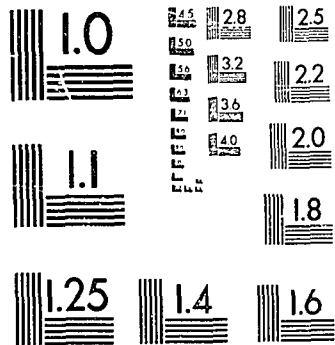
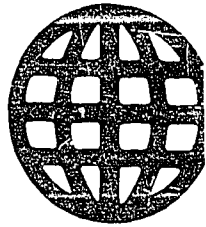


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ANDREW IN THE CITY OF THE CANNIBALS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
THE LATIN, GREEK, AND OLD ENGLISH TEXTS

University of Kansas

PH.D. 1985

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ANDREW IN THE CITY OF THE CANNIBALS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
LATIN, GREEK, AND OLD ENGLISH TEXTS

by

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Submitted to the Special Studies Advisory Committee
and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the
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with a major in Special Studies.

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ABSTRACT

The apocryphal legend of St. Andrew rescuing Matthew from the cannibals occurs in various languages from the fourth century and this story enjoyed great popularity among Christians throughout the Middle Ages. The purpose of this study is to examine and analyze in-depth the extant Latin and Greek texts which have affinities with the Old English prose and poetic versions.

While analyses of these sources have been undertaken, this study is the first to consider all sources together and utilize both a content and, for the Latin and Old English, linguistic approach. Further, no study has heretofore included the most recently discovered version of the Latin texts, the Manuscript Bologna 1576. The Latin text and English translation of this version are here provided for the first time in Appendix I.

Chapter I outlines the historical background of the legend and summarizes previous relevant scholarship dealing with the texts of the Praxeis; Casanatensis 1104; Vaticanus Latinus 1274; MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198; the fragmentary Homily XIX in the Blickling MS; and the Andreas in the Codex Vercellensis. Chapters II and III provide an examination of these texts for event and detail similarities, respectively. While the versions are remarkably similar in essential events, there is con-

siderable variance from text to text in descriptive details. The Bologna text, though most concise of all versions, serves as a link between the two other Latin texts. Chapter IV is an analysis of the latinity of the Vaticanus, Casanatensis, and Bologna texts and concludes that the three share a probable date of composition of the sixth to the eighth centuries. Chapter V is a discussion of foreign influence in the Old English prose texts. The study concludes with an investigation into some of the literary aspects of the poetic Vaticanus and Andreaa and suggests that affinities between the two recensions may be closer than previously thought.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I first began my studies as a graduate student in English at the University of Missouri at Kansas City and broached the idea of specializing in the medieval period, I was told in all earnestness that I would be better off studying marine biology or public administration. Disdaining the practical, however, I decided not to follow that advice and persevered in my specialization. Over the years, there are many to whom I am grateful.

The Special Studies Ph.D. program offered by the University of Kansas has enabled me to cross the bridges (and sometimes climb the walls!) that connect the study of English, Classics, and History by allowing an inter-departmental approach to the study of the medieval period. I would therefore like first to thank the late Dean Ellermeir, by whom this degree program was originally approved, and who was one of the first to support the notion of an inter-disciplinary Special Studies Ph.D.

Each member of my committee has contributed his expertise over the years and I would like to thank each for his own unique part in this endeavor. My committee chairman, Professor Sesto Prete (Classics) suggested the Special Studies program to me in the first place and introduced me to the true meaning of "scholar." Professor Lynn Nelson (History) served as administrative chairman

and without his help and advice the degree program probably never would have been approved. He also taught me a great deal about reading medieval manuscripts. Professor James Seaver (History) many years ago introduced me to the wonder and glory of Rome during a valuable summer session in Italy, for which I will always be most grateful. Professor Oliver Phillips (Classics) served as my "champion" during my year as an assistant instructor in Latin and has readily given me invaluable and numerous critiques during the writing of the dissertation (and kept his sense of humor through it all). Finally, Professor Stephen Goldman (English), as my undergraduate adviser, insisted that I study Latin and also inspired me in the study of things medieval; it was he as well who suggested the topic for this study.

The secretarial staff of the History and Classics Departments, particularly Neila Williams and Lois Harrell, have greatly helped me keep in touch long-distance with paperwork and professors; for their good-natured assistance, I thank them very much.

This project would not have been feasible without the cooperation of the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna and its regent director, Ms. Gabriella Martelli, who supplied me not only with the microfilm of the Bologna MS 1576, but also with invaluable related bibliography. Thanks also to Ms. Concetta Bianca for procuring a Xerox

of the Vaticanus Latinus.

Two of my friends deserve special mention for taking an interest in this project. Rick Harrington was a great help in translating some of the German and Mary Bernard-Shaw enthusiastically read some of the earlier drafts.

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As home is where it all begins and ends, I am grateful to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Boddington of Kansas City for their constant support and encouragement. To my husband, Mark, I cannot begin to express my gratitude for the long, long hours spent at the computer over the final drafts of the dissertation and for valuable discussions of the subject matter from an anthropological point of view.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Legend

It is well-known that one of Pope Gregory's favorite saints was Andrew. The veneration of the English for Gregory is also well-known and eloquently stated by Bede: "... quia etsi aliis non est apostolus, sed tamen nobis est...."¹ It is perhaps because of this connection that the cult of Saint Andrew held a special place in England.² Indeed, the corpus of Old English literature now extant boasts not one, but two complete versions and one fragment of a favorite legend about this saint. The legend of Andrew among the anthropophagi enjoyed great popularity

¹Beda Venerabilis, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, edited by Josephus Stevenson, Lib. 2, Cap. 1 (Reprint of 1838 edition; Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964), p. 81.

²For an overview of the cult of Saint Andrew in England, see Marie M. Walsh, "St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evolution of an Apocryphal Hero," Annuaire Mediaevale, XX (1981), pp. 97-122.

among Christians over a wide geographic area and it seems to have largely survived the scrutiny of its Catholic censors.³

The origin of the legend and the need it fulfilled form an interesting chapter in the history of Christianity. Before discussing the manuscripts with which this study is concerned, it is expedient to consider the social forces, subject matter, and probable provenience that underlie the story.

Apocryphal New Testament literature in general may be defined as those writings which are not accepted as Church canon but which, in form and statement, are of the style of the New Testament and in which "... foreign elements certainly intrude."⁴ The canons of the Church often omit details pertinent to people or events that are of great moment to its teachings. For example, when Christ gathered his twelve Apostles together to prepare them for the Ascension, He said to them, "... ye shall be witnesses

³Franz Blatt, Die lateinischen Bearbeitungen der Acta Andreae et Matthiae apud Anthropophagos, Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaften, Vol. XII (Geissen-Copenhagen: Alfred Töpelman, 1930), p. 1. (Hereinafter referred to as Die lat.)

⁴Edgar Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha. Translated by R. McL. Wilson and others and edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), p. 27. For a discussion of the terms canonical and apocryphal, see pp. 21-28. On the origin of "apocrypha", see pp. 60-64.

unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."⁵ There is no mention, however, of locations to which the Apostles were to travel. With the exception of Peter, John, and Paul, about whom we have a few facts, there is generally little information about the lives of the Apostles. It was natural, then, that Christian folk would wonder, first of all, where the Apostles were sent for their ministries. A number of stories subsequently appeared to answer this question.

The Sortes Apostolorum provided an initial answer. As the story goes, the Apostles cast lots among themselves to determine where each would go to do Christ's bidding. The common folk, not content with this meagre information about individuals so vital to their new religion, and imbued with a fervor to do justice to these chosen few, created colorful and imaginative stories about them. This was the beginning of a long tradition which supplemented canonical information by providing biographies of the Twelve. Most of the Acts begin with the casting of lots.

Eusebius (d. 340 A.D.), citing Origen as his source, recounts the Sortes Apostolorum.⁶ He also declares

⁵Acts 1:8.

⁶Eusebius, History of the Church from Christ to Constantine, translated by G. A. Williamson, (3rd edition; New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1981), Book III, 1. The source, Origen's third book on Genesis, is now lost.

that the special Acts of the Apostles, including those of Andrew, are the fictions of heretics: "To none of these has any churchman of any generation ever seen fit to refer in his writings."⁷ To which stories Eusebius actually refers is a matter of speculation. But his comment proves that apocryphal stories were circulating at least from the fourth century.

Our particular legend, found in the Acts of Andrew and Matthew, is an imaginative and vivid account of Andrew's journey to the land of the anthropophagi. The story, which varies in some details from manuscript to manuscript, briefly is as follows:

Having been sent by lot to preach to the cannibalistic Mermedonians, Matthew is captured by them and taken prisoner. It is said that they eat human flesh and drink human blood. Matthew, along with other captives, is blinded and given a drug which renders men as beasts. This allows the Mermedonians to fatten the docile prisoners for a prescribed space of time before being slaughtered and eaten. The drug, however, has no effect on Matthew. The Lord promises Matthew that he will not die. After a number of days, the Lord appears to Andrew, who is in Achaia, and commands him to rescue his brother within three days. Andrew replies that he cannot accomplish the journey because the distance is too great and the time too short. The Lord tells Andrew to go to the shore where he will find a ship waiting to transport him to Mermedonia. Andrew finds the ship and boards it. He does not realize that Christ Himself is the helmsman. The voyage follows and Andrew is transported to the city. He there rescues Matthew and the other captives, restoring them to health. After a series of miracles, including flooding of the city, Andrew succeeds in converting the cannibals to Christ.

⁷Eusebius, History of the Church, Book III, 25.

The origin of a central theme of the story, the man-eaters or anthropophagi, probably stems from two distinct sources: historical tradition and legendary sailor stories.⁸ Eusebius says that Andrew received Scythia as his portion in the casting of lots. This early tradition (Andrew's destination in most of our manuscripts has become Achaia) may have affinities with the accounts of Aristotle, Strabo, and Tertullian, all of whom helped perpetuate stories of cannibalism through their writings about exotic lands. Herodotus, in fact, describes the Scythians as a people who drink the blood of the first warrior to fall in battle and blind their slaves.⁹

There are several direct parallels to the legend found in stories of sailors travelling to distant lands. One such example is the Circe story in the Odyssey. Circe gives Ulysses' men a drug which makes them lose memory of home, and touching them with a magic wand, she drives them

⁸See the chapter "Legendary Elements" in Francis Dvornik, The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938), pp. 190-214. See also Solomon Reinach, Cults, Myths and Religions, translated by Elizabeth Frost (London: David Nutt, 1912), pp. 138-156.

⁹Herodotus, The Histories, translated by Aubrey de Selincourt (Reprint of 1954 edition, revised; Middlesex: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1972), Book 4, p. 291.

into sties and feeds them as swine.¹⁰ When Ulysses rescues his men, he is immune to the potion because he has been given an antidote by Hermes. Thus Hermes protects Ulysses as the Lord protects Andrew.

There are two other interesting parallels. The third voyage of Sinbad the Sailor contains cannibalistic overtones. A huge black "monster" selects the tastiest of Sinbad's companions.¹¹ Even more similar is the fourth voyage in which Sinbad and his men are captured by a tribe of cannibalistic Magians, given a drink of cocoa oil, and annointed with the result that their stomachs swell in proportion to their appetites. They consume great quantities of food and "... knew not what was done to them and ... went forth to pasture ... like cattle."¹² Sinbad, however, abstains from the oil as Matthew refuses the poison in the Old English prose.

The stories of the Arabian Nights in particular underwent great diffusion before they were finally collected and written down. Sailor stories such as these are likely to be most prevalent where there is much commerce,

¹⁰The Odyssey of Homer, translated by William Cullen Bryant, X (Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co., 1879), ll. 280 ff.

¹¹The Thousand and One Nights' Entertainments, translated by Edward William Lane, 4 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1896), p. 136.

¹²Ibid., p. 150.

end so Egypt is thought to have been the point of origin.¹³ Likewise, monasticism was flourishing in fourth century Egypt, and apostolic literature was abundant there. It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that the Acts of Andrew and Matthew were composed in Egypt in the fourth century.

Three other sources in connection with these Acts deserve mention. The Acts of Peter and Andrew are a continuation of the Acts of Andrew and Matthew.¹⁴ Andrew's journey to the land of the anthropophagi is briefly mentioned and so these Acts are either contemporaneous or later. The De gestis beati Andreae Apostoli, which forms part of the Pseudo-Abdias collection, briefly tells the story and has survived in a Latin and several Greek versions.¹⁵ Finally, Gregory of Tours recounts the legend in De gestis beati Andreae.¹⁶ Gregory asserts that he is

¹³See J. Flamon, Les actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André (Louvain: August Godenne, 1911), p. 314, n. 4; also pp. 323-324. Claes Schaar, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, Lund Studies in English No. 17 (Lund and Copenhagen: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1949), p. 13, indirectly disagrees with this theory.

¹⁴In Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations, translated by Alexander Walker (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1980), pp. 368-372.

¹⁵Included in J. A. Fabricius, Codex Novi Testamenti, Vol. II (Hamburgi: Benjamin Schiller, 1703), p. 402.

¹⁶Relevant passages quoted in full in Blatt, Die lat., p. 1.

revising another version which is "multitudo verbositatis," thus accounting for the brevity of Gregory's rendition. One theory is that the version Gregory revised was Pseudo-Abdias' De gestis.¹⁷ The latter two, of the sixth century, show that the tradition was well established by that time.

The Manuscripts

The manuscripts which tell the story of Andrew and Matthew among the anthropophagi have come down to us in numerous versions. These can be divided into two groups, Eastern and Western. Manuscripts of the Eastern group are by far the most numerous while those of the Western group are more of a rarity and have come to light more recently. This is probably because of the sensitivities and differences between the East and the West.¹⁸ The manuscripts which comprise the Eastern group are found in Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, and Old Slavonic versions. The Western group consists of three Old English and four Latin versions. The present study deals with the Greek, Old English, and Latin manuscripts.

The Greek manuscripts are collectively named the

¹⁷R. A. Lipsius, Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden, Vol. I (Reprint of 1883 edition; Amsterdam, APA Philo Press, 1976), p. 138.

¹⁸Blatt, Die Lat., p. 1.

Praxeis and may be considered together as the nine copies extant vary only slightly.¹⁹ These were first edited by Thilo in 1846 and again by Tischendorf in 1851.²⁰ The oldest manuscript is eighth century; the most recent is sixteenth century.

The extant Old English manuscripts are the poetic Andreas in the Codex Vercellensis (Ker 394), a prose version in Manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 (Ker 42), and a prose fragment preserved in the Blickling Manuscript (Ker 382). The Codex Vercellensis 117 was discovered in 1822 by Friedrich Blume in the Library of Saint Andrew's Cathedral at Vercelli, Italy. Subsequently, a very brief description of it appeared in Blume's Iter

¹⁹Lipsius names the following MSS: cod. gr. 1556 (eighth century); cod. gr. 881 (eleventh century); cod. gr. 1556 (fifteenth century); cod. venet. Marcian n. 38 (D^a and D^b); cod. Ambrosian c. 92 and Paris gr. 1539 (eleventh century). According to Walker, pp. xvi-xvii, Thilo (see below, n. 20) used primarily three MSS in his edition of the Praxeis and only the cod. gr. 1556 is complete. Dvornik, p. 207, n. 72, further lists Escorial Y II, 4 (sixteenth century) and Parisinus gr. 1313 (fifteenth century). He also notes that the text of the principal MS used by Bonnet (see below, n. 29), the Parisinus Graecus 824 (ninth century), appears scattered randomly throughout the MS.

²⁰Acta ss. Apostolorum Andreae et Matthiae graece ex codd. parisiensibus, edited by Carlo Thilo (Halis: Formis Orphanotrophei, 1846); Acta apostolorum apocrypha, edited by Constantius Tischendorf (Lipsiae: Avenarius et Mendelssohn, 1851), pp. 132-166. Walker (above, n. 14) uses Tischendorf's text in his translation.

Italicum.²¹ The manuscript contains 136 folios of verse and prose including sermons on various topics, the poetic Fates of the Apostles, and a life of Saint Guthlac. The Andreas occupies folios 29^b-52^b. The manuscript is written in a hand dated by Ker to the end of the tenth century. The first accessible critical edition of Andreas appeared in 1840, and since then notably Krapp, and more recently Brooks, have provided other editions.²²

That the Codex Vercellensis found its way to Italy is a curiosity. Although various theories have been proposed to explain this fact, the evidence is inconclusive.²³ Its presence there, however, is undoubtedly linked to the dedication of the cathedral at Vercelli to Saint Andrew.

The prose Manuscript Cambridge 198 is a late tenth

²¹Frederich Blume, Iter Italicum, Vol I (Berlin and Stettin, 1824). He mentions it again in Vol. IV (Halle: 1836).

²²Jacob Grimm, Andreas und Elena, (Cassel: Theodor Fischer, 1840); George Philip Krapp, Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906); Kenneth R. Brooks, Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961). Facsimile editions may be found in Maximiliano Foerster, Il Codice Vercellese con omelie e poesie in lingua anglo-sassone per concessione di Ven. capitolo metropolitano di Vercelli (Roma: Danesi, 1913) and more recently by Celie Sisson, Vercelli biblioteca capitolare CXVII, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 19 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1976).

²³See Krapp, Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles, pp. ix-xiv, for further discussion. (Hereinafter referred to as Andreas.)

or early eleventh century collection of homilies. The last item is the Andrew legend, folios 366^a-391^b. The legend was first edited by Goodwin in 1851 and then by Bright in 1891.²⁴

The fragmentary Homily XIX in the Blickling Manuscript, pages 271-278, is the last entry in a series of homilies. It is approximately one-third the length of that in the Cambridge text. This text contains a Latin passage immediately followed by a repetition of the same in Old English. It has been suggested that either the Latin was inserted intentionally by the translator or it inadvertently found its way into the text.²⁵ In briefly comparing the two prose versions, it is evident that the Cambridge text is slightly more compressed than the Blickling, and thus Bright concludes that the latter may be closer to the original source but not necessarily derived from it.²⁶ The Blickling text first appeared in 1880, edited by Morris

²⁴R. K. Goodwin, The Anglo-Saxon Legenda of St. Andrew and St. Veronica (Cambridge: Parker, 1851); J. W. Bright's An Anglo-Saxon Reader has been revised and reissued since its original publication in 1891. The edition used in this study is Bright's Old English Grammar and Reader, edited by F. G. Cassidy and Richard N. Ringler (3rd edition; New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1971). The prose text appears on pp. 113-128. All subsequent line numbers and quotes of the prose text refer to this edition. (Hereinafter referred to as "Bright, Grammar.")

²⁵Krapp, Andreas, pp. xxii, n. 1.

²⁶Bright, Grammar, p. 205.

who supplements the missing portions with readings from the Cambridge text.²⁷

After the initial publication of the Vercelli Andreas and the two prose homilies, Bonnet discovered the Vallicellensis, a Latin fragment closely corresponding to the Old English Prose.²⁸ This brief text, in an eleventh century palimpsest, was first printed along with a new edition of the Praxeis in 1898.²⁹ The Vallicellensis roughly follows lines 193-124 of the Cambridge text and lines 843-954 of the Andreas.³⁰

In 1917, Moricca published the complete Latin text of the legend according to the Casanatensis 1104.³¹ Al-

²⁷The Blickling Homilies, edited and translated by R. Morris, Early English Text Society 70 (London: N. Trubner & Co., 1880). Facsimile may be found in Rudolph Willard, The Blickling Homilies, the John H. Schaeide Library, Titusville, Pennsylvania, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 10 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1960).

²⁸Codex Vallicellensis, plut. I, tom. III, folio 44a-44b (Rome).

²⁹Acta apostolorum apocrypha, edited by M. Bonnet and R. A. Lipsius, Part II (Lipsiae: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1898), pp. 85-88. The fragment was previously described by M. Foerster in "Zu den Blickling Homilies," Herrigs Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, XCI, pp. 202-206.

³⁰These and all subsequent line numbers to Andreas refer to Brooks, Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles, hereinafter referred to as Andreas.

³¹U. Moricca, "La traduzione latina degli Atti di Andrea e Matteo," Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, ser. V, Classe di scienze morali, Vol. XXVI (1917).

though published with the hope that the text would be of linguistic value, Moricca's transcription is faulty.³² The Casanatensis contains 141 folios; the Acta Andreae et Matthiae is the sixth of fourteen items and occupies folios 26-43. Poncelet, in his description of the manuscript (1909), pointed out its similarity to the Vallicellensis and assigned this portion of the manuscript a twelfth century date.³³ The manuscript contains the lives and passions of nine saints including two women, Mary Magdalene and Barbara. The hand is Beneventan and the entries vary from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.

It was not until 1930, in a monumental publication by Franz Blatt, that the Latin and Greek manuscripts extant at that point were finally published together.³⁴ This scholarly edition contains the Vallicellensis, Casanatensis, Praxeis, and the first publication of a third Latin text, entitled by Blatt Recensio Vaticana from the Vaticanus Latinus 1274. The Vaticanus, a metrical version of the Andrew legend, had previously been described by

³²Blatt, Die lat., pp. 3-4 and n. 6.

