

RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN

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

**Proefschrift**

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## ABBREVIATIONS

*Journals*

<i>AAWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck &amp; 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 &amp; 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 &amp; 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).  
 Demetrakos<sup>2</sup> *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<sup>r</sup>-512<sup>v</sup>.  
 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<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>v</sup>.

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, <sup>3</sup> 1959 [1979]).
D-K	H. Diels and W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker: Griechisch und Deutsch</i> (Berlin, <sup>6</sup> 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 <sup>r</sup> -168 <sup>v</sup> 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 (ap. 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, <sup>2</sup> 1960).
Narratio	'Martyrium sancti apostoli Andreae', M. Bonnet, <i>AB</i> 13 (1894) 353-72.
Nau	<i>Exemplum Nauseae</i> (Coloniae, 1531, ap. 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 <sup>v</sup> -156 <sup>v</sup> , including <i>Malt</i> A.
OT	Old Testament
P	Ms Parisinus graecus 770, ff. 43 <sup>v</sup> -46 <sup>r</sup> , including <i>Malt</i> A..
PCU1	Coptic fragment in Papyrus Copticus Utrecht 1
P1en	P.1en.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>Manichaean Psalm-book</i> , 142.20-21.
Psalter II	Alleged <i>AA</i> 's fragment in Allberry, <i>Manichaean Psalm-book</i> , 143.13-14.
Psalter III	Alleged <i>AA</i> 's fragment in Allberry, <i>Manichaean Psalm-book</i> , 192.26-28.
Q	Ms Parisinus gr. 1539, ff. 304 <sup>r</sup> -305 <sup>v</sup> including <i>Malt</i> B.
R	Ms Parisinus 11748, including <i>LatEp</i> (ap. Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37).
S	Ms Sinaiticus gr. 526, ff. 121 <sup>v</sup> -132 <sup>v</sup> 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> (ap. Bonnet, <i>AAA</i> II/1, 1-37).
V	Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507 <sup>r</sup> -512 <sup>v</sup> (manuscript reading).
V <sup>b</sup>	'Ex actis Andreae', Bonnet's edition of <i>AA</i> 's fragment in V ( <i>AAA</i> II/1, 38-45).
V <sup>p</sup>	Prieur's edition of V.
V <sup>r</sup>	Our edition of <i>AA</i> 's fragment in ms Vaticanus gr. 808, ff. 507 <sup>r</sup> -512 <sup>v</sup> .
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 <sup>v</sup> -246 <sup>r</sup> .

*VitaParis*  
X

Version of *Vita* in ms Paris BN gr. 1510, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-19<sup>v</sup>.  
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
<i>s.v.</i>	<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*.