryfi* II, 400; Luttikhuisen, 'Religious Message', 99-100.

²⁴ V^r 91-101.

After some transitional lines²⁵ in which the apostle restates his first argument, reinforcing it with manifest disdain for his visible body, the next section of the speech considers Maximilla agreeing with the terms of her husband²⁶. The greatness of her refusal and its universal implications disappear with this agreement. This means of course that the universal viewpoint is substituted by a particular one: the same themes and arguments as in the preceding lines reappear but are now directly applied to Maximilla's particular case. The change of tone is underlined by the emphatic repetition of her, her husband's and the apostle's names²⁷. In his turn to the particular, Andrew shows Maximilla that her agreement would have negative effects for his own situation as well. Therefore he adds one last argument to dismiss her husband's threat: it is through Aegeates that the apostle will be released from his prison; although the proconsul thinks he is punishing him, he is actually liberating him. Hence, Andrew concludes, his own perfection depends on the 'clear sight' (Yi #m] ^) of Maximilla's bci 1²⁸. She must understand that it is only by accepting an ephemeral and irrelevant suffering, in order to avoid radical and serious suffering, that she can know her real nature²⁹, releasing all her bonds and superseding her physical being.

Despite the formal continuity of the speech in the next lines, Andrew's address to Stratocles and a circumstantial phrase highlight the change of hearer and hence the beginning of a new speech. Andrew's speech to Stratocles, the only discourse with a pseudo-dialogue form, includes a short answer from Stratocles³⁰. Realising that Stratocles is crying, Andrew turns to him and asks the reason for his grief. He wonders why Stratocles is crying effusively and showing clear signs of acute grief: if Andrew's words have reached his 'thinking part' (hcPX]Ubc\h]_cB aY#c ^), he argues, such grief is unjustifiable. In order to clear up this uncertainty, Andrew begins to question Stratocles, provoking rather than calming him down³¹. His reaction to Andrew's emotional test will provide incontestable proof of Stratocles' mental state and, secondarily, a suitable response to the apostle's doubts. At the end of this questioning, Stratocles' renewed crying indeed provides him with this proof and assures Andrew that his words have not been wasted. In addition, Stratocles' answer confirms Andrew's impression by specifying the reason and the nature of his crying³². Each of

²⁵ V^r 102-12.

²⁶ V^r 102-29.

²⁷ Maximilla, five times: V^r 102, 107, 113, 115, 122. Aegeates, four times: V^r 106, 114, 116, 126.

²⁸ V^r 130-38.

²⁹ See *infra* this Chapter, p. 205 and note 211.

³⁰ V^r 139-89; Stratocles' answer in V^r 168-82.

³¹ On the rhetorical style of the speech and its scope, see *infra* this Chapter, § 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, pp. 205-08.

³² V^r 168-82.

Andrew's words, he says, has certainly reached his soul and he knows that Andrew's departure is meant to be a good thing. If he is nonetheless crying, it is simply because he will not be able to complete the process of his education. An agricultural metaphor depicts the future lack that Stratocles is already feeling: his soul being the ground and Andrew's words the seeds; both need the sower's care in order to grow and develop properly³³. Andrew, satisfied by his answer, changes the subject and announces to him that the next day he will be crucified.

There then follows a narrative section³⁴, in which Maximilla, being wholly confirmed in her decision by Andrew's words, returns to the praetorium and announces her refusal to Aegeates. As Aegeates weighs up a proper punishment for the apostle, only crucifixion prevails in his mind. Once her husband has left, Maximilla and Iphidama return to the prison, where they meet a large number of Andrew's followers.

Andrew's last speech to the brethren begins with his description of how his master sent him in order to awake or to remind everyone akin to the words that they are wasting their time among ephemeral evils³⁵. After encouraging them to flee from a fluent and unstable reality, he praises those among them that have become listeners to his words and by means of them have had a glance into their own nature. He then advises them to build on the foundation that he has laid for them by means of actions and words. Finally, he warns them not to be struck as by a strange marvel when they see him leaving this ephemeral life by means of the violence of an evil man. Instead of being strange, such is the end for those who have chosen the right way: the devil arms his children against those who have rejected his false friendship. At this point, the universal approach once again replaces the particular one. By placing his expected martyrdom within a universal framework and by letting it be part of a cosmological plan, Andrew deprives it of every dramatic aspect. In this way he retains only its positive side and inverts its negative evaluation: his martyrdom is not only necessary but also expected as the final release from his last ties to the world.

At this point our text ends abruptly, in the middle of a sentence. Let us now analyse the characters in this story.

³³ On the use of the simile and in its implications in the present context, see *infra* this Chapter, p. 212 and notes 250-251. For parallels, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 227-28 and notes 307 and 312.

³⁴ V^r 190-204.

³⁵ V^r 205-271.

2.2. Characters³⁶

Prima facie, the characters in *AA*'s fragment in V give the impression of simple stereotypes that, incarnating certain ideals, ways of life or states of mind, create a suitable context for Andrew's speeches. This first impression, however, seems to be negated by the diverse portrayal procedures applied to build up the characters.

The characterisation of personae in our fragment differs from character to character. These differences concern not only the style and vocabulary with which the characters are described, but also the technique used to build them up and present them. Sometimes there is a clear combination of perspectives: the narrator's perspective, the character's own self-perception, the opinion of other characters, and the reader's point of view work together in the characterisation (Aegeates). In contrast to this method, a character may also be succinctly built up by the narrator's description and additional information proceeding from other personae (Maximilla). At other times, there is no external and more objective sketch by the narrator and the personage is defined by a combination of another character's viewpoint and that of the reader's perspective on the basis of his words and actions (Stratocles). But it is also possible for both the narrator's viewpoint and that of other personae to be wholly missing. In that case, it is the reader who has to figure out the character's personality by means of what he says or does (Andrew). Finally, a few characters are described either by another's character perspective (brethren) or they are not portrayed at all (Iphidama).

An approach to *AA*'s characters from this perspective, i.e. the literary devices to present and develop them, will help us to understand the place they occupy both in the story and its underlying doctrine³⁷.

³⁶ Many scholars have paid attention to all or to some of *AA*'s characters. These studies, however, normally rely either on the majority of the transmitted testimonies related to *AA* or on a predetermined selection of materials. Given our intention to isolate the document of V, in this chapter we will refrain as far as possible from references to other interpretations of *AA* based on materials other than *AA*'s fragment in V. Wagener, ('Repentant Eve') focuses on the characters of Stratocles and Maximilla, although his approach and conclusions are strongly influenced by other textual witnesses for *AA* (such as S and H) and by alleged literary parallels, such as Plato's *Theaetetus*. P.J. Achtemeier, 'Jesus and the Disciples as Miracle Workers in the Apocryphal New Testament', in E. Schlüsser Fiorenza (ed), *Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, 1976) 149-86, focuses on the figure of the apostle, approaching the text mainly from the viewpoint of its common traits with other apocryphal texts. For the characterisation of some of *AA*'s personae and the text's relationship with the Greek novel see Bremmer, 'Novel and Apocryphal Acts', 157-80 and especially Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 16-24.

³⁷ We are aware that this divergence in characterisation could simply be the result of our fragmentary knowledge of the text. However, it is only after having analysed every character and its place in the text that definitive conclusions can be drawn.

2.2.1. Aegeates

Aegeates³⁸, ‘the goat-like’, or ‘caprine one’³⁹ is the antagonist *U*h’ *Y*M~~l~~ \#. As governor of Patras and representative of the established political power and religion he is the “natural” adversary of Andrew. But at the same time he is also his ‘cultural’ enemy, at least from the point of view of our fragment. As the husband of Maximilla and brother of Stratocles, he represents the blood or contractual family bonds that tie an individual to his social world. Aegeates’ all-pervading presence in our fragment arises from the fact that he represents on a general and on a particular level all the values (political power, pagan religion, family and status) implicitly and explicitly rejected by Andrew and his community⁴⁰.

It has been suggested that ‘Aegeates is the only character with a touch of individuality’⁴¹. This impression might very well be due to the already mentioned combination of viewpoints in his portrayal. This combination provides us with a complete description that, after an external narrator’s sketch of his character, explores more subjectively his perception of himself and other characters’ opinions about him, and even allows the reader to form his own idea on the basis of his words to Maximilla. It is indeed the cross-

³⁸ Aegeates’ name is usually interpreted as related to the Aegean sea (see *supra* Chapter 1, p. 47 and note 379). In our view, however, it derives from the Greek word for ‘goat’, *U*]M~~l~~. The word is frequent in toponyms and according to Constant. VII Porphyr. (*Asia* 17.6), Artemidorus and Strabo agree in reporting that the *U*]L~~U~~h]_cP_c#dc^ in Aeolis of Asia Minor received its name from Cape *U*]A~~U~~, which in turn (Strabo, *Geogr.* 13.1.68, 7) was so called after the animal. More interesting, however, is the information transmitted by Stephanus Byzant. (*Eth.* 38.9-39.5), when commenting on the toponym *U*]L~~U~~]#He not only reports that Macedonian *U*]E~~U~~]#was also called *a*\`cVc#H]fU or ‘rich in sheep or goats’ (for the ambivalence of *a*\1cb, see LSJM, *s.v.*, and *Il.* 10.485 and *Od.* 9.184: *Y*h~~e~~U XYPdc` `UPa\1’, c~~H~~# hY_ U]PU]A~~Y~~^), but also that two gentilics were attested for such a toponym, namely *U*]L~~U~~]d^ and *U*]L~~U~~U~~H~~^, and indeed the latter is well attested (see Sozom., *Eccl. hist.* 2.5.5, 5, as a gentilic; Photius, *Bibl.* 41.9a 13, as a proper name; Galen, *de Sanit.* 6.337.12, ‘Asian wine’; Suda, *Y*3821).

³⁹ The goat represents the wild and untamed side of nature as well as belligerence. Such symbolism may arise both from the goat’s external appearance, with its beetling brows and thrust-out lower lip, and from the animal’s overbearing temper and aggressiveness which made them dangerous to sheep and destructive to cultivated areas. The goat’s presence on certain islands or regions was since older times associated with uncultivated or unproductive soils (for the frequent appearance of the word ‘goat’ in toponyms of the Mediterranean, see J.N. Bremmer, ‘A Homeric goat Island’, *CQ* 36 (1986) 256-57). In Greek mythology the goat is frequently related to other representatives of natural or wild aspects of life, uncontrolled desires, sexuality and abuse of food and wine, such as Pan or the satyrs, whose inferior extremities were goat-like and who even had horns on their heads. It is likely that the satyrs influenced medieval representations of the devil in which he clearly adopts goat characteristics (see G. Papini, *Il Diavolo. Appunti per una futura diabolologia* [Florence, 1953]). This association, however, seems to be older, for one of the Hebrew words for ‘goat’, *sa’ir* (‘shaggy, hairy one’), which generally means ‘he-goat’ (Gen. 37:31; Lev. 4:28; Ezek. 43:22), appears in some passages with the meaning ‘demon / satyr’ (Lev. 17:7; 2Chr. 11:15; Isa. 13:21; 34:14). The negative view of the goat, finally, is also clear in Matthew’s gospel, for in Matt. 25:32, sheep and goat (*Y*h~~e~~]Zc^) represent good and bad natures, respectively. Both aspects, namely the polarity nature/culture (for which see P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le Chasseur noir* [Paris, 1983] 39-68) and the goat’s association with evil, perfectly fit the characterisation of Aegeates, whom Andrew also calls ‘relative of his body’, ‘serpent’, ‘son of the serpent’, ‘devil’, ‘son of the devil’.

⁴⁰ As has been pointed out by Pesthy, ‘Aegeates’, 47, in spite of his central role in *AA*, Aegeates does not seem to have attracted the attention of scholars, who usually concentrate on the protagonists Maximilla and Andrew.

⁴¹ Hilhorst, ‘Martyrdom Texts’, 7. For the relevance of Aegeates as an essential antagonist to Andrew and Maximilla see Pesthy, ‘Aegeates’, 47-55.

examination of his person provided by these diverse viewpoints that constitutes his individuality.

The changing perspectives under which Aegeates appears present him to the reader as a figure marked by an inherent contradiction. This contradiction, however, does not arise from his inconsequent or unstable character. Rather it is the consistency and determination of his will and the sharp contrast between his idea of reality and reality itself that makes him contradictory. The totality of his personal world falls apart and he is the only one who cannot see it: deprived of his brother and of his wife, he persists in his view, unable to see that without family and conjugal ties his individuality is rather precarious. This blindness, negative though it may be, makes him tragic rather than arrogant because it concerns the idea of the individual both about himself as a person and about his impact or influence on his environment. Instead of giving an idea of unity, Aegeates' characterisation depicts the fragmentariness of the individual, revealing how illusory is his self-perception.

The discrepancy between Aegeates' will and reality is first stressed by the contrast between the narrator's perspective and Aegeates' self-perception. At the beginning of V Aegeates seems to have forgotten Andrew's case⁴², but when he remembers, he 'goes crazy' (k #dYf h)^ YhaUb\ P [Ybc#Ybc^), leaves his business, and rushes back to the praetorium⁴³. However, in his first words to his wife he defines himself as 'prudent' or 'reasonable' (V^r 41-42, hcH\↑ mi l \↑ aci Yi #bk acb)⁴⁴. His words indeed are consistent with his self-perception. The civil tone of his words to Maximilla, which deliberately combine the emotional and contractual aspects of matrimony, and the fairness of his proposal contradict his alleged madness⁴⁵. He begins his plea by referring to her parents' assent to their marriage, but he immediately comes to the point: renouncing recriminations and declaring that he is unwilling to take revenge, he asks his wife to come back to him. Instead of being a rancorous or vindictive husband, his words present him as a partner who misses his companion. In addition, his proposal is not of a sexual sort: he asks her to 'live with' him in the way they are

⁴² V^r 26-27.

⁴³ V^r 32-38.

⁴⁴ The criteria followed by Maximilla's parents when accepting Aegeates as a husband for their daughter (V^r 39-42) have been traditionally misunderstood as Aegeates' admission of his lower economic and social status (see *Laudatio* 346.10-12 and *Vita* 249C 11-13). On the contrary, Aegeates' words seem to echo the criteria recommended by the Stoic Antipater (SVF III, fr. 62) in order to seek a good companion: wealth, nobility, and fame are rejected and the emphasis is put on 'good character'. The resemblance between both passages is so striking that one is even tempted to see a paraphrase of Antipater in Aegeates' words.

⁴⁵ As we will see below, this sharp and sudden change of mood at the beginning of Aegeates' characterisation points, on a particular level, to the contrast between ideal and reality, but also, on a general one, exemplifies the instability and flux of human affairs. See the reference to the instability of human habits and customs in V^r 211-12.

used to (V^r 46-47, *gi aV]ci gU#ac] c# Yd]ghU#YeU hfc#cb*), to ‘sleep with’ him (V^r 47, *gi [_UeYi #ci gU#ac]*), to ‘keep him company’ (*ibid.* *gi [[]bcaY#*), and to ‘raise children together’ (*ibid.* *gi bhY_bci gU*). The terms of his will are perfectly coherent with the restrained standard Stoic concept of marriage⁴⁶. A decisive proof of the sincerity of his demands appears in his closing words, when he considers a possible negative answer from his wife: ‘If you do not agree I will not undertake anything against you, because I could not bear to do so’⁴⁷.

But Aegeates’ incongruity is also emphasised by the sharp discrepancy between his subjective self-perception as an individual who is master of his acts and his actual passive role both as a victim of events and as an instrument of God’s plan. This contrast is obvious, for example, in the apparent resolution of his closing words to Maximilla: ‘Answer tomorrow which of both possibilities you choose; I have prepared myself for every eventuality’⁴⁸. By giving his wife an opportunity to choose and his determination to act accordingly in case of a negative answer clearly show that he sees himself as the master of his acts, as an individual free to act and decide. This is, however, clearly contradicted by the predetermined plan that seems to rule the development of events: even before he receives his wife’s answer, Andrew knows that Aegeates will crucify him the next day⁴⁹. When he finally does so, he thinks that he is deciding something that has actually already been decided for him. This peculiarity is stressed by the narrator’s description of Aegeates’ ‘decision’: ‘[He] considered to which kind of death he would put him (*scil.* Andrew) (...) and (...) from all possibilities only crucifixion prevailed in him (*YHY_fUH\gYbUi h*)...’⁵⁰.

Andrew’s viewpoint is more extreme than the narrator’s perspective and consequently develops and explains Aegeates’ incongruity. It is significant that when talking about Aegeates, Andrew systematically does so from a universal point of view that deprives his opponent of any individual traits and his actions of any individual motivation. Deliberately avoiding any further reference, he approaches Aegeates’ proposal from its negative side by simply defining it as mere coercion. From Andrew’s perspective Aegeates is an intimidator, a flatterer, and a torturer; all his efforts to win back his wife are simply ‘sordid witchcraft’⁵¹. This is not surprising: deprived of motivation, human action becomes either contingent or

⁴⁶ See Musonius Rufus fr. 11 and his assertion that marriage and procreation are unavoidable civic duties. In general, see ‘On the goal of Marriage’, in O. Hense, *C. Musonii Rufi Reliquiae* (Leipzig, 1905); add Seneca’s *De matrimonio* and Epictetus, *Ench.* 33.8; *Diss.* 2.4.

⁴⁷ V^r 49-50.

⁴⁸ V^r 51-52.

⁴⁹ V^r 186.

⁵⁰ V^r 198-200.

⁵¹ V^r 63-68.

externally predetermined. And as far as Andrew is concerned, as we will see below, both possibilities are equally negative because they, in sum, amount to the same: externals and evil have an equivalent ontological status in the text.

From Andrew's perspective Aegeates cannot be an individual because there is no such a thing as individuality⁵². Individuality is nothing but an illusion and Aegeates' case is the most obvious example: his ignorance of himself exposes him to the variability of an unstable environment under the influence of which his behaviour becomes mechanical. Precisely for this reason he is just 'noise' (V^t 108, a\#gYc]fM_Y]bci mcZc]_]bY]Hk gUb). It is obvious then that Aegeates' action can only be negative: he symbolises everything that is sordid in man. The only existence Andrew seems to recognise in Aegeates is his capacity to threaten the achievements and decisions of his wife; it is even possible to say that in his eyes Aegeates only exists while intimidating her: he is nothing but activity, *ergo* infamous activity. Consequently, behind Aegeates' actions Andrew sees exclusively one efficient cause: the personification of evil, the devil. When he returns again to the particular cases⁵³, he sees Aegeates as a simple instrument of the powers of darkness.

From this perspective we are able to understand an apparent inconsistency of the text. After Aegeates has proposed to his wife that they resume their conjugal life, the narrator describes Aegeates' second encounter with Maximilla and relates how he demands from her an answer. He paraphrases Aegeates' proposal as 'namely, if she wanted to sleep with him'⁵⁴. By presenting this equation, or more precisely, this reduction of marriage to sexual intercourse, he clearly shows that it is not simply sexuality that is being rejected. The reduction, by rejecting the institution of marriage as a whole, deliberately denies any other possible motivation for marriage than mere copulation. This refusal implies not only a denial

⁵² Individuality, in the strict sense of the word, only exists as a struggle to subdue one's immanent existence, but once one has succeeded in doing so (as Maximilla has) one transcends this individuality and orientates oneself to the universal. This may explain why Stratocles is the only character that is presented as an individual. On the issue, see *infra* this Chapter, § 2.2.3, p. 173.

⁵³ V^t 116-17, 126-27.

⁵⁴ V^t 197. This apparent inconsistency even led Bonnet to propose deleting gi [_UeYi #ci gU#c]žgi [[]bcaYb\ž gi bhY_bci gU'in V^t 47-48 (Bonnet app. *ad loc.*). Prieur (transl. *ad loc.*) and MacDonald (transl. *ad loc.*) interpret these three verbs as explaining the first gi aV]c# 'live together with someone' in the sense of 'sexual cohabitation', but this can hardly be correct. The verb in the present context refers to marriage, clearly focussing on the 'companionship' aspect that is also stressed by gi [[]#bcaU], which although it presents sexual meaning in a couple of passages, in the vast majority of cases it points instead to 'association, company, assistance'. The appearance of gi bhY_bci# 'rear children with another' clearly shows the contradiction of understanding the passage exclusively from a sexual point of view. Aegeates is not only pursuing the futility of sexual pleasure, he is entreating his wife for a life together with her that naturally includes all aspects inherent to the free association of man and woman.

of all the values upon which marriage is based, but also an absolute rejection of all the principles and ideals of a society for which marriage is an essential pillar.

Andrew's removal of every human motivation from Aegeates' intentions and the narrator's reduction of marriage to copulation provokes an odd contradiction with Aegeates' (and the reader's) values. Thanks to the character's cross-examination and the combination of the universal and particular perspectives the reader understands the reasons for this contradiction: it arises from the complete 'Umwertung aller Werte' that the text proposes. This redefinition or transmutation of standard values concerning man and his reality cuts the ground from under Aegeates' feet, making him either ridiculous or tragic, or even both at the same time: it simply depends on the stature the reader ascribes to him⁵⁵. But beyond this evaluation, whether ridiculous or tragic, Aegeates nevertheless represents the futility of the individual, ignorant of himself and blind to the hints from his world revealing to him this futility. His persistence in fulfilling his ideal of life in an alien environment represents both the ignorance of the self and the reluctance (or incapability) to come to know it.

2.2.2. Maximilla

As her name a priori seems to suggest, Maximilla, 'the most important', plays an essential role in *AA*⁵⁶. She is beyond any doubt the person closest to the apostle and as such closest to the fulfilling of his ideals.

In contrast to her husband's character, the personage of Maximilla immediately transmits to the reader a sense of coherence and unity. This impression primarily arises from the fact that Maximilla is always silent and exclusively portrayed from an external perspective. The lack of a more subjective characterisation that might have arisen from her utterances implies the absence of any possible contradiction between what she really is and what others think she is. In this sense, being described exclusively from an external perspective, Maximilla is beyond individuality⁵⁷. As we will see, such a characterisation seems to fit both the text and its underlying doctrine.

The consistency of her character is also emphasised by the absolute coincidence of the two main perspectives that build up her portrayal: the narrator's and Andrew's perspectives not only coincide but also complement each other in describing her personal development.

⁵⁵ J. Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Quijote* (Madrid, 1981) 105-15, has properly shown how easily tragedy may turn into comedy depending on the background against which the hero's activity is projected. In his *Poetics* (48a 16-20), Aristotle refers to the same issue when he stresses the difference between tragedy and comedy in that the former pretends to represent 'better persons' and the latter 'worse persons'.

⁵⁶ See Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 17.

⁵⁷ See Söder, *Romanhafte*, 147-48 for a comparison of Maximilla with other heroines from the apocryphal Acts and Greek novels.

This evolution, in addition, does not alter her stable virtue and integrity at all. Despite important changes concerning the principles that regulate her behaviour, her commitment to the new values is equally virtuous as it was before. From Aegeates we know that before Andrew's appearance she was obedient to her parents. They arranged her marriage to Aegeates⁵⁸ and she respected their decision accepting him as a husband⁵⁹. But she also observed social norms and values on all occasions. This is emphasised by the narrator, who never lets her act alone: every time she goes out to meet Andrew, Iphidama accompanies her⁶⁰. Her respectability is not even the subject of suspicion by Aegeates. When he refers to her relationship with Andrew he uses the verb ἔχειν 'to have affection', which normally appears in contexts of filial love⁶¹.

Maximilla's compliance with the standard values of her society and the contractual aspects of her marriage, however, does not arise from her indolence but rather from her ignorance. Once she gains insight, she actively decides to stop with her former life⁶², and her decision does not arise from her changeable mind but from her firm conviction. If she is nevertheless troubled by Aegeates' proposition, it is simply due to her own judgement (ἄλογον) and to her 'humanity' (ἄνθρωπος), which she is easily able to supersede once Andrew has reassured her in her decision⁶³. Andrew encouraging her to sacrifice all externalities to her conscious and individual choice allows her to refuse everything that is alien to her. Freed from externalities and confirmed in her determination, Maximilla's new attitude and state of mind is obvious in the description of how she goes to meet her husband after her interview with Andrew. Whereas in her first encounter with Aegeates she unconsciously rushes into the house (ἄλογον ἐπιβῆναι τὸ οἶκος)⁶⁴, in the second one she does it 'not rashly nor thoughtlessly' (ἐπιβῆναι τὸ οἶκος ἄλογον καὶ ἀσύνετον)⁶⁵ but with the ease and tranquillity of a woman in absolute control of herself⁶⁶.

By superseding the last threat of her husband's πρόταση ('proposition') and directing herself towards her οὐσία ('essence') Maximilla comes back to herself, and this return

⁵⁸ V^r 39-42.

⁵⁹ V^r 46: 'If you were once again that one you used to be...' Aegeates' words imply that until Andrew's intervention she lived the life of a married woman.

⁶⁰ V^r 29, 54-55, 201-03.

⁶¹ For the meaning of ἔχειν see *supra* Chapter 3, note 87.

⁶² V^r 58-61.

⁶³ See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.2.4, pp. 200-03.

⁶⁴ V^r 36-37.

⁶⁵ V^r 193-94.

⁶⁶ For running in public being unsuitable for gentlemen and ladies in Greek and Roman society see Bremmer, 'Man, Magic', 21 and 'Walking, Standing, and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture', in J. Bremmer - H. Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1991) 15-35 at 18-20.

allows her to reject everything that is not hers. The contrast between the unity and coherence of her character and the incongruity of her husband's is the more obvious because the redefinition of her values reassures instead of endangering her personality. Her active involvement in her circumstances and her steadfast determination indeed give such an impression of coherence that they bring her character close to an ideal. Andrew comparing her with the first woman and placing her in a primeval paradisiacal situation confirms this impression: she transcends the particular cases by orientating herself towards the universal⁶⁷.

2.2.3. Stratocles

Unlike Aegeates, his brother Stratocles strives for a unity and soundness he has not yet achieved. This aspect is emphasised by the lack of a narrator's perspective in his portrayal. Stratocles, 'famous in battle', is characterised by a combination of Andrew's viewpoint and his own self-perception. The fact, moreover, that Andrew's speech originates in his doubts about Stratocles' state of mind⁶⁸ and that the latter's answer intends to remove these doubts from Andrew transmit to his character the features of something incomplete, although in the process of being achieved⁶⁹.

This interpretation is supported not only by the content of Andrew's words⁷⁰ but also by Stratocles' answer⁷¹, where he admits that, in spite of advances in his personal development, the process is not yet fulfilled. Precisely because of this and because of his grief and tears, Stratocles appears to the reader as a real person, as an individual who is suffering the internal struggle with his emotions and applying himself to the task of controlling them. His being conscious of his unperfected development and his declaration of his need of Andrew make his individuality even more evident.

2.2.4. Andrew

In the case of Andrew the reader must exclusively rely on the apostle's words and actions to form an idea of the character, since there is no external sketch and the point of view of other personae is reduced to the always implicit⁷² veneration of his followers.

⁶⁷ See *supra* this Chapter note 52.

⁶⁸ See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.3.1, 205-06.

⁶⁹ See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.3.5, pp. 211-13.

⁷⁰ V^r 139-67.

⁷¹ V^r 168-82.

⁷² Andrew's role as spiritual father and his followers' veneration of his person seems to be obvious in V, because it mainly consists of discourses in which the apostle comforts and advises his followers and they obediently listen and obey his recommendations. AA's fragment in V, however, does not present any single instance of explicit veneration by his followers. According to Prieur (*Acta*, 302-03), followed by Pao ('The Genre', 185), Maximilla's gesture (V^r 55-56) of taking the apostle's hands and putting them on her eyes and mouth not only shows the pupils' veneration of their master, but also Andrew's characterisation as a *euY]d^ UB\#* or 'divine man'.

The text deliberately avoids a characterisation that may provide him with individual traits and any description that might imply an a priori evaluation of his personage⁷³. The few references by the narrator are succinct and neutral, calling him simply *cf. 5 bXfV#^* or *cf. U#c#hc`c^74*. The only time another personage refers to him, his description is equally neutral: Aegeates simply calls him ‘stranger’ (*V#bc^*)⁷⁵, or ‘that one’ (*YlY]bc^*) towards whom Maximilla shows affection⁷⁶. In spite of this peculiarity, Andrew is a kind of centre around which the characters orbit and where the action of our fragment develops, and the text repeatedly describes how all the characters go to him⁷⁷. Because of this, Andrew’s status in the text is a rather peculiar one: on the one hand he lacks the characteristics of a personage, but, on the other, his presence is so all-pervading that it might even be possible to say that he is above or beyond the text.

When analysing his words in search of a characterisation, the ambiguity of his character does not diminish. Andrew’s profile or characterisation, if we may call it so, changes from speech to speech. For Maximilla he is both the interpreter of her intentions and state of mind and the provider of a deeper or ultimate understanding; for Stratocles he is a severe master and helpful assistant, and for the brethren he is the ‘awaker’ or ‘reminder’ and the layer of their foundations. The versatility of his character is more understandable if we consider that Andrew’s imprisonment and future crucifixion provoke different attitudes and problems in his followers. In each case the apostle’s words intend to offer his changing listeners the support they personally need and, at the same time, a cognitive clue with which they may properly assimilate the events to come. This is the reason why the reader sees Andrew’s role changing with the context of his speech and the particular needs of his interlocutor.

In his view, by this procedure Maximilla intends to receive the supernatural power that emanates from his person. The first scholars to propose such a reading were Junod-Kaestli (*Acta Iohannis*, 436-37), who compare *AJ* 62.3-7 to *AA*’s passage and state that the acts of touching in both passages imply the conception of the apostle as a ‘divine man’. However, although in *AJ* there are enough elements to support such a reading, such as the touching of the feet and especially the clothes of the apostle (compare the healing of the *hemorrhoids* in Mt 9:20-22; Mc 5:32-34; Lc 43:48), nothing of the kind appears in *AA*’s passage. In addition, the almost literal appearance of the same motif in Achilles Tatius (5.27, *U]HUP l Y]fU^ _UhYZ]#Y] _U]Hc]† cZeU`ac]† _U]H` 1 _UfX]# dfcgYZfY _U]P]AYb*), already pointed out by Söder (*Romanhafte*, 145, although she wrongly refers to 6.27, seems to disprove such an interpretation. In this passage of *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, the context is very similar, for Melitte comes to visit Cleitophon in prison. Rather than veneration, Melitte’s reaction seems to express the enchantment produced on the listener by the charm of speech.

⁷³ Only once does the vocative *aU_ Uf]k #Uhy* appear, at the beginning of Stratocles words (V^r 168-69), but this is the only example and is perfectly justified by the tone and character of his pupil.

⁷⁴ When describing himself in the speech to the brethren he also uses the word *U#c#hc`c^* (V^r 205).

⁷⁵ V^r 49.

⁷⁶ V^r 50.

⁷⁷ V^r 28-31, 54-55, 201-04.

But the changes in his role do not result from the change of addressee only. In addition to the versatility of his character in virtue of circumstance and interlocutor, the role he may take on every occasion unfolds in a double perspective: universal and particular. In all three speeches Andrew's words always present him from these two viewpoints. In Maximilla's speech, from a universal perspective, he is 'Adam reaching perfection'⁷⁸, but from a particular one he is just a body, which as such is akin to Aegeates and hence should be treated accordingly⁷⁹. In Stratocles' speech he is at the same time speaker and message – namely a kind of all-embracing *ἄλλοτρίαν* that is simultaneously outside and inside his listener⁸⁰ – as well as an instrument for the apparent consolation of Aegeates⁸¹. In the brethren's speech he provides them with a touchstone to supersede the influence of externals⁸² but he is also the victim *par excellence* of these externals⁸³.

Andrew's main goal consists of transmitting a knowledge that may provide his followers with a cognitive anchor in their personal situation and state of mind. Consequently, given the fact that the transmitted knowledge can adopt different faces according to the changing circumstances, Andrew's message must be placed in a stable frame of reference. The universal and particular perspectives assure a stable framework for Andrew's words by placing them in a clear and steady conceptual context. The change of perspective is necessary because the person Andrew is ultimately everything and nothing, because lacking individual traits he is defined as pure activity. This activity materialises in his words, which are the bridge between the particular and the universal, between immanence and transcendence.

2.2.5. Brethren

The numerous group of anonymous and silent followers (*οἱ ἀνομιμαὶ καὶ ἄφωνοι*) is characterised from Andrew's viewpoint only. Although the narrator's passing references usually depict them as simple company for the protagonists of the story⁸⁴, Andrew's speech to the brethren provides the reader with a more precise description⁸⁵.

The more superficial content and the paternalistic tone of Andrew's first and second speeches to the brethren clearly differentiate them from characters like Maximilla or

⁷⁸ V^r 78-79.

⁷⁹ V^r 108-12.

⁸⁰ V^r 144-50.

⁸¹ V^r 185-89.

⁸² V^r 205-17.

⁸³ V^r 230-49.

⁸⁴ V^r 20, 23-24, 27, 28.

⁸⁵ V^r 205-71.

Stratocles. His explaining to them the essentials of his apostolic activity⁸⁶, the reasons and task of his performance⁸⁷, as well as providing a kind of cosmogonical explanation, is evidence both of a greater personal distance between master and followers and the more elementary stage of initiation of the latter⁸⁸. Andrew's repeated references to their sensorial perception suggest this incipient development⁸⁹.

2.2.6. Iphidama

Even though Iphidama, the 'mighty governess', is in our fragment barely more than a simple name, she plays an important role as the loyal servant of Maximilla⁹⁰. It is her activity that facilitates Maximilla's movements in a hostile environment. She is always mentioned together with her mistress, especially when the latter proceeds from one place to another⁹¹.

2.2.7. Conclusions from the Study of Characters in V

Even though at first glance *AA*'s characters might give the impression of stereotypes, the analysis of the portrayal reveals important differences between them. The changing lights under which characters appear to the reader intend to offer examples of different personal developments in a gradual process of detachment that leads them from individuality to loss of individuality. This is obvious in the textual devices used to present the four main characters in our text: Aegeates, Maximilla, Stratocles and Andrew. If the cross-examination of a character like Aegeates provides him with the instability that characterises individuals, the exclusively external approach to Maximilla confers on her an equilibrium and coherence that draw her character near to an ideal disappearance of individuality. This, however, does not mean that she has completely succeeded yet: her doubts after Aegeates' proposal reveal the obstinate persistence of certain individual traits. Her own judgement (x̄c̄w̄) and her ··Z]` Ubefk d]#, which is manifest in her concern for and attachment to the apostle and the community, represent the very last ties that she must sever to fully achieve her ultimate goal. Her character, consequently, does experience a certain evolution and is not as steadfast as might, at first sight, be supposed.

The most obvious example of this process of personal transformation, however, is Stratocles, who is depicted in a process of development. After having become aware of his individuality, he engages himself in bringing it into a given balance. The combination of

⁸⁶ V^r 205-11.

⁸⁷ V^r 211-14.

⁸⁸ V^r 238-271.

⁸⁹ V^r 208, 209, 211, 215, 216-17, 222, 227. On the issue, *infra* this Chapter, § 3.4.1, pp. 214-16.

⁹⁰ See for parallels Söder, *Romanhafte*, 146-47.

⁹¹ V^r 29, 55, 201-03.

Andrew's and his own perspective emphasise this work in progress: while the apostle refers to Stratocles' goal, he himself focuses on the means and the way to achieve it.

All these aspects are evidence that the characters in *AA* are something more than simple personifications of a given ideal. If they nevertheless transmit such an impression, this arises from the ideal aspiration of a text that strives for the gradual release from an individual's bonds that culminates in complete loss of personality⁹².

2.3. Style and Vocabulary of the Fragment

As already pointed out, the style of our fragment is mainly discursive. Excluding one brief narrative juncture between Aegeates' speech and Andrew's speech to Maximilla⁹³ and a couple of occasional and quick interventions in discourses by the narrator⁹⁴, there are actually only two narrative sections in our fragment. The first consists of barely 14 lines and the second one of 15⁹⁵. These two sections represent a relatively tiny part of the fragment, considering that in Bonnet's edition the text occupies 270 lines. The remaining text is exclusively discursive.

2.3.1. Narrative Sections

Even though short, the only two narrative sections play an important part in the plot since they include two essential moments that decisively change the course of events: Aegeates remembering Andrew's case and Maximilla's negative response to her husband's proposal. These narrative sections show formal similarities. They both consist of two segments: a first part summarises the action of the previous speech, describing the effect of Andrew's words on his addressee; the second part brings about a turn in the action that introduces the following speech. In the first narrative section, the beginning describes how the weakness of the community is transformed into joy and strength owing to Andrew's words⁹⁶. Similarly, in the second narrative section⁹⁷, it describes the success of Andrew's words on Maximilla; she is even said to have disposed herself according to the words. If before the speech she was afraid and her doubts about what to do transmitted a certain uneasiness to her behaviour, she is now completely calm, having decided to reject Aegeates' proposal and determining to live according to her choice.

⁹² Note the frequent pregnant uses of the terms $\chi\gamma\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota$ (V^r 97; 109) and $\chi\gamma\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\ \#\text{cb}$ (V^r 117). For $\chi\gamma\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota$ see furthermore *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.2.1.2, pp. 300-04.

⁹³ V^r 54-55.

⁹⁴ V^r 20-21, 140, 163, 168.

⁹⁵ V^r 23-38 and 190-271, respectively.

⁹⁶ V^r 23-31.

⁹⁷ V^r 190-98.

As for the second part, in the first narrative section, Aegeates' remembering interrupts the joy of the brethren and prepares the context for his words to his wife⁹⁸. In the second one, Maximilla announces her decision and Aegeates considers the punishment for Andrew⁹⁹. Maximilla's return to prison is the transition to the speech to the brethren.

The narrative sections' internal dichotomy is evident in the change of verbal tenses. Whereas the effects of Andrew's speeches, in the first part, are described in the past tense¹⁰⁰, the turn in the action in the second appears in the present tense¹⁰¹. This change of verbal tenses is evidence that, in spite of their length and of the role they play in developing the action, their main function is a transitional one and their task, consequently, mainly a focalising one.

2.3.2. Discursive Sections

The remaining text of *AA*'s fragment in *V* is discursive and arranged into five speeches. The first presents very interesting conceptual issues but, unfortunately, is incomplete¹⁰². Thanks to a brief intervention by the narrator¹⁰³, almost at the end of the speech, the reader knows that Andrew must have pronounced it and that the brethren must have been the addressees¹⁰⁴. The second speech consists of Aegeates' words to Maximilla¹⁰⁵. The subsequent three speeches are all uttered by Andrew and the addressees are Maximilla¹⁰⁶, Stratocles¹⁰⁷, and the brethren¹⁰⁸, respectively.

From a stylistic and conceptual perspective we can differentiate the speeches into two groups: on the one hand there is Aegeates' speech, and, on the other, Andrew's speeches. Whereas the former presents a clear rhetorical structure and a straightforward development, Andrew's speeches are less easily classifiable from a rhetorical point of view.

⁹⁸ *V*^r 32-38.

⁹⁹ *V*^r 198-204.

¹⁰⁰ See *V*^r 24ff: *Ud\` U#z\` ŒzYgl YbzYgh\`f]#cbhc*, etc; 190ff: *dUf\`bzUdY_f]#UhcZ#KY]#bi cbzdUfY[YBYhc*, etc.

¹⁰¹ See *V*^r 34ff: *Uz]#g]b, Ub]#hUhU]*, *dUfU[]BYhU]*; 202ff: *dUfU[]BYhU]*, *_UhU` UaVUBY]*.

¹⁰² *V*^r 1-24.

¹⁰³ *V*^r 20-21.

¹⁰⁴ MacDonald's edition here follows S and H, although their reading is clearly secondary. As a result of their elimination of Andrew's first speech to the brethren, both mss alter *V*'s reading (*V*^r 20) *hc]† UKY Zc]†* with *Ui hU]†* (S, f. 128^r, 2/6; H, f. 163^r, 19) and *V*^r 21, *Ui hc]†* with *Ui hU#* (S, f. 128^r, 2/8; H, f. 163^r, 19-20) in order to achieve textual continuity with the preceding section, in which Maximilla and Iphidama indeed go to Andrew.

¹⁰⁵ *V*^r 39-53.

¹⁰⁶ *V*^r 54-139.

¹⁰⁷ *V*^r 140-89.

2.3.2.1. Aegeates' Speech

Aegeates' discourse to his wife has a main purpose: convincing Maximilla to return to their former conjugal life. In line with this purpose, the *exordium* of the proconsul's speech deliberately begins with a reference to Maximilla's parents that purports a *captatio benevolentiae* of his hearer¹⁰⁹. After this introduction, which astutely includes an indirect self-appraisal, he immediately makes his statement in the form of an alternative that apparently transfers to Maximilla the responsibility for the future development of events¹¹⁰. The conclusion briefly ends the speech¹¹¹.

2.3.2.2. Andrew's Speeches

Andrew's speeches always present the same set-up and constitutive elements. A given situation has provoked an emotional response in the addressee. In order to dissipate his doubts, fear or uneasiness, Andrew intervenes with a speech that may meet his needs. Andrew's speeches, however, do not present a straightforward development. Rather, they include numerous digressions that, even if apparently superfluous, are in fact essential parts of the message and that, additionally, are completely justified by the context and by the state of mind of the addressee. As a result the speeches present important thematic divergences¹¹².

It could not be otherwise. As we will see below, these important differences arise from Andrew's adaptation of his $\text{c}\#\text{c}^{\wedge}$ to the diverse state of mind of his addressees. As his words are conceived as a therapeutic $\text{c}\#\text{c}^{\wedge}$, they are arranged according to the aim they must achieve¹¹³. Since the beginnings of what has been called verbal psychotherapy, the effectiveness of speech on the psychological disposition of the hearer depends not only on the proper form and disposition of the discourse, but also on its suitability for and its adequacy to

¹⁰⁸ V^r 205-71.

¹⁰⁹ V^r 39-44.

¹¹⁰ V^r 44-51.

¹¹¹ V^r 51-53. For the contents of this speech and for Aegeates' characterisation see *supra* this Chapter, § 2.2.1, pp. 167-71.

¹¹² See *infra* this Chapter, § 4.1, pp. 221-222.

¹¹³ The therapeutic scope of Andrew's words cannot be neglected. Note that all Andrew's speeches include a reference to a given 'weakness or infirmity' or affection in his addressee (V^r 1, U_{hcb}]#; V^r 68, 109, VU_gUbc[^] (metaphorically); 141, ghY#k; 142, Xi gei a]#žU# [c[^]žUb]# [em. Bonnet]); 230, hUfU_ggk). In addition, the vocabulary with which Andrew refers to his words clearly endows them with curative allure. Thus, for example, Andrew's emphasis in his speech to Stratocles on the 'contact' fulfilled by the words with the verb U_{hca}] 'touch, reach'. This kind of 'verbal contact' provided by the words substitute for the physical contact that would normally take place by the placing on of hands. In addition, the use of the term Xi hUa] in Andrew's speech to Maximilla in V^r 102 seems to recognise in the words the same sort of 'healing fluidum' (by means of which the healing takes place) that some NT examples (cf. Lc 6:19) attribute to healing by physical contact. See on the issue L. Gil Fernández, 'Las Curaciones del Nuevo Testamento', *CFC: egi* 8 (1998) 9-39 at 11 and note 11; see also P.J. Lalleman, 'Healing by a mere Touch as a Christian Concept', *Tyndale Bulletin* 48 (1998) 355-61.

the state of the addressee¹¹⁴. For Plato and Aristotle the success of $\text{c}\#\text{c}^{\wedge}$ depends on the proper combination of a good and prestigious speaker, of which in the case of Andrew there is no doubt, and his ability to adapt his speech to the character and disposition of the hearer¹¹⁵. As the needs of the hearer are determined by his $\text{\hat{a}c}^{\wedge}$ or ‘character’, resulting both from nature and education, by his $\text{xjU}\#\text{Yg}l^{\wedge}$ or ‘disposition’, and the $\text{_Ujfc}\#$ or ‘occasion or opportunity’, the speaker must take these into account in order to succeed in his enterprise¹¹⁶. The eventual suitability of a given discourse is finally determined by its results: whether or not it succeeds in altering the ‘affections’ ($\text{dU}\#\text{_}$) and ‘beliefs’ ($\text{d}l\#\text{hY}l^{\wedge}$) of its addressee.

It is precisely the attention to all these issues that causes the important differences between the speeches. From a stylistic point of view, they resist a coherent systematic and comparative analysis: divergences in the discourses concern formal issues such as length, structure, oratorical genre, and tone of speech. Similarly, their contents vary as well. Andrew’s speeches to the brethren, i.e. the first¹¹⁷ and last discourses in V^{118} , are concerned with the actual belonging of the community to the transcendent realm and with a description of its temporary sojourn in materiality that focuses on epistemological issues, respectively. Andrew’s speech to Maximilla deals with a primeval situation before the degradation of the ‘intellect’ ($\text{bci}\ \uparrow$), with the cause of this decay and the way to reverse the process¹¹⁹. The speech to Stratocles deals with the intellect and the soul as mixed in the individual and the subsequent struggle of rationality ($\text{hc}\text{D}\text{X}l\text{Ubc}\text{_}h\text{_}c\text{B}a\text{Y}\#\text{c}^{\wedge}$) to control and temper affection¹²⁰.

The paramount interest of these important divergences is obvious: although disagreeing thematically, the speeches agree with each other insofar as they are by one and the same speaker. Consequently, they provide us with a comprehensive exposition of the different aspects of Andrew’s (and the author’s) conception of reality.

¹¹⁴ In what follows we are indebted to the excellent study of the therapeutic applications of speech in Antiquity by P. Laín Entralgo, *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity* (New Haven and London, 1970). See especially Chapter 3, ‘The Platonic Rationalization of the Charm’, an interesting analysis of what the Spanish thinker considered the origins of verbal psychotherapy; see also Chapter 5, ‘The Power of Word in Aristotle’, with a very suggestive analysis of the Aristotelian development of the issue.

¹¹⁵ *Phdr.* 261d-271c; *Charm.* 176b; *Legg* 790e; 791b; Laín Entralgo, *The Therapy*, 108-38. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1404a 7-8; 15.

¹¹⁶ The combination of these three elements deals with the confluence of three important psychological aspects. The first one (*ethos*) takes account of what the hearer *is* from a double perspective, what he is by nature and what he is by culture or education; the second one (disposition), considers the nature and character of the affection the speech wants to deal with and its weight in the soul of the hearer; the third one (opportunity), finally, takes into consideration the moment in which the discourse occurs and places it in the wider vital context of the hearer.

¹¹⁷ V^r 1-23. For the conceptual analysis of this speech, see *infra* this Chapter, § 3.1, *passim*, pp. 191-95.

¹¹⁸ V^r 205-71. See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.4, pp. 213-21.

¹¹⁹ V^r 54-139. See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.2, esp. § 3.2.5, pp. 203-04.

¹²⁰ V^r 140-89.

Given that a proper analysis of these speeches requires a detailed scrutiny of their context, the addressee's state of mind and, most important of all, their conceptual basis, we will postpone their rhetorical analysis until the study of these issues has been completed¹²¹.

2.3.3. Vocabulary

As already indicated, the philosophical vein of the fragment and its tendency to abstraction is evident at first sight. One might define *AA*'s vocabulary as quasi-philosophical inasmuch as its philosophical intention and abstract formulation do not contrive a consistent, precise, and coherent terminology. This definition, however, should not be understood as an underestimation of its contents: it simply aims to describe the textual phraseology rather than to minimise its purports. Before uttering a positive or negative evaluation of our text, factors such as author, context, theme, hearer or reader, and naturally the ability of the latter to understand its message, must be borne in mind. Admittedly, the vagueness of the vocabulary of our text might originate in the shortcomings of its writer and his lack of a philosophical training to formulate his ideas. Yet there are also other possible explanations. It could arise, for instance, from the nature or the goal of a text that, in spite of its philosophical undercurrent, did not pretend to be philosophical in the strict sense of the word; or even from an intentional use of everyday speech in order to reach a readership lacking the sophistication for a strictly philosophical argumentation. Consequently, our conclusion about the value and fitness of *AA*'s argumentation rather than its (obviously subjective) terminological precision should be inferred from its adequacy for the needs of the occasion and of its success in fulfilling these needs. And, indeed, a proper analysis of *AA*'s phraseology and its context reveals that the exposition of our fragment fulfils both requirements¹²².

2.4. Textual Structure of the Fragment

The preceding sections have analysed the plot, characters, style and vocabulary of *AA*'s fragment. In order to advance the literary analysis we must now turn our attention to its textual structure. Our analysis distinguishes three textual levels. Firstly, the text itself and its formal disposition; secondly, the development of the plot, namely the characters, action and topic by means of which the story is narrated; and thirdly, the thematic development underlying the text.

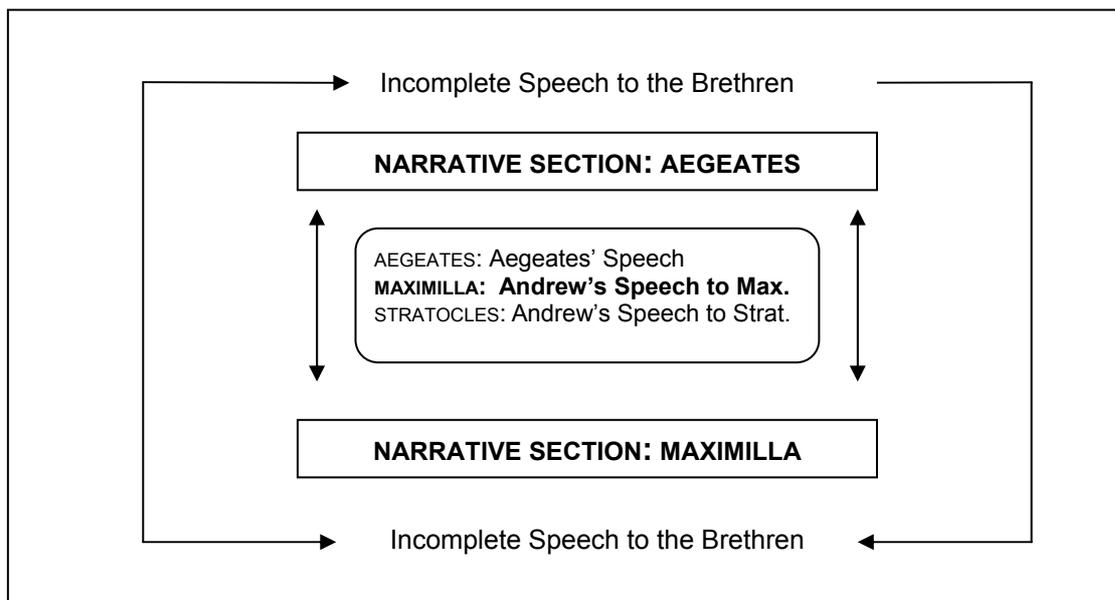
¹²¹ See *infra* this Chapter, §§ 3.2.2 (Maximilla), 3.3.2 (Stratocles), 3.4.1 (Brethren).

2.4.1. Formal analysis

In spite of the fragmentary character of our text, an analysis of its textual structure reveals interesting issues that will certainly provide us with a better understanding of its meaning. *Prima facie* an objective stylistic analysis of the text allows its division into seven sections, two of them narrative and five discursive:

1. Andrew's first incomplete speech to the brethren (V^r 1-24).
2. Narrative section focused on Aegeates (V^r 25-38).
3. Aegeates' speech (V^r 39-53).
4. Andrew's speech to Maximilla (V^r 54-140).
5. Andrew's speech to Stratocles (V^r 140-89).
6. Narrative section focussed on Maximilla (V^r 190-204).
7. Andrew's second speech to the brethren (V^r 205-71).

The disposition of these sections reveals a well-balanced structure based on the proportioned distribution of discourses and narration. A first approach to this sequence based on a purely stylistic analysis results in the following diagram:



1. Textual structure on the basis of stylistic traits

The text begins and ends with a discursive section (1 and 7); the subsequent two narrative sections (2 and 6), focusing on Aegeates and Maximilla respectively, enclose three speeches that concentrate on the three main personages of the story: Aegeates, Maximilla (presented by Andrew), and Stratocles. From this perspective a double frame, the first discursive and the second narrative, stresses the importance of the central section consisting of three discursive

¹²² For the analysis of *AA*'s vocabulary, see Chapter 5, *passim*.

sections. In this central section, Andrew's speech to Maximilla, as the lengthiest and most developed, occupies the natural centre.

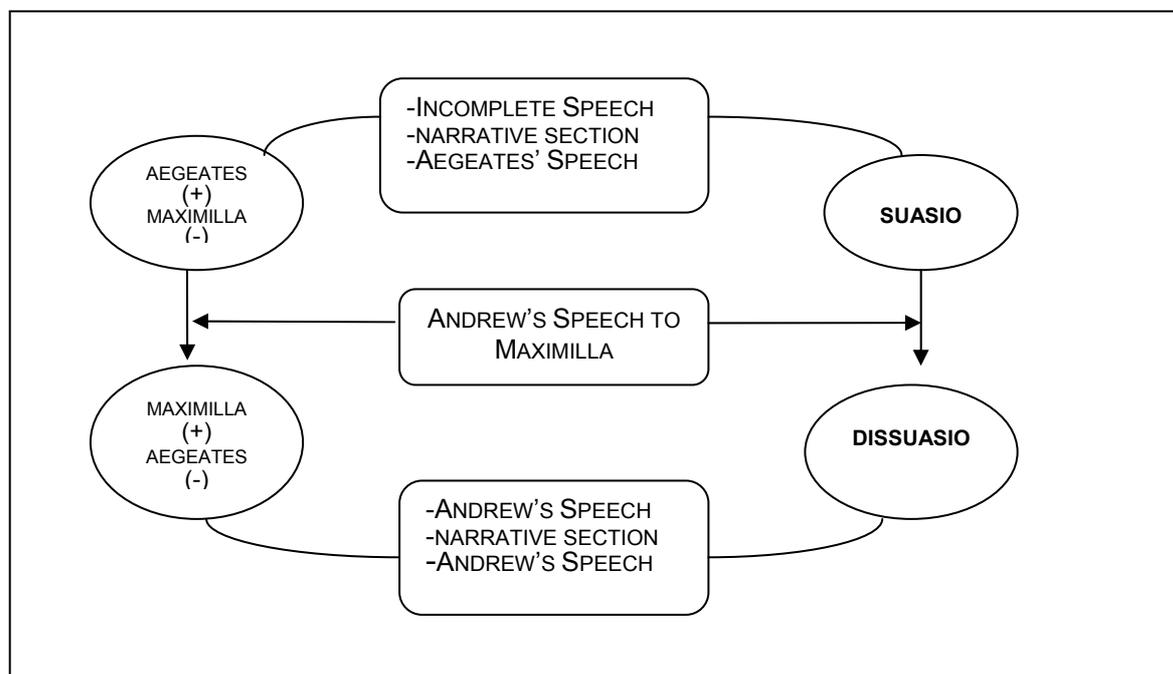
However, this formal and external analysis may be refined by adopting an internal approach to the text and its structure. In doing so, we will focus firstly upon the evolution of characters, action, and topic and, secondly, upon the thematic development.

2.4.2. Evolution of the Plot: Characters, Action, and Topic

From the point of view of characters, Andrew's speech to Maximilla, which includes the two most prominent characters and is placed exactly in the centre of this structure, seems to provide a suggestive division of *AA*'s fragment in V into two halves. These two resulting sections not only present an equivalent structure 'discourse—narrative section—discourse', but also present in their central narrative section their respective predominant character: the first one, Aegeates, and the second one, Maximilla. Aegeates' and Maximilla's spheres of influence, however, extend beyond the limits of the narrative sections and reach the preceding and following speeches¹²³.

When looking at the development of action and at the role of the characters therein, we notice a clear shift, even an inversion of roles in both sections. In the former, the plot develops under Aegeates' initiative: his role is active and his wife's is passive. In the latter, Maximilla impels the development and has an active role, while her husband remains passive. Of course, Andrew's speech to Maximilla, by articulating both sections with each other, is the turning point that allows the evolution both of action and characters. Whereas up to this point Aegeates' sphere of influence seems to rule the events by leading the action towards a possible solution, Andrew's intervention negates this supremacy and alters the trend of events in the opposite direction. Andrew's intervention is essential because his counterarguments dismantle Aegeates' intention, opening up the possibility for a topical transition from *suasio*, in the first half, to *dissuasio*, in the second half. These relationships between the textual halves are summarised in the following diagram:

¹²³Aegeates' sphere of influence in the first half is clear. On the one hand, Andrew's first incomplete speech to the brethren intends to reaffirm the brethren's inconstancy, which arises from the apostle's imprisonment by Aegeates. On the other, Aegeates' speech, which exposes the terms of his proposal, clearly extends his sphere of influence over Maximilla's determination to change her way of life. With regard to the second half, Maximilla's sphere of influence extends both to the speech to Stratocles and to the speech to the brethren, for what provokes them is a direct result of Maximilla's decision to change her way of life.



2. Textual structure: Evolution of the plot: characters, action, and topic

2.4.3. Thematic development

The thematic analysis shows that the sections of the text are arranged concentrically. The central position of Andrew's speech to Maximilla is once again obvious. Instead of articulating two subsections, however, it represents the climactic moment from a thematic viewpoint.

Two incomplete speeches (1 and 7¹²⁴), which are concerned with the description of the real and true transcendent origin of the community and with the explanation of its accidental sojourn in the immanent realm, respectively, provide the text with a consistent frame. Enclosed within these two points of reference is a coherent textual whole in which the plot, in the strict sense of the word, develops. This unit of action opens and closes with a narrative section (2 and 6). The first is dominated by Aegeates' character¹²⁵: it is his forgetting or remembering that determines either the well-being or distress of the community.¹²⁶ Symmetrically disposed at the other end of this action unit and dominated by Maximilla's character, the second narrative section (6) closes the action. The antithetic character of both

¹²⁴ Numbers refer to the above classification of the sections on p. 182.

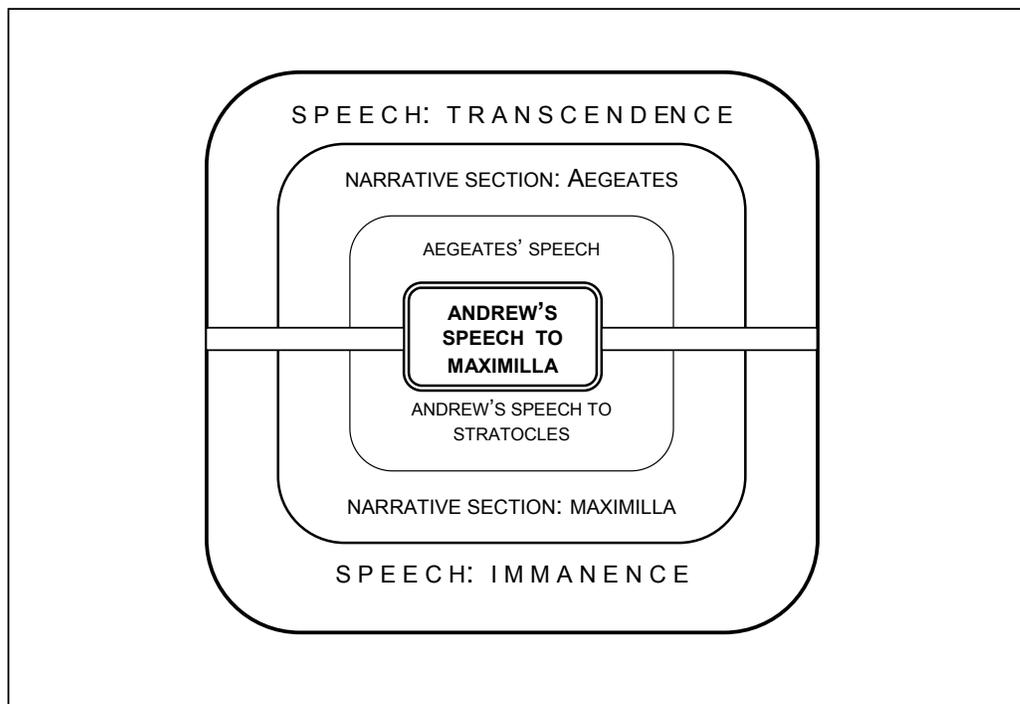
¹²⁵ This narrative section may be divided into two sub-units (V¹ 23-31 and 32-38). Aegeates' prominence is assured in both sub-units by means of the repetition of his name.

¹²⁶ This contrast materialises, on the one hand, in the joy of Andrew's followers during the period of time that Aegeates seems to have forgotten the apostle's case and, on the other hand, in Maximilla's implicit fear once he remembers.

narrative sections is manifest not only in their symmetrically opposite places, but also, as argued above, in their content, the clear inversion of roles, and the change of topic.

Aegeates' speech to his wife (3), by apparently offering her a choice between two possible solutions of the state of affairs, creates the proper context for Andrew's speech to Maximilla, in which the apostle argues and demonstrates to her that there is only *one* possible solution. Andrew's speech to Stratocles (5) confirms this unique way out and analyses the implications of this one solution for Aegeates' brother. This intentional distribution of the material creates a well-balanced concentric structure in the middle of which Andrew's speech to Maximilla clearly occupies the central and most important position.

The concentric textual structure of our text is illustrated in the following diagram:



3. Textual structure: concentric disposition of the thematic development

The interest of this diagram, however, is not merely illustrative. It reveals an intentional disposition of the materials and a calculated arrangement consistent both from the point of view of the development of the plot as well as from the point of view of content. This becomes even more obvious if, following the concentric structure of the text, we now focus on its central section, because Andrew's speech to Maximilla also presents a clear concentric structure.

2.4.4. Textual Structure of the Central Section

2.4.4.1. Formal Analysis

A formal analysis of Andrew's speech to Maximilla allows a division into five basic segments¹²⁷:

1. Introduction (V^f 55-73).
2. Paradise Scene: Eve/Maximilla (V^f 73-82).
3. Praise of the transcendent *U^hefk dc[^]* (V^f 83-101).
4. Paradise Scene: Adam/Andrew (V^f 102-06).
5. Conclusion (V^f 106-38).

The formal disposition of the speech again reveals its concentric character¹²⁸: introduction and conclusion enclose a mythological section in the middle in which the praise of the 'transcendent man' takes place.

However, the external formal analysis may once again be refined by an internal approach to the text that concentrates on the evolution of the plot by focusing on the characters, action, and topic and on the thematic development.

2.4.4.2. Evolution of the Plot: Characters, Action, and Topic

From the point of view of characters, Maximilla and Andrew (and of course Eve and Adam) dominate the action of the speech. However, what the formal analysis marks as the central section, namely the praise of 'transcendent man', is characterised by the absence of any reference to individuals¹²⁹. The apparent receptor of this praise is referred to as 'nature' (*Zi g^l^*), 'soul' (*mi l \#*) or more generally as 'man' (*U^hefk dc[^]*). Consequently, on the basis of its distinctive trait, this central section concerned with supra-individuality may be considered as a natural division of the speech into two halves. The first one, consisting of (a) introduction and (b) myth, focuses on Maximilla's perspective; the second one, consisting also of two sections, namely (b) myth and (a) conclusion, concentrates on Andrew's perspective.

From the point of view of the action, both sections also present clear differences regarding the involvement of the characters in the action. Since Andrew's speech originates in Aegeates' threat, it is possible to speak of characters both as actors and as recipients of the action. In the first half of the speech, Maximilla is the goal of Aegeates' threat, since she appears to have decided by herself to remain pure. But in the second half, the proconsul's

¹²⁷ V^r 55-138.

¹²⁸ The concentric structure of this single speech has already been pointed out by Prieur, *Acta*, 200ff and, more recently, by Luttikhuisen, 'Religious Message', 96-103.

¹²⁹ See Luttikhuisen, 'Religious Message', 97.

2.4.4.3. Thematic Development

The analysis of the textual structure on the basis of its thematic development reveals more precisely the careful concentric disposition of themes and motifs around the central section. These concentric circles present a gradual transition from the particular, in the most external ring, to the universal, in the centre.

Let us begin the analysis with its climactic moment: the praise of ‘transcendent man’ (U^befk dc[^]). This central section (F), characterised by its abstract formulation, is properly enclosed by a mythical exposition. The first part of the mythical section (E) provides exemplary parallels *in illo tempore* that permit the speaker to raise the tone of the speech and proceed from the particular to the universal, preparing in this manner the way to the more abstract and elevated tone of the central section. Although including both protagonists of the Paradise scene, Eve and Adam, this first part focuses in particular on the female character and consequently approaches the myth from Maximilla’s perspective. The second part (E’) is a counterpoint to the first one and decreases the tone from abstract to universal. Like the first part, it includes both protagonists, but concentrates on the male perspective and consequently approaches the myth from Andrew’s perspective.

The next thematic ring consists of what we may call ‘approach to’ and ‘withdrawal from the myth’ (D and D’). Both sections consist of two sub-units whose concentric construction is clear in their being disposed according to the pattern: D1-D2 D2’-D1’. Concerning the approach to the myth, its first sub-unit (D1) includes a reference to the ‘torture, threat’ (VU^gU^bcb^b)¹³¹ put upon Maximilla and encourages her patience. Its second sub-unit (D2) provides the transition to the myth¹³². With regard to the withdrawal from the myth, it includes the same sub-units although in a (logically) inverse order. The first one (D2’) functions as a transition from the myth¹³³, whereas the second one (D2’) includes a reference to the VU^gU^bcb^b, but with Andrew as its receiver¹³⁴.

The next ring (C and C’) enunciates Andrew’s advice to Maximilla not to be defeated by Aegeates’ threats. In this case both pieces of advice are similar. The difference, however, appears in the following ring that evaluates Maximilla’s decision (B and B’): whereas its first

Stoa. Geschichte einer geistigen Bewegung (Göttingen, 1949). For the influence of the issues on Early Christianity see Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.14.111.3.