³³Albertus Poncelet, Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanarum, Vols. XXIV-XXVII (Bruxelles: Analecta Bollandiana, 1909), pp. 251-254.

³⁴Blatt, Die lat.

Ehrensberger in 1897 and Poncelet in 1910.³⁵ The codex, in Italian Carolingian script, is entitled by Ehrensberger Lectionarium de s. Andrea ap. monasterii sa. Andreae et Gregorii. It contains eleven items, all related to Andrew, in 164 folios. The legend is the eighth item, folios 119^b-160^a, and of the eleventh century. It is interesting to note that the codex further links Pope Gregory and Andrew: their images appear with Christ in color miniatures on folio 3^b.

The last item under consideration here is the unpublished Manuscript Bologna 1576. Holthausen published a transcription of the first two folios after inadvertently receiving the manuscript from the University Library.³⁶ Although he points out the similarity of the text to the Casanatensis, the Bologna text has yet to be scrutinized in this light.³⁷ A critical edition and English translation of the Bologna text is provided for the first time in Appendix I.

³⁵Hugo Ehrensberger, Libri Liturgici Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Manuscripti (Vatican: Friburgi Brigoviae, 1897), pp. 143-144; Albertus Poncelet, Catalogus codicum hagiographicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae (Bruxelles: apud Socios Bollandianos, 1910), pp. 93-94.

³⁶Ferdinand Holthausen, "Eine neue lateinische Fassung der Andreaslegende," Anglia, LXII (1938), pp. 190-192.

³⁷Brooks, Andreas, pp. xvii-xviii; Bright, Grammar, p. 204, n. 8; and Schear, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 14, all mention the MS in passing.

The Problem

Early discussions of the source material used by the Old English poet in Andreas naturally focused on whether or not a Greek original provided the starting point for the poem. Since the Latin manuscripts were unknown in the mid-nineteenth century, both Grimm and Fritzsche believed this to be the case.³⁸ In a thorough discussion of the relationship of the Andreas to the Old English prose versions and to the Praxeis, BouraueI concluded that the Old English authors did not necessarily use Greek sources exclusively.³⁹

One of the most significant differences between all the Old English versions and those of the Praxeis is that the Greek makes no mention of either Achaia or Mermedonia. The Old English versions specify Achaia as the location of Andrew's preaching and Mermedonia (variously spelled) as the place of Matthew's imprisonment. Zupitza first pointed out these details in relation to the Old English and the Praxeis and concluded that an unknown Latin text served as the immediate source.⁴⁰

³⁸Arthur Fritzsche, "Das angelsächsische Gedicht Andreas und Cynewulf," Anglia, II (1882), pp. 441-496.

³⁹J. BouraueI, "Zur Quellen-und Verfasserfrage von Andreas Crist und Fata," Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, XI (1901), pp. 65-132.

⁴⁰J. Zupitza, "Zur Frage nach Quelle von Cynewulfs Andreas," Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum, XXX (1886), pp. 175-185.

The subsequent discovery of the Latin manuscripts supports Zupitza's conclusion in that we now have Latin versions which share these details with the Old English. In addition to lack of place names, another peculiarity is that the spelling of Matthew (Matheus, Matthias) differs not only among the individual Latin and Old English texts, but among the separate Greek texts as well. Eusebius clearly distinguishes between Matthias and Matthew, so this confusion must have arisen at a later time. Thus, there are enough differences among all the manuscripts to bring us back to the original query: could the Old English authors have known enough Greek to have used a source in that language? Or, was the ultimate source a Latin text? Schaar concludes in a more recent discussion concerning this question that a Latin text similar to the Praxeis was used by the Old English authors, and that of the Latin manuscripts extant, the original was most closely related to the Casanatensis.⁴¹ While Schaar's treatment of the subject is excellent and takes all complete versions into account (except the Bologna text), the discussion is strictly content oriented and not a linguistic analysis.

It seems reasonable to assume that there once existed other versions of this highly popular legend in

⁴¹Schaar, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 23.

all three languages. While the knowledge of Greek was indeed a rarity, there were "... a substantial number of Greek works ... available in Latin translation."⁴² To date, however, the language of the Latin texts of the legend has not been studied with respect to latinity and probable Greek influence. The same is true of the Old English texts and their linguistic affinities with the Latin in particular. Finally, the Bologna text has not heretofore figured in any discussions of the legend.

The plan of this study is first to examine the extant Latin, Old English, and Greek texts for their event and detail similarities (Chapters II and III). Second, a linguistic analysis of the Latin and Old English texts deals with the similarities among the Latin texts and the foreign influence evident in the Old English (Chapters IV and V). The concluding chapter deals with some of the literary aspects of the poetic recensions.

It is clear that the difficulties involved in tracing the ultimate source of the Old English poem and prose may never be resolved. But in combining a content evaluation with a linguistic study of the Latin and Old English texts in particular, some of the questions may be at least partially resolved and bring us to a better

⁴²M. L. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900 (2nd edition; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 76.

understanding of the influences and traditions behind
their composition.

CHAPTER II

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

The Legend of St. Andrew in the City of the Cannibals, as it takes shape in the manuscripts under consideration in this study, may be generally classified as hagiography. This genre is a "highly conventional form" that weaves threads of panegyric, epic, romance, and sermon into a colorful story.¹ Praise of the saint's virtues, the journey to a foreign land, miracles, the struggle between good and evil represented by the devil, and moral edification all play important roles in the legend. Two versions, the Andreas and the Recensio Vaticana, may be more specifically classified as hagiographic poetry. These are complicated by the additional conventions which their respective Old English and Latin poetic traditions demand.

¹Rosemary Woolf, "Saints' Lives," in Continuations and Beginnings, edited by E. G. Stanley (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1966), p. 40.

All known complete versions of the Western group and two of the Eastern group will provide the basis for this in-depth study of the sequence of events and descriptive detail.² The Western group contains the Andreas (A), the two Old English prose versions (B), the Cesenatensis (C), the Vaticanus (V), and the University of Bologna text (U). The Praxeis (P) and an Ethiopic version (E) represent the Eastern group.³ The Ethiopic collection of apocrypha containing E also includes an abridged version, E₁.⁴ Though this recension is not considered as part of the study, its major variations will be noted in the discussion.

Table 1 describes the event sequence in P and E. Because the legend was originally an Eastern composition, and because E and the versions of P are the most similar, the most complete, and contain the most events, they together serve as a useful basis for event comparison. Although details may vary between E and P, the events represented are those which carry through to at least one

²Blatt, Die lat., compares P, C, and V; Scheer, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, compares A, B, C, and V.

³The Ethiopic versions, translated from the Coptic, may be found in Sir Ernest A. Wallis Budge, The Contendings of the Apostles: The English Translation, Vol. II (2nd Edition; London: Oxford University Press, 1935), pp. 307-334. Quotes are from this edition of E; unless otherwise noted, quotes from P are from Walker's translation of Tischendorf (above, Chapter I, n. 14).

⁴Ibid., pp. 223-240.

TABLE 1

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS ACCORDING TO E AND P

1. The apostles cast lots.
2. Matthew is sent to the city of the man-eaters.
3. They eat human flesh and drink human blood.
4. They seize foreigners and tear out their eyes.
5. They give them a poisonous and magical drink.
6. Matthew arrives there.
7. He is seized, blinded, given the drink but not harmed.
8. Matthew asks the Lord to restore his sight.
9. He receives his sight and the Lord promises help in 27 days.
10. Matthew keeps his sight secret from the guards.
11. After 27 days, the Lord comes to Andrew where he is teaching.
12. The Lord commands Andrew to journey to the city of the man-eaters to rescue Matthew.
13. Andrew questions that the journey can be accomplished in 3 days.
14. As the Lord commands, Andrew goes to the shore and finds a ship.
15. In it are 3 men: the Lord and 2 angels in human form.
16. They are bound for the city of the man-eaters.
17. Andrew has no passage money.
18. Because they are disciples of Christ, the Lord (in disguise) invites them on board the ship.
19. Christ feeds Andrew and his disciples with three loaves.
20. Andrew gives his disciples the option of waiting on shore. They refuse.
21. Andrew comforts his disciples in their distress of the sea; they fall asleep.
22. Andrew asks the pilot (Christ) to show him his art as helmsman.
23. Jesus replies that the sea recognizes Andrew and his disciples.
24. Christ questions him about the Jews.
25. Andrew relates some of Christ's miracles.
26. Jesus asks about the secret miracles.
27. Andrew asks why he is questioned; the helmsman replies that he rejoices in the wonders of the Lord.
28. Andrew relates the secret miracles.
29. The sphinx in the temple speaks.
30. The patriarchs rise from the dead.
31. Christ rests; Andrew sleeps.
32. Andrew and his disciples are transported by angels to the city.
33. Andrew awakens and rouses his disciples.
34. He realizes it was Christ on the ship.
35. Disciples tell their dream of seeing Christ on His throne of glory.
36. Andrew asks forgiveness for conversing with the Lord as a man.
37. Jesus appears to Andrew in the guise of a beautiful child.
38. Andrew asks why the Lord did not reveal Himself on the ship.
39. The Lord replies that He did not reveal Himself because Andrew questioned the journey.
40. The Lord tells Andrew to go to the city and that he will suffer but endure.
41. Andrew goes into the city unseen.
42. The seven prison guards die.
43. The doors to the prison open.
44. Andrew sees Matthew singing.
45. Matthew relates how he has been sent as "a sheep into the midst of wolves."
46. Andrew sees the other prisoners and pities them.
47. Andrew and Matthew pray.

TABLE 1--Continued

48. Andrew heals the prisoners, restoring sight and reason.
49. Andrew tells the 279 men and 49 women to go out of the prison and sit under a fig tree.
50. A cloud sets them on the mountain where Peter is teaching.
51. Andrew goes out of the prison and sits down by a pillar to wait.
52. The executioners find the prison guards dead.
53. They bring the bodies to eat.
54. Andrew asks the Lord not to permit this.
55. The knives fall from the executioners' grasp, and their hands turn to stone.
56. The rulers lament.
57. They gather 217 elders and cast lots which fall to 7.
58. One of the 7 offers his son and daughter instead.
59. The rulers agree.
60. Andrew asks the Lord to interfere.
61. The knives fall out of the executioners' hands.
62. The rulers weep.
63. The devil appears as an old man.
64. The devil tells the people to seize Andrew who has interfered with their customs.
65. The devil cannot see Andrew because he is blind to the saints.
66. The Lord tells Andrew to reveal himself.
67. He is seized.
68. The people bind him and drag him through the streets.
69. They cast him into prison at night.
70. The same occurs the second day.
71. The devil and seven other demons appear to Andrew that night in prison.
72. They cannot kill him, but they mock him and then flee.
73. The third day, Andrew complains during his suffering.
74. The Lord turns his fallen flesh and hair into fruit trees.
75. He is cast back into prison for the third time.
76. The Lord appears to him.
77. Andrew is healed.
78. Andrew sees a pillar with a statue on it in the middle of the prison.
79. Andrew commands, in the name of the Lord, that the statue put forth water.
80. It does so, and the acrid water kills cattle and children.
81. Andrew asks that a cloud of fire surround the city.
82. The people lament and Andrew stops the flow of water.
83. Andrew goes out of prison, the water parting at his feet.
84. The people ask for mercy.
85. The unrighteous elder asks forgiveness.
86. Andrew refuses and condemns him and the 14 executioners to the abyss.
87. The earth opens up and swallows the elder, the executioners and the water.
88. Andrew tells the people not to fear.
89. Andrew raises the dead.
90. He builds a church.
91. He baptizes the people.
92. Jesus, in child's guise, commands Andrew to stay in the city.
93. The Lord commands Andrew to bring up the dead from the abyss.
94. Andrew remains seven days, teaching.
95. Andrew departs.

or more of the other versions.

Table 2 provides an overview of the similarities and differences in events occurring among the individual texts based on the framework of P and E.

A consideration of these events will serve as a starting point for determining the relationships among the texts and ultimately aid in the discussion which follows of some of their more striking variations. Reference to Tables 1 and 2 will aid in the following discussion.

1-10. **The Apostles Cast Lots.** In all versions, the apostles cast lots among themselves to determine where each will go to teach. Matthew receives the City of Man-eaters (or Mermedonia, variously spelled) as his portion. All versions describe the people of this city, in varying detail, as eating neither bread nor drinking wine, but consuming men and drinking human blood. Any foreigners who happen upon the city are immediately captured, their eyes are torn out, and they are given a drink which destroys human reason. Upon his arrival there, Matthew is seized, blinded, and given the drink. It has no harmful effect on him, however. (In B, Matthew refuses the drink.) Matthew asks the Lord for help and also that He restore his sight. The Lord appears, promising help in 27 days. Matthew receives his sight in all but A and U, where the recovery is implied. In A, the Lord promises "haelo and frofre" (l. 95b) to His servant. In U, the Lord says "ut videas

TABLE 2

OVERVIEW OF EVENT SIMILARITIES

EP	A	C	U	B	V	EP	A	C	U	D	V
1	1	1	1	1	1	50	50*	50	50*	50*	50*
2*	2	2	2	2	2	51	51	51	51	51	51
3	3	3	3	3	3	52	52*	52*	52*	52	52*
4	4	4	4	4	4	53	53*	53	53		
5	5	5	5	5	5	54		54	54		
6	6	6		6	6	55		55*	55*		
7	7	7	7	7*	7	56		56	56		
8	8	8	8	8		57	57*	57*	57*		
9	9*	9	9*	9	9	58	58*	58	58		
10		10		10		59	59	59	59		
11	11	11	11	11*	11	60	60*	60	60		
12	12	12	12	12	12	61	61*	61*	61*		
13	13	13	13	13	13	62	62*	62	62		
14	14	14	14	14	14	63	63*	63*	63*	63*	63*
15	15	15	15	15	15*	64	64*	64	64	64*	64
16	16*	16	16	16	16	65	65*		65	65	
17	17	17*	17	17	17	66	66		66	66	
18	18	18*	18	18	18	67	67	67	67	67	67
19	19*	19	19*			68	68		68	68	68*
20	20	20		20		69	69	69	69	69	69
21	21	21	21	21*		70	70		70	70	
22	22	22	22			71	71*	71*	71	71	
23	23	23	23			72	72	72	72	72	
24	24	24	24			73	73	{68}		73	
25	25	25	25		25	74	74*	74		74*	
26	26	26*	26			75	75	75		75	75
27	27	27	27			76	76	76	76	76	76*
28	28	28*	28			77	77	77	77	77	77
29	29*	29	29*			78	78*	78	78*	78	
30	30*		30			79	79*	79	79*	79	79
31	31*	31*	31		{34}	80	80*	80*	{81*}	80	{81}
32	32	32*	32*	32	32	81	81*	81	{80*}	81	{80*}
33	33	33	33*	33		82	82	82	{83}	82	
34	34	34	34	34	34	83	83	83	{84}	83	
35	35*	35	35			84		84	{85}	84	84*
36	36*	36	36	36		85		85	{82}		
37	37*	37	37*	37	37*	86		86	86		
38	38					87	87*	87	87		{88}
39	39*	39*	39	39		88	88	88		88	{87*}
40	40	40	40*	40	40	89	89	89		89	89*
41	41	41	41	41	41*	90	90	90	90	90	{91}
42	42	42*	42*	42		91	91*	91*	91	91*	{90*}
43	43	43	43	43	{44*}	92	92*	92*		92	
44	44*	44*	44	44	{43}	93		93*			
45	—	45	{46}	45	{46*}	94	94	94		94	
47	47			47		95	95	95		95	95

{ } = out of sequence
 * = variation of detail
 — = gap in text

lumen," (1. 39). Thus recovery in both can be assumed. The jailers come to the prison to see which of the prisoners have completed the prescribed 30 days, and Matthew hides his sight from the guards. These last two events are missing in A, U, and V.

11-20. The Lord Appears to Andrew. After 27 days, the Lord comes to Andrew and commands him to journey to the land of the Mermedonians to rescue Matthew. Andrew questions the Lord, saying that he cannot accomplish so far a journey in only three days. The Lord again commands him to go, and following His words, Andrew goes with his disciples to the shore and finds a ship waiting. In the ship are three men: the Lord and two angels in human form. V describes them as three angels. Andrew learns that they are headed for Mermedonia (in A, that they have come from there). Andrew explains that they have no passage-money because they are disciples of Christ. The Lord then invites them to come on board the ship. In A, they have already come aboard. There is now a gap in the story in V, in which Andrew relates some of Christ's miracles during a lengthy digression. The pilot and Andrew converse, and Andrew explains why he must rescue Matthew. In all but V and B, the pilot orders His angels to feed the disciples. The Lord asks Andrew to comfort them because they are afraid of the sea's roughness. Andrew does so and the disciples fall asleep. In B, Andrew falls asleep and the

story resumes at event 32.

21-31. The Sea Voyage. Andrew asks the pilot to reveal how he became such a skillful helmsman. Christ replies that the sea recognizes Andrew and his disciples as servants of the Lord, and thus is ready to obey. Christ then questions Andrew about the Jews and miracles of Christ. E, P, A, C, and U all agree in these events except in some minor details. The length of each varies with A the longest and U the most brief. In P, A, C, and U, a statue or sphinx speaks to the priests and further, P, A, and U have Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob rise from the dead. In all but V, Andrew now sleeps.

32-52. The Apostles Reach the City. Andrew and his disciples are transported to Mermedonia. E, P, A, C, and U all have the disciples relate a dream in which Christ is in heaven surrounded by angels and patriarchs. Then in all versions but V, Andrew apologizes for not having recognized Christ on the ship. Christ appears to them in various forms. In V, only His voice is heard. In P and A, Andrew asks why the Lord kept His presence from them on the sea. In E, Andrew asks how he could help but sin since His presence was not revealed. In all but V, the Lord goes on to explain how Andrew should not have questioned the three day journey, and then He commands Andrew to complete the rescue, warning him of suffering to come. In all versions, Andrew now goes to the prison. He is unseen in

all but V.

42-52. The Freeing of the Prisoners. In all versions the prison doors open and the guards fall dead (except V). In V, we learn of the guards later on (event 52). With some event omissions, E, P, B, A, and C follow the same sequence. U and V show a disorder of these events (refer to Table 2). With the exception of A, Andrew now pities the prisoners. Although the accounts vary in some details, the prisoners are made whole again and go out of the prison. In all versions, Andrew then goes to sit by a pillar in the city to wait. In V, two disciples accompany him. In the shortened E₁, Matthew remains with Andrew. In all versions, the dead guards and missing prisoners are discovered.

53-62. The Gathering of the Elders. In E, P, A, C and U, the dead guards are brought to be eaten. In all but A, the Lord intervenes and prevents the act. In A, however, this act is accomplished, hence the omission of events 54-56. B and V omit the entire episode. The elders cast lots to determine who will be sacrificed for food. One of the chosen elders offers his son (or son and daughter in A and E) instead. Again the Lord intervenes and prevents the sacrifice.

63-73. Andrew's Capture. The devil now appears in all versions. His countenance varies, and in A and V he is not disguised at all. He orders the people to seize Andrew

for interfering with their culinary practices (E, P, C, and U). The reason given in B and A is that Andrew freed the prisoners. In all but C and V, the devil is unable to see Andrew. When he does reveal himself (E, P, B, A, U), he is seized at once. This occurs in C and V after the devil points Andrew out (event 64). A description of the 3 days of torture follows in E, P, B, and A, all of which contain the same event sequence. The devil and his cohorts visit Andrew in prison and mock him. In V, Andrew is tortured before he is dragged through the streets. Each day of torture is not described separately, nor does the devil visit Andrew in prison. Neither C nor U relates the separate days of torture as do E, P, B, and A, but the essential events are intact. U and V omit the transformation of Andrew's fallen flesh and hair.

76-87. The Miracle of Fire and Water. In all versions the Lord appears to Andrew on the third night (in U, events 71 and 76 seem to occur on the same night) and heals him. In E, P, B, A, and C, Andrew goes to the statue without prior knowledge of the events which follow and commands it, in the name of the Lord, to pour out water. In U and V, the Lord reveals the fire and water miracle to Andrew and he approaches the statue and does as he is commanded. Fire then surrounds the city in E, P, B, A, and C. In U and V, these events are reversed. The water in all versions is acrid or salty and kills the inhabitants.

V more graphically describes the victims as infants and children; in E, the victims are wives and children. In all but V, Andrew goes out of the prison and the water parts at his feet. In E, he thrusts it aside. The unrighteous elder in E, P, C, and U asks forgiveness and Andrew refuses. The earth opens up and swallows the unrighteous elder and the executioners (E, P, B, C, and U), the water only (V), and the executioners only (A).

88-95. The Conversion. Here there is a very lengthy digression in V. Andrew instructs the Mernedonians in the Old and New Testament in preparation for baptism. In all versions but U, Andrew raises those who have been killed by the flood. In all versions he builds a church and the people receive baptism. (These two events are reversed in V.) From this point on, all accounts vary somewhat. Nothing is said about ordination of a bishop in E, P, and U; one is consecrated in B, C, A and V. U abruptly ends after the people are baptized. In E, P, and C, the Lord commands Andrew to bring up the dead from the abyss. Only in C is this specifically accomplished. Andrew remains with the people for seven days in E, P, B, A, and C. His departure is then recorded in all but U. V goes on to relate Andrew's glorious return to Achaia.

From the above comparison and Table 2, it is evident that B and V contain the most omissions and that these omissions are remarkably similar. However, V

contains lengthy digressions and B does not. In essential events, A, C, and U appear to be fairly similar, with each digressing from the others at various points. However, these digressions and omissions do not occur at the same points among the three versions, and so E and P share a closer relationship to the individual texts than do the texts of A, C, and U to each other. Of the three Latin versions, C and U are most similar because they include more of the essential events than V, but U and V do share similarities in the fact that certain series of events are in disorder and/or are omitted (events 42-50 and 69-95).

Table 3 provides a word-count for each text. U and B are the most brief, but U includes many more of the events than does B. Its brevity, therefore, does not diminish its validity in terms of comparison.⁵ While the Andrew story is most abbreviated in V, Table 3 reveals its verbosity and, in length, its closeness to A.

Schaar, in his discussion of event sequence, divides the manuscripts into two groups. P, C, and A form one group representing a popular tradition because of their detail and fantastic elements. B and V form another

⁵Bright, Grammar, p. 204, n. 8. The editors are correct in assuming U to be the most brief of all versions. It is not, however, as "severely abridged" as it was thought to be in terms of event inclusion.

TABLE 3
APPROXIMATE WORD COUNT OF TEXTS

U.....	2800 words
B.....	4100 words
C.....	6100 words
P.....	7000 words
A.....	8600 words
V.....	8700 words
E.....	9400 words

group because of their brevity and omission of some of the miraculous events.⁶ Walsh points out, however, that "Schaar ignored the highly expanded sermon passages in Vaticanus, which contrast with the compression of the Old English prose."⁷ Further, B stands as an intermediate link between the popular traditions of P, C, and A and the less miraculous V.⁸ U serves as a stronger link than B in that it omits some of the less essential miracles (the raising of the dead and the transformation of Andrew's fallen flesh and hair) but retains more of the story than either B or V. U stands between the other two Latin texts, revealing affinities with both the detailed, miraculous C and the expanded, sermonic V.

⁶Schaar, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 15.

⁷Walsh, "St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England," p. 110.

⁸Schaar, Critical Studies, p. 22.

In considering the major events thus far it is clear that each individual manuscript contains a coherent telling of the same story. Though there are some omissions, variations, and differences in length, the affinities among them are close. An assessment of the differences and similarities must go beyond major events, however, because it is within the details that another perspective emerges. The similarity of details with respect to specific names, descriptions, acts, and numbers in the texts may reveal an entirely different set of inter-relationships.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTIVE DETAILS

The variations among the recensions in the descriptions and minor details reveal the flexibility of this apocryphal legend and reflect the circumstances of their composition. While they all must ultimately stem from a common source, the combinations and changes of detail made by the scribe or translator, whether deliberate or unintentional, add a uniqueness to each version. These differences may be traced to factors such as time, culture, literary conventions, and the questions of purpose and audience.

A close examination of these minor details illustrates the complexity of the relationship and disparity of one text to another. The details and descriptions chosen for the following discussion are those which are not isolated but occur in at least two or more texts and in two or more forms (including variation and omission where the potential for the description is present). While the

choice of details included may appear subjective, as many of these as possible have been considered in the interest of objectivity. If the texts are very closely related, one would not expect significant variation in details such as names of persons, places, numbers, names of objects, and descriptions. All the texts, however, vary greatly when compared on this level. Tables 4 and 5 summarize the comparison of most of the details discussed below.

Names and Places

All the Latin versions, except V, have Matthew (Matheus). The manuscripts of P vary between Matthias and Matheua, but the oldest (8th century) has Matthias. Both versions of E have Matthias as does the Syriac.¹ Since V here agrees with the Eastern, and earlier, tradition of Matthias, its affinities may be closer to the Eastern group than the Western.²

The city itself, not named in P or E, appears as Mermedonia in C, one of the two versions of B (Blickling), and twice in A. In U and three times in A it appears as Marmedonia.³ The other B (Corpus Christi) has Marmadonia

¹Blatt, Die lat., p. 6.

²Krapp, Andreas, pp. xxviii-xxvix, states that V has Matheus not Matthias.

³Brooks, Andreas, p. xvii and p. xxix, states that U has Myrmidon.

TABLE 4

TEXTS: SUMMARY OF DETAILS

Detail	E	P	A	C	U	B	V
Matthew/Mathias	Mathias	Matthew/ Mathias	Matthew	Matthew	Matthew	Matthew	Mathias
Bishop	---	---	Platan	no name	---	no name	Plato
Andrew teaches at	no name	no name	Achaia	Achaia	Achaia	Achaia	Achaia
Name of city	no name	no name	Marse-/ Marse-	Marse-	Marse-	Marse-/ Marse-	Mirai-
Christ slain by	---	Herod	Herod	---	---	---	*
Satan called	Sarahel	Belial	arrow	---	arrow	arrow	---
Prisoners sent to	fig tree	fig tree	---	fig tree	out of city	fig tree	out of city
Matthew sent to	Peter	Peter	---	Peter	East	Peter	---
Sphinx/statue	land of	land of	land of	---	---	*	*
goes to	Canaanites	Canaanites	Canaanites				
Drink is	magical	magical	magical	magical	poison	magical	poison
Prisoners fed	hay/grass	hay/grass	hay/grass	hay/grass	as beasts	---	as beasts
Prisoners free by	sorcerers	---	---	sorcerers	sorcerers	---	---
Elder's offering	son	son & daughter	son	son & daughter	son & daughter	*	*
The weapons	melt	melt	melt	liquefy	liquefy	*	*
Devil appears as	old man	old man	no disguise	old man	child	youth	no disguise
Lord appears as	child	child	child	child	human	child	voice only
... and then as	young man	child	no disguise	no disguise	*	child	*
Flesh turns to	fruit tree	fruit trees	flowering trees	fruit trees	*	fruit tree	*
Mention of	oven & trough	oven & trough	---	oven & trough	---	---	---
Sphinx/statue	statue	sphinx	statue	sphinx	statue	*	*
Andrew says	"Here am I"	---	---	---	"I am Andrew"	"I am Andrew"	---
Torture sug- gested by	man possessed	man possessed	---	---	the people	the devil	the people
Transported to city by	angels	angels	angels	angels	---	angels	---
Fire brought by	Michael	Michael	angel	angel	---	angel	---
The clouds	carry apostles	carry apostles	cover prisoners	carry apostles	---	---	---
Departure by	---	---	sea	---	*	---	sea
Devil's voice	changes	changes	---	changes	---	---	*
Years on sea	17	17	17	many	often	*	*
Number of loaves	3	3	(boat)	3	no #	*	*
Number of guards	7	7	7	7	no #	*	*
Total prisoners	1098	398/319	289?	297	240+	297	297
Number of elders	no #	217	no #	207	no #	*	*
Lot falls to	7	7	1	7	7	*	*
Executioners (#)	no #	14	14	14	no #	*	*
Number of devils	Satan+7	Satan+7	Satan+6	no #	Satan+7	Satan+7	*

Notes: --- = detail excluded * = event omitted

TABLE 5

TEXTS: SIMILARITY OF DETAILS

Detail	E	P	A	C	U	B	V
Matthew/Mathias	~	~	^	^	^	^	~
Bishop	-	-	~	^	-	^	~
Andrew's teaching	~	~	^	^	^	^	^
Name of city	~	~	^	^	x	^	
Christ slain by	-	~	~	-	-	-	*
Satan addressed as	~	~	^	-	^	^	-
Prisoners sent to	~	~	-	~	^	~	^
Matthew sent to	~	~	-	~		~	-
Sphinx/statue	~	~	~	-	-	*	*
Drink is	~	~	~	~	^	~	^
Prisoners fed	~	~	~	~	^	-	^
Prisoners freed by	~	-	-	~	~	-	-
Elder's offering	~	^	~	^	^	*	*
The weapons	~	~	~	^	^	*	*
Devil appears as	~	~	^	~		~	^
Lord appears as	~	~	~	~		~	
Second time		~	^	^	*	~	*
Flesh turns to	~	~		~	*	~	*
Mention of	~	~	-	~	-	-	-
Sphinx/statue	~	^	~	^	~	*	*
Andrew says	~	-	-	-	^	~	-
Torture suggested	~	~	-	-	^		^
Transported to city	~	~	~	~	-	~	-
Fire brought by	~	~	^	~	-	^	-
Apostles carried by	~	~		~	-	-	-
Departure by	-	-	~	-	*	-	~
Devil's voice	~	~	-	~	-	-	*
Years on sea	~	~	~	^	^	*	*
Number of loaves	~	~		~		*	*
Guards	~	~	~	~		*	*
Total Prisoners				~		~	~
Number of elders	~		~		~	*	*
Lot falls to	~	~		~	~	*	*
Executioners	~	^	^	^	~	*	*
Number of devils	~	~			~	~	*

Notes:

Like symbols indicate items considered similar.
A dash (-) indicates detail is missing and an asterisk (*) shows that the event itself is omitted.

and V has Miraidonia. In the earliest accounts of the legend, Gregory of Tours (sixth century) calls it Meruidona; Pseudo-Abdias has Myruidona. The text of V, therefore, must be further set apart from the other Latin versions in that the spelling, Miraidonia, suggests an older tradition and more direct translation of the Greek spelling Μίρυνη, Μυρμαίνη.⁴ The fluctuation in A suggests the poet's familiarity with at least two versions or an unknown text which also vacillated between the two spellings. Finally, variation between the two recensions of B suggests that they were not derived from each other.⁵

All Latin and Old English versions without exception give the location of Andrew's teaching as Achaia in event 21. This is not mentioned in E or any of the manuscripts of P, thus linking V back to the Western group. E₁, however, is more specific than the others of the Eastern group in that Andrew's location is "the country of the Greeks," (p. 224). A peculiarity, however, is that the ordination of a bishop is not mentioned in E or P, but A and V specifically name him as Platan or Plato. This may suggest affinities between A and V and strengthens the case for a missing version or versions.

⁴Blett, Dis lat., pp. 6-7.

⁵Bright, Grammar, p. 205, n. 12.

A further link between A and V is that unlike other versions, both mention the location of Mermedonia. Flamion and Dvornik, in their discussions of possible locations of the city, fail to point out the fact that the two recensions seem to support opposing theories.⁶ In A, as Andrew comforts his disciples in their terror of the sea, he says that they are journeying to Aelmyrcna (l. 432^a). Krepp identifies this region as Africa or Ethiopia, noting that the "...first element of the compound is an intensive...and the second is the adjective myrcæ, 'dark, black.'"⁷ The text of V, however, three times identifies Scythia as the country of the Mermedonians (103, 15^b; 146, 17^b; 147, 15^b). The older apocrypha generally locate Andrew's missionary activity in Scythia or the Crimea.⁸ V, then, is probably derived from the older tradition. The mention of Aelmyrcna in A could represent a deviation from the usual tradition, a different tradition, or perhaps simply illustrates the desire of the poet to perpetuate the contrasting images of light and dark.

⁶Flamion, Les actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André, pp. 313-315, and Dvornik, The Idea of Apostolicity, pp. 201-207.

⁷George Philip Krepp, The Vercelli Book, Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 110, n. 432. But see also Brooks, Andreas, p. 76, n. 432, who suggests that this isolated word may derive from mearc.

⁸Dvornik, The Idea of Apostolicity, p. 206.

Descriptions and Acts

The text of C provides the most specific information about the cannibalistic practices of the Mermedonians, describing in the opening lines the clibanus and lacus which facilitate the preparation of flesh and blood for human consumption (p. 33, l. 7). When the Mermedonians discover the dead guards, they carry them to the place of execution and "posuerunt eos ad ora laci," (p. 75, l. 13-14). At the point of the second reference in C, both E and P mention the oven and trough. This detail is omitted in all other versions (A, B, U, and V).

The drink which causes men to lose their reason is prepared through sorcery in A ("purh dwolcraeft," l. 34⁹). The drink in P is "prepared by sorcery and magic" (p. 348) and in B it is mixed with "myclen lybcraeft" (l. 8).⁹ In C, the drink is prepared by "maleficia magifice artis" (p. 33, ll. 16-17). The condensed E₁ calls it a "drug" (as in the Odyssey) and in E, it is "enchanted medicines." In V, it is simply venenum, thus dispensing with the element of magic. U also calls the drink venenum mixed by maleficiis, (l. 12). Although the term maleficium does not necessarily imply magic, and could mean any kind of crime

⁹Joseph Bosworth, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, edited by T. Northcote Toller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 769, says of lybb: "... the word often implies the use of witchcraft."

or evil-doing, malevolent magic was included in its definition during the Middle Ages.¹⁰ The New Testament apocryphal writings which employ magic, as do all versions of our legend in varying degrees, are those writings which were most influenced by gnosticism.¹¹

The effect of the potion and the behavior of the captives is described similarly in A, E, C, U, and V. The reference to men behaving as beasts occurs following the description of the potion. U says that "... cor eorum dissolveretur et sensus transmutaretur et velut pecora cibarentur," (ll. 12-15). V has "mens ejus commutabant / Animaliumque victualia...cibabant [sic]," (p. 96, ll. 23-24).¹² C says "menteque iam non habentes ... fenum ut boves vel pecora comedebant," (p. 33, ll. 18-19). A is most similar to C: "ac hie ond gaers / for meteleaste mede gedrehte," (ll. 38b-39b). Both versions of E say that the prisoners are fed with grass or hay. A, C, and E here share a common link with specific mention of grass or hay. E, C, U, and V further pursue the description of this

¹⁰Jeffrey Burton Russell, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1924), p. 13.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 45-46.

¹²Scheer, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 20, seems to have overlooked this detail in V: "P, V, B only say that the prisoners' minds change."

behavior. When Andrew sees Matthew in prison, the prisoners in U "velut pecora cibarentur," (l. 277). In V, Matthew says to Andrew: "Cibo potunque ut animalie / me cibaverunt," (p. 109, l. 3^a-4^a). In C, Andrew sees the prisoners "stantos nudos, et ut bubus et alia animalia fenum comedentes," (p. 71, ll. 2-3). E says that Andrew "... saw men and women naked, and they were all eating hay ...," (p. 321). This detail, lacking in first reference in P, now comes in. The prisoners are "eating grass naked," (p. 358-359). The second reference is omitted in A and both are omitted in B. With the second reference, C, E, and now P, share the common idea of the prisoners eating grass or hay. B stands completely outside the other versions; U and V share similarities in that the food itself is not mentioned.

During the sea voyage, the holman questions Andrew about the Jews. Andrew relates the story of the sphinx (P and C) or statue (E, A, U) which comes to life and speaks to the priests.¹³ The sphinx/statue episode is reduced to one sentence in U, and the statue does not speak to the priests, but rather to the disciples to strengthen their faith. E, P, and A include a fuller treatment with the image proceeding to the land of the Canaanites and raising the patriarchs from the dead.

¹³The text of A calls it brenestan, l. 719^a.

U mentions the raising of the patriarchs, but not in connection with the statue (ll. 204-206). B and V omit the entire episode.

Angels transport Andrew and his disciples to the city in all versions but U and V. C adds that a cloud covers them. In all but U and V, an angel provides the ring of fire which surrounds the city. However, E and P specifically identify the angel as Michael. This interesting detail, also found in E₁, supports the Eastern character of these versions.¹⁴ U and V thus dispense with these fantastic elements, while the cloud of C further embellishes them. U also omits the detail, included in E, P, A, and C, of eagles carrying the souls of the apostles to heaven in their dream. B and V lack the event entirely.

U, B, and V again omit a detail of fantasy when the freed prisoners leave the prison. Their destination in E, P, C, and B is a fig tree where they are to wait. The prisoners simply go out of the city in U and V. A cloud transports the disciples to the mountain where Peter is teaching in E, P, and C. Their destination is the mountain in B as well, but without the cloud. In U, there is no mountain and no cloud, but as in the other versions (E, P, C, B) they go toward the east. Matthew leads the pris-

¹⁴The cult of St. Michael originated in Phrygia though it spread to the West in the fifth century. The archangel Michael is the symbol of justice.

oners to an unspecified location in A and covers them with clouds for protection. The other versions which employ the cloud do so for transportation. Only in A is the cloud used for the prisoners' safety.

Christ appears to Andrew and the disciples upon their arrival in Mermedonia in all versions. His countenance, however, varies among the texts. He appears as a boy or child in E, P, A, C, and B. Only His voice is heard in V, and in U He is "in pulcherrima specie humana," (ll. 248-249). His appearance towards the end of the story, missing in U and V, also varies. A and C do not mention how He appears. In P and B, He is a child; in E, a "young man."

The Mermedoniens lament in C that "magi sunt in hac civitate," (p. 75, l. 23). Earlier, upon the discovery of the dead guards in U, the people believe that they are deceived "a magis," (l. 334). In E and E₁, "sorcerers have come into our city." Sorcerers do not figure in any of the other versions in this context.

As the executioners prepare to slaughter the children of the unrighteous elder (in A and E, a son only), E, one manuscript of P, and A (ll. 1145-1146) agree that their weapons "melt like wax." In C (p. 79, l. 6) and U (l. 356) the swords liquify: liquefiant (C) and deliquecant (U).

The appearance of the devil immediately prior to

Andrew's capture by the Mercedonians is described differently among the texts. He is an old man in E, P, and C ("in similitudinem hominis canuti," p. 70, l. 11); B describes him as a youth ("on cnihtes onlicnyse," l. 181); in U he is a white-haired child ("in similitudinea infantis canuti," l. 365). He has no disguise in A (l. 169^a) nor in V where he is "hostis antiquus," (p. 113, l. 20^a).

Andrew addresses the devil in E as Berahel (p. 326) and in P, Belial, (p. 362). A, B, and U have Andrew address him as the devil's dart: "þu deofles stræel," (A, l. 189^b), " þu heardeste stræel," (B, l. 186), and "sagitta durissima," (U, l. 380). C and V do not have Andrew call him by any specific name.

When Andrew is about to be captured by the Mercedonians, in E, B, P, and U he makes his dramatic statement: "Here am I whom you seek," (E, p. 328); "Ic eom se Andreas pe ge secad^λ," (B, l. 199-200); "Behold, I am Andrew whom you seek," (P, p. 363); and "Ego sum Andreas," (U, l. 399). In E₁, Andrew and Matthew together announce: "We are those whom you seek." U is the only Latin version in which this announcement occurs.

After Andrew's capture, E and P have his torture suggested by a man possessed. The people in U and V suggest his fate; in A and C, the torture is simply car-

ried out; in B, the devil is the one who suggests the torture.

When the devil visits Andrew in prison, which occurs in all versions but V, he takes with him seven other demons in E, P, B, and U; In C, the devil is "cum suis satellites [sic];" and in A, with six others.¹⁵ The manuscript of A has : "þa com seofona sum / to sele geongan // atol æglæca / yfela gemyndig (ll. 1311-1312). Sum has an all-inclusive connotation, meaning that the devil himself is counted in the number seven. In all the other texts that mention the number of devils, the devil clearly brings seven others with him, giving a total of eight.¹⁶

In E, P, B, and A, the devils cannot harm Andrew because they see the sign of the cross on him. In C this occurs at another place and in U it is omitted. The devil further mocks Andrew by "changing voices." This does not occur in B or U. P and A agree in the curious mistaken reference to the slaying of Christ by Herod. P has: "We

¹⁵Schaer. Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 20, says of C: "... the devils of P, A, and B do not visit him in prison." It is true that the event sequence is here disturbed, as it is in U, but the visit nevertheless does take place.

¹⁶Contrary to the opinion of Brooks, Andreas, p. 109, n. 1311, the text of A is not substantiated by B: "þæt deoful þa genam mid him oðra seofon deoflo," (ll. 220-221). The text of B clearly gives a total of eight devils, as do E, P, and U. See Bosworth, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, p. 933, sum, I (b). Cf. Matt. 12:45.

shall kill you, like your master whom Herod slew."¹⁷ A, likewise, says that Herod committed Christ to the cross (ll. 1324^a-1327^b).¹⁸

After Andrew has endured the torture, E, P, A, C, and B have the Lord transform his fallen flesh and hair. The outcome of this miracle is a fruit tree or trees except in A, where Andrew's rent flesh becomes "... geblowene / bearwas standan // blaedum gehrodene, / swa his blod aget," (ll. 1448^a-1449^b). U and V omit the event.