¹³¹ See *supra* this Chapter, note 18.

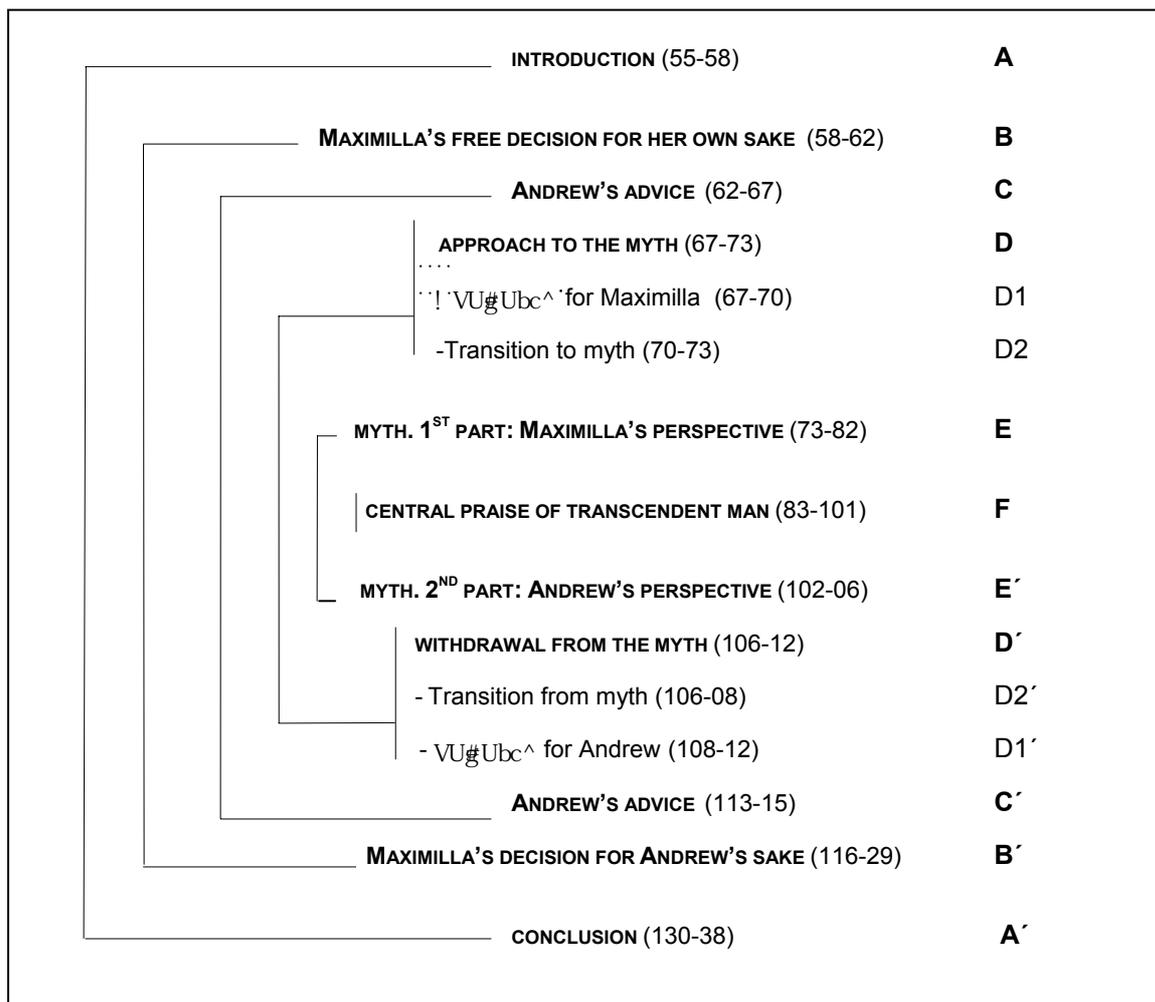
¹³² V^r 67-70.

¹³³ V^r 106-08.

¹³⁴ V^r 108-12, _U]Pa\ #gY c]fM\Y]bc i mcZc] _]bY]Hk gUbz UŁ`UPaY]lcb Uf]b\#_UaYPa\Paclcb h]akfY]gk VUgUbc] ^ hU]† _UhUPhUPXYgaU#UŁ`UP_U]Pe\fg]PdUfUVU` YHk _U]Pdi f]PZ`YUWHk _U]P_UhUP_f\abci 1

part considers her decision as due to her own free determination, the second one encourages her to fulfil her choice for Andrew's sake.

The outer ring, finally, introduces and concludes the speech (A and A'). Whereas the former simply states the theme of the speech, the latter recapitulates the notions that have been developed in the whole discourse, namely $\Upsilon\iota\ \#\mu\wedge\ bci\ \uparrow$, Andrew's perfection, Maximilla's 'true nature' which is assimilated to the 'transcendent man' ($U\#efk\ dc\wedge$), sympathia and suffering ($dU\#c\wedge$). The concentric structure of the central speech to Maximilla is schematised in the following diagram:



5. Concentric thematic disposition of Andrew's speech to Maximilla

This concentric composition presents a consistent construction around the central section, whose contents and conceptual development we will analyse below¹³⁵. In addition to the concentric disposition, the special relevance of this conceptual centre is emphasised by the

$f\#mU\#k. _U]Ph]\#U\#/Y\#cP\ c\#hc\wedge\ hci\ \#ci\ hci\ lgk\ \#Uhc\wedge\ c\#k\ \wedge\ eY\#Y] hci\ \# _UhUl\ f\#gU\#ek\ gi\ [[Ybci\ \uparrow\ c\#hc\wedge\ U\#i\ \#ci\ 1$

¹³⁵ See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.2, pp. 195-205.

accumulation of stylistic figures such as polyptoton¹³⁶, anaphora¹³⁷, metonymy¹³⁸, antithesis¹³⁹, parallelism¹⁴⁰, alliteration¹⁴¹ and, especially, by the intentional gradation of the periods.

2.4.5. Conclusions from the Study of the Textual Structure

The preceding triple analysis of *AA*'s fragment in *V* has demonstrated the relevance of Andrew's speech to Maximilla: the formal disposition, the evolution of the plot, and the thematic development reveal a concentric construction around this climactic section. At the same time, the particular analysis of this speech following the same triple approach shows that it also has a concentric structure: formal disposition, evolution of the plot, and thematic development emphasise its middle section, namely the 'praise of transcendent man', as the conceptual centre of the speech. Given its central position within the central section, this 'praise' represents the textual and conceptual heart of the whole fragment. The questions why this particular section received such importance and what are the implications from a literary and conceptual perspective will be properly answered once the conceptual analysis of our fragment has been completed. This conceptual study, which places the middle section in its wider doctrinal frame and uncovers its relationships with other sections, will sufficiently explain its paramount position.

2.5. Conclusions from the Literary Study of *AA*'s Fragment in *V*

The literary study of *AA*'s fragment in *V* provides enough evidence to support the hypothesis that content, characters, style, and textual structure are clearly designed to achieve a common goal. The combination of textual devices to present events and characters, the changing style of the discourses and their specific vocabulary, and the proportioned arrangement of the material point to a writer who is strongly interested in both the form and the message of his text. In the following pages, the conceptual analysis will show the extent to which every element of this construction plays a precise role in the intention of the text.

¹³⁶ V^r 83, Y_lk Pa YB ci Ā hUi hU Y]Ek B k fl Y]#cbzY]Hc]a] UB XYP U]PUPM↑.

¹³⁷ V^r 83-87, Yi Ā Y (...) Yi Ā Y (...) Yi Ā Y; 87-90, k fl ... gY (...) gci . k fl ... gYz (...) gY; 91-94, cH] "" cH] "" cH] "" cH] ""

¹³⁸ V^r 85, Yi Ā Y mi l \Pvck gU UPHUeY^""

¹³⁹ V^r 86, _UhUaUbeUbk b hUPa \PgUP U]PYH]PUPgUPYH]Y] c#Ybc^""

¹⁴⁰ V^r 89-90, k fl Y_ldfYdYg hYfcbhk b Y]E U]g] \ _UhUVU` c_lhk b gYzhk b Y]E U]LaU` k g]U_bU_bU[U] c_lhk b gY""

¹⁴¹ V^r 91, hUi hU ci Ā U_lU_bhU _UhUaUek B U_lefk dY Yb YH]i h_l T

3. Conceptual Analysis of Andrew's Speeches

The speeches to the brethren, to Maximilla and to Stratocles present Andrew's adaptation of his $\text{c}\#\text{c}$] to the changing state of mind of his addressees. All four speeches originate in the same context of Andrew's imprisonment and impending martyrdom and pursue one and the same aim, namely providing the addressees with the spiritual support they need to face the situation.

The purpose of the speeches, however, is not merely comforting. Instead of encouraging his addressees to patiently accept the situation, Andrew urges them to work actively in transforming it into something useful, into something that may serve their personal development. In doing so he blends the strengthening scope with certain doctrinal aspects that may help his followers in this constructive transformation.

3.1. Andrew's First Speech to the Brethren

In spite of being frequently neglected by commentators¹⁴², Andrew's first speech in V (V^r 1-24) is essential in many respects. The very first lines already state the clear dualistic conception of reality that will govern the exposition of the whole fragment. Transcendent and immanent realms are distinctly described and are contrasted with one another in many ways. Whereas the former is the changeless and immutable supercelestial realm, the latter partakes in time, movement, generation and extension¹⁴³.

At the same time this speech presents one of the very rare treatments of the divinity. God is described objectively, i.e. following a philosophical description of His attributes, but also subjectively, namely from the point of view of His attitude towards His people¹⁴⁴. From the former perspective, God is beyond movement, time and generation and corruption: He is the One (hcPYH) who dwells in the immutable realm beyond multiplicity¹⁴⁵. From the latter perspective, however, He is 'most powerful', the 'most beautiful' and 'the righteous one'¹⁴⁶. He is also the 'merciful one' ($\text{Y}\text{L}\text{Y}\#\text{k b}$), the saviour and the light; in short: He is the

¹⁴² With the exception of Liechtenhan, *Die Offenbarung*, 50; 112 and 'Die pseudepigraphische Litteratur', 295, who emphasises the central importance of the ideas of this section, commentators usually neglect this first speech in order to focus on the lengthier parts of *AA*. See, for instance, Bovon, 'Words of Life', 81-95, who in spite of analysing the other three speeches in V, omits any reference to Andrew's first speech. The same can be said of the articles collected by Bremmer, *Acts of Andrew*. As the index of names, subjects and passages (ibid. 190-200) shows, the first chapter of *AA*'s fragment in V (= *AAgr* 33) is completely ignored, if we exclude a single and passing reference.

¹⁴³ V^r 7-9 and 15-17.

¹⁴⁴ On this double approach to the divinity, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 2.2.1, pp. 263-69 (objective description) and § 2.2.2, pp. 269-76 (subjective description).

¹⁴⁵ V^r 12-17.

‘unenvious sharer’ who cares for His people insofar as He transmits to the community His love and pity.

But the speech to the brethren also focuses on the description of the ‘blessed race’ (h_cP aU_U#]cb [Yh_c^) which though currently immersed in immanence is actually destined for transcendence¹⁴⁷. It is precisely their participation in God’s sharing that endows the brethren with the special status that will finally release them from their current degraded state.

However, the most important aspect is the emphasis laid on the motif of the recognition of the community by God. This recognition is simultaneously the beginning and the end of the cognitive process that will finally lead to the overcoming of man’s current degraded condition. As a beginning, this ‘becoming known’ ([bkf]#caU) establishes the proper co-ordinates of a cognitive frame: it awakens in the brethren an awareness of kinship with the divinity that they seem to have forgotten. As an end, it provides them with a goal for their search for knowledge, it supplies a point of reference for them to turn to, attracting them as the object of desire does¹⁴⁸. Given the central importance of the issue, it is not surprising that the motif dominates the whole speech.

3.1.1. Character and Scope of the Speech

Only the last part of Andrew’s first speech is preserved. Fortunately, the very first, incomplete sentence gives us a precise notion of the context in which the apostle’s words must be placed: the followers’ fragility. Although we cannot ascertain absolutely the reason for this lack of confidence, the place and theme of the speech and, especially, its closing words point to Andrew’s imprisonment as the main cause of their uneasiness¹⁴⁹.

The organisation of Andrew’s speech is coherent with this context. The current beginning and the conclusion of the speech are concerned with the spiritual support of the brethren. If the opening lines reprove them for their ‘feebleness’ (U_hcb]#) and for not carrying with them ‘God’s goodness’ (lf\g_hc#h_c^)^¹⁵⁰, the closing ones paternalistically assure them that, in spite of circumstances, they will not lose each other¹⁵¹. The central section in turn provides them with the necessary insight that may help them to correct their attitude¹⁵².

¹⁴⁶ V^r 10-13.

¹⁴⁷ V^r 4-9.

¹⁴⁸ For the importance of the Aristotelian conception of God as *causa finalis* in the philosophical discussion of late antiquity, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 2.2.2.3, pp. 274-76.

¹⁴⁹ V^r 21-23.

¹⁵⁰ V^r 1-2.

¹⁵¹ V^r 21-23.

¹⁵² V^r 2-19.

3.1.2. Being Known and Knowing in Andrew's first Speech

Leaving the opening and closing sections aside, the central part of the speech may be divided into three parts. In the first one¹⁵³, the love and pity of God received by the community is equalled to an act of recognition. The second section develops the ontological and epistemological implications of the fact that the community has been recognised from 'such a height'¹⁵⁴. The third one restates the paramount importance of this becoming known¹⁵⁵.

In the first part, Andrew attempts to eradicate the cloud of pessimism from the minds of the brethren. In order to do so, he attempts to actualise the awareness of their belonging to the higher realm by encouraging them to recall their participation in God's 'unenvious sharing' (U_{Zecbc}^'_c]bk b]#)¹⁵⁶: 'Let us stand in awe, let us congratulate ourselves for His unenvious sharing. Let us say to ourselves: "Blessed is our race, by whom has it been loved?"' This act of grace, which manifests itself as God's 'love' (U_LU_d\) and 'pity' (Y_#Y_c^) for His race, assures a mutual belonging since it implies being recognised ([bk f]#caU]). Andrew's objective in his opening words is clear: by recalling this recognition he is not only stating the existence of a percipient subject (God) as well as a perceived object (brethren), but also the quality of the latter inasmuch as it is worthy of God's attention. The act of recognising, moreover, implies a given affinity, a relationship of belonging between subject and object in the act of knowing by the principle of c_fc]d^'c_fc]#¹⁵⁷. By being loved and

¹⁵³ V^r 1-6.

¹⁵⁴ V^r 6-17.

¹⁵⁵ V^r 17-19.

¹⁵⁶ V^r 2-4. The idea that God can be envious might seem odd. Consider, however, that envy does not arise from the objects themselves but from their symbolic value. The possession of certain goods confers upon the possessors a given axiological superiority that determines human interrelationships and defines hierarchical relatedness. Hence, envy is likely to appear indistinctly in the attitude of inferiors towards superiors ('ascendant envy') as well as that of superiors towards inferiors ('descendant envy'). In this sense, the envious individual does not envy the possession of a given good in the strict sense of the word, but rather the axiological distance provided by these goods. See L. Roig Lanzillotta, *La envidia en el pensamiento griego* (Diss. Univ. Complutense, Madrid, 1997), Chapter 1, *passim*. W.C. van Unnik, 'De U_{Zecb}]# van God in de oudchristelijke literatuur', *MKNW* N.R.36/ 2 (1973), 4-5, 12, rightly remarks that translating the term U_{Zecbc}^ as Dutch 'royaal' or 'abundant' undermines the envy factor underlying the protective attitude with regard to status tokens that is adopted by those who possess them. It should be noticed, however, that the basic meaning of Z_{ecb}Y_# is not 'envy' but simply 'deny, place obstacles', as in *Od.* 11.381: ci _L U_B Z_{ecb}Y_#]a' U_LcfYi gU] (see Pohlenz, *Herodot der erste Geschichtschreiber des Abendlandes* (Leipzig, 1937) 110 note 3), which meaning still remained unaltered in Plato's time (*Tim.* 23a 4; *Phd.* 61d 9-10; *Lg.* 664a 7-8). For the Platonic use of the verb Z_{ecb}Y_# as a means either to ask an open or sincere question or to manifest the absence of obstacles that may hinder speakers in communicating something, see our *La envidia*, 413-19.

¹⁵⁷ The theory that like is known by like is attributed by Aristotle to Empedocles (*De an.* 404b 8-15), but later sources recurrently trace it back to the 'Pythagoreans'. See Alcinous, *Didask.* 169.29-30; Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* 7.92; Chalcidius, *Comm in Tim.* p. 100, 10-11W; Iamblichus, *De com. math. sci.* 8, p. 38.6-8F. It appears

pitied, by being recognised from such a height (i f]cPhc]ci hci i f]ci ^ [bk f]geYhY^), the community receives kinship with the suprasensible and supersedes the nothingness of ‘those that are cast to the ground’¹⁵⁸.

In the second part, the effects of this recognition by the divinity are immediate. The awareness of being recognised endows the community with a special ontological status, i.e. with a transcendent essence and origin, that is perceived by means of the *via negativa*, that is, by abstraction or negation of the attributes that until then seemed to define their existence¹⁵⁹:

We do not belong to time and then are dissolved by time; we are not a product of movement that disappears again by itself, nor a cause of generation [so as] to come to a similar end. Rather, we are akin to the unextended and are hostile to extension¹⁶⁰.

The emphatic repetition of the idea of belonging to the merciful one in V^r 10 marks the beginning of a new conceptual development. The awareness of the kinship enables the blessed race to reject everything that is alien to it, and this rejection provides in the first place self-knowledge:

We certainly belong to the one who shows mercy. We belong to the better, therefore we escape from the worse. We belong to the beautiful, by means of which we separate ourselves from the ugly. We belong to the righteous, through which we reject the unrighteous¹⁶¹.

By introducing a dichotomy within the spheres of power, beauty, and justice, the principle of contradiction creates the context for the knowledge of right and wrong in human terms. But once the awareness of the kinship has established the co-ordinates of the cognitive process and the principle of contradiction, in its turn, the means by which knowledge is attained, the *via eminentiae* or way of ascending degrees may be continued to attain the knowledge of God¹⁶². Self-knowledge allows the individual’s stage by stage withdrawal from the lowest to

recurrently in the *Corpus Hermeticum* (1.31, 5.2, 10.4, 6, 11.20, 12.3, 13.18); Alcinous (ibid.); Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.9; Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.6.9.29-34; Porphyry, *Sent.* 25; Proclus, *Theol. Pl.* 1.3, p. 15.17-18 S.-W. See Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 113 note 262 and the bibliography quoted there. For the origins of the notion in early Greek thought, C.W. Müller, *Gleiches zum Gleichen* (Wiesbaden, 1965). In particular, on the relationship between man and God, see H. Merki, *Von der platonischen Angleichung an Gott zur Gottähnlichkeit bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1952).

¹⁵⁸ V^r 4-6.

¹⁵⁹ See Alcinous, *Didask.* 165.17-19 for the *via negativa* as a means to achieve knowledge of God: ‘The first way of conceiving God is by abstraction of these attributes, just as we form the conception of a point by abstraction from sensible phenomena, conceiving first a surface, then a line, and finally a point’ (transl. Dillon).

¹⁶⁰ V^r 6-10. For our emendation of the passage see *app. ad V^r 9* and *supra* Chapter 3, notes 35 and 36.

¹⁶¹ V^r 10-13.

¹⁶² For the *via eminentiae*, see *infra* Chapter 5, note 190 and 191. On the *quattuor viae* to achieve knowledge of God, namely the *via negationis*, *via analogiae*, *via eminentiae* and *via imitationis*, see H. Dörrie, ‘Die Frage nach dem Transcendenten im Mittelplatonismus’, in his *Platonica Minora*, 211-28 at 223-24; Festugière, *La Révélation IV*, 92-123; C. Andresen, *Logos und Nomos: die Polemik des Kelsos wider das Christentum* (Berlin, 1955). As Dörrie points out, the *via analogiae* (which originates in the simile of the sun in Plato, *Rep.* 508d ff.) and the *via eminentiae* (Plato, *Symp.* 210a-212a) have in Middle Platonism an exclusively auxiliary character. On the issue, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 2.1, pp. 261-63.

the highest levels of reality in order to apprehend, finally, the first principle:

We belong to the merciful one, through whom we distance ourselves from the unmerciful one. We belong to the saviour, through whom we recognised the destroyer; to the light, by means of which we rejected the darkness. We belong to the One, through whom we turned away from multiplicity; to the supercelestial, through which we understood earthly matters; we belong to the immutable, through whom we perceived the immutable¹⁶³.

This is the reason why the third part of the central section recapitulates and stresses once again the essential importance of being recognised by Him. Since this recognition is the principle of all subsequent achievements, any act of thanksgiving to this divinity must focus exclusively on this issue. ‘Therefore, if we intend to offer our gratitude or our confidence, to sing a hymn or to boast of the God who showed mercy on us, there is nothing else worth mentioning but the fact that we have been recognised by Him’¹⁶⁴.

This recognition is not only a most important precondition for achieving insight, but also salvation. Naturally, the full consciousness of the fellowship with the divine, implied by the recognition of the same by the same, opens the way for the inversion of roles in the cognitive process. Once subject and object have been clearly established and their mutual relationship defined, nothing hinders the object from achieving acquaintance with the subject. This potential interchangeability of the roles already points to the actual identity of subject and object in the very act of knowing¹⁶⁵.

The issues developed in these few lines are essential to grasp the meaning of the three subsequent speeches. Whereas this first discourse focuses on the capital importance of ‘being recognised’ and on its role in providing a cognitive clue, the following will define the gradual process of coming to know oneself as a preliminary stage on the way to knowledge of God.

3.2. Andrew’s speech to Maximilla

As the literary and formal study of *AA*’s fragment in V has shown, Andrew’s speech to Maximilla forms the axis of the text¹⁶⁶. This pivotal position is coherent with the predominant place Maximilla occupies both in the plot and in the message of the text. As we will see now, in our fragment she represents the most advanced stage of self-knowledge.

From a conceptual perspective, Andrew’s speech to Maximilla is perhaps the most

¹⁶³ V^r 13-17.

¹⁶⁴ The text is corrupt. See *app. ad V* 17 for our emendation.

¹⁶⁵ The desired fusion with the divinity resulting either in the cloud of unknowing or in complete illumination due to understanding is a common characteristic of many philosophical and religious movements of the period. The origins of these ideas can be sometimes traced back to Platonic philosophy, sometimes to Aristotelian influences, and at other times to a combination of both. Further, cf. Chapter 5, pp. 282-91.

¹⁶⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, § 2.4.1, pp. 181-82 and 2.4.3, pp. 184-85.

difficult of all four discourses. In spite of being complete, the speech presents interpretative problems that are related to its complex structure and intricate conceptual development. The interpretative difficulties arise mainly from the apparent sudden changes from the particular to the universal perspective and the subsequent interruptions in the train of thought.

3.2.1. Character, Disposition and Scope of the Speech

Andrew's speech to Maximilla is the best example of the application of his verbal psychotherapy¹⁶⁷. The apparently complicated structure of this speech arises from the apostle's adaptation of his message both to the character and disposition of the addressee and to the occasion of his discourse. If the speech is approached not from its conceptual development but from the point of view of its addressee's psychological state, its development is far from obscure.

Aegeates' recent words to his wife have dangerously threatened Maximilla's determination to change her way of life¹⁶⁸. This is not because she lacks confidence or will: knowing that the state of things cannot easily be altered at his wife's stage of spiritual development, Aegeates did not intend to question the principles of her new behaviour. On the contrary, he appeals to something that is not strictly related to her decision, but which is certainly under *his* control, namely Andrew's destiny¹⁶⁹. This intelligent introduction of an external issue to undermine her determination seems to succeed. Compromised by the situation and apparently holding Andrew's future in her hands, Maximilla does not seem to realise her husband's treacherous use of speech. The threat therefore is not purely external. Even if persuasion proceeds from the outside and hence is not strictly related to the individual, it cannot work on its own without somewhere to root and develop. It is a combination of both persuasive speech and Maximilla's beliefs (d]g#hY]^\) or judgement (xcwU) that generates her doubts and which is likely to negate the achievements of her spiritual progress¹⁷⁰.

In order to provide Maximilla with the support she is asking for, Andrew's speech must achieve several important goals at the same time. First of all, it has to reconfirm Maximilla's determination to live a spiritual life. Next, it must deconstruct Aegeates' intelligent use of speech and avert the threat to her determination. But in order to do so, it

¹⁶⁷ On the issue, see *supra* this Chapter, § 2.3.2.2, pp. 179-80.

¹⁶⁸ V^r 39-53.

¹⁶⁹ V^r 48-50.

¹⁷⁰ The beginning of the speech to Maximilla, naturally, is not as explicit, but as the discourse advances, Andrew's firm advice to her reveals that she takes her husband's proposition seriously and considers it a plausible solution for the situation.

must first accomplish a coherent analysis of persuasion and judgement that depicts them as clearly negative and alien to Maximilla, and free her from their influence. Yet, the most difficult and important of Andrew's goals is to convince Maximilla to take the step that will condemn him. Andrew's advice to reject the menaces and to let Aegeates punish him as he wishes to is therefore placed significantly at the end of the speech. If Andrew has achieved the previous goals, he can now easily go a step further and state that his death means his life and in turn his life means his death. The matter, consequently, is a delicate one and requires a tactful approach and development.

3.2.2. Rhetorical Structure

With a view to favourably influencing Maximilla, the speech follows a gradually ascending line that reaches its climax in the praise of the transcendent man (U^{efkdc}). Up to this point Andrew exclusively develops the positive side of Aegeates' threat, since this gives Maximilla a chance to bring her spiritual development to culmination. The apostle begins his speech by minimising Aegeates' mean threat and by a priori implying its rejection¹⁷¹. The mythical section continues the positive approach with the consideration of the Paradise Scene, in which Maximilla's rejection is compared to the correction of Eve's error¹⁷². The central praise of transcendent man is a suitable climax for the culmination of Maximilla's heroic overcoming of this last threat to her spiritual achievements¹⁷³. Having reached this point, the elevated and heroic tone of the first part gradually begins to descend again in order to consider the negative side and implications of a possible agreement by Maximilla. Instead of high achievements and liberation from phenomenal constrictions, there appears frustration of expectations, failure of intentions and death¹⁷⁴. Andrew's closing words make use of these sombre perspectives. They impel her not only to accept his suffering but also to share it with him. By remaining alert and preserving her clear-sighted intellect, she must actively contribute to the consummation of the process¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷¹ V^r 63-70.

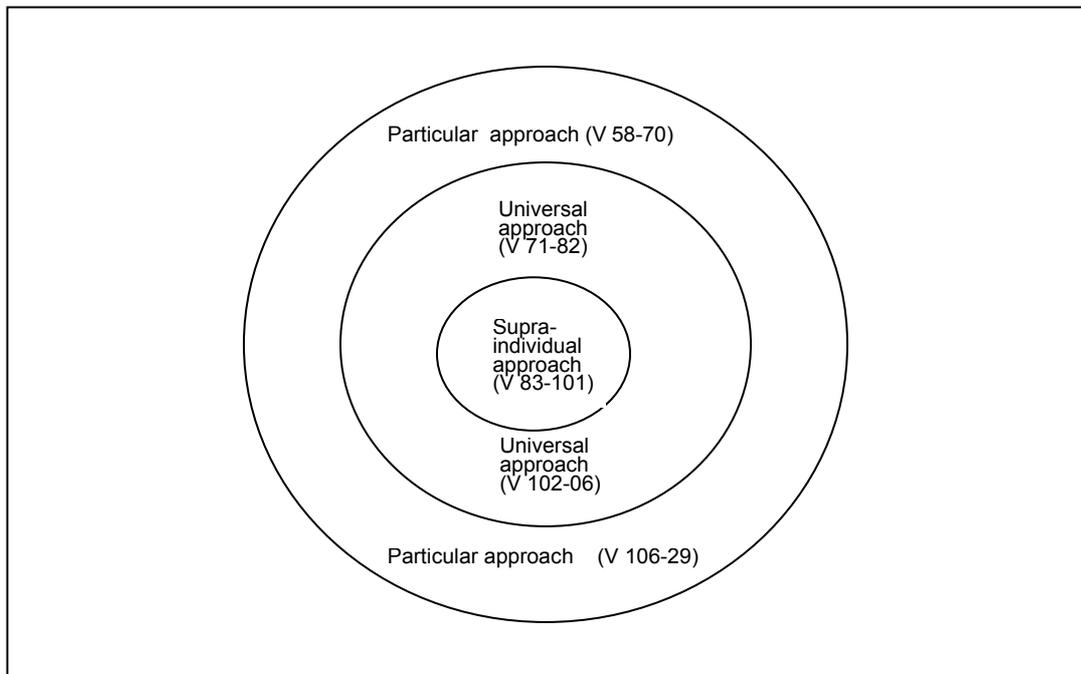
¹⁷² V^r 71-82.

¹⁷³ V^r 83-101.

¹⁷⁴ V^r 113-29.

¹⁷⁵ V^r 130-38.

The rhetorical and psychological aims of Andrew's speech result in a clear concentric structure that I have already analysed in the first part of this chapter¹⁷⁶. By obviating particular issues and leaving the introduction and conclusion aside for the moment, we can reduce this concentric structure to three basic concentric rings, as the following diagram shows:



6. Rhetorical Structure of Andrew's Speech to Maximilla

The first and most external ring is concerned with the very problem that gave rise to the speech. From a specific perspective, Andrew attacks Aegeates' sophistry and states the vacuity of his only threat to force the situation¹⁷⁷. The second ring, with its mythical exposition, allows the apostle to elevate the tone and to change from individual to paradigmatic examples of action and behaviour. The parallelism *in illo tempore* provided by the introduction of the Paradise Scene not only shows Maximilla that hers is not a new situation, but also gives depth to her commitment to resolving the problem¹⁷⁸. The universal tone of this mythical section, moreover, allows the apostle to reorient the matter by presenting it as a cognitive issue¹⁷⁹. The third ring or innermost section exposes the core of Andrew's

¹⁷⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, § 2.4.4, pp. 186-90.

¹⁷⁷ V^r 58-70 and 106-29.

¹⁷⁸ V^r 71-82 and 102-06.

¹⁷⁹ The cognitive reinterpretation of the Paradise scene (V^r 71-82) is, in our view, evident. Note, in the first place, the great accumulation of terms for the semantic field 'knowledge' / 'ignorance' (UŁbcY#žgZU#` k ždhU]g#aUž aYhUbcY#ž Yd]ghfY#k ž [bk f]#k ž X]cfec#ž _Uhcfec#ž YdUbcfec#). At the same time, the processes of devolution and of restoration of the primal state are clearly placed in a cognitive framework, since degradation

message. The supra-individual and a-temporal character of this part of the speech intends to reaffirm Maximilla's self-confidence, encouraging her to ignore all external noises and to abandon her judgement. She must focus on her essence, which she has already glimpsed, by overcoming the last remnants of her inferior being in order to fulfil the ultimate step of her personal development¹⁸⁰.

3.2.3. Particular Approach: Overcoming Speech

Troubled by her husband's speech and suddenly burdened with the responsibility of deciding about the apostle's freedom or death, Maximilla returns to the prison in order to ask advice of her master¹⁸¹. After declaring that he has long been aware of her firm determination and that therefore his support is not necessary, Andrew nevertheless agrees to give Maximilla his opinion of the *new* situation¹⁸². By doing so, he places the problem within the context of persuasion. Since there are no internal impulses that may impel her to renounce her principles, he seems to imply that the danger can only proceed from outside.

Andrew's attack on the immanent $\text{c}\#\text{c}^{\wedge}$ in its double aspect of persuasion and judgement is interrupted by a lengthy mythological section. In this sense it consists of two parts, an introductory approach to the theme and a fuller development thereof¹⁸³. The introductory words mainly focus on disqualifying Aegeates' proposal and on describing it as base and treacherous use of speech. The semantic field of the passage is clear about this. The six prohibitions encouraging Maximilla not to be defeated by her husband's persuasion present a combination of substantives, adjectives and verbal forms that clearly depict Aegeates' proposal as simple 'mean witchcraft' ($\text{f}\text{f}\text{d}\text{U}\text{f}\text{U}\text{F}\text{c}\backslash\text{h}\text{Y}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$)¹⁸⁴. However, the basis on which this persuasion relies, namely the threat or $\text{V}\text{U}\#\text{U}\text{bc}^{\wedge}$, is only superficially referred to in these introductory words. Without going into its character and goal, the apostle simply advises Maximilla to resist it by looking at him only for a short while. By doing so she will see Aegeates fading away from her and her companions¹⁸⁵.

Differently, Andrew's thorough treatment of persuasion in the part after the

arises from ignorance and error and restoration from knowledge and correction. See *infra* this Chapter, § 5.1 and 5.2, pp. 233-40.

¹⁸⁰ V^r 83-101.

¹⁸¹ V^r 54-58.

¹⁸² V^r 58-62.

¹⁸³ V^r 62-70 and 106-29, respectively.

¹⁸⁴ See V^r 63-67, where substantives ($\text{U}\text{H}\text{Y}\text{I}\backslash\#$ 'menace, threat', $\text{c}\text{H}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ 'talk', $\text{g}\text{i}\ \text{a}\text{V}\text{c}\text{i}\backslash\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ 'counsel', $\text{c}\backslash\text{U}\text{Y}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}$ 'flattery'), adjectives ($\text{U}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\ \text{f}\text{c}\#$ 'base', $\text{f}\text{f}\text{d}\text{U}\text{f}\text{c}\#$ 'treacherous, mean'), and verbal forms ($\backslash\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\ \text{g}\text{U}\#\text{a}\text{U}$ 'be defeated', $\text{b}\text{I}\text{I}\text{I}\ \text{U}\text{I}\text{I}$, med. 'be vanquished') equal speech to persuasion.

¹⁸⁵ V^r 67-70.

mythological section deepens the analysis of the $\forall U \# Ubc^{\wedge}z$ intending to show Maximilla that the threat is not a threat as such. It is only her interfering judgement that is keeping it alive. In order to demonstrate his point, Andrew analyses four different aspects that might be causing her wrong judgement, providing in each case the means to correct it. After referring to her confidence in the mercy of God¹⁸⁶, to the contempt of the physical body¹⁸⁷, and to his martyrdom as a part of God's plan¹⁸⁸, the fourth aspect touches the core of Maximilla's judgement. On the one hand, she wrongly thinks that by agreeing with Aegeates she can spare Andrew from suffering, whereas it is precisely her agreement that will give him torment until the day she realises her error. On the other hand, she may think that by escaping from death, Andrew might be of help to other kindred people, and that by not giving herself to what is alien Andrew can achieve his $U\#U\#U_i g]^{\wedge}$ or 'rest', thus serving Maximilla, or what boils down to the same thing, himself:

If you do not give yourself, Maximilla, to the opposite of these, I myself will get rest as well, merely being forced to put an end to this life on behalf of you, which means on behalf of me. However, if I were driven away from this place – being able then to be of help for other people akin to me because of you – and you, in turn, were convinced by Aegeates' utterances and by the flatteries of his father, the snake, in such a way that you might go back to your former deeds, know that because of you I will be punished until you realise that I repudiated to live the life because of an unworthy soul¹⁸⁹.

Falling into the trap of persuasive speech due to the influence of one's judgement has disastrous consequences not only for the individual but also for his human environment. Maximilla agreeing with her husband's proposal would imply the annihilation of the process she has fulfilled. At the same time, the apparent goal she might have attained in yielding to persuasion is the product of an inferior sort of reasoning and consequently generates degradation instead of improvement.

3.2.4. Universal Approach: Overcoming Judgement

Maximilla overcoming the dangers of persuasion simply consists of consciously following her

¹⁸⁶ If Maximilla is aware of his mercy she can a priori suspend her judgement and easily decline Aegeates' threat (V^r 106-07): 'Reject Aegeates' threats, Maximilla, since you know that we have a God that pities us'.

¹⁸⁷ As Andrew's body is akin to Aegeates (i.e., it is material and perishable), he may do with it what he wants (V^r 107-12): 'Do not let his noises move you, but remain pure. As for me, let him inflict on me not only the tortures of prison, but let him also throw me to the beasts, burn me with fire or throw me off a cliff. What then? Since it is only this body and it is akin to him, let him dispose of it as he pleases'.

¹⁸⁸ Maximilla is wrong in supposing that Andrew's impending martyrdom is negative. On the contrary, it fits within the plan revealed by the Lord to Andrew: the devil will liberate him from the prison of his visible body (V^r 114-17): 'Maximilla, stay firm against his treacheries, especially since I have seen my Lord telling me "Andrew, Aegeates' father, the devil, will free you from this prison."' On the relationship between Maximilla's decision to remain pure and Andrew's martyrdom, see Sturhahn, *Christologie*, 147.

¹⁸⁹ V^r 121-29.

determination to return to the most valuable part of her essence. After her long process of spiritual development, Maximilla has by now attained considerable self-knowledge that may help her to dismiss the noises (mcZc]) of persuasive speech and the illusions of her own judgement. The second ring or mythical section, consequently, concentrates on the culmination of the process of coming to know oneself and the insight it generates. Whereas ignorance and its concomitant error caused the suffering of going astray, the knowledge achieved by Maximilla enables the ‘inward turn’ or YH]ghf cZ\#the correction of the mistake and the subsequent overcoming of the suffering that both soul and intellect have undergone¹⁹⁰.

The remake of the Paradise Scene is interrupted by the praise of transcendent man, which divides it into two parts. The first is mainly concerned with Maximilla-Eve¹⁹¹ and the second with Andrew-Adam¹⁹². The first part focuses on the role of self-knowledge in opening the way for the ‘inward turn’ and for the correction of the error that provoked Eve’s suffering: ‘Rightly I see in you Eve becoming aware and in me Adam turning back to himself. Since what she suffered because of not knowing, you now, soul to which I’m referring, rectify it turning back to yourself’¹⁹³.

This correction takes place in three stages and concerns the domains of sensorial perception, of affections and of intellect. Firstly, the knowledge transmitted by Andrew – described here as an ‘Adam turning back to himself’ – enables Maximilla to correct by changing her mind (aYhUbcY#) and by giving up her own judgement¹⁹⁴. This reorganisation of perception, which from now on focuses on a higher sort of reality beyond the realm of flux and change, leads to the second stage, i.e. the sphere of affections. The certainty supplied by the knowledge that comes from above enables Maximilla to eliminate the doubt that was caused by ignorance. Hence, *phronesis* as the capability of discerning what is morally right or wrong is no longer necessary. Deprived of the distraction of externalities Maximilla can turn back to herself and rectify Eve’s suffering. But this turning to oneself can do more. In the third stage, it can correct the dispersal that the intellect suffered with Eve: ‘And precisely that

¹⁹⁰ On the meaning of YH]ghf cZ\# as ‘inward turn’ see *supra* Chapter 3, notes 56 and 60. For its combination with the notion of aYhUbc]U or ‘becoming aware’ in the restoration of the primal unity lost in the process of devolution, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 5.3.2, pp. 332-37.

¹⁹¹ V^r 73-82.

¹⁹² V^r 102-06.

¹⁹³ V^r 73-75. See *supra* Chapter 3, note 57 and *infra* Chapter 5, § 4.2, pp. 316-19.

¹⁹⁴ For the meaning of aYhUbcY# in the present passage see *supra*, Chapter 3 note 55 and *infra*, Chapter 5, § 5.3.2, pp. 332-37.

which the Intellect suffered together with her when it was shattered¹⁹⁵ and alienated from itself, I correct it with you, who recognised yourself as being lifted upwards',¹⁹⁶. After this last stage, the *bci* ↑ or 'intellect' regains its original condition of complete and unitary knowledge that was first altered with the appearance of doubt and uncertainty.

Yet the shattered human intellect cannot achieve its return to completeness on its own. Its alienation from itself implies the loss of the original transparency that characterised its acts of immediate and complete apprehension. The gap between (pristine) intuitive and (current) discursive knowledge can only be overcome if human intellect is acted upon. As a precondition for this, however, the intellect must suspend its discursivity and, a priori, understand its real nature by simply accepting it. In short, it must be receptive to the knowledge transmitted from above. Our text describes the last step of this process by relating the receptiveness of human intellect to Maximilla's awareness of belonging to the higher realm, but it also relates the knowledge that comes from above to Andrew's revelation. Once the process of knowing oneself has properly awakened the intellect, Andrew will supply it with suitable content to attain knowledge of God. Hence it is Andrew who restores the intellect's original activity after Maximilla has prepared her *bci* ↑ to become acquainted with transcendent knowledge¹⁹⁷.

The closing lines of this first part of the mythical section sum up the preceding thoughts and derive Eve's and Adam's imperfection from the ignorance that governed their behaviour and actions¹⁹⁸:

For what she was lacking you fixed it by not going through the same [errors]; and what in him was imperfect I brought it to perfection taking refuge in God. What she heard carelessly you listened to. And from what he agreed on I escape. And what tripped them up, we recognised. For it is pre-established that everyone's correction amends his own error¹⁹⁹.

Eve's incompleteness, which was due to ignorance, is overcome by her blind confidence in the knowledge that comes from without. Instead of trying to supersede ignorance and doubt by means of her judgement, Maximilla abandons rationality in order to attain a superior mode of apprehension. By doing so, she enables Andrew to correct what was imperfect in Adam. Instead of agreeing to the search for knowledge due to his philanthropic link with his partner,

¹⁹⁵ For our interpretation of this passage see *supra* Chapter 3, note 58. On the notion of the intellect's dispersal as the origin of the process of devolution, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.1.3.1, pp. 292-96.

¹⁹⁶ V^r 75-77.

¹⁹⁷ For the process of recollection that inverts that of devolution and allows the intellect to recover its original unity, see *infra* this Chapter, § 5, pp. 233-40.

¹⁹⁸ For the notions of ignorance and imperfection as first the cause of the devolution and perfection as the inversion of this process, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 4.2, pp. 316-19.

he flees and takes refuge in God. His attitude is exactly the opposite of that of Adam. Whereas Adam's attitude was characterised by $Z] \cdot U_{befkd}]\#$, Andrew's is marked by $eYcgY\#Y]U$ or $eYcZ] \cdot]\#$. In this sense, divine or transcendent knowledge enables both figures to correct their share of responsibility in the error committed by the first couple.

The second part of the mythical section confirms this interpretation. In the same way that Adam died in Eve by agreeing with her proposal, Andrew states, he now lives in Maximilla because she is following the Lord's order by transporting herself towards the most valuable part of her essence, her spiritual or intellectual being²⁰⁰.

3.2.5. Supra-individual Approach: Overcoming Knowledge

The central part of the speech describes the highest culmination of the process we have followed in the preceding section. This momentous step is properly emphasised by Andrew's introductory words of praise, which summarise the steps that have been taken thus far:

Having said these things as I said, I would also say the following. Well done you, saved nature, since you were not strong and you did not keep yourself hidden! Well done you, soul, shouting out which you suffered and returning to yourself! Well done Anthropos who understands what is not yours and hastens towards what is yours!²⁰¹

In spite of the pressure of materiality and sensorial perception, the external call or recognition, as we have seen in the first speech to the brethren, enables the saved nature to become manifest and start the process of detachment from what is alien to it²⁰². Once the realm of materiality has been superseded, there follows the realm of affections, the sphere of the soul. The expression used to describe the overcoming of affections seems to imply a sort of homeopathic method in which suffering is eradicated through the principle of *similia similibus*²⁰³. Once so far, in a third step, the Anthropos or transcendent man controls and subdues that which does not belong to him by turning away from X_cWU and persuasion. This last stage was reached by listening to Andrew's words of knowledge and by gradually leaving aside the immanent $\cdot c\#c^{\wedge}$, in its double aspect of own judgement and persuasion, by means of self-knowledge. Once this last stage has been reached, words and self-knowledge can be left behind in order to direct the thinking towards the intelligible, i.e. towards God:

Well done you, saved nature, since you were not strong and you did not keep yourself hidden!
Well done you, soul, shouting out which you suffered and returning to yourself! Well done
Anthropos who understands what is not yours and hastens towards what is yours! Well done

¹⁹⁹ V^r 77-82. For the translation of this difficult sentence, see *supra* Chapter 3, note 62.

²⁰⁰ V^r 102-06.

²⁰¹ V^r 83-86. For the concentric structure of the section V^r 84-90, see *supra* Chapter 3, note 65.

²⁰² See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 193-96.

²⁰³ See *infra* this Chapter, p. 204-05.

[you] who listens to what is said! For I see you [now] thinking much greater things than what is said; for I am aware that you are much stronger than what seems to oppress you; for [I see that] you excel above what brought you down into deformities and above what led you to captivity²⁰⁴.

The words of the apostle have accompanied him along the stages of coming to know himself. Once the process has been completed, the *Anthropos* is able to think what is akin to him. By thinking the intelligible he overcomes both speech and knowledge itself, since in the act of thinking of the intellect, that which apprehends and that which is apprehended become one single reality. Subject and object become what they really are: pure thinking. In this way the intellect achieves its highest goal: the releasing of the shackles that bound it to the world:

Having recognised all these in yourself, *Anthropos*, that you are immaterial, holy, light, that you are akin to the unbegotten, [that you are] intellectual, heavenly, radiant, [and] pure and that you are above flesh, above the world, above the powers, above the authorities, beyond which you really are; having recollected and recovered yourself in your [true] condition, think that in what you excel. And since you have seen your face in your essence, breaking all the shackles (I do not mean those shackles of generation, but also those belonging to the realm beyond generation, of which we gave you outstanding appellatives²⁰⁵), desire now to see that one who has not yet been seen²⁰⁶ by you, who has not been generated, whom you alone²⁰⁷, if you have the nerve, will soon perceive²⁰⁸.

By returning to a complete and unitary knowledge, the intellect regains its original intuitive apprehension. Discursive knowledge and speech are now futile. The intellect apprehends everything at once in one single act of apprehension, as it is now released from the constrictions of materiality and time. This is the moment at which the divinity reveals Himself to the individual²⁰⁹.

3.2.6. Andrew's Conclusion

Hence, the closing words of Andrew's speech expose the manner in which Maximilla can

²⁰⁴ V^r 86-90.

²⁰⁵ Thus far Maximilla has received knowledge that may provide her with the means to grasp the existence of the transcendent divinity. As she was still attached to the discursive means of her reason, it is only through names or appellatives that she can conceive the transcendent realm. However, once the culmination of her development has been achieved, discursive knowledge can be left behind in order to reach a direct apprehension of the divinity beyond the constrictions of discursive thought and, consequently, of names. For Festugière's interpretation of the section, see *supra* Chapter 3, note 68.

²⁰⁶ For our emendation of the *passus*, see *app. ad.* V^r 99.

²⁰⁷ See *supra* Chapter 3, note 71.

²⁰⁸ V^r 91-101.

²⁰⁹ See J. Stenzel, 'Der Begriff der Erleuchtung bei Platon', *Antike* 2 (1926) 235-57 at 242: 'In dem überhellen Lichte, das kein Schatten des Diesseits mehr gliedert und teilt, verschwinden die Konturen der Dinge; eine verzehrende Helligkeit lässt in ihrem Übermass die schauende Kraft des schwachen einzelnen Geistes verschwinden, in einem höheren untergehen; das Wort, die Verbindung mit dem anderen Ich, ist verstummt. Und mit dem Untergange des einzelnen Subjekts und der die Dinge deutende Sprache verschwindet das einzelne Objekt; nur ein Etwas, das Eine wird Objekt dieser Schau, oder besser: wenn die Gliederung der Welt und die Individualität des Betrachters aufgehoben wird, so verschwindet der Unterschied zwischen einem Schauenden und Geschauten. Es gibt weder Subjekt noch Objekt mehr, sondern ein höheres Zusammenfallen aller

reach the culmination of her development and evade the impending threats to her achievements²¹⁰. She must keep her clear-sighted *nous* safe and preserve it. She must understand that Andrew's martyrdom will enable his perfection and allow her to know her real nature. It is only by accepting a suffering that is not (Andrew's martyrdom) that she may escape the real suffering of falling again into materiality²¹¹. By understanding what he is looking at, namely at his real being in transcendence, she can disable the influence of phenomena and turn away from what she actually must not see²¹².

In this sense Aegeates' *Ubc^* seems to have a pregnant meaning. Whereas for Andrew it means 'physical torture', for Maximilla it is the 'crucial test' that will either culminate in or abort her liberation.

3.3. Andrew's Speech to Stratocles

Andrew's speech to Stratocles is preserved completely and has a quasi-dialogue form. Andrew's concerns about Stratocles' state of mind open the speech²¹³ and create the right context for the latter's response²¹⁴. A short answer by the apostle closes the discourse²¹⁵.

From the point of view of its content, Andrew's speech to Stratocles is not as rich as the preceding discourses²¹⁶. The frequent repetitions of ideas and synonyms occupy a considerable part of the text and might easily exhaust, or even exasperate, a reader in the search for the exposition of a consistent message. This is due to the fact that Andrew's *c#c^* does not aim here to transmit knowledge, but rather to 'produce' it by almost physically acting upon the soul of his addressee.

3.3.1. Character and Scope of the Speech

In spite of immediately following the speech to Maximilla, the speech to Stratocles presents rather diverse contents and style. Abundant references to affections, both as external expression or as internal feeling, draw readers away from the intellectualistic allure of the preceding speech and place them at another level of Andrew's verbal psychotherapy²¹⁷. The

Gegensätze in der unio mystica tritt ein'.

²¹⁰ V^r 130-38.

²¹¹ Once again (see *supra* this Chapter, pp. 203-04) the method of *similia similibus* seems to be the only way to eradicate the suffering of physical existence.

²¹² See Liechtenhan, 'Die pseudepigraphische Litteratur', 295-96.

²¹³ V^r 139-67.

²¹⁴ V^r 168-82.

²¹⁵ V^r 183-89.

²¹⁶ V^r 139-89.

²¹⁷ See the references to his crying (V^r 140-41), constrain (*ibid.*), despair (142), love (147), desire (147, 148, 149), exasperation (151), hate (152), distress (153), etc. On Andrew's role as a psychotherapist, see *supra* this

tone of Andrew's words correlate with this new conceptual framework. Instead of gradually approaching the key theme of the discourse and tactfully exposing his point of view, Andrew comes directly to the point by attacking what in his view is bothering Stratocles. As a result, the speech presents a rather aggressive character.

The opening words are clear about the context in which Andrew's speech takes place. Stratocles' continuous crying, loud groans and clear signs of grief puzzle and even seem to worry the apostle²¹⁸. Given Andrew's surprise, it seems obvious that Stratocles is supposed to have by now attained a considerable advance in the rational control of his emotions. Hence there are reasons for Andrew to be concerned, since his behaviour may either reflect a revitalisation of the affective or irrational part of his soul resulting in immoderate affections or is about to provoke it.

In order to dissipate his doubts, Andrew delivers an interesting speech that reveals the writer's bipartite conception of the soul²¹⁹. Andrew's speech has a clear goal: if the soul of his addressee preserves its sound internal disposition, the words will provoke a suitable reaction of the rational part that will help him to temper immoderate affections or their external manifestation. But if this sound disposition has been altered and the rational part of Stratocles' soul appears to be numb under the pressure of irrationality, Andrew's rough attack on the affectionate part will certainly awake it from its lethargy, provoking a crisis that may restore its original state.

3.3.2. Andrew's Cathartic Logos

With this in mind, Andrew adopts, in his first intervention, a rather aggressive approach that will put the inner structure of Stratocles' soul to the test²²⁰. After the calm questions that open the speech, the increasing tension of Andrew's words intentionally provokes a state of confusion and of emotional tension in his listener. Once this tension has reached its maximum, Andrew abruptly ends the speech resolving Stratocles' confusion by means of a couple of appropriate expressions. This produces an emotional discharge in his listener, by means of which a quicker transition to this *new* order takes place²²¹.

The gradually increasing tension is achieved both by the reducing sentence pattern of

Chapter, § 2.3.2.2, pp. 179-80.

²¹⁸ V^r 140-42.

²¹⁹ On the issue both in *AA* and in the wider context of the first centuries of the era, see *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.2.2.2, pp. 307-10.

²²⁰ V^r 140-67.

²²¹ On this therapeutic strategy and on its Aristotelian origin, see *supra* this Chapter, p. 179-80 and note 115.

revitalisation or awakening of the rational part brings the soul into balance, instead of an expression of physical grief, crying becomes an expression of understanding and relief. This is the proof of the success of this $\text{U}\# \text{Uf g]}^{\wedge} \text{dUe}\backslash \text{aU}\# \text{k} \text{b} \text{z}$ of this purification of affections by means of words.

3.3.3. Andrew's Logos Restructuring the Balance within the Soul

Andrew's emphasis on the immoderate character of Stratocles' affections reveals the conceptual background of $\text{U}\# \text{fUg]}^{\#}$ or 'ill mixture' in the constitutive elements of the soul as the source of improper or unmeasured emotional responses²³¹. Whereas internal balance necessarily implies external balance – that is, health –, lack of inner balance cannot but produce external unbalance. That the soul's 'bad mixture' arises from the preponderance of irrationality is obvious in Andrew's appeal to Stratocles' rationality: 'Do you apprehend the uttered words (...)? Do you understand to whom the pronounced words were pronounced?'²³² If he really does, if the $\text{c}\# \text{c}^{\wedge}$ really dwells in him, he should dispose himself accordingly (*scil.* to this very $\text{c}\# \text{c}^{\wedge}$). The use of the verb $\text{X}[\text{U}]\# \backslash \text{a}]$ 'arrange', 'to be disposed in a certain manner' (pass.), in this passage clearly points to Andrew's words as 'disposing suitably' or 'rearranging' the inner structure of the soul²³³.

Consequently, Andrew's speech presents a clear therapeutic or healing goal. In order to understand the way in which rational speech affects the soul of the addressee, restoring its sound inner structure, we must pay attention to the vocabulary of the passage. The process presents similarities with a quasi-materialistic conception both of infirmity and of the healing process, which was widely held in antiquity. In this sense, *AA* endows Andrew's words with a $\text{X}[\text{U}]\# \text{a}]^{\wedge}$ or 'healing fluidum' that is transmitted by touching²³⁴. The action of the words on the rational part ($\backslash \text{f}[\text{U}]\# \text{c}]\text{U} \text{z} \text{hc}[\text{U}]\# \text{c} \text{B} \text{a} \text{Y}\# \text{c}^{\wedge}$) of Stratocles' soul is described using the verbs $\text{U}\# \text{hcaU}]$ 'touch' and $\text{e}][[\text{U}\# \text{k}$ 'touch, contact'²³⁵. According to our text, this touching

logical conclusion.

²³¹ V^t 141, $\text{dc}^{\wedge} \text{c}]^{\uparrow} \text{XU}_{\text{fi}} \#]^{\wedge}$; $\text{ghY}\# \text{Y}]^{\wedge} \text{Y} \text{E} \text{Y}\# \text{ci} \text{ghcb}$; 142, $\text{X}[\text{g} \text{e} \text{i} \text{a}]^{\#}$; *ibid.* $\text{hcPdc}^{\wedge} \text{i} \# \text{gci} \text{U}\# [\text{c}^{\wedge}$; *ibid.*, $\backslash \text{fl} \text{dc}^{\wedge} \text{R} \text{b}]^{\#}$. For this reading see *app. ad* V^t 142.

²³² V^t 142-44, $[\text{bk} \text{f}]^{\#} \text{Y}]^{\wedge} \text{hUP} \text{Y}[\text{c}\# \text{YbUz}_{\text{U}}] \text{P}[\text{X}]\text{U}\# \text{h}]^{\#} \text{Y} \text{Y} \text{c} \text{caU}] \text{hY}\# \text{bc} \text{c}\# \text{k}^{\wedge} \text{X}[\text{U}]\text{hYe}^{\wedge} \text{t/aU} \text{beU}\# \text{Y}]^{\wedge} \text{dfcP} \text{h}]^{\#} \text{U}^{\wedge} \text{Y}[\text{E} \backslash \text{hU}] \text{hUPY}[\text{E} \backslash \text{a} \text{Y}\# \text{U} /$

²³³ See *supra* Chapter 3, note 85. This aspect of Andrew's $\text{c}\# \text{c}^{\wedge}$ will be dealt with further later. For the time being, note that in V^t 192 the verb also describes Maximilla overcoming the threats of her husband. Her disposing herself according to the words allows her to act calmly and consciously ($\text{ci} \text{L} \text{U}\# \text{f}]\# \text{k}^{\wedge}$). See *supra* Chapter 3, notes 92, 93 and 107.

²³⁴ The words are explicitly endowed with this $\text{X}[\text{U}]\# \text{a}]^{\wedge}$ in the speech to Maximilla. See V^t 102.

²³⁵ V^t 144-45, $\# \text{U}\# \text{c} \# \text{ci} \text{Y}\# \text{Ug} \text{hcb} \text{h} \backslash \uparrow \text{X}[\text{U}]\# \text{c}]^{\#} / \text{Y}\# [\text{Y}\# \text{gci} \text{hci} \text{X}[\text{U}]\# \text{c}] \text{ci} \text{h} \text{Y}\# \text{ci}^{\wedge} /$ for the use of the verb $\text{U}\# \text{hcaU}]$ in healing contexts in the NT see *supra* this Chapter, note 113.

produces a series of causally related effects. First, it seems to implant or to activate something already existing in the rational part that predisposes it to reasoned speech²³⁶. This predisposition to rational speech generates the recognition of a mutual belonging or kinship, the awareness of an *eros* attracting like to like by means of which the $\Upsilon\mu\kappa\gamma\wedge$ or ‘reunion’ of speaker and listener is enabled²³⁷. The result of this reunion is rest²³⁸. By focusing on the $\`c\#\c^$ the rational part becomes itself $\`c\#\c^$ and can easily subdue irrationality²³⁹.

Whereas before the soul is touched it seems to be under the control of irrationality, once the $\`c\#\c^$ restores the soul’s inner balance, rationality is able to subdue irrationality and retake the control of the soul. From now on mastery over affections is possible without the need of external aid, since the irrational part of the soul is naturally disposed to listen to the dictates of the rational one²⁴⁰.

3.3.4. The Goal of Rationality: $a\Upsilon\eta\upsilon\}cdU\#Y]U$ and not $U\#U\#Y]U$

That Andrew intends to temper the affections of the soul rather than eradicate them is clear both from the character of his speech and from its content. In the first place, as stated above, Andrew intends to provoke an emotional response from Stratocles rather than prevent one. At the same time, Andrew urging Stratocles to feel certain affections rather than others shows that in his view there are affections that have a positive effect on the soul.

Andrew’s main concern in this first part of his speech, consequently, is not the emotion itself but rather its unmeasured manifestation. This is due to the fact that, in Andrew’s view, Stratocles is still engaged in the learning process that will lead him to rational control over his behaviour. In order to achieve this, Stratocles must revitalise the rational part of his soul so that the overbearing character of the irrational one may be kept within bounds. But as this revitalisation takes place by dealing with emotions, a complete eradication would only produce negative results, since it would leave the rational part of the soul without

²³⁶ V^r 145-47.

²³⁷ Note the abundant references to filial love and affection in V^r 147-50. See *infra* this Chapter notes 243 and 244.

²³⁸ V^r 149-50.

²³⁹ However, if Stratocles’ rational part has not been properly acted upon by the words, it is likely that under the influence of the irrational part his soul might be turning away from Andrew and his speech. Instead of the agreement of the alike, there is the opposition of the unlike. Instead of $\Upsilon\mu\kappa\wedge$ there is $bY]\#\c^$ or ‘strife’. In the background to this process we seem almost but not quite to have the Plotinian exposition of the fundament of magic spells, namely the existence of an agreement of like forces and an opposition of unlike. While in the nature of the former there is a love (*eros*) that attracts them to each other, in the latter there is a strife (*neikos*) that repels them (Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.4.40). The sorcerer of the white or true magic makes use of this innate attraction of like by like in order to join two souls, creating a pattern that in itself has an own $\Xi\ \#Ua]\wedge$.

²⁴⁰ On the issue, see *infra* Chapter 3, note 88 and this Chapter, § 3.3.4, pp. 209-10.

culmination²⁴⁶.

3.3.5. Excursus on Stratocles' Viewpoint

Stratocles not only responds positively to Andrew's cathartic logos by physically expressing the new order within his soul under the primacy of rationality, he also intends to offer a well-reasoned answer with a view to showing the apostle that he is quite aware of the dangers of his attitude²⁴⁷. In doing so, however, he involuntarily confirms Andrew's concerns with regard to his spiritual development and state of mind. Even though he attentively follows Andrew's thoughts, he does not quite seem to understand their deeper meaning.

Stratocles' words intend to react to every relevant aspect of his master's speech, delivering in each case a proper answer. However, although his reasoning uses approximately the same terms as the apostle, the nuances are rather different. Sometimes he understands Andrew's words literally, sometimes he interprets them subjectively, and sometimes he does not grasp them at all. The resulting conceptual asymmetry between master and pupil transmits a certain irony since, though fully committed to his learning process, Stratocles seems to have quite a way to go. This textual irony, however, does not intend to deride him but simply to present his character as a work-in-progress, as something incomplete even though in the process of being completed. In addition, Stratocles is conscious both of his imperfection and of his need to continue his education. Let us look at some examples of this conceptual asymmetry.

The proconsul's brother begins his speech with: 'Do not think, blessed Andrew, that there is some other thing grieving me but you'²⁴⁸. At first sight this affirmation is astonishing, since the goal of Andrew's speech was precisely to show Stratocles the need to stop his grief. How can he expect to please the apostle with such an argument? It is obvious that his words are a literal answer to Andrew's metaphorical questions in 42.13-15 and 42.28-31. The apostle's enquiry as to whether he found himself within Stratocles or whether there was someone or something else within him were actually intended to discover in his soul either something *gi* [[*YbY#* ('akin') or *UŁ` c#f]cb* ('alien'), namely the principles that may determine

²⁴⁶ In the first centuries of the era there is a vivid polemic between Stoics and Aristotelians as to the advantages and disadvantages of *aYhf]cdU#Y]U* and *U#U#Y]U*. Interesting evidence of the growing relevance of the former in the historical period is the testimony of Philo, who combines *aYhf]cdU#Y]U* and *U#U#Y]U* as subsequent stages in the sage's quest for wisdom. Even if complete eradication is the ultimate ideal, this can only be attained after a long process of tempering the emotions. See *supra* this Chapter, note 242 and *infra* Chapter 5, § 5.4, pp. 338-39.

²⁴⁷ V^r 168-82.

²⁴⁸ V^r 168-69.

the ‘oblivion of the true nature’, which in the first speech to the brethren had only been hinted at, is now thoroughly developed.

Two reasons explain the perpetuation of forgetfulness. On the one hand, there is an internal reason, namely the co-operation between sensorial perception and the mind’s assent. Due to the soul’s degradation into materiality, man’s apprehension of his world exclusively relies on his senses. As his idea of reality depends on sensation, he seems to be trapped in the vicious circle shaped by his ‘deluding representations’ (YHJV UV\ P ZUhhUg]H). The awakening effect of Andrew’s words puts an end to this situation²⁶¹. Everyone akin to the words can realise the flux in which they live and glimpse their true being²⁶².

On the other hand, there is also an external reason – the instability and influence of phenomena. A very important part of the speech is consequently dedicated to purporting a cognitive transformation of appearances. Instead of stating their fallacy and rejecting them a priori, Andrew’s speech defends a reorganisation of perception that may enable the ‘blessed race’ to see through appearances.

In this context, the long treatment of the principle of evil, the ‘shameless devil’ (cfl UBUX\ P XUWc` c^), and the narration of his fight against God, the ‘one without beginning’ (cfl UBf1 c^), for the control of man takes place. Although at first sight this narration might seem to explain the existence of good and evil, it actually focuses on the need to discriminate between true and false appearances in order to escape from the vicious circle that keeps man attached to materiality. Whereas the principle of evil is objectively described as ‘enemy’ (cfl dc` Y#]c^), and as ‘alien to peace’ (Y]E\B\^ UL` cHf]c^)²⁶³, subjectively – from the perspective of his relationship with man – he is mainly a deceiver who disguises his malice towards mankind as friendship²⁶⁴.

3.4.1. Character and Scope of the Speech

Andrew’s discourse to this group of followers has a more general character and is concerned, in a manner of speaking, with the basics of his doctrine. This more general character of the speech is not only stressed by mentioning the larger public that was attending it²⁶⁵, but also by

²⁶⁰ Vr 205-08.

²⁶¹ Vr 209-14.

²⁶² Vr 215-17.

²⁶³ Vr 236-240.

²⁶⁴ Vr 243-46.

²⁶⁵ Vr 203-04.

certain traits of the speech. The abundant references to sensorial perception²⁶⁶ and to mental activities immediately related to or depending on perception²⁶⁷ already point to the lower level of spiritual development of his addressees. This is also suggested by another issue that deserves special attention. The last speech to the brethren is the only one mentioning Andrew's 'wondrous deeds' (Y#U)²⁶⁸. Whereas the other three speeches seem to consider Andrew's activities as purely consisting of the transmission of his words, this reference (isolated and passing though it may be) allows the assumption that the apostle's deeds may have also played a relevant role in *AA*. Admittedly, this assertion might, at first sight, seem to contradict the strong dualistic trend of the text. But the contradiction disappears if we consider that the Y#U might have been intended for an initial phase of Andrew's activity and exclusively directed to those followers who, though advancing in the learning process, are not yet completely detached from their material condition and consequently from their senses.

This last consideration indeed explains the central position in the speech of notions such as perception (or more precisely *right* perception), misleading and misunderstanding. Attention is not only paid to phenomena, to the perception thereof and to the information conveyed by the senses, but also and especially to man's synthesis of this information in order to form an idea of reality. If in the preceding speeches to Maximilla and Stratocles the objective of Andrew's 'c#c^' was the reorganisation of intellect and soul, respectively, in this speech it clearly intends to reorganise the realm of sensation.