One final detail, shared by A and V, is the departure by sea. This was once thought to be an innovation of the Old English poet.¹⁹ V's sharing of this detail may be purely coincidental because it allows the story to be logically complete. The legend, after all, opens with a sea voyage. The poetic nature of the two recensions dictates that the poets be more concerned with achieving a

¹⁷M. R. James, Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 457. Walker, p. 364, translates: "... we shall also kill thee, like thy teacher called Jesus, and John whom Herod beheaded." This ambiguous statement may be included in one of the variants of P used by Tischendorf; however, Blatt makes no mention of John and Tischendorf does not note that he has amended the statement, nor does he note any variance between the MSS. Bonnet's edition, p. 82, agrees with Blatt.

¹⁸See also Brooks, Andreas, p. 110, n. 1324 and Krapp, Andreas, p. lviii.

¹⁹Krapp, Andreas, p. 159, n. 1710-22.

coherent, balanced whole than would be necessary in the other texts.

Numbers

The use of numbers varies among the recensions. All the texts agree, directly or indirectly, that the length of time prisoners are kept is thirty days. All agree that the Lord appears to Andrew after Matthew has been imprisoned twenty-seven days. Although both versions of B say twenty days (l. 37), this is clearly an error for twenty-seven.²⁰ The error indicates the closeness of the relationship between the two manuscripts of B.²¹

E, P, and C agree that Christ, disguised as the helmsman, feeds the disciples with three loaves. U omits the number and in A, the detail is anglicized to not bread, but meat: "ond mete syllan," (l. 366^b). B and V dispense with the feeding of the disciples. E, P, and A give the number of years Andrew has experienced on the sea as seventeen (or sixteen-plus-one). In C and U, Andrew is not specific: multis (C) and saepius (U). Again, B and V omit this conversation.

The guards who fall dead at the prison door are

²⁰Twenty-seven nights is specified as the length of time Matthew must endure before his rescue (l. 27), and the jailers then discover that he has three days remaining until his slaughter (l. 35).

²¹Bright, Grammar, p. 207, n. 37.

seven in E, P, A, C, and B. Though the event takes place in U and V, the number is lacking. All texts report the number of prisoners held by the cannibals. The numbers in our copies are generally expressed in word form and not numerals; however, the variance may be partly explained by the fact that numerals, when not given as words, were represented by letters and thus were frequently transmitted incorrectly.²² E gives the number as 1,049 men and 49 women. Two manuscripts of P have 249 men and 49 women.²³ C numbers the prisoners at 248 men and 49 women (p. 73, l. 9-10) as does B (l. 163-4). V agrees with 297 total, but does not separate men and women (p. 108, l. 17).²⁴ U does not separate the groups and gives "more than 240": "plusquam ducenti quadraginta detenti," (ll. 317-318). The text of A is here corrupt, or at the least, incomplete. Most editors agree that the lines were not filled in by the poet.²⁵ The manuscript, as it stands,

²²L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature (2nd. revised edition; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 201.

²³Walker, Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations, p. 359, n. 3.

²⁴Brooks, Andreas, p. 97, n. 1035, would include Matthew in that number: "Erant nam omnes intra ergastulo / ... nonaginta et septem cum sancto apostolo."

²⁵Brooks, Andreas, p. 97, n. 1035; Krapp, The Vercelli Book, p. 116, n. 1036; Krapp, Andreas, p. 129, n. 1035; and Schaar, Critical Studies in the Cynewulf Group, p. 18.

reads 240 men and 49 women, (ll. 1035^a-1040^a).²⁶ Thus the total number of prisoners in C, B, and V is 297; the others vary.

B and V omit the episode of the unrighteous elder. The number of elders who gather to cast lots is given in P as 217 and in C as 207. The other texts (E, A, and U) do not give a number. In all but A, the lot falls to seven; A has only one. The number of executioners is fourteen in P, A, and C. E and U lack a number.

Finally, all texts but U specifically mention three days of torture, though the three days are not always separately described.²⁷ In all but U and V, Andrew remains with the Mermædonians for seven days. U contains textual disturbance and V lacks the specific number.

Numbers thus play an important role in four of the seven texts. E, P, C, and to a lesser extent, A, employ numbers with symbolic connotations. The use of the numbers three, seven, and multiples of three and seven reveal a consciousness fundamental to medieval thought.²⁸ The

²⁶The number 49 may have gnostic overtones. See Walter Scott, *Hermetica*, I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), sections 4-5: "... the macrocosm and the microcosm distinguished the [gnostic] initiate who possessed the gnoia of the 49 'Fires' of the sacred Doctrine."

²⁷See above, Chapter II, Tables 1 and 2.

²⁸Vincent Foster Hopper, *Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1938), p. viii.

lack of certain numbers in B and V is not surprising because the events in which numbers figure most prominently are omitted in these two versions. However, the exclusion of these same numbers in U is peculiar because the potential for their inclusion is present on almost every occasion. The particular inclusion of the number of guards and the number of devils (seven in each case) may indicate that the copyist/translator of U desired to purge the recension of any possible Gnostic elements except where the number was associated with evil.²⁹

Summary

The matrix in Table 6 shows the number of individual detail similarities as compared to the possible number of similarities between texts. Table 7 gives these comparisons in percentage. Table 8 lists the percentage of similarity between the texts from greatest to least.

E and P are the most similar of all versions as one would expect. However, they agree in details only seventy-four percent of the time. E and V are the least similar, agreeing five percent of the time. P to C and C to B rank comparatively high. While U to V ranks fifth in

²⁹Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism, p. 61. Manicheanism and Averroism viewed hell as a mirror of heaven. Thus "... the divine trinity is matched by an infernal trinity"

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF DETAIL SIMILARITIES

	P	A	C	U	B	V
E	26/35	11/35	17/35	9/32	10/25	1/20
	P	13/35	20/35	5/32	11/25	3/20
		A	13/35	8/32	11/25	8/20
			C	9/32	14/25	4/20
				U	9/22	9/19
					B	5/20

Notes: Number of similarities / total possible details
between texts.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF AGREEMENT IN DETAILS

	P	A	C	U	B	V
E	74	31	49	28	40	5
	P	37	57	16	44	15
		A	37	25	44	40
			C	28	56	20
				U	41	47
					B	25

TABLE 8
RANKING OF TEXTS BY PERCENTAGE
OF AGREEMENT IN DETAILS

EP - 78%		UB - 41%		CU - 28%
PC - 57%		AV - 40%		AU - 25%
CB - 56%		EB - 40%		BV - 25%
EC - 49%		AC - 37%		CV - 20%
UV - 47%		PA - 37%		PU - 16%
AB - 44%		EA - 31%		PV - 15%
PB - 44%		EU - 28%		EV - 5%

percentage of similarity, agreeing in nine out of nineteen details, four of these similarities are because of detail omission. Likewise, of the eight possibilities for mention of numbers in the texts, U names only three, and one of these (240) is not specific. Excluding the category of number, U contains even more detail omissions than does V: eight to seven. This level of comparison, unlike the event sequence, reveals that U is indeed the least detailed and the least specific of all the recensions.

Analysis of details among the texts has shown a great disparity of description. Simple event sequence analysis, as in Chapter II, showed greater consistent affinities between the individual texts than this closer examination. While the basic story line remains mostly intact, the differences among the texts are enough to preclude the reconciliation of them all with only one missing version. Indeed, none of the recensions in this study can be derived directly from the others, nor is

there evidence to indicate that one missing version, even one in each of the four languages (Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Old English), could accomodate all the variations found among the texts.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANGUAGE OF THE LATIN TEXTS

A discussion of the Latinity of the texts of C, V, and U must initially begin with a definition of the language employed by the respective authors. While the framework of the texts is a Christian legend, the language is not that of the Church fathers, nor is it by any means Classical Latin. Although a word-for-word comparison among the texts is impossible except in a very few passages because of the variations outlined in Chapters II and III, the Latin texts do share certain linguistic features. The varied influences reflected in C, V, and U may be explained in the following definition:

The starting point for medieval Latinity as a whole is not the language of Cicero or Vergil, but the literary idiom that developed in the Late Roman Empire with features derived from many different sources -- classical and rhetorical, biblical, poetical, colloquial, and, even to some extent vulgar. To these we may add the important Greek influence Thus Medieval Latin is composed of heterogeneous elements, which had the language of the [Christian] church as the principal factor towards unity and continuity.¹

¹Einar Löfstedt, Late Latin, Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Series A, Vol. XXV (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Company, 1959), p. 60.

It is impossible to guess how many copies of our three Medieval Latin texts may have existed and through how many hands they may have passed. So not only is there the problem of linguistic errors made by the authors of C, V, and U, but also the transmission of mistakes by the copyists. Scribal errors may generally be defined as spelling inconsistencies, the omission or addition of letters, and occasional interpolations or faulty corrections. Scholars assume that most errors arise from paleographical causes, but since the distinction between the two types is not always clearcut, the discussion below includes all types of errors found in the texts.²

According to Blatt, the text of C was probably composed at some time during the sixth to the eighth centuries. If composed at a later date, the Latin would have been much improved or corrected. The many errors it does exhibit, and its more-or-less parallel appearance to Gregory of Tours' (d. 594) abbreviated account and to P, V and other texts, point to a contemporaneous relationship. In fact, Blatt hypothesizes that Gregory may have taken his version from C itself.³

Even with the problem of transmission, linguistics

²See L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars, pp. 200-213.

³Blatt, Die lat., pp. 18-21.

is the only thing upon which the texts can be even tentatively dated. The poetic form of V is more likely to retain more of the original language than C (or U, for that matter) because corrections by the scribe would disturb its rhythm. Hence, many barbarisms have been left untouched in V. By comparing the similarities in V and C, Blatt concludes that the errors do not argue against Gregory's time.⁴

A passage from C, V, and U, describing some of the familiar feats of Christ may serve as a starting point in this linguistic investigation. Because the vocabulary in V is not closely paralleled in C and U, and since the passage occurs in a slightly different context, it is expedient to consider V singly and then C and U together. The text of V is as follows:⁵

Vitam quippe	reddebat mortuis
cæcis privato	donabat lumine
Surdis auditum	prehebat aurium
imperio suo	pellebat agmina
demonibus	fædamque fantastica
Verbo solo	diversis languoribus
jubendo fugebat	ab ægris omnibus....

(p. 100, ll. 3-9)

The passage reveals preservation of the diphthongs æe and œe marked with cedilla. This is the general rule

⁴Blatt, Die lat., pp. 20-21

⁵All quotes from C, V, and U are in literal transcription for the purposes of comparison.

throughout V with only a few exceptions. One notable exception is deanonibus which lacks the a. The ablative, accusative, genitive, and dative cases are all represented in the passage. Improper use of case is found first in "cæcis," which should be accusative. A second example, "deanonibus / fedamque fantastica", illustrates the frequent improper mixing of cases found in V. Deanonibus should be accusative and the final n of fantastica has been dropped, probably to accommodate the rhythm. All verbs follow the imperfect tense. Such misspellings as auditum for auditum are fairly common in V.

C and U, in fairly close parallel, read respectively:

Cecos fecit videre, claudos ambulare, leprosos mundavit, paraliticos curavit, de aqua vinum fecit. Accepit quinque panes et duos pisces, et populum fecit discumbere super fenum, benedixit ac fregit, et saturavit plusquam quinque milia hominum....
(p. 53, ll. 15-18)

Qui in Chana Galilee in convivio aqua vino convertis, qui de quinque panibus quinque milia hominum satiavit, qui cecos inluminavit, qui leprosos mundavit, qui omnes langores vel egritudinis sanavit, qui et mortuos in presenti ipsorum suscitavit.
(ll. 167-173)

Unlike V, diphthongs are lost in both C and U. The one exception in U is Galilee. Though there are a few exceptions in both texts, monophthongization is the general rule. All five Latin cases appear in U; the accusative, ablative, and genitive cases appear in C. The Latin of U is by far the most corrupt. Aqua for aquan, the gen-

itive eqritudinis for accusative, final g for t in convertis, loss of final g in presenti, and final g for m in the partitive genitive hominum (correct in C) are all errors close to the type shown in V. In addition, U has susitavit for suscitavit and C has saturavit for U's correct satiavit. All verbs in both texts follow the simple perfect tense.

This particular excerpt from C shows few errors when compared to U and V, but this is not necessarily the case throughout the recension. However, U and V do display more irregularities than does C.

Vulgar influence is evident in all the texts in loss of initial and final letters and misspellings which reflect contemporary pronunciation.⁶ In addition to those examples noted above, loss of verb endings, such as comedere for comederet and proficiar for proficiaris occur in C. U also displays loss of verb endings, for example, deportavi for deportavit and dedi for dedit. Loss of final m in U is frequent and often erratic as in "Dominus tibi concedat gratia et gloria et celestem mercedem," (ll. 102-103). Both U and C confuse abeo with habec. Further, U has hocciderunt for occiderunt and omines for homines. V and C frequently have inquid for inquit; C has

⁶L. R. Palmer, The Latin Language (3rd. edition; London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1977), p. 154. See also Mario Pei, The Story of Latin and Early Romance Languages (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), pp. 74-75.

set for sed; U always has sicus for sicut. Both U and C have capud for caput. Other irregularities include ebellantes for evellentes and degluctivit for deglutivit in C and caveretur for cibarentur in U.

Although vulgarisms of the type noted above are numerous and probably due mostly to scribal error, there is no evidence that the Latin of the texts has degenerated to a two-case system as had occurred in common speech by the eighth century.⁷ Even with these errors, each text yields plentiful examples of each of the five Latin cases. One can note, however, that the language is in a state of change because of improper case usage. C and U share a favorite phrase, "per fluctibus maris" (C) and "inter fluctibus maris" (U) which employs the ablative instead of the proper accusative. Phrasing of the type "dixit ad Beatum Andream" is very common in both C and U, but both texts do employ the dative case also, and this Classical Latin usage is the norm in V. U shows further confusion in the mixing of ad and the dative, a usage employed by Gregory of Tours.⁸

The confusion between the possessive adjective suus and the demonstrative pronoun eius is evident in C

⁷Palmer, The Latin Language, p. 160.

⁸Max Bonnet, Le latin de Grégoire de Tours (Reproduction of 1890 edition; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), pp. 522-531. Hereinafter referred to as Bonnet, Le latin.

and U. The following are isolated examples:

Set volentes nolentes credamus ei et verbis eius,
que nobis preceperit et in cuncta doctrina eius et
iam in deum suum quem cotidie ipse invocat.

(C, p. 89, ll. 8-10)

Et valde gavisus est Beatus Andreas pro receptione
sermonibus suis.

(U, ll. 126-127)

This hesitation, so important to the later development of the Romance languages, is here so slight as to suggest a possible date of pre-700.⁹

Both C and V show confusion of gender and case in pronouns.¹⁰ In U as well this is a common occurrence. Que for qui (l. 154), the opposite qui for que (l. 380), and qua for quam (l. 215) are only a few examples. Even though some of these could be attributed to the scribe, errors of this type are well-documented in the works of Gregory of Tours.¹¹

Pleonastic negation occurs in all three texts. Found as early as Plautus, the "...most striking examples, however, come from the late and vulgar language," and the usage carries over into the Romance languages.¹² An example from each text includes:

⁹ Dag Norberg, Manuel Pratique de latin medieval, Collection connaissance de langues, Vol. IV (2nd edition; Paris, A. & S. Picard, 1980), pp. 27-28.

¹⁰Blatt, Die lat., Index, pp. 183-186.

¹¹Bonnet, Le latin, pp. 389-397.

¹²Lofstedt, The Latin Language, p. 23.

...aurum nec argentum non habes.

(C, p. 43, l. 15)

...nec meo mentis / nec meo animo // ...non offuit.

(V, p. 109, ll. 1-2)

...et nullo modo a diabolo videbatur nec a nullo
cognoscebatur.

(U, ll. 375-376)

Expressions of necessity with oportet and necesse est "...seront construits avec ut" in Gregory of Tours.¹³ C patterns the expression with tmesis: "... oportet erat pati me, ut ...," (p. 69, l. 4). U has, however, oportet ut (l. 67) following Gregory's usage. Another example from C follows Gregory not at all: "... necesse est nobis implere eum ...," (p. 43, l. 5). V has nothing with which to compare this usage.

The popular paraphrasis coepit (cepit) plus the infinitive, once thought to have been a direct Graecism, occurs eighteen times in C but only twice in P, thus dispelling the notion that it is a Latin imitation of the Greek.¹⁴ U employs this construction five times and twice more with precepit. V contains one example, and it is incorrect: "Tunc demum cepit / ... ostenderet // predicaretque..." (p. 99, ll. 34-35a).

Both C and V show confusion between active and

¹³Bonnet, Le Latin, p. 647, n. 2.

¹⁴Blatt, Die lat., p. 34, n. 9 and also Löfstedt, The Latin Language, p. 116, who points out the usage in Cicero.

passive verbs.¹⁵ This is also true of U, for example:
 "Cumque apostoli inter se divideretur regiones in quibus
 predicaretur..." (11. 1-2). U frequently shows errors in
 subject and verb agreement which may be due to scribal
 misinterpretation of abbreviations. This is not generally
 true, however, of either C or V.

The formation of the compound verb tenses in C is
 with both fui, fuiſſen and ſum, ſſen. The general rule
 with a few exceptions in V is to form these tenses with
ſum, ſſen. U follows V in that compound tenses always
 occur with ſum, ſſen. Gregory of Tours uses both forms.¹⁶

One of the most striking characteristics of the
 three texts, particularly of C and U, is the lavish use of
 participles, especially in verbal function.¹⁷ First, an
 example from V: "Accidit vero / crebro per tempora, //
 diri surgentes / stultique populi // (128, 11. 21-22).

Parallel passages may be cited from C and U:

Andreas vero cepit deambulare per eadem civitatem.
 Venit namque in quodam vicum ipsius civitates, et
 elevantes oculos suos, vidit statum erectam stantem
 super columpnam marmoream, expectantem autem accideret
 de eo.

(C, p. 73, 11. 14-17)

Cepit deambulare per media civitatem, et resedens in
 foro iuxta plateam expectansque deivenire iuxta
 Domini verbum.

(U, 11. 310-312)

¹⁵Blatt, Die lat., p. 48, n. 10.

¹⁶Bonnet, Le Latin, p. 641-642.

¹⁷Blatt, Die lat., p. 73, n. 17.

One final example, found in C but not in V or U, is the use of habeo in the sense of debeo. C has "... parvulum negotium habemus agere..." (p. 43, L 5). The single occurrence of this idiom in C and its non-existence in V and U may indicate the early composition of these Medieval Latin texts.

There is enough evidence in the above examples to conclude that U does indeed share a close linguistic relationship to both C and V. Whether or not Gregory of Tours used C for his summary of the legend, the characteristics of the texts do not preclude the possibility of a sixth to eighth century date of composition, and therefore, this date must be also considered for U.

CHAPTER V

FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN THE OLD ENGLISH TEXTS

Löfstedt's definition of medieval Latin, quoted at the beginning of the preceding chapter, outlines the various influences which underlie the composition of the texts of C, V, and U. The latinity of these texts is medieval, and the Christian sentiment implicit in them dictates a strong ecclesiastical Latin element. While this discussion involves Latin influence in the Old English texts, it is important to point out that many of the linguistic characteristics of ecclesiastical Latin are also true of Greek:

...it is difficult alike in theory and practice - indeed it is quite impossible - to draw a clear line between the two great streams of influence in Late Latin, the one derived from Christianity and its sacred texts, the other from the language and literature of Greece.¹

A discussion of foreign influence in the Old English texts, therefore, cannot exclude the possibility of the utilization of a Greek text or texts in the composition of

¹Löfstedt, Late Latin, p. 88.

the Old English prose versions. While knowledge of Greek was a rarity in England, there were notable exceptions.²

If the determination of specifically Greek or Latin influence in the Old English texts poses a problem, distinguishing this influence in the poetry of A is especially difficult. Although Schaar finds loose variation in A to be evidence of Latin influence, this reflects a stylistic borrowing and serves to augment the formulaic nature inherent in all Old English poetry.³ Further, the stock vocabulary upon which the poet drew and the borrowings from other poems in the corpus (well-attested in the criticism) overshadow to a great extent any evidence of foreign influence with respect to the language of the poem.⁴

We must finally look to the two prose versions of B for concrete evidence of foreign influence. This may be found by examination of some of the Latin glosses in the Cambridge manuscript, the variation between the two Old English Blickling and Cambridge texts, the Latin insertion

²Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, pp. 233-250.

³Schaar, Critical Studies, p. 325.

⁴On the formulaic nature of Old English poetry, see F. P. Magoun, Jr., "Oral Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," Speculum, xxviii (1953), pp. 446-467. On borrowings, see L. J. Peters, "The Relationship of the Old English Andreas to Beowulf," PMLA, LXVI (1951), pp. 844-863.

in the Blickling manuscript, and in certain structural elements.

Several of the glosses found in the Cambridge manuscript reflect the glossator's probable knowledge of a foreign text or texts. The Old English describes the casting of lots among the apostles thus: "hie sendon hlot," (l. 2). The phrase is glossed "illi miserunt sortem." The text and the gloss are in exact agreement, employing the same grammatical structure, elements, and syntax.⁵ None of the extant Latin versions are in exact parallel. Reversal of syntax and different vocabulary occur in A: "hylt geteode," (l. 14b). V has "sortiretur in partem;" U lacks the phrase altogether. C and P agree with each other in the use of the present participle. C has "mittentes sortes" and P has "βάλλουτες κλήρους" (casting lots). C and P come very close to the Old English except that they utilize a participle. It is however, not unlikely that the participle in Latin became a finite verb in the Old English text and gloss.

When Matthew utters his first prayer after being captured, he begins, "Min Drihten Hælend Crist, for þou we ealle foreleton ure cneorisse and wæron þe fylgende ..." (ll. 14-15). The Latin gloss for for þou reads

⁵Bright, Grammar, p. 205, n. 2, calls this phrase a "loan translation of the Vulgate idiom."

ex quo. The prayer in C begins, "... domine iesu christe magister bone, quoniam sicut nobis precepisti omnia dereliquimus et secuti sumus te." U reads, "Domine Iesu Christe, propter cuius amore mundo reliquimus ut sequeremur te...[sic]" (ll. 25-27). The text of P here translates, "Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake we have forsaken all things and followed thee...." A and V have nothing with which to compare. Bosworth-Toller cites quia, quoniam, and propterea as Latin equivalents of for þan.⁶ The Cambridge text agrees most closely with that of C; however, the gloss more closely follows U and P, possibly indicating that the glossator was familiar with texts closer to U and P. The translator may have been familiar with another text more similar to C.

The Lord promises to help Matthew, declaring in lines 25-26, "...sc ic þe gefreolsige of ealra frecennessa." The Latin gloss for gefreolsige reads liberabo. P translates, "I shall deliver thee;" V has "liberator tuus ... ero"; C has only "eruan te." U follows the Old English text, "liberabo te," (l. 41). U and P here show affinities with the Cambridge text and gloss.

Textual variance between the Blickling and Cambridge texts further reveals foreign influence and affinities with P, C, and U. The Cambridge text reads "næs

⁶Bosworth, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, p. 323.

tolesedu ne his mod onwended," (l. 13). The Blickling text has "næa onwended." While multiple negation in Old English is normal,⁷ the additional næa in the Blickling text somewhat corresponds to the triple use of neque in C: "set neque mens neque sensus eius fuerat abstultus, neque mutatus." U and P correspond to the Cambridge text: "Sed nec cor eius dissolutum est nec sensus anime transmutatos [sic]," (U, ll. 21-23), and "...his heart was not altered nor his mind deranged," (P).

The two Old English texts contain a very interesting discrepancy in line 62. The Cambridge text reads, "Nedmycel ærende we þider habbað and us is þearf þæt we hit gefyllon." The Blickling text replaces nedmycel with medmycel. While it is possible, as Bright observes, for this variance to stem from a misreading of med- as nied-,⁸ both readings are, in fact, substantiated by the Latin. While Blickling's reading is supported by C's "parvulum negotium" and P's "some small business," U likewise supports the Cambridge version: "Mandatum qua feremus oportet est ut perficiamus in ea [sic]" (ll. 83-84). Mandatum, meaning "command," is in fairly close agreement with nedmycel ærende, "urgent" or "necessary errand."

⁷Randolph Quirk and C. L. Wrenn, An Old English Grammar (London: Methuen & Co., Limited, 1955), p. 91.

⁸Bright, Grammar, p. 208, n.62.

The dependent clause in indirect discourse in Old English is generally introduced by þæt.⁹ In the Cambridge text, however, the dependent clause is often introduced by for þon, the Latin equivalent of the post-classical quia, quoniam, as noted above. For example, "Ic geseo for þon þas broðor . . .," (l. 75). The Blickling text introduces this same dependent clause with þæt.¹⁰ C has quia. We might hypothesize that the model for the Blickling text here contained an accusative plus infinitive construction whereas the model for the Cambridge version did, in fact, use quia or quoniam, as does C.

In two instances, the Blickling text preserves Latin syntax, but the Cambridge text observes regular Old English usage. While the Blickling text has "...to þære þu sende eart," the Cambridge text reads: "...to þære þu eart sende," (l. 77). Similarly, the Blickling version preserves the syntax of the Latin imperative: "witon we þæt ure Drihten mid us wæs," (l. 105). The Cambridge text reverses the imperative to the more usual "we witon." The texts of C, P, and U read, respectively, "Scitote . . .," "Learn that . . .," and "Videte . . ."

The Latin insertion which occurs in the Blickling

⁹J. H. Gorrell, "Indirect Discourse in Anglo-Saxon," PMLA X (1895), p. 345.

¹⁰Other examples are found in lines 97, 122, 256, 257-8, and 283.

text, but not the Cambridge, at line 50 is as follows:

Tunc Sanctus Andreas surgens mane et abiit ad mare
cum discipulis suis, et vidit naviculam in litore,
et intra nave sedentes tres viros.

The corresponding lines in the two Old English texts are essentially identical to each other:

So halga andreas þa aras on mærgen, and he eode to
þære sæc mid his diacipulum and he geseah scip on
þam waroðe and iiii weras on þam sittende.

(ll. 51-52)

The Latin phrasing is very close to the Old English, though not exact. If, indeed, the Old English lines came directly from the Latin text, the translator rendered the Latin present participle surgens as a finite verb, dispensed with the diminutive navicularum (which all other versions retain except A), dropped the second mention of the boat ("et intra nave") and replaced it with a pronoun, and finally, reversed the syntax of the final phrase containing the participle sedentes, sittende. While these changes are certainly well within the bounds of the translator's license, it is possible that the line did not come directly from the translator's text but from another version. It is equally possible that the Old English translator was working from more than one text. In two instances cited above, the Blickling text preserves Latin syntax (or, at least, syntax foreign to Old English). The syntax of the final phrase here happens to agree with P: "...three men sitting," (τρῆις ἄνδρας καθεζομένους).

It has been suggested that the Blickling text is "...closer than [the Cambridge] to the translator's holograph and is therefore of greater textual authority."¹¹ This assumption is based on the slight abridgement found in the Cambridge text when compared to the Blickling, "superior readings" in the Blickling manuscript, and its slightly earlier date. However, the above examples show that the variations may, in fact, be attributed to the existence of more than one model for the two texts.

One final example of textual variance illustrates the affinities both Old English versions share with the language of the extant Latin texts. As discussed in Chapter IV, the strongest link between the latinity of the texts of C, U, and, to some extent, V is the very free and frequent use of the present participle. The Cambridge text has "Matheus þa þurhwuniende mid gebedum and Drihtnes lof singende on þam carcerne," (l. 31). The Blickling text is identical except that and is replaced with wæs. Neither text, however, renders the sentence grammatically. It is apparent that the translators of both Old English texts had to contend with a foreign model and that the model or models shared this peculiarity with the other extant Latin texts.

The frequent use of the present participle occurs

¹¹Bright, Grammar, p. 205.

in various functions throughout the two Old English prose versions. The use of this grammatical structure is not unusual in gerundive use in Old English, but it is usually found with prepositions rather than with direct objects.¹² Furthermore, progressive forms of the participle and the dative absolute are considered to be word-for-word evidence of direct Latin influence.¹³

The dative absolute has found its way into the Old English text, rendered as a present participle: "Ðus gebiddende þam halgan Andrea . . .," (l. 251). However, by far the most frequent use of the present participle in the Old English prose occurs in the perfect progressive tense. It is often found with forms of wesan. But, as is true of C, U and V, the present participle also occurs in situations without wesan where correct usage should demand a finite verb, as in line 31 quoted above.¹⁴ An example of each type follows:

... þa se haliga Andreas licgende wæs beforan
Marmadonia ceastre and his discipulos þær slæpende
wæron mid him.

(ll. 102-103)

Se haliga Andreas þa lociende, he geseah geblowen
treow wæstm berende

(ll. 255-256)

¹²Paul Bacquet, La structure de la phrase verbale à l'époque alfrédienne (Paris: Société d'Éditions, Les Belles Lettres, 1962), p. 575.

¹³Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁴Bright, Grammar, p. 207, n. 31.

The latter example contains, in addition to the dangling participle lociende, an adjectival participle which governs an object: "treow wæstm berende." C has "Cum hoc respiceret beatus Andreas, apparuerunt caro et capilli sui sicut arboras florentes et fructum afferentes." When the participle governs an object, whether adjectival, adverbial, or coordinate, it is not native to Old English.¹⁵ Similar instances of the participle governing a direct object occur elsewhere in the Old English text. A second example is: "And he gesæt be þam swere anbidende hwæt him gelimpan scolde," (ll. 170-171). Both C and U substantiate the use of the present participle anbidende. C has "... expectantem autem accideret de eo," and U has "... expectansque de illo venire iuxta Domini verbum," (ll. 311-312).

Three examples of the rare present progressive occur in the text. One is a "clumsy imitation of a Latin gerundive:"¹⁶ "Hwæt beo we donde?" (l. 279). The other two examples fall close together in the text:

" 'Gif ye gehyrp and ge me beo fylgende...' "
(ll. 245-246)

"...and loccas mines heafdes mid þisse eorðan
synd gemengde."
(ll. 247-248)

¹⁵Morgan M. Callaway, Jr., "The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon," PMLA XVI (1901), p. 350.

¹⁶Bright, Grammar, p. 207, n. 31.

The present participle occurs in these various forms more than forty times in the Cambridge text. While this discussion has focused upon the present form, a like number of the past participle in similar functions also appears. A few isolated examples of these usages do not necessarily reveal concrete evidence of direct Latin influence, but clearly their very frequent use in the Old English texts is indicative of such, especially when the extant Latin texts reveal the same peculiarity.

The practice of expressing relations without the use of prepositions is not necessarily foreign to Old English usage. However, in the frequency of the use of bare case to express these relations, "...there is a considerable interval between the gospels and contemporary prose."¹⁷ The Old English prose in the Cambridge and Blickling texts, highly flavored with the ecclesiastical sentiment of the gospels, reflects a fluctuation between use of bare case and prepositions. The same fluctuation between the two forms is a linguistic trait of the Latin texts as well. Four examples of bare case usage follow:

... he æteowde us

(1. 89)

... uton we dælan his lichamon urum burh-leodum.

(11. 205-206)

¹⁷W. B. Owen, "The Influence of Latin Syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Transactions of the American Philological Association XIII (1882), p. 61.

... þe we þissum mannan dydon.

(l. 295-296)

"Wa us ..."

(ll. 278 and 294)

The last example readily compares to U's "Vae nobis" (l. 333). It is also interesting to note that the verb cwæðan occurs only with the preposition to. This follows the normal usage with dicere in U: "Drihten him þa to cwæp..." in the Old English and "dixit Dominus Iesus ad Beatum Andream" in U. C fluctuates between use of the dative case and the preposition ad with dicere.

Finally, reversal of syntax in the genitive case occurs but rarely in Old English. The postposition instead of the normal anteposition of the possessive is evidence of Latin influence.¹⁸ The Old English sometimes employs this reversed syntax:

Ac we syndon discipuli Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes....
(l. 67)

...loccas mines heafdes....
(l. 247)

...on naman mines Drihtnes Hælendes Cristes....
(l. 266)

...we geleofað on Drihten þyses ælpeodigan mannes.
(l. 282)

Postposition of the possessive is the norm followed by all the Latin texts. For example, in U we commonly find such phrases as "discipulus Christi," "cor meum," "gratia

¹⁸Bacquet, La structure de la phrase verbale, p. 57.

Christi," and "verba suis."

The glosses, the textual variation, and the structural elements found in the Old English prose texts strongly attest to a foreign model or models. Parallels in vocabulary, style, and grammar reveal the affinities of the Old English texts with the extant Latin versions. In the final estimation, however, it is useless to speculate whether or not the Old English translators of the Blickling and Cambridge texts had before them one version or many from which to work. We can only conclude with certainty that among the possible models was at least one Latin text not extant for each Old English text. However, texts in all three languages (Greek, Latin, and Old English) share the distinctive feature of numerous participles and so we must recall Löfstedt's caveat regarding the fine line between Latin and Greek. If more than one text was indeed used by the Old English translators, we cannot discount the possibility that one of the texts may have been Greek.

CHAPTER VI

SOME FINAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE LITERARY ART OF THE POETRY

Analysis of the extant complete texts of the Legend of St. Andrew in the City of the Cannibals here presented includes examination of events, details, and some aspects of the language of the various recensions. A comparison of this nature necessarily excludes, for the most part, the literary art involved in composition. This is especially true of the poetic versions of A and V. Yet it is in terms of literary explication that a very close relationship between these two texts comes to light.

Over the past century there has been a wealth of scholarly attention focusing upon A; this is in direct contrast to the paucity of comments concerning V. Indeed, virtually every editor and critic of A who mentions the text of V dismisses it as being of very little consequence in comparison. Even Brooks, who allows certain similari-

ties between the two poems (the naming of the city, mention of Achaia, naming of the bishop Plato, and the departure by sea) says that V "...is very far removed from C and P, and still farther from Andreas; it is in fact so free a rendering that it cannot be considered the source of any of the existing Old English versions."¹ While it is beyond the scope of this study to undertake a complete literary analysis of the two poetic texts, the observations focusing mainly upon V outlined below should at least suggest a closer relationship between the two poems than previously allowed.

Blatt has carefully analyzed the crude half-line construction, inconsistent rhythm, and some of the poetic conventions in V.² He makes no mention, however, of the presentation of dramatic content or structural ordering of the poem when compared to the other versions. These aspects provide an interesting perspective with which to compare A.

Aside from Blatt's metrical analysis of V, the only other comments concerning the nature of this text (excluding those discussions strictly related to event comparison with the other recensions) come from Marie

¹Brooks, Andreas, p. xvii.

²Blatt, Die lat...., pp. 21-29.

Walsh who briefly discusses its "deliberate liturgical phrasing."³ She points out that formal prayer-like passages occur in both A and V, linking the two recensions together through common homiletic and doctrinal tone.

In addition to Walsh's observation of similarity in tone, there are at least three other important factors which further link A and V. Though the final result in each is unique to that version because of the individual art and background of the respective poets, each poem contains a stronger pagan element, a rearrangement of subject matter, and an incorporation of cultural traditions not found in the prose.

The purpose of all the prose versions of the legend is to tell the story; the intent in the two poetic versions, however, goes beyond this one-dimensional objective. The legend in A is a vehicle the poet uses, not to tell the story of Andrew, but rather to portray the "... conflicts between the masses in the strife between ... Christians and pagans."⁴ Calling upon his Germanic past,

³Marie Walsh, "St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evolution of an Apocryphal Hero," Annuaire Mediævale, XX (1981), p. 111.

⁴George Smithson, "The Old English Epic: A Study of the Plot Technique of the Juliana, the Elene, the Andreas and the Christ in Comparison with the Beowulf and with the Latin Literature of the Middle Ages," Modern Philology, I (1910), p. 318.

the poet represents his Andrew character as an Anglo-Saxon warrior amidst all the complicated trappings of Old English traditional themes and poetic conventions: the overlapping of genre, heroic vocabulary, contrasting imagery, and formulaic expressions. Although the poet of A may not have been as inventive as the poet of V in the adaptation of his source, it is in his telling of the legend that creative genius emerges:

In his adaptation and elaboration of themes and allusions ... the author of Andreas was original. Such elaboration occurs chiefly in descriptions of nature, of towns and buildings, of spiritual struggles conceived as actual battles, of the relations existing between lord and retainer; and it is by the effective use of details of this character that he has succeeded in transmuting the fantastic, Oriental situations of his original into a narrative of true English action and feeling.⁵

Much the same is true of the poet of V, who uses the legend, again as a vehicle, this time to portray the Andrew character as a miles Christi and magister of the Christian religion. The poet sharply contrasts paganism and Christianity through vivid and often grotesque descriptions of the cannibals interspersed with excerpts of Biblical history and pious speeches by Andrew and Matthew. In both poems the saint's life is a guise which serves a larger purpose.

As the poet of A blends the Germanic past with the

⁵Krapp, Andreas, pp. li-lii.

Christian, the poet of V recalls the traditions of his Latin past in recounting the triumph of Christianity over the Roman pagans. In defining the elements of the classic saint's life, Woolf makes the following observation:

The fact that the Roman pagans are not merely ignorant or foolish in their worship of idols but thereby actually become servants of the devil, gives a kind of dualistic view of the world to the saint's life, in which the soldiers of God are arrayed against supporters of the devil. They are, of course, free from the dualistic heresy in that the oppressing forces are so obviously not of equal power.⁶

Indeed, to none of the prose versions is this description so applicable as it is to A and V. Both poets portray the Mermedonians as true servants of the devil instead of misguided souls easily swayed. The devil's role in the prose is to persuade the cannibals to perpetuate their vile customs. But in A and V, the devil appears undisguised because the Mermedonians already know very well who he is. The poet of A firmly establishes the cannibals as his servants in the beginning: "Eal wæs þæt mearcland / morðre bewunden, // feondes facne, / folcstede gumena, // haleða eðel; //" (ll. 19^a-21^a). This is established early on in V as well when Andrew recalls Christ's charge to convert the Mermedonians:

⁶Woolf, "Saints' Lives," p. 41.

The lines quoted above illustrate a subtle technique of rearrangement and substitution used by the poet to heighten the pagan element in the poem. In all other versions, including A, the devil and his demons appear to mock Andrew. V dispenses with this scene, giving instead demon-like qualities to the Mermedonians themselves. Line 4^a on page 114 quoted above closely compares to the behavior of the devil and his cohorts in U: "Et insurgentes demones fremebant super eum et stridebant dentibus suis..." (ll. 416-418). Instead of the demons' mocking of Andrew, it is the people who, along with the physical torture, deprecate him even further by making a spectacle of him. Twice they set him before the people for ridicule: "ad vulgi ducunt / plebis spectaculum" (p. 118, l. 1 and p. 117, 13).⁷

That the paganism practised by the cannibals is Roman becomes clear when they mistake Andrew for one of their gods: "si iouis esset / utrum mercurius..." (p. 120, l. 25). Andrew then goes on to chastise the people for their false worship of the Olympian gods.

It is quite clear that the poet of V eliminates the appearance of the devil to Andrew in prison because

⁷A similar phrase occurs in the Old English poem, Dream of the Rood included in the Vercelli Book, l. 31^a: "geworhton him þær to wæferayne."

it suits his purpose to expound upon the characteristics of the Mermedonians and not necessarily because the episode was lacking in his source. He uses the omission to his overall advantage to strengthen the pagan element and ultimately enhance the Roman cultural flavor of the work. Likewise, the poet also omits the episode of the sphinx or statue which speaks to the unbelieving Jews because it would serve no purpose in the poem; indeed, the episode serves little purpose in the prose. Instead, the poet inserts a very similar episode towards the end of the poem. In order to convince the Mermedonians of the uselessness of their gods, Andrew leads them to their temple and commands the idols to fall:

Hec cum dixisset	sanctus apostolus,
pariter ruunt	iam dicta idola,
sedes relinquunt	deorsum capite,
terra prostrantur	fracta sunt omnia,
frustrati<s> cunctis	facta sunt fragmina.
	(p. 139, ll. 25-29)

The poet of A retains the sphinx episode in the context of the prose versions, but carefully inserts references to the Jews throughout, beginning with lines 11^a-13^b, saying that Matthew was the first to write the gospel among them. Unlike the prose versions of this episode which simply state that the priests did not believe, the poet of A carries the description further, investing the priests with a poisonous hatred similar to that of the

dragon in Beowulf:⁸

geond beorna breost, Man wridode
 brandhata nið
 weoll on gowitte, wacra blædum fæg,
 attor æfele. þær <wæs> orcnawe
 þurh teonwide tweogende mod,
 næcga misgehygd morðre bewunden.
 (A, ll. 767^b-777.)

 he þæt sona onfand,
 þæt him on breostum bealnið(e) weoll
 attor on innan.
 (Beowulf, ll. 2713^b-2715^a.)⁹

Thus both poets are careful to create continuity by using what suits them and rearranging what does not, regardless of their immediate sources.

The poet of V rearranges his source material elsewhere as well. For example, in E, U, and B, Andrew announces "Here am I" when the Lord commands him to reveal himself. In V, however, this announcement comes dramatically from the mouth of Matthew, who cries to his fellow apostle, "Adsum Andreas" (p. 107, l. 9^a). Similarly, in all versions except A (where there is a gap in the text, ll. 1024 ff.), Matthew reminds Andrew that the Lord has

⁸Both Schaar, Critical Studies, p. 282, and David Hamilton, "Andreas and Beowulf: Placing the Hero," in Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Essays in Appreciation for John C. McGalliard, edited by Lewis F. Nicholson and Dolores Warwick (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1975), p. 94, note this connection between A and Beowulf.