Andrew is aware that his martyrdom might have a disastrous impact on those of his followers who are still dependent on appearances. Since at their stage both phenomena and words are equally relevant²⁶⁹, an impressive Y#cb such as his martyrdom might easily frustrate their previous achievements. Consequently, Andrew is mainly concerned with the way in which his addressees are to perceive and interpret his crucifixion. His words intend to provide them with a cognitive clue to how they must understand the events to come.

The apostle's announcement of his impending death significantly occupies the central part of the speech²⁷⁰. The preceding section or introduction provides a particular approach to the problem and mainly intends to urge the addressees to beware of deluding appearances²⁷¹,

²⁶⁶ V^r 211, 215, 215-16, 222, 224-25, 227.

²⁶⁷ As memory (V^r 207, 221), representation (V^r 209), error (V^r 214), disturbance (V^r 230).

²⁶⁸ V^r 222-224.

²⁶⁹ See V^r 218-229. The motif of the foundation (eYaY#]cb) consisting both of deeds and of words eloquently highlights the equivalent relevance of phenomena and words in the spiritual development of beginners.

²⁷⁰ V^r 230-37.

²⁷¹ V^r 205-229.

whereas the last part of the extant speech offers a universal approach to the problem²⁷². In order to reduce the impact of his death, the apostle reframes his martyrdom within a more stable mythical framework that may enable its transformation into something positive. From this perspective Andrew's martyrdom is no longer an isolated example of a violent death inflicted by a wicked man, but rather an important act in the cosmological drama of the continuing strife between Good and Evil.

3.4.2. Particular Approach: Improving Man's Condition

Despite their belonging to the higher realm, until Andrew's intervention the brethren seem to have been trapped like any other individuals in the realm of materiality²⁷³. Andrew's words intend to enable those 'akin to the words' to glimpse their true natures, which may help them to detaching themselves from the senses. Despite its essential importance, however, the glimpse of the own nature is but the beginning of a long and gradual process that may eventually lead to the complete liberation from the constrictions of the physical world. Having recognised his original nature and taking it as the basis, man has to engage himself in a laborious deconstruction of the other aspects that form his untrue nature. First of all, however, man has to cope with and overcome the distortion that proceeds from the combination of his sensorial perception and unstable phenomena.

3.4.2.1. The Soul's Current State

According to Andrew, the distortion at the level of perception of reality proceeds not only from the senses and phenomena, but also from the resulting inaccurate mental representations based on them²⁷⁴. As a result of this combination, man not only lives in an alien environment but, what is even worse, he also seems to enjoy it. Andrew's main goal is to alter this situation since, he declares, he has been sent to these latitudes 'to remind each man akin to the words that they live among temporal evils, enjoying their [own] deluding representations'²⁷⁵.

It is an erroneous idea of reality that prolongs the brethren's sojourn in an unsteady environment, in which physical and moral issues are subject to change and decay. If phenomena are always changing, the information transmitted by the senses to the mind will

²⁷² V^r 238-271.

²⁷³ V^r 205-06.

²⁷⁴ For Aristotle, too, error does not proceed from $\text{U}\ddot{\text{u}}\text{e}\backslash\text{g}\wedge$ or 'sensation', since 'the perception of proper objects is true, or is only capable of error to the least possible degree' (*De an.* 428b 18-19). It is the $\text{Z}\text{U}\text{b}\text{h}\text{U}\text{g}\text{]}_{\#}$ or 'perceptual appearance' that is responsible for error (see *De an.* 428b 11-28).

²⁷⁵ V^r 208-09. For $\text{Z}\text{U}\text{b}\text{h}\text{U}\text{g}\text{]}_{\#}$ in our present passage, see *supra* Chapter 3, note 98 and *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.2.2.3, pp. 310-14.

also be continually changing, as will the resulting synthesis or mental picture. The combination of the variability of objects presented to the mind and their relative value due to the constant transformation of the frame of reference results in a highly negative instability with regard to ethics and behaviour²⁷⁶.

It is clearly stated in our text that this situation originates in the fact that the soul moves in an unnatural environment: ‘All this happens because the uninstructed soul went astray in the physical realm and [still] keeps the ties (YbY#i fU) related to it going astray’²⁷⁷. Although the text is not clear about the ultimate cause that provokes this going astray of the soul, the adjective ‘uninstructed’ (UHU]XMi hcb) seems to relate it to an inherent ignorance that characterised its original (?) condition. As we have already seen in the Paradise Scene²⁷⁸, it is precisely this ignorance that causes Eve’s suffering and the concomitant process of degradation of the intellect, firstly to the level of soul, and finally to the realm of appearances. We seem to have here the final stage of the same process of degradation. Having reached its lowest level, the soul is lost in sensible reality and reduced to its most elemental activity. The abundant references to phenomena and sensation together with the absence of allusions to rational activity as such seem to suggest that Andrew is dealing with the soul as an irrational entity, which is purely engaged in apprehending phenomena.

This situation can be changed. By reminding the brethren of where they really belong, by declaring the futility of their current life and by encouraging them to focus on a changeless reality, Andrew makes them receptive to the words that will lead them to recover their real nature. Once they become ‘listeners to the proclaimed words’ (_Y_ \fi [aYbk b` c#k b) they receive a glimpse of their real nature, i.e. the rational nature of their souls.

3.4.2.2. Andrew’s Foundation

The soul has achieved a glimpse of its true nature, but it is still trapped in an alien environment characterised by continuous movement and change. Given their dependence on irrational means, such as sense perception and representation, the brethren’s improvement cannot be achieved only by means of words. Something more tangible is necessary, since their perception and practical understanding still depend exclusively on the senses.

Andrew seems to understand this point, because he dedicates an important part of his speech to describing the foundation laid by him in order to provide the brethren with the

²⁷⁶ V^r 211-12.

²⁷⁷ V^r 213-14. For our interpretation of the term YbY#i fU, see *supra* Chapter 3, note 99.

²⁷⁸ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.4, pp. 200-03.

stability and certainty they need to gain a proper understanding of the world. The first step then consists of searching for something stable, something which neither moves itself nor can be moved:

Therefore I command you, dear children, build firmly on the foundation laid for you, which is unshakeable and against which no evil power can conspire. Root on this foundation. Stay firm remembering all what has been achieved while I was living together with all of you²⁷⁹.

This foundation is what Andrew's activities means to those who are still engaged in selecting the huge amount of information proceeding from the sensible. As they partake in Andrew's activities mainly through their senses, they receive something to look at, i.e. Andrew's deeds, and something to listen to, i.e. his words:

Works have you seen performed through me that you cannot disbelieve, [works] that have become such signs that even the irrational nature [in you] will acclaim them²⁸⁰. Words I transmitted to you, which I entreat you to receive in the way the words need to be [received]. Beloved, stay firm on all things that you saw, that you listened to and that you participated in, and the God you have believed in, showing mercy on you, will place you beside Him as those who please Him and who have achieved eternal rest²⁸¹.

Andrew's separate treatment of deeds and words and the different way of describing their respective effect on the brethren suggests that a diverse effect is expected. Whereas his wondrous deeds provoke an immediate reaction, the effect of his words seems to be placed in the future. Far from describing their action, Andrew simply entreats the addressees to receive the words in the proper way. It is plausible to think that Andrew here is implying a similar process to the one described by Stratocles in his answer to the apostle²⁸². According to Stratocles, the words must first 'touch' (or 'light up') the soul of the addressee; then he has to receive them as the ground receives seeds and, finally, only after proper care and attention can they develop and be brought to perfection²⁸³.

Armed with the apostle's deeds and words, the brethren have now a stable point of reference on which to focus their perception with a view, first, to neutralise the influence of fluctuating phenomena and, second, to overcome sensorial perception as well.

3.4.3. Central Section: An Impending Threat to the Foundation

The central part of the extant speech focuses on the crucial moment that will put the brethren to the test. The whole process of neutralising the effect of phenomena has now been completed. Andrew's message has reminded the brethren that they originally belonged to the

²⁷⁹ V^r 218-229.

²⁸⁰ On our interpretation of this section, see *supra* Chapter 3, note 103.

²⁸¹ V^r 222-229.

²⁸² See *supra* Chapter 3, pp. 153-54.

higher realm and by means of the words they have had a glimpse of their real rational nature. At the same time, the foundation laid by Andrew by means of deeds and words has provided them with a stable horizon in order to develop insight without resorting to always changing external objects. The last step is now about to take place. The impressive $\Upsilon\Xi[\text{cb}]$ of Andrew's martyrdom is the touchstone that will complete the laborious process of detachment from the senses:

With regard to what is about to happen to me do not let it disturb you as though it [were] a strange marvel that the servant of God – to whom God Himself allowed so many things through deeds and through words – is driven away from this ephemeral life so violently by a wicked man²⁸⁴.

The reference to the $\text{hUfUI} \setminus \# \text{or}$ 'disturbance, disorder' points to the quasi-physical effect that his death might signify for the brethren. This arises from the fact that the primacy of externals still determines their understanding²⁸⁵.

3.4.4. Universal Approach: Andrew's Logos Reorganising Perception

With a view to diminishing the weight of the portentous $\Upsilon\Xi[\text{cb}]$ of his own death, Andrew intends to create a stable frame of reference in which to place the events to come. In order to do so he states in the first place the future *repetition* of the event. His death is not an isolated incident that should be understood exclusively in the narrow current circumstances created by the antagonism with Aegeates. Rather it must be placed in the wider context of the devil's enterprise to win the assent of those who share a common belief in and love of God:

This will not come upon me only, but also upon all those who loved and believed in Him and confess Him. [For] the completely shameless devil will arm his children against them in order that they may agree with him²⁸⁶. But he will not get what he wants²⁸⁷.

3.4.4.1. Creating Knowledge

Even though the announcement of the event's future repetition presents Andrew's martyrdom as the starting point of a process in progress, it must still be provided with a meaning. Andrew

²⁸³ V^r 169-82 with our commentary *supra*, this Chapter, § 3.3.5, pp. 211-12.

²⁸⁴ V^r 230-33.

²⁸⁵ The importance of $\text{U]}\Xi\text{e}\backslash\text{g]}\wedge$ ('sensorial perception') and $\text{ZUbhUg]}\Xi$ ('perceptual appearance') in the speech to the brethren is once again clear. For the intrinsic relationship between $\text{U]}\Xi\text{e}\backslash\text{g]}\wedge$ and $\text{ZUbhUg]}\Xi$, see Aristotle, *De an.* 427b 15-17; 428b 11-18. Andrew appeals to the brethren in order that they may not be struck by his crucifixion as if it were a 'strange marvel', for the combination of appearance and certain unreflective assent might produce disturbance ($\text{hUfUI} \setminus \#$) in their souls. See the definition of fear in Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1382a 21-23: 'Let be fear, then, a certain sort of pain and disturbance ($\text{hUfUI} \setminus \#$) out of the appearance ($\text{ZUbhUg]}\Xi$) of an impending bad thing, either destructive or painful'. See, however, Nussbaum, *The Therapy*, 84-85. Andrew's explanation of the reasons for this apparent $\text{eUi} \text{ aU}$ or 'marvel' intends to provide a rational belief or XcWU that may substitute their $\text{ZUbhUg]}\Xi$ or unreflective assent and that may help them to avert disturbance.

²⁸⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, notes 85, 92 and 93.

²⁸⁷ V^r 233-37.

achieves this by means of a mythical example. This historical excursus has a double goal. On the one hand, it completes the exposition narrating the past history of things that the brethren see happening before their eyes, and whose development reaches the future. Provided with a past, present and future, the events are included in a whole that has a beginning and an end. Andrew's martyrdom is no longer the result of flux and contingency since it participates in the more stable frame created by the mythical exposition. On the other hand, the parallel *in illo tempore* annuls time since the comprehensive overview of what is actually taking place simultaneously presents present, past and future and transports the brethren to a higher level of insight.

Unfortunately the first section of this mythical excursus²⁸⁸ is too corrupt to give us a clear idea of the events that took place when 'the one without beginning came down to his beginning'. Otherwise it might have given us a clearer idea of the period between the beginning of the world and the recognition of the blessed race by God. Although the text is extremely doubtful, a given antagonism seems to take place between the one without beginning and the enemy²⁸⁹. Humankind, or at least those who were not able to know (?), becomes an involuntary ally of the enemy. With a view to dominating them, the devil disguises his enmity with a false friendship²⁹⁰.

The continuation of the passage, however, is clear about the control the devil acquires over those who are inherently alien to him. The intelligent use of delights and deceit seem to have kept men under their spell for quite a long time²⁹¹. As a result of this long period of alienation, forgetfulness of the true nature and origin appear. As in the first speech to the brethren, this forgetfulness is described as the neglect of the mutual belonging that is expressed by the conceptual dichotomy 'to become known-to know'²⁹².

To put an end to this situation, the goodness of the merciful one intervenes²⁹³. When the mystery of the grace was revealed and the plan for repose was manifested, the blessed race rejected the presents through which the devil thought he might control them. This rejection of the devil's presents (hUPYB̄i hci 1Xk fU) by the 'blessed race' is in turn the cause of a last movement by the devil in order to regain his former followers by entangling them with hate,

²⁸⁸ V^r 238-243.

²⁸⁹ V^r 239-40.

²⁹⁰ Speculative interpretation of the obscure section V^r 240-43.

²⁹¹ V^r 250-51.

²⁹² V^r 243-52. See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 193-95.

²⁹³ V^r 257.

enmity and revolts. This is the last test they must overcome²⁹⁴.

It is in this context that the brethren must place Andrew's impending martyrdom. They now know both its origins and reasons and that it is neither unexpected nor contingent. Being thus aware that that which is going to happen fits in the plan sketched from the beginning, this incident should not affect them: 'Consequently, since we know what will happen, brethren, let us stay awake without despairing, without demeaning ourselves and without carrying on our souls his traces, which are alien to us'²⁹⁵. Letting the events affect them would imply a return to the situation prior to Andrew's intervention, a situation in which the brethren are simple toys of movement, ephemeral evils and their wrong representation of their untrue environment. Only by accepting what must happen can they neutralise time, phenomena and sensorial perception.

4. Interrelationship and Complementary Character of the Speeches

4.1. Differences between the Speeches

The preceding analysis reveals certain thematic differences between the speeches. Whereas the first incomplete speech to the brethren is concerned with general issues such as the recognition of the blessed race by God and the importance of coming to know him, the remaining three speeches present a more particular approach to the individual circumstances of the addressees.

This transition from the general to the particular is also underlined by the various degrees of involvement of the apostle in the different speeches. The general treatment of the first discourse, for example, neither refers to Andrew's role in God's recognition of his people nor to his task in helping the people to come to know God. By contrast, the speeches to Maximilla, to Stratocles and the second speech to the brethren ascribe to the apostle a very precise function in the development experienced by the addressees²⁹⁶.

The same can be said of the vocabulary of the speeches, which also presents clear differences. In the first speech to the brethren it mainly focuses on defining knowledge and on distinguishing its different aspects, its subject matter, its conditions and its goals. In The speech to Maximilla, however, it mainly deals with wrong and right choice – that is, with error and correction. As it also describes the reason for error, the vocabulary also deals with

²⁹⁴ V^r 252-58.

²⁹⁵ V^r 266-68.

²⁹⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, § 2.2.4, pp. 173-75.

persuasion and judgement. The vocabulary of Stratocles' speech, in turn, covers the field of affections and distinguishes between immoderate and moderate emotional responses. In the second speech to the brethren, finally, the vocabulary mainly deals with externals, the individual's apprehension of reality and the mind's synthesis of the information received from outside.

But the most obvious difference is the thematic divergence of the different discourses. By leaving the first, incomplete speech to the brethren aside for the moment and focussing on Andrew's other three discourses, it is possible to distinguish three clearly different thematic units. From the point of view of content, it seems clear that the speech to Maximilla is mainly concerned with the sphere of the intellect. Consequently, this speech focuses on rationality in order to distinguish between two varieties, an inferior or immanent one influenced by persuasion and judgement and thus engaged in discursive knowledge, and a superior one which transcends discursivity and strives for contemplation.

By contrast, Stratocles' speech exclusively moves in the realm of the soul. Accordingly, it deals with affections and analyses their origin, seat and influence on the soul. The approach to emotional responses shows a differentiation between negative and positive affections. Whereas the former present an immoderate character, the latter are moderate and well-balanced expressions that result from the rational mastery of affections.

In its turn, the second speech to the brethren is concerned with the sphere of the body. Thus, it dedicates a good deal of attention to sense perception and to the externals apprehended by it. Distortion appears when, due to the lack of a conscious awareness of the external flux, the mind gives its unreflective assent and accepts perceptions as reliable. Representations derived from ever-changing externals will necessarily be inaccurate and hence false.

4.2. Similarities between the Speeches

Despite these clear differences, the speeches present obvious similarities as well. As all speeches have the same underlying motivation – that is, the doubts, fear or insecurity of the addressee – they also pursue one and the same comforting and exhortative goal²⁹⁷. Andrew naturally begins the speeches by considering the particular situation of the addressees and evaluates the apparent causes behind their dismay. When doing so, he always applies the same working procedure: first, he analyses the particular circumstances in order to proceed, next, to

²⁹⁷ See *supra* this Chapter, § 2.3.2.2, pp. 179-80.

transposing them to a more general or universal frame²⁹⁸. By this procedure our text reframes the matter in order to show that what from one particular perspective may appear to be causes are, from a general perspective, merely the effects of another previous and hidden cause, of which the addressees are not aware before Andrew's explanation. In all three speeches this first and hidden cause is equated with ignorance.

Andrew's approach to the problem from both a particular and a general perspective allows the addressees to connect the effects with their causes and to reconstruct the intermediary steps in this chain of causality. The knowledge generated by Andrew's words provides the addressees with the means to fully understand their current situation and to glimpse its possible improvement. It is this contrast between an initial ignorance and a final knowledge that permits a double approach, negative and positive, to the particular theme of each speech. Even though the body and the senses, the soul and the affections and the intellect and reason when governed by ignorance represent the three spheres of man's captivity, they can also, under the guide of knowledge and understanding, be the starting point for his liberation.

Consequently, each speech confronts a negative with a positive side of the theme discussed. The speech to Maximilla first opposes ignorance to knowledge, but also judgement to understanding and immanent $\setminus c\#c^{\wedge}$ (persuasion) to transcendent $\setminus c\#c^{\wedge}$. The speech to Stratocles, in its turn, contrasts excessive with moderate affections, irrationality with rationality and lack of balance of the soul with inner equilibrium. The second speech to the brethren, finally, poses the realm of movement against that of stability, material nature against a true, transcendent nature and sensorial perception and mental representation against introversion and self-knowledge.

4.3. Interrelationship and Coherence of the Speeches

The most obvious conclusion from the preceding analysis is that the thematic differences between the speeches arise from an intentional distribution of subject matter. The thematic distribution intellect/ $\setminus c\#c^{\wedge}$, soul/ affections and body/ $Zi \#j^{\wedge}$ shows that on the basis of a

²⁹⁸ Thus, for instance, Maximilla's speech begins by referring to Aegeates' persuasion, but immediately moves to a more comprehensive analysis of the situation. From the latter perspective persuasion appears to be accompanied by judgement and they are both considered as concomitant effects of an original ignorance. See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.3, 199-200. Stratocles' speech begins by referring to his particular excessive affections but quickly proceeds to placing them within the wider frame of the soul's structure and to explaining them on the basis of the soul's intrinsic characteristics (see *supra* this Chapter, § 3.3.3, pp. 208-09). Likewise, the last speech to the brethren starts by stating the falsity of the world the brethren live in, but continues by transposing the argumentation from the particular to the general. Their being lost in fluent physical reality is explained on the

tripartite conception of man, *AA* intended to offer a thorough and exhaustive analysis of the current state of humankind. As all three human constitutive spheres are partly responsible for the falsification of man's true nature, each speech evaluates both the impending threats that may proceed from one of them and the proper way to counteract them.

This is the reason why *AA*, in spite of despising man's material existence, does not purport a radical rejection of these three constituent spheres of his immanent being. It is not externals, affections, and persuasion that keep man attached to the material world, but rather his ignorance concerning the characteristics and functioning of his body, his soul and his intellect. The knowledge generated by the words and by the addressee's conscious and active scrutiny of these spheres provides him with the means to overcome his captivity, without demanding from him a radical and artificial negation of either his environment or of his cognitive resources. As ignorance is responsible for the perpetuation of man's stay in an alien environment, knowledge allows a natural liberation from the fetters of his immanent existence in all three spheres.

The question arises, however, as to how this thematic distribution of the speeches is dealt with in our text. The fragmentary character of our source does not provide us with a clue to place this threefold analysis of human existence in a clear conceptual framework. Obviously, the visible thematic complementarity of the speeches seems to imply a relationship between them, but how should we interpret this relationship? At least two possibilities might be taken into consideration. On the one hand, this threefold analysis of man's reality may rely on a threefold typological classification of mankind and, consequently, on a threefold differentiation of the major impending dangers to man's true nature. Those akin to the body and to externals might betray their genuine nature due to their dependence on sensorial perception. Those akin to their soul, in turn, can expect distortion from the predominance of irrational tendencies in their souls. Those akin to the intellect, finally, may easily falsify their true being due to the influence of persuasion and judgement.

Accordingly, all three speeches might deal with the danger peculiar to each of these groups in order to provide a fitting antidote for each nature. This obviously implies that the same goal, i.e. the recovery of the true nature, might be equally and indifferently attained by any of these ways, depending on the different characteristics of each human type. This interpretation, however, seems to be disproved by the fact that *AA* actually distinguishes

between two basic human sorts or ‘races’, those akin to the body and those akin to the words, without making any further differentiation within the latter group. Let us now consider the second possibility.

These three spheres might also be understood as parts of a whole, as referring to different aspects of one and the same human being. From this perspective, body, soul and intellect should be considered as three levels of existence or awareness that follow each other according to their implicit hierarchical sequence. All three speeches might then deal with successive steps in the gradual process through which an individual controls and neutralises the dangers to his true nature proceeding from all three spheres. Consequently, the speeches to the brethren, to Stratocles and to Maximilla might symbolise the individual’s progressive steps in his quest for personal liberation from the constrictions of materiality.

4.3.1. The Spheres of $Zi\ g]^\wedge$, $Y\#c^\wedge$ and $\`c\#c^\wedge$ as Domains of Practical Virtue

At first sight, the thematic distribution of the speeches according to the domains of nature, soul and reason seems to reflect the tripartite division of philosophy into physics, ethics and logic which, though sometimes ascribed to the Stoa²⁹⁹, was already implied by Plato and made explicit by Xenocrates³⁰⁰. In addition, the structure of the speeches, which present both the threats to man’s life in each of these spheres and the means to counteract them, might seem to suggest that the scope of this comprehensive approach was as practical as the goal of philosophy according to Xenocrates, namely eliminating disturbance from man’s life by acting on its three possible origins: his nature, his habit or his reason³⁰¹.

Within the clear dualistic framework of *AA*, however, which opposes an inferior immanent nature to a transcendent and higher level of being, the threefold analysis of man’s current state is clearly not directed at assisting him to achieve a happiness according to human standards. Rather, it intends to provide man with the means to overcome his human condition in its three constituent spheres. Hence philosophy, instead of being an end in itself as the best way to give man a happy life despite the handicaps of his current situation, becomes a lesser but necessary preparation in order to transcend this condition altogether and achieve a higher level of existence³⁰².

²⁹⁹ See Diogenes Laertius 7.39.

³⁰⁰ See Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* 7.16; Varro *ap.* Cicero, *Acad. Post.* 5.19.

³⁰¹ See Pseudo-Galen, *Hist. phil.* 8.7zU] 4XYZ]`cgcz]U^`Yi fY#Yk ^ Yg]h] _UhUP7Ybc_fU#k hcPhUfUl k XY^ Yb h] v]t4_UhUdUi gU] hk B dfU] aU#k b"

³⁰² This conception of philosophy as a kind of preparatory study or exercise that gives access to a new and non-discursive act of apprehension is quite widespread in the imperial age. Thus for example the comparison of

This is the reason explaining the apparent contradiction of *AA*'s message. Even though repeatedly encouraging people to withdraw from externals and physical life and to pursue man's highest and ultimate goal, namely the contemplation of divinity³⁰³, *AA* actually mainly concentrates on describing man's present condition and on establishing correct behavioural patterns for people to cope with it³⁰⁴. Far from being contradictory, however, the paramount importance ascribed to right choice and behaviour within the realm of change is strictly coherent with *AA*'s conception of rationality as the most divine element in man³⁰⁵. As rationality seems to be subject to the slumber of 'oblivion' (·\#\), it must not only be awakened but also strengthened. The awakening proceeds naturally from Andrew's words, but the invigoration of rationality results from its continuous exercise in dealing with reality. Human virtue arises from man's right choice and action guided by reason in any of the three spheres of existence.

It is precisely in the context of ethics and virtue the thematic distribution of the speeches must be placed. Hence, the spheres of the body, soul and intellect in *AA* should not be explained as reflecting the division of philosophy into physics, ethics and logic, but rather as the possible domains of human action in which virtue may appear³⁰⁶. *AA*, however, does not consider these three domains as alternative ways of achieving virtue. In accordance with the thought of the historical period on the issue, our text conceives the three spheres as complementary.

Probably reacting to the Platonic *Meno* that seems to consider nature, habit and reason as alternative ways in the quest for virtue³⁰⁷, Aristotle had already stated that although virtue

philosophy with mystery-like initiations; see Alcinoüs, *Didask.* 182.3ff; Philo, *Abr.* 122; *Sacr.* 62 and *Mos.* I. 62; Theon of Smyrna, *Expos.* 14.17-16.2; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 718c-d and *De Is.* 382d-e. See P. Boyancé, 'Sur les mystères d'Eleusis', *REG* 75 (1962) 462; J. Croissant, *Aristote et les mystères* (Paris, 1932) 145-146.

³⁰³ V^f 83-101 and 205-11.

³⁰⁴ Thus, for example, Andrew encourages the brethren to change their attitude in V^f 1-3 and indicates to them the right way to behave in order to cope with their condition in V^f 17-19. Something similar happens in Andrew's speech to Maximilla, which alternates between encouraging ethical advice (V^f 58-70, 106-24) and long descriptions of Maximilla's situation. See V^f 139-143 for a similar procedure in the speech to Stratocles. As for the speech to the brethren, see V^f 209-17, 218-36, 266-271.

³⁰⁵ Andrew is appealing to an active awareness in his addressees in V^f 4-17: note the emphasis placed on rational understanding in V^f 4 (Y\Äk aYb Yfi hc\†), 14 (Y\bk f]gUaYb), 16 (YhU#caYb), 17 (OY2]KcaYb). Similarly in V^f 73-82 (U\bcY# / [bk f]#k, aYhUbcY#, Yd]ghfYzk, X]cfec#, _Uhc fec#, YdUbc fec#, U\ci # / dUfU_ci #) and in V^f 85-89 (_UhUaUbeUbk, bcY#, U\ci #, [bk f]#k). See 142-46 ([bk f]#k, X]Uh]#\a], aUbeUbk, X]U#c]U, hcP X]Ubc\h]_cB aY#c^). For rationality as the most divine element in man, see, for instance, V^f 85-96 and 130-32. See also *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.1.2, pp. 285-91.

³⁰⁶ According to Aetius (*Plac.* I, proem. 2), it is precisely a tripartite conception of virtue (Zi g]_\#\e]_\#and \c]_\#\ that is the origin of the division of philosophy into the familiar threefold division.

³⁰⁷ Plato, *Men.* 70a 1ff, ·\Y] ^ ac] Y]dY]bz k Äk #fUhY^zUÄU X]XU_hcB \fU]Yh\#\Ei EX]XU_hcB U\ fU]g_\hcB \Ei HY U]g_\hcB ci HY aUe\hcBzU\ U]Zi g]Y] dUfU[]#bYhU] hc]† Ubcfk #c] ^ E]# 1 h]b]Pfc# / see also 99e;

tripartite conception of man as comprising a material body, a soul, and an intellect. This interest in describing the diverse aspects that contribute to man's captivity is essentially directed at showing a method to reverse this situation.

As we suggested, liberation takes place by awakening and strengthening rationality, which is conceived as the most, or rather the only, divine element in man³²¹. The gradual process of acquiring virtue is essential because the realms of $Zi \#]^{\wedge} \backslash \hat{A}c^{\wedge}$ and $\backslash c\#c^{\wedge}$ are conceived as the domains of practical virtue or $Zfc\#g]^{\wedge}$ ³²². The continuous exercise of virtue, conceived as the right action of a good man guided by reason, results in the mastery of rationality by means of which man always makes the right choice. The mastery of rationality originates, in its turn, a rather mechanical reversal of the (also mechanical) stages of degradation experienced by the intellect. In the same way that ignorance set in motion the chain of causality that brought down the intellect to the level of phenomena, knowledge can reverse this process and allow a progressive deconstruction of the successive stages of degradation. In this sense, man's life under the leadership of reason actualised by knowledge seems to be considered as a deconstructive process, the ultimate goal of which is the restitution to the intellect of its pristine condition beyond the fetters of immanence. Consequently, the sequence $Zi \#]^{\wedge}$, $\backslash \hat{A}c^{\wedge} / Y\#c^{\wedge}$ and $\backslash c\#c^{\wedge}$ present in inverse order the stages of degradation experienced by the intellect, which beginning with $\backslash c\#c^{\wedge}$ continued with $\backslash \hat{A}c^{\wedge} / Y\#c^{\wedge}$ and ended with $Zi \#]^{\wedge}$.

Two key sections in *AA* confirm the previous interpretation. The first is the incomplete first speech to the brethren, which, as analysed above, states that God's recognition of his people establishes the co-ordinates of a cognitive process that will culminate in the people's knowledge of God³²³. As a result of the principle of 'like knows like', this recognition implies an existential promotion of the blessed race³²⁴. The contrast between a true and a false nature, which functions as a *principium contradictionis*, awakes reason. This awakening of rationality

³²¹ See *supra* this Chapter, note 304.

³²² Unlike Plato, for whom $Zfc\#g]^{\wedge}$ includes both theoretical (*Phd.* 79d 6-7) and practical virtue (*Symp.* 209a 5-7), Aristotle confines $Zfc\#g]^{\wedge}$ to practical virtue. Theoretical knowledge is $gcZ]\#$ (*EN* 1141b 2; cf. *Metaph.* 981a 27-9) or $Y\#]gh\#\backslash$ (*EN* 1141a 5-7). This Aristotelian differentiation is also followed by Plutarch (*De virt. mor.* 443d), Philo (*Praem.* 81) and partly by Apuleius (*De Plat.* 2.228). As Arius Didymus (*ap. Stobaeus* 2.145.19ff) reports, the differentiation between $gcZ]\#$ and $Zfc\#g]^{\wedge}$ was current in the Peripatetic school. Alcinous, on the other hand, sticks to Plato's conception (*Didask.* 153.2ff, on which Dillon, *Alcinous*, 55) and so does Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.154.4; see also 1.178.1 and 2.24.1). On the issue Witt, *Albinus and the History of Middle Platonism* (Cambridge, 1934) 42; S.R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford, 1971) 73ff.

³²³ See V^r 2-24, on which *supra* this Chapter, § 3.1, pp. 191-95.

³²⁴ On the issue, *supra* this Chapter, note 157.

now allows them to reach the knowledge of God dialectically. As they are now provided with a beginning and a goal, with the means and with a method, nothing hinders the perfect completion of this cognitive process that will finally liberate them from the physical world³²⁵.

The second passage is the central section of The speech to Maximilla, namely the praise of transcendent man³²⁶. Before proceeding to the categorical praise, Andrew summarises the three deconstructive stages that Maximilla, as a prototype of the perfect individual, will have achieved if she completes the last step of her development:

Well done you, saved nature, since you were not strong and you did not keep yourself hidden! Well done you, soul, shouting out which you suffered and returning to yourself! Well done Anthropos who understands what is not yours and hastens towards what is yours! Well done [you] who listens to what is said! For I see you [now] thinking much greater things than what is said; for I am aware that you are much stronger than what seems to oppress you; for [I see that] you excel above what brought you down into deformities and above what led you to captivity³²⁷.

The spheres of nature, soul, and reason are not only explicitly referred to as domains of man's captivity but are also presented as steps in a gradual process of liberation that culminates in the release from all the burdens that hampered the anthropos or transcendent man during his captivity in the material world.

4.4. Disposition of the Speeches

If this interpretation is correct, the question arises as to why these stages appear in an illogically inverse order. If the writer intended to depict the successive stages in a process of gradual development, why not simply begin with the lower level of Zi #] in order to end with the ` c#c^? Two main reasons, literary and conceptual, account for the inverse sequence of the speeches.

4.4.1. Literary Perspective

From a literary perspective, the current sequence is perfectly coherent within the narrative framework. In order to understand the succession of the speeches, it must be kept in mind that a writer necessarily organises his material in the most effective way for the development of his plot. In spite of Andrew's imprisonment, his life is not in danger until Aegeates' speech to his wife takes place. The proconsul's words to his wife are the real turning point of the plot, because the choice he offers Maximilla will determine the development of events in one or the other direction. It is obvious, consequently, that Andrew's discourse to Maximilla had to

³²⁵ *Supra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 193-95.

³²⁶ See V^r 83-101, on which *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.5, pp. 203-04.

³²⁷ V^r 84-90. See *infra* Chapter 5, § 5.2.2, pp. 328-30.

follow Aegeates' speech because it encourages Maximilla to give the negative answer that will initiate the further sequence of events. As she represents the highest achievements within the material realm, in this speech the argumentation moves up from the highest levels of immanence to the highest of transcendence.

Maximilla's negative answer, however, implies that the countdown to Andrew's martyrdom has already begun. In order to avoid rough changes, the narration must, consequently, gradually modify the tone reached in this speech. Stratocles' discourse already tones down the level slightly in order to return, in the last speech to the brethren, to the ground level of reality in which the martyrdom will take place.

In addition, the speeches play a pivotal role in the narrative sequence of the story. Although it is difficult to ascertain the character of previous sections of *AA*, it seems clear that since Andrew's arrival in Patras, the story presented an ascending degree of tension initiated by Andrew's activities in the familiar environment of the proconsul. After narrating Andrew's first encounter with Maximilla and Stratocles, *AA* probably described the spiritual instruction of the latter and their progressive withdrawal from proconsul, husband and brother, respectively. All these events lead to Andrew's imprisonment and his impending and inevitable martyrdom, and it is at this point that the text reaches its maximum tension. In this conjuncture the speeches play a central role because they function as a transition between the ascending line of Andrew's successful activities as a messenger of the transcendent realm and his death at the hands of the personification of evil. The speech to Maximilla takes the narrative line to its highest point but already reduces the tone, in its last part, in order to allow a smooth transition to Stratocles' speech, which, in its turn, presents a lesser level that may suitably connect it with the last speech. The discourse to the brethren receives this descending line and properly connects it with the last part of *AA*.

The transitional character of the speeches is also clear from the point of view of the content. As the discourses provide both addressees and readers with the means to transform the apparently negative death of the apostle into something positive and even desirable, they open the way for a new interpretation of the apostle's martyrdom. By means of this interesting transevaluation, what from a standard point of view would be an anticlimax is transformed into the apex of his apostolic activities. From this perspective, then, the speeches create the possibility of transforming the descending line of his death into a prolongation of the ascending line of the previous part of the text that leads to his final and complete apotheosis.

4.4.2. Conceptual Perspective

The apparently inverse sequence of the speeches can be also explained from a conceptual perspective. As stated above, the liberation pursued by *AA* is conceived of as a process of the deconstruction of the current human condition, which step by step intends to release the intellect from the burdens it has acquired during a previous process of devolution. Liberation from immanence is consequently conceived of as a return to a pristine situation before this degradation took place. As we will see in the following section, this process of deconstruction fulfils in inverse direction the steps of devolution that, beginning with the appearance of judgement and persuasion at the level of intellect, continued at the level of soul with the development of affections as a result of ignorance, and ended with the wandering of the soul in the material world.

These processes of devolution and restoration are not, however, systematically presented. As already pointed out, our text has no systematic intentions and adapts its message to the narration³²⁸. As a result of this complete intertwining, each speech associates its addressee to one of the three levels of being. In dealing with the problems of different individuals, each discourse depicts a factual stage of degradation and a potential restoration of the state previous to it. Consequently, the speech to Maximilla represents both the first step of degradation and the last of reversion; the discourse to Stratocles represents, simultaneously, the middle stage of degradation and of reversion; the brethren's speech, finally, describes the last stage of degradation and the preliminary steps to the reversion. As the speeches comprise movement in both directions, it seems obvious that the disposition could not be otherwise than as it is. The need for regression is a result of degradation, therefore its first stage must occupy the first position.

³²⁸ See *supra* this Chapter, § 2.3.3, p. 181.

5. Recapitulation: Meaning and Intention of AA's Fragment in V

It is now time to attempt a comprehensive exposition of AA's message. On the basis of AA's fragment, a plausible conclusion is that our text intended to transmit a clear dualistic conception of reality and to explain how the blessed race, even if originally belonging to the transcendent realm, appears to be imprisoned in the immanent one.

5.1. A Process of Devolution

In order to bridge the enormous gulf between transcendence as origin and immanence as dwelling place of the blessed race, AA describes man's present state as a result of a process of degradation. A careful analysis of its account allows the reader to distinguish not only the causes of the devolution, but also its stages and, naturally, its consequences.

5.1.1. Causes of the Degradation: Intellect's dispersal, Discursive Knowledge, Ignorance and Error

In dealing with man's devolution and its causes, AA significantly omits any reference to sin or culpability by the first couple. Rather, Eve and Adam appear to be victims of an inevitable and mechanical process of devolution³²⁹.

Although the first cause initiating the process of decay is not mentioned in our text, the dispersal and the alienation of the intellect – either conceived of as concomitant effects of the same cause or as presenting themselves in a relationship of causality – work as factual causes of its suffering. It seems clear that as soon as the intellect loses its unitary character, its acts of knowing can no longer revert upon itself, since the intellect's dispersion implies a discrepancy between subject and object in the act of knowing³³⁰. The first consequence of this discrepancy is the intellect's alienation from itself, since for the first time the intellect no longer knows itself. It is thus plausible to think that what initiated the degradation of the bci ↑ was the incorrect direction of its intellectual activity. An interruption (of necessity related to creation?) in the intellect's incessant activity of thinking itself – i. e. the intelligible or God - might have caused a first discrepancy between subject and object in the act of knowing.

This dispersal implies not only being immediately removed from its natural environment in transcendence, but also the loss of the intellect's intrinsic characteristics. As a result of the discrepancy between subject and object and the concomitant appearance of

³²⁹ See Luttikhuisen, 'Religious Message', 99.

³³⁰ See *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.1.3, pp. 291-96.

ignorance, a new sort of knowledge comes into being: discursive knowledge. This possibility is coherent with the reasons given for the degradation of Eve and Adam, namely ignorance and error. The deficiency of the $\beta\epsilon\iota \uparrow$ and its subsequent intermittent thinking combined with Eve and Adam's unawareness of this deficiency, might have led them to try to supersede their ignorance by their own means³³¹.

5.1.2. Stages of Devolution: Intellect, Soul, Physis

This interruption in the intellect's incessant activity initiates three causally related steps in a gradual withdrawal of the 'intellect' from its original, complete and unitary knowledge. The first is indeed the transition from intuitive to discursive apprehension due to the discrepancy between subject and object (and this also implies the appearance of number)³³². As soon as the act of knowing does not revert upon itself, ignorance appears. It is this ignorance that is responsible for the second stage of degradation from $\beta\epsilon\iota \uparrow$ to soul or $\mu\iota\lambda \setminus \#$ since it initiates the appearance of doubt and fear, i.e. affections³³³. Desire to achieve knowledge in order to overcome ignorance impels the soul to undertake the cognitive process. Paradoxically, however, this search for knowledge will only enhance its disgrace. Since $\setminus \epsilon\# \epsilon^{\wedge}$ or 'discursive knowledge' is intrinsically related to reason and speech, its application to gain knowledge will relinquish soul and intellect to the slumber of appearances and persuasion³³⁴. As was only to be expected, the original ignorance remains unaltered and characterises each of these stages of degradation.

5.1.3. Consequences of the Devolution: Oblivion, Captivity, Flux, Illusions

Whereas the original intuitive knowledge of the intellect apprehends all things at once in one single act of apprehension, discursive knowledge takes one thing at the time, implies chronological sequence and comprises many acts of perception. Instead of unity, omniscience and a-temporality, multiplicity, ignorance and time appear. The alienation is consummated and, given the characteristics of its new cognitive means, the chances for human intellect to recover its pristine situation are rather exiguous.

This is the reason why the intellect from now on is not only imprisoned in an alien

³³¹ See *supra* Chapter 3, note 58. See *V*^r 73-82 and *infra* chapter 5, § 3.2.1.3 for the difference between *AA*'s version of this devolution and most of the possibilities collected by Iamblichus. For parallels to *AA*'s view of this devolution see *infra* chapter 5, § 3.2.1.3.1, pp. 292-96.

³³² For the $\beta\epsilon\iota \uparrow$ as $\Upsilon\hat{\omega} \delta\epsilon \setminus \setminus \#$ see H. Dörrie, 'Zum Ursprung der neuplatonischen Hypostasenlehre', *Platonica Minora*, 286-296.

³³³ For a similar process in the origin of affections see *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 17.10-15 and *infra* Chapter 5, § 3.2.1.3.2, pp. 295-96.

³³⁴ *V*^r 211-14.

goodness with his people³⁴⁰. By recognising them, God actualises the awareness of their origin and belonging that they seem to have forgotten. This recognition seems to have immediate and direct effect on the people. As likeness is the condition for cognition, being recognised implies a relationship of belonging between the one who knows and those who are known³⁴¹. Hence, the blessed race understands that it neither belongs to those cast to the ground, nor to time, movement or generation³⁴². The first part of the second speech to the brethren also refers to a plan sketched in advance in order to reveal to the listeners of the words their real nature³⁴³. The second part of the same speech, in its turn, mentions the mystery of the grace and the light of $\text{c}\#^{\wedge}\text{c}$ that, thanks to the goodness of the merciful one, allows people to realise the deceptiveness of externals³⁴⁴.

5.2.1.2. Awareness of Kinship

Yet God's recognition is not enough to grant the inversion of the process of the state of things. It certainly provides the people with an external point of reference that liberates them from the vicious circle of their degraded condition, but in the next movement they must become aware of their deficiencies and of the possibility of superseding them. A key section of Andrew's speech to Maximilla does indeed relate this becoming aware of the own incompleteness and imperfection to the previous recognition of kinship with the transcendent realm³⁴⁵. Maximilla knowing herself as destined for transcendence allows her both to realise her deficiency and take the first step towards its correction³⁴⁶. It is only after perceiving oneself as the effect of a cause and after inferring one's potential identity with it that these shortcomings become evident. One's lack of the perfection of the first cause and awareness of this generates the 'will' or $\text{c}\#^{\wedge}\text{c}$ to attain one's original perfection³⁴⁷. This is at the level of the individual, the real starting point of his $\text{y}\#^{\wedge}\text{c}\#^{\wedge}\text{c}$ or reversion to the first principle.

5.2.1.3. God as *causa finalis*

God, consequently, is simultaneously *causa efficiens* and *causa finalis*. As *causa efficiens* he

³³⁹ Notably the first and second speech to the brethren (V^r 4-5, 18-19, 252ff).

³⁴⁰ V^r 2-4.

³⁴¹ For the principle of 'like knows like', *supra* this Chapter, note 157.

³⁴² V^r 4-9.

³⁴³ V^r 215-17.

³⁴⁴ V^r 252-57.

³⁴⁵ *Supra* Chapter 3, note 55 and *infra* Chapter 5, § 5.3.2, pp. 333-37.

³⁴⁶ V^r 77-79.

³⁴⁷ *Supra* Chapter 3, note 60.

awakens human intellect and supplies it with certainty regarding its origin and belonging³⁴⁸. As *causa finalis* he functions as *cEY_hc#* or ‘desirable’, attracting the blessed race as the object of desire³⁴⁹. The first principle is simultaneously the *UEI \#* (‘beginning, cause’) and *hY#c^* (‘goal’) of their existence. By retracing upwards the intermediary steps between cause and effect, the blessed race can recover the value lost in its devolution from the highest to the lowest stages of reality.

5.2.2. Stages of the *Yd]ghfcZ\#*

The process of deconstruction obviously follows in inverse direction the same stages of devolution. What came into existence by means of devolution from the first principle recovers now its original value by means of reversion.

5.2.2.1. Reorganising Perception

As we have already seen, the body and tangible reality are the lowest abode of the fallen intellect. In order to facilitate a liberation of the constrictions of materiality, a first step consists of the reorganisation of perception. The second speech to the brethren deals with this reorganisation in depth³⁵⁰. Andrew’s intervention accomplishes a first and essential goal: he breaks the spell of externals and the passive and unreflective assent of the *ZUbhUg]#*³⁵¹. Andrew’s words confront the transcendent with the immanent realms in order to denounce the futility of the latter due to its continuous movement and decay. If the brethren cannot see that they are wasting their time with temporal evils this is just the result of the wandering of the ignorant soul. Urged to cope with externals, the soul depends now on the body, on its sensorial perception and on *ZUbhUg]#*. As Andrew’s words reveal to them their own (real) nature, they can now suspend the continuous apprehension of externals to focus on the relatively steady character of their own nature³⁵². This first introversion will prepare the way for the following steps that provide increasing awareness of the different aspects of their true being³⁵³.

5.2.2.2. Reorganising Affections

Since the second stage of degradation is responsible for the appearance of emotions, Andrew’s scope in the second stage of reversion is to restore the predominance of rationality

³⁴⁸ See *supra* this Chapter, § 5.2.1.1, pp. 235-36 and note 337.

³⁴⁹ See V^r 99-101 and *infra* Chapter 5, § 5.4, pp. 338-39.

³⁵⁰ V^r 205-71, on which *supra* this Chapter, § 3.4, pp. 213-14.

³⁵¹ V^r 206-12, with our commentary *supra* this Chapter, § 3.4.2.2, pp. 217-18.

³⁵² V^r 215-17.

within the soul. This step is essential, for a revitalisation of irrationality can endanger the previous stage of controlling perception. The introversion achieved in the previous step intended to reinforce rationality by interrupting the continual flow of information proceeding from sensorial perception. This introversion must now be developed in order to achieve a stable and complete mastery of rationality within the soul. The revitalisation of rationality results from the rational part's commitment to controlling the development of affections³⁵⁴. By repressing immoderate emotional responses by means of reason and by substituting them with moderate and rational expressions of filial love, rationality succeeds in retaking control over the soul³⁵⁵.

5.2.2.3. Reorganising Rationality

If the two previous steps have been successful, the third has to accomplish a profound reorganisation of rationality. Thus far, Andrew's goal has mainly been directed towards neutralising the negative influence proceeding from the senses and from excessive affections. Once these two sources of distortion have been properly cut off, the apostle must concentrate on the wrong ideas proceeding from the own judgement. Used to thinking improperly due to the influence of externals and emotions, rationality still preserves the imprint of both spheres even if it has already been detached from them. Judgement (XcWU) is highly dangerous because it exposes rationality to the influence of persuasion³⁵⁶. Even if the individual has successfully subdued the inferior aspects of his being, persuasion can bring about exactly the same dangers menacing the successful conclusion of the whole process. By means of this last step the intellect is freed from the fetters acquired by the application of discursivity and recovers its original intuitive apprehension³⁵⁷. Nothing now holds the intellect within the immanent realm, for sensorial perception, affections and rationality have by now been properly neutralised³⁵⁸. Now the intellect is prepared to achieve what it by nature strives for: contemplation³⁵⁹.

³⁵³ See *supra* this Chapter, p. 216.

³⁵⁴ V^r 140-50, see *supra* this Chapter, § 3.3.3, pp. 208-09.

³⁵⁵ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.3.4, pp. 209-10.

³⁵⁶ For a differentiation between ZUhhUgJ# as 'appearance plus unreflective assent' and XcWU as 'appearance based on persuasion by argument' in Aristotle, see R. Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals. The Origins of the Western Debate* (London, 1993) 33-56; Nussbaum, *The Therapy*, 78-91.

³⁵⁷ V^r 91-99.

³⁵⁸ V^r 84-90 and our commentary *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.5 at pp. 203-05.

³⁵⁹ V^r 99-101. See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.5 at 203-05.

5.2.3. Scope of the $\nu\eta\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#$

5.2.3.1. Reorienting the Will

Once the spheres of man's captivity have been conveniently neutralised, a reorientation of the will seems to take place. Due to the absence of distortion proceeding from all three spheres, man follows what is good and not what he thinks to be good. This seems to be obvious for the object of $\epsilon\pi\lambda\upsilon\tau\eta\sigma$ or 'desire' is now the same as that of thought³⁶⁰. Deprived of the distraction of externals, the intellect now thinks properly, and 'since desire is the result of opinion rather than opinion that of desire', right thinking determines correct desire.

5.2.3.2. Providing Knowledge

The original error of the first couple seems to have been the wrong direction of their will. Unaware of their deficiency, they attempted to overcome ignorance by their own means³⁶¹. However, as they could not think properly due to the influence of affections, they followed the apparent instead of the real good. In their search for knowledge they not only failed in achieving it, but they were also trapped by the nature of their cognitive means.

These events explain why $\nu\eta\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#$ or 'reversion' is a necessary precondition in order to achieve the ultimate knowledge they originally searched for. Before they can achieve theoretical knowledge, they must acquire the practical knowledge that will enable them to turn away from the realm of movement. The three stages that we have seen above, perception, affections and reason, provide the means to accomplish a gradual process of self-knowledge that once completed provides access to theoretical knowledge.

5.2.3.3. Recovering the Lost Condition

Once so far, the intellect seems to have recovered its lost condition. Freed from the burdens of perception, affections and judgement, it can now engage itself in contemplation³⁶². However, the process of degradation has not been wholly superfluous. The coming-into-being of the intellect has provided it with a clear idea about what belongs to its own nature and what is alien to it. First, its use of discursivity has not provided the knowledge the intellect was searching for. On the contrary, it has enhanced its first ignorance by hampering its natural capacity to know. Second, its confidence in its own means to supersede ignorance has ended in an admission of its own incapacity and, consequently, of its deficiency.

It is precisely the intellect being lost in materiality that causes God's intervention.

³⁶⁰ For the equivalence of the objects of desire and thought, see Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1072a 26ff.

³⁶¹ $\nu\tau$ 73-82.

Thanks to the cognitive certainty concerning its origin and goal conveyed by God's recognition, the intellect can now engage itself in the process that will free it from the alien ties that keep it attached to immanence. The successive steps of this deconstructive process, moreover, provide the intellect with progressively increasing insight into both its nature and its goal. Self-knowledge allows the intellect's final conscious decision to avert itself from everything that interferes with the contemplation it by nature strives for. Only by completely releasing all these ties and being engaged purely in contemplation will the intellect come to know the divinity.

³⁶² V^r 84-101. See *supra* this Chapter, note 357.

CHAPTER V: *AA*'S THOUGHT IN THE WIDER CONTEXT OF THE RELIGIOUS AND
PHILOSOPHICAL WORLD IN THE FIRST CENTURIES OF THE
CHRISTIAN ERA

As we already stated in the first chapter of this study, scholars have not yet succeeded in reaching a consensus with regard to the orientation of *AA*'s thought. During the last century *AA* has been linked with almost every religious and philosophical orientation of late antiquity. Middle and Neoplatonism, Neopythagoreanism, Stoicism, main stream Christianity and Gnosticism have all been adduced to explain *AA*'s conceptual peculiarities. We also stated that, in our view, this interpretative variety was due to the variety of available textual witnesses upon which to base almost every hypothesis.

On the basis of our study of *AA*'s textual transmission, we isolated *AA*'s fragment in V from the remaining extant textual testimonies and offered a textual and conceptual analysis of this document. We shall now proceed to a systematic study of the main features of its thought and compare them with parallel developments in the religious and philosophical world of late antiquity. This analysis should allow us, if not to place *AA* in a clear and distinct spiritual context, at least to establish convergences and divergences with contemporary authors in order to review the alleged contacts, consider new possibilities and to determine, as far as possible, the orientation of its thought.

1. *Cosmology*

1.1. Cosmological Dualism

AA's thought is characterised by a marked dualism that dominates not only its cosmology but also its theology, anthropology, epistemology and ethics. *AA*'s cosmological dualism radically distinguishes two antithetic regions, the transcendent and supramundane realm and the immanent, worldly realm of change and decay. This opposition is enunciated both by conceptual pairs with a philosophical undercurrent, such as 'unity/multiplicity'¹, 'identity/difference'², 'atemporality/ temporality'³, 'stability/ movement'⁴, 'not-generated/ generated'⁵,

¹ V^r 15.

² V^r 10, 267-68.

³ V^r 6-7.

⁴ V^r 7-8, 16-17, 209-11.

⁵ V^r 8-9, 91-92, 97-98.

‘supercelestial/terrestrial’⁶, and by more common oppositions such as ‘light/ darkness’⁷, ‘above/ below’⁸, ‘eternal/ ephemeral’⁹, ‘righteous/ unrighteous’¹⁰, or simply ‘better/ worse’¹¹.

Admittedly, dualism is a rather widespread view of reality in late antiquity and can be found in all philosophical and religious orientations of the period. In most cases, however, these dualistic views draw on Plato’s conception of tangible reality as a material and ephemeral reflection of the spiritual and eternal world of ideas¹². In spite of a certain degradation of the sensible, in this view tangible reality still retains some status, since being a reflection of the intelligible realm implies at least some participation in its model. Such dualism recurs in Philo¹³ and in Plutarch¹⁴. It also appears in Middle Platonists such as Alcinous¹⁵ and Apuleius¹⁶, as well as in Christian theologians such as Clement of Alexandria¹⁷. Although a dualistic view is obvious in all these examples, the unity of the universe is never totally challenged. It is true to say, however, that the combination of the Platonic and Aristotelian views on matter, which would result in the statement that $\mu\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$ is ‘without shape, or quality, or form’¹⁸, would contribute to an increasing devaluation of the sensible¹⁹. Aristotle’s distinction between, on the one hand, $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$ (‘matter’) and, on the other, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (‘essence’) and $\alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha$ (‘real being’)²⁰ seems already to have been adopted by Neopythagoreans, such as Moderatus of Gades²¹ and Numenius of Apamea²², and would lead Plotinus to describe matter as $\mu\eta\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ‘not real-being’²³. Unlike his Pythagorean predecessors,

⁶ V^r 15, 93-94.

⁷ V^r 14-15, 92, 223-24.

⁸ V^r 5-6.

⁹ V^r 208-11.

¹⁰ V^r 12-13.

¹¹ V^r 11-12.

¹² Plato, *Tim.* 28a-b, 28c, 29a-b, 30c, 30d, 31a, 48e. On Plato’s views see C.H. Kahn, ‘Flux and Forms in the *Timaeus*’, M. Canto-Sperber and P. Pellegrin (eds), *Le Style de la Pensée. Recueil des textes en hommage à Jacques Brunschwig* (Paris, 2002) 113-31.

¹³ Philo, *Opif.* 16; 36; 129; *Heres* 280; *Plant.* 50; *Ebr.* 133; *Conf.* 172.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *De an. procr. Tim.* 1013c; *De Is.* 373a.

¹⁵ Alcinous, *Didask.* 166.39-167.15. On Alcinous’ dependence on Arius Didymus (*Epit. fr. phys.* 1 [Doxographie, 447]) see Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 109.

¹⁶ Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.192-9.

¹⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.93.4; 5.94.1.

¹⁸ Alcinous, *Didask.* 162.36. For Plato’s qualification of matter as $\mu\eta\ \sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha$, see *Tim.* 50d 7; for Aristotle’s qualification, see *Coel.* 306b 17.

¹⁹ The idea of matter as devoid of quality and form is widespread. See *Wisdom of Salomon* 11.17; Philo, *Fuga* 9; *Spec. Leg.* 1.328; Plutarch, *De an. procr. Tim.* 1015d; 1024c; Alcinous, *Didask.* 162.25ff; Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.191, on which, see Lilla, *Clement*, 194 note 1; Diogenes Laertius 3.69; Justin, *Apol.* 1.10.2; 1.59.5, on which C. Andresen, ‘Justin und der mittlere Platonismus’, *ZNW* 44 (1952-53) 157-95 at 164-65; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 1.19.3.

²⁰ Aristotle, *Phys.* 191a 8-12.

²¹ See Simplicius, *In Phys.* 231.4-5, with Dodds, ‘The Parmenides of Plato and the Origin of the Neoplatonic One’, *CQ* 22 (1928) 129-42 at 137-38.

²² See Proclus, *In Tim.* 299c.

²³ Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.4.10; Simplicius, *In Phys.* 226.17-227.22. On Plotinus, see A.H. Armstrong, ‘The Theory of the Non-existence of Matter in Plotinus and the Cappadocians’, *StPatr* 5 (1962) 427-29. For Clement’s

however, Plotinus never devalues the cosmos but rather emphatically denies a stigmatisation of tangible reality both in a specific treatise against the Gnostics²⁴ and also elsewhere²⁵.

Differently from the more current Platonic variety, *AA*'s dualism is clearly anticosmic. The material world is intrinsically negative: it is the abode of evil and darkness, and the realm of deceit, of movement and decay; in short, it is the prison (U]L̄aU` k g]⊞) from which man has to escape²⁶. In order to find a proper parallel to this radical sort of dualism and depreciation of the physical world we have to look at certain Hermetic tractates and at Gnosticism²⁷. With regard to the *Corpus Hermeticum*, the attitude toward physical reality changes in the different treatises. Even if in some cases the Platonic view that the product of the Good is good prevails²⁸, in others there appears either a moderately negative view²⁹ or a radical rejection of materiality³⁰. The most radical example of the latter view can be found in the second fragment of the Hermetic excerpts preserved by Stobaeus. In this text the transcendent and not-generated realm is declared to be true, while the immanent realm is deprived of any true existence and equated with a simple deluding representation of the information proceeding from sensorial perception³¹. With regard to Gnosticism, Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria report a similar anticosmic attitude³². Jonas reduces the large variety of Gnostic dualistic systems to two main groups: in the Iranian system the clash of two opposite principles set into motion the history of the world. Differently, in the Syrian-Egyptian system the origin of the world is explained as a result of a process of degradation, as a downward movement that originates in the upper realm and that finally results in the appearance of the lower one³³. The latter is clearly the case in, for example, the *Treatise on Resurrection* which contrasts the greatness of the pleroma with the nothingness of the sensible and argues that the inherent

adoption of the notion, see Lilla, *Clement*, 196; for Plutarch's and Philo's rejection of this view due to Stoic influence (SVF I 85: identification of ι and κ), see C. Baeumker, *Das Problem der Materie in der griechischen Philosophie* (Münster, 1890) 338 and Lilla, *Clement*, 196 note 3. Furthermore *infra*, pp. 254ff.

²⁴ Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.11; 13; 14; 15.

²⁵ Plotinus, *Enn.* 3.2.3; 9; 12.

²⁶ V^t 90. See also *infra* this Chapter, notes 36-42. See also *infra* p. 257 and notes 159-161.

²⁷ For a similar conception of physical reality in the *Chaldaean Oracles* see *infra*, pp. 258ff.

²⁸ So, for example *C.H.* 5.11 (65.5 N-F), U]UecP XY#_U]RiU#hU dc]k b; 10.3 (114.7-8 N-F), hc]UP U]UecB Yg]h] hc]Rlc] \h]_ c#; 14.4 (223.11-12 N-F);

²⁹ *C.H.* 6.2 (73.1-16 N-F); 10.10 (118.6-11 N-F); 12 (119.1-6 N-F). See H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*. 1. *Von der Mythologie zur mystischen Philosophie* (Göttingen, 1954) 151 note 3; A.D. Nock – A.J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* I (Paris, ²1960) 76 note 10.

³⁰ See *C.H.* 6.4 (74.17-18 N-F), cf]UP_c#ac^ d` \#k aU Yg]h] h\^_U_]⊞^.

³¹ *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 2 A, *passim*. See *infra*, pp. 256; 310-14 and notes 653-654 to this Chapter. Cf. *C.H.* 13.13.

³² Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.5.1-6; 1.17.2; 2.3.2; Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 48.1.

³³ On the issue A. Piñero and J. Montserrat Torrens, 'Introducción general', in A. Piñero *et al.*, *Textos Gnósticos. Biblioteca de Nag Hammadi* I (Madrid, ²2000) 41-42.

deficiency of the immanent realm results from the breaking off of the sensible world from the higher realm³⁴.

AA's dualism can be compared to the more radical Hermetic and Gnostic variety. According to Prieur, however, *AA*'s dualism should be described as antisomatic rather than as anticomic³⁵. In his view, the lack of an explicit condemnation of tangible reality does not allow us to affirm anything else than that for *AA* the origin of evil was in the physical body. In our opinion, however, we should not forget that the lack of such an explicit enunciation might just be due to the fragmentary character of our text. Moreover, this lack by no means overshadows *AA*'s obvious radical negative view of physical reality. *AA* not only purports a manifest rejection of the body³⁶, but also puts the blame for the perpetuation of man's sojourn in an alien environment on materiality and its externalities³⁷. The association of evil with matter is more than obvious in the equation of 'life' (VJ#^) with 'violence' (VJ#) ³⁸, in the reference to the 'shackles of existence' (hUPXYgaU#) ³⁹ and in the rejection of the '(earthly) works of Cain' ⁴⁰. In addition, *AA*'s contempt of the physical body is one and the same as that of tangible reality⁴¹. As we will have the opportunity to see, from its very first lines *AA*'s fragment in V clearly stresses that Zi #J^, the realm of movement and change, must be avoided at all means⁴².

1.2. Structure of the Cosmos in *AA*

In its current form *AA* does not include a clear exposition of its cosmological views. Despite this, there are occasional passing references that may help us to reconstruct the text's position on the issue.

As already stated, *AA*'s most obvious trait is its conception of reality as consisting of two opposite realms, which is expressed by means of numerous pairs of conceptual opposites⁴³. However, there is enough evidence to suggest that alongside this basic dichotomy, a tripartite conception of the cosmos is at work in *AA*. In the first place, the

³⁴ *TreatRes* (NHC I, 4) 46.35-38. See B.R. Layton, *The Gnostic Treatise on Resurrection from Nag Hammadi* (Missoula, Mont., 1979 [orig. Diss. Harvard 1971]) 75; M.L. Peel, 'The Treatise on Resurrection', in H.W. Attridge (ed) *NHC I. Notes* (Leiden, 1985) 137-215 at 177.

³⁵ Prieur, *Acta*, 291-93.

³⁶ V^r 92-95, 108-12, 194-95, 254-55.

³⁷ V^r 5-10, 14-17, 58-61, 88-90, 97-98, etc.

³⁸ V^r 232-33.

³⁹ V^r 97-98.

⁴⁰ V^r 121. For an interpretation of the section see *supra*, Chapter 3 note 75.

⁴¹ So, for example, when Maximilla finally decides to live a spiritual life, the writer tells us that she said 'farewell to all externalities and to those things belonging to the flesh' (V^r 194-95).

⁴² See *infra* this Chapter, § 1.4.2.2, pp. 256-59.

⁴³ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.1, pp. 242-43.

passage V^r 15-16 refers to a supercelestial realm (or God). Since the ‘earthly realm’ (ἡ ἐπιγῆιος) is also mentioned in these lines, we may conclude that, in spite of silencing the ‘celestial realm’, our text presupposes a cosmos consisting of three regions, the sublunary, celestial and supercelestial realms.

Support for this interpretation comes from another passage in which Andrew praises the final liberation of the ‘intellect’ that transcends all aspects of material existence⁴⁴. In this context, Andrew explicitly says that the *ἄνω* is beyond the cosmos and that it finally breaks all the shackles, ‘not only those of generation (ἡ γενεῶν) but also those belonging to the realm beyond generation’ (ἡ ἐπέκεινθεν). Passing though it may be, this reference clearly implies the same tripartite conception of the universe, in which the transcendent realm is opposed both to the realm of coming-to-be and passing-away and to another intermediate region. This latter region, even though beyond the processes of generation and corruption, still belongs to the cosmic world of movement. That this is the region subject to eternal movement – that is, the celestial spheres where planets, demons or powers dwell – seems further supported by an earlier reference, in the same passus, to ‘powers and authorities’ (ἡ ἐξουσίαι) ⁴⁵. As this intermediate realm between the lower and the highest region is normally considered as the region of fate and *heimarmene*⁴⁶, these must be the ‘shackles belonging to the realm beyond generation’ Andrew is referring to.

Such a tripartition of reality was first systematically applied by Aristotle⁴⁷, although it appears to have been stated by Xenocrates as well⁴⁸. Following his division of substance into sensible-perishable, sensible-eternal and non-sensible-immutable⁴⁹, Aristotle divides reality into the realms of the unchangeable, astronomicals and sensibles, a division which in turn accounts for his tripartite division of knowledge⁵⁰. In the Aristotelian system, the highest and everlasting realm, even though static with regard to spatial and qualitative change, is the

⁴⁴ V^r 97-99. For a commentary on this section, see *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.2.5, pp. 203-04.

⁴⁵ V^r 93-94.

⁴⁶ See on the issue the still attractive treatment by Festugière, *L'Idéal religieux*, 101-15, especially 105ff. See C.H. 1.9.

⁴⁷ For the Platonic origin of such tripartition and for the similarity between Aristotle's and Xenocrates' conceptions of the issue, see P. Merlan, ‘Aristotle's Unmoved Movers’, *Kleine Schriften*, 195-224 at 198ff.

⁴⁸ Xenocrates fr. 5 H (Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* 7.147ff); fr. 15 H (Aetius, *ap.* Stobaeus 1.1.29b) and fr. 18 H (Plutarch, *Plat. quaest.* 1007 f), on which see H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Platonismus zwischen Platon und Plotin* (Amsterdam, 1967) 37 note 58.

⁴⁹ Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1069a 30-36. For Xenocrates' triadic division see Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* VII 147ff with Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 33ff.

⁵⁰ Aristotle, *Phys.* 198a 30ff; *Metaph.* 1004a 2ff; 1026a 6-22; *De an.* 403b 10ff. For the similarity of Xenocrates' degrees of knowledge (fr. 5 H, ἡ ἐπιγῆιος, ἡ ἀστέριος and ἡ ἐπέκεινθεν) and for the ‘mixed’ or ‘composite’ character of the medium sphere, see Merlan, ‘Unmoved Movers’, 199 and *Greek Philosophy*, 17; Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 34.

The testimony of Macrobius, however, already shows an interesting development in the conception of this intermediary zone. His commentary on Cicero's *Scipio's Dream* preserves a description of the *descensus animae*, which is one of the rare elaborated statements on 'that metaphysical subject which the Ancients have left us'⁶⁵. In a passage that seems to rely on Numenius⁶⁶, Macrobius describes the soul's descent from the eighth heaven to the depths of the earth. During its descent through the seven planetary spheres the soul acquires from each of them one of the powers that will mark its earthly existence. It is interesting that in this account the powers provided by the planets are not yet qualified as good or bad, they are simply conceived of as characteristics peculiar to their energies⁶⁷.

An interesting first step towards the negative view of the planetary spheres appears in the *Chaldaean Oracles*, which also presents the same tripartite division of the universe. Following Aristotle's conception of nature's increasing degree of quality in proportion to the distance we are removed from the sublunary world⁶⁸, the *Chaldaean Oracles* states the decreasing degree of quality of the planetary spheres in proportion to their proximity to the sublunary world, in which matter is preponderant⁶⁹.

As a result of this gradual process of devaluation of the planetary spheres due to their participation in certain aspects of the lower realm, this intermediary zone loses its neutral character of a simple transitory area and becomes a border that separates men from their homes and perpetuates their exile. *AA* clearly fits in this vision of the world because it locates the 'powers and authorities' (U[̄]l U]P_U]P̄W̄i g]W̄]) in the celestial sphere and, although without explicitly referring to their negative role, clearly endows them with a sort of controlling task⁷⁰.

A very similar conception can also be found in Clement of Alexandria. Physical world and divine realm are separated by the *hebdomas*, which is populated by angels and

⁶⁴ See Dodds, *Proclus*, 283. See also Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 4 note 3.

⁶⁵ H. de Ley, *Macrobius and Numenius. A Study on Macrobius, in Somn. I.12* (Brussel, 1972) 7.

⁶⁶ See E.A. Leemans, *Studie over den wijsgeer Numenius van Apamea met uitgave der fragmenten* (Brussel, 1937) 104-10 and E.R. Dodds, 'Numenius and Ammonius', *Les sources de Plotin. EAC* 5 (1960) 414-35. *Contra*, R. Beutles, 'Numenios', in *RE Suppl.* VII (1940) 676-77 and 'Review Leemans' in *Gnomon* 16 (1940) 111-15. See on the issue, De Ley, *Macrobius*, 7ff.

⁶⁷ G.R.S. Mead, *Thrice-greatest Hermes: Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis, being a Translation of the Extant Sermons and Fragments of the Trismegistic Literature* 1. Prolegomena (London, 1906) 291ff. Differently, Servius' commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* 6.714 already presents a negative interpretation, since the energy transmitted by the planets is seen as hampering the soul from using its own powers.

⁶⁸ See on the issue Aristotle, *Cael.* 269b 13-17; *Meteo.* 340b 6.

⁶⁹ *Or. Chald.* 57 Des Places (Simplicius, *In Phys.* 616.35), on which H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy* (Paris, 1978) 137, note 270. In general, *ibid.* 122-26.

⁷⁰ V^r 94-95.

archangels⁷¹. The souls of the true Gnostics travel through these seven spheres before reaching the $\text{U}\beta\text{U}\#\text{U}\text{i g}\text{]}^{\wedge}$ of the *ogdoas*⁷² in order to attain, finally, the contemplation of God⁷³. A clear difference, however, is that for Clement the intermediary region of planetary spheres preserves a positive character, which is certainly not the case in *AA*. In any case, it should be noted that, however positive they may be, Clement's angels nevertheless exert a controlling task by checking the souls during their ascent, stopping those without a sufficient degree of perfection and allowing the souls that show their $\text{g}\text{i}\#\text{Vc}\text{'cb}$ or 'passport' through⁷⁴. It has been suggested that Clement's conception is influenced by Gnosticism and that its positive character is simply due to the fact that for him the sensible world and the seven spheres are not the product of the demiurge but of the creative activity of divine Logos⁷⁵. *AA*'s negative view of the sensible world sufficiently explains the negative, hampering role of the powers and authorities that populate its intermediary region.

In order to find explicit references to the negative character of the planetary spheres, one has to turn to the *Corpus Hermeticum* and Gnosticism. According to the *Poimandres*, for example, the planets represent different vices of which the soul frees itself during its ascension⁷⁶. The idea is further developed in Gnosticism. The most representative example of this view is without any doubt the Ophite diagram that has been reconstructed by Leisegang and others⁷⁷. According to Origen, the Ophites distinguished between a realm of light and the underworld of death and darkness⁷⁸. The highest part of the latter is the region occupied by the rulers ($\text{U}\#\text{cbhY}^{\wedge}$). Origen uses in this context the words $\text{U}\#\text{k b}$ and $\text{Y}\#\text{W}\text{i g}\text{]}^{\#}$, the same terms that appear in *AA*. It is true, however, that unlike the Gnostic treatises *AA* neither names these powers and authorities nor ascribes to them a precise role in hampering or allowing the

⁷¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Ecl. proph.* 57.4.

⁷² Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 63.1. For parallels for the concept of the *ogdoas* see *C.H.* 1.26 (16.4-15 N-F); 13.15 (206.16-207.5 N-F). See on the issue, Festugière, *La Révélation* III, 130-52. Further, Nock-Festugière, *Corpus*, 25 note 64. For the $\text{U}\beta\text{U}\#\text{U}\text{i g}\text{]}^{\wedge}$ of the *ogdoas* in Valentinian, see Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 63-4. In general, Lilla, *Clement*, 184-85.

⁷³ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.57.1; *Exc. Theod.* 27.4-5.

⁷⁴ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.116.2.

⁷⁵ Lilla, *Clement*, 182-84.

⁷⁶ For a parallel between the vices corresponding to the spheres and those of the list of vices recorded by Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.29.4), see Nock-Festugière, *Corpus*, 25 note 62. A similar conception of the increasing burden of impurity of the soul as a result of its descent through the planetary spheres in Porphyry *ap. Stobaeus* 2.171.2 (fr. 388 H) and Iamblichus, *De myst.* 8.6. See on the issue Dodds, *Proclus*, 307.

⁷⁷ H. Leisegang, *Gnosis* (Stuttgart, 1954) 168-73. See also A. Hilgenfeld, *Judentum und Judenchristentum: eine Nachlese zu der Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums* (Leipzig, 1886) 277ff; T. Hopfner, 'Das Diagramm der Ophiten', in K. von Holzinger (ed), *Charisteria A. Rzach zum 80 Geburtstag* (Reichenberg, 1930) 86-98. More recently, A.J. Welburn, 'Reconstructing the Ophite Diagram', *NTest* 23 (1981) 261-87.

⁷⁸ Origen, *C. Cels.* 5.25-38.

soul to pass through the heavens⁷⁹. However, *AA*'s tripartite conception of the universe, its location of God in the transcendent realm beyond the heaven, its view of the lower realm as intrinsically negative and its describing the powers and authorities as inferior to the immaterial and transcendent realm, seem to imply the negative character of its inhabitants.

AA, consequently, presents a peculiar combination of the philosophical triadic conception of the world and the religious tendency explicitly to endow the intermediary region and the planets with negative traits or influences on man and his physical existence. *AA* clearly considers these powers and authorities responsible to a certain extent for man's captivity, but it does not name them and neither proceeds to analyse their influences nor to describe them separately⁸⁰.

1.3. Cosmogony

As far as cosmogony is concerned, *AA*'s position is far from clear. The only section that deals with the issue appears in a passage presenting clear traces of textual corruption⁸¹. At any rate, it seems obvious that *AA*'s writer did not share the Aristotelian view that the cosmos has no origin and is imperishable⁸². Rather, it seems to have held the view attributed by Aristotle to Plato that the world was generated at a certain point⁸³ because it explicitly refers to 'the beginning of all things' (UHC Pa YB h \ ↑ dUHK b UEL \ ↑)⁸⁴. However, it is impossible to ascertain whether its writer was conscious of the consequences of the Platonic assertion⁸⁵ and whether he deliberately took the side of Middle Platonists such as Plutarch⁸⁶, Atticus⁸⁷ and Harpocration of Argos⁸⁸. In line with Aristotle⁸⁹, the latter authors interpreted Plato's *Timaeus* literally and consciously rejected, as did Philo⁹⁰ and Clement of Alexandria⁹¹, the

⁷⁹ As *ap.* Origen, *C. Cels.* 6.31; *ApJohn* (BG 2) 41.16-42.7. The same list of names among the Valentinians, see Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.5.3-4. However, passages such as *ParaphShem* (NHC VII, 1) 31.22-34 at 34; 46.13-55 at 30; *PS* 23.13-21; 40.8-22 also omit precise names and generally refer to 'powers and authorities that tyrannise men'.

⁸⁰ V^r 87-96.

⁸¹ V^r 238-40.

⁸² Aristotle, *Cael.* 280a 28; 300b 16; *Phys.* 251b 17; *Metaph.* 1071b 31-7. See *infra* this Chapter, note 140.

⁸³ Plato, *Tim.* 27c-28c, esp. 28b 7. On Aristotle's interpretation, *infra* this Chapter, note 85.

⁸⁴ V^r 238-39.

⁸⁵ For a detailed discussion of the problems concerned with Plato's assertion that the world was generated in time, see Aristotle, *Cael.* 279b 22ff.

⁸⁶ Plutarch, *De an. procr. Tim.* 1013a-1020e.

⁸⁷ Atticus, *ap.* Eusebius, *PE* 15.6.

⁸⁸ Schol. in Proclus *In Remp.* II, 377, 15ff Kroll.

⁸⁹ See *supra* this Chapter, note 82.

⁹⁰ Philo, *Aet.* 13; 15; 19.

⁹¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.92.2.

metaphorical reading⁹² as defended by other Middle Platonists such as Alcinous, Apuleius, Celsus and Calvenus Taurus⁹³.

In any case, *AA* does refer to the ‘one without beginning’ (ὁ ἀρχὴν ἔχων)⁹⁴ and says of him that ‘he came down to the beginning below him’⁹⁵. This latter expression may be understood either as referring to a temporal descent of the ὁ ἀρχὴν ἔχων – that is, to Christ’s incarnation for the redemption of humanity⁹⁶ – or, more likely, as a metaphor to express the beginning of the first principle’s creative activity. At any rate, it clearly opposes God, or the first principle, to the cosmos on the basis of the latter’s participation in time. Whether *AA* considered, in spite of the world’s temporal creation, that matter pre-existed and that creation consisted of a transition from chaos to order is difficult to tell⁹⁷. It is doubtful, however, that *AA* was at all interested in such matters. Such a physical approach to reality is not likely in an author who, strictly speaking, denies the status of being to materiality. Consequently, even though the fragmentary character of our text may explain the lack of clues on the issue, it is improbable that *AA*’s writer paid much attention to the constitution of the material world, if not from the perspective of human destiny.

1.4. *AA*’s Basic Bipartite Distinction between the Transcendent and Immanent Realms

Despite the tripartite conception of the cosmos underlying *AA*, a more basic dichotomy distinguishes between the transcendent and immanent realms.

1.4.1. Transcendent Realm

It is significant that *AA* does not include a positive description of the transcendent realm, with the only exception, perhaps, the reference to its stability in V^r 210. Rather, the description of the higher realm is implicitly stated in the description of the lower, immanent realm to which it is antithetically opposed. This is not as strange as it may seem. Consistent with the tendency of the period, *AA* achieves the description of the divine by means of abstraction or subtraction (see *infra*) – that is, by abstracting all attributes that characterise the sensible. If

⁹² The Aristotelian discussion on the issue mentioned above (see *supra* note 82) shows that the literal or allegorical interpretation of the *Timaeus* was already a disputed issue in the Old Academy. On the issue, see *infra*, pp. 255-56 with notes 144-147; Merlan, *Greek Philosophy*, 47-48 and note 1.

⁹³ Alcinous, *Didask.* 169.26-30; Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.198; For Celsus, see C. Andresen, *Logos und Nomos*, 80-82; Lilla, *Clement*, 197 note 6; *contra* C. Moreschini, ‘La posizione di Apuleio e della scuola di Gaio nell’ambito del medioplatonismo’, *ASNP*, Serie II, 33 (1964) 17-56 at 36. Further, Calvenus Taurus, *ap.* Philoponus, *De aetern. mund.* 6; 8; 21. On the issue Merlan, *Greek Philosophy*, 63; Lilla, *Clement*, 197-98, note 7; Dillon, *Alcinous*, 124-25.

⁹⁴ On the issue see *infra*, pp. 261f.

⁹⁵ V^r 239-40.

⁹⁶ See Calzolari, ‘Version Arménienne’, 166-70, on which see *supra* Chapter 1, pp. 47-48.

⁹⁷ For the possibility of interpreting *AA*’s conception of matter as a substantialisation of affections as in Valentinianism, see *infra*, pp. 295-96.

for, according to Hippolytus¹¹², Valentinians denied that God partakes in place and time, and the *Apocryphon of John* clearly states that God is alien to time¹¹³.

1.4.1.2. The Transcendent Realm Is Beyond Movement

As far as movement is concerned, *AA*'s denial that the blessed race belongs to time clearly posits transcendence beyond the realm of movement¹¹⁴. This assertion appears to have the same background as the Middle Platonic contention that God does not partake in movement. Alcinous' assertion that God is motionless mainly derives from the *Parmenides*' 'first hypothesis'¹¹⁵, but by referring both to locomotion and qualitative change he shows that he is also drawing on the *Republic*¹¹⁶ and perhaps even on Aristotle's dialogue *On Philosophy*¹¹⁷. The aforementioned section of Maximus' eleventh oration *Plato on God*, which rejects that God could be subject to qualitative change, also implies the rejection of movement from God's abode¹¹⁸. As far as Numenius is concerned, the fragment¹¹⁹, after stating that God is in an eternal present, denies that He can experience movement in respect of either qualitative change¹²⁰ or locomotion¹²¹.

1.4.1.3. The Transcendent Realm Is Beyond Generation and Corruption

All these statements logically imply that the divine realm is alien to the sphere of genesis. And indeed, *AA* emphatically denies the blessed race's participation in the processes of generation and corruption. A similar description of transcendence appears in Plutarch's *On the Delphic E*, where the sublunary realm is opposed to the supercelestial one on the basis of its participation in the processes of coming-to-be and passing-away¹²².

The *Corpus Hermeticum* states exactly the same view. The second of the fragments preserved by Stobaeus, even though focussing on the processes of generation and corruption peculiar to the sublunary world, introduces its description by referring to the abiding,

Dodds, 'Parmenides', 136ff and J. Whittaker, 'Neopythagoreanism and Negative Theology', *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought* (London, 1984) IX, 115.

¹¹² Hippolytus, *Ref.* 6.29.5, $\text{DUh}\ \dot{\Upsilon}\ \text{XY}\ \dot{\Upsilon}\ \text{b}^{\wedge}\text{acbe}\ \wedge\ \text{zU}\ \text{EYb}\ \backslash\ \text{hc}\ \wedge\ \text{zci}\ \text{f}\ \text{hc}\ \text{deb}\ \text{Yak}\ \text{b}\ \text{z}\ \text{ci}\ \text{f}\ \text{f}\ \text{cb}\ \text{eb}^{\wedge}$

¹¹³ *ApJohn* (BG 2) 25.2-3. See also *Allog* (NHC XI, 3) 63.21ff; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 52.8-21.

¹¹⁴ See *supra* this Chapter note 102.

¹¹⁵ Alcinous, *Didask.* 165.37f.

¹¹⁶ Plato, *Rep.* 380d 8ff.

¹¹⁷ Aristotle, *De philos.* fr. 16 Ross. As has been pointed out (Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 101 note 1; G. Invernizzi, *Il Didaskalikos di Albino e medioplatonismo* (Roma, 1976) II 83-84), this Aristotelian fragment may rely on Plato's *Republic* 380d 8ff (so, already Simplicius, *In Cael.* 289.14ff Heiberg). Untersteiner (*ap.* Dillon, *Alcinous*, 110) therefore even suggests that Alcinous may depend upon Aristotle's dialogue rather than upon Plato. *Contra* Dillon, *Alcinous*, 110-11.

¹¹⁸ See *supra*, note 107.

¹¹⁹ Numenius, fr. 5 Des Places.

¹²⁰ Numenius, fr. 5.19-21 Des Places.

¹²¹ Numenius, fr. 5.22-28 Des Places.

¹²² Plutarch, *De E* 392bff.

unchanging and impassible transcendent realm¹²³. Exactly the same might be said of Gnostic writings. It will suffice to refer to the frequent denomination of the pleroma as ‘incorruptibility’ (ΤΜΗΤΑΤΤΑΚΟ)¹²⁴. As Numenius puts it, since ἡρεῖα is eternal and unmoved it necessarily always remains the same and is, consequently, beyond the processes of generation and corruption¹²⁵.

1.4.1.4. The Transcendent Realm Is Beyond Extension

Finally, we can also suggest that the transcendent realm is incorporeal (ἄσπερον). *AA*’s corrected section coincides with the testimony of second century writers on the issue¹²⁶. Numerous testimonies by philosophers and writers of different orientations widely attest the statement of the One’s lack of extension¹²⁷. Alcinous is clear in denying extension (ἀσπέρων) to the intelligible¹²⁸, as are Maximus of Tyre¹²⁹ and Justin¹³⁰. Apuleius¹³¹, Celsus¹³² and Numenius¹³³ defend the same view. The *Corpus Hermeticum* frequently echoes the notion¹³⁴, and in a Christian context, Clement and Origen also deprive God of human shape and all other attributes¹³⁵. Finally, such an assertion is also common among Gnostics¹³⁶.

1.4.2. Immanent Realm

In contrast to the absence of positive attributes or particular descriptions of the highest realm, immanence is extensively described in *AA*. It is interesting that, when doing so, our text presents a peculiar combination of an objective description based on philosophical statements on the sensible and a more subjective exposition of a very negative experience of physical life.

¹²³ *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 2A 15-16 (7.15-8.9 F).

¹²⁴ See *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 35.24; *HypArch* (NHC II, 4) 87.1-21; 88.1-2; 93.30; 94.5; 95.22, etc.

¹²⁵ Numenius, fr. 5.20-21 Des Places, ci KYP Y#cbY a YbzYZeUffe\ XY#ci K' Yh Y| Yei #Uhc a YbzYh Y|k #\ XY#

¹²⁶ V^r 9-10.

¹²⁷ On the basis of a passage preserved by Philo (*Opif.* 120) in a Pythagorean context, Whittaker, ‘Neopythagoreanism’, 115-17, suggests the Neopythagorean origin of this argument.

¹²⁸ Alcinous, *Didask.* 164.13-17; cf. 166.7-14, esp. 166.6-7, k #hYUgk #Uhc^ UB Y|# c#eYc#.

¹²⁹ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.9, 202.

¹³⁰ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 4 (*PG* col. 484).

¹³¹ Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.190.

¹³² Celsus, *ap. Origen, C. Cels.* 6.64

¹³³ Numenius, fr. 2.13 Des Places, a\XYgk aU a\XYa Y#U a\XYga]_fc#

¹³⁴ *C.H.* 2.12 (36.19-37.4 N-F); 4.9 (52.20 N-F); 11.18 (154.15-16 N-F); 13.6 (202.14-17 N-F) and *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 2 A 9 (6.4-7 N-F). In some cases the *Corpus* even attests the term aY#Yec^, see *C.H.* 11.20 (155.12-15 N-F), hcY| UY cYc|cb hi |c#c|re bc\hcb# gi bUi w#gcb gYUi hcY| hi |Ua Yhf\be aY| Yea|z dUbhcY gk a#Uhc^ YEd\XgU^z_U|Y|UbbU l fcb#b i dYfU6U^ 5 |K Y| Ybci z_U|Ybc\ga]^ hcY| eYcbz etc.; 12.23 (183.12-14 N-F), Yb XYh |dUbh|Yci XYbeYgh|b cPa\Ygh|b" cYb ci hY a Y#Yec^ ci hY hcd#^ ci hY dc|cb#^ ci hY gl \aU ci hY l fcb#^ dYf|Yc#eYcb#gh|; *Asclep.* 29 (336.4-6 N-F).

¹³⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.68.3. According to Lilla, *Clement*, 213, the correspondence between this passage and Philo, *Sacr.* 96, clearly shows that in this idea Clement is dependent on Philo; Origen, *De princip.* 1.1.6 (*PG* 11.125).

1.4.2.1. Objective Description of Materiality

From a philosophical perspective, the earthly region is said to partake in time and movement¹³⁷, which implies that everything in the lower realm is ruled by the processes of coming-to-be and passing-away¹³⁸. Time is an intrinsic characteristic of the sublunary world. According to the Platonic *Timaeus*, God created time as a moving image of eternity and the Greek differentiation between $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\iota\omega\varsigma$ and $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ relies on this idea¹³⁹. While the former is eternal, the latter has a beginning and an end¹⁴⁰. The importance of the issue can be observed in the already mentioned discussion whether the *Timaeus* myth about the creation of the world by the demiurge should be interpreted literally or allegorically¹⁴¹. Calvenus Taurus' distinction of the various senses of the term $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in his *Commentary on the Timaeus* bears significant witness to the relevance of this discussion¹⁴².

At any rate, all three notions, time, motion and generation, seem to be treated in *AA* from the perspective of change. All three issues are simply stated as characteristics of perishability as opposed to imperishability and permanence. Therefore the central notion is that of motion, although more in its qualitative than in its spatial aspect. *AA* repeatedly refers to this stability of the transcendent realm¹⁴³. In contrast to the permanence of the supramundane, everything in the sublunary world is subject to alteration. The lower realm is the region of change or, as *AA* puts it in Heraclitean vein, it is the region of flux where everything experiences mutation and nothing stands firm¹⁴⁴.

AA contrasting the mutability of human affairs to the steadiness of the divine is a commonplace in late antiquity and may be traced back to Plato and the Aristotelian

¹³⁶ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 51,9-53, 5; *ApJohn* (BG 2) 24.16-18.

¹³⁷ V^r 16, $\eta\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$; cf. V^r 6, $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

¹³⁸ V^r 6-9. See *supra* 251-52.

¹³⁹ Plato, *Tim.* 37c; see R. Brague, *Du temps chez Platon et Aristote* (Paris, 1982).

¹⁴⁰ Aristotle, *Cael.* 279a 25ff. This is the reason why, according to the Aristotelian interpretation of the *Timaeus*, Plato's assertion that the cosmos 'has come to be' was not only wrong but also impious, since the temporal origin implies the possibility of an end. According to the Philosopher, the cosmos was eternal. See *supra* this Chapter, note 78.

¹⁴¹ Plato, *Tim.* 27c-28c. See *supra* this Chapter, pp. 250f.

¹⁴² According to the testimony of Philoponus (*De aet. mund.* 145.13ff Rabe), Calvenus Taurus, beside the ground meaning of $\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'in the sense in which we say that things which derive their existence from some beginning in time are created', distinguished four other meanings. We summarise Dillon's version of the passage (Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 242-3): 'Created can have the following meanings: 1. That is said to be created which is not in fact created, but is of the same genus as things that are created; 2. That is also called 'created' which is in theory composite, even if it has not been in fact been combined; 3. The cosmos is said to be 'created' as being always in process of generation; 4. One might also call it 'created' by virtue of the fact that it is dependent for its existence on an outside source, to wit, God'.

¹⁴³ See V^r 16, 17, 210-11.

¹⁴⁴ V^r 211-14; cf. Heraclitus, D-K 22, B 12; 49a; 91; cf. Plato, *Crat.* 402a. For the adjective $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ to describe the instability of the sensible, see Aspasius, *In EN* p. 13.8 H; Aetius, *Plac.* 1.9.2 (*Doxographie*, 307, a24); Sextus

*Protrepticus*¹⁴⁵. The notion already appears in one of Seneca's *Epistles*¹⁴⁶ and the close similarity between this passage and a section in Plutarch's *On the Delphic E* led Theiler to suggest a common source for the idea¹⁴⁷. Philo also contrasts human instability with the permanence of the heavens by means of the flux metaphor, but he develops it by combining it in connection with the theme of the ages of man¹⁴⁸. In Middle Platonism, Alcinous uses the same metaphor of flux to state the mutability of physical reality and oppose it to the immutable one¹⁴⁹. Maximus of Tyre not only repeatedly uses the Heraclitean metaphor of flux (ἡὐφάνη γῆ) to stress the mutability of human affairs, but also refers, as does *AA*, to human illusion giving man a fallacious image of stability¹⁵⁰.

The *Corpus Hermeticum*, similarly, not only confronts permanence with change but also refers to the *Zubhugl* or 'appearance' as responsible for the fallacy that man really exists: only that which is eternal and remains unaltered truly exists¹⁵¹. A comparable view of the immanent realm as a purely deluding representation can be found among the texts of Nag Hammadi. The *Treatise on Resurrection* plays with the same elements: the world is in continuous change and as such is pure illusion¹⁵². The description of matter in continuous flux is also recurrent in the *Chaldaean Oracles*¹⁵³, in Numenius¹⁵⁴, in Plotinus¹⁵⁵ and in Chalcidius¹⁵⁶.

1.4.2.2. Subjective Description of Materiality

Although this philosophical-like description of the lower realm already shows a pronounced depreciation of the sensible, its moral characterisation leaves no room for hesitation regarding *AA*'s radical dualism¹⁵⁷. By turning to God and to the transcendent realm, people turn away

Empiricus, *Pyrrh. hyp.* 1.217; *Or. Chald.* fr. 128 Des Places; Numenius fr. 52.33-5 Des Places; Porphyry, *De antr. nymph.* 5, p. 8, 3 and 9; p. 10, 30 Westerink. See Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 74-75 note 9.

¹⁴⁵ Plato, *Crat.* 411c; see *supra* this Chapter note 12; Aristotle, *Protr.* fr. 104-105 Düring. See L.H. Martin, *The Epistle to Rheginos: Translation, Commentary and Analysis* (Diss. Claremont, 1971) 232; Peel, 'Treatise', 196.

¹⁴⁶ Seneca, *Epist.* 58.22-23; Ovid, *Metam.* 15.176ff; Marcus Aurelius 2.17.1; 4.43; 5.23.2.

¹⁴⁷ Plutarch, *De E* 392 b-c. See Theiler, *Vorbereitung*, 13ff. Drawing on Theiler, J. Whittaker, 'Ammonius on the Delphic E', *Studies V*, 191-92, has emphasised the Pythagorean influence on this Platonic common source and suggests that Eudorus of Alexandria might have been its writer.

¹⁴⁸ Philo, *Jos.* 130ff; 141; 145ff. This combination of ideas, incidentally, also appears in the passages of Seneca, Plutarch and Ovid, *supra* this Chapter notes 146 and 147.

¹⁴⁹ Alcinous, *Didask.* 152.10-11; 166.29ff.

¹⁵⁰ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 1.2, 44-54; 5.6, 140-142; 10.5, 107-110.

¹⁵¹ *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 2 A, 11-13 (6.13-7.9 N-F), on which see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 311-12. Cf. *C.H.* 13.13.

¹⁵² *TreatRes* (NHC I, 4) 48.14-15; 27-30. See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.2.2.2.3, pp. 310-14.

¹⁵³ *Or. Chald.* fr. 128 Des Places.

¹⁵⁴ Numenius, fr. 3.10-13, on which Des Places, *Numenius*, 105 note 1 and the bibliography quoted there; 11.16 Des Places.

¹⁵⁵ Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.7.8.4.5.

¹⁵⁶ Chalcidius, *In Tim.* 203; 236; 296.

¹⁵⁷ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.1, pp. 242-45.

from what is worse, ugly and unrighteous¹⁵⁸. Passing though it may be, this reference makes clear that, as mentioned above, we are not dealing with a Platonic sort of dualism. In *AA* the physical world does not participate in the perfection of the higher one so as to partake in its, beauty, righteousness and superiority. Rather, it represents the antipodes of the supramundane and as such lacks all attributes that belong to it. This negative view of the sensible is evident in *AA*. The material world, which is sometimes called $Zi \#]^\wedge$ ('nature') or $_`]\#U$ ('region'), is not only a place of 'captivity' ($U]LaU` k g] \#$) or 'bondage' ($hUPXYgaU\#$) where man is apt to be oppressed¹⁵⁹, but also the realm of 'deformities' ($U] \#] \backslash$), the region of 'ephemeral evils'¹⁶⁰, of 'ephemeral life' and, implicitly, of 'violence'¹⁶¹.

This view of materiality as the source of evil is also common in Middle Platonic writers. Even if Alcinous does not explicitly equate matter to evil, the fact is that incarnation is nevertheless seen as a punishment for man¹⁶². There are, however, other writers of this period that take this view a step further. Plutarch, for example, conceives matter as being under the control of the Cosmic-Soul, which in his view is the real source of evil¹⁶³. Atticus' position is rather similar because in his opinion evil is the result of the irrational and evil soul¹⁶⁴. According to the testimony of Origen, however, Celsus appears to have associated evil directly with matter¹⁶⁵. The most radical position was certainly taken by Numenius, his pupil Cronius, and Harpocraton. According to the testimony of Iamblichus¹⁶⁶ all three philosophers identify matter with evil¹⁶⁷.

As already suggested, in some of its treatises the *Corpus Hermeticum* shares this view as well. The world is seen as completely evil and as the source of man's suffering¹⁶⁸. Such a negative view is implicit in *Poimandres*' use of $g_c\#c^\wedge$ ('obscurity') to designate the sensible and to distinguish it from the intelligible realm of light¹⁶⁹. This conception presents a clear parallel to *AA* which, as we have seen, describes the physical world as the region of

¹⁵⁸ V^r 10-13.

¹⁵⁹ See V^r 90, $U]LaU` k g] \#$; 89, $_UhUXi bUghYi \#$; 97-98, $hUPXYgaU\#$

¹⁶⁰ See V^r 90, $U] \#] \backslash$; 208, $Yb_U_c] \uparrow hc] \uparrow dfcg_U] \#c]^\wedge$; 233, $dfc\#_U]fc^\wedge V] \#^\wedge$

¹⁶¹ V^r 233. See also *supra* this Chapter, pp. 242-43 and notes 36-42.

¹⁶² Alcinous, *Didask.* 172.3-19. For parallels see Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 121 note 318.

¹⁶³ Plutarch, *De an. procr. Tim.* 1014b-1015f.

¹⁶⁴ Proclus, *In Tim.* I 395.7ff; Witt, *Albinus*, 121.

¹⁶⁵ Origen, *C. Cels.* 4.65.

¹⁶⁶ Iamblichus, *De an.* 375.10ff.

¹⁶⁷ Numenius' view is more than clear in the fragment preserved by Chalcidius, *In Tim.* 295-99. For the philosopher matter is evil (fr. 52.32-37 Des Places), *igitur Pythagoras quoque, inquit Numenius, fluidam et sine qualitate silvam esse censet nec tamen, ut Stoici, naturae mediae interque bonorum malorumque vicinam, quod genus illi appellant indifferens, sed plane noxiam.* See also fr. 52.92-95.

¹⁶⁸ See *supra* this Chapter, note 30.

¹⁶⁹ *C. H.* 1.4-5 (7.15-8.13 N-F).

gloom as soon as possible¹⁸⁴, since matter is evil¹⁸⁵ or ‘worker of evil’¹⁸⁶. Therefore, man should not even leave his body, which is called ‘residue of matter’ in the abyss of the lower world, but rather lead it to the brilliant realm of light¹⁸⁷. The *Chaldaean Oracles* in general agree with the Valentinian notion that the world is the result of a sediment of primal matter left aside by the demiurge because it was unfit for his purpose¹⁸⁸. This idea obviously implies the original corruption of the pre-existent matter. It is difficult to ascertain whether *AA* shared this view. At any rate, *AA* agrees with the *Chaldaean Oracles* in conceiving of the lower realm as the abode of violence, enmity, hate and sedition¹⁸⁹. As such it must be left behind as soon as possible. For *AA*, as for the *Chaldaean Oracles*, there is a ‘practical identity of the material with the demonic principle’¹⁹⁰.

1.5. Conclusions concerning the Study of *AA*’s Cosmology

The analysis of *AA*’s cosmological views reveals that its writer was especially fond of a philosophical explanation of reality. This predilection is clear in the underlying trichotomic conception of the universe, which echoes the Aristotelian and Xenocratic tripartition of being¹⁹¹, and especially in the description of transcendence and immanence by means of well-established philosophical tenets¹⁹². The echoes of the statements regarding the One of the ‘first hypothesis’ of the *Parmenides* are obvious in *AA*’s denial of movement, time and change to transcendence.

These parallels, however, do not necessarily imply direct influence from this or from that philosophical school. *AA* shares these views not only with different philosophical texts of the period, but also with Hermetic and Gnostic texts and with the *Chaldaean Oracles*. The comparative analysis of *AA*’s cosmological views with contemporary texts dealing with the same issues shows that as far as cosmology is concerned, a consensus seems to have been reached in the period as to the basic tenets and that differences are mainly a matter of emphasis. Given the widespread use of exactly the same argumentations, it is precisely nuances and small differences of emphasis that may help us to distinguish interpretative

¹⁸⁴ The world of light is described as $\text{U}\bar{\text{h}}\text{Z}]\text{Z}\text{U}\bar{\text{h}}\#$ ‘visible all round’ (*Or. Chald.* fr. 1) and $\text{cflc}\cdot\text{Uad}\backslash\#$ ‘shining all over’, while the lower world is $\text{a]gczU}\bar{\text{h}}\#^{\wedge}$ ‘hating the light’ (fr. 181; cf. Psellus, *Comm.* 1124b) or $\text{U}\bar{\text{h}}\text{Z}]_b\text{YZ}\backslash\#$ ‘wrapped in darkness’ (fr. 163.3).

¹⁸⁵ *Or. Chald.* fr. 88.2, $_U]\text{P}\text{U}\text{P}_U_ \backslash \uparrow i \# \backslash \wedge \vee \text{Ugh}\backslash\# \text{UhU}$, of the demons, see Psellus, *Comm.* 1137a.

¹⁸⁶ Psellus, *Scr. minor.* 446.21, c]fl U`XU]d (...) $\text{h}\backslash\text{B}i \# \backslash b \text{Y]gU}\bar{\text{h}}\# \text{ci g]b k fl_U_]\bar{\text{h}}\# \text{Y}\bar{\text{E}}[\text{U}\bar{\text{h}}]b$.

¹⁸⁷ *Or. Chald.* fr. 158 with Psellus, *Comm.* 1137a-c. Porphyry, *Sent.* .29, p. 13.7-14.1, interprets it as the *pneuma* or vehicle of the soul.

¹⁸⁸ Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 382ff.

¹⁸⁹ \vee^{\wedge} 232, violence; 245, 248, 258; enmity; 240, 243, 255, war; 258, hate; *ibid.*, sedition.

¹⁹⁰ Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 305.

¹⁹¹ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.2, 245-50.

¹⁹² See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.4.1, pp. 251-54.

groups. As the following summarising review will show, from this perspective *AA*'s use and interpretation of the cosmological views current in late antiquity allow us to group the mentality of our text with that underlying the Hermetic and Gnostic sources analysed above.

To begin with, *AA*'s dualism differs from the more widespread Platonic variety as adopted by most philosophers of the period. *AA*'s radical dualism and very negative view of the sensible has its best parallels in Hermetic and Gnostic texts¹⁹³. Similar conclusions might be drawn with regard to *AA*'s application of the trichotomic conception of reality. This three-storey view of the universe can also be found in a large number of contexts in late antiquity. However, *AA*'s negative conception of the intermediate region, which becomes a sort of frontier between immanence and transcendence, and of its inhabitants, who as watchdogs prolong man's exile in immanence, is comparable to similar Hermetic and Gnostic views¹⁹⁴.

The same can be concluded from *AA*'s use of a bipartite view of reality that opposes transcendence to immanence. *AA*'s description of the supramundane and sublunary world by means of known philosophical tenets might seem to bring *AA* into close connection with Philo, Middle Platonism and Numenius. Yet exactly the same procedure and tenets can also be found in Hermetic and Gnostic texts. In this sense, *AA*'s use of the philosophical views is plausibly not due to direct philosophical influence. It either echoes the widespread use, in many different contexts, of the same philosophical arguments to state the superiority of transcendence and the nothingness of the sublunary world, or it owes its philosophical undercurrent to proximity to one of these groups. This latter possibility receives some support from the peculiar combination, common to *AA*, Hermetica and Gnosticism, of an objective and philosophical description of transcendence with a very subjective one of immanence, which is highly influenced and shaped by a very negative experience of reality¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹³ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.1, pp. 242-45.

¹⁹⁴ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.2, pp. 245-50.

¹⁹⁵ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.4.2.2, pp. 256-59.

2. Theology

2.1. The Knowledge of God

AA presents a characteristic combination of the way of eminence¹⁹⁶ and the way of abstraction¹⁹⁷ in the search for the knowledge of God. As we will see later, this combination arises from a hesitation as to the nature of God, who is sometimes conceived of as the supreme being and thus has a cosmic nature, and at other times as transcending all attributes of the realm of being. If on the basis of this hesitation *AA*'s notion of God might be called incoherent or inconsistent, *AA*'s inconsistency regarding this issue is shared by most of the authors of the second and third centuries dealing with the divinity¹⁹⁸.

AA intends to apply the method of abstraction already in the description of the transcendent realm. As we have seen, the description of the higher realm is achieved by negating all the attributes of the lower one in a way that resembles the 'first hypothesis' of the *Parmenides*¹⁹⁹. However, given the fact that our text slides from the higher realm to the description of God, the method of abstraction is suddenly (unconsciously?) substituted for that of eminence. By means of the way of ascending degrees or *via eminentiae*, which divides the realm of being into pairs of opposites and which proceeds from the lower to the higher by retaining always the most pre-eminent of both, *AA* attains a first idea of God²⁰⁰.

The *via eminentiae*, however, can only provide a dialectical idea of the divinity. When *AA* states the possibility and the need to come to know God, the way of eminence yields

¹⁹⁶ This method has its remote origin in Plato's *Symposium* (210a-212a), where Diotima states a method to turn the vision of the soul from the sensible to the intelligible. *Symp.* 211b 7-d 1: 'Such is the right approach or induction to love-matters. Beginning from obvious beauties he must for the sake of that highest beauty be ever climbing aloft, as on the rungs of a ladder, from one to two, and from two to all beautiful bodies; from personal beauty he proceeds to beautiful observances, from observance to beautiful learning, and from learning at last to that particular study which is concerned with the beautiful itself and that alone; so that in the end he comes to know the very essence of beauty' (Transl. Lamb). Note that *AA* also states the way of eminence by referring to three realms of beauty, namely moral, physical and intellectual, which correspond, in the *Symposium*, to the beauty of bodies, of institutions and laws, and of science and, in Alcinous (*Didask.* 165.27-33) to physical beauty, beauty of the soul and beauty of customs and laws. See also Seneca, *Ep.*, 58.16ff, *per excellentiam*, on which Whittaker, 'Seneca *Ep* 58.16ff', *Studies* IV.

¹⁹⁷ For the *via negativa* as a direct continuation of an Old Academic discussion, see Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 105-08. For its development as a Neopythagorean revival of an Old Academic issue, Whittaker, 'Negative Theology', *Studies* IX, *passim*.

¹⁹⁸ As Whittaker, 'ἡ ἀπορία ἐν τῷ θεῷ', *Studies* XIII, has properly shown, this hesitation is characteristic of almost all philosophical and religious texts of the period.

¹⁹⁹ See V^r 6-9. See also *supra* this Chapter, § 1.4.1, *passim*, pp. 251-54.

²⁰⁰ See V^r 10-17. *AA*, however, does not slavishly endorse the Platonic theory, but adapts it and transforms it to its own scopes. In order to do so, *AA* begins the description of the way of eminence by referring to the three spheres of beauty, which roughly correspond to the examples in Plato and Alcinous (see *supra* this Chapter note 196), but develops the exposition by adding those aspects that are relevant to its conception of the divinity, such as salvation, light and unity. As a result, *AA*'s application of the *via eminentiae* seems to be based on groups of

ground to the way of abstraction, for it is only by means of overcoming all aspects of his phenomenal being that an individual can come to grasp the divinity in a direct and immediate act of contemplation. *AA*'s conception of the knowledge of God therefore presents similarities with the Philonian version thereof. Like *AA*, Philo combines the *via eminentiae*²⁰¹ with the *via negationis*²⁰² and if the way of eminence allows the mind to rise from the sensible to the intelligible and acquire a first dialectical idea of the divine, ultimate knowledge of God is only achieved by means of revelation²⁰³.

This combination of eminence and abstraction is also characteristic of Middle Platonists, who add a third method, that of analogy. Even if Alcinous theoretically exposes all three methods, he finally states that the *via negationis* is the only genuine method to grasp the nature of the divinity²⁰⁴. With regard to Celsus, he also states three ways to attain knowledge of God, but his terminology is somewhat different than in the previous cases²⁰⁵. For him, too, the way of abstraction, *ὑπερβατική* or 'analytical distinction' in his terminology, is the only valid method that may provide an approximation to the idea of divinity²⁰⁶. Similarly, Maximus of Tyre includes all three methods. Even though he initially seems to combine analogy and eminence²⁰⁷, it is only the *via negativa* that provides access to the divinity²⁰⁸. Clement of Alexandria combines eminence and abstraction, but as God is wholly abstract and all human descriptions are simply symbolic, ultimate knowledge can only be attained by the *via negativa*²⁰⁹.

In certain milieus, however, the *via negativa* seems to have gained ground. Thus, for instance, Plutarch defends only the validity of the way *ὑπερβατική* or 'way of

notions that remain somewhat unconnected. Yet we should not forget that our text does not intend to offer a philosophically coherent exposition but rather a convincing one.

²⁰¹ Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium* 5; *Qu. Gen.* 2.54.

²⁰² Philo, *Decal.* 26; *Opif.* 49; 98; *Leg. alleg.* 1.43f.

²⁰³ Philo, *Somn.* 1.186f. On the issue, see H. Chadwick, 'Philo and the Beginnings of Christian Thought', in Armstrong, *History*, 131-57 at 148-49; Lilla, *Clement*, 221, quotes Philo, *Immut.* 55-6.

²⁰⁴ Alcinous, *Didask.* 164.31-165.19

²⁰⁵ Origen, *C. Cels.* 7.42. On Celsus' treatment of the issue see Festugière, *La Révélation*, IV, 115-23.

²⁰⁶ In Celsus' terminology these three ways are *ὑπερβατική* and *ὑπερβατική*. According to Festugière, *La Révélation*, IV, 115-23, in spite of their terminological differences Alcinous and Celsus basically coincide, for Celsus' synthesis is Alcinous' *via eminentiae* and his analytical distinction equates to the latter's abstraction. However, on the basis of Alcinous' discussion of the analytical methods (*Didask.* 157.10ff), Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 105 note 279, has pointed out that Celsus' synthesis, rather than the *via eminentiae*, is an inversion of the method of abstraction.

²⁰⁷ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.7-9.

²⁰⁸ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.11, 266-273.

²⁰⁹ Symbolism of human descriptions in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 2.72; *via negativa* in *Strom.* 2.6; 5.71.2-3; 5.71.81-2; 6.166; see, R. E. Witt, 'The Hellenism of Clement of Alexandria', *CQ* 25 (1931) 195-204 at 197; Chadwick, 'Clement of Alexandria', in Armstrong, *History*, 168-81 at 178-79.

abstraction²¹⁰. The exclusive use of the mode of abstraction is characteristic of those milieus in which God's absolute transcendence is emphasised. According to the testimony of Eusebius²¹¹, Numenius seems to have held that God can exclusively be grasped by means of abstraction²¹² and the *Chaldaean Oracles* seem to defend the same view²¹³.

AA does not go so far. Although it does describe the act of contemplation of the divinity as taking place once the individual has released all his shackles, this is the last step in a long process of withdrawal, the preliminary stages of which strictly follow the *via eminentiae*²¹⁴. This is due to the fact that in *AA* liberation from the fetters of physical existence is not something spontaneous or automatic. Rather, it is the result of conscious efforts by the individual in order to overcome the lower aspects of his being by means of self-knowledge and rational control²¹⁵.

2.2. God in *AA*

AA, consequently, significantly hesitates as to the nature of God. Whereas the sections that describe the way of abstraction present God as absolutely transcending the realm of being, those sections that expose the way of eminence imply a notion of the divinity as the supreme being and thus seem to hold a rather cosmic idea thereof. As we shall now see, this apparent contradiction arises from the combination of two ways of describing the divinity, an objective and rather philosophical description of his attributes, and a subjective, more religious portrayal that focuses on God's attitude towards his people.

2.2.1. Objective Description of the Divinity

The preliminary description of the transcendent realm implicitly denied that God's province partakes in time, movement and generation²¹⁶. Coherently with this description of his abode, *AA* states that God is beyond time, for He is said to be 'without beginning' (ὤν ἄρ' ἀρχῆς)²¹⁷. This

²¹⁰ Plutarch, *Plat. quaest.* 1001c-1002a, ὁ θεὸς ἄρ' ἀρχῆς in his terminology.

²¹¹ Eusebius, *PE* 11.21.

²¹² Numenius, fr. 2 Des Places. On the issue, Leemans, *Numenius*, 36; Festugière, *La Révélation*, IV, 128-32; Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 362 note 625.

²¹³ *Or. Chald.* fr. 1 Des Places. See Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 165-6 note 373; 366ff. For the relationship between Numenius and the *Chaldaean Oracles*, see Des Places, *Numenius. Fragments* (Paris, 1973) 17-19 with bibliography in the footnotes.

²¹⁴ V^r 84-101.

²¹⁵ The *via eminentiae* is stated in *AA* in rather clear terms in the first speech to the brethren (V^r 1-24). However, note that, taken as a whole, Andrew's other three speeches – the second to the brethren, the one to Stratocles and the one to Maximilla – also present a three-stage process of withdrawal, which after turning the attention from the lowest to the highest levels of reality culminates in the contemplation of God. This process of detachment also represents in a last analysis the application of the way of ascending degrees or way of eminence in order to reach the knowledge of God. See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 279-81.

²¹⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.4.1 *passim*, pp. 251-54.

²¹⁷ V^r 239.

predication, which is already stated by Plutarch in *On the Delphic E*²¹⁸, also appears in the *Corpus Hermeticum* in a context denoting the influence of the contemporary philosophical discussion on the nature of God²¹⁹. Precisely in the same context as God's description on the basis of a philosophical statement of His transcendence, God's denomination as being 'without beginning' regularly appears in Gnostic texts such as *Eugnostos* and *Sophia Jesu Christi*, the *Apocryphon of John* and in the *Topography of the Heavenly World* of the Bruce Codex²²⁰. Both in *AA* and in all these parallels, the fact that God is without beginning implies that He is 'unbegotten' (UŁYb\hc^)²²¹, that He has not been created (ci Ł[Ybc#Ybcb) and, consequently, that He is alien to qualitative movement or change²²².

In addition to these rather common Platonic predications, which mainly describe God's everlasting nature, beyond movement and the processes of coming-to-be and passing-away²²³, *AA* insists on God's transcendence by adding other traits that frequently appear in Middle Platonism. Our text speaks of God as being supercelestial, as unity and as that which remains unmoved²²⁴.

2.2.1.1. God as Supercelestial

As far as *AA*'s predication of God as supercelestial is concerned, the notion of a transcendent realm beyond the cosmos as the abode of truth already appears in Plato²²⁵. An important step towards placing God in this region seems to have been made in the Old Academy, for Speusippus appears to have postulated that the first principle, namely the One, was immaterial or above materiality²²⁶ and Xenocrates placed it 'beyond the heavens'²²⁷. At any rate, the idea

²¹⁸ Plutarch, *De E* 393a, '§` ` fiYgh]b cfeYc#z`Y]ã l f\ PZUBU]ž _U]eYgh] _Uhfci KYBU l fcbcb UL` UP_UhUHcb U]K BU hcB UL]ba hcb _U]dUafcbcb _U]dUbf` _]hcb _U]eci ždfchYfcb ci KYB Ygh]b ci Kfi ghYfcb ci KYPaY#` cb ci KYRUF1 l \a Ybcb ci KYRf YgVi hYfcb ci KYBYk hYfcb. UL` fiY]B k N`Y]dñ 'bi b hcPUM]dYd` \#k _Yz _U]ac#cb Ygh]dñcP_UhUPci hfcBh^ cZci H Y[cbcP ci KfiYgc#Ybcb ci KfiUEW#Ybcb ci KYRUi gc#Ybcb

²¹⁹ *C.H.* 4.8 (52.11-13 N-F).

²²⁰ *Eugnostos* (NHC III, 3) 75.2; *SophJesChr* (BG 3) 91.3; *ApJohn* (BG 2) 23.6-7; *TopCael.* 228.1, 276.2. On the issue see M. Tardieu, *Écrits Gnostiques. Codex de Berlin* (Paris, 1984) 249, 360-61. See also *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 51.27ff, 52.9, 53.7, where the Father is said to be without beginning and unbegotten, *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 38.32-33; *ValExp* (NHC XI, 2) 22.23-24, 37-38. See also Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.11; 1.2.5.

²²¹ On the double orthography [Yb\hc#/ [Ybb\hc# already in Plato, see Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 114 note 264. For the different meanings of [Yb\hc# as distinguished by Calvenus Taurus in his *Commentary on the Timaeus*, see *supra* this Chapter, p. 255 and note 142.

²²² See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.4.1, 251-54 and 1.4.2.1, pp. 255-56. See also *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 52.1ff.

²²³ Plato, *Symp.* 211a; *Tim.* 28a, for the eternal character of the good; *Phd.* 78d; *Parm.* 135b-c, for its being beyond qualitative movement or change.

²²⁴ *V^r* 15-17.

²²⁵ The i fYfci fU]c^ hc#^ is already described in Plato's *Phaedrus* (247c 3ff) as the abode of truth, which is of a ULfk#Uhc# hY _U]RUgl \aU#]ghc^ _U]RUBUZ\ P ci g]#. For Festugière, *La Révélation IV*, 4-5 note 3, this passage of the *Phaedrus* is the origin of all later assertions on God's transcendence.

²²⁶ Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1092a 11-15.

²²⁷ Xenocrates, fr. 5 H (\fYŁhcP ci ŁUbc1 _U]Pbc\h\ Pci g]#) with Witt, *Albinus*, 16 note 7 and Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 109.

that God is beyond or above the cosmos seems to be firmly established already in the first century BC, since Eudorus of Alexandria posits his God ‘beyond the cosmos’ (cf. *i fYfUbk eYc#*)²²⁸.

AA describing God as supercelestial (*i fYfci fU#C^*) brings our text especially close to Middle Platonism, and more precisely to Alcinous’ denomination of his highest divinity²²⁹. In his commentary on the *c#C]#g]^ eYi* or ‘likeness to God’, Alcinous indeed affirms that our goal must be the God ‘in the heavens’ (*Y#ci fU#C^*) and not the one ‘beyond the heavens’ (*i fYfci fU#C^*)²³⁰. Apuleius, in turn, in line with Alcinous, clearly conceives of God as transcending the realm of being and describes him as *ultramundanus*, *summus*²³¹ or *summus exsuperantissimus*, adjectives which can also be found in the *Asclepius*²³². Maximus of Tyre also presents such a view of the divinity, although his description follows Plato more closely than the preceding examples and places God ‘beyond the outermost vault of heavens’²³³. The absolute transcendence of God is stated in the *Chaldaean Oracles* as well, and if Lewis is right in assuming that the *Theosophy of Tübingen* 13 and 14 preserve fragments of an original Chaldaean mystagogy, we may even have an attestation of the same term as in *AA* and Alcinous²³⁴.

2.2.1.2. God as the Transcendent One

Regarding *AA*’s conception of God as the first and simple principle, namely as the transcendent One, we also find the idea in Middle Platonism²³⁵. As already mentioned, the idea of the unity of the intelligible realm originates in the ‘first hypothesis’ of the *Parmenides*,

²²⁸ Eudorus of Alexandria, *ap.* Simplicius, *In Phys.* 181.7 Diels. According to Alexander of Aphrodisias quoting Aspasius (*In Metaph.* 58.31-59.8 Hayduck), Eudorus even altered the text of Aristotle’s account of Plato’s philosophy (*Metaph.* 988a 10-11) in order to let Plato state the Pythagorean elevation of the One above the *ac#U^* and the *Xi U#*. See Dodds, ‘Parmenides’, 139.

²²⁹ For the controversy concerning whether or not Alcinous stated that there was another entity above the *bci ^* (preparing in this way the One of Plotinus), see T. Szlezák, *Platon und Aristoteles in der Nuslehre Plotins* (Bassel and Stuttgart, 1979) 213-14 and W. Deuse, *Untersuchungen zur mittelplatonischen und neuplatonischen Seelenlehre* (Mainz, 1985) 82ff. In favour of such an interpretation, see Dörrie, ‘Zum Ursprung’, 340 note 4; Ph. Merlan, *Monopsychism, Mysticism, Metaconsciousness. Problems of the Soul in the Neoaristotelian and Neoplatonic Tradition* (The Hague, 1963) 62-65; Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 381f. Cf. Invernizzi, *Il Didaskalikos I*, 58-63. Against this view, see Mansfeld, ‘Three Notes on Albinus’, *Theta-Pi 1* (1972) 61-80.

²³⁰ Alcinous, *Didask.* 181.40ff.

²³¹ Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.11, p. 95.8-9.

²³² Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.12; cf. Apuleius, *De mund.* 37. See also *Asclepius* 16 (315.17 N-F), *summus*; 41 (353.1 N-F), *summus exsuperantissimus*. See also *infra* this Chapter, p. 265, note 254.

²³³ See Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.9, 235-37, transl. Trapp. Cf. Plato, *Phdr.* 247a 8-b 1. Philo (*Opif.* 71) places God above the *U#fU U#h]P hk b bc\hk b*. Further *Asclep.* 27 (332.9 N-F): *supra verticem summi caeli consistens*; [Aristotle] *De mund.* 397b 24; 398b 7; Eusebius, *V. Const.* 4.69; *Kore Kosmou* 17.2 (5.26 N-F). All passages quoted by Festugière, *La Révélation* IV, 4-5. In general, Dodds, *Proclus*, 283.

²³⁴ On the *Theosophy of Tübingen*, Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 16-17. On the alleged fragments, see *ibid.* 83f. See also Proclus, *In Parm.* 1044.9f and the Chaldaean hymn in fr. 18 Kroll (its beginning in fr. 18 Des Places).

although until not long ago it was generally believed that Plotinus was the first to interpret the first five hypotheses of this Platonic dialogue ontologically (see below). In the Platonic *Corpus*, the notion of the One further appears in the *Laws* and in the *Epinomis* and, according to the testimony of Aristoxenus, Plato appears to have also stated that the Good was the One in his *Lecture on Goodness*²³⁶. In spite of all these references, however, Merlan's conclusion that 'the One appears in Plato's dialogues, but it is a somewhat ghostlike appearance'²³⁷ seems to be justified, because it is never clear whether he is referring to the unity of the idea as opposed to sensibles or rather to a One transcending the ideas as well.

Consequently, it is plausible that the first hypothesis was first related to the *ἄνωθεν ἕκαστον* or 'transcendent One' in the Old Academy²³⁸. Be that as it may, Proclus knew of three different interpretations of the *Parmenides*, the third of which, according to Dodds, was the Neopythagorean interpretation that saw in the 'first hypothesis' the transcending One, in the second the *νοῦς* or 'intellect' and in the third the *ψυχή* or 'soul'²³⁹. Moderatus in the first century AD bears witness to the Pythagorean origin of this interpretation of the *Parmenides*²⁴⁰, which seems to be supported by Eudorus of Alexandria, who before him also stated the Pythagorean origin of his conception of the supreme God²⁴¹.

Pythagorean influence has also been adduced to explain Philo's description of the supreme principle as the One or the Monad²⁴² and, in fact, in an interesting passage he quotes Philolaus in order to give support to his argument²⁴³. This notion of the One also turns up in Ammonius' speech in the Plutarchean *On the Delphic E*²⁴⁴. It is interesting that *AA* opposes unity and multiplicity (*ἕν ἢ πλῆθος*)²⁴⁵ in a way similar to Ammonius, who identifies the One with the God of Delphoi by means of interpreting the

²³⁵ For the influence of the Old Academic metaphysics on Middle Platonism, see Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 107-08.

²³⁶ Aristoxenus, *Elem. harm.* 39ff. See also Alcinoüs, *Didask.* 179.37-39ff; Proclus, *In Parm.* 688.10c; Simplicius, *In Phys.* 151.10; 454.18 Diels; *In De an.* 28.7 Hayduck.

²³⁷ Merlan, *Greek Philosophy*, 23; cf., however, H.J. Krämer, *Arete bei Plato und Aristoteles* (Heidelberg, 1959) 487-505. Platonic references to the One in *Lgg.* 962e-965e; *Parm.* 137d-142a; *Epin.* 986d; 991e-992b.

²³⁸ See *supra*, p. 264 and notes 226-227.

²³⁹ Dodds, 'Parmenides', 134-35.

²⁴⁰ Moderatus *ap.* Simplicius, *In Phys.* 230.34ff Diels.

²⁴¹ Eudorus of Alexandria *ap.* Simplicius, *In Phys.* 181.17ff Diels.

²⁴² Philo, *Deus* 11; *Heres* 187; *Leg. alleg.* 2.1.1-3; *Opif.* 100.

²⁴³ Philo, *Opif.* 100. Also quoted by J. Lydus, *De mens* 2.12, p. 34.1ff. W. See Philolaus, D-K 44, B 20. This fragment has also been attributed to Onatas, see H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Åbo, 1965) 140. But, see C.A. Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton, Pythagorean and Presocratic* (Cambridge, 1993) 334-39.

²⁴⁴ Plutarch, *De E* 393a-c. On the Presocratic inspiration of the section see Diels *ap.* Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 231-33, who suggests Heraclitus and Xenophanes. See Heraclitus, D-K 22, B 32; Xenophanes, D-K 21, B 23 (cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.* 986b 24f) quoted by Whittaker, 'Ammonius', 186-87, who, however, claims Pythagorean influence on Plutarch.

name Apollo as ‘not-many’, or ‘one’ (U| privative and dc` `U) an etymology which is said to have been Pythagorean in origin²⁴⁶. Another interesting similarity with *AA* is that Ammonius’ speech fluctuates peculiarly between a personal and an impersonal conception of divinity. *AA* indifferently refers to God as both hcPYB (or $\text{cfM}\hat{\text{c}}$) and $\text{cfbYc}\#$ ²⁴⁷. A similar hesitation already appears in Philo, who alternates the masculine designation $\text{cf}(\text{cBhk} \wedge) \text{k B}$ with the neutral hcP $\text{cBhk} \wedge \text{cB}$ ²⁴⁸. As has been pointed out, such a fluctuation may reflect efforts to combine the Neopythagorean transcendent One, hcPYB , with the Platonic reality, $\text{cf}(\text{cBhk} \wedge) \text{k B}$ ²⁴⁹.

Whether this conception is of Early or Neopythagorean origin²⁵⁰, or whether it represents a direct inheritance of the Old Academy discussion²⁵¹, is irrelevant for our present purpose. For *AA* it is important that the conception of the transcendent One is especially relevant in Middle Platonism. To the previous passages may be added the testimony of Alcinous, who in spite of lacking God’s description as hcPYB comes very close to it when he says that God is $\text{U}\hat{\text{b}}\text{Yf}\backslash\#$ or ‘partless’²⁵² or that he is $\text{U}\hat{\text{b}} \text{ci} \uparrow$ ‘simple’. In addition, Alcinous’ use of the way of abstraction to achieve an idea of the divinity seems to imply the conception of the One²⁵³. As far as Apuleius is concerned, a description of God as *Unus* frequently appears in his work²⁵⁴, although he does not state the method of abstraction as a way to know the divinity. Clement of Alexandria, by contrast, not only preserves a similar mathematical illustration of the method of abstraction²⁵⁵, but also shows the influence of the first two

²⁴⁵ V^r 15.

²⁴⁶ The same etymology in Plutarch, *De E* 388f; *De Is.* 354f; 381f; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.24; Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.5.6; Porphyry, *De abst.* 2.36; Stobaeus 1, p. 10.5ff; J. Lydus, *De mens* 2.4.19; 2.11.35. For the Pythagorean origin of this etymology see Whittaker, ‘Ammonius’, 187 and P. Boyancé, ‘Études Philoniennes’, *REG* 76 (1963) 64-110 at 91ff, who thinks it is already implied in Philolaus (D-K 44, B 20, on which *supra* this Chapter, note 243). See also Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.17.65, attributed to Numenius (fr. 54 Des Places).

²⁴⁷ See V^r 15, hcPYB (or $\text{cfM}\hat{\text{c}}$) and V^r 18, 79, 107, 227, 231-232 for $\text{cfbYc}\#$.

²⁴⁸ C.H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge, 1963 [1953]) 61. See Philo, *Deus* 12.1; *Ebr.* 83.2; *Congr.* 51.3 ($\text{hcP}\hat{\text{b}}\text{hk} \wedge \text{cB}$) and *Opif.* 172.3; *Det.* 160.8 ($\text{cf}(\text{cBhk} \wedge) \text{k B}$).

²⁴⁹ On the issue, see Whittaker, ‘Ammonius’, 189. The same tendency is at work in Eudorus of Alexandria (*ap.* Simplicius, *In Phys.* 181.17ff Diels), in the view attributed to Pythagoras or Pythagoreans by Aetius 1.3.8 (= D-K 58, B 15) and 1.7.18 (*Doxographie*, 280, 302); Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 6.5 (= D-K 46, 4); Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 6.72.4; Iamblichus, *Theol. ar.* 3.21f.

²⁵⁰ See Dodds, *Proclus*, 312; Witt, *Albinus*, 132; A.H. Armstrong, *The Architecture of the Intelligible Universe in the Philosophy of Plotinus* (Cambridge, 1940) 29 note 1; Whittaker, ‘Negative Theology’, 112.

²⁵¹ Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 105-19.

²⁵² Alcinous, *Didask.* 165.30.

²⁵³ See also Alcinous, *Didask.* 167.33-34.

²⁵⁴ Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.5.190; 1.11.204; *De mund.* 37.

²⁵⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.71.2, see Witt, ‘Clement’, 197; Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 107-08; Whittaker, ‘Neopythagoreanism’, 112-15.

hypotheses of the *Parmenides* and describes the Father as $\text{U}\text{H}\text{M} \text{ b}\text{k} \uparrow \text{Y}\text{H} \text{ k} \text{ f}\text{l} \text{ Y}\text{H}$ and the Son as $\text{k} \text{ f}\text{l} \text{ d}\text{U}\text{H}\text{H}\text{U} \text{ Y}\text{H}$.²⁵⁶

The notion appears in the *Corpus Hermeticum* as well. Even though in some treatises God or the Good is said to be superior to and the cause of the One²⁵⁷ in a way similar to that of Plotinus²⁵⁸, in other treatises God is described with the formula $\text{Y}\text{]}^{\wedge} \text{ _U}\text{]} \text{P}\text{a}\text{c}\text{H}\text{c}^{\wedge}$ ²⁵⁹ and thus identified with the One. The *Asclepius*, for instance, frequently characterises God either as *Unus* or *Unum*²⁶⁰. As for Gnosticism, the Nag Hammadi texts widely attest such a conception of the divinity. The beginning of the *Tripartite Tractate* is clear about the unity of the Father²⁶¹ and so is the *Gospel of Truth*, where the Father is said to be ‘One and unique’²⁶². Numenius also presents such a conception. God’s predication as the One is not current in his fragments, but he does refer to God’s ‘simple essence’ or describes the first principle as ‘simple’ and even endorses Plato’s alleged equation of $\text{h}\text{c}\text{R}\text{U}\text{L}\text{U}\text{e}\text{c}\text{H}$ with the One²⁶³.

2.2.1.3. God as Unmoved Mover

AA describing God as the One or as unity already implies His lack of movement as both spatial and qualitative. This obviously means that the divine region is static and remains unchanged. But *AA* nevertheless explicitly refers to God’s stability as well²⁶⁴. At the same time, even though unmoved, He attracts followers since He represents the ultimate goal of the laborious and gradual process of withdrawal from immanence in which they are engaged. The idea of God’s steadiness may well arise, as Lewy points out, from the *Timaeus* (37d 6), where it is already stated that the divine realm does not move or change, and Middle Platonists widely echo this Platonic notion²⁶⁵. However, by combining the notions of God’s stability

²⁵⁶ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.25.156.1. See Whittaker, $\text{Q}\text{d}\text{Y}\text{H}\text{Y}\text{]} \text{ b}\text{U}$, 98-99. See also Witt, ‘Clement’, 197-98.

²⁵⁷ *C.H.* 2.12 (37.7-9 N-F); 5.2 (60.14-16 N-F).

²⁵⁸ Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.3.10-13, esp. 12.

²⁵⁹ *C.H.* 4.8 (52.11 N-F); 11.5 (149.9 N-F).

²⁶⁰ *Asclep.* 2 (298.3 N-F); 20 (321.7 N-F), *Unus*; 1 (296.10 N-F); 2 (297.23-24 N-F), *Unum*.

²⁶¹ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 51.9f, 51.18ff. The doctrine of *TriTrac* concerning the first principle’s unity differs from the dyadic primal source attributed by Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.11.1) to Valentinus and to the followers of Ptolomeus. According to H.Ch. Puech and G. Quispel, ‘Le quatrième écrit du Codex Jung?’, *VChr* 9 (1955) 65-102, however, this view was shared by other Valentinians as well; see also J. Zandee, *The Terminology of Plotinus and Some Gnostic Writings, Mainly the Fourth Treatise of the Jung Codex* (Istanbul, 1961); H.W. Attridge and E.H. Pagels, ‘The Tripartite Tractate’, in Attridge, *Nag Hammadi Codices I. Notes*, 217-497 at 218-19.

²⁶² *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 23.15, 42.15. See also *TopCael*, *passim*.

²⁶³ Numenius fr. 11.11-14 Des Places, $\text{U}\text{H}^{\wedge} \text{ c}\text{i} \uparrow$; 16.15, $\text{c}\text{i} \text{ g}\text{]} \text{H} \text{ a}\text{]} \text{H} \text{ a}\text{Y}\text{B} \setminus \text{f}\text{f}\text{c}\text{i} \text{ l}\text{d}\text{f}\text{k} \text{ H}\text{c}\text{i}$; 19.11-13 Des Places, $\text{h}\text{c}\text{P} \text{U}\text{L}\text{U}\text{e}\text{c}\text{H}\text{]} \text{ Y}\text{g}\text{h}\text{]} \text{ b}\text{ Y}\text{H}$ ”

²⁶⁴ See *supra* this Chapter, note 143.

²⁶⁵ Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 402; Alcinoüs, *Didask.* 170.24-26; Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.10.1-2, *tempus vero aevi esse imaginem, si quidem tempus movetur, perennitatis fixa et immota natura est*; Porphyry, *Sent.* 44.45-46; Chalcidius, *In Tim.* 104.

with the attraction force He exercises on his followers, *AA* reveals a clear Aristotelian background. And, as a matter of fact, numerous testimonies from late antiquity also reveal the influence of the Aristotelian conception of an unmoved prime mover. Middle Platonists²⁶⁶, *Corpus Hermeticum*²⁶⁷ and Numenius²⁶⁸ equate the first principle²⁶⁹ with the Aristotelian intellect of the *Metaphysics* and with the unmoved prime mover of the *Physics*²⁷⁰.

In a Gnostic context, many references to the incorruptibility of the transcendent realm clearly imply the notion of permanence and lack of qualitative motion or change²⁷¹. There are, however, explicit references as well. Thus, for instance, the *Tripartite Tractate* says that God is ‘invariable in | his eternal existence, | in his identity, in that | by which he is established’²⁷². God’s immutability and lack of change is also implied in His description as the ‘unchanging good’ in *Eugnostos* and in *Sophia Jesu Christi*²⁷³.

2.2.2. Subjective Description of God

The rather transcendent conception of God that is stated by means of the objective description is, however, counterbalanced by a more subjective characterisation. Whereas in the former approach God is described from the perspective of what He is, in the latter He is described from the perspective of what He represents for His people. This subjective perspective obviously implies, if not a cosmic or immanent conception of God, at least a less transcendent notion than the former one in so far as God is involved in the destiny of His people.

2.2.2.1. God as Light

An important subjective description of the divinity is achieved by means of the light metaphor. *AA* several times refers to light as the main trait of the divine realm. Light is said to be the origin of the blessed race²⁷⁴ and, consequently, the $\text{U}\bar{\text{L}}\text{e}^{\text{f}}\text{k}\text{d}\text{c}^{\wedge}$ or ‘transcendent man’ (or intellect) is described as ‘light’ ($\text{Zk}\uparrow$) and as ‘transparent’ ($\text{X}\bar{\text{U}}\text{i}[\backslash\#]$)²⁷⁵. Finally, *AA* also mentions the ‘light of logos’, which seems to refer to the revelation or divine intervention that awakes the blessed race from the slumber of oblivion and allows it to remember its true origin

²⁶⁶ Alcinous, *Didask.* 164.20-31: God is described as an unmoved mover (cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1072b 3ff); Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.12, 289-291.

²⁶⁷ *C.H.* 2.6; 8; 12; 10.14; 11; 13.11 (205.3 N-F), $\text{U}\bar{\text{L}}\text{e}^{\text{f}}\text{k}\text{d}\text{c}^{\wedge}$, see Philo, *Gig.* 11.49 and Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.2.3 ($\text{U}\bar{\text{L}}\text{e}^{\text{f}}\text{k}\text{d}\text{c}^{\wedge}$ $\text{U}\bar{\text{L}}\text{e}^{\text{f}}\text{k}\text{d}\text{c}^{\wedge}$).

²⁶⁸ Numenius, fr. 15 (see Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik, passim*) and fr. 5 Des Places.

²⁶⁹ See Philo, *Somn.* 1.7-8.

²⁷⁰ Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1071b-1073a 14; *Phys.* VIII, *passim*.

²⁷¹ *HypArch* (NHC II, 4) 88.18; *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 42.10; *ApJohn* (NHC II, 1) 3.19-20.

²⁷² *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 52.10-14.

²⁷³ *Eugnostos* (NHC III, 3) 72.17 and *SophJesChr* (NHC III, 4) 95.10.

²⁷⁴ V^{r} 14-15.

²⁷⁵ V^{r} 91-92.

and kinship²⁷⁶. This reference to the light of logos has provided grounds for the suggestion that *AA* shows the influence of Tatian (due to his Oriental provenance?)²⁷⁷ but, as Prieur has rightly pointed out, the metaphor of light is too widespread to sustain such a hypothesis²⁷⁸.

As a matter of fact, the light metaphor has frequently been considered an ‘Oriental influence’. As early as 1928, however, Dodds dismissed the alleged oriental origin of Plotinus’ metaphor of illumination in a famous article²⁷⁹. Unlike in Middle Platonism, the metaphysics of light is an essential chapter in Plotinus’ philosophy²⁸⁰. According to Dodds, the motif can be traced back to the simile of the sun in the Platonic *Republic* and to the description of the sudden moment of insight as ‘a light kindled from a leaping fire’ in Plato’s *Seventh Letter*²⁸¹. The real being for Plato is light and consequently illuminates all things. This identification of being with light and the correspondence between both light and the Good²⁸² and between light and truth²⁸³ implies that by knowing the real being man is illuminated²⁸⁴, although such illumination should not be thought of as a mystical sort of experience. As has frequently been pointed out, the contemplation of the light in Plato is not an end in itself but rather the means to understand reality²⁸⁵.

AA’s view, however, is somewhat different from the Platonic and Plotinian conception of light. In the *Acts of Andrew* tangible reality is not conceived of as formed on the model of the intelligible realm but rather as opposed to it²⁸⁶. Light, consequently, is no longer a means to attain a true knowledge of things but an end in itself. Man’s remembrance that his origin is in the light allows him to liberate himself from the constrictions of the sensible and to return to his supramundane fatherland²⁸⁷. In this conception of light, *AA* clearly reflects the change in the light symbolism that takes place in Hellenistic times. Even though the original Platonic meaning is still traceable when authors such as Alcinous and Maximus of Tyre echo Plato’s *Seventh Letter*²⁸⁸, light in this period is increasingly associated with the desired ‘Jenseits’ and

²⁷⁶ V^r 253-54.

²⁷⁷ Peterson, ‘Bemerkungen’, 206 note 86 and Hornschuh, ‘Andreasakten’, 274 note 4.

²⁷⁸ Prieur, *Acta*, 410-11 note 1.

²⁷⁹ Dodds, ‘Parmenides’, *passim*.

²⁸⁰ See, for example, Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.3.12.40-51; 5.5.7.17-35; 6.7.21; 22. See W. Beierwaltes, ‘Die Metaphysik des Lichtes in der Philosophie Plotins’, *ZPhF* 16 (1961) 334-62.

²⁸¹ Plato, *Rep.* 508b-c; 509b; *Epist.* 7 341c. To these passages, C. Baeumker, *Witelo, ein Philosoph und Naturforscher des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1991) 362 also adds the myth of Er in the *Republic* (614bff).

²⁸² Plato, *Rep.* 518c.

²⁸³ Plato, *Rep.* 508b.

²⁸⁴ Plato, *Epist.* 7 341c.

²⁸⁵ Stenzel, ‘Erleuchtung’, 257; Bultmann, ‘Lichtsymbolik’, 21-23; H.G. Conzelmann, ‘Zk 1’, in *ThWNT* 7, 307.

²⁸⁶ V^r 5-17. See *supra* this Chapter, § 1.1, pp. 242-45 at 244.

²⁸⁷ V^r 91-101, on which our commentary *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.2.5, pp. 203-04.

²⁸⁸ Alcinous, *Didask.* 163.30ff; Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.10.

the subsequent liberation from darkness of 'Diesseits'. As light represents God and the transcendent realm, man's illumination represents his divinisation.

This important semantic shift does not, however, arise from a radical change in the conception of light. Rather, it is the result of a more general change in the view of the world and of man's place in it. The gradual development of a dualistic view of reality as a result of man's alienation from his world is an essential factor in this change that Hellenistic testimonies widely attest²⁸⁹. Plutarch, for instance, even though preserving the Platonic metaphors, already introduces a sort of mystical approach in which the light of God becomes the object of contemplation²⁹⁰. Something of the kind can be seen in Philo, too, who in spite of drawing on Plato's conception of light leaves room for a mystical understanding thereof. Although he accepts Plato's view of the unity of the cosmos and considers sensible reality as formed on the model of the intelligible²⁹¹, the Alexandrian nevertheless tends to make light not the supreme level of reality but rather something that transcends it²⁹².

AA's dualism implies an even more radical distinction between light as the divine, transcendent realm and $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma$ 'darkness' as the lower, sensible reality. *AA*'s conception, therefore, finds a more proper parallel in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Like *AA*, the *Poimandres* describes God as 'light'²⁹³ and the logos, as son of God, is also described as $\zeta\kappa\eta\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ²⁹⁴ in a way similar to *AA*, which refers to the 'light of logos' ($\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\kappa\eta$)²⁹⁵. There are still other conspicuous similarities between both texts. Both *Poimandres* and *AA* emphasise the importance of man's becoming aware of his origin in the realm of light in order for him to be able to return to it²⁹⁶. They also present a very similar conception of the illumination by means of which this knowledge is achieved. If in *AA* the light of logos that allows the blessed

²⁸⁹ Bultmann, 'Lichtsymbolik', 23-24 at 24: 'Wo aber dualistische Weltanschauung herrschend wird, sei es in naiver Form der Sphäre der Mysterienreligionen, sei es in reflektierter Form in der Philosophie und der Gnosis aller Schattierungen, da gewinnt die Lichtsymbolik einen neuen Sinn'; W. Pötscher, *Porphyrios*, Df cP A Uf_ Y#^ Ub (Leiden, 1969) 76-77.

²⁹⁰ Plutarch, *Lat. Viv.* 1129a-b (light-knowledge); *Def. orac.* 433d (light-truth); 419f (light-soul). The light as object of pure contemplation in *De gen. Socr.* 590b ff.

²⁹¹ So, for instance, his opposing 'light' not to 'darkness' but to 'sensible light' in *Somn.* 1.115-117; *Opif.* 30; *Abrah.* 119; *Mut.* 4ff. See Conzelmann, 'Zk η', 322 note 135.

²⁹² Philo, *Conf.* 61; *Ebr.* 208; *Opif.* 31. See F.N. Klein, *Die Lichtterminologie bei Philon von Alexandrien und den hermetischen Schriften* (Leiden, 1962).

²⁹³ See *C.H.* 1.6 (8.15-17 N-F), $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\kappa\eta$; $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\kappa\eta$ ^ i [fU^ h\^ \upf g_ cbei ^ ZUbY]g^ ^ . E. Haenchen, 'Aufbau und Theologie des Poimandres', *Gott und Mensch. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Tübingen, 1965) 341.

²⁹⁴ *C.H.* 1.5 (8.5-6 N-F), $\eta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \zeta\kappa\eta$ ^ UY]c^ YdYd h' jZi gY]; 1.6 (8.17-18 N-F), $\zeta\kappa\eta\gamma\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ @c^ ^ i]c^ eYci j Cf. *Asclep.* 18 (317.11-21 N-F); 29 (336.6-11 N-F).

²⁹⁵ V^r 253.

²⁹⁶ V^r 4-10 and 205-08.

race to reject the futility of externals is the result of God's grace and goodness²⁹⁷, *Poimandres* clearly describes the illumination as a gift or grace (I U#|^) of God as well. The clearest example of divine illumination as a gift of God that allows man to know the divinity, however, appears in the *Asclepius*. God's illumination endows the individual with intellect, reason and knowledge by means of which he will come to know God's real nature²⁹⁸. This process of self-knowledge also culminates, as in *AA*²⁹⁹, in a sort of ecstatic experience through which man is divinised and becomes light himself³⁰⁰.

The association of light with God and the transcendent realm is further widely attested in Gnosticism. Hippolytus' *Refutatio* corroborates its use in several Gnostic milieus. If Simon Magus appears to present Stoic influence when considering God's power as invisible fire³⁰¹, Docetists speak of the realm of the aeons as light, and Sethians put light in their upper realm³⁰². But the clearest parallel for *AA*'s assertion that the gk nc#Ybcb [Y#c^ belongs to the realm of light appears, perhaps, in the *Gospel of Thomas*: 'If they say to you "Where did you come from" say to them "We came from the light, the place where the light came into being on its own accord and established [itself]"'³⁰³. The idea is also recurrent in the *Apocryphon of John*³⁰⁴ and pervades other Gnostic texts, such as *Pistis Sophia* and the *Book of Jeu*, in which references to the 'kingdom of light and 'children of light' are abundant³⁰⁵. Further, the comparison of light with revelation and its announcement by the word also appears in the *Gospel of Truth*³⁰⁶ and in the *Authoritative Teaching* which also refers to the 'light of the word'³⁰⁷.

The same symbolism frequently appears in works denoting Gnostic influence as well. In the *Odes of Salomon* light and darkness are clearly antithetical³⁰⁸. As the divine realm is light³⁰⁹, it is the goal and final destination of the soul's ascent³¹⁰. By means of revelation,

²⁹⁷ V^r 257.

²⁹⁸ *Asclep.* 41 (353.1-354.4 N-F). See S. Gersch, *Middle Platonism and Neoplatonism: the Latin Tradition*. I. (Notre Dame, 1986) 339-40.

²⁹⁹ V^r 91-101 and next note.

³⁰⁰ Compare V^r 91-101 to *Asclep.* 41; *C.H.* 1.32 (19.3-9 N-F) and especially 13.21 (209.1-5 N-F).

³⁰¹ Hippolytus, *Ref.* 10.12.

³⁰² Hippolytus, *Ref.* 8.9. For Sethians, see Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.19; 10.11. See Baeumker, *Witelo*, 364-65.

³⁰³ *GosThomas* (NHC II, 2) 50, translation T.O. Lambdin.

³⁰⁴ God is in the light (*ApJohn* [BG 2] 22.23-23.2), is light (24.6). See also 26.2.19-21.

³⁰⁵ 'Kingdom of light' in *PS* 62, 124.1; 86, 191, *passim*; 87, 199.14; 98, 238, etc.; *Jeu* 44, 103.25; 104.2; 105.16; 108.6, etc.; 'Children of light' in *PS* 62, 124.2; 138, 359.7; *Jeu* 51, 126.17; 43, 101.14. See also *TreatSeth* (NHC VII, 2) 60.19; *TrimProt* (NHC XIII, 1) 42.16.

³⁰⁶ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 31.14, the light speaks through the mouth of the son; *GosTruth* 31.35-6, when people receive the light they turn to him. See also *GosPhil* (NHC II, 3) 85.25, those that receive the light put it on as a cloth.

³⁰⁷ *AuthTeach* (NHC VI, 3) 27.25-28.22.

³⁰⁸ *OdSal.* 11.19; 15.2.

³⁰⁹ *OdSal.* 21.6.

which is also light³¹¹ and is announced by the light of the word³¹², those who are redeemed put on the light³¹³. In the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* the divine realm is also frequently described as ‘immeasurable light’³¹⁴. The *Chaldaean Oracles*, finally, even though mainly presenting Stoic influence and thus referring to God and the divine realm as ‘fire’, nevertheless include an interesting reference to the dUhf c[YbYP ZU\#^ or ‘father-begotten light’³¹⁵, which is the Chaldaean aeon³¹⁶.

2.2.2.2. God as Unenvious Sharer

AA repeatedly refers to God’s attitude towards the blessed race as characterised by His ‘love’ and ‘pity’. Out of His goodness (l f\g hc\#^) He recognises His people and by recognising them allows them to know Him³¹⁷. A similar conception appears in Clement of Alexandria. Even though asserting that God is incomprehensible and beyond our knowledge, and that He therefore is only approachable by means of the *via negativa*, Clement can nevertheless define God, like *AA*, as love, goodness and righteousness³¹⁸ and say that His grace allows man to know Him³¹⁹.

However, *AA* goes a step further than Clement. The Alexandrian’s wording shows that, in his view, God’s grace simply provides man with a clue to understanding what in normal circumstances is veiled or unknown to him and that this knowledge, consequently, is still of a discursive sort, because the subject and object of knowledge are still mediated by God’s logos. A similar conception of God’s grace appears in a passage in Irenaeus’ *Against Heresies*, in which he tries to reconcile Exodus 33:20 with Matt 5:8: if man can see God and live, this is due to God’s grace³²⁰. The underlying notion is once again that of an essential difference between human beings and God, namely between the subject and object of knowledge.

³¹⁰ *OdSal.* 35.7.

³¹¹ *OdSal.* 6.7; 10.1; 32.1.

³¹² *OdSal.* 12.7; 41.14.

³¹³ *OdSal.* 21.3.

³¹⁴ *Recogn.* 2.61.5ff; 2.70.1; 3.15.5. See W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen, 1973 [1907]) 89.

³¹⁵ *Or. Chald.* fr. 49.1 Des Places and notes *ad loc.*

³¹⁶ See on the issue, Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 99 note 138. On the Stoic influence *ibid.* 427ff.

³¹⁷ V^r 1-24 with our commentary *supra*, Chapter 4, § 3.1.2, pp. 193-95.

³¹⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.7-8; 1.62ff; 88; *Strom.* 4.100; 113; 5.13; 6.109; 7.15; *Quis dives* 37.

³¹⁹ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.12.82.3. $\text{l zU\#^ fici \#Y\#Y\# gh\#j \` UaVU\#YhU} hj \text{IU\#cXY} _h _j \text{l(sc. cfeYc\#).}$ $\text{Ui \# [UP Y\# dfchY\#k b _U]F bk f]ak hY\#k b gi bl\#hUhU]z hci \text{IXYFU\#Ybb\#ci ci \#Y\# df ci \#U\# Y] \` Y\#\#YhU} \text{X\#P eY\#\ l U\#\}h _U]Pa\#h _ hi \text{ldUf fiUi hci \# c\#i hcFU\#bk ghcb bcY\#\#}$ See in general *supra* this Chapter, § 2.1, pp. 261-63 and for Clement’s position *ibid.*, p. 262 and note 209 to this Chapter.

³²⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 4.20.5, *Dominus ait*: “*Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt*”. *Sed secundum magnitudinem eius, et mirabilem gloriam, “nemo videbit Deum, et vivet”; incapabilis enim Pater: secundum autem dilectionem et humanitatem, et quod omnia possit, etiam hoc concedit iis qui se diligunt, id est videre Deum, quod et prophetabant prophetae. Quoniam “quae impossibilia apud homines, possibilia apud Deum”.*

AA presents a rather different view of divine grace. In *AA* God's grace is not primarily conceived of as a gift that allows people to know him³²¹. Rather, God's grace consists of Him recognising those who belong to Him, this preliminary recognition being what allows people to know Him³²². If for Clement and Irenaeus, God's grace consists of His making possible the impossible – namely that the unlike may know the unlike³²³ – in *AA* it consists of God elevating His people to His own level in order to allow an immediate and sudden knowledge of the like by the like³²⁴. This is the reason why God's grace is described in *AA* as His 'unenvious sharing'. By recognising those who belong to Him, God endows them with a *new* ontological status. The very fact that God knows His people implies, through the principle of 'like knows like', that they are automatically removed from the sensible and partake in God's nature.

A very similar approach can be found in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. According to *The Key*, God knows man and wants to be known by him³²⁵. But not everyone is known by or can know God. Rather, as the *Poimandres* clearly states, God 'wants to be known and makes himself known to those that belong to him'³²⁶. As in *AA*, God's recognition establishes (or is possible through) a predetermined relationship of belonging between subject and object that makes knowledge possible. This previous election of those who are allowed to know God also appears in the *Gospel of Truth*, since the 'gospel of the one who is searched for' is revealed to 'those who are perfect through the mercies of the Father'³²⁷.

This is the reason why, according to *AA*, God is 'merciful' (c̄ffYLY\#k b) to and 'saviour' of His people³²⁸. By recognising those who belong to Him, God endows the blessed race with a new status, with a kinship with the intelligible that allows the people to overcome the power and the realm of the destroyer and the unmerciful one³²⁹.

³²¹ As in 1John 4:7-8; John 14:15-19; 1Tim 2:4; Heb. 8:11.

³²² See V^r 2-6, 17-19. See also *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.1.2, pp. 193-95.

³²³ Clement's position, however, is not always consistent. Witt, 'Clement', 197, has noted that while in *Exc. Theod.* 50.2 he rejects the Gnostic view that human and divine nature are of the same kind (c̄ff̄c]ci #]c^), he nevertheless applies this notion to explain the relationship of human soul with the divine (*Strom.* 6.113; 7.101.4). In addition, he also accepts the doctrine of the potential divinity of man (*Strom.* 4.149.8).

³²⁴ See *supra* Chapter 4, pp. 193-95 and note 157.

³²⁵ *C.H.* 10.15 (120.7-9 N-F). See J. Whittaker, 'A Hellenistic Context for John 10.29', *Studies* XV, 255f.

³²⁶ *C.H.* 1.31 (18.3-4 N-F).

³²⁷ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.11ff. According to H.W. Attridge and G.W. MacRae, 'The Gospel of Truth', in Attridge, *NHC I. Notes*, 39-153 *ad loc.*, 'the term "perfect" refers to the results of the soteriological processes, not to its precondition', but see *GosTruth* 21.3ff and 21.25ff; J.É. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (Leiden, 1975) 104-05; K. Grobel, *Gospel of Truth: a Valentinian Meditation on the Gospel* (London, 1960) 73-77.

³²⁸ V^r 13-4.

2.2.2.3. God as *causa finalis* and *causa efficiens*

Consequently, in *AA* God is simultaneously *causa finalis* and *causa efficiens*. As *causa finalis* He attracts His people as the object of desire. In recognising those who belong to Him, God provides them with their $\eta\gamma\#\epsilon^{\wedge}$ or ‘goal’, which coincides with their $\Upsilon\epsilon\lambda\ \#\text{or}$ ‘origin’. The recognition of like by like assures the blessed race that they actually belong and facilitates the reorienting of their will toward the intelligible. As *causa efficiens* He awakens their consciousness of the kinship³³⁰. The light of logos intervenes in order to reorganise the disorder resulting from the interference of the sensible³³¹.

The conception of God both as a final and efficient cause is recurrent in the second century AD. As we will see below, all testimonies preserving the conception of the double causality of God seem to rely heavily on Aristotle. On the one hand, God’s final causality is explicitly stated in the *Corpus Aristotelicum* and Aristotle’s explanation of God’s attraction as $\epsilon\lambda\gamma\ \#\text{or}$ ‘object of desire’ was a successful one in late antiquity³³². On the other hand, His efficient causality, even though not explicitly stated in the *Corpus*, was frequently concluded from the exegetical efforts to illuminate certain obscure passages or aporias in the works of the Philosopher.

God’s double causality appears, for instance, in Alexander of Aphrodisias’ interpretation of Aristotle’s noetics and in his development of the notion of the ‘adventitious intellect’ ($\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow\ \epsilon\iota\ \#\Upsilon\epsilon\gamma\text{b}$). This intellect, which comes into man from outside, is the cause of the actualisation of the ‘material intellect’ ($\iota\ \text{fl}\ _c\text{P}\ \beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$)³³³ which transforms it, first, into ‘acquired intellect’ ($\Upsilon\epsilon\lambda\ \#\text{h}\ \#\epsilon^{\wedge}\ \beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$)³³⁴ and, finally, into ‘productive intellect’ ($\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow\ \text{dc}\ _h\ _c\ \#\$)³³⁵. It is noteworthy that, according to Alexander, man assimilates himself to the divine by means of this actualisation³³⁶.

³²⁹ See V^r 2-10. This is not, however, an automatic matter, but rather the beginning of a long process of withdrawal that requires personal will and effort, see *infra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 279-81.

³³⁰ See V^r 205-09 and 2-5.

³³¹ See V^r 252-260.

³³² See *supra* this Chapter, p. 247 and notes 53-54.

³³³ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 81.9-28.

³³⁴ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 82.1-6.

³³⁵ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 90.19ff.

³³⁶ See also Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 91.5-6. On the issue see our ‘Bridging the Gulf between Transcendence and Immanence in Late Antiquity’, in A.A. MacDonald et al. (eds), *Scholarship and Society in the Near-East, the Greco-Roman World, and the Early Medieval West* (Leuven 2003) 37-51 at 38-40. Since Alexander in this context uses the verb $\epsilon\lambda\gamma\ \#\text{or}$ (*De an.* 90.17), Merlan, *Monopsychism*, 16f, has suggested that we may have here a Peripatetic version of the Platonic ‘likeness to God’. Cf., however, Donini, *Tre Studi*, 36f.

The same combination appears in Alcinous' explanation of God's causality in turning the cosmic soul toward Himself³³⁷. This passage of the *Didaskalikos* is interesting because it reveals many contacts with the conceptual background of *AA*. In the first place Alcinous, like *AA*, implies God's double causality, final and efficient³³⁸. The Cosmic-Soul is intrinsically related to God and as such is naturally attracted to Him. However, this does not seem to be enough, because according to Alcinous God 'bestows order' (Ⲭⲓⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁ) on the Cosmic-Soul by rousing it from a deep sleep and by turning (Ⲙⲓⲛⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁ) it towards Himself³³⁹. This is how the Cosmic-Intellect of the Cosmic-Soul is brought into actuality³⁴⁰. Not only Alcinous' 'deep sleep' is comparable with *AA*'s slumber of oblivion, the idea of God 'ordering' the human soul, as we will see below, also has a parallel in *AA*³⁴¹.

The *Gospel of Truth* presents a very interesting parallel to these issues which is even closer to *AA* than the preceding examples. According to this Nag Hammadi text, God's efficient causality is necessary because of the oblivion concerning the Father. The knowledge of the Father makes its appearance 'in order that oblivion might be vanished and the Father might be known'³⁴². This knowledge, however, does not reach everyone, because God's intervention reveals the hidden mystery only 'to those who are perfect through the mercies of the Father' and among them 'enlightens those who were in darkness through oblivion'³⁴³. We not only find here the notion of God's efficient causality, but also that of oblivion as the main reason for God's intervention, the equation of ignorance with sleep and of knowledge with the act of rousing from this sleep³⁴⁴. Both in the *Gospel of Truth* and in *AA* the elect remain ignorant of God because of the oblivion generated by the contact with the sensible. Although they belong to Him, they cannot know Him and this implies that they cannot return to Him. God's intervention dissipates this oblivion by actualising their knowledge of themselves and by granting their perfection as a return to Him.

³³⁷ Alcinous, *Didask.* 164.23-165.4.

³³⁸ See Loenen, 'Albinus' Metaphysics. An attempt at Rehabilitation (I)', 302ff; Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus II*, 464.

³³⁹ Alcinous, *Didask.* 165.1-3.

³⁴⁰ For the Aristotelian influence on Alcinous, see our 'Bridging the Gulf' at 42-3 and notes 46-50.

³⁴¹ For the Aristotelian origin of the motif of the 'deep sleep', see our 'Bridging the Gulf', notes 46 and 50. For a Middle Platonic origin, see Witt, *Albinus*, 131-132; for its origin in Plutarch, see J.H. Loenen, 'Albinus' Metaphysics. An attempt at Rehabilitation (II)', *Mnemosyne* IV 10 (1957) 35-56 at 51. See the motif also in Aristides Quintilianus, *Mus.* 3.25, p. 128.29; A.P. Bos, "'Aristotelian" and "Platonic" Dualism in Hellenistic and Early Christian Philosophy and in Gnosticism', *VChr* 56 (2002) 273-91 at 287 note 58.

³⁴² *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.1-7.

³⁴³ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.17-18.

³⁴⁴ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 30.6-16. For a very similar conception of the rousing enacted by knowledge (Ⲭⲓⲉⲛⲁⲩⲛⲁ) and of ignorance as sleep, see Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3, 73-76. On the issue, see our 'Bridging the Gulf', 43-44.

2.2.3. Conclusions Concerning the Study of *AA*'s Theology

The analysis of *AA*'s theology has produced interesting results. The philosophical tendency revealed by the study of the text's cosmology is also confirmed by its theology. This is especially evident in the appearance of the two known ways to achieve knowledge of God, the way of eminence and that of abstraction, and in the objective description of the divinity by means of philosophical tenets that were widespread in the period. As far as the former are concerned, the combination of eminence and abstraction in *AA* is shared by most philosophical texts of the period, as they also share the peculiar hesitation concerning the nature of the divine³⁴⁵. However, *AA*'s emphasis on the light of logos – that is, on revelation – brings our text into close connection with other religious-philosophical texts such as Philo, Clement, *Corpus Hermeticum* and Gnosticism.

As regards the latter, *AA*'s objective description of God presents a strong philosophical undercurrent. A comparative survey of the texts of the period, however, shows that this philosophical characterisation of the divinity is not confined to philosophical texts but has also been adopted by other religious writers. The authors of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, Nag Hammadi texts and the *Chaldaean Oracles* also describe God as the supercelestial, transcendent One and as unmoved mover³⁴⁶. *AA*'s proximity to these latter groups becomes even clearer by it combining this objective description with a more subjective portrayal. *AA*'s version of the notion of God as light, its view of the divinity as unenvious sharer and especially the double causality of the divinity, viz. final and efficient, even though present in philosophical writers as well, are particularly close to similar views in Hermetic and Gnostic texts.

³⁴⁵ See *supra* this Chapter, pp. 261-63 and 263ff.

³⁴⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, § 2.2.1.3, pp. 268-69.

3. Anthropology

3.1. Preliminary Issues

3.1.1. Anthropological Dualism in AA

AA's strong dualism is also evident in its conception of two clearly differentiated human races, that of the 'kindred of the unbegotten' (gi [[YbY]† hci 1UŁYbb\#ci)³⁴⁷ and that of the 'kindred of the body' (gi [[YbY]† hci 1gk #Uhc^)³⁴⁸. As far as the former is concerned, it owes its status to God's recognition. Out of His love and pity and by means of His unenvious sharing, God endows the elect or 'happy race' with the superior ontological status that potentially removes them from the sensible realm and allows them to partake in the world beyond time, movement and decay. Yet this ontological promotion does not imply an automatic or predetermined salvation, as we will see below³⁴⁹.

With regard to the second, inferior race of those 'cast to the ground' (l UaU]ff]ZY]†)³⁵⁰, the 'aliens' (UŁ` c#f]c])³⁵¹ who are akin to the body, it remains trapped in the processes of coming-to-be and passing-away of the lower sublunary world. Aegeates, as its main representative, is actively engaged in performing all 'lower' human functions and activities. He is prone to passions (love, anger, sexual desires), he adheres to social values and customs (family, marriage, friendship), and he is governed by physiological needs (sexuality, reproduction, food, etc.)³⁵². But the lower race is not only negative for itself. The most negative side of its existence is the active threat it represents to the blessed race. It is clear in Aegeates' description as 'son of the devil' and 'son of the serpent' that the human race akin to the body is conceived of as the 'army of the devil'³⁵³. Aegeates is also characterised as the 'enemy', as belonging to the enemy³⁵⁴ and as an instrument of the devil who arms 'his offspring' against all those who belong to God³⁵⁵.

Consequently, these two races are genealogically and ontologically radically opposed to one another. Genealogically, the blessed race belongs to the merciful, to the best, to beauty,

³⁴⁷ Explicitly in V^r 92 and implicitly in V^r 5-9; cf. V^r 207, dUŁhU hcB gi [[Yb\ 1k b` c#k bUŁefk dcb.

³⁴⁸ V^r 111-12.

³⁴⁹ See *infra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 279-81.

³⁵⁰ V^r 5-6.

³⁵¹ V^r 119, 155. See also *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 31.1-4; Heracleon fr. 11.

³⁵² See his characterisation, *supra* Chapter 4, § 2.2.1, pp. 167-71.

³⁵³ V^r 236-37, 116 and 126-27, respectively.

³⁵⁴ V^r 186-88, \f]UP hci 1_i f]#i Xci #\ A UWa]#` U hUfUW] hcB Yb Ui h MŁef cŁzci Ÿg]h]b YŁY]bc^]Łc^.

³⁵⁵ V^r 233-37, ci 1a cŁcb [UP dYf]PŁYhPŁc]ci hcb gi a\ g YhU]žUŁ` UP_U]P]Ł dUŁhU^ hci P`ŁUd\`cŁU^ _U]P Y]Ł Ui hcB dYd]ghYi _cŁU^ _U]R]i hcB cŁc` c[ci bhU^ cŁUŁhU UbU]X\ P X]UŁc` c^ hUŁ]U` hY#bU cŁf`]ŁY] _Uhf] Ui h k b"

to righteousness, to the saviour and to light. Ontologically it belongs to the supercelestial, to the everlasting and to that which remains unmoved. By contrast, the cognates of the body are akin, genealogically, to the worse, to the ugly, to the unrighteous, to the unmerciful, to the destroyer and to darkness³⁵⁶ and, ontologically, to the sublunary realm of time, movement, flux and decay³⁵⁷.

In spite of the rather irreconcilable character of these two groups, it has been suggested that *AA* does not, strictly speaking, purport a strict anthropological dualism because it allegedly does not state a genealogical distinction between both races. According to this interpretation, the differentiation between these two classes is instead due to the reception or rejection of the message of salvation³⁵⁸. Given the fragmentary condition of our text, it is obviously difficult to ascertain the sort of dualism we are dealing with. One thing, however, is sure: the ontological differentiation that allows the blessed race to overcome its state of degradation does not proceed from their contact with the words or message of salvation but is rather a previous step to it. It is not Andrew's message which endows them with their special status but rather God's love and pity, which are equated with His recognising His people³⁵⁹. Andrew explicitly states that he was sent by his master in order to remind those akin to the words that they are wasting their time among ephemeral evils³⁶⁰. This reminder makes clear that Andrew's message does not alter their nature, but simply actualises what already was in them in a potential state.

3.1.2. Is *AA*'s Anthropological Dualism Deterministic?

It will become clear from what follows that this conception does not, however, imply a deterministic concept of salvation³⁶¹. *AA*'s anthropological dualism does not imply that the 'blessed race' is saved in advance. Rather, this race tends to remain trapped in an extraneous environment and this is precisely the goal of Andrew's message, which consequently is not

³⁵⁶ This relationship of material individuals with darkness is very widespread in Gnosticism, see *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 89.26, 119.9ff.

³⁵⁷ V^r 4-17.

³⁵⁸ Hornschuh, 'Andreasakten', 272-73; Williams, *Unmoveable Race*, 181-82.

³⁵⁹ V^r 4-6 with *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.1.2, pp. 193-95.

³⁶⁰ V^r 205-09.

³⁶¹ According to Irenaeus' (*Adv. haer.* 1.6.1-2; 7.5, for 'material people'; 1.6.2; 7.5, for the salvation of the spirituals) and Clement's (*Exc. Theod.* 54) reports, Gnostics divided humanity into three 'natures'. The question of determinism in the Gnostic conception of the human classes has received special attention in the last years. Against the statement of what has been called the 'heresiological cliché' (G. Luttikhuisen, 'Gnostic Ideas about Eve's Children and the Salvation of Humanity', in Luttikhuisen (ed) *Eve's Children. The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden, 2003) 203-17 at 203-07), recent studies on the issue in the large corpus of Nag Hammadi claim that such a conception is not supported by our Gnostic sources. See W.A. Löhr, 'Gnostic Determinism Reconsidered', *VChr* 46 (1992) 381-90; Williams, *Unmoveable Race*, 189.

knowledge, which would be the individual who is engaged in developing a given activity by means of the knowledge he or she has previously acquired³⁶⁹.

3.1.3. *AA*'s Combination of the Bipartite and Tripartite Division of Mankind

Consequently, we see that *AA* does not simply endorse the known trichotomic division of humanity into three classes or natures. This tripartite division of mankind, which we already see in Aristotle's distinction of the three ways of life, $\text{U}\epsilon\text{c}\text{' U}\text{i gh]_c\#\text{ dc}\text{']h]_c\#}$ and $\text{eYk f}\backslash\text{h]_c\#}$ ³⁷⁰ and which Heraclides of Pontus³⁷¹ and Iamblichus³⁷² attribute to Pythagoras, is indeed quite widespread in antiquity. It appears in Philo's differentiation of men into earth-born, heaven-born and God-born in *On the Giants*³⁷³, in Plutarch³⁷⁴ and in Alcinous³⁷⁵. A similar triad is at work in several tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum*³⁷⁶ and the same holds true for various Gnostic groups that classified mankind into the three known classes, viz. *pneumatikoi*, *psychikoi* and *hylikoi*³⁷⁷. In *AA* we instead find a more basic and probably earlier dichotomy that distinguishes between spirituals or individuals endowed with reason, and material or irrational beings³⁷⁸. Whereas the latter seem to be excluded from salvation, the former are potentially saved³⁷⁹.

However, when exposing the way in which man's salvation is achieved *AA* distinguishes three degrees of insight or stages in the process toward this salvation³⁸⁰. In this sense, *AA* combines a basic bipartite division of mankind into rational and irrational individuals with the tripartite subclassification of the former class. Plotinus seems to have applied a very similar human typology in his fifth *Ennead*³⁸¹. Dillon compares this Plotinian passage with the aforementioned tripartite division of humanity in Philo's *On the Giants*, as if

³⁶⁹ This would correspond to the Aristotelian definition of $\text{eYk f]}\text{#}$. See Aristotle, *De an.* 417a 21ff.

³⁷⁰ Aristotle, *EN* 1095b 14-1096a 10; *EE* 1216a 19ff. See, however, already Plato, *Tim.* 30b, 90a.

³⁷¹ Heraclides of Pontus, fr. 88 Wehrli (*ap.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 5.3.8-9).

³⁷² Iamblichus, *VP* 58-59; for Iamblichus' interpretation and adaptation of the passus, J. Dillon, 'The Theory of the Three Classes', in his *The Golden Chain. Studies in the Development of Platonism and Christianity* (Aldershot, 1990), XX, 72.

³⁷³ Philo, *Gig.* 60ff.

³⁷⁴ Plutarch, *De facie* 943a-b.

³⁷⁵ Alcinous, *Didask.* 156.41-44.

³⁷⁶ *C.H.* 9.9 (100.6-9 N-F); cf. 10.19-21 (122.13-124.2 N-F) and *C.H.* 1, *passim*.

³⁷⁷ See Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.1.14; 1.6-7; Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 54; *Strom.* 2.10-11; 3.3.3; 4.89.4; 5.3.3; Origen, *De princip.* 3.1.2-4; *in Joh.* 13.10.64; Hippolytus, *Ref.* 10.9-10. See, however, *supra* this Chapter, note 361, but see also *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 118.14-119.34.

³⁷⁸ For the earlier Gnostic differentiation between two human races, namely the spirituals and the materials, and for the later creation of an intermediate category as a result of historical developments within Christianity, see Jonas, *Gnosis*, 212ff.

³⁷⁹ See, however, *supra* this Chapter, p. 280 note 362.

³⁸⁰ See *supra* p. 280.

³⁸¹ Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.9.1.

Plotinus were stating the same triadic division³⁸². Admittedly, Plotinus' editors have traditionally interpreted this section as a Platonic school polemic against Epicureans and Stoics³⁸³, but interpreters tend to neglect the fact that Plotinus considers a fourth human group along with the other three that allegedly represent Epicureanism, Stoicism and Platonism, namely the class of men who live according to the dictates of sense-perception. An attentive reading, consequently, shows that this Plotinian passage distinguishes not three but four classes of people and that Plotinus does so on the basis of the more basic dichotomy irrationality-rationality, in order to distinguish afterwards three different levels of insight among those that possess rationality. Obviously we are not suggesting a Plotinian influence on our text. We simply intend to show that Plotinus may preserve, like *AA*, the confluence of two different classifications of mankind: on the one hand, a basic differentiation on the basis of the dichotomy rational-irrational or spiritual-sensible; on the other hand, a tripartite division that may result from the triadic conception of the three degrees of virtue³⁸⁴. Having analysed these preliminary issues let us now concentrate on *AA*'s conception of man.

3.2. *AA*'s Conception of Man

AA's combination of bipartite and tripartite schemes in its classification of mankind is also at work in its conception of man at a particular level. This combination is clear in *AA*'s distinction between a transcendent and an immanent man and in its conception of the latter as consisting of body (gk áU), soul (mi l \) and intellect (bci †).

3.2.1. Transcendent Man

This basic dichotomy between a visible, physical being engaged in sense-perception and an invisible, incorporeal one that glances at the intelligible world appears to be of a Platonic coinage. Appearances, however, are deceptive, for unlike in the Platonic conception, this true and essential man is not identified with the soul or its higher part endowed with reason, but rather with his intellect³⁸⁵.

³⁸² Dillon, 'Three Classes', 69-71.

³⁸³ See R. Harder, *Plotins Schriften*. Vol. 1b *Anmerkungen zu den Schriften 1-21 der chronologischen Reihenfolge* (Hamburg, 1956) 426-27; A. H. Armstrong, *Plotinus V: Enneads V. 1-9* (Cambridge, 1984) 286 note 1.

³⁸⁴ See *supra* Chapter 4, § 4.3.1, pp. 225-30 and *infra* this Chapter, § 5.3.1, pp. 331-32.

³⁸⁵ For Plato's conception, see *Phdr.* 247b 7, where in spite of the apparent trichotomy intellect, soul, body, the bci † is the guiding principle of the soul. On the issue, A.P. Bos, 'The Distinction between "Platonic" and "Aristotelian" Dualism Illustrated from Plutarch's Myth in *de facie in orbe lunae*', in A. Pérez Jiménez and F. Casadesús (eds), *Estudios sobre Plutarco. Misticismo y religiones místicas en la obra de Plutarco* (Madrid and Málaga, 2001) 57-70 at 61.

3.2.1.1. The Concept of the Essential Man

AA's distinction between a true and an untrue nature in man pervades our fragment. However, *AA*'s fragment in *V* never refers to it by means of the metaphor of the 'inner man', either in its Platonic (cf. *Uhefk dc^*)³⁸⁶ or in its Pauline variant (cf. *Uhefk dc^*)³⁸⁷. In order to define this superior or actually existent side of a human being, *AA* speaks of the 'own, true nature' (*Uhefk dc^*)³⁸⁸, of 'essence' (*ci g]k*)³⁸⁹ or, on occasion, simply uses the term 'man' (*Uhefk dc^*)³⁹⁰. This terminological diversity already indicates a semantic difference between *AA*'s conception of this real or essential man and the Platonic idea of the 'inner man' as man's soul. But what does this 'essential man' mean in *AA*? Let us look for some parallels.

References to the essential man are numerous in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. According to the thirteenth tractate, man's nature is clearly dual because it distinguishes between the physical body, which can be dissolved and is mortal, and the 'essential generation', which is indissoluble and immortal³⁹¹. This is also the case in the *Asclepius*, which explicitly states that only man has a double nature, namely a simple and divine nature, which is called essential (*ci g]k*)³⁹², and another material one (*i fl]_c#*), which is formed out of the four elements³⁹³. In spite of the positive view of the latter due to Stoic influence³⁹³, *Asclepius* nevertheless stresses the higher quality of man's 'essential' part by describing it as 'divine', 'eternal' and 'substantial'³⁹⁴ and by asserting that it is through this part that man ascends to heaven³⁹⁵. A similar approach can be found in the ninth tractate *On Sensation and Intellection*. After stating that the combination of sense perception and intellection is typically human, this treatise asserts that not every man partakes in intellection. While those akin to the body (*i fl]_c#*) seem to receive a sort of inferior understanding from demons, the 'essential man' (*ci g]k*)³⁹⁶ is essentially (*ci g]k*)³⁹⁶ saved or preserved by God³⁹⁶.

³⁸⁶ Plato, *Rep.* 588-589.

³⁸⁷ 2Cor 4:16; Eph 3:16. See also Origen, *C. Cels.* 6.63. On the Pauline use, see W. Burkert, 'Verso Platone e Paolo: l'essere umano "interno"', in his *Antichità classica e cristianesimo antico* (Cosenza, 2000) 117-50; see also H.D. Betz, 'The Concept of the "Inner Human Being" (cf. *Uhefk dc^*) in the Anthropology of Paul', *NTS* 46 (2000) 315-41.

³⁸⁸ *V*^r 134-35, 217.

³⁸⁹ *V*^r 96-97.

³⁹⁰ *V*^r 85-90.

³⁹¹ *C.H.* 13.14 (206.12-14 N-F), *hcYU]ge\hcY h^ Zi gYk ^ gk aU dcfk eYbeYgh] h^ ci g]k Xci ^ [YbgeYk ^ hcYäY [Ufe Ygh] X]U' i hcbz hcYXU]Uca hcbz_U]hcYäY eb\hcbz hcYXU]Uca hcbz*

³⁹² Man's duality in *Asclep.* 7 (304.2-6 N-F); 8 (305.15-306.2 N-F); 11 (309.5-6 N-F); 22 (324.18 N-F).

³⁹³ Gersh, *Middle Platonism*, 379ff.

³⁹⁴ *Asclep.* 10 (309.3 N-F); 22 (324.18 N-F); 22 (323.25 N-F), 'divine'; *Asclep.* 8 (306.4 N-F), 'eternal'; for 'substantial' or 'essential', see *supra*, note 331.

³⁹⁵ *Asclep.* 10 (308.23-309.1 N-F).

³⁹⁶ *C.H.* 9.5 (98.13-17 N-F), *ci dU^ XYUhefk dc^zk e dfcY]dcbzUdc` Ui d^ h^ bc\gYk ^zUe` ficäYi e]_cözc c XYci g]k X^ . cäY [U]äYhU]U_]e^ i e]_cözk e YäbzUdcYk p XU]acbk b hcYgdYfaU h^ bc\gYk ^]g] Y]zc]c*

Some Nag Hammadi texts present a similar dualistic view of man. Some cases explicitly preserve the opposition exterior-interior or visible-not visible and contrast the inner and true man with the external and material, sensible being, as in the aforementioned passages of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. Thus, for example, *The Interpretation of Gnosis*, where the body is associated with the rulers and authorities and described as an imprisonment of the ‘man within’³⁹⁷. In other cases, however, the interest focuses on the true or essential man exclusively, like, for example, *The Letter of Peter to Philip*. In this text, as in the aforementioned passage of the *Asclepius*³⁹⁸ and in *AA*³⁹⁹, it is the ‘inner man’ who ascends to heaven and therefore the archons fight with him⁴⁰⁰.

All these passages provide parallels for *AA*’s conception of man as a dual creature, but they do not explicitly and unequivocally associate the essential man with the intellect as *AA* does. There are, however, a couple of texts in which this equation takes place. In *The Thought of Norea*, for instance, this essential man called Adamas allows Norea to see the pleroma and not to be deficient⁴⁰¹. As in *AA*, this essential man needs to be awakened, reminded of or actualised, but it is through him that she is able to ‘inherit the first mind which <she> had received’⁴⁰². We also have two interesting texts in the *Corpus Hermeticum*⁴⁰³. We are referring to the tenth Hermetic treatise *The Key* and to *Poimandres*. According to the former, once knowledge has illuminated man’s intellect and soul, it draws man upwards and transforms the individual in ‘essence’, by which he forgets all sense-perception and movement and remains in repose⁴⁰⁴. The clearest example, however, proceeds from *Poimandres*. According to its testimony, only man among all animals possesses a dual nature: while he is mortal through his body, he is immortal through the essential man⁴⁰⁵. The text further describes both the true nature and the current imprisonment of the anthropos. This

XYā YhUŷci |UŷUeci |ci g|k Xk ŷ i dēŷci |eYci |g1 ncaŷbc|. This particular treatise, however, seems to conceive the distinction between human types not on the basis of a natural but of a cultural difference. All humans are created by the demiurge in likeness to him (*C.H.* 9.5, 98.17-20 N-F). It is only man’s use of his capabilities that determines his belonging to the one or to the other group.

³⁹⁷ *InterprKnow* (NHC XI, 1) 6.30-35. For a similar but more general opposition see *SentSextus* (NHC XII, 1) 34.16-20; *GosPhil* (NHC II, 3) 123, 82.30-83.9.

³⁹⁸ *Asclep.* 10, see *supra* this Chapter, note 394-95.

³⁹⁹ V^r 85-101.

⁴⁰⁰ *EpPetPhil* (NHC VIII, 2) 137.20-23. For the trichotomic conception of man and for the ‘inner man’ as man’s spiritual part, see M.W. Meyer, *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (Michigan, 1981) 142. See also H.G. Bethge, *Der Brief des Petrus an Philippus* (Berlin, 1997) 110-11.

⁴⁰¹ *Norea* (NHC IX, 2) 28.24-29.5. On the bci ŷ in the present passage, which characterises both the Gnostic soul and God, see B.A. Pearson – S. Giversen, ‘The Thought of Norea’, in B.A. Pearson (ed), *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X* (Leiden, 1981) ad 28.18-19 and 28.30-29.2.

⁴⁰² *Norea* (NHC IX, 2) 28.3-5.

⁴⁰³ See also the passages quoted by Nock-Festugière, *Corpus*, 103 note 21.

⁴⁰⁴ *C.H.* 10.6 (115.14-19 N-F).

⁴⁰⁵ *C.H.* 1.15 (11.18-22 N-F).

essential man ‘even if he is immortal and has authority over all things, is affected by mortality because he is subject to fate; thus, although man is above the cosmic framework, he became a slave within it’⁴⁰⁶. The similarities between *AA* and *Poimandres* are interesting. Both texts not only call the essential man anthropos, but also equate him with the ‘intellect’ (bci ↑) or ‘rational man’ (Zfc#]ac^Ub\#)⁴⁰⁷. Most of the Hermetic and Gnostic texts quoted above implicitly or explicitly associate this essential man with man’s noetic activity. In *Poimandres*, however, we find exactly the same conception of the anthropos that we see in *AA*. On the one hand, as we will see below, the anthropos is the ‘transcendent man’ created in the likeness of the Father and, on the other, the highest aspect of terrestrial man, that is, the intellectual part of his being that is in connection with the divine intelligible essence.

3.2.1.2. The Divine Element in Man: the Intellect

In line with the preceding parallels, *AA* does not follow the Platonic conception of the ‘inner man’ as the higher aspect of human soul endowed with reason. The ‘essential man’ or divine element in man is instead his intellect, which is not only the highest aspect of man but is also clearly differentiated from the soul and the body. This conception is interesting, for unlike the testimonies in a more Platonic tradition, *AA* does not seem to place special importance on human soul, which although certainly of higher rank than the physical body it can nevertheless be considered as part of man’s inferior being. Admittedly, *AA* repeatedly mentions the human soul and the term *mi l \ #* may refer either to this intermediary part between intellect and body or to the whole person⁴⁰⁸. However, when *AA* describes or refers to the divine element in humans that transcends physical existence and can be liberated from the constrictions of the realm of movement, our text exclusively refers to the intellect and considers both soul and body as obstacles to this liberation⁴⁰⁹.

AA’s position on the issue is noteworthy, since numerous testimonies of the period significantly hesitate concerning the precise nature of the divine element in man. This hesitation is stressed (ridiculed?) by Celsus when he refers to ‘those who hope that they will possess their *soul or mind* eternally with God, whether they wish to call this mind spiritual, or holy and blessed intellectual spirit, or a living soul, or a supercelestial and indestructible offspring of a divine and incorporeal nature, or whatever nature they care to give it’⁴¹⁰. This hesitation is also evident in the heresiologists’ interpretation of the nature of the Gnostic

⁴⁰⁶ *C.H.* 1.15 (11.20-12.1 N-F), transl. Copenhaver.

⁴⁰⁷ *V^r* 93, 130-31.

⁴⁰⁸ *V^r* 85, 128-29, respectively.

⁴⁰⁹ *V^r* 83-101.

⁴¹⁰ Celsus, *ap.* Origen, *C. Cels.* 8.49, translation, H. Chadwick (my italics).

mi l U]d^ gd]be\# or ‘scintilla animae’, namely the ‘divine spark’ or portion of the intelligible light in man. Whereas according to some testimonies this Gnostic metaphor referred either to the soul or to the dbYi aU or ‘spirit’⁴¹¹, according to others this spark is clearly identified with the bci ↑ or ‘intellect’⁴¹².

By contrast, *AA* does not hesitate and clearly conceives the intellect as man’s divine element. A similar conception appears in the *Treatise on Resurrection*, which states that neither the minds of those who have known the Son of Man nor their thoughts shall perish⁴¹³. The same holds for the *Paraphrasis of Shem*, where the pneumatic race is exalted by their partaking in the mind of the light⁴¹⁴ and in which salvation is achieved by those ‘who possess the mind and the mind of the light of the spirit’⁴¹⁵. The *Gospel of Mary*, however, presents a more explicit description of the role and character of man’s intellect. After Mary relates to the Saviour that she has seen a vision of him, he says to her ‘Blessed are you, that you did not waver at the sight of me. For where the mind is, there is the treasure’⁴¹⁶. Mary does not seem to understand, because she asks whether he who sees a vision sees it through the soul or through the spirit. Jesus’ answer, then, leaves no doubt about his view: ‘he does not see through the soul nor through the spirit, but the mind which [is] between the two – that is [what] sees the vision’⁴¹⁷. The same ideas pervade the *Teaching of Silvanus*, which presents a triadic conception of man formed out a physical body, a soul and a ‘divine mind which has come into being in conformity with the image of God. The divine mind has the substance of God’⁴¹⁸. As in *AA*, liberation from the constrictions of the body and the soul takes place when the intellect by means of the light looks to things above⁴¹⁹.

It is obvious that, even though lacking the spark metaphor, *AA* conceives of man’s intellect as a portion of divine light⁴²⁰. This godly spark, however, appears to be numb under

⁴¹¹ See Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.13.3; Satornil *ap.* Epiphanius, *Pan.* 37.4.1-3; Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 1.3; 3.1 generally refers to the spark and identifies it in 53.5 as \ft c[]_\Rci EU#]U^mi l \#r ‘rational soul’.

⁴¹² Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.19.13-17; 10.11.7-10 at 10.11.10, where the gd]be\# is explicitly explained with bci ↑.

⁴¹³ *TreatRes* (NHC I, 4) 46.22-24. On the issue M.L. Peel, *The Epistle to Rheginos: a Valentinian Letter of the Resurrection: Introduction, Translation, Analysis and Exposition* (Philadelphia, 1969) 114 note 25 and ‘Treatise on Resurrection’, 173; Layton, *Treatise*, 71-72. Both scholars suggest conspicuous similarities between our treatise’s and Aristotle’s conception of the intellect, on which see *infra*, pp. 287ff.

⁴¹⁴ *ParaphShem* (NHC VII, 1) 24.15-30.

⁴¹⁵ *ParaphShem* (NHC VII, 1) 35.1-5.

⁴¹⁶ *GosMary* (BG I) 10.14-16, which, incidentally, appears to be an echo of Matt 6:21 and Luke 12:34.

⁴¹⁷ *GosMary* (BG I) 10.20-23.

⁴¹⁸ *TeachSilv* (NHC VII, 4) 92.23-26, the trichotomic conception in 92.10-32.

⁴¹⁹ *TeachSilv* (NHC VII, 4) 102.34ff, ‘My son, do not allow your mind to stare downward,| but rather let | it look by means of the light | at things above. | For the light will always come from above. | Even if it (*scil.* the mind) is upon the earth, | let it seek to pursue the | things above. Enlighten your | mind with the light of heaven | so that you may turn to the light of heaven’, transl. M. Peel and J. Zandee. Compare this text with *AA*’s section V^r 91-101.

⁴²⁰ V^r 91-93.

by Aristotle when he opposes the *noûs* or ‘intellect’ to the *psuchê* or ‘soul’⁴²⁹. Aristotle not only denies immortality to the human soul, but repeatedly states that the intellect is man’s most divine and only eternal element⁴³⁰.

As far as the notion of the potentiality and actuality of the intellect is concerned, its origin can be traced back to a key passage in the Aristotelian *On the Soul*⁴³¹ or, more precisely, to the abundant discussions generated by this section within and beyond the Peripatos. Aristotle distinguishes in this passus between two intellects or between two aspects of human intellect. On the one hand, he refers to a potential and passive intellect that becomes all things and, on the other, to an active intellect that makes all things. So far so good, but Aristotle’s comparison in the following lines of the active intellect to light would give rise to numerous speculations about the nature and the relationship between these two intellects. According to the Philosopher, the active intellect might be compared to ‘a kind of positive state (ἄνεμα) like ‘light’; for in a sense light makes potential into actual colours’. Even though Aristotle seems to be concerned with two aspects of the same intellect, the ambiguity of the passus leaves room for the interpretation that there is a causal relationship between both intellects. This ambiguity and the fact that Aristotle defines the active intellect as ‘separable, impassive and unmixed’ would facilitate its later identification with the intelligence of *Metaphysics* XII and with the ‘adventitious intellect’ of *Generation of Animals*⁴³².

Paul Moraux has shown that this important section of *On the Soul* was at the core of the philosophical discussion in the first century BC. On the one hand, the Peripatetic Xenarchos appears to have identified the passive intellect of the Aristotelian passage with matter⁴³³. On the other, Aetius’ *Placita* attribute to Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, Xenocrates and Cleanthes the theory that the ‘intellect comes in man from without’, the wording of which

⁴²⁹ E. Barbotin, *La théorie aristotélicienne de l'intellect d'après Théophraste* (Louvain, 1954) 220; A.H. Armstrong, ‘Aristotle in Plotinus. The Continuity and Discontinuity of Psyche and Nous’, in H. Blumenthal and H. Robinson (eds), *Aristotle and the Later Tradition* (Oxford, 1991) 117-27 at 117-18. This differentiation is also stressed by Atticus, fr. 7 Des Places (ap. Eusebius, *PE* XV.9.14). See Merlan, *Greek Philosophy*, 73-74 and Bos ‘Aristotelian and Platonic Dualism’, 227 note 16 and *The Soul and Its Instrumental Body. A Reinterpretation of Aristotle's Philosophy of Living Nature* (Leiden / Boston, 2003) 216-29; Luttikhuisen, ‘Traces of Aristotelian Thought’, 190.

⁴³⁰ Aristotle, *EN* 1177b 26-1178a 2: the intellect as divine element in man by which he achieves complete happiness and partakes in the divine. See his conclusion in *EN* 1178a 2-7, that the intellect is man’s true self; *EN* 1179a 22-32, the man who lives according to his intellect, that is, the man who pursues intellectual activity, cultivates his intellect and keeps it in the best condition is the most beloved of the Gods; *EE* 1248a 24-29, where the intellect is said to be man’s highest element and to be connected with God; *De an.* 430a 23-25; *Metaph. @*, 1072b 23-26; *PA* 656a 8; 10; 686a 27-28; *GA* 736b 28; 737a 8-11; *Protr.* fr. 108 Düring. See Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus* I, 230 and additional bibliography in note 24.

⁴³¹ Aristotle, *De an.* 3.5.

⁴³² Aristotle, *GA* 736b 27ff.

⁴³³ Philoponus, *De an.* 15.65-69 Verbeke.

a bci ↑ _UhfYbY#f Y]Ub' or 'active intellect' that thinks all things in one single act of apprehension⁴³⁹. There appears here also a relation of causality between both intellects: the actualisation of the Cosmic-intellect takes place owing to the 'ordering' bestowed by the first or highest intellect, namely the first God (dfk lhc^ eYc#)⁴⁴⁰. After this, the Cosmic-intellect is fully actualised and can operate in the sublunary world.

The culmination of the Aristotelian noetics appears in the interpretation of Alexander of Aphrodisias. For Alexander, too, there is a 'material intellect' in man that develops together with the other bodily parts and functions and as such dissolves with the body after death. However, this material, potential intellect that might be compared to the 'unwrittenness'⁴⁴¹ of a blackboard can be transformed, once it has been instructed, into the 'acquired intellect', which thus is the 'form and perfection' of the former. Whereas the material intellect can only perceive intelligibles in the presence of sensibles, once it has been actualised the acquired intellect can perceive them without the aid of sensorial perception⁴⁴². By thinking the forms, the acquired intellect becomes itself the forms, for in the act of knowing the subject that knows and the thing known become one single reality⁴⁴³. Alongside these two intellects or double aspects of human intellect, Alexander includes the divine or 'productive intellect'. This intelligence is not only an intelligible in the highest degree (_i f]k^ bc\hc#), but also transcendent, pure, changeless, immaterial and everlasting⁴⁴⁴. Most important is that this intellect comes into man from without and is the cause (U]k^c^) of the human material intellect and the acquired intellect's turning into actuality. This adventitious intelligence transforms the capability to think first into the ability to think and finally into

⁴³⁸ Plutarch, *De an. procr. Tim.* 1024c-d. See also 1026f, where God is said to originate this process of reversion. On the issue P. Thévenaz, *L'âme du monde: le devenir et la matière chez Plutarque; avec une traduction [du grec] du traité «De la genèse de l'âme dans le 'Timée'» (1re partie)* (Diss. Neuchâtel, 1938) 71ff.

⁴³⁹ Alcinous, *Didask.* 164.18-19, YfY]EXYfmi l \ ↑ bci ↑ U#Y]bk b"

⁴⁴⁰ Alcinous, *Didask.* 164.22; 31; 176.9. See the parallels to this idea collected by Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 102 note 181. See also Alcinous' differentiation in *Didask.* 181.44 between a supercelestial and a celestial God. On the latter issue, Dörrie, 'Zum Ursprung', 339 note 5. For the opposition Yfci fU]k^ / i hfci fU]k^, see Plato, *Phdr.* 247c 3; Apuleius, *De Plat.* 1.11.204; *Asclep.* 27 (332.8-13 N-F); Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.5.4; *Acta Thomae* 80 (Bonnet 196.9-10); Plotin, *Enn.* 5.8.3.27-36. Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 138 note 459.

⁴⁴¹ Translation by Merlan, *Monopsychism*, 14.

⁴⁴² Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 85.20-26.

⁴⁴³ Of prime importance for the transformation of human into divine intelligence is Alexander's restatement of the Aristotelian theory concerning the identity of subject and object in the intellect's act of knowing things without matter (Aristotle, *De an.* 430a 2-4; 431a 1-3; *Metaph.* 1072b 20-22; 1074b 38-1075a 5). Before this act, the knowing faculty and the thing known stand apart and are opposed as members of a relationship. When they are actualised their opposition disappears and they become a single reality. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 86.23-28; see further Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.9.5.30-31.

⁴⁴⁴ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 88.23-89.12.

actual thinking, by providing the intellect with pure intelligibles⁴⁴⁵. Therefore, on the one hand it causes the material intellect to be intelligible. On the other hand, as it is the cause of the intelligibles it provides the material intellect with intelligibles in order for it to fulfil its activity, that is, thinking⁴⁴⁶. But the extrinsic intelligence does more. When the acquired intellect thinks the productive one it becomes ‘in some way’ (dk ^ []#YhU) the productive intellect. Consequently, whoever wishes to have something divine in himself should think something of this order⁴⁴⁷.

Given the relevance of the issue within and beyond the Peripatetic school, it is plausible that discussions and interpretations of *On the Soul* 3.4-5 provided a model for the explanation both for the trichotomic conception of man conceived as a body, a soul and an intellect and for man’s relationship with the divine. *AA* not only considers the intellect as the highest aspect of a human being but also includes the notion of God’s intervention as the extrinsic activity that makes actual what the blessed race possesses potentially⁴⁴⁸. Even though man possesses the capability to think, this capability seems to be numb under the influence of his soul and externals⁴⁴⁹. Owing to the ‘light of logos’, however, this capability is transformed into ability. Once so far, the intellect can recover its original condition, it can become itself immaterial, light and intellectual. By thinking the intelligibles, or God, the human intellect becomes itself an intelligible, that is, man divinises himself⁴⁵⁰.

3.2.1.3. The Fall of the Divine Element

Given the fact that man is intrinsically related to God and that their relationship is of the type *quod propter alia, id maximum tale*⁴⁵¹, *AA* has to explain how human intellect has been

⁴⁴⁵ The causality of the productive on the material intelligence is of ‘the type “whatever is eminently some kind of being imparts this kind of being to everything which is less eminently the same kind of being”’, Merlan, *Monopsychism*, 39.

⁴⁴⁶ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 88.26-89.11, Yb dUg]b [UY hc Ya Uo dghU _U] Y i f | ke ^ h] cb _U] Y hc] ^ Ua ` c] ^ U] h] cb hci ; Y] bU] : hc] ci be] ^" hcdY [UY a Uo dghU cfUhc bzhc] ci hcb XY hc YZk ^ z _U] Y hc] ^ Ua ` c] ^ hc] ^ cfUhc] ^ U] h] cb hci ; Y] bU] cfUhc] ^ z Ue : UY _U] Y hc Ya Uo dghU _U] Y df k bk ^ U] Uec Y _U] Y hc] ^ Ua ` c] ^ U] Uec] ^ U] h] cb hci ; Y] bU] hc] ci be] ^ . hUY UY Ua ` U U] Ue UY h ^ jdfc Y hci hc gi bhY Y] ce _f] bY hU] " _U] Y hc Ya Uo dghU X Y U] Y h ^ ; U i hci ; Zi gY] bc \ hc Y i Ec bk ^ U] h] cb _U] Y h ^ h k p Ua ` k b bc \ gY k ^ hc] ci hcb XY cb Y] a Ub c d c] \ h] _ c Y bci ^ " Y] f UY a \ Y b h] bc \ hc Y Zi gY] z ci Xfi Ub hk p Ua ` k b h] bc \ hc Y Y] bY hc z k c dfc Y] fa hU] " Yb [UY dUg] b Yb c] B hc Ya Yb _i f | ke ^ h] oY g h] bz hc Y Y X i h Y k ^ z hc Y X i h Y k ^ dUf UY hci ; _i f | ke ^ hc Y] bU] Ya Y] " Ya] z Y] fc d c] ci hc ^ bci ^ hc Y dfk hcb U] h] cb z c U] h] be _U] Y U] \ Y hci ; Y] bU] dUg] hc] ^ bci a Y be] ^ " _U] Y g h] b c d c] ci hc ^ bci ^ l k f] g hc d e h Y _U] Y d Ue \ Y _U] Y a] [\ Y Ua ` i z U] U b h U i h ; X U Y hc Y k f] Y i Y \ ^ Y] bU] i d U b Y] "

⁴⁴⁷ Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 91.3-5.

⁴⁴⁸ V^r 4-9, 83-90, 205-09 with *supra* this Chapter, § 3.1.2, pp. 279-81 and notes 363 and 365.

⁴⁴⁹ See *supra* this Chapter, note 421.

⁴⁵⁰ V^r 96-101.

⁴⁵¹ See *supra* this Chapter, notes 445 and 446. For this relationship between God and man, see V^r 1-24.

degraded to its present condition. Obviously this degradation cannot be attributed to God's activity, since He has been previously depicted as 'unenvious sharer'⁴⁵².

The idea of a devolution that brings the intellect (or the soul) to the lower abode of physical reality is very widespread in late antiquity. However, when comparing *AA*'s version of this fall with other examples of the period, obvious differences come to the foreground. None of the numerous examples collected and systematised by Festugière on the basis of Iamblichus' overview provides a proper parallel for *AA*'s conception⁴⁵³. On the one hand, the so-called 'optimistic' explanation based on the *Timaeus* presents a rather different view than that of *AA*, as it considers the fall due to the will of God⁴⁵⁴. On the other hand, none of the subcategories included under the so-called 'pessimistic' view suits *AA*, as according to the first one ('fault before the fall') degradation results from the punishment inflicted for the soul's curiosity, audacity, or disobedience⁴⁵⁵. And according to the second subcategory ('fault due to the fall'), devolution arises from the will to create⁴⁵⁶, or from the contact with the demiurgical sphere, or, finally, from the union with physis⁴⁵⁷.

Significantly, *AA* explains the intellect's degradation without recurring to external factors such as the influence of affections or of matter. The devolution that affects the intellect and that will finally cause it to be constrained by externals arises from its own deficiency, which is conceived of as a dispersal or division. *AA* is silent about the cause of this primal dispersion, but it explicitly refers to the intellect's split (ϒhU| eY|#) and to its alienation (U|dc`]ge\gU^)⁴⁵⁸ as the reason for its suffering. As soon as suffering appears, we move to the second stage of devolution, namely the sphere of the soul, which due to its ignorance and affections generates a third and final stage in the process of degradation: the wandering of the intellect and the soul in the realm of Zi g] ^.

⁴⁵² V^r 3-4.

⁴⁵³ For *AA*'s view of this devolution, see V^r 73-82 and *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.2.4 and 4.1, *passim*; Festugière, *La Révélation III*, 73-77; Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 245-46.

⁴⁵⁴ Plotinus, *Enn.*, 4.8.1.41; Iamblichus 378.25 Wachsm.; Alcinous, *Didask.* 178.30; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 76.23-77.11, on this passage L. Painchaud - E. Thomassen, *Le Traité Tripartite* (NHC I, 5) (Québec, 1989) 333-34; see also *AuthTeach* (NHC VI, 3) 26.6-20 and on the issue R. van den Broek, 'The Authentikos Logos', *VChr* 33 (1979) 260-86.

⁴⁵⁵ For example in *Kore Kosmou* 21-24 (IV, 7.6-8.6 N-F), see Festugière, *La Révélation III*, 83-85.

⁴⁵⁶ *C.H.* 1.11-13 (10.5-11.5 N-F); Gnostics of Plotinus (*Enn.* 2.9.11.21).

⁴⁵⁷ Numenius, fr. 11.16-20 Des Places, on which Festugière, *La Révélation III*, 91-2; Gnostics of Plotinus (*Enn.* 2.9.10.19ff).

⁴⁵⁸ As we shall see below, this dispersion seems also to be implied by Andrew's statement that he corrects Adam's (and the intellect's) imperfection by taking refuge in God (V^r 78-79) and by his description of the transcendent intellect as 'having recollected yourself (*scil.* the U|efk dc^) in your true condition' (V^r 93-95). See *infra*, pp. 292-293.

3.2.1.3.1. First Stage of Devolution: the Dispersion of the Intellect

As far as the dispersion of the intellect in *AA* is concerned, its alienation must be explained as a result of the appearance of a discrepancy between subject and object in the intellect's act of knowing⁴⁵⁹. As soon as the object of the intellect's acts of knowing is not the intellect itself, it loses its self-centred activity and, consequently, its unity. As a result, knowledge is no longer a direct and immediate matter and ignorance appears. *AA* is not explicit about the first cause of this discrepancy within the intellect. This silence might simply be due to the fragmentary character of our text, but it is also plausible that *AA* was more interested in the effects than in the cause of this primal dispersal. As a matter of fact, this is also the case in the *Gospel of Truth*, a text that presents many similarities with *AA*'s conceptual background and begins its narration about the fall of the Totality by simply referring to the appearance of ignorance, without explaining how this ignorance originated⁴⁶⁰. According to this text 'oblivion did not come into existence from the Father, although it did come into existence because of him'. It might be that in *AA* ignorance, even though not directly produced by God, is necessarily implied by his transcendence, as the *Gospel of Truth* and the *Tripartite Tractate* seem to imply⁴⁶¹.

Be that as it may, the *Tripartite Tractate* may help us in understanding, if not the primary cause of the intellect's dispersal that *AA* and the *Gospel of Truth* omit, at least its implications. The *Tripartite Tractate* includes a peculiar version of the Valentinian process of devolution, since unlike the versions of Irenaeus⁴⁶² and the *Gospel of Truth* where the suffering is experienced by Sophia and by the Totality, respectively, in the *Tripartite Tractate* it is the Logos that experiences affections. Obviating now the fact that according to its writer the fall of the Logos has been planned by God⁴⁶³, it is interesting to note that, due to the Logos' inability to grasp the ungraspable and to bear the intensity of the light, it 'doubts' and 'looks down to the abyss'⁴⁶⁴. As a result, a 'division' and a 'turning away' take place and these in turn produce the appearance of ignorance and oblivion⁴⁶⁵.

⁴⁵⁹ See *supra* Chapter 4, § 5.1.1, pp. 233-34.

⁴⁶⁰ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 17.10ff.

⁴⁶¹ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.1-3; 18.35-36, on which see Attridge-MacRae, 'The Gospel of Truth', 47. They follow Ménard (*L'Évangile*, 86) in relating our section to Irenaeus, *Adv. haer* 2.17.10 (*magnitudinem enim et virtutem Patris causas ignorantiae dicitis*) and link it with *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 62.12ff, 71.7ff, 121.7-8, where ignorance of the Father arises indirectly from his withholding his essence in virtue of his transcendence.

⁴⁶² Irenaeus, *Adv. haer* 1.2.3; 1.4.1.

⁴⁶³ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 76.23-77.11. See R. Kasser *et alii*, *Tractatus Tripartitus Pars I: De supernis* (Bern, 1973) 340 and Painchaud-Thomassen, *Traité Tripartite*, 333ff.

⁴⁶⁴ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 77.15-20.

⁴⁶⁵ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 77.21-25.

The motif of dispersal of the primal unity is rather widespread in Gnosticism⁴⁶⁶. According to the testimony of the heresiologists, the notion played an important role in the Valentinian system⁴⁶⁷. And indeed, it appears in the *Gospel of Truth*, where the return to the primal unity intends to restore the value lost in the dispersal. Whereas division in this text is a clear sign of deficiency, unity is equated to perfection⁴⁶⁸. Since this deficiency originates in ignorance, it will vanish with the knowledge of the Father and everything will be restored to its original unity: ‘So from that moment on the form is not apparent, but it will vanish in the fusion of Unity, for now their works lie scattered. In time Unity will perfect the spaces. It is within Unity that each one will attain himself; within knowledge he will purify himself from multiplicity into Unity, consuming matter within himself like fire, and darkness by light, death by life’⁴⁶⁹. Also, the *Tripartite Tractate* is clear about the need to restore ‘that which used to be a unity’⁴⁷⁰. Those who live among the multiplicity of forms, inequality and change are restored to this unity when they confess ‘the kingdom which is in Christ’⁴⁷¹. The restoration of what is dispersed is also due to the knowledge received by the perfect man ‘so as to return in haste to his unitary state’⁴⁷².

The motif of dispersal and gathering also appears in a fragment of the Gnostic *Gospel of Eve* preserved by Epiphanius. According to H.M. Schenke, this fragment transmits the Gnostic idea that the Urmensch is scattered among humans: ‘I am thou and thou art I, and wheresoever thou art, there am I; and I am sown in all things. And from wheresoever thou wilt gatherest thou me, but in gathering me, thou gatherest thyself’⁴⁷³. Whereas the revealer is the Urmensch in its original state, he who receives the revelation is the scattered anthropos. By recollecting the anthropos, man recollects himself, that is, he knows himself and restores the dispersal originated by ignorance⁴⁷⁴.

⁴⁶⁶ In general, Jonas, *Gnosis* I, 104-05; 139-40; Orbe, *Cristologia*, 293-98; Luttikhuisen, ‘Gnostic Hermeneutics’, 173-74.

⁴⁶⁷ Heracleon fr. 18 (*ap.* Origen, *In Joh.* 13.11); Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.14.5; 2.12.3; Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 36.2.

⁴⁶⁸ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 24.25-29. Compare Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.16.2, 1.21.4. For the underlying Valentinian technical use of ϩϩϩϩϩϩ or ϩϩϩϩϩϩ , see Haardt, ‘Zur Struktur des Plane-Mythos im Ev. Veritatis des Cod. Jung’, *WZKM* 58 (1962) 33. See also Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90.1 (= Valentinus fr. 5). Further, Ménard, *L’Évangile*, 120 and Attridge-MacRae, ‘The Gospel of Truth’, *ad* 24.21.

⁴⁶⁹ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 25.3-19, transl., H.W. Attridge and G.W. MacRae.

⁴⁷⁰ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 133.7.

⁴⁷¹ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 132.17-18.

⁴⁷² *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 123.6f. For the motif of dispersal and gathering in other Nag Hammadi texts, see *StelesSeth* (NHC VII, 5) 121.9-11; *TrimProt* (NHC XIII, 1) 49.36ff; *Thunder* (NHC VI, 2) 16.19-20; 19.11-14.

⁴⁷³ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26.3.1, transl. F. Williams. See also *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 66.24-25; *ManichKeph.* 228.1-13; *ManPs.* 175.19.

⁴⁷⁴ H.M. Schenke, *Der Gott “Mensch“ in der Gnosis. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion über die paulinische Anschauung von der Kirche als Leib Christi* (Göttingen, 1962) 102-03.

A fragment of the Gnostic *Gospel of Philip*, also preserved by Epiphanius, stresses both the notion of dispersal and its counterpart, viz. the recollection achieved by means of self-knowledge: “‘I have recognized myself”, it saith, “and gathered myself from every quarter, and have sown no children for the archon. But I have pulled up his roots, and gathered my scattered members, and I know who thou art. For I”, it saith, “am of those on high””⁴⁷⁵.

The same notions also appear in Porphyry’s *Letter to Marcella*, where he presents the Neoplatonic inner ascent from multiplicity to unity as the reunion of what was dispersed and scattered⁴⁷⁶. This ascent has an ethical character in a first stage, but afterwards becomes theoretical and finally contemplative⁴⁷⁷. We should not forget that Porphyry was Plotinus’ pupil and that the motif of dispersal and gathering plays a central and mystical role in the system of the latter⁴⁷⁸.

In any case, *AA* clearly refers not only to the division and alienation of the intellect, but also to its imperfection (hcPUhY Y#)⁴⁷⁹. Since Andrew states that he restores the imperfection of the intellect/Adam by taking refuge in God, it seems obvious that the intellect’s original imperfection was its inability to focus its activity on God, as a result of which it was distracted or deviated from its source and origin⁴⁸⁰. This internal discrepancy of the intellect corresponds to the duality between the subject who thinks and the objects of thought and therefore presents a clear parallel to Plotinus’ first hypostasis, which as it presents the duality YB dc` `U#occupies a lower rank of perfection than the One or absolute unity beyond thought⁴⁸¹.

3.2.1.3.2. Second Stage of Devolution: the Soul and the Affections

The ignorance that arises from the intellect’s dispersion is the cause of a second stage of degradation because it originates a series of affections: first of all insecurity and doubt, then fear and, finally, a desire to know, since knowledge can remove all previous affections. *AA* describes these affections by referring both to the intellect’s and to Eve’s ‘suffering’⁴⁸². The aforementioned *Gospel of Truth* presents a very similar exposition, since it puts the main

⁴⁷⁵ Epiphanius, *Pan* 26.13.2. Transl. F. Williams. On this passage, see M. Tardieu, *Trois mythes gnostiques: Adam, Éros et Les animaux d’Égypte dans un écrit de Nag Hammadi (II,5)* (Paris, 1974) 111 and note 176; Orbe, *Cristología*, 295-96. Note the parallelism with *AA*’s passage in V^r 75-77.

⁴⁷⁶ Porphyry, *Ad Marc.* 10; See Jonas, *Gnosis* I, 140; Orbe, *Cristología*, 296-97.

⁴⁷⁷ Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*, 61.

⁴⁷⁸ For Porphyry’s influence on Origen, see Jonas, *Gnosis* II, 177-225; on Augustine, see *De trinit.* 4.11; *Confes.* 10.14; cf. *Ord.* 1.3; see Jonas, *Gnostic Religion*, 61-62.

⁴⁷⁹ V^r 77-78, hcPbXY#; 78-79, hcRUhY Y#.

⁴⁸⁰ So already Orbe, *Cristología*, 162.

⁴⁸¹ Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.1.5; 2.4.5; 5.3.11; 6.7.15; see Dörrie, ‘Zum Ursprung’, 286-87 and notes 7 and 8.

Middle Platonism and Neo Aristotelianism⁴⁹¹. The end of the seventh Hermetic tractate plastically describes the obstacle of the senses, especially sight and hearing, and the need to neutralise their noxious influence⁴⁹². And this is so because otherwise, as the eleventh tractate puts it, it is impossible to understand the things that are beautiful and good⁴⁹³.

3.2.2. Immanent or Terrestrial Man

As a result of this devolution, the transcendent man finds himself imprisoned in the physical realm. The original ignorance has not only not disappeared but has even increased. In addition to this ignorance, however, the intellect will have to cope with other consequences.

3.2.2.1. The Consequences of Man's Fall

AA's description of man's imprisonment in the lower realm is threefold. It first describes the unfree state of the intellect by stressing its oblivion to its true nature and origin⁴⁹⁴. But *AA* also refers to man's bondage by describing the fetters or shackles that keep the soul attached to the realm of movement⁴⁹⁵. Finally, our text points out that as a result of the previous issues, man is lost in the physical realm and that he therefore must cope with the consequences (ΥβΥ#i fU) of this wandering (d` UB\) in the lower, material world⁴⁹⁶. These consequences, namely his dependence on sensorial perception, keep him in captivity (U]LaU` k g]#) ⁴⁹⁷. As we will see now, such a conception of man's condition was extensive in the second and third centuries.

3.2.2.1.1. Man's Oblivion to his Kinship

As far as the notion of obliviousness is concerned, *AA* sometimes explicitly calls it forgetfulness (` \# \), sometimes refers to it by means of the metaphor of sleep and other times implies it by emphasising the need to remember the own true condition⁴⁹⁸. The motif of the soul's oblivion to its true nature and origin due to its contact with matter has an old Platonic tradition. It repeatedly appears in Plato⁴⁹⁹, although especially in the context of his doctrine of

⁴⁹¹ Alcinous, *Didask.* 164.6-19; Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.7, 131-34, on which Theiler, *Vorbereitung*, 7-8; Alexander of Aphrodisias, *De an.* 85.20-26.

⁴⁹² *C.H.* 7.3 (82.2-9 N-F).

⁴⁹³ *C.H.* 11.21 (156.8-9 N-F). See also *C.H.* 1.19 (13.15-16 N-F); 13.7 (203.5-6 N-F); *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 6.9 and *C.H.* 4.6 (51.9-11 N-F).

⁴⁹⁴ V^r 206-08.

⁴⁹⁵ V^r 96-99.

⁴⁹⁶ V^r 213-14.

⁴⁹⁷ V^r 90.

⁴⁹⁸ V^r 250, ` \# \ ; 267, X]i db]nk #YeU/207zi f]cab`gU]. See *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.4, pp. 213-14.

⁴⁹⁹ In Plato the nuances and implications change with the context. In *Phdr.* 248c oblivion seems to be conceived of as a punishment for faults committed by the soul and for its injustice (250a). According to *Phd.* 75d, differently, forgetfulness appears when the soul is born, but knowledge can be recovered by means of the senses. Nevertheless, the soul is said to become 'dizzy' when it comes into contact with matter (79c). More generally the *Timaeus* conceives of oblivion as a sickness of the soul (87a 5-7; 88b 5). Cf. also *Tht.* 201d-202c; *Rep.* 533c; 621a; 621c.

knowledge as ‘remembrance’. This notion, of course, may also be at work in *AA*, but unlike in Plato remembrance does not take place by means of sensorial perception but rather by means of revelation. The motif is also rather extensive in late antiquity and is sometimes explicitly referred to as ἀμνηστία or ‘oblivion’ and other times by means of the metaphor of intoxication (αἵμασι) or of sleep. Both metaphors appear in Philo, who frequently describes the soul’s oblivion as drunkenness due to the soul’s contact with the body⁵⁰⁰ or simply as sleep⁵⁰¹. It further appears in Middle and Neoplatonism, in Gnosticism, in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and in the *Chaldaean Oracles*.

In Middle Platonism the motif of a dormant soul that is oblivious to its role and true nature due to the slumbering of its intelligence plays an important role in the cosmogony. Plutarch is the first one to refer to it explicitly in *On the Generation of the Soul in the Timaeus* (1026e-f). Given the fact that it also appears in Alcinous, who uses the same term (ἄνοησις) to describe the numbness of the Cosmic-soul before God’s ordering⁵⁰², it has been suggested that both authors may rely on an earlier common source⁵⁰³. It is very interesting that Maximus of Tyre uses the same motif, but now applied to the individual, human soul⁵⁰⁴. In his tenth oration, Maximus compares the situation of the soul in the body to that of someone who is overwhelmed by stupor and repletion and the soul’s perception of reality with the ‘dim approximation of one dreaming’⁵⁰⁵. In this situation the sight of the soul by means of which it discerns and understands reality is covered by the thick mist of the physical embodiment⁵⁰⁶. The intervention of reason, however, awakens the soul from its slumber. If ‘forgetfulness’ is the name of the sleep of the soul⁵⁰⁷, ‘knowledge is the awakening and organisation of true opinions’⁵⁰⁸. In his oration *Plato on God*, Maximus pays closer attention to the issues that hinder the intellect’s clear view of the intelligibles. As the intellect is ‘engrafted into the

⁵⁰⁰ Philo, *Sobr.* 2; *Ebr.* 15; 154ff; *Somn.* 2.101ff; *Plant.* 177.

⁵⁰¹ Philo, *Ad Gaium* 269; *Abr.* 70; *Somn.* 1.165.

⁵⁰² Alcinous, *Didask.* 169.32-41; cf. 164.40-165.4.

⁵⁰³ Witt, *Albinus*, 131-32, thinks of a Middle Platonic background; Theiler, *Vorbereitung*, 42, points out similarities with Antiochus; Dodds, *Proclus*, 218, on the basis of the parallelism in Seneca, Alcinous and Maximus of Tyre who refer in the same context to the idea of awakening, suggests Posidonius as a possible origin (*contra* Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 84 note 11); Loenen, ‘Albinus’ *Metaphysics* (II) 51, is inclined to think that Alcinous depends on Plutarch (Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 206, considers this last hypothesis ‘chronologically possible’).

⁵⁰⁴ This does not mean, however, that Alcinous may not have conceived a similar process of awakening in the case of the individual soul, because, as *Didask.* 178.19-21 clearly states, the Cosmic and the human soul have the same nature, ‘since they partake of the same mixture’.

⁵⁰⁵ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.1, 16-19.

⁵⁰⁶ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3, 68-72. Note the parallelism with the aforementioned section of the *Gospel of Truth*, see *supra*, pp. 295-96 and note 483.

⁵⁰⁷ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.6, 159.

⁵⁰⁸ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.6, 140-43.

whole conglomerate of the soul, is pulled this way and that by perception and kept in such a state of confused activity that is unable to maintain a clear view of its proper objects⁵⁰⁹. That Maximus conceives the intellect's situation as an intoxication caused by the surfeit proceeding from sensorial perception is clear in his declaring that is difficult to find a 'sober intellect' (ibid., 1 U YdcB Yi fY]b b\ZcbhU bci b).

It is noteworthy that Maximus includes these ideas in a discussion of that which is more knowable by nature and that which is more knowable to us that is clearly reminiscent of the similar Aristotelian distinction in the *Posterior Analytics* and in the *Physics*⁵¹⁰. Given the Aristotelian context in which this notion appears, it is plausible to think that we have here an echo of Aristotle's definition of sleep as 'inactivity of the soul' in the *Eudemian Ethics*⁵¹¹ and of his distinction in *On the Soul* and in *On Generation of Animals* between two sorts of potentiality, namely potentiality as a plain disposition to do or become something and potentiality as a latent actuality⁵¹². And, in fact, Maximus is explicit in saying that reason (c#c^) 'coming to the soul like a doctor, does not bring and implant understanding (Yd]gh\#), like something the soul did not possess; instead, it reawakens the understanding it does possess, but which is dim and constrained and torpid'⁵¹³.

A similar background can be traced in Plotinus, for he describes his 'awakening' out of the body and his coming into contact with the divinity and with the realm of intellect as a 'supreme actuality'⁵¹⁴. As a matter of fact, later on, Neo-Platonists such as Porphyry would also establish this differentiation between two sorts of potentiality and would compare the latent actuality to sleep⁵¹⁵. Be that as it may, the notion of the body as a hindrance for the soul's remembrance is a well-established issue in later Neoplatonism as well⁵¹⁶.

The notions of sleep and intoxication are also present in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. The end of *Poimandres* refers to the ignorance of God as 'drunkenness and sleep' and advises anyone who 'is bewitched in unreasoning sleep' to become sober and to put an end to his

⁵⁰⁹ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.7, 141-43. Cf. *C.H. Stobaeus* fr. 1.2 (3.5-7 F)

⁵¹⁰ Aristotle, *APo.* 71b 33f; *Ph.* 184a 15ff.

⁵¹¹ Aristotle, *EE* 1219b 19ff.

⁵¹² Aristotle, *De an.* 417b 29ff; *GA* 735a 9-11. See also *EN* 1157b 5-11. On the Aristotelian influence on Alcinous see Mansfeld, 'Three Notes', 65; Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 84; Dillon, *Alcinous*, 164. See our paraphrase of the Aristotelian distinction *supra*, p. 280-81.

⁵¹³ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3, 72-76.

⁵¹⁴ Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.8.1.

⁵¹⁵ Porphyry, *Ad Gaur.* 33.14-18; 22-23. Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 84-85.

⁵¹⁶ Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.23.26, 50-57; Porphyry, *Sent.* 29.2, p. 14.17; *Ad Marc.* 6, p. 278.2; *Ad Gaur.* 34; Iamblichus, *De myst.* 3.20, p. 148.3f; Proclus, *In pr. Eucl. el. lib.* 47.1-4; *In Alcib.* 226.6-7; 472.20; 502.3; 545.14; *In Parm.* 670.16; *In Tim.* 1.82.30; Synesius, *Insomn.* 5, 1296b.

drunken sickness⁵¹⁷. According to *The Key* this ignorance is begotten by the soul when it comes into contact with the body⁵¹⁸.

The theme is also recurrent in Gnosticism. It appears in the *Tripartite Tractate*⁵¹⁹ and in the *Apocryphon of John* as simple oblivion⁵²⁰. Of all the Nag Hammadi parallels, however, the *Gospel of Truth* presents the closest similarities to *AA*. We shall return to this text in a moment. It also appears in the ‘Hymn of the Pearl’ of the *Acts of Thomas*⁵²¹, in the *Odes of Salomon* and in the *Chaldaean Oracles*⁵²².

As already suggested, the most interesting parallel to *AA*’s conception appears in the *Gospel of Truth*. Like *AA*, this text includes two different treatments of ignorance and oblivion. The first one, the ignorance of the Father that causes the appearance of affections, we have already seen above⁵²³. It is the second one that interests us in the present context. Whereas ignorance had produced affections, affections in turn produce many illusions and the slumber of oblivion into which people sink: ‘since it was terror and disturbance and instability and doubt and division, there were many illusions at work by means of these, and (there were) empty fictions, as if they were sunk in sleep and found themselves in disturbing dreams’⁵²⁴. As in *AA*, the oblivion and ignorance of the true origin and nature create the treacherous dream in which people waste their time among ephemeral evils, among empty fictions⁵²⁵. This emphasis on illusions or fictions marks off the thought common to the *Gospel of Truth* and *AA*, because in both texts, differently from the previous examples, individuals are not simply passive victims of deceitful externals or inappropriate sensorial perceptions; they rather seem actively to work to prolong or enhance their ignorant sleep⁵²⁶.

3.2.2.1.2. The Fetters of Materiality

In so far as the fetters or shackles of life in the sublunary realm are concerned, *AA* explicitly refers both to the fetters belonging to the realm of generation — that is, man’s dependence upon the processes of coming-to-be and passing-away— and to those beyond the realm of

⁵¹⁷ *C.H.* 1.27 (16.21-23 N-F); see also *C.H.* 7.1-2 (81.14-82.1 N-F).

⁵¹⁸ *C.H.* 10.15 (120.18-21 N-F).

⁵¹⁹ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 77.22-25; 82.25-32.

⁵²⁰ For example in *ApJohn* (NHC III, 1) 29.1-3. On the issue in *ApJohn* and other Gnostic texts see G. MacRae, ‘Sleep and Awakening in Gnostic Texts’, in U. Bianchi (ed), *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo* (Leiden, 1967) 496-507.

⁵²¹ *ATH* 108ff, on which G.P. Luttikhuisen, ‘The Hymn of Jude Thomas, the Apostle, in the Country of the Indians’, in Bremmer, *Acts of Thomas*, 101-14.

⁵²² *OdSal.* 11.8; 38.12; 2.266; 2.291; *Or.Chald.* 109 and 171; Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 190 note 53 and O. Geudtner, *Die Seelenlehre der chaldäischen Orakel* (Meisenheim an Glan, 1971) 25-27.

⁵²³ See *supra*, pp. 292ff.

⁵²⁴ *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 28.32-29.11.

⁵²⁵ V^r 205-14.

⁵²⁶ Note the detailed description of this in *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 29.11-30.4.

generation⁵²⁷. As we already suggested these latter shackles must be interpreted as referring either to the *heimarmene* or fate influenced by the astral bodies or, more likely, to the control the powers and authorities have on human beings⁵²⁸. *AA* clearly refers to the influence exerted on humans by these powers when it says that the *Uhefkdc^*, once he frees himself, is ‘more powerful than those who seemed to oppress him’⁵²⁹. This bondage is explicitly referred to as *hUR(scil. XYgaU)Pi fYp [YBYg]b*.

The other fetters, the shackles of the realm of genesis (*hUPdYf]P[YbYgYk ^*) must be interpreted as the limitations imposed by the physical body and its being subject to the processes of generation and corruption. Besides, Andrew explicitly refers to these bondages by pregnantly referring to the tortures ‘belonging to the prison’⁵³⁰, which obviously refers both to his confinement in prison and to his body⁵³¹, as the following lines clearly show⁵³² and the similar double meaning of *XYgak h\#]cb* ‘prison’ seems to confirm⁵³³.

This latter use of *XYgaU#* has an old tradition that relates the term both to the Orphic conception of the body as a prison and to the Platonic myth of the cave, which also conceives the material world and human body as the shackles that tie up the soul⁵³⁴. Plato himself in the *Phaedo* already brings the Orphic view⁵³⁵ into close connection with the Pythagorean one attributed to Philolaus that sees in the body a grave⁵³⁶.

The motif was taken a step further when the relationship of the soul with the body was compared to being tied up to a corpse. Aristotle in the *Protrepticus* reports the opinion of those who believe that for man being born is a sort of punishment. In this context he compares the union of soul and body to the torture applied by Tyrrhenian pirates who tied up their

⁵²⁷ V^r 97-98.

⁵²⁸ See *supra*, pp. 246-50.

⁵²⁹ V^r 88-89. For the whole section and its concentric structure, see *supra*, Chapter 3, note 65.

⁵³⁰ V^r 108-09, *_UhYp\Pa\Bcbh]ak fY]gek VUgUbc]^ hU]↑_UhUPU#XYgaU#_h`"*

⁵³¹ This conceptual pregnancy already appears in the Platonic use of *Zfci fU#(Phd. 62b)*. See *infra* this Chapter, note 549.

⁵³² V^r 109-12.

⁵³³ See also Plato, *Crat.* 400c.

⁵³⁴ Plato, *Rep.* 514a-515c; 516e 9; 523b 6; see also *Phd.* 67d 1, philosophy as providing liberation from the bodily fetters; 82e 2, the soul tied up to the body and forced to perceive through its means (= prison); *Tim.* 43a 5 and 44b 1, the soul tied up and subject to the body.

⁵³⁵ For the Orphic view, see fr. D-K 1 B 3 and J. Mansfeld, ‘Bad World and Demiurge: a “Gnostic” Motif from Parmenides and Empedocles to Lucretius and Philo’, in R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren (eds), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions presented to G. Quispel on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Leiden, 1981) 261-314 at 292.

⁵³⁶ Plato, *Phd* 62b-e; see Philolaus D-K 44 B 14, on which Huffman, *Philolaus*, 402-06, who includes it among the spurious or doubtful fragments. About the difference between the Orphic and Pythagorean view see Mansfeld, ‘Bad World’, 292-93.

prisoners to dead bodies⁵³⁷. This passage seems to have had a great impact among late antiquity writers, since it is paraphrased by Clement of Alexandria in order to describe the relationship of idolaters to the idols, by Iamblichus and it even came, through Cicero's *Hortensius*, to the attention of Augustine⁵³⁸. Given the fragmentary character of the passage, the question as to whether or not this was really Aristotle's opinion is uncertain. However, this view is coherent with the opinion held by one of the interlocutors of the Aristotelian dialogue *Eudemus*, who introduces the relation of Silenus to king Midas in order to support his statement that for man the best is not to have been born⁵³⁹. Since it has been suggested that king Philip of Macedonia might have been one of the conversation partners, it has also been suggested that Aristotle might have been the leading interlocutor⁵⁴⁰. Even if at first sight these opinions might seem to contradict the general tenor of Aristotelian philosophy, as a matter of fact the *Corpus Aristotelicum* frequently stresses man's un-free condition due to his dependence upon externals⁵⁴¹ and consequently defends contemplative life as the only means to supersede his external constrictions⁵⁴².

This conception of the relationship of the soul to the body is widely attested in the first centuries of the era. It appears several times in Philo, who not only speaks of the relationship soul-body as a bondage, but even compares human body to a tomb⁵⁴³ or to a prison (Xγgakh#c⁵⁴⁴ or Y|fl_h#c⁵⁴⁵) and stresses the need of getting rid of these fetters. In Middle Platonic context the notion appears in Plutarch, as the aforementioned fragment of the Aristotelian *Eudemus* clearly shows⁵⁴⁶. Also Ammonius, according to the testimony of Porphyry, seems to have spoken of the relationship soul-body in terms of bondage (Xγgac#)⁵⁴⁷ and Alcinous conceives the goal of philosophy as 'the freeing and turning around of the soul

⁵³⁷ Aristotle, *Protr.* fr. B 106 and 107 Düring. See J. Brunschwig, 'Aristote et les pirates tyrrhèniens', *RPhilos* 153 (1963) 171-90; see the more recent, thorough treatment of the issue in Bos, *The Soul*, 315-57; Luttikhuisen, 'Gnostic Hermeneutics', 176.

⁵³⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 1.7; Iamblichus, *Protr.* 8 Pistelli; Augustine, *C. Iulianum Pel.* 4.15.78.

⁵³⁹ This fragment is preserved by Plutarch, *Consol. ad Apoll.* 115b-e; Aristotle, *Eud.* fr. 6 Ross.

⁵⁴⁰ See K. Gaiser, 'Ein Gespräch mit König Philipp. Zum *Eudemus* des Aristoteles', in J. Wiesner (ed), *Aristoteles. Werk und Wirkung, P. Moraux gewidmet*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1985-87) 457-84. For the hypothesis about Aristotle's role in the dialogue, Bos, *The Soul*, 248-49.

⁵⁴¹ Aristotle, *Metaph.* 982b 22-983a 5; *EN* 1178a 33-35; *Ph.* 253a 12ff; 259b 11.

⁵⁴² Aristotle, *EN* 1178a 9-1179a 33.

⁵⁴³ Philo, *Conf.* 177; *Leg. alleg.* 3.71; *Qu. Gen.* 1.70, 1.5-7, hcPgk aU c|ëb hi #Vcb dYf]ZY#cbhU^" See also Marcus Aurelius 4.41; 9.24.

⁵⁴⁴ Philo, *Migr.* 2.9.

⁵⁴⁵ Philo, *Heres* 14.68.

⁵⁴⁶ See *supra* this Chapter, note 539.

⁵⁴⁷ Ammonius *ap. Porphyry, Isag. sive quinc. Voc.* 5.11-12.

from the body⁵⁴⁸. A similar conception of terrestrial life as a prison also appears in Maximus of Tyre⁵⁴⁹.

The motif is also recurrent in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. According to the seventh tractate the soul is shut up in the body, which prevents it from ‘anchoring in the havens of deliverance’⁵⁵⁰. The body is described not only as the ‘bondage of corruption’, but also as ‘the living death, the sentient corpse, the portable tomb’⁵⁵¹. The body is conceived as clothing for the soul, as is also the case in the tenth tractate, entitled *The Key*. Even if the emphasis of this tractate lays on the liberation of the intellect, which leaves behind soul and body, this text describes the soul ‘as clinging to the body, held down and smothered by it’⁵⁵². However, the clearest example appears perhaps in the thirteenth tractate, in which the body is conceived as a prison that tortures the inner man (cf. *Ybc^ U#Yhc^ U#efk dc^*) with the suffering of the senses⁵⁵³.

According to the heresiologists, the notion of the fetters or *Xygac]* seems also to have been frequent among Gnostics. Hippolytus reports that the Naassenes also referred to the body as a tomb and Carpocrates, according to the testimony of Irenaeus, spoke of the body as a prison⁵⁵⁴. Nag Hammadi texts widely attest these views. We have already seen some of these testimonies above⁵⁵⁵. The *Paraphrasis of Shem* refers to the ‘severe bondage of the body’⁵⁵⁶ and in the closing hymn of the *Apocryphon of John* Pronoia is said to have ‘entered into the middle of their prison, which is the prison of the body’, while the one who was in deep sleep answering to her call asks, ‘who is it that calls my name, and from where has this hope come to me, while I am in the chains of the prison’⁵⁵⁷. The statement in the *Origin of the World* is very similar, as it says that the souls ‘were shut up in the prisons of the moulded bodies

⁵⁴⁸ Alcinous, *Didask.* 152.2-4 (transl. Dillon) combines Plato’s *Phaedo* 67d and *Rep.* 521c. Cf. Iamblichus, *Protr.* 70.9-13 Pistelli.

⁵⁴⁹ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.12, ‘the earth as a watch-house and a prison for sinful bodies’ (transl. Trapp). On the notion of life as a *Zfci fU#r* ‘watch-house’ (Plato, *Phd.* 62b) see P. Boyancé, ‘Xenocrate et les Orphiques’, *REA* 50 (1948) 218-31 and ‘Note sur la *Zfci fU#*platonicienne’, *RPh* 77 (1963) 7-11.

⁵⁵⁰ *C.H.* 7.1 (81.7-10 N-F), transl. Copenhaver.

⁵⁵¹ *C.H.* 7.2 (81.18-21 N-F), *dfk hcb XYXY]igYdyf]ff\WgeU] cB ZcfY]l |hk pUzhcY\^ U#fbk g]U# i XUGaUzhcY h\^ _U_]U# gh\6] aUzhcY h\^ ZecfU# Xygac]bzhcY g_chY]bcY dyf]U#` cbzhcY nk phU eU#hcbzhcY U]ge\hcY bY_fcbzhcY dyf]Zcf\hcbhUzebZ_h "*

⁵⁵² *C.H.* 10.24 (125.13-15), *U#` U#scil. c#ci ^) _UhU` Y]dY] h\^ hc]Ui ba b mi l \^ h i gk ad]h] dfcg\fh\ aYab U]Y dfiUi hci jU#l caYab_U#k "*

⁵⁵³ *C.H.* 13.7 (203.15-17 N-F). On the use in the present context of *YbX]U#Yhc^* and its possible corruption see W. Scott, *Hermetica: the Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus II* (Oxford, 1925) 386.

⁵⁵⁴ Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.8.22; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.25.4. For other examples in Clement and Irenaeus, see *infra* this Chapter, pp. 305-06.

⁵⁵⁵ For the testimony of the *Interpretation of Gnosis* and the *The Sentences of Sextus*, see *supra* this Chapter, p. 284 and note 397.

⁵⁵⁶ *ParaphShem* (NHC VII, 1) 35.17; *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 31.25, ‘bonds’.

⁵⁵⁷ *ApJohn* (NHC II, 1) 31.3-4 and 31.8-10, respectively.

<until> the consummation of the aeon⁵⁵⁸. Also the *Book of Thomas the Contender* refers to the body as a tomb a couple of times⁵⁵⁹.

These views are further attested by Clement of Alexandria, who echoing Philo refers to the body as a *gUf_]_cP XYgac#* or ‘fleshy bondage’⁵⁶⁰ and compares it to a prison⁵⁶¹. He also echoes the Aristotelian comparison of the union soul-body to the torture used by Tyrrhenian pirates⁵⁶². Later on, the same ideas would play an important role in Plotinus, Porphyry and the later Neoplatonism⁵⁶³.

The abundant parallels in such a variety of contexts show that the conception of the fetters imposed to the *Uefkdc^* by his material existence had become a commonplace. In *AA*, however, this view is not a simple topos, for the releasing of the bondages that tie up the *Uefkdc^* to a false existence is at the core of its message. *AA*’s radical negative view of material realm and of the physical body brings our text into close connection with the parallels of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, particularly those of the seventh tractate, and the Gnostic examples from the Nag Hammadi library.

3.2.2.1.3. Man’s Imprisonment

Due to his forgetfulness and to the shackles of soul and body, the intellect has been thrown into the deformities (*U]g1 *)⁵⁶⁴ of material realm and driven into the captivity of the spell of externals. If the oblivion and the fetters might be seen as cause and means of the captivity, respectively, the spellbound of externals represent its consummation. *AA* repeatedly refers to the ‘presents’ or ‘bribes’ (*Xk fU*) of externals and relates them to the devil, with whom externals are closely associated⁵⁶⁵. We have already commented on the conception of immanent realm as in continuous flux above⁵⁶⁶. What interests us now is the notion that man, unaware of his deceit, remains trapped in this realm of change and decay and contributes through ignorance to the perpetuation of his alienation.

The conception of the sensible as the imprisonment of the true man who due to sense-perception and deluding representation (*ZUbhUg]#*) remains unaware of its forgery appears

⁵⁵⁸ *OrigWorld* (NHC II, 5) 114.20-24.

⁵⁵⁹ *ThomCont* (NHC II, 7) 141.15-18; 143.10-22.

⁵⁶⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.40.1-2 (echoes Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 3.71).

⁵⁶¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.62.

⁵⁶² See *supra*, p. 301-02 and note 538-539.

⁵⁶³ Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.8.22ff; 4.9.9.55; 4.3.17.27; 3.4.3.26; 1.9.1.5ff; Porphyry, *Sent.* 7.8; 32; 40; *Ad Marc.* 33; Iamblichus, *De myst.* 1.12; 2.1; 2.5; 3.20; Synesius, *Hymn.* 1.731ff; 1.553f; Proclus, *In Remp.* II 119.5ff (See Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles*, 187) and Psellus, *Comm.* 1141a (Lewy, *ibid.*, 298 note 151).

⁵⁶⁴ V^r 89-90.

⁵⁶⁵ V^r 252, 256.

⁵⁶⁶ *Supra*, this Chapter, § 1.4.2.1, pp.255-56.

both in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and among Gnostics. According to the second Hermetic fragment preserved by Stobaeus, only the transcendent realm is true, while everything that is generated is essentially a forgery, which is perpetuated by means of $ZUbhUg] \#$ or ‘perceptual appearance’⁵⁶⁷. Like in *AA*⁵⁶⁸, only intellection or thought ($bc \# g] \wedge$) can liberate the true man from his captivity in the realm of the sensible⁵⁶⁹. A comparable idea of the immanent realm can be found in the Gnostic *Treatise on Resurrection*, where the totality of the sensible world ($_c \# a c \wedge$) is equated to a mere false or deluding representation⁵⁷⁰.

Beside this deformation of reality resulting from sensorial perception and $ZUbhUg] \#$, externals may also actively persuade the immanent man by bribing him with the satisfaction of his senses and the resulting affections and desires. Given his current lack of rationality, man’s life has become a mere fulfilling the needs of his physical being. In this sense, it seems obvious that the use of $\chi k f c b$ to refer to that which flatters man’s senses and desires must be understood either in its pejorative sense ‘bribe’ or at least as an ironical use of the positive sense ‘presents’.

3.2.2.2. *AA*’s Trichotomic Conception of the Immanent Man

AA’s conception of man reveals a clear trichotomic scheme that distinguishes intellect, soul and body⁵⁷¹. We have already pointed out that the intellect, even if the only divine element in man, appears to be constrained to such an extent by his soul and his body that it needs to be awoken or reminded of⁵⁷². As far as the soul is concerned, it is mainly conceived as the seat of affections and its predominantly irrational character subdues rationality⁵⁷³. The body, finally, contributes with its sensorial perception to the prolongation of the intellect’s captivity⁵⁷⁴.

A similar trichotomy of man appears for the first time explicitly stated in Plutarch’s *On the Face of the Moon*. In this dialogue, Sulla defends the view that man does not consist of two parts, namely soul and body, but rather of three, viz. intellect, soul and body, and in order to support his point disproves the opinion that considers the intellect a part of the soul⁵⁷⁵.

⁵⁶⁷ C.H. Stobaeus fr. 2A, *passim*, on which see *infra*, pp. 313-14.

⁵⁶⁸ V^r 130-32.

⁵⁶⁹ C.H. Stobaeus fr. 2A 5 (5.13-17 N-F). For *AA*, see *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, pp. 214-18.

⁵⁷⁰ *TreatRes* (NHC I, 4) 48.15; 26-27.

⁵⁷¹ See *supra* this Chapter, pp. 292ff.

⁵⁷² V^r 205-09, on which *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.1.2, pp. 285-91.

⁵⁷³ V^r 140-62 and 186-82, with Chapter 4, § 3.3.2 and 3.3.3.

⁵⁷⁴ V^r 205-14.

⁵⁷⁵ Plutarch, *De facie* 943a, $Hc \# U b e f k d c b c] \# c \# \backslash \ ` c] \# g i b e Y h c b a Y \# c f e k \uparrow z Y \# X i c] p X Y \# a c b k b g i b e Y h c b c i \# c f e k \uparrow \backslash \# c i p h U] " a c \# c b [U \# Y] b U] \# d k \wedge m i l \uparrow c] a b h U] h c \# b c i p z c i X Y \# \backslash B h c b Y \# Y] b k b U a U f h U b e b h \wedge z c] \# \backslash c m i l \backslash \# c _ Y] a c \# c b Y] b U] h c i j g k a d U h c \wedge " b c i \uparrow [U \# m i l \backslash \uparrow z c \# g i m i l \backslash \# g k a d U h c \wedge z U a Y] b c b e Y g h] _ U] \# Y] c h \# f c b "$ For the Aristotelian background of this assertion see Bos, ‘Distinction’, *passim* and *The Soul*, 280.

Sulla, moreover, establishes a clear hierarchy among the parts: $\text{bci} \uparrow [\text{U}\ddot{\text{Y}} \text{mi} \text{l} \setminus \uparrow \text{z} \text{c}\ddot{\text{Y}} \text{mi} \text{l} \setminus \ddot{\text{Y}} \text{gk} \text{a} \text{U} \text{hc} \wedge \text{z} \text{U} \text{a} \text{Y}] \text{bcbeYg[h]} _ \text{U}] \ddot{\text{Y}} \text{Y}] \text{cb}\ddot{\text{Y}} \text{f} \text{cb}^{576}$...

The same hierarchy is at work in the tenth Hermetic tractate, called *The Key*, which not only clearly distinguishes body, soul and intellect, but also stresses the higher rank of the intellect, without which the soul resembles an irrational animal⁵⁷⁷. According to this text, only the intellect is divine and recovers its true nature after taking off the clothes of the soul that served it as a vehicle⁵⁷⁸. Such a distinction was also current among Gnostics. The heresiologists report a very similar conception among the Valentinians, although in this case the $\text{bci} \uparrow$ has been replaced by the $\text{dbYi} \text{a} \text{U}$. Indeed, Clement reports that according to the Valentinians the spiritual elements must leave behind their souls before they can achieve the vision of God⁵⁷⁹ and Irenaeus similarly points out that in their view souls are not admitted in the Pleroma⁵⁸⁰. According to the Marcosians of Irenaeus, the spiritual element also leaves behind its bondage ($\text{X}\ddot{\text{Y}} \text{g} \text{a} \text{c} \#$), namely the soul, before returning to its abode⁵⁸¹. Besides, as we have already seen above, numerous Gnostic texts establish a clear differentiation between intellect and soul⁵⁸².

As already stated, this conception of the intellect as the divine element in man reveals a Peripatetic background⁵⁸³. When paying attention to the development of the trichotomic view of man that appears in Plutarch, the *Corpus Hermeticum* and among Gnostics this background becomes even clearer⁵⁸⁴. Deuse suggested that on the basis of Timarchus' myth in the Plutarchean *On the Sign of Socrates* it is possible to see how Plutarch develops his distinction between intellect and soul from a basic bipartite conception of the soul consisting

⁵⁷⁶ Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 46-47, sees in Timarchus' myth in *De genio Socratis* 591d a first step toward the theory exposed in *De facie*. Other scholars, such as W. Hamilton, 'The Myth in Plutarch's *De genio* (589f-592e)', *CQ* 28 (1934) 175-82 and, more recently, Y. Vernière, *Symboles et Mythes dans la pensée de Plutarque* (Paris, 1977) 126, consider that, in spite of Plutarch's confusion at the level of formulation or expression, the exposition of *De Genio* presents exactly the same trichotomy as that of *De facie*.

⁵⁷⁷ *C.H.* 10.24 (125.10-16 N-F).

⁵⁷⁸ *C.H.* 10.16-17 (120.22-121.19 N-F).

⁵⁷⁹ Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 64. Souls are referred to as $\text{YbX} \# \text{U} \text{h} \text{U}$ in 61.8; 63.1. See Nock-Festugière, *Corpus*, 131 note 57. For the Orphic-Pythagorean origin of the metaphor see Dodds, *Proclus*, 307, who refers to Empedocles (D-K 31, B 126) and to Plato, *Gorg.* 523c ff, where the body is conceived as a garment ($\text{U} \text{h} \text{Z}] \text{Y} \text{g} \text{a} \text{U}$) that the soul takes off after death. According to Dodds, this might have given ground to the Valentinian interpretation of the 'coat of skin' ($\text{l} \text{]} \text{h} \text{k} \text{ B} \text{ X} \text{Y} \text{f} \text{ a} \text{U} \text{h} \text{]} \text{bc} \wedge$) in Gen. 3.21 as referring to the fleshy body (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer* 1.5.5). Nock-Festugière, *Corpus*, 82-83 note 9.

⁵⁸⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer* 1.7.1.

⁵⁸¹ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer* 1.21.5, with fragment 11 *ap.* Epiphanius, *Pan.* 36.2f.

⁵⁸² For the trichotomic conception of man, see the passages from the *TreatRes* (NHC I, 4) 46.22-24; *GosMary* (BG 1) 10.14-16; *TeachSil* (NHC VII, 4) 92.23-26 discussed above, pp. 286.

⁵⁸³ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.1.2, pp. 285-91.

⁵⁸⁴ See Bos, 'Distinction', 61ff.

of a rational and an irrational part⁵⁸⁵. This conception recurrently appears in Aristotle, both in the *Corpus* and in the fragments, and can be traced back to Plato⁵⁸⁶. It is interesting, however, that the Peripatetic Cratippus seems to have held an opinion similar to that of Plutarch. According to the testimony of Cicero⁵⁸⁷, Cratippus conceived human soul as consisting of two parts, namely a mortal and non-separable soul related to bodily functions such as perception, movement and desire, and an immortal and divine soul exclusively engaged in thought. His emphasis on the separability of the rational part and the fact that it comes into us from without (*extrinsecus*) evokes the combination of *On the Soul* 3.5 and the *Generation of Animals*, which already seems to appear in Theophrastus⁵⁸⁸ and in Dicaearchus⁵⁸⁹.

3.2.2.2.1. Man's Intellect as a Potentiality and its Actualisation by the Logos

In *AA* man's intellect appears to be a simple potentiality and as such remains unnoticed and subdued by the irrational soul and the body. We have already commented both on the precedents and on the parallels to *AA*'s views⁵⁹⁰. What is of interest in the present context is that this dormant, potential intellect can be awoken from its slumber by means of the light of the ψ ⁵⁹¹. Whereas until this point man remained trapped in the realm of physical existence, the glance at his own, true nature facilitated by the words allows for the first time the appearance of rationality⁵⁹². This will permit, first, a rational selection of the influx of information proceeding from sensorial perception and, secondly, a control of the α or 'perceptual appearance'⁵⁹³. Besides, owing to his being engaged in rationality, the individual is able now to check the irrational part of his soul and consequently affections and this continuous controlling exercise in turn invigorates the rational part of the soul⁵⁹⁴.

The effect of this development of rationality is that human intellect is for the first time able to exercise its own activity. Having reorganised the spheres of sensorial perception and affections, the ψ allows the intellect to achieve its full actualisation in order to liberate itself, in the next step, from all physical constrictions⁵⁹⁵.

⁵⁸⁵ See *supra* this Chapter, note 576

⁵⁸⁶ On the issue, Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus* I, 230 note 23 with abundant bibliography. See furthermore *infra* this Chapter, § 3.2.2.2.2, pp. 307-10.

⁵⁸⁷ Cic., *De div.* 1.70.

⁵⁸⁸ Theophrastus *ap.* Simplicius, *In Phys.* 965.3-4 (fr. 53 Wimmer); Theophrastus *ap.* Themistius, *De an.* 107.30ff (fr. 53b 229-233).

⁵⁸⁹ Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus* I, 245-247.

⁵⁹⁰ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.1.2, pp. 285-91.

⁵⁹¹ V^r 252ff. See also *supra* Chapter 4, § 5.2.1.1, pp. 235-36 and note 336.

⁵⁹² V^r 215-17. See *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.4.2 and 3.4.2.1, pp. 216-17.

⁵⁹³ See *supra* Chapter 4, p. 215 with note 267.

⁵⁹⁴ V^r 140-50, with *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.2 to 3.3.5, 206-13.

⁵⁹⁵ V^r 83-101.

3.2.2.2.2. The Soul

AA endorses the Platonic-Aristotelian bipartition of the soul that we have seen above⁵⁹⁶. Indeed, *AA* distinguishes between a rational part (λογιστικόν) of the soul naturally engaged in thought and an irrational one, which is seat of the affections and which due to its close connection with the body is directly affected upon by sensorial perception⁵⁹⁸.

As far as the former is concerned, it is also responsible for reaching and preserving the balance within the soul that may protect it from an excessive exposure to externals⁵⁹⁹. In doing so this rational part works with two sorts of materials, namely with internal and external stimuli. On the one hand, reason provides the soul with a rationally correct idea of what the individual receives from sensorial perception. On the other hand, the rational part is open to external stimuli in the form of rational speech⁶⁰⁰, by means of which it either corrects or completes wrong or deficient information proceeding from outside. As for the irrational part, it mostly reacts under the influence of externals, as a result of which it is naturally prone to excess. The individual's positive or negative experiences are immediately transformed in equivalent affections whose measure or intensity depends on the intensity of the stimulus. Due to the incapacity of the irrational part to keep by itself affections within borders, individuals with an unsettled or excessively strong irrational part will dangerously be apt to fall not only under the domination of moveable externalities, but also under the tyranny of the very excessive character of emotions⁶⁰¹.

In ideal conditions rational and irrational parts of the soul appear to be in an original balance, a condition in which the natural hierarchical disposition of rationality governing irrationality remains unaltered. This balanced constitutive structure and the hierarchical disposition of the soul redound to a coherent perception of reality, for reason controls perception, and to a harmonious experience of affections, for reason subdues and controls immoderate emotional responses⁶⁰².

However, man's current state is far from this ideal absence of external stimuli. On the contrary, materiality is exerting an incessant influence on the individual and this influence is immediately transformed into affections⁶⁰³. The influx of information combined with a lack of attention by the rational part may easily alter the internal structure of the soul, changing the

⁵⁹⁶ *Supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.2.2 and notes 576 and 584.

⁵⁹⁷ V^r 145.

⁵⁹⁸ V^r 140-82 and 208-17.

⁵⁹⁹ *Supra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.3, pp. 208-09.

⁶⁰⁰ V^r 168-73.

⁶⁰¹ V^r 150-161, with *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.3, pp. 208-09.

⁶⁰² See *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.4, pp. 209-10.

natural hierarchy between both irrational and rational parts⁶⁰⁴. The uncontrolled appearance and development of affections such as love and fear, grief and sorrow strengthen the irrational part of human soul and put the individual in the dangerous vicious circle of passionate extreme reactions towards externals. In this vicious circle rationality is completely subdued by irrationality and affections follow one another in a quasi-causal sequence⁶⁰⁵.

This bipartition of the soul, although it might be traced back to Plato⁶⁰⁶, is recurrent in Aristotle and very widespread in the first centuries of the era⁶⁰⁷. Philo not only distinguishes between rational and irrational parts⁶⁰⁸, he also states against Chrysippus that affections cannot have their origin in judgement or reason⁶⁰⁹ and brings the irrational part of the soul, affections, body and sensorial perception into close connection with one another⁶¹⁰. The same bipartition is a rather established issue in Middle Platonism. Like Philo, Plutarch disproves the Stoic view that considers passions wrong judgements. In his opinion, the soul is divided into the rational and irrational parts⁶¹¹ and the affections have their origin in the latter part, due to its close connection with the body⁶¹². Alcinous not only distinguishes between the rational and irrational parts within the human soul and locates them in different parts of the body; he also stresses their intrinsic differences, the continuous conflict between both and the diverse ways to cultivate them⁶¹³. However, their radical different character comes to the foreground in Alcinous' treatment of affections, which he considers neither judgements nor opinions, but rather motions of the irrational part of the soul⁶¹⁴. Whereas the rational part of the soul is immortal, the irrational one dissolves with the death of the body⁶¹⁵.

⁶⁰³ V^r 209-11.

⁶⁰⁴ V^r 140-161. See previous note.

⁶⁰⁵ V^r 150-61.

⁶⁰⁶ Plato, *Rep.* 664a 10-b 1. Cf., however, D. A. Rees, 'Bipartition of the Soul in the Early Academy', *JHS* 77 (1957) 112-18

⁶⁰⁷ For its Aristotelian origin, see Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 442a-c, on which P.L. Donini, *Tre Studi sull'Aristotelismo nel II Secolo D.C.* (Turin, 1974) 68-71; F.H. Sandbach, 'Plutarch and Aristotle?', *Illinois Classical Studies* 7 (1982) 207-32 at 217ff.

⁶⁰⁸ Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.333; *Heres* 132; *Leg. alleg.* 3.116.

⁶⁰⁹ Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 2.6.

⁶¹⁰ Lilla, *Clement*, 92; Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 2.6; 1.24; 2.50; *Fuga* 91; *Somn.* 2.255; see W. Völker, *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Philo von Alexandrien: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit* (Leipzig, 1938) 79-85.

⁶¹¹ Plutarch, *De Is.* 371a-b.

⁶¹² Plutarch, *De virt. mor.* 441d-442a; 451a; cf. *De libid. et aegr.* 9. See D. Babut, *Plutarque. De la vertu éthique* (Paris, 1969) 71; 135; Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 46; Lilla, *Clement*, 89.

⁶¹³ Alcinous, *Didask.* 176.37-177.15. See also *Didask.* 156.35-36; 173.11-15; 183.39-41; 185.29. On the similarity between Plutarch and Alcinous, see Donini, *Tre Studi*, 82-84.

⁶¹⁴ Alcinous, *Didask.* 185.24ff. J. Whittaker, 'Platonic Philosophy in the Early Centuries of the Empire', *ANRW* II.36.1 (Berlin and New York, 1987) 81-123 at 88-89. See *infra* this Chapter, pp. 310-311.

⁶¹⁵ Alcinous, *Didask.* 178.24-32; Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 91-95; Mansfeld, 'Three notes', 77.

Also Galen of Pergamon states the inner division of the soul and considers, like Alcinous, that they have different $\text{ci } \xi] \text{] } ^{616}$, as a result of which their relationship is frequently conflictive. In his view, the rational part is immortal and the irrational one mortal⁶¹⁷. In line with the previous examples, Galen also disproves the Chrysippaeon conception of $\text{dU} \# \text{c} \wedge$ and relates affections to the irrational part of the soul⁶¹⁸. Maximus of Tyre presents a similar conception of the soul, although he tends to equate the rational part with the intellect and calls it $\text{Y} \# \text{bc} \text{ i } \wedge \text{ mi } \text{ l } \setminus \#$ ⁶¹⁹. He nevertheless distinguishes between a mortal part of the soul that includes all irrational aspects and an immortal part endowed with reasoning⁶²⁰.

Given the presence of these ideas in all these Middle Platonic sources it is not surprising to find them in Clement of Alexandria too. Even if sometimes he echoes Plato's tripartition of the soul in $\text{c} [] \text{ gh }] _ \text{c} \#$, $\text{ei } \text{ acY}] \text{ XY} \#$ and $\text{Y} \#] \text{ ei } \text{ a} \setminus \text{ h }] _ \text{c} \#$ and locates them in different parts of human body⁶²¹, he tends to group the last two in the irrational part and presents thus the known bipartite division⁶²². Besides, as Lilla has pointed out, Clement's distinction of two different $\text{dbY} \text{ i } \# \text{UhU}$ dwelling in man must be related to this basic distinction between the rational and the irrational parts of the soul. The $\text{dbY} \text{ i } \text{ aU } \text{ gUf }] _ \text{c} \#$ or $\text{gk aUh}] _ \text{c} \#$ includes the irrational functions in itself and is clearly differentiated from the rational faculty of the soul⁶²³.

According to all these documents the rational part of the soul is clearly superior to the irrational one and in normal circumstances it should easily rule over and control irrational drives. In accordance with these examples, *AA* not only conceives human soul as consisting of two parts, but also sees in the rational part the ruling principle. However, given the fall of the intellect and its wandering in the realm of physis, irrationality appears to have taken over the control of the soul and to subdue the rational part by means of affections. As we shall see in the next section, this is due to the predominance of sensorial perception, which seems to bring soul, or at least its irrational part, and body into close connection with one another.

⁶¹⁶ Galen, *In Tim.* 76e 7-77c 5.

⁶¹⁷ Galen, *In Hipp. Epid.*, p. 272.22-273.1 Wenkebach-Pfaff.

⁶¹⁸ Galen, *De plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 5.

⁶¹⁹ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3.

⁶²⁰ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 6.4; see also 11.7-8.

⁶²¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.1.2; *Strom.* 3.68.5; 5.80.9.

⁶²² Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.9.4; 5.53.1.

3.2.2.2.3. The Physical Body

AA's conception of the physical body is very negative. Man's body represents a major obstacle for the achievements of his real being, for on the one hand, it urges him to the satisfaction of bodily functions and needs⁶²⁴ and, on the other, obscures man's understanding by means of sensorial perception and *ZUbhUg]#* or 'perceptual appearance'⁶²⁵. Given the fact that the intellect is constrained by the soul and the body there is an absolute lack of control of the information provided by the senses. As a result man is trapped not only by externals but also by a false perceptual appearance of things that triggers his affections and urges him to satisfy the concomitant desires⁶²⁶.

The close connection of perception and affections –i. e., of body and soul— shows that despite the trichotomic conception of man, a more basic dichotomy distinguishing between an essential part endowed with reason and a material one comprising soul and body comes nevertheless to the foreground. A comparable combination appears in the *Corpus Hermeticum*. In the ninth tractate sensorial perception is equated with matter (*i fl]_ \#*) while intellection is described as 'essential' (*ci g]k k\ ^*)⁶²⁷. As Scott has pointed out, in spite of minor differences this notion seems to rely on *Asclepius*, where a similar distinction is stated. We have already seen that, according to *Asclepius*, man consists of two parts, one of them 'essential' and another 'material'⁶²⁸. It is interesting that while the essential part is equated with the intellect, the material one seems to comprise, like in *AA*, soul and body⁶²⁹. This close connection body-soul, which as we have seen is of Aristotelian origin⁶³⁰, is further echoed by a Hermetic fragment preserved by Stobaeus that describes sensorial perception as equally affecting body and soul. According to this fragment there is no sense-perception without joy (*l UfU#*) and pain (*\ i #*): 'pain and enjoyment, being corporeal are stirred up by sensations and take hold of the irrational parts of the soul; and therefore I say both of them work mischief. Enjoyment causes sensation to be accompanied by pleasure, and so forthwith becomes the

⁶²³ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 6.134.1; 136.6; Lilla, *Clement*, 86.

⁶²⁴ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.1.1, pp. 278-79.

⁶²⁵ V^t 208-09.

⁶²⁶ The responsibility of *ZUbhUg]#* in triggering affections is clear in the intrinsic relationship between pleasure (V^t 208, *hYf dc# Ybc]*) and perceptual appearance (V^t 209, *hU]† YH]V UVYg]b Ui h k b ZUbhUg]#] ^*). Note, moreover, that some lines below (V^t 210-12), Andrew appeals to sensorial perception in order that the brethren 'see' (V^t 211, *cfU hY*) the things how they really are.

⁶²⁷ *C.H.* 9.1 (96.6-8 N-F), *U]g e\ g] ^ [UY _ U] Ybcog] ^ X]UZcfU Y a YX_c i g] b Yh Y]bzc h] \ ca Y i c] _ \ oYgh]bz \ c XYi g] k k\ ^*

⁶²⁸ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.1.1, pp. 283-85ff.

⁶²⁹ See Scott, *Hermetica* III, 45-46. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the material part is formed out of the four elements, of which the two lighter ones should form the soul.

⁶³⁰ See *supra*, pp. 287ff.

cause of many evils to the man who feels it; and pain, producing intense distress and anguish <spoils a man's life>”⁶³¹.

A similar conception is at work in *AA*, for sensorial perception seems to be transformed into pleasure and fear⁶³² thus affecting the irrational part of the soul. The Peripatetic background of this conception both in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and in *AA* seems to be clear, for the Aristotelian *On Sleep and Waking* clearly puts sense perception in relation both to body and soul when it states that sensation is a ‘movement of the soul through the agency of the body’⁶³³. This background is further supported by the appearance in *AA*'s section of the notion of $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$, a ‘perceptual appearance’ that is in close connection both with sensorial perception and with the irrational part of the soul but has no share in thought. We cannot agree with Hornschuh when he suggests that the appearance of the term $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ in this context might imply Stoic influence⁶³⁴, for Stoics closely associate sensation with thinking and this is certainly not the case in *AA*. According to the testimony of Sextus Empiricus, indeed, Stoics equated sensation with thought⁶³⁵ and the same can be concluded from Diogenes Laertius’ report that for Stoics rational beings as opposed to animals have ‘rational representations’ ($\text{ZUbhUg]}\# \text{ } \backslash \text{ } c[_U]\#$) and that these are ‘thoughts’ ($\text{bc}\backslash\#Y\wedge$)⁶³⁶. In *AA*, the speech to the brethren deals with sensorial perception and to a certain extent with the resulting affections without including in this context any reference to the relationship of both with intellection or thinking⁶³⁷. *AA*, therefore, seems to conceive sensorial perception, $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ and affections as following one another in a quasi automatic fashion. This is clear in the fact that as soon as rationality (re)appears by means of Andrew’s intervention, it interrupts the normal sequence sensation- $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ -affection and liberates man from his dependence on externals⁶³⁸.

In this sense, it seems more reasonable to put *AA*'s conception of sensorial perception, perceptual appearance and affections in connection with the Aristotelian views on the issue. As a matter of fact, Aristotle distinguishes in *On the Soul* perceptual appearance both from

⁶³¹ C.H. Stobaeus fr. 4.21-22 (26.7-19 F) = 3. 19-20 Scott, transl. Scott. In this case we follow Scott’s text and emendations and not Festugière’s.

⁶³² See V^r 208-09 and 230-31, respectively.

⁶³³ Aristotle, *De somn.* 454a 7-12. See also *De sensu* 436b 2-8.

⁶³⁴ Hornschuh, ‘Andreasakten’, 273 note 2.

⁶³⁵ Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. math.* 7.307; see also Aetius 4.11.1-4 (*Doxographie*, 400 = SVF 2.83).

⁶³⁶ Diogenes Laertius 7.51; 7.61; Stobaeus 1, 136.6 Wachsm. (= SVF 1.65). Cf. also Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 2.18.71, quoted by Scott, *Hermetica* II, 207 note 3; Sorabji, *Animal Minds*, 40.

⁶³⁷ See *supra*, Chapter 4, § 3.4.1, 214-16.

⁶³⁸ V^r 215-17 and see *supra* this Chapter, note 626.

discursive thinking in all its stages and forms⁶³⁹ and from intuitive thinking ($\text{bc} \uparrow$)⁶⁴⁰. As we shall see in the section dealing with ethics, it is precisely the mediating position between sense-perception and thought attributed to perceptual appearance by Aristotle that allows *AA* to conceive affections not as ‘wrong thoughts’ in Stoic sense, but rather as movements in the irrational part of the soul directly depending on $\text{ZUbhUg} \uparrow$. Aristotle not only asserts that error is likely to appear at the level of perceptual appearance⁶⁴¹, but also that many ‘living creatures frequently act in accordance with them (*scil.* $\text{ZUbhUg} \uparrow$), some, viz., the brutes, because they have no mind, and some, viz., men, because their mind is temporarily clouded over by emotion, or disease, or sleep’⁶⁴². It is precisely the latter case that fits *AA*’s conceptual background, for as we have repeatedly mentioned, man’s mind in *AA* appears to be numb under the influence both of affections and of the slumber of oblivion.

This interpretation of *AA*’s conception of sensorial perception and perceptual appearance as exclusively related to the material being on the basis of the Aristotelian discussion on the issue receives support from a passing reference in Alcinous’ *Didaskalikos*. As we mentioned above, Alcinous sharply distinguishes between rational and irrational parts of the soul, attributes to them different $\text{ci} \uparrow$ and considers one of them immortal and the other mortal⁶⁴³. In explaining this fact, one of the reasons he adduces is that irrational souls are driven by mere representation ($\text{m} \uparrow \sim \text{ZUbhUg} \uparrow \text{Y} \uparrow \text{U} \text{bc} \# \text{YbU} \wedge$) and do not make use of reason or judgment⁶⁴⁴. It has been suggested that Alcinous refers here not to human but to animal souls, for he does not speak of ‘different souls’ in man but rather of ‘parts’ within his soul, namely the $\text{c} \uparrow \text{gh} \downarrow \text{c} \uparrow$ and the $\text{dUe} \downarrow \text{h} \downarrow \text{c} \uparrow$ ⁶⁴⁵. But even in this case, it is clear that for Alcinous the irrational part of human soul is equivalent to irrational souls of animals, for the $\text{dUe} \downarrow \text{h} \downarrow \text{c} \uparrow$ is said to be also in animals⁶⁴⁶ and both of its constitutive parts, namely $\text{ei} \text{a} \downarrow \text{c} \uparrow$ and $\text{Yh} \uparrow \text{ei} \text{a} \downarrow \text{h} \downarrow \text{c} \uparrow$, to be mortal⁶⁴⁷. Besides, Proclus also attributes to Alcinous the theory that

⁶³⁹ Aristotle, *De an.* 427b 14-15, perceptual appearance is different from reasoning ($\text{X} \uparrow \text{U} \text{bc} \downarrow \text{U}$); 427b 27-28, is different from apprehension ($\text{i} \text{h} \text{c} \# \downarrow \text{m} \uparrow \wedge$); 427b 8-14; 24-26, it is also different from scientific understanding ($\text{Yh} \uparrow \text{gh} \downarrow \text{c} \uparrow$), practical understanding ($\text{Zf} \text{c} \# \downarrow \text{g} \uparrow \wedge$) and belief ($\text{Xc} \text{WU}$).

⁶⁴⁰ Aristotle, *De an.* 428a 1-5; 16-18. See on the issue G. Watson, *Phantasia in Classical Thought* (Galway, 1986) 20-22.

⁶⁴¹ Aristotle, *De an.* 428b 10-429a 9.

⁶⁴² Aristotle, *De an.* 429a 6-9. Transl. Hett.

⁶⁴³ See *supra*, p. 307.

⁶⁴⁴ Alcinous, *Didask.* 178.26-32.

⁶⁴⁵ Mansfeld, ‘Three notes’, 77; Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 292.

⁶⁴⁶ Alcinous, *Didask.* 176.40-41.

⁶⁴⁷ Alcinous, *Didask.* 176.17-22. On the issue Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 91-95.

the irrational part of human soul is mortal⁶⁴⁸. It seems clear that Alcinoüs, in line with the Aristotelian statement, brings $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ into close connection with the material and mortal part of the soul and conceives it as clearly separated from thought. On the other hand, this seems also to be the case with Plutarch, for in *On the Generation of the Soul in the Timaeus*, he endows the irrational soul with a $\text{ZUbhUgh]_c}\#$ ('imagination') or a $\text{ZUbhUgh]_}\backslash\text{PZcfU}\#$ ('imaginative impulse') or $\text{_]}\# \backslash \text{g]}\wedge$ ('imaginative motion')⁶⁴⁹...

The relevance of this conception of $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ in the thought of the period is further attested by its frequent appearance in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, in which 'perceptual appearance' is related to bodily perception and distinguished from thought. So, for instance, in the fifth tractate, which after stating that everything that appears ($\text{hcPZU]bc}\#\text{Ybcb}$) has been generated and that God as not-generated and ever-existent is not manifested, puts $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ in connection with generation and consequently with matter and the senses⁶⁵⁰. Only thought ($\text{bc}\#\text{g]}\wedge$) can perceive the real being, while $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$, receiving its material through the senses is exclusively based on externalities⁶⁵¹. This distinction between real being and the world of sense-perception is once more stressed in one of the Hermetic fragments preserved by Stobaeus that opposes the truth of the abiding realm of stability to the deceit of the ephemeral realm of movement and corruption, which is simply produced as a sketch by $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ ⁶⁵². However, it is the second of the fragments preserved by Stobaeus that presents the most thorough discussion of $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ as opposed to real being and thought. The sensible, due to its continuous change and movement is diametrically opposed to truth and it is only our representation that provides us with a fake appearance of stability so as to form, later on, abstractions such as 'humanity' ($\text{U}\text{befk dc}\#\text{h}\wedge$) while we only see an always changing man⁶⁵³, which as such presents the least degree of reality⁶⁵⁴. The images or representations of the $\text{ZUbhUg]}\#$ are thus compared to a painting representing a human body that has eyes and ears but cannot actually see nor hear⁶⁵⁵.

⁶⁴⁸ Proclus, *In Tim.* 3.234.9ff. The value of Proclus' report, however, is disputed. See H. Dörrie, 'Albinos', *RE* Suppl. 11 (Stuttgart, 1970) 14-22 at 21; Mansfeld, 'Three Notes', 77; Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 292; Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 92 note 37.

⁶⁴⁹ Plutarch, *De an. procr. Tim.* 1014c; 1017a; 1024a; cf. Plutarch, *Soller. anim.* 960d; *Quomodo quis sentiat profect.* 83a-c; *Def. Orac.* 437e; *Coriol.* 38.4. According to Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 93 note 42, this similarity between Alcinoüs and Plutarch does not necessarily imply an influence of the latter on the former, but simply shows how widespread the idea was. See also Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 44-45.

⁶⁵⁰ *C.H.* 5.1. (60.6-13 N-F).

⁶⁵¹ *C.H.* 5.2 (60.13-61.18 N-F).

⁶⁵² *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 1.1. (2.4-3.1).

⁶⁵³ *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 2A.17 (8.9-16 F)

⁶⁵⁴ *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 2A.11 (6.13-21 F).

⁶⁵⁵ *C.H.* Stobaeus fr. 2A.4 (5.7-13 F).

All these examples show, in our view, that the Aristotelian conception of $\Sigma\text{U}\text{b}\text{h}\text{U}\text{g}\text{]}_{\#}$ as a middle stage between sense-perception and thought and his locating it in the soul had a great impact in later anthropological conceptions because it suited both the cosmological and anthropological dualism characteristic of the period⁶⁵⁶. If reality consisted of two realms, intelligible and sensible, and man was formed out of an essential and intellective part and a physical one, by relating $\Sigma\text{U}\text{b}\text{h}\text{U}\text{g}\text{]}_{\#}$ to the irrational (and material) part of the soul writers of the period could blame it for providing man with a wrong picture of the lower realm and exonerate the intellect from responsibility in prolonging man's sojourn in an alien environment.

3.3. Conclusions to *AA*'s Anthropology

The results of this comparative analysis of *AA*'s anthropology are clear as to the philosophical undercurrent of our text. This is especially evident in its tripartite conception of man and more particularly in its views concerning the intellect, the bipartite conception of the soul and the idea of a close relationship between sense perception and perceptual appearance. All these issues have a parallel in Middle Platonism and more precisely in those Middle Platonists who present the influence of Aristotelian and Peripatetic anthropology⁶⁵⁷. But they can also be found in numerous Hermetic and Gnostic texts⁶⁵⁸. This, together with the fact that *AA*'s conception of the intellect's devolution through dispersion and ignorance is especially close to the Valentinian system, seems to allow us to conclude that *AA*'s thought is very close to the Gnostic world of ideas. This conclusion seems further to be supported by our text's description of the consequences of the intellect's devolution. Even if numerous philosophical texts of the period echo the notions of oblivion, of the fetters of materiality and of man's imprisonment, none of them goes so far as *AA* and its Hermetic and Gnostic parallels in putting the liberation of man's slavery in the sublunary world as goal of its message.

⁶⁵⁶ For the Aristotelian position, see *supra* § 3.2.2.3 at 312 and notes 639-642.

⁶⁵⁷ For the Aristotelian influence on Middle Platonists, Merlan, 'Greek Philosophy', 64-73, 82; Sandbach, 'Plutarch and Aristotle', *passim*; P.L. Donini, 'Science and Metaphysics. Platonism, Aristotelianism and Stoicism in Plutarch's *On the Face of the Moon*', in J.M. Dillon and A.A. Long (eds), *The Question of Eclecticism. Studies in Later Greek Philosophy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988) 126-44 at 114; H.B. Gottschalk, 'Aristotelian Philosophy in the Roman Empire from the time of Cicero to the End of the Second Century', *ANRW* II 36.2 (1987) 1079-174 at 1149-50.

⁶⁵⁸ On the Aristotelian influence on Gnosticism, see Luttikhuisen, 'Traces of Aristotelian Thought', 181-202.

4. Epistemology

4.1. Foundations

As could be expected, epistemology plays a cardinal role in our text. Since the origin of man's devolution is ignorance, knowledge is the only means to reverse his degradation. If ignorance provoked the dispersion of the intellect, knowledge can restore its original unity by providing the means for an immediate and absolute understanding.

Given the fact, however, that the original ignorance also has to cope with misleading modes of cognition, *AA* pays a great deal of attention to the refutation of the delusion proceeding both from sensorial perception⁶⁵⁹ and from judgement or opinion⁶⁶⁰. As these inferior modes of cognition obscure and hinder the intellect's direct perception of the single reality, they must be neutralised before the intellect can achieve complete understanding. After this long process of deconstruction, the intellect regains its original mode of apprehension in order to attain the first reality.

AA shares this conception with most of the religious and philosophical texts of the age, which conceive of philosophy as a preparation for the contemplation of higher truths⁶⁶¹.

4.2. Ignorance and Knowledge: The Epistemological Framework of the Processes of Devolution and Restoration of the Primal State

Obviating now the effects of the intellect's devolution⁶⁶², man's current degraded condition can be explained from a purely epistemological perspective. On the one hand, the downward movement, which is equated with deficiency and imperfection, actually depicts the progressive dispersion of discursive thinking in its search to supersede lack of knowledge. As this movement begins in ignorance it unavoidably conduces error, then to wandering in the realm of phenomena and finally ends up in oblivion. On the other hand, the upward movement, which is equated with perfection and completion, describes the inversion of the (discursive) cognitive process, by means of which what was dispersed is gradually recollected in order to recover the primal unity preceding ignorance. The starting point for this inversion is the external, divine intervention that facilitates the remembrance and subsequent understanding that allows the change of mind, which in turn generates the 'turn around' of the intellect toward its proper objects. At this point the first error is corrected

⁶⁵⁹ V^r 205-33, with Chapter 4, § 3.4.2, p. 216-18.

⁶⁶⁰ See *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.2.4, pp. 200-03.

⁶⁶¹ On the issue see *infra*, pp. 328-330.

⁶⁶² For which see *supra* Chapter 4, § 5.1, pp. 233-35.

and this provides direct knowledge and understanding. Once so far, the next step is intelligising, and this direct and immediate act of knowledge is no longer described in cognitive terms but simply as ‘to see, to look at’.

The abundant terminology regarding the semantic field knowledge/ ignorance not only allows us to reconstruct the five successive steps of dispersion of the discursive cognitive process, which arises from a first discrepancy between subject and object in the act of knowledge, it also allows the reconstruction of the five equivalent inverted steps that will lead from dispersion to the unity of intuitive or theoretical knowledge.

Column A	Column B
Deficiency: Discrepancy Subject-Object	Perfection: Reunion of Subject and Object
IGNORANCE (UŁbcY#)	KNOWLEDGE (Yd]#hUaU]žc]ŹUž_ UhUa UbeU#k)
↓	↑
DISPERSION (_ UhU#bi a]žUđc`]geU#k)	RECOLLECTION (gi `` UaVU#k žUđc` UaVU#k)
↓	↑
ERROR (gZU#` k ždhU]g#aU)	CORRECTION (X]cfec#ž_ Uhcfec#žYdUbcfec#)
↓	↑
WANDERING (d` U#)	RETURN (a YhUbcY#žYd]ghfY#k)
↓	↑
OBLIVION (` \#)	REMEMBRANCE (i fca]ab\#_k žcfU#)

7. The Epistemological Framework of the Processes of Devolution and Restoration

As the figure shows, from an epistemological perspective it is possible not only clearly to distinguish the single stages of the processes of dispersion and recollection, but also to realise that each of the steps in the latter represents the exact reverse of those in the former. It seems obvious that the inversion intends to deconstruct each of the steps in the discursive cognitive process that caused the increasing distance between subject and object in the act of knowledge.

Many aspects included in this representation have already appeared in the preceding pages: ignorance, dispersion and oblivion are recurrent issues in the historical period⁶⁶³. The same can be said of notions such as awakening, returning to the primal unity and

recollection⁶⁶⁴. What interests us here is the peculiar combination of elements, which we have seen dispersed through various philosophical and religious milieus, so as to provide a purely cognitive explanation of the devolution as well as of the method to restore the value lost in the downward movement. The closest parallels to *AA*'s conception are to be found in Hermetic and Gnostic sources, where ignorance is indeed the origin of disgrace and degradation, and knowledge that of redemption. The seventh Hermetic tractate, for instance, states that lack of knowledge is the origin of evil and urges people to take off the 'cloth of ignorance'⁶⁶⁵, and similar instances can also be found both in *The Key* and in the eleventh tractate⁶⁶⁶. At the same time, knowledge is the only means to put an end to evil and to restore man's true nature to where it belongs⁶⁶⁷. But it is in the Gnostic milieu that we find the best parallels for *AA*'s views. As we have already seen, the discrepancy between subject and object in the act of knowledge as the origin of primal ignorance can be found in different Nag Hammadi texts⁶⁶⁸. These very same texts tend to consider that the result of this ignorance is dispersion⁶⁶⁹, but that knowledge restores the unity of what was dispersed⁶⁷⁰.

The heresiologists also reported that these notions were current among Gnostics. As stated above, the ideas of dispersal and ignorance and that of the restoration of unity through knowledge appear in the fragments of the Gnostic *Gospel of Eve* and *Gospel of Philip* preserved by Epiphanius⁶⁷¹. Most interesting is that, according to the testimony of Irenaeus, these notions played a central role in the Valentinian system. If ignorance originates deficiency, knowledge resolves lack of knowledge and imperfection⁶⁷². Also, the notions of sleep or slumber originated by ignorance as well as that of awakening seem to have played an important role in this system⁶⁷³. Most significant, however, is that we also see exactly the same combination of ideas among Valentinians: $\alpha \Upsilon \eta \Upsilon \theta \epsilon \Upsilon$ and $\Upsilon \theta \eta \gamma \eta \epsilon \Upsilon \# \zeta$ correction⁶⁷⁴ and

⁶⁶³ See *supra*, pp. 292-96; see also 296-305.

⁶⁶⁴ See *supra*, pp. 292-95.

⁶⁶⁵ *C.H.* 7.2 (81.18-19 N-F), $\eta \epsilon \theta \eta \uparrow \Upsilon \lambda \beta \kappa \gamma \eta \wedge \iota \Upsilon \gamma \alpha \Upsilon$.

⁶⁶⁶ *C.H.* 10.8 (117.4 N-F); 11.21 (156.9-10). See also *C.H.* 13.8 (204.3-6 N-F).

⁶⁶⁷ *C.H.* 10.15 (120.7-12 N-F); 13.8 (204.3-6 N-F); 13.18 (208.3-13 N-F).

⁶⁶⁸ See *supra*, pp. 292-93 and note 461, for the references in *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 18.1-3; 18.35-36; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 62.12-13; 71.7-8; 121.7-8, to ignorance concerning the Father as arising from his transcendence.

⁶⁶⁹ See *supra*, pp. 292-93 and notes 460-465, for the references to ignorance as deficiency and dispersion in *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 24.25-29; *TrimProt* (NHC XIII, 1) 49.36ff.

⁶⁷⁰ See *supra*, p. 293.

⁶⁷¹ See *supra*, pp. 293-95.

⁶⁷² For ignorance = deficiency, see Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.21.4; cf. 1.16.2; *Adv. haer.* 1.186.10; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 34.20.9-12. See Valentinus fr. 5 (= Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.13.90.1). For knowledge = restoration, see Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.16.2; 1.161.11-13.

⁶⁷³ For the former, see Jonas, *Gnosis* I, 113ff; Painchaud-Thomassen, *Traité*, 342. *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 17.10ff; *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 77.22-25 and Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 3.1-2

⁶⁷⁴ See *infra* this Chapter, pp. 332ff.

⁶⁷⁵ See Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.15.21ff, on which Orbe, *Cristologia*, 163.

recollection of dispersal follow one another in the way to the recovery of the primal knowledge and the unity of perfection⁶⁷⁶.

Both the parallel between *AA*'s views and the ideas preserved by the heresiologist reports on the Valentinian system and the frequent contacts with Nag Hammadi texts with a Valentinian background suggest a close proximity between *AA*'s thought and this Gnostic group.

4.3. *AA*'s Epistemic Tripartition

The analysis of the elements involved in cognition shows that *AA*'s epistemology presents the same overlapping of bipartite and tripartite schemes that we encountered in its cosmology, theology and anthropology. At first sight, *AA* appears to present a dualistic conception of knowledge that correlates with the dualistic thought of our text. The truth of the intelligible and the organ that perceives it, viz. the intellect, are clearly distinguished from the deceit of the sublunary realm and the inferior modes of perception proper to it, such as sensorial perception and reasoning. A closer analysis, however, shows that at the same time *AA* works on a threefold classification of cognition that distinguishes the clear-sighted intellect ($\Upsilon\iota\ \#\mu\]^{\wedge}$ $\text{bc}\ \uparrow$)⁶⁷⁷, thinking or reasoning ($\chi\]\ \#\text{c}\]\ \text{U}$)⁶⁷⁸ and sensorial perception ($\text{U}\]\ \#\text{e}\ \backslash\ \text{g}\]^{\wedge}$)⁶⁷⁹. Whereas the former is simple and provides access to the unchangeable and simple reality, the latter two have a clear composite or mixed character and deal with the lower aspects of reality.

This threefold conception of knowledge has its origins in the Old Academy. Xenocrates already substituted the Platonic epistemic dualism $\text{U}\]\ \#\text{e}\ \backslash\ \text{g}\]^{\wedge}$ ('sensation') - $\text{bc}\ \#\text{g}\]^{\wedge}$ ('thought') with the tripartition $\text{U}\]\ \#\text{e}\ \backslash\ \text{g}\]^{\wedge}$, $\chi\ \#\text{w}\ \#\text{z}\ \text{bc}\ \#\text{g}\]^{\wedge}$: objects of sensation within ($\Upsilon\ \#\text{hc}\ \#\$) the celestial sphere, objects of opinion in the heavens and objects of intellection outside the celestial sphere⁶⁸⁰. This tripartition of being also occurs in Aristotle⁶⁸¹, who not only distinguishes 'three philosophies', namely theology, astronomy (or mathematics⁶⁸²) and physics⁶⁸³, but also emphatically separates intellection ($\text{bc}\ \uparrow$) from discursive reasoning ($\cdot\ \text{c}\ \#\text{c}\ \wedge$)⁶⁸⁴, both of which are obviously different from $\text{U}\]\ \#\text{e}\ \backslash\ \text{g}\]^{\wedge}$ or sensation. Whereas the intellect is infallible and apprehends the first principles immediately and directly, reason

⁶⁷⁶ See the version of this provided by *Gospel of Truth*, *infra* Chapter 5, § 5.3.2, pp. 332-37 at 335-36 and note 792.

⁶⁷⁷ V^r 130-31 with *supra* Chapter 3, note 77.

⁶⁷⁸ V^r 144-45. See *infra* this Chapter, § 4.4.2, p. 322.

⁶⁷⁹ V^r 205ff with *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.4.2.2, pp. 217-18.

⁶⁸⁰ Xenocrates, fr. 5 Heinze.

⁶⁸¹ See *supra* this Chapter, p. 246 and notes 47-50.

⁶⁸² See Merlan, 'Unmoved Movers', 199ff.

⁶⁸³ Aristotle, *Ph.* 198a 29.

⁶⁸⁴ Aristotle, *EN* 1142a 25-26; 1143a 35-1143b 5; 1151a 17-18; cf. 1144b 8-13.

belongs to the sphere of demonstration⁶⁸⁵, involves discursive steps and implies time. This is also the reason why belief ($\chi\epsilon\omega$) is included in the sphere of reason, because it implies a rational process by which we are persuaded⁶⁸⁶. But Aristotle's conception of this epistemic tripartition can clearly be seen in his discussion of representation or perceptual appearance ($\zeta\upsilon\beta\eta\upsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$) in *On the Soul* 3.3. When defining this notion, the Philosopher first considers whether $\zeta\upsilon\beta\eta\upsilon\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ is any of the four knowing faculties, sensation, opinion, knowledge or intelligence. His analysis presupposes the same tripartition, for he first compares representation to sensation, which is always true, then to knowledge or intelligence ($\gamma\eta\lambda\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ \(\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow\)), which is also always true, and finally to opinion, which may be either true or false, since it belongs to the sphere of reasoning⁶⁸⁷.

A similar tripartition can be found in the Pythagorean Pseudepigrapha. According to Archytas, only those things that are evident in themselves can be a criterion for knowledge, i.e. the intelligibles ($\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$) and the sensibles ($\upsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\eta\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$). Those in the middle, namely objects of science ($\gamma\eta\lambda\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$) and opinion ($\chi\epsilon\omega\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$), are not evident in themselves⁶⁸⁸. But it is perhaps the testimony of Brotinus that provides us with the clearest parallel for this epistemic tripartition, because he establishes a strict distinction between $\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$ and $\chi\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$. Whereas the intellect is simple and directed toward primal reality, reasoning is characterised by multiplicity, and its objects are those of science and demonstration ($\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\ \chi\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$)⁶⁸⁹.

Alcinous seems to have implied the same triadic conception of knowledge. In the section dedicated to the theory of knowledge, Alcinous distinguishes between intellect ($\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$), reasoning ($\chi\epsilon\omega$) and perception ($\upsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\eta\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$)⁶⁹⁰. He also distinguishes two levels of reasoning, one that is accessible only to God, which we may compare to the $\beta\epsilon\iota\ \uparrow$ or 'intellect' since it is infallible and possesses its objects immediately, and another that is accessible to humans. This latter sort of reasoning is open to error due to the variability of its objects⁶⁹¹. But the clearest proof of the underlying tripartition of knowledge is his division of human reasoning into two parts according to the objects it is directed towards. His differentiation between $\gamma\eta\lambda\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\chi\epsilon\omega\gamma\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ relies on whether reason is directed towards objects of intellection or of

⁶⁸⁵ Aristotle, *APo.* 100b 5ff.

⁶⁸⁶ Aristotle, *De an.* 248a 18-24, on which W. Fortenbaugh, *Aristotle on Emotion* (London, 1975) 39-40, 42; Sorabji, *Animal Minds*, 68.

⁶⁸⁷ Aristotle, *De an.* 428a 1-25.

⁶⁸⁸ Archytas, *De intell.* 36.14-25. See Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus* II, 629-30.

⁶⁸⁹ Brotinus, *De intell.* 55.22-29. On Brotinus, a Pythagorean of the third or second century BC, see Thesleff, *Pythagoreans Texts*, 54; Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus* II, 630.

⁶⁹⁰ Alcinous, *Didask.* 154.8ff.

⁶⁹¹ Alcinous, *Didask.* 154.21-25. Cf. Sextus Empiricus 7.122 with Whittaker, 'Platonic Philosophy', 87-88.

sensation⁶⁹². Interesting for *AA* is that Alcinous only considers that which focuses on the stable and the permanent to be true knowledge, while opinion, because it is based on sensation and discursive reason, is open to error. So, even though preserving the Aristotelian tripartition, sensation is no longer considered a trustful mode of cognition.

An equivalent tripartition appears in Plotinus and Neoplatonism. Plotinus distinguishes the intellect both from discursive thinking and sense perception. Man seems to occupy a middle position between the intelligible and the sensible, and this partaking in both spheres is what determines his discursive nature⁶⁹³. Discursive reason or $\chi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron$ partakes in both intellection and sensation and is an activity of the soul as opposed to the intellect⁶⁹⁴. In contrast to the latter, discursive thinking implies discursive steps, progression and consequently time⁶⁹⁵. The intellect, in turn, is simple and apprehends its objects immediately and directly⁶⁹⁶. The commentaries on Aristotle by Simplicius further attest that this differentiation continued to play a role in later Neoplatonism. He clearly distinguishes the unchanging and simple cognition of the intellect⁶⁹⁷ from the multiplicity of reason, which as a function of the soul deals with what is composite and makes transitions, takes things in succession and, consequently, implies time⁶⁹⁸.

4.4. Elements Involved in Cognition

4.4.1. The Intellect and Its Immediate Apprehension

In *AA* the immediate apprehension of the intellect owes its unity to the identity of the subject that thinks and the object thought. Since the intellect is divine, when it thinks itself, it thinks the intelligible. This self-centred act of cognition confers upon its activity an undiverted, simple and unitary character⁶⁹⁹. Therefore, when describing this direct contemplation of the intellect *AA* resorts to the expression ‘to see, to look at’ ($\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\omicron$)⁷⁰⁰. Such a conception of the intellect and of the cognition proper to it is very widespread in the early centuries of the Christian era, as the numerous parallels offered above clearly show⁷⁰¹.

⁶⁹² Alcinous, *Didask.* 154.25-32.

⁶⁹³ Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.3.3.34-9.

⁶⁹⁴ Plotinus, *Enn.* 2.9.2.4-10; 3.7.11.36-45.

⁶⁹⁵ Plotinus, *Enn.* 3.6.11.36-40.

⁶⁹⁶ Plotinus, *Enn.* 4.4.1. On Plotinus, Armstrong, ‘Plotinus’, 224-28; R. Sorabji, *Time, Creation and the Continuum* (London, 1983) 152-53 and *Animal Minds*, 75.

⁶⁹⁷ Simplicius, *In de an.* 42.20ff; 100.20ff; Philoponus, *In De an.* 267.11-16.

⁶⁹⁸ Simplicius, *In de an.* 217.28-32; 218.29-32; 221.24-28; 226.36-37. See H.J. Blumenthal, ‘Simplicius and Other on Aristotle’s Discussions on Reason’, in J. Duffy and J. Peradotto (eds), *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to Leendert G. Westerink at 75* (New York, 1988) 103-19.

⁶⁹⁹ V^r 130-38.

⁷⁰⁰ V^r 99, 136-37.

⁷⁰¹ See *supra* this Chapter, pp. 283-91.

4.4.2. Discursive Thinking and Its Mediated and Mixed Character

In *AA*, reasoning, which may be described as ‘(discursive) thinking’ (X|U#C|U)⁷⁰² or as ‘reflection, cogitation’ (Y#C|U)⁷⁰³, has its seat in the rational part of the soul⁷⁰⁴. This location determines its mixed character because it is also liable to be influenced by the irrational part, although no explicit mention of this part as such can be found in *AA*’s fragment in V⁷⁰⁵, or the affections proper to it⁷⁰⁶. Due to this mixed character reasoning can be misleading, because it leads the individual to form opinions and judgements on the reality he partakes in, but only rarely provides a reliable and detached analysis thereof. *AA*’s views, therefore, completely coincide with those authors who inherited the Aristotelian or Peripatetic epistemology⁷⁰⁷.

4.4.3. Sensorial Perception: The Senses and Representation

As far as sensorial perception is concerned, *AA* mainly focuses on two of the five senses: sight and hearing⁷⁰⁸. Sensorial as they are, this kind of perception is completely dependent upon externalities and can therefore mislead the individual⁷⁰⁹. It consists of two stages: the perception of the information through the senses proper and the ‘representation’ (ZUbhUg|#) or synthesis of individual perceptions that is presented to reason. It is noteworthy that in spite of its dualism, *AA* does not strictly speaking condemn the senses and the information they convey as evil. Rather, it is the objects of sensorial perception that are problematic for man, due to their unstable and deluding character. This is, incidentally, clear proof that *AA* is not antisomatic but clearly anticosmic⁷¹⁰. To a certain extent we might affirm that for *AA* sensorial perception is trustful insofar as it conveys reality as it is⁷¹¹. The problem therefore does not proceed from the senses themselves, but rather from the objects of sensorial perception. The second stage of sensorial perception, the representation or ZUbhUg|#, seemingly complicates the situation since it transforms the unstable and changeable realm by giving man a fallacious impression of stability⁷¹².

⁷⁰² V^r 145.

⁷⁰³ V^r 26, 62, 185.

⁷⁰⁴ V^r 144-45.

⁷⁰⁵ See, however, the reference to the irrational nature (U#U` c^ Zi #|^) in V^r 224, on which *supra* Chapter 3, note 103.

⁷⁰⁶ V^r 140ff; see *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.2, pp. 206-08.

⁷⁰⁷ On which see *supra* this Chapter, pp. 319-22.

⁷⁰⁸ V^r 211, 215, 226-27, 232.

⁷⁰⁹ For a similar depreciation of sensorial perception in Alcinous, see *supra* this Chapter, p. 321 note 692.

⁷¹⁰ See *supra*, p. 245.

⁷¹¹ See V^r 211-12, where it is assumed that the brethren do see that everything is changeable and in flux. See *supra* this Chapter, note 626.

⁷¹² On ZUbhUg|#, see *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.2.2.3, pp. 310-14.

4.5. The Two Stages on the Way to Knowledge: Practical and Theoretical

We may conclude that *AA* distinguishes two kinds or stages of knowledge. The first may be equated with practical knowledge and concerns the self-knowledge that allows the individual to deconstruct those cognitive aspects that may interfere in his achieving the highest kind of knowledge. Sensorial perception and representation transmit a distorted picture of reality and must consequently be controlled by a selective attitude of the percipient individual. This control is essential, otherwise unchecked perceptions and representations will contribute to the forming of affections. The rational control of affections also plays a cardinal role in this first stage of knowledge because it allows the individual to understand the nature of his soul and helps him to keep affections within certain limits⁷¹³. Finally, there is the rational control and the understanding of the fallible character of opinion and judgement. It is this third step that will allow the ‘change of mind’, which in turn facilitates the real ‘turn’ of the intellect towards its proper objects.

The second stage of knowledge may be equated with theoretical knowledge. The change of mind and the $\Upsilon\text{H}|\text{g}h\text{f}cZ\backslash\#$ are the starting points of a gradual process that leads to contemplation. By turning towards himself, man recognises his purely intellectual nature and can engage in contemplation of the true and divine reality. First, he corrects the original error and, by correcting it, he recollects himself. This recollection of what was dispersed through ignorance produces knowledge. The original lack of knowledge has by now been superseded and the intellect recovers its original unity. This reunion of subject and object, finally, provides complete understanding⁷¹⁴.

4.6. Conclusions from the Study of *AA*'s Epistemology

The study of *AA*'s epistemology confirms the results of the analysis of the previous sections. When paying attention to particular issues the philosophical tendency of our text is more than obvious. The numerous contacts with earlier and later philosophical texts that adopt the Aristotelian or Peripatetic epistemology allow us to recognise the lineage of the ground elements of its conceptual construction. This can clearly be seen in the elements involved in cognition and in the underlying epistemic tripartition based on the Xenocratic and Aristotelian tripartition of being. However, the comparative analysis of *AA*'s use and application of these elements reveal conspicuous similarities with the Hermetic and Gnostic world of ideas. With both movements *AA* shares the conception of ignorance as primal evil and of knowledge as the only means to redeem the degraded mankind. But it is possible to be more precise. A

⁷¹³ See *supra*, § 3.3.3 and 3.3.4, pp. 208-11.

closer analysis of the epistemological framework in which *AA* places the processes of devolution and of restitution of the lost condition brings our text into close connection with Gnosticism and more precisely with Valentinianism. Admittedly, notions such as dispersal, ignorance, error and oblivion and their counterparts are, as we have seen, rather widespread in numerous and widely differing texts. However, *AA*'s peculiar combination of all these issues in providing a coherent explanation of man's current condition and its possible correction has its closest parallel in the Valentinian context.

⁷¹⁴ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.1.3.1, pp. 292-95.

5. Ethics

5.1. Foundations

AA's ethics are highly influenced by its cosmological and anthropological dualism. Given the text's distinction between a lower and a higher realm and between a false and a real being, it is logical that *AA*'s ethics are aimed at liberating the true man from his external constrictions and at reorienting him towards the truly existent⁷¹⁵. As we have pointed out, this does not, however, mean a blind and radical rejection of everything that is considered to be alien to the true man. On the contrary: *AA* urges the individual to face the inferior sides of his nature and to become aware of their functioning in order to neutralise them⁷¹⁶. This is also a natural consequence of *AA*'s anthropology. Since *AA* conceives of man's current condition as a result of an original dispersion of the intellect and of a subsequent devolution due to ignorance, the recovery of man's pristine state can only take place after recollecting what is dispersed and after achieving the knowledge that may bring to perfection the imperfection generated by ignorance. In order to do so, however, individuals must first awaken their intellect and succeed in dismantling the obstacles posed to its unhampered activity⁷¹⁷.

AA therefore purports the individual's active involvement in his current degraded situation as the only means to achieve his highest ideals of transcending his physical being. By consciously dealing with the lower aspects of his immanent being – that is, by becoming aware of his sensorial perception, of his affections and of his ~~xcw~~ or 'opinion' –, the individual can neutralise the hindrance they represent for his true being and, by neutralising them, liberate his intellect from its inferior accretions. Andrew's role is very important in this process because he not only transmits the essential knowledge that allows his people to have a first glimpse of their true nature, but he also accompanies them in their laborious ethical process of detachment from their untrue nature⁷¹⁸.

5.2. The Good

5.2.1. The Highest Good: Contemplation

Given *AA*'s conception of the intellect's degradation, its imprisonment and the subsequent hampering of its own activity, it seems obvious that the Good will be the recovery of the

⁷¹⁵ See *supra* Chapter 4, §§ 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, pp. 225-30.

⁷¹⁶ V^t 130-38.

⁷¹⁷ See our commentary, *supra* Chapter 4, § 4.3.2, pp. 228-30.

⁷¹⁸ For Andrew's role as a teacher, *supra* Chapter 4, § 2.2.4, pp. 173-75. For his function as a psychotherapist or psychagogue, *supra* Chapter 4, § 2.3.2.2, pp. 179-81.

accurate, since it directly apprehends the first principles which, being more knowable than demonstrations, cannot be apprehended by scientific knowledge. As Zeller and Merlan have pointed out, Aristotle's use of the term *princípios* in this context might be interpreted in two ways. Either the *princípios* are to be the logical principles of reasoning, in which case we have a rationalistic conception of the intellect; or they must be understood as 'principals' or intelligibles, in which case the Philosopher conceives the goal of the intuition of the intellect as suprarationalistic⁷²⁴. The end of the *Eudemian Ethics*, however, seems to weaken the first of these interpretations of the term *princípios* because it clearly states that the contemplation of the divinity (*θεοῦ θεωρεῖν*) is the *telos* or 'goal' of the theoretical faculty (*θεωρητικῆς*)⁷²⁵.

Contemplation is also the highest good in numerous religious and philosophical contexts in later periods. Also, *σοφία*, although in its Platonic sense of 'wisdom' and thus including both theoretical and practical knowledge, is at the core of Eudorus' conception of the 'assimilation to God', which according to Cicero he attributed to Socrates, Plato and Pythagoras⁷²⁶. By living according to his intellect and developing its virtue, viz. wisdom, man becomes like God, who consequently is also conceived of as intellect. For Philo, too, contemplation, which represents the most divine part of philosophy, is the highest good⁷²⁷. Pure contemplation as the goal of philosophy is an established issue in Middle Platonism as well. Plutarch repeatedly refers to the ultimate goal of philosophy as a mystery-like contemplation⁷²⁸. But it also appears in Justin, Alcinous and Maximus of Tyre⁷²⁹, and through Philo and Middle Platonism the notion even reaches Clement of Alexandria⁷³⁰. It further appears in Neoplatonism where, as we will see below, it is considered as the culmination of man's education after he has left behind all hindrance proceeding from the lower aspects of his being⁷³¹.

⁷²⁴ See Zeller, *Die Philosophie* II/2, 196; Merlan, *Monopsychism*, 31 notes 2 and 3; J.L. Labarrière, 'De l'unité de l'Intellect chez Aristote et du choix de la vie la meilleure', in Canto-Sperber and Pellegrin, *Le Style*, 220-43.

⁷²⁵ Aristotle, *EE* 1249b 16ff.

⁷²⁶ Cicero, *De fin.* 5.26.

⁷²⁷ Philo, *Plant.* 36; *Immut.* 151; *Somn.* 250; *Abr.* 162; *V. contempl.* 11; 67. In general, R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Leipzig, 1927) 317-18; Lilla, *Clement*, 168-69.

⁷²⁸ Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* 718d; *Def. orac.* 422 e.

⁷²⁹ Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 2; Alcinous, *Didask.* 152.5-6; 152.8ff; 152.30ff; Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3, 53-58; 10.9, 232 ad fin.; 11.9-10, 205-44.

⁷³⁰ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.15.2; 1.166.2; 2.46.1; 2.47.4, etc. See numerous other passages in Lilla, *Clement*, 163-64.

Even though Alcinous is said to present a Stoic conception of virtue, as he upholds the idea of the self-sufficiency of virtue⁷⁴², he also considers ethical virtue a necessary precondition to attaining the highest contemplative virtue. His analysis of the contemplative and practical life already states that although the former is of primary value, the latter is a matter of necessity⁷⁴³. This combination of praxis and contemplation can also be clearly seen in his discussion of the various ways to attain the ‘likeness to God’, and especially that part that establishes the preconditions for this assimilation⁷⁴⁴. Apuleius also clearly distinguishes between the highest good, viz. the knowledge and contemplation of the primal good, and the secondary goods that owe their character to their participation in the primal good⁷⁴⁵. Especially interesting is that, when discussing the four cardinal virtues, Apuleius emphasises the difference between practical virtue (Zf c# \g] ^), concerning the knowledge of what is good and evil as well as those things that are a mean between the two, and theoretical virtue (g cZ] #), regarding the knowledge of things divine and human. The Aristotelian or Peripatetic influence seems to be clear. This is further supported by the fact that in the same passage Apuleius also differentiates between imperfect and perfect virtue, the latter consisting of a combination of the spheres of Zi #] ^, Y#c ^, and aU# \g] ^+*.

A section from the sixth *Ennead* of Plotinus offers a proper description of the two-stage way to contemplation: ‘We learn about it (*scil.* the Good) by comparison and negations and knowledge of the things which proceed from it and intellectual progress by ascending degrees; but we advance towards it by purifications and virtues and adornings of the soul and by gaining a foothold in the world of Intellect and settling ourselves firmly there and feasting on its contents’⁷⁴⁷.

⁷⁴² Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 299 and *Alcinous*, p. XXXIX, 171ff.

⁷⁴³ Alcinous, *Didask.* 152.30ff with Donini, *Tre Studi*, 106, who connects with Aspasius, *In EN* 1.2-4. See especially Alcinous, *Didask.* 156.15-19, which presents a clear parallel to *AA*, Ci g \ ^ XYReYk f] U# _ U] e df U Wk ^ z cfcEecP ` c#c ^ ci L c# c] k# ^ _ f] b] h] hUPhj 1eYk f] ¼ i fcd] d] hcbU _ U] ehUPdfU_ hU# UL` fi Yb aYB hj 1eYk f] ¼ Yd] g_ cdY] EhcRUL` eYP_ U] d] cPa \ Ri k k ^ YAcbzYb XYPhc] E dfU_ hc] Ezh] %cR] [Y] Eb _ U] d] %cRUL` c#f] cb _ U] d] %cP dfUhhc#Ybcb" For the Platonic precedent of the opposition c] L] Y] d^ / UL` c#f] c^, see Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 87 and note 69. See also Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Metaph.* 2.2-21 Hayduck.

⁷⁴⁴ Alcinous, *Didask.* 181.19-182.14. See 182.2-8, E] Z] _ c] a] e] U Xfi Ub hci j [YbYgeU] c] c] eYi j Zi geY] hY l f \ g UaeYbc] h` j dfcg _ ci ge zYaYg] d] Y _ U] YUek [~ j _ U] YUg_ \ geY] h` j _ UhUYbcae] z _ U] YhcY` i f] k b] hcb ` c] e _ U] X] XUg_ U`] e _ U] Yk f \ a Ubk b dUf UXc geY] k g hY YWghUgeU] a Yb hUYc ` \ UYk p Uef k d] bk b dfU [a Ubk bz UY] X] Y] h] U] df c] Y] hc] ^ bc \ hc] ^" For the complementarity of Zi #] ^, Y#c ^ and X] XUg_ U`] # see *supra* Chapter 4, § 4.3.1, pp. 225-28.

⁷⁴⁵ Apuleius, *De Plat.* 2.27.

⁷⁴⁶ See previous note.

⁷⁴⁷ Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.7.36.3-10, g] gh] a YB [UP \ fci IU] Ueci IY] hY [bk g] ^ Y] hY YdUZ \ Pa Y#] ghcbz _ U] ea Y#] ghcb Z] g] hci hfi Y] bU] aU# \ aUz ci LhcPdfcP Ui hcP] X] Y] E aU# \ aU ` Y#k bz UL` UPdYf] eUi hci 1aUeY] E] h] dfc] hY] cb" `8] XUg_ ci g] aYB ci E UbU` c]] U] hY _ U] eU] U] fYgY] ^ _ U] e] [bk gY] ^ hk b YWUi hci 1_ U] eUbUVUgac] %n] bY` z dcfYi #i g] XYP_ UeU# gY] ^ dfcP Ui hcP_ U] eUEYhU] e _ U] e _ cga \ gY] ^ _ U] e] hci 1bc \ hci 1Yd] VUgY] ^ _ U] e] Yd] fi Ui hci 1] X] i gY] ^ _ U] e] k b YL] Y] E] Y] h] U] gY] ^, transl. Armstrong. As Armstrong, ‘Plotinus’, 230, points out, ‘here

We can therefore conclude that *AA*'s conception of the Good as consisting of contemplation corresponds to the paramount place given by Peripateticising Middle Platonists to $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon\alpha$ or 'theoretical wisdom'. On the other hand, in line with all these authors, *AA* considers practical virtue as a necessary preparation for achieving the highest goal. Obviously, practical virtue is not conceived of as essential to the highest good, but it is certainly necessary because it releases the obstacles that hinder the exercise of the intellect and provides access to the desired $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\alpha$ ⁷⁴⁸.

5.3. The Goal of Man's Life

The first good or contemplation by the intellect is essential because it contributes to attaining the human $\eta\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\alpha$ or goal of his life. By turning to itself and by understanding its own true essence, human intellect understands at the same time the true nature of God. This contact means the reunion of subject and object of knowledge, a reunion in virtue of which nothing obscure remains and the intellect achieves complete apprehension.

The process of approaching the goal of man's life in *AA* can be considered as consisting of two stages. The first stage acquires a preparatory character and is strictly necessary because of the intellect's loss of its primal condition. The return of the divine element in man to its original abode represents the reverse of the process of devolution. Given the characteristics and consequences of the latter, it seems obvious that this return implies a previous laborious process of deconstruction or dismantling of the accretions that the intellect gained during its devolution⁷⁴⁹. This preliminary process of deconstruction will allow the second stage, namely the recovery of the intellect's primal unity⁷⁵⁰.

5.3.1. The Ethical Progress toward the Goal

That the parallelism between its three progressive steps and the three spheres that contribute to virtue shows that this process of deconstruction is conceived of as an ethical progress by means of which man achieves practical virtue seems to be clear. We have already commented both on the meaning and on the numerous parallels in writers of the period⁷⁵¹. What interests us here is that in attributing a preparatory role to human virtue, *AA* significantly adopts a middle position between two antithetic tendencies within Middle Platonism with regard to the means and the goal of the likeness to God or $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\alpha$. Admittedly, this goal can be

moral progress is closely linked with attainment of the intuitive, contemplative knowledge which is the last stage before the final vision and union'.

⁷⁴⁸ See *supra* Chapter 4, § 4.3.2, pp. 228-30.

⁷⁴⁹ See *supra*, p. 230.

⁷⁵⁰ See *supra* this Chapter, § 4.1, p. 316.

⁷⁵¹ *Supra*, pp. 227-28.

considered a common characteristic of the school: it appears in Eudorus, Plutarch, Theon of Smyrna, Alcinous, Apuleius, Maximus of Tyre and the anonymous *Commentary on the Timaeus* alike⁷⁵². This $\eta\gamma\#\epsilon^{\wedge}$ formula, however, does not seem to always have been interpreted in the same way. As has been pointed out, the report of Arius Didymus shows that for Eudorus and for other Alexandrian Platonists and Pythagoreans the goal of the assimilation was not the ‘celestial God’ of Plato’s *Phaedrus* 246e, but rather the transcendent divinity or $\beta\epsilon\backslash\eta\epsilon\text{P} \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\#$ ⁷⁵³. On the other hand, Alcinous’ emphasis that the assimilation of the $\eta\gamma\#\epsilon^{\wedge}$ formula concerned the ‘visible God’ and his denying that man’s goal could be the transcendent God who is above virtue⁷⁵⁴ shows that the issue was a matter of controversy within the school⁷⁵⁵. This view seems to be supported by Plotinus’ discussion of the issue and by his assertion that by means of virtue man may very well become assimilated to that which is beyond virtue⁷⁵⁶. According to Plotinus, virtues have a predominantly purificatory function and the $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\text{c}\text{]}\#\epsilon\text{g}\text{]}\wedge \epsilon\gamma\iota$ becomes $\gamma\eta\kappa\text{g}\text{]}\wedge$ or reunion⁷⁵⁷. *AA* speaks neither of ‘assimilation to God’ nor of virtues, but its conception of the previous process of detachment as an ethical progress that prepares the intellect for its highest goal on the one hand⁷⁵⁸ and, on the other, its view both of the $\gamma\eta\text{]}\epsilon\text{h}\epsilon\text{c}\text{Z}\backslash \#$ as a return to the primal unity⁷⁵⁹ and of contemplation as direct apprehension of the like by the like may be compared to both Middle Platonic conceptions of the $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\text{c}\text{]}\#\epsilon\text{g}\text{]}\wedge \epsilon\gamma\iota$ ^{+*s}1

In this sense *AA* shares the tendency, quite widespread in the imperial age, to conceive of philosophy as an introductory or preliminary study in order to attain contemplation. Plato seems already to have hinted at this distinction in the *Symposium*⁷⁶¹, and this might be one of the passages Plutarch has in mind when he affirms that for Plato philosophy culminated in a

⁷⁵² Eudorus, *ap* Stobaeus 2.48.8ff; Plutarch, *De superst.* 169c; *De sera Num. Vind.* 550d; Theon of Smyrna, *Expos.* 14.18 Hiller; Alcinous, *Didask.* 181.19-182.14; Apuleius, *De Plat.* 2.25ff; Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 13.1, 26.9; *Comm. Tim.* 7.14.

⁷⁵³ Arius Didymus. *ap.* Stobaeus 2.49f Wachsmut.

⁷⁵⁴ Alcinous, *Didask.* 181.36ff; but see already Aristotle, *EN* 1145a 25-27, $_U\text{]}\epsilon\text{]}\text{U}\text{P} \kappa \acute{\epsilon} \text{d}\text{Y}\text{f} \text{c}\text{i} \text{K}\text{Y}\text{P}\backslash\text{f}\text{]}\epsilon\text{]}\gamma\text{h}\text{]}\epsilon$
 $_U\text{]}\text{U}\text{c}\text{i} \text{K}\text{Y}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{h}\backslash\text{z}\text{c}\text{i} \text{h}\kappa^{\wedge} \text{c}\text{i} \text{K}\text{Y}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{c}\text{i} \text{z}\text{U}\text{L} \backslash \text{f}\text{i} \text{z}\text{Y}\text{B}\text{h}\text{]}\text{a}\text{]}\text{k} \text{h}\text{Y}\text{f} \text{c}\text{b} \text{U}\text{E}\text{Y}\text{h}\backslash \text{t}, \backslash \text{z}\text{Y}\text{P} \text{h}^{\wedge}$, 1178b 7-22.

⁷⁵⁵ Dörrie, ‘Die Frage’, 223-25; Dillon, *Alcinous*, 173-4. For the *unio mystica* as the goal of the $\epsilon\alpha\epsilon\text{c}\text{]}\#\epsilon\text{g}\text{]}\wedge \epsilon\gamma\iota$ 1 in Ammonius and his circle, namely the Platonist Origen and Plotinus, see Dörrie, ‘Die platonische Theologie’, 244.

⁷⁵⁶ Plotinus, *Enn.*, 1.2.1.30.

⁷⁵⁷ Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.2. *passim*; 1.6.9.30ff. Dörrie, ‘Die Frage’, 224; Merki, *Angleichung an Gott*, 17-25.

⁷⁵⁸ See, for instance, V^r 83ff with *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.2.5, pp. 203-04.

⁷⁵⁹ See V^r 74ff with *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.2.4, pp. 200-03.

⁷⁶⁰ See V^r 2-19 with *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.1.2, pp. 193-95 and V^r 91-101 with our commentary *supra* pp. 203-05.

⁷⁶¹ Plato, *Symp.* 209e 5ff. See Merlan, *Monopsychism* 33 and note 1, who adds passages such as *Ep.* 7 344b; *Phdr.* 250a-251a; *Phd.* 69c-d. Dillon, *Alcinous*, 176.

kind of mystery-like illumination⁷⁶². In the same passage Aristotle is also said to have shared this view, and many centuries later Psellus would affirm that for Aristotle the ultimate contemplation took place by the illumination of the *bcit*⁷⁶³. Philo also states that philosophy is a preparation for higher wisdom⁷⁶⁴, and he speaks of this last stage as the ‘greater mysteries’⁷⁶⁵. A similar idea appears in a Middle Platonist of the beginning of the second century, Theon of Smyrna, who compared the five successive steps in the study of Plato to the five steps of initiation into a mystery religion⁷⁶⁶. The same idea appears in Alcinous’ closing remarks to the section on the ‘likeness to God’⁷⁶⁷. True, the contents of the preparatory studies are instead the encyclopaedic sciences, but Alcinous’ use of the term *ai Y|geU* ‘to be initiated’ reflects the same conception of philosophy as a mystery-like initiation. Through Philo and Middle Platonism the notion even reaches Clement of Alexandria⁷⁶⁸.

5.3.2. The Return of the Divine Element to its Original Unity

AA’s conception of a complementarity of the practical and theoretical virtues is certainly similar to Plotinus’ conception of the *dc` |h|_U]FUEYhU* or ‘civic virtues’ as the previous purification in order to achieve a higher stage in which contemplation is possible⁷⁶⁹. However, we should not consider this similarity as due to Neoplatonic influence. In spite of the resemblance there remain important differences. *AA* neither argues the necessity of the previous process by defending the purificatory character of practical virtue nor equates the final stage of purification with the reunion with the divine. Rather, *AA* conceives of the process of deconstruction as that which allows the intellect to turn to itself (*YH|ghf YZY|b*)⁷⁷⁰. Through the knowledge gained by this introversion the intellect is said to recollect itself and to recover its true condition, to overcome the fetters that imprisoned it and to supersede what seemed to oppress it⁷⁷¹. At this point the intellect is able to fulfil the return to its original abode.

⁷⁶² Plutarch, *De Is.* 382d-e = Aristotle, *Eud.* fr. 10 Ross. Other examples in Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 718c-d, *Def. orac.* 422e.

⁷⁶³ Psellus, *Schol. ad Joh. Climac.* 6.171 = Aristotle, *De philos.* fr. 15 Ross.

⁷⁶⁴ Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 3.228; *Congr.* 79. See Wolfson, *Philo*, 1.143-63.

⁷⁶⁵ Philo, *Cher.* 49. Cf. *Somn.* 1.191, 1.226, *Leg. alleg.* 3.218.

⁷⁶⁶ Theon of Smyrna, *Expos.* 14.17-16.2 Hiller.

⁷⁶⁷ Alcinous, *Didask.* 182.2-14 with Whittaker, *Alcinoos*, 140 and note 466, with many parallels to this conception. See also *supra* this Chapter, note 744.

⁷⁶⁸ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.19.2-3, 5.56.3, 5.57.2.

⁷⁶⁹ See *supra* this Chapter, pp. 329-30 and note 747.

⁷⁷⁰ V^r 73-75.

⁷⁷¹ V^r 86-101.

The intellectualistic undercurrent of this return is due to the fact that the origin of the process of devolution was also considered in an intellectualist manner⁷⁷². If a primal ignorance generated a deviation of the intellect from its proper objects, the knowledge provided by Andrew's words allowed the intellect to wake up from its lethargy and to reorient its sharp sight to what is akin to it. It is at this point that *αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ* or 'change of mind' is possible; knowledge about the own origin and nature for the first time allows a free choice, since the original ignorance prevented the first humans from acting or choosing freely⁷⁷³. The return or *ἐπιστροφή* presents a clear voluntaristic charge and is conceived of as a free and unconditional 'turn around' towards what man really is. R.E. Witt defines this sort of *ἐπιστροφή* as a 'turn around of the mind, an "intention of the will and the intellect"'⁷⁷⁴. He contrasts it with the more 'popular' use of the term in the sense of 'conversion', such as attested in Matt 18:3 or Acts 15:3. However, Witt further argues that *ἐπιστροφή* in its philosophical sense owes its development to Stoics and Platonists alike. He refers both to Seneca and to Marcus Aurelius and compares their views to Platonic, Middle Platonic and Neoplatonic conceptions of the *ἐπιστροφή* as if the return to the original unity as defended by these sources could be reduced to the same underlying motivation⁷⁷⁵. Dodds arrives at a similar conclusion when, finding the motif in Alcinous and Seneca, he suggests its possible Poseidonian origin⁷⁷⁶. In our opinion, the Stoic and the Platonic conceptions, despite their terminological similarity, are radically different both in their premises and in their goals. If the Stoic notion implies the view that the *ἐπιστροφή* represents an alteration (*ἀλλοίωσις*) of the self that provides the individual with the restitution of his unity with the all⁷⁷⁷, the Platonic notion implies recalling the own true nature, which stresses man's intrinsic difference from and alienation in the cosmos. Whereas the Stoic conception intends to allow man's consciousness of his being a part of the whole and therefore urges him to live according to nature⁷⁷⁸, the Platonic version intends to deny man's kinship with the cosmos and to remove him from the realm of nature.

⁷⁷² See *supra* this Chapter, § 4.2, pp. 316-19.

⁷⁷³ See *supra* this Chapter, § 3.2.1.3.2, pp. 295-96.

⁷⁷⁴ Witt, 'Clement', 203. This aspect has also been stressed by H. Dörrie, 'Die Lehre von der Seele', in H. Dörrie *et al.*, *Porphyre: huit exposés suivis de discussions*. EAC 12 (Geneva, 1966) 172ff at 173, who emphasises the 'willentliche Bezüglichkeit' of the notion as compared to the *κατὰ φύσιν* ¹

⁷⁷⁵ Seneca, *Ep.* 41; Marcus Aurelius 8.34, 8.48, 9.42.

⁷⁷⁶ Dodds, *Proclus*, 218, quotes Seneca, *Epist.* 65.16 and 79.12.

⁷⁷⁷ So already in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.6.

⁷⁷⁸ Seneca, *Epist.* 41, *ad fin.*

This turn of the mind in *AA* has its remote origin in Plato's *Republic* and his imagery about the 'turning of the eye of the soul'⁷⁷⁹. The motif was reinterpreted by Alcinous, who combines the notions of 'awakening' and 'turning' in order to explain the relationship between the first God and the intellect of the Cosmic-soul, an explanation that already merges the *Timaeus* with Aristotelian noetics. By turning the soul towards itself, the first God allows the Cosmic-soul to look at the 'intelligibles' by which the Cosmic-soul's intellect achieves its full actuality and is able to operate in the sublunary world⁷⁸⁰. Alcinous states that the cosmic and human souls have been shaped out of the same material⁷⁸¹ and, in this sense, even if he is not explicit on the issue, we might expect that this 'awakening' and this 'turning' are also enacted in the individual soul.

In order to find an explicit reference we have to look to Maximus of Tyre, who explicitly refers to the soul turning the intelligence towards itself as a means to re-encounter 'pure truth, free from imperfect images'⁷⁸². Even though Maximus may elsewhere associate the motif of the inward turn with that of the flight of the mind or *Himmelsreise*⁷⁸³, his tenth oration *On Learning and Recollection* closely links the motif with that of 'awakening'⁷⁸⁴. It is precisely this stage of development that allows us to see the different character of the Middle Platonic notion when compared with the Stoic one. In Maximus the 'turn around towards the divine' is not a 'turn around towards the divine'. Rather, it is an inward turn, for the divine is in oneself and this not by virtue of man's partaking in the all but by virtue of his absolute difference to the all and due to his kinship with transcendence. The same can be concluded from another parallel to *AA*'s view in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which also implies the notion of man's 'kinship' with the divine instead of that of a 'bond of union'. In *Poimandres*, as in *AA*, self-knowledge occupies a central position, for by knowing oneself one knows God. The first Hermetic tractate not only states that 'he who knows himself goes to himself', but also that when man recognises that he is made out of light and life like God, he discovers his kinship with the divine. Therefore this text claims, 'Let he who has intellect recognise himself', since by recognising himself he is automatically reunited with God's essence⁷⁸⁵.

⁷⁷⁹ Plato, *Rep.* 519b; Dodds, *Proclus*, 218. *Supra* Chapter 3, note 56.

⁷⁸⁰ On Alcinous' conception, see *supra* this Chapter, pp. 275-76, 289-90. As already mentioned, Plutarch, *De an. procr. Tim.* 1024d ff presents a very similar view. See *supra* this Chapter, p. 289 and note 438; see also *supra* 275-76.

⁷⁸¹ Alcinous, *Didask.* 178.18-21. See *supra* this Chapter, note 504.

⁷⁸² Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3, 49-53.

⁷⁸³ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 11.10; cf. 9.6; 10.2. For his precedents see Plato, *Phdr.* 246d-247e; *Tht.* 173e.

⁷⁸⁴ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 10.3, *ad fin.*

⁷⁸⁵ *C.H.* 1.21 (14.1-10 N-F).

In *AA*, however, the motif is elaborated more than in these Middle Platonic and Hermetic parallels. *AA*'s references to imperfection (ἡμιτελής) and to deficiency (ἡμιεπίστατος), together with references to the turning to oneself as bringing this deficiency to perfection, brings our text especially close to the Valentinian version of ἡμιτελής Irenaeus, indeed, reports the relevance of the notion in the system of Ptolemy and interestingly refers to a necessary previous 'disposition' (ἡμιεπίστατος) for this turning (to the father)⁷⁸⁶. This reference is particularly interesting because the term repeatedly appears in *AA* as opposed to γίνεσθαι ('agree') precisely in those contexts in which Andrew urges his listeners not to agree with externals but rather to 'dispose' themselves according to the words⁷⁸⁷.

Even more interesting is the parallel provided by the *Gospel of Truth*. This text not only shares with *AA* the view of the soteriological process as a 'return to the source of all being, which is simultaneously a return to one's true self'⁷⁸⁸, as Gnostic texts generally do. Like *AA*, it also argues that knowledge provides the final and desired restoration of the incompleteness and imperfection that originated in the primal ignorance⁷⁸⁹. This interpretation is supported by the following passage, which almost looks like a paraphrase of Andrew's statement in *AA* that he and Maximilla bring to perfection 'what was imperfect in Adam' and 'what Eve was lacking'⁷⁹⁰: 'For he who is ignorant is in need and what he lacks is great, since he lacks that which will make him perfect'⁷⁹¹. The similarities are obvious. The *Gospel of Truth* not only conceives of knowledge as restoring the primal perfection, it also implies that imperfection came about as a result of dispersion⁷⁹². In order to reverse this process of devolution, individuals must become aware of their origin and belonging. This is the reason why the *Gospel* states that 'it is about themselves that they receive instruction, receiving it from the Father, turning again to him'⁷⁹³. The *Gospel of Truth* repeatedly refers to the fact that the perfection of the Totality is in the Father himself and that, therefore, in order to recover it, the Totality must return to him. This lack is not negatively dealt with, since it is precisely that which allows the Totality to return to the Father, 'for if this aeon had thus [received] their

⁷⁸⁶ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.2.3, 1.4.1-2.

⁷⁸⁷ See *supra* Chapter 3, notes 85, 92, 93 and 107.

⁷⁸⁸ *TriTrac* (NHC I, 5) 78.1-3, 123.32-33; Attridge-MacRae, 'Gospel of Truth', 53; see *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 19.5, 21.5-11, 25.11-19, 28.8-19. Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.2.2 and *C.H.* 1.13. See also Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 91.

⁷⁸⁹ V^r 73-109 and especially the conclusion in 77-79.

⁷⁹⁰ V^r 74-79.

⁷⁹¹ Compare *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 21.14-18 and V^r 74-79. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 78.2. See Attridge-MacRae, 'The Gospel of Truth', 62.

⁷⁹² See *GosTruth* (NHC I, 3) 17.4ff, for dispersion and 24.9-27.7 for the reunification effected by revelation, especially 26.5. For the recurrence of the motif of the return to unity see Heracleon, fr. 18 (*ap.* Origen, *In Joh.* 13.11; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.14.5, 2.12.3; Clement of Alexandria, *Exc. Theod.* 36.2; Ménard, *L'Évangile*, 122-23.

the qualitative change that transforms man's nature. It is rather the contrary: by means of the $\Upsilon\delta\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$ man rejects what he is not and what he has never been in order to recover what he really is.

The concept of the $\Upsilon\delta\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$ as we find it in *AA* and in the *Gospel of Truth* is also attested (due to Gnostic influence?) by Clement of Alexandria. He, too, equates the process of introversion with an 'undiverted return towards God'⁸⁰² by means of which the mind becomes a unity with itself and with God⁸⁰³. The continuity of this train of thought is further attested by the cardinal importance of the issue both in Plotinus and in later Neoplatonism⁸⁰⁴.

5.4. Affections

In dealing with affections, *AA*, then, does not purport a complete extirpation thereof, but rather their control and balance by means of reason. The essential role of $\alpha\Upsilon\eta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$ in our text is not only due to the fact that the continuous exercise of reason reinforces the controlling function of rationality, but also because the rational recharacterisation of affections is essential in order to achieve the highest goal of man's life⁸⁰⁵, viz. the contemplation of the divine that reunites him with the transcendent⁸⁰⁶. In a last analysis Andrew's activities are concerned with the ethical education of his followers in order for them to pursue the real good and not the apparent good⁸⁰⁷.

Even though $\alpha\Upsilon\eta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$ is a rather widespread issue both in the Hellenistic period – it appears in the Old Academy, Aristotle and Peripatos, Middle Stoicism and apparently even

interprets $\alpha\Upsilon\eta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$ in this passage as 'remorse', 'repent', he mentions the very same terms that appear in *AA*, namely 'reminding' ($\Upsilon^{\tau}207, \iota\delta\epsilon\alpha\beta\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$) and $\alpha\Upsilon\eta\epsilon\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$ as preconditions for the return.

⁸⁰² Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 7.43.5.

⁸⁰³ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.80.9; *Protr.* 88.2; cf. *Strom.* 4.9.5. See Witt, 'Clement', 203.

⁸⁰⁴ Plotinus *Enn.* 6.2.9.35f; 6.9.2.40ff; 5.6.5.10ff 5.3.13.13f. See the numerous references included by Witt, 'Clement', 203 note 12. For Plotinus' conception of the $\Upsilon\delta\lambda\gamma\eta\epsilon\zeta\lambda\#\mu\sigma$ as a 'return to oneself and to the One' and as identity or reunion of subject and object, see Krämer, *Geistmetaphysik*, 317 and notes 469 and 470; D.J. O'Meara, *Plotinus. An Introduction to the Enneads* (Oxford, 1993) 100-10. For the notion in later Neoplatonism, see Porphyry, *Ad Marc.* 24.11, *Sent.* 7, 13 (on which see Deuse, *Untersuchungen*, 176f; 195f); Proclus, *Inst. Th.* 31, *In Tim.* 65, *In Alcib.* 103a.

⁸⁰⁵ See *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.4, pp. 209-11.

⁸⁰⁶ The crucial role played by affections in the achievement of contemplation is obvious in the appearance of two affections in the description of the moment previous to its fulfilment. See $\Upsilon^{\tau}99-101$, where 'desire' ($\delta\epsilon\epsilon\Upsilon\#\mu\sigma$) and 'to be of good courage' ($\epsilon\Upsilon\epsilon\Upsilon\#\mu\sigma$) appear to be preconditions for the accomplishment of contemplation.

⁸⁰⁷ That Andrew regards his activities as an ethical teaching that may help his followers to desire properly is clear from the fact that his speeches repeatedly intend to dissociate appearance – that is, how reality appears to his addressee – from belief – that is, the addressee's interpretation of this appearance. By means of this dissociation Andrew achieves an important goal: he suspends the normal sequence appearance-belief that constitutes the starting point of the affection. By doing so he creates a suitable context for a convenient rational argument that in turn will allow the transformation of irrational affections into rational and balanced emotional responses to reality.

in Antiochus⁸⁰⁸ – and in late antiquity, *AA*'s use and application to the achieving of man's goal might help us to give our text a more precise place in the intellectual world of the period. Due to Middle Platonic influence, moderation of affections appears in Philo and in Clement of Alexandria, although these two writers consider it a kind of preparation for the ideal and complete extirpation of affections that characterise the sage. Thus, for instance, although Philo may praise the moderation of affections⁸⁰⁹ he does so only insofar as it represents a gradual process leading to the absolute $\Upsilon\text{H}\Upsilon\text{U}\#\Upsilon\text{I}\Upsilon$ ⁸¹⁰. Due to Philonian influence, Clement defends exactly the same view⁸¹¹: he also conceives $\alpha\Upsilon\text{h}\text{f}\text{]cdU}\#\Upsilon\text{I}\Upsilon$ as a first stage in which man proceeds to control affections by means of reason and which must finally be superseded by the state in which passions have been completely eliminated⁸¹².

AA's position is rather different because it considers that affections, when controlled through moderation and reason, contribute to man's well-being and help him to achieve his highest goal⁸¹³. Once so far, obviously, rational affections are completely superseded, but this is a natural process that does not include a conscious extirpation. It is possible to connect *AA*'s views with Middle Platonism, a context in which moderation of the passions is a standard issue. The Aristotelian origin of this conception of affections hardly needs elaboration. In addition to the numerous passages in the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, many testimonies of late antiquity identify it as definitely Peripatetic⁸¹⁴. It already appears in Plutarch, who denies not only the usefulness but also the possibility of completely eradicating affections⁸¹⁵. In a clear Aristotelian vein, Alcinous not only considers certain affections necessary and beneficial when controlled by moderation, but also bases his defence of *metriopatheia* on the Aristotelian definition of virtue as a mean⁸¹⁶. In line with Alcinous, Maximus of Tyre adopts

⁸⁰⁸ See Cicero, *Acad. post.* 1.38; *De fin.* 5.62-4; cf., however, *Acad. pr.* 2.135-6, but see on the issue Lilla, *Clement*, 100 note 4.

⁸⁰⁹ Philo, *Virt.* 195, *Leg. alleg.* 3.129. On the need to keep the irrational part of the soul under the control of reason: *Leg. alleg.* 1.41, 3.116, *Sacr.* 80, *Post. C.* 71, *Agr.* 17.58; *Plant.* 144.

⁸¹⁰ Philo, *Leg. alleg.* 2.100, 102, 3.131, 132, 134, 140, *Prov.* 1.56 and 1.66 Aucher.

⁸¹¹ Lilla, *Clement*, 96-106.

⁸¹² Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 1.3.3, parallelism between medical care of the body and education of the soul; 1.6.1, the $\text{c}\#\text{c}^{\wedge}$ of the Father heals the soul by means of holy charm; *Strom.* 1.159.3, reason as the ruling principle that masters affections; 6.136.1-2.

⁸¹³ *Supra*, 328ff.

⁸¹⁴ See Arius Didymus, *ap.* Stobaeus 2.116.19ff and Diogenes Laertius 5.31.

⁸¹⁵ Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 102 c-d; *De virt.* 441c; 443c; 44b-c, on which Dillon, 'Metriopatheia and Apatheia: Some Reflections on a Controversy in Later Greek Ethics', *Golden Chain*, Chapter 8.

⁸¹⁶ Alcinous, *Didask.* 184.27-36.

the same position⁸¹⁷ and, according to the testimony of Aulus Gellius, Calvenus Taurus also defended *metriopatheia* against Stoic $\alpha\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ⁸¹⁸,

Plotinus' position has been compared with Philo's and Clement's conception⁸¹⁹. As we have seen, he regards virtues as purifications that lead to the superseding of the constrictions that hinder unrestrained contemplation⁸²⁰. However, his view of the $\alpha\pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ cannot, strictly speaking, be equated with the Stoic notion thereof, for he never speaks of an active repression or elimination⁸²¹.

Unlike these previous examples, *AA* does not purport the eradication of affections, because they contribute to the last goal of contemplation.

5.5. The Virtues

As far as virtue is concerned, the preceding discussion makes clear that *AA* considers both ethical and theoretical virtue as essential. Ethical virtue is achieved by reason, which allows man to attain the right mean between the extremes of excess and deficiency. This mastery of reason in all three spheres of human existence helps the individual to eliminate his dependence upon issues that are alien to his true rational nature. The active exercise of reason facilitates a natural superseding of these alien aspects without requiring the individual to repress or to extirpate what is not his. The underlying notion is the old Socratic tenet that no one errs voluntarily. Once the right internal balance is restored and man recovers the full capacity of his understanding, he naturally chooses the real and not the apparent good.

5.6. Conclusions Concerning the Study of *AA*'s Ethics

The above sketch of *AA*'s conception of virtue as well as the other ethical aspects reviewed in the previous sections show that as far as ethics are concerned our text can be placed within the Aristotelian-Peripatetic ethical tradition⁸²². This is not surprising: this tradition is the most fitting for *AA*'s theology and anthropology since it provides the method by means of which man can transcend his degraded condition and recover his primal state. Given the fact that numerous Middle Platonists adopt the Peripatetic ethical framework as well, it is plausible that *AA*'s writer received this conception through their mediation and not directly from the

⁸¹⁷ Maximus of Tyre, *Diss.* 27.7, 120-24.

⁸¹⁸ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 1.26.11. On the issue K. Praechter, 'Taurus', *RE*, col. 62; Moreschini, 'La posizione', 21-23 and *Studi sul 'de Dogmat. Plat.' di Apuleio*, 95; Lilla, *Clement*, 102; Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, 241-42.

⁸¹⁹ Lilla, *Clement*, 105, compares the Plotinian *apatheia* with that of Philo and Clement.

⁸²⁰ *Supra* this Chapter 328f and note 747; see also 330f.

⁸²¹ See Armstrong, 'Plotinus', 229.

⁸²² Given the obvious Peripatetic orientation of *AA*'s ethics, we cannot agree with the interpretation that sees traces of Stoic thought in our text's ethical views (Prieur, *Acta*, 377-79).

Aristotelian *Ethics* or indirectly from other doxographical works. Middle Platonic inspiration of *AA*'s Peripateticising ethics is especially evident in its combination of two antithetic positions within the school with regard to the ways to and goal of the 'assimilation to God'. On the one hand, *AA* adopts the view defended by Alcinous that ethical virtue is the necessary preparation that allows the intellect to focus on its proper objects. On the other hand, it adopts the view defended by Eudorus and others that the goal of the assimilation was the transcendent and not the visible God⁸²³.

6. Conclusions from the Systematic and Comparative Analysis of AA's Thought

The study of *AA*'s thought on the exclusive basis of *AA*'s fragment in V provides much more uniform results than those achieved by previous analyses based on an indiscriminate use of the extant textual witnesses. Isolated from the remaining textual testimonies and analysed in itself, *AA*'s fragment in V presents a consistent and coherent thought without serious internal contradictions.

The five parts into which we divided our analysis, cosmology, theology, anthropology, epistemology and ethics, are not only compatible with one another but even present a high degree of internal cohesion. This seems to rule out the possibility of seeing in *AA*'s views the expression of an indiscriminate combination of ideas that were widely held at the time of its composition. *AA*'s thought naturally reflects the religious and philosophical atmosphere of the second half of the second and first half of the third centuries, but not haphazardly. Its internal coherence shows that the author of *AA* neither provides a combination of commonplaces nor an eclectic arrangement of those ideas that best suited his purposes. Rather, *AA* expresses the convictions and views on reality of its writer, whose ideas were naturally influenced by contemporary religious and philosophical thought.

6.1. Philosophical Influences on AA's Thought

As far as *AA*'s philosophical influences are concerned, the closest parallels to our text are to be found in the Middle Platonic context. As our previous analysis has sufficiently shown, most cosmological, theological, anthropological, epistemological and ethical views in our text, despite its peculiar use and application to its own purposes, are attested in Middle Platonic sources as well.

Regarding cosmology, *AA*'s tripartite conception of the universe, which was first stated by Xenocrates and Aristotle, is an established issue in the imperial age and, as such, can

⁸²³ See *supra* this Chapter, § 5.3.1, pp. 331ff.

be frequently found in Middle Platonism. *AA*'s conception of the transcendent realm as the region beyond time, movement and change and that of immanence as the unstable sphere subject to flux and the processes of generation and corruption is widely attested in this context.

The same can be said of *AA*'s theology. The application of the methods of eminence and abstraction to achieve knowledge of God has its best parallels in Middle Platonic sources. In spite of stating that ultimate knowledge of the divinity is attained by means of the *via negationis* only, Middle Platonists also admit the preparatory validity of other methods, such as eminence or analogy. This combination of cognitive methods is obviously related to another issue, which is characteristic of the period and which *AA* shares with Middle Platonists, namely the hesitation as to the nature of God, who is sometimes conceived of as the supreme being and other times as transcending the realm of being altogether. The former notion has an old Platonic origin and the latter might already have appeared in an Old Academic context. Given the fact that the notion of the One or transcendent divinity that derived from the 'first hypothesis' of the Platonic *Parmenides* is also recurrent in Middle Platonic philosophers, the hypothesis of a Neopythagorean influence on *AA*'s notion of God is unnecessary.

As far as anthropology is concerned, *AA* shows the influence, already perceptible in the first century BC, but especially evident in the second half of the second and first half of the third centuries AD, of Aristotelian noetics. Aristotle's views on the intellect, both as divine and as divine element in man, had a great impact on later thought. Although they are developed and systematised especially by the Peripatos and Neoplatonism, our testimonies show that their influence went far beyond Aristotle's successors. In point of fact, in a Middle Platonic context Plutarch already establishes the hierarchy intellect-soul-body, also adopted by Alcinous, which echoes the Aristotelian distinction of the intellect from soul and body. The same is true for *AA*'s bipartite conception of the soul, consisting of a rational and an irrational part. This Platonic-Peripatetic notion is at the core of Middle Platonic psychology, as the numerous (mostly controversial) Middle Platonic testimonies clearly show. The same can be said of *AA*'s conception of the physical body and sensorial perception.

AA's epistemology appears to have the same philosophical background. It echoes the Xenocratic and Aristotelian tripartition of being and of knowledge, which not only played a role in Middle Platonism and Neopythagorean pseudepigrapha, but also appears in Plotinus and later Neoplatonism. The intellect and its immediate apprehension, discursive reasoning

with its mediated character and sense perception conform to the established epistemic tripartition common to all these contexts.

Regarding ethics, *AA* endorses the main lines of Aristotelian ethics, like most Middle Platonists. Not only the idea of the highest Good as consisting in contemplation, but also its preparatory stages by means of *Zf c# \g]^* present clear Aristotelian traces and are also attested in Middle Platonism. The idea of the reunion with the divinity as the goal of man's life is certainly different from the Middle Platonic conception of the 'assimilation or likeness to God'. However, in arguing the way to attain this reunion, *AA* significantly combines the ethical character of the *c# c]# g]^ eYi j* in Alcinous, who rejected that man's goal could be the God beyond the heavens, with the idea that the objective of this assimilation was the transcendent divinity, as defended by Eudorus and other Alexandrian Platonists. On the other hand, *AA*'s application of moderation to controlling affections is certainly not surprising, for *aYhf]cdU#Y]U* was a widely held attitude towards emotions in late antiquity. True, authors like Philo or Clement show a tendency to combine Aristotelian and Stoic ethics and to conceive of *aYhf]cdU#Y]U* and *U#U#Y]U* as complementary. In their view, both ideals represent successive stages in the ethical progress toward the state of mind of the sage. Nothing of the kind can be found in *AA*, which strictly follow the Aristotelian view that only moderation, and not eradication, can free man from the influence of affections. Again, this view is extensive in Middle Platonism.

Given the fact that most of *AA*'s views are also attested, if not by all Middle Platonists, at least by a representative number of them, and that there is no relevant issue that may suggest the contrary, we can dismiss the hypothesis of Neopythagorean influence on our text.

The same is true for the alleged Plotinian or Neoplatonic influences. In the first place, the alleged Plotinian influence poses an obvious chronological problem. Given the time span of Plotinus life (204/5-270) the influence of his writings on *AA* is a theoretical possibility. The problem is, as Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus* reports, that he did not begin writing until the age of fifty, thus around 254/5, and that his writings were only accessible to a close group of disciples and copies were not easily available⁸²⁴. It was only 30 years after Plotinus' death, thus around 301, that his pupil Porphyry finally completed his edition of the *Enneads* and made Plotinus' writings accessible to a wider public. If *AA*'s writer is supposed to have read the *Enneads*, *AA*'s date should be considerably delayed. On the other hand, assuming a rather improbable direct (oral) influence on our writer creates approximately the same problems.

⁸²⁴ Porphyry, *VP* 4. See Rist, *Plotinus*, 8-9.

Admittedly, *AA*'s writer could have come in contact with Plotinus but this could have only happened in Rome, after the philosopher was established there and began to teach at the age of forty, thus around 244/5⁸²⁵, but the distinctive features of his thought only developed later.

Secondly, there are no relevant issues that may induce us to accept such a hypothesis. Since the second half of the twentieth century, studies on the philosophy of late antiquity emphasise that most of the seeds of the elements normally held as typically Plotinian can already be found in many of his predecessors. According to these studies, Plotinus' genius consists not so much in his innovation as in his combining and bringing into a coherent system the ideas that were developing in the intellectual and religious atmosphere of the previous centuries⁸²⁶. Given that the alleged similarities between *AA* and Plotinus concern certain issues that also appear in his Middle Platonic predecessors, Plotinian influence can be also dismissed⁸²⁷.

As far Stoic influence on *AA*'s ethics is concerned, our previous analysis clearly rules out such a hypothesis: *AA*'s ethics present a clear Peripatetic background with numerous parallels in Middle Platonic sources.

6.2. Orientation of *AA*'s Thought

In this part of our conclusions our main concern is to determine whether *AA*'s thought should be grouped with that of mainstream Christianity or should rather be associated with other groups that would, later on, be labelled as heretics.

As far as we can judge on the basis of *AA*'s fragment in V, there is absolutely no evidence that might induce us to bring *AA* into close connection with mainstream Christianity. Such a suggestion, if at all possible, could be drawn only from an analysis of different textual testimonies than our fragment. *AA* notably lacks relevant scriptural references. Excluding the obvious allusions to the Old Testament in the figures of Eve, Adam and Cain, a vague echo of 1Cor 15:20 and a more convincing allusion to Matt 8:20⁸²⁸, *AA* completely ignores both OT and NT⁸²⁹. The general philosophical tenor of our text, as well as the particular application of

⁸²⁵ Porphyry, *VP* 3.

⁸²⁶ On Plotinus' indebtedness to his predecessors, see Merlan, *Monopsychism*, 4-84; Armstrong, 'Plotinus', 211-14; Rist, *Plotinus*, 169-87.

⁸²⁷ There is only one issue in *AA* that might, to a certain extent, present a certain similarity with Plotinus, namely *AA*'s rather ecstatic notion of man's reunion with the divinity. However, a closer examination immediately shows that both versions, in spite of certain resemblance, nevertheless present distinctive features. Thus, for Plotinus the $\psi\chi\kappa\omicron\gamma$ can take place at any moment and should not be consciously searched for (see Plotinus, *Enn.* 5.5.8.4, on which J.M. Rist, *Plotinus. The Road to Reality* [London, 1967] 222-30). In *AA* it takes place after death and is only attained after a conscious and long process of preparation.

⁸²⁸ See V^f 103-06 and 150, respectively.

⁸²⁹ Other scriptural references alleged by Prieur, *Acta*, 404-05, such as Mark 4:1-20 in V^f 168-82 and Luke 24:19 in V^f 232 can be dismissed. As we already pointed out above, V^f 168-82 should not be brought into connection

philosophical views to the explanation of man's reality, clearly places our text in a context very different from mainstream Christianity.

As we have repeatedly pointed out in this chapter, *AA* presents conspicuous similarities with Hermetic and Gnostic thought. At a general level, *AA* shares with the *Corpus Hermeticum* the strong philosophical undercurrent of its views and the use of a (pseudo-) philosophical framework in order to expose, to analyse and to provide solutions for mainly religious matters. Especially similar is the way in which philosophical tenets also found in Middle Platonic contexts are used and applied to substantiate a strong dualistic conception of reality and a very negative view of man's physical existence. But our analysis also revealed conspicuous similarities at a particular level. Conceptual correspondences are especially visible between *AA* and *Poimandres*, the seventh, the tenth and thirteenth tractates, but can also be found in the second Hermetic fragment preserved by Stobaeus and on occasion in the *Asclepius*.

With reference to cosmology, the *Corpus Hermeticum*, like *AA*, not only attests the three-storey conception of the cosmos, but also tends to conceive of the intermediary zone as a border between the realm of light and that of darkness. Also similar is the Hermetic view on transcendence, its association with light and its description mainly from a philosophical perspective. At the same time, the conception of the sublunary world as a place of darkness and doom and, especially, as a 'prison' for man are equivalent in Hermetica and in *AA*.

There are also numerous contacts in the matter of theology. Especially interesting is the combination of an objective description of God, which generally follows widespread philosophical tenets, with a more subjective characterisation of the divinity. In Hermetic texts and in *AA* God is at the same time the One beyond time, space and movement of the philosophers, and the luminous divinity, the unenvious sharer and the origin and goal of the believers.

As regards anthropology, the similarities are also evident. Noteworthy is the exact equivalence in *AA* and Hermetica of the notion of the 'essential man' as the divine intellect dwelling in man. Also equivalent is the conception of man's incarnation as his captivity, which is prolonged through oblivion, the fetters of materiality and the delusion proceeding

with Mark 4:1-20, but should rather be placed in the long tradition that saw a parallelism between the learning process and the working of the land. See *supra* Chapter 4, § 3.3.5, pp. 211-13 and 4.3.1, pp. 225-28. We can also dismiss the alleged echo of Luke 24:19 in V^f 232: the expression $\chi\lambda\iota\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma$ is so common in Greek literature that no interdependence can be stated on the basis of this evidence. For Sturhahn's view on the parallelism between *AA*'s and NT's conception of the apostolic figure, see *supra* Chapter 1, note 210.

both from externals and from man's own representation of reality. The anthropological affinities also concern the tripartite conception of man.

But correspondences are especially visible in the paramount position occupied by epistemology in both contexts: ignorance and knowledge, the beginning and end of the discursive epistemological process, are conceived of as the beginning and end of man's physical existence.

As far as *AA*'s affinities with Gnosticism are concerned, the numerous similarities between *AA* and the *Corpus Hermeticum* already seem to imply an even closer relationship with Gnosticism. Gnostic texts present exactly the same philosophical undercurrent common to *AA* and Hermetic texts and also show the same use and application of philosophical conceptions to elucidate religious matters. In addition, the Gnostic texts analysed above attest all the conceptual correspondences between *AA* and the *Corpus Hermeticum* as well. If to these similarities we add the tendency towards mythological exposition common to *AA* and Gnostic texts alike, and, most importantly, the fact that both move in a Christian context and work on Christian elements, it seems obvious that the closeness of *AA* to Gnosticism will be even greater than to Hermetic literature.

We shall not dwell on a tedious repetition of the numerous particular correspondences between Gnostic texts and *AA*, for as we have already pointed out, these are the same as with the *Corpus Hermeticum*. We will simply add those issues that can be considered characteristic of Gnosticism and *AA*.

Especially significant is the congruence on the theme of man's devolution due to ignorance and his redemption through knowledge, which serves as a framework for the analysis of man's existence. As far as ignorance and devolution is concerned, Gnostic texts and *AA* agree in considering ignorance as the first cause of man's devolution and the subsequent dispersal of the intellect as the imperfection that is responsible for its further degradation, first to the level of soul and then to the lowest level of materiality. We even considered that, in spite of our lack of conclusive evidence on the issue, *AA* might have shared the Valentinian conception of matter as a substantialisation or materialisation of affections, as the *Gospel of Truth* attests. Also, the consequences of the intellect's devolution are equivalent in Gnosticism and *AA*. Men find themselves trapped in the realm of movement and actively prolong their sojourn due to their oblivion to their true origin and to the fetters of materiality. The intervention of the redeeming knowledge transmitted by Andrew allows the inversion of this downward process.

AA's conception of the restitution of the primal state also presents similarities, especially with Valentinian Gnosticism. The return of the intellect to its original abode is conceived of as the recollection of what is dispersed and as a return to the primal unity. *AA* not only envisages the goal of the soteriological process as a return to the source of all being, which is equated to the return to one's true self, it also states that through knowledge man restores the incompleteness and imperfection originated by ignorance. *AA*'s affinity with Valentinianism is supported by its frequent contacts with Nag Hammadi texts of Valentinian affiliation, such as the *Tripartite Tractate*, the *Treatise on Resurrection* and the *Gospel of Truth*, and in particular with the latter text. Like the *Gospel of Truth*, *AA* works on notions such as the primal imperfection as a result of dispersal and those of $\alpha\psi\upsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa\lambda\upsilon$ and $\gamma\delta\iota\kappa\eta\epsilon\zeta\eta\theta$ as preconditions for the return to one's true self. The same can be said of *AA*'s idea that man through knowledge supersedes his original imperfection and corrects in this way the first error committed through ignorance. *AA*'s use in this context of terms such as $\gamma\delta\iota\kappa\eta\epsilon\zeta\eta\theta$, $\alpha\psi\upsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa\lambda\upsilon$ and $\chi\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ is a clear Valentinian echo.

AA and the *Gospel of Truth* also share a view of God and of His relationship to man. In the first place, both texts present a monadic instead of a dyadic first principle, as was customary in Valentinianism. At the same time, their similar emphasis on God's unenvious attitude towards His people is noteworthy. If in the *Gospel of Truth* the Father grants to them their perfection 'as a return to him and a perfectly and unitary knowledge', *AA* similarly states that God's unenvious sharing, by acknowledging the blessed race, allows them to know Him and supersede their deficient, ignorant condition. Also significant is *AA*'s similarity to *GosTruth* in considering 'error' as the central motor of the flaw that will result in the emergence of the lower world. Unlike the more widespread view both in western and oriental Valentinianism that sees in Sophia's foolish behaviour the cause of the fall, *AA* and *GosTruth* attribute it to error. The origin and character of this error remains equally unclear in both texts.

As far as anthropology is concerned, *AA* and *GosTruth* also present similarities since they do not endorse the current tripartite division of humanity and follow a more basic bipartition that divides humanity into those who accept and those who reject the revelation.

Consequently, in spite of the absence of references to many typically Gnostic issues – an absence which, incidentally, may easily be explained by the fragmentary condition of our text –, such as the pleroma or the aeons, the Gnostic orientation of *AA*'s thought appears to be plausible. *AA* does explain the fall of the intellect as due to ignorance and dispersal and conceives of its earthly existence as an exile in an alien environment. At the same time, it

emphasises the redeeming function of knowledge and the recollection of the true self that it enacts when the individual's conscious choice and efforts allow him to gradually detach himself from the lower realm of movement. The final stage of this process restores the intellect's primal state of perfection before its devolution and *AA*'s vivid description of this supreme moment of plenitude supplies the lack of an elaborate exposition of the pleromatic region very well.

EPILOGUE: GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is now time to draw to a close and summarise the main results of our investigation of the *Acts of Andrew*.

1. The Acts of Andrew and its Original Textual Character

On the basis of the textual testimonies available today, it seems impossible to elucidate what the primitive Acts actually looked like. As we showed in the first chapter, two main positions can be found in the scholarly literature on the *Acts of Andrew*. On the one hand, some scholars tend to believe that the primitive text consisted of two differentiated parts, the peregrinations and the martyrdom. Many texts – *Epitome*, *Vita*, *VitaEsc*, *VitaParis*, *Narratio* and *Laudatio* – seem indeed to allow such a hypothesis, but their testimony is not unequivocal. As far as Andrew's travels are concerned, these texts present three different versions of the apostle's itinerary: that of *Epitome*, that of the different *Vita* versions and *Laudatio*, and that of *Narratio*, with only sporadic contacts among them. As to the martyrdom, *Epitome*, *Vita*, *VitaEsc* and *VitaParis* actually lack a so-called martyrdom and include, at the most, a couple of quick notes about Andrew's end. True, *Laudatio*'s and *Narratio*'s close contacts with the testimonies for the martyrdom seem to imply their dependence upon a common source that included Andrew's martyrdom, but horizontal contamination of sources cannot be excluded.

Did our text really consist of two differentiated parts, or is this impression only due to later editorial activity? And if it did, which text, if any, reliably reflects the primitive text? Which of the three preserved versions transmits the allegedly primitive itinerary of Andrew's peregrinations? And concerning the second part or passion, was the martyrdom originally as short as in *Epitome* and *VitaParis*, or was it more developed as in *Laudatio*, *Narratio* and the testimonies for the martyrdom? Did the primitive text actually include a martyrdom in the developed form we know today? The texts simply do not provide conclusive evidence to help us to answer these questions in a proper way.

On the other hand, according to other scholars *Acta Andreae* mainly consisted of the martyrdom. Admittedly, the textual witnesses for the martyrdom are more numerous and their testimony somewhat more homogeneous. However, the appearance and development of martyrdom texts as a literary genre can be dated with precision to the fourth to fifth centuries and the numerous texts preserving Andrew's passion may also have appeared in this same period to suit the new literary taste. As for their allegedly homogeneous character, the cohesion of the testimonies should not be overstated. The different texts present rather

divergent accounts of Andrew's passion and, as we showed in the second chapter, these divergences concern both general and particular issues. In addition, these texts are so reworked and transformed that they can hardly offer anything more than a general idea of the last section of *AA*.

In spite of the not always reliable character of our sources, however, we cannot afford a priori to disprove their testimony. Given the exiguous trustworthy materials at our disposal, the best solution appears to be an a priori acceptance of all the testimonies as plausible though transformed versions of an original account, in order to proceed, in a second stage, to carefully select potentially primitive from secondary issues on the basis of an internal critical scrutiny. This is indeed the method we followed in sketching our tentative reconstruction of the process of *AA*'s textual diversification (below).

2. The Textual Reconstruction of the Primitive Acts of Andrew

Given the peculiar textual situation of the *Acts of Andrew*, i.e. the highly transformed character of our sources and the diverging accounts they provide, a textual reconstruction on the basis of their testimony appears to be, at the very least, questionable. Of course, any attempt to find some order in the chaos of our mass of material is not only legitimate but also meritorious. We should, however, be careful not to present our results as *the* text of the *Acts of Andrew* and always emphasise the purely hypothetical character of a given reconstruction, since textual comparison reveals that all our documents, excluding V, present revision and textual transformation. This is especially visible in the testimony of H and S, which exclude the text of V almost totally.

Until new texts come to light and provide us with new clues in order to reconstruct Andrew's itinerary and the character of the primitive text with certainty, the only reasonable solution appears to be retaining as potentially primitive those episodes that are preserved by a representative number of textual testimonies. These events are the following: Andrew's rescue of Matthias (below), the episode of the demons of Nicaea and the section that begins with Andrew's arrival at Patras and includes the abundant additional information provided by texts other than H and S. The references to Sosios, the Lesbios episode, the healing of Maximilla and the sequence of a paralysed man, a blind man and a leper being healed are attested by a representative number of witnesses and, in this sense, there is no reason to begin after Stratocles' and Aegeates' return to Patras, as H and S do.

As far as the story of Andrew's and Matthias' adventures among the cannibals is concerned, Flamion may well be right in asserting that *AAM* is a later text composed in Egypt.

Hilhorst and Lalleman, moreover, have recently clearly demonstrated the different character of this text on the basis of its stylistic comparison with *AA*. As it is today, the account of *AAM* does not seem to belong to the primitive textual core. However, this does not necessarily mean that we must a priori exclude the possibility that the story in a simpler form appeared in the primitive *Acts*. As a matter of fact, the versions of the story preserved by *Epitome*, *Laudatio* and *Vita*, and *Narratio* are so different from one another and from *AAM* that they can neither depend on the latter text nor upon each other. As this seems to imply that they go back to another source different from *AAM*, the hypothesis that the primitive text included a short account of the episode cannot, therefore, be ruled out. This story may have provided the raw material that inspired both the author of *AAM* and the other texts.

3. *AA's Fragment in V and the Primitive Acts of Andrew*

But although we can get a general picture of Andrew's itinerary and martyrdom on the basis of these numerous testimonies, the texts do not seem to provide anything more than a textual skeleton of the primitive text. Our study of the research on *AA* as well as the textual comparison of all the available textual testimonies point to V as the most (only?) reliable document for the study of the primitive text, its thought, message and intention. As we showed in the second chapter, the comparison of all the documents that include a version of the section preserved by codex Vaticanus graecus 808 (*Laudatio*, *Narratio*, *S/H*, *Arm* and *Conversante*) shows that V retains the most primitive account of all of them. This may not necessarily mean that V is untouched; it is possible that it underwent revision as well and future new textual discoveries may demonstrate that this was indeed the case. For the time being, however, V's testimony appears to be our only reliable witness to elucidate the character of the primitive *AA*. Its testimony is precious, not only for preserving the ground text for the section it covers, but also because its account can be checked against six other textual witnesses of different provenance, time and character.

4. *The Historical Development of AA's Textual Diversification*

AA's circulation in a complete form can be plausibly ascertained between its date of composition in the second half of the second century (below) and the end of the fourth. From the beginning of the fifth century, however, our text came under pressure due to its alleged Manichaean affiliation.

On the basis of the texts at our disposal and taking V as a touchstone, we can hypothetically suggest the historical development that could have led to *AA's* textual

diversification. A comparison of V with the six texts that include a version of its contents shows that the latter always present a revised version of this section. Given that these versions always eliminate and preserve the same sections, we can state that all six versions depend upon a source which was already revised. This revised version did not include the following sections: V^r 1-19 (V^b 38.21-20), V^r 71-103 (V^b 40.10-41.8) and V^r 130-162 (V^b 41.36-42.31), that is, the three sections that contain the essentials of AA's thought as presented by V.

On the basis of these divergences we can distinguish two branches in AA's transmission, non-transformative and transformative, respectively. Whereas the former includes with certainty V's testimony and hypothetically the Latin translation postulated by Bremmer, the remaining extant witnesses can be considered as transformative versions of the primitive account, which are based on an already revised source. The critical internal scrutiny and the comparative study of the texts allows us to discriminate certain groups or textual families on the basis of the reduction pattern they apply in their textual adaptation. As these versions proceed from an already revised source, a logical conclusion is that their textual transformations are not due to revisory activity, but rather result from AA's adaptation to suit the literary tastes of the historical period in which they were composed. Miraculous literature, martyrdom texts and biography are three visible literary genres among AA's textual testimonies. Whereas the two former developed in parallel but independently during the fourth/ fifth to seventh centuries, the latter can be dated to the eighth to tenth centuries.

5. Re-editing AA's Fragment in V

Given its prominent position in the large amount of reworked and revised texts, AA's fragment in V must be the starting point for an analysis of the mentality, character, style, message and intention of the primitive *Acts of Andrew*. Due to its more primitive character, V may also provide us with a precious touchstone to test the reliability of other witnesses and to evaluate other potentially primitive sections preserved in them. In this way we may proceed to widen our knowledge and get a better picture of what the text originally looked like, without creating anachronisms or falsifications due to an indiscriminate use of texts.

Our re-editing of AA's fragment in V, therefore, mainly intends to restate its essential value and return its testimony to the relevant position that it occupied among AA's textual witnesses until the 1980s, and which began to diffuse after Prieur's and MacDonald's edition.

6. *AA's Message as Presented by AA's Fragment in V*

AA's fragment in *V* mainly consists of four speeches by Andrew: the first speech to the brethren, the speech to Maximilla, the speech to Stratocles and the second speech to the brethren. Our conceptual analysis in Chapter 4 has revealed that all four speeches present an intentional distribution of their subject matter in order to provide a complete description of man's current imprisonment in the flux of tangible reality as well as the means to liberate himself from the material constrictions of his existence.

The first speech to the brethren, by stating that transcendence is the origin and final destination of the blessed race, provides, in a manner of speaking, the conceptual framework in which the remaining speeches must be placed. These three speeches, in turn, describe both man's devolution from his source as well as the possible return to his transcendent origin. On the basis of a trichotomic conception of man consisting of intellect, soul and body, the speeches to Maximilla, to Stratocles and the second speech to the brethren illustrate, respectively, the involvement of each of these spheres in perpetuating man's exile in immanence. Discursive thinking, with its concomitant judgement and persuasion, immoderate affections and a combination of sensorial perception and representation keep man attached to the lower world. But the spheres of nature, soul and reason are not only dealt with negatively, they are also presented as gradual steps in man's quest for his liberation. The rational reorganisation of the three spheres enacted by a combination of Andrew's words and self-knowledge allows us to control impending distortions and retrace backwards the successive steps of devolution in order to recover man's pristine intellectual nature.

7. *Intention of AA's Fragment in V*

In spite of its strong dualistic conception of reality, *AA's* thought is, in a last analysis, clearly monistic, since it explains the appearance of the lower world as a process of devolution from an original unity. As far as we can judge on the basis of our fragmentary evidence, however, *AA's* interest is not so much cosmological as anthropological. In this sense, it focuses mainly on the explanation of how transcendent man came to be imprisoned in the physical world. Consequently, the three speeches to Maximilla, Stratocles and the second to the brethren, depict the gradual stages of degradation that account for man's current condition. The main intention of this description, however, is not expository but clearly soteriological. By describing the successive stages of this gradual devolution that ends up with the dispersion of the intellect in the realm of nature, *AA* actually intends to show the way to deconstruct this

process and facilitate the recollection of what used to be a unity, in sum, to achieve salvation. Oblivious of its origin and real condition, the intellect remains unaware of its degradation until Andrew's intervention. Owing to the effect of the apostle's words, it awakes from its lethargy and man, for the first time, consciously rejects the flux of externals. This is the starting point of a long and laborious process of self mastery that will lead him, first, to know his current condition and proceed to gradually deconstruct the accretions gained during his degradation. Once sensorial perception, affections and discursive thinking have been superseded, direct apprehension is again possible and the transcendent man or intellect regains his inherent condition. At this point subject and object of knowledge disappear and at this moment of plenitude they fuse in the primal unity.

8. Orientation of AA's Thought

The systematic analysis of *AA's* thought and its comparison with contemporary authors in Chapter 5 has revealed conspicuous parallels between *AA* and philosophical texts of Late Antiquity. This systematic analysis was deliberately organised according to the philosophical branches that are relevant for our text in order both to show to what extent *AA's* views imply the philosophical thought of the historical period and to allow a more precise discrimination of the provenance of *AA's* conceptual peculiarities. *AA's* cosmology, theology, anthropology, ethics and epistemology show a marked influence from Middle Platonism, notably from those Middle Platonists who incorporated Aristotelian thought into the common Platonic heritage.

The Platonic-Peripatetic background is clear in our text. *AA's* view of the universe presents a clear tripartite conception of being; the idea of God shows the combination of the One beyond time, place, generation and corruption of Plato's *Parmenides* and the Aristotelian unmoved Mover, the intellect that thinks himself. The tripartite conception of man consisting of intellect, soul and body, however, is more distinctively Aristotelian, since it tends to elevate the status of the intellect, the only immortal element in man, and to oppose it to the complex soul-body. The same can be said about *AA's* epistemology: in our text distortion proceeds not from sense perception, which is always true, but from perceptual representation, viz. a kind of automatic picture based on the sensorial information but without a share in thought. The Aristotelian character of *AA's* epistemology, moreover, can clearly be seen in the epistemic tripartition that distinguishes the immediate apprehension of the intellect both from discursive thinking and from sensorial perception. As far as ethics are concerned, the Platonic-Peripatetic background is evident, as the emphasis on virtue (which is conceived as a mean between excess and deficiency) seems to imply.

All these philosophical influences, however, should not deceive us. *AA* is not a philosophical text and has no philosophical intentions. It does not even show a conscious use or adaptation of philosophical categories in order to suit its expository needs. In this sense, it is right to wonder to what extent we are really dealing with direct philosophical influence. Of course, the distinctive philosophical background of our text may be explained as due to the author's acquaintance with Middle Platonic ideas, but it is also possible that these views had already been incorporated into the thought of the religious community he belonged to. Given *AA*'s close proximity to Hermetic and Gnostic thought (below), the second possibility seems more plausible, although a combination of both cannot, naturally, be excluded.

Our analysis has indeed revealed conspicuous general similarities with the Hermetic and in particular with the Gnostic world of ideas. Gnosis is a central idea in our text: whereas lack of knowledge or ignorance accounts for man's current degraded state, knowledge allows the restoration of his primal condition. The explanation of man's exile in immanence as resulting from a process of devolution that follows three causally related stages, namely intellect, soul and physis, presents obvious similarities with Gnostic cosmogonical myths. *AA* even seems to derive matter from a substantialisation of affections, as was customary in Valentinianism and as the *Gospel of Truth* clearly transmits. Also Gnostic are the ideas of dispersion of the primal unity of the intellect and need to recollect the divine elements that appear scattered in the world of nature: man's intellect is his most divine part, but appears to be numb under the influence of the soul and the body and is, consequently, in need of actualisation. Owing to Andrew's intervention, the intellect awakes from its lethargy and, after becoming aware, man consciously begins his process of recollection.

The recovery of man's pristine intellectual condition is only fulfilled after a long process of self-knowledge, which will lead him, first, to control the lower aspects of his immanent being and, finally, to transcend their influence altogether. To these clear Gnostic motifs we could add still others, such as Andrew's function as a redeemer who comes to remind the blessed race of its true origin or the strong dualistic view of reality opposing the transcendent world of light to that of the lower, material darkness.

9. Date of Composition of the Acts of Andrew

As we pointed out in our first chapter, *AA* is usually dated either to the second or to the third century. On the basis of our conceptual analysis of *AA*'s fragment in V in Chapter 4 and, especially, on the basis of our systematic and comparative study of its thought in Chapter 5, we prefer the earlier dating. On the one hand, most of the philosophical parallels to *AA*'s

views can be dated to the second century, and then to the second rather than the first half. Admittedly, Philo and Plutarch in some cases provide earlier parallels to *AA*'s thought. However, given the lack of conclusive evidence to suggest *AA*'s direct dependence on these authors and, especially, given the fact that these views belong to the Middle Platonic conglomerate as represented by authors of the second half of the second century, such as Alcinous, Apuleius, Celsus and Galen, an earlier dating appears to be unnecessary. In addition, the type of Platonism that influences *AA* presents distinctive Aristotelian issues, notably Aristotle's noetics or theory on the intellect and ethics. As the influence of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* on Middle Platonism is especially perceptible from the second half of the second century onwards, this seems to be a more proper date for *AA*. In favour of this dating is also the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, which on occasion also presents views similar to *AA*. In addition, the Hermetic and Gnostic parallels to our text point in the same direction. Whereas the dating of the Hermetic tractates is not a simple matter, the Valentinian traces in our text imply the second half of the second century. *AA*'s close contacts with *The Gospel of Truth* appear to support this dating further. Finally, additional support comes from the parallels to *AA*'s views provided by the *Chaldaean Oracles* and the *Odes of Salomon*.

Nevertheless, most of parallels and echoes to *AA*'s thought referred to in the preceding lines do not allow us to do anything other than roughly date our text between 150 and 200 AD. There is, however, a literary echo that may permit a more precise *terminus a quo*. We are referring to *AA*'s almost literal echo of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (5.27.1) in V^r 55-56. *AA* not only recreates Melitte's visit to Cleitophon in prison, but also her lover's gesture of kissing his hands and bringing them to her eyes. For obvious reasons, *AA* alters the last part of Melitte's gesture: Maximilla does not take Andrew's hands to her bosom but to her mouth. The closeness between both texts and *AA*'s deliberate adaptation of this passage to suit the relationship between Maximilla and Andrew implies the author's knowledge of this text, the composition of which is customarily dated to c. 170.

A *terminus ante*, in turn, appears more difficult to elucidate. As far as the external evidence is concerned, Origen's alleged reference appears to be too vague to be taken into account. Our first evidence, consequently, is Eusebius' *History*, which was written in the first years of the fourth century. This date might perhaps be pushed back some decades if the alleged references in the *Manichaean Psalm-book* could be substantiated, but their testimony is problematic. As to the internal evidence, the philosophical influences on our text are clearly Middle Platonic. Since there is nothing in *AA* that might imply the Plotinian system and many issues seem even to exclude it, we may take Plotinus as a *terminus ante*. Unfortunately, this

evidence does not seem to improve our dating, since we cannot rely on Plotinus's life span, but only on the publication of his work by Porphyry (beginning of the fourth century).

Consequently, given the lack of relevant evidence not to do so, we subscribe a *terminus ante* to the end of the second century, as defended by previous scholarship on the basis of both external (Hornschuh) and internal evidence (Bremmer).

10. Place of Composition

Given the character of our sources, it seems impossible to determine where in the antique world our text was composed. Three locations have been proposed by scholarly literature as the possible place of origin: Alexandria, Achaia and Asia Minor or Bithynia. The first hypothesis is mainly based on the rich intellectual atmosphere of the city; the second is due to fact that most of Andrew's activities take place in this region; the third hypothesis, finally, is based on the language and on certain expressions in the text. In our opinion, our textual testimonies simply do not allow a definitive answer. We consequently refrain from speculating on the issue.

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SAMENVATTING

Op basis van de beschikbare tekstgetuigen valt niet meer te achterhalen hoe de apocriefe *Handelingen van Andreas* (*Acta Andreae*, afgekort: *AA*) er oorspronkelijk hebben uitgezien. Er zijn tegenwoordig twee theorieën die hierin meer duidelijkheid proberen te brengen. Volgens sommige onderzoekers bestond de primitieve *AA* uit twee verschillende gedeeltes, namelijk de reizen van de apostel en het verhaal over zijn martyrium. Een representatief aantal tekstgetuigen lijkt een dergelijke hypothese te ondersteunen, maar hun bewijs is niet vrij van onduidelijkheid: de teksten bewaren maar liefst drie verschillende versies van de reisroute van de apostel en ongeveer hetzelfde geldt voor hun verhaal van het lijden van Andreas. Sommige teksten hebben een redelijk ontwikkeld lijdensverhaal; andere bevatten slechts een paar korte verwijzingen en in weer andere ontbreekt het lijden helemaal.

Bestond *AA* oorspronkelijk uit twee gedeeltes of is die indruk een gevolg van activiteiten van latere uitgevers van de tekst? Welke van de drie verschillende versies van Andreas' reisroute is het meest oorspronkelijk? En wat het lijden en het martelaarschap betreft: welke versie is het oudst? Bevatte de oorspronkelijke tekst al een ontwikkeld lijdensverhaal? De tekstgetuigen laten een definitief antwoord op deze vragen niet toe.

Volgens andere onderzoekers ging de primitieve tekst exclusief over het martyrium van de apostel. Het is waar dat de tekstgetuigen van het lijdensverhaal talrijker zijn en hun inhoud iets homogener. Maar de verschijning en verbreiding van dit literaire genre kan vrij nauwkeurig in de vierde of vijfde eeuw gedateerd worden. Het lijdensverhaal van de apostel Andreas zou daarom ook in deze periode kunnen zijn ontstaan om aan de literaire smaak van de tijd te voldoen. Wat de homogeniteit van hun getuigenis betreft, moet de cohesie van de teksten niet overdreven worden. Zoals het tweede hoofdstuk laat zien, hebben de tekstgetuigen nogal verschillende versies van het lijden van Andreas en hun afwijkingen betreffen zowel algemene elementen als details.

Bovendien lijken deze tekstgetuigen zo bewerkt te zijn dat ze slechts een zeer algemeen idee over dit gedeelte van de *Handelingen* geven.

Maar ondanks het niet altijd betrouwbare karakter van de tekstgetuigen kunnen we hun getuigenis niet *a priori* negeren. Vanwege het geringe aantal betrouwbare documenten is de beste oplossing aan te nemen dat, hoewel vervormd, het bewijs van de tekstgetuigen waarschijnlijk is, om vervolgens, op basis van een interne, kritische analyse, mogelijk primitieve van secundaire elementen te scheiden.

Gelet op de staat van onze tekstgetuigen en onze geringe kennis van hun verband met de oorspronkelijke tekst, is het de vraag of een reconstructie van de primitieve *AA* mogelijk is. Het is natuurlijk wel legitiem en zinvol om te proberen wat orde in de grote hoeveelheid tekstmateriaal aan te brengen. We moeten echter altijd voorzichtig zijn en ons resultaat niet als *de* tekst van de *Acta Andreae* voorstellen. Een tekstuele vergelijking laat duidelijk zien dat alle documenten, behalve het fragment in codex Vaticanus gr. 808 (V), revisie of een tekstuele transformatie hebben ondergaan.

Zolang er geen nieuwe teksten gevonden worden die ons betere aanwijzingen geven over Andreas' reisroute en over het karakter van de primitieve tekst, is de enige redelijke oplossing alleen die episoden als potentieel oorspronkelijk te behandelen die door een representatieve hoeveelheid tekstgetuigen overgeleverd worden. Deze episoden zijn de volgende: de bevrijding van Matthias door Andreas (zie onder), de demonen van Nicea en de sectie die met Andreas' aankomst in Patras begint. Hierbij hoort ook de aanvullende informatie die verschillende documenten leveren bij het getuigenis van twee recentelijk gevonden handschriften (H en S): de verwijzingen naar Sosios, de Lesbios-episode, de genezing van Maximilla en de genezing van achtereenvolgens een verlamde, een blinde en een melaatse. Deze episoden zijn te vinden in een representatief aantal handschriften. Er is daarom geen reden om de *Handelingen* pas na Stratocles' en Aegeates' aankomst in Patras te laten beginnen zoals Prieurs uitgave doet op basis van H en S.

Wat het verhaal over de avonturen van Andreas en Matthias tussen de kannibalen betreft, zou Flamion gelijk kunnen hebben met zijn bewering dat de *Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud anthropophagos (AAM)* in Egypte werd geschreven. Maar Hilhorst en Lalleman hebben onlangs op basis van een stilistische vergelijking met *AA* laten zien dat beide teksten geheel verschillend zijn. Het verhaal van *AAM*, zoals wij dat vandaag kennen, lijkt dus niet een deel van het primitieve verhaal te zijn geweest. Inderdaad, de versies daarvan die overgeleverd zijn in de *Epitome* van Gregorius van

Tours, de zogeheten *Laudatio Andreae* en de *Narratio* verschillen zo veel van elkaar en van de *AAM* zelf, dat ze noch van de laatst genoemde tekst noch van elkaar afhankelijk kunnen zijn. Aangezien dit feit lijkt te impliceren dat al deze teksten teruggaan op een oudere bron, kan de hypothese dat de primitieve tekst een kortere en eenvoudiger versie van de episode bevatte niet worden uitgesloten.

Het Fragment in codex Vaticanus gr. 808 en de primitieve Acta Andreae

Maar zelfs als men op basis van de talrijke getuigen een algemeen idee over Andreas' reisroute en lijden kan krijgen, lijken de teksten niet veel meer dan het tekstuele skelet van de primitieve tekst te hebben bewaard. Onze bespreking van het onderzoek naar de tekst en de vergelijkende analyse van alle beschikbare testimonia wijzen naar V als het meest betrouwbare (het enige betrouwbare?) document om de primitieve tekst, zijn mentaliteit en zijn boodschap te bestuderen. Zoals het tweede hoofdstuk aantoont, laat een vergelijking van V met de documenten die een versie van zijn inhoud bevatten duidelijk zien dat V de meest oorspronkelijke tekst van het verhaal bevat. Dit betekent niet noodzakelijkerwijze dat V een niet bewerkte tekst is. Het is best mogelijk dat ook zijn tekst een revisie heeft ondergaan. Toekomstige tekstontdekkingen zullen dit eventueel kunnen onthullen. Tot nu toe is V echter het enige handschrift waarop we ons kunnen baseren als we het oorspronkelijke karakter van de tekst willen achterhalen.

Oorspronkelijke tekst en tekstuele diversificatie

AA's circulatie in complete vorm kan met zekerheid tussen de tweede helft van de tweede eeuw (zie onder) en het eind van de vierde worden vastgesteld. Vanaf het begin van de vijfde eeuw kwam onze tekst blijkbaar in een moeilijke positie, omdat beweerd werd dat hij geschreven was of in elk geval gelezen werd door de Manicheeërs.

Aan de hand van de beschikbare teksten en met V als toetssteen, kunnen wij hypothetisch de historische ontwikkelingen schetsen die de tekstuele diversificatie van *AA* vermoedelijk hebben veroorzaakt. De vergelijking van V met de zes teksten die een versie van zijn inhoud bevatten, laat zien dat deze teksten altijd een resumerende bewerking van V geven. Omdat deze versies steeds dezelfde tekstgedeeltes weglaten en bewaren, kan vastgesteld worden dat alle zes teksten afhangen van een gezamenlijke bron die al een revisie had ondergaan. In deze bron moet een drietal secties hebben

ontbroken die niettemin de essentie van het gedachtegoed van *AA*, zoals weergegeven door V, bevatten (zie onder).

Op basis van deze divergenties kunnen twee aftakkingen in de overlevering van *AA* aangenomen worden, een niet-transformerende en een transformerende. Terwijl de niet-transformerende met zekerheid de tekst van V en hypothetisch ook de door Bremmer gepostuleerde Latijnse versie omvat, behoren alle andere tekstgetuigen, die van een al herziene tekst afhankelijk zijn, tot de transformerende aftakking. De kritische analyse van de versies en een vergelijkende studie van de toegepaste reductiepatronen laten verder toe bepaalde groepen of tekstfamilies te onderscheiden. Omdat al deze versies van een al herziene bron afhankelijk zijn, kan men concluderen dat hun afwijkingen van het origineel niet allemaal het gevolg zijn van een doctrinaire revisie van de tekst. De veranderingen zijn eerder het gevolg van de wens van hun schrijvers om de teksten aan de smaak van nieuwe lezers aan te passen. In de teksten zijn drie literaire genres duidelijk vertegenwoordigd: wonderverhalen, lijdensverhalen en levensbeschrijvingen. Terwijl de eerste twee genres zich parallel, maar onafhankelijk van elkaar, gedurende de vierde en de vijfde eeuw ontwikkelden, kan de derde in de achtste of negende eeuw gedateerd worden.

Vanwege zijn prominente positie tussen vele bewerkte teksten moet de analyse van de stijl, de mentaliteit en de boodschap van de primitieve *AA* beginnen bij het fragment in de codex Vaticanus. Omdat het karakter van dit fragment primitiever is, kan het voor ons ook een toetssteen zijn om de betrouwbaarheid van de andere documenten te testen en mogelijke primitieve secties in deze documenten op het spoor te komen. Op deze manier kunnen wij onze kennis steeds meer verbreden, anachronismen ten gevolge van een onkritisch gebruik van tekstgetuigen vermijden en een beter idee krijgen van hoe de oorspronkelijke tekst er heeft uitgezien.

De voornaamste bedoeling van onze nieuwe editie van het fragment van *AA* in de codex Vaticanus gr. (hoofdstuk 3) is daarom om opnieuw zijn essentiële waarde te laten zien en om het fragment de prominente positie terug te geven die het had tot de jaren tachtig van de vorige eeuw.

Boodschap en betekenis van de Acta Andreae op basis van de codex Vaticanus graecus

Het fragment van *AA* in V bestaat uit vier redevoeringen van Andreas: de eerste rede tot de broeders, de toespraak tot Maximilla, de toespraak tot Stratocles en de tweede rede

tot de broeders. Volgens onze conceptuele analyse in hoofdstuk 4 zijn de vier toespraken zo opgebouwd dat ze een volledige beschrijving geven zowel van de gevangenschap van de mens in de zichtbare wereld als van de manier om zich van de beslommeringen van het materiële bestaan te bevrijden.

De eerste toespraak tot de broeders geeft met de bewering dat transcendentie oorsprong en doel is van alle ‘gezegenden’ het begrippenkader aan waarin de drie volgende redevoeringen geplaatst moeten worden. Deze drie toespraken beschrijven enerzijds het verval van de mens uit zijn transcendente bron en anderzijds zijn mogelijke terugkeer naar die oorsprong. Op basis van een driedelig mensbeeld – lichaam, ziel en verstand (geest) – beschrijven de redevoeringen tot Maximilla, Stratocles en de tweede tot de broeders respectievelijk hoe de drie sferen hun invloed op de mens in diens gevangenschap in de lagere wereld voortzetten. Discursief denken, onmatige passies en zintuiglijke voorstellingen houden de mens gebonden aan de materiële werkelijkheid. De sferen van de lagere natuur en de ziel worden echter niet volledig negatief behandeld; zij markeren ook de eerste stappen in het menselijke streven naar bevrijding. De rationele reorganisatie van alle drie sferen, mogelijk gemaakt door een combinatie van de woorden van Andreas en zelfkennis, geeft de mens controle over zijn dwalingen. Zo kan de mens weer tot zijn oorspronkelijke intellectuele of geestelijke natuur terugkeren.

Ondanks zijn sterk dualistische werkelijkheidsvoorstelling is AA’s denken in laatste instantie monistisch, omdat het het verschijnen van de zichtbare wereld als een proces van devolutie vanuit een oorspronkelijke eenheid uitlegt. Voorzover wij kunnen oordelen op basis van het fragmentarische bewijs was AA echter minder in kosmologische dan in antropologische kwesties geïnteresseerd. AA concentreert zich voornamelijk op de uitleg van hoe de transcendente mens in de gevangenschap van de tastbare werkelijkheid terecht is gekomen. De drie redevoeringen tot Maximilla, Stratocles en de tweede aan de broeders beschrijven de graduele fasen van degradatie die de huidige situatie van de mens verklaren. De inhoud van de toespraken is echter vooral van soteriologische aard. De beschrijving van de opeenvolgende stadia van deze devolutie, die met de verstrooiing van het intellect in de natuurlijke wereld eindigt, wil namelijk een methode laten zien om dit proces om te keren, d.w.z. om het herwinnen van de vroegere eenheid gemakkelijker te maken; kortom om verlossing te bereiken.

Omdat het intellect zijn oorsprong en ware natuur is vergeten, is het zich niet bewust van zijn verval tot de interventie van Andreas. Dankzij zijn woorden ontwaakt

het uit zijn lethargie. Voor het eerst kan de mens bewust de steeds veranderende werkelijkheid afwijzen. Dit is het begin van een lang en moeizaam proces van zelfcontrole dat hem in staat stelt zijn huidige toestand van verval te erkennen en om zich los te maken van wat hem tijdens zijn neergang gebonden heeft. Wanneer de mens zijn zintuiglijke waarneming, zijn hartstochten en zijn discursieve wijze van denken achter zich heeft gelaten, is direct inzicht weer mogelijk en krijgt het hogere deel van de mens – zijn verstand – zijn ware natuur terug. Subject en object van kennis zijn dan weer verenigd en in de oorspronkelijke volkomenheid opgenomen.

Het gedachtegoed van de Acta Andreae

De systematische analyse van het gedachtegoed van *AA* en het vergelijken daarvan met contemporaine teksten in hoofdstuk 5 heeft talrijke parallellen met filosofische geschriften van de Late Oudheid blootgelegd. Onze systematische analyse is volgens de voor *AA* relevante filosofische thema's georganiseerd om te laten zien in hoeverre *AA*'s ideeën met het filosofische denken van de tijd overeenstemmen en om de oorsprong van de bijzonderheden van *AA*'s gedachtegoed gemakkelijker te kunnen traceren. Kosmologie, theologie, antropologie, epistemologie en ethiek laten een duidelijke invloed van het Midden-Platonisme zien, in het bijzonder van die Midden-Platonisten die het denken van Aristoteles in het algemene Platoonse erfgoed hebben geïntegreerd.

De Platoons-peripatetische achtergrond is duidelijk aanwijsbaar in onze tekst. *AA* heeft een driedelige conceptie van de werkelijkheid; zijn Godsvoorstelling combineert het Ene boven tijd, plaats, ontstaan en vergaan van Plato's *Parmenides* met Aristoteles' Onbewogen Beweger, het Intellect dat zichzelf denkt. Het driedelige mensbeeld, bestaand uit intellect, ziel en lichaam is echter karakteristiek Aristotelisch, omdat het de neiging heeft de status van het intellect (het enige goddelijke in de mens) te verhogen en het in tegenstelling te zien tot ziel en lichaam. Hetzelfde geldt voor *AA*'s epistemologie: volgens onze tekst wordt afdwaling niet veroorzaakt door zintuiglijke perceptie, omdat die altijd waar is, maar door perceptuele voorstelling - d.w.z. een soort automatisch beeld dat op zintuiglijke informatie gebaseerd is, maar dat geen deel heeft aan het eigenlijke denken. Bovendien blijkt het Aristotelische karakter van *AA*'s epistemologie duidelijk uit haar driedelige conceptie van het kennen: *AA* maakt een onderscheid tussen direct begrip, enerzijds, en discursief denken en zintuiglijke waarneming, anderzijds. Wat de ethiek betreft, laat de nadruk op het belang van de

deugd – begrepen als het midden tussen overmaat en gebrek – weer de invloed van Platoons-peripatetische denken zien.

Al deze filosofische invloeden moeten ons echter niet misleiden. *AA* is niet een filosofische tekst; het heeft geen filosofische bedoelingen en maakt in zijn uiteenzettingen geen bewust gebruik van filosofische categorieën. Het is daarom verstandig ons af te vragen in hoeverre wij te maken hebben met directe filosofische invloed. De duidelijke filosofische achtergrond van *AA* zou op zichzelf uitgelegd kunnen worden als gevolg van directe kennis van de schrijver van Midden-Platoonse ideeën, maar het is ook mogelijk dat deze ideeën al in het gedachtegoed van zijn religieuze gemeenschap geïntegreerd waren. Gelet op *AA*'s overeenstemming met hermetisch en gnostisch denken, lijkt de tweede mogelijkheid waarschijnlijker, hoewel een combinatie van beide natuurlijk niet uitgesloten kan worden.

Onze analyse laat inderdaad talrijke overeenkomsten zien met de *Hermetica* en vooral met gnostische denkpatronen. Gnosis is een centrale notie in onze tekst: terwijl gebrek aan kennis of onwetendheid verantwoordelijk is voor de tegenwoordige staat van de mens, maakt kennis het herstel van de oorspronkelijke toestand mogelijk. De verklaring van de menselijke ballingschap in de immanente werkelijkheid als gevolg van een proces van devolutie – via drie causaal-verbonden stappen (van het intellect naar de lagere natuur) – vertoont duidelijke overeenkomsten met gnostische kosmogonische mythen. *AA* lijkt zelfs de materie te zien als een verzelfstandiging van de passies, zoals gebruikelijk in het Valentinianisme en zoals het *Evangelie der Waarheid* duidelijk beweert. Ook gnostisch zijn de ideeën over het uiteenvallen van de oorspronkelijke eenheid en de noodzaak om de verspreide goddelijke elementen in de natuurlijke wereld te herenigen. Het intellect is het meest goddelijke in de mens, maar doordat het opgesloten is in ziel en lichaam en daardoor ongevoelig is geworden, moet het worden geactualiseerd. Andreas schudt het intellect uit zijn lethargie wakker en eenmaal gewekt en bewust van zichzelf, kan de mens aan het herstel van zijn oorspronkelijke staat gaan werken.

Het herwinnen door de mens van zijn vroegere staat kan pas na een lang proces van zelfkennis worden voltooid. In eerste instantie wordt de mens in staat gesteld om de lagere aspecten van zijn immanente bestaan te controleren en het is alleen in een laatste fase dat hij hun invloed volledig kan overstijgen. We zouden ook andere gnostische elementen kunnen noemen, zoals Andreas' functie van verlosser die zijn toehoorders

herinnert aan hun ware oorsprong of het sterke dualisme dat de wereld van het licht tegenover de duisternis van de lagere, materiele werkelijkheid plaatst.

Datering en plaats van compositie

AA wordt meestal in de tweede of in de derde eeuw gedateerd. Op basis van onze conceptuele analyse van *V* in hoofdstuk 4 en vooral op basis van onze systematische en vergelijkende studie van zijn mentaliteit in hoofdstuk 5, geven wij de voorkeur aan de vroege datering. Aan de ene kant kunnen de meeste filosofische ideeën van onze tekst in de tweede eeuw gedateerd worden, vooral in de tweede helft daarvan. Het is waar dat Philo en Plutarchus soms al parallellen leveren voor aspecten van onze tekst. Maar omdat er geen aanwijzingen zijn om aan directe afhankelijkheid van deze auteurs te denken en vooral omdat hun voorstellingen in het Midden-Platoonse conglomeraat zijn opgenomen, lijkt een eerdere datering niet nodig. Daarnaast wordt het type Platonisme dat *AA* beïnvloed heeft, gekenmerkt door Aristotelische elementen, vooral door Aristoteles' noëतिक en ethiek. Aangezien de invloed van het *Corpus Aristotelicum* op het Midden-Platonisme pas in de tweede helft van de tweede eeuw echt zichtbaar begint te worden, lijkt deze datering geschikter te zijn. Hierop wijst ook een vergelijking met teksten van Clemens van Alexandrië, die af en toe zichtbare overeenkomsten met *AA* heeft. De hermetische en gnostische parallellen wijzen in dezelfde richting. De datering van de hermetische traktaten is geen eenvoudige zaak, maar de Valentiniaanse sporen in onze tekst impliceren in elk geval de tweede helft van de tweede eeuw. De nauwe contacten tussen *AA* en het *Evangelie der Waarheid* ondersteunen deze datering eveneens. Additionele ondersteuning kan verder gevonden worden in de talrijke overeenkomsten tussen *AA* en de Chaldeese Orakels en de *Oden van Salomo*.

Hoewel al deze parallellen slechts een globale datering van de tekst tussen 150 en 200 AD toelaten, hebben wij een literaire echo gevonden die ons een preciezere *terminus a quo* zou kunnen opleveren, namelijk de bijna letterlijke echo van *Leucippe en Cleitophon* van Achilles Tatius (5.27.1) in *V* 55-56. *AA* imiteert niet alleen Melittes' bezoek aan Cleitophon in de gevangenis, onze tekst kopieert ook haar liefdesgebaar van het kussen van de handen, ze naar haar ogen brengen en vervolgens naar haar borst. Om voor de hand liggende redenen verandert *AA* het laatste deel van Melittes' gebaar: Maximilla brengt Andreas' handen niet naar haar borst maar naar haar mond. Deze

nauwe overeenstemming tussen beide teksten en *AA*'s verandering van de passage om het aan de relatie Maximilla-Andreas aan te passen, impliceren dat de schrijver van *AA* kennis had van deze tekst, die gewoonlijk in ca. 170 AD wordt gedateerd.

Een *terminus ante* is moeilijker te bepalen. Wat het externe getuigenis betreft: Origenes' veronderstelde verwijzing naar onze tekst is te vaag om serieus te worden genomen. De eerste aanwijzing is dus Eusebius' *Kerkgeschiedenis*, die in de eerste jaren van de vierde eeuw werd geschreven. Deze datum zou enkele decennia terug gebracht kunnen worden, indien aangetoond kan worden dat het *Manicheese Psalmboek* naar de *AA* verwijst, maar dit is problematisch. Wat de interne aanwijzingen betreft, zijn de Midden-Platoonse invloeden op onze tekst van belang. Aangezien er niets is in de *AA* dat invloed van de filosofie van Plotinus zou kunnen impliceren en omdat er zelfs elementen zijn die een dergelijke invloed lijken uit te sluiten, zouden we Plotinus als een *terminus ante* kunnen nemen. Helaas kan dit onze datering niet veel verbeteren, omdat wij niet van het leven van Plotinus maar van de uitgave van zijn werk door Porphyrius moeten uitgaan (begin vierde eeuw). Bijgevolg, en omdat er geen bewijs is van het tegendeel plaatsen wij onze *terminus ante* aan het eind van de tweede eeuw, zoals eerder onderzoek naar *AA* heeft voorgesteld op basis van extern (Hornschuh) en intern (Bremmer) bewijs.

Gelet op het karakter van onze bronnen, is het onmogelijk te bepalen waar in de antieke wereld onze tekst werd geschreven. Onderzoekers hebben drie verschillende locaties voorgesteld: Alexandrië, Achaia en Klein-Azië of Bithynia. De eerste hypothese is voornamelijk op het rijke intellectuele milieu van die stad gebaseerd; de tweede is gebaseerd op het gegeven dat de meeste daden van Andreas in dit gebied plaatsvinden; de derde hypothese is afgeleid van de taal en van bepaalde uitdrukkingen in de tekst. Ons inziens laten de bronnen geen definitief antwoord toe. Daarom onthouden wij ons van speculatie over deze kwestie.