⁹Quoted from Fr. Klaeber, Beowulf and the Fight at Finnesburg, 3rd. edition (Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath & Co., 1950).

sent them as "sheep into the midst of wolves" (Matt. 10:16). The same passage occurs in V but in a different context. Christ, disguised as the nauticus, asks Andrew why he wishes to go where "cuncta vorant / ut animalia //" (p. 102, l. 13). Andrew replies:

Nostræ register sic nobis indidit.
Omnes vos ego nam ita dirigo
oves cœu luporum medio.

(p. 102, ll. 17-19)

This technique of rearranging subject matter is "... one of the most striking features of Andreas."¹⁰ It is, in fact, intrinsic to the composition of both poems. The difference between the art of the two poems, however, is that the poet of V adapted his subject matter by rearranging his source material and embellishing it, molding it to fit within the bounds of Latin traditions. The poet of A embellished his source material, but also drew upon the Germanic traditions of other works in the Old English poetic corpus. Yet both poems incorporate borrowings from their respective cultural legacies. It has been said that "...the Andreas poet tries to create a different pattern of expectation and that he achieves his aim by deliberately thwarting traditional collocations."¹¹ The same may be said of the poet of V, in that the historical Biblical

¹⁰Hamilton, "Andreas and Beowulf," gives a full treatment of scene rearrangement and phrase reversals as they occur in A, pp. 81-98.

¹¹Ibid., p. 86.

passages in particular reflect the influence of both secular and Christian authors: Ovid, Vergil, Sedulius, Sidonius, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, Catullus, Fortunatus, and others.¹²

Finally, the idea of the Germanic comitatus figures prominently in A, but the seed of the idea may have been planted in the language of V. Unlike the prose versions, where the companions of Andrew are either called apostoli or discipuli, V often calls them socii thus agreeing with Old English counterpart in A, þegnas.¹³

We can draw no direct parallels between the two poems insofar as borrowings and rearrangements are concerned since they are derived from diverse cultural traditions. However, these techniques coupled with the heightened pagan element and liturgical tone suggest that V was very likely known to the poet of A and may have indirectly served as his model. Certainly other versions were also known to the poet of A as evidenced by the spelling variations of Matheua/Matthias and Marnedonia, Mermedonia/Miraidonia. Yet the naming of the bishop Plato irrevocably links the two poems together. Further, half-line arrangement of the verse itself, the connection

¹²See Blatt's critical apparatus to V for listings.

¹³Bosworth, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, p. 1043. See þegen, IV.

between socius and pegen, the unexplained final resting place of the Vercelli Book in Italy, and the similarity of the poetic technique are facts too numerous to be coincidental.

APPENDIX I

UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA MANUSCRIPT 1576

Editorial Introduction

The University of Bologna Manuscript 1576, folios 31r-35v, is written in a fairly clear eleventh century Carolingian hand on vellum measuring 29 by 22 centimeters. Each folio is divided into two columns. Word separation is poor and inconsistent. The scribe employs the usual abbreviations with one exception. Beginning with folio 34v, the abbreviation for on fluctuates between the normal \bar{c} , \bar{n} and \dot{c} , \dot{n} .

Because the language of the text is corrupt, many corrections have been inserted in order to provide a clear and readable text. Those instances which involve the addition of a letter or letters without displacing the text are not indicated in the critical apparatus. Corrections involving the interchange or deletion of letters, however, are always so indicated. The rare instances where diphthongs are preserved with cedilla appear in the text as (expansion) and are not otherwise noted in the critical apparatus. Punctuation has been regularized throughout. The following editorial conventions and abbreviations have been utilized:

() - expansion
< > - emendation
[] - deletion

Holth. - Holtheusen
corr. - correxit
reat. - restitui

The University of Bologna

MS 1576

1 Cu(m)q(ue) ap(osto)li int(er) se dividere<n>t[ur] /
 regione(s) in q(ui)b(us) p(re)dicare<n>t[ur] /
 virtute(m) et gr(ati)a(m) Chr(ist)i, missu(s) e(st)
 Beat(us) Ma/theu(s) in Marmedona civitate(m) / <in>
 5 qu(a) homine(s) co[m]medebant. Erant / au(tem)
 habitatore(s) loci huius ignomi/niosi, et
 sanguine(m) human(um) po/ta(n)te(s); unde
 q(uo)scu(m)q(ue) capere p(re)vale/bant in circuitu
 regionis sue, / co(m)p(re)hendeba(n)t et
 10 detinebant[ur] / in carcere, excecante(s) oculo(s)
 eor(um), / et potabant eo(s) potione[s] veneni /
 neq(ui)ssima maleficiis c(om)mixta / ita ut cor
 eor(um) dissolveret(ur) et sen/su(s)

1 divideret¹ U || 2 p̄dicaret² U || 4 civitate que U corr.
Holth. || 6 ignōminiosi (sic) U || 7 sanguine humana potatē²
 U corr. Holth. || 9 cōphendebat et detinebant² U

tran(s)mutaret(ur) et v(e)lut pecora /
 15 c<i>bare<n>t(ur). T(un)c advenien(s) Beat(us)
 Ma/theu(s) c(om)p(rae)hensu(s) est a
 habitator<ibu>s / loci huius qu<i> excecaver(unt)
 oculo(s) / ei(us) et miser(unt) eu(m) in carcere(m)
 et po/taver(unt) eu(m) de potione neq(ui)ssima /
 20 cu(m) his q(uo)s detinebant donec ad i/gnominios<o>s
 ad devorandu(m) de / custodia traheret(ur). Sed nec
 cor ei(us) / dissolutu(m) est nec sensu(s) anime /
 transmutat<u>(s) ex abominabile / potione eor(um).
 T(un)c Beat(us) Matheu(s) / orans et dic(en)s:
 25 "D(omi)ne I(e)su Chr(ist)e, p(ro)pt(er) / cuius
 amore<m> mund<um> reli[n]q(ui)m(us) / ut
 seq(ue)rem(ur) te in oa(n)i loco domi/nacionis tue,
 <nisi> tu vides q(ui)a esti/mat(us) su(m) ut
 ov<i>(s) occisionis, libe/ra me in v(ir)tute
 30 no(min)is tui, <a>t si vo/lunta(s) tua e(st) ut
 habitatore(s) / loci huius devore(n)t me, n(on)
 reluc/tabo adv(er)su(s) ea que beneplaci/ta s(unt)
 in c(on)spectu tuo. Na(m) si vis, libe/ra me,
 illuminans oculo(s) meo(s) ut / p(re)valea<n>t

15 cebaret² U || 16 ad habitatorē² ... que U corr. Holth. ||
 20 ignominiosis U || 23 transmutatō² U || 26 mundo U ||
 28 nisi addidi ā U || 29 ovē² U corr. Holth. || 30 et U
 34 p̄valeat U

35 intueri quecu(m)q(ue) in hoc / loco infere(n)t(ur)
 a(i)h(i). " Quo[d] dicto illux(it) / claritas magna
 lucis in carcere / et facta e(st) vox ad eu(m)
 dice(n)s, / "Pax tibi, noli timere, sed
 c(on)for/tare et respice, ut videas lum(en), / n(on)
 40 eni(m) derelinquat te. Sed val/de mirabilit(er)
 liberabo te et om(ne)s / q(ui) tecu(m) in carcere
 detinent(ur) et / priu(s)qua(m) die(s)
 c(on)stitut(us) sit int(er)/fectionis v(est)r(e),
 veni(e)t Andreas //(31v) <c>oap(ost)ol(u)s tuu(s)
 45 ut educat / vo(s) mirabilit(er) de custodia
 carce/ris huiu(s)." Quo audito Beat(us) Ma/theu(s)
 ex(u)ltabat, mirifice in D(omi)no / et dicen(s),
 "Gr(ati)a t<ibi> D(omine) I(es)u Chr(ist)e." De/inde
 cu(m) transisse(n)t die(s) viginti / septe(m)
 50 q(ui)b(us) detinebat(ur) in car/cere, ante triduo
 tricesimo / die qu(o) c(on)stituera(n)t carnifices
 ut / int(er)ficerent eo(s) ad devoran/du(m) quo(s)
 detinebant in carce/re, locut(us) est D(omi)n(us)
 I(es)us ad An/dree(m) in regione Achaie[m] dice(n)s,
 55 / "Exurge[ns] in triduo et p(ro)ficisce/re cu(m)
 discipulis tuis in civitate(m) / Marmedona ad

35 inferet² U || 44 venit U | q̄ apōis U corr. Holth. ||

48 tua U || 49 transisset diē² viginti septe qb; detinebat

U corr. Holth.

deducend<ua> / Matheu<a> v(e)i <et eos> q(ui)
 detinent(ur) in car/cere cu(m) eo." Et dix(it)
 Beat(us) Andreas, / "D(omi)ne, q(ue)no(m)o p(ro)valebo
 60 in trib(us) dieb(us) p(ro)/ficiasc<i> ta(m) longo
 spatio itine/ris qu<od> ignor<o>. Sed q(ue)so te /
 ut mitte<a> a<n>g(e)l(u)m tuu(m) ad li/berandu(m)
 eu(m) in v(ir)tute no(m)in(is) tui." / Et d(i)x(it)
 D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, "C(on)sidere q(ui)a fa/cile
 65 e(st) ei q(ui) om(ni)a creavit in / triduo et hanc
 civitate(m) et om(ne)s / habitante(s) in ea hic in tua
 p(re)se(n)tia transmutari. Sed magis / oportet ut
 ibide(m) p(ro) utilita/te m(u)ltor(um)
 p(re)duca<ris>." T(un)c / Beat(us) Andreas
 70 surrex(it) et abiit cu(m) di/scip(u)lis suis ad
 lit<us> maris et / invenit navicula<a> in q(ua)
 D(omi)n(u)s in hu/mans<a> figura<a> tran(s)mutat<us>
 cu(m) duob(us) / a<n>g(e)li(s) erat. Q(ue)nd
 viden(s), Beat(us) / Andrea(s) int(er)rogavit,
 75 dicen(s), "Ubi e(st) / it(er) v(est)r<um>?" E<t>
 dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, "In Marae/done
 civitate<a>." Et d(i)x(it) Beat(us) An/dreas
 "Suscipite no(s) qu<eso> in na/ve<a> v(est)<rum> ut

57 deducendo Matheo U | et eos addidi || 60 pficiascere U
 || 61 quā U | ignorebo U || 62 mittat U || 69 pducent U ||
 71 littore U || 72 huma^{na} (sic) U | tranmutat U || 75 v̄r U

eam(us) vob(is)cu(m)." Et dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s
 80 I(esu)s, / "Om(ne)s <h>omine(s) fu<g>i<un>t de illa
 regione / v(c)l de illa civitate. Et que e(st)
 utilita(s) / ut vo(s) eatis in ea(m)?" Et
 rea(pon)d(it) Beat(us) / Andreas, "Mandatu(m) qu<od>
 ferem(us) / oportet ut p(er)ficiam(us) in ea."
 85 Et / dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, "Parat<e>
 disposicion<e>e v(est)r<as> / v(e)l <naulum> ut
 recipiam(us) vo(s)." Et / dix(it) Beat(us)
 Andreas, "Noli existimare, / f(ate)r, q(uo)d p(er)
 sup(er)b[ila(m)] dispositione(m) <naulum non damus>
 90 q(ui)a / dis<c>ipuli sum(us) I(es)u Chr(ist)i q(ui)
 nob(is) p(ro) vita / et(er)na p(re)cepit ut non
 pera(m) neq(ue) / ulla(m) substantia(m) aut
 q(ua)m<cu(m)q(ue) pe/cunia(m) extra ei(us)
 mandatu(m) in iti/nere deportem(us). Si erg(o) facis
 95 //(32r) nob(is), om(ni)s ipse tibi reddet
 merca/de(m)." Et dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, "Si

80 fuit U corr. Holth. || 83 qua U || 84 oportet e U ||
 85 parat disposicionis vre U corr. Holth. qui paratis
legit || 86 nabulu U corr. Holth. || 89 supbia
 dispositione qa U naulum minime daremus, nichil aliud
 habemus C <aut aliquam> dispositionem <naulum tibi von
 daremus> quia textum restituit Holth. <naulum non damus>
addidi

ergo Chr(ist)i / servi essetis, suscipia(us) vo(s)
 in nave<m> / ut ab ipso recipia(us) in bono
 mer/cede(m)." Ingressu(s) erg(o) cu(m) discipu/lis
 100 suis Beat(us) Andreas in nave<m> vi/su(s) est dicere
 [a] D(omi)no I(es)u, "Indul/ge m(i)h(i), fr(a)t(er).
 D(omi)n(u)s tibi c(on)cedat gr(ati)a<m> / et
 gl(ori)a<m> et celeste(m) mercede(m)." Et
 p(re)/cepit D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s uni[s] ex
 105 a<n>g(e)lis ut ad/ponere<t> eis pane(m) ad
 reficiendu(m) / dicen(s), "Accedite et reficite et
 c(on)/fortamini ut valeatis suffer/re pel[l]agu<s>
 fluctuan<s>." Et di/x(it) Beat(us) Andreas [a]
 D(omi)no I(es)u, "D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s / c(on)cedat
 110 tibi pane(m) de regno / suo et reficiat te in
 om(ni)b(us) bonis in se(m)pi/t(er)nu(m)." Et
 d(i)x(it) D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, "Noli dubita/re motu
 maris, sed manduca/t<e> et discip(u)li tui et doce
 eo(s) de / virtutib(us) magistri tui ut
 115 c(on)va/lescant neq(ue) t(ur)bent(ur) int(er)
 fluc/t<us> undar(um)." Deinde cu(m) man/ducasset
 Beat(us) Andreas cu(m) di/scip(u)lis suis et
 dic(en)s, "Sepiu(s) eni(m) int(er) / unda(s)

105 adponerē U || 107 c̄fortamini U surge comede cum tuis
 discipulis, et refice eos ut confortamini C | pellagū U ||
 108 fluctuantē U || 113 manducatu U || 116 fluctibꝫ U

pel[llagi maris viden(us) / obedire magistro
 120 n(ost)ro et aq(ua)s / maris et vento<a> val[llido<a>
 et te(m)pe/stato(c) pr(o)cella<e>. Nolite ergo
 me/tuere q(ui)a n(on) derelinquet no(s) d(omi)n(u)s
 / rex celi qu<i> est salvator et rede(m)p(tor) /
 n(oste)r." Et dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, "Valde
 125 bo/nu(m) est nob(is) huiu(s) mysterii vir/tut<e>s
 audire." Et valde gavisu(s) e(st) / Beat(us)
 Andreas p(ro) receptione ser/monib(us) suis
 dicen(s), "Benedictu(s) / homo ille a D(omi)no D(e)o
 q(ui) cu(m) tali affec/tu recipit verba ei(us)
 130 sicu<t> et tu." / Quo dicto orante Beato Andrea
 ob/dormier(unt) discip(u)li ei(us) dum e(ss)e<nt>
 cont(ur)bat i / a[fl] fluctib(us) maris. Et
 c(on)siderans / Beat(us) Andrea(s) D(omin)<um>
 I(es)u<m> gubernante<m> / int(er) fluctuante<m>
 135 pel[llagi nave(m) / valde admirabat(ur) dicen(s),
 "Nu(m)qua(m) / ali<quem> audivi neq(ue) audivi
 simile(m) / tibi gubernatore(m) int(er) fluct<us> /
 nav<ia> que(a)admodu(m) te vide[bl]o. Ve/re dico
 q(ui)a puto sup(ra) t(er)r(a)e solo c(on)sistere /
 140 nave<m> et <non> in pel[llago maris. Queso / te ergo

123 quē U || 125 virtutis U || 130 sicū² U || 133 d̄ ihu
 gubernante U || 136 alicui U || 137 fluctib; nave U ||
 139 so^{lo} (sic) U || 140 non addidi | pellego^a (sic) U

ut dica<s> mi<i>(i) <notitiam> mi/rabil<is> art<is>
 gubernationis tue." / Et dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s
 I(cou)s, "Et no(s) q(ui)do(m) sopiu(s) / navigantes
 int(er) fluct<us> maris / periclitati sum(us). Sed
 145 modo cre//((32v) -do q(ui)a cognovit mar<e> q(uo)d tu
 disci/pulu(s) Chr(ist)i es p(ro)pterea / se
 preparavit / ad obediendu(m) nob(is) ad
 sufferenda<m> nave<m> int(er) fluct<us> maris ut
 n(on) / p(re)sument co(m)movere ea(m). Sed nec gut/ta
 150 aq(ua)<e> <se> inferre<t> ad interiora ei(us) que /
 deportavi<t> te, ut honorifice p(re)/valea(s)
 fluctuante<m> pel(l)agum p(er)tran/sire." Et
 clamavit Beat(us) Andreas / dic(en)s, "D(omi)ne,
 gr(ati)as ego tibi q(ui)a p(re)paresti / in itinere
 155 n(ost)ro ta(m) fidelissim<um> vi/r<um> qu<i>
 comiteret(ur) nob(is)cu(m) v(e)lut / celest<is>
 ang(e)l<us> tu<us>." Deinde dix(it) / D(omi)n(u)s
 I(esu)s ad Beatu(m) Andrea(m), "Audi vi de /
 Chr(ist)o cuiu(s) discip(u)l<um> te e(ss)e
 160 dicisti q(uo)d m(u)lta signa fecisset. Et
 q(ua)re n(on) credider(unt) / ei infelice(s) Iudei?"

141 dicē U | notitā U | mirabile arte U || 144 fluctib; U
 || 145 maris U || 148 ^{na}ve (sic) U | fluctib; U || 150 se
 addidi || 155 fidelissimo viro que U || 156 celeste U ||
 157 anglo tuo U || 159 discipis U

Et dix(it) Beat(us) Andre/as, "Ut adi(m)pleret(ur)
 scriptura q(ui)a indu/rati s(unt) corde et aurib(us)
 nec c(on)verte/re<n>t(ur) neq(ue) gr(ati)am salutis
 165 c(on)seq(ue)re<n>t(ur)." / Et dix(it) Beat(us)
 Andrea(s), "Et n(on) fec(it) manifes/te cora(m)
 ipsis? Q(ui) in Chana Galil(a)e(a)e in c(on)/vivio
 aq(ue)<m> in vino c(on)verti<t>, q(ui) de
 q(ui)ng(ue) / panib(us) q(ui)ng(ue) milia homin<e>s
 170 satiev(it), / q(ui) ceco(s) inluminavit, q(ui)
 lep(ro)so(s) mun/dav(it), q(ui) om(ne)s
 lang<u>ore(s) v(e)l egritudi/n<e>s sanavit, q(ui) et
 mortuo(a) in p(re)sen/ti<a> ipsor(um) sus<c>itavit."
 Et dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, / "Cu(m) ta(m)
 175 p(re)clara[m] et admiranda s(un)t q(ue) dici(s) /
 q(uo)d manifeste fec(it) Chr(istu)s cora(m) Iudeis,
 / qua(m) valde indurati s(un)t corde infe/lice(s)
 Iudei q(ui) n(on) receper(unt) eu(m)." Et d(i)x(it)
 / Beat(us) Andrea(s), "Multa s(unt) valde signa /
 180 virtut<i>(s) q(ue) fec(it) salvator n(oste)r in /
 p(re)sentis Iudeor(um) et cora(m) p(ri)ncipe(s) /
 v(e)l sac(er)dote(s) eor(um). Sed a(m)pliora s(un)t
 / q(ue) in absconso fec(it)." Et dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s
 I(esu)s, / "Queso te ut dicas q(ue) fec(it)

168 c̄vertis U || 169 hominū U || 172 egritudinis U ||
 180 virtutē² U

185 latent(er)." / Et dix(it) Beat(us) Andrea(s),
 "Sp(irit)u(m) eni(m) sa/pienti(a)e et magni(s)
 c(on)ciliis agnovi / te s(ss)e replet(um).
 Uaq(ue)q(uo) te(m)ptas me?" / Et dix(it) D(omi)n(u)s
 I(esu)s, "N(on) adte(m)ptando te p(er)/scrutabor sed
 190 q(ui)a cor neu(m) reple<visti> / gaudio et sensu(m)
 m(en)tis mee c(on)ver/tisti in magna letitia et
 ex(u)ltati/one p(er) virtute(s) mirabilior(um)
 I(esu) Chr(ist)i / magistri tui. Ex q(uo) valde in
 ma/gno desiderio e(st) cor neu(m) ad
 195 p(er)/scrutand(um) te." Et d(i)x(it) Beat(us)
 An/drea(s), "Co(m)pleat D(omi)n(u)s D(eu)s desideria
 / cordis tui in his q(ue) s(un)t et(er)na et
 p(er)/petua bona q(ui) et ad c(on)firman/da corda
 n(ost)ra dedux(it) no(s) in te(m)plo / in q(uo)
 200 erant statue in similitudi//(33r) -n(em) cherubyn et
 seraphyn in q(ui)b(us) / dedi<t> sp(iritu)m ut
 testare<n>t(ur) nob(is) de vir/tutib(us) Chr(ist)i.
 Ad quor(um) testimoniu(m) / p(ro) c(on)firmatione
 n(ost)ra resuscitati s(un)t / et duodeci(m)
 205 patriarche int(er) q(ui)b(us) / erant Abree(m),
 Ysaac et Iacob. Te/stificant eo(s) nob(is) in
 m(u)ltis myste/riis virtu(s) et gr(ati)a Chr(ist)i.

187 repleto U || 190 repleti U || 200 similitudinis U ||
 207 virtute U

Ex q(ui)b(us) val/de c(on)firmatu(m) est cor
n(ost)r(u)m et re/floruit in bono anime n(ost)ra."
210 De/inde loquente Beato Andrea / magnalia Chr(ist)i,
posuit D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s / capu<t> suu(m) sup(er)
unu(m) ex ang(e)lis suis ad / resq(ui)escend<um>. Et
Beat(us) Andreas / posuit sup(er) unu(m) ex
discip(u)lis suis / et obdormivit, et
215 transportat(us) / e(st) in [h]ictu mon(en)ti unius
cu(m) dis<c>i/p(u)lis suis in regione<m> <ad> qua<m>
ibant. / Et depositi s(unt) ad porta<s> civitati(s)
/ Marmedone et ita excitati s(unt) de / so(m)no
Beat(us) Andreas cu(m) dis<c>ipuli(s) suis. / Et
220 vidente(s) se ante portas civi/tatis Marmedone valde
a(d)mi/rabant(ur). Et d(i)x(it) Beat(us) Andrea(s)
[al] di/s<c>ip(u)lis suis, "Considerate et videte /
quanta m(ise)r(icordi)a nob(is)cu(m) fec(it)
D(omi)n(u)s n(oste)r, q(ui) / ta(m) mirabilit(er)
225 co[m]mitavit nob(is)cu(m) / et deportavit nos in
loc<um> ist<um>." / Et dixer(unt) discip(u)li
ei(us), "Cu(m) au(tem) initio ce/pit facere
v(er)ba suis D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, sentire
c(o)e/pi<mus> loquela(m) ei(us) sed q(ui)a
230 o<p>p(re)ssi sum(us) a / so(m)no n(on) agnovim(us)

211 capud U || 212 resqescendo U || 216 ad addidi ||

226 loco isto Ū || 229 cepit U

p(re)sentia(m) ei(us). Na(m) et / cu(m) essen(us) in
 so(m)nia viden(us) eu(m) sedente(m) / in throno
 gl(ori)o su(a)o in celis et ang(e)lor(us) /
 m(u)ltitudine(m) hymnu(m) dicente(m) in cir/cuitu
 235 ei(us) int(er) q(ui)b(us) et Habraa(m) et Isaac / et
 Iacob vidi(m)us, et resonante(m) in lau/de(m) et
 gl(ori)am ei(us); na(m) et d(ein)d(e) in psalt(er)io
 / decantante(m), et valde mirifice / psallente(m)
 salvatoris n(ost)ri p(re)sentia(m) / in
 240 p(ro)ph(et)is." Q(uo) audito Beat(us) Andreas val/de
 degl(or)ificabat(ur) de visione[is] discipu(lor)um
 suor(um) et ex om(n)ib(us) his q(u)a(m) /
 c(on)tinge(ra)nt illis. Et cepit orare et dice/re,
 "Obsecro, D(omi)ne I(es)u Chr(iste): indulge /
 245 m(i)h(i) q(ui)a te q(ua)si un(um) ex homin(ibus)
 esti/navi et fac me in hoc loco in / qu(em) m(i)h(i)
 deduxisti videre p(re)sen(tia)m tua(m)." Quo
 dicto, apparuit ei / D(omi)n(u)s I(es)us in
 pulcher(r)ima(m) spetifale(m) <h>u(m)ana et dix(it), "Pax
 250 tibi." Et viden(s) / eu(m) Beat(us) Andree(s)
 p(ro)cessit ad pede(s) / ei(us) et adorav(it) eu(m)
 dicens, "Que pec/cavi D(e)us q(ui)a n(on)
 p(re)valui <te cognoscere> du(m) esse(s) in ma//(33v)

234 dicente³ U || 236 resonante² U || 245 uno ex homine² U ||
 246 qua U || 249 pulcherime U || 253 te cognoscere sciddi

-re p(re)sentia tua." Et d(i)x(it) D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s,
 255 "Q(ui)a / <magis> possibile potestati intra triduo /
 p(er)ficere via<m> qua(m) miserere te. / Sed ecce,
 apparuit] tibi ut n(on) dubi/te(s) introire in
 civitate<m> v(e)l car/cere<m> ad deducend<um>
 Mathe<um> v(e)l / <eos> q(ui) in custodia[m]
 260 detinent(ur) cu(m) eo, / et ut scias, q(ui)a m(u)lte
 iniurie et pas/sione(s) infere<n>t<ur> tibi in hoc
 loco. / Sed hec om(ni)a er(unt) ad
 gl(or)ificatione<m> / tua<m> v(e)l p(ro)
 utilitate[m] m(u)ltor(um)."
 265 est Beat(us) An/dreas cu(m) discip(u)lis suis in
 civitate<m> / Marnedona, <n>ull<o>[m] itaq(ue) <ni>si
 v(e)l <ex his> q(ui) / cu(m) eo erant vidente[m]
 aut s(c)lenti/ente[m] [et] p(er)venit usq(ue) ad
 carce/re(m). Ad cuius p(re)sentia<m>, porta
 270 car/ceris aperit(ur) et custode(s) mor/tui s(unt).
 Et ingressu(s) Beat(us) Andre/as in carcere(m)
 inven<it> psallen/te(m) et invocante(m) D(omi)no
 Beat<um> Ma/the<um>. Q(ui) cu(m) ab invice(m) se
 vidiase<n>t, / valde gavisu(s) est, ex(u)ltaver(unt)
 275 in / D(omi)no. Et viden(s) eo(s) Beat(us) Andrea(s)

255 magis addidi || 258 deducendo matheo U || 259 eos
addidi || 266 ullu U || 267 ex his addidi || 272 inven U
 || 273 beato matheo U

/ q(ui) detinebant(ur) in carcere, q(uo) / sensu
 corde alienati v(e)lut pe/cora c<ib>ara<n>t(ur),
 c(on)puncto corde / ingemuit p(ro) <h>is et orat
 dica<n>s ad Bea/t<um> Mathe<um>, "Q(ui)d eni(m)
 280 tanta crude/lita(a) ubi devenim(us), frat(er)?"
 Dix(it) Beat<us> / Mathe<us>, "Hoc e(st) q(uo)d
 dic(it) D(omi)n(u)s: Ecce / mitto vo(a) in medio
 lupor(um)." Et in/dicavit ei quanta crudelita(a) /
 et ignominia esse<t> in ha(n)c civita/te v(e)l
 285 q(ui)d ei c(on)tigisset in hoc loco. / Deinde et
 Beat(us) Andreas re<c>ol<ui>t / q(uo)modo ei
 D(omi)n(u)s revelat(us) e(st) in mare / v(e)l q(ue)
 acte a<unt> cu(m) eo donec p(er)veniret / ad
 deducend<us> eu(m) de carcer(um) / v(e)l <eos> q(ui)
 290 cu(m) eo in ha(n)c custodia tene/bant(ur). Q(uo)
 dicto, accessit Beat(us) An/dreas et inposuit
 manu<a> sue<a> sup(er) / eo(a) et inluminati a<unt>
 oculi[s] eor(um) et / sanatu(m) est cor eor(um) et
 regressu(a) e(st) / sensu(a) rationabilis in eis ad
 295 intel/legenda<a> natura<a> humanitatis suae. / Et
 p(re)cepit eis Beat(us) Andrea(s) exire / de carcere
 et de civitate[m] donec / p(er)transire<nt> om(ne)s

277 cavaret ² U || 279 beato matheo U || 281 beato matheo U
 || 286 redolet U rest. || 289 deducendo U | eos addidi

t(er)mino(s) region<i>(s) / huius. At illi<a>
 dubitantib(us) dix(it), "Ite / in no(min)e D(omi)ni
 300 et nolite timere q(ui)a [in]sentivi aliq(u)
 vo<cem>. Donec transea/tis om(ne)s regione(s) patrie
 huius, / <e>t manifeste intellegatis vir//(34r) -
 tute<a> et gr(ati)a<m> Chr(ist)i q(ui) liberavit de
 inte/ritu vita<m> v(ost)ra<m>." T(un)c et Beato
 305 Matheo / p(re)cepit exire[ti] cu(m) discip(u)lis suis
 con/tra orienta<m> et egressi nemine / sentiente.
 P(er)transier(unt) om(ne)s urbe(s) / region<i>s
 huius, s(e)c(un)d(u)m verbu(m) ei(us). / Na(m) et
 Beat(us) Andrea(s) egressu(s) e(st) de / carcere.
 310 Cepit dea(m)bulare per / media<m> civitate(m), et
 resedens in / foro iuxta platea expectans/q(ue)
 de[il]venire iuxta D(omi)ni v(er)bu(m). / Et factu(m)
 e(st) <ut> cu<a> iniq(ui) carnifices / nemine(m)
 invenisse<n>t ex his quos / habuera<n>t in
 315 custodia(m) sed era<n>t / pa[al]tefacte <portae>
 carceris et custo/de(s) mortui, et nemo in carcere;
 / fuera<n>t eni(m) plu(a)qua(m) ducenti
 q(ua)/draginta detenti in carcere. / Pro q(ui)b(us)
 carnifice(s) c(on)t(ur)bat[i] [h]abite/r(unt) a<d>
 320 senior<es> civitatis indicante(s). / Q(uo) audito,

300 aliq U || 301 vox U || 302 ut U || 307 regiones U ||
 313 ut addidi || 315 portae addidi || 320 a seniorib; U

habitatore(s) loci huius / c(on)t(ur)bati s(unt)
 valde admirante(s) ex <h>is / q(ue) c(on)tingera<n>t
 illis. Et cu(m) nichil / s<c>ire potuisse<n>t,
 dixer(unt) ad carnifi/ces, "Adferte v(e)l
 325 custod[iles carce/r<i>s q(ui) mortui s(unt); illo(s)
 devorem(us)."
 / Qui cu(m) attulisse<nt> corpora
 mortuor(um) / ut dissicare<n>t(ur) ad devorandu(m),
 / orav(it) Beat(us) Andrea(s) ut (non)
 p(re)valere<n>t / iniqui) carnifice(s), <neque>
 330 dissicarent eo(s). / Et factu(m) e(st) ut
 dereliquescere<n>t / gladi<i> iniquor(um) et
 arescere<nt> bra/chia eor(um). Et cu(m) non
 potuissent dissi/care[nt] eo(s), dicebant, "V(a)s
 nob(is) q(uo)d / a mag<i>s decepti sum(us). Q(ui) et
 335 custodes / [h]occider(unt) et detento(s) de carcere
 / dimiser(unt) ut a fame peream(us)? Que / patim(ur)
 intuler(unt)."
 Et cu(m) nesciret[ur] / ia(m)
 q(ui) aliud faceret, dixer(unt) senices / loci
 hui(us), "Venite, mittam(us) sorte(m) / ut sit
 340 nob(is) inferam(us) q(uo)s occida/m(us) ad
 devorandu(m) donec inveni/am(us) in circuitu
 regionis n(ost)re q(uo)s / reclaudam(us) in
 carcere<m> et p(re)/parem(us) ad int(er)ficiendu(m)

325 carceres U || 326 ^tatulisse (sic) U || 329 neque addidi
 || 331 gledio U

s(e)c(un)d(u)m c(on)/suetudine(a) n(ost)ra(m). Et
 345 mittentib(us) / eis sorte(m) c(a)ecidit sors
 int(er) septe(m) / seniorib(us). T(un)c dix(it)
 un(us) ex eis de <qu>o / sors exiebat. "Rogo vo(s)
 dimitti/te me, et dabo fili(um) me(um) et filia(m) /
 nea(m) vob(is) ad occidendu(m). A(t) ipsi
 350 di/miser(unt) eu(m) et ips(e) tradidit fili(um) et
 fi/lia(m) sua(m) ad occidendu(m). Et fac(tu)m est
 cu(m) ducere(n)t(ur) ipsi ad occiden// (34v) -du(m),
 respiciens Beat(us) Andreas in ce/lo et dix(it),
 "D(omi)ne D(eu)s om(ni)p(oten)s, obsecro
 355 mi(sericordi)a(m) / tua(m) ne[c] p(er)mitta(s) occidi
 eo(s) a car/nificib(us) istis, sed deliquescant /
 gladii eor(um) et arescant man(us) eor(um) / q(ui)
 se parabant ad inferenda(m) nor/te(m) p(ro)pt(er)
 ignominia(m) sua(m)." Et fac(tu)m est sicu(t)
 360 orav(it) Beat(us) Andrea(s) et / c(on)t(ur)batu
 s(unt) cm(ne)s principe(s) loci hu/iu(s) et flebant
 in his qu(a)e c(on)tigera(n)t / illis. Et Beat(us)
 Andreas gl(or)ificabat / D(omi)no in virtute
 mirabilior(um) ei(us). / T(un)c diabolus apparuit
 365 in similitu/dine infantis canuti in p(re)senti/a
 seniorib(us) civitat(is) Marme/done et erat

345 sorte² U || 347 co sors U || 348 filio meo U || 349 ad
 U || 350 ipsi U | filio U || 359 sicu² U || 366 civitate U

dic(en)s, "Ve vob(is) p(ri)ncipe(s) / t(er)r(a)
 huius: si non inveneritis peregri/n<um> ill<um>
 q(ui) vocat(ur) Andreas ut occid<a>/tis eu(m),
 370 q(ui)a om(n)is qu<a>e [a]even<erun>t in hoc / loco
 p(er) ips<um> facta s(unt) vob(is)." Ad ips<um>
 or(ne)s / ad clamore<m> ipsius co<m>m<o>ti,
 inq(ui)re/bant q(ui) esse[n]t Andrea(s), et erat in
 / medi<a> t(ur)b<a> Beat(us) Andrea(s), et nullo /
 375 modo a diabolo videbat(ur) nec a / nullo
 cognoscebat(ur). T(un)c diabolus / magis
 magisq(ue) vociferabat et / q(uo)d indicavit
 principib(us) testifica/re n(on) q(ui)escebat; a<d>
 cuius clamore<m>, dix(it) / Beat(us) Andrea(s), "O
 380 sagitta durissima / qu<e> sup(er) om(n)e
 pestiferu(m) gladi<um> inferre / dolore(m) n(on)
 adq(ui)escis, cuiu(s) ignomi/niose deceptionis
 crudelita(s) a Chr(ist)i / dis<c>ip(u)lis in
 om(n)ib(us) separat(ur)." Q(uo) audito, / diabolus
 385 d(i)x(it), "Et ubi e(s) q(uo)d te videre / n(on)
 p(re)valem(us)?" Et dix(it) Beat(us) Andreas, /
 "Recte vocatus e(s) Sathanas, q(ui)a cec(us) es[ti] /
 ad videndu(m) c(on)fident<e>s in Chr(ist)o et n(on)

368 peregrino illo U || 369 occidetis U || 370 q̄venit U
 rest. || 371 ipso² U | ipso U || 372 cōmuti U || 374 medio
²the U || 380 q̄ U || 381 gladio U || 388 c̄fidentis U

/ videbitis me." T(un)c exclamavit dia/bolus
 390 dic(en)s, "Intend<it>e om(ne)s et / c(on)siderate
 q(ui)a hic e(st) ille peregrin(us) / de q(uo) dixi
 vob(is) q(ui) loq(ui)t(ur) mecu(m)," a<t> ipsi /
 inq(ui)rente(s) n(on) agnover(unt) eu(m). Et
 in/surgente(s), claus(er)unt porta(s) civita/tis sed
 395 n(on) p(re)valer(unt) inven<ire> eu(m). Do/nec
 D(omi)n(u)s dix(it) ei ut revelaret(ur)
 p(re)/sentia sua a<d> p(er)sequent<es> se. Et ait /
 Beat(us) Andrea(s) in medi<a> t(ur)ba dice(n)s, /
 "Ego su(m) Andrea(s)," a<t> ipsa<i>
 400 co(m)p(re)hender(unt) / eu(m) et erant dicente(s),
 "Venite mit/tam(us) fune(m) in collo ei(us) et
 trahat(ur) / cotidie in circuitu civitatis n(ost)re
 / v(e)l per om(ne)s plateas urbi(s) huius, / donec
 deficiat[ur] et sup(er)veniat die(s) / mortis
 405 ei(us). Et sic dividam(us) carne(s) ei(us) //(35r)
 ad devorandu(m) int(er) habi<ta>tore(s) loci
 [hu]s/huius." Et ita trahebant eu(m), manib(us)
 po/st <t>ergu(m) ligatis cedente(s) eu(m) cotidie /
 valde, crudelit(er) habente(m) fune(m) in col/lo
 410 sic(u)<t> dixer(unt). Et ad vesperu(m) reclude/bant

389 diabol² diabol² U alt. induxi || 392 ad U ||

395 invener² U || 398 medio U || 399 ad ipso² U || 403 p om̄s

p om̄s U alt. induxi || 410 sic² U

eu(m) in carcere, c(on)ligatu(m). Et ad/veniens
 diabolus<e> deri<de>bat eu(m) densq(ue) /
 inp(ro)peranti<e> sup(er) eu(m). Donec adsu(m)psi<t>
 / secu(m) alio(s) septe(m) demone(s) dice<n>(s),
 415 "Ea/m(us) et int(er)ficiam(us) eu(m) q(uonia)m
 actu(s) noc<u>res c(on)/fundere n(on) cessabat." Et
 insurgen/te(s) demone(s) fremebant sup(er) eu(m) et
 / stridebant dentib(us) suis, et adp(ro)/pinq(ua)re
 ad ipa<um> n(on) p(re)sumeba<n>t sed ad
 420 in/vocatione(m) no(min)is Chr(ist)i
 effocabant(ur). T(un)c / D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s intra
 carcere revisitavit / eu(m) et in magna luce
 apperuit ei[s] dic(en)s, / "Pax tibi. Noli[te]
 timere." Et adp(re)<h>en/dens man(us) ei(us)
 425 elevav(it) eu(m) de t(er)ra et / dissolut<a> s(unt)
 vincula ei(us) et refluoruit / caro ei(us) et
 c(on)fortata s(unt) om(n)ia m(em)bra ei(us) / et
 recepit om(n)<es> vir<e>s ania(a)e sue. / Et dix(it)
 ei[s] D(omi)n(u)s I(esu)s, "Egredere / de carcere ad
 430 gl(or)ificanda(m) vis/itute(m) D(omi)ni D(e)i tui in
 signi(s) et p(ro)digis / m(u)ltis. Et accede ad
 statua<m> q(ue) c(on)/stituta e(st) ante carcere.

412 diabolū U | deribant U littera n errata est || 413 in
 pperantiu U | adūpsis U || 419 ipso U || 423 eis supra
lin. || 425 dissolute U || 428 om̄ib; U | viris U

Ecce ego / facia(m) p(ro)fluente(m) aqua(m) exire /
 de statue lapidea[s] sales(m) valde et /
 435 suffoca(b)it ab <h>omine usq(ue) ad pec(us) / v(ol)
 om(n)u(m) creature(m) vivente(m) qu(am) inva/serit
 et nisi ubi tu vadis locu(s) dabit / aquas v(ol)
 q(ui) te seq(ui)t(ur) liberaret(ur). <U>t a[lf] fo/ris
 civitate(m) circu(m)dare facia(m) nub[ile] / ignea et
 440 q(ui) fu(e)re de civitate a(b) igne / co(m)busti
 moria(n)t(ur)." Orans ergo Beat(us) / Andrea(s)
 d(i)x(it), "Ne derelinq(ue)s me, D(omi)ne I(es)u /
 Chr(ist)e, et ne receda(s) a me sed fac secu(m) /
 mi(racul)a ut gl(or)ificet(ur) in m(u)ltis
 445 mirabilib(us) vir/t(us) tua." Et egressu(s) de
 carcere Beat(us) / Andrea(s), gl(or)ificans
 D(omi)n(u)m I(esu)m Chr(ist)um, acce/s(s)it ad
 statue(m) et ipsa cepit dif(f)unde/re aq(ua)(m) ita
 ut operire(t) et suffocare(t) / habitatore(s)
 450 civitatis huius, nisi tantu(m) / ubi erat v(ol)ibat
 Beat(us) Andrea(s). Erat / undiq(ue) v(ol) ut murus
 illi aq(ua)(e) dextra / levaq(ue) et seq(ue)bat(ur)
 m(u)ltitudo magna / Beat(us) Andrea(m) clamantes et
 dicente(s), / "Te seq(ui)m(ur) et tibi ia(m) ex hoc
 455 te(m)p(o)r(e) / obedi(m)us, tant(um) libera no(s) ne

435 suffocavit U || 436 que U || 437 locū U || 438 ut U ||
 440 fuire U | ad Ū || 453 beato andrea U || 455 tepr obedi²
 tanto U

peream(us) / cu(m) his q(ui) suffocati s(unt) ab
 impetu aq(ua)<e> v(e)l / qu<i> cremati s(unt) ab
 incendio ignis." / Int(er) q(ui)b(us) et ille senior
 q(ui) filios suo(s) / ad occidendu(m) tradiderat
 460 clama//(35v) -bat, "Mis(er)ere nob(is) ne peream(us)."
 / Ad qu respiciens Beat(us) Andreas d(i)x(it), /
 "Quale<n> mi(sericordi)a<n> vis fieri tibi q(ui)a
 n(on) e(s) mi(ser)us filiiis tuis? N(on) eni(m)
 potest<is> c(on)seq(ui) / mi(sericordi)a<n>, neq(ue)
 465 tu neq(ue) carnifices, q(ui) ad / int(er)fectione(m)
 innocenti<um> non q(ui)e/acebant." Et accessit
 Beat(us) An/dreas ad statua<n> lapidis q(ue) n(on) /
 cessaba(t) diffundere aqua(m). Ita d(i)x(it), /
 "P(re)cipio tibi in no(m)ine I(es)u Chr(ist)i ut
 470 q(ui)e/acas a di<f>usione[m] aqueru(m)." Et
 q(ui)/evit inber inundationis / v(e)l diffusionis
 aquaru(m). / Et c(on)v(er)su(s) Beatu(s)
 Andrea(s) a<d> seniore<n> / ill<um> q(ui) filio(s)
 suo(s) in morte<m> tradi/de<re>t v(e)l a<d>
 475 carnifice(s) dix(it), "De/nuntio vob(is),
 ignominiosi et val/de <crud><el><e>s quia <qua>

457 que U || 466 innocentib; U || 471 inundationis inun-
 dationis U alt. induxi || 473 illo U || 474 tradide..t U
duae litterae onisae || 476 ...d.l.s U textum restituere
conate sum | qe unde U Dico ergo tibi quia quando reversa
 fuerit aqua ista C <cum> rest.

inunda[n]ti[**o**] aquaru[m] de hac civitate in
 a/byss[**u**] recesser[**it**] exinde et vos / descenditis;
 in abysso inferni vi/vetis." Q[**uo**] dicto, aperui[**t**]
 480 se t[**er**]ra et / deglutivit <di>ffusiones aquar[**u**m]
 cu[m] seniore illo crudele v[**e**]l ign[**o**]/miniosis
 carnificib[**us**] civitatis / hui[**s**]. Reliq[**ui**] vero
 q[**ui**] evadere / visi s[**unt**] et n[**on**] s[**unt**]
 ext[**er**]mineti p[**er**] peni[tentia[**m**] et
 485 emendatione[**m**] in postmodu[m] / iustificati et abiit
 Beat[**us**] Andreas / cu[m] his q[**ui**] remanser[**unt**] ex
 pop[**u**]lo urb[**is**] / hui[**s**]. Edificavit eccl[**esi**]a[**m**]
 in loco / ubi status fuerat p[**er**] qua[m] inun/datio
 facta erat diffusion[**i**]s a[**qu**]ar[**u**m] et baptizavit
 490 eo[**s**] om[**ne**]s / et c[**on**]firmavit in fide[**m**] et
 gr[**ati**]a[**m**] Chr[**ist**]i / cui e[**st**] honor et gl[**ori**]a
 et potestas / in s[**e**]c[**u**]la s[**e**]c[**u**]lor[**u**m]. Am[**en**].

477 inundantia U || 478 abysso U | recessire U ||
 479 aperuisse U || 480 ..ffusiones U rest. || 485 abiit
 ... remanserat U Cunctus autem populus mermedonie maximum
 usque ad minimum, propter magnam dilectionem habierunt
 cum eo, usque ad aliquantulum locum C || 489 dif-
 fusiones U

English Translation

1 When the apostles divided the districts
among themselves as to where they would go to preach
by virtue and grace of Christ, Matthew was sent to
the city of Marmedona where they devoured men. The
inhabitants of that place were disgraceful, even
drinking human blood. Whomever they were able to
seize round about their country, they took hold of
10 and detained in prison, tearing out their eyes, and
they gave them to drink a wicked potion of poison
mixed together by evil-doing so that the heart of
them was destroyed and understanding changed and
they were fed as animals.

Blessed Matthew was taken upon arrival by
the inhabitants of this place and they tore out his
eyes and cast him into prison and they gave him,

Editor's note: line numbers follow those of
the Latin text.

20 along with others whom they detained, the wicked
potion, until he could be led from custody to the
disgraceful people for devouring. But neither was
his heart destroyed nor the understanding of his
soul changed by their abominable drink.

Then Blessed Matthew prayed and said, "Lord
Jesus Christ, because of whose love we relinquished
the world so that we might follow You in every place
of your dominion: unless You see that I am judged
as a sheep to the slaughter, free me by the power of
30 Your name, and if it be Your will that the inhabi-
tants of this place devour me, I will not be reluc-
tant against that which is pleasing in Your sight.
If You wish, free me, illuminating my eyes so that
they can gaze at whatever will happen to me in this
place." After he had spoken, a very bright light
shone in the prison and a voice came to him saying,
"Peace be with you; do not fear, but be comforted
40 and behold, as you see the light, for it will not
leave you. But very marvelously I will free you and
all those who are detained with you in prison and
before the day will be decided for your slaying,
Andrew (fol.31v) your co-apostle will come that he
may lead you miraculously from the custody of this
prison." Having heard this, Blessed Matthew
exulted, wondering in the Lord and said, "Thank you,

Lord Jesus Christ."

Then when twenty-seven days had passed since
50 he had been detained in prison, three days before
the thirtieth day, which the executioners had estab-
lished <as the day that> they would kill to eat
those whom they held in prison, the Lord Jesus spoke
to Andrew in Achaia, saying, "Rise in three days and
go with your disciples to the city of Marnedona
to lead out Matthew and those who are detained in
prison with him. And Blessed Andrew said, "Lord, how
60 I will be able to go so far a distance in three days
I do not know. But I ask You to send Your angel to
free him by the power of Your name." And Lord Jesus
said, "Consider how easy it is for Him because He
created all things in three days, that this city and
all the inhabitants in it be changed in your pre-
sence. But it is very necessary that in this same
place you go forward for the advantage of many."

70 Then Blessed Andrew rose and went with his
disciples to the seashore and found a small ship in
which the Lord, changed into human form, was with two
of His angels. Seeing them, Blessed Andrew asked,
"Where do you journey?" And the Lord Jesus said, "To
the city of Marnedona." And Blessed Andrew said,
"Receive us in your ship, I beg, that we may go with
80 you." And Lord Jesus said, "All men flee from that

country and from that city. For what profit do you go to it?" Blessed Andrew answered, "The commandment which we bear makes it necessary that we accomplish this." And Lord Jesus said, "Make ready your arrangements and passage money that we may receive you." Blessed Andrew said, "Do not judge, brother, that through haughty disposition <we give you no
90 passage money>; we are disciples of Christ who instructs us for life eternal to carry on a journey neither wallet, nor any property, nor money in whatever way except on His commandment. If accordingly you do (fol. 32r) this for us, He will return everything to you as payment." And the Lord Jesus said, "If you are servants of Christ, we will take you on the ship so that from Him we will receive a reward in good things."

100 Blessed Andrew went with his disciples onto the ship and said to Lord Jesus, "Be patient with me, brother. May the Lord grant you grace, glory, and a heavenly reward." And Lord Jesus commanded one of His angels to set bread before them to refresh themselves, saying, "Come and refresh yourselves and be comforted so that you may be strong to endure the tossing waves." And Blessed Andrew said to Lord
110 Jesus, "May the Lord Jesus grant you bread from His kingdom and refresh you in all good things forever."

Lord Jesus said, "Do not doubt because of the motion of the sea, but eat, you and your disciples, and teach them about the powers of your master so that they may be strong and not be disturbed amidst the tossing of the waves." Then when Blessed Andrew with his disciples had eaten, he said, "Often amidst the waves of the open sea we have seen the seawater, the
120 mighty winds, and the fury of the tempests obey our master. Do not fear because our Lord King of heaven who is our Savior and Redeemer will not leave us."
Lord Jesus said, "It is very good for us to hear the powers of these mysteries." And Blessed Andrew rejoiced greatly because of the way his words were received, saying, "Blessed by the Lord God is the man who receives His words with such affection as
130 you do." After Blessed Andrew had spoken, his disciples slept during the time that they were disturbed by the tossing of the sea.

Regarding Lord Jesus steering the ship among the tossing waves, Blessed Andrew greatly admired Him, saying, "Never have I heard of anyone like unto you, a helmsman amidst the tossing of the ship, just as I see you. Indeed, I say that I think the ship
140 merely rests over land and <not> in the open sea. I beg that you tell me about your knowledge of your miraculous art of steering." And Lord Jesus said,

"Indeed, often sailing amidst the tossing sea we were in danger. But I believe (fol. 32v) the sea knows that you are a disciple of Christ because it always made ready to obey us and to support the ship amidst the tossing sea, and it does not intend to disturb it. And indeed, not a drop of water would enter the interior of the ship which carried you so that you could honorably cross the tossing sea." And Blessed Andrew cried, saying, "Lord, I give thanks to You that You made ready for our journey such a faithful man who accompanies us as Your heavenly angel."

Then the Lord Jesus said to Blessed Andrew, "I have heard about Christ Whose disciple you are. You say that He made many signs. Why did not the wretched Jews believe in him?" And Blessed Andrew said, "So that the saying of the Scripture would be fulfilled, that they may be neither converted nor obtain the grace of deliverance because they are hardened in heart and ears." And Blessed Andrew said, "And did He not perform it publicly to them? <He> Who at the sea of Galilee changed water into wine for a feast; Who, from five loaves fed five thousand men; Who made the blind see; Who cleansed the lepers; who healed the weary and sick; and who raised the dead in their presence." And Lord Jesus

said, "Since these are such excellent and wondrous things that you say Christ made manifest publicly to the Jews, so hardened in heart indeed were the wretched Jews who did not receive Him." Blessed

180 Andrew said, "Our savior accomplished many miracles in the presence of the Jews and before their leaders and priests. But there were also many more that He did in secret." And Lord Jesus said, "I ask you to tell me what He did secretly." Blessed Andrew said, "Indeed, I knew that you were filled with the spirit of wisdom and great counsel; for how long do you tempt me?" And Lord Jesus said, "I do not question

190 you to tempt you, but because you have filled my heart with joy and exultation through the powers of the miracles of Jesus Christ, your master. Because of this, indeed, my heart is in great desire to question you." And Blessed Andrew said, "May the Lord God fulfill the desires of your heart in those things which are eternal and perpetual good, and

200 Who, to strengthen our hearts, led us to a temple in which statues in likeness (fol. 33r) of cherubim and seraphim were given breath so that they might make witness to us the powers of Christ. For our confirmation to the testimony of these things, the twelve patriarchs were raised from the dead, among whom were Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The power of

many mysteries and the grace of Christ testified to us. From them indeed our heart was confirmed and our soul reborn to good."

210 Then as Blessed Andrew told of great works of Christ, Lord Jesus placed His head upon one of His angels in order to rest. And Blessed Andrew placed <his head> upon one of his disciples and slept. In the space of a moment he was carried with his disciples to the land to which they were going. They were placed at the gates of the city of Marmadona and thus Blessed Andrew with his disciples were roused from sleep. And seeing themselves before the

220 gates of the city of Marmadona, they were greatly astonished. Blessed Andrew said to his disciples, "Examine and see how much mercy our father has for us, who so miraculously accompanied us and carried us to this place" And his disciples said, "When in the beginning, Lord Jesus began to speak, we began to perceive His speaking but because we were

230 heavy with sleep, we did not recognize His presence. Yet when we were asleep, we saw Him sitting on His throne of glory in heaven and a multitude of angels saying hymns were surrounding Him, among whom were Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they were resounding praise in His glory; and then they were celebrating the presence of our Lord in the prophets." Hearing

240 this, Blessed Andrew gloried in the vision of his
disciples and all these things which happened to
them. And he began to pray and said, "I pray You,
Lord Jesus Christ: indulge me because I judged You
as a man, and reveal to me Your presence in this
place to which You have led me." After he had
spoken, the Lord Jesus appeared to him as a human of
beautiful aspect and said, "Peace be with you." And
250 seeing Him, Blessed Andrew fell to His feet and
adored Him saying, "Lord, how greatly I have erred
because I was not able <to recognize You> while I was
in (fol. 33v) Your presence on the sea." And Lord
Jesus said, "It is more possible to complete the way
in three days than to forgive you. But behold, I
appeared to you so that you would not hesitate to go
into the city and into the prison to lead out Mat-
260 thew and those who are detained in custody with him,
and you know that many injuries and suffering may be
inflicted upon you in this place. But these all
will be for your glorification and for the profit of
many."

After he had spoken, Blessed Andrew went
with his disciples to the city of Narnedone. And
with no one seeing or perceiving him or those with
him, he came to the prison. At his presence, the
270 ~~door of the prison was opened and the guards fell~~

dead. Having gone into the prison, Blessed Andrew saw Blessed Matthew singing and calling to the Lord. When they saw each other, <Matthew> greatly rejoiced and they exulted in the Lord. And seeing those who were detained in prison alienated in mind and fed as cattle, Blessed Andrew groaned, stung to the heart for them, and he said to Blessed Matthew, "What
280 cruelty we have found here, brother?" Blessed Matthew said, "It is as the Lord says: behold, I send you into the midst of wolves." And <Matthew> showed him how much cruelty and shame was in the city and what happened to him in this place. Then Blessed Andrew recalled how the Lord was revealed to him on the sea and what had happened with him until he came to lead <Matthew> from prison and those who
290 were held in custody with him. Having spoken, Blessed Andrew approached <the prisoners> and placed his hand over them and brought sight to their eyes and their hearts were made well and rationality was restored to them so that they could understand the nature of their humanity. And Blessed Andrew commended them to go out of the prison and out of the city until they passed through all the boundaries of that region. But while there were some doubting he
300 said, "Go in the name of the Lord and do not fear, for I heard a voice. While you pass through all

the districts of this country, you may clearly understand the power (fol. 34r) and grace of Christ, who freed your life from destruction." Then he commanded Blessed Matthew to go out with his disciples towards the east and they went out with no one realizing it. They passed through all the cities of this region following his word.

Then Blessed Andrew went out of the prison.
310 He began to walk through the middle of the city and sat down in the forum next to a large street awaiting to go according to the word of the Lord. It happened that the unrighteous executioners had found not one of those whom they had in custody, but the prison opened, the guards dead, and no one in the prison; indeed, there had been more than two hundred forty detained. At this, the confused executioners
320 went to the elders of the city, informing them. Having heard this, the inhabitants of the place were confused, greatly marveling at what had happened to them. And when nothing could be learned, they said to the executioners, "Bring the prison guards who are dead; let us eat them." When they had brought the bodies of the dead so that they could be cut up to eat, Blessed Andrew prayed that the unrighteous executioners would not be able to cut
330 them up. And it happened that the swords of the

unrighteous melted and their arms withered. And when they were not able to cut them up, they said, "Woe to us because we are deceived by magicians. Who killed the guards and sent those detained from prison so that we will perish from hunger? What suffering they have brought." And since it was not known who did this, the elders of the place said, "Come, let us cast lots so that we may bring those
 340 whom we kill to eat from among us until we find in our surrounding region those whom we shut up in prison."

When they cast lots, chance fell among seven elders. Then one of those <chosen> by lot came forth, "I entreat you, leave me behind and I will give you my son and my daughter to kill." They dis-
 350 missed him and he handed over his son and daughter for them to kill. And it happened that when they being led to slaughter, (fol. 34v) looking to heaven, Andrew said, "Lord God Omnipotent, I pray insistently that You not permit them to be killed by the executioners, but let their swords melt and their hands wither who make ready to bring death because of their baseness." It was done as Blessed Andrew
 360 prayed and all the leaders of the place were disturbed and wept for what had befallen them. Blessed Andrew glorified the Lord on account of the power of

His miracles. Then the devil appeared in the likeness of a white-haired child before the elders of the city of Marnedona and said, "Woe to you, leaders of this land, if you do not find that stranger who is called Andrew and kill him, because everything that
370 has befallen you in this place was done to you through him." All having been moved to crying, they asked who Andrew was, and Blessed Andrew was in the middle of the city, but in no way was he seen by the devil nor recognized by any one.

Then the devil shouted more and more and did not stop testifying what he said to the leaders. To his shouting, Blessed Andrew said, "O, most harsh
380 arrow which does not stop bringing harm more than any pestilential sword, <you> whose disgraceful cruelty of deceit will be sundered in all things by the disciples of Christ." Having heard this, the devil said, "And where are you that we are powerless to see?" And Blessed Andrew said, "You have been rightly called Satan, because you are blind to seeing those who trust in Christ and you will not
390 see me." Then the devil cried, "All give heed and carefully regard that he who speaks with me is that stranger about whom I told you." But they seeking <Andrew> did not recognize him. And rising, they closed the city gates lest they not be able to find

him. Then the Lord said to him that his presence should be revealed to those pursuing him. Blessed Andrew, in the middle of the city, spoke saying, "I
400 as Andrew." And they seized him and they said,
"Come, let us put a rope around his neck and drag him around our city and through all the streets of the town every day until he weakens and his day of death overcomes him. And then we shall divide his flesh (fol. 35r) among the inhabitants of this place to eat."

And so they drew him, hands bound behind his back, beating him exceedingly every day, cruelly having a rope around his neck as they had said. And
410 at evening they shut him up, bound, in prison. And the devil came to mock him with insults. And he took seven other demons with him saying, "Let us go and kill him who has not ceased to confound our deeds." And rising, the demons growled over him and hissed through their teeth, and they did not dare approach
420 him but they suffocated at the name of Christ. Then the Lord Jesus visited him again in prison and in a great light appeared to him saying, "Peace be with you. Do not fear." And taking his hand, He raised him from the ground and his chains were dissolved and his flesh rejuvenated and all his limbs were invigorated, and he regained all the strength of his

spirit. The Lord Jesus said to him, "Go from prison
430 to glorify the power of the Lord your God in many
signs and wonders. Approach the statue which is set
before the prison. Behold, I will make exceedingly
salty water flow out of the stone statue and it will
drown every living creature from man even to
cattle that will enter, and except where you go, the
place will emit the water, and who follows you will
be rescued. And outside the city I will cause a
fiery cloud to surround it, and whoever flees from
440 the city will die burned by the fire." Praying,
Blessed Andrew said, "Do not desert me, Lord Jesus
Christ, nor withdraw from me, but make a miracle for
me so that Your power will be glorified by many
wonders."

Having gone out of the prison glorifying the
Lord Jesus Christ, Blessed Andrew went to the statue
and water began to pour out so that it covered and
450 drowned the inhabitants of the city, except for
those who were where Blessed Andrew went. There was
a wall of flowing water on the right and left and a
great multitude followed Blessed Andrew. They were
crying and saying, "We will follow you and obey you
from this time, only free us lest we perish with
those who were drowned by the violent water and
consumed by the burning of the fire." And the

elder among them who had given his children to be
460 killed cried, (fol. 35v) "Woe to us lest we perish."
Looking upon him, Blessed Andrew said, "What kind of
mercy do you wish for yourself when you had no mercy
for your children? No one can obtain mercy, neither
you nor the executioners, who would not cease the
killing of innocents." And Blessed Andrew approached
the statue of stone which was not ceasing to pour
out water. Thus he said, "I command you in the name
470 of Jesus Christ to cease the flow of water." And the
rain of the deluge and the diffusion of water became
quiet. And when Blessed Andrew spoke to the elder
who had led his children to death and to the execu-
tioners, he said, "I say to you, disgraceful and
most cruel men, that when the flood of water has
receded from the city to the abyss, then you will
descend; in the abyss of hell you will live." When
480 he had spoken, the earth itself opened up and swal-
lowed the water with the cruel elder and the shame-
ful executioners of the city. The remaining who
escaped and were not exterminated were soon made
righteous through penitence and emendation and Bles-
sed Andrew went away with the people of the city who
remained. He built a church in the place where the
statue, through which the water had come, stood.

490 He beptized them all and strengthened them in the
faith and grace of Christ for whom honor, glory, and
power will be forever. Amen.

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For ease of reference the entries in the Bibliography are classified according to the types of source materials used. The divisions are as follows:

